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Second Homes in Eastern Norway

From Marginal Land to Commodity

Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor

Trondheim, December 2009

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



Norwegian University of
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PREFACE

This PhD is a part of a longstanding research tradition at the Eastern Norway Research Institute on recreational homes. In 2005 our application to The Research Council of Norway to continue and develop this research was successful and in the late autumn of the same year the project 'Recreational homes in the hinterland of urban regions – development and implications' was accepted and financed under The Research Council's Areal Programme. My PhD project formed part of the project, for the period 2006–2008. I wish to thank The Research Council of Norway for making this study possible. The research group comprised the project manager, Terje Skjeggedal, together with researchers Tor Arnesen and Birgitta Ericsson. The project has had four partners, which have participated in seminars and discussions: the Centre for Geographic and Development Studies at the Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, Lisboa (Portugal), represented by Zoran Roca; Lillehammer University College (Norway), represented by Thor Flognfeldt jr.; Umeå University (Sweden), represented by Dieter Müller; and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), represented by Nina Gunnerud Berg. While conducting the case studies in 2007 in Ringebu and Kragerø several individuals agreed to share their experiences and knowledge with me during the interviews, and the majors and planning managers in the municipalities were positive towards our aim of undertaking studies in their respective municipalities. I thank all of the aforementioned for their contributions. I also wish to thank the Eastern Norway Research Institute for providing me with additional funding and practical support, and Catriona Turner for turning my written English into a more understandable and professional language.

In order to conduct a PhD study as an employee at the Eastern Norway Research Institute I first had to be accepted as a PhD candidate at a university. After careful examination of potential universities and supervisors, I was accepted at the Department of Geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim, with Nina Gunnerud Berg as my supervisor and Jan Ketil Rød as co-supervisor. This proved to be a fortunate opportunity. I have been very welcomed at the Department, and the courses and seminars there have been well presented and conducted, both practically and professionally. I wish to thank the academic staff and office staff, and also the Department's research fellows for their participation and contributions at meetings and seminars. Thanks are also due to the lecturers and other students at a course in qualitative methods for spatial analysis which I attended at Uppsala and Stockholm Universities.

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the professional and moral support of certain people. I owe special thanks to Terje, Tor and Birgitta at Eastern Norway Research Institute for important discussions on how to perform the study, for cooperation in carrying out the case studies, for co-writing papers at conferences and chronicles in newspapers, and for encouraging me throughout the whole process. Regular discussions with Tor on concepts and approaches were especially fruitful, including on a trip to a conference in Banff, Canada, in May 2008. The collaboration with my supervisor Nina Gunnerud Berg has been vital for the completion of this PhD. Our interaction has worked very well, both professionally and personally, and has included the valuable experience of co-writing one of the papers. Finally, I wish to thank my wife and daughters, Line, Oda and Ingrid, especially for taking time off work and from school in Lillehammer in order to accompany me while I was three months in Swansea as part of my study course. Altogether, these above-mentioned persons have made this PhD study a positive experience for me professionally and personally, and also to research that hopefully will contribute to develop our knowledge of recreational homes in Norway.

Lillehammer, June 2009

Kjell Overvåg

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1. Introduction

*However, the rural municipalities' legitimate need and desire to take advantage of the economic boom by building second homes cannot degenerate into unrestrained development in the mountains. Experts point out that older second homes dating from a period when there was less environmental awareness than today are far better environmentally than new second home developments. It cannot be stated more clearly that much is being done the wrong way today, and that interests other than purely economic ones must have stronger influence on development. It is not much use having a national second home policy, as the Environmental Secretary claims we have, if in practice it is decided by local developers. (Editorial, *Aftenposten* 11 September 2006, author's translation).*

In the last twenty years there has been a surge in investments in second homes in Norway due to growing wealth and mobility among the Norwegian population. National governments and national media have directed their attention towards the challenges and problems which this development might lead to concerning rural land use and planning: the present Ministry of Environment is focused on measures to improve the quality of the second home developments and to lower what it sees as a rising level of conflict concerning second homes (Miljøverndepartementet 2005); the Office of the Auditor General of Norway has stated that second home developments contribute to non-sustainable land use (Riksrevisjonen 2007); and a national newspaper is calling for a 'Warning in the mountains' due to the 'unrestrained' building of second homes (*Aftenposten* 2006), as the opening quotation from this newspaper shows. This 'problem-focused' position by national authorities and media was in sharp contrast to my own experiences through many years as a researcher and a consultant (and an inhabitant in a rural area), working with local actors who saw second homes as a great opportunity to develop their rural communities – communities that otherwise struggled with decreasing employment and populations. From personal experience, while some of the second home developments were problematic, due to environmental regulations most seemed to be quite unproblematic and were welcomed by the local rural communities. This prompted me to want to learn more about the issues involved: How problematic is the use of rural land for second home developments? What are the most important discussions and conflicts connected to land use for second homes? What governs the location and/or use pattern of second homes? Which actors are involved in the land zoning planning processes, and how do they act? How does the use of land for second homes influence the rural community? These questions formed the starting point for my study.

A basic premise for the study was that a large proportion of households in Norway possesses more than one house, and the use of these houses contributes to linking urban and rural places. Population numbers in the cities are increasing, while most rural areas are experiencing a decline in population numbers (Brunborg & Texmon 2003; Statistics Norway 2007). Simultaneously, many rural areas, especially within the recreational hinterland of cities, are experiencing increases in the number of second homes owned by people residing in the cities. The rather intensive use of second homes at weekends and during holidays results in a significant and temporary redistribution of city populations: a depopulation of urban areas and a repopulation of rural areas. This intensive use characterises first and foremost second homes built the last two decades and to a high standard (Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005), often on a par with ‘first homes’.

I will use both the term ‘second home’ and ‘recreational home’ in this summary. ‘Recreational home’ is a fairly direct translation of the Norwegian term *fritidsbolig* used for statistical purposes, and it also more specifically reflects the main functions of these homes for most people. As in other Western countries, recreation and leisure are the main reasons for owning and using second homes in Norway (Kaltenborn 1998; Hall & Müller 2004; Ericsson 2006). Leisure and recreation in their second homes is seen by many owners as contrasting to their mostly urban life in their ‘permanent home’, where work and everyday life are in primary focus (Jaakson 1986; Hall & Müller 2004). However, ‘second homes’ is the dominating term within this field of research, and is the term I have used mostly in the papers in Part 2. Further, it is appropriate in terms of how much the homes are used (number of days per year), compared to people’s ‘first home’. However, it is common practice in written language to use interchangeable terms for the sake of variety, a point to which I will return in section 1.2.

In many rural areas changes relating to leisure and recreation are amongst the most significant that have occurred in the past decades, and have become important agents of environmental, economic and social change (Butler 1998; Hall et al. 2003; Müller 2005). Being readily accessible for large concentrations of people, it seems that rural hinterlands of urban areas that are within day and weekend travelling distances in general are most affected by these changes (Hall 2005; McIntyre et al. 2006a). Approximately 85–90% of the recreational homes owned by people in Trondheim, Tromsø and Oslo are located within c.3–4 hours’ driving distance (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007), indicating that the large majority of recreational homes in Norway are located within the hinterlands of cities. This is supported by a recent survey showing that 72% of Norwegian second home owners in general have a

driving distance of 3 hours or less to their second home (Farstad et al. 2008). Further, the relatively short distances – compared to many other countries – from major urban settlements to amenity-rich areas along the coast and in the mountains (Hecock 1993; Flognfeldt jr. 2004) consolidate this locational pattern. The hinterland of Oslo is the focus for this study, and it is denoted as the ‘recreational hinterland’ of Oslo. This study area will be presented in section 1.3.

The owners of recreational homes do not only have an impact on rural areas through their temporary physical presence as part-time residents, but through their investment in a recreational home they are also present permanently in economic, political and visual terms, impacts which they make independently of their physical presence. For instance, they have an impact on local property prices, on the development of cultural landscapes, on local employment throughout the year due to building and maintenance, and with respect to their interests and rights in local planning processes. Further, the demand from potential owners of recreational homes influences how landowners and investors act. Additionally, the municipalities’ planning efforts are not only under the influence of the owners of recreational homes, landowners, developers, etc., but also of national governments, and especially environmental governments. The impacts from all of these actors on the places where second homes are located as well as the actors’ different interests are important considerations in this study.

1.1 Objectives and research questions

The general aim of this thesis is to increase the understanding of the basic spatial dimensions and characteristics of the second home phenomenon in Norway, and I seek to develop a better understanding of how second homes are embedded within a broad societal context. There are two basic spatial attributes of second homes; first, they presuppose there is mobility of people between their ‘first’ and ‘second’ homes in different places, and second, they presuppose that the locations of recreational homes occupy land. This study will have both land use and mobility in focus. Particularly, the use of land for new second home developments will be in focus, as there have been significant amounts of new developments in the last two decades that have been quite widely debated, as mentioned earlier. Regarding mobility, the study will focus on inhabitants in cities who have their second home in rural areas, as this is the most common situation for second home owners in Norway. I aim to reveal how mobility and land use influence areas where second homes are located. Theoretically, second homes can be seen as a kind of ‘temporary mobility’ (Williams & Hall 2002) in the nexus between tourism and

migration, and this study aims to theoretically address and develop the issue of temporary mobility.

To understand how second homes are embedded within a broad societal context embedded in societies I will look at migration patterns and how these patterns influence the growth of cities, settlements and recreational home areas. This is reflected in the theoretical approach to this study, which is driven by an aspiration to understand recreational homes in Norway within a broader societal context than what is often found in the second home literature in Norway (e.g. Hecock 1993; Kaltenborn 1998; Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005; Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). In the last 5–7 years international research on recreational homes has increasingly been discussed within the broader contexts of mobility, migration, place, home, and urban-rural relationships. It is especially the increased attention directed at mobility, in what Urry (2007) has labelled a ‘mobility turn’ in social sciences, and an accompanying growth of lifestyles with multiple houses in different places, that has contributed to such a broader and fruitful understanding of recreational homes. Examples of relatively recent contributions include Williams & Hall’s (2002) discussion on second homes and migration, the discussion on second homes, counterurbanisation and urban growth by Halfacree,¹ and the books *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes* edited by Hall & Müller (2004) and *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism* edited by McIntyre, Williams & McHugh (2006b). Williams & Hall (2002) claim that neither tourism nor migration studies have adequately addressed the issue of temporary mobility, which recreational homes may be seen as a part of. Further, studies on temporary mobility have been made difficult by its multidimensional nature, the poor quality of the available secondary data and a weak theoretical framework (Bell & Ward 1999 and 2000, cited in Williams & Hall 2002).

Initially, my theoretical approach was inspired by Müller (1999) and Halseth (2004), who discuss recreational homes within the context of counterurbanisation, rural change and the participation of new groups in rural areas. Müller (1999) claims that particularly in cases where recreational homes are used frequently and for long periods of time during the year, the significance of tourism theories should decrease and instead theories on migration and population redistribution should be applied. Through my study, I have found that especially theories relating to rural restructuring, the concept of rurality and in-migration to rural areas,

¹ K. Halfacree, ‘New urban/rural relationships: urban sprawl, second homes and counterurbanization’. Paper presented at the First International Seasonal Homes & Amenity Migration Workshop, at the Centre for Rural Research, Trondheim, 2008.

are complementary to literature on rural tourism and second homes, and fruitful for understanding recreational homes within a broader context in Norway.

In Norway, recreational homes have to some extent been discussed in relation to mobility and migration: see, for example, Flognfeldt jr. (2002; 2004) and Arnesen & Skjeggedal (2003), whose discussions have been quite general in nature about the possible consequences of emerging trends, yet without going thoroughly into what actually has happened. The present study aims to analyse these issues more thoroughly. Further, just as in Canada, where recreational homes are associated with purpose-built recreational properties located in designated areas within a rural countryside (Halseth 2004), there is also in Norway a need for better understanding of the role of recreational homes and their owners on topics such as land use and rural development, given their potential economic and political importance within rural areas and recreational hinterlands. There is thus a need for a supplementary empirical basis and additional analysis in order to develop a more complex and coherent understanding of recreational homes connected to rural restructuring and urban-rural relationships in Norway. Empirical data from this study, mainly on the spatial patterns of recreational homes and analyses of planning documents and interviews, seek to strengthen the empirical basis and to contribute such additional analysis.

To some extent this study continues from research on second homes in Norway carried out 30–40 years ago, when Hansen (1969) conducted empirical research on recreational homes, urban growth and land use, and Langdalen (1969; 1980), from a planning perspective, discussed land use, nature conservation and conflicts between different actors. The present study will discuss some of the same issues, but instead using data on the exact location and ownership of recreational homes in Norway that, to my knowledge, have not been systematised and used in a similar analysis of recreational homes previously. Further, the context in Norway has changed significantly since the 1960s and 1970s regarding, for example, mobility and economy, thus making it necessary to perform new studies to understand the present-day situation.

Empirical data were collected from Oslo and its recreational hinterland, also labelled ‘eastern Norway’ in this study. There, second homes are located in areas within the immediate vicinity of the city of Oslo (some with a physical link to the city and others without), and also within the rural recreational hinterland of Oslo. Most important is the rural recreational hinterland, which has the largest numbers and agglomerations of second homes, and has experienced most of the growth in recreational home establishments in recent years. (the study area will be presented in section 1.3.).

Thus far, in this section I have formulated and identified the general aims of the study, some gaps and needs in Norwegian and international research on second homes, and the dominating Norwegian political and popular discourses on second homes. On the basis of these aspects and the chosen study area, I have defined and selected the following three more specific themes and research questions for this study:

a) The first theme is the connection between urban growth and recreational homes.

According to other studies carried out in Canada, France, Sweden, and Norway (but not in Oslo), among other places, there is a two-way relationship between urban growth and recreational homes. It is claimed that urban growth and distance from a city highly influence the location pattern of second homes, partly because urban growth can ‘push’ second homes out from former rural areas, and that second home areas have a role to play in urban growth and the diffusion of urban space (Hansen 1969; Lundgren 1974; Clout 1977; Müller 2002; Müller & Marjavaara 2004; Hall et al. 2009). I ask whether we find the same two-way relationship in eastern Norway, and if so, how do second home areas influence urban growth in Oslo, and how does urban growth in Oslo influence the location pattern of second home establishments in the recreational hinterland of Oslo? I also ask how other political, spatial and economic factors influence the relationship between urban growth and second homes. The main data source for answering these research questions are quantitative data from the Norwegian Property Register, which holds information, including the location, of all second homes and their owners in eastern Norway. This theme is discussed in Paper 1.

b) The second theme is recreational homes and conflicts (‘contested space issues’) in rural areas. According to international findings, second homes are often seen to lead to conflicts, especially with local populations, and to ‘contested space issues’ (Marcouiller et al. 1996; Williams & Hall 2002; Halseth 2004; McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006). A main reason for this situation seems to be that second home owners and local populations share the same spaces (Gallent & Twedwr-Jones 2000; Gallent et al. 2003; 2005). In eastern Norway most of the recreational homes are, however, spatially separated from existing rural settlements. I therefore initially ask whether the development of recreational homes may be seen as a contested phenomenon in eastern Norway. If so, which factors influence the level of contestation, and what kind of space issues are most discussed and contested in the context of eastern Norway? Empirically, the question in this study is how the spatial

separation and other characteristics of 'Norwegian rurality' and second home phenomena impact on the level and types of conflicts connected to second homes in eastern Norway. Data sources for discussing these questions are a combination of the National Property Register, official statistics, and case studies in Ringebu and Kragerø which include document studies and interviews with individuals. This theme is discussed in Paper 2.

- c) The third theme is the use of rural land for recreational home developments. The point of departure is that use of rural land for touristic and recreational purposes have been interpreted as leading to increased commodification of rural areas, in a process where the traditional use of rural land decreases its relative value, while it has increased its value as a place to be consumed. In other countries, such processes of rural change and development have proved to have had significant economic and political consequences, and the processes have had an impact on which actors are involved, how they act, and who benefits from rural change (Gill 2000; 2007; Halfacree et al. 2002; Goverde et al. 2004). I therefore ask which actors are involved in the development of new recreational home areas, and how do they impinge on land use? Further, what are the economic and political consequences of using rural land for recreational home developments? These are highly relevant questions due to the fact that significant numbers of new purpose-built second homes have been constructed in eastern Norway in recent years. To answer these questions, quite detailed studies of local processes are necessary. Empirically, the question in this part of the study is thus which actors are involved and how do they act, and what are the economic and political consequences of the use of rural land for recreational homes, and connected commodification processes, in the two case-study municipalities of Ringebu and Kragerø (Figure 1.1, page 12). This theme is discussed in Paper 3.

Each of these themes and research questions addresses different spatial characteristics of the second home phenomenon, in short: connection to urban growth, contested space issues, and commodification of rural land. Further, the themes have a different geographical focus, which is necessary in order to answer the respective research questions: the first theme (a) focuses on second home areas within and in the immediate vicinity of the city, and on the two-way relationship between the city and its recreational hinterland (i.e. Oslo and its hinterland); the second theme (b) focuses on the whole recreational hinterland of Oslo (a rural region with 137 municipalities), while the third (c) has a local focus, more precisely on two municipalities within the recreational hinterland of Oslo, namely Ringebu in the mountains and Kragerø on

the coast (Figure 1.1). This difference in geographic focus further draws attention to the high diversity of the second home phenomenon in eastern Norway – a feature which I consider has received little attention in earlier research on second homes in Norway. The three themes are highly related and are used in support of the general aim of this study, and they all are grounded in some common and basic societal trends in Norway regarding migration patterns and rural restructuring. The main purpose of this comprehensive summary of (Part 1 of the thesis) is to discuss these themes and issues as a whole, while the Papers presented in Part 2 focus more specifically on each of the themes.

1.2 Concepts

There is great variation in the buildings used as second homes in Norway. This study covers buildings that are intended to be used as recreational homes, and that are registered as such in the Norwegian Property Register (and treated and planned as second homes by local authorities). All are non-mobile buildings, while other types of accommodation such as caravans and boats are not included. There are *c.*420,000 recreational homes in Norway (Statistics Norway 2008a). A total of 40% of households in Norway either own or have access to one or more of such homes (Vågane 2006), making Norway a country where ownership and access to recreational homes is widespread. In Norway, there are 12 persons per second home which is the same as in Finland, while for example in Sweden the number is 19, in Denmark 27, USA 79, and in England there are approximately 205 persons per second home (Timothy 2004; Gallent et al. 2005; Müller 2007). The large majority of such buildings (*c.*97%) in the recreational hinterland of Oslo have been purpose-built as recreational homes. The remainder are converted ‘first homes’ and farmhouses (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). Geographically, second home ownership is quite evenly distributed in all parts of the country, and the proportions of people in rural areas and cities who own second homes are roughly equal (Vågane 2006; Farstad et al. 2008). For example, in my two case municipalities *c.*20–25% of the second homes are owned by residents in the municipalities, *c.*30–40% are owned by people from Oslo city, while the remainder are owned by residents from other cities and rural areas. The continuing urbanisation of the Norwegian population means, however, that most, and to an increasingly degree, second homes in rural areas are owned by residents in the cities. Regarding the extent of usage, a survey in three municipalities in eastern Norway revealed an average use of 46 days per year (Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005), while a national survey has shown an average use of 36 days per year (Farstad et al. 2008). The distance from the permanent home and the standard of the second home are decisive for the number of days

spent in the second home. Second homes which are located a short distance from the first home and/or are of a high standard are used significantly more than average (Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005; Vågane 2006; Farstad et al. 2008).

Rurality can be understood and conceptualised in a number of ways. The central understanding in this thesis is of the rural as a social construction or representation (Halfacree 1993), where the central question is how people who live in or visit rural areas 'construct themselves as being rural' (Woods 2005, 10). Here, the importance of the 'rural' lies in the values which people associate with rurality, rural spaces and rural lives (Clope 2006). According to Berg & Lysgård (2002) the dominant understanding of rural space in Norway probably encompasses large areas of the country, as they claim that the term 'rural areas' is generally considered by Norwegians to be all areas outside the four biggest urban agglomerations (including Oslo). This conceptual regionalisation of 'rural areas' includes a great variety of places which may even be found near the cities. More important than distance from the city is a setting that is in contrast to the users' 'everyday life'. Rurality, in its oppositional positioning to urbanity, is thus important for this understanding. Clope (2006) similarly argues that such an oppositional positioning is significant as a general characteristic of rurality. This is well exemplified by Grimstad & Lyngø (1993), who discussed how recreational home owners on some islands in Oslofjord felt that they were close to nature and in a completely different environment at their second home, despite the fact that they were only ten minutes away from the city by boat and that they could both see and hear the city from their recreational homes.

The 'rural idyll' is an important dimension of the second home phenomenon in Norway. In general, the rural idyll emphasises traditions, proximity to nature, leisure and consumption, and a traditional way of life which is seen as harmonious, safe and where everyone takes care of one another and knows each other (Berg & Forsberg 2002; Clope 2003; Murdoch et al. 2003; DuPuis 2006). Bell (2006) elaborates on the 'rural idyll' and distinguishes between three ideal, typical rural idylls: the pastoral ('farmscapes'), the natural ('wildscapes'), and the sporting ('adventurescapes'). The majority of second homes in Norway are located in what I call a 'nature setting'; close to or within forests, lakes and open spaces in the mountains and along the coast (Figures 1.2 and 1.3, pages 15 and 16). This setting is quite different from the milieu of many of the owners' urban 'everyday home', but makes available what most owners of recreational homes in eastern Norway want: to be surrounded by nature and to have nature as a place to reside and perform leisure activities (Kaltenborn 1998; Ericsson 2006). Among Norwegian second home owners it is, thus,

undoubtedly the natural and the sporting rural idylls that are important. The way people understand rurality, however, differs due to different geographical, social and cultural contexts (Berg & Forsberg 2003; Woods 2005), and one of the discussions in this study (mainly in the paper 'Second homes and contested space issues in rural eastern-Norway') is how such differences between Britain and Norway influence conflicts relating to recreational homes. I compare Norway with Britain because the dominant theories on rurality and rural idyll are mostly based on British experiences. There will also be different representations of rurality between different groups that share the same space (such as long-term residents, second home owners, developers, and politicians) and that may form the basis for tension and conflict (Halfacree & Boyle, 1998; Hall 2005) (see also Halfacree unpublished²). An especially relevant distinction is between the formal representations expressed by capitalist interests (Halfacree 2006) and the representations of existing residents, including existing second home owners. The significance of such different representations is also one of the themes in the abovementioned paper.

According to Statistics Norway, densely populated areas are defined as agglomerations with at least 200 residents and where the distance between houses does not exceed 50 metres (Statistisk sentralbyrå 1999). This is the only official definition of urban areas in Norway, and in this thesis such areas are referred to as 'urban settlements' or simply 'settlements'. According to Statistics Norway scarcely populated areas are those which are not densely populated, and are thus treated as a residual category. Also, many descriptive definitions of rural areas in other countries are based on such 'negative' definitions (Woods 2005). Statistics Norway's definition of densely populated areas is based on peoples' 'everyday home' address, of which only one is permitted. Thus, by definition, recreational homes cannot be part of or constitute densely populated areas, yet they can still be within the borders of densely populated areas.³ However, rural areas can also be densely populated as recreational homes tend to cluster in quite dense designated recreational homes areas. In Norway there have been two attempts to define and analyse such dense recreational home areas: one by Block & Steinnes (2003), and one by myself and a colleague (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). The latter defines recreational home areas as areas where there are at least 20 recreational homes and where the distance between houses does not exceed 200 metres. By

² K. Halfacree, 'New urban/rural relationships: urban sprawl, second homes and counterurbanization'. Paper presented at the First International Seasonal Homes & Amenity Migration Workshop, Centre for Rural Research, Trondheim, in 2008.

³ A small share (4.6%) of recreational homes in eastern Norway are located within densely populated areas as they are located close to a building defined as residence. Very few (1.5%) recreational homes built since 1980 are located within densely populated areas (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007).

this definition *c.*60% of all second homes are located within dense recreational home areas in eastern Norway. With regard to recreational homes built since 1990, 75% are located within dense recreational home areas in eastern Norway (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007).

1.3 Study area

In this thesis the study area, Oslo and its recreational hinterland, is also termed eastern Norway. Oslo is the largest city in Norway with a population of *c.*860,000, and together with neighbouring cities it constitutes the urban and population centre of Norway. In addition, the recreational hinterland of Oslo has the largest number of second homes and amount of connected recreational commuting. Further, it is mostly with reference to this part of the country that the aforementioned discrepancies between the national problem focused discourse and my own experiences are observed. Spatially, the bulk of recreational homes are located in areas together with and close to other recreational homes (*c.*75% are located together with 5 or more second homes, where the distance between them does not exceed 200 meters), and these areas are normally located at some distance from rural settlements – the average distance between second homes and settlements in Norway is *c.*9 km (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007).

The size of the study area (the hinterland) has not been constant over time. The borders are not fixed but are fluid, as people's transport mobility is increasing and Oslo's urban growth contributes to 'push' new recreational home developments, and thus the recreational hinterland is shifting increasingly further away from Oslo (as will be discussed in Chapter 5). For analytical purposes the recreational hinterland of Oslo in this study is defined as the area within *c.*4 hours driving distance from Oslo, which approximates to 200 km distance by air (see Figure 1.1). Approximately 85% of the recreational homes owned by inhabitants in Oslo are located within this area, and studies indicate that they are used quite regularly during weekends and holidays (Kleiven 1990, Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005; Flognfeldt jr. 2005). When statistics for municipalities have been used in analyses the hinterland is defined as comprising the 137 municipalities that have most of their land falling within 200 km from Oslo (see Figure 1.1). There are also several other large urban settlements near Oslo which have their recreational hinterlands partly overlapping with that of Oslo and thereby contribute to the numbers of recreational homes being high and densely located in this part of the country. Another contributing factor to the clustering effect of recreational homes is that some of the largest tourist resorts, particularly ski resorts, are located within this hinterland. In the terminology of Müller et al. (2004), the hinterland is thus both 'amenity rich' and a 'major

vacation area'. A total of 47% of all recreational homes in Norway and 50% of the population are located within the hinterland of the capital city of Oslo (Figure 1.1) (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). Some inhabitants in this region also own recreational homes in Sweden. Norwegians own c.5000 recreational homes in Sweden and the majority are located along the border regions of eastern Norway, along the coast in Västra Götaland or in the lowland in Värmland (Statistics Sweden 2008) (Figure 1.1). This part of Sweden can therefore be seen as part of the recreational hinterland of Oslo. It is, however, not included in this study, due to lack of data about the location and other attributes of second homes in Sweden owned by Norwegians.

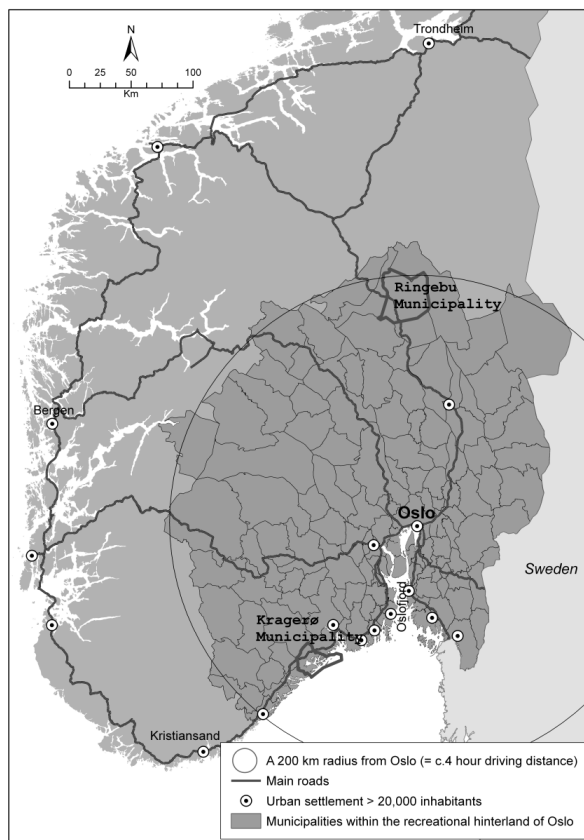


Figure 1.1. The recreational hinterland of Oslo (also labelled eastern Norway) and the location of Ringebu and Kragerø Municipalities. The part of Norway within the circle is defined as the recreational hinterland of Oslo/eastern Norway. The municipalities shaded dark grey are those with most of their area falling within a radius of 200 km from Oslo.

The case studies were performed in two municipalities within the Oslo hinterland: Ringebru in the valley and mountain district and Kragerø on the coast (Figure 1.1). They have about the same number of second homes, and second homes are a significant phenomenon in both municipalities. In Ringebru they are especially significant in proportion to its permanent population, while Kragerø is characterised by having relatively high numbers of both permanent population and second homes compared to its area (Table 1.1). The growth in the number of second homes in Norway has occurred especially in the mountainous districts like the one that Ringebru is located in (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007), while it has been more modest in Kragerø and along the coast in eastern Norway. However, large investments have been made in the refurbishment and enlargement of existing second homes. The growth in second homes is in sharp contrast to the decline in the permanent population that Ringebru, and Kragerø to a more modest degree, have been experiencing (Table 1.1), in concurrence with most other rural areas in Norway. Approximately 75% and 80% of the second homes in Ringebru and Kragerø respectively are owned by people who reside outside the municipalities, and owners from, for example, Oslo city own *c.*30% of the second homes in Ringebru and *c.*42% of the second homes in Kragerø.

Table 1.1. Characteristics of second homes and populations in Ringebru, Kragerø, and the recreational hinterland of Oslo and Norway as a whole (Statistics Norway 2008a; Norwegian Property Register).

	Ringebru	Kragerø	Oslo hinterland	Norway
Second homes in 2007 (no.)	3379	3347	189,805	388,754
Second homes per 100 permanent homes (2007)	147,2	62,5	16,4	17,1
Second homes per km² (2007)	2,0	11,0	2,4	1,3
Change in no. of second homes 1997-2007 (%)	36,3	4,4	11,4	14,7
Population in 2007 (no.)	4557	10,481	2,371,482	4,681,134
Changes in population 1997-2007 (%)	-6,3	-2,4	8,5	6,6

The geography of Ringebru is characterised by a valley where the permanent settlements and high-value agricultural areas are located, while most second homes are located in the forest and mountainous areas at higher altitudes. There is, in other words, a clear spatial separation between permanent settlements and second home areas (Figure 1.2). Second homes can be found dispersed in most parts in the mountainous areas of the municipality, but almost all

second homes built in the last 20–30 years have been located in quite dense, designated second home areas. Since the mid-1980s local authorities in Ringebu have recognised tourism linked to second homes as the most important industry to enhance local economic development. This has come as a result of continued decline and stagnation in agriculture and manufacturing, in combination with an increased demand for recreational activities and second homes. Given the relatively easy access from the Oslo area, in combination with attractive mountain landscapes favoured for both traditional summer activities (hiking, berry picking, fishing, etc.) and winter activities (mainly cross-country and alpine skiing), Ringebu has been a popular location for second homes since the beginning of the 20th century.

In Kragerø the shoreline is the most attractive location for both second homes, as well as for the permanent population and industry, and the shoreline is quite densely developed. Yet here, too, most second homes are spatially separated from the permanent settlements, although they are more closely located than in Ringebu, and to some degree are mixed (Figure 1.3). To an even higher degree than in Ringebu, most new second homes in Kragerø have been built in dense developments, and many as second home apartments. Summer activities such as bathing, fishing and boating are favoured by second home owners, while the winter season is less attractive for visiting Kragerø. Until recently, second homes had not been actively linked to tourism and economic development by the local authorities in Kragerø. However, in the last few years there has been a surge in interest in developing second homes linked to tourism and housing projects in order to foster industrial development in the municipality. The methodological considerations concerning the choice of Ringebu and Kragerø as case studies are discussed in section 4 of this comprehensive summary.

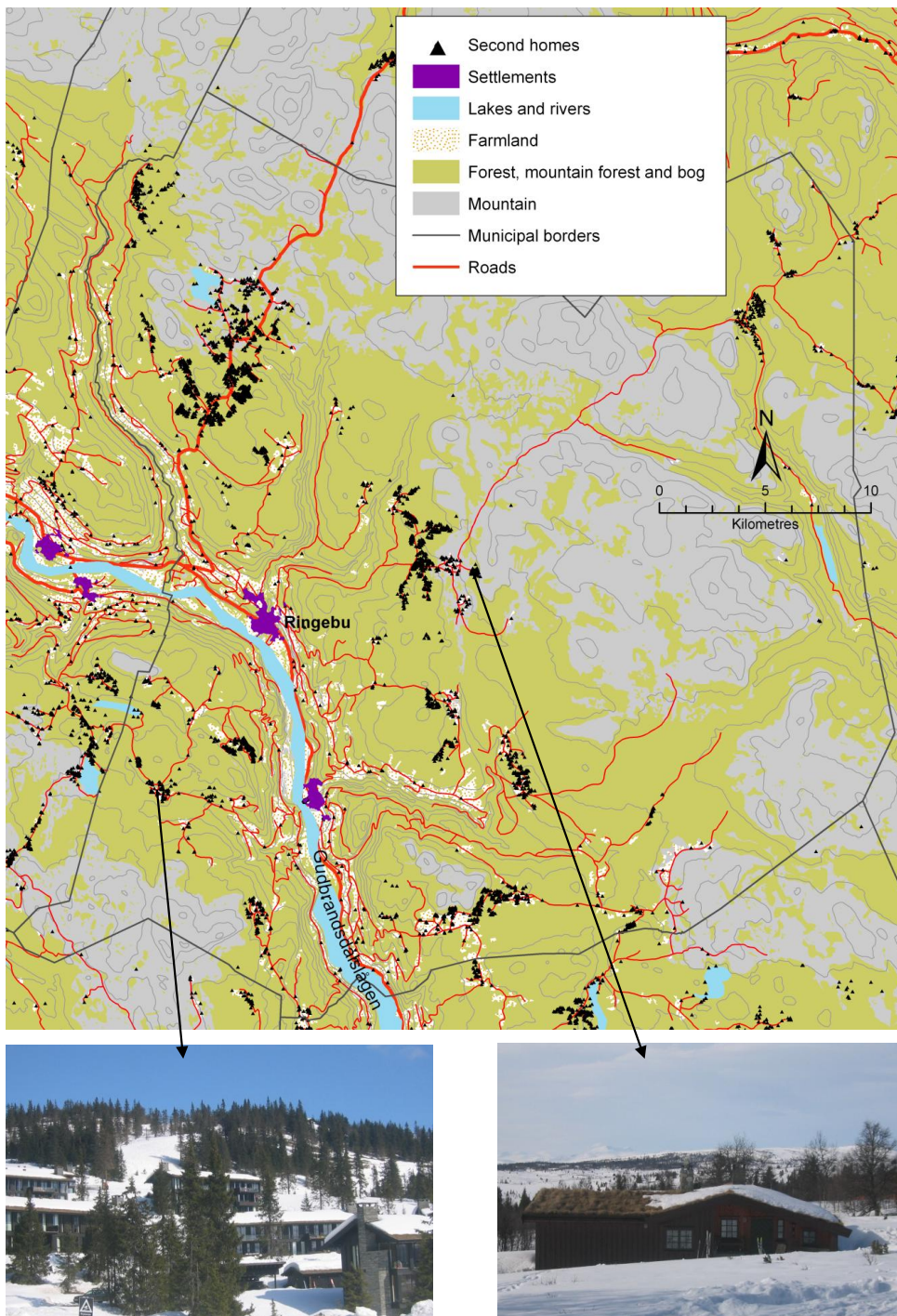


Figure 1.2. Ringebru Municipality: location map and photographs. Cartography and photos: Kjell Overvåg (source: Norwegian Property Register).

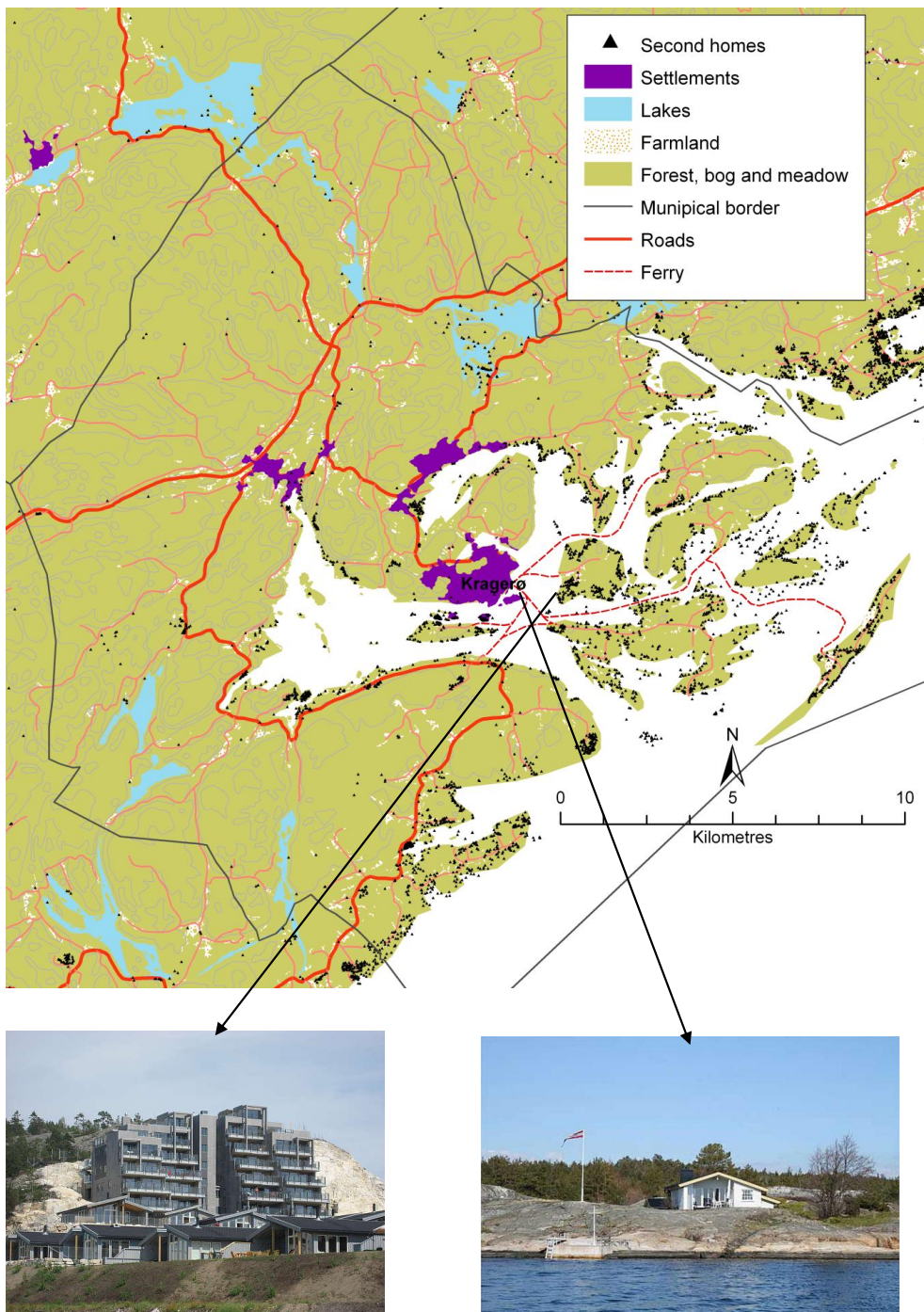


Figure 1.3. Kragersø Municipality: location map and photographs. Cartography: Kjell Overvåg. Photos: Midgard and Opthun (source: Norwegian Property Register).

1.4 Policy, regulatory and land use context

Since World War II, the Norwegian state has enforced an explicit regional policy to achieve industrial development and regional cohesion all over the country and to strengthen the nation building. A distinctive characteristic of Norwegian regional policy, compared to other Nordic and EU countries, has been the focus on maintaining the fundamental features of the existing settlement pattern. Norwegian regional policy has been called 'periphery policy' as most of the incentives have been directed at peripheral regions (Teigen 1999, Bachtler & Yuill 2001). Despite these policy goals there has been a significant centralisation and urbanisation of the Norwegian population in recent decades, resulting in a decline of the permanent population in many rural areas. However, Norway still has a relatively scattered population pattern compared to for example Sweden where the centralisation of the population has been stronger (Langørgen 2007). Agricultural policy is part of the 'broad' regional policy in Norway, and also here most incentives have been directed to maintaining agricultural activity and settlements in peripheral areas. Few areas are suitable for agriculture in Norway due to climate and topography, and only 3% of the total land area is farmland. Maintaining the agricultural acreage in different parts of the country has been an important goal for this policy, and farmland is thus quite strongly protected in Norway. This goal has principally been achieved, as the size of agricultural land have been rather stable the last decades, whereas there has been a considerable reduction in the number of farm holdings and farm employment (Lundekvam et al. 2003; Prestegard & Hegrenes 2007).

The physical geography of Norway is characterised by rough climate, poor soil conditions and difficult terrain conditions. Consequently, large parts of the country's area are not suitable for settlements and agriculture. With a population density of only 14 persons per km², compared for example with Britain's 249, Norway has one of the lowest population densities in Europe. Only c.2% of the area is used for buildings and infrastructure, c.3% for farmland, while the remaining 95% is mostly uninhabited mountains, forests, lakes and glaciers (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007; United Nations Statistics Division 2008, Statistics Norway 2009). The majority of land available and suitable for tourism and second home developments in eastern Norway is owned by local farmers (or former farmers). In addition to their farmland, they own substantial amounts of outlying fields (forests, mountain plains, etc.) that potentially could be used for second home developments. Land use planning and the authority to give development permission are in the hands of the local authorities. However, there is one important premise for local authorities, namely that authorities in the county municipalities or in the regional state should not have any obligations concerning such

planning. If they do have obligations, planning applications have to be sent to the Ministry of Environment for final decision, unless the municipality makes necessary changes in the plan. Development proposals can be submitted either by the municipality or by landowners and developers, and the latter have been most common in the case of second home developments in recent years (at least in eastern Norway, from my experience). Based on these proposals the municipality will prepare an outline land use plan for the area in question, which then is submitted for public inquiry and subsequently the final approval will be given by the municipal council. In such plans there is normally a zoning of the area where land is designated exclusively for respectively second homes, commercial tourism (hotels, etc.), permanent houses, farmhouses, etc. According to the empirical data collected for this study, prior to the 1970s and 1980s, zoning that included vast areas of land allowing for a mix of second homes, summer farms and farms was also widely used, but since then most second home developments have been permitted only in quite dense exclusively designated areas. Fiscally, municipalities in Norway can choose whether they will impose property taxes which also can include second homes. In Kragerø, property taxes on second homes were introduced in 2008, while in Ringebu they will be introduced during the course of 2009.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is made up of three parts: a comprehensive summary, three papers and an appendix. In this comprehensive summary the three research questions and the main theoretical and empirical discussions and findings from the study are discussed consecutively as a whole, and with a focus on their coherence. This is done because the three themes are closely connected, and the result of such a discussion is more than the ‘sum’ of each paper, and thus hopefully gives a more valuable contribution to fulfilling the general aim of this thesis. Further, I want to make it possible for readers to read the overall part independently of the papers.

After this introduction, this comprehensive summary is composed of two sections presenting the theoretical framework for the thesis (‘Recreational homes and rural restructuring’ (section 2) and ‘Mobility, multiple houses and places’ (section 3). In section 4 the methodology for the study is presented and discussed. The empirical findings in this study are discussed in relation to theories and findings from other countries, in section 5 (‘Eastern-Norway under investigation’). In the final section the research questions from section 1.1 are revisited and related to the discussion in section 5. The thesis’ relevance for other contexts and for theory building is also considered.

In the second part of the thesis the three papers are presented in full length. Each of them focuses on one of the research themes presented in section 1.1. The title of the three papers in Part 2 is as follows: ‘Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway’; ‘Second homes and contested space issues in rural eastern-Norway’; ‘Maximum yield in marginal land? ‘Second homes and maximum yield in marginal land: the re-resourcing of rural land in Norway’. Finally, the thesis includes an appendix with a record of the interviews and documents that constitute the main empirical basis for the case studies conducted in Ringeby and Kragerø.

2. Recreational homes and rural restructuring

The recreational home phenomenon can be understood as both a kind of migration and a kind of tourism. One fundamental part of understanding how recreational homes are embedded within a broad societal context in Norway is to understand their role in rural restructuring. I therefore find it fruitful to use experiences and theories from both fields of research. In recent years the two fields have been increasingly understood in relation to each other, especially through discussions on mobility and multiple dwellings (cf. the discussion on the ‘mobility turn’ in section 1.4). In this section I first discuss how temporal migration related to second homes are part of, and have a role in, broader processes of rural restructuring and migration. Then I examine how users of recreational homes are informed both by their social representations of rurality and by their motives for using second homes. Both of these factors influence such users’ meanings and behaviour in rural areas, and may form the foundation for conflicts with other local groups (which have other representations and motivations). Whether or not such groups share the same spaces seems to be decisive regarding the degree which and what kind of conflicts arises in connection with recreational homes, and this issue is discussed in the final part of this section.

Migration and tourism have become increasingly important for rural areas in the Western world, and this has partly come as a result of changes within agriculture, where new regulations and technology have led to a decrease in employment. This does not mean that agriculture is no longer present or important in rural areas, but rather that it has lost its dominant position (Halfacree & Boyle 1998; Marsden 1998b; Holmes 2006). In the Western world many rural areas have experienced significant out-migration, particularly amongst both the younger and female populations. In some rural areas this has led to depopulation and ageing and has, together with the changes in the agricultural industry, led to social and economic problems (Swarbrooke 1999; Müller 2005). In other areas, especially in the rural hinterlands of urban areas, this out-migration has been counteracted by an increasing in-migration which has exceeded the out-migration. The in-migration in rural hinterlands constitutes part of the counterurbanisation tendency found in many developed countries during recent decades. It may consist of both permanent and temporal types of migration. Permanent migration is due to re-employment in rural areas, retirement, or commuting to urban centres, whereas temporal migration is due to the use of recreational homes on a seasonal and/or weekend basis. All of these types of in-migration are to a large degree based

on migrants' desire to satisfy lifestyle choices related to recreation and leisure amenity values, including amenity landscapes (Williams & Hall 2002).

In eastern Norway the production level and the quantity of farmland has roughly been constant or has even increased in recent decades, while employment in agriculture is continually decreasing, down to 2.9% of the total workforce at present (Statistics Norway 2008b; Statistisk sentralbyrå 2008). In Norway, in contrast to most Western countries, there has not been a tendency towards counterurbanisation, but rather only periods of slow urbanisation (Kontuly 1998), and the urbanisation trend is still quite strong (Statistics Norway 2007). As will be discussed in section 5, most of the rural areas within the recreational hinterland of Oslo have experienced a decline in their permanent population, but have simultaneously experienced an increase in temporal migration due to the use of recreational homes.

Recreational homes can also be seen as a type of tourism. Tourism, recreation and an agricultural industry in transition, as well as other changes in the use of the countryside such as environmental conservation and retailing, are seen as main factors contributing to changes in the economy, environment, land use, and political configuration in rural areas (Ilbery 1998; Woods 2005). Butler (1998) argues that changes in rural areas relating to leisure are among the most significant that have occurred in the past decades, and Woods (2005) states that tourism is the most visible component in the transition of rural areas from an economy based on production to an economy based on consumption. The demand for recreational use of rural areas is expected to increase further, and internationally an emerging pattern reveals that recreation and tourism have become the largest contributors to the economy in many rural areas (Butler 1998; Hall et al. 2003). It is not only the scope of recreation and tourism that have changed, but also the type of recreational activities that are practised; there has been a shift from 'traditional' activities, such as walking, picnicking, fishing, and cross-country skiing, to 'modern' activities such as alpine skiing, motor-sports, golf, and visiting amusement parks. While the traditional activities are more related to the intrinsic rural social and environmental setting, the modern activities are more related to urban existence and lifestyles. Consequently, the rural landscape and context are of less importance for many of the 'modern' activities. As the traditional activities in general are relatively passive and minor elements in the landscape, many of the modern activities require considerable amounts of land and investment. This has led to recreational activities becoming more significant agents in contributing to environmental, economic and social change in many rural areas (Butler 1998; Hall et al. 2003; Müller 2005). Due to these differences in impacts between traditional and

modern activities, Woods (2005) proposes distinguishing between activities that actively engage with the rural landscape, environment, culture, etc., and those that are located in rural areas but are not distinctively rural in character.

One central approach within rural geography is to base analyses of the impact of recreation and tourism on rural areas on the Marxist concept of 'commodity'. In such analyses it is proposed that rural landscapes and lifestyles have been 'packaged' to be consumed and sold through recreation and tourism (Woods 2005). The driving force behind this development is a process where market relationships have advanced into rural activities. The traditional use of rural land for agriculture, forestry, etc. (its 'production value') has decreased its relative value, while it has increased its value as a place to be consumed (its 'exchange value') (Cloke 1993; Murdoch et al. 2003; Woods 2005). Commodification has thus 'come to be understood as increasingly significant in understanding rurality, in, for example, the construction of rural "attractions" as commodities and commodity forms' (Crouch 2006, 355). In most discussions on commodification the focus has been on the non-material effects: the aesthetic and visual consumption by tourists and in-migrants, the use of rural idylls and images in order to sell rural places and other products, and on exploitation of rural resources by new groups of actors (Marsden 1998a; Woods 2005; Crouch 2006). I argue in section 5 and in the third paper that in eastern Norway these commodification processes have also had profound material effects through land use for recreational home areas.

Taken together, the abovementioned changes imply that rural areas have become more heterogeneous, both in terms of land use and social composition, and that primary production has lost its hegemony. Rural landscapes have become more complex, characterised by diverse land use and development pressure (Halfacree 1998; Hall et al. 2003). Recreation and leisure have come to dominate these rural changes in many regions. Due to the recreational and leisure activities, new concepts such as 'rural-recreational countryside' (Halseth 2004) and 'pleasure periphery' (Müller 2005) have been derived in attempts to describe rural areas as places for leisure consumption rather than primary production.

Some researchers (Holmes 2006; Perkins 2006) claim that much of the discussion on rural change, which is mainly based on British research and findings, have been too linear and dichotomous ('from production to consumption') and have given insufficient attention to the diversity and spatial heterogeneity that currently can be observed in other countries. Holmes (2006), in analysing rural change in Australia, uses the concept 'multifunctional rural transition' to describe a transition involving a re-ordering of what he claims to be three basic purposes and values underlying the use of rural space: production, consumption and

protection. The transition is at present driven by three forces: agricultural overcapacity, market-driven amenity oriented use (consumption by urban interests), and societal values concerned with sustainability and protection (Holmes 2006). The relative precedence of these purposes, values and forces will be dissimilar in different places, and will shape different modes of rural occupancies (i.e. the inhabiting and modification of an area by humans). In his analysis of the current situation in rural Australia, Holmes found seven distinct occupancy modes, of which five are of special interest for this study: (1) a productivist agricultural mode (production values dominant); (2) a rural amenity mode (consumption values dominant); (3) a peri-metropolitan mode (intense contests between production, consumption and protection values); and (4) conservation as well as (5) indigenous modes where protection values dominate.⁴

Another important contribution is from Perkins (2006) and his discussion on re-resourcing rural areas. He views commodification as an integral part of the processes leading to rural change, where commodification underpins the establishment of new rural geographies and ensembles of rural production and consumption, which he understands as re-resourced rural areas. He further emphasises that rural change and commodification are influenced strongly by local, regional and global regulatory regimes (resource and environmental management and planning instruments) in place at any one time, indicating, in line with Holmes (2006), that commodification values do not dominate all rural areas. How different values will influence rural areas is strongly dependent on social representations of rurality and the motivation of different groups to reside in rural areas. I will discuss these issues in the following.

2.1. 'Rural idyll' and motives for owning recreational homes

A main driving force behind changes in, and commodification of, rural societies and land use is the increased importance of external relationships and urban populations. Emerging environmental, consumer, developer, and urban interest groups are making claims as to how rural areas should be managed and used (Marsden 1999; Cheshire 2006; Cloke 2006). New rural land use, for instance, is to varying degrees affected by the actions of the rural population, but is home for and visited by diverse other 'external' populations (Halfacree 2006; Perkins 2006). These external impacts thus not only come 'at a distance' from developers, environmental groups, food consumers, etc., that are located outside the rural area

⁴ The remaining two are a marginalised agricultural mode and a small farm or pluriactivity mode (Holmes 2006).

in question, but also from the presence of tourists and recreational home owners. This does not denote that local actors no longer have a role to play (Fløysand & Jakobsen 2007), but rather that we need to conceive rural spaces as ensembles of local and non-local connections which together impact upon rural areas (Marsden 1998b). As mentioned, urban-based recreational home owners may be characterised as temporary in-migrants to rural areas, and in eastern Norway most recreational homes are used quite extensively throughout the year, mainly during weekends and holidays (Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005). The owners constitute a significant proportion of the influx into urban populations and also of the total population at certain times in some rural areas in eastern Norway.

How users of recreational homes may have an impact on the rural area where their recreational home is located can be discussed from two closely connected positions. The first is that users of recreational homes will, in line with other in-migrants, be informed and motivated by how they understand and perceive what rural areas 'are' or 'should' be, i.e. their social representation of rurality (cf. the discussion on rurality in section 1.5). The perception seen as most influential regarding in-migration to rural areas, is that of the rural as an 'idyll' (the so-called 'rural idyll') – a representation which strongly connotes anti-urbanism. This perception represents rural areas as beautiful, safe, harmonious, and peaceful, and as a place where everyone knows one another and takes care of each other, in contrast to a perception of urban areas representing instability, noise, insecurity, etc. (Halfacree 1998; Berg & Lysgård 2002; Murdoch et al. 2003; Gallent et al. 2005). Bell has analysed the concept rural idyll and its variations and finds that there are three ideal-typical idylls: the pastoral ('farmscapes', which reflect the agricultural landscape), the natural ('wildscapes', which reflect untamed nature – the wilderness) and the sporting ('adventurescapes', which construct the rural as an adventure playground). The mix of these ideal-types varies historically and geographically (Bell 2006). In addition and complementary to this 'rural idyll', to an increasingly degree rural landscapes are socially defined as premier arenas for tourism and leisure. Shaw & Williams (2002) mention three important perceptions of the rural as arenas for tourism and leisure, which have much in common with Bell's ideal types: as idylls offering escape from the pressures of modern urban society (much the same as the more general rural idyll discussed above), as wilderness that can rekindle the human spirit, or as large reserves of open areas suitable for space-intensive recreational purposes.

In Norway Berg & Lysgård (2002) found that representation of an 'idyll' was one of two dominant presentations of rurality in Norway.⁵ At first glance, this representation seems to resemble the British idyll-type representations of the rural, but Berg & Forsberg (2003) argue that due to their vital material and social differences the representations are in fact quite different. Due to the Norwegian historical landholding system, the statutory right of public access to the countryside, and the low population density (with vast areas of unpopulated land), Berg & Forsberg (2003) claim that rural areas in Norway are associated with democratic symbols. The countryside is a place for 'everybody'. In contrast, the countryside in Great Britain is to a much larger degree reserved for the wealthy few and controlled by private property holders. The democratic association has resulted in a high percentage of recreational home ownership among many strata of the population in Norway (Berg & Forsberg 2003), while in Britain such ownership is much less common (see section 1.2).

The importance of rural representations is that they can have a great influence in shaping the meanings, experiences and actions that people attach and conduct in a place (Holloway & Hubbard 2001). For instance, how rural areas are perceived may influence people's decisions concerning whether or not to migrate and also how people act in and towards rural areas, and they can influence attitudes about who and what does and does not belong in rural places (Berg & Lysgård 2002; Murdoch et al. 2003). As some rural areas have become more socially heterogeneous and complex, including as a result of in-migration, it means there are multiple representations overlapping and sharing the same physical spaces (Woods 2005). This leads to situations in rural places where, for example, there are different representations attached to the same place amongst long-term residents, newly arrived in-migrants and owners of recreational homes (Halfacree & Boyle 1998; Hall 2005).

The second position that is necessary to discuss is the motives recreational home owners have for using their recreational home, as this also has an influence on how recreational home owners behave in and value rural areas. Studies of motivations firstly emphasise that an 'escape' or inversion from (urban) work and everyday life, to 'get away from it all', is an important motivation for using recreational homes (Jaakson 1986; Hall & Müller 2004). This shows that recreational homes are important in their oppositional positioning to the urban, in the same way that such a positioning is important regarding the 'rural idyll' (as discussed above), and just as Cloke (2006) has argued concerning understandings of rurality in general. Secondly, studies show that recreation and leisure are a

⁵ The second is that of rural areas as traditional, backward, boring places with only one grocery store, post-office, etc.(Berg & Lysgård (2002).

main reason for using recreational homes, and that recreational homes are used as a basis for leisure activities in natural and rural surroundings (Jaakson 1986, Kaltenborn 1998; Hall & Müller 2004; Ericsson 2006). Thirdly, second home ownership has also been interpreted as a step 'back to nature', where some adapt the surroundings of their second home to fit their conception of nature, while others seek an idealised simple rustic lifestyle (Hall & Müller 2004). From this it is clear how such motivations are connected to representations of rurality, as the recreational home owners are both influenced by their understandings of rurality and their incentives for owning their recreational homes. One important distinction coming from this discussion is that while all in-migrants to rural areas will be informed by their rural representations, permanent migrants will, in line with most established residents, have their primary attention on work and 'everyday life', with its social and community aspects of life. This will separate them from owners of recreational homes where (as just discussed) leisure and recreation hold their primary attention (McIntyre et al. 2006a; Williams & Van Patten 2006). These differences may form a foundation for tension and conflict (Halfacree 1998; Hall 2005), as will be discussed in the next section.

2.2 Shared spaces and land use changes

Hall (2005) claims that second homes probably trigger contested space issues, and do so more than other forms of tourism, migration and settlements. Much attention has been given to the relationships between owners of recreational homes and other local groups, primarily local residents. A host of studies show that although many values and meanings concerning a place may be shared by different people, recreational home owners and local inhabitants often differ in their views on important issues (see for example Marcouiller et al. 1996; Williams & Hall 2002; Halseth 2004; McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006). One particularly contested issue seems to be the future development of rural places and landscapes, where recreational home owners disagree on development that might degrade what they take to be the essential character of the place or spoil their new-found rural lifestyle (Hall et al. 2003; Müller et al. 2004; McIntyre et al. 2006a). Instead, recreational home owners often seem to be conservative and less positive towards change, and tend to favour land use control and 'passive admiration' of the landscape, and are often less willing to give other people access to 'their' areas (Müller et al. 2004; Sandell 2006). This is in line with the more general 'not in my backyard' mentality that Halfacree (1998) states characterises many new rural residents, and that is demonstrated in their resistance to development in the countryside and their construction of exclusivity. It seems that owners of recreational homes in particular are negative to industrial development,

and that usually they are also interested in hindering further large-scale tourism development (Müller et al. 2004). Others have emphasised that rather the sharpest contrast in interests and hence potential basis for conflicts is between recreational home owners and entrepreneurs wishing to profit from tourism developments in a given area. Hall (2005) states that the interests of entrepreneurs who strive for financial return from tourism development, usually through intensifying use of properties, often conflict with those of the residents (including owners of recreational homes) who use the place in question for different needs and purposes. Similarly, Williams & Van Patten (2006) found that there can be contradictions between local entrepreneurs that wish to put *their* landscape and culture up for sale (what they perceive as the true character of the place), and recreational home owners who are 'seeking out the seeming authenticity of a second home in a rural idyll' (Willimans & Van Patten 2006, 41–42).

Many of the conflicts and tensions described here seem to have their basis in a situation where different groups of people and actors share the same space, but use it for different purposes and have different aspirations regarding how it should be developed. A characteristic of Norwegian recreational homes is, however, that they are located together with other recreational homes in designated areas, which in most instances are separated from other rural settlements. Thus, for the most part they do not share space with other groups, at least not the space in the immediate surroundings to their recreational homes (as will be illustrated and more thoroughly discussed in section 5.2). Gallent et al. (2003; 2005) and Gallent & Twedwr-Jones (2000) have been concerned with the importance of shared spaces regarding the potential impacts of recreational homes. They focus on the fact that potential impacts are dependent on whether the demands of both recreational home owners and locals are targeted against the same housing stock. They state that in, for example, Scandinavia, France and Spain many negative impacts are avoided because these countries have more available rural land where purpose-built recreational homes can be built and hence the demand is not targeted against the same housing stock. This is in contrast to the situation in Britain, where most recreational homes are converted permanent homes and are located within existing rural settlements (Gallent et al. 2005). In an analysis of recreational homes in Canada, Halseth (2004) takes a different approach, emphasising how the spatial separation between recreational home areas and the 'farming and rural-residential landscape' in Canada contributes to push recreational home landscapes towards increasingly elite landscapes. Elite landscapes are constructed as landscapes of leisure with a clear socio-economic differentiation between recreational home owners and rural residents, and with an upward pressure on

recreational property prices this spatial separation acts to increase the sense of separateness and exclusiveness of Canadian recreational home areas. Halseth (2004) does not directly discuss how the spatial separation influences the potential impacts of recreational homes. Rather, he emphasises how the conversion of recreational homes into all-year residences is affecting the local demographic, social and political composition, and that there are indications that conflicts are now intimately bound up with the pressures caused by such conversions. Further, he states that recreational home associations increasingly participate in local political debates in order to control recreational home areas (Halseth 2004).

Most new recreational homes in Norway in recent years have been built in designated areas, either within existing recreational homes areas (resulting in a denser location pattern), or on land that previously has not been used for recreational homes (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). Land use changes are thus an important issue regarding recreational home developments in Norway, and this study will hopefully support the call from Mather et al. (2006) for the need for more attention towards the implications of land use on the emergence of the countryside as a site of consumption. In his discussion on how commodification is an integral part of re-resourcing of rural areas, Perkins (2006) pays attention to changes in land use. He discusses how re-resourcing through new forms of commodities in some cases reproduces (economically, social, political, etc.) established rural spaces, and in some cases produces *new* rural spaces. Such new spaces comprise new resource bases, changed landscapes, and new meanings and practices relating to rural areas. He claims that new recreational commodities often are based on locations not previously commercialised but which are important for recreation, or they may not have been recreational sites at all, but ‘as the commodification process progresses, new sites are drawn into the commercial embrace’ (Perkins 2006, 252). This is surely a relevant observation regarding new recreational home developments in Norway, and this is discussed in section 5, and in the third paper in part 2. In line with other changes in rural areas, changes in land use will have consequences for local configurations of power. In general, rural development will be beneficial for some groups, while others will experience disadvantages. Experience further shows that there may be shifts in the distribution of power resources, as new actors appear in rural areas, and as new alliances arise between actors (Goverde et al. 2004). As discussed in section 2.1, a basic impetus behind rural change is the increased importance, and thus power, of external actors and populations when making claims as to how rural areas should develop.

This section has shown how recreational homes are part of broader processes connected to rural restructuring. The use of recreational homes is, however, also connected to

individuals' and households' mobility and choice of dwelling lifestyles, and this in turn influences how we may understand rural places. This is another way in which recreational homes are embedded within the societal context, and will be discussed in the next section.

3. Mobility, multiple houses and places

Recreational homes are increasingly seen in the context of mobility, at the intersection between migration and tourism (Hall et al. 2009). Increased use of recreational homes is one result of a more mobile society, and Urry (2000; 2007) even claims that mobility is at the centre of modern life and that all social entities presuppose many different forms of actual and potential movement. This includes contemporary forms of dwelling which almost always involve diverse forms of mobility (Urry 2000). When Williams & Hall (2002) discuss the increase in mobile society they explain it by the following four factors (among other factors): 1) demographic and social changes (including an ageing population that experiences long periods of post working life with the potential for various forms of mobility); 2) a substantial increase in the disposable income available for consumption goals (including leisure and tourism) in the developed countries; 3) political changes with the reduction of barriers to travel in large parts of the world; and 4) changes in transport and forms of communication. As regards the latter, Halls & Williams state that the time and cost barriers to mobility have been lowered. In line with this, Urry (2007) states that the development of the ‘car-system’, is one of several ‘mobility-systems’ that enables the movement of people, ideas and information. Regarding recreational homes, the combined effect of people having more leisure time as well as paid holidays, and fewer barriers to mobility (including the development of the ‘car-system’), has increased the scope for travel, tourism and migration. In particular, these changes enable temporary migration and mobile lifestyles (where the use of recreational homes may be part of such lifestyles). The growth in temporary mobility means that many people occupy a ‘network of places’ rather than one homeplace (Williams & Hall 2002). Furthermore, Massey (2005) claims that as one travels one reinserts oneself in the places to which one relates. The mobility means that individuals belong to more than one community, and that the general condition for many people is to make use of complex activity spaces where living, work, leisure activities, and social relations occur in different places (Gorton et al. 1998; Aronsson 2004). In this way, mobility can be seen as a ‘means to combine goals in space’ (Hooimeijer & van der Knaap 1994, quoted in Williams and Hall 2002, 6), whereby different places are used for different purposes.

An increasingly dominant form of mobility relates to the use of recreational homes (Hall & Müller 2004), which can be seen as one type of dwelling which, in line with Urry’s (2000) findings, presupposes movement. The main purpose of this type of dwelling in Norway is for recreation and leisure in natural surroundings in rural areas, as discussed in section 2. This differs from the nature of most owners’ ‘first home’, which mainly is located

in an urban area, where work and everyday life are the main activities. To combine these goals in different places presupposes recurrent movements between the urban and the rural. This use of recreational homes to enable temporary migration and peripatetic lifestyles further means, according to Hall & Müller (2004), that it can be predicted that many people have more than one place that can be called a home. This reasoning is supported by more general discussions on the concept of home within geography. To Blunt & Dowling (2006), home comprises two key elements: 1) home is a place in which one lives, and 2) home is also an idea and an imaginary place that is imbued with feelings. In this way, people's relation to their home contributes to construct and connect places. This understanding further implies that home is much more than a house. A house is a component of a home, but it is not necessarily nor automatically a home (Blunt & Dowling 2006). This argument is in line with Mallett (2004), who states that house and home are often conflated, both in popular media and by researchers. She claims that home is not necessarily confined to one house or place, but rather locates lived time and space. It could thus be argued that this implies that many people's homes are not confined just to one place or house. Thus, home cannot be confined geographically to only the physical structure of one house. In line with this, Holloway & Hubbard (2001) state that the notion of home is not geographically fixed, as movement away from home can result in an expansion of what is considered as 'home'. Seamon (1979, referred to in Holloway & Hubbard 2001) further claims that 'at homeness' tends to be associated with routine, regularity and everyday. Also, Blunt & Dowling (2006, 23) states that 'home is lived; what home means and how it is materially manifest are continually created and recreated through everyday practices'.

Clearly, the notion of home is related to both place and mobility. However, none of the general discussions on home mentioned above brings up the issue of circulation between multiple homes in connection with recreation and second homes. However, I would argue that this general discussion on home is highly relevant for my discussion on recreational homes, for two main reasons. First, how owners of recreational homes contribute to construct places through their motivations and social representations of places (discussed in section 2), and how they connect places through movements (recreational commuting) between the urban and the rural, are main themes throughout this thesis. Secondly, due to the regularity and scope of use of many recreational homes in Norway, second homes are an integral part of the routine and everyday practices of second home owners and could thus be seen as part of, and an extension of, such households' homes. Perkins & Thorns (2006) stress a similar point when they state that rather than seeing primary and secondary homes as separate we need to see

them as linked spaces that together constitute a 'home'. Further, Tuulentie (2007) states that 'home' should be conceptualised as something that is created in movements and can appear in several locations. Instead of one home, many people have many locations where they belong and feel 'at home', some of which are concretised in the use of recreational homes. Such an understanding of home is supported by Aronsson (2004), who claims that owners of recreational homes are attached to the place where they have their recreational home, implying that it is common in highly mobile societies to have roots in different places.

Increased mobility means in general that all places (including urban and rural) are increasingly related by myriads of economic, social and political flows and processes (Stenbacka 2001; Hubbard et al. 2002; Murdoch et al. 2003). As many people have their homes located in both urban and rural places, the use of recreational homes can be seen as one element in the flows that link these places. In line with this, Halfacree⁶ states that recreational homes can be seen as a vital component of the ever changing urban-rural relationships. This component creates a geographical division in many rural areas where recreation has come to dominate in a division of places of work and places of recreation. This is leading to a relationship between functionally contrasting areas. In section 2, I discussed how such flows and processes can have an impact on rural areas and how they are part of wider processes of rural restructuring. Recreational homes might, however, also have impacts on urban areas, and the issue that has been most discussed concerns processes of urban growth. Lundgren (1974) has shown how former recreational home areas have been absorbed and incorporated into cities, and that new recreational home areas have been 'pushed' further out in the recreational hinterland as a consequence of urban growth. Further, Müller & Marjavaara (2004) state that recreational homes can play a twofold role in the process of urban growth. First, when recreational homes are converted to permanent homes, as seen in the decreasing number of recreational homes in the outskirts of several Swedish cities, this leads to urban growth in such areas. Second, recreational homes in new areas around a growing city contribute to the diffusion of the urban space, which in turn leads to a temporary redistribution of part of the city's population. In Norway the only research to date focusing directly on recreational homes and urban growth was published in the later 1960s by Hansen (Hansen 1969). Based on observations from a case study of Eidanger, near the town of Porsgrunn, he showed that as Porsgrunn grew, fewer and fewer second homes were located

⁶ K. Halfacree, K. 'New urban/rural relationships: urban sprawl, second homes and counterurbanization'. Paper for the First International Seasonal Homes & Amenity Migration Workshop, at the Centre for Rural Research, Trondheim, 2008.

within Eidanger, whereas increasing numbers were located farther away from the town. Hansen explains the transition as partly resulting from the transformation of the second homes into permanent homes, and partly due to the area becoming less attractive as a place for recreation as a result of the increased levels of noise, traffic and industry, and less land available for outdoor recreation as a consequence of a higher density of permanent homes in the area. The question of how recreational homes and urban growth are connected in the city of Oslo is discussed in section 5 and in the paper titled ‘Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway’.

Underlying this discussion is a general understanding of places as open, relational and internally multiple. This is in sharp contrast to the opposite understanding of places as settled and pre-given fixed areas on maps where people are gathered (Hubbard et al. 2002; Massey 2005). Places are rather open, woven together out of simultaneously ongoing processes of changes in a multitude of phenomena as a process of ‘unfinished business’. Each place is a particular constellation of different social, political and economic contexts and relations that give rise to a myriad of different places (Hubbard et al. 2002; Massey 2005). Places are integrations of such processes in space and time ‘as *spatio-temporal events*’ (Massey 2005, 130). Further, places are internally multiple, which implies that a constellation, or conjunctures, of processes come together in the event of a place. A myriad of parallel social and natural processes are ‘thrown’ together in a constellation of processes, in a ‘throwntogetherness’ of place, to use Massey’s words. This means the coming together of the previously unrelated, in which ‘the chance of space may set us down next to the unexpected neighbour’ (Massey 2005, 151). Such an understanding of place fits well with the discussion on rural representations in section 2.1., stating that rural change means that there are multiple representations overlapping and sharing the same physical space (Woods 2005). This shows that the same place will be experienced and understood differently by different people (Hubbard et al. 2002), and their relation to the place will be based on different meanings and aspects of the place (McIntyre et al. 2006a). A consequence of the rural restructuring that has taken place during the last decades is, according to Murdoch et al. (2003), that many groups make claims on rural space. However, there is no single view able to encompass the whole rural sphere (cf. the discussion on a multifunctional rural transition in section 2).

When it comes to recreational homes, in general it seems that rural hinterland of urban areas within the weekend recreation zones and the most amenity-rich areas often are highly affected by the changes that are related to in-migration and the growing demand from recreation and tourism (Hall 2005; McIntyre et al. 2006a). Here the perceptions of tourists,

part-time and seasonal residents (including second home owners), new arrivals, and long-term residents meet (McIntyre et al. 2006a) and share the same space, in areas that already might be rather densely populated and have a shortage of surplus land, where the demand is targeted at the same housing stock and where there might be few available areas for new second homes (Gallent et al. 2005). On the other side of the 'rural continuum' there are more peripheral rural areas with low population density. Despite the fact that many of these areas also are used as arenas for recreation and tourism, they generally experience a decline in the permanent population and employment, and experience other socio-economic problems. This decline might free up dwellings that can be sold as second homes, and there might be available land for new purpose-built second homes (Gallent et al. 2005; Marjavaara 2008). Nevertheless, although population density might be low in some of these areas, tourism and recreation may have to compete over land-use with other activities, such as forestry, environmental conservation, mineral and water extraction, etc. (Wall & Mathieson 2006).

The issue of mobility, home and places with regards to eastern Norway will be discussed in section 5. Urban growth and second homes is the theme for paper 1 (*'Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway'*), while competition and conflicts over land use is the main theme in paper 2 (*'Second homes and contested space issues in rural eastern-Norway'*) and also an important issue in paper three (*'Second homes and maximum yield in marginal land: the re-resourcing of rural land in Norway'*). As mentioned in the introduction, all themes are also discussed as a whole in this comprehensive summary (in section 5).

4. Methodology

In planning and performing the study there was continuous consideration of breadth versus depth concerning the research questions and methods. Early in the research process, and due to a wish to emphasise the high diversity of the second home phenomenon in Norway, I decided to give priority to quite broad research questions and geographical contexts. This choice was governed also by the aims of the larger research project of which this PhD study is a part (see the Preface). The choice spurred the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods in the study. I believe that the advantage of this broad approach is that the study will contribute to an increased understanding of the complexities and heterogeneity of the recreational home phenomenon in eastern Norway, and that it will contribute to a fuller understanding of the general aim of the study. The quantitative data from the Norwegian Property Register, which includes information on the location and owners of all second homes in Norway, gives possibilities for quite unique descriptions and analyses (to my knowledge only Sweden has a register with similar qualities), and provides a fundament for the qualitative methods and discussions in this thesis.

The other main consideration in the early phases of the research was the choice of analytical perspective on the analysis. This was an important decision as different perspectives give different results and are appropriate for different kinds of research questions (Widerberg 2002). Due to the breadth of the research questions and because I wanted to focus on roles and relations between actors in the qualitative part of the study, I chose what Widerberg (2002) calls a thematic perspective in the analysis. In this perspective the data are sorted and interpreted along key themes and understood as messages, which then can be used to discuss and develop theories. Further, it is not individuals that are in focus in the study, but rather it is their experiences and understandings as actors connected to the second home phenomenon, and as 'carriers' of social patterns, that I wish to examine and understand. This is in line with Winchester (2005) and Alvesson & Kärreman (2007) who state that interviews can not only reveal a person's meanings but also expose underlying social structures, and that document analyses have commonly been employed to expose and analyse such structures. This analytical perspective is the reason why I chose to focus on actors (developers, local authorities, second home owners, etc.) and not on individuals. It is further the reason why the discussions in the papers and in this comprehensive summary are presented and based almost entirely only on my own interpretations of the data, and little emphasis is placed on quotations from individual persons. Alternatively, a discursive perspective could have been employed. When using a discursive perspective the focus is on understanding the text itself (including

transcripts of interviews), and the analysis is based upon the assumption that the text can contribute to change people's actions, social relations and the material world (Widerberg 2002). Further, discourses can be described as specific ways to present and understand social reality. In discourse analysis the text is interpreted in relation to discourses that can be linked to the phenomena under study (Fairclough 2003). Such a discursive perspective certainly could have been a possible alternative for a study of recreational homes, where for example interviews and documents could have been interpreted with reference to the dominant national discourse focusing on the environmental problems relating to the recreational home phenomenon in Norway. It would, however, have necessitated more in-depth study, a focus on individuals, and a focus on fewer and other research questions than prioritised in this study.

As this discussion has revealed, there is no 'recipe' for research design, as Valentine has stated, but rather 'the choice of research methods usually flows conceptually and logically from the research questions' (Valentine 2001, 43). This is important as all researchers should have a rationale for their choice of method. However, it is important to note, in common with Valentine (2001) and Bradshaw & Stratford (2005) (and as I have experienced from this study), that the stages in a qualitative research process are not linear, but rather can overlap and are interlinked. Thus, decisions regarding research questions and methods are often made simultaneously or in conjunction with one another. In the study there was a continuous interaction between analysing the data and refining the research questions (though not the aim of the research), and between the interpretations and theoretical perspectives used in the discussion of the empirical findings. Further, as for example Bradshaw & Stratford (2005) and Widerberg (2002) state, there is no single correct approach that can be prescribed for qualitative research. Rather, it can be performed in multiple ways. I also considered using focus groups and observations (of public meetings regarding ongoing planning processes) to address the same themes and questions. Such a strategy probably could have given results that would have contributed to a fuller understanding of the research questions, but when prioritising I found that document studies and individual interviews would be most valuable (as will be explained later in this section).

As a result of the general considerations discussed above, the study was based mainly on three different sources of data: a database containing a list of all recreational homes in Norway (the Norwegian Property Register), and case-studies in two municipalities, comprising document studies and interviews. In addition, a few simple analyses of statistics relating to populations and employment, and unsystematic observations of parts of the case-

study municipalities formed a part, albeit minor, of the empirical basis. The data collected (or rather ‘constructed’ (Cloke et al. 2004)) from the Norwegian Property Register, Statistics Norway and the documents are ‘preconstructed’, which means that they have not been generated by the researcher but by elsewhere mainly for other purposes (Cloke et al. 2004). They are constructed in specific contexts, which influence their character and content and which are important to know as well as possible in order to be able to assess what the sources can and cannot inform (Cloke et al. 2004; Roche 2005). In contrast, the interviews are ‘self-constructed data’ (Cloke et al. 2004), as they resulted from my fieldwork.

The three papers in part 2 of this thesis address different questions and are thus based on different parts of the methods or combinations of them: The paper ‘Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway’ is mainly based on data from the Norwegian Property Register. The paper ‘Second homes and maximum yield in marginal land: the re-resourcing of rural land in Norway’ is mainly based on personal interviews and textual analysis. Lastly, the paper titled ‘Second homes and contested space issues in rural eastern-Norway’ is based on a fairly balanced use of all the empirical material in the study.

4.1 Triangulation

The use of different methods and combining or mixing them as I have done in this study is known as triangulation (e.g. Sohlberg & Sohlberg 2001; Valentine 2001; Winchester 2005). Generally, triangulation is chosen to enrich a study by analysing the research questions from different perspectives and thereby make it comparatively more comprehensive and of a higher quality (Sohlberg & Sohlberg 2001; Widerberg 2002). Valentine (2001) states that it is possible and often desirable to mix methods, but that one should be aware that the data derived from the different methods do not always reinforce data derived by using other methods, but rather may result in contradictory findings. Further, the different data cannot simply be aggregated in order to arrive at an overall ‘truth’, as they can only be understood in relation to the purpose of each method (Silverman 2005; Winchester 2005).

In this study the different methods mainly contribute to answering different research questions and supplement one another, and in combination I think they lead a broader and more reliable answer to the overall questions addressed in this study, mainly as follows. In the first paper, a quantitative method is used to describe the location pattern of recreational homes with owners in Oslo, and then results from other studies are used to provide explanations and to understand the observed pattern. In the two other papers, document studies and interviews are used in combination, together with smaller contributions from other data sources. The

document studies and interviews mostly reinforce each other as the interviews were mainly with persons who had been involved in producing the documents analysed. Hence, the information gained from the interviews supplements the documentary evidence, while the messages and arguments found in the documents have been deepened, clarified or discussed. Through these combinations the methods have reinforced each other, but in no way do they seek the whole 'truth'. A fundamental basis for combining methods is that the methods chosen are used within a conscious epistemological and ontological approach to science, and that the data are interpreted within this approach (Kitchin & Tate 2000). If it is believed, as I do, that all research methods within social sciences are subjective and value-laden, then 'the apparent gap between the two groups of methods is dramatically reduced' (Winchester 2005, 11). Therefore, it can be stated, as Widerberg (2002) does, that all quantitative research is not necessarily positivistic, and the use of qualitative methods is not a guarantee that the research approach is qualitative. As indicated above, this study is based on an interpretative (qualitative) approach to the world and the knowledge we can have about it, and hence the quantitative data in the study are used within this overall approach.

4.2 Data sources and cases

In this section I will discuss the three data sources used in this study (the Norwegian Property Register, documents, and interviews), and why Ringebu and Kragerø were chosen as cases.

4.2.1 Norwegian Property Register

The Norwegian Property Register holds information on all buildings and properties in Norway (including recreational home buildings and properties, which are recorded as separate categories in the register). In this study, these data are used in a Geographical Information System (GIS) (ArcView), and in common with most data used in a GIS they are comprised of two elements, one spatial (or locational) element and one attribute (or non-spatial) element (Kitchin & Tate 2000). The spatial element in the Norwegian Property Register is the coordinates of all buildings and properties, which means that they can be mapped and analysed in a GIS. The most relevant attribute data in the register are information on the date of construction, size, and standard of buildings, and the address of the properties' owners. It is the only data source in Norway to provide such information. A quite detailed discussion on the use of this register is given in the paper 'Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway' and will not be repeated here. What I will emphasise here is that it was necessary to conduct such a mapping and a simple frequency distribution (of the number of second homes

in 5 km spans from Oslo city) in order to make it possible to discuss second homes and urban growth in relation to the two conceptual models that constitute the theoretical basis for this part of the study. A possible improvement regarding these data would be a more sophisticated technique to measure actual travel distances instead of distances measured in straight lines (Euclidian distance), as I have done in this study. Further, a central delimitation of the Property Register as a source is that it only contains data on recreational homes located in Norway, and consequently recreational homes in Sweden located within the recreational hinterland of Oslo are excluded. This and other delimitations are more thoroughly discussed at the end of section 4.

4.2.2 Document studies

From earlier experiences I had expected that planning documents (not only the plans, but all documents relating to the planning process) could be a valuable point of departure and source of data for several of the research questions relating to both recreational homes and conflicts, and the use of rural land for second home developments (section 1.1). This proved to be a good judgement, and especially statements from different actors regarding planning proposals have proved valuable as a source of knowledge concerning conflicts, interests, which actors are involved, etc. According to Winchester (2005), documents are most commonly employed to throw light upon processes that underpin social structures. This is also the case for this study, as the documents proved to be useful in elucidating the social processes concerning second homes in the study municipalities, and also relating to regional and national processes through the engagement of authorities from these geographical levels in the planning processes. Especially valuable in this respect is that several of the documents refer to regional and national policy and to experiences from other parts of the county and also the country as a whole, and thus provide knowledge that is relevant regarding a broader range of places than limited to the two cases of Ringebu and Kragerø.

The sequence of data collection and the so-called 'snowball' method can be significant for a study's results (Widerberg 2002; Bradshaw & Stratford 2005). The method proved to be essential for this study, as the documents which I read identified other relevant documents, and also the people that I interviewed identified others who proved interesting to interview. The qualitative studies in Ringebu and Kragerø started with a meeting with the planning manager (Kragerø) and mayor (Ringebu) of the respective municipalities. These meetings had several purposes: to inform about the study, to gain access to archives (which are public but one needs help to find relevant documents), and to obtain recommendations as to relevant

planning processes and documents to study and persons to interview. Prior to the meeting I had become as well informed about the situation in the municipalities as possible through media and documents accessible on the Internet. In the next step I collected and read documents from the two municipalities' archives. Based on the data collected thus far I then chose who to interview initially.

The documents I collected were mostly from the archives (in paper format) in the two municipalities, and some of the newer ones were also electronically available from the municipalities' Internet sites. The documents are, as mentioned, all public and for the most part readily accessible. The only problem was that in some instances it was difficult to find documents about planning processes dating from the late 1980s and early 1990s. For Ringebu, the data collection resulted in analysis of documents connected to 15 planning processes and a few other relevant documents, while for Kragerø the documents related to 10 planning processes, together a few other relevant documents. Altogether, this involved reading and evaluation of hundreds of documents, as there are tens of documents related to each of the 25 planning processes in total (although many are short and limited to one page). A more detailed outline of the data sources is given in Appendix 1.

When using this type of preconstructed documents as a data source it is, as mentioned, important to try to understand as fully as possible the purpose of the document and the context within which it is produced. For instance, they cannot be treated as transparent representations of, for example, a planning process (Silverman 2005). The documents I studied were mostly connected to public planning processes (land zoning), but had different producers, namely governments (the planning documents in text and maps produced by the municipalities), and a wide range of other actors, in the form of other governments, individuals, investors, advisors, organisations of different kind, etc., who had made proposals and comments to the plans. Despite the great variation in producers, all of the documents had been produced for the particular purpose of official and public planning processes, and should thus be regarded as 'official data'. For my study it was especially important to understand the documents within the local context and the dominant discourses that characterise land use planning processes. There are some arguments (for example, related to environment) that are perceived as more legitimate by authorities and that are relevant due to laws and regulations, than arguments only for protecting the 'exclusive' 'rural idyll' (i.e. the 'not in my backyard' type of argument). To analyse the documents, I first read and reviewed those I had collected, which in some cases involved returning to the archives in order to find additional documents. On the basis of this reading, and of the theory and research questions, I selected themes to use for

sorting and categorising the data. This is a necessary procedure in order to handle the analysis of such a large body of the data (Cope 2005). In practice, I made a Table for each of the 25 planning processes with the selected themes as headings, and then filled in the Tables with the relevant information from the documents.

4.2.3 Interviews

Analysis of the documents alone would not have been enough to provide satisfactory answers to my research questions. The documents had been written as part of public planning processes and their content is thus restricted to what the producers of the documents wanted to be made public. They were directed towards specific planning processes, and were informed by the dominating planning discourses. I judged personal interviews to be the best way to deepen and complement the information gained from the documents, as the interviews would be with persons that in different ways had been involved in writing the documents. Through the interviews I wanted to secure more unrestricted and elucidated access to the authors' experiences and meanings, and to discuss experiences not only from specific planning processes, but also from their broader engagement in recreational homes in general. Further, I wanted to see whether any unanticipated themes arised, as one of the advantages of personal interviews is that they may reveal such themes (Valentine 2001). The main purpose of the interviews was thus to fill a gap in the knowledge that the documents were unable to bridge, which is one of the main reasons for performing interviews (Dunn 2005). This required the use of so-called semi-structured interviews, which is a suitable method when interviews are directed at key informants for the purpose of gaining a deeper and more detailed appreciation of complex issues (Dunn 2005), as was the case in my study.

As follows from this discussion, and as already mentioned, I wanted to interview persons who represented the different actors involved in planning processes concerning recreational homes in the respective municipalities. Due to the sequence of the data collection I was quite well informed, which increased the certainty as to who I wanted to interview. I decided to interview persons who represented the following: local authorities (the municipalities); county governors; landowners/developers/entrepreneurs; planning consultants (who work on behalf of landowners and/or developers); and interest organisations for owners of recreational homes (which also owned recreational homes themselves). I prepared a list of possible persons based on the documents and initial meetings, and then contacted them by telephone. Further, by using the 'snowball' method, some of the persons I interviewed

identified other relevant persons. This resulted in ten interviews in Ringebu and eight in Kragerø.

The interviews had some form of predetermined order (through an interview guide), but with flexibility in the way issues were addressed by the informant. This proved to be important as in some of the interviews unanticipated themes emerged that I had not been aware of in advance. One example is information on how planning processes were arranged in a way that limited the possible involvement of owners of recreational homes in important decisions. The interview guide was not the same for all interviewees, but was adapted to the type of actor interviewed and to in which way the person in question had been involved in the planning process (based on my analysis of the planning documents). The length of the interviews varied between *c.*45 minutes and *c.*1½ hours. Two of the interviews in Ringebu had to be conducted by telephone and were substantially shorter than the personal interviews (*c.*10–15 minutes). All of the personal interviews were taped on an audio recorder, and these recordings were used to transcribe the interviews. Immediately after each interview, and inspired by Widerberg (2002), I wrote a reflection of the interview, especially on how it could be interpreted in relation to other interviews and to theories. These summaries proved to be useful for the analysis and writing processes.

Most of the interviews contributed valuable additional information and understanding, and thus fulfilled their purpose. An important result, that had not been anticipated initially, was that during the interviews with staff from the county municipalities, the regional state and with planning consultants, we also discussed their experiences not only from Ringebu and Kragerø, but also from their broader engagement with second homes in a number of municipalities and counties, primarily in other parts of eastern Norway. However, two of the interviews made very small contributions, as the interviewees did not want to explain particularly more than was already stated in the documents under discussion. Despite the fact that at the start of the interviews I had emphasised that the research was not connected with local planning processes, I believe they were concerned about revealing their identity as they viewed their interviews as political action directed at the processes. The number of interviews was also a challenge due to the limited time I had for performing them and staying in the respective municipalities. Given that I wanted to cover five different kinds of actors, more interviews would have strengthened the study by generating views from even more perspectives. Despite these limitations the interviews generally served to increase the knowledge relating to the research questions substantially.

Focus group discussions were, as mentioned, also considered as a possible method, as they enable a researcher to explore how meanings and experiences are negotiated and contested between participants (Valentine 2001). While such discussions undoubtedly could have been valuable for my study, this probably would have been to a limited degree as the documents and personal interviews gave quite good insights into negotiations and disputes between the actors (although I am aware that discussions held in the same room could have provided other and additional information). However, although focus groups were not prioritised, a seminar and an excursion in Kvitfjell, Ringebu, was arranged with participant developers, landowners and researchers (ten persons in total). This had some elements of a focus group as some experiences were discussed between the participants, but mostly it was a case of more ‘polite’ dialogue with exchanges of experience and knowledge, and mostly from the developers to the researchers. The seminar had much in common with what Forsberg et al. (2006) have called ‘dialogue-seminars’.

The transcripts of the interviews were also sorted by themes, based on theories, the document study and on the interviews themselves. As they were quite few I did not sort them in Tables, as done with the documents. Instead, I took one print of all interviews for each theme and then marked the relevant parts of the interview. Further, I think it was useful to read through each of the interviews several times and I tried to understand each ‘theme’ within the context of the whole interview, and to the documents studied. As Alvesson & Svenningsson (2003) state, this is a way of reading with a circular movement between the parts (answers to each question) and the whole (the whole interview), where the text as a totality is borne in mind. In line with the thematic perspective of this study the documents and interviews were sorted in the way described here and the text was understood as ‘messages’. Such messages can either be obvious or explicitly stated (‘descriptive codes’), or they can be used to dig deeper into the processes and contexts of the texts (‘analytic codes’) (Cope 2005). This way of analysing texts should not be confused with ‘content analysis’, where the number of times certain terms and phrases appear in a text are counted; this is essentially a quantitative technique (Cope 2005), that has little in common with the analysis in this study.

4.2.4 Selection of cases

As municipalities are responsible for land use planning in Norway, it was therefore necessary to place the study of documents and the interviews on the municipality level. However, there are 137 municipalities in eastern Norway, but as the research questions called for quite detailed studies of planning processes and connected discussions, and also detailed knowledge

of the local context, as this could have vital importance for these processes, it was clear from the outset that just a few cases could be selected. Making such a selection requires a range of strategic, methodological and pragmatic considerations, and various strategies can be combined. Flyvbjerg (2001) divides selection strategies in two main categories: 1) random selection, where the goal is to avoid biases in the sample and to allow for generalisations, and 2) information-oriented selection, where the goal is to maximise the utility of information from a few cases, which are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content. Given the aim of this study, it was obvious that I had to perform an information-oriented selection.

A central decision was whether the study should be narrowed to focusing on one 'type' of geographical context, for example only on municipalities in the mountain areas, or have a broader perspective focusing on the differences between different contexts. The latter strategy was chosen due to a wish to understand and learn about both a mountain and a coastal situation, and to learn some more about the heterogeneity of the recreational home phenomenon in eastern Norway, as discussed at the beginning of this section. According to Flyvbjerg (2001) this is a 'maximum variation' strategy, used in order to obtain information about the significance of various locations for case processes and outcomes. Comparison of the cases is not in focus, but rather this strategy is used to understand the significance of various locations for the themes and research questions under study. Initially, I planned to select four municipalities, two in the mountains and two along the coast, but after I had undertaken document collection and analyses and conducted the interviews in Ringebu the decision was made to have only two cases. To secure the necessary depth and detail for the study was very time consuming, and the limited time of the study did not allow for more cases. To select the two cases, two criteria were defined for the selection (criterion sampling, according to Bradshaw & Stratford 2005): 1) there had to be a significant number of recreational homes in the municipality (so that there was a phenomenon to study), and 2) not too many years could have elapsed since planning processes and development of new recreational home areas had taken place in the municipality. The latter criterion was important as I wanted to interview people who had been involved in such processes, and it was important that they remembered as much as possible of their involvement. Based on these strategies it was decided to select a few municipalities in the mountain areas and a few along the coast (due to highly different geographical contexts and that recreational homes have constituted an important phenomenon in several municipalities in these areas, especially in recent years).

Ringebu and Kragerø were chosen finally (Figure 1.1), due to a wish to have a balance between recreational homes as an important local issue (which normally will activate more actors and mechanisms in the situation under study (Flyvbjerg 2001)), and a wish that they should be 'typical' of their respective geographical context ('typical case sampling', according to Bradshaw & Stratford 2005). In other words, they could not have been so special that it would have been unlikely that the results of the study could be relevant also for other places. I knew from earlier research and reports in the media that Ringebu and Kragerø had ongoing planning processes that were seen as important and discussed locally, and it was against this background that they were finally chosen.

4.3 Reflection

In a reflection of the choices concerning methodology in this study and what information it has resulted in, I want to address two important limitations. First, as mentioned before, not all options that can fill the same purpose as a recreational home are included in the study.

Caravans and boats are likely to be the most important in this respect, and they probably make household dwellings even more mobile than recreational homes. Further, apartment buildings with several apartments are registered as just one recreational home in the Norwegian Property Register for 2004 (this praxis changed from 2008). This implies that the number of recreational homes is underestimated. Evidence from Ringebu and Kragerø and also reports in the media indicate that the building of apartments is growing more than detached recreational homes in eastern Norway, implying also that the growth in recreational homes is underestimated, especially in tourist resorts. These limitations imply that the trend of high numbers of, and growth in, recreational homes is underestimated in this study but not the character of the trend (and are thus not decisive for the study). A further limitation is (as already mentioned) that the recreational hinterland of Oslo comprises parts of Sweden (Figure 1.1) where Norwegians own a significant number of second homes, on the coast and in the lowland area close to the border. The actual numbers of recreational homes within the recreational hinterland of Oslo that are located along the coast and in the lowland are thus somewhat higher than the figures given in this study, which are only based on recreational homes located in Norway.

The second important limitation is connected to the selection of cases. Both cases are located in the outer part of the recreational hinterland of Oslo and, as discussed above, one of the criteria was that there had been new recreational home developments within recent years. This means that, for example, municipalities in eastern Norway where recreational home

areas are affected by urban growth and are experiencing a decline in the number of recreational homes, and also municipalities in the lowland areas of eastern Norway, are excluded from the study. As the local context is important in case studies of recreational homes, this implies that this study just reveals part of the large heterogeneity in the recreational home phenomenon in eastern Norway. On the other hand, Ringebu and Kragerø are not extreme cases, as they share central characteristics with several municipalities in eastern Norway. Furthermore, several of the documents and interviews provided (as mentioned) relevant data and knowledge from a broader base of municipalities and counties, meaning that the findings from the case studies in Ringebu and Kragerø have provided knowledge that is not just relevant for their local context.

My strategy of using planning documents concerning second home developments as the point of departure for selecting actors to interview proved fruitful as regards including all types of actors that were involved in the planning process in different ways. This includes actors who were present in the municipalities either permanently or temporarily or who had a professional responsibility to be involved (counties and governments). Although the Planning Act (Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling 2008) in Norway emphasises information, adaptation and inclusion of all affected parties in planning processes, there will, of course, be affected actors that not will make their voices heard in these processes. Such actors are not included in this study, which underlines that qualitative research of this kind is partial (Dwyer & Limb 2001). The result is that, for example, the opinions of tourists who were 'travelling through' are not included. Further, surveys of the local population and second home owners might have given different answers than those given my interviews of a few representatives of these groups. This factor must be considered by the reader when I present my analysis and conclusions. An 'extenuating circumstance' is, however, that my impression from the fieldwork was that the threshold for making one's voice heard in the planning processes in Ringebu and Kragerø seemed quite low, and that most relevant arguments came to the surface either directly through a statement or indirectly via actors and politicians that actually were involved in the planning process.

As a researcher with limited time and funding, one has to make decisions about what and who to include and what and who to exclude from the study (Bradshaw & Stratford 2005). As Valentine (2001) states, all choices of methods should have a rationale, and in this section I have explained the reasoning behind the choices I made. To perform such documentation of each stage of the research carefully so that it is as open to scrutiny as possible is a vital task for securing the trustworthiness of the work and to enable the

development of theories on basis of the study (Widerberg 2002; Bradshaw & Stratford 2005). It is further important to highlight that the knowledge generated from this study is partial, as discussed regarding the limitations above. Finally, regarding the knowledge gained from this study, I would claim that the primary strength of the choices made is that they have contributed to reveal the high diversity of the recreational home phenomenon, through the focus on several research questions and different geographical contexts.

5. Recreational homes in eastern Norway, including Ringebu and Kragerø

In this section the main empirical findings from this study will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework from sections 2 and 3, and to findings from other countries. The discussion is mainly summarised from the three papers presented in Part 2, but as stated in section 1, they are here discussed as a whole. This section also contains additional discussion and some theoretical implications. As a point of departure I have made an illustration of the main spatial driving forces and processes connected to recreational home developments in eastern Norway, some of which are discussed in previous sections and some of which will be discussed here (Figure 5.1).

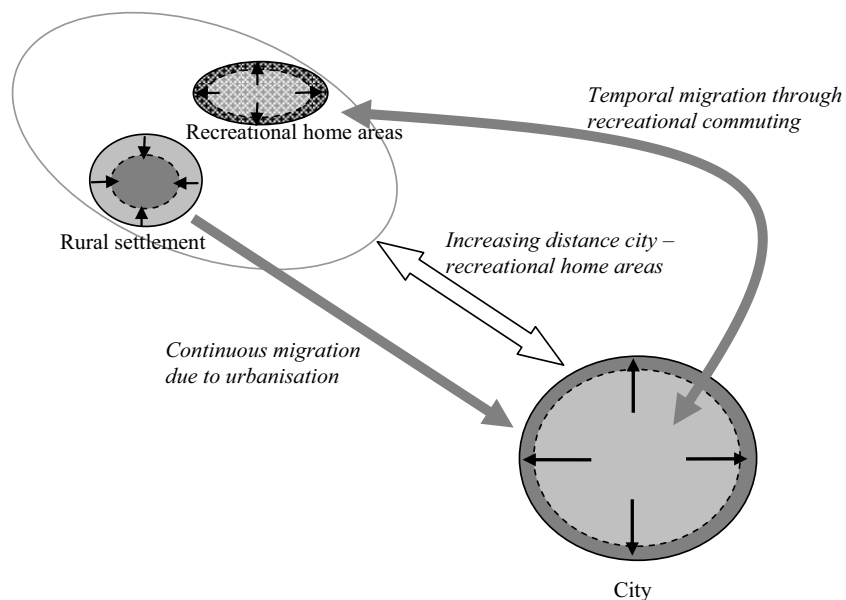


Figure 5.1. Flow of people through urbanisation and recreational commuting between cities and rural areas, and the consequences for growth of cities, rural settlements and recreational home areas. The illustration is based mainly on experiences from eastern Norway. Idea, and partly redrawn from Arnesen (2009).

Continued urbanisation in eastern Norway is resulting in the growth of cities (in both population and area) and decline in the number of permanent inhabitants in rural settlements (Statistics Norway 2007) (but not to significant reduction of the area of rural settlements, due to that houses still exist and which are partly used as recreational homes and also due to the fact that the amount of farmland is not reduced (Statistics Norway 2008b)). Visits to these recreational homes occur quite regularly (Ericsson & Grefsrud 2005) and a pattern of short

but frequent visits, typically weekends and holidays, is tending to develop (Vågane 2006). This type of travel can be denoted as a 'recreational commuting', which is almost as regular for its purpose as traditional commuting for work (Arnesen 2009; Overvåg & Skjeggedal 2009). Most of this travel in Norway is made by car and can make up a significant part of the total travel flows between urban and rural areas (Vågane 2006, Grue 2007, Overvåg & Ericsson 2007). This recreational commuting (which leads to a temporary in-migration to rural areas, Figure 5.1) between cities and recreational home areas, leads to growth in recreational home areas regarding the numbers of people and area size. In rural areas there is, in most instances, a spatial separation between rural settlements and recreational home areas. In many mountain areas this is mainly because the most attractive recreational home areas are located at other places and at higher altitudes than most settlements. In coastal areas the separation is maintained (although highly challenged) mainly due to political regulations and land use planning. The arrow labelled 'increasing distance city – recreational home areas' will be discussed in the next subsection.

Figure 5.1 is an illustration, and where the exact spatial configurations vary between places and hinterlands. Of the two case study areas, the illustration is most appropriate for the situation in Ringebu, where there is a clear spatial separation between rural settlements and recreational home areas (see Figure 5.2, page 55 and where population numbers have decreased significantly in recent last decades. In Kragerø, second homes and settlements are more closely located (although still separate, see Figure 5.3, page 56), and the population numbers have been quite stable in recent years. Further, the model is most appropriate for the situation in the outer part of the recreational hinterland of Oslo (in which the two case-study municipalities are located). Closer to Oslo there has been less growth in the number of second homes in recent decades (and thus also in recreational home areas), and both small (rural) and larger settlements are growing in population numbers.

5.1 Recreational home developments as a prime mover for rural change

As in other Western countries (Ilbery 1998, Woods 2005, Cloke 2006), there have been profound processes of rural change in eastern Norway connected to primary production and migration. Employment in primary production has decreased, and the decline has been strongest in the mountain area. Despite this, primary production is still a considerable industry in this zone, and (as mentioned) the size of the agricultural area is not decreasing (Statistics Norway 2008b). Regarding migration of permanent settlements, the pattern in Norway is characterised by centralisation on two levels: in-migration from rural areas to urban

settlements in all regions of the country, and in-migration from all parts of the country to urban settlements in the Oslo region (Brunborg & Texmon 2003). In eastern Norway this has led to population decline in several municipalities, especially in the mountain areas, and to considerable increase in the populations of several municipalities in the lowland and along the coast.

Regarding second homes, there has been a considerable shift in the location pattern in eastern Norway the last two decades; most of the growth has been in the mountain area, and the other regions have experienced a modest growth or stagnation/decline. The rough picture is thus that a large parts of the mountain municipalities are simultaneously experiencing a decline in and ageing of the permanent population as well as a decrease in employment in primary industries. On the other hand, they are experiencing a considerable increase in the temporary in-migration of second home owners. The general findings from this study have revealed that recreational homes have been significant in contributing to rural change in eastern Norway in recent last decades.

In Ringebu, local authorities have seen tourism and second homes as the most important industry since the mid-1980s in terms of enhancing local economic development. In Kragerø, second homes had not been actively linked to tourism and economic development by the local authorities until recently. In the last few years there has, however, been a surge in the attention given to second homes due to increased pressure from landowners and developers to build second homes linked to tourism and housing projects, some of them within or close to existing settlements, and due to increased discussion among the local population regarding the negative effects on services and infrastructure. Second homes, and linked tourism and housing developments, have thus been the most important issues within economic development and land-use planning in Ringebu and Kragerø in recent years. In these municipalities, as in most of eastern Norway, the major part of land available and suitable for second home developments is owned by farmers, or former farmers. In Ringebu quite substantial amounts of land have been used for new second home developments in the last two decades, and a large part of it lies in the establishment of a totally new resort, called Kvitfjell. This study shows that the major part of land used for second homes in Ringebu either was formerly used as grazing land for sheep, cows or goats and/or for forestry, or that the new developments have been located within or as expansions of existing second homes areas. The practice of grazing by sheep and goats is usually continued after the second homes have been built. Due to the high altitude, the productivity levels of commercial forestry practised in most of these areas are low. In Kragerø stronger environmental regulations have resulted in development on

land along the shoreline having more or less ceased. The building of second homes in the last decade has thus been directed to other areas, and mainly all major developments have been located on abandoned industrial sites. Such sites were previously used as stone quarries or open mines, or by manufacturing companies. They are relatively small, and many of the second homes have been built as apartments in terraced or high-rise blocks.

This attention and dominant position of recreational homes in local development efforts and land-use planning clearly shows, in line with Marsden's (1998b) reasoning, how control over land and its development and commoditisation are an important point around which social and economic changes occur in rural areas. Through recreational home developments, rural land in Ringebu and Kragerø has increasingly been turned into capital assets with high exchange values and to a commodity to be bought and sold. In contrast to most discussions and theories on commodification (e.g. Woods 2005), the present study has revealed that exploiting the physical environment, and not only its aesthetic appeal, is rather fundamental within commodification processes based on recreation and tourism. The landscape and land-use patterns have been changed in a highly material way through the introduction of new buildings and infrastructure, and the commodification processes have both reproduced established rural places and drawn new sites into the commercial embrace (with the new resort of Kvitfjell in Ringebu as the most prominent example in this study). This finding is thus a concretisation and development of Perkins' (2006) more general discussion on re-resourcing of rural land, due to how re-resourcing can unfold through second home and tourism development.

In Ringebu and Kragerø, and in numerous other municipalities in eastern Norway, recreational home developments are increasingly linked with, and have been a driving force for, additional tourism, housing and infrastructure developments. In Kvitfjell (in Ringebu) most of the other investments designed to develop the resort (e.g. ski slopes, hotels and infrastructure) have been subsidised by revenue from the second home areas. Developers and the local authorities claim that it would be financially impossible to develop such a new resort in Norway today without the revenue from second home developments. In Kragerø, a new golf resort, spa hotel and new apartments for permanent housing have been subsidised by second home development. Further, both Ringebu and Kragerø Municipalities increasingly demand investment in community benefits in exchange for granting permission for development, just as Gill (2000; 2007) reported in the case of Whistler in British Columbia. In Kragerø a new bridge will be financed in this way, and in Ringebu developers have made substantial contributions to road improvements and water- and sewage systems. While these

investments are connected to the second home areas, they also increase the quality of the infrastructure for local residents. Especially in such rural areas it can be claimed that changes and commodification relating to leisure and recreation have been active agents of economic, social and environmental change, just as for example Butler (1998), Ilbery (1998), Hall et al. (2003), and Woods (2005) have discussed. In many of the new recreational home and/or tourism areas in eastern Norway the focus is on 'modern' activities which are not distinctively rural in character and demand considerable amounts of land and investments, probably making them even more significant agents of change in rural areas, as Butler (1998), Hall et al. (2003) and Müller (2005) have commented. Within the recreational hinterland of Oslo such changes has been especially evident in the mountain areas, where the processes of migration to urban areas and growth in recreational homes have been strongest, thus making recreational homes and tourism relatively more important. Of the 137 municipalities within the recreational hinterland of Oslo, 36 are located within the mountain area (defined as municipalities that have the majority of their second homes located above 600 metres above sea level (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007)). In 21 of the 36 municipalities there presently more recreational homes than permanent homes, and these places may thus be well labelled as the 'rural-recreational countryside', to use Halseth's (2004) concept, where rural space is becoming more and more a landscape for leisure consumption rather than for 'everyday life' and primary production. However, also in Kragerø, recreational homes have for a long time contributed to increasing the importance of recreation and tourism in the society as well as for rural change. Just like in Sandell's (2006) example from a coastal area in Sweden, where local residents' experienced a shift in power over the landscape towards the leisure groups, this study in general indicates increased power to leisure groups and interest groups in the rural areas under study.

The increased importance of recreation and tourism and its accompanying changes in land use have had profound impacts on the economic and political development in Ringebu and Kragerø. In economic terms, the changes in land use found here show that by turning rural land into second home areas, land which formerly had marginal production value has been turned into capital assets with high exchange values that previously were unprecedented in these places. Re-resourcing into second home developments has resulted in increased prices and land values. In addition to potentially huge personal incomes for landowners who secure development permission relating to their land, second homes have (as mentioned) become an economic 'driving force' for additional tourism, housing and infrastructure development, partly because municipalities increasingly demand investment in community benefits in

exchange for granting permission for development. Politically, the most striking impact on local configurations of power is the increased control over land use on the part of 'external' actors. Especially external developers have increased their influence and benefitted radically. Twenty to thirty years ago it was usually landowners themselves who took responsibility for the planning and sale of second home properties. This situation has thus changed considerably. In addition, second home owners themselves have become important 'external' actors. Their 'external' demands have underpinned the profound changes in land use described in this study. They do not have the right to vote locally but, especially in Ringebu, many of them are well organised and active in planning processes, public debates, etc., having their voices heard and attempting to steer decision in accordance with their interests. Further, the mere presence of the second homes and their owners implies that the latter 'control' these second home areas in a way that did not occur earlier. I therefore support the general claim that external relationships and populations are a main driving force behind, and have increased impact on, rural change and land use (e.g. Cheshire 2006; Cloke 2006; Halfacree 2006).

In Ringebu the external developers are at least initially 'fully' external in the sense that their offices and residences are located outside the municipality. Most of them, however, have established close cooperation and even joint companies with local actors. Some of the local landowners are still active and cooperate with developers. In Ringebu, together with local authorities, they form powerful coalitions that promote growth and further second home developments, just as Gill (2000) found in Whistler, Canada. This shows that it is not only external actors that dominate rural development, but also that both non-local and local actors together impact upon rural areas, as observed by Fløysand & Jacobsen (2007) and Marsden (1998a). On a more general theoretical level it can be said that these findings reveal that in times of increased mobility and circulation it is increasingly difficult to separate between local and external in rural development, making these categorisations more fuzzy and less valid. Recreational home owners practising 'recreational commuting' between their permanent home in Oslo and their second home in Ringebu and Kragerø is one example of this fuzziness. Another example is a developer in Ringebu who practises a form of multiple dwelling in terms of living in both Oslo and Ringebu with respect to both work and leisure. These are examples of a peripatetic lifestyle that show how a 'network of places' is occupied rather than only one residence (Williams & Hall 2002). This demonstrates how rural places are made up of flows and movements and have porous boundaries, and that they are produced by socio-spatial processes that operate across spatial scales (Hubbard et al. 2002), increasingly

transcending categories such as local and external. This is in line with Bærenholdt & Granås(2008) who reason that we are in a state beyond the dichotomy of local ‘internal’ control versus non-local ‘external’ control of the development of places, due to the fact that people’s lives, through their diverse practices of mobility, are more complex and dynamic than envisaged in such a simple dichotomy. The relevance (or rather lack of relevance) of the concepts ‘local’ and ‘external’ will also be more generally discussed theoretically at the end of section 5.

5.2 The significance of spatiality and shared spaces and places

The spatial separation between recreational homes and rural settlements is, as discussed in previous sections, a basic characteristic of the eastern Norwegian recreational home phenomenon. This is illustrated by the fact that only 4.6% of all recreational homes are located within urban settlements (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). In Ringebu the second homes are located at relatively high altitudes in mountainous areas, and relatively far from the permanent settlements located further down in the valley (Figure 5.2). In the mountain areas, in general the average distance between second homes and the nearest settlement is 12.8 km and practically none (0.2%) of the second homes are located within permanent settlements. Along the coast, second home areas and permanent settlements are much more closely located, and to some degree mixed: the average distance is 1.9 km between second homes and the nearest urban settlement, and 11.6% of the second homes are located within urban settlements (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007). This situation is, of course, linked to the relatively high population density along the coast, and to the shoreline being the most attractive location for both permanent settlements and second homes. Yet even there most second homes are in separate areas, and the location pattern in Kragerø is a good example of the situation along the coast (Figure 5.3). The reasons for this spatial separation are more thoroughly discussed in paper 2 (*‘Second homes and contested space issues in rural eastern-Norway’*).

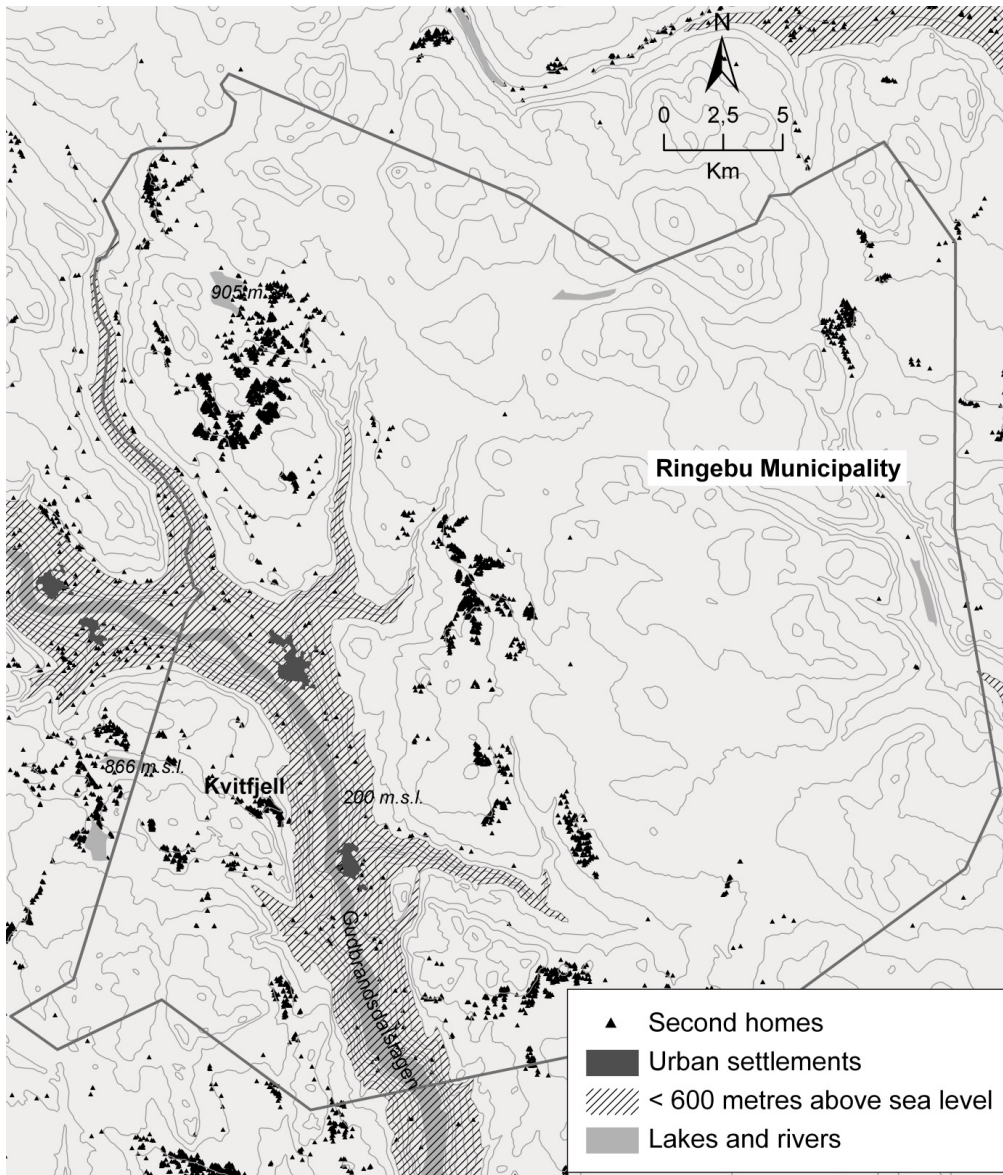


Figure 5.2. Location of second homes and urban settlements in Ringebu, 2006. Cartography: Kjell Overvåg (source: Norwegian Property Register).

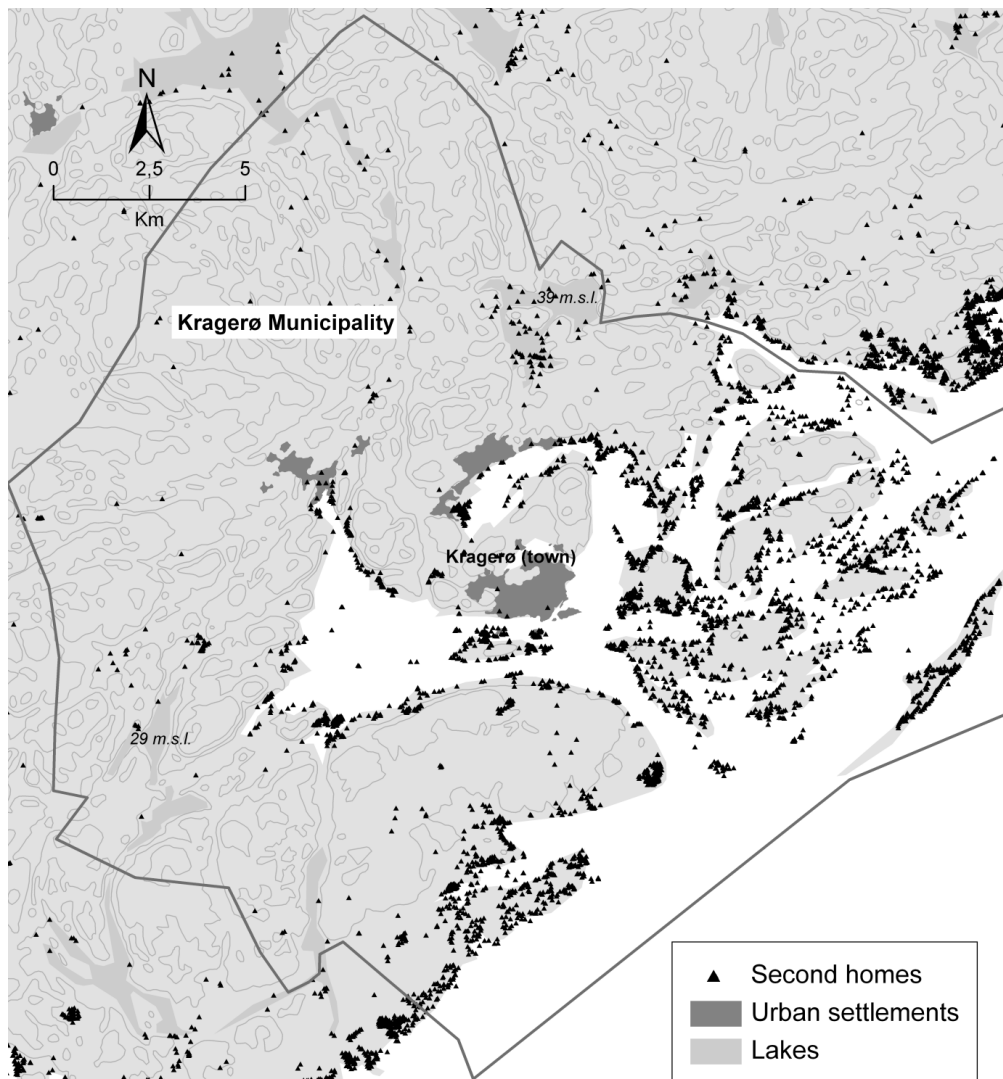


Figure 5.3. Location of second homes and urban settlements in Kragerø, 2006. Cartography: Kjell Overvåg (source: Norwegian Property Register).

The spatial separation and the connected existence of recreational homes as a separate market (i.e. from the original rural ‘first home’ market) have mainly come about as a result of three factors (as discussed in the paper ‘*Second homes and contested space issues in rural eastern-Norway*’) as follows. The first factor is the availability of land; in common with, for example Sweden and Finland, Norway has low population density and quite large areas of unspoilt and attractive rural land that are potential second home locations. The population density in Norway is 14 per km², while for example Britain has 249, Germany 231 and France with 111 (United Nations Statistics Division 2008). The second factor is that nature is the main focus

for recreational home owners in eastern Norway. Similar to what seems to be a common characteristic of second home owners in the Western world, the most important motivations for owning and using second homes in Norway are recreation/leisure and to experience change and removal from everyday life (Vorkinn 2003; Bjerke et al. 2006; Ericsson 2006). In contrast to what seems to be the situation in Britain (Gallent et al. 2005), and other places where second homes often are located within existing rural settlements, 'rural community' (traditional, safe, harmonious, etc.) seems, however, to have very little importance in Norway. It is rather 'nature', as a place to be and in which to perform activities, which is the main focus for most second home owners in eastern Norway (Kaltenborn 1998; Ericsson 2006). In relation to Bell's (2006) ideal-typical rural idylls (discussed in section 2) it is the natural and the sporting rural idyll that is important in Norway, while community aspects of the 'rural idyll' have little importance. The third and final factor concerns governmental regulations and land use planning. This study has revealed that governmental regulations at several levels increasingly govern the location of second homes and this is a significant factor when it comes to maintaining the spatial separation, especially along the coast. This will be discussed more thoroughly in the next section (5.3).

Spatial separation seems to be vital for the level and character of contested space issues that can be connected to recreational homes in eastern Norway. Firstly, the level of conflicts and contestations between recreational home owners and local residents seems to be lower in eastern Norway than is apparently the case in many other countries and places. In Ringebu and Kragerø, and in many other places in eastern Norway, recreational homes are rather more valued for their contribution to local economic development, than seen as a problematic and contested issue. The local economic impact of second homes may be substantial, and in a study of three mountain municipalities in eastern Norway, Ericsson & Grefsrud (2005) found that each second home generated NOK *c.*20,000 (Euro *c.*2350) in local turnover annually (excluding construction costs) and that 3–6% of all employment in the municipalities were based on second homes (inclusive constructions). For Ringebu and Kragerø this means an annual turnover close to NOK 70 million annually, and the added economic effects of construction work. However, this does not imply that second homes are not discussed or are an uncontroversial issue. What is most striking is rather that these conflicts to a minor degree seem to be caused by different groups sharing the same spaces for leisure, 'everyday life' or other purposes. Many disputes are focused on addressing land-use and rural development efforts connected to the building of new recreational homes, and the basis for conflicts is often differences in interests between development interests (landowners,

developers, local authorities) and existing recreational home owners, in line with Hall's (2005) and Williams & Van Patten's (2006) experiences. There is thus a contrast between existing 'residents' who seek use value and developers who seek exchange value from the same geographical spaces, as Gill (2000) and Hall (2005) have discussed. Further, in Kragerø it seems that some of the local residents and existing second home owners are standing together in their protests against some of the new development plans. It thus seems that the two groups share some meanings and values, just as Stedman (2006) noted could be the case in some instances, following his experiences from Wisconsin, USA.

This study is in accordance with Gallent et al. (2003; 2005) and Gallent & Twedwr-Jones (2000) in reasoning that many negative impacts are avoided when the demands from locals and recreational home owners not are targeted against the same housing stock. However, the aforementioned authors' reasoning focuses on the importance of separate markets, which is a too narrow explanation according to the findings in this study. Rather, I would argue that the separation is more generally important because it means that recreational home owners and other groups do *not* share the same places and/or spaces with other groups, and thus different purposes (work and leisure) and aspirations for a given place do not overlap the same physical space. Values and practices connected to leisure and the representation of rurality held by recreational home owners are to a high degree rather free to dominate in recreational home areas, while the values of local residents dominate in the rural settlements. To use Massey's (2005) terminology, recreational home owners and other groups are not 'thrown together' in the same place – they are not integrated in space and time as 'spatial-temporal events'. This separation in different places is the main factor contributing to recreational homes being a much less contested space issue in eastern Norway, than studies in other contexts report.

This relatively 'harmonious' situation is, however, challenged in eastern Norway by recent developments in the 'Norwegian rurality' and recreational home phenomenon. Increased scarcity of land within the recreational hinterland of Oslo (due to urban growth, high densities of people and buildings along the coast, and also enforced regulations), and a more heterogeneous recreational home market where only economically well-off people can buy recreational homes in the most attractive locations, creating exclusive elite landscapes, just as in Canada (Halseth 2004), are the two main interrelated factors. This has resulted in recreational homes becoming an increasingly heterogeneous phenomenon, where the influence of second homes on rural areas is diverse and varies between different places and regions, and where the level of conflicts and the issues at stake are variable. This is well

exemplified by the two case-study municipalities: Kragerø and the coastal areas in eastern Norway have many similarities with the description of the rural hinterland of urban areas by Hall (2005) and McIntyre et al. (2006a), where the space in Kragerø is shared to some extent, at least in the local communities where services and infrastructure are shared, or located quite close to each other, by several groups of people (residents, second home owners, tourists). Due to some new second home developments being located close to or within the settlements, the locals may feel that second homes increasingly lead to a commodification of the whole community, in line with Gill's (2000) findings from Whistler. This is primarily felt in the municipal centre in Kragerø, where it is feared by some that the increased presence of second home owners will lead to a situation where the consumption practices related to recreation increasingly will dominate the settlement at the expense of what many perceive to be important qualities for people residing there permanently (work and 'everyday' practices, social ties, participating in community efforts, etc.).

Ringebu is on the other end of the 'rural continuum' and is like much of the mountain and lowland areas in eastern Norway in general, being more peripheral and characterised by low population density and much land that could potentially be used for second home developments. This is the same situation as Gallent et al. (2005) and Marjavaara (2008) describe in their respective studies of Europe and Sweden. However, a still significant agricultural sector (in terms of land use) and active land use planning where environmental considerations are increasingly strong, are to some degree restricting the amount of attractive land available for second homes in these areas too. Further, scarcity of land for recreational homes close to popular tourist resorts has led to conflicts between existing owners of recreational homes and representatives of development interests who wish to compress or extend existing recreational home areas, in order to enhance the economic return and spillover effects of areas already developed. This is thus an example of existing recreational home owners being negative towards giving others access to 'their' areas and a 'not in my backyard mentality' with their resistance to development and construction of exclusivity, as also found by Halfacree (1998), Müller et al. (2004), and Sandell (2006) in their studies of in-migration to rural areas and second home tourism. Further, it shows that, just as Wall & Mathieson (2006) argue in their study of environmental consequences of tourism in Western countries, also in peripheral areas available and attractive land for tourism and recreational homes is not in abundance everywhere, and that there also can be contested space issues in such areas.

5.3 Decisive regulatory regimes and a multifunctional transition

The focus in this discussion so far has been on the importance of recreational homes for rural change and commodification processes. On the basis of my findings I would, however, argue that these processes increasingly are governed and influenced by governmental regulations at several levels – from local zoning plans to international environmental commitments. This study thus supports Perkins' (2006) emphasis that rural change is strongly influenced by regulatory regimes. In eastern Norway it is especially regulations concerning environment, agriculture, and securing city populations' access to recreational areas which have been vital for recreational homes and rural change in several ways. Firstly, regulations have strongly influenced the role of recreational homes in urban growth in Oslo by impeding the conversion of recreational home areas into residential areas. Regulations from the mid-1970s have made it difficult for owners to transform second homes into permanent homes and vice versa. The regulations are intended to avoid a blend of second homes and permanent homes and to keep two separate housing markets, especially as most second homes have not been constructed to a standard making them suitable as permanent residences. There are, however, challenges in implementing the regulations in areas with a high demand for permanent homes, and there are numerous examples of second homes being used illegally as permanent homes. The decline of second homes in some municipalities also indicates that as older second homes are being abandoned for some reason or are being engulfed by new residential areas, the municipalities in the Oslo region are allowing them to be replaced with, or converted into, permanent homes.

Secondly, a range of regulations is increasingly governing where recreational homes may be located. Regulations aimed at preserving coastal nature and securing access for all to recreational areas close to cities and along the coast, has, together with higher population density and changes in demand, contributed to 'push' new recreational homes further out in the recreational hinterland of Oslo (cf. the arrow labelled 'increased distance city – recreational home areas' in Figure 5.1). Along the coast, including Kragerø, the introduction in the mid-1960s of a general ban on new buildings closer than 100 m from the shoreline, due to environmental considerations and to ensure that the growing urban population retained public access to the shoreline, have been vital in this respect (and have been enhanced during recent years). In the city of Oslo a vital factor relates to land-use planning concerning the area known as Oslomarka, an area covering 1700 km², stretching over 19 municipalities, which has been protected since the beginning of the 19th century because of its value as a source of drinking water and its increasingly important value for daily recreation and leisure for the inhabitants of Oslo and nearby cities and towns. New second homes were built in Oslomarka

during the 1950s and 1960s but due to the introduction of more rigid regulations, building activities, including the construction of second homes, came to a halt in the 1970s (Halvorsrud 2007).

Further, and in a similar way, in the rural areas where most recreational homes are located, enhanced environmental and agricultural regulations aimed at protecting wildlife, unspoilt nature, farmland, and recreational areas, increasingly govern where recreational homes can be built. In the two case studies, Ringebu and Kragerø, the importance of environmental regulations for the overall location pattern of recreational homes means that protection goals and values dominate parts of the rural areas (including some of the existing recreational home areas) in these two municipalities. In Ringebu this primarily concerns the mountain areas on the east side of the valley (see Figure 5.2), due to the protection of the wild reindeers. This has led almost to a ban on any further major developments there, and consequently recent development efforts have been directed towards the west side of the valley. In Kragerø the regulations primarily concern the aforementioned ban on new buildings along the shoreline. While municipalities can grant exceptions to this regulation, enforcement of the regulation has been tightened by the national environmental authorities, and as a consequence second home developments on 'new' areas along the shoreline have more or less ceased in Kragerø. Instead, new second home developments have been directed to other areas, and all (except one) major developments have been located on abandoned industrial sites. In a similar way, strong national protection of farmland means that farming still dominates land use in other parts of the municipalities, and to use Holmes' (2006) concepts of different occupancy modes discussed in section 1, it is production values that are dominant in these parts. For example in Ringebu, which has a quite significant amount of farmland, both in the valley and in the mountain areas, the protection has meant that basically no farmland has been used for second home developments in recent decades.

The importance of the regulations described above and the discussion in section 5.1 on the re-resourcing of rural land into second home developments show that there is not a clear-cut transition from material production towards an aesthetic consumption of rural areas in eastern Norway. The examples from Ringebu and Kragerø show large diversity in the kind of changes in land use that have taken place during the commodification processes. Both land that previously was, and in some instances still is being, used for grazing, forestry, manufacturing, and mining, has been turned into second home developments through re-resourcing. Also new areas have been drawn into commodification, inasmuch as part of the new second home areas were previously not utilised for any form of production and were only

to a minor degree used as recreational sites. The diversity described here supports the view of Mather et al. (2006), that not only agriculture but also other rural land uses must be taken into account in discussions on changes in rural land use. The importance of environmental regulations for the overall location pattern of second homes in the two municipalities studied means that protection goals increasingly dominate parts of the existing second home areas and other rural areas in the two municipalities under study. Similarly, strong national protection of farmland means that farming still dominates land use in other parts of the municipalities. Re-resourcing into second home developments has thus primarily contributed to more diverse land use in Ringebu and Kragerø, and to a low degree at the expense of other purposes. This informs that there is not a clear-cut transition from material production towards the aesthetic consumption of rural areas, but rather that, as Holmes (2006) advocates in his study from Australia, the transition is more multifunctional, whereby it is not only consumption values that dominate rural land use changes today. Commodification is rather an integral part of rural change (Perkins 2006), and in Ringebu and Kragerø increased commodification through second home developments has been a significant component in rural change, although closely integrated and embedded within stronger national regulatory regimes promoting protection and production values.

5.4 'Multihouse homes' – relational places

As discussed in section 3, use of recreational homes can be seen as one kind of dwelling which, in line with the writings of Urry (2000), presupposes movement. In eastern Norway this primarily means recurrent and quite frequent movements ('recreational commuting' – Figure 5.1) between the urban and the rural. With the substantial and increasing use of second homes in eastern Norway, it can be claimed that recreational homes are an essential part of the flow and processes that link urban and rural places in the recreational hinterland of Oslo. This study has revealed how recreational homes can have implications for both rural and urban areas. The implications for rural areas are thoroughly discussed through this section (5) – where it is shown how recreational homes can have substantial economic and political implications for the affected rural areas. Regarding urban areas this study has focused on recreational homes and urban growth in the Oslo area (paper 1, '*Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway*'). The paper shows that urban growth contributes to the conversion of recreational home areas into urban residential areas (although this process is significantly hindered and delayed in Oslo due to regulations, as discussed in the previous section), and that urban growth contributes to 'push' recreational home areas further away

from the city (Figure 5.1). This is in line with Lundgren's (1974) findings from Canada and Müller & Marjavaara's (2004) experiences from Sweden. The analysis of urban growth in Oslo further illustrates how urban and rural places not only are related through movements and processes, but also that processes within one place (urban growth) might have consequences for other places (rural hinterland). This highlights that recreational homes cannot be understood as an isolated rural phenomenon, a point stated more than 30 years ago by Rogers (1977).

As discussed in section 3, the use of recreational homes for many people in eastern Norway may be understood as an extension of their household's home. They choose a lifestyle where their home is not confined to one place or house, but rather occupies a network of places used for different purposes; in eastern Norway, this is usually two places, where the main purpose of the rural place is leisure and/or recreation, while the urban place is primarily used for work and 'everyday' life. In line with Perkins & Thorns' (2006) view, such homes (and places, it could be added) should not be seen as separate, but rather they are linked spaces that together constitute a home. This is a lifestyle with multiple dwellings, 'where work, home and play are separated in time and place, and meanings and identity are structured around not one but several places and the associated circulations among them (McIntyre et al. 2006a, 314). One could even go one step further and suggest that such households do not have 'multiple homes', but rather have 'multihouse homes' elsewhere, as proposed by Arnesen (one of the researchers in the research group for the project that this study is a part of).⁷ These 'multihouse homes' represent alternative houses in rural and urban places and together make up a home. This reasoning is based in turn on Mallett's (2004) reasoning that home is not necessarily confined to one house and place, but rather locates lived time and space. Further, in contrast to Perkins & Thorns (2006) who state that such 'homes' should not be seen as separate, it could be said that multiple houses and places should be seen as linked spaces that together constitute a home. A lifestyle with multiple houses does not apply to all households, nor to all who own a recreational home. However, seen in connection to the regularity and scope of use, and also the high standard of many recreational homes, it could be claimed that a multihouse lifestyle affects a considerable and an increasing number of households in eastern Norway. Further, this discussion demonstrates that to understand the recreational

⁷ T. Arnesen 'Transcending orthodoxy: Multi-house homes. A conceptual framework for an interpretation of second house developments as the flip-side of urbanization'; paper presented at the 2nd Regional Studies Association (RSA) conference in Paisley, Scotland, 12–13 March 2009, 'Peripherality, Marginality and Border Issues in Northern Europe'.

home phenomenon it is fruitful to apply theoretical approaches connected to concepts of home, in addition to migration and tourism perspectives.

The choice of such peripatetic lifestyle and the movements and flows this generates between urban and rural places provide evidence of one of the multitude of phenomena that constitute places as open and relational (Hubbard et al. 2002; Massey 2005). Further, it is an example of how '*rural change has constituted a blurring of conventional boundaries between country and city*' (Cloke 2006, 18). Such blurring works in both directions, i.e. to an urbanisation of the rural and to a ruralisation of the urban (Cloke 2006). In this study, I will argue that such blurring is relevant from two perspectives. First, from a rural economic and social perspective, purpose-built recreational homes contribute to an urbanisation of the rural through a temporary influx of urban populations, in a situation where an increasing part of the rural economic, social and political processes is based on and connected to urban recreational home owners and developers. More of the activities performed by recreational home owners in eastern Norway are not of a 'rural character' (i.e. the activities, such as golf and alpine skiing, do not engage with the rural landscape, environment, culture, etc. (Woods 2005)), and some of the recreational home owners clearly bring their urban 'way of life' into the rural areas (Sievänen et al. 2007). These processes contribute to a diffusion of urban space into rural areas in eastern Norway, and I suggest that this could be conceptualised as a recreational urban growth, which is a growth that is physically non-continuous with the city where the owners normally reside (as also discussed by Skjeggedal et al. forthcoming). Additionally, Müller & Marjavaara (2004) have found that second homes contribute to a diffusion of urban space into rural areas in Sweden, and further, Perlik (2006), based on studies from the European Alps, states that recreational homes seem to be an enlargement of urban areas because the owners are attached to their city of origin in social and economic terms. As these urban spaces to a minor degree overlap the existing rural settlements in eastern Norway (as they predominantly do in the Alps), and as other values dominate in other parts of the rural areas, this diffusion of urban space does not, however, imply a strong urbanisation of rural communities and landscapes in general, at least not physically. The urbanisation processes vary to some extent and are strongest in the designated recreational home areas, which may be viewed as urban enclaves with their own culture, just as Tuulentie (2007) partly found in Finland. Second, from an urban household perspective, to have a house primarily for recreational purposes implies that a significant part of the owners' leisure time is spent in rural areas. It can thus be seen as a ruralisation of these households' leisure time. This is in line with the argument of Urbain (2002, cited in Cloke 2006), who states that the spread of the

city through counterurbanisation means that the urban form now encapsulates strong rural characteristics. In eastern Norway such rural characteristics are introduced by urban households expanding their home to include recreational houses in rural areas. Rather than a blurring of the urban this lifestyle is probably more appropriately explained as a condition whereby households combine rural and urban places to maximise their standard of living. This is in line with McIntyre et al.'s (2006a) finding from their study of multiple dwelling in Western countries, that 'escape' is not so central in the discourse of 'home' and 'away'. Rather 'being away' (for example, in their second home) was often just a different way of being at home. As Müller & Hall (2004) states, this positions the urban and the rural as part of an interrelated whole, rather than setting them as opposing categories.

The discussion in this section on the dichotomies urban-rural and local-external also has some implications on a more general theoretical level. I will argue that in dealing with the phenomenon of practising multiple dwelling both of these dichotomies are of little relevance from a household's perspective and from a rural development and political perspective. In a multihouse home, people may be as much at 'home' and 'local' in their recreational house as in their 'everyday' house, in terms of sense of place. As Gustavfson (2006) has stated, multiple dwelling almost by necessity involves attachment to two or more places. Further, the activities and landscape that second home owners in eastern Norway engage in are primarily dominated by nature and are in contrast to those in the city in this respect, and not in contrast to rural communities. Thus, recreational hinterlands in Norway are dissimilar to what Marsden found for parts of the English countryside, which may be seen an expression of 'mobile middle class populations ... fuelled by the postmodern and post-urban desire to escape the seeming anomie of urban life' (Marsden 2006, 14), and which describes a situation where 'the traditional "urban-rural dichotomy" is alive and well' (Murdoch et al. 2003, 152). People with multiple homes are not escaping urban life; rather, multiple homes are used as a strategy for maximising living standards by combining the qualities of life in both the city and its natural surroundings, as I have just argued in the section above.

From a rural development and political perspective I would further argue that to categorise second home owners as 'external' and as opposed to local residents is not very fruitful. Through their presence and sense of place they are part of the rural place they inhabit, and one among several elements that makes places open and internally multiple (just as, for example, residents also do through their travels to other places, such as their second homes). What should rather be emphasised is to recognise second home owners as actors who are relevant for rural development and politics and to take account of their interests, opinions

(which, of course, can be differentiated, just as within other social groups), and political rights, in line with other actors present in the same place. This challenges the romantic view of places as having a pre-given collective identity, and with a coherence only to be disturbed by 'external forces', and normative politics which, for example, set 'good' local ownership against 'bad' external control (Amin 2004; Massey 2005). The situation is, of course, much more nuanced, and this study has revealed that residents and second home owners in some situations can have common interests regarding rural development. Elsewhere, in New Zealand, McIntyre & Pavlovich (2006) have similarly found much common ground between second home owners and residents in terms of the values they attribute to places, and where the similarities outweigh the differences. Following this, McIntyre et al. (2006a) rightly states that there is a tendency to juxtapose second home owners with residents, where the latter are cast as genuine and sincere, and much of the literature on tourism and multiple dwelling springs from a tradition that accentuates possibilities for conflicts. There is thus a need for more nuanced knowledge and literature on these issues. I hope this study will be a contribution in this respect, as I have tried to highlight the large heterogeneity of the second home phenomenon in eastern Norway, and have shown that notwithstanding the significant economic and political impacts that might follow recreational home developments, they are certainly not characterised by conflicts everywhere.

6. Concluding remarks

To give a short and clear summary of the findings in this thesis I will here repeat the themes and research questions presented in section 1.1 (shown italicised below) and comment upon them.

Theme 1: *The first theme is the connection between urban growth and recreational homes. According to other studies carried out in Canada, France, Sweden, and Norway (but not in Oslo), among other places, there is a two-way relationship between urban growth and recreational homes. It is claimed that urban growth and distance from a city highly influence the location pattern of second homes, partly because urban growth can 'push' second homes out from former rural areas, and that second home areas have a role to play in urban growth and in the diffusion of urban space (Hansen 1969; Lundgren 1974; Clout 1977; Müller 2002; Müller & Marjavaara 2004; Hall et al. 2009). I ask whether we find the same two-way relationship in eastern Norway, and if so, how do second home areas influence urban growth in Oslo, and how does urban growth in Oslo influence the location pattern of second home establishments in the recreational hinterland of Oslo?* The answer to this question is, in short, yes, there is a two-way relationship concerning recreational homes between Oslo and its recreational hinterland. First, this relationship is a consequence of recreational home areas being converted into urban residential areas. This role is, however, of minor significance in Oslo, as it is hindered and delayed by regulations. Second, recreational homes in rural areas owned by inhabitants in Oslo can be seen as a diffusion of urban space into rural areas – not as the conventional geographical continuous enlargement of urban areas, but as a non-continuous urban growth. Theme 1 continued, *I also ask how other political, spatial and economic factors influence the relationship between urban growth and second homes.* Urban growth in Oslo contributes primarily to 'push' recreational homes further away from the city because growth leaves less available land for recreational homes in the vicinity of the city. This happens through mainly three processes: (1) land for residential areas and industry is prioritised, (2) an increasing need for daily recreational areas for a growing population, and (3) a growing urban population means that there are more people directing their demand for recreational homes towards the same recreational hinterland. Developing new recreational home areas further out in the hinterland has been one way of meeting this demand.

Theme 2: *The second theme is recreational homes and conflicts ('contested space issues') in rural areas. According to international findings, second homes are often seen to lead to conflicts, especially with local populations, and to 'contested space issues' (Marcouiller et al. 1996; Williams & Hall 2002; Halseth 2004; McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006).*

A main reason for this situation seems to be that second home owners and local populations share the same spaces (Gallent & Twedwr-Jones 2000; Gallent et al. 2003; 2005). In eastern Norway most of the recreational homes are, however, spatially separated from existing rural settlements. I therefore initially ask whether the development of recreational homes may be seen as a contested phenomenon in eastern Norway. There has been quite a lot of debate and attention regarding recreational homes areas in Norway, but it appears that the level of conflicts and contestations are lower than what seems to be the case in many other countries. Theme 2 continues, *Which factors influence the level of contestation, and what kind of space issues are most discussed and contested in the context of eastern Norway?* The fact that recreational home areas and rural settlements to a large degree are separated, both spatially and commercially in eastern Norway, seems to be the main factor for relatively low levels of conflict. The sharing of space by recreational home owners and locals, with their different values and purposes, is avoided, and thereby the main reason for conflicts in many other places is avoided in eastern Norway. Focus on conflicts mostly addresses development efforts relating to new recreational homes and their land-use implications. Conflicts are mostly seen as occurring between development interests and existing recreational home owners, which is in contrast to conflicts between existing ‘residents’ who seek use value and developers who seek exchange value from the same geographical spaces.

Theme 3: *The third theme is the use of rural land for recreational home developments. The point of departure is that use of rural land for touristic and recreational purposes have been interpreted as leading to increased commodification of rural areas, in a process where the traditional use of rural land decreases its relative value, while it has increased its value as a place to be consumed. In other countries, such processes of rural change and development have proved to have had significant economic and political consequences, and the processes have had an impact on which actors are involved, how they act, and who benefits from rural change (Gill 2000; 2007; Halfacree et al. 2002; Goverde et al., 2004). I therefore ask which actors are involved in the development of new recreational home areas, and how do they impinge on land use?* Developers, local landowners (farmers or former farmers) and local authorities are actively involved in new areas. This has changed radically in recent decades, and ‘external’ developers’ entrance into the arena has been most significant. In some instances they form powerful local growth coalitions with landowners and local authorities. Further, local and national governments are increasingly active in deciding the overall location pattern for new areas. Due to the high value of recreational homes in recent decades, landowners and developers have pushed for as many recreational

homes on their land as possible, partly at the expense of other purposes. Local authorities are to some degree trying to balance recreational homes with other purposes that are seen as important for the local community or tourist resort, and have improved their position by increasingly demanding investments in community benefits in exchange for granting permission for development. Further, local and national authorities are increasingly preserving land for environmental and agricultural purposes through the enforcement of regulations, and through this are increasingly deciding the possible locations and extent of new recreational home areas. Theme 3 continues, *What are the economic and political consequences of using rural land for recreational home developments?* The economic and political consequences may be considerable, and it can be claimed that recreational homes have been a significant agent of rural change in many parts of the rural areas in eastern Norway. The high value of recreational homes implies that close to all developers and landowners are ‘pushing’ for recreational homes on their land, and that recreational home developments have become an economic ‘driving force’ for additional infrastructural and housing developments. Politically, the increased importance of external actors, and especially external developers, seems to have the most important consequence for local configurations of power, from an ‘actor’ perspective. More generally, it can be claimed that the significant influx of recreational homes, their owners and developers, indicates that the rural areas in eastern Norway have become more dependent and influenced by external relations, and that there is increased power among leisure groups when it comes to representing their interests in these rural areas.

6.1. Relevance of this study

This study is based on experienced from eastern Norway, including the municipalities of Ringebu and Kragerø in particular. There are, however, two factors which imply that the study has wider relevance in Norway. First, the basic trends and characteristics concerning recreational homes, regulatory regimes, rurality, and rural change (Berg & Forsberg 2003; Overvåg & Arnesen 2007) are shared with many other parts of the country, especially in the rural hinterland of the largest cities in Norway. Second, some of the empirical data have generated knowledge that is not based exclusively on the case study municipalities. This applies to some of the qualitative data (documents and interviews) from interviewees who provided knowledge also from other municipalities and counties – mostly from other parts of eastern Norway but also from other parts of the country. It applies also, of course, to the data from the Norwegian Property Register and the statistics from Statistics Norway that are used

in this study. These data show that basic trends concerning rural change in Ringebu and Kragerø are common to many other rural municipalities in eastern Norway, and an analysis of Property Register data relating to the recreational hinterlands of the cities of Trondheim in mid-Norway and Tromsø in north-Norway (as well as Oslo) (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007), shows that the same trends concerning second homes are emerging there too. Within eastern Norway, and probably in other Norwegian cities as well, the results from this study are primarily relevant for municipalities on the outskirts of the cities' recreational hinterlands and which have experienced a significant growth in the number of second homes in the last two decades. This means that this study is less relevant for municipalities closer to Oslo that have experienced a decline in second homes due to urban and population growth, and for municipalities in the lowland which are viewed as less amenity-rich and which have not experienced a significant rise in value of land that could potentially be used for second homes.

Mobile lifestyles which comprise second homes are a significant phenomenon in a number of Western countries (see, for example, Hall & Müller 2004; McIntyre et al. 2006b), and literature and findings from other countries referred to in this thesis suggest that the findings from Norway in general could be relevant also in the case of other area-rich Western countries. From personal knowledge this applies to, for example, Sweden, Finland, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Halseth 2004; Keen & Hall 2004; Selwood & Tonts 2004; Timothy 2004; Perkins 2006; Hall et al. 2009). As in eastern Norway, parts of the aforementioned countries are characterised by having significant numbers of second homes located in amenity-rich nature locations in designated areas within the recreational hinterlands of cities, and that a substantial number of the second homes are purpose-built and spatially separate from existing settlements. This study is probably especially relevant for the neighbouring Nordic countries, and especially Sweden and Finland, which have many similar topographical characteristics, with significant amounts of uninhabited areas, and where second homes are located in attractive locations along the shore, by lakes and in the mountains (Hall et al. 2009). The Nordic countries have some common elements of identity and second homes can be seen as an important part of the Nordic heritage, folklore and contemporary family life. Nowhere in the world is second home ownership as common as in the Nordic countries, and in general the homes are used intensively (Hall et al. 2009), as shown for eastern Norway. Further, the welfare state has stood its ground in the Nordic countries by persistently clinging to egalitarian values, such as politics of redistribution, which also includes state involvement in tourism development, especially in peripheral areas (Simonsen & Öhman 2003; Hall et al. 2009). In economic terms, second homes are seized as

an opportunity in many areas for regional development, and have become an issue for many authorities in many parts of the Nordic countries (Hall et al. 2009). This situation has, for example, resulted in Finnish second home developments being promoted in rural policy programmes, yet also actively controlled by planning and building regulations (Hiltunen 2009). Such a situation is very similar to what I have found in eastern Norway. In general, this discussion has revealed that the results from this study probably are relevant also for other contexts than eastern Norway, Ringebu and Kragerø, and that the contexts of many places along the coast and in the mountains in Finland and Sweden probably have many commonalities. However, despite huge differences in heritage, climate, topography, etc., Perkins' (2006) research from Australia also shows many commonalities with this study regarding regulatory regimes and actors involved, indicating a wider relevance of the more political parts of this study (regulatory regimes, power configurations, etc.).

However, the specific Norwegian context, with continued urbanisation and high increases in incomes, has meant that there has been a high demand for modern second homes in recent decades. This has resulted in the gap between the traditional production value of rural land and the exchange value of the second home market in many places having been so substantial that probably it has increased the scope and implications of second home developments in Norway compared to in many other countries. Yet also in other countries the number and standard of second homes is increasing in a similar way, as Hiltunen (2009) has shown for Finland, indicating that the Norwegian context either is not exclusive in this respect.

In qualitative research the aim is to increase our *understanding* of a theme or issue, and to *generate* or *construct* theories that can illuminate, and provide insight and understanding (Alvesson & Sköldberg 1994; Widerberg 2002; Alvesson & Kärreman 2007). Besides the contribution of this study to increase the understanding of the second home phenomena and to develop theories and concepts relating to second homes, on a general level this study has provided three main contributions: 1) it has developed a new understanding on how second homes in eastern Norway are a significant part of, and embedded within, broader processes of urban growth, rural change, migration, and ways of dwelling; 2) through the case of second homes, it has suggested developments of, and given nuance to, more general theories on commodification and re-resourcing of rural areas, on the relationship between urban and rural places, and on the relevance of the categories 'local' and 'external' in rural development and politics; and 3) it has, together with other publications from the project

which this study is part of (Arnesen 2009; Arnesen⁸; Overvåg & Skjeggedal 2009; Skjeggedal et al. forthcoming), suggested the new concepts of ‘recreational commuting’, ‘recreational urban growth’ and ‘multihouse homes’. These concepts may be useful in discussing and illuminating the issue of second homes also in other, but similar, contexts.

In addition to contributing to knowledge on the second home phenomena, it is also possible from this study to identify some fields where there is a need for future research. I would point to two particular fields: the first is connected to households’ dwelling strategies: How are networks of places and houses combined in peripatetic lifestyles? How are different purposes and activities combined and distributed? How are dwelling strategies adapted to people’s life course, and how do mobile lifestyles influence peoples understanding of home? Part of this issue also concerns their relation to the place where their second home is located – both to the local community and to other second home owners (social and political). The questions of whether second home owners see themselves as visitors, tourists, or as residents (locals) are relevant in this respect. In Norway, at least, research to address these questions should focus on owners of modern recreational homes located in tourist resorts, as there has been no major research undertaken on these issues in such areas. The other field I would point to is local planning, and how to plan for recreational urban growth in rural municipalities. In Norway there is a mismatch between the Planning Act (Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling 2008) and the actual second home developments that take place in many areas. In the planning system second homes are still mostly considered to have consequences for the landscape and environment, while for the most part economic, social and political impacts are not taken into consideration at all (Skjeggedal et al. 2009). As this study has shown, such impacts can be quite considerable. How owners of recreational homes could be included in planning processes and how small rural municipalities could handle and benefit the most from large-scale second home developments, economically, socially and politically, are important questions in this respect. In my opinion, recreational urban growth is a significant and underestimated opportunity for development in rural societies which have ‘lost’ in the traditional battle for permanent residents, but who are winners in an increasingly mobile society characterised by peripatetic lifestyles.

⁸ T. Arnesen ‘Transcending orthodoxy: Multi-house homes. A conceptual framework for an interpretation of second house developments as the flip-side of urbanization’; paper presented at the 2nd Regional Studies Association (RSA) conference in Paisley, Scotland, 12–13 March 2009, ‘Peripherality, Marginality and Border Issues in Northern Europe’.

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PART 2: PAPERS

Second homes and urban growth in the Oslo area, Norway

Kjell Overvåg

Overvåg, K. 2009. Second homes and urban growth – the case of the Oslo area. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography* Vol. 00, 00–00. Oslo. ISSN 0029-1951.

Abstract

Urban growth and second homes are claimed to be closely connected, partly because urban growth can ‘push’ second homes out from former rural areas, and partly because second homes may have a role to play in urban growth. The article discusses such a connection based on a study conducted in the Oslo area. The analysis shows that second homes and urban growth to some degree are connected in Oslo, but that governmental regulations hinder a potentially stronger connection. This is partly due to a ban on new second homes in some areas, and partly because regulations obstruct second home areas from being transformed into residential areas. Further, there has been a rise in the numbers of Oslo inhabitants owning second homes in new and growing second home areas located at increasingly greater distances from the city. Such areas are thus contributing to a diffusion of urban space in rural areas. Finally, the study highlights how urban growth is only one factor influencing the location of second homes owned by inhabitants in Oslo, while scarcity of available land and changes in demand are additional variables.

Keywords: *governmental regulations, multiple dwelling, urban–rural relationships*

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Title:

Second homes, rural idyll and contested space issues in eastern Norway

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Abstract

From international experience, second homes are often seen to lead to conflicts and ‘contested space issues’. This seems mainly to be grounded in the fact that second home owners and local populations share the same spaces, where second home owners are eager to prevent local development that may spoil their new-found rural lifestyle. This article, based on a study of eastern Norway and particularly the municipalities of Ringebu and Kragerø, examines how characteristics of Norwegian rurality and the Norwegian second home phenomenon impact on the level and types of conflicts connected to second homes in eastern Norway. The main conclusion is that these characteristics lead to a situation where second home owners do not share spaces with other groups, and that second homes are a much less contested issue in eastern Norway than has been reported in studies in other contexts. On the other hand, central societal trends, including less available land due to population growth and environmental regulations and to increased prices and income inequalities, makes the second home phenomena increasingly heterogeneous in eastern Norway compared to how it might appear initially, thus making it necessary to nuance the main conclusion.

Keywords: second homes, rural idyll, conflicts, shared spaces

Second homes, rural idyll and contested space issues in eastern Norway

1. Introduction

The existence of second homes often leads to conflicts between their owners and local populations and also to ‘contested space issues’ (Hall, 2005). An especially contested issue seems to be the future development of the places and landscapes where second homes are located. Owners of second homes are often motivated by and eager to protect what they see as the ‘essential character’ of the places where their second homes are located, and want to prevent developments that may spoil their new-found rural lifestyle in what they conceive to be their rural idyll (Hall et al., 2003; Müller et al., 2004; McIntyre et al., 2006). However, what are conceived as rural lifestyle and rural idyll differ with time and place, as do conceptions of second home and second home life. Berg and Forsberg (2003) have unpacked the idea of rural idyll in Scandinavia and Britain and argue that its constitutive elements are partly overlapping. They focus on the fact that in Scandinavia low population densities and vast areas of rural, unpopulated, relatively cheap land have made it possible to locate purpose-built second homes on ‘new’ land and provide an option for ‘everyone’. Consequently, second homes do not represent as much of a combat over the ‘essential character’ of places and rurality as in many other countries. We argue here that this is still the case in most parts of Norway, but claim that during recent years the Norwegian second home phenomenon has become more and more heterogeneous and an emergent contested space issue in areas with many second homes, not least in eastern Norway, the region in focus in this article.

The article is based on a study of second homes using data from the Norwegian Property Register, which holds information on all second homes in Norway (including their location), and case studies in two municipalities in eastern Norway, namely Ringebu Municipality and Kragerø Municipality.¹ First, a review of the literature on second homes and contested space issues is presented. Then, the methodology of this study is described, Third, the second home phenomenon in rural Norway is described with special focus on eastern Norway, before exploring why second homes lead to lower levels of conflicts and contestations in eastern Norway than what seems to be the case in other countries. Finally, we consider why and how second homes have nevertheless become a contested space issue in some places in the study region.

¹ Research project financed by the Areal programme, The Research Council of Norway.

2. Second homes and contested space issues

Many studies show that, although many values and meanings concerning a place may be shared by different people, second home owners and local inhabitants often differ in their views on important issues (Hall et al., 2003; Müller et al., 2004; Hall, 2005; McIntyre et al., 2006). Such contestations can in general be linked to an increased importance and growth of recreation and tourism, second homes included, in many rural areas. It has been argued that changes relating to leisure and recreation are amongst the most significant to have taken place in rural areas in recent decades, and that leisure and recreation have become important agents of environmental, economic and social change in many areas (Butler, 1998; Hall et al., 2003; Müller, 2005). Recreation and leisure, including the presence of second homes, have even come to dominate some rural regions, and has led to the formulation of concepts such as the 'rural-recreational countryside' (Halseth, 2004) and the 'pleasure periphery' (Müller, 2005). These, in turn, are outcomes of one of the most significant elements of rural restructuring, namely the transition from a rural economy based on primary production to a more service oriented economy – the post-productivist transition. Rural space is turned into a landscape in which consumption dominates rather than primary production – the post-productivist and consumption countryside (Ilbery, 1998; Woods, 2005; Marsden, 2006).

Most contestations between second home owners, local inhabitants and other groups seem to be due to the fact that the respective groups share the same spaces, but use them for different purposes. Although motives for owning and using second homes may vary considerably the main attraction appears to be that they offer an 'escape' from (urban) everyday life. Second home owners feel that it is important for them to be able to leave behind work and everyday life schedules and go to a second home where leisure has primary significance (Jaakson, 1986; Hall and Müller, 2004). This separates them from many of the permanent inhabitants who have their primary home in the same space, but where work and 'everyday life', with its social and community aspects of life and place, form the primary focus of the inhabitants' attention (McIntyre et al., 2006; Williams and Van Patten, 2006). Further, second home owners and other rural residents may hold contrasting representations of the rural. Second home owners are, in line with other in-migrants to rural areas, often informed and motivated by idyll-type social representations of the rural, in which tradition, security, beauty, safety, harmony, and peace are central elements. Furthermore, rural communities are understood as communities in which everyone takes care of and knows one another (Halfacree, 1998; Berg and Lysegård, 2002; Murdoch et al., 2003; Gallent et al., 2005).

Such representations have considerable impacts on how in-migrants behave, and there may be different desires, expectations, and perceptions of long-term residents and 'new arrivals' that can form a foundation for tension and conflict (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Hall, 2005) (see also Halfacree, unpublished²).

Another important dimension is second home owners' relations to the place in which their second home is located. First, through their recurrent visits to and repeated experiences of the same place they establish a 'sense of place'. The place thus becomes infused with meaning and feeling. Second, the place is important to second home owners as a location or materiality, given that they invest in property there. The qualities of the place and how these develop are important to such owners in terms of recreation facilities, services, property prices, etc. Third, the place is of significance as a setting or context, for example in terms of social interaction with other second home owners and locals. The three interrelated dimensions of place (Agnew, 1987; Agnew and Duncan, 1989) are, as we will show, in one way or another always related to contested space issues over second homes.

Due to increased mobility and wealth, more and more people have numerous possibilities to develop dual or multiple bonds with two or more places (Gustafsson, 2006), and second homes may be interpreted as an expression of multiple place attachments. Mobility and place attachment are two assets used in combination to increase quality of life. Living, working, leisure activities, etc., may take place in different places (Aronsson, 2004; Gustafsson, 2006). More generally, this means that many people now occupy and belong to a network of places rather than to one residence or home, and mobility and circulation between places is used as a means to combine goals, whereby different places are used for different purposes (Williams and Hall, 2002). Another consequence of shared spaces is that second homes may have a displacement effect on permanent residents. It has been argued that the demand for second homes can lead to an involuntary out-migration among permanent residents, due to a situation where relatively wealthy second home owners can outbid permanent residents. This leads to increased property values, which result in both higher sale prices and increasing property tax burdens also for permanent residents (Marjavaara, 2008). This displacement problem has been questioned and discussed, and it has been argued that in some places in-migrants are just filling empty houses, or that the houses are relatively unattractive in the local housing market (Müller, 2002; Marjavaara, 2008). This at least

² K. Halfacree, 'New urban/rural relationships: urban sprawl, second homes and counterurbanization'. Paper presented at the First International Seasonal Homes & Amenity Migration Workshop, Centre for Rural Research, Trondheim, in 2008.

indicates that the effects of in-migration on the property market are variable and place dependent, as Gallent and Twedwr-Jones (2000) argue. They hold that the local situation is dependent on whether or not the demand from second home owners and locals is directed at the same housing stock.

As noted in the introduction, an especially contested issue seems to be the future development and management of a given place and landscape, where second home owners disagree over developments that might degrade what they regard to be the 'essential character' of the place or that will spoil their new-found rural lifestyle (Hall et al., 2003; Müller et al., 2004; McIntyre et al., 2006). They often seem to be conservative and less positive towards change, tend to favour land use control and 'passive admiration' of the landscape, and are often less willing to give other people access to 'their' areas (Müller et al., 2004; Sandell, 2006). This is in line with the more general 'not in my backyard' mentality that Halfacree (1998) states characterizes many new rural residents, and that is demonstrated in their resistance to development in the countryside and their construction of exclusivity. Second home owners particularly seem to be negative towards industrial development, and are usually also interested in hindering further large-scale tourism development (Müller et al., 2004). In discussing tourism development in general, Hall (2005) states that the sharpest contrast and a basis for conflict often is between residents (full- or part-time, including second home owners) who use a given place to satisfy different needs and purposes and place entrepreneurs who strive for financial return from tourism development, usually through intensifying the use of properties. Williams and Van Patten (2006) find that there may be contradictions between local entrepreneurs that wish to put *their* landscape and culture up for sale (i.e. what they perceive as the true character of the place), and second home owners who seek out the seeming authenticity in a rural idyll.

This means that in situations with shared spaces there may be many second home owners and other groups in a given area that have established a sense of place within the same space, based on different values, purposes and representations, and that are affected by house prices and tax burdens. Thus, such places will be important to the people's identities and economy. How a place 'is' and how it develops is crucial to them, and hence something that may be worth fighting for. In addition, second home owners are often in a better socio-economic position than locals and other groups, which gives rise to an additional distinction that might spur differences and conflicts. Taken together, these issues are probably important factors behind Hall's (2005) statement that second homes, probably more than most forms of tourism migration and settlements, are a focus of contested space issues.

The ways in which second homes influence rural areas and lead to conflicts are highly place dependent and diverse, and vary between different countries and regions. In general, it seems that it is the rural hinterlands of urban areas within the weekend recreation zones and the most amenity-rich areas that are most affected by the changes that are related to in-migration and the growing demand for recreation and tourism (Hall, 2005; McIntyre et al., 2006). The perceptions of tourists, part-time and seasonal residents (including second home owners), new arrivals, and long-term residents meet in such areas that are rather densely populated and have a shortage of surplus land (McIntyre et al., 2006). In addition, the demand is targeted on the same housing stock and there are few available areas for new second homes (Gallent et al., 2005; Marjavaara, 2008). At the other end of the 'rural continuum' there are peripheral rural areas with low population densities, and despite the fact that many of these are used also as arenas for recreation and tourism, overall they experience a decline in the permanent population and employment, and experience other socio-economic problems. Such declines may free up dwellings that subsequently can be sold as second homes, and there may be available land for new purpose-built second homes (Gallent et al., 2005; Marjavaara, 2008). Yet while population densities may be low in some of these areas, tourism and recreation may also compete for land use with other activities, such as forestry, environmental conservation, and mineral and water extraction (Wall and Mathieson, 2006).

3. Methodology

This article is based on both quantitative and qualitative data, comprising property data which contain information about the location, size, and standard of all second homes in Norway, official statistics relating to the population and employment, documents, and interviews. A more detailed analysis based on the real estate data (using geographical information systems) is presented elsewhere (Overvåg and Arnesen 2007).

Planning documents regarding second home developments are a valuable source of data and a starting point for analysing issues concerning space, including conflicts over space. Documents relating to 25 planning processes were studied: 15 in Ringebu and 10 in Kragerø. This process involved reading hundreds of documents, as there were tens of documents connected to each of the planning processes. The plans (texts and maps) had been produced by local authorities in Ringebu and Kragerø municipalities, but the files also included proposals and comments to the plans made by various actors, mainly including the county, the regional state (offices for representatives of the national government in the county), other

regional and/or national governments, and individuals (including second home owners and local inhabitants), investors, advisors, and various organizations.

The sequence of the data collection was vital, and we started by meeting with the managers and the mayor in the two study municipalities to seek support in identifying relevant documents and persons to interview. In the next step, we read the planning documents and from these we identified actors who had been involved in planning processes and who would be interesting to interview in the next step. Personal interviews were conducted to ensure less restricted access to information in order to elucidate the experiences and meanings of the actors involved, and also to discuss the actors' experiences, not only from specific planning processes but also from their broader engagement in second homes in general. The interviews were semi-structured and the content and order were predetermined to an extent, but the interview guide was adapted to the type of actor interviewed and the way in which the person in question had been involved in the planning process. The interviews were held with representatives of local authorities (the municipalities), the counties, regional state, landowners, developers, entrepreneurs, planning consultants (working on behalf of landowners and/or developers), owners of recreational homes (representing interest organizations for second home owners), and a local NGO. A total of 18 interviews were held: 10 in Ringebu and 8 in Kragerø.

There are two important features regarding the data and the way we present the data. First, several of the documents and interviews (especially from and/or with the counties, regional state and planning consultants) provided relevant data and information from a broader base of municipalities and counties. Hence, that the findings from the case studies in Ringebu and Kragerø have generated knowledge that is relevant for eastern Norway in a wider context. Second, this study is based on a 'thematic' analytical perspective, where we focus on roles and relations between actors. Following this perspective data are sorted and interpreted along key themes and understood as 'messages', which then can be used to discuss and develop theories (Widerberg, 2002). The advantage of using such a perspective is that interviews not only can reveal a person's opinions, but they can also expose underlying social structures, and document analysis has commonly been employed to expose and analyse such structures (Winchester, 2005; Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007). The use of this perspective has led to the present article being based on our own interpretations of the data, and not on quotations or direct references from individual persons.

The selection of Ringebu and Kragerø as cases was made following a number of considerations. Due to a wish to grasp the heterogeneity of the second home phenomenon in

eastern Norway we selected one municipality located on the coast and one in the mountains. Further, we defined two criteria for the selection: 1) there had to be a significant number of recreational homes in the municipality, and 2) not too many years should have elapsed since planning processes and development of new recreational home areas in the municipality had been carried out. The latter criterion was important as we wanted to interview people who had been involved in such processes, and it was important that they were able to remember as much as possible. These criteria excluded, for example, many municipalities located closer to Oslo, which had experienced high population increases, but where few new second homes had been built in recent years (see Figures 2 and 3, pages 11 and 12). Ringebu and Kragerø were finally chosen as we wanted to achieve a balance between recreational homes as an important local issue (as normally this would activate more actors and mechanisms in a situation study (Flyvbjerg 2001)), and also because we wanted them to be 'typical' of their respective geographical context (i.e. we used 'typical case sampling', according to Bradshaw & Stratford 2005). In other words, they were not to be so special that the results of the study would not be relevant for other places in Norway. From earlier research and the media, we knew that Ringebu and Kragerø had ongoing planning processes that were seen as important and discussed locally, and it was against this background that the two municipalities were finally chosen. Both municipalities are located on the outskirts of Oslo's weekend recreation zone and those of other cities and towns along Oslofjord (Fig. 1), and the findings from Ringebu and Kragerø seem to be most relevant also for other municipalities on the fringes of the recreational hinterland of Oslo.

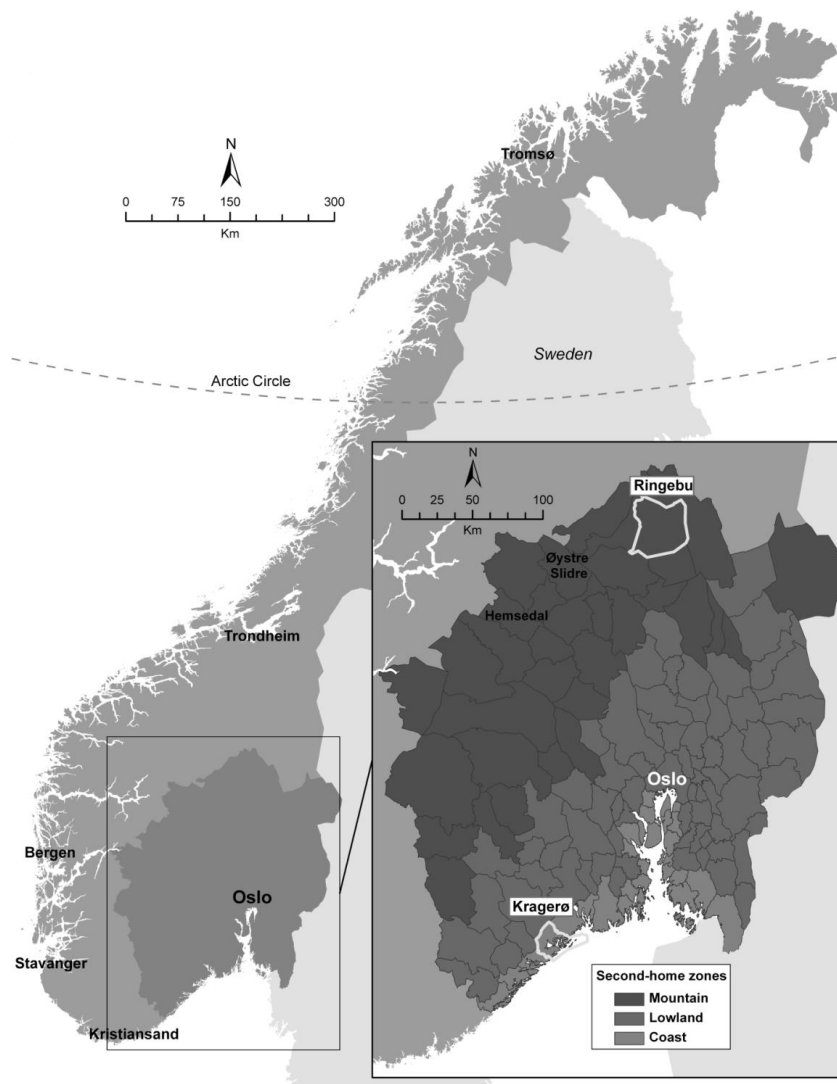


Fig. 1. The location of the study area, eastern Norway, with the second-home zones and also Ringebu Municipality and Kragerø Municipality (both outlined in white) and Øystre-Slidre Municipality and Hemsedal Municipality on the inset map (source: Norwegian Property Register).

Table 1 shows that there are significant numbers of second homes in Ringebu and Kragerø. In Ringebu the density of second homes is high in proportion to the permanent population, but quite low with respect to the area as a whole. In common with many mountain municipalities Ringebu has experienced a decline in the permanent population and primary industries, while there has been a considerable increase in the number of second homes. In Kragerø the density of second homes is lower compared to the permanent population, but

significantly higher with respect to the total land area (as in most other coastal municipalities) (Table 1).

The growth in the number of second homes has been more modest, but there has not been stagnation as in many other coastal areas closer to Oslo, and neither has Kragerø Municipality experienced a growth in the permanent population, but rather there has been a small decrease (Figures 2 and 3). In the next section, the second home phenomenon in Norway and the study area is described in order to contextualize the analysis.

Table 1. Characteristics of second homes in second-home zones in Kragerø Municipality and Ringebu Municipality, eastern Norway (source: Norwegian Property Register, Statistics Norway).

	Second homes 2006 (number)	Second homes per 100 permanent homes	Second homes per km ²	Change in second homes 1997-2006 (%)
Mountain zone	80 330	79.2	2.2	17.5
Lowland zone	52 202	7.3	1.7	7.4
Coast zone	50 990	16.8	10.1	2.1
Sum eastern Norway	183 522	16.4	2.5	9.9
<i>Norway</i>	<i>377 428</i>	<i>17.0</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>13</i>
Kragerø	3336	63.0	11.5	4.5
Ringebu	3220	144.1	2.6	32.5

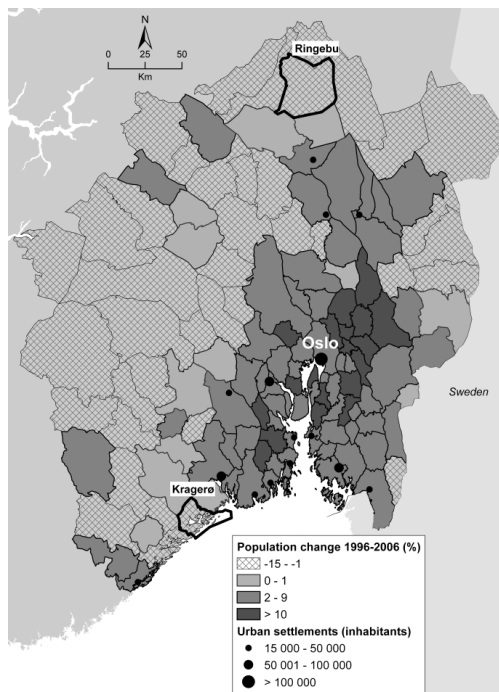


Fig. 2. Population change from 1999 to 2006 in municipalities in eastern Norway (%); urban settlements with more than 15,000 inhabitants are indicated (source: Statistics Norway).

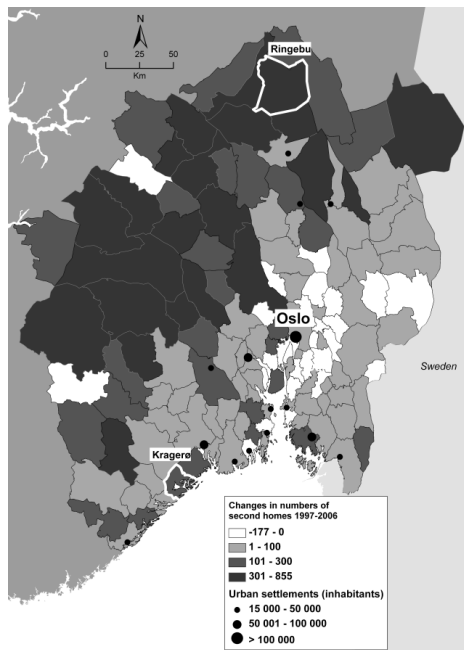


Fig. 3. Change in the number of second homes in municipalities in eastern Norway in the period 1997–2006; urban settlements with more than 15,000 inhabitants are indicated (source: Statistics Norway).

4. Second homes and rural development in eastern Norway

Oslo, together with the nearby regions along Oslofjord, is the most populated and urbanized region in Norway, and in this paper the part delimited as eastern Norway comprises areas that are within approximately four hours travelling distance by car from Oslo and nearby cities and towns. This area roughly constitutes the weekend recreation zone for these cities. Defined in this way, eastern Norway consists of 137 municipalities (Fig. 1). There are approximately 190,000 second homes in this region, which constitute *c.*45% of the second homes in Norway. Furthermore, by far the largest proportion (85%) of second homes owned by inhabitants in Oslo is located within this region (Overvåg and Arnesen, 2007; Statistics Norway, 2007b). There are second homes in many places in the region, but the highest concentrations are along the coast and in some part of the mountains. Population density is by far the highest along the coast and in the lowland regions surrounding the city of Oslo, while it is low in the mountains. Given these different characteristics we have divided the region into three different second-home zones: a *mountain zone* (> 600 metres above sea level), a *lowland zone* (< 600 metres above sea level), and a *coast zone* (1 km width along the coastline) (Fig. 1).

The zones were defined according to the location of second homes within each municipality; for example, if the majority of the second homes in a given municipality was located above 600 m, the municipality was categorized as falling in the ‘mountain zone’.

As in other Western countries, there have been profound processes of rural change in eastern Norway connected to primary production and migration. Employment in primary production has decreased during recent decades, and the change has been strongest in the mountain zone, with a 28% decrease since 1995. Despite this, primary production is still a considerable industry in this zone, and the size of the agricultural area is not decreasing (Statistics Norway 2007a). Regarding migration of permanent settlements, the pattern in Norway is characterized by centralization on two levels: in-migration from rural areas to urban settlements in all regions of the country, and in-migration from the other parts of the country to urban settlements in the Oslo region. In eastern Norway this has led to population decline in several municipalities, especially those in the mountain zone, and a considerable increase in the population in several municipalities in the lowland and in the coast zones (Fig. 2).

Approximately 40% of Norwegian households either own or have access to one or several second home(s), and the 415,000 second homes in Norway constitute more than 20% of the total housing stock, making Norway one of the European countries where access to second home is most widespread (Gallent et al., 2005; Vågane, 2006; Statistics Norway, 2007b). In recent decades, and in common with many other countries, Norway has experienced a strong growth in investment in second homes, as well as in their size and standard, and the largest and highest standard second homes are found in eastern Norway. There has been a considerable shift in the location pattern of second homes in eastern Norway in the last two decades, with most of the growth taking place in the mountain zone, while the two other zones have experienced either modest growth, or stagnation, or decline in the number of second homes (Overvåg, forthcoming) (Fig. 3 and Table 1).

Thus, the rough picture is that large parts of the mountain municipalities are experiencing simultaneous decline and ageing of the permanent population in combination with decrease in the primary industries on the one hand, while on the other hand there is a considerable increase in temporary in-migration of rather wealthy middle-aged second home owners. Of the 43 municipalities with population decline, the average growth in the number of second homes in the ten-year period 1997–2006 was 15.7%, while the growth in those municipalities which experienced increases in population was 6.3%. In a number of the mountain municipalities there has also been considerable growth in tourism in conjunction

with the growth in second homes. In many of the municipalities along the coast and in the lowlands there has been a considerable growth in the permanent population, while the number of second homes has stagnated or even declined.

As a result of the developments, second homes and tourism have now become increasingly significant actors and phenomena in many of the municipalities in eastern Norway. The numbers of second homes are actually higher than the number of permanent homes in 27 of the 137 municipalities, and this is especially evident in the mountain zone. A total of 24 of these municipalities are in the mountain zone, 1 is in the lowland zone, and 2 are in the coast zone (Fig. 4). In these places, and especially in those which also have a considerable tourist industry, second homes and recreation seem increasingly to influence rural change, and using by Halseth's (2004) concept they may be labelled 'rural-recreational countryside', where rural space is becoming more and more a landscape for leisure consumption than for everyday life and primary production.

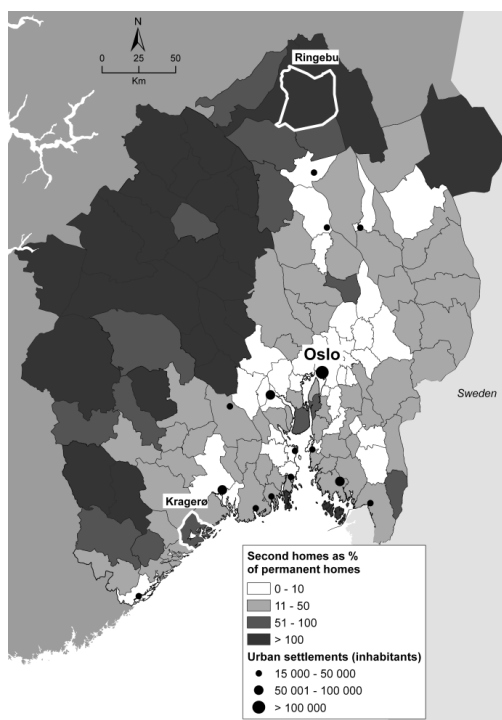


Fig. 4. Second homes as a percentage of permanent homes in municipalities in eastern Norway in 2006; urban settlements with more than 15,000 inhabitants are indicated (source: Statistics Norway).

5. Pure harmony in eastern Norway?

Despite the great importance of second homes in eastern Norway, including our case-study municipalities, our study shows that the level of conflict and contestation seems to be quite low compared to what might be expected from international experiences. There has also been little focus on conflicts in earlier research on second homes in Norway, probably reflecting that such issues have not been high on the agenda. However, this does not imply that second homes are not discussed or are not a controversial issue. On the contrary, publicity and discussions about second homes, both nationally and locally, regularly appear in the media and there is considerable discussion concerning local land use plans that involve how second homes may develop. Such discussions and conflicts seem, however, only to a minor degree to be grounded in the fact that different groups use the same spaces for leisure or work and/or everyday life, have different representations of the same spaces, that their sense of place is based on different aspects of a given place, and that local people may be displaced from their permanent residence, i.e. issues that have been highlighted in much of the literature on second homes. Rather, our data document that discussions in parts of eastern Norway which have experienced significant growth in second homes addresses land use and issues such as: where to build second homes from which landowners and/or developers will profit; whether the land should be used for other purposes than second homes (farming, forestry, and public access to attractive recreational areas); environmental aspects such as whether second home developments are degrading areas that are valuable for their biological diversity or important habitats, e.g. for wild reindeer; and the economic importance of second homes for the local economy and tourism development, changes in property prices, demand, etc.

In this article we will claim that there are five broadly interconnected characteristics of Norwegian rurality and the second home phenomenon that can explain the differences between eastern Norway and other countries regarding level of conflict and issues at stake relating to second homes. We will elaborate on each of the characteristics, in the following.

1) Norway has, in common with, for example, Sweden and Finland, a low population density and quite large areas of unspoilt rural land that are attractive and have potential as second home locations. The population density in Norway is 14 persons per km², whereas for example Britain has 249, Germany 231 and France 111 persons per km² (United Nations Statistics Division, 2008). Together with Norwegians' longing for 'nature' in conjunction with their second homes (to be discussed later in this paper), this has resulted in a *spatial separation between most second homes and permanent homes*. Only 4.6% of the second homes in eastern Norway are located within urban settlements, and permanent homes are

rarely located within second home areas. The location pattern in Ringebu (Fig. 5) is one that is found in many mountain areas in eastern Norway. The second homes are located at relatively high altitudes in mountainous areas, and relatively far from most of the first homes located in the valley (the average distance between second homes and the nearest settlement is 12.8 km in the mountain zone, and practically none (0.2%) of the second homes are located within permanent settlements). There are, of course, exceptions to this pattern, for example in Beitostølen in Øystre Slidre Municipality and in Hemsedal Municipality (Fig. 1), where the urban settlements and second homes are more closely located, but still mainly in separate areas. Along the coast, second home areas and permanent settlements are much more closely located (the average distance is 1.9 km between second homes and the nearest urban settlement, and 11.6% of the second homes are located within urban settlements). This situation is linked to a relatively high population density along the coast, and to the shoreline being the most attractive location for both permanent settlements and second homes. Yet even here most second homes are in separate areas, as the map of Kragerø shows (Fig. 6).

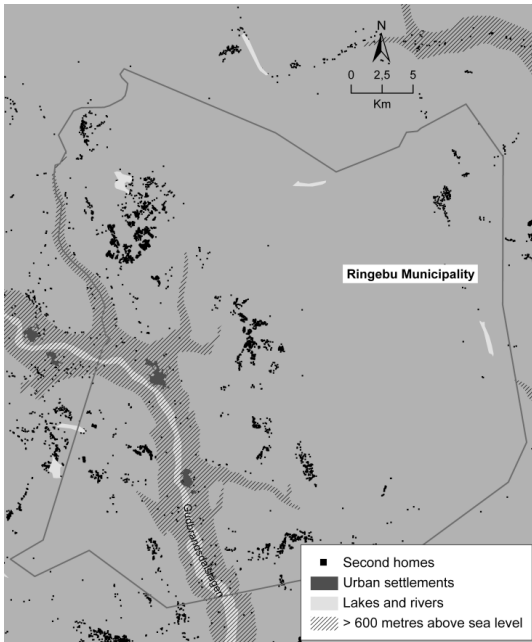


Fig. 5. The location of second homes and urban settlements in Ringebu Municipality, in 2006 (source: Norwegian Property Register).

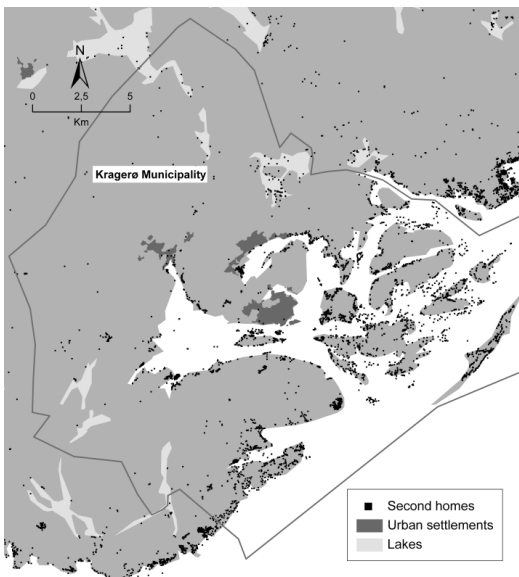


Fig. 6. The location of second homes and urban settlements in Kragerø Municipality, in 2006 (source: Norwegian Property Register).

Thus, although most second home owners in Norway share spaces with other second home owners, they are only to a minor degree 'forced' to share the same spaces with local residents or other groups. Work and leisure 'situations', different representations of the rural and different senses of place are therefore often spatially separate, and as a consequence many of the conflicts and contestations over space issues, that to a large extent are grounded in shared spaces, seem to be avoided in eastern Norway.

2) In a discussion on the differences between Norwegian and/or Swedish and British representations of rurality, Berg and Forsberg (2003) argue that one basic characteristic of the Norwegian and Swedish countryside is that it is associated with democratic symbols and is a '*place for everybody*', in contrast to the British countryside that to a large degree is reserved for the wealthy few and controlled by private property holders (Urry, 1995; Murdoch et al., 2003). This is explained partly by the fact that the historical landholding system in Norway is based on a tradition of relatively small self-owned farms, and partly by the statutory right of public access to the countryside that gives people the right to move freely (with certain restrictions) across and on private landholdings (Berg and Forsberg, 2003; Sandell, 2006). Further, Berg and Forsberg state that because of low population densities in Scandinavia, land prices fall sharply within short distances from the city centres, making it possible for most people to attain proper property within commuting distance from a city. Consequently, the second home tradition in Norway and Sweden is just as much a characteristic of the working and middle classes as of people who are comparatively wealthy. In sum this means that '*there are class-differences in the usage of the countryside due to legislation and tradition in Scandinavia and Britain. While countryside recreation in Sweden and Norway is spread among classes, it is understood as an occupation for the middle and the upper classes in Britain*' (Berg and Forsberg, 2003, p. 180). In short, ordinary people in Norway and Sweden have a feeling of belonging to the countryside. According to Hiltunen (2007) and Pitkänen (2008) this is also the case in Finland. Although land prices have risen in the last couple of decades there is a high percentage of second home ownership among many strata of the Norwegian population today. This is a reflection of the general increase in personal wealth in the same period and a still relatively equal income distribution compared with the distribution in many other Western countries (CIA, 2008). In sum, the relatively small socio-economic differences between second home owners, locals and other groups contribute to low levels of conflict.

3) Similar to what seems to be a common characteristic of second home owners in the Western world, the most important motives for owning and using second homes in Norway is

the desire for recreation and/or leisure and to experience change and removal from everyday life (Vorkinn, 2003; Bjerke et al., 2006; Ericsson, 2006). In contrast to what seems to be the situation in Britain (Gallent et al., 2005), and other places where second homes mostly are located within existing rural settlements, 'rural community' (traditional, safe, harmonious, etc.) seems to have very little importance in Norway. Rather, it is rather 'nature', as a place to be and in which to perform activities, which is the main focus of most second home owners in eastern Norway (Kaltenborn, 1998; Ericsson, 2006). Bell (2006) distinguishes between three ideal, typical rural idylls: the pastoral ('farmscapes'), the natural ('wildscapes'), and the sporting ('adventurescapes'). Among Norwegian second home owners it is undoubtedly the natural and the sporting rural idylls that are important. Norwegians' longing for 'nature' has been explained as a central aspect of the national culture-building (just as in other Scandinavian countries, the US and Canada), and second home ownership has been seen as part of a 'back to nature' tradition that is closely linked to national history and identity (Kaltenborn, 1997; Löfgren, 1999, Pitkänen 2008). While this may still be true for many second home owners, an interest in modern activities (such as alpine skiing and golf) is significant in some areas (Ericsson, 2006), and this is reflected in the increasing numbers of second homes densely located in connection with new tourism attractions, i.e. less connected with Norwegian traditions. We assume that in these newer and more densely occupied second home areas socializing and a shared sense of community with other cottage owners may be important, just as Jaakson (1986) and Williams and Kaltenborn (1999) found in studies in Canada and Wisconsin, US, respectively. No comparable studies have been undertaken to date in Norway, but our case studies in Ringebu and Kragerø show that in some second home areas the owners are well organized, are active in promoting their interests in land use planning processes, and are working for better infrastructure and recreation facilities in their second home areas. This implies some sense of community among second home owners within a distinct physical setting.

Despite this apparent heterogeneity in motivations and aspects of second home ownership in eastern Norway, there is no doubt that it is nature and undertaking activities in nature that are most important for the majority of second home owners, as the above review of Norwegian second home research shows. Community aspects of the 'rural idyll' have little importance. Urban-rural permanent migrants in Norway are, however, influenced by such representations (Berg and Forsberg, 2003; Haugen and Lysgård, 2006), in common with rural in-migrants in Britain (Halfacree, 1998), for example. Undoubtedly, the spatial separation of second and first homes has rendered 'rural community' insignificant for most second home

owners in eastern Norway. They share spaces with locals and other groups only to a very small extent, and to a minor degree their sense of place based on leisure and recreation coexist in the same space with others' 'everyday' and work-based senses of place. Further, this means that the future development of existing rural settlements has much less importance for many second home owners in eastern Norway than in places and countries where second homes and existing rural settlements are much more connected, both spatially and through different representation concerning the same spaces. All this implies fewer conflicts between second home owners and other groups.

4) Another factor contributing to low levels of conflict is the existence of separate markets for second homes and permanent homes in eastern Norway. The spatial separation and nature-focused character of the second home phenomenon discussed above partly explains this situation. In addition, most second homes are purpose-built, and many are still of a size and standard (lacking insulation, connection to sewage pipes, electricity) that makes them unsuitable as permanent residences. Neither the infrastructure nor services (road access, transportation, schools, health services, shops, etc.) are in place for permanent settlements in many of the second home areas. Although the standard of some second homes has increased substantially in recent decades (Overvåg and Arnesen, 2007), making many of them suitable as permanent residences, the lack of infrastructure and services means they remain less attractive as permanent dwellings in many areas. The land use planning regulations in Norway, with distinct land use classes for second homes and permanent homes, also contribute to keeping the markets separate, especially in the mountains and lowlands. In attractive locations on the coast the situation is quite different, and much of the existing housing stock is sought after as second homes. To avoid increased prices and hence possible displacement of the local population, and to keep communities vigorous all year round, many municipalities have introduced a residence obligation in those areas with housing defined as a land use class for permanent residents. This means that houses must be occupied for at least 6 months in a year. Although the effects of the residence obligation are debated and questioned (see, for example, Marjavaara, 2008), our study shows that in Kragerø it is viewed as an important instrument by both the municipality and local groups in order to maintain the existence of two separate markets. Although implementing and controlling the residence obligation is demanding for the municipality, the obligation is seen as the most means for avoiding displacement and ghost towns for most of the year, also in the future. We consider the fact that there are still large price differences between permanent and second homes in

Kragerø (the latter have substantially higher prices) is an indication that the residence obligation is proving effective in maintaining two separate housing markets.

Thus, in summary, in most places in eastern Norway the demand from potential second home owners and those who intend to reside there permanently is not directed at the same housing stock, and hence many of the problems and conflicts experienced elsewhere are avoided. Many of the existing second homes are regarded as unsuitable as permanent homes by many people, in many lowland and mountain areas the location of the existing housing stock is not attractive to second home owners, and along the coast the residence obligation contributes to a situation that seems to sustain two separate housing markets in eastern Norway.

5) The last characteristic we will draw attention to is the continued centralization and urbanization of permanent settlements in Norway. Contrary to most Western countries, there has not been counter-urbanization in Norway, just periods of slow urbanization (Kontuly, 1998), and the urbanization trend is still quite strong (Statistics Norway, 2007c). As mentioned earlier, this has led to a population decline in several municipalities in eastern Norway, especially in the mountain zone, and a considerable increase in the population in several municipalities in the lowland zone and coast zone (Fig. 2). In many of the municipalities experiencing population decline new second home developments are seen as a needed and welcomed contribution to sustain and develop the local economy and employment, and second home tourism has been a target area for industrial development in a number of the rural municipalities. In Ringebu such a strategy has met little local resistance, and our interviews indicate that this is mainly due to the spatial separation between second home areas and the permanent settlements. In Kragerø our study shows that second home tourism is seen as a more 'double-edged' development strategy, as many of the new development areas are located quite close to the permanent settlements, and also because second home owners use much of the same infrastructure and services as the permanent population (harbour, shops, etc.), leading to capacity problems in the summer. At the same time, it is recognized that second homes contribute substantially to local employment and hence in the municipalities' efforts to attract more permanent inhabitants.

In sum, we argue that these five characteristics of rural Norway and the Norwegian second home phenomenon contribute to lower levels of conflict and contestations between second home owners and local groups in eastern Norway than seems to be the case in many other countries and places. The separation between second homes owners and locals both spatially and commercially, combined with the second home owners 'indifference' towards

the existing rural communities and the low socio-economic differences between second home owners and others, seems to have contributed to a situation whereby second homes are valued more for their contribution to local economic development, than leading to contested space issues.

6. Heterogeneity and evolving conflicts

In section 5 we have described a rather harmonious situation regarding second homes in eastern Norway. While this is true in many places, societal characteristics and trends connected to second homes and tourism make the second home phenomenon increasingly heterogeneous and a contested issue, both socially and spatially, than it may at first seem, also in eastern Norway.

There is no doubt that when seen as one entity Norway has large areas of unspoilt rural land that are attractive and have potential as second home locations. However, there are quite high pressures on some attractive areas within weekend travel distance from many of the cities in eastern Norway. In the coastal zone there are, as mentioned earlier, relatively high densities of both permanent population housing and second homes, people to a large degree share many of the same places and landscapes, and populations are increasing in several areas. Especially the attractive shore zone close to Oslo is under pressure and increasingly privatized, leaving fewer areas accessible to the general public (Statistics Norway, 2007d). The increasing pressure comes not only from second homes, but also from the permanent population (for houses and daily recreation) and an accompanying urban growth (Overvåg, forthcoming). In media this is reflected in frequently reported discussions relating to building and access to the shore in this part of the country.

In the coastal areas in Kragerø our case study shows that pressure has been felt very strongly in recent years, especially from the national environmental government on the one side (exerting increased pressure to keep the remaining shoreline open to the general public) and from developers and/or investors on the other side (pushing for new second home developments due to the high potential for profit). This has led to a situation where the newest second home developments have been located on former industrial sites, and where some of them are located close to or within the existing urban settlements. Together with the aforementioned increased pressure on the local infrastructure and services, this has led to much debate on whether Kragerø has reached a 'threshold' regarding the number of second homes and what the potential consequences might be of second homes being mixed with permanent settlements to a larger degree. Some politicians have called for a total stop of

further second home developments until these issues have been thoroughly discussed and planned. Further, it seems that some of the local residents and existing second home owners are standing together in their protests against some of the new development plans, as they fear that they will lead to more pressure on the infrastructure and services that both groups use, and that idyllic villages will develop into ghost towns during wintertime. Thus, it seems that the two groups share some meanings and values, as Stedman (2006) noted could be the case.

In the mountain and lowland zones in eastern Norway the situation is quite different. As mentioned, the density of population and second homes is much lower than in the coast zone, and most second homes are located at a distinct distance from the permanent population (Fig. 5). In general, this also seems to lead to fewer conflicts regarding second homes. That is not to say that second homes are unproblematic everywhere in the mountain and lowland zones. A still significant agricultural sector (in terms of land use) and active land use planning where environmental considerations are increasingly strong, are to some degree restricting the amount of attractive areas available for second homes, including in these areas. Further, the increased demand for high standards, and alpine skiing and golf (which require dense locations of second homes, due to costs and time), in combination with stronger environmental regulations, has led to most of the second homes being located in quite dense developments in the last two decades, especially those connected to tourist destinations in the mountains (Arnesen et al., 2002; Overvåg and Arnesen, 2007). This has resulted in incidences of conflicts also in the mountain zone. In Ringebu our study has revealed that the major discussion has been grounded in, firstly, in an increased focus by the national environmental government on protecting the habitat of wild reindeer. This has led almost to a complete ban on all new second home and tourism developments in the mountain areas to the east of the valley (Fig. 5), in turn leading to loud protests from the municipality, developers and the existing tourist industry. Secondly, there have been several disputes between existing second home owners and developers and/or landowners and the municipality. Through land use plans in several areas, developers, landowners and municipality have proposed and implemented a compression or extension of existing second home areas to enhance the economic returns and spillover effects of areas that are already developed. Such developments might negatively affect the existing 'leisure-environment' for many of the existing second home owners and have led to protests and complaints, thus demonstrating that they are being negative in not granting others access to 'their' areas and in adopting a 'not in my backyard' mentality. In other words, here we see a resistance to development and the construction of exclusivity, as discussed by Halfacree (1998), Müller et al. (2004) and Sandell (2006).

Berg and Forsberg's (2003) argument concerning low land prices and low levels of class differences in terms of access to the countryside and ownership of second homes also needs to be nuanced, and the relevance of this argument has probably decreased in the last two decades. Although second home ownership is quite widespread, there is a clear connection between income and second home ownership, and second home owners have higher incomes than the average population (Flognfeldt jr., 2005; Vågane, 2006). Further, the prices of homes and second homes have increased sharply in recent years (more in the case of second homes than in permanent homes), and much more than average prices and incomes. Second home prices in Norway increased fourfold between 1991 and 2005, while average house prices increased by only 33% in the same period (Ericsson, 2006). Furthermore, in a situation where inequality in income distribution is increasing in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2007d), one can expect increasing socio-economic differences between second home owners and other groups of people. Further, this development in prices and socio-economic differences is certainly not even in spatial terms. In general, the socio-economic differences may be especially evident in eastern Norway and the mountain regions. The latter are at the same time experiencing decline in the permanent and ageing population, and an increase in the numbers of rather wealthy owners of new second homes. Additionally, the prices of second homes vary considerably between regions within eastern Norway, with the highest prices found along the coast and in popular winter sports destinations in the mountains. The second home market thus seems to have become more heterogeneous, where some places with relatively moderate prices are available to a considerable proportion of the population, while in other places only people who are economically well off can afford to buy second homes. The most notable effect of this is that buying second homes along the attractive shoreline in eastern Norway is available only to a small proportion of the population today.

From the literature we would expect that this increase in socio-economic differences would lead to an increase in the level of conflicts between second home owners and local groups. However, in our case studies we did not find any tendencies that could be linked to increases in socio-economic differences. The separation, both spatially and commercially, and also second home owners' focus on nature, are probably important reasons for this situation. We did, however, find that the municipalities, landowners and developers in Kragerø and Ringebru experience that many second home owners have a lot of resources with which to make their voices heard in planning processes. For example, such owners use lawyers and architects to prepare suggestions and complaints in line with their opinions. They are thus seen as a powerful group that in general are in a better position to promote their interests than

many local groups and inhabitants, and hence this may be indicative of tendencies of increased power among the leisure groups, just as in Sandell's (2006) example.

As this discussion has shown, the second home phenomenon in eastern Norway is an increasingly heterogeneous phenomenon, and contestations over second home developments are increasingly evolving. The influence of second homes on rural areas is diverse and varies between different places and regions, and the level of conflicts and kind of issues at stake vary. Kragerø and the coast in eastern Norway have many similarities with the description of rural hinterlands of urban areas given by Hall (2005) and McIntyre et al. (2006). Spaces are to a large degree shared (or are close to each other) by several groups of people (long-term residents, second home owners, tourists), and access to the shore is contested. Further, prices are high, leading to increased socio-economic differences between second home owners and other groups. Ringebu, and the mountain and lowland zones in general, are more peripheral and characterized by low population densities and much land that could potentially be used for second home development, as found in studies by Gallent et al. (2005) and Marjavaara (2008). However, the situation in Ringebu shows, as Wall and Mathieson (2006) argue, that also in such areas there can be contestations over land use, resulting in a lack of abundant land available for second homes.

Gallent et al. (2005) argue that potentially negative impacts of second homes are dependent on whether the demand from both second home owners and locals is targeted against the same housing stock. They state that in, for example, Scandinavia, France and Spain this is avoided (in contrast to in Britain) partly because these countries have more available rural land where purpose-built second homes can be built. Gallent et al. further state that political interventions that have been suggested in Britain to delimit conflicts, such as a separate land use class for second homes and stronger occupancy control, are legally and practically fraught. Our discussion has shown that in eastern Norway the demand is not directed against the same housing stock, and hence many potentially negative impacts are avoided, in line with Gallent et al.'s (2005) reasoning. Of course, there are also potentially positive impacts, such as second home owners filling the gaps that would otherwise result from rural out-migration (Müller, 1999). This situation is, however, only partially explained by the availability of land, which in any case is a confined resource also in parts of eastern Norway. Our study shows that in addition a combination of Norwegians' motivations for owning a second home (focused on nature rather than on rural living) and political interventions (land use planning and occupancy control through residence obligation) are important elements in explaining the separation between second homes and permanent

residential areas and also efforts to keep them separate, both spatially and commercially, and hence to delimit the potential negative impacts of second homes.

7. Conclusions

Our analysis shows that the impact of second homes can vary significantly between different places and regions in eastern Norway, and that second homes certainly can be a contested phenomenon there too. The main explanation for this situation is that rural land for second home developments is undoubtedly a confined resource in many attractive areas within weekend travel distance from the Oslo region, especially along the coast, where the density of second and permanent homes is quite high. For many potential second home owners in the Oslo region it is of little interest that there is cheap land available for second homes in other rural regions in Norway. In Kragerø and along the coast second homes to a large degree are close to, and partly share space with, permanent settlements, and access to the shore is highly limited and contested. Here, second homes are at the centre of the debate over the future land use along the coast. In Ringebu, and in the mountain and lowland regions in general, it seems that second homes are still quite uncontroversial, but also here there can be contestations over land use between second homes and farming, forestry and environmental purposes. Stronger environmental concerns in combination with increased population numbers in eastern Norway will probably increase the pressure on attractive areas within weekend travel distance from the Oslo region, and thus also increase the potential for contestations and conflicts between second homes and other interests.

The conflicts we found were first and foremost between developers and/or entrepreneurs (often in alliance with the municipality) on the one side and existing second home owners and/or local populations and/or environmental governments on the other. Our findings are thus to a large degree in accordance with Hall's (2005) statement that the sharpest contrast in tourism development is between place entrepreneurs, who strive for maximal financial return, and local residents (including second home owners). In addition, the study has shown how diverse forms of political power increasingly are mobilized to promote actors' interests in planning debates on second homes developments. This reflects both the potential economic value of potential developments, and the importance of residential environments for existing second home owners and residents. Such mobilization of power has been found in studies of tourism resort developments (Gill, 2001; 2007), but to our knowledge has not been emphasized in other case studies focusing on second home developments. Finally, our study illustrates how diverse the impacts of second homes can be between different places, leading

to different conflicts and alliances between actors. Despite what might be expected in 'peripheral' rural Norway, land use for second homes is both a limited resource and a contested issue in attractive areas within weekend travelling distance from the major population concentrations in eastern Norway. Second homes are thus both 'in place' and 'out of place' (Cresswell, 1996) in this part of Norway.

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Second homes and maximum yield in marginal land: the re-resourcing of rural land in Norway.

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Summary

It is generally argued that commodification of rural areas leads to a change in the rural economy from being based on exploiting the physical environment to be mainly based on exploiting the aesthetical appeal of rural areas. In this article, however, it is revealed that commodification of rural areas in Norway is closely connected with exploiting the physical environment, including through the re-resourcing of land from marginal agriculture and abandoned industrial sites into second home developments. This re-resourcing has also been an economic driving force for related tourist, housing and infrastructure developments. Politically, it has significantly influenced local power configurations. Simultaneously, external and local actors are commanded by stronger environmental regulations that govern the geography of re-resourcing. This article is based on studies of the municipalities of Ringebu and Kragerø, Norway, using analysis of planning documents and qualitative interviews.

Keywords: second homes, commodification, re-resourcing

Is not included due to copyright

APPENDIX

Appendix: Record of documents and interviews

The Appendix includes a record of documents and analysed data relating to interviews undertaken for the case studies in Ringebu and Kragerø.

The documents are sorted according to the planning process to which they belong. The original language (Norwegian) has been kept, although the names of the main documents and planning process have been translated to English (in parenthesis). From the record it seems that the scope of documents analysed in Kragerø is significantly less wide than in Ringebu. However, the number of documents and pages are approximately the same. The seeming difference is mainly due to the different ways in which the documents connected to the planning processes in Kragerø and Ringebu are organised.

All interviews that were conducted are listed. As it may be possible to identify some interviewees from the position they held, this was clarified with the persons in question.

Ringebu Municipality

Documents:

- Reguleringsplan for Kvitfjell, 1991. (*Land zoning plan for Kvitfjell, 1991*)
 - Selve planen (kartet og reguleringsbestemmelser)
 - Kommunal saksbehandling
 - Høringsuttalelser
 - Diverse dokumenter om grunneiersamarbeid mv. på slutten av 1980-tallet, som var en del av forarbeidet til denne planen.

- Kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell, 1993. (*Municipal sector plan for Kvitfjell, 1993*)
 - Selve planen (kartet og reguleringsbestemmelser)
 - Kommunale sakspapirer og utredninger
 - Høringsuttalelser

- Kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell, 2001–2011. (*Municipal sector plan for Kvitfjell, 2001–2011*)
 - Revisjon av kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell – målsettinger og forutsetninger for videre arbeid. (ukjent dato, men i 2000)
 - Selve planen (kart og planbestemmelser) (20.06.2001)
 - Planforslag til vedtak i formannskapet (6.3.2001)
 - Revisjon av kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell – Offentlig ettersyn (foreløpig høringsrunde til offentlige etater med sikte på å avklare event. konfliktpunkter). 19.03.2001)
 - Revisjon av kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell etter offentlig ettersyn (20.06.2001)
 - Høringsuttalelser
 - Vegetasjon- og beitekartlegging. Utarbeidet av NIJOS (05.02.2001)

- Kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell Vest, 2006-2016. (*Municipal sector plan for Kvitfjell West, 2006–2016*)
 - Selve planen (kart og planbestemmelser) (01.06.2006)
 - Forslag om ny kommunedelplan for Kvitfjell Vest (sak i kommunestyret 21.06.2005)
 - 2. gangs behandling – inkl. sammendrag av høringsuttalelser (sak i kommunestyret 01.06.2006)
 - Planbeskrivelse med konsekvensutredning (01.06.2006)
 - Høringsuttalelser
- Kommunedelplan for Fåvang Østfjell, 2004-2015. (*Municipal sector plan for Fåvang Østfjell, 2004–2015*)
 - Planbeskrivelse (24.06.2004)
 - Kommunedelplan for Fåvang Østfjell – sak i kommunestyret (24.06.2004)
 - Høringsuttalelser (både fra 1. og 2. gangs høring)
- Forslag til reguleringsplan for Fåvangfjellet – annen gangs behandling (23.10.1987) (*Propositions relating to land zoning plan for Fåvangfjellet – second round, 23.10.1987*)
- Langdalen, E. (1965) Venabygdsfjellet. I Sømme, A. (red) *Fjellbygd og feriefjell*. Oslo, Cappelen.
- Disposisjonsplan for Trabelia/Venabygd (februar 1974) (*Municipal sector plan for Trabelia/Venabygd (February 1974)*)
- Soneplan for Venabygdsfjellet. Ringebu kommune 1983 (en del av generalplanarbeidet). (*Land zoning plan for Venabygdsfjellet, 1983*)
- Kommunedelplan Venabygdsfjellet, 1987 (*Municipal sector plan for Venabygdsfjellet, 1987*)
 - Revisjon av kommuneplanen 1986 (28.08.1987)
 - Fylkeslandbruksstyret i Oppland. Kommunedelplan for Venabygdsfjellet. 2. gangs behandling (03.12.1987)
- Revisjon av kommunedelplan for Venabygdsfjellet. Planforutsetninger og målsettinger (25.01.94) (*Revision of municipal sector plan for Venabygdsfjellet, 1994*)
- Kommunedelplan for Venabygdsfjellet, 2007-2014. (*Municipal sector plan for Venabygdsfjellet, 2007–2014*)
 - Planbestemmelser (03.08.2007)
 - Planbeskrivelse (03.08.2007)
 - 4. gangs offentlige ettersyn (22.02.07)
 - Høringsuttalelser
- Ringebu kommune – Generalplan, 1976-87 (*Ringebu – Municipal master plan, 1976–87*)
- Ringebu kommune – Generalplan, 1982-93 (*Ringebu – Municipal master plan, 1982–93*)

- Arealdisponerings- og tiltaksplan for utmarksområdene i Ringebu kommune (kommunedelplan) (forslag 08.07.1986, vedtatt 17.6.1987) (*Municipal sector plan for unenclosed land in Ringebu kommune, 1987*)
- Ringebu kommune - kommuneplanens arealdel (27.05.93) (*Municipal master plan for land use in Ringebu, 1993*)
- Beitebruksplan for Ringebu (21.10.2003) (*Plan for grazing land in Ringebu, 2003*)

Interviews:

Person/position	Status of interview
Jordbruksrådgiver, Midt-Gudbrandsdalen Landbrukskontor (<i>Advisor on agricultural matters, Midt-Gudbrandsdalen Agricultural Office</i>)	Personal interview, 09.10.07. At her office, Hundorp
Arealplanlegger i Sør-Fron kommune. Tidligere planlegger i Ringebu kommune og konsulent. (<i>Land-use planner in Sør-Fron Municipality (neighbouring municipality). Former land-use planner in Ringebu Municipality, and consultant for planning of second-home areas</i>)	Personal interview, 09.10.07. At his office, Hundorp
Daglig leder av konsultantselskapet Areal + Tidligere planlegger i Ringebu kommune. (<i>Manager of Areal, a consultancy company + Former planner in Ringebu Municipality</i>)	Personal interview, 18.10.07. At his office, Fåvang
Pensjonist. Tidligere teknisk sjef i Ringebu (1969-2005) (<i>Pensioner. Former manager in Ringebu Municipality, 1969-2005</i>)	Personal interview, 18.10.07. In a café, Ringebu
Utbygger, Kvitfjell Vest. (<i>Investor, Kvitfjell West</i>)	Personal interview, 1.11.07. In a borrowed office, Lillehammer.
Plankoordinator, Fylkesmannen i Oppland (<i>Planning Coordinator, County Governor of Oppland</i>)	Personal interview, 25.10.07. At his office, Lillehammer
Tidligere leder av 'Referansegruppe i U3' (<i>Former leader of Referansegruppe i U3, an interest organisation for second home owners in Kvitfjell</i>)	Personal interview, 24.10.07. At his office, Oslo
Kontaktperson, Gammelseter hytteforening (<i>Leader of an interest organisation for second home owners in Kvitfjell</i>)	Telephone interview, 25.10.07. (Refused to be interviewed, but a short conversation took place)
Leder, Gullhaugen Velforening (<i>Leader of an interest organisation for second home owners in Kvitfjell</i>)	Telephone interview, 22.10.07. (short).
Gårdbruker i Ringebu med gård og seter i Kvitfjellområdet (<i>Farmers and landowners in Ringebu, owning both a farm and a mountain farm in the Kvitfjell area.</i>)	Personal interview, 13.11.07. At their home, Fåvang

A seminar and excursion to Kvitfjell was arranged for 11 September 2007. In the methodology section of this thesis, this seminar is described as a dialogue seminar. The following researchers participated:

- Tor Arnesen, Eastern Norway Research Institute
- Rolf Barlindhaug, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR)
- Birgitta Ericsson, Eastern Norway Research Institute
- Thor Flognfeldt jr, Lillehammer University College
- Dieter Müller, Umeå University
- Kjell Overvåg, Eastern Norway Research Institute
- Terje Skjeggedal, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR)

In addition, the following four persons participated in the seminar:

Person/institution	Status
Daglig leder Randsfjordmuseene. Tidligere jobbet i Ringebru kommune og Kvitfjell Utvikling (<i>Manager of Randsfjord Museum. Former planner and manager in Ringebru Municipality and Kvitfjell Utvikling – a development company</i>)	Speech/conversation 11.10.07
Utbygger/grunneier. Krystallen Eiendom. (<i>Landowner and investor</i>)	Speech/conversation 11.10.07
Daglig leder Kvitfjell Alpinanlegg, og delaktig i utbygging for Kvitfjell Holding som eier alpinanlegget. (<i>Manager of Kvitfjell Alpinanlegg, which also acts as an investor</i>)	Speech/conversation 11.10.07
Grunneier og gårdbruker i Kvitfjell Vest. Har utbyggingsareal og seter. (<i>Farmer and landowner in Kvitfjell</i>)	Conversation 11.10.07

Kragerø Municipality

Documents:

- Kommuneplan for Kragerø, 2007 – 2019 (2008-2020). (*Municipal master plan for Kragerø, 2007–2019*)
 - Planprogram og varsel om oppstart (20.06.2006)
 - Innspill til samfunnsdelen (før det er lagt ut noe forslag) (15.10.2006)
 - Innspill til arealdelen (før det er lagt ut noe forslag) 16.11.2006, og nyere oppdatering med vurdering av bygningssjef/arealplangruppa, november 2007
 - Saksframlegg, Kommuneplanen (12.11.2007)
 - Samfunnsdel. Forslag sendt til høring (12.11.07)
 - Arealdel. Forslag sendt til høring (12.11.07)
 - Konsekvensutredninger. Forslag sendt til høring (02.11.07)
- Kommuneplan for Kragerø, 2003 – 2015 (*Municipal master plan for Kragerø, 2003–2015*)
 - Arealdelen. Selve planen (kartet og reguleringsbestemmelser)
 - Arealdelen. Saksutredningen, inkl. gjennomgang av innspillene. (16.10.2003)
 - Samfunnsdel. Plandokumentet og saksutredningen – inkl. gjennomgang av innspillene. (16.10.2003)
 - Høringsuttalelser
- Reguleringsplaner Kragerø Golf og Hytter (*Land zoning plans for Kragerø Golf og Hytter*)
 - Konsekvensutredning – Hoveddokument (Mars 2000)
 - Høring – Reguleringsplan Kragerø Golf og hytter. (Mai 2000)
 - Reguleringsplan – Kragerø Golf og hytter (28.08.2000)
 - Reguleringsplan – Kragerø Golf og hytter II (23.08.2002) (dette er en tilleggsregulering som omfatter nye arealer fordi noen arealer i den første planen ble tatt ut pga innsigelser)
- 2. gangs behandling av reguleringsplan for Stabbestad sentrum (10.02.2005) (*Land zoning plan for Stabbestad, second round, 2005*)
- Haslumkilen havn (*Land zoning plans for Haslumkilen harbour*)
 - Reguleringsplan for Østre Finsbudalen (25.06.1987)
 - Reguleringsplan for Stølefjordhavn (tidligere Portørsenteret) (16.05.1994)
- Reguleringsplan for Gulodden på Bærøy, 3.gangs behandling (13.11.2003) (*Land zoning plan for Gulodden, Bærøy, third round, 2003*)
 - Selve planen (kartet og reguleringsbestemmelsene)
 - Saksframlegg
 - Høringsuttalelser
- Forslag til reguleringsplan for Skrubodden, 2. gangs behandling (02.03.2006) (*Land zoning plan for Skrubodden, second round, 2006*)
- Kommundelplan for Kragerø sentrum (14.06.2001) (*Municipal sector plan for Kragerø town centre, 2001*)

- Kommundelplan for Kragerø Temaplan Landbruk (18.05.2006) (*Municipal sector plan for Agriculture in Kragerø, 2006*)
- Årsbudsjett 2007 og økonomiplan, Kragerø kommune, 2007-2010 (14.12.2007) (*Budget 2007 and economic plan for Kragerø, 2007–2010*)
- Reiselivsplan for Kragerø, 2003. (*Tourism plan for Kragerø, 2003*)
- 'Ny næringspolitisk plattform i Kragerø Kommune' (26.08.02) (*'Platform for a new industrial policy in Kragerø Municipality', 2002*)
- Markedsplan (som er bygd på Ny næringspolitisk plattform i Kragerø Kommune), ukjent dato. (*Marketing plan (based on 'Platform for a new industrial policy in Kragerø Municipality'), undated*)
- Notater fra bygningssjefen i Kragerø kommune om fritidsboliger i Kragerø. Notatene er ikke benyttet i noen spesielle saker. (*Notes on second homes from the Head of the Department for Building and Land-use in Kragerø Municipality*)

Interviews:

Person/institution	Status of interview
Bygningssjef, Kragerø kommune (<i>Manager, Department for Building and Land-use, Kragerø Municipality</i>)	Personal interview, 3.12.07. At his office, Kragerø
Daglig leder, Arkitekthuset Kragerø, konsultentselskap. (<i>Manager, Arkitekthuset Kragerø (consultants)</i>)	Personal interview, 4.12.07. At his office, Kragerø
Leder, Østre Øydistrikt hytteeierforening (<i>Leader, Østre Øydistrikt hytteeierforening, an interest organisation for second home owners in a part of Kragerø</i>)	Personal interview 26.11.07. At his home, Oslo
Medlem, Kragerø Bys Venner (<i>Member of Kragerø Bys Venner, an interest organisation for people residing permanently in Kragerø town centre</i>)	Personal interview 3.12.07. In a café, Kragerø
Leder, Kragerø Rød Valgallianse og kommunestyremedlem (<i>Leader of Kragerø Rød Valgallianse (a local left-wing party). Member of the municipal council</i>)	Personal interview 3.12.07. In a meeting room, Kragerø Municipality
Ordfører, Kragerø kommune (<i>Mayor, Kragerø Municipality</i>)	Personal interview 4.12.07. At his office, Kragerø
Tidligere leder og rådgiver på miljøvernavdelingen, Fylkesmannen i Telemark. (<i>Former manager and advisor on environmental matters, County Governor of Telemark</i>)	Personal interview 5.12.07. At his home, Skien
Leder, Feste Grenland, landskapsarkitekter/konsultentselskap. (<i>Manager of Feste Grenland, a consultancy company within landscape architecture and planning</i>)	Personal interview 5.12.07. At his office, Porsgrunn

