Journal of Rural Studies 95 (2022) 302–315

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Journal of Rural Studies

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/jrurstud

Alternative places for alternative people? A changing ecovillage discourse from Othered lifestyle to another rurality

Alana Lennon *, Nina Gunnerud Berg

Department of Geography, NTNU - Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Ecovillage
Sustainable lifestyles
Rurality
Othering
Discourse
Eco-idyll

ABSTRACT

Interest in ecovillages has increased greatly in the last two decades, alongside a growing awareness of the need for more sustainable lifestyles. Once regarded as countercultural, alternative places for alternative people, some ecovillages actively work to gain a more mainstream identity for themselves and sustainable lifestyles. While most research focuses on perspectives within ecovillages, attention to outside representations or discourse is limited. This paper looks to expand knowledge into how ecovillages are represented from the outside through factual media. Analysing printed texts and documentary films, we ask how (rural) sustainable lifestyles are represented through factual media surrounding an ecovillage regarded as Norway's first. Where representations have the power to (re)produce understandings of the world around us, we argue that representations of ecovillages can potentially construct or remove barriers towards engaging with sustainable ways of living. Following the discourse from 2001 to 2019 we find the ecovillage represented as either Idealistic or Entrepreneurial. Processes of Othering juxtapose alternative sustainable lifestyles with an Entrepreneurial sustainable place, creating distance to Idealistic dreams and celebrating commercialism. Additionally, factual media plays a role in constructing understandings of 'rural' and 'urban' through representing a potentially new discourse of Norwegian rurality, an 'eco-idyll' for mainstreaming sustainable lifestyles.

1. Introduction

> Can someone explain to me what ecovillage means? […] And when on top of that it's going to be a 'sustainable ecovillage' it'll surely be even grander. I have noticed that when people want to make things more palatable, they attach the concept of sustainability, without having any idea what the word really means. (Akershus Amtstidende, February 05, 2018: 10 - original emphasis).[1]

This was a somewhat frustrated opinion piece in a local newspaper in Nesodden, a municipality 45 km south of Oslo, Norway. It was not the first time the question had been asked publicly, yet no satisfactory answer had been forthcoming. To take this quote in context, the same local newspaper had been publishing an ongoing, heated debate since 2016 about an ecovillage seeking planning permission in Nesodden. In addition, they also had coverage of Norway's first[2] 'new' ecovillage (Torp, 2018) which was established in 2002, 80 km north of Oslo, in Hurdal municipality. Hurdal ecovillage received extensive media coverage, yet the concept of an ecovillage and the authenticity of its sustainability remained uncertain for their 'neighbours'.

Explaining what ecovillages '*are*' has proved challenging although most ecovillage literature would agree that what they '*do*' is aim for, experiment with and model sustainable lifestyles (Barani et al., 2018). The Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) an organisation that aims to connect, inspire, and educate ecovillages internationally, provides the following definition displaying their diversity:

> An ecovillage is an intentional, traditional or urban community that is consciously designed through locally owned participatory processes in all four dimensions of sustainability (social, culture, ecology and economy) to regenerate social and natural environments (GEN, undated).

GEN continues to explain that 'intentional' relates to the creation of

* Corresponding author. Department of Geography, NTNU, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway.
E-mail addresses: alana.lennon@ntnu.no (A. Lennon), nina.gunnerud.berg@ntnu.no (N.G. Berg).

[1] All quotes from newspapers and documentaries (unless otherwise stated) were translated by us from Norwegian to English.

[2] Although Hurdal ecovillage is often regarded as the first, Camphill villages began ecological communities in Norway in the 1960s. Camphill is organised very differently from 'new' ecovillages like Hurdal as they are partly state financed for the healthcare services they provide local municipalities (Egge, 2016).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.09.024
Received 2 October 2021; Received in revised form 2 September 2022; Accepted 13 September 2022
Available online 27 September 2022

new villages with an eco-vision, whether in rural or urban settings, whereas 'traditional' communities are understood as rural communities that adapt sustainability practices and vision into an existing village (GEN, undated). Here they equate 'traditional' with 'rural' or at least one discourse of rurality, potentially negating the complexity of contemporary understandings of the rural (Halfacree, 2007b; Woods, 2011). At the same time, they commend the innovative vision that comes with the transformation to an ecovillage and more sustainable lifestyles.

Generally, an ecovillage's identity is formed through the members of the community (Meijering, 2006). Inevitably this produces great diversity between the individual examples of ecovillages spread throughout the world, resulting in the impossibility of one definition suiting all (GEN, undated; Dawson, 2006-2010; Farkas, 2017). Without having had some lived experience of life on an ecovillage, people gain their understanding of the concept through the mediated narratives of those who share their stories of that experience. A mediated version of an ecovillage is constructed as verbal (and visual) textual narratives, subject to journalistic selection of what is deemed newsworthy (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). This can result in representations being based on the more dramatic characteristics of the phenomenon being portrayed (Adams et al., 2014; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Metcalf (2012) has shown that dramatic (mis)representations in popular fiction, such as films and novels, built on associations with the 'hippie' movement, which led to preconceptions about what ecovillages are. Research shows ecovillages are actively working to disassociate themselves from negative stereotypes associated with a 'hippie' identity or countercultural movements (Casey et al., 2016; Kasper, 2007; Metcalf, 2012) and developing a more mainstream identity (Dawson, 2013; Jones, 2015; Meijering, 2012). However, other research maintains ecovillages are still advocating alternative rather than mainstream lifestyles (for example Farkas, 2015, 2017; Magnusson, 2018; Moravčíková and Fürjészová, 2018; Renau, 2018; Roysen and Mertens, 2019; Sherry and Ormsby, 2016).

Interest in ecovillages has increased in the last two decades, both in the media (Kunze and Avelino, 2015) and in research (Wagner, 2012; Barani et al., 2018). In relation to sustainable lifestyles ecovillage research has paid particular attention to how they are practiced (Casey et al., 2016; Litfin, 2014; Roysen and Mertens, 2019; Sherry and Ormsby, 2016; Vicdan and Hong, 2018), shaped through 'regimes of practice' (Denegri-Knott et al., 2018) or how sustainable identities are negotiated and maintained (Chitewere, 2018; Ergas, 2010; Westskog et al., 2018). To achieve transition to a sustainable society we need both personal and political responsibility (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019) which includes making lifestyle changes (Akenji and Chen, 2016; Jackson, 2008). Ecovillages have been regarded as influential models for lifestyle change regardless of whether people actually move to an ecovillage (Litfin, 2014) as many incorporate outreach programmes into their projects (Assadourian, 2008). Research also investigates how ecovillages can inspire more sustainable ways of living through diffusing socio-technical innovation beyond their own 'niche' through replication, upscaling or translation (Boyer, 2014, 2015; Seyfang, 2010). Networking between alternative niches can expand knowledge and inspire replication through sharing alternative ways of living, working and building together (Chaves et al., 2018). It can also help create narratives of change (Wittmayer et al., 2019), such as "a shift in the ecovillage approach from seeing ecovillages as intentional […] urban and rural communities to seeing ecovillages as a process of transformation and transition" (Kunze and Avelino, 2015: 24). Sustainable lifestyles are intrinsically linked to the ecovillage discourse, and we argue that representations of an ecovillage can therefore potentially construct or remove barriers to engaging with sustainable lifestyles. As Anderson (2019: 1120) says, "representations do things - they are activities that enable, sustain, interrupt, consolidate or otherwise (re)make forms or ways of life".

Through asking how (rural) sustainable lifestyles are represented in factual mediated texts and images of Hurdal ecovillage, this paper works to expand research regarding how ecovillages, and the sustainable lifestyles they promote, are represented from the outside. We also hope to add to limited research on discourses of rurality in news-related media (Woods, 2010). Focusing on Hurdal ecovillage gave insight into how Norwegian factual media positioned rurality in connection to sustainable lifestyles and how this may affect future understandings of the rural as, "news media can provide an important function in shaping and hosting debates on rural futures" (Woods, 2011: 35).

Following the GEN definition above, Hurdal ecovillage can be described as an intentional rural ecovillage. The initiators have been regarded as pioneers, creating a model for how ecovillages can be established in Norway (Isaksen, 2016). Initially, the ecovillage and inhabitants were portrayed as very different to mainstream rural Norway. Later, the successful collaboration between the municipal government and initiators alongside the economic success of the project made 'modern' ecovillages attractive prospects for many municipalities around Norway (Torp, 2018). Hurdal ecovillage was increasingly in national, regional, and local media until the bankruptcy of the property developers in 2019. This paper investigates the changing discourse from 2001 to 2019 through analysis of printed journalistic texts and images and two nationally broadcast documentary films. We find the ecovillage is represented as either Idealistic or Entrepreneurial with both discourses using imagery and verbal text that emphasise aspects of sustainable lifestyles corresponding to discourses of rurality and urbanity, resulting in the construction of a potentially new discourse of Norwegian rurality. Idealistic dreams are juxtaposed with Entrepreneurial commercialism constructing a modern or more urbanised 'eco-idyll'. Processes of Othering create distance to the more alternative Idealistic representations of people leading stronger sustainable lifestyles, preferencing an 'exotic' modern place of Entrepreneurial economic sustainability.

Beginning with theoretical foundations in sustainable lifestyles, rurality and Othering, this paper continues with our methodological approach including an overview of the materials included in the analysis and a brief description of the history and development of Hurdal ecovillage. This is followed by analysis of the two intertwining discourses. Finally, a discussion on how rural sustainable lifestyles in the ecovillage discourse change from alternative, Othered lifestyles to another rurality, is followed by brief concluding remarks.

2. Correlating sustainable lifestyles, rurality, and Othering

2.1. Sustainable lifestyles and discourses of rurality

Lifestyle is a broadly used concept in both research and media, generally referring to a way of living connected to beliefs, values, or attitudes. Rooted in sociology, lifestyles are often explained through practices of consumption that help express identity through varying degrees of choice. Bourdieu (1986) expounds habitus as directing the lifestyle 'choices' we make, especially in relation to social class. Giddens (1991: 81) follows Bourdieu in explaining that lifestyles are routinised practices and in many ways habitual. He also argues that choosing amongst a diversity of lifestyles is a necessary part of reflexively constructing self- and collective identities in conjunction with the question of 'how should we live?' (Giddens, 1991: 215). This question is arguably even more pressing today and perhaps reflected by the increased interest in sustainable lifestyles alongside the growing realisation of the unsustainability of the ways we have been living.

Sustainable lifestyles connect sustainability principles to the concept of lifestyle. However, sustainability is a complex concept with many definitions and dimensions (Loorbach et al., 2017). As cited previously by GEN, ecovillages aim to work with four dimensions of sustainability, social, cultural, ecological, and economic but tend to focus more on the ecological and social aspects (Barani et al., 2018) connecting them generally to stronger forms of sustainability. As Heikkinen et al., 2019 say: "The development and maintenance of social and ecological

wellbeing are critical for ensuring liveable and strongly sustainable societies". In contrast, weak sustainability tends to rely on capitalism and economic growth despite the loss of environmental resources (Ketola et al., 2019; Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005. See also Ekins et al., 2003; Neumayer, 2003).

Sustainable lifestyles are usually not defined solely through consumer practices, although clearly the necessity to reduce consumption is paramount to achieving sustainability. Cohen (2018: 58) suggests, rather than consuming or acquiring goods, living "the fullest life" is what those seeking to achieve a sustainable lifestyle have in common. Though, 'a full life' is naturally something different to each of us as we sort through a multiplicity of choices in everyday life, Cohen essentially connects lifestyle choices with the search for individual and familial well-being. Sustainable lifestyles remain unachieved goals. Research participants have been shown to emphasise they are trying to achieve more sustainability in their lifestyles (Chitewere, 2018; Lorenzen, 2012; Shirani et al., 2015). According to Lorenzen, "[l]ifestyles emerge from deliberation over environmental harms and choosing between the means of living more sustainably" (2012: 113). Changing lifestyle habits to more sustainable options is an on-going process of deliberation that is built together with an individual's life narrative (Lorenzen, 2012).

These deliberations not only include 'how' but 'where' we live, creating different challenges and opportunities globally (Gilby et al., 2019; Watabe et al., 2020) as well as between the rural and the urban (Isenhour, 2011; Shirani et al., 2015). Differing representations of urban and rural have contributed to two dominant discourses of the rural in Norway, the 'rural idyll' and the 'anti-idyll' (Berg and Lysgård, 2004; Cruickshank et al., 2009; Haugen and Villa, 2006; Rye 2006). The 'rural idyll' as working in conjunction with anti-urbanism, juxtaposing the beautiful, safe, harmonious, and healthy rural place where everyone knows and takes care of each other, with the ugly, dangerous, unhealthy, and noisy city with a lot of lonely people and no neighbourliness. The 'anti-idyll' conveys the idea of the rural as a traditional, backward, more or less depopulated and boring place versus the urban normativity of the modern, exciting city with everything one needs, including theatres, galleries, and musical events (Berg and Lysgård, 2004). GEN's definition of ecovillages as traditional can be (mis)understood as associated with the 'anti-idyll'. Similar representations have also been associated with assumptions about (inadequate) rural or (superior) urban sustainable lifestyles (Isenhour, 2011). Representations of urbanity and rurality can equally influence the lifestyle 'choice' people already do, or hope to, identify with (Ergas, 2010; Lorenzen, 2012; Trier and Maiboroda, 2009; Winther et al., 2018).

There is a tendency for policy to focus on technological efficiency assisting the transition to sustainable lifestyles and reducing consumption levels (Cohen, 2018; Isenhour, 2011; Lorenzen, 2012; Winter, 2018), in turn this has led to cities being regarded as green solutions (Angelo and Wachsmuth, 2020). Rural sustainable lifestyles (from a grassroot perspective) tend to focus on fostering social sustainability through, for example, community (Trier and Maiboroda, 2009), collaboration with nature (Isenhour, 2011), food-growing (Shirani et al., 2015) or self-built housing from local materials (Fairlie, 1996). Ecovillages work with all these aspects and experiment with innovative alternative technologies (Miller and Bentley, 2012; Winther et al., 2018). Where grassroots initiatives in rural areas have been regarded as more alternative or radical (Fairlie, 1996; Halfacree, 2007a) there is debate about how rural or peripheral initiatives can influence more affordable urban housing (Pickerill and Maxey, 2009; Seyfang, 2010) or translate to urban sustainable development plans (Boyer, 2014, 2015).

Rural areas are not immune from a technological focus on lifestyles with more recent discussions of 'smart villages' (European Union, 2018) and digital transformations (Rijswijk et al., 2021) including 'smart' technologies usually associated with urban development (Cowie et al., 2020). Sustainable regional development in Norway encourages digitalisation of rural areas (Meld. St. 18, 2016) to ensure resource efficiency, increase networking, and reduce unnecessary travel (Meld. St. 5, 2019). Technological development can, however, increase inequality due to uneven distribution and contribute to expanding a rural-urban divide (Andersson and Jansson, 2010). In this paper, we work from a relational understanding of the rural as a hybrid space, constituted by networks and flows involving both human and non-human actants where urban characteristics can be found in rural places and vice versa (Murdoch 2003; Sommerville et al., 2014; Woods 2011).

Living, experimenting with and disseminating sustainable lifestyles are still core motivations behind establishing or moving to an ecovillage, whether urban or rural. Research shows there is an increased outreach from ecovillages to non-residents and a rise in interest from mainstream society in the lived sustainable lifestyles practiced in ecovillages (Casey et al., 2016; Dawson, 2013; Temesgen, 2020; Westskog et al., 2018). However, some research also shows the limitations ecovillages have in creating social change based on lifestyle promotion (Fotopoulos, 2000) and highlight the social inequity of sustainable lifestyles associated with 'green' consumerism, which exclude those who cannot afford it (Chitewere, 2018; Temesgen, 2020). Winter (2018: 17) has shown that perceptions of sustainable lifestyles can be associated with middle-class privilege requiring "multiple resources and capital". Such representations can lead to voluntary or involuntary exclusion and Othering, whether it is an actuality or imagined that we need to buy into a sustainable lifestyle.

2.3. Processes of Othering

Ecovillages have been associated with being different since their origins. Intertwined with early intentional communities the ecovillage story, for some, began in pre-Christian times with traditions of communal living, creating separate societies based on consensual decision-making and often developing different belief systems (Meijering, 2006; Metcalf, 2012). However, the actual term, 'ecovillage' did not surface until the early 1990s used first by Diane and Robert Gilman to describe "communities that could be pioneers in the transition to a truly sustainable society" (Dawson, 2006-2010: 13). Yet, the start of the ecovillage story is usually coupled with various social and environmental movements from the 1960s and 1970s, such as those based on Ghandian principles, feminist, pacifist and 'back-to-the-land' movements (Dawson, 2006-2010). The earlier tendency of withdrawal to a rural "place of their own" from mainstream society (Meijering, 2006) as well as the 'alternative' to mainstream associations, particularly connections with the 'hippie' movement, led to ecovillages being regarded as Other (Joukhi, 2006; Meijering et al., 2007b; Metcalf, 2012).

Understanding the Othering process requires a brief look at the origins of the concept within post-colonialism and particularly the work of Edward Said's Orientalism from 1978. This work shed light on the processes used to justify Western domination through discursively devaluing non-Western cultures and representing them as 'naturally' inferior. These 'imagined geographies' (Said, 1978 see also Blunt and Rose, 1994; Gregory, 1994) were filtered through the Colonial voices of power, dictating identities and marginalising Others that did not fit the Western identity. Othered identities are forged around stereotypes or fantasies (Riggins, 1997), produced and re-produced through a discursive process (Staszak, 2009). Said (1978) describes how the fictive identity of the 'mystical Orient' both fascinated and threatened the West, creating a fear/desire dualism (see also Hall, 1992) towards cultures, people and characteristics that are different or unknown.

Processes of Othering continue to gravitate around this dualism and work through a mixture of exclusionary and/or incorporative processes (Jervis, 1999; Valentine, 1999). Exclusionary Othering aims to create distance between 'us' and 'them', representing Others as heterogeneously 'bad' compared to our hegemonic 'good'. Symbolic distancing is not only reserved for geographically distant or 'exotic' lands and their inhabitants. Internal Othering (Johnson and Coleman, 2012) is a form of regional exclusion that takes place within the same nation, often creating a rural Other (Cloke and Little, 1997; Little, 1999). Parts of a

country are represented as undesirable and distanced from the dominant, national identity which, in comparison, is strengthened through representations of superiority (see Eriksson, 2008, 2010; Johnson and Coleman, 2012). Exclusionary distancing is arguably a spatio-temporal Othering process. Othered cultures (countries or regions) are depicted as 'backward' or existing in a pre-dated, more primitive time than the dominant, modern identity (Cloke, 2006; Said, 1978) such as the rural anti-idyll (Berg and Lysgård, 2004). It is possible that instead of creating an external threat such as another country or region, the past is deemed the threatening inferior identity to reinforce present day superiority. Diez (2010) argues that a self-reflexive temporal Othering is a process where the self's own past is Othered to help construct a new self-identity. Some within international relations theory have been critical of placing too much emphasis solely on the temporal element (Prozorov, 2011). However, we find self-reflexive temporal Othering can highlight increased agency in identity formation and help explain how the ecovillage discourse on rural sustainable lifestyles has changed over time. Temporal Othering is exclusionary as it creates a critical distance to the Other. "Critical distance from one's own past entails the possibility of normative improvement and ethico-political learning and development over time" (Patomäki, 2010: 20). In this way it is regarded as a less antagonistic process of Othering for identity formation (Diez, 2010; Patomäki, 2010).

Incorporative Othering involves assimilating all or parts of the Other (Jervis, 1999; Valentine, 1999). This process works through commodification of the more fascinating or 'exotic' aspects of the Other, which are incorporated into the dominant culture. Acting as "consumer cannibalism", incorporative Othering denies the Other's independent voice and specific differences (hooks, 1992: 373) by valuing only what can be marketed to benefit or 'spice-up' the mainstream identity. Countercultural movements like the hippie movement experienced similar consumer cannibalism as symbols of initial activistic, 'anti--system' messages became reduced to purchasable mainstream products (Psenicka, 2014).

Power plays a key role here, essential to the creation of discourse (Foucault in Rose, 2016), and therefore also the Othering process. Power can lead to possibilities to capitalise on difference and self-identify as the Other by accentuating the uniqueness of the differences as positive characteristics. Where it has been used to change the discourse of (often rural) places, making them more attractive for tourism purposes (Yan and Santos, 2009) this has close connections to place-marketing or branding (Messely et al., 2014). Owning Otherness is a process of 'self-Othering' which although in some situations can include self-identifying as inferior (Rofe, 2006) has been documented as useful in forming positive self-identity. Jensen (2011) shows how young immigrants used terminology that was previously associated with negative traits to help regain agency in their own identity formation. This is still a form of commodifying Otherness, yet we suggest it has more in common with identity politics than the previously mentioned 'cannibalism' of difference.

We are all the Other to someone's self and Othering need not equate with negativity so long as inequality is not attached to social difference. The discursive power of Othering can be resisted and ultimately altered (Brandth and Haugen, 2000; Stenbacka, 2011), representations of Otherness and marginalisation can be negotiated over time (Bleiker, 2003) where the voice of the Other is equitably represented and heard. Deconstructing the discourse to see which voices are silent, which have the power to be heard and how these change over time, can shed light on changes in dominant societal perceptions of rurality and sustainable lifestyles embedded in mediated representations of Hurdal ecovillage.

3. Discourse analysis and materials

> [M]edia actively constitute spaces and places through techniques of representation, expression, and performance (Adams et al., 2014: 5).

To better understand how ecovillages are represented from the outside, our analysis in this article builds on a discourse analysis of factual texts from the Norwegian media archive, Retriever, containing the word *økolandsby* (ecovillage). Of the 400 texts dating from 1990 to 2019, over a quarter were directly connected to Hurdal ecovillage which was promoted as the first and largest ecovillage in Norway. The texts comprised of newspaper and magazine articles, from small opinion pieces to large colour features and cover stories. Content in the texts varied greatly from plans and dreams prior to the project start, personal profiles of the initiators and ecovillagers, changes the project underwent during development and eventually the bankruptcy of the property developers in 2019. The 124 texts directly connected to Hurdal ecovillage were first organised by date to reflect the early years (2001–2009) and the later development (2015–2019) with a transitionary period in between (2010–2014). The early years included 16 articles, where the majority were from national newspapers. The transitionary period was made up of 26 articles, where the majority were from local newspapers based in the municipalities local to Hurdal. The later years also saw the main coverage in local newspapers, although these included many papers based in municipalities all over Norway. There was an increased interest from other forms of printed media, such as magazines and themed websites (see Table 1).

In addition, to the printed texts, two documentary films, *Gull og grønne drømmer* (Gold and green dreams) (NRK[3] 2001) and *Økolandsbyen* (The Ecovillage) (NRK 2014) were analysed which added to the diversity of the materials and intertextuality of the analysis.

Journalistic and news media were chosen for their relationships with 'factual' reporting. Hatcher and Haavik (2014) claim that local communities in Norway have a special relationship to local newspapers which can reaffirm the 'consensus' or dominant discourse regarding local opinions (Hatcher and Haavik, 2014). Despite, or perhaps because of this, a 2017 report showed that Norway above all other Nordic countries trusted news from printed and televised sources (Harrie, 2017). Documentaries also have a special relationship to claims of truth, "[t]ruthfulness is a defining characteristic of factual television" (Hill, 2007: 112). Although audiences tend to both 'look at' and 'look through' factual television to engage with the programme and also evaluate its authenticity (Hill, 2007).

'Gold and Green dreams' is a single episode documentary lasting 28 min, focusing on the cooperative group, *Kilden* (The source) who initiated the ecovillage project in Hurdal. At the time of filming, they discuss their dreams, hopes, and worries about establishing an ecovillage while considering Hurdal and Nesodden as appropriate sites for the 'imagined place' of a future ecovillage. The documentary was produced as part of a series of short documentaries on 'reality for people in their 30s' (NRK, 2001) and no doubt aimed at an audience of a similar age group. Use of the word 'reality' suggests that the programme producers are playing on the truth claims of assumed intimacy with the real world which is precisely what appeals to audiences about the realist documentary style of filming (Grant and Sloniowski, 2014).

The second documentary, 'The Ecovillage' was produced in 2014 but aired on national television in 2015. It is a series of four episodes ranging from 37 to 40 min long which follows the development of Hurdal ecovillage including extensive interviews with the initiators, the people moving there and members of the municipal government. The programme website describes this documentary series as being about:

> [T]he attempt to create Norway's first ecovillage. After 15 years, the entrepreneur Simen Torp sees that the dream of the ecovillage in Hurdal is finally coming true. But will the project pull the world in a more environmentally friendly direction, or will it just be a

[3] NRK - *Norsk rikskringkasting AS* (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) "NRK is Norway's government owned public broadcaster with a wide range of online, TV, radio and audio services" (NRK, 2022).

Table 1
Materials used in discourse analysis, separated by time periods.

DATE	Local newspapers	Regional newspapers	National newspapers	Other printed material	Total articles	Documentary films	Minutes of film
Early years 2001–2009	*Romerikes Blad*	*Bergens Tidende*	*Aftenposten* *Dagbladet* *Dagsavisen* *VG*	*Framtiden i våre hender* *Journalen* *Kamille*		*Gold and green dreams*	*28*
Subtotals	*3*	*2*	*8*	*3*	***16***	*Subtotal mins*	***28***
Transition period 2010–2014	*Akershus Amtstidende* *Eidsvoll Ullensaker Blad* *Romerikes Blad*	*Adresseavisen* *Stavanger Aftenblad*	*Aftenposten* *Klassekampen* *Nationen* *NRK* *VG*	*Arkitektur N*			
Subtotals	*17*	*2*	*6*	*1*	***26***		
Later years 2015–2019	*Agderposten* *Arbeidets Rett* *Aust-Agder Blad* *Eidsvoll Ullensaker Blad* *Firdaposten* *Hadeland* *Oppland Arbeiderblad* *Raumnes* *Romerikes Blad* *Sandefjords Blad* *Sør-Varanger Avis* *Østlandets Blad* *Øyene*	*Adresseavisen*	*Aftenposten* *DN Bygg* *DN Pluss* *Finansavisen* *Klassekampen* *Nationen* *Vårt Land*	*Arkitektnytt* *Arkitektur N* *Bakeri.net* *Bygg i tre* *Cicero rapport* *Energi og klima* *Familieklubben.no* *Framtida.no* *F24 Akselive* *KK Livet* *Kommunal Rapport* *MDG Kommunevalg 2015* *Ren Mat* *Teknisk Ukeblad* *Vi over 60* *VVS Aktuelt*		*The Ecovillage* *Episode1* *Episode 2* *Episode 3* *Episode 4*	*37* *39* *40* *40*
Subtotals	*47*	*1*	*13*	*21*	***82***	*Subtotal mins*	***156***
TOTALS	**67**	**5**	**27**	**25**	**124**	**TOTAL MINS**	**184**

residential area with solar panels on the roof? How demanding is the balance between idealism and profit, and between self-development and self-sacrificing community? The series shows how difficult it is to reconcile different dreams and expectations in one and the same project. (NRK, 2014).

The language of this summary will be commented on later, however as a whole, the text hints at potential areas of conflict. This can again be argued as connecting the televised series to reality, as Grant and Sloniowski (2014: xxiv) state, documentary is "the form of cinema that is most closely bound to the real world, to actual personal and collective problems, hopes, and struggles".

Following Rose (2016: 186–219) we based the analysis and deconstruction of the representations of Hurdal ecovillage on her 'Discourse Analysis I', focusing on "text, intertextuality and context". The method (drawing on Foucauldian discourse analysis) focuses on visual and written texts with a view to interpreting how social differences are constructed. We looked especially at *discursive formations* and how these construct *regimes of truth* that in turn form an understanding of what an ecovillage says about sustainable lifestyles. Intertextuality between written and spoken text and the imagery from pictures and film over a 19-year period, helped illuminate how the *regimes of truth* changed over time, determining what is in-place or out-of-place (Cresswell, 1996) in rural sustainable lifestyles.

The qualitative data analysis computer software package, NVivo, was used for storing and organising the 124 printed articles and transcripts of the documentaries. NVivo was also utilised in a basic exploration of word frequency to get an overview of word usage, although this only supplemented the main analysis. This together with a content analysis of filmic and printed imagery helped us to determine which themes were dominant in the material. We aimed to approach the analysis "with fresh eyes" (Rose, 2016: 214), letting the material show what it had to tell. Although other themes were present, including gender issues and the role of architecture and technology, the predominance of coverage concerning issues and/or imagery of rurality and processes of Othering was unquestionable.

Hurdal ecovillage is relatively young compared with other similar ecovillages around the world. Intentional communities in other parts of Europe (Meijering, 2006) and further afield (Litfin, 2014) date back to the 1960s or earlier. Sweden and Denmark have more extensive ecovillage histories than Norway. Sweden was establishing 'newer' ecovillages in the 1980s (Berg et al., 2002; Haraldsson et al., 2001; Ibsen, 2010) although Haraldsson et al. (2001) question whether these offered a more sustainable lifestyle than conventional living. Denmark started the Danish Ecovillage Network with several early ecovillages in 1993 (Pais, 2015). A history of Hurdal ecovillage written by Simen Torp, (the main initiator and driving force behind the ecovillage) confirms the intention to shift towards mainstreaming the ecovillage movement, with the title: "Making sustainable life accessible for the mainstream" (Torp, 2018: 131). Torp describes how Hurdal ecovillage was started in 2002, when the municipal government invited the group to buy a farm situated behind Hurdal church. They were only a few young families, building their own houses from straw-bales and wood while they waited for planning permission and finances to begin building a more permanent village on the site (Torp, 2018). The early years of the ecovillage were about experimentation with building houses and creating a model of what would work as an ecovillage. At this time potential new members were required to participate in an introductory course and get approval from other members before they could join the ecovillage (Torp, 2018).

It took longer than expected to plan the main ecovillage and it was not until 2013 once Torp brought external entrepreneurs in to help finance the project, that building began on the larger ecovillage (Torp, 2018). Once these property developers were involved, an ecovillage limited company, *Filago*, was established and sustainable housing developed, *Aktivhus* (Active house) - ready-made eco-houses that would generate more electricity than the household could use). These houses were then sold on the open market and no course or approval was needed to join the ecovillage. The houses became the most expensive houses in Hurdal, even doubling the square meter price of local housing (Hømanberg, 2017) but still much cheaper than house prices in Oslo

from where many people were moving (Fremmerlid, 2014). By 2016, 150 people had moved in, and 70 houses had been sold (Torp, 2018) creating a success story for the ambitious project. The municipal government were working on a sustainability plan for the town alongside the ecovillage and together they brought much attention to the municipality from all over Norway (Miller, 2018; Miller and Torp, 2013).

The collaboration from the beginning between the municipal government and the cooperative group Kilden and later the property developers *Filago* was essential for getting the ecovillage established in Hurdal (Miller, 2018; Miller and Torp, 2013). The successful start to the project changed abruptly in 2019, when after numerous technical problems and delays with the Active houses, *Filago* were declared bankrupt (Temesgen, 2020). Although the houses were privately owned, there were communal buildings owned by *Filago* that ended up in receivership. After initial media interest in the bankruptcy, the attention dissipated relatively quickly, leaving uncertainty regarding the future of the ecovillage. It is important to note that the ecovillage is still in existence although there has been little information on this in the media since august 2019. One article in January 2021 suggests there may be development in the future with a further 115 new houses planned for construction and sale by a different property developer (Strandhaug, 2021).

4. Intertwining discourses of a Norwegian ecovillage

The two main discourses, which we identify as Idealistic and Entrepreneurial, are found in the texts and both documentaries. Where the newspaper and magazine texts provide mainly verbal representations, the documentaries are predominantly visual. The discourses loosely correlate to the early and later time periods of media coverage of Hurdal ecovillage. The Idealistic representation is dominant from approximately 2001–2011 and partly maintains the original assumptions connecting ecovillages to countercultural or 'hippie' movements (Dawson, 2006-2010; Joukhi, 2006; Meijering, 2012). It uses expressions such as 'in harmony with nature' and intertwines with a more antagonistic political discourse of stronger sustainability principles in everyday or lifestyle politics (de Moor, 2017) through moving away from mainstream politics (Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005). This discourse was prevalent in the national newspaper coverage, as well as the first documentary 'Gold and green dreams' (NRK, 2001). The Entrepreneurial discourse is more frequent in the later years of development, from approximately 2012–2019 and had a strong focus on sales of the (surprisingly) modern housing, small businesses being generated and interest in establishing ecovillages from other municipalities. This discourse was apparent in local newspapers spread throughout Norway, themed national media and the documentary series, 'The Ecovillage' (NRK, 2014). There is a transitional overlap from the older ecovillage to the new, from around 2010–2014.

4.1. Idealistic ecovillage discourse

Idealism or idealists are often described with slightly negative connotations, being associated with impractical dreaming of an imagined Utopia, "the idealist is primarily a fantasist" (Finken, 2009: 699). Aiming for Utopian lifestyles has been connected to the early stages of establishing ecovillages (Bakó et al., 2021; Metcalf, 2012) as this is when the sustainable ideals of the group are generally at their strongest (Dias et al., 2017; Meijering, 2012). Images and texts from the 'early years' media (see Table 1) depict the original members of *Kilden* cooperative and initiators of Hurdal ecovillage sharing meals, skills, the land and even raising each other's children. The sun is shining, nature and the children are thriving, people are happy, the vegetables organic and healthy. They epitomise the 'rural idyll' at its best. These positive images, however, are also portrayed as unrealistic and different. "Doesn't it smack of the 1970s, communes and peasant romanticism?" (Aftenposten, September 15, 2001: 3).

The 2001 documentary (although it precedes the actual establishment of Hurdal ecovillage) exemplifies the Idealistic discourse and the search for a sustainable lifestyle as an alternative to mainstream society (Meijering, 2006). 'Gold and green dreams' is introduced on the programme website as follows:

> Some people dream so much of living a different life that they decide to do something about it. But what should an ideal society look like? How should the dreams be realised? (NRK, 2001).

Watching the film, we are reminded that the group is only 'dreaming' as special effects produce diffused images of light on water or spinning treetops in a 'swish pan' shot connecting the scenes. These images are shown together with the tinkling of windchimes which amplifies the dream-like feeling of what we are watching and suggests 'hippie' characteristics of those dreams (Leach and Haunss, 2009: 255). Sounds are an essential part of filmic expression and can affect the meaning of the representations, whether they work in parallel or contra to the images (Monaco, 2009 in Rose, 2016). Although the individuals of *Kilden* do not look particularly 'alternative', their behaviour is portrayed as spiritually different. In addition to narrative that supports 'hippie' associations, the group are shown holding hands and singing together before a shared meal and individual members are filmed cross-legged and meditating.

Although the members of *Kilden*, and later the ecovillagers, state they are *not* trying to go back to a 70s collective, they don't smoke cannabis and are not a sect, journalists continuously try to connect the ecovillage with the hippie movement. The continued association with early representations of ecovillages from their conception during a historical period of countercultural movements situates the Idealistic ecovillage as Othered through exclusionary processes (Jervis, 1999; Valentine, 1999). This has helped create a 'regime of truth' (Rose, 2016: 190), *we know that ecovillages are for hippies*! Although the hippie movement is acknowledged as an essential part of the historical ecovillage development (Dawson, 2013) it has also been associated, especially by a more conservative mainstream population, with degeneracy and unrealistic idealism (Castillo, 2020). The 'highly mediated' hippie image (Blauvelt, 2016: 12) is still often a label coming from the media rather than something people self-identify with (see Cresswell, 1996: 62–96). The word conjures up stereotypical images of Others, which are reflected in the printed media:

> Being environmentally conscious is one thing. But living in a straw-bale house without running water - all year round? We have met a family in Norway's first ecovillage […] Are we going to meet a bunch of long-haired hippies with their heads in the clouds? (Kamille, 06.07.2007: 33–34).

> In Hurdal, a bunch of idealists have settled on the old rectory to live in harmony with nature […] **For those of us** who ease our environmental conscience by recycling a bit and using energy-saving light bulbs, this is far removed from the idealists in Hurdal (Bergens Tidene, 28.06.2008: 4 - our emphasis).

> And the **municipal government confirms** that they are happy to have a whole small colony of eco-fantasists as their new neighbours (Dagsavisen, 09.03.2002: 22 - our emphasis).

Language use such as, 'for those of us' helps to place the reader together with the journalist and reinforces the difference between 'us' and 'them'. That the municipal government is happy to have 'them' is a positive statement, yet the language also confirms that they are 'eco-fantasists' which sows doubt in the ability of the ecovillagers to achieve anything realistic. Some doubt may even be attached to the municipal government that they wish to be associated with eco-fantasists. This is an issue that comes up again in the 2014 documentary as the mayor and chief municipal executive make fun of and distance themselves from the spiritual Otherness experienced when visiting Findhorn (a well-established and idealistic ecovillage in Scotland). Scenes directly following this in the 2014 documentary show the municipal government

demanding clearer demarcation between Hurdal (the place) and Hurdal ecovillage, suggesting the authorities see the need to distance themselves from the Idealistic discourse. Yet, the municipal government were the ones who invited *Kilden* to buy the farm and establish the ecovillage there. This was pivotal for the ecovillage's successful establishment: "The ecovillage came about thanks to a visionary municipal government" (Miller, 2018: 137). The printed media convey this story and the collaboration between the ecovillage and the municipal government, yet the mayor is pictured only once at the ecovillage in Hurdal. The documentaries film the mayor in municipal buildings or at Hurdal festivals with the local people but never at the ecovillage. When visiting Findhorn, he is shown to be 'out-of-place', in Hurdal he has the power to decide which sustainability characteristics are 'in' or 'out-of-place' (Cresswell, 1996).

The Idealistic discourse, in addition to the Utopian dreaming, carries with it a more antagonistic political identity. If not completely creating as Mouffe (2005: 20) says, "a we/they relation in which the two sides are enemies who do not share any common ground", then an idealistic strand of politics that, "operates in clear opposition to mainstream politics" (Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005) and associated problems through economic growth. The Idealistic discourse critiques mainstream society and as Meijering (2006) showed, it advocates the superiority of sustainable lifestyles in ecovillages. 'Gold and green dreams' portrays several members of *Kilden* stating not only the problems with the 'then' society (2001) and agricultural practices but also disbelief that people can allow the problems to continue, "I don't understand how ethically conscious people can really defend it" (Øyvind, NRK, 2001: 8:54). Dialogue and images of the destruction of nature through industrialisation, pollution, and overuse of resources are said to contribute to the "quiet desperation" (Roy Halvorsen, NRK, 2001: 2:27) of people in general. These comments and images are contrasted with the pristine nature of a rural setting with birdsong, where the ecovillage could be placed, further emphasising the rural as the tranquil balm to urban destruction.

The Idealistic discourse brings associations to alternative sustainable lifestyles, separate from the mainstream society with a flavour of anti-capitalism (Baker, 2013) through choices of degrowth or voluntary simplicity (Cattaneo, 2015). Such choices on personal and collective levels become lifestyle politics (de Moor, 2017; Portwood-Stacer, 2013), which have already been described as radical rural representations, generally deemed unacceptable "to the spatial 'logic' of capitalism in its rural setting" (Halfacree, 2007b: 131 - original emphasis). Withdrawal from the mainstream can represent exclusivity (Meijering, 2006). Hurdal ecovillage's Idealistic discourse suggests that not just anyone can join. A four-part introductory course followed by a six-month trial period was mandatory for new members before being able to buy a share in the ecovillage cooperative and become a full member (Romerikes Blad, November 24, 2010; VG, July 29, 2007). The 2001 documentary reiterates that they are only selectively open to others: "So, it also helps to be able to say no to people who want to come in for their own reasons" (Axel, NRK, 2001: 15:48). Ecovillages have been criticised for lacking in social equity through the intentional or unintentional exclusive aspects of their communities (Chitewere, 2018). In 'Gold and green dreams' the ecovillagers are represented as deciding who belongs or doesn't belong to the exclusive community of an imagined ecovillage. However, a later scene shows that in rural settings, there are others who carry the power of deciding who and what belongs or gets permission to be a part of the rural idyll:

> We have already received ten protests, five from public bodies and five from cabin owners [who preferred] that we would not build an ecovillage here at all, they had a hard time seeing anything that was particularly positive about getting us as neighbours (Bente Nuth Leland (architect) NRK, 2001: 18:28).

The power behind opinions towards the prospective ecovillagers is given at the end of the 2001 documentary when the Nesodden site is rejected by planning authorities. That there is a constructed rural mainstream that marginalises Others who do not fit the rural image is well documented (Abelson, 2016; Cloke 2006; Elsrud, 2008; Halfacree, 2007b; Ramzan et al., 2009; Woods, 2010, 2011) and is part of the Norwegian anti-idyll representations of unfriendly or closed rural communities (Farstad, 2011; Grimsrud, 2011; Overvåg and Berg, 2011; Berg, 2020). Anti-idyll imagery is used to Other the new ecovillage members in episode one of the 2014 documentary. It is a striking scene, especially as the voices of the local community are almost unheard in the media coverage of the ecovillage. We hear indirectly from the texts that the 'locals' were at first sceptical but later began to have better relations with the ecovillage, which research on Hurdal ecovillage confirms (Westskog et al., 2018). The scene in 'The Ecovillage' is at a local festival in Hurdal where Simen Torp and other members of the ecovillage come to 'mix' with the locals, present their project, perform music, and sell vegetables from the farm. This is perhaps the only part of the film that shows bad weather, the rain is falling heavily and Simen is depicted talking on stage to an audience of one small child, whilst the rest of the people at the festival are under tents and not listening. The scene continues and the mayor's voiceover tells us that many of the locals are a bit sceptical of the ecovillage. We hear from the locals:

> No, it's a bit, what shall I say, the way they live and work that makes them … it's completely new, it's that which creates the most scepticism I think (Male, NRK, 2014, Episode 1: 19:54).

> Many of them go around in 1970s clothing and stand out a bit because of that (Female, NRK, 2014; Episode 1: 20:15).

The words in themselves are perhaps harmless observations but the imagery shows the ecovillage members huddled together out of the rain under a parasol, while the camera circles them, switching back and forth between their isolation and the locals around them looking sceptical, making comments amongst themselves, and laughing. The filming and editing depict the locals as closed towards new ideas and accentuate the feeling that the ecovillage members and their lifestyle habits are being Othered by the local population. The power dynamic changes in the 'later years' suggesting increased agency for the ecovillage in disseminating their sustainable lifestyle as well as increased interest and acceptance from some locals. This corresponds with the dissipation of the more negative Idealistic discourse in favour of the more acceptable or mainstream Entrepreneurial discourse.

4.2. *Entrepreneurial ecovillage discourse*

Text from the printed media in the 'later years' underscores the changing ecovillage discourse from the idealistic dream to entrepreneurial commercialisation:

> "Interest in the ecovillage gained momentum when the demand for idealism was eased" (Oppland Arbeiderblad, 14.11.2015: 23).

> "In the 1990s a group of people gathered around a vision of a sustainable way to live […] The process of the ecovillage project in Hurdal took a long time, from idealism and straw-bale homes to a property company with prefabricated construction and normal housing standard." (Bygg i tre, 14.09.2016: 47)

They also indicate that the new ecovillage model is more successful. It has now reached a 'normal' standard of living, situating the earlier Idealistic sustainable lifestyle as sub-normal or Other. These 'normal standards' are connected to the economic success of the ecovillage, potentially altering the discourse of sustainable lifestyles from the ecological to the economic:

> HURDAL ECOVILLAGE – A SALES SUCCESS! (Arkitektur N, 2014(4): 107 – original capitals).

Entrepreneurship is usually defined from an economic perspective as

the ability to seek out new opportunities for creating value through new services or products (Mitra, 2012). Social entrepreneurship has a slightly different meaning where the new ventures should fulfil a socially worthwhile role that the mainstream system is not providing (Alsos, 2010). Although there is some debate about whether social entrepreneurship can still be profitable (Bacq and Janssen, 2011) both approaches to entrepreneurship agree on the characteristics that define an entrepreneur. They are usually very resourceful people who either start a new company or realise the potential within an existing organisation for something new, and usually take on a certain amount of risk in the process (Alsos, 2010; Mitra, 2012).

The 2014 documentary and the 'later years' of textual coverage focus on Simen Torp, as the ecovillage entrepreneur, giving him the most airtime with almost 40 min spread over the four episodes. Torp is a key figure in both documentaries, but especially in 'The Ecovillage'. "Enthusiast, initiator, visionary, entrepreneur. What the suitable title is for Torp, is not easy to say" (Oppland Arbeiderblad, November 14, 2015: 20). He is portrayed as selling the ecovillage 'living and lifestyle' concept directly to individuals interested in buying houses, as well as to the municipal government, researchers visiting the ecovillage and at lectures in other towns and cities in Norway. At one of these events, in episode one, he uses footage from 'Gold and green dreams' and is shown to purposefully make fun of and contrast the group's idealistically naïve past with their more commercially focused and business-like present. He is represented as carrying out a self-reflexive temporal Othering process to create distance to the ecovillage's own past (Diez, 2010). This is then confirmed by *Filago*'s financial advisor (pictured in an expensive-looking house in Oslo):

> The *Kilden* concept was founded on a lot of people gathering around mental and idealistic ideas about doing something. But capital is fear-based so if there is too much wool then capital will not come (Sverre, NRK, 2014, Episode 1: 16:39).

The documentary overlays the final words, "too much wool" with highly contrasting footage from one of the original members, pictured in a rustic rural setting, who was not happy with the commercial changes made to the ecovillage:

> We had chosen a company form that was cooperative, where everyone equally owns the project, and it was an important milestone for me that they didn't want the collective anymore. There is only one man left today from the original group, and that is Simen. (Eirik, NRK, 2014, Episode 1: 17:00)

This film sequence ends by zooming in on an old picture of Simen Torp with an axe over his shoulder, symbolising the break-up of the collective and perhaps mirroring the Schumpeterian notion of entrepreneurship as 'creative destruction' (Mitra, 2012). In embracing the economic aspects of the ecovillage project, the idealistic collective may have been destroyed but power is claimed through moving from unrealistic idealism to viable enterprise. This places the Entrepreneurial discourse within a more acceptable 'conformist worldview' of economic growth (Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005) and a more intermediate position within socio-technical innovations (Boyer, 2015). From being Othered as unrealistic the ecovillage now has the agency to influence the representations, their voice is heard, and their sustainable identity taken seriously. The Entrepreneurial ecovillage is promoted as an economic success for Hurdal (the place) as well for the ecovillage developers, the media represents this through increased party-political identification with the project instead of earlier distancing:

> 'The ecovillage has contributed to a green reputation **that has now manifested itself**. Hurdal is no longer just a piece of furniture at Ikea. More people are opening their eyes to us, and therefore more and more people are moving to different parts of the municipality', says Bålsrud [then the mayor of Hurdal]. He believes growth will only increase more and more and advises other district municipalities to follow in the same footsteps as them. (Nationen, June 05, 2015: 17 - our emphasis).

The green reputation manifested only now and putting Hurdal on the map finalises the regime of truth for the Entrepreneurial discourse, that "*economic growth is recognition of success*" even in sustainable places. This suggests the discourse of a multifunctional rurality in the media, acknowledging the success of Hurdal's move toward modernisation and consumption (Woods, 2011) through the ecovillage and potential of sustainable lifestyles. The economic focus on growth and associated weaker sustainability principles (Ekins et al., 2003; Ketola et al., 2019; Neumayer, 2003) contrasts the more balanced sustainable intentions as described in GEN's earlier definition of what ecovillages are. Economics change how the ecovillage becomes newsworthy in the later years:

> The mayor is obviously happy with what is happening in the ecovillage. Hurdal is put on the map. Runar Bålsrud got 121 new inhabitants last year (Oppland Arbeiderblad, 14.11.2015: 23).

> The municipal government has placed themselves firmly on the national map through the development of **its** ecovillage (VVS Aktuelt, 25.04.2016 - our emphasis).

In the final quote the municipal government is given ownership of the ecovillage and can share the credit given to the ecovillage for breaking the general trend of urbanisation and out-migration from rural areas in Norway (NOU 2020: 15). It brings economic sustainability to the municipality through population growth and national recognition. 'The Ecovillage' documentary utilises a clip of Erna Solberg (Norway's then prime minister) indicating increased interest from politicians, which in turn gives the Entrepreneurial ecovillage discourse and associated sustainable lifestyles more credibility. However, it is possible to recognise the policy-focused push for sustainable lifestyles offering resource efficiency and technological solutions (Cohen, 2018; Isenhour, 2011; Lorenzen, 2012; Winter, 2018):

> Welcome to Hurdal. It is in the local communities that many small, smart solutions can help us use energy more sensibly and have less emissions in the future. Good luck. You can become an example municipality for the rest of the country. (Erna Solberg, NRK, 2014; Episode 4: 26:55).

This clip is shown in the final episode of 'The Ecovillage' as part of a political debate around sustainability at the Sustainable festival. However, the simple, "Welcome to Hurdal" from this footage is also shown in the introduction sequence to each episode, giving the ecovillage and Hurdal, national political approval which increases the power of the Entrepreneurial discourse.

We learn from the narratives of Torp and other members who have moved to Hurdal ecovillage, that the lifestyle concept attracts a particular 'class' of young, urban, resourceful families, resembling "relatively affluent" lifestyle migrants (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009: 609), seeking an organic and social lifestyle for themselves and their children. Ecovillagers in this discourse are mainly portrayed as mainstream internal lifestyle migrants (Walford and Stockdale, 2018) interested in growing their own food in a more social setting, something that is accepted as a growing trend in Norway (Hovland, 2015; Mittenzwei et al., 2017). Instead of Othering the people as in the Idealistic discourse, the Entrepreneurial discourse depicts the people as mainstream, "in jeans and a grey jumper she doesn't look very "alternative", not how I associate someone living in an ecovillage" (Ren Mat, 01.06.15: 33 - original emphasis). However, now the place is Othered to accentuate a unique and attractive 'living and lifestyle' alternative with modern comfort and sustainable socio-technical solutions. An anti-urban discourse, where the city is unsociable and unsafe for bringing up children, was combined with positive urban representations to offer not simply a rural idyll but an 'eco-idyll'. We argue the eco-idyll is portrayed as a "fusing of elements of rural and urban attractiveness" (Woods, 2011: 47) with

sustainability in the form of smart technology and organic food-growing worked into the materiality of the package.

Hurdal municipal government made a political strategy to strengthen their own sustainable identity by inviting the ecovillage to establish itself there and increase the attractivity of the place (Westskog et al., 2018). Hurdal's identity changes through the representations starting off as a more rural place; "a crossroads [in] a central wilderness" (Local resident, NRK, 2014, Episode 3: 14:15). Later developing itself as an 'urban village', using terminology previously designated to city areas that are developing their socio-ecological sustainability potential (Bell and Jayne, 2004; Mare, 2006). In Hurdal's case it suggests urbanising the rural:

> The mayor could report mixed reactions from the local population when the municipal government said they wanted to develop a "sustainable urban village" but explained that they wanted to combine the best from two worlds, both the rural atmosphere and the urban caffe latte (VVS Aktuelt, April 25, 2016 - original emphasis).

A direct translation of the English word 'village' is used for both *økolandsby* (ecovillage) and *urban landsby* (urban village). Interestingly this word is (or was) not usual in Norwegian (Store Norske Leksikon, 2018). Its usage has increased in rural and urban placemaking in Norway (Sletmoen, 2009; Holmquist, 2011; Dørum, 2019; Bjørset, 2020) due to the associations it conjures of 'imagined communities' that offer cohesiveness, charm and safety, mirroring the rhetoric of earlier housing development in the US (Aitken, 1998). Sustainability is central to the rhetoric associated with Norwegian urban villages (Dørum, 2019; Bjørset, 2020) as well as using rural connotations. The eco-idyll uses the urban connotations to 'sell' the rural without the 'dread' of the anti-idyll (Berg and Lysgård, 2004; Cloke, 2006).

> "In the ecovillage people can **almost** live out the small-holder dream, says Simen Torp" (Kommunal Rapport, 15.01.2015: 7 - our emphasis), it is being sold without the isolation that often accompanies this popular Norwegian dream (Bleksaune et al., 2007).

> We were looking for a place where we could grow our own food but didn't feel like living by ourselves on a small farm deep in the forest. That seems a little scary. (Svenja, ecovillager - Nationen, 05.06.2015: 17)

This potentially changes a more traditional agricultural discourse of the rural as Svendsen (2004) showed in Denmark, to favour wealthy incomers. Commodification of the rural idyll has also been associated with middle class Britain (Cloke, 2003; Woods, 2011) and the Entrepreneurial ecovillage is portrayed as being attractive to the 'relatively' affluent, as suggested through the economic success presented by the printed media:

> Prices through the roof for environmental houses. Organic lifestyle attracts families with spending power. The houses in the ecovillage in Hurdal in Akershus break the price records in the parish. (Romerikes Blad, 21.02.2017: 26)

Where the Idealistic sustainable lifestyle can be seen as exclusive, requiring members to apply to be part of the group, the Entrepreneurial lifestyle discourse suggests it is open to anyone (who can afford it). Compromising on affordability of housing is something grassroots initiatives often need to make when expanding beyond a niche and aligning with mainstream regulations (Seyfang, 2010). The Entrepreneurial discourse questions the inclusivity of the ecovillage and sustainable lifestyles in connection to social equity (Chitewere, 2018). Inequity is intensified by footage of the two lifestyle migrants who express the most dissatisfaction with the ecovillage both coming from outside Norway. Anna Christa is German/Danish and the oldest member to join the ecovillage but appears so dissatisfied that she wants to sell her long-awaited *Aktivhus* even before she moves into it. Naima is from Bangladesh and very outspoken about the ecovillage concept not living up to the sustainability that was advertised and that she and her husband Tom bought into:

> You have given us these brochures that gives these dreams and people like me who are totally naïve really believed what you said about orchards, about keeping goats, about chickens and whatever, and we bought. From Oslo we had a life we said, 'oh, we don't want this life, we want this life' [pointing to the brochures]. So, then we thought we would be low-carbon, no-carbon [but] this is just a capitalist project, and then just sell it as a house. (Naima, NRK, 2014; Episode 4: 13:33 - no translation)

Both Naima and Anna Christa are portrayed as having stronger ecological views, such as choosing to be childfree or aiming for full self-sufficiency or "ecocentric lifestyle farming" (Oliveira and Penha-Lopes, 2020: 45) and therefore associated with the Idealistic discourse of sustainable lifestyles. In this way, they become 'out-of-place' in the Entrepreneurial discourse which offers a more mainstream lifestyle concept:

> Tom and Naima have to deal with the fact that […] here you have to tune in to each other (Simen Torp, NRK, 2014, Episode 4: 7:40).

> I sometimes take an example, if you think of a carousel that goes round, and if you are at the edge of that carousel and it goes very fast it can be very uncomfortable. But the closer to the centre you get in that carousel, it doesn't matter how fast it goes round because when you get close enough to the centre then it is calmer. And when you get right in the middle, it's completely still. (Simen Torp, NRK, 2014; Episode 4: 8:15).

Although diversity is advocated as key to the success of the ecovillage, elements of exclusion are predominant in the documentary narrative. Naima is represented as being excluded in many scenes throughout the 2014 documentary and is ultimately Othered for her stronger ecological opinions and difference. The Entrepreneurial discourse suggests that the ecovillage has certain rules for what counts as sustainable, and members are required to adjust their behaviour to these rules for a comfortable life in that place. Research shows that ecovillages tend to create collective practices to help define their situated normative sustainability through reflexive communication (Casey et al., 2016) or regimes of practice (Denegri-Knott et al., 2018). However, these 'rules' are collectively decided and even where the ecovillage is described as 'contemporary' and somewhere between "radical ecological self-contained communes" and "conventional society" (Casey et al., 2016: 236) they are still striving for stronger sustainability in their everyday lifestyles. The Entrepreneurial discourse, however, suggests that those who buy into the package must adhere to a more mainstream sustainable lifestyle or risk being too different to fit in.

In the later years, the Entrepreneurial discourse was dominant, however the Idealistic discourse resurfaced in some newspapers in 2018 and 2019, when the ecovillage began to have problems with the *Aktivhus* technology and financing the project. From January 2018 through to September 2019 the media print predominantly bad news in relation to Hurdal ecovillage. From successful sales and new businesses in 2017, the contrast is huge. First, we hear of one member of the ecovillage whose small-scale agricultural business goes bankrupt after his products are stolen. This is immediately followed by reports of the smart-house technology causing problems and resulting in unhappy ecovillagers:

> The Smart-house village failed - after three years with problems, Aron has finally got a "dumber" house […] Hurdal ecovillage, which had been planned since the 1990s, was to become 'a place with time to live' - an innovative village, smart and in keeping with nature (Teknisk Ukeblad, 16.04.2018 - original emphasis).

This national, technological magazine uses language to suggest the

ecovillage has not achieved what it set out to be and appears to blame the ecovillage for their failings rather than the actual technology. They later state, "Hurdal ecovillage has a diverse and expensive technical history" (Teknisk Ukeblad, 16.04.2018). That the residents of the ecovillage prefer to go back to 'stupider' houses, associates them and their sustainable lifestyles with the more Idealistic discourse and a "distrust of modernity" (Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005: 354).

Later in 2018, news is spread in the local and national newspapers that the property developers behind the ecovillage have not paid their 2016 tax bill and they may be declared bankrupt. The threat of bankruptcy comes and goes until the company is confirmed bankrupt in July 2019. The national financial media are quick to use the news to undermine the sustainability of the ecovillage based on their immaturity in business and economics:

> Obviously completely green: Yesterday the developer petitioned for bankruptcy. So then, maybe ecovillages are not as sustainable as some would have it. (Finansavisen, 17.07.2019: 40).

Despite the years of successful establishment and progress in Hurdal ecovillage, the media is quick to bring back associations to the Idealistic discourse that the ecovillage is naïve and not viable as an economic project. There is very little media coverage of Hurdal ecovillage for the rest of 2019 or into 2020 suggesting sustainable lifestyles are not deemed interesting or dramatic enough once economic development has ceased.

5. A changing ecovillage discourse from Othered lifestyle to another rurality

Sustainable lifestyles, through representations of Hurdal ecovillage, change from being quirky and alternative with stronger sustainable practices to being commercially successful (for a time) with the weaker sustainability of a more capitalistic focus (Heikkurinen and Bonnedahl, 2019; Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005). Some researchers have connected sustainable lifestyles in rural places with 'alternative' or radical lifestyles (Fairlie, 1996; Halfacree, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Meijering et al., 2007a) which places the lifestyle as Other or out-of-place in an imagined rural idyll of tradition (Berg and Lysgård, 2004; Woods, 2011). The Idealistic discourse represents sustainable lifestyles as Utopian dreaming associating hippie attitudes with the more radical lifestyle of the early or even some later Hurdal ecovillagers. Through these representations, the rural becomes a place for Others to dream but not necessarily get anything done. Portraying this lifestyle as Other makes it much easier to undermine the viability of positive development through 'stronger' sustainability principles (Bonnedahl and Heikkurinen, 2019) and ignore the potential for radical, change-making difference (Halfacree, 2006, 2007b) as the lifestyle is too different, undesirable or inaccessible. 'Alternative' sustainable lifestyle practices based on unrealistic idealism may be entertaining to read about or watch but are not depicted as something to be taken seriously by the wider society.

Although research suggests that radical socio-technical initiatives can add to social transformation (Pickerill and Maxey, 2009) and have the potential for replicating their innovation through networking (Boyer, 2015; Seyfang, 2010) the Idealistic representations suggest otherwise in Norway. Here the media only implied further interest in the ecovillage as a model for sustainable lifestyles when becoming more intermediate and distanced from its idealistic roots. Previous research on Hurdal ecovillage corroborates the shift away from the alternative (Temesgen, 2020; Weme and Madsen, 2018; Westskog et al., 2018). Westskog et al. (2018) show the challenges ecovillagers faced balancing a mainstream identity whilst advocating an alternative or different form of lifestyle. They argue the ecovillage moved towards a more mainstream identity alongside general perceptions of sustainable lifestyles becoming more mainstream, bringing Hurdal ecovillage and the local population closer together.

Where the Idealistic discourse Others the people moving to the ecovillage and the alternative sustainable lifestyles they lead, the Entrepreneurial discourse introduces a more normative representation of sustainable lifestyles associated with green growth. Rural areas tend to be subjected to demographic trends where they lose (especially younger) people to cities (NOU 2020: 15). Hurdal ecovillage through the Entrepreneurial discourse is represented as providing counter migration trends attracting much-needed, young and resourceful people from the nearby cities into Hurdal. Where earlier ecovillagers were out-of-place (Cresswell, 1996), they are now represented as 'surprisingly' normal, but the place is something different. The ecovillage is marketed (Messely et al., 2014) or Othered for its uniqueness and 'exotic' blend of the best of rural and urban sustainable characteristics to potentially construct a new discourse of Norwegian rurality, a 'modern' rural idyll without the anti-idyll.

We are shown that the Entrepreneurial discourse of rural sustainable lifestyles corresponds to policy makers' views on technological solutions for a resource efficient sustainable future (Cohen, 2018; Isenhour, 2011; Lorenzen, 2012; Winter, 2018) even where rural areas tend to be seen as 'left behind' (Cowie et al., 2020). Representations of Hurdal ecovillage corroborate policy which recognises sustainable lifestyle habits should be assisted by wider societal enablement of sustainable practices (Akenji and Chen, 2016). They show there is political willingness to engage with Entrepreneurial grassroots innovations, where the initiative is less alternative or more intermediate (Boyer, 2014, 2015). On the one hand the Entrepreneurial discourse can represent weaker, or 'conformist' sustainable principles which optimistically seek environmental solutions through the existing framework of economic growth (Verstegen and Hanekamp, 2005). On the other hand, this potentially makes sustainable lifestyles more familiar or approachable, less 'alternative', offering potential for wider diffusion of innovation for sustainable lifestyles (Boyer, 2014, 2015). Sustainable lifestyles should be more accessible to the mainstream population and the Entrepreneurial discourse represents accessibility through its normativity. However, it raises questions about the authenticity of sustainable lifestyles and who they are for. Buying an ecological house is central to sustainable lifestyles in this discourse and at double the local housing prices suggests it is a lifestyle only for those who can afford green consumerism (Chitewere, 2018), implying those who move from the city (Smith and Phillips, 2001).

Ecological sustainability is represented as questionable through prioritising building and selling new housing and relying on 'green' economic growth. Social sustainability is questioned through the housing costs, conflict between ecovillagers and representations of powerlessness for some members to participate and co-create the ecovillage vision. When the final part of the mediated ecovillage story reports failed economic sustainability as the property developers go bankrupt, it is perhaps not surprising that interest in the project went quiet, at least in the media. There appears to be no middle ground between the unrealistic Idealistic discourse and the 'business-as-usual' Entrepreneurial discourse even though the narrative we are given from Simen Torp concerns bridging the two:

> We call it a living and lifestyle concept and that means that in addition to […] a modern bathroom and a good kitchen - a stylish house, we have spectacular plots of land. We are now operating in a very tense field between something […] commercial and something that is very idealistic. And what we are trying to do is build a bridge between these worlds and make it work positively together. (Simen Torp, NRK, 2014; Episode 1: 8:31)

Torp is also represented as purposely creating distance from the ecovillage's alternative roots. Through a process of self-reflexive Othering (Diez, 2010), he is shown to own their earlier idealism and laugh along with the audience at this. As a result of Othering the Idealistic lifestyle he is depicted as gaining the agency to actively present a more

mainstream identity of sustainable lifestyles and an ecovillage as a unique place offering a rural-urban combination, an eco-idyll for lifestyle migrants who can afford it. However, this power diminishes again when the ecovillage developers are shown to lose previous economic success through bankruptcy.

Our analysis of how (rural) sustainable lifestyles are represented through factual media of Hurdal ecovillage reveals a 'stalemate' regarding what sustainable lifestyles are due to the continual juxtaposition of the two discourses of Idealism and Entrepreneurialism. Verstegen and Hanekamp (2005) describe this stalemate between conformist and idealistic worldviews, as potentially inhibiting moving forwards with sustainability debate and solutions. In our opinion, this suggests representations of Hurdal ecovillage (from the outside) can potentially impede engagement with sustainable lifestyles. Sustainability has become a more mainstream concept in the last two decades (El-Haggar and Samaha, 2019) and must inevitably become a part of everyday life on individual and policy levels. Emphasis is still placed on individual responsibility as essential for sustainable lifestyles both in research (Casey et al., 2016; Cohen, 2018; Lorenzen, 2012), and the media. Research has shown living more sustainably is often easier when infrastructure is in place and others around you are also aiming for a sustainable lifestyle (Axon, 2017; Casey et al., 2016; Miller and Bentley, 2012). Although Miller and Bentley (2012) also show that some people find motivation in the challenge of living sustainably in an unsustainable world, Axon (2017: 15) shows that others can potentially reverse personal sustainable practices where there is a "lack of collective action". Factual representations of people living more sustainably in an ecovillage that fosters sustainable lifestyles have the potential to shape how others engage with sustainable living. Where lifestyle representations are associated with weaker sustainability, they appear more accessible without needing to leave the comfort zone of 'business-as-usual'. However, where they depict stronger sustainability, they come across as less attainable and overly challenging although they are perhaps more representative of the changes needed for sustainable transition (Heikkurinen and Bonnedahl, 2019; Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019).

How this will affect what ecovillages are or do is still unclear. Magnusson (2018) describes a third generation of ecovillages in Sweden as mainstreaming and commercialising ecovillages, similar to the representations of the Entrepreneurial discourse. He also argues that there is now a fourth generation that are reviving the idealistic tendency for stronger sustainable principles. Perhaps given the socio-ecological and socio-economic crises society is faced with (IPCC et al., 2021) and ever-increasing awareness of these, a fourth generation may be the future for Norwegian ecovillages, through a need to find a new alternative identity (Westskog et al., 2018) as well as offer a new model of more affordable socio-technical innovation that may initially have been too radical for the mainstream?

6. Concluding comments

The dance of discourse between being alternative or not appears to closely follow societal opinions regarding sustainable lifestyles, alternating between "tree hugger" to "just like you" (Shirani et al., 2015). Sustainable lifestyles are becoming more acceptable, at least where they are not overly challenging to mainstream norms. Unlike the fourth generation of ecovillages in Sweden (Magnusson, 2018) the later dominant discourse of Entrepreneurialism appears hardly to challenge our prevailing unsustainable practices, such as consumption and economic growth. Instead, it creates an eco-idyll that once again suggests commodification (Cloke, 2003; Woods, 2011) or greentrification (Smith and Phillips, 2001) of the rural for middle-class migrants. As society is in an ongoing process of sustainable transition, representations of an eco-idyll testify to the potential construction of a third discourse of Norwegian rurality. Such new understandings of what rural and urban mean under a green transition, associated with commodification of sustainable lifestyles, can represent ecovillages as excluding those who cannot afford sustainable lifestyles, potentially de-motivating personal sustainable practices due to disconnection from collective action (Axon, 2017). Instead of creating a narrative of change where ecovillages are regarded as assisting a societal sustainable transition (Kunze and Avelino, 2015; Wittmayer et al., 2019), it potentially creates understandings of ecovillages as 'greenwashing' for housing development (Renau, 2018).

We wonder how different the media response and discourse would have been if, instead of advertising the creation of Hurdal ecovillage, it was sold as a sustainable housing estate? The description of 'The Ecovillage' documentary asks the question, "will the project pull the world in a more environmentally friendly direction, or will it just be a residential area with solar panels on the roof?" (NRK, 2014). This suggests there are generally higher expectations from a project calling itself an ecovillage, such as being seen to offer solutions to societal sustainable transformations (Boyer, 2015; Kunze and Avelino, 2015). Yet, the dominant Entrepreneurial discourse suggests a move towards a focus on economic sustainability at the cost of ecological and social sustainability, usually seen as the foundations of ecovillage principles (Barani et al., 2018; GEN, undated).

At the start of this paper, the opinion piece suggests factual media has a role in representing what ecovillages do for understanding sustainable lifestyles. We argue that although Hurdal ecovillage is shown to have raised awareness and interest locally and nationally for mainstream sustainability, the discourses overshadow this with a focus on an either/or situation. Factual media presents two regimes of truth proclaiming ecovillages are either "for hippies" or for "economic growth" and if not one then they must be the other. If we are quick to label and create 'us & them' scenarios, it might sell stories, but it will not progress a move towards engaging positively with sustainability in everyday life. Currently, as a label, 'ecovillage' perhaps causes more uncertainty, is it an alternative place for alternative people, or is it simply place-marketing (Messely et al., 2014)? Can it help a sustainable transition or greentrify previously marginalised rural areas? Represented as an eco-idyll, the Entrepreneurial ecovillage is Othered as an exotic place, a different rural 'community' experience with like-minded, resourceful but 'normal' people who can afford a sustainable house outside the city. This can make ecovillages attractive projects for rural areas to grasp onto where they are struggling with depleting populations (NOU 2020: 15). However, where the discourse portrays a lack of economic sustainability at the end, it may prove difficult to find investors to take up the challenge.

Finally, the silence of local voices in both discourses maintains a division between the ecovillage and the local rural community which we know from research has in fact narrowed over the years (Westskog et al., 2018). Together with the urban representations of the later discourse, this potentially perpetuates a rural-urban divide (Andersson and Jansson, 2010) depicting who can and cannot lead rural sustainable lifestyles now and in the future, possibly prolonging the scepticism shown towards ecovillages in the frustrated opinion piece at the start of this paper.

Author statement

Alana Lennon: Overall conceptualisation, methodology, writing of original draft and editing of final paper. Nina Gunnerud Berg: Supervision, writing-reviewing and editing.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our colleague Hilde Nymoen Rørtveit for her support and feedback on several drafts of this paper, also the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions. This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

References

Abelson, M.J., 2016. 'You aren't from around here': race, masculinity, and rural transgender men. Gend. Place Cult. 23 (11), 1535–1546.
Adams, P.C., Craine, J., Dittmer, J. (Eds.), 2014. The Ashgate Companion to Media Geography. Ashgate Publishing Limited, Farnham.
Aitken, S.C., 1998. Family Fantasies and Community Space. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.
Akenji, L., Chen, H., 2016. A Framework for Shaping Sustainable Lifestyles - Determinants and Strategies. UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme).
Alsos, G.A., 2010. Ildsjeler og samfunnsentreprenører [Enthusiasts and social entrepreneurs]. In: Borch, O.J., Førde, A. (Eds.), Innovative Bygdemiljø: Ildsjeler Og Nyskapingsarbeid [Innovative rural environments: Enthusiasts and innovation]. Fagbokforlaget, Bergen, pp. 27–38.
Anderson, B., 2019. Cultural geography II: the force of representations. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 43 (6), 1120–1132.
Andersson, M., Jansson, A., 2010. Rural media spaces: communication geography on new terrain. Culture Unbound 2, 121–130.
Angelo, H., Wachsmuth, D., 2020. Why does everyone think cities can save the planet? In: Hoff, J., Gausset, Q., Lex, S. (Eds.), The Role of Non-state Actors in the Green Transition. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 193–210.
Assadourian, E., 2008. Engaging communities for a sustainable world. In: The Worldwatch Institute *State Of the World: Innovations For a Sustainable Economy*. W.W. Norton & Company Inc, New York.
Axon, S., 2017. "Keeping the ball rolling": addressing the enablers of, and barriers to sustainable lifestyles. J. Environ. Psychol. 52, 11–25.
Bacq, S., Janssen, F., 2011. The multiple faces of social entrepreneurship: a review of definitional issues based on geographical and thematic criteria. Enterpren. Reg. Dev.: Int. J. 23 (5–6), 373–403.
Baker, T., 2013. Ecovillages and capitalism: creating sustainable communities within an unsustainable context. In: Lockyer, J., Veteto, J.R. (Eds.), Environmental Anthropology Engaging Ecotopia: Bioregionalism, Permaculture and Ecovillages. Berghahn Books, New York, pp. 284–300.
Bakó, R.K., Hubbes, A.A., Tamás, D., 2021. Eco-discourses in a virtual rural community. Sustainability 13, 3082–3099.
Barani, S., Alibeygi, A.H., Papzan, A., 2018. A framework to identify and develop potential ecovillages: meta-analysis from the studies of world's ecovillages. Sustain. Cities Soc. 43, 275–289.
Bell, D., Jayne, M. (Eds.), 2004. City of Quarters: Urban Villages in the Contemporary City. Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot.
Benson, M., O'Reilly, K., 2009. Migration and the search for a better way of life: a critical exploration of lifestyle migration. Socio. Rev. 57 (4), 608–625.
Berg, N.G., 2020. Geographies of wellbeing and place attachment: revisiting urban–rural migrants. J. Rural Stud. 78, 438–446.
Berg, N.G., Lysgård, H.K., 2004. Ruralitet og urbanitet – bygd og by. [Rurality and urbanity – rural district and city]. In: Berg, N.G., Dale, B.E., Lysgård, H.K., Løfgren, A. (Eds.), Mennesker, Steder Og Regionale Endringer [People, places and regional changes]. Tapir Akademisk Forlag, pp. 61–76.
Berg, P.G., Cras-Saar, M., Saar, M., 2002. *Living dreams: Om ekobyggande - en hållbar livsstil* [Living Dreams: about eco-building - a sustainable lifestyle]. Nyköping: Scapa Förlags AB.
Bjørset, M.E., 2020. Nyurbanismen og urbane landsbyer: et geografisk perspektiv på Verksbyen i Fredrikstad. [New urbanism and urban villages: a geographical perspective of Verksbyen in Fredrikstad. Ruralis Rapport 3/2020.
Blauvelt, A., 2016. Hippie Modernism: the Struggle for Utopia. Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.
Bleiker, R., 2003. Discourse and human agency. Contemp. Polit. Theor. 2, 25–47.
Bleksaune, A., Haugen, M.S., Villa, M., 2007. The Dream of a Small-Holding. Paper to the XXII ESRS Congress 20 - 24 August 2007 in Wageningen, The Netherlands. *Bygdeforskning* [Rural research]. https://ruralis.no/publikasjoner/p-0107-the-dream-of-a-small-holding/.
Blunt, A., Rose, G. (Eds.), 1994. Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies. The Guildford Press, New York.
Bonnedahl, K.J., Heikkurinen, P. (Eds.), 2019. Strongly Sustainable Societies: Organising Human Activities on a Hot and Full Earth. Routledge, Abingdon.
Bourdieu, P., 1986. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Routledge, London.
Boyer, R.H.W., 2014. Sociotechnical transitions and urban planning: a case study of eco-cohousing in tompkins county, New York. J. Plann. Educ. Res. 34 (4), 451–464.
Boyer, R.H.W., 2015. Grassroots innovation for urban sustainability: comparing the diffusion pathways of three ecovillage projects. Environ. Plann. 45, 320–337.
Brandth, B., Haugen, M.S., 2000. From lumberjack to business manager: masculinity in the Norwegian forestry press. J. Rural Stud. 16, 343–355.
Casey, K., Lichrou, M., O'Malley, L., 2016. Unveiling everyday reflexivity tactics in a sustainable community. J. Macromarketing 37 (3), 227–239.
Castillo, G., 2020. Hippie modernism: curation and knowledge production. In: Löschke, S.K. (Ed.), Non-Standard Architectural Productions: between Aesthetic Experience and Social Action. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 33–57.
Cattaneo, C., 2015. Eco-communities. In: D'Alisa, G., Demaria, F., Kallis, G. (Eds.), Degrowth: Vocabulary for a New Era. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 165–168.
Chaves, M., Macintyre, T., Verschoor, G., Wals, A.E.J., 2018. Radical ruralities in practice: negotiating *buen vivir* in a Colombian network of sustainability. J. Rural Stud. 59, 153–162.
Chitewere, T., 2018. Sustainable Communities and Green Lifestyles - Consumption and Environmentalism. Routledge, Abingdon.
Cloke, P., 2003. Country Visions. Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow.
Cloke, P., 2006. Rurality and racialized others: out of place in the countryside? In: Cloke, P., Marsden, T., Mooney, P. (Eds.), The Handbook of Rural Studies. SAGE Publications Ltd, London, pp. 379–387.
Cloke, P., Little, J., 1997. Introduction: other countrysides. In: Cloke, P., Little, J. (Eds.), Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, Marginalisation and Rurality. Routledge, London, pp. 1–18.
Cohen, S., 2018. The Sustainable City. Columbia University Press, New York.
Cowie, P., Townsend, L., Salemink, K., 2020. Smart rural futures: will rural areas be left behind in the 4th industrial revolution? J. Rural Stud. 79, 169–176.
Cresswell, T., 1996. In: Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression. University of Minnesota Press.
Cruickshank, J., Lysgård, H.K., Magnussen, M.L., 2009. The logic of the construction of rural politics: political discourses on rurality in Norway. Geogr. Ann. Ser. B Hum. Geogr. 91 (1), 73–89.
Dawson, J., 2006-2010. Ecovillages: New Frontiers for Sustainability. Green Books, Devon.
Dawson, J., 2013. From islands to networks: the history and future of the ecovillage movement. In: Lockyer, J., Veteto, J.R. (Eds.), Environmental Anthropology Engaging Ecotopia: Bioregionalism, Permaculture and Ecovillages. Berghahn Books, New York, pp. 217–234.
de Moor, J., 2017. Lifestyle politics and the concept of political participation. Acta Politic. 52 (2), 179–197.
Denegri-Knott, J., Nixon, E., Abraham, K., 2018. Politicising the study of sustainable living practices. Consum. Mark. Cult. 21 (6), 554–573.
Dias, M.A., Loureiro, C.F.B., Chevitarese, L., De Mello E Souza, C., 2017. The meaning and relevance of ecovillages for the construction of sustainable societal alternatives. Ambiente Sociedade 20 (3), 79–96.
Diez, T., 2010. Europe's others and the return of geopolitics. Camb. Rev. Int. Aff. 17 (2), 319–335.
Dørum, B., 2019. April 30) OBOS skal bygge grønn landsby på Furuset [OBOS (Norway's largest housing developer) will build green village at Furuset] *OBOS*. https://nye.obos.no/medlem/obos-bladet/artikler-fra-obos-bladet/bygge-gronn-landsby-furuset.
Egge, C., 2016. *Menneske Først Og Fremst: Innblikk I Camphill-Landsbyene I Norge* [People First and Foremost: Insight into the Camphill Villages in Norway]. Kagge Forlag AS, Oslo.
Ekins, P., Simon, S., Deutsch, L., Folke, C., De Groot, R., 2003. A framework for the practical application of the concepts of critical natural capital and strong sustainability. Ecol. Econ. 44, 165–185.
El-Haggar, S., Samaha, A., 2019. Roadmap for Global Sustainability - Rise of the Green Communities. Springer, Cham.
Elsrud, T., 2008. Othering through genderization in the regional press. Constructing brutal others out of immigrants in rural Sweden. Eur. J. Cult. Stud. 11 (4), 423–446.
Ergas, C., 2010. A model of sustainable living: collective identity in an urban ecovillage. Organ. Environ. 23 (1), 32–54.
Eriksson, M., 2008. (Re)Producing a "peripheral" region: northern Sweden in the news. Geogr. Ann. B Hum. Geogr. 90 (4), 369–388.
Eriksson, M., 2010. "People in Stockholm are smarter than countryside folks" – reproducing urban and rural imaginaries in film and life. J. Rural Stud. 26 (2), 95–104.
European Union, 2018. Smart Villages: Revitalising Rural Services. European Network for Rural Development. *EU Review No. 26*. https://enrd.ec.europa.eu/publications/eu-rural-review-26-smart-villages-revitalising-rural-services_en.
Fairlie, S., 1996. Low-Impact Development: Planning and People in a Sustainable Countryside. Jon Carpenter, Oxford.
Farkas, J., 2015. 'We should give it some time.' case study on the time horizon of an ecological lifestyle-community. Acta Univ. Sapientiae, Social Analysis 5 (1), 43–62.
Farkas, J., 2017. 'Very little heroes': history and roots of the eco-village movement. Acta Ethnogr. Hung. 62 (1), 69–87.
Farstad, M., 2011. Rural residents' opinions about second home owners' pursuit of own interests in the host community. Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift/Norwegian Journal of Geography 65 (3), 165–174.
Finken, B., 2009. Idealism. In: Birx, H.J. (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Time: Science, Philosophy, Theology, & Culture. SAGE Publications Inc, Thousand Oaks. https://sk.sagepub.com/reference/time/n294.xml.
Fotopoulos, T., 2000. The limitations of life-style strategies: the ecovillage 'movement' is NOT the way towards a new democratic society. Democr. Nat. 6 (2), 287–308.
Fremmerlid, T., 2014. May 5. Oslofolket Fyller Økolandsbyen. [Oslo People Fill the Ecovillage]. Romerikes Blad, pp. 8–9.

Giddens, A., 1991. Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Polity Press, Cambridge.
Gilby, S., Mao, C., Koide, R., Watabe, A., Akenji, L., Timmer, V., 2019. Sustainable Lifestyles Policy and Practice: Challenges and Way Forward. Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, Hayama, Japan. https://www.iges.or.jp/en/pub/sustainablelifestylespolicyandpractice/en.
Grant, B.K., Sloniowski, J. (Eds.), 2014. Documenting the Documentary: Close Readings of Documentary Film and Video, New and Expanded Edition. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.
Gregory, D., 1994. Geographical Imaginations. Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge.
Grimsrud, G.M., 2011. Gendered spaces on trial: the influence of regional gender contracts on in-migration of women to rural Norway. Geogr. Ann. Ser. B Hum. Geogr. 93 (1), 3–20.
Halfacree, K., 2006. From dropping out to leading on? British counter-cultural back-to-the-land in a changing rurality. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 30 (3), 309–336.
Halfacree, K., 2007a. Back-to-the-land in the twenty-first century – making connections with rurality. Tijdschr. Econ. Soc. Geogr. 98 (1), 3–8.
Halfacree, K., 2007b. Trial by space for a 'radical rural': introducing alternative localities, representations and lives. J. Rural Stud. 23 (2), 125–141.
Hall, S., 1992. The new ethnicities. In: Donald, J., Rattansi, A. (Eds.), 'Race', Culture and Difference. SAGE Publications, London, pp. 252–259.
Haraldsson, H.V., Ranhagen, U., Sverdrup, H., 2001. Is eco-living more sustainable than conventional living? Comparing sustainability performances between two townships in southern Sweden. J. Environ. Plann. Manag. 44 (5), 663–679.
Harcup, T., O'Neill, D., 2017. What is News? News values revisited (again). Journal. Stud. 18 (12), 1470–1488.
Harrie, E. (Ed.), 2017. Newspapers in the Nordic Media Landscape. NORDICOM, Gothenburg.
Hatcher, J., Haavik, E., 2014. We write with our hearts": how community identity shapes Norwegian community journalists' news values. Journal. Pract. 8 (2), 149–163.
Haugen, M.S., Villa, M., 2006. Rural idylls or boring places? In: Bock, B.B., Shorthall, S. (Eds.), Rural Gender Relations: Issues and Case Studies. CABI Publishing, Wallingford, pp. 181–195.
Heikkinen, A., Mäkelä, H., Kujala, J., Nieminen, J., Jokinen, A., Rekola, H., 2019. Urban ecosystem services and stakeholders: towards a sustainable capability approach. In: Bonnedahl, K.J., Heikkurinen, P. (Eds.), Strongly Sustainable Societies: Organising Human Activities on a Hot and Full Earth. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 116–133.
Heikkurinen, P., Bonnedahl, K.J., 2019. Dead ends and liveable futures: a framework for sustainable change. In: Bonnedahl, K.J., Heikkurinen, P. (Eds.), Strongly Sustainable Societies: Organising Human Activities on a Hot and Full Earth. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 289–301.
Hill, A., 2007. Restyling Factual TV: Audiences and News, Documentary and Reality Genres. Routledge, London.
Holmquist, T., 2011. Landsby Ny Trend. [Village New trend.]. Feb 2.. Kommunal Rapport https://www.kommunal-rapport.no/politikk/landsby-ny-trend/54233!/.
Hømanberg, A., 2017. Feb 21. Prisene i Taket for Miljøhus. [The Prices through the Roof for Environmental Houses]. Romerikes Blad, pp. 26–27.
hooks, b., 1992. Black Looks: Race and Representation. South End Press, Boston.
Hovland, P., 2015. April 16. «Trendy» landbruk: vil du dyrke grønnsaker her? [«Trendy» agriculture: will you grow vegetables here?]. Oppland Arbeiderblad 6–7.
Ibsen, H., 2010. Walk the talk for sustainable everyday life: experiences from eco-village living in Sweden. In: Söderholm, P. (Ed.), Environmental Policy and Household Behaviour: Sustainability and Everyday Life. Earthscan, London, pp. 129–147.
IPCC, 2021. In: Zhai, P., Pirani, A., Connors, S.L., Péan, C., Berger, S., Caud, N., Chen, Y., Goldfarb, L., Gomis, M.I., Huang, M., Leitzell, K., Lonnoy, E., Matthews, J.B.R., Maycock, T.K., Waterfield, T., Yelekçi, O., Yu, R., Zhou, B. (Eds.), *Climate Change 2021: the Physical Science Basis. Contribution Of Working Group I to the Sixth Assessment Report Of the Intergovernmental Panel On Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press, Masson-Delmotte (in press). https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/#SPM.
Isaksen, S.O., 2016. Jan 8. Venstre vil ha: Økolandsby i Røyken [The Liberal Party Wants: Ecovillage in Røyken]. Røyken og Hurum avis, p. 18.
Isenhour, C., 2011. How the grass became greener in the city: on urban imaginings and practices of sustainable living in Sweden. City Soc. 23 (2), 117–134.
Jackson, T., 2008. The challenge of sustainability lifestyles. In: Starke, L. (Ed.), The Worldwatch Institute. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc, New York, pp. 45–60, 2008 State of the World: Innovations for a Sustainable Economy.
Jensen, S.Q., 2011. Othering, identity formation and agency. Qualitative Studies 2 (2), 63–78.
Jervis, J., 1999. Transgressing the Modern: Explorations in the Western Experience of Otherness. Blackwell Publishers Limited, Oxford.
Johnson, C., Coleman, A., 2012. The Internal Other: exploring the dialectical relationship between regional exclusion and the construction of national identity. Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr. 102 (4), 863–880.
Jones, K., 2015. Mainstreaming the Alternative: the Lammas Eco-Village and the Governance of Sustainable Development in Wales. [Doctoral dissertation]. Aberystwyth University, Aberystwyth. Department of Geography and Earth Sciences.
Joukhi, J., 2006. Imagining the Other: Orientalism and Occidentalism in Tamil-European Relations in South India. [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä. Faculty of Humanities.
Kasper, D., 2007. Ecovillages and Prospects for a Sustainable Future. American Sociological Association. Conference Paper.
Ketola, T., Räsänen, T., Syrjämaa, T., 2019. The long history of unsustainability: inter-species relations since the 1850s. In: Bonnedahl, K.J., Heikkurinen, P. (Eds.), Strongly Sustainable Societies: Organising Human Activities on a Hot and Full Earth. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 23–39.
Kunze, I., Avelino, F., 2015. Social Innovation and the Global Ecovillage Network. TRANSIT: EU SSH, 2013.3.2-1 Grant agreement no: 613169.
Leach, D.K., Haunss, S., 2009. Scenes and social movements. In: Johnston, H. (Ed.), Culture, Social Movements and Protest. Ashgate Publishing, pp. 255–276.
Leichenko, R., O'Brien, K., 2019. Climate and Society: Transforming the Future. Polity Press, Cambridge.
Litfin, K.T., 2014. Ecovillages: Lessons for Sustainable Community. Polity Press, Cambridge.
Little, J., 1999. Otherness, representations and the cultural construction of rurality. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 23 (3), 437–442.
Loorbach, D., Frantzeskaki, N., Avelino, F., 2017. Sustainability transitions research: transforming science and practice for societal change. Annu. Rev. Environ. Resour. 42, 599–626.
Lorenzen, J.A., 2012. Going green: the process of lifestyle change. Socio. Forum 27 (1), 94–116.
Magnusson, D., 2018. Going back to the roots: the fourth generation of Swedish eco-villages. Scot. Geogr. J. 134 (3–4), 122–140.
Mare, E.C., 2006. The Urban Village: Synergy of Ecology and Urbanism. Village Design Institute.
Meijering, L., 2006. Making a Place of Their Own. Rural Intentional Communities in Northwest Europe. [Doctoral thesis]. Royal Dutch Geographical Society/Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen.
Meijering, L., 2012. Ideals and practices of European ecovillages. In: Andreas, M., Wagner, F. (Eds.), Realizing Utopia: Ecovillage Endeavors and Academic Approaches, vol. 8. RCC Perspectives, pp. 31–41.
Meijering, L., Huigen, P., van Hoven, B., 2007a. Intentional communities in rural spaces. Tijdschr. Econ. Soc. Geogr. 98 (1), 42–52.
Meijering, L., van Hoven, B., Huigen, P., 2007b. Constructing ruralities: the case of the Hobbitstee, Netherlands. J. Rural Stud. 23 (3), 357–366.
Meld. St. 5, 2019-2020. Levende Lokalsamfunn for Fremtiden. Distriktsmeldingen [Living local communities for the future. Regional report (White Paper)]. Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet. https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld.-st.-5-20192020/id2674349/.
Meld. St. 18, 2016-17. Berekraftige Byar Og Sterke Distrikt [Urban sustainability and rural strength - in brief - Report to the Storting (White Paper)]. Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet. https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld.-st.-18-20162017/id2539348/.
Messely, L., Dessein, J., Rogge, E., 2014. Behind the Scenes of Place Branding: unravelling the selective nature of regional branding. Journal of Economic and Social Geography 106 (3), 291–306.
Metcalf, B., 2012. Utopian struggle: preconceptions and realities of intentional communities. In: Andreas, M., Wagner, F. (Eds.), Realizing Utopia: Ecovillage Endeavors and Academic Approaches, vol. 8. RCC Perspectives, pp. 21–29.
Miller, F., 2018. Hurdal 'sustainable valley. In: Miller, F. (Ed.), Ecovillages Around the World: 20 Regenerative Designs for Sustainable Communities. Findhorn Press, Rochester, p. 137.
Miller, E., Bentley, K., 2012. Leading a sustainable lifestyle in a 'non-sustainable world': reflections from Australian ecovillage and suburban residents. Journal of Education for Sustainable Development 6 (1), 137–147.
Miller, F., Torp, S., 2013. 10 Økolandsbyer på 10 år i Norge [10 Ecovillages in 10 years in Norway]. Report Supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment. https://okosamfunn.no/ressurser/norsk-nettverk-okogrender/.
Mitra, J., 2012. Entrepreneurship, Innovation and Regional Development: an Introduction. Routledge, Abingdon.
Mittenzwei, K., Milford, A.B., Grønlund, A., 2017. *Status og potensial for økt produksjon og forbruk av vegetabilske matvarer i Norge*. [Status and potential for increased production and consumption of vegetable foods in Norway]. NIBIO report. https://nibio.brage.unit.no/nibio-xmlui/handle/11250/2451799.
Monaco, J., 2009. How to Read a Film: Movies, Media, Multimedia, 30th Anniversary Edition. Sage, London.
Moravčíková, D., Fürjészová, T., 2018. Ecovillage as an alternative way of rural life: evidence from Hungary and Slovakia. Eur. Countrys. 10 (4), 693–710.
Mouffe, C., 2005. On the Political. Routledge, Abingdon.
Murdoch, J., 2003. Co-constructing the countryside: hybrid networks and the extensive self. In: Cloke, P. (Ed.), Country Visions. Pearson, Harlow, pp. 263–282.
Neumayer, E., 2003. Weak versus Strong Sustainability: Exploring the Limits of Two Opposing Paradigms, second ed. Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, Cheltenham.
NOU 2020: 15, 2020. Det Handler Om Norge. Bærekraft i Hele Landet. Utredning Om Konsekvenser Av Demografiutfordringer i Distriktene. [Official Norwegian Report: It's about Norway. Sustainability throughout the Country. Study on the Consequences of Regional Demographic Challenges]. Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet. [Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation]. https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/3b37c1baa63a46989cb558a65fccf7a1/no/pdfs/nou202020200015000dddpdfs.pdf.
NRK, 2001. V30: Gull Og Grønne Drømmer [Gold and green dreams]. https://tv.nrk.no/serie/v30/2001/FFAD33000401/avspiller.
NRK, 2014. Økolandsbyen [The Ecovillage]. https://tv.nrk.no/serie/oekolandsbyen/sesong/1/episode/1/avspiller.
NRK, 2022. Info fra NRK [Info from NRK]. https://www.nrk.no/informasjon/slik-er-nrk-organisert-1.6511619.
Oliveira, H., Penha-Lopes, G., 2020. Permaculture in Portugal: social-ecological inventory of a re-ruralizing grassroots movement. Eur. Countrys. 12 (1), 30–52.
Overvåg, K., Berg, N.G., 2011. Second homes, rurality and contested space in eastern Norway. Tourism Geogr. 13 (3), 417–442.
Pais, N., 2015. GEN History: the History of the Global Ecovillage Network: 1991-2015. https://ecovillage.org/gen-history/.

Patomäki, H., 2010. Is a global identity possible? The relevance of big history to self-other relations. Refugee Watch 36 (1), 53–77.
Pickerill, J., Maxey, L., 2009. Geographies of sustainability: low impact developments and radical spaces of innovation. Geography Compass 3 (4), 1515–1539.
Portwood-Stacer, L., 2013. Lifestyle Politics and Radical Activism. Bloomsbury Academic, New York.
Prozorov, S., 2011. The other as past and present: beyond the logic of 'temporal othering' in IR theory. Rev. Int. Stud. 37 (3), 1273–1293.
Psenicka, C., 2014. Tomorrow never knows": language change in progress in 1960s America. International Journal of Language and Literature 2 (3), 21–35.
Ramzan, B., Pini, B., Bryant, L., 2009. Experiencing and writing Indigeneity, rurality and gender: Australian reflections. J. Rural Stud. 25 (4), 435–443.
Renau, L.D.R., 2018. Ecovillages in Spain: searching an emancipatory social transformation? Cogent Social Sciences 4, 1468200.
Riggins, S.H., 1997. The rhetoric of othering. In: Riggins, S.H. (Ed.), The Language and Politics of Exclusion: Others in Discourse. SAGE Publications Inc, Thousand Oaks, pp. 1–30.
Rijswijk, K., Klerkx, L., Bacco, M., Bartolini, F., Bulten, E., Debruyne, L., Dessein, J., Scotti, I., Brunori, G., 2021. Digital transformation of agriculture and rural areas: a socio-cyber-physical system framework to support responsibilisation. J. Rural Stud. 85, 79–90.
Rofe, M.W., 2006. New landscapes of gated communities: Australia's sovereign islands. Landsc. Res. 31 (3), 309–317.
Rose, G., 2016. Visual Methodologies: an Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials, fourth ed. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.
Roysen, R., Mertens, F., 2019. New normalities in grassroots innovations: the reconfiguration and normalization of social practices in an ecovillage. J. Clean. Prod. 236, 117647.
Rye, J.F., 2006. Rural youth's images of the rural. J. Rural Stud. 22 (4), 409–421.
Said, E.W., 1978. Orientalism. Penguin Random House, UK.
Seyfang, G., 2010. Community action for sustainable housing: building a low-carbon future. Energy Pol. 38, 7624–7633.
Sherry, J., Ormsby, A., 2016. Sustainability in practice: a comparative case study analysis of the EcoVillage at Ithaca, Earthaven, and Sirius. Communal Soc. 36 (2), 125–151.
Shirani, F., Butler, C., Henwood, K., Parkhill, K., Pidgeon, N., 2015. 'I'm not a tree hugger, I'm just like you': changing perceptions of sustainable lifestyles. Environ. Polit. 24 (1), 57–74.
Sletmoen, A.S., 2009. August 31 Norges første landsby. [Norway's first village] *NrK*. https://www.nrk.no/innlandet/norges-forste-landsby-1.6754577.
Smith, D.P., Phillips, D.A., 2001. Socio-cultural representations of greentrified Pennine rurality. J. Rural Stud. 17, 457–469.
Sommerville, P., Halfacree, K., Bosworth, G., 2014. Conclusion. Interrogating rural coherence. In: Bosworth, G., Sommerville, P. (Eds.), Interpreting Rurality. Multidisciplinary Approaches. Routledge, London and New York, pp. 278–296.
Staszak, J.-F., 2009. Other/Otherness. In: Thrift, N., Kitchin, R. (Eds.), International Encyclopedia of Human Geography. Elsevier Science & Technology, Oxford, pp. 43–47.
Stenbacka, S., 2011. Othering the rural: about the construction of rural masculinities and the unspoken urban hegemonic ideal in Swedish media. J. Rural Stud. 27, 235–244.
Store Norske Leksikon, 2018. *Landsby*. [Village]. https://snl.no/landsby.
Strandhaug, S., 2021. Jan 19. Vil videreutvikle Økolandsbyen: planlegger 115 nye boliger, samt fokus på framtidsrettet landbruk. [Will further develop the Ecovillage: planning 115 new houses, as well as focus on future-oriented agriculture]. Eidsvoll Ullensaker Blad. https://www.eub.no/2021/nyheter/planlegger-115-nye-boliger-samt-fokus-pa-framtidsrettet-landbruk/.
Svendsen, G.L.H., 2004. The right to development: construction of a non-agriculturalist discourse of rurality in Denmark. J. Rural Stud. 20, 79–94.
Temesgen, A.K., 2020. Building an island of sustainability in a sea of unsustainability? A study of two ecovillages. Sustainability 12, 10585–10612.
Torp, S., 2018. Hurdal Norway: making sustainable life accessible for the mainstream. In: Miller, F. (Ed.), Ecovillages Around the World: 20 Regenerative Designs for Sustainable Communities. Findhorn Press, Rochester, pp. 130–137.
Trier, C., Maiboroda, O., 2009. The *Green Village* project: a rural community's journey towards sustainability. Local Environ. 14 (9), 819–831.
GEN Undated. *What is an ecovillage?* Global ecovillage network. http://ecovillage.org/projects/what-is-an-ecovillage/.
Valentine, G., 1999. Imagined geographies: geographical knowledges of self and other in everyday life. In: Massey, D., Allen, J., Sarre, P. (Eds.), Human Geography Today. Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 47–61.
Verstegen, S.W., Hanekamp, Dr J.C., 2005. The sustainability debate: idealism versus conformism - the controversy over economic growth. Globalizations 2 (3), 349–362.
Vicdan, H., Hong, S., 2018. Enrollment of Space into the network of sustainability. Market. Theor. 18 (2), 169–187.
Wagner, F., 2012. Ecovillage research review. In: Andreas, M., Wagner, F. (Eds.), Realizing Utopia: Ecovillage Endeavors and Academic Approaches, vol. 8. RCC Perspectives, pp. 31–41.
Walford, N., Stockdale, A., 2018. Lifestyle and internal migration. In: Smith, D.P., Finney, N., Halfacree, K., Walford, N. (Eds.), Internal Migration. Geographical Perspectives and Processes. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 99–111.
Watabe, A., Gilby, S., Koide, R., Mao, C., Kato, M., Vilchis-Tella, P., Chan, S., 2020. Co-Creating Sustainable Ways of Living: 17 Stories of On-The-Ground Innovations. Institute for Global Environment Strategies, Hayama, Japan. https://www.iges.or.jp/en/pub/co-creating-sustainable-ways-living/en.
Weme, A.V., Madsen, O.J., 2018. What motivates green living? A qualitative investigation of sustainable life choices. Human Arenas 1, pp409–430.
Westskog, H., Winther, T., Aasen, M., 2018. The creation of an ecovillage: handling identities in a Norwegian sustainable valley. Sustainability 10 (6), 2074–2094.
Winter, A.K., 2018. The green city citizen: exploring the ambiguities of sustainable lifestyles in Copenhagen. Environmental Policy and Governance 29 (1), 14–22.
Winther, T., Westskog, H., Sæle, H., 2018. Like having an electric car on the roof: Domesticating PV solar panels in Norway. Energy Sustain. Dev. 47, 84–93.
Wittmayer, J.M., Backhaus, J., Avelino, F., Pel, B., Strasser, T., Kunze, I., Zuijderwijk, L., 2019. Narratives of change: how social innovation initiatives construct societal transformation. Futures 112, 102433.
Woods, M., 2010. Reporting an unsettled countryside: the news media and rural protests in Britain. Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research. Thematic Section: Rural Media Spaces 2, 215–239.
Woods, M., 2011. Rural. Routledge, Abingdon.
Yan, G., Santos, C.A., 2009. "CHINA, FOREVER'' tourism discourse and self-orientalism. Ann. Tourism Res. 36 (2), 295–315.