

The second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality

Johan Fredrik Rye & Nina Gunnerud Berg

To cite this article: Johan Fredrik Rye & Nina Gunnerud Berg (2011) The second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality, Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography, 65:3, 126-136, DOI: [10.1080/00291951.2011.597873](https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2011.597873)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2011.597873>



Published online: 01 Sep 2011.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 387



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 7 View citing articles [↗](#)

The second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality

JOHAN FREDRIK RYE & NINA GUNNERUD BERG



Rye, J.F. & Berg, N.G. 2011. The second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography* Vol. 65, 126–136. ISSN 0029-1951.

The article analyses how recent developments relating to the second homes phenomenon are intertwined with fundamental changes in the character of rurality in Norwegian society. Building on Halfacree's three-dimensional model of rural space published in 2006, the authors discuss how rural localities, rural lived lives, and formal representations of the rural are increasingly informed by and inform the second home phenomenon. In addition to public statistics, the discussion is informed by empirical data from the Centre for Rural Research's large-scale national and representative survey City, Countryside and Second Homes 2008. It is argued that there are three main dimensions and/or aspects that are central in the two-way relationship between rural space and second homes in Norway, namely extremely dispersed settlement and plenty of available land, rural–urban migration and mobility, and representations of the rural as idyll.

Keywords: *rural change, rural space, rurality, second home*

Johan Fredrik Rye, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, and Centre for Rural Research, Universitetscenteret, Dragvoll, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway. E-mail: johan.fredrik.rye@svt.ntnu.no; Nina Gunnerud Berg, Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Dragvoll, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway. E-mail: ninagb@svt.ntnu.no

Introduction

Norwegian rurality is changing. We believe that an important and illustrative element in this change is the unfolding of the second home phenomenon in the country's rural regions. Today, there are more second homes (huts, cabins, summer houses, etc.) than ever before, and these are extensively utilized by their owners and users for recreational purposes (Farstad et al. 2009). Aall (in press) estimates that the total number of square metres used for second homes has doubled over the last three decades, and estimates by Hille et al. (2007) suggest that on average Norwegians second home users spent 300 recreational hours and more than NOK 3000 (USD 545) on second homes in 2002. The changes are not only fundamental in their scale but also in their content. Traditional second home practices are being transformed across a number of dimensions: larger buildings, modernized architecture, higher standards of furniture, and fixtures and fittings, and new patterns of recreational activities. In the words of Vittersø (2007, 278), '[t]here is a shift from inconvenient and primitive holiday homes to growing demands for comfort and convenience'.

The trends concerning second homes are inherently related to more profound developments that have consequences for contemporary rural societies. At the larger societal level the intensified use of second homes reflects greater opportunities for mobile ways of life. Over the last 20 years Norwegians' level of material welfare has increased very rapidly, while changes in working life (e.g. the introduction of a fifth week of holidays from 2002 onwards) have allowed more time for recreational purposes. A further factor is large public investments in transport infrastructure, which have turned formerly peripheral locations into reachable hinterlands for second home commuters.

At another level, the interest in second homes among lay people who spend time in them and among public policy

planners and private entrepreneurs reflects recent rural economic, social, and cultural changes. The economic base of rural regions has changed from heavy reliance on primary production to a more diversified economy, including strong elements of production in public and private service sectors. These economic restructuring processes, which have often been seen as underlying the transformation from productivist to post-productivist countrysides (Ilbery & Bowler 1998; Marsden 1998), imply that the rural is just as much an object for consumption as a space of production. Inherent in this are also processes of commercialization and commodification; aspects of rurality are translated into marketable goods and services (Crouch 2006; Perkins 2006).

Parallel to the economic transformations there are profound social and cultural changes that challenge traditional ways of rural life (Panelli 2006). These transformations affect actors in different segments of the social structure in various ways. They reconfigure the vertical social structure; some actors benefit from the expanded second home market, for example private land sellers, local entrepreneurs and others who capitalize on second home investments in a locality, while others lose out as they are displaced, for example in the local housing market. The second home phenomenon also impacts the social structure horizontally by enhancing social and cultural heterogeneity as second home users bring new persons and practices into the locality.

The above-mentioned changes all contribute to reconfiguring Norwegian rural space. While much has been written on these changes in general, only a few researchers have studied the phenomenon of second homes and how it intersects with broader societal transformations (e.g. Overvåg 2009; Hidle et al. 2010; Van Auken & Rye 2010; Müller 2011, this issue Overvåg & Berg in press). We find this neglect unfortunate. In the present article, reflecting the content of the current special issue of *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of*

Geography on second homes, we discuss how the contemporary Norwegian second home phenomenon and the recent restructuring of Norwegian rurality are intertwined. We attempt to answer the following research question:

How does the modern second home phenomenon challenge and change traditional Norwegian rurality and, conversely, how do today's configurations of rural space influence the Norwegian second home phenomenon?

Regarding terminology, we primarily use the term 'second home', which is wide and refers to most houses with a function other than being a household's primary home. While there are a number of theoretical challenges to such a definition (Müller 2011, this issue), its usage makes sense in practical research. It is easy to operationalize and the definition resonates well with established usage in lay, political-administrative, and popular discourses. However, for the sake of varying the language we occasionally employ other terms synonymously, namely cabin (*hytte*), holiday home, and recreational home (see also Müller 2011, this issue).

We set out our exploration of the interrelationships between Norwegian second homes and rurality by presenting Halfacree's (2006) three-dimensional model of rural space, which we have found fruitful in approaching our research question. Then, we account for some key aspects of the Norwegian second home phenomenon and discuss their relation to the changing Norwegian countryside, primarily relying on material from the large-scale population survey City, Countryside and Second Homes 2008 (By, bygd og fritidsboliger 2008) conducted by the Centre for Rural Research (Bygdeforskning), Trondheim. Finally, we reflect theoretically on how to understand the intertwining of the second home phenomenon and dimensions of rural space.

A model of rural space

Halfacree's (2006) model of rural space draws on Lefebvre's threefold understanding of spatiality, the 'conceptual triad' (Lefebvre 1991). It represents an attempt to apply Lefebvre's general model of space to empirical analysis of one particular field of space, the rural. Here, we do not interrogate Lefebvre's work but concentrate on Halfacree's interpretation of the triad and his elaboration of it in light of definitional debates on rurality (Woods 2005; Cloke 2006). We find Lefebvre's model of rural space a fertile framework for examining the present-day unfolding of the second home phenomenon.

Halfacree's model has three facets: rural localities, formal representations of the rural, and everyday lives of the rural. He underlines that each of the three facets cannot be seen in isolation from the other two. Rural localities are inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices which may be linked to either production or consumption. The depiction of rural locality in Halfacree's illustrated model (2006, 52) – a road surrounded by fields and a tree – symbolizes the traditional predominance of agricultural practices in rural areas. However, to show the significant economic restructuring that has taken place in rural areas, we have instead chosen

a symbol indicating a second home or some other form of tourist- or leisure-related commodification (Fig. 1).

Formal representations of the rural, such as those expressed by politicians and bureaucrats in official government statements and publications, refer to how the rural is commodified in terms of exchange values. In Halfacree's Figure these representations are illustrated by a painting or picture connoting agriculture and the countryside as a food production resource. Other recent ways of commodifying the rural could have been used, and we have therefore chosen a picture of a second home owner engaged in recreational activity (Fig. 1).

The third element in the Halfacree's (2006) model – everyday lives of the rural – incorporates individual and social elements in their cognitive interpretations and negotiations. The illustration in Halfacree's Figure is of a farmer (male or female), given that the key element in the other two dimensions in his model (localities and formal representations of the rural) are agricultural production. Alternatively, if the key element in the localities and the formal representations is tourist consumption, the person could be a carpenter building a second home (Fig. 1). Taken together, the configuration of the three elements constitutes rural space. Halfacree (2006, 44) emphasizes that the model is a 'resource to be drawn upon by those in search for a better understanding of the character of rural space throughout the world today'. He stresses, however, that any analysis of the rural or rural space should always be sensitive to geographical specificity. Hence, the model's content will be extremely diverse across space (Halfacree 2006, 48). Halfacree invites and challenges other researchers to fill in the model's 'concrete' contours in a wide range of different places (2006, 58). In this respect, the present article contributes a brief account of one key phenomenon that is increasingly changing rural space in Norway, namely second homes.

Norwegian second homes and Norwegian rurality

Norwegian second homes have been intensively mapped in recent decades. In the following discussion we utilize a number of these sources to discuss the Norwegian second home phenomenon and consider the following question: What are its key characteristics and how are these related to the characteristics of Norwegian ruralities? We focus on the present-day situation, but draw on the history of the countryside and the cabin in Norwegian society to understand contemporary practices. In this regard, *Statistics Norway* has accumulated a considerable body of knowledge about second homes. While the bureau's main objective is systematic collection of information to facilitate the state's management of second home related issues (e.g. taxation, regulating and controlling, and planning purposes), the information has also proven to have invaluable relevance for research purposes. In addition, we refer to a number of research projects that have generated a wide range of data on second homes and their users over the years. In particular, we employ data from the survey City, Countryside and

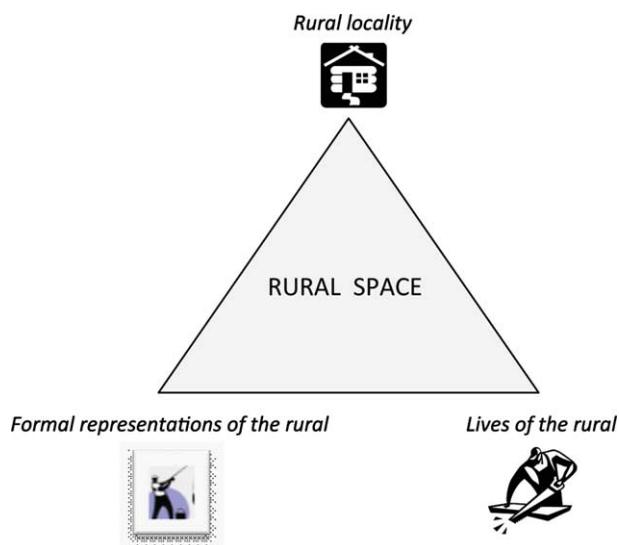


Fig. 1. Halfacree's (2006) threefold model of rural space (elaborated version)

Second Homes 2008 (hereafter referred to as CCSH), which was a large-scale population-wide survey conducted by the Centre for Rural Research in 2008 (Farstad et al. 2009). In total, 7000 informants were asked to participate in the survey and the sampling plan was designed to generate statistically representative samples of a) the national population as well as large sub-samples of b) the population in rural municipalities with high numbers of second homes, and c) the population of second home users. The response rate was 38.3% (2478 responses), which is relatively high for postal surveys. The results of analyses suggest there is no problematical missing bias in the material except for a slight overrepresentation of well-educated informants and the fact that second home owners were more likely to have taken part in the survey. Thus, the material provides a fertile vantage point for analysing the second home phenomenon in Norway (see Farstad et al. 2009 for detailed information on the survey).

The Norwegian second home phenomenon: key characteristics

Second homes are integral to Norwegian society and culture, both in terms of historical legacy and present-day practices (Flognfeldt 2004; Vittersø 2007; Hidle et al. 2010), and are seen by some as a symbol of national identity (Kaltenborn 1998, 133). In 2010, c.423,000 second homes were registered by the authorities (Statistics Norway 2010a). In addition, it is likely that there is a substantial number of unregistered second homes (Arnesen & Overvåg 2006). A further 6000 second homes are purposed-built annually (Farstad et al. 2009). While the development rate has been higher in previous decades – c.7000–8000 per year in the 1970s (Ericsson et al. 2005) and 15,000 in the 1960s (Jørgensen in press) – the numbers imply that the ratio of second homes to inhabitants has never been higher, i.e. approximately one second home per ten inhabitants. The growth is highest within the weekend travelling zone of the larger cities, and

primarily in the mountain districts, where approximately one-third of all second homes are located, with the remaining two-thirds are located in the inland and coastal areas (Overvåg & Arnesen 2007, 40–42).

The ownership and use of second homes is widely distributed across the population. During the CCSH survey, c.26.8% of the 4.9 million Norwegians stated that their household owned a second home, a further 7.5% stated that they shared ownership with another household, while 18.3% reported access (but not ownership) to a second home. Thus, the CCSH survey estimated that in total more than half (52.6%) of the Norwegian population had access to a second home in Norway. In addition, 3.1% own second homes abroad. These estimates are largely confirmed by information from other sources, but may be somewhat high. For example, in Statistics Norway's Living Condition Survey (Vågane 2002) the proportion of the population with ownership or access was estimated to be 40.6%. Another survey has estimated 47% have ownership or access to a second home (Støa et al. in press).

Geographically, the Norwegian second home phenomenon has a genuine rural character. The very idea of a 'cabin' (*hytte*), the lay concept by far most commonly employed for a second home, holds strong associations with the traditional and with the countryside. Accordingly, most second homes are located in the country's rural regions. Some details relating to the distribution of second homes in Norway are presented in Table 1. First, the Table shows the distribution of second homes across the rural–urban divide (upper and lower rows in Table 1). Here, rural municipalities are defined in relative terms, inspired by Almås & Elden's (1997) 'rural dimension': degree of peripherality (distance to larger centres), settlement density (percentage of population living in densely populated areas), and employment structure (percentage of workforce employed in primary industries). In Table 1 rural municipalities are defined as those belonging to the most rural half of municipalities on at least *one* of these indicators (see Farstad et al. 2009 for details). Further, the distribution of second homes is clustered in some of these rural municipalities. This reflects how rural districts differ significantly in their ability to attract second home investments, e.g. due to travel distance to major population centres and the rural municipality's amenity resources. Thus, in the CCSH survey a differentiation was made between rural *second home* municipalities, which are those with more than 125 second homes per 1000 permanent inhabitants (upper left cell in Table 1) and rural *non-second home* municipalities (upper right cell). Table 1 shows that a relatively small rural segment of the Norwegian population (13.2%) accounts for more than half (55.9%) of all second homes. A further 10.6% of second homes are located in the remaining rural municipalities. Thus, in total, two-thirds of all Norwegian second homes are located in the rural parts of the country. The rural character of the second home phenomenon is reinforced by the fact that the present growth rate is disproportionately higher in rural districts. However, it is worth noting that rural growth primarily does not take place in the outermost sparsely populated regions but in municipalities with 1000–5000 inhabitants (Farstad et al. 2008, 13).

Table 1. Distribution of Norwegian municipalities, population, and second homes across municipality categories (rural/non-rural and second home/non-second home municipalities)

| | Second home municipalities | Non-second home Municipalities | Total |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| Rural municipalities | | | |
| No. of municipalities | 201 (46.6) | 94 (21.8) | 294 (68.2) |
| No. of inhabitants | 615,720 (13.2) | 515,211 (11.0) | 1,130,931 (24.2) |
| No. of second homes | 229,896 (55.9) | 43,646 (10.6) | 273,542 (66.5) |
| Non-rural municipalities | | | |
| No. of municipalities | 26 (6.0) | 110 (25.5) | 136 (31.6) |
| No. of inhabitants | 223,908 (4.8) | 3,3216,300 (71.1) | 3,550,203 (75.9) |
| No. of second homes | 42,278 (10.3) | 95,219 (23.2) | 137,497 (33.5) |
| All | | | |
| No. of municipalities | 227 (52.7) | 204 (47.3) | 431 (100.0) |
| No. of inhabitants | 839,623 (18.0) | 3,841,511 (82.1) | 4,681,134 (100.0) |
| No. of second homes | 272,174 (66.2) | 138,865 (33.8) | 411,039 (100.0) |

Note: See Farstad et al. (2009, 59–65) for details on categorization of municipalities

Second homes in Norway are used extensively by their owners and visitors. In the CCSH survey the sample of second home users reported spending on average 36 days per year in their second home, i.e. one-tenth of a year, while owners spent an average of 49 days. Many reported even a higher number of visits: 28.1% of the second home users reported spending more than 40 days in a cabin, and 7.9% spent more than three months. In other words, the study revealed a relatively extensive part-time ruralization of the population. Despite more people having their first home in urban areas, as shown in official migration statistics, an increasing proportion of the population spends more time in the countryside. This is at least partly due to the higher standards of new second homes, which attract more visits and longer stays. In addition, higher standards make second homes more suitable to work from for a growing proportion of the population who can work away from their normal place of residence and/or use ITC (distance work) (Bachke 2011). Støa et al. (in press) report that 10% of the sample in a national survey regularly worked or studied at their cabin, although the potential for such use probably is greater. In a separate national survey, one-third of the population reported an *interest* in working at their second home (see Farstad et al. 2008). However, for many, the traditional conception of a cabin as a space for leisure, recreational activities, and family life precludes its use for work-related activities (Vittersø 2007), despite the fact that the historical roots of Norwegian second homes are strongly associated with work life (summer farms and fishermen's shacks), as noted by several authors (e.g. Aall in press). In the CCSH survey 87.2% of second home users reported that spending time with their family was a central part of their cabin life (Farstad et al. 2008). Bigger cabins and higher standards undoubtedly make it easier for two or three generations of the same family to stay in a cabin at the same time.

Another reason for the increase in days spent in second homes is that the average life expectancy is rising and the elderly are healthier than before. Consequently, the retired proportion of the population, i.e. those who are able and free to spend their time in cabins, is growing. The CCSH survey shows that retirees on average spend three weeks more per year at their second homes than others.

An important trait of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is its 'egalitarian' character, in myth as well as reality – at least in some regards. The traditional second home is small and modest, preferably without running water, electricity, and other facilities. These ideals are still championed and lived by many Norwegians: 'This is the simple life, no electricity but a privy', top politician Siv Jensen of the populist Progressive Party happily exclaimed to journalists visiting her rented second home by Oslofjord in summer 2010. Kaltenborn (1998) interprets this ideal as reflecting Norwegians' use of their second homes partly as a retreat and even to escape from modernity, representing a 'back to nature' ideology. However, second home egalitarianism is not solely rhetorical but is also soundly reflected in hard facts. While the CCSH survey documented that the likelihood of second home ownership is positively correlated with income and educational levels, the pattern of ownership was found to span class boundaries. For example, the survey revealed that among the households with the highest incomes (NOK > 750,000 (USD 136,400)) 66.3% had access to a second home, which is almost twice as many as those with the lowest incomes (NOK < 200,000 (USD 36,400)). However, what is just as interesting is the fact that even among the poorest households one-third (35.8%) had access to a second home. A similar pattern was found regarding cultural capital measured in terms of educational levels: for informants with university and primary level education the second home access percentages were 66.8 and 34.3 respectively. Again we note that despite the marked difference in the likelihood of owning a second home, such ownership is common also among those with the lowest educational credentials. Thus, class differences are not non-existent or without importance, but first and foremost they come into view in that material standards differ between the cabins belonging to members of the working class and the lavish mountain palaces of Norway's elite. Nonetheless, in terms of the Norwegian second home phenomenon, the class dimension is less visible than in many other Western societies, such as the British (Gallent et al. 2005). Second homes in Norway represent 'common ground' rather than 'exclusive property' for the few (Müller 2007a).

However, the traditional modesty of second homes in Norway is challenged by marked increase in standards.

The CCSH survey showed that 68.7% of second homes had electricity, 53.6% had running water, and 37.6% had a toilet. The majority of the homes were furnished with appliances such as kitchen stoves (85.1%), refrigerators (81.6%), and television sets (71.9%). This had resulted from many owners modernizing their older second homes, and also from a large percentage of new second homes being built with modern facilities. As a consequence of increasingly higher cabin standards, prices are increasing very rapidly. Between 2004 and 2010 the average price of a second home increased by 65.8%, from NOK 807,000 (USD 146,700) to NOK 1,333,000 (USD 242,400).

The higher standards of Norwegian second homes characterize owners in all levels of the social structure. As such, the Norwegian second home phenomenon still represents an integrated aspect of the Scandinavian social-democratic welfare model, as it has done from its very beginning; everyone has the right to a place for recreation and comfort (Berg & Forsberg 2003). It is anything but an elite phenomenon. The phenomenon's historical roots in the practices of members from all levels of society is evident from Grimstad & Lyngø's (1993) documentation of how working class people living in small flats in central parts of Oslo city started to build small summer houses on nearby islands (Lindøya, Nakholmen, and Bleikøya) in Oslofjord from 1922 onwards. It takes only 10–20 minutes by boat or ferry from Oslo harbour to reach the islands, making them easily accessible, and although the workers were not entitled to take holidays they were still able to make considerable use of their cabins. Many of them moved out to live in their cabin in the spring and returned to the city in the autumn. In this way, their cabins became their second homes. Similar stories could be told of present-day Norway. A summer vacation spent at a second home may represent economic hardship rather than affluence, relatively speaking. For a family with several children, even a low-price package tour to the Mediterranean may be more costly than two weeks spent free of charge at a family cabin owned by their parents – an option occasionally employed by many Norwegians.

Another key trait of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is its equal distribution of owners and users across the rural–urban dimension. As expected, in the CCSH survey the highest rate of second home users was found in urban regions: 61.8% in inner city areas stated that they owned a second home or had access to one. The percentage is lower but still considerable (47.8%) in the countryside. Moreover, in many rural municipalities a large number of second homes are owned by locals or by persons from other rural localities. In the CCSH survey, 8.0% of the informants in rural second home municipalities reported that the second home population in their municipality predominantly also had their permanent home there. A further 34.1% reported a blend of locals and persons living in other municipalities. Responses to a separate but parallel question gave the same impression. When asked to characterize the non-local element of the second home population, half of the sample (50.5%) describe them as 'mainly urbanites' while the other half selected the response alternatives 'mainly locals' (2.2%), 'a blend' (39.3%), or 'do not know' (8.0%). Thus, the Norwegian version of the

second home phenomenon does not straightforwardly reflect the urban–rural dichotomy. The overall impression is not that of urbanites visiting rural regions, where they play the role of guests while rural people play the role of hosts. Rather, the Norwegian second home tradition transcends the urban–rural divide and in many regions represents a common heritage and present-day practice for urbanites and rurals. This is further reflected in the low cultural distance between these categories of actors in many second home districts. In the CCSH survey large majorities of both rural and second home populations reported that they experienced the relationship between the two groups as 'harmonious'. The majority of the rural informants found the second home users 'sympathetic' (*imotekommende*) and only a few found adjectives such as 'reserved' (*reservert*), 'egoistic' (*egoistic*), and 'conflictual' (*konfliktorientert*) appropriate to describe the second home owners. These responses are mirrored in second home users' evaluation of their rural hosts. Responses by leaders of municipality councils in a nationwide survey confirm the impression that the relationship between local and second home populations is generally good (Kroken et al. 2010). Moreover, both groups also report having frequent and regular social intercourse with each other (Rye & Farstad 2010).

These egalitarian aspects of the second home phenomenon may contribute to explaining the seeming absence of strong conflicts between the second home populations and local populations, and in general most people in Norway view second homes in a favourable light (Rye in press). Since most second homes are purpose-built and spatially separate from first homes in the countryside, there is little direct competition or other related sources of tension in local housing markets (Overvåg & Berg in press). The demand for second homes does not have a displacement effect on permanent residents. Similarly, in a study of attractive second home locations in Sweden, Marjavaara (2008) found that second home tourism is not a widespread problem or the main cause of depopulation. In contrast, in Britain, Gallent et al. (2005) found that rural people tend to blame the second home industry for the rural housing crisis, as second home owners often buy attractive houses in villages which otherwise could house full-time residents. This may force local young people to find affordable housing in less attractive localities, and possibly also to outmigrate from the local community.

In Norway some primary houses such as smallholdings (Flemsæter 2009) and mountain farms (Villa & Daugstad 2007) are turned into second homes, but only a few houses in rural villages have been turned into second homes. Municipalities have reported that they rarely receive such applications (Kroken et al. 2010). Of the 420,000 registered second homes, c.6.5% are buildings previously registered as permanent homes or farmhouses (Farstad et al. 2008, 9); however, the numbers may be inaccurate due to faulty registrations by the authorities. An important explanation for the separation of the two housing markets, i.e. permanent housing and second homes, is probably the Norwegian understanding of the 'proper' location of a cabin, which is either as far away from other people and other houses as possible (the traditional understanding) or in purpose-built cabin villages

(a more modern understanding). The 'good cabin life' is located anywhere but amid normal everyday rural life.

Alternation between a second home and a first (permanent) home, as has often been observed in other countries, for example the UK (Steinecke 2007), has been rare in Norway, at least to date (Kroken et al. 2010). This is partly explained by people's imagined belief that the good *everyday* life should not take place in a cabin. Also the traditional modesty of Norwegian cabins has made them less attractive for anything other than holiday purposes. However, recent developments with cabins built to a far higher standard, with running water, electricity, and other facilities usually present in a permanent home, make all-year use of cabins far more likely for second home owners. In particular, retirees may have the opportunity to move to their second home. This will require Norwegian municipalities to provide, for example, welfare services to their 'new' residents. An interesting indication of the present widespread mobility is the work undertaken by the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities to map the demand for municipal services to second home owners (Ellingsen et al. 2010).

In total, the Norwegian second home phenomenon resembles what Gallent & Twedwr-Jones (2001, 68) label 'endemic' second home markets, in which 'ownership of second home is... commonplace and not viewed, necessarily, as problematic', in particular due to the division between the first and second home markets. In the opposite type of markets, the 'epidemic' ones, there are more incidences of conflicts due to the rural and second home populations' differing interests, both in terms of the housing market and in relation to other forms of rural land use (e.g. conservation conflicts) and rural development in general. In such a comparative perspective, the Norwegian second home phenomenon has many similarities with that of other Nordic countries, in particular the widespread ownership and use of second homes and their key role in national folklore (Müller 2007a, 193). However, all national cases have their particularities and there are also clear differences between the Nordic countries (Steinecke 2007). For example, Swedish legal arrangements allow foreign ownership, and there have been observed trends of permanent houses being converted into second homes in rural areas while the opposite conversion takes place in urban regions. The Danish 'summer house' tradition more often involves all year use, letting, and special regulations for use. Also some of the Norwegian second home regulations, both national and local ones, are specific to the country and have emerged as result of decades of attempts to govern the second home phenomenon. For example, certain laws demand that certain houses need to be inhabited for the major part of a year to prevent them being used primarily for recreational purposes (*boplikt*) and some regulations concern the maximum size of second homes. These traditions and regulations differ from those existing in other parts of the Western world. Gallent et al. (2005) state that second homes in the southern part of Europe often are related to rural depopulation, where families keep their former permanent house for vacation use. In England second home ownership is less widespread and has an elitist character. Leaving the comparative perspective, we will next analyse the Norwegian second

home phenomenon in more detail with reference to Halfacree's (2006) model of rural space.

Rural localities

The second home phenomenon changes rural localities, and changes taking place in rural localities affect the second home phenomenon. The intertwining is multifaceted, and we concentrate on what we see as the main processes and trends.

First, the second home phenomenon relates directly to the changing economic structure in many rural regions. While the Norwegian countryside traditionally has relied on primary industries – agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and extractive industries – today's countryside has been restructured along lines similar to those which Halfacree (2006) refers to in the British countryside and, more generally, in the EU countryside. In employment terms rural localities are no longer dominated by primary industries but rather by the tertiary sector. It is difficult to estimate the exact magnitude of the economic impacts of second homes but research has documented substantial employment gains in, for example, the construction sector, particularly during the development of second home areas, but also later due to the second home population's consume of local goods and services (Rye in press). In many rural municipalities the second home users make it possible for the commercial infrastructure of the communities to be sustained. In the above-mentioned survey conducted among leaders of municipality councils (Kroken et al. 2010), more than three-quarters (77%) reported that second home users have significant positive effects on the local labour market. The large majority also reported positive effects on local business. Further, two-thirds (63%) agreed with a statement '[t]he municipality should facilitate further development of second homes' (Kroken et al. 2010).

Second, for those still active in primary occupations, the second home population represents a new source of income. For example farmers seek to generate income from non-agricultural activities either on-farm or off-farm. Some provide services such as maintenance work on cabins, clearing snow from roads and buildings, and selling firewood. Such services provide an attractive source of extra income. This development alters the definition of farming (Brandth & Haugen 2011).

Both of the above-mentioned trends, i.e. the change from employment in primary industries to tertiary industries and the changing understanding of farming and farming-related activities, have led to what is often termed the 'post-productivist countryside'. Central in this economic restructuring of rural localities are commercialization and commoditization processes, in which rural resources have been attributed a market value. In connection with second homes, such resources may differ in type depending upon region and/or specific locality, but the most obvious are amenity-rich landscapes (mountains, coastlines, lakeshores, forests).

Third, a further key spatial practice in Norwegian rural localities, as well as in many other countries' rural localities and not least in Scandinavia and Southern Europe since World War II, has been out-migration. As a consequence of efficiency gains in primary industries people have left rural

localities to seek employment or education in cities. What outmigration does to the life of communities in general and to the viability of local enterprises in particular is important for rural localities. In Norway there has not been an urban turnaround or counter-urbanization trend in terms of the *permanent* population in recent years in contrast to England, for example, and second home users are appreciated as part-time inhabitants, who (as we have touched upon above) provide a demand for goods and services and may contribute considerably to the survival of small local enterprises.

Fourth, and probably the most visible trend, may be the literal imprints in sections of rural landscapes, the buildings which serve as second homes. In some rural municipalities there are thousands of cabins in the landscape, some located alone and therefore readily identifiable, or, as is the case with most newer developments, in large village-like clusters which transform entire sections of landscapes from 'nature' to 'culture'. The CCSH survey revealed that one-third (34.3%) of Norwegian second home owners' cabins were located within a group of cabins. Both the numbers and standards of second homes are changing. Traditional modest buildings seem to be being replaced with more spacious and luxurious styles. The second homes and the activities of their owners alter rural landscapes in other ways too. For example, in the mountain resorts, ski slopes and towns are prominent in the landscape. People's impressions of the landscapes of places such as Oppdal, Hafjell, and Geilo are often connected to the alpine trails that wind down the mountains. Other kinds of infrastructure for second home owners and tourists similarly alter the physical landscapes, changing it in a literal sense to a landscape for recreation.

Rural lived lives

The growing second home phenomenon brings new ways of rural life. First, the extensive use of second home facilities implies that extra-rural actors allocate a larger part of their time in rural areas. While mobility flows are in a literal sense uni-directional, by and large most Norwegians have their second homes located in less urban locations than their first homes. As such, the phenomenon represents a 'ruralization' of the population's use of time. However, the result is, in many ways, an 'urbanization' of rural space. In some rural municipalities the number of second homes exceeds that of the permanent population. For example, in Bykle Municipality there are 2.2 second homes per inhabitant. Based on an estimate of an average of three users per second home (cf. Steinecke 2007), 82 municipalities in Norway have a larger second home population than permanent population (Farstad et al. 2008). While members of the former group are not present all year around, in high seasons and at weekends the locals may find themselves in a numerical minority in these municipalities.

The rural lives of the second home users differ in nature from that of the locals. Second homes are primarily *leisure* homes. Recreation and consumption, not production, are the main activities. As such, the visitors' lives in rural areas

are fundamentally different from those of the permanent rural population.

An important nuance in terminology is whether actors' overall social praxes are conceptualized either as 'lifestyles' or as 'ways or modes of life'. The former tradition emphasizes how actors in contemporary society reflexively construct their own biographies, using cultural experiences and expressions to constitute and symbolize them. In such a perspective a second home may represent an element in the actors' efforts to construct his or her life and the rural thus represents a lifestyle. On the other hand, the way of life approach conceives cultural expressions as reflections of more profound and fundamentally material social structures. In relation to the second home phenomenon this seems to be a relevant approach to understand changes in the lives of permanent populations, which in turn originate in the change from productivist to post-productivist countryside. As such, the second home phenomenon, as with other tourist activities, contributes to significant changes in the lived lives of the permanent rural populations. More members of the permanent populations spend their work life in service occupations, providing services and experiences for the extra-local populations.

It is difficult to estimate the magnitude of influence that tourism in general and the second home phenomenon in particular has on permanent rural populations. This will vary from place to place, among other things depending on the number and location of second homes in the municipalities. In the CCSH survey the locals were asked whether they felt that the second homes phenomenon in their municipality impacted their everyday lives, and most reported this was the case.

The second home phenomenon thus implies changes in the everyday lives of the second home users and also the hosting rural population. This inevitably provides fertile ground for contestations and conflicts, for example relating to questions of local development, land use issues, and environmental concerns. However, as mentioned above, in Norway there seems to be relatively low levels of conflicts relating to the second home industry. For example, in the CCSH survey 49.3% of the population in rural second home municipalities agreed to a statement that the second homes bring about more benefits than problems. Only 19.0% disagreed, while the remaining 31.7% were neutral. Also in other regards, the Norwegian rural population leans towards accepting the influence of the second home phenomenon (Rye in press).

Farstad (2011, this issue) emphasizes that second home owners make explicit claims on the locality in which they live, also regarding issues which have implications for the permanent populations, and she discusses how such claims are accepted as legitimate or not by the locals. However, while conflicts between locals and second home users were previously explained by socio-economic differences between the groups, as Farstad shows in her review of literature, she demonstrates how the level of conflict often depends on whether the locals see any social or economic benefits to be gained from second homes:

Briefly summarized, this study shows that non-local citizens may gain acceptance among citizens for the pursuit of their own interests, as long as the local citizens perceive that the non-local citizens are or will be making significant contributions instead of reducing and/or threatening the resources of the community. (Farstad 2011, 173)

In this regard it is important to note the rather blurred lines of demarcation between these groups, as in many cases individual actors perform both roles. For example (as noted above), 44.6% of rural people own a second home, many of which (21.6%) are located in the same municipality as their permanent home. Furthermore, the intra-community division lines may be experienced a just as important as those between host and visitors. Rye (in press) shows how rural elites generally consider the second home phenomenon more favourably than others. Further, those actors who directly benefit the most in economic terms, in particular private land sellers, are more the most welcoming towards second homes developments.

Formal rural representations

From a study of parliamentary debates in Norway on rural development, Cruickshank et al. (2009) found that two competing discourses on rurality have emerged: one that regards rural values as intrinsic (the intrinsic value discourse), and one that regards the rural as an actor in play about economic growth (the growth discourse). The latter looks at 'the rural' from an economic and industrial perspective and the main political focus is on how to make rural areas 'profitable' and competitive. The underlying idea is that rural living is problematic and 'unsuitable' when the aim is growth in the Norwegian economy. As Cruickshank et al. (2009, 79) put it: 'Rural areas are valued for their industrial base rather than for their cultural worth.' In the growth discourse, centralization is understood as an inevitable process resulting from a global economy and general changes in the mode of production in the Western world. Rural areas are often represented as places that provide recreational activities for the urban population and as places to live for families with children.

In contrast, the intrinsic value discourse sees rural life as having a value in itself, disconnected from the industrial base of rural areas; it is better and more 'natural'. The political focus is on how to preserve a decentralized settlement pattern and rural areas with small communities that offer a better quality of life than urban areas. The idea is that rural life is 'the good life', and that people will live in rural areas if they are given the chance. Policies aimed at creating jobs in rural areas are thus seen as a means to carry out this wish. Furthermore, a decentralized settlement pattern is linked to national tradition and cultural heritage and this will reduce pressure problems in the cities: 'Rural people, resources and activities are viewed as sources of pride. Within the intrinsic value discourse, centralization is the great enemy' (Cruickshank et al. 2009, 82).

Cruickshank et al. (2009) stress that based on an understanding that rural settlements are of great cultural value there has been a wide consensus in Norwegian post-war policies on

the primacy of preserving a dispersed settlement pattern. They argue that, although visible from c.1980, it is not until recently that the view that rural places should be economically sustainable has started to threaten the preservation logic.

What is the place of second homes within the above two discourses on rural space? Although not relating to the two discourses per se, a study by Hidle et al. (2010) has shed some light in this regard. They analysed how second home mobility is reflected in Norwegian regional policy and political discourse, and found that there is growing recognition of the significance of second homes in rural areas in terms of an economic development strategy. There are few political discourses concerning second homes, and they seem to be part of Cruickshank et al.'s (2009) growth discourse. As we see it, second homes fit very well also with the intrinsic value discourse. This is not least because it is closely related to lay and popular discourses of the rural as idyll. One could argue that the popularity of second homes confirms the understanding of country life as *the good life*, in which nature, tradition, family, safety, simplicity, and peace are central elements.

The 'cabinized' countryside

Applying Halfacree's (2006) model of rural space, our focus in the above section was on rural localities, rural lives, and formal rural representations and their intertwining with the second home phenomenon. We sought to outline and show how the unfolding second home phenomenon reflects as well as informs the present-day reconfiguration of Norwegian rural space. In this section we will sum up our analysis of the spatiality of what can be termed 'the cabinized countryside'. We thus seek to single out the main aspects and dimensions of the two-way relationship between the Norwegian second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality.

Dispersed settlement and available land

Of profound importance in analyses of the Norwegian second homes phenomenon is its unfolding in a rural context which stands out because of its abundance of available land. The Norwegian countryside is far more sparsely populated than other Western countrysides. There are 15 inhabitants per square metre of land in Norway compared to 251 in Great Britain, 127 in Denmark, 121 in France, and 89 in Spain, to mention a few examples. In Europe, only Iceland is more sparsely populated than Norway (Statistics Norway 2010b).

The low ratio of land to people has several implications. First, in most rural municipalities land is readily available for second homes that does not compete with alternative land uses, such as agricultural and housing purposes. In effect, the majority of second homes are located some distance from existing population centres rather than being integrated in them. As we have pointed out above, this seems to reduce the level of conflicts between second home populations and local populations as they do not compete for the same land resources to the same degree (Overvåg & Berg in press), and

it explains the generally positive attitude towards second home developments among rural lay people (Rye in press) and among policy makers (Cruickshank et al. 2009).

Second, the abundance of land enhances the 'nature' context of the Norwegian cabin tradition, and as such facilitates 'escapism' ideologies that are commonly ascribed to cabin life. Spending time in a second home is usually, in the literal sense, time away not only from one's first home but also from other people's homes. Any encounters will most likely involve other second home users or at least other people, including the locals, who are spending time out in nature for recreational purposes.

On the other hand, the second home phenomenon is changing the settlement structure characteristic of traditional Norwegian rurality. Most important in this regard are the second home villages, which represent a fairly new phenomenon in the Norwegian countryside, where settlement typically has had a more scattered character and has been less concentrated in villages, unlike in most European countries. Thus, the second home phenomenon marks a key change in Norwegian rurality.

Rural–urban migration and mobility

The persisting rural–urban migration in Norway is another important aspect of the two-way relationship between rural spaces and second homes. In many rural localities the permanent population is decreasing while the part-time second home population is increasing. When rural out-migration leads to over-supply of rural housing, and in addition the second home population often erects new buildings rather than converting permanent homes, the result is that the populations do not compete in the same housing market. This provides for a rural permanent housing market with prices little affected by external demand, which is another explanation for rural residents' positive reception of the second home phenomenon. Furthermore, rural outmigration leads to positive reception of the second home phenomenon as in *symbolic* terms it represents an appreciation of the rural. Having an image as an attractive location for second home users is often interpreted as a sign of a rural community's sustainability in the wider meaning.

However, the appreciation of the rural is not purely symbolic but just as 'real' in terms of its effects on the economic, social, and cultural fabric of Norwegian rural communities. The part-time and highly mobile second home populations reflect as well as reinforce local communities' sustainability. Recent years' growth in the number of second homes seemingly reflects a better supply of second homes and more efficient systems for transactions involving second homes as much as it reflects higher demands for second home experiences. Farmers and other actors in the rural economy have provided land, construction, and lasting services for the growing second home populations. Thus, the second home phenomenon has contributed to growth in the non-traditional and post-primary rural economy.

Norwegians are more mobile than ever, physically, socially, and culturally. In present-day society these capacities

for mobility are, among other things, increasingly employed to seek out the rural. Thus, contrary to the dominant grand narrative in the Norwegian regional development discourse of a never-ending and undisputable trend of centralization, which often has been equated with urbanization, the symbolic powers of the periphery seem strengthened and, importantly, this is reflected in Norwegians' lived lives. In short, more people than before seem to spend more time in the countryside. However, urbanites' use of rural second homes represents quite different ways of rural life than traditional ones. Moreover, at the same time such processes of ruralization alter traditional ways of life for the permanent rural populations.

An important implication of the enhanced second home mobility is the continued blurring of traditional rural–urban borders. Pahl (1966, 307) once claimed that the field of rural studies had lost its proper study object, the rural, as people no longer were 'rural' nor 'urban': 'some people . . . are *in* the city but not *of* it . . . whereas others are *of* the city but not *in* it.' Others have formulated similar critiques. The influx of second home users fortifies this blurring. In the most popular second home municipalities, and in the high seasons, the average person present not only looks like an urbanite but actually *is* an urbanite in terms of his or her *permanent* place of residence. *Where* one is does not determine *who* one is. The result is that rural space is domesticated as an integral part of urban ways of life. Overvåg (2011, this issue) demonstrates how it has become increasingly difficult to uphold the analytical divide between first and second homes.

Rural idyll

Our final observation relates to the motivation underlying the second home phenomenon, namely the symbolic power of 'the rural' in Norwegian society. As a number of authors have remarked (Kaltenborn 1998, 133; Flognfeldt 2004; Vittersø 2007; Hidle et al. 2010), the rural cabin keeps a key position in Norwegian folklore and is intrinsically woven into the national imaginary. The rural represents 'the good life'; a 'natural' lifestyle marked by 'peace' and 'quietness', and the cabin makes this rural idyll accessible for everyone, even the most urban segments of the population. While the 'escapist' and/or 'retreat from modernity' theories may not apply to all segments of the rural second home population, it certainly contributes to explaining the strong demand among Norwegians for cabin life. On the other hand, second home users challenge these aspects of traditional Norwegian rurality as many of their activities may 'pollute' the idyll, both visually and audibly.

Another element in the Norwegian rural idyll is the family. In the CCSH survey 87.2% of second home users reported spending time with family as a central activity while at a cabin. Also the other reported activities indicate that traditional activities which family members often engage in together dominates; for example, two-thirds of the sample spent time on climbing, skiing, and berry picking. Often the second home is also a place for spending time with relatives, since the second home may represent long term ties to places

and the use of it is a way of preserving these ties. More than a half of the informants in the CCSH survey reported that their second home was located in a municipality where other members of their family resided. Further, most Norwegian second homes have been in family ownership for years, if not generations. In the CCSH survey 43.3% said their second home had been in their (family's) ownership for more than 30 years. Thus, for many their second home may represent more permanence in their family history than their first home.

We argue that the three dimensions of the Norwegian 'cabinized countryside' – the extremely dispersed settlement and plenty of land available; rural–urban migration and enhanced mobility; and representations of the rural as idyll – are the most important dimensions for understanding the two-way relationship between rural space and second homes in Norway. Together, these dimensions demonstrate the manifold and complex relations between the different elements of rural space.

Conclusions

The second homes phenomenon in Norway and other Western countries is a potent factor in the emerging countryside, as old and new ruralities negotiate with each other and generate different rural spaces, a countryside which is different from previous versions, and different in its many and diverse versions.

In the introductory part of this article we noted Müller's (2011, this issue) observation that the second home phenomenon has been largely neglected within rural studies. A number of works published in recent years may suggest an end to this paucity, including a number of anthologies and special issues of journals published internationally (e.g. Hall & Müller 2004; McIntyre et al. 2006; Bendix & Löfgren 2007; Müller 2007b) and in Norway (e.g. Skjeggedal 2006; Gansmo et al. in press) (see Nilsen 2007 for an overview of the Norwegian literature). Nevertheless, we still find Müller's analysis adequate, and find this striking lack of second home studies unfortunate for at least three reasons.

First, the Norwegian second home phenomenon represents in itself *an important drive* for change, economically, socially, and culturally, in many rural municipalities. Rural spaces are being transformed and second home users are among the actors in this process. These actors should be included in analyses of rural space not only as extra-local 'strangers' but as legitimate participants in rural society. As shown in this article, the second homes and their users impact all three aspects of rural space: localities, lives, and representations.

Second, the second home phenomenon *crystallizes wider aspects of rural change*. The conflicts in the wake of second home expansion are in one sense particular in character, but at the same time they are of more general interest for studies of rural change. In few other instances there are similarly close relationships between the permanent and the mobile sections of rural communities, as in the rural communities with the largest numbers of second home users. In this sense the second home countryside seem to stand out in their

close relations to the extra-local world. For example, Bykle Municipality has a permanent population of 1000 and hosts 4000 second homes and an even higher number of second home users. Does this mean Bykle is still rural? If so, what are the key elements of this rurality? Who is to decide what the rural *should* be, and do second home populations have a legitimate claim to rural futures?

Third, from a *comparative perspective on rural change* the Norwegian second home phenomenon is helpful in demonstrating the particularities of Norwegian rural space in contrast to those of other countries. For example, levels of conflicts (and hence planning issues) are dependent on land availability, use traditions, and users' preferences and intentions. The aim of this special issue of *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography* is to provide new insights and inspire further research on these and related issues.

Manuscript submitted 4 May 2011; accepted 7 June 2011

References

- Aall, C. (In press). Hyttebruk og miljø: En arena for nøysomhet eller overforbruk? Gansmo, J.G., Berker, T. & Jørgensen, F.A. (eds.) *Norske hytter i endring: om bærekraft og behag*. Tapir, Trondheim.
- Almås, R. & Elden, K.M. 1997. *Den rurale dimensjon: En teoretisk og geografisk avgrensning*. Rapport 7/97. Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, Trondheim.
- Arnesen, T. & Overvåg, K. 2006. Mellom fritidsbolig og bolig: Om eiendomsregistrering og om bruksendring. *Utmark* 2006:1. <http://www.utmark.org> (accessed May 2011).
- Bachke, N.F. 2011. *Arbeid fra fritidsbolig i lys av et fleksibelt og grådige arbeidsliv*. Master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Bendix, R. & Löfgren, O. (eds.) 2007. Special Issue: Double homes, double lives. *Ethnologia Europaea* 37, 7–148.
- Berg, N.G. & Forsberg, G. 2003. Rural geography and feminist geography: Discourses on rurality and gender in Britain and Scandinavia. Öhman, J. & Simonsen, K. (eds.) *Voices from the North: New Trends in Nordic Human Geography*, 173–190. Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Brandth, B. & Haugen, M.S. 2011. Farm diversification into tourism: Implications for social identity. *Journal of Rural Studies* 27, 35–44.
- Cloke, P. 2006. Conceptualizing rurality. Cloke, P., Marsden, T. & Mooney, P.H. (eds.) *Handbook of Rural Studies*, 19–28. Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, and New Dehli.
- Cruikshank, J., Lysgård, H.K. & Magnussen, M.-L. 2009. The logic of the construction of rural politics: Political discourse on rurality in Norway. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 91, 73–89.
- Crouch, D. 2006. Tourism, consumption and rurality. Cloke, P., Marsden, T. & Mooney, P.H. (eds.) *Handbook of Rural Studies*, 355–364. Sage Publications London, Thousand Oaks, and New Dehli.
- Ellingsen, W., Hodne, T. & Sørheim, S. 2010. Utredning av pleie- og omsorgstjenester for hytteboere. Prosjektrapport nr. 8/2011. Agderforskning, Kristiansand.
- Ericsson, B., Arnesen, T. & Overvåg, K. 2005. *Fra hyttefolk til sekundærbo-satte: Et forprosjekt*. ØF-rapport nr. 04/2005. Østlandsforskning, Lillehammer.
- 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, 165–174.
- Farstad, M., Rye, J.F. & Almås, R. 2008. *Fritidsboligfenomenet i Norge*. Notat nr. 11/08. Senter for bygdeforskning, Trondheim.
- Farstad, M., Rye, J.F. & Almås, R., 2009. *By, bygd og fritidsboliger 2008: Kommentert frekvensrapport*. Rapport 10/09. Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, Trondheim.

- Flemonsæther, F. 2009. *Geography, Law and the Emotions of Property: Property Enactment on Norwegian Smallholdings*. Doctoral theses at NTNU 2009:263, Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Flognfeldt, T. 2004. Second homes as a part of a new rural lifestyle in Norway. Hall, C.M. & Müller, D.K. (eds.) *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscapes and Common Ground*, 3–14. Channel View, Clevedon.
- Gallent, N. & Tewdwr-Jones, M. 2001. Second homes and the UK planning system. *Planning Practice and Research* 16, 59–70.
- Gallent, N., Mace, A. & Tewdwr-Jones, M. 2005. *Second Homes: European Perspectives and UK Policies*. Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Gansmo, J.G., Berker, T. & Jørgensen, F.A. (eds.) In press. *Norske hytter i endring: om bærekraft og behag*. Tapir, Trondheim.
- Grimstad, I. & Lyngø, I.J. 1993. The pleasure of the holiday cabin: A subtle paradox. *Ethnologia Scandinavia* 23, 45–57.
- Halfacree, K. 2006. Rural space: Constructing a three-fold architecture. Cloke, P., Marsden, T. & Mooney, P.H. (eds.) *Handbook of Rural Studies*, 44–62. Sage, London.
- Hall, C.M. & Müller, D.K. (eds.) 2004. *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscapes and Common Ground*. Channel View, Clevedon.
- Hidle, K., Ellingsen, W. & Cruickshank, J. 2010. Political conceptions of second homes mobility. *Sociologia Ruralis* 50, 139–155.
- Hille, J., Aall, C. & Klepp, I.G. (2007) *Miljøbelastninger fra norsk fritidsforbruk – en kartlegging*. VF-rapport 1-2007. Vestlandforskning, Sogndal.
- Ilbery, B. & Bowler, I. 1998. From agricultural productivism to post-productivism. Ilbery, B. (ed.) *The Geography of Rural Change*, 57–84. Longman, London.
- Jørgensen, F.A. In press. Den første hyttekrisa: Samfunnsplanlegging, naturbilder og allmenningens tragedie. Gansmo, J.G., Berker, T. & Jørgensen, F.A. (eds.) *Norske hytter i endring: om bærekraft og behag*. Tapir, Trondheim.
- Kaltenborn, B.P. 1998. The alternate home – motives of recreation use. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 52, 121–134.
- Kroken, A., Logstein, B., Storstad, O. & Villa, V. 2010. *Norske kommuner og fritidsbefolkningen: Kommentert frekvensrapport*. Rapport 9/09. Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, Trondheim.
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- McIntyre, N., Williams, D. & McHugh, K. (eds.) 2006. *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home and Identity*. CABI, Wallingford.
- Marjavaara, R. 2008. *Second Home Tourism: The Root to Displacement in Sweden?* GERUM – kulturgeografi 2008:1. Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University, Umeå.
- Marsden, T. 1998. Economic perspectives. Ilbery, B. (ed.) *The Geography of Rural Change*, 13–30. Longman, Harlow.
- Müller, D.K. 2007a. Introduction. Second homes in the Nordic countries: Between common heritage and exclusive property. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 7, 193–201.
- Müller, D. (ed.) 2007b. Special Issue: Second homes. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 7, 193–300.
- Müller, D.K. 2011. Second homes in rural areas: Reflections on a troubled history. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography* 65, 137–143.
- Nilsen, B.T. 2007. *Forskning og faglitteratur om «second homes»/«andre hjem»: En oversikt over teori og bidragsytere (med kommentert bibliografi)*. Notat nr. 4-2007. Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, Trondheim.
- Overvåg, K. 2009. *Second Homes in Eastern Norway: From Marginal Land to Commodity*. Doctoral theses at NTNU 2009:238, Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Overvåg, K. 2011. Second homes: Migration or circulation? *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography* 65, 154–164.
- Overvåg, K. & Arnesen, T. 2007. *Fritidsboliger og fritidseiendommer i omland til Oslo, Trondheim og Tromsø*. ØF-notat nr. 4-2007. Østlandsforskning, Lillehammer.
- Overvåg, K. & Berg, N.G. In press. Second homes, rurality and contested space issues in Eastern-Norway. *Tourism Geographies*.
- Pahl, R.E. 1966. The rural-urban continuum. *Sociologia Ruralis* 6, 299–327.
- Panelli, R. 2006. Rural society. Cloke, P., Marsden, T. & Mooney, P.H. (eds.) *Handbook of Rural Studies*, 63–90. Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, and New Dehli.
- Perkins, H.C. 2006. Commodification: Re-resourcing rural areas. Cloke, P., Marsden, T. & Mooney, P.H. (eds.) *Handbook of Rural Studies*, 243–257. Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, and New Dehli.
- Rye, J.F. In press. Conflicts and contestations: Rural populations' perspectives on the second home phenomenon. *Journal of Rural Studies*.
- Rye, J.F. & Farstad, M. 2010. *Sosiale hyttefolk: Delresultater fra undersøkelsen 'By, bygd og fritidsboliger 2008'*. Frekvensnotat. Notat nr. 1/10. Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, Trondheim.
- Skjeggedal, T. (ed.) 2006. [Special issue:] Om fritidsboliger. *Utmark* 1-2006. www.utmark.org (accessed May 2011).
- Statistics Norway. 2010a. *Antall fritidsboliger per januar 2009: Fylke*. [Tabell] Statistics Norway. <http://www.ssb.no/bygningsmasse/tab-2009-03-13-04.html> (accessed May 2011).
- Statistics Norway. 2010b. *Statistical Yearbook of Norway 2010*. Statistics Norway, Oslo.
- Steinecke, J. 2007. Nordic topography of second homes. *Journal of Nordregio* 7, 12–13.
- Støa, E., Manum, B. & Aune, M. In press. Drømmen om det enkle liv – et grunnlag for mer bærekraftig hyttekultur? Gansmo, J.G., Berker, T. & Jørgensen, F.A. (eds.) *Norske hytter i endring: om bærekraft og behag*. Tapir, Trondheim.
- Vågane, L. 2002. *Samordnet levekårsundersøkelse 2001 – tverrsnittundersøkelsen: Dokumentasjonsrapport*. Notater 2002/56. Statistisk sentralbyrå, Oslo.
- Van Auken, P. & Rye, J.F. 2011. Amenities, affluence, and ideology: Comparing rural restructuring processes in the US and Norway. *Landscape Research* 36, 63–84.
- Villa, M. & Daugstad, K. 2007. Summer farmers: Gender discourses in new arenas. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 38, 395–408.
- Vittersø, G. 2007. Norwegian cabin life in transition. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 7, 266–280.
- Woods, M. 2005. *Rural Geography: Processes, Responses and Experiences in Rural Restructuring*. Sage, London.