



Norwegian University of Life Sciences
Faculty of Landscape and Society
Department of Life Sciences

Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
Thesis 2017:82

The Norwegian Second Home Phenomenon

A Critical Perspective

Det Norske Fritidsboligfenomenet
Et Kritisk Perspektiv

Rasmus Steffansen

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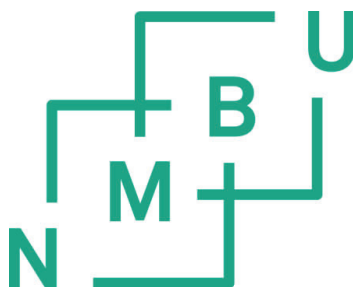
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Preface

My parents have a second home. It is a typical Danish “summer house” built in the 1970s. They bought it in the early 1990s, together with a couple of friends from the nearby village, but later they bought their share and now they own it entirely (apart from the share the bank has through a loan). It is located in a small village based on summer and beach tourism on the east coast, south of Limfjorden. Now as then, it takes my parents about one hour and 15 minutes to get there by car. They rarely use it. They go there more often to mow the lawn, than they go there to relax. They sometimes rent it out to friends or through agencies, but mostly it seems to be more trouble than it is worth. It lies in an area similar to typical suburban detached single-family house area, but with wooden second homes in dull colours, red, brown, blue, and yellow. The house has three bedrooms with six beds in all, a shower, flush toilet and combined living room and kitchen. Not long ago my parents installed a dishwasher and a heat pump. I do not like the heat pump because it makes quite some noise when used. They bought it to be able to keep a minimum temperature during winter, so water does not freeze. The dishwasher I like better, but they bought a used one, which I am not sure washes all the soap of the plates, so sometimes you have to rinse the plates anyway before using them. I cannot recall ever regretting going there. It is always enjoyable. It is best during summer when it is warm and the sun shines. The town comes to life, all kinds of shops open, bars, restaurants, ice-cream, playgrounds, waterpark, Norwegians, Germans, Danes and a shallow beach suitable for children. It is also cosy when it rains, to sit inside with coffee and a book or a game or watching TV. It is special going there during winter. You have to heat the stove regularly and because of poor insulation, it becomes very cold during the night. Maybe we will put on the heat pump, but there is something about getting up in the early morning to light up the stove and wait for it to heat up the room. The town is completely abandoned during winter, no shops are open, except the local groceries. The bakery might also be open, if it did not go bankrupt again. There is nothing to do, but to sit inside and put wood on the stove or take a very cold walk on the windy beach. I have had really good time in my parents’ summer house, with friends, the family and with my wife and children. However, I would not call it my second *home*, but I do feel a sense of being connected to the place. Sometimes, I wish we would use it more.

That is my personal experience with the second home phenomenon, boiled down. I believe it is quite similar to the personal experiences that many Norwegians enjoy during weekends and holidays at their second homes.

As I started this project, its title was “Norwegian second homes and how to plan for them sustainably”. However, I found it increasingly difficult to discuss sustainability and sustainable spatial planning within a phenomenon that seems nowhere near a sustainable practise (looking at the development of the phenomenon the past 50-60 years). Unsustainable because I see sustainability to be, at its core, a matter about the environment. Something that for me seemed to be missing in research, was knowledge about how the past development has been shaped by contemporary societal changes. I therefore wanted to discuss the phenomenon in relation to sustainability by looking at the past development and investigating drivers to the changes. This is because, if a sustainable transition of the phenomenon is to be reached, there needs to an understanding of the underlying causes for the mechanisms that result in unsustainable practices. The discussion is therefore not so much about spatial planning as originally thought, but more about how the conditions for second home planning influence spatial outcomes.

The discussion inevitably leads to a critique of some fundamental structures of the Norwegian society that leads to increasing consumption levels within the second home phenomenon. Consumption related to materials, but also household economy and socio-cultural practices. Holistically, the thesis then becomes a discussion about the consumption of multiple dwellings and the ratification of it within a context of a growth-oriented society committed to sustainable development.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of my supervisor, Petter Næss. Always willing to discuss, comment, inspire, encourage, support and help when needed. He provided me with a scientific freedom that has been very valuable. As a co-supervisor, Jin Xue has also given support and good comments during the time she has been on board. I also owe a thank to the research team dedicated with the work in the research project SPAVACC that also concerns second home planning, but related to climate change. Here, many methodological and conceptual discussions took place, and I have learned a lot from that. Thanks also to Terje Skjeggedal, who has given some comments as co-supervisor in the start phase of the project.

I would also like to thank the people who at some point throughout the period have been able to comment on my research. This also includes those who graciously provided me with information relevant to my empirical investigations.

Special thanks goes to my beloved wife, Frederikke, who has supported me, listened, and discussed whatever might be on my mind, in relation to the work, or the challenges that followed. Frederikke also gave birth to two of my three children during the period, which besides the joys of becoming dad again, also provided study-breaks. Breaks to rethink and start with renewed energy. Periods of recreation. Thank you, Frederikke, Carl-Otto, Asger and Inge for revealing to me the secrets of life.

Rasmus Steffansen

Vindum, September 2017

English summary

The Norwegians' construction and use of second homes has been an issue in public planning since the development of its antecedent, the cabin, began to take toll on the beautiful Norwegian landscape in the 1950s and 1960s. Still today, the development of second homes have great impacts on landscape, but maybe more troublesome are impacts to ecology and environmental issues such as energy use and use of materials. Although new environmental issues have been introduced by the continued development and increasing material standards, planning still seem to follow the same principles for spatial allocation and material use that were laid down in combination with the introduction of regulations in the 1965 planning act. Alongside the increased environmental issues, the increased material standards have also introduced other kinds of problems. One consequence is the rising cost of second homes, which secludes many from ownership. Nonetheless, second home ownership is still presented as something truly Norwegian and as a relief from the everyday stress.

This thesis contributes by investigating some underlying political-economic structures and mechanisms that seem to drive the continued development of the phenomenon. This approach is entirely new as a research focus. This aim has been followed through three different articles, which the following synthesising chapters reflect upon, while also aligning the methodological, theoretical and empirical methods of the three articles. The first article reflects on the discrepancy between rising second home ownership cost and annual salary, links it to motives for ownership and, based on this, develops a concept of a Norwegian second home ownership paradox. The second article empirically explores the hypothesis of the first article, primarily through a questionnaire survey among second home owners. The third article looks at how planning and development of second homes have changed in an interplay with political changes of society, i.e. how neoliberalism seems to have influenced second home planning and which developments it has resulted in.

The thesis adopts a critical realist ontology and the methodology that follows of moving from the concrete to the abstract and back again. It does so through the so-called RRREI(C) schema, which first aims at developing a so-called laminated system of the phenomenon, and then goes on to redescribe components of the laminated system with regards to a chosen theoretical frame. After this, it is a matter of either theoretically explaining antecedent causes to these components, or through retroduction, discover such antecedent causes. Subsequently, the theoretical frame needs to be empirically tested and possibly the frame needs to be altered, accordingly.

As a basic theoretical frame, a concept of sustainability that adopt a strong conceptualizing, i.e. an understanding that rejects the notion that nature is substitutable with human-made capital, is chosen. This understanding operates for framing the problem issue in focus throughout the thesis. The main theoretical concepts rest on the mechanisms of the capitalist industrial growth oriented society. Therefore, the thesis is to some extent also a critical analysis of contemporary society and the consumerist practices, which it articulates on a broad spectrum and of which the Norwegian second home phenomenon is an intricate example.

Through a questionnaire survey that asks about second home owners' motives for ownership and use as well as whether their second home is financed through debt, the thesis investigates the reality of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox. Through a case study of the municipality of Trysil, applying

document and interview analysis, some examples of the influences of neoliberalism on second home planning are investigated.

The thesis contributes to research on different levels. First, there is the general contribution of the ontology of critical realism to research on second homes. The thesis shows how the rich ontology and following methodology can contribute to a deeper understanding of underlying structures and mechanisms that have not been seriously questioned before. The thesis also contributes to research by exemplifying how the RRREI(C) model for scientific inquiry of can be carried out, which is very rarely seen before.

Second, the thesis contributes to the general knowledge production related to the research field of Norwegian second homes by offering a theorization and conceptualization of the field, which has been predominantly empirically oriented. The conceptualization and empirical confirmation of a second home ownership paradox as well as a description of the transformation of the phenomenon as going from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified including iatrogenic second home planning, serves as new concepts to the understanding of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in relation to sustainability (environmental, social and economic). The thesis thereby also proves relevant to a wider theoretical debate related to sustainability in general, economic growth and the prospects of ecological modernization.

Thirdly, these new concepts, and the analysis that lies behind them, prove valuable because planning needs to take a new direction if second home developments are not to continue the unsustainable practices it rests upon now. To foster a discussion, the thesis develops a set of planning principles, which basically tries to tame the increasing materiality of second home developments.

Second home development needs, however, to be further problematized in relation to many different aspects of sustainability and the critical perspective should enter mainstream political discourse if a transition of the phenomenon is to be hoped for. The analysis and concepts put forth here might offer a starting point from which the basic conditions of planning could be discussed. If such basic conditions are not discussed and transformed, the continued reliance on planning for solving the multiplicity of environmental, economic and socio-cultural problems, originated in the modern second home phenomenon, will probably prove insufficient. At least, this is what history tells us.

Norwegian Summary

Norges bygging og bruk av fritidsboliger har vært et problem i den offentlige planleggingen siden utviklingen av den moderne fritidsboligens forgjenger, hytta, begynte å forandre det vakre norske landskapet på 1950- og 1960-tallet. Utviklingen av fritidsboliger har fortsatt stor innvirkning på landskapet, men kanskje mer problematisk er innvirkningen på økologi og miljørelaterte faktorer som energibruk og bruk av materialer. Selv om nye miljøspørsmål har meldt seg gjennom fortsatt utbygging og økende materialstandarder, synes planleggingen fremdeles å følge de samme prinsippene for lokalisering og materialbruk som ble introdusert i forbindelse med innføringen av forskrifter i bygningsloven av 1965. Sammen med nye typer miljøbelastninger har økt materiell standard også medført andre typer problemer. En konsekvens er det stigende prisnivået for fritidsboliger, som avskjærer mange fra eierskap. Ikke desto mindre blir det å eie fritidsbolig fortsatt sett på som noe ekte norsk og som en utvei fra hverdagens stress.

Denne avhandlingen undersøker noen underliggende politisk-økonomiske strukturer og mekanismer som ser ut til å drive den fortsatte utviklingen av fritidsbolig-fenomenet. Denne tilnærmingen er helt ny som forskningsfokus. Dette formålet har blitt fulgt gjennom tre forskjellige artikler som de følgende «kappe»-kapitlene reflekterer over, samtidig som de forbinder de metodologiske og teoretiske tilnærmingene og de empiriske metodene, som de tre artiklene bygger på. Den første artikkelen reflekterer over en stigende uoverensstemmelsen mellom fritidsboligkostnader og folks lønnsnivå og diskuterer denne motsetningen opp imot motiv for eierskap. Med bakgrunn i dette utvikler artikkelen et begrep om et norsk fritidsboligeierskaps-paradoks. Den andre artikkelen undersøker empirisk hypotesen fra den første artikkelen, først og fremst gjennom en spørreskjemaundersøkelse blant eiere av fritidsboliger. Den tredje artikkelen ser nærmere på hvordan planlegging og utvikling av fritidsboliger har endret seg i samspill med politiske samfunnsendringer, dvs. hvordan nyliberalismen ser ut til å ha påvirket planlegging av fritidsboliger og hvilke konkrete utviklingstrekk dette har resultert i.

Avhandlingen bygger på kritisk realistisk ontologi og en metodikk basert på denne, der forskningen beveger seg fra det konkrete til det abstrakt og tilbake igjen. Dette gjøres ved å følge det såkalte RRREI(C)-skjemaet, som først tar sikte på å utvikle et såkalt laminert system av fenomenet, og deretter fortsetter ved å beskrive komponentene i det laminerte systemet på nytt ved hjelp av begreper fra en valgt teoretisk ramme. Etter dette handler det om å teoretisk forklare underliggende årsaker til disse komponentene, eller å komme på sporet etter slike underliggende årsaker gjennom såkalt retroduksjon. Deretter må den teoretiske rammen bli empirisk testet. Muligens må rammen så endres i tråd med de empiriske funnene.

Som en grunnleggende teoretisk ramme bygger avhandlingen på et begrep for bærekraft med høy vekt på å respektere naturen. Dette innebærer en avvisning av ideen om at naturen er substituerbar med menneskelig kapital. Denne bærekraftforståelsen utgjør en overordnet ramme for arbeidet med problemstillingene gjennom hele avhandlingen. De viktigste teoretiske begrepene dreier seg om mekanismene i det kapitalistiske industrielle vekstorienteerte samfunnet. Derfor inneholder avhandlingen til en viss grad også en kritisk analyse av dagens samfunn og forbrukerpraksis som manifesterer seg på en lang rekke områder og som det norske fritidsboligfenomenet er et intrikat eksempel på.

Gjennom en spørreskjemaundersøkelse om fritidsboligeieres motivasjon for eierskap og bruk, samt om hvorvidt fritidsboligen(e) er finansiert gjennom gjeld, belyser avhandlingen i hvilken grad det postulerte fritidsboligeierskaps-paradokset eksisterer i blant norske fritidsboligeiere i dag. Gjennom en case-studie

av Trysil kommune, basert på dokument- og intervjuanalyse, belyser avhandlingen dessuten eksempler på nyliberalismens påvirkning på fritidsboligplanleggingen.

Avhandlingen bidrar til forskningslitteraturen på ulike nivåer. For det første gir den et generelt teoretisk bidrag gjennom å anvende kritisk realistisk ontologi innenfor forskning på fritidsboliger. Avhandlingen viser hvordan denne rike ontologien og tilhørende metodikk kan bidra til en dypere forståelse av underliggende strukturer og mekanismer som i liten grad har blitt undersøkt tidligere innenfor dette forskningstemaet. Tilsvarende bidrar avhandlingen generelt til forskningslitteraturen ved å eksemplifisere hvordan den kritisk-realistiske modellen for vitenskapelig undersøkelse dvs. RRREI(C)-skjemaet, kan brukes i praksis, noe som sjelden er sett før.

For det andre bidrar avhandlingen til generell kunnskapsproduksjon innenfor forskningen om fritidsboliger gjennom teoretisering og konseptualisering av dette forskningstemaet, som for tidligere for det meste har vært ensidig empirisk orientert. Avhandlingen bidrar også med nye begreper til forståelsen av det norske fritidsboligfenomenet i forhold til bærekraft (miljø, sosial og økonomisk) gjennom konseptualisering og empirisk bekreftelse av et norsk fritidsboligeierskaps-paradoks, samt en beskrivelse av fenomenets forvandling fra å være samværsorientert og enkelt til å være teknokratisk og varepreget. En iatrogen (dvs. med negative bivirkninger) fritidsboligplanlegging hører også med til denne endringen. Disse begrepene bidrar til en forståelse av fritidsboligfenomenet i forhold til bærekraft. Avhandlingen bidrar derfor også med kritiske perspektiver til en bredere teoretisk debatt rundt bærekraft, økonomisk vekst og økologisk modernisering.

For det tredje er avhandlingens sentrale begreper og analysene som ligger bak dem verdifulle i lys av at planleggingen må ta en ny retning hvis utbyggingen av fritidsboliger ikke skal fortsette langs det ikke-bærekraftige sporet den følger nå. For å stimulere til diskusjon utvikler avhandlingen et sett av planleggingsprinsipper som kan bidra til å snu det økende materielle forbruket som fritidsboliger fører med seg.

For å få til en overgang til et bærekraftig fritidsbolig-fenomen, er det imidlertid nødvendig med ytterligere problematisering av utbyggingen av fritidsboliger i forhold til de mange forskjellige aspektene av bærekraft. En slik problematisering må også bli en del av den fremherskende politiske diskursen. Analysen og begrepene som presenteres her, kan gi et utgangspunkt for å diskutere de grunnleggende vilkårene for planlegging. Hvis slike grunnleggende forhold ikke blir diskutert og endret, vil planleggingen fortsatt være ute av stand til å løse mangfoldet av miljømessige, økonomiske og sosialkulturelle problemer som det moderne fritidsboligfenomenet gir opphav til. Det forteller historien oss i det minste.

“A comfortable house for a rude and hardy race, that lived mostly out of doors, was once made here almost entirely of such materials Nature furnished ready to their hands.”

but

“If it is asserted that civilization is a real advance in the condition of man, - and I think that it is, though only the wise improve their advantages, - it must be shown that it has produced better dwellings without making them more costly; and the cost of a thing is the amount of what I will call life which is required to be exchanged for it, immediately or in the long run.”

still

“Most men appear never to have considered what a house is, and are actually though needlessly poor all their lives because they think that they must have such a one as their neighbours have.”

while

“It is possible to invent a house still more convenient and luxurious than we have, which yet all would admit that man could not afford to pay for.”

so

“Shall we always study to obtain more of these things, and not sometimes to be content with less?”

Henry David Thoreau

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Appendix II – Questionnaire

Appendix III – Interview guide, planners

Appendix IV – Interpretation schema, example

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Articles

Article 1:

Steffansen, R. 2016. Critical Realist Methodology Guiding Theory Development: The Case of the Norwegian Second Home Ownership Paradox, *Journal of Critical Realism*, 15:2, 122-141, DOI: 10.1080/14767430.2016.1148375

Article 2:

Steffansen, R. Norwegian second home ownership and debt – an empirical study

Submitted to *Journal of Housing, Theory and Society*

Status: Waiting for reply

Article 3:

Steffansen, R. Neoliberalism articulated through Norwegian second homes – and the iatrogenic second home planning.

Submitted to *Journal of Tourism Geographies*

Status: Revisions submitted

1 Introduction

“All our cultural expressions in the activities of society are situated on the surface of existence. They rest on a depth of nature – that, which we call our natural foundation. It is there before us and is entirely itself – the occurrences have their own life and own appearance, without us doing anything. And it will be respected. It is too dangerous to ignore it. And it is disrespectful to overlook it. It is there in its own mightiness and beauty and dignity.” (Jensen, 2011, p. 62-63, author’s translation)

“It is first and foremost the natural environment and that which it encompasses of possibilities for contact to nature, natural experience, outdoor life and untamed self-expression, in contrast to and as compensation for the urban lifeform that tempts us to seek out the mountain in our spare time. The primary aim for planning in mountain areas is therefore to keep the natural environment as intact as possible.” (Langdalen, 1965, p. 25, author’s translation)

Nature is unique. It is the basis of our existence. We need to know that and live by it. Nature is fragile, what is done, cannot be undone. Maybe that is also why it has become so important for us to experience it, and to use it to get a break from our human-made urban reality. There is a sense of urgency in the fact that experiencing and using nature will also change it. We know that there is a balance. We might ask, what right do we have to use it in this or that way, if we know that this use will cause irreversible changes to nature, our foundation of life? The nature that was there before us nurtured us and made us who we are? These are ethical questions, questions too rarely asked in relation to the Norwegian second home phenomenon. These questions are nevertheless highly relevant to the phenomenon in general, as it thrives on the natural amenities of which Norway is full. In this thesis, I will explore different aspects of the Norwegian second home phenomenon related to sustainability and planning. A specific focus will be on how different mechanisms of economic growth influence the phenomenon and how it affects a development with respect to the natural environment. This is because natural boundaries still are being pushed, not only by diminishing pristine natural areas, but also through greenhouse gas pollution and material and energy use. Second home development and its effect on the environment is increasingly becoming a topic of research and this thesis is part of that tradition. Still, public attention towards these issues seem very limited and normally considered to be an issue to be handled within planning. We might therefore ask, why is it even relevant to discuss the Norwegian second home phenomenon as a threat to nature and the environment in general?

“For the past 12,000 years, human beings lived in a geological epoch called the Holocene, known for its relatively stable, temperate climates. It was, you might say, the California of planetary history. But it is coming to an end. Recently, we have begun to alter the Earth so drastically that, according to many scientists, a new epoch is dawning. After the briefest of geological vacations, we seem to be entering a more volatile period” (The Guardian, 2017).

The Anthropocene is the new period. The term describes that humans are a major force in changing the earth’s geology and ecosystems. Surely, Norwegian second homes are not to blame alone. However, they are an example of a luxurious consumption that together with other materializations of modern needs, which on an aggregated level evolves into the exploitation of natural resources and pollution that

becomes the Anthropocene. When development of modern second homes on a steep mountain side above the Trysil Innbygda requires removing mountain rock, to make a terrace plateau for the second home, the garage, the driveway, the veranda and the lawn, the change to the mountainside will be visible for as long as the mountain stands. The same may be the case when coastal second home owners in Kragerø who have been refused to build add-ons, decide to blow the rock beneath their second home away, in order to make the refused extension as a “unseen” basement. The energy consumed in these homes and through trips in private cars, emits greenhouse gases into the atmosphere that will also be present for thousands of years. In the near future it will also affect the second home phenomenon itself, threatening something as Norwegian as snow. Development of second homes and related activities in mountain areas is likewise part of the threat against wild reindeer, which exemplifies how the phenomenon also threatens biodiversity and ecology. In the extreme, it will also cause irreversible consequences.

These are just some of the consequences that second home development and use causes, and to some extent, we know this already and do not really need any reminders. Why then, does this paradoxical situation continue and this seemingly with an ever increasing pace? Why does it continue when we do not want to harm the earth, when we do not want to create a worse situation for our children in the future? Why have attempts to remedy these issues through planning seemingly not improved the situation? These are obviously complex questions, too complex to answer in this thesis. However, two noticeable structures that influence these issues are the current economic regime and the cultural understanding of a good life as being manifested through material consumption. Two sides of the same coin. This thesis addresses parts of these issues by using the Norwegian second home phenomenon as a kind of case study or focal point, by asking the question:

- How do certain political-economic driving forces and cultural conditions affect the Norwegian second home phenomenon?

Four research sub-questions will be developed later as a consequence of the thesis’ standpoint in terms of theories of science, which is critical realism. However, they will be listed already here in order not to keep readers waiting:

- (1) What are the main components of the Norwegian second home phenomenon?
- (2) How have these components changed, related to sustainability?
- (3) Holistically, what are the main drivers behind these changes?
- (4) How can these changes be conceptualized?

The indent shows that each question follows the former; i.e. there is a natural succession of the questions. Especially the first, but also the second sub-questions should be regarded as descriptive and intermediate, or rather as questions that lead to the third and fourth on which the main focus, through the theoretical and empirical inquiries, will be put. A more reflective research question related to planning will also be probed in the later parts of the thesis, asking:

- (5) What does this new knowledge have to offer to planning?

Not only because it is a requirement for the doctoral thesis to consider meta-theoretical standpoints in relation the research topic, but rather because I believe it is a (indispensable) valuable aspect, I apply a critical realist thinking throughout the entire thesis (see chapter 2). I did not develop a separate research question for that matter, but the level of focus on critical realism, in the thesis, might have justified that.

However, I believe it is sufficient to mention it here as a core interest of the thesis work, to apply critical realist thinking to my research into the Norwegian second home phenomenon.

Before moving on to argue for the research sub-questions there is a need to go in more detail with the phenomenon and the field of interest, but first, in order to alert the readers, the main contributions of the thesis will be summarized here.

Main contributions

The thesis contributes to research on different levels of both meta-theory, methodology, theory, concept development and planning.

First, there is the general contribution of the ontology of critical realism to research on second homes. The thesis shows how the rich ontology and following methodology can contribute to a deeper understanding of underlying structures and mechanisms that have not been seriously questioned before. The thesis also contributes to research by exemplifying how the RRREI(C) model for scientific inquiry of can be carried out, which is very rarely seen before. The choice of critical realism as meta-theory for this thesis will be argued for in the next chapter.

Second, the thesis contributes to the general knowledge production related to the research field of Norwegian second homes by offering a theorization and conceptualization of the field, which has been predominantly empirically oriented. The conceptualization and empirical confirmation of a second home ownership paradox as well as a description of the transformation of the phenomenon as going from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified including iatrogenic second home planning, serves as new concepts to the understanding of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in relation to sustainability (environmental, social and economic). The thesis thereby also proves relevant to a wider theoretical debate related to sustainability in general, economic growth and the prospects of ecological modernization.

Thirdly, these new concepts and the analysis that lies behind them prove valuable because planning needs to take a new direction if second home developments are not to continue the unsustainable practices it rests upon now. To foster a discussion, the thesis develops a set of planning principles, which basically tries to tame the increasing materiality of second home developments.

For a further elaboration of the contributions of the thesis, please go to the synthesising discussion in chapter 5. In the following, the focus will be on introducing the second home phenomenon in more detail.

The phenomenon

I supplement Norwegian second homes with the term *phenomenon* as it broadens the point of research outside what is regularly customary in Norwegian second home research. It is a way of complexing the research field in order to state that the research should not make the mistake to delimit the scope to the physical structures of the second home itself. Therefore, it is also a means to secure the interdisciplinarity of the research object, by stating that this is a broad subject, that justifies being called a phenomenon. The phenomenon is about planning, mobility, culture, economics, ecology, tourism, sociology, Norwegian identity and tradition and much more. It is important not to prematurely exclude aspects of the phenomenon from research because they might be taking part in evoking changes to the actual physical development of second homes. So in order to understand the development of second homes there also needs to be some degree of understanding of a phenomenon. As such, the development of the

phenomenon and the actual physical appearance of second homes in the landscape is interrelated and the phenomenon is interrelated with changes in society.

The second home and the multi-dwelling home household

Not surprisingly, the term second home has been used differently in various research settings. The adoption of the term in this thesis is mainly due to the circumstance that it is the most commonly used term in international research. Other relevant terms are, among others, vacation home, recreational home, cabin, leisure home and summerhouse. In this thesis, the term second home is used to describe dwellings used and/or bought mainly for recreational purposes. The second home stands opposite to the primary dwelling, from which households conduct their professional lives.

In recent years, a development of the dialectical relation between the primary and the second home has begun to form. Arnesen et al. (2012) argue for the concept of a multi-house home, due to a pattern of intra-home circulation between the primary and the secondary house, among second home owners. They classify the intra-home circulation as recreational commuting, and because of the use pattern of the recreational dwelling, it constitute an entity within what users call their home. Such households could therefore rightfully be classified to be living in multi-house homes. These authors stay in the realm of second homes in Norway, used for recreational uses and argue that second homes are part of an urban recreational sprawl constituted in mountain and coastal developments that resemble traditional suburban areas. However, this relational perspective that tries to coin a household's notion of a home opens up some further issues, which might call for a more complex notion of the conceptual relationship. Though the multi-house home concept is not the central focus of the thesis, I will discuss it in more detail, mainly because it helps to frame the second home phenomenon within a housing research debate.

As a start, the use of 'house' might be too narrow. Although most households owning a second home live in detached single-family houses, there are also many who live in apartments or row-houses. Also, the second home itself is sometimes an apartment, thus the term 'dwelling' might be more fitting. Taking a point of departure in the household also presuppose a changing notion of the home as households themselves are in a state of breaking up in smaller entities (Paris, 2009). The idealized household consisting of a traditional core-family with wife, husband and children is becoming rarer. Households are more often constituted by singles or merged families, even living 'together apart' is becoming more common. In families that live together apart it might mean that home for one person is not the same for the spouse. Still, it is most common for the household to live under the same roof.

In addition, internationally owned second homes might not be visited as often as those located in the domestic urban hinterlands and therefore maybe cannot be categorised as intra-home circulation, they now constitute such an amount that it is difficult to disregard these within a new framing of the phenomenon. In 2014, 66,400 Norwegians owned houses abroad, most frequently in Spain and Sweden, followed by France and Turkey (Statistics Norway, 2016). Another aspect that adds to the complexity of the term is international migration to Norway. The Norwegian population now consists of many different nationalities, which have different preconditions for usage of second homes. 16.8 % of the Norwegian population are by 2017 immigrants or children of immigrants, and in the municipality of Oslo, this proportion is as high as 33% (Statistics Norway, 2017). Most relevant for this group might not be second homes for recreational purposes but second homes in their country of origin to keep in touch with family and upkeep affiliation with their home country (Indset et al., 2011). This group to some extent still falls under the radar of research.

How many households that can be categorised under the multi-dwelling home term is still up to research to find out. As of 2015, 26% of Norwegian households own a second home, while 40% of the households use second homes (Statistics Norway, 2016). The intra-home circulation that is the foundation of the multi-dwelling home, is most likely to be found within the owner group, as use without ownership could be expected to occur on a more irregular basis. What remains, however, is that the multi-dwelling home household is a term that covers parts of the transformation of the phenomenon, i.e. the relationship between the primary and the secondary home and the changed reality it poses for planning. As mentioned, such conceptualization serves to situate the research agenda within a general context of housing research, rather than e.g. tourism (Paris, 2009).

Norwegian second home planning

As this thesis also discusses planning issues, a short introduction to where planning authority over second home developments resides, is needed.

The physical development of second homes, as well as other land-use allocations related to natural resources, lies under the municipal authority (with the exception of larger protected areas such as national parks, which falls under the jurisdiction of higher authorities). This means that municipalities govern the zoning of land-use for different purposes such as industrial use, commercial activities, housing, recreational purposes, agriculture and environmental protection. However, authorities in the county municipalities or in the regional state can intervene if the plan threatens national interests. But as second home development areas typically do not lie within areas of national interest (Kaltenborn et al., 2007), higher authorities are unlikely to be included. Maybe more importantly, the municipalities are only politically, not legally obliged by higher-level plans and they can therefore argue from a holistic judgement of the municipal situation not to follow higher-level plans (Miljøverndepartementet, 2009). This means that most municipalities are both the political and planning authority in second home development matters.

Municipal authorities, landowners as well as developers can submit development plans. However, it is most often private actors that submit plan proposals for which the municipality will make draft land use plans that can be viewed and judged by the public. The municipal council subsequently decides whether the plan will become effective or not.

Sustainability

The concept of sustainability will be an underlying theme throughout this thesis and it therefore needs to be clarified in more detail.

At least since the World Commission on Environment and Development published their report 'Our Common Future' (1987), mainstream policy to combat rising environmental and social crises has been to pursue economic growth while relying on technological advances and institutional reorganization. However, mounting academic arguments highlight that such a strategy of de-coupling¹ seem to be an economic growth ideal rather than a practical solution. Xue (2017) identifies four main arguments for economic growth and puts forth counter arguments to all four tracks. Besides arguments against economic growth from a social, moral and even economic point of view, what stands out as the strongest, in my view, is the argument from an environmental point of view. Xue (2017) argues, based on a literature

¹ The theory of ecological modernization (see e.g. Spaargaren and Mol,1992; Hajer, 1995, Mol and Sonnenfeld, 2000)

review, that there are ecological limits to growth, because de-coupling strategies cannot reduce the economic scale to fit within the limits of the ecosystem's biosphere. Moreover, as I argued in the introduction and will develop theoretically later, the foundation for human being is nature, which makes respect for natural limits an indispensable argument to which all reason must (at least should) subsume. The point is to stress that sustainable development or sustainability in this thesis is to be understood as not necessarily containing economic growth. For affluent societies, the need to de-grow the economy seems to be a viable path forward to obtain a sustainable society (Bhaskar et al., 2012; D'Alisa et al., 2015). However, this does not mean that economic degrowth must necessarily be followed in each local community. In a Norwegian second home context, present consumption levels are often inconsistent with the ecological boundaries and since this argument lies far from mainstream public discourse (and to some extent in research), it will be discussed in the following.

1.1 Second homes and environmental issues

There have only been few attempts to discuss the sustainability of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in previous research (see e.g. Gansmo et al., 2011). Adopting Aall's (2014) categorization of the relation between tourism and the environment, we can likewise distinguish the Norwegian second home phenomenon's relation to environmental sustainability into these three modes 1) second home owners as victims or winners 2) second home owners as part of the problem and 3) second home ownership as part of the solution.

Second home owners as victims or winners

This point will further not be a topic in the thesis, but I will anyways mention the main aspects of it here. As the effects of climate change in the near future become increasingly manifest, second home owners are just as likely to be affected as everyone else, or maybe even more in some cases. More than 18,000 Norwegian second homes lie beneath one meter from sea level (Kvande et al., 2012) and therefore risk being flooded if global warming results in storm surge or general sea level rise. Precipitation is also likely to change in the near future and it will probably lead to fewer but more intense periods of rainfall. If temperature rises, it will, in some cases, mean rain or sleet instead of snow, which will lead to changed use potential of second homes (Kvande et al., 2012; Sælen and Ericson, 2013). Ski resorts are located in mountain regions and temperature rise might therefore result in shortened periods with snow on the ground. Downhill (and cross-country) ski tracks are already often prepared for the lack of snow with snow producing cannons, the extended use of which will result increased energy consumption. Thus in some mountain regions second home owners/users might be considered as losers as result of changed climate. However, some second home owners/users with second homes in summer-oriented destinations (e.g. coastal regions in the south) might also be positively affected if increase in temperature results in longer periods with warm weather during summer. The tourist season might then be prolonged due to warmer periods with sun, warmer bathing temperature and longer periods with no rain. Besides being losers/winners of future climate change scenarios, existing second home owners/users in areas near second home development areas might also lose out, if areas for recreation are threatened.

Second home owners as part of the problem

Second home development have a diverse set of impact on the environment on different levels, however such impacts tends to be downplayed in research.

The development history of Norwegian second homes has shown that second homes tend to have impacts on landscape qualities (Langdalen, 1965, Skjeggedal et al. 2015), it threatens the protection of the coastal

zone (Miljøverndepartementet, 2007) as well as public access (Stokke et al., 2008; Skjeggedal et al., 2011). Also inland areas of second home developments take part in the decreasing and fragmentation of natural areas (and pristine areas) (Miljødirektoratet, 2014). Fragmentation and decrease of such areas also have impact on biodiversity, an impact only increased by climate change (NOU, 2013:10). Second home use results in climate change through stationary energy use and related motorized travel, and development and maintenance results in material use that both have environmental and climate impacts (Aall, 2011). Indirectly, and often neglected, activities during stays at the second home, also lead to both material and energy use. Aall et al. (2011) found that in general, leisure activities more and more become drivers for material consumption, as people demand the “right” and newest equipment for e.g. skiing and walking. Something Faarlund (2003) argues to deprive the outdoor recreationist from true connection to the natural environment.

Second homes as part of the solution

The arguments against second home development are often downplayed and replaced by arguments for second home use as part of an education or awakening of environmental awareness.

Four positive effects on the environment from second home use are put forth by Dykes and Walmsley (2015). First, second home use is generally considered more environmentally friendly than other tourism activities, secondly, second home users tend to appreciate the same qualities of destinations as local residents do, third, second home owners tend to favour preservation and fourth, second home use fosters understanding and respect for ecology and nature (Leppänen, 2007). Unfortunately, these conceptions of positive environmental impact from second home developments reside on a set of misunderstandings.

On the last argument, it still needs to be documented that second home use (in particular) fosters understanding and respect of the environment. From a common-sense point of view it might make sense that going into nature will make people appreciate it more (as also argued more philosophically by Faarlund (2003)). However, most people have many different sources to experience nature (apart from second home use), also in their daily lives and considering the modern second home developments and their related activities, it seems they become less and less related to the experience of nature. This makes it difficult to see why the second home in particular should be a resource to learn about nature, in a way that would make people respect it more and even change their everyday activities to become more environmentally friendly².

That second home owners tend to favour local preservation rather than development, might be true in some cases, but this is mostly due to an egocentric argument of recreation value (NIMBY) rather than a genuine concern for the environment. Regarding the second statement, it is difficult to conclude that this is a particularly *positive* impact on the environment rather than being related to social impacts, as something that means a conflict free relation with local residents.

On the first argument about second home tourism being relative more environmentally friendly than other types of tourism, different aspects have to be considered if the argument is to be considered valid.

² The British Broadcasting Company channel One’s documentary “Our Planet”, can be watched on a television screen at home and might be even more educative than a second home trip. The Norwegian Broadcasting Company’s “Ut i Naturen” might as well be more informative.

It is widely discussed whether second homes ownership and use should be considered as part of tourism³ (Müller, 2007). I argue here that second home owners and recurrent users should rather be related to the category of multiple-dwelling home households, while the tourist category belongs to one-time rental occupants of second homes. Therefore, second home ownership and use is more related to housing than to tourism. Regarding second home ownership and use not as tourism, but as part of a recurrent and periodic intra-home circulation between different dwellings makes it less relevant to compare environmental impact with other types of tourism.

Nevertheless, second home ownership and use are often compared to other forms of tourism and considered more environmentally friendly (Leppänen, 2007, Marjavaara, 2008). Making such comparison however implies that there is a trade-off relationship between second home ownership and use with other forms of tourism. The argument is that there is a sort of positive environmental rebound effect of second home ownership and use, which results in fewer tourism activities that are more harmful to the environment especially long-haul flights (Marjavaara, 2008). Recent research seems to dismiss such argument:

“Excluding visits to domestic second homes, their owners and users indeed travel for leisure purposes less frequently than the others. But if they do, they cover long distances, because domestic second home mobility substitutes mostly for other short trips. As a result, owners of second homes produce significantly more CO₂ by their leisure mobility than non-owners. The use of second homes does not seem to be a substitute for high emission long-haul travels, but rather a part of an overall highly mobile leisure lifestyle.” (Adamiak et al., 2015, p. 32)

The quote comes from a Finish study, but there is no reason to believe that this should not also be the case in Norway.

Reasons why negative environmental impacts of second home development are often downplayed and considered relative insignificant, while dubious positive environmental impacts are put forth, might be because of positive consideration of the socio-cultural and economic impacts from second home developments. Indeed, considering the relative importance of second homes ownership and use in the Norwegian culture throughout history, it is fair to argue that second home ownership and use still have a place in Norway. Still, considering the continued trend in development of second homes it seems increasingly important to question the direction of developments, not only from an environmental point of view, but also from a socio-cultural and economic point of view (as I will argue in this thesis).

1.2 Research context

To understand the origin of the overall research questions, the following will give a short introduction to a framing of the development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon mainly as seen through research. Since I have an intention to discuss the phenomenon in relation to sustainability, I find it relevant to divide it into three often-used domains of sustainability⁴ as a means for an overview as well as framing of the research field, related to these three areas. They are the environmental, the economic and the

³ Second home owners have by different researchers been argued to be ‘in-between’ permanent residence and tourism (Aronsson, 2004), ‘at the edge’ of tourism (Müller, 2004), ‘new-residents’ (Casado-Diaz, 1999) or ‘permanent tourists’ Jaakson (1986).

⁴ Even though I denounce this simplistic conceptualization of sustainability as three substitutional domains of economy, socio-cultural and environment, cf. earlier in the introductory chapter, and later in section 2.3, such division can be useful here.

socio-cultural domains (the first is described though material development). It is possible to go through these different points and elaborate on already existing research, but also to describe the phenomenon in a new context. The focus here will be to shed light on how the different domains have changed with an underlying notion of its relation to environmental sustainability.

Material development

With a Norwegians population of 5.3 million and approximately 455,000 second homes, growing 5,000 per year, the relative number is high, as in most of Scandinavia (Müller, 2007). In 1965 there was an estimated number of 150-160,000 second homes, increasing by 10,000 per year (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1965). The number of second homes owned abroad might be as high as 66,400 in 2014, multiplied more than eight times since 2001 (Statistics Norway, 2016). The share of households that own one or more second homes is reportedly 26% (Statistics Norway, 2016), some surveys suggest 36% (Farstad et al., 2008). However, access to second homes is reported at about 40% (Statistics Norway, 2016) or up to 49-56% in some surveys (Farstad et al., 2008; Støa and Manum, 2013). The average size of second homes was in 2013 88m², while it was 65 m² in 1995. The uptake of land area by second homes has also increased and in 2004 the uptake of second homes and the plot area (at an estimated 0,4 hectares average) was 0,5% of the total Norwegian land mass (Overvåg and Arnesen, 2007). However, the real uptake in land should be measured also to include roads, power cables and other external facilities to the second home. It could also be argued that parts of the tourism industry uptake of land should be included as well, since such facilities are also used by second home uses. This includes skiing facilities, marinas, shopping etc. The uptake of land would then be higher than the estimated 0,5%.

As a measure of standard, most second homes have tap water and electricity and 67% report TV installed (Farstad et al., 2009). The use of energy in second homes has from 1973 to 2005 increased by estimated 97% (Aall, 2011). Traveling distances between primary and second home have increased substantially since car ownership was give free in the 1960s. Average distance is now 160 km (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011); in 1970 it was 85-90 km for car owners or disposers, while it was 55 km for those who did not own or dispose a car (Statistics Norway, 1972). In 1968, 42.3% of households owning a second home did not own a car (Statistics Norway, 1969); by contrast, in 2005 97% of the estimated trips to second homes were performed using a private car, (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011). Average visit rate per year is 19.4, consisting of an average of 40.8 days (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011). Rye and Berg (2011) call the relative high rate of second home use part-time ruralisation, while others argue for the term urban recreational sprawl, thus linking it to the problematics of urban sprawl⁵ (Skjeggedal et al., 2015).

To sum up regarding the material development, there has been an increase in the number of second homes, domestic and foreign, and thus also land use. For these second homes, there have on average been increases in; square meter floor area per second home; material use; energy use and standard. The changed use and increased distance between primary and second home has caused increases in the use of motorized car travel. The material development is part of seeing second homes as part of the problem in relation overall sustainability.

⁵ The idea about a lifestyle in the suburbs (EEA, 2006), is often associated with negative impacts such as loss of natural areas and farmland and increased energy use for travel and in buildings (Newman & Kenworthy, 1999).

Economic development

The total, inflation-adjusted real purchase price for second homes increased by about 250 percent between 1992-2014, while the number of freely traded second homes⁶ increased by no more than 50 percent from 2000-2014 (Steffansen, 2016). The figures are indicative of the increased value of second homes. In 2015 the average cost of a second home in Norway was approximately 1.5m NOK (~ 180,000 EUR), which is about three times as much as an average fulltime annual salary. Figures indicative of increased price can also be found from fire insurance value on second homes in 1969 and average estimated value in 2008. In 1969, average fire insurance value (2008 inflation adjusted) was just short of 320,000 NOK⁷ (Statistics Norway, 1972). In comparison, the average estimated value of second homes in 2008 was 1,524,000 NOK (Støa & Manum, 2013), which makes a 367% increase. Parts of this value increase should be attributed to changes in material standards as already described.

However, the increased material standards of the average second home have also put pressure on the annual expenditure associated with second home ownership (Steffansen, 2016). In 1969, yearly costs were 7900⁸ NOK, inflation adjusted. In 2008, this figure was 59000⁹ NOK, thus an increase of approximately 650%¹⁰.

As real wages increased only by a little less than 100% from 1970 to 2008, which is far less than the increase in the aggregated price of the traded second homes, as well as the increase in expenditures for ownership, this naturally puts an economic pressure on the household that wish to become second home owners. This is also indicated when accounting for different income groups.

Even though the rate of ownership is positively correlated with income and educational levels, the Norwegian second home phenomenon is often portrayed as being egalitarian (see e.g. Rye & Berg, 2011). It might however be reasonable to reconsider the egalitarianism of the phenomenon. In 1969, the rate of ownership was between 15-25% among all income groups (Statistics Norway, 1972). In more contemporary surveys, 22% of the low household income group (<200,000 NOK) own or have access to second homes while the proportion is 59% for the above middle income household group (700,000-999,999 NOK) and it is as high as 75% for the very top income group (<1.5m) (Støa and Manum, 2013). The tendency is confirmed by other surveys (Farstad et al., 2009). Likewise, second home value has a clear correlation with household income. Støa and Manum (2013) find that for annual salaries in 2008 between 400,000-699,999 NOK, the average value of the second home was approximately 1.4m NOK, while within the salary groups 700,000-999,999 NOK and 1m-1.49m the average value was approximately 1.54m NOK

⁶ The number of freely traded second homes accounted for less than a third of the registered traded second homes in 2005 (Ericsson 2006). Second homes that are not freely traded include, among others, those acquired by inheritance and private sales.

⁷ 2008 equivalent to 42,000 NOK in 1969.

⁸ Interest payments, mortgage, income tax, wealth tax on second home, property tax, lot rent, insurance, various (electricity, road maintenance, water, garbage, etc.), small decor changes below 76,000 NOK (2008 adjusted), repairs, maintenance, in total 7900 NOK (2008 adjusted) (Statistics Norway, 1972)

⁹ Ownership and upkeep: Lot rent, water, sewers, garbage, road maintenance, downhill slope charge, electricity, materials and equipment for maintenance, equipment for interior, furniture, phone, security, etc.: estimated 18,812 NOK. Refurbishment, upgrades or extensions: estimated 25,400 NOK. Consumption during stays: estimated 15,000 NOK (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011).

¹⁰ The 1969 figures do not include cost of consumption during stays while the 2008 figures does not include insurance and financial costs. It is likely that the 1969 figures are not considerably incorrect of a comprehensive cost as the missing expenditures are considered relative insignificant. However, for the 2008 figures the exclusion of financial and insurance cost could lead to a considerable underestimation of the cost of ownership and use (Steffansen, 2016).

and 1.88m NOK, respectively. This relationship might cover, either that the lower income groups have relatively more expensive second homes compared to their income, or that high-income households prefer to spend money on owning two or more second homes, instead of increasing the size and standard of one single second home.

Socio-cultural development

The socio-cultural aspects of the Norwegian second home phenomenon owe its origins to the rural history of Norwegian identity. As part of a nation-building campaign during the 1800s, the urban elite used rural practices e.g. in mountain and fjord regions as imaginaries about the nation's pride (Rees, 2011; Christensen, 2015). Through writers in modern time, modern second homes took the place to describe the 'true Norwegian' as opposed to earlier narratives, where the true Norwegian was to be found through rural practices and rural landscapes (Christensen, 2015). Early cabin ideals thus relied on re-enacting these rural practices through growing vegetables, picking berries, fishing and other outdoor recreational¹¹ activities with austerity as an aim. Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss, for example, described his remote and simple cabin as the 'prehistoric Norwegian cabin', thus continuing the tradition of idealizing the rural opposed to the urban and the cabin as part of a story about the 'real Norway' (Christensen, 2015). Many researchers have therefore described Norwegians' desire to own and use second homes as an escape from everyday life (see eg. Kaltenborn & Clout 1998; Gansmo, Berker & Jørgensen, 2011; Christensen, 2015). A place to re-create yourself, get in touch with nature, enjoy the simple life and re-enact cultural traditions. The idea of an escape seem to have its origin in an ideal about the real or typical Norwegian life.

Being ideals, they should be questioned for several reasons. One is the increasingly multicultural composition of the Norwegian population of which not all might ascribe to ideals about the 'real' Norwegian as enacting rural practices. Most important is however, the changed material structure of the phenomenon, which has led to a changed meaning of the 'simple living at the cabin' (Aall, 2011; Aall 2014; Christensen, 2015). The traditional primitive material standards of the cabin, that is the original meaning of the simple living, has been transformed. Now, simple living covers rather a convenient or pleasurable living in which high material standards liberate people from practical domestic tasks and no longer stands in contrast to the urban life. The changed materiality has made some fiction writers describe a 'leisure class' of modern urban people who use the second home and associated practices for new purposes (Rees, 2011). Second homes are still presented as sanctuaries from the urban life and as places for relaxation, but now also as means to resolve psychological issues and places for conspicuous consumption. This new idea about the second home fits quite well with the material development of modern second homes and contributes to forming the phenomenon as heterogeneous.

For Christensen (2015), this makes him wonder whether the second home phenomenon has been invaded by capitalism and the original ideals, short lived and necessitated by limited household economy. However, since many of the original ideals are still often presented in media and research, Christensen (2015) describes the story about the Norwegian cabin as positioned some place between dream and reality. What he also seems to suggest is that the socio-cultural ideals are to some extent influenced and related to the general economic reality and agenda of its contemporary time.

¹¹ Outdoor recreation is here used for the Norwegian *friluftsliv* (Open air life/outdoor life, cf. section 2.4)

From simple dispersed cabins to high standard second home villages and planning

What is described above about the development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is characterised by three different conceptual frames and might thereby to some extent appear as three separate development trends. This is, however, not the case. The changes in the different categorizations should be seen as being internally related. Put simply, the development then to some extent describe how the traditional cabin (which to a high degree still exists) has a modern counterpart, which is a high standard second home that more or less resembles a modern detached single-family house in suburban Oslo. Spatial planning is important for regulating this development. However, as Skjeggedal et al. (2009, 2015) argue, the principles for planning of second homes in designated second home areas have not changed significantly since the planning act in 1965 first started regulating second homes. Since the same principles are followed and the phenomenon has changed significantly, these authors point out that there is a need to change planning. Now “vacation house areas appears as overgrown, car-based dwelling areas, with privatised outdoor areas and with a visually exposed location in the landscape¹²” (Skjeggedal et al., 2015, p. 76, author’s translation). The principles from 1965 were, among others, aimed at protecting the visual exposure and securing common rights to outdoor areas (Langdalen, 1965). In 1965, the most common kind of development was unregulated and rather dispersed ad hoc private construction of cabin-like second homes. Contemporary development could best be described as following at least two main trajectories in mountain areas, a vacation dwelling area trajectory and a mountain village development trajectory (Skjeggedal et al., 2015). The characteristic difference between these trajectories is that in the mountain village developments, the tourism industry is highly present with vast amount of skiing facilities, different services, restaurants, hotels, bars, shopping etc. Otherwise, the second homes as such resemble each other as being of high standard, with spatial planning following the same principles and resulting largely in areas that resemble suburban sprawl developments (Sjeggedal et al., 2015). The relative few new developments along the coast would probably resemble the vacation dwelling area, but with marinas as main attraction. Therefore, it is argued, there is a need for a new set of principles that would account for the contemporary phenomenon that both take care of the spatial planning in a satisfying manner as well as evaluate the large investments and impacts from development accordingly (Sjeggedal et al., 2015). A perspective of sustainable or environmentally friendly second home planning that separate second home areas and focus on the internal functioning of such areas (as Berker and Gansmo (2010) give two example’s of, and which is the focus of local municipal planning) only to some extent addresses the environmental issues of contemporary developments. It fails to address the external relations as well as the drivers for the continued change of the phenomenon. Also, the present strategies on sustainable second home development do not address the accumulated increase in consumption represented by the growth in the stock of second homes. These calls for new planning strategies, have encouraged me to pose the research sub-question 5, in with I ask about what planning can do to alter the current development trajectory. But first there is a need to analyse the underlying driver to this development.

A changed phenomenon, drivers and lacking research

The concept of the multi-dwelling home household might be adequate to describe parts of the current state of the phenomenon. This includes different social aspects such as a changed meaning of a household; it also includes the internal home circulation, the mobility pattern between primary and

¹² The authors have somewhat altered their view on second home developments in mountain areas since their piece in the Norwegian journal *Plan* in 2009 in which they argue that planning itself is not the problem and “Nature and landscape withstands contemporary cabin development” (Skjeggedal et al., 2009, p.48, author’s translation). They argue for a changed set of principles to guide planning in such areas.

secondary homes. The concept essentially coins the relation between primary and second home and the relation between urban and rural areas. However, it does not cover the material and economic development very well. The changed notion of simple living as described by Aall (2011) and Christensen (2015) to some extent describes the increased material standard of the second home and its social context. Still, there is a lack of focus on the basic mechanisms that drives the current trend forward.

It might not be possible or even relevant to discuss a precise concept that defines the development trends the Norwegian second home phenomenon has undergone as a whole. What is certain, however, is that it is a changed phenomenon and that the changes have effects. Skjeggedal et al. (2015) highlight four main drivers, which they suggest will also be influential in the future. The four drivers they highlight are: growth in household wealth, improved infrastructure, increased personal spare-time and increased number of households. These drivers (apart from infrastructure improvements) are attributed to the individual person or household, and though it was probably not the intention it seems that continued development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is attributed to the household actor level. Elsewhere in the literature (including official documents), the same argument is put forth. Second home ownership (and thus development) is often attributed to motives related to recreation (see e.g. Ericsson and Grefsrud, 2003; Kaltenborn et al., 2005; Ericsson, 2006) and the Norwegian ideal about second home life and ownership (Gansmo, Berker and Jørgensen, 2011, Ellingsen and Hidle, 2012).

The closest examples of a supply side analysis of drivers, relate second home developments to economic benefits of developing municipalities (Velvin 2003; Ericsson and Grefsrud 2005; Velvin 2006; Farstad et al. 2008; Ericsson et al. 2010; Flognfeldt 2012). The purpose of these types of analysis is typically to provide municipalities with knowledge of which kind of second home developments would give the highest economic return to their infrastructure investments. One conclusion is, however, that second homes of high standards seem to make the best return, thus stimulating municipalities to support such development (Steffansen, 2016). This seems to be an often-disregarded driver for the current development trajectory of the phenomenon. Still, underlying in literature and official documents is the argument that local government should be better equipped, through planning strategies, to handle the demand and consequences, of providing for such development. However, since second home municipalities are often thinly populated and thus under-resourced in planning competences, they struggle to counter the interests of landowners and developers (Overvåg, 2009). This suggest that more possibilities through planning to handle development by local authorities might not be the right answer.

To synthesize the argument, there seems to be a lack of a holistic analysis of the driving mechanisms that underpin the development that the Norwegian second home phenomenon has undergone during recent decades. Importantly, there is a need to discuss the underlying structures that drive both the demand side as well as the supply side of second home developments. In addition, there seems to be a need for a new set of principles for planning that can tackle the underlying mechanisms of the development trend in order for the phenomenon to become less unsustainable.

As it would be a great and very laborious endeavour to conduct a full such analysis, I will need to limit the research to certain focal points. That mentioned, the analysis still needs to take into account many different aspects of the phenomenon in order to give a satisfying account of the analytical focus.

2 Meta-theory, methodology and theory

In this chapter, I will develop the different theoretical standpoints of the thesis. I will do so by applying a critical realist ontology, which also provides a method of scientific inquiry, the RRREI(C) schema. This schema will hereafter be functional in developing a set of research sub-questions that help guide choice of theoretical frame. The ontology of critical realism also provides a guideline for the choice of a multiplicity of empirical methods, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

2.1 Introduction

Research often begins with a tacit and unarticulated theoretical assumption about a phenomenon or event – a wondering based on interest in a specific topic. Before moving on from this point, reflections on how to understand the world in general and how knowledge is acquired, will, or at least should, be a determinant for choosing relevant research methods and thus securing a good research outcome (McNeil and Chapman, 2005). Such reflections lie within the meta-theoretical and concern the ontological and epistemological assumptions on which the research is based. These assumptions will have both methodological and theoretical consequences for the research project. In this chapter, I will show how the philosophy of science called critical realism with its profound ontological standpoints can provide both an understanding of the world and the scientific acquiring of knowledge of this world. I will also show how a critical realist approach provides a methodology for developing the theoretical foundation of the proposed research field, but also how it develops, based on the former, a methodology of the empirical investigations. Through the critical realist philosophy of science approach, the specific theoretical and empirical methods will also be discussed, the latter of which belongs to the next chapter.

2.2 Critical realism

As I have already argued, the research field of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is broad and combines many different areas of traditional research. This also requires a philosophy of science that can deal with the interdisciplinarity of the phenomenon. Primarily it requires a philosophy of science that can deal with the ontological realities of the phenomenon.

As for the economic studies of the phenomenon, they often follow a mainstream understanding of economics (Steffansen, 2016). Mainstream economics often take for granted the desirability of continual and unlimited economic growth, which in the end leads to social and environmental crisis (Næss and Price, 2016). This approach also seems to be common within the research on Norwegian second homes. Ontologically, it can be argued that mainstream economics is off the point by doing so. According to Lawson (2003) mainstream economics applies the method of mathematical-deductivist modelling, by which he means that the mathematical language applied to the studied issues (whatever they might be) implicitly assumes a notion of causality as regularity between events, i.e. ‘when x then y’. Such explanation presuppose a closed system approach, which is an assumption also prevalent within other positivist sciences such as physics or chemistry. However as Lawson argues, when economics is often dealing with social phenomenon, such approach is not too successful, as social phenomena does not appear in closed systems but in more or less open systems (see the following). By applying closed system thinking to an open system context, mainstream economics thereby fail to give a desirable account of reality to which they have too great power over.

Research into economic aspects of second home developments often apply a (kind of) closed system thinking as the focus is on how rural municipalities can benefit economically the most from second home developments. The desirability of economic growth through such development is taken for granted, as there is a narrow and superficial understanding of individualized household motives for second home ownership, all the while environmental detriments are downplayed. Critical realism acknowledges social phenomenon as more or less open systems and would therefore have to investigate such assumptions in more depth, before assessing their accuracy and desirability.

At the same time, there is a strong underlying anthropocentrism in the planning context of second homes. "*The Norwegian cabin is part of our identity; still more people get the opportunity to realise their dream about cabin ownership, which for many gives the opportunity to access nature and conduct outdoor life*" is an often articulated set of argument, both though planning document and research. It is up to planning to make this dream possible. One aim in planning is to seek out areas with the most natural amenity, in order to locate second home areas in close vicinity. Economic benefits to outer-region municipalities is also often given weight to the argument of second home development, thus creating a so called win-win situation. The task for planning is to minimize the impact to the *landscape*¹³ and local community while maximizing the effect to the local economy. The environmental effects are often categorized within a landscape-esthetical context with the presupposition that the recreational and human nature experience should be protected as much as possible. Only within recent years have the topic of ecology and biodiversity come into the research agenda and national planning, but this is only to a limiting degree. The two main focal points of landscape impact and local economy seem still to be very dominant.

There are two main issues here from an ontological point of view. The first is that inherently within an anthropocentric view there is an understanding of nature as valuable only because it is valuable to humans (Ariansen, 1992). That nature is there for the sake of humans, as a resource. Second, and more fundamentally, anthropocentrism splits human beings from nature while it posits human beings at the centre of a universe that is made in their own image (Mingyu, 2008). The reality of nature (or reality as such) then becomes either dependent on human subjectivity (ontic fallacy), or nature (or reality) is considered as determined by what can be empirically known (epistemic fallacy) (Bhaskar, 1993; Mingyu, 2008). Typically, these poles are also called, within the philosophies of science, social constructivism and objectivism, respectively. The problem of course, is that this conception of reality is false, which makes an anthropocentric worldview ineffective in dealing with the problem issues within the Norwegian second home phenomenon.

My argument then is that critical realism provides a concept of ontology that is able to deal with the real world phenomenon, which the Norwegian second home phenomenon is. The critical realist ontology has mainly been developed by Roy Bhaskar (1944-2014) through three phases (main contribution for the development of the phases in parentheses): Basic critical realism (Bhaskar, 1975/2008), Dialectical critical realism (Bhaskar, 1993) and the philosophy of meta-reality (Bhaskar, 2002/2012). In the following, the main concepts of critical realism deployed throughout this thesis will briefly be presented.

The ontological assumption of basic critical realism is that the universe exists without our knowledge of it. This means that e.g. a natural phenomenon can be understood as being real, but humans on the other

¹³ "*Landscape*' means an area, *as perceived by people*, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors". (my italic) cf. the European Landscape Convention chapter 1, article 1, point a.

hand form a conception or knowledge about it, which is theory-laden and fallible. Critical realism distinguishes between an intransitive and a transitive dimension of reality, which respectively are related to reality and our knowledge of reality. The transitive dimension encompasses our knowledge about the world and this knowledge is fallible and subject to constant change. The intransitive dimension relates to the objects of reality, which we are interested in knowing more about. These objects do not necessarily change as we become knowledgeable about them. It implies that there is a natural reality and a social reality, where the natural reality is independent of human action while the social reality is dependent on humans (Bhaskar, 1975/2008).

Another key element of critical realism is that reality consists of three different domains – the real, the actual and the empirical. The empirical domain includes the phenomena that are observable by humans. The actual domain includes all phenomena taking place, regardless of whether we observe them or our knowledge of them. The real domain consists of, in addition to the empirical and actual domains, the underlying and generative mechanisms that are a prerequisite for events to take place.

Within the generative mechanisms that cause events, there is a distinction between structures, mechanisms, causal potentials and liabilities. Generative mechanisms have different strengths and operational signs as well as they vary in different contexts. One phenomenon at a specific time has a variety of mechanisms activated, which makes up the phenomenon while at a different time liabilities might have been activated by other mechanisms, which then change the phenomenon. Within the natural sciences, research is often carried out through experiments in closed systems. However as social systems are not closed systems but only partially closed (Danermark et al., 2001; Karlsson, 2011; Næss and Strand, 2012) and strong empirical regularities rarely occur spontaneously, this is not possible in the social world, as the researcher would seclude important causal potentials. It is especially the not-empirically-observable generative mechanisms that are the focus in research conducted by critical realists.

Reality, according to critical realists, also consists of different strata, on which different causal powers emerge when moving from one level to the next. Depending on the research these strata can be subdivided differently, however a general division is within the different research fields. Starting from the basic lower levels moving to the more complex: physics – chemistry – biology – psychology – sociology. No levels are a priori more important than other ones, and critical realists are therefore emphasizing the need for interdisciplinarity (see later). The implications for critical realists of this stratification and especially the emergent powers, is that it is not possible to explain a phenomenon in terms of only the powers of the lower strata, as the emergent powers on higher strata, which also constitute the phenomenon, do not exist on these lower strata. However, depending on the research topic, e.g. second home planning, some strata are more relevant to study than others. There is no reason for putting much energy into looking at the atoms of second homes and molecules of the human brain. Here, the more relevant strata would be those higher up, e.g. phenomena studied within sociology. However, for critical realists it is important to emphasise that researchers should not exclude any explanations that might lie outside their own research tradition, as the different strata are connected and emergent. As reality consists of different strata, new properties and causal powers emerge at the higher strata, depending on the lower strata, but also working back on them.

Structure and agency

Important in the social sciences is the relationship between structure and agency. Critical realism argues that structure and agency each have particular properties that make them into separate phenomena, but mutually inter-dependent. The relationship is by Bhaskar (1993) described in the transformative model of

social activity, which basically describes how social structures and their generative mechanisms enable and/or constrain human agency, which again reproduce and/or transform the social structures. The transformativity should be seen as mediated through processes, i.e. as something that evolves over time. This explanatory model focuses on social structures as distinct from natural structures. The implication of socially constructed structures is that they only exist when agents abide to them or maintain them, however they must be regarded as in constant change. The change can happen slowly or fast. To some extent human-made physical structures like e.g. second home areas and more immaterial structures such as the economic system, cultural traditions or prevailing belief systems are also social constructs and are therefore also part of the model (Næss, 2015), and subject to change. Common to these structures is that once created they possess emergent powers and properties that are different from and beyond the aggregated sum of powers stemming from the transformative agency that created them.

As a further development of the transformative model of social activity, critical realism argues that every social happening or event occurs on at least four planes (Bhaskar, 1993):

- 1 the plane of material transactions with nature;
- 2 the plane of social interactions between people;
- 3 the plane of social structure; and
- 4 the plane of the stratification of the embodied personality (psychological aspects of agents)

Most interesting in the concept of the four-planer social being, to this thesis, is how the anti-anthropocentrism of critical realism becomes clear. At the plane of natural transactions with nature the two-way but, asymmetrical relationship between humans and nature becomes visible. The ecological asymmetry essentially explains how the four-planar social being, is encompassed by a notional fifth plane of nature, constellational to the other four plans of the social being (Bhaskar, 2010). I.e. human beings as are part of nature not 'above' it, or external to nature. The human social springs from nature. As such, the anti-anthropocentrism of critical realism depends on a three-fold relationship (Bhaskar, 2012):

- 1 the ecological asymmetry i.e. the existential independence of nature from human beings
- 2 the essential dependence of human beings on nature; and
- 3 the natural character of human beings, i.e. the non-dualistic nature of the relationship between human beings and nature, thus human beings are natural and are not only dependent on, but constituted by nature.

The first point does not, I believe, imply that nature would be the same without human beings. Since human beings are in a non-dualistic relationship, nature as a whole would be changed and incomplete without human beings. This is also true to other species.

The three points furthermore highlights that causal structures and mechanism are not only social phenomena and abstract, but are in fact also physical natural occurrences, e.g. such as particular geographical circumstances. While more abstract to the human cognition, occurrences like climate change are also real natural phenomena. Thus, we can argue that the presence of particular geographical realities and climate specifics in Norway makes a downhill skiing tourism industry possible, while the absence of such structures and climate, makes such industry in Denmark difficult.

A fundamental ontological difference between social and natural structures is that social structures are human activity- and concept-dependent, natural structures are not (Bhaskar, 2016). While natural structures can exist without human action and conceptualization, social structures always exist as a result of human action and their conception. Thus “Ontologically, the social world is an emergent, concept- and activity-dependent, value-drenched and politically contested part of the natural world” (Bhaskar, 2016, p. 82). Danermark et. al (2001) argues the same, which leads them to highlight the importance of conceptualization within the research process as a means to position the research. Conceptualizing, grounded in reality and a critical realist ontology makes out a possibility for a more accurate account of the phenomenon (Danermark et. al, 2001)

The above are the very basic assumptions of the critical realist ontology. In order to not take up too much space on describing the vast catalogue with following risk of concept overload, I keep the introduction to the critical realist ontology at that. However, I believe there are still aspects and developments of the ontology relevant to the research design of the thesis, but those will be presented when needed. In the following, the focus is on developing the overall research methodology, as a consequence of the critical realist ontology.

2.3 Implications for a research design

In the following, the implications of conducting this thesis on a backdrop of the deep ontology of critical realism will be discussed, and a proposed research design will be outlined.

While the ontological assumptions of critical realism do not presuppose a specific set of empirical methods (compared to e.g. empirical positivism), the understanding of three domains of reality (empirical, actual and the real) dictates a process where the researcher must move from the level of the empirical towards the real. Doing this it is a matter of trying to understand the structural mechanisms and causal powers, which constitutes the observable events. As the overall research question is rather explanatory and asks about understanding driving forces to the Norwegian second home phenomenon, it is the *changed phenomenon* as such, that is in focus. The main interests of applied critical realism is explaining the causal structures and mechanisms, rather than locating regularities or patterns of events, which means the focus is on the level of the real (and non-actual real) rather than the level of the actual and empirical (Bhaskar, 2016). An approach for the analysis of such open phenomena has been developed by Bhaskar (1979/2015,1986/2009) and explained through the RRREI(C) schema, which stands for:

- Resolution (R_1) of the phenomenon or event into its components, involving a multiplicity of causes that come together in a complex way to generate the phenomenon;
- Redescription (R_2) of these component causes in an explanatorily significant way;
- Retrodiction (R_3) of these causes to antecedently existing events or states of affairs;
- Elimination of alternative explanations;
- Identification of the generative causes; and
- Correction of earlier findings in the light of this analysis.

This approach, I also apply in the first article, but here I hope to further develop the practical application of the schema to my research in general (to also include the other two articles), while drawing from the benefits it provides as a model for the theoretical development of the research agenda and empirical

investigations for the thesis as a whole. Since the RRREI(C)¹⁴ schema is a case for interdisciplinary research I will briefly discuss it before moving on to the individual steps of the schema.

Interdisciplinarity

A cardinal proposition for the development of basic critical realism was the observation that strict empirical regularities does not occur outside experimentally established or a few naturally occurring closed systems (Bhaskar, 2010). As experimentally closed systems is a means to gain access to causal laws, it also means that causal laws exist and act independently of our human access to them, as already explained. What the need for natural scientists to set up artificial experiment conditions, in order to prevent the disturbing influences of external factors, also means, is that the world outside such experimental situations must be constituted by open systems. In effect, this means that a particular phenomenon is affected by a multiplicity of different causal structures and mechanisms. Since this multiplicity of causal structures and mechanisms exist in a complex relationship, they consist also of emergent levels. Not only are there emergent levels but also emergent outcomes of the intermeshing of different mechanisms (Bhaskar, 2010).

As Bhaskar argues, the presence of emergent ontological levels call for a genuinely synthetic interdisciplinary research that involve the epistemic integrations of knowledge about the different mechanisms from different research disciplines. The presence of radical emergence from one level of reality, e.g. agents, to another level, e.g. society, calls for a multiplicity of disciplines to be able to explain the theoretical workings of the different mechanisms, at different levels in play (e.g. psychology and social science in the case of explaining agents and society) (Bhaskar et al., 2018). From the *multiplicity* of the different research disciplines, an emergent *interdisciplinary* outcome of the research should emerge. However, since this thesis is a PhD research and I am only one person, the consequence must be that my work tries to draw on the most relevant research fields for the investigating of the research question. Bearing this in mind, I acknowledge that I do not have as deep an understanding of some of the disciplines that I draw upon, as would an e.g. philosopher when discussing ethical questions or a researcher disciplined in economics, when discussing macro-economic consequences for the development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon. However, since my original profession is planning, which in itself is an interdisciplinary discipline (Næss and Saglie, 2000), I believe that the investigation will be relevant altogether. An advantage might be that drawing on a multiple set of disciplines, I, as a planning researcher, am able to synthesise new understandings of the phenomenon in question, and to present it in the research community around second homes in Norway, which will then be able to take the ideas further. As such, the work here might more resemble a *crossdisciplinary* approach in which I “empathize with, understand, and employ the concepts of disciplines and fields other than [my] own” (Bhaskar et al., 2018, p. 49). Not only do I apply planning theories, but every relevant theory regardless of disciplinary origin.

Resolution (R₁)

The first step of the schema is to dissolve the phenomenon, which I have conceptually described as the Norwegian second home phenomenon, into its components. It is then a matter of describing the characteristic complexity of the open-systemic phenomenon, by locating the multiplicity of causes, mechanisms and theories that explain the phenomenon (Bhaskar, 2010). In the end, the resolution should give an idea of the conjunctive multiplicity of the phenomenon (*this* and *that* and *something else* as

¹⁴ Correction is in parenthesis because this step is only necessary if the steps of E and I proves it necessary, see section 3.3

explanation for the phenomenon (Bhaskar et al., 2018)). By doing this a laminated system or totality is created, which is a form of confined area of investigation. While there can be no given account of the necessary amount of components and which strata should be included in such laminated system, there is a point to which the detail revealed by the strata becomes obsolete to the understanding of the emergent structures and mechanisms that explain the phenomenon (as mentioned in the agent-society example before). In other words, the laminated system is characterized by a set of irreducible ontological levels that in their complex and specific causality, together produce the novel result that is the phenomenon (Bhaskar, 2016). In order to resolve the second home phenomenon into its components, I ask the first research sub-question:

(1) What are the main components of the Norwegian second home phenomenon?

The reader should bear in mind that this question is specific to a Norwegian context, and mainly limited to modern second home developments. As a means to simplify the resolution, I divide the question into two opposite sides of the phenomenon. A demand side and a supply side. We then see that the demand side consists of (in no particular order):

1. a person who wishes to become a second home owner (individual preferences), with
 - a. the economic ability to pursue this desire (individual resources), and
 - b. the physical ability (individual resources)
 - c. ...
2. national self-belief/identity on aggregate level (national discourse), including
 - a. 'outdoor life' perceived as having positive impact on mental and physical health (health discourse), and
 - b. cabin ownership as part of being truly Norwegian (identity discourse)
 - c. ...

On the supply side, we see that the following components are present (again in no particular order):

3. specific spatial-geographical conditions (spatial structures), including
 - a. (non-human) natural structures (natural structures), and
 - b. existing second homes (built structures), and
 - c. roads (built structures), and
 - d. outdoor/recreational infrastructure (tourist structures)
 - e. ...
4. specific socio-geographical conditions (social structures), including
 - a. second home development policy to take advantage of the spatial structures (political structures), and
 - b. construction and renovation firms (market structures), and
 - c. legal institutions (state structures)
 - d. ...

A version of this laminated system is also presented in the first article, but it has been elaborated on here with a few additions.

Redescription (R₂)

The main logic of enquiry in this step is abduction¹⁵, which deals with redescription and recontextualisation of the different components found in the previous step. Abduction in social science is somewhat different from the more formal logical approach to abduction in natural sciences. However, the outset of an empirical event/phenomenon that is related to a rule, which leads to a new understanding of the event/phenomenon (conclusion) still persist (Danermark et al., 2001). In social sciences, the rule is though rather a frame of interpretation or theory of the event/phenomenon and the conclusion is an interpretation based on this new frame. The new interpretation of the event/phenomenon is rendered plausible if the new frame of interpretation is plausible (Danermark et al., 2001). In critical realism, it then becomes an abductive redescription or reconceptualization, which presuppose observation, redescription, interpretation and explanation of the event/phenomenon within the new frame of context (Jensen, 1995). The effect of abductive redescription and reconceptualization is that it gives a new understanding of the event/phenomenon and the focus should be on redescrbing in the most explanatory significant and relevant way (Bhaskar et al., 2018).

Conducting social science, and especially at the point of choosing an explanatory frame of interpretation, there are some normative choices to take. However, this is not necessarily a drawback for the research. Bhaskar (2016, p. 82) argues for a contingently critical character of hermeneutics (as a means to analyse and interpret existing knowledge in order to redescribe) in social sciences, which coupled with the fact that the social scientist has an internal relation with the subject matter, makes up a model of explanatory critique¹⁶ (Bhaskar, 2016). The scientific process is thus to criticize existing belief systems and explain why these are upheld. Through the explanatory critique, there is an emancipatory factor in that the research tries to look forward and propose a better frame of understanding, which in turn potentially can lead to a changed practice or changed belief systems. In other words, the explanatory critique is based in a relationally defined social world, the nature of which is normatively and politically contested. This also means that the process of research becomes action-oriented and transformative.

The critique here, will be normatively founded in a certain understanding of sustainable development. The understanding is different from the mainstream notion of sustainable development articulated through the 'triple bottom line' approach (Elkington, 1997; Norman and McDonald, 2004) and later the 'three dimensions of sustainability', i.e. the economic, social and environmental dimensions, both which are approaches that presuppose some sort of substitution between the three dimensions (Høyer, 2010; Aall, 2014)). Critical realist ontology considers nature as unique and not substitutional, while it should also be considered as an under-labourer for a sustainable development in which economic degrowth is prominent (Bhaskar, 2012). As such, the focus on development or change will here highlight some unsustainable trends, thus the re-description will necessarily also focus on the unsustainable development track, which the phenomenon is currently on. Therefore, the second research sub-question is asking:

(2) How have these components changed, related to sustainability?

¹⁵ Normally, critical realist abduction deals with the causal mechanisms or process that serves to explain the component in question (Bhaskar, 2016). However since the critical realist abduction and retrodution in practice often melts together, and retrodution is the next step, the focus here is on abductive redescription.

¹⁶ Explanatory critique, as a cognitive critique, which confirms a false belief and the explanation of why this false belief persists.

Retrodiction/retroduction (R₃)

Retrodiction is tracing back the law-like operations of the known mechanisms involved in the phenomenon. As the study object is an open-system phenomenon that is described by a multiple set of complex interrelated structures and mechanisms, law-like operations very rarely occur. However, there are in social science often a set of acknowledged theories that are possible to rely on, in the process of retrodiction. If that is not the case, retroduction can then be applied instead. Retroduction is a thought operation that involves imagining a model of a mechanism that, if real, would have profound effect on the component. It is thus a kind of a process of theorizing antecedents of the component in question (Bhaskar, 2016). Central questions here are, ‘what is fundamentally constitutive for the recontextualized component?’ and ‘what properties must exist for that component to exist?’ and ‘what causal mechanisms are related to that component?’ (Danermark et al., 2001). However, the retroductive process in an open-systemic world will not be enough, because for the case-specific study, the mechanism discovered might work differently from case to case (Bhaskar et al., 2018). It is then not only a matter of finding (theorizing) the relevant mechanism, but in tandem to analyse how this mechanism affects the phenomenon¹⁷ (Bhaskar, 2016). The thought operation then becomes a matter of the contingent duality of discovery and application. In order to not prolong the analytical process too much, the retroductive process here is in part shortened, so as not to describe and theorize a set of multiple mechanisms for each component, but try to keep to the most plausible mechanisms first-hand. The third research sub-question is then formulated, asking:

(3) Holistically, what are the main drivers behind these changes?

In table 1 in the next section (2.4), the main drivers behind each component of change is shown, but the following theoretical discussion of these drivers should rather be read as a synthesising of the different mechanisms, because they are an intertwined multiplicity of effects to the phenomenon and not easily dissectible.

To reiterate, the fourth research sub-question asks:

(4) How can these changes be conceptualized?

This question is mainly aimed at developing a vocabulary that will allow to describe the changes in a holistic manner, in light of the theoretical framework as well as the empirical investigations. This question will therefore both relate to the initial work of theoretical conceptualizations, but also relate to the empirical findings throughout the thesis.

2.4 Structures, mechanisms and events for the current second home phenomenon

To summarize, what we have in the first three steps of the RRREI(C) schema is an observable event or phenomenon that is resolved into its explanatory components, which then are redescribed or recontextualized in accordance with an explanatory significant frame of interpretation or theoretical approach. Subsequently, this new understanding is sought explained through underlying structures and mechanisms (of which theories already exists or new theories are developed through the retroductive

¹⁷ The discovery of the mechanisms and its application are only analytically distinguishable. As a consequence, Bhaskar (2016) develops the RRREI(C) schema into a RRRIREI(C) schema for the explanatory investigation of open-systemic world phenomenon. It stands for Resolution, abductive Redescription, Retrodiction, Inference, Retroduction, Elimination, Identification and Correction. I will keep to the more ‘straightforward’ RRREI(C) schema, as I find it applicable enough if retroduction and retrodiction interchange at R₃.

thought operations). In table 1, these three steps, and thereby the work on the first three research sub-questions, are shown as a brief overview. The three articles of the thesis, do to some extent ponder on the different components, some components more (and more explicitly) than others. Especially, the different structures and mechanisms behind the components and the phenomenon in general have been in focus in the articles. As mentioned earlier, resolving the phenomenon into its components does not mean that it can be explained in a reductionist way, i.e. by explaining the phenomenon by its individual components. Rather, it is a matter of explaining the components, and their internal relations, in a holistic way, while understanding the underlying structures and mechanisms, also internally related, producing the novel result that is the second home phenomenon. To some extent, the different components were redescribed or recontextualized as seen as a changed phenomenon in the introductory chapter. The redescription focused on the phenomenon and its changes in material, social/cultural and economic characteristics and the unsustainability of these changes.

As the table shows, some of the underlying structures and mechanisms are explanatory to more than one component and one component often has a set of explanatory structures and mechanisms, rather than just one. In the following, I will go through the main theories that explain the underlying structures and mechanisms of the second home phenomenon as shown in the table and applied throughout the articles. What might have been noted is that most of the structures and mechanisms described in the table more or less relates to the ideology of the necessity of economic growth. I will therefore, at first, go through some of the most important structures of economic growth.

Table 1 First three steps of the RRREI(C) schema, Resolution into components, Redescription and Retrodiction/Retroduction

Component	Re-description	Retrodiction/retroduction
1. A person who desires to become a second home owner (individual preferences), with	Changed motives for second home ownership,	Pressures from modern life, National discourse around the good life as consisting second home ownership/use
1.a. The economic ability to pursue this desire (individual resources), and	Rising second home prices, rising cost of ownership, rising annual salary but not enough to match second home price, thus bank loans become necessary	Mechanisms of the bank loan
1.b. Physical ability	-	-
2. National self-belief/identity on aggregate level	Good life as second home owner, change in the ideal of the simple life	Consumerism, materialism, social life influenced by capitalism and neoliberalism
2.a. Outdoor life as positive	Outdoor life as re-creation, change in the ideal of the simple life	Consumerism, materialism, social life influenced by capitalism and neoliberalism
2.b. Cabin ownership as being truly Norwegian	Rural practices as true Norwegian to also include cabin ownership/usage	Privatization of nature, geographies of capitalist accumulation
3. Specific spatial-geographical conditions	Increasing the urban recreational zone opening up new areas for recreation	space-time compression due to new roads and better cars
3.a. (Non-human) natural structures	Anthropocentric conceptions of e.g.: a mountain, a national park, a glacier, a coast	Discourse of the philosophy of modernity
3. b. Existing second homes	Process of commodification. Increasing material volume, increasing technical standards, changed use, which in total leads to greater environmental impact	The imperative of economic growth, consumerism, materialism, social life influenced by capitalism and neoliberalism
3. c. Roads	Increasing road standard, which leads to increased number and length of car trips	Policy discourse that dictates road development as necessary to continue economic growth
3.d. Outdoor/recreational infrastructure	A change from simple structures to tourism industry	Competition between tourist destinations and different providers, growth imperative
4. Specific socio-geographical conditions	Anthropocentric development discourse	Geography of capitalist accumulation
4. a. Second home development policy to take advantage of the spatial structures	Policy often influenced by a rural crisis reality, making second home developments a key strategy for economic growth and rural prospering	Inter-municipal/-regional competition influenced by a neoliberal agenda
4. b. Construction and renovation firms	A change towards national or international actors, but political desire to keep local	Increased need for different competences as result of technocratization and increased standards, growth imperative
4. c. Legal institutions	Increasingly technocratic	Increasing environmental awareness, reliance on ecological modernization strategy

Economic growth and capitalism

Economic growth is measured in GDP, Gross Domestic Product i.e. the total value of all goods and services of a given nation within a period of time, often a year. Economic reports on GDP are frequently discussed in media and politics as a measure for the state of the nation. 'Has there been growth in GDP and is it enough?' is the vital question. It is a mainstream conception that economic growth as measured in GDP is positive and the opposite is negative. In the following, I will discuss some of the structural forces that are inherent in the system of economic growth and the closely related capitalist system.

Capitalism can be understood as a 'social formation in which processes of capital circulation and accumulation are hegemonic and dominant in providing and shaping the material, social and intellectual bases for social life.'¹⁸ (Harvey, 2014, p. 7). It is particularly the *circulation* and *accumulation* of capital, and how these processes influence the social, material and intellectual domains, that Harvey (2014) has in mind when discussing capitalism. The basic mechanisms of capitalism are as follows: the capitalist has a certain amount of money, which are capitalised i.e. invested in labour power and means of production. The labour power and production means are brought together to produce a product which the capitalist sells for a profit, at the market. A proportion of this profit is turned into new capital and the process begins again at an expanded scale. It is of particular importance for the capitalist to reinvest at least some of the profits from production, because if not, another capitalist will do it, and our capitalist will fall behind and lose competition. This is also what is referred to as the coercive laws of competition of capitalism, which result in an internal growth imperative. It is imperative for every capitalist to reinvest the profit and scale up the production in order not to lose to competitors. Another reason to reinvest and accumulate more money and capital is the social powers gained from it (Harvey, 2010). If most capitalists follow the growth doctrine, this leads to economic growth on an aggregate level.

Important to notice, is that money are limitless in its nature and thus the striving for more can seemingly continue for infinity and to infinite levels. However, there are both internal and external barriers to the continued circulation of capital. In the capitalist system, there is a need to overcome these barriers in order to prevent an economic downturn. Throughout the thesis, different theories about internal and external barriers to capital circulation have been used to analyse the current state of the Norwegian second home phenomenon. The barrier of space and time, which is circumvented by mechanisms of space-time compression and to which the theory of the geographies of capitalist accumulation is relevant, is one. A second, is the contradiction between production cost and realisation of profit¹⁹, to which especially the mechanisms of the bank loans is used to circumvent. Socio-cultural perceptions and practices act as a third barrier, while a fourth is the case of planning regulations as being both barriers and enablers of continued growth and to which the theory of neoliberalism is related. As a last barrier the material form of the second home is discussed. From these points, I argue that the second home phenomenon has developed from simple and convivial to being commodified and technocratic. I also argue that the case of iatrogenic planning can to some extent be ascribed to the development within planning for second home developments, while the transformation also has resulted in the second home ownership paradox.

¹⁸ A dictionary definition of capitalism would read; an economic system where private actors own the means of production, i.e. entrepreneurship, capital goods, natural resources and labour.

¹⁹ The capitalists have an incentive to lower wages to the labour force in order to increase profits, but this will in turn decrease the labour force's economic ability to demand products produced by the capitalists, thus lowering the capitalists' profit.

The bank loan and the second home ownership paradox

Two critical points regarding the circulation of capital in the process of capitalism are of particular interest in this section. The first is the adding of value to the product through the hands of the labourer, and the second is the realisation of profit in the market place by selling the product. The capitalists have an incentive to minimize the cost of labour, by paying them less and make them work for longer hours (Marx, 1976). On an aggregate level, the labour force, which is also a working-class consumer power – a population majority, gets diminished purchase power (Marx, 1978). This is the very basic mechanisms of the contradiction between production cost and market realisation, which in reality is much more nuanced, e.g. the chain between production and realisation has many more actors than just the worker and the capitalist. The basic structure however, provides sufficient knowledge to the following argument.

In the post-war period, the capitalist system relied on Keynesian economic rationales, which supported the workforce through social democratic policies that provided good terms for the worker (Harvey, 2014). This was economic management by simulating the demand for products. In the era of neoliberalism (cf. later) beginning in the 1970s, the focus shifted towards making conditions better for the supply side. This meant, among other, deregulation of labour force protection and lowering wages, which in turn increased the contradiction between production cost and realisation. There is, however, a number of ways in which this contradiction can be circumvented (Harvey, 2014). Expanding the labour force (to include people previously excluded from the capitalist mode of production), increase conspicuous consumption and expand the purchasing power of the part of the population not engaged in production (state officials, educators, military, doctors etc.) are such methods for circumvention. However, the invention and later deregulation of the credit system have been of particular importance. In principle, the supply of credit can both sustain the means of the production and the ability to realise profit at the market (Harvey, 2014).

For the case of increased need for money to acquire especially modern second homes in Norway, the last circumvention is interesting. As already argued in the introductory chapter, there has been an uneven development between the annual salary of the average Norwegian and the purchase cost of second homes (as well as the continued cost of ownership), which gives rise to the assumption that more people will have to acquire second homes through bank loans. In article 1, I go through the mechanisms of the bank loan and show how bank loans issued by private institutions are creating money from nothing. In the case of second homes, the newly created money are used to finance the continued development and increase in material standard and cost of second homes.

Concerning taking up a bank loan in order to become a second home owner, a paradox seems to arise. Although different motives are often identified as a person's main reason for second home ownership, the dominant motivational factor that keeps surfacing in empirical studies is, as already described, second home ownership for recreational or escape purposes. By acquiring a loan to realise the purposed need to escape the everyday life, or simply to have access to recreation, people at the same time commit themselves even more to the hectic (urban) everyday work life, which they want to escape (Steffansen, 2016). Positively, borrowers are reassured that they *really* need this place of escape, now being even more dependent on the hectic pace of modern life. In this way, the second home ownership paradox highlights not only that there is an unsustainable systemic contradiction at work in the mechanisms of the loan²⁰, but also that ownership can be unsustainable on an individual level (see Steffansen, 2016). Formally, the paradox can be described like this:

²⁰ By creating money from nothing and thereby supporting economic growth

A need to escape from everyday work-life --> A need to debt-finance a second home --> A need to pay back a mortgage --> a need to work more in daily life.

The hypothesis of the second home ownership paradox was put forth in the first article of the thesis and it was in part discovered through the process of retrodiction/retroduction (however, it is presented at the point of Correction in the RRREI(C) schema, in the first article). A discrepancy between the economic ability of the second home owner and the price of the second home was found through the abductive redescription and the necessity of the bank loan and its law-like mechanisms were discussed through the step of retrodiction. When bringing this new knowledge back to the empirical level relating it to the other components of the second home ownership phenomenon the contradiction between the motives for second home ownership (especially escape from hectic modern life) and the need to take up loan, made it necessary to apply a new kind of concept to second home phenomenon. The concept of the second home ownership paradox was then presented.

Economic growth and its natural base

The creation of money also stimulates economic growth and is thereby an essential part of the doctrine of continued economic growth. From the theory of the four-planar social being, it was noticed that in all social action, there is interaction with the natural base, and this is also the case here as the creation of money through debt is related to the material consumption of second home construction and usage. The finite materiality of the purpose of the bank loan (second home ownership) and the seemingly limitless nature of the money creation reveals a contradiction. The Nobel Prize winner Frederick Soddy described the relationship between debt and material wealth like this:

“Debts are subject to the laws of mathematics rather than physics. Unlike wealth, which is subject to the laws of thermodynamics, debts do not rot with old age and are not consumed in the process of living. On the contrary, they grow at so much per cent per annum, by the well-known mathematical laws of simple and compound interest[...] It is this underlying confusion between wealth and debt which has made such a tragedy of the scientific era” (Soddy, 1933).

Lawson (2003) argues that the profession of economics still resides within the mathematical world and thus detached from the real material world it wishes to describe and analyze. Soddy basically argued that money were created by private banks through issuing loans to customers, which at the time gained him a label of ‘monetary crank’. However, it is becoming ever more recognized that this is reality, not only within academics working on this issue (see e.g. Graeber, 2011 and Bjerg, 2014), but also within mainstream economic institutions (Jakab & Kumhof, 2015). The argument here is that this underlying contradiction threatens the environmental sustainability of second home developments.

Soddy, having earned his Nobel Prize in chemistry, applied theories from physics and especially the laws of thermodynamics to his economic analysis. The second law of thermodynamics postulates that when one form of energy is converted into another, exergy²¹ gets lost (as dissipated heat) in the process. In other words, using energy, it gets converted from low entropy into higher entropy forms. High entropy forms are very difficult to put into use and since the first law of thermodynamics proscribes that the total amount of energy is always constant, the world is headed towards ever higher entropy. Soddy (1933) argues that money and debt is not subject to the entropy law.

²¹ Energy’s ability to work

Likewise, Georgescu-Roegen (1971) relates the laws of thermodynamics to the economic system and argues that economics should take the law of entropy seriously, as it reveals how energy and raw materials are finite. Georgescu-Roegen formulated a fourth "law" of thermodynamics which states that "in a closed system, material entropy must in the end reach a maximum" or "it is impossible to recycle matter completely" (Georgescu-Roegen, 1977). In the end both Soddy and Georgescu-Roegen, in physical/mathematical theoretical terms (thus using the methods of economics), denounces the possibility of infinite perpetual economic growth, which is the mainstream political discourse in most countries.

Anthropocentrism and latrogenic second home planning

Like economic growth, the growth in the number of second homes is increasingly becoming a debated environmental issue. As seen through early planning guidelines, these environmental concerns were mainly of an anthropocentric nature.

At first (up to the period of introducing regulations to second home developments), discussed environmental issues were mostly related to the landscape experience, which were related to the recreational experience people were seeking out (Langdalen, 1965). In addition, sewage-water became an issue in areas with many second homes. Since these issues were raised, they have been viewed as problems to be dealt with through planning and by individual second home developers. "An organized and law-bound planning in mountain areas must be aimed at a harmonic alignment between landscape and development and must set boundaries to the individual's impact in nature" (Langdalen, 1965, p. 26, author's translation). Proposals, from a expert-committee (of which Langdalen is part of and put together to discuss planning in relation to second home development in the 1960s), resulted in a technocratic planning solution. Now planning was to handle most aspects of erecting cabins, such as; finding proper location for developments, control of placement of buildings and putting in place regulations for design, materials and color. This kind of micro-management was unprecedented as it, before the planning act of 1965, had been up to landowners and second home owners (self-builders) to handle these issues themselves. In the 1965 act, it became possible for municipalities on a voluntary base to designate second home developments through the so called LNF areas (farming, nature and outdoor-recreation areas) in municipal planning. It was not before 1985 that it became mandatory to designate areas for second home developments in municipal planning documents, through the LNF-areas.

The need for such detailed planning of second home developments was in part fostered by an anthropocentric discourse on nature in which a certain 'pristine' nature, as perceived experience was favored. Quotes like "Norwegian mountain farm buildings can show numerous examples of how features of landscape architecture and buildings can enrich and actualize the natural landscape, through opposing the nature-given and the human made" and "A dam can be a positive landscape feature. A road-trace can help to bring forth the landscape character" (Langdalen, 1965, p. 26, author's translation) are used to underpin the argument that traces from human presence in and use of nature can contribute to make nature more "exciting, meaningful and understandable". It is clear that it is the human experience and perception of nature that is important to Langdalen. He largely criticizes the lay persons' ability to plan and carry out an, as he sees it, proper building of cabins. In order to make second home developments in mountain areas a positive landscape feature, Langdalen (1965) concludes that the "planning of a cabin in the mountain is a demanding architectural task..." (p. 30, author's translation). Also, the issue of pollution of water by sewage water and garbage handling, were mainly a concern relative to other second home users' use of the polluted water.

Threats to the landscape experience and health were to be handled through planning regulations, as mentioned. While the issue of sewage and garbage are now well managed through planning, it is still contested if the landscape experience issues are handled well enough. Indeed, several authors argue otherwise (see e.g. Gansmo et al., 2011 and Skjeggedal et al. 2015). In the third article, I argue that since the introduction of detailed regulation of second home developments, regulations has in part led to increasing standards (and thus increased material use) of second homes (Christensen (2015) also reflects on this issue). This has in turn led to increased use of second homes (more frequent visits but shorter stays (Aall, 2011)). In total, the result has been increased material and energy consumption, which have led to new environmental problems (apart from the landscape experience).

I argue that this constitutes a case of iatrogenic second home planning. Iatrogenic planning could be argued to be planning which has an unintended effect or side-effect relative to the problems it was intended to solve in the first place (Illich, 1975/1995; Moe, 2015). As argued, the intended landscape protective regulations of second home developments helped increase standards (which in turn lead to increased landscape impact and other environmental issues), but maybe most worrisome, regulations failed to handle a problematic future development of the second home phenomenon. The problems related to the development of the phenomenon are mainly driven by the increased standards (apart from rapid development of new second homes). Increased standards were to some extent induced by regulations, but it is also related to the capitalist agenda seeking out new geographical arenas for capitalist accumulation.

Geographies of capitalist accumulation

In the growth-oriented society, capital is always searching for new arenas to include in the capitalist accumulation agenda (Marx, 1993; Gordon and Rosenthal 2003; Fotouloulos, 2010). Barriers to this are, among others, time and space (Harvey, 2001a). Time-space compression is therefore essential for the capitalist system. As such, Harvey (2001) argues, based on Marx, for a theoretical connection between economic growth and spatial relationships based on emergent structures. In Norway, being a large mountainous stretched-out country, there are significant geographical barriers to the exploitation of the specific landscapes particularly suited for second home developments. While the special cultural ties to nature might have influenced motivation for second home ownership and use, other factors such as a general rise in income and increased leisure time have increased the possibility. However, the release of private car ownership in 1960 and the continuously increasing road standards have facilitated a major time-space compression and therefore increased the possibility significantly. Related to that, Hall (2005) argues that because of a massive improvement (compression) in space-time structures, long distance travel is now increasingly subject to routinized practices in affluent countries. The release of car ownership in Norway enabled a geographical expansion of the weekend recreational zones in hinterlands of urban areas. It also made it possible to exploit the newly law-given right²² to recreate in nature through the Outdoor Recreation act. The capitalist agenda benefitted from this by privatizing nature through second home developments, something that is also related to the effects of the neoliberal society and the neoliberal planning.

²² There was already an old-time traditional right (sedvanerett) for non-owners to trespass on foot in non-cultivated areas and to pick berries, mushrooms etc. there. This right is called 'Allemannsretten'. In addition, it was explicitly formulated in the Act on Outdoor Recreation (Friluftsløven), which was put into force in 1957.

Neoliberalism and second home planning

While the capitalist expansion tries to compress space and time, there is also a drive to take advantage of and capitalize second home developments through a process of neoliberalism. The socio-political program of neoliberalism has since the 1980s effectively worked towards realizing the capitalist agenda of utilizing the second home phenomenon in terms of material and cultural development.

A large part of the cultural activities of a population in capitalist societies takes place in workers' spare-time. However, in order to seek out new areas to capitalize, spare time activities are also included in the capitalist agenda (Harvey, 2001a). For Nielsen (2011), neoliberalism is in general a marketization process of all aspects of social life, which is sold through the promise of individual freedom. For Harvey (2005), this introduces a postmodern cultural stage, which is characterized by fragmentation and ephemerality (Harvey 2005). This relates to loss of identity, disorientation and a flight from reality (Nielsen, 2011) (which are to be compensated through second home ownership). The neoliberalization process therefore seem to have enforced the mechanisms of the individualized need to 'escape' from everyday life and re-create in nature. The neoliberal freedom then lies in a lack of restrictions from bureaucracy and state patronage, not from need for transport, shelter or safety (Baeten, 2012), or might well add, freedom from a need to recreate.

The neoliberalization of land-use planning relates to making a rigid and regulatory planning system into a more flexible and negotiable strategic planning process (Taşan-Kok, 2012). According to theory on neoliberal planning, the preferred approach of the planner adhering to the pro-growth policies of neoliberalism is to be entrepreneurial, risk-taking, profit oriented, take a positive view on market-led developments, simplify the planning process and relax on plan-implementation control (Sager, 2011). The planner is seen as an enabler of development who is less preoccupied with aspects of social and environmental impacts. These aspects of the role of the planner, came visible in the case study of planning processes in the municipality of Trysil (cf. section 3.2).

Different typical neoliberal adjustments of the Norwegian society have helped push the financialisation, marketization and commodification of second home developments in Norway, I would argue. Being a population of home owners (77% in 2016), benefiting from the tax system large parts of the Norwegian population realised increasing capital gain through the deregulations of the housing and banking market throughout the 1980s. The deregulation led to a commercialization of private housing and greater possibility to take out loans based on housing value (Sørvol, 2011; Sejersted, 2017). Basically, it meant that house owners could reinvest in second homes, which eventually helped drive forward the increasing standards of second home developments. Paris (2009) argues, using the concept of hyperconsumption (Charles, 2005), that second homes become objects of desired consumption and that is purely for the sake of household consumption, based on "because we can" arguments. Paris' argument is related to Žižek's (2009) 'cultural-capitalism' where individuals buy commodities primarily for the experience provided by them, not for their utility or as status symbols. If related to the Norwegian second home ownership, it is more about, for the household consumer, to buy into the story about being 'truly' Norwegian and being part of something genuine, rather than for the sake of recreation or contact to nature. In the third article, I explore, through a case study of the municipality of Trysil, how the neoliberal program seem to have influenced the socio-cultural domain of the phenomenon as well as the planning process and actual developments there.

The neoliberalization process of the Norwegian second home phenomenon should thereby be understood though a commodification process of the second home as such, as well as through a more competitive

situation of the planning process, rather than abolishment of planning regulations for second home developments. However, as I also argue, the introduction of regulations should not entirely be regarded as contradictory to the capitalist agenda, as they seemingly have been part in inducing material standards through iatrogenic planning.

National identity and the Disneyland effect

As already described in the introductory chapter, the motives behind second home use are often considered to be originating in the cultural traditions of Norwegian rural and coastal societies. The continued use of second homes is therefore often presented as an reenactment of rural and coastal traditional practices, a form of practicing that which is the 'real' or 'true' Norwegian. Second home use is likewise often presented, as in opposition to the urban daily lives or the modern life, most Norwegians adhere to. Second home life is often based on motives related to both outdoor recreation and escape. Niels Faarlund (2003) (one of the Norwegian eco-philosophers) argues that *friluftsliv* (outdoor life²³, but literally 'open air life'), which was first mentioned by Henrik Ibsen in his poem *paa vidderne*²⁴, is a creation of the urban man, a point of view of longing to be in nature, created through a distance from it (Reed and Rothenberg, 1993). *Friluftsliv* (or outdoor recreation, which I use), is for Faarlund (2003) thus part of the industrialized and urbanized society in which it becomes a necessity for both the individual, but also society as such, because society needs healthy citizens to perform though their jobs. Outdoor recreation (or second home life), is for Faarlund²⁵ a form of artificial respiration of citizens in the industrial society. It becomes so, because the work and everyday-life is not fulfilling, in terms of physical and emotional engagement. Nature is then needed, as a form of rehabilitation (Faarlund, 2003).

Faarlund's conceptualization of the urban-nature escape relationship, connects and adds to the second home ownership paradox. The much-needed escape, if realized though a bank loan and/or enacted though modern commercialized second homes (and tourism-based second home areas) becomes increasingly difficult, both because of the paradox, but also because of the superficial relation to nature. Sigmund Kvaløy's (1973) concept of a Disneyland effect might help explain why it is still considered an escape.

Kvaløy (1973) deploys three different concepts (among other) to help analyse modern western society, namely, complexity, complication and pseudocomplexity, where he ascribes the Disneyland effect to the latter. He uses complexity to describe nature (which is dynamic, irreversible, self-steering, goal-directed, conflict-fertilized and manifold), which also includes the human mind and body. By complication, he aims at the "static, reversible, externally steered, standardized structure-intricacy of the machine" (1993) and by pseudocomplexity, he means a human construction of various arrangements and activities, which are designed with an aim at keeping people occupied in a varied manner. As examples he mentions mass media, hobbies, tourism and schools, which might keep people occupied but in such a shallow way that it leaves them unchanged. As such they resemble amusement parks, where time goes by without offering training or development that would leave the engaged person with increased knowledge about the a creative interaction with nature or the human society (Kvaløy, 1993). The modern Norwegian second

²³ Faarlund (2003) argues that in the Anglo-Saxon tradition Outdoor life has elements of competition embedded, which the Norwegian (Scandinavian) does not have.

²⁴ Literally 'on the heights', but translated to 'in the mountain wilderness'

²⁵ Niels Faarlund should in no way, however, against the idea of *Friluftsliv*, he is rather a passionate advocate of outdoor recreation (but in the traditional sense) and argues that it is a way of connecting to nature, which will help transform the modern society's relation to nature. He uses it as a critique of modern western societies.

home phenomenon is such a representation of pseudocomplexity because it promises to offer something real in the form of enacting traditional rural or coastal practices, but the ways in which the engagement with such practices have changed and are now conducted, seem at best to be a shallow interaction with nature and traditional culture. Second home ownership and use is however still presented as an escape that promises “outlet of inner urge towards complex development, that many humans are born with; it offers, however, only the sort of interaction that leaves the personality unchanged after the event.” (1993,p. 124).

Many of the issues presented thus far, seem to originate in a basic philosophical tradition, which is why I dedicate the next few lines to a brief discussion of the discourse of modern western philosophy.

Small note on the discourse of modern western philosophy

Renè Descartes (1596-1650) is often considered as the founder of modern philosophy (he worked also in modern physics and astronomy) (Russell, 1992). The philosophical discourse of modernity is represented by the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum*: ‘I think therefore I am’. According to Bhaskar (2016) the ‘think’ encapsulates the false priority of mind over body (epistemology over ontology, i.e. epistemic fallacy), while the ‘I’ encapsulates the priority of the individual over others and society (and over nature and other species. i.e. anthropocentrism). To Bhaskar, it is possible from this to derive at two problems with the philosophical discourse of modernity: atomistic egocentrism and abstract universality. Atomistic egocentrism meaning that the subject is detached and opposed to object, and also other subjects. Abstract universality meaning that for any element x its relation to any element y must be considered universal, or as according to David Hume (1711-1776), that “Mankind²⁶ are so much the same, at all times and places...” (Hume, 2007, p. 76). Within the second home debate, an argument similar to ‘Norway has large amounts of nature, so if we develop here, there is still enough’ is often used. However, as Bhaskar argues, there is no such instance as an abstract universal, only concrete universals, i.e. that an instance has embodied, concretised and particular forms²⁷. In the context of second home developments this would mean that each separate local part of developments rests on a nature, which has a unique ecosystem with its own topographically, botanically and zoologically interrelated context. If such a piece of nature is converted into a second home area (or other types of development), this unique combination of characteristics, making up the specific ecosystem, will no longer exist.

In the philosophy of Descartes there is also, in the dualism between mind and body, an understanding of objects (everything other than the human mind) determined by the laws of physics (Russell, 1992). As such, objects (and living beings) can be studied, and through scientific knowledge about them, they can be commanded by humans:

“knowing the power and the actions of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens and all the other bodies in our environment as clearly as we know the various crafts of our artisans, we could (like artisans) put these bodies to use in all the appropriate ways, and thus make ourselves the masters and (as it were) possessors of nature. This is desirable not only for the invention of innumerable devices that would give us trouble-free use of the fruits of the earth and all the goods we find there, but also, and most importantly, for the

²⁶ Bhaskar (see e.g. 2016) argues that part of the atomistic egocentrism is an underlying but persistent model of the human being as propertied and tacitly gendered as male.

²⁷ This means that it should be analysed as *multiple quadruplicities*, which means it involves four components: a universal, particular mediations, specific geo-historical trajectory and a unique or a concrete singular (see e.g. Bhaskar (2016))

preservation of health, which is certainly the chief good and the basis for all the other goods in this life.” (Descartes, 1637/1960, p. 24)

Not only is it possible to make ourselves ‘masters and possessors of nature’, it is also desirable, because there are sizeable benefits, both material and health-related. Drawing a parallel to present-day rationales for second home development, some similarities are reflected:

“The Norwegian cabin is a part of our national identity. Even more people still get the opportunity to realize their cabin-dreams. For many, it provides the opportunity of out-door life and contact to nature. [...] It must be a basic principle that cabin development does not destroy the [natural] qualities in an area, but contributes to securing them, and maybe even adds new qualities. [...] Good knowledge [i.e. registration] about the natural amenities is necessary, not just to avoid destroying values, but also to be able to locate cabins to attractive areas where such exploitation is not conflictive. We know that many cabin owners mostly move around in the local area, which is why the experience opportunities there will be important for the attractiveness in the area.” (Miljøverndepartementet, 2005, p. 3 and 12, author’s translation)

The second home is downplayed to be a mere cabin, while more or less scientific knowledge should be used to secure the attractiveness of a development area or even increase the attractiveness. What stands out is the idea about nature, as being there, to be attractive to second home users who enjoy recreation in specific landscapes. The assumption is that with good knowledge, it is possible not just to protect nature, but maybe to make it even more attractive. Descartes’ idea that humankind should harvest the fruits of nature by becoming its masters and owners seem much present in the political documents related to Norwegian second home development. These ideas were also very persistent in Erik Langdalen’s proposals for a new second home planning in 1965, as shown earlier.

Being ‘masters and possessors’ of nature together with atomistic egocentrism is also the very basic ideas of capitalism²⁸. Capitalism is in its definition private (individual or corporate) ownership of the means of production i.e. entrepreneurship (e.g. knowledge, intellectual property), capital goods, natural resources (nature) and labor power (other subjects). However, as has become increasingly clear there is no such thing as ‘trouble-free use of the fruits of the earth’.

2.5 Theoretical summary

In this chapter, I started with the argument for an application of a critical realist ontology to the present study about the Norwegian second home phenomenon. Following, was an introduction to the RRREI(C) schema, which introduced some research sub-questions. The components of the second home phenomenon were detangled, and an explanatory frame of interpretation helped redescribe these components. For the remaining parts of the chapter, I have been discussing different theoretical aspects of the underlying mechanisms related to the components. I have not yet begun to synthesize the different theories, but rather focused on a short separate description. In the following chapter, the empirical methods will be discussed and later on the results of the thesis as well as a synthesis of the combined theory and results will be reflected upon. Table 2 shows a brief overview of how each of the three articles of the thesis deals with research sub-question 1-4 and thereby also how the theoretical framework

²⁸ Descartes argues that the autonomous subject not only transcends nature, but is also able to resist and ultimately challenge (maybe replace) God (Gillespie, 2008). Since nature was created by God, a transcendent God, nature is not holy, because God does not rest in nature. And since man was created in the image of God by God, man is also partly transcendent (I am because I think). The right to master and possess nature was thus ultimately, according to Descartes, given by God (Jensen, 2011).

developed in this chapter, applies to the articles. In table 3 (in section 3.1) the research-sub questions for the empirical investigations are shown. The empirical sub-questions, shown in table 3, and how they relate to the individual articles, should be regarded as following the logic in the theoretical table (table 2), presented here.

Table 2, each article related to the research sub-questions 1-4. Parenthesis indicates reduced focus. Numbering of components relates to the numbering given in the development of the laminated system in section 2.3

Article 1	Article 2	Article 3
(1) What are the main components of the Norwegian second home phenomenon?		
<p>This article introduces the RRREI(C) schema and therefore develops a version of a laminated system with the components of the phenomenon, with focus on demand side components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1: motives of ownership - 1.a: household economic ability - (2,2.1): national identity, outdoor life as positive to health 	<p>Empirical investigation of demand side components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1: motives of ownership - 1.a: household economic ability - (2,2.1): national identity, outdoor life as positive to health 	<p>Focus on supply side components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (3): Spatial-geographic conditions - (3.b.,3.d): existing second homes, outdoor/recreational structures - (4): socio-geographical conditions - 4.a: second home development policy - 4.c: legal institutions - (2,2.1): national identity, outdoor life as positive to health
(2) How have these components changed, related to sustainability?		
<p>For all three articles there has been, as part of an introduction to the research area, a framing of the issues related to the components, as changed phenomena. As such, there has been a focus for all articles on abductive redescription of the subject matter.</p>		
(3) Holistically, what are the main drivers behind these changes?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mechanisms of the bank loan - Structures of economic growth - (Social status of second home ownership) - (Disneyland-effect) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disneyland-effect in support for escape motives - Geographical expansion of capitalism - Cultural expansion of capitalism - Continued national ideal about second home ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neoliberalization - Geographical expansion of capitalism - Cultural expansion of capitalism - Environmental concern in planning - Continued national ideal about second home ownership
(4) How can these changes be conceptualized?		
<p>Conceptualization of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox. (spatiality of banking)</p>	<p>No new conceptualizations, but investigation of the existence of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox.</p>	<p>The Norwegian second home phenomenon as going from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified. Planning as iatrogenic.</p>

3 Empirical Methods

In this chapter, I will discuss the empirical methods, which in part, form the knowledge generation of this thesis. This means that it is now a matter of E and I in the RRREI(C) schema as explained in the previous chapter. The stage of Elimination, it is about eliminating the competing theories arrived to at the R_3 , the stage of retrodiction or retroduction. To reiterate, R_3 is concerned with finding which of the theories can best explain the components of the phenomenon. At the stage of Identification, it is a matter of empirically identifying the causally efficacious antecedents. If at this stage, the identification results in new insight to the former theoretical frame it results in Correction of these theories and the RRREI(C) schema should in theory be deployed once again.

Not much empirical research have been applying the RRREI(C) schema, which has the consequence that it is difficult to locate literature on how the different steps are performed. Bhaskar et al. (2018) deploy the schema and describe the practical implications of the first three steps, namely the RRR, but when it comes to the steps of E and I, it is more difficult to locate exactly what these steps imply in their practical performance of the schema. As a result, I will here describe the understanding of the steps that I use in this thesis.

The process of Elimination should not be understood as belonging only to the empirical phase, as it is possible through theoretical justification to rule out competing theories. For example, I discuss already in the introductory chapter how different perspectives on second home developments and the environment, often result in an understanding of second home ownership and use to be part of a solution towards a more sustainable tourism sector. This is argued against for several reasons, both belonging to common sense (second home use is not especially a source for education about the environment), as well as through empirical research (second home users do not necessarily travel less than non-uses). The last case here could be argued to belong to the empirical phase, but I did not myself conduct the research, just assemble the results. Together, the two arguments eliminate a theoretical assumption about second home ownership and use, as being part of a solution for a more environmentally friendly society (at least so under current circumstances).

Another element of elimination, belongs rather to the empirical phase of the thesis. It deals with the different planning strategies relied upon for a more environmentally friendly second home development. The planning strategies, as a whole, belong to the ideas formed by the Brundtland Commission on sustainable development that are inspired by the research field of ecological modernization. The ecological modernization theory can shortly be described as an idea that relies on technological innovation and institutional efficiency to reduce environmental impacts of continued economic growth (see e.g. Spaargaren and Mol, 1992; Hajer, 1995, Mol and Sonnenfeld, 2000). For second home development, this means a continued development and growth in square meters per second home for which the environmental impacts should be reduced through technical improvements (including planning), such as better insulation, less energy intensive technical inventory, higher development density through second homes as flats or shorter distance to tourist and shopping areas and maybe a supply of public transport. Such strategies are often applied in greater urban areas in Europe with an aim of sustainable development (Næss and Xue, 2016). In this thesis, I both argue through the theoretical framework, and show through the empirical investigation that sustainable development seems not to have been reached, by such

strategies of ecological modernization. The theoretical application of ecological modernization is therefore eliminated, because it seem insufficient, if the purpose is true sustainable development²⁹.

While the process of Elimination rules out competing theories about mechanisms and structures that might explain a phenomenon or event, the process of Identification is about locating the causally efficacious and generative mechanisms and structures for the said phenomenon or event. The two processes are therefore to some extent one and the same, because when ruling out alternative explanations the researcher also finds the explanatory ones. It might be, for example that it is possible through statistical regression analysis to locate statistically significant relations between an outcome variable and a variable representing a potential causal power, while also locating insignificant relations in the same analysis. The statistical analysis can therefore be part of both a process of elimination and identification.

In all, it might not be possible to argue that the two steps of elimination and identification belong entirely to the empirical stage of the research process, but I put it here because I believe that these steps are meant as stages of empirical annulment or affirmation of the theoretical assumptions of the research.

3.1 Methods of critical realism

As a critical realist theory of science presupposes a structured reality, it also necessitates a multiplicity in the choice of methods that is suited for the particular question. Based on the research questions of this thesis it means that both extensive (quantitative data collection and statistical analysis) and intensive (large amount of data about one or a few cases and qualitative) methods are applied (Danemark et al., 2001). To the critical realist researcher, it is a given premise to rely on both types of data if the research question presupposes such. Likewise, there is a need to interpret the data by both qualitative and quantitative means. In table 3, the different methods applied, based on a set of empirically oriented research sub-questions, are listed. For critical realists the question is not as much about uncovering the phenomenon in descriptive detail, but also about understanding the phenomenon in terms of how, and why.

How and why does the different components, that make up the Norwegian second home phenomenon, manifest them self through underlying structures and mechanisms. It is a matter of both theoretical and empirical studies to uncover this. The theoretical studies are especially focused on conceptualization and retrodution as described in the previous chapter, while the empirical focuses on case studies (Næss and Jensen, 2005). For the specific case study in Trysil, field studies were used to get a sense of the different types of second home development, their appearance in the landscape and physical distances between different facilities and second home areas. The qualitative interviews of planners are important to get a first-hand account of the actual planning situation and to actualize the planning process. Through interviews, it is possible to reach a more nuanced and complex understanding of the issues being discussed, also when it is second home owners being interviewed about motives for use etc.

Quantitative methods area also important to this study as the questionnaire uncovers the extent of the second home ownership debt and it establishes a relationship between motives for ownership and debt. Through the statistical data, some important mechanisms of the ownership paradox are thereby

²⁹ Some aspects of ecological modernization might be preferable to a business as usual scenario.

uncovered and it is possible to determine to which degree these different mechanisms have an important impact on the paradox and, importantly, those that do not exert any important influence.

In table 3, a set of research sub-questions are related to the three articles based on the division of theoretical focus among the articles, as shown in table 2 (in section 2.5).

Table 3 empirical research sub-questions, type of data needed, and source of data

Article 1	Article 2	Article 3
Empirical research sub-question		
How can the discrepancy between economic cost of second home ownership and prospecting second home owners' economic ability to meet these needs, be conceptualized?	Is the conceptualized discrepancy between economic cost of ownership and owners' economic ability to meet these needs, empirically visible? If yes, what seem to be the reasons?	Can traces of a neoliberal agenda be found in the modern Norwegian second home phenomenon and if yes, which developments did this result in?
Type of data needed		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information about economic cost of second home ownership - Information about average household income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information about second home ownership debt - Information about motives for ownership - Information about socio-economic conditions of owners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information about historical development of second home planning and rationales for changes - Information about spatial planning for second homes
Source of data		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National statistical data - Statistical data from previous research 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Questionnaire targeting second home owners about second home price and debt, motives and socio-economic characteristics - In-depth qualitative interviews about motives for ownership and use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical planning documents, guidelines and law - Current planning documents, guidelines and local municipal plans - In depth qualitative interviews with municipal planners about second home planning

The first article finds an apparent lacking research into the discrepancy between economic need of the second home owner and the economic ability of the owner. This results in the conceptualization of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox, which is empirically investigated in the second article. The third article takes a step back and asks the role of planning in supporting (or resolving) this paradox.

Related to the first article sub-question, the means of interpretation is more of a qualitative kind, though the main sources of data is quantitative. The question is more or less in the category of defining a problem that has been suggested through some secondary data sources of a quantitative kind. The main method of inquiry in for this question is, however, hermeneutics, interpretation of different sources of information both quantitative and qualitative in the form of different theories. For critical realists it is important to start the investigating in the conceptual and meaning-making end of the scale of inquiry (Bhaskar et al., 2018).

Moving forward to the second article sub-question, this is about empirically investigating the conceptual frame that was put forth in the first question. The means to do this is first to collect the relevant data on a number of individuals, statistically analyse it through the software programme SPSS and interpret the data accordingly. Also, to a lesser degree, qualitative interview data acquired through interviews with second home owners are used. These interviews were conducted for a different research project and

therefore with a different purpose than this question (see the next section under SPAVACC). However, much of the information given by the informants is relevant here too.

For the third article sub-question, hermeneutics are again applied. Here, the question is about investigating some of the underlying mechanisms that have formed and still form the contemporary phenomenon, incorporating the conception of the Norwegian second home paradox discovered in the first two questions.

3.2 Methods of data collection

Throughout the thesis, different means of data collection have been used. I have already been discussing the methodology of critical realism and proposed a research design as well as proposing the more specific methods for data collection. They will be presented and discussed in the following.

Choice of case study

As mentioned, the local municipal authorities mostly have both the political and planning authority in matters of second home developments. In order to study the planning process more closely, a case study was carried out in Trysil municipality. Here I will briefly describe the criteria and underpinning theory of case selection, which have been important for the choice of Trysil³⁰.

The case of Trysil was based on a criterion of the need to locate a case that could reveal the underlying mechanisms for the current development trajectory of the Norwegian second home phenomenon. Being new to the Norwegian context in general and the second home phenomenon specifically, it would have been easiest for me to choose a random case, but studying the critical realist methodology it became clear that it was necessary to focus on particular cases that could be investigated according to the underlying structures and mechanisms shaping the particular planning.

Both Flyvbjerg (2001) and Danarmark et al. (2001) describe four different types of cases, which can be studied with the aim of finding the important structures and mechanisms that make out the specific case. Their argument is also that it is possible, based on these different criteria of selecting cases, to generalize to some extent from one specific case. The four different types are; extreme cases, extremely varied cases³¹, critical cases³² and the normal or paradigmatic case. I would argue that the Trysil case is a normal case, with elements of the extreme case. The normal or paradigmatic case is cases where it is possible to study current and prevailing generative mechanisms. This type of case highlights the more general

³⁰ Initially, I also carried out data collection for a case study in Kragerø similar to the Trysil case, and based on the same selection criteria, but I later restrained from further analysis of the material, which included two interviews, field trip and document study. This decision was made because I found sufficient evidence in the Trysil case to underpin my arguments, but more importantly, because there was a slight change in focus of the research, which meant that time was better spent on something different than going through with an additional case study analysis. That mentioned, I learned a lot about the planning of second home developments here also. There seemed to be three critical differences from the municipality of Trysil despite the development pressure from developers and landowners seemed to be similar in Kragerø to that in Trysil. First, the political base in Kragerø was more in favor of environmental protection than in Trysil. Second, the need to attract developments due to economic reasons was not as overwhelming in Kragerø as in Trysil. Third, the space for developments in Kragerø was becoming scarce, which was not that relevant in Trysil (though around the Trysil mountain space was becoming scarce, and since this is the main attraction it presents an issue, but not to the same extent as in Kragerø where the coast is the main attraction)

³¹ Selecting different cases that are different on a specific set of parameters

³² The critical case is specified as enabling the researcher to gain information about deviations from the least or most probable circumstances (Danarmark et al., 2002). Typical for this kind of case is asking the question "if this is true in this case, it must be true in other cases too" or vice versa if not.

properties of the studied phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2001). On the other hand, the extreme case is an odd case, or a case that in particular stands out and challenges the notion of what is normal.

The municipality of Trysil resembles a normal case because it is a second home municipality similar to most other second home municipalities. Trysil is situated in the recreational zone of three-hour drive from the Norwegian capital Oslo (see figure 1), it has a tradition of second home development, based on the traditional motives for use such as outdoor life, and it is an outer region municipality. However, the Trysil mountain and the high amounts of ski tourism that it generates is a factor not entirely entitled to be 'normal' for a second home municipality. Still, there are other such large tourist ski resort municipalities (e.g. Oppdal, Hafjell of Hemsedal), which means Trysil is not an extreme case, but still distinguishable from other 'normal' second home municipalities. The Trysil mountain, and the ski-tourism it attracts, represents the 'extreme' element of the case.

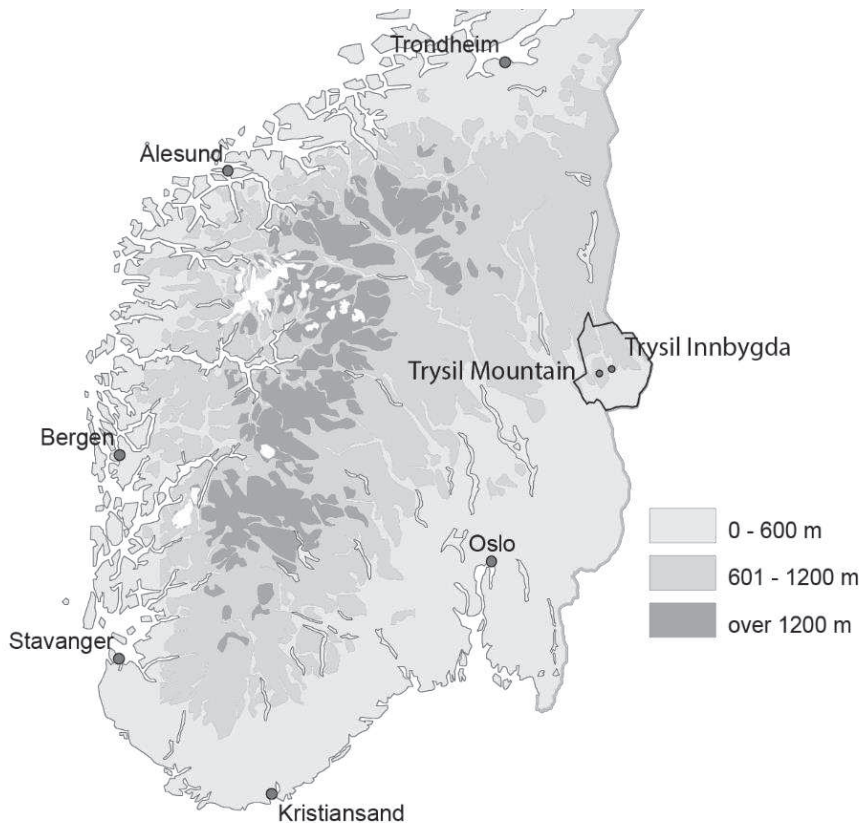


Figure 1, map of southern Norway and larger cities along the coast, with borders of the municipality of Trysil. There is a 210 km drive from Oslo to Trysil Innbygda at the foot of the Trysil Mountain, where many developments of modern second homes are found. The Trysil Mountain is 1,132 m high, while the Innbygda is 351 m above sea level.

A second home municipality oriented towards summer and coast activities would also have been a possibility, but since most second home developments take place in mountain regions, mechanisms are more visible those places. I therefore find the case of Trysil suitable to generate knowledge about the more regular circumstances about the phenomenon. In addition, Trysil is a municipality where development is more visible and therefore more prone to be able to expose the underlying mechanisms of economic growth that I wish to investigate. This does not mean that such mechanisms are not present in more regular 'normal' cases, but in municipalities where development is more limited, such mechanism might, to a greater extent, be counteracted by other mechanisms.

Understanding text

Throughout the study of the Norwegian planning context and the specific case study, a series of different planning documents have been read. There were two aims of reading such texts. The first was to uncover the actual statements of the documents, while the second aim has been to acquire knowledge about the underlying rationales or the particular discourse, the politics behind the documents conveyed. Here, discourse is seen as being put forth, through a collection of texts, by the different agents/institutions of second home planning, with a particular purpose or end (Bhaskar et al., 2018). The documents can be categorized in three groups:

- Historical planning guidelines and planning acts
- Most recent planning national and regional guidelines and planning act
- Local planning documents e.g. municipal plan and strategy, local plan

Discourse analysis of texts can be carried out at different levels of intensity. The text analysis throughout this thesis has not followed any strict interpretation frame. However, a critical realist theory of science presupposes certain features about the text, which I was knowledgeable about and had in mind while reading these texts. In critical realist discourse analysis (or critical discourse analysis), a general focus is the meaning(s) of text (Bhaskar et al., 2018). The analysis is both about semiosis (study of meaning-making) and hermeneutics (interpretation of text).

For the part of semiosis, the concept of the semiotic triangle is a particular necessity for the understanding of text. It is constituted by the signifier (the word), the signified (concept, sense or intention of the signifier) and the referent (the object or thing referred to by the signifier)(Bhaskar et al., 2018). The referent is a so-called extra-discursive object as it is part of the ontological, at the level of the real and thereby it is independent from the act of referring. When reading planning documents this distinction is important because there are many concepts attached e.g. to nature (landscape, natural amenities, natural areas, natural resources, national park, skiing area, recreational area, etc.) and economic strategies (tourism, sustainable development, infrastructure, service facilities, etc.). These are concepts that relate to something real, either nature or structures and mechanisms, while having specific purpose and connotes positively or negatively.

As for hermeneutics, there are two fundamental elements (Danermark et al., 2001). For the first part, interpretation of e.g. a text is always dependent on the researcher's earlier experience, chosen theories, the frame of reference and the specific concepts deployed. This 'prejudice' is not basically negative, it can also be a positive quality, if the researcher is constantly aware of this frame of interpretation (Gadamar, 1975/2013). Secondly, when interpreting, there is always interplay between parts and the whole. It is for example not possible to describe the meaning of a wheel without referring it to the vehicle and a particular

human action is only meaningful if it is related to other actions or events. As such, interpretation is always contextual in both time and space. Making sense of a statement from a Trysil planning document like *“Trysil should become the North’s leading sustainable year-around tourist destination”* (municipality of Trysil, 2009, p. author’s translation) is therefore only possible if not only the entire planning document is interpreted, but also through an informed understanding of the different concepts deployed in the sentence (it might even be necessary to talk directly to municipal planners or other officials, to uncover the true meaning about the statement, by asking them about *their* understanding of the different concepts).

Interviews

Two interviews were conducted with planners in Trysil. Both interviews were recorded and transcribed for further analysis. The main aim with the interviews were mainly to get the planners’ account of the planning process and its involved actors. The interviews were guided conversations rather than structured inquiries and lasted for about one and a half hour each. In order to be able to conduct a consistent analysis of the two interviews, an interpretation scheme was developed (see appendix IV) in which specific questions were asked (to the transcription), the transcription were read with the questions in mind and places of interest were marked in colours related to particular groups of questions. After this first round of interpretation a second round of synthesis between the questions was carried out. However, since the main focus of the interviews was not discourse analysis, but rather an first-hand account of events, the interpretation was more on a face-value level as distinct from uncovering underlying semiosis of the planning process. Nevertheless, when relating to the other elements of the collection of data, in the final process of interpretation and in between the different sources, the interviews also gave input to the overall picture of the particular discursive elements of the second home planning, in the case study area.

In relation to the research project SPAVACC, 18 interviews have been carried out with second home owners and users, with the aim of understanding motives and rationales for second home use, in relation to recreational activities and climate change. Each of these interviews were conducted by two researchers belonging to a research team of five researchers. The interviews were intended to provide a life-world view (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015) from interviewees and were therefore structured, but open conversations, each lasting for about one hour. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were used in part in this project as a data resource for a more in-depth understanding of motives for second home ownership and use. The interpretation of motives has not been carried out through a schematic process, but through reading the transcriptions and relating to face-value descriptions of motives for ownership and use. This is also why the result from these interviews have not been a major part of the data for interpretation in this project.

Survey questionnaire

As part of the investigation into the second home ownership paradox, a survey questionnaire (see appendix II) was sent to a stratified random selection of 10,000 inhabitants in the Greater Oslo area. 45 postal zones, among which the questionnaire respondents were to be recruited, were chosen based on different urban characteristics, such as density, distance to urban centre and socio-demographics. Within each of these postal zones, a number of respondents were randomly selected to receive the questionnaire invitation letter through the ordinary postal service. 1104 respondents participated, which makes a

response rate of 11%, which is to be considered as a normal response rate³³. Both owners, users and non-owners/users were asked to participate: However, there was a considerable overrepresentation of owners/users (70.6%) compared to non-owners/non-users (28.4%). In former surveys, the owner or user rate is about 49-56% (Støa and Manum, 2008; Farstad et al., 2009). However, also for those surveys, the proportion of owners/users among the respondents seems high given the more accurate level of owners/users, given by the national bureau of statistics that indicates the actual number to be about 40% (Statistics Norway, 2016).

The questionnaire was developed in such a way that persons having access to or owning more than one second home, could individually answer questions related to the two most used second homes. Questions included year of acquisition, type of access, debt/rent, level of standard, location, and so on.

As can be seen in table 4, the households to which respondents belong have on average more members than for the average household of the population of the Oslo and Akershus counties. The area of Oslo and Akershus counties is larger than the area from which the respondents were recruited, but it the closest to a general comparison. Respondents also have higher education than typical for the county populations. Together, these circumstances contribute to household income levels considerably higher among respondents and thus interviewees, than among inhabitants of the counties. On the other hand, there is also a higher proportion of pensioners among respondents than in the general population of the counties, reflected in higher age and lower proportions of workforce participants in the survey sample. This is as expected, since the proportion of respondents owning or having access to a second home is considerably high in the survey, and it is expected that these have higher income and belong to the higher age group. As a result of the higher response rate among second home owners/users, the survey as a whole is not to be considered as representative of the general population of Greater Oslo. However, if the further statistical analysis focuses only on the owner/user group, there is no reason to believe that this group should not be sufficiently representative of the population of second home owners/users in the survey area. The statistical analyses of this study does therefore not aim to describe univariate distributions of attitudes, debt or second home ownership in order to investigate correlations between these characteristics when controlling for sociodemographic characteristics. Overrepresentation of certain groups of people in the sample could therefore not be expected to substantially affect the results (Babbie, 2007; Crano et al., 2015).

³³ Støa and Manum (2008) had a response rate of 28%, Farstad et al. (2009) had a response rate of 38%, while the SPAVACC project's questionnaire survey had a response rate of 7.2% (with a similar division between second home owners/users and non-owners/users, 67.1% and 32.9%, respectively, as in my questionnaire). One reason for the higher response rate among the surveys of Støa and Manum (2008) and Farstad et al. (2009) might be because their questionnaire were paper-based, while mine and the SPAVACC were web-based. Another reason might be an increasing competition between research questionnaires and commercial feedback studies (through phone or email) that might overwhelm some people and restrain them from participating. Yet another reason might be that more non-owners/users considered the questionnaire irrelevant to them, than in previous studies. This is also visible in the disproportion between response rate of owners/users and non-owners/users.

Table 4 Demographics of respondents and population of Oslo and Akershus

	Respondents (N=1104)	Inhabitants of Oslo and Akershus counties (including the Greater Oslo)
Average number of persons per household	3.3	1.94
Average number of children aged 0 - 6 years per household	0.45	0.15
Average number of children aged 7 - 17 years per household	0.4	0.13
Average age among respondents (all aged 18 or more)	60	45.5 (aged 16 or more)
Gender (proportion female)	48.7%	50.3%
Proportion of workforce participants among respondents	69.2%	81%
Average annual household income (1000 NOK)	981.5	812
Proportion with education at master level or higher	52%	16%

SPAVACC

As already mentioned, this thesis has adopted data from another project, called SPAVACC, which is an acronym for spatial planning, vacation homes and climate change. The project investigates second home planning and climate change mitigation and adaptation in three different case studies, the municipalities of Trysil, Kragerø, and Oppdal. The five-person project team, of which I am part, also sent out a questionnaire in the same postal zones of the greater Oslo area of as for the questionnaire of this thesis, but to different residents. The reason for this was to be able to reduce costs for sending out invitation letters. Since there were no methodological drawbacks for this strategy, the projects collaborated.

As previously mentioned, the SPAVACC research team also conducted a series of interviews of second home owners and users. Some of the interviewees are second home owners in Trysil, Kragerø and Oppdal, the rest are owners/users who participated in the questionnaire survey and for the most part live in Oslo. As the interviews were related to the SPAVACC research questions it was only partly that the information retrieved was applicable in my own thesis. The interviews were conducted, among others, with the aim of obtaining knowledge about which motives second home owners/users have to both own and use second homes. This information is to some extent relevant to my study.

Being part of the research team, I participated in several meetings in which the Norwegian second home phenomenon was discussed. Through those discussions, I have learned much. Especially, the conceptualization of a multi-dwelling home household has been of importance. In addition, the discussions about methods and methodology in general have been important for the work of my own thesis.

3.3 Correction

At the end of this chapter, I wish to dedicate a few thoughts to the last part of the RRREI(C) schema, that of correction.

The phase of correction is meant as a point where the researcher reflects on the phases of elimination and identification and compares it to the first part of the process, the RRR. If, through the elimination and identification phases, there has been any reason to correct the theoretical arguments from the first phase, this should be done, and relevant parts of the research process should begin again (Bhaskar et al., 2018). As such, the correction phase is an internal process to the research program where the researcher keeps going back to the beginning and starts the process anew, if needed.

I will not go into detail here with the point of correction, because there is no reason to present any actual corrections in the presentation of the overall theoretical and empirical arguments underpinning the research process. Moreover I did not arrive at a point, after developing the overall theoretical frame, and after conducting analysis of the empirical evidence, where I would have to go back and correct the overall picture and then carry out empirical testing again. It has rather been a case of correcting continuously, during the entire process.

4 Articles of the thesis – summaries

This chapter is devoted to presenting the three articles of the thesis and summarize their results as well as their individual contributions.

4.1 Article one: Critical realist methodology guiding theory development: the case of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox

This paper focusses on two aims. One is to theoretically investigate the capital need that prospecting owners of modern Norwegian second homes are faced with. This is a neglected area of research in previous studies. It seem that previous research has been focusing on household motives of second home ownership, without relating it to the rising cost of purchase and continued ownership of the desired second home. The second aim of the article is to investigate this with a methodology based on a critical realist ontology and evaluate if the methodology is applicable to the research area of Norwegian second homes. The main method for a theorization of the capital need is therefore the model for an explanatory science proposed by Roy Bhaskar, the RRREI(C) schema.

First, the model helps to develop an understanding of necessary components of a second home transaction, which highlights that motives for second home ownership should be backed by an economic possibility to acquire one. This leads to an in-depth analysis of the case phenomenon with a focus on the increased price of second homes and their increased upkeep that reveals a discrepancy between cost of ownership and annual Norwegian salary. Then the paper specifically traces the mechanisms related to and activated by the obtaining of a bank loan. It reveals that the issuing of a bank loan is basically an act of creating money from nothing. A discussion follows that relates the necessity of bank loans as a means to increase economic growth or at least to keep it steady. The spatiality of banking is briefly discussed, bringing the somewhat political power of private banks forth. The power resides in their mandate to decide which development projects they want to offer support in the form of loans. Such decisions have impacts in outer region second home municipalities. Opposed to the bank loan, the 'escape from stress of everyday (urban) work life' motive of second home ownership and use, appears as a paradox, if the escape is realized through a bank loan. This is because the bank loan has to be paid back through additional efforts in the before mentioned stressful everyday work life, compared to what would have been necessary without mortgage payback. The sustainability of a loan based second home ownership then appears dubious, which is discussed as well as other aspects of the paradox. The paper concludes, alongside uncovering the second home ownership paradox, that a research approach such as the RRREI(C) schema can provide expanded understanding of the mechanisms inhabited in the Norwegian second home phenomenon.

Main contribution

One major contribution of the article is the critique of previous research's one-sided focus on household/individual motives as drivers for second home ownership, disregarding other factors such as economic ability of households, prospecting to become owners. The article problematizes it as a taken for granted demand side of the second home phenomenon. Further, the article develops a conceptualization of an ownership paradox that highlights some unsustainable traits of the phenomenon, both on a household actor level, but also how the paradox is related to societal structures, such as the mechanisms

of economic growth. As such, the article opens the scope of research into the Norwegian second home phenomenon, especially by questioning aspects of sustainability, which beforehand had not been focused on.

Methodologically, the article deploys the RRREI(C) schema and argues that it can be suitable for research into the Norwegian second home phenomenon, both as an explanatory model and through the ontological presuppositions it brings from critical realism, which proves very important as it reveals new insight to research concerning Norwegian second homes. In addition, the application of the RRREI(C) schema has not been common in research outside the second home research area, and as such the article is also an example of how the model can be applied in research in general.

4.2 Article two: Norwegian second home ownership and debt – an empirical study

The Norwegian second home phenomenon has increasingly become financialized and materialized, which represents a threat to the sustainability of the phenomenon, which is why this article empirically investigates the hypothesis put forth in the first article. The hypothesis is that an apparent paradox seems to be situated in the act of obtaining a second home through debt as the second home often is portrayed as an “escape” from everyday work life. There has so far been no empirical evidence to the extent of this paradox, but this article remedies this. Through a questionnaire survey sent out to 10,000 residents in the Greater Oslo area, the paper investigates and seeks to explain the second home ownership paradox in the light of relevant theories. In addition, a few interviews with respondents from a similar questionnaire survey related to second home ownership and use, have been drawn upon when suitable. 1104 people responded on the questionnaire of which 564 responded to be second home owners. This article focuses on ownership, as it investigates implications of ownership through debt. As an embedded phenomenon within the Norwegian society, the paradox is influenced by different trends that link to the nation’s view on itself, dynamics of the capitalist economy and pressures from an increasingly complex life.

The empirical data indicates that motives that involve the second home as an ‘escape’ from the everyday life, or that it gives peace and quiet, are among the main reasons for the respondents to own a second home. The data shows that up to 41 percent of owners among respondents have debt financed their most used second home.

Different categories of motives are found and while the category of ‘recreation’ shows positive relationship with debt financing the category of ‘family memories’ have a negative association. This indicates that mechanisms of the second home ownership paradox can be located in the empirical survey data, but also that for respondents that associate family memories to their ownership, debt is less likely, maybe because inheritance is more likely in such cases. Finally, a variable that can measure the relative burden of debt is constructed. The ‘debt burden’ value indicates that for those owing a second home worth above NOK 2.5 million there is a negative relationship with the motive category of ‘recreation’ which indicate that motives for people in high income groups are predominantly other than recreation, e.g. investment, conspicuous consumption or second homes as status symbols.

The second home ownership paradox is, as a conclusion, located through the empirical data, which also shows that “escape”-motives are correlated with second home ownership debt. The paper argues that if a sustainable development trajectory of the current phenomenon is to be obtained, knowledge about the second home ownership paradox, and knowledge about how it is connected to the society as a whole, is important.

Main contribution

The empirical investigation into the theoretical argument of a Norwegians second home ownership paradox is the major concern here. The paper establishes empirical evidence that second home owners in the Greater Oslo area to some extent become owners by obtaining debt in the form of a bank loan. For the debt financed second home owner, there is a positive correlation with motives for ownership associated with recreational purposes. The survey data therefore indicate that some second home owners in the region of Greater Oslo might be situated in a paradoxical relation between the desire for recreation and a bank loan. Such empirical investigation have never been carried out before in research and it is therefore a major contribution, especially to research concerning second homes. However also other areas of research could benefit from the findings, e.g. tourism research, because second home ownership is often argued to be a sustainable form of tourism and the existence of an economic and household preference paradox is problematic from a social sustainability perspective.

4.3 Article three: Neoliberalism articulated through Norwegian second homes – and the iatrogenic second home planning

The current phenomenon of Norwegian second homes has been shaped by the general development trends of society. The neoliberal economic agenda has been one such development trend to which the second home phenomenon has been submerged. Despite various planning efforts, the current development cannot be considered sustainable. This article explores, through a literature and document study, the influences of the neoliberal economic agenda on second home planning and uses a contemporary case study to exemplify the current planning situation. The examination of the Norwegian second home phenomenon through the lens of neoliberalism, theories of a geography of capitalism and the concept of iatrogenic planning discloses two development tracks. First, a material development where second homes have been transformed from simple to being commodified. Second, an institutional development in which developments have changed from convivial towards a technocratically steered process.

Through a case study of the municipality of Trysil, a contemporary second home planning context is examined. Basically, it shows that planners have difficulties in enforcing a more environmentally friendly development. At several occasions, the interviewed planners had experienced that despite intentions to carry out an environmentally friendly planning, as they saw it, development interests were able to push such considerations out of plans. Such cases are, among others, leap-frog development of new second home areas, abandoning of a protective boundary towards recreational areas, desire to develop an airport close by, and (possibly) postponement of a second home development strategy. This is all despite the aim of becoming “the North’s leading sustainable year-around tourist destination”. The article ends with a short discussion resulting in the conclusion that in order for the Norwegian second home phenomenon to become more sustainable, also paying attention to cultural aspects, even more regulation of second home development might be needed. Such regulations would, however necessarily have to be enforced on a higher level than the local municipal level in order to prevent to inter-municipal competition.

Main contribution

The contribution of this article is two-fold. First, there is an in-depth analysis of some of the underlying mechanisms of the transformation of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in the post-war period. The focus is mainly on structural mechanisms, which have not been in focus in second home research before. Second, it offers a case study of planning in the municipality of Trysil and how it might have been

influenced by a neoliberal agenda. The focus on how the mechanisms of neoliberalism have shaped the second home phenomenon and contributed to push it into a less sustainable direction, is new to research.

The article conceptualizes the second home planning of the period as being iatrogenic because planning has introduced regulations for environmental concern, which leads to enforcing some environmental issues but at the same time introducing new such problems. The main analysis of the transformation of the phenomenon is conceptualized as going from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified. This conceptualization offers new perspectives to an evaluation of the phenomenon as a whole, as being sustainable or not. The empirical investigation establishes reason to argue that planning for second homes in Norwegian outer region municipalities relying on ski-tourism is under influence of the ideas of neoliberalism.

5 Synthesis of the thesis argument

The focus in this chapter will be to reflect on the contribution of the thesis as a whole. The conclusions from the three articles will be put forth and discussed holistically, thus answering the main research question: *How do certain political-economic driving forces and cultural conditions affect the Norwegian second home phenomenon?* When asking such a question, different basic concepts should be clarified. One such is the meta-theoretical position on which the research is based. I introduce critical realism because I believe it has a rich ontology that can provide for an expansion of the research field and include a level of reality not before pondered on. Critical realism also provides a methodological framework, namely the RRREI(C) schema from which I develop a theoretical and methodological framework. I believe that the introduction of the critical realist ontology as well as the application of the RRREI(C) schema is one of the main contributions of the thesis, to research in general, but especially in the research area of second homes on which it, to my knowledge, has not been applied before. This will be discussed in relation to the other finding of the thesis.

In order to investigate the research question a set of sub-question were asked, starting with:

(1) What are the main components of the Norwegian second home phenomenon?

The reason to ask this, besides it being the first step in the RRREI(C) schema, is to make a comprehensible overview of the phenomenon as a preliminary illustration of the phenomenon, and to direct attention to the areas of research. A list of interrelated elements, or what critical realists call a laminated system, is shown in section 3.2. I will not reiterate the list here, as I do not consider it as a final list, however it has proven fruitful for my work. The list has been altered slightly, with a couple of additions, since it was first introduced in article 1. This does, however, not alter the results from that article.

To Bhaskar et al. (2018), the step to resolute the phenomenon into its components, (in their use of the RRREI(C) schema in an interdisciplinary study on HIV education, with the aim of using existing literature) was “a preliminary exercise [in which] a multidisciplinary literature review was carried out”. Their laminated system was therefore made up of already existing knowledge (theory) related to the research topic. Their anticipation was that high numbers of HIV could be explained by an already existing, particular cultural theory, however having to realize that this was not the case, they turned to the DREI(C)³⁴ schema instead. Here the creative process of retroduction is central, which as mentioned is the process of generating new theories about underlying mechanisms and structures, though thought operations. Thereby they managed to describe the high number of HIV in terms of a new theory. This is different from what I did.

In my research, I have regarded the driving mechanisms and structures of the development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon as theoretically underdeveloped. As a first step, I therefore asked, “what *must* the phenomenon consist of, in terms of components, in order to exist, in the form it does now?” I thus started with a rather retroductive question. The introductory chapter leads up to this question, including an initial description of the phenomenon and could therefore be considered as an

³⁴ (D) describing a pattern of event or a phenomenon, (R) retroduction of the possible explanatory mechanisms and structures, (E) eliminating competing alternative explanations, (I) identification of the causally efficacious generative mechanisms or structures and (C) iterative correction of earlier findings.

application of the DREIC schema. In the introductory chapter, there is a particular focus on (D) describing the pattern of the phenomenon and framing it in relation to the research topic, discovering voids in existing knowledge that result in underdeveloped understanding of drivers behind the development of the phenomenon. Discovering voids in existing research, can in a sense also be considered as a (R) retroductive process in which unexplained phenomena or events are retroduced back to their antecedent states of affairs, on a more general level. Especially, it is noted that there seems to be insufficient knowledge about the different drivers on a structural level.

Current research (as well as official documents) seems to emphasise the actor level drivers for the continued development of the phenomenon. However, according to the critical realist so called transformational model of social activity, it is necessary to think in terms of two levels, both agency and structure. Social structures always exert influence on the agent either enabling or constraining them, but agents also exert influence on structures either reproducing or transforming them. So this is the point of the creative process in DREI(C) where I argue, based on (R) and the ontology of critical realism, that there must also exist some form of structural influence on the phenomenon, although it seems to be underdeveloped in literature so far. With this knowledge, one main contribution of this thesis has been to try to balance the overestimated focus on agency as main driver, introducing different political-economic theories on a macro-level of societal structures.

Bringing these (mainly) structural drivers into focus, it is possible to realize different new perspectives related to the structural level as well as to the interplay between structures and agency. Based on these perspectives, new theories can be formed. What I call the Norwegian second home ownership paradox is one. Based on a historical analysis of planning and political-economic structural changes, I also conceptualize the development of the phenomenon as going from simple and convivial to technocratic and commodified. I also describe planning as having been iatrogenic, as a result of both the desire to use second home as a means to economic development and the introduction of regulations to protect the environment. These two new conceptualizations have consequences to the extent to which the phenomenon, as it is, can be deemed sustainable, as well as to whether the present development of the phenomenon can be considered sustainable.

Likewise, there seems to be a focus, in previous research, on spatial planning as an effective instrument to handle various side-effects related to second home development, especially environmental issues. However, I argue that when planning is influenced by a neoliberal agenda, favouring a liberal development over regulations that protect the environment, under-resourced planning officers might not be capable to handle such pressures.

After generating knowledge about which components the Norwegian second home phenomenon consist of, I asked the second question:

How have these components changed, related to sustainability?

This question is a general theme in all the three articles. While the first article focuses on changes related to the economic development of second home ownership, the focuses of the two other articles is slightly different. The second article, empirically investigating the second home ownership paradox, presents the economic analysis from the first article again, but develops the changes of the phenomenon related to the socio-cultural in more detail. It does so by opposing the idealising story about a 'true' Norwegian lifestyle (i.e. the good Norwegian life) encompassing ownership or use of a 'cabin', against a partly commercialized reality. The third article develops more in detail the relation between the changed

phenomenon as a whole, societal changes and changes to planning. For all articles, an underlying understanding of the material changes, the phenomenon has undergone and its effects on sustainability, is a central theme. In the introductory chapter, I present the main changes to the three domains of the economic, material and socio-cultural descriptively, based on already existing literature. The focus was to redescribe the phenomenon in an explanatory significant manner, with a new frame of interpretation (that of a particular understanding of sustainability). However, not all the individual components were redescribed through those sections. E.g., the change related to planning institutions, I develop in the third article, as part of the analysis there. After the redescription, which was based both on theoretical contributions and existing knowledge, I asked the question:

Holistically, what are the main drivers behind these changes?

Largely, this question has been answered through further development of the theoretical framework. I see the theoretical analysis as one major contribution to the field of research into Norwegian second homes. I believe that the theoretical model that I describe in the following table 5 also to a high degree can be applied to the second home phenomenon in at least other Nordic countries, but maybe also to other western countries. The empirical investigations into the second home ownership paradox and of how neoliberalism has influenced second home planning are inquiries into the consistencies of the theories. I find no evidence that the theories should be rejected.

In table 5, the drivers behind the changing phenomenon are sketched out. As was discussed in the theoretical chapter, I believe that the main (structural) drivers behind the changes are linked to the capitalist system's need for economic growth, a system whose philosophical discourse can be dated back to, at least, Descartes' famous 'cogito ergo sum'. Within the capitalist system, one very important ingredient is the circulation of capital. Growth can happen if circulation moves faster. In the post-war period, different barriers to the circulation of capital within the second home phenomenon can be argued to have been overcome in order for the phenomenon to be as it is today. The main barriers that this thesis has dealt with are of financial, socio-cultural and institutional as well as (to some extent) space and time, and material barriers.

In relation to financial or economic barriers, this thesis has mainly been dealing with the seemingly discrepancy between the high cost of second homes and average annual salary. Related to this barrier, the mechanisms behind the bank loan have been investigated as well as the history behind the neoliberalization of the banking sector. Neoliberalization resulted in a greater number of people being able to take up loans, which again resulted in increasing housing prices. For some second home owners, this added value of their primary dwelling was used to take up loans to support the purchase of a second home.

As for barriers within the socio-cultural domain to be overcome, I have investigated in part the individual motives for second home ownership and use and to some extent the transformed meaning of the ideals of the simple lifestyle at the second home (Aall et al., 2011). Traditionally, a 'simple' lifestyle used to refer to simple material living (i.e. rather primitive, with no water and electricity) imitating the traditional rural lifestyles through outdoor recreational activities (friluftsliv) such as fishing, picking berries, long walks in the mountains, chopping wood, building a cabin etc. In opposition, the term 'simple' is increasingly being used to signify convenient living, free from laborious tasks, installing modern electronic devices to do domestic tasks. Related to the socio-cultural domain, I also make the case that second home ownership and use is often presented as a 'true' Norwegian lifestyle, in the sense that the practice is a cultural

tradition that dates back to Norwegian ancestors. Connected to this idealised story about second home living, is the presentation of second home use as an escape from the harsh realities of modern (urban) living, which Faarlund (2003) argues to be a necessary part of the unfulfilling modern life. The concept of pseudocomplexity (or Disneyland effect) quite well describes the reasons why the escape from the urban life is thought satisfied through the high standard, modern second home. I would argue that the popular story about the second home, as being something 'authentic', is part of the creation of the pseudocomplexity that modern second home areas represent. For Kvaløy (1973), such pseudocomplexities are part of the industrial growth society's mechanisms of dulling people into believing that they experience real complexity and performing *friluftsliv*.

Therefore, I empirically investigated which ownership motives second home owners living in the Oslo metropolitan area would indicate among a certain set of motives, both traditional ones and more recent (e.g. ownership is important to keep job). I then investigated how motives for ownership were related to second home ownership financed by debt. The results indicate a relationship between 'escape' motives and debt, which ultimately confirms an existence of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox.

Table 5, main mechanisms behind the changes within the Norwegian second home phenomenon, as discussed in the thesis, and some conceptualizations.

Philosophical discourse of modernity: mind-body dualism --> atomistic egocentrism, abstract universality and human ownership over nature				
Capitalism: Capitalist system with coercive laws of competition and inherent economic growth imperative				
A need to reduce barriers for the circulation of capital				
Space and time	Financial	Socio-cultural	Institutional	Material form of second home
Geographical expansion through time-space compression: - release of car ownership - improved roads	Contradiction between production cost and realisation - increased availability of bank loans	Cultural traditions and notion of the good life: - From simple to convenient	Second home planning: - Increasing regulations - neoliberalism influence on planning process	- Increased use of materials
Second home ownership paradox			Iatrogenic planning	
(Spatiality of banking)				
From convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified				

As for the institutional barriers, the case for reducing them is a bit more peculiar. The planning system and its regulations have become stricter since second home developments took pace. Regulations have especially been imposed to reduce landscape and environmental impacts from second home developments. I argue, however, that such regulations might have solved some issues related to the environment (e.g. sewage and waste management), but seemingly have not solved issues related to landscape impact, satisfactorily. On the other hand, such regulations, which impose a minimum set of standards (in order to protect environment) might inadvertently have caused increased material use and enabled a changed use. This has in turn resulted in greater environmental impact from use of energy, materials and landscape. As such, it is a case of iatrogenic planning in which the problems it set out to solve, have unintentionally increased, albeit, to some extent, in a changed fashion.

Although regulations to an otherwise regulation-free area have been imposed, still some options for easing barriers from the institution of planning have been possible. This has taken place through planning processes influenced by the neoliberal agenda. Through a case study of planning for second home developments in the municipality in Trysil, I argue that development in several cases has been prioritized over stronger enforcement of environmentally friendly planning.

One major barrier in Norway is the physical distances between urban settlements and areas of recreational interest. Such distances have through different initiatives been reduced, in terms of the time it takes to cover the geographical distance. The abolishment of restrictions on car ownership and improved roads have been two major contributors for making it possible to develop second homes in areas remote from larger urban settlements.

Underlying and related to the other barriers is the material form of the second home, which in the beginning of the post-war period was called 'cabins' for a reason. It mostly relates to the social perceptions of how a second home should physically appear. The introduction of minimum standards through planning regulations (e.g. sewage, waste management, insulation, materials and car parking)³⁵ have also introduced the architectural experts into designing second homes, after which the individual personalized task of constructing a cabin have become less socially accepted. As Langdalen argued in 1965, the planning of a second home is (or should be) 'a demanding architectural task', but as he gets to the conclusion that it is unreasonable for every cabin to have an architect designing it, he calls for "good, thoroughly worked through type-drawings for cabins" (p. 30) that is suitable for assembly-packages. He goes on to develop a set of detailed principles for such pre-fabricated second home drawings (e.g. angle of as well as dark colours of roof, uncomplicated window and door solutions and material for outer walls). It ushers a period of design and standards set by experts, which reduces the otherwise creative aspects of second home ownership. This may reduce any health benefits of second home ownership. For example, Harvey (2001b) argues that creativity is an essential arena for social wellbeing of people in the capitalist society, as people are stripped of their possibility for creativity during working hours.

A better understanding of the underlying mechanisms of change leads to the fourth research sub-question, in which I wish to sum up the changed phenomenon and therefore ask:

How can these changes be conceptualized?

As a result of the changes and the underlying mechanisms, I argue that the transformation that the Norwegian second home phenomenon has undergone can be conceived as going from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified. The technocratization, but especially the commodification of the phenomenon and the related high cost of ownership, have resulted in the second home ownership paradox. Despite the technocratization of second home developments, the impacts to landscape and environment have not diminished satisfactorily. Second home planning rather shows an example of iatrogenic planning, probably because the planning process is influenced by a neoliberal agenda, as well as fundamental structures of capitalism.

³⁵ In some municipalities, including Trysil, there are also regulations of the floor area size of second homes. In Trysil, second home development areas are divided into three different types of maximum 90 sq.m., 120 sq.m. or 200 sq.m. In reality, these size limits rather work as a minimum size standards, because developers want maximum profit from their investments, and therefore do not develop smaller second homes than the regulations let possible.

These conceptualizations contributes to a more complex understanding of the Norwegian second home phenomenon on all parameters of sustainability. In terms of a contribution to the knowledge about economic aspects of second homes development, it mainly comes forth as a critique. In previous research both internationally, but especially in Norway, a positive perspective on second home developments in terms of economic contribution to local communities often stands out. For example, Overvåg (2009, p. 72) concludes that “recreational urban growth³⁶ is a significant and underestimated opportunity for development in rural societies which have ‘lost’ in the traditional battle for permanent residents, but who are winners in an increasingly mobile society characterised by peripatetic lifestyles.”. In a similar vein, Marjavaara (2008, p. 51) concludes in her study on second homes as causes for rural exclusion in Sweden that “instead of blaming second homes for causing depopulation, planning and future research should aim at studying the positive effects and opportunities related to multiple place attachments, since the ongoing increase in mobility is unlikely to fade.” My conceptualization of a second home ownership paradox shows that second home municipalities might experience opportunities and ‘win’ in economic terms, but also that there is an increasing possibility that the individual household is at risk of being indebted, which has consequences on two dimensions, both economic and social.

Another contribution is related to the concept of iatrogenic second home planning. Iatrogenic planning is when, for example, regulations are intended to solve some environmental problems, but instead cause rebound and side effects. Such rebound and side effects are also related to the basic structures of economic growth. This knowledge can be used in second home research outside Norway as well as related to Norwegian planning. I believe the conceptualization points at some pitfalls, if the answer to problems related to second home developments is more planning or strategies of ecological modernization. As I have shown in the analysis, if this planning rests on a shallow analysis of the underlying mechanisms that seem to drive the phenomenon forwards (e.g. many Norwegians wishes to become second home owners), then more (of the same sort) regulations will certainly not be enough.

The description of the transformation undergone by the phenomenon in the post-war period as going from convivial and simple to being technocratic and commodified relates to all the parameters of sustainability. The formulation of the transformation from simple to commodified, is not new, as the material development of Norwegian second homes is often an issue in research (Overvåg 2009, Aall, 2011). As Overvåg (2009) side-lines commodification with (economic) re-resourcing (as the quote from previous also conveys) Aall (2011), analyses and criticizes the environmental impacts of the commodification process. The contribution of this thesis is to holistically highlight the potential economic as well as environmental consequences of the commodification process. In addition, I argue that this process has been paralleled with a transformation of the socio-cultural institutions of the original phenomenon, which has severe consequences to the potentials for individual complex personal development through second home ownership.

Underlying these concepts and their consequences is an understanding of how mechanisms of economic growth both seem to influence and benefit from these changes. Also underlying is an understanding of how the changes represented by the concepts have severe consequences to the environment.

³⁶ As signified through a household’s routinized use of second home(s), also conceptualized as the multiple-dwelling home household.

As a last research question I ask:

What does this new knowledge have to offer to planning?

I wish here to discuss a changed frame for planning, rather than specific regulations, if a less unsustainable second home phenomenon should be reached. The discussion here relates to changing planning of second home development and not to changing the philosophical discourse of modernity or overturning capitalism. The proposals here are therefore still to be seen within that context. Some of the proposed changes to the phenomenon will nevertheless probably seem very radical to mainstream agendas of the phenomenon, which is why I will spend a few lines on discussing the overall aim of the proposed changes.

A main theme throughout the thesis has been the unsustainable development of the second home phenomenon, especially with regards to environmental issues. It might be argued that second home development, for the sake of recreational use, is an environmentally unsustainable practice altogether, but some of the socio-cultural aspects make it difficult to argue completely against the motives behind the phenomenon. The main aim with reconfiguring the frame of planning is therefore to obtain an environmentally friendly development in the future and possibly transformation of the current second home stock. I have also argued that the current development has implications for sustainability in terms of both socio-cultural and economic aspects, but I believe that obtaining environmental sustainability also leads to aspects of socio-cultural and economic sustainability.

I have showed how the current strategies of ecological modernization do not meet the demands for an environmentally sustainable development of the phenomenon. In fact, the strategy only seems to be part of enforcing some of the problematic issues. Simultaneously, the pressures of economic growth also leads to increased material standards and environmentally harmful practices. Changed material and economic conditions inevitably also changes the social practices of the phenomenon. Therefore, there is a need for a radically different strategy if the current transformation of the phenomenon should be rolled back and result in a less environmentally harmful phenomenon, that maybe also stays true to the original socio-cultural traditions (and health benefits) while decreasing the economic pressures imposed by material standards. In other words, the aim is to change the phenomenon so that it becomes similar to the original convivial attractions, through creatively self-built low-impact cabins, but in a way that respect the environment both locally and globally.

Ivan Illich (1973/2009, p. 11) describes conviviality as the “autonomous and creative intercourse among persons, and the intercourse of persons with their environment; and this in contrast with the conditioned response of persons to the demands made upon them by others, and by a man-made environment”. As such, conviviality represent the opposite of industrial production and is an intrinsically ethical value (we might e.g. argue that Faarlund’s (2003) perception of *friluftsliv* is the convivial counterpart to a modern concept of outdoor recreation). Illich relates conviviality to the concept of tools and argues that many tools of society no longer serve the original purpose intended by the tool, but rather serve the agendas of the industrial growth society. Illich argues, that in this process, a threshold is passed. This is on many notes similar to what Kvaløy (1973) argues in his distinction between the ‘industrial growth society’ and what he calls ‘life necessities society’, the former a society in which the potential complexity of each individual

has been separated into parts and outsourced to career specialists and then the individual life becomes complicated instead of complex³⁷ (Kvaløy, 1973).

If we take the original structure of the cabin to be a tool for personal creativity and recreation and its modern counterpart as an industrially produced commodity devised by a body of experts, the transformation of the Norwegian second home phenomenon could be argued to have passed this threshold. The modern second home phenomenon now serves the interest of economic growth by being a commodity invented and orchestrated by experts and the ‘needs’ it satisfies, are narrated through popular media.

Illich then argues, that in order to reverse such development there is a need to acknowledge the fundamental structures of western societies, in which liberty can be interpreted to be limitless individual or private use of tools. As is now becoming more and more recognized, the limitless use of tools threatens the livelihood of people around the world, through multiple and interrelated economic, ecological and normative (moral and political) crises (Næss and Price, 2016). As such, Illich argues, much like Naomi Klein (2014), that we can either stand idly by to let the crisis dictate future responses, or act now and decide ourselves what kind of future we want to live in. According to critical realist ontology, both forms, both inaction and action, is a form of action, as also discussed in relation to the transformational model of social activity and the four-planar social being. As part of the dialectical critical realism, Bhaskar argues for being as incorporating transformative praxis. The consequence might seem banal, but nevertheless true: it is up to human agency to resolve the contradictions and dilemmas of social life (Bhaskar, 2016) or knowingly stand by.

To Illich, it is important that limits are not defined by institutionalized bureaucracy, but through a democratic and political process³⁸. This is also why I would like to refrain from giving specific regulatory advice to second home planning. I would, however, like to discuss some basic frame from which discussion could begin. The frame I propose involves, basically, three proposals:

1. Nationally steered process for determining new second home developments that centre them preferably in places with good public transport, and
2. Impose regulations that set up material limits – rather than setting minimum standards and dictating visual impressions, and
3. Consider different forms of ownership

Letting national planning authority determine future development will resolve the inter-municipal competition for developments. It will, however, also result in municipalities where economic

³⁷ i.e. Kvaløy’s definition of complex. For example he states: “if you are looking for what has really happened, psychologically and socially, to the lives of the majority of individuals when their society passed from [life necessities society] to [industrial growth society] ... is that in [industrial growth society] division of labor is confused with spiritual, social, and cultural complexity ... Each person came near to complete self-sufficiency and self-reliance, given a minimum of natural resources. To be so fit required of her or him the development of a broad spectrum of talents both intellectual, intuitional, emotional, and practical. Modern women and men have been robbed of the kind of work that brought this out, of work as the everyday catalyst to the unfolding of human complexity.” (Kvaløy 1993, p. 124)

³⁸ Illich gives three requirements for this to be able. One is that people should be educated about the current crisis system of society and come to realize that limits to development is necessary, but also desirable (through conviviality); two, that enough people should be included in organizations that claim a right to live by conviviality; and three, to discover and revalue political or legal tools of society to be able to establish and protect convivial life.

development relying on second homes is not possible. On the other hand, this will allow for other activities, or nature, to prosper and should not necessarily be considered a problem. By concentrating second home development in fewer places, such places should be able to handle individualized developments (that might not be judged as 'harmonic' by the architect), visual impacts on landscape as well as impacts on the local ecology.

Imposing regulations that set up limits to development rather than enforcing minimum standards could reinstate creativity and self-build cabins. In some cases and if people's economic resources are not limited, setting maximum standards could mean that those standards would often also become the minimum people would want to develop. In the end, however, such limits to the material development will mean degrowth per capita³⁹ to the phenomenon, but only if limits are also imposed to existing second homes. The consequence of imposing limits on existing second homes could imply that when, in the future, renovations are necessary, such renovations will have to abide to set limits.

Normally, high living standards are associated with human wellbeing. However, in the case of Norwegian second homes, material simplicity and austerity at least used to be a main aim of having second homes. The present escape motives also give reason to believe that not only change in location, but also change in material standards would act as more relaxing than a high-standard, modern second home that is more or less a copy of the primary home, in terms of size and equipment. A changed material standard would probably also change the use pattern of the second home and might result in fewer but longer stays.

New forms of ownership could be based on a collective sharing of portions of or the entire stock of second homes, or it could entail a shared ownership scheme with only a few households. The aim of new forms of ownership is to open up the phenomenon and include all Norwegians, not only for those who can afford a one household private ownership. This, together with low and equal material standards, will reintroduce the phenomenon as egalitarian. If more people were included into the phenomenon, it would, however, increase travel, which is why second home areas should be accessible by public transport.

The above brief introduction to a changed frame for planning, should, as stated, be considered as a point of departure for discussion, rather than a thoroughly orchestrated set of regulations invented by a single person sitting in front of a computer behind university walls.

5.1 Critical reflection on the thesis

In this section, I reflect shortly on shortcomings of the thesis. I reflect on methodological, theoretical and empirical choices.

Methodological

The methodological application of the RRREI(C) schema in the first article was the first time I became acquainted with that approach. Looking back, some of the ways in which I applied the different steps may have been different from what the model intends. I did, in the first article, not reflect much on the application of the steps of elimination and identification. In this thesis, I have tried to remedy this by discussing the latter two steps in relation to both theoretical and empirical rejection and/or affirmation of the different (theoretical) understandings of the phenomenon or event in question. Also, in the first article I took the step of correction to be a matter of correction of previous research and the knowledge it conveys. However, as I argue in this thesis, the step of correction is rather internal to the research

³⁹ Or maybe even in total, which will imply that existing second homes would need to be demolished and/or when new second homes are to be developed existing ones would need to be demolished.

process and therefore not directed at previous research. The entire process of research conducted through the RRREI(C) or the result of the schema, in its entirety, is the contribution to research.

As already mentioned in separate occasions, Bhaskar has developed three (that I know of) different models for scientific inquiry, namely the DREI(C) (pure scientific activity), the RRREI(C) (scientific discovery of applied science) and the RRRIREI(C) (explorative investigation). Throughout the thesis, I have deployed the RRREI(C) schema, but not strictly, as I have been interchanging the intended retrodiction, with retrodution at the third R. I did this because it has been difficult to completely rule out retrodution in this research project. Bhaskar (2016) also acknowledges this issue and therefore he develops the RRRIREI(C) model that distinguishes between the thought operation of retrodution (here the third R) and retrodiction (the fourth R). The model then becomes (Bhaskar, 2016):

Resolution, abductive Redescription, Retrodution (RRR)
Inference of the best explanation – most likely mechanism or complex (I)
Retrodiction, Elimination, Identification of antecedents, and Correction (REIC)

I suppose that I would also have been able to narrate the scientific argument of the thesis, in accordance with this more elaborate model. I chose not to, because I was not familiar with it until after I developed the main ideas of the thesis and therefore already decided on a line of argument. Anyway, I do not believe that the end result would have changed significantly, if I were to have followed the more elaborate model. In addition, it might not have been necessary to narrate the research process as a step by step process following the schema, but I have found it suitable because I was then able to discuss methodological considerations along with the development of the main arguments.

The decision to keep following the RRREI(C) model and interchange retrodiction and retrodution, might have caused some form of confusion to the reader. However, I hope any confusion has not been too disruptive to the arguments put forth in relation to these steps. I believe they have not.

Theoretical

The theoretical explanation of critical realist ontology, has taken up considerable portions of the thesis. I believe that this is one of the strong aspects of the thesis, but it might have excluded other theoretical aspects. It is, however, difficult to discuss omitted theories, because I believe that I have applied the ones that have the greatest explanatory potential in relation to the different aspects of the thesis. That mentioned, I fully agree that if more time were available, more aspects of the critique of capitalism put forth by David Harvey and the Nordic ecophilosophers throughout his works, would have proven useful.

Another (specific) theoretical aspect that I did not develop fully throughout the articles is the concept of the Disneyland effect coined by Sigmund Kvaløy (1973). One reason for this might be that I used secondary sources for the concept when writing the articles, and thereby I only superficially was able to grasp the consequence of Kvaløy's arguments. I hope that I have been able to remedy partly on this through the thesis chapters.

What I regret the most, however, is that I did not in due time get into the later developments of the critical realist ontology i.e. dialectical critical realism and the philosophy of meta-reality. I to some extent apply dialectical critical realism, but more aspects of this phase, might also have proven valuable. In relation to the application of the philosophy of meta-reality, which Bhaskar argues to be dealing with bringing change about, thus the being of the becoming (Bhaskar, 2012) might have proven valuable to the later parts of

the thesis, in which I look forward and discuss a transition of the current development trajectory of second homes towards a more sustainable trajectory.

As a last point, I want to mention that throughout the thesis, I have not been relying much on international second home research. If I had done that to a greater extent, the analysis would likely have benefitted. There are, however, several reasons why I did not include international research to a higher degree. As a first point, is that what I wished to investigate was the Norwegian phenomenon, and there is already considerable empirical research and some theoretical development that also points at international findings for comparison. Secondly, I find that the issues I discuss are more or less absent in research, both internationally and related to a Norwegian context. One reason for this might be the critical nature of the analytical focus, and another reason might be the critical realist methodology, which opens up some unfamiliar concepts, compared to previous research.

Empirical methods

In relation to the empirical methods, I believe that there are two sets of drawbacks to the knowledge production through the applied methods.

Firstly, I could have used the interviews of second home owners much more for uncovering their motives for second home ownership. This would have improved the understanding of motives with more in-depth and complex knowledge that goes beyond the descriptions of motives in the survey questionnaire. As mentioned, these interviews were carried out in as part of a different research project (SPAVACC), and I did not ask specific questions dedicated at the research questions of this thesis, because the questions would have been off topic for these interviews and prolonged them too much. Still, more knowledge from these interviews could have been drawn upon or at least been visible in the analysis. However, since the research project the interviews were intended at had not yet arrived at a stage of interpreting the interviews when I needed to use them, this also proved a barrier for applying the knowledge from the interviews. Had I been able to conduct interviews with second home owners responding to my own questionnaire survey, more specific questions directed at debt, second home ownership and motives would have proven much valuable.

Second, the case study of the municipality of Trysil presented in the third article might have been carried out differently. As mentioned already in the preface, this project had a different objective at the beginning of the PhD period, focusing on planning for sustainable second home developments. The aim was to investigate two case studies from the perspective of sustainable second home planning. After conducting these case studies, it turned out that my research would have a slightly different perspective. The data collected still proved relevant, but of course, if the case studies had been carried out with the new focus of my research in mind, the application of the cases would have been qualitatively better. That mentioned, I believe that the data from the case study in Trysil have proved much valuable in the analysis of neoliberalism as influential to the planning process.

For the third article, it might have been better to split the theoretical conceptualization and the case study into two different articles and then use more resources on developing a larger set of data for the analysis of the influences of neoliberalism on the planning process. Still, I consider the contribution of that article as relevant to the research into Norwegian second homes and to some extent to research of the outreach of neoliberal agendas.

6 Concluding remarks

This thesis started with a concern for the environmental challenges that are brought forth by the Norwegian second home phenomenon and argued that in order to resolve these issues, a better understanding of how the phenomenon is related to societal structures in general is needed. Therefore, the main research question was formulated, which asked, *how do certain political-economic driving forces and cultural conditions affect the Norwegian second home phenomenon?* As a basis for investigating this, a critical realist ontology has been chosen, which also guides a methodology through the RRREI(C) schema. Further, a theoretical frame was developed that relies on certain assumptions about the capitalist society as well as some socio-cultural aspects of the Norwegian society. The theoretical frame was supported by empirical investigation through a questionnaire survey and a case study of planning in the municipality of Trysil.

Informed by the critical realist ontology, the theoretical frame and the knowledge generated through the empirical investigations, this thesis has argued that a multiplicity of drivers seem to affect the continued development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in ways that are increasingly unsustainable. Different mechanisms of the capitalist society, through the need to continued increasing circulation of capital, have overcome barriers to such circulation. This thesis has in particular investigated economic, socio-cultural and institutional barriers but also space and time and the material form of the cabin have acted as barriers to the circulation of capital. By focusing on how the mechanisms of capitalism have overcome such barriers, the analysis has described a changed second home phenomenon in terms of these different aspects.

I have conceptualized the changed phenomenon as going from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified. While the process from convivial to simple has included iatrogenic planning, the transition from simple to commodified has increased the likelihood of households being subject to a second home ownership paradox. These conceptualizations serve as a critical commentary of the current development of Norwegian second homes related to different aspects of sustainability, such as the economic and social aspects. Since all social actions rest on our natural foundation i.e. nature, these changes also have consequences to the environmental aspects of sustainability.

My aim has therefore been to supplement research on Norwegian second homes with a much-needed critical voice and question the popular opinion of second homes as positive contributors. The widespread conceptualization of a win-win situation, where satisfying a culturally formed motivation for second home ownership, contributes to the much needed economic rural development with environmental (mostly landscape) impacts, adequately dealt with through spatial planning, is in many ways rebutted by this thesis. While needs to escape the stressful urban life, increasingly seems to be satisfied through a pseudocomplexity designed by experts, increasing material standards have economic consequences to the individual household. The rural development opportunity, therefore potentially have a twofold consequence to the social life of second home owners, both related to their need to relax from every day urban life as well as to economic pressures from second home ownership. Likewise, the reliance on planning to be able to handle environmental consequences of second home development is at best naive unless underlying drivers of the present development are taken into account.

The thesis therefore argues for an inversion of the approach to second home developments, if a less unsustainable practice should take place in the future. The suggested new approach rests basically on a nationally steered process for allocating new second home developments, setting up limits to material standards, and reconsidering opening up for different ways of ownership. These proposals should merely be viewed as suggestions aimed at a continued debate for sustainable second home developments.

Second home development needs, however, to be further problematized in relation to many different aspects of sustainability and the critical perspective should enter mainstream political discourse if a transition of the phenomenon is to be hoped for. The analysis and concepts put forth here might offer a starting point from which the basic conditions of planning could be discussed. If such basic conditions are not discussed and transformed, the continued reliance on planning for solving the multiplicity of environmental, economic and socio-cultural problems, originated in the modern second home phenomenon, will probably prove insufficient. At least, this is what history tells us.

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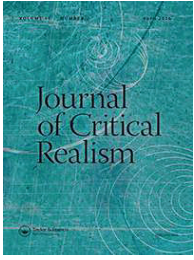
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Critical Realist Methodology Guiding Theory Development: The Case of the Norwegian Second Home Ownership Paradox

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Informed by a critical realist approach, this article criticizes the dearth of research on the question of the need for capital that prospective owners of modern Norwegian second homes are faced with. The main method used for theorizing capital need is the model for an applied explanatory science proposed by Bhaskar, the RRREIC schema, which helps us understand the necessary components of a second home transaction. This leads to an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon and specifically traces the mechanisms related to and activated by obtaining a bank loan. Through this a paradox arises and doubt is cast on the sustainability of a loan-based second home ownership. Besides uncovering this paradox, the article concludes that a research approach such as the RRREIC schema can provide expanded understanding of the mechanisms involved in Norwegian second home ownership.

KEYWORDS critical realism, housing debt, RRREIC, second home paradox, second homes

Introduction

The amount of capital needed for ownership of Norwegian second homes has increased rapidly over the last three decades. There are two main reasons for this: first, an increase in the quality of homes; and, second, a general inflation of second home prices. For rural municipalities in decline and for developers, increased prices and the concomitant increase in taxes and turnover are naturally of interest. Many studies have investigated the potential economic gains from second home developments.¹ However, the increased need for capital makes it difficult for some

¹ See e.g. Ericsson et al. 2010 for an overview.

Norwegians to gain access to second homes. Having a second home is deeply rooted in Norwegian traditions. Yet the increased need for capital faced by prospective owners has been understudied. The aim of this article is therefore to make a theoretical contribution, supported by some empirical material, to the question of the need for capital in order to nuance the debate on Norwegian second home ownership and sustainability. Theorization of the issues is pursued within the framework of the critical realist RRREIC² schema.

Although the problems of financing second home ownership have not been much researched, many studies have investigated the socio-economic background of second home owners and users. Not surprisingly, there is a clear positive effect of higher income and education on the likelihood of owning or using a second home in Norway.³ 75 per cent of households that earn more than 1.5 m NOK own or have access to a second home, while for households that earn less than 200,000 NOK a year the comparable figure is only 22 per cent.⁴ Yet the use of second homes in Norway is considerably more egalitarian than in other countries such as the United Kingdom, because a high proportion of all income and educational groups have access to second homes.⁵ As such, it has been argued that the Nordic second home phenomenon is an integral part of the social democratic welfare model.⁶

Norwegian researchers have also generated statistical analyses of several large second home municipalities and regions. Here analysis is focused on the use potentials of second homes (as an indicator of economic growth potential) based on a range of characteristics of second homes. Second home standards as well as amenities of second home areas such as service, recreation and shopping facilities have been focused on.⁷ While the purpose of these investigations is often to provide municipalities with knowledge about causes for local turnover, little attention seems to have been paid to the fact that higher income groups have more expensive second homes and use them more.⁸ Higher income groups thus also generate the highest potential turnover, even though spending while staying might not be related to household income. Conclusions on which factors contribute to high use of second homes (and therefore also higher spending in the second home municipalities) mostly relate to motives for ownership, second home standards, infrastructure, and closeness to primary dwelling and service facilities, while neglecting the importance of household income.

These studies consequently focus on only one factor, that of motives (or preference). They thus encourage second home municipalities to promote high standard second home developments, because high standard second homes seem to make people want to use them more. However, the analyses neglect the increased economic pressure that prospective as well as current owners will face, at least indirectly.

² Resolution, Redescription, Retrodiction, Elimination, Identification and Correction.

³ Rye and Berg 2011; Støa and Manum 2013.

⁴ Støa and Manum 2013.

⁵ Rye and Berg 2011.

⁶ Berg and Forsberg 2003.

⁷ Velvin 2003; Ericsson and Grefsrud 2005; Velvin 2006; Farstad et al. 2008; Ericsson et al. 2010; Flognfeldt 2012.

⁸ Støa and Manum 2013.

The focus on motives for ownership uncoupled from economic realities shows the one-sided nature of these analyses.

As mentioned, second homes in Norway have already undergone a rapid increase in physical standards or quality, something that also puts pressure on the environment.⁹ Second home municipalities that promote this thereby indirectly threaten the apparently egalitarian nature of the Norwegian second home phenomenon as well as the environment. Existing studies thus potentially encourage a misreading of the influences and impacts on the social dimension resulting from this growth in need for capital. As such, past studies can be said to be neo-classical economic analyses that take for granted the importance and desirableness of any form of economic development. This article thus tries to balance this misreading through applying critical realist ontology and heterodox economic analysis. As these theories deal with the ontological presuppositions of a given phenomenon they are more suitable for exploring the previously understudied aspects of second home ownership, criticizing and problematizing existing knowledge and thereby highlighting the consequences of new knowledge.

This study therefore explores the following question above all:

1. How can the need for capital that prospective second home owners face be theorized, based on a critical realist methodology?

Part of this study will also be devoted to exploring the possibility of using the critical realist methodology of the RRREIC schema. A second research question is therefore:

2. How relevant is the RRREIC schema for generating new knowledge about owners' need for capital in Norwegian second home ownership?

Method

As mentioned in the introduction, this study diverges from mainstream economic analyses in that the latter do not deal with ontology. This means they have difficulty describing reality, and hence are not successful in predicting future economic results.¹⁰ Indeed, Tony Lawson argues that dealing with ontology in economic analysis will allow for 'elaboration of as complete and encompassing as possible a conception of the broad nature and structure of (a relevant domain of) reality as appears feasible'.¹¹ This article will critically interpret Norwegian second home ownership from a heterodox economic perspective, with a focus on elaborating its ontology, so that a more holistic understanding of the overall sustainability of second home developments can be formed. Heterodox economics contrasts with the approach of mainstream economics, aiming for explanation rather than prediction as well as acknowledging economics as a social construct, which enables normative positions to be taken in relation to distribution, sustainability and ethical aspects.¹² In other words, heterodox economics rejects the 'truth-like' stand

⁹ Berker and Gansmo 2010; Gansmo et al. 2011; Jørgensen 2011; Stamnes 2011; Aall 2011; Aall et al. 2011.

¹⁰ Lawson 2003.

¹¹ Lawson 2003, xvi.

¹² Madsen 2004.

within mainstream economics of mathematical-deductivist modelling.¹³ A specific field of heterodox economics with which I align this article is bio-economics (as theorized by Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen), which has close ties to the Nordic eco-philosophical tradition.¹⁴

In this study, the main analytical approach is the critical realist method of the RRREIC schema proposed by Roy Bhaskar.¹⁵ The RRREIC schema serves as a guideline for a critical realist methodology dealing with interdisciplinary social science research. RRREIC is an acronym for

Resolution (R_1) of the phenomenon or event into its components, involving a multiplicity of causes that come together in a complex way to generate the phenomenon;

Redescription (R_2) of these component causes in an explanatorily significant way;

Retrodiction (R_3) of these causes to antecedently existing events or states of affairs;

Elimination of alternative explanations;

Identification of the generative causes; and

Correction of earlier findings in the light of this analysis.

As this schema offers an orienteering guideline only, I do not follow it slavishly but apply some steps while avoiding others when necessary for progressing my line of argument. The schema has, to my knowledge, not been applied extensively in explanatory research designs. Berth Danermark et al.,¹⁶ though, give one example of the use of an adapted model. The aim of this article is therefore both to apply the RRREIC schema and evaluate how well it enables the development of the specific research field investigated.

The main sources for this study are a literature review of existing research on the Norwegian second home phenomenon and statistical data from Statistics Norway, as well as theoretical contributions relevant to the theme of the study. However, the main source of building theory is the RRREIC schema, which provides a methodological framework based on the ontological and epistemological assumptions of critical realism. As is well known, critical realism does not presuppose a specific set of methods (distinct from, e.g., positivist social science), but argues for an understanding of knowledge (epistemology or the transitive dimension) as distinct from reality (ontology or the intransitive dimension); and a reality that consists of three domains (real, actual and the empirical) imparts a certain logic to the research process. The researcher studying intransitive objects and producing transitive fallible knowledge must move from the empirical level towards the real, trying to understand the causal powers that generate observable events.¹⁷ This is exactly what the RRREIC schema prescribes, including a suggestion of a subsequent move back to the empirical level for correction of the old knowledge and re-contextualization of the new.

¹³ Lawson 2003.

¹⁴ Bhaskar 2012.

¹⁵ Bhaskar 2008, 133, and 2010.

¹⁶ Danermark et al. 2002.

¹⁷ Bhaskar 1979; Danermark et al. 2002.

Such a process of acquiring in-depth knowledge about a phenomenon is carried out by different thought operations. Critical realists apply induction, deduction, abduction and retroduction, but put particular emphasis on the latter two. In addition, critical realists employ abstraction as a process of identifying the generative mechanisms involved in the production of a particular object.¹⁸ Critical realist ontology also argues that the world consists of open-systemic phenomena in which a multiplicity of causal mechanisms and structures operate simultaneously, causing or preventing events. Critical realism can, as such, facilitate a deepening of our understanding of the phenomenon of second home ownership.

Context and scope of study

As a preliminary to applying the RRREIC schema I here very briefly describe some of the economic developments in relation to the Norwegian second home phenomenon. Description is the first step in the critical realist model of theoretical scientific explanation (the DREIC¹⁹ schema).²⁰

The annual number of freely traded second homes²¹ and their aggregated purchasing price is shown in Figure 1 for the period 1992–2014 (index in the year 2000 = 100). The total, inflation-adjusted real purchase price increased by about 250 per cent, while the number of traded second homes increased by no more than 50 per cent from 2000–2014. This gives an indication of the increased value of second homes. In 2015 the average cost of a second home in Norway was approximately 1.5 m NOK (~ 180,000 EUR), that is, about three times as much as an average full-time annual salary. Empirical research has shown the relationship between annual salary and the value of second homes.²² Where annual salaries were 400,000–699,999 NOK the average value of the second home in 2008 was approximately 1.4 m NOK and where salaries were 700,000–999,999 NOK and 1 m–1.49 m the average value was approximately 1.54 m NOK and 1.88 m NOK, respectively. This relationship shows that the lower income groups have relatively more expensive second homes compared to their income. However, the relationship does not show how many second homes the members of each income group own.

In addition to the increased price of second homes, expenditures related to ownership increased by almost 600% from about 10,100 NOK in 1969²³ to about 59,000 NOK in 2008.²⁴ (In the first set of figures expenditures related to use have not been included²⁵ and inflation has been taken into account; in the second

¹⁸ Danermark et al. 2002.

¹⁹ Description, Retroduction, Elimination, Identification and Correction.

²⁰ Bhaskar 2010.

²¹ The number of freely traded second homes accounted for less than a third of the registered traded second homes in 2005 (Ericsson 2006). Second homes that are not freely traded include, among others, those acquired by inheritance and private sale. I have not been able to find any figures on how the number of homes in each of these categories compares to the number of freely traded second homes.

²² Støa and Manum 2013.

²³ Farstad and Dybedal 2011.

²⁴ Statistics Norway 1972.

²⁵ Expenditures related to activities during stays, e.g. skiing, boating, hunting, relaxing, snacks etc., were insignificant in 1969. In 2008, they accounted for about 25% of the total expenditures.



FIGURE 1 Freely traded second homes and the total real purchase price from 1992–2014 index: 2000 = 100²⁶

set, expenditures of a financial character are not included²⁷). From 1970 to 2008, real wages increased only by a little less than 100%, that is, far less than the increase in the aggregated price of the traded second homes as well as the increase in expenditures for ownership.²⁸ The fact that expenditures for capital cost, which I interpret to be down payment of loan and interest payments and the like and insurance, are not included in the 2008 figure weakens the force of the comparison. However, it is clear that expenditures related to, as well as the purchasing cost of, the second home increased far more than real wages.

In general, the figures presented in this section cover different types of second homes. In this study the focus is mainly on second homes of modern standard, namely, second homes that resemble and are comparable to or above detached single-family homes (normally built in Scandinavian suburbs) in both technical and physical standards and extent of floor area. These modern developments are in contrast to the developments 40–50 years ago of low standard, namely, small cabins with no running water or electricity. This specific focus is mainly because it is assumed that modern second homes are in greater demand. However, some low standard second homes can also be very expensive, because of the specific location. Obviously, there are different ways of acquiring second homes, of which the purest form is buying on the open market. Another way is through inheritance. However the subject is analytically difficult, because there are many different ways of organizing inheritance. One is split ownership with siblings or cousins; another is buying out others entitled to the inheritance, in which case ownership can also be expensive. Nevertheless, the main focus of this study is the very first case of acquired ownership through the open market.

In general, it is difficult to get statistical data on the need for capital faced by second home owners, which suggests that there is a need for empirical inquiries. In the next sections the application of the RRREIC schema, instead of providing

²⁶ Statistics Norway 2015c.

²⁷ E.g. capital cost and insurance (the only examples given).

²⁸ Statistics Norway 2015d.

empirical data for the analysis, will help develop a theorization of the necessary components of capital demand.

Necessary components of the second home transaction: Resolution (R_1)

The first step of the RRREIC schema is to resolve the complex open-systemic phenomenon of Norwegian second home ownership into its components. This entails an interdisciplinary approach, as open-systemic phenomena are generated by a multiplicity of conjunctive emergent mechanisms at different levels.²⁹ This means that we need to view the object of study in terms of how it is grounded in reality ‘in which several irreducibly distinct mechanisms at different and potentially emergent levels are combining to produce a novel result’.³⁰ Thus, here we are dealing with the ontological conditions of second home developments. For Lawson this step is particularly important in economic research.³¹

I argue that there has not been any significant theoretical development of the economics behind the second home phenomenon in Norway but only an empirical focus on economic impacts on local second home development communities. At best some correlation-based theories of the second home economy have been developed from such analysis.³² The story from state officials as well as researchers is that second home developments in general can be a positive contributor to a local community, with variations depending on how well the local authorities, together with developers, are able to confine spending within the municipality. A problem with this story is that it tends to look only at the supply side of second home developments – that is, the developing municipality, developers and landowners – and investigate what they gain in economic terms. As I pointed out in the introduction, the demand side is left out of the equation as if the demand is something that simply *is there*, that is, people with available money desiring to buy a second home. From a critical realist perspective such a narrow focus is not sufficient because, in order to understand the phenomenon adequately, we need to investigate all constitutive components necessary for a second home transaction. There needs to be a demand side as well as a supply side. So we ask again, what are the most basic components necessary for the acquisition of a second home?

The reader should bear in mind that this article is specific to a Norwegian context, and limited to modern second home developments. We then see that the demand side consists of (in no particular order):

1. a person who desires to become a second home owner (individual preferences), with
 - a. the economic ability to pursue this desire (individual resources), and
 - b. the physical ability (individual resources)
2. national self-belief/identity on aggregate level (national discourse)

²⁹ Bhaskar 2010.

³⁰ Bhaskar 2010, 5, emphasis added.

³¹ Lawson 2003.

³² See e.g. Ericsson et al. 2010.

On the supply side we see that the following components are present (again in no particular order):

3. specific spatial-geographical conditions (spatial structures)
 - a. (non-human) natural structures (natural structures)
 - b. existing second homes (built structures)
 - c. roads (built structures)
4. specific socio-geographical conditions (social structures)
 - a. second home development policy to take advantage of the spatial structures (political structures)
 - b. construction and renovation firms (market structures)
 - c. legal institutions (state structures)

Note that I have indicated different strata of reality where we might find the constitutive components, and that these can in turn be stratified in terms of their own constitutive components (as we will see later in the case of 1a). Note also that I have assigned some characteristics priority on the grounds that they must be considered more basic than the others. However, this does not mean that the phenomenon of second home ownership can be explained by one single characteristic of higher priority or by that characteristic's particular constituents. It is rather that the phenomenon results from a myriad of emergent mechanisms found on different levels and that all of these irreducibly unique components make up the specific phenomenon found on the macro-level (cf. Bhaskar and Danermark on laminated systems³³). The above list of components is not of course complete; I have only included those I consider most necessary. Structures or actors omitted here are also important; however they do not serve as important for the present analysis and must therefore be omitted for now.³⁴ Some will, however, be discussed below.

As shown in the previous section, there has been an increase in pressure on individual economic resources (1a), which will be the focus in what follows. The importance of listing all constitutive components of a phenomenon, as proposed by the RRREIC schema, is clear and it indicates the necessity of interdisciplinary research. Depending on the research question and angle of inquiry, there is a need to draw on multiple research skills as befits the level of reality at which one operates. By restricting the analysis to one sub-component, I show how elaborate an analysis one might end up with if the analysis is carried out in full. In the next section, a theoretical Redescription (R_2) of point 1a is effected, leading to the development of a new understanding, based on the overall economic theory informing this article, of the economic potential of people and their second home ownership.

³³ Bhaskar and Danermark 2006.

³⁴ Danermark et al. 2002.

Loan-based second home ownership: Redescription (R_2)

The procedure here should be to interpret and redescribe the phenomenon of study in terms of a conceptual framework of the different components.³⁵ The extent to which the components are (re)described has great importance for the analysis, as it can result in different understandings. For example is the point of τ_a a matter of small concern, as suggested by the classical economic analyses of the demand side, which reduce it to a matter of preference, considering it unimportant to consider how people can afford second homes? Or is it a point of larger concern, as in this analysis? As we will see in the following, this makes a big difference. Ideally, all components should undergo the treatment of redescription; however, the focus here is on one component, but it should be this step that develops the original ideas and thus begins to place the object of study in a new context.

As we have seen, the increased need for capital relating to second home ownership has not been questioned in the literature; it is rather considered to be something that is simply there. This is typical of neo-classical economic analysis, which reduces the capital need to a matter of preference of the individual. The neo-classical analysis does not consider it important why money is spent in the ways that it is, or how people got this money in the first place. However, redescribing and analysing that ‘which is simply there’ will tell us a different story. As mentioned, the average cost of a second home in Norway is approximately 1.5 m NOK (\sim 180 thousand EUR), about three times as much as an average full-time annual salary. As the number of modern second homes accounts for 25–50 per cent of the total stock,³⁶ and if we assume that modern second homes cost more than older, less adequately equipped ones, we must also assume that most people will have to take out a loan in order to become owners of a modern second home (if they do not inherit one). Though no statistical data directly indicate debt as a result of second home ownership, several circumstances do.

In 1984 the Norwegian right-wing government removed most regulative restrictions on the credit expansion of private banks and as a result the uptake of loans increased rapidly, which eventually resulted in a housing bubble that burst in 1988 with continuously falling prices until 1993. From then prices increased again. This was followed by an increased rate of second home ownership. As people experienced increased household assets, as a result of rapidly rising primary dwelling prices in the 1990s,³⁷ they were able to take out loans on their primary dwelling to buy a second home. It was also in the 1990s that the first modern second homes were developed and since then modernization has continually increased.

Another indicator of increased debt of Norwegian households (but not directly as a result of second home ownership) is increased debt in the primary dwelling compared to the increased housing price and increased salary. Figure 2 shows how debt in the primary dwelling has increased twice as much as the price of the primary home and about four times as much as the monthly salary. This indicates that the many owners of modern second homes in Norway may have established debt through

³⁵ Danermark et al. 2002.

³⁶ Støa and Manum 2013.

³⁷ Arnesen et al. 2012.



FIGURE 2 Primary dwelling price, dwelling debt and monthly salary in the period 1997–2012 index 2004 = 100 (inflation accounted for)³⁸

their primary home in order to obtain the ownership, as Arnesen et al.³⁹ have also suggested.⁴⁰

If we differentiate between primary home renters and owners we see that owners have much higher real capital in other assets than the primary home, for example in cars and second homes.⁴¹ This indicates that owners have the possibility of renewing their loan in the primary home to finance second home ownership. Asked directly about debt financing most prospective second home owners indicate that they will finance part of the second home by establishing debt. Thirty-four per cent expect debt financing of 60 per cent or more of the total second home value, while 24 per cent expect debt financing of 40–59 per cent.⁴² The above circumstances indicate that many people are in, or consider going into debt in order to become second home owners. This serves as an alternative description to the conventional story of the economy involved in the second home industry. Having established a new description of where some of the capital to finance the increased capital need related to second home ownership comes from, the next step is to go deeper into the mechanisms that generate debt.

The creation of money and the money multiplier: Retrodiction (R_3)

Through Retrodiction (R_3) we try to understand what are the basic law-like operations of the mechanism(s) involved.⁴³ This is possible to some extent; however,

³⁸ Statistics Norway 2008; 2009; 2013b; 2015a; 2015b.

³⁹ Arnesen et al. 2012.

⁴⁰ Aarsæther et al. 2012.

⁴¹ Barlindhaug 2009.

⁴² Eiendomsmegler1 2012.

⁴³ Bhaskar 2010.

the process of retrodiction is not always practically possible in an open-systemic system,⁴⁴ which means that the process of retrodiction could instead or also be applied when needed.⁴⁵ The focus here will be on the single component of the loan, asking what are the law-like mechanisms of this loan?

If we examine the mechanisms at work in the taking out of loans we find quite a complex system. A standard textbook on the banking system will explain the process of borrowing money from a bank something like this: Because of the current fractional-reserve banking system, banks do not have actually to possess the money that you would like to borrow — they only need a fraction of it. In other words, if a person deposits, for example, 100€ cash in a bank, the bank can lend out most of the money to another customer, only keeping a fraction (e.g. 10 per cent) of the money in reserve, thus lending out 90€ keeping 10€. The borrower puts the money into another account (or in practice probably buys a commodity whose seller puts the money in the bank); the new bank can now do the same — lend out the money while keeping only a fraction, hence 81€ and 9€, respectively. We can now see that 10€ + 9€ = 19€ in cash have become 90€ + 81€ = 171€ in credit money. This is called the ‘money multiplier’ mechanism. In theory this process can go on infinitely, but in practice it reaches a saturation point. A crucial point here is that the credit money is valued by the borrower as just as real as the cash money issued by the state bank (which ultimately is also itself a symbol).⁴⁶ This is possible because of the 10 per cent reserve, which functions as a safeguard for people’s deposits.⁴⁷ That is the textbook example. In reality, the creation of money by the banks is such that from a deposit of 100€ and a fraction of 10 per cent the bank issues 1000€ in credit. In a digital banking system cash is only needed in very few and often small transactions, so the bank does not wait for a depositor before lending out money. In practice the bank, when issuing a loan, creates one account with a plus and another with a minus on the computer. Money is created.

By this clever mechanism money is essentially created by the private banks through issuing loans that the borrower undertakes to pay back. Ever since the American president Richard Nixon in 1971 announced that foreign-held US dollars would no longer be convertible into gold, the horizons of credit money have been limitless, thus enabling an ever-increasing creation of money and accumulation.⁴⁸

Another mechanism that we need to consider is thus how this money creation contributes to and sustains economic growth. Since loans are often given on so-called safe investments, such as stock shares or housing property, they also cause the value of these commodities to increase in terms of higher per unit value. As long as people can continue to borrow money for e.g. a second home at a steady pace,

⁴⁴ Bhaskar 2010.

⁴⁵ Bhaskar 2010.

⁴⁶ Bjerg 2014. See also Berg for further discussion of the mechanisms of making money.

⁴⁷ A result of the money multiplier mechanism is also seen in the ratio of physical money that exists in Norwegian currency to the money that exists in ‘virtual’ money — 128,671m NOK and 1,881,477m NOK respectively — indicating that physical money (M₀) amounts to 6.8 percent of the broad conception of money (M₂). Statistics Norway 2013a.

⁴⁸ For further elaboration of this historic event and its consequences see Graeber 2011.

the price per unit must necessarily increase. New buyers must then take up increasingly larger loans to get into the second home market. If we look at this the other way round it might be easier to grasp how debt results in increasing prices. If no one was allowed to take out a loan for a second home (and we still assume that people do not have enough money to buy the average second home), the sellers would either have to hold on to their second home or lower the prices, hoping that people could then afford them. When people are able to borrow money, acting on the assumption that prices will increase, multiple prospective buyers can also bid up the offer price (which already is set at the current market price). One result of this is that it gets increasingly difficult for new buyers to get into market, as later buyers will have to borrow even more money through their first loan than earlier ones had to. This is also indicated in the expectations of younger prospective second home owners in relation to the size of their loans, compared to those of senior buyers.⁴⁹ If this trend grows so fast that new generations cannot get into the market, the whole system is in danger of collapsing. The financial crisis has been argued to be caused by people not being able to pay back their housing mortgages issued to them by too willing banks.⁵⁰ Continued provision of loans for second home ownership thereby contributes to increased second home prices and, since the money is distributed through the market chain of the second home industry, it contributes to economic growth.

Our account of the above mechanisms has been a process of retrodiction; however we might also resort to retrodiction in order to discover other mechanisms that encompass the above. We might, for example, ask why this process of seemingly ever increasing extension of loans continues (if not already obvious) or even began?

According to David Harvey⁵¹ an inherent feature of capitalist society is a contradiction between production and realization. Capitalists seek to ensure their accumulation of capital in two ways; first, by reducing payments to their workers; and second, by selling their product at a higher price in the market. The contradiction is when the workers' payments get too low to acquire the products. There are however a number of different ways for capital to mitigate this contradiction, one being expansion of the workforce to make more consumers (forcing farmers to take wage work, as currently in China). Another is conspicuous consumption by the wealthy. And then there is resorting to credit — the most prominent way in the West; credit must then expand increasingly in order to promote growth. The high price of modern Norwegian second homes is clearly an example of this contradiction.

Spatiality of banking

If we do not see a crisis as a result of the contradictions, but just see steady inflation in housing/second home prices that are met by a corresponding increase in income, most economists and politicians would argue that this is not a problem; in fact it is positive, desirable and even needed. According to the conventional story of the

⁴⁹ EiendomsmeGLER1 2012.

⁵⁰ Harvey 2010.

⁵¹ Harvey 2014.

productive consequences of second home developments in rural communities, it is evident that the creation of money and general economic growth enables rural communities to plan for second home developments, which creates jobs not only in the building phase, but hopefully also in the long run, through provision of different services. Thus bank credit expands the money supply through money creation, but the credit also goes to 'work' and this results in either an increasing amount or increasing value of goods and services.⁵² However, from an ecological economic perspective we must distinguish between, on the one hand, *needed* production or services that ensure a more environmentally friendly future and, on the other, production and services for (over)consumption, which potentially endangers environmental sustainability. From the perspective of rural municipalities that 'need' second home investment to ensure life-supporting services for their permanent residents, it is possible to argue that environmental degradation from second homes in their municipality is acceptable. And it might be. But on an aggregate level other concerns might become evident. In particular, the dialectical relation between a (first-house) urban workplace and a (second-house) rural recreation place presents us with some important sustainability issues.

The environmental ontology of this article postulates that our activities are materially grounded in nature. According to Torsten Hägerstrand⁵³ people are a 'thing' in a 'landscape' (delimited by and occupying space) that has an intricate web of relations; he calls this the 'landscape mantle'. Bhaskar's concept of four-planar social being, where material transactions with nature is one of the core dimensions, is in line with this. Bhaskar's point is exactly that the two-way transactions between nature and human beings are asymmetrical, such that nature could exist without humans, but not the other way around. In light of this, the possession of a *second* home from which one meets recreational needs is irrational and must be categorized as overconsumption. This is especially the case in a Norwegian context where the distance from urban centre to protected natural areas or areas of recreational value is never very far.

In addition to what credit works on, we might also consider *where* this new money goes to 'work' and who decides what it works on (as distinct from the issue of the urban-rural dichotomy, however related). When banks create money they also decide where it goes, and as banks normally are interested in profit they seek out safe investments. This fact suggests the importance of bank lending policy to spatial development.⁵⁴ In terms of housing developments, for example, banks are most willing to invest in areas where prices are likely to go up. From a spatial planning perspective this has consequences in practice as Norwegian planning is considered to be influenced by a neoliberal planning agenda where planners essentially do not plan but facilitate, accommodate and steer developers through the planning system.⁵⁵ One issue in a Norwegian context (which also holds for most European countries) is that some rural areas are prone to economic and social decline as economically resourceful people move towards jobs in larger urban

⁵² Werner 2013.

⁵³ Hägerstrand 2012.

⁵⁴ Werner 2013.

⁵⁵ Næss 2009; Falleth et al. 2010.

areas. This, coupled with the tendency of banks to be willing to invest primarily in safe endeavours, poses a threat to outer-suburban areas. When Norwegians look for recreational opportunities, they often seek out rural areas, which then might face the willingness of banks to invest in second home developments and tourist resorts but less willingness to invest in primary homes and jobs. In the end this leads to a situation in which rural areas only have the second home industry as a viable path for development, which subsequently is a threat to the environment and social stability.

We now have a theory of second home economy which we can reapply to a wider context or recontextualize as proposed by the critical realist approach. I choose to skip the points of Elimination and Identification in the RRREIC schema as their application lies outside the word limit of this article and require empirical testing. So the last step is to make iterative Corrections to pre-existing theories – to go to the concrete again through a contextualization of the identified mechanisms so that a new understanding of the phenomenon studied can be formulated in context.

The second home paradox: Correction

In this section, it is a matter of making iterative corrections to former understandings of the phenomenon, based on the explanations elaborated in the above analysis. With a new understanding of the economic needs of second home ownership I here re-examine the economic abilities (the need to take up a loan) in comparison with the higher-level component τ (of necessary components on a demand side in a second home transaction), which describes the desire of the individual to become a second home owner. As argued, the motivation of the individual for second home ownership is often put forward in the mainstream economic analysis of the phenomenon as the individual's only attribute. Comparing motivations with the new knowledge will here serve as correction of the current knowledge.

The second home paradox

Different motives are often identified as a person's main reason for second home ownership. The dominant motivational factor that keeps surfacing in empirical studies is second home ownership for recreational purposes. Considering the constitutive components τ (motive) and τ_a (economic ability) together, there seems to be a paradox for those who need to take up a loan in order to access the recreational opportunities provided by the modern second home. According to a popular narrative, the second home is 'an escape, a sanctuary, a base for adventure ... A place to relax, rejuvenate, restore.'⁵⁶ In research, it is noticed that '[a]s a place for vacation the second home often has to be an escape from the everyday life'.⁵⁷ This is also noted internationally.⁵⁸ In addition to being a place separated from the primary dwelling, the second home's main function is often, though not always, (traditional) recreational activities. For modern second homes where taking out loans is the rule, the escape motives for ownership constitute a paradox. By acquiring a loan, people

⁵⁶ Blake 2013, 7.

⁵⁷ Berker et al. 2011, 12–13.

⁵⁸ Aronsson 2004; Quinn 2004.

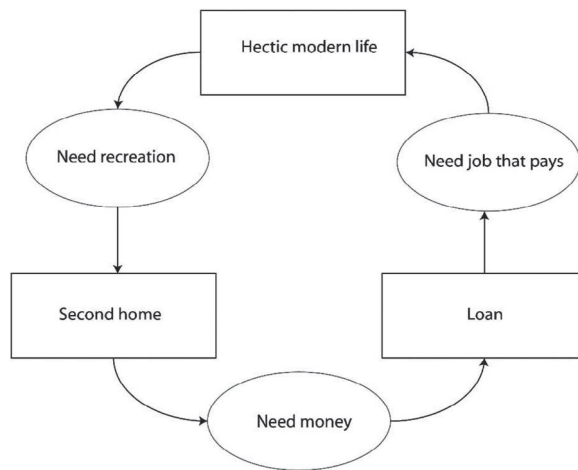


FIGURE 3 The second home ownership paradox

at the same time commit themselves even more to the hectic (urban) everyday work life, which they want to escape. A loan is often paid back over 30 years and, depending on the size of the loan, it might require two full-time jobs to pay it back plus interest (combined with the loan for the primary dwelling). Positively, borrowers are reassured that they *really* need this place of escape, now being even more dependent on the hectic pace of modern life (see Figure 3). In this way, the second home ownership paradox highlights not only that there is an unsustainable systemic contradiction at work in the mechanisms of the loan, but also that and how ownership can be unsustainable on an individual level.

However, despite the paradox, people might not consider it an unwanted consequence of acquiring a second home. Whether it is a form of cognitive dissonance or people are simply not aware of it, is still uncertain. The paradox nevertheless serves as one Correction of the increased capital need that owners of modern second homes face.

Discussion

The development of theory throughout this article has been led by the critical realist research schema, RRREIC. In the words of Danermark⁵⁹ I have moved from the concrete to the abstract and back to the concrete. This has resulted in a number of new insights into the Norwegian second home phenomenon. Most important is that there seems to exist a paradox in second home ownership where such ownership is obtained through a loan. The paradox is not explained by neo-classical economists and as such this analysis also yields an immanent critique of the neo-classical analysis of second home development. In accordance with the mechanisms of the loan and related mechanisms, the ownership is put into a wider context both

⁵⁹ Danermark et al. 2002.

through the specific mechanisms and their society-scale implications, including for the overall sustainability of the second home phenomenon. As such, the article has also described some of the agent-structure relationships manifesting in the second home phenomenon not described before.

However, we might also consider even more mechanisms at work outside the economic sphere, which I have not considered in this article, but which have been to some extent studied by others. I have not considered social structures that might lead to second home ownership. For the most part I have examined the link between individual decisions (to take out a loan) and their consequences, that is, adopted a bottom-up approach. However, we might also consider the top-down pressures from social norms and a growth economy as factors that lead to the desire to become a second home owner. A loan could be seen as the result of people's own choice, but societal structures such as the social status one gains from second home ownership as well as economic pressures from a growth society always on the lookout for new growth arenas should be considered in a more elaborate analysis. In this discussion, I will briefly incorporate theories to put the second home paradox into an even wider context than I have already done through recontextualization.

It could be argued that inherent in the second home ownership paradox is the idea of the Disneyland effect put forward by Sigmund Kvaløy.⁶⁰ The Disneyland effect is related to a personal desire within modern societies to escape the increased complexity of everyday life. The escaper seeks the comfort of Disneyland — amusement parks. They might consider ski-resorts or places near the coast that provide speed boating as such amusement parks, places with enough commercial activities to dull the senses and relieve the feeling of stress for a period of time. These places of amusement have through the modernization process become more or less identical. They take on the characteristics of *non-places* or nothing-ness described by Ritzer,⁶¹ according to whom such places increasingly look the same and are produced by the same companies (or at least have similar architectural style) and have the same 'amusement' as their focus. This trend is connected to the increased complexity in technology of modern second home areas. The increased modernization of the second home phenomenon thereby increasingly dilutes the rootedness that is often said to be a salient feature of Norwegian culture.

The modern second home owner thus contrasts with what is known as the 'genuine' Norwegian, who build their own cabin and are 'their own master' in the 'untouched wilderness'.⁶² The modernization process began with the first planning regulations in the 1960s,⁶³ and really picked up pace with the introduction of high-standard second homes around the year 1990. Ivan Illich⁶⁴ argues that increased complexity in technology makes us incapable of shaping our own future and creating genuine individuality. The increased size and physical standards of second homes

⁶⁰ Kvaløy 1973.

⁶¹ Ritzer 2004.

⁶² Cf. the popular story presented by Blake 2013 as well as by the planning authority in 1968; Kommunal- og Arbeidsdepartementet 1968.

⁶³ Kommunal- og Arbeidsdepartementet 1968.

⁶⁴ Illich 1973/1975.

since the 1960s have placed second home identity and the second home story in the hands of the producers, namely, the developers and architects. Coupled with a shift in social preferences (partially driven by media), it is their story about the second home and the 'Norwegian' that they sell to people, who thus lose real control over their own second home story. This technological modernization is, however, necessary for capital to expand (even faster) within the second home industry as it has provided a series of new arenas for consumption (ski-equipment, kitchens, baths, speedboats, hot-tubs, terraces, etc.). As such, the second home ownership paradox is rooted in another paradox between modernization and authenticity, viz. the paradox of the desire for authenticity or what is known as traditional Norwegian second home life, which in reality closely resembles 'Disneyland'.

The RRREIC schema

Although a drawback of applying the RRREIC schema is the relatively underdeveloped guidelines for applying the different steps, applying it has enabled a deepened analysis of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in this study. The above introduction problematized existing economic analysis of the mechanisms involved in second home developments that emphasize motivation as the only attribute of the individuals involved. The RRREIC schema provided a method of developing a theory related to all the necessary components of second home ownership. This has been particularly helpful as little empirical data have been available to give insight into the phenomenon. Also the process of moving from the empirical level towards the real, investigating the underlying mechanisms of the phenomenon, could not have been conducted solely by analysing empirical data. Unfortunately, owing to exigencies of space the two steps of Elimination and Identification, that is, the steps of empirical investigation, have not been undertaken here. Carrying out these steps would provide the analysis with the needed empirical foundation for confirmation of the mechanisms discovered through the processes of Resolution, Redescription and especially Retrodiction.

The critique of existing economic analysis was developed further throughout this study. One major reason for this is that the RRREIC schema forces the researcher to deal in a thoroughgoing way with the ontology of the studied phenomenon, something not very often undertaken.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this study has been to theorize the increased need for capital faced by prospective second home owners because of increased physical standards and modernization of the second home phenomenon. The RRREIC schema has served as a fruitful guideline for structuring an investigation, facilitating elaboration of the mainstream explanation of second home ownership in Norway. The additional knowledge gained provides evidence that the RRREIC schema is a beneficial method for an explanatory research agenda. Following the steps of the schema necessitates an open-minded attitude towards the research field, forcing the inclusion of as broad a range of explanations as possible, while still giving the

opportunity to go into depth in regard of the particular components of the phenomenon, but without compromising the possibility of viewing the complexity of the components as a whole. The thoroughness of the approach could however be a drawback as guides for delimitation remain to be elaborated.

Apart from assessing the RRREIC schema, the purpose was also to re-evaluate the overall sustainability of Norwegian second home ownership through theorizing the capital need faced by prospective second home owners. The focus on the economic capabilities of prospective second home owners showed that taking out loans is an important component of ownership of modern second homes in Norway. The new knowledge has led to the conceptualization of a second home ownership paradox, which exists for some owners that use the recreational opportunities second homes provide as an escape from a hectic urban life. The paradox becomes evident when buyers take out loans to become owners. The paradox has to be deemed a mechanism that is unsustainable since, because the loan has to be paid back, people become more committed than ever to the work life that they wanted to escape. This mechanism is also rooted in other mechanisms that relate to the loan process and the subsequent generation of money, which contributes to unsustainable economic growth rooted in the overconsumption of second homes.

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Norwegian second home ownership and debt – an empirical study

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Abstract: The Norwegian second home phenomenon increasingly becomes financialized and materialized, which represents a threat to the sustainability of the phenomenon. An apparent paradox seems to be situated in the act of obtaining a second home through debt as the second home often is portrayed as an “escape” from everyday work life. However, there has so far been no empirical evidence to the extent of this paradox. This article remedies this. Through a questionnaire survey and interviews, the paper investigates and seeks to explain the second home ownership paradox in the light of relevant theories. As an embedded phenomenon within the Norwegian society, the paradox is influenced by different trends that link to the nation’s view on itself, dynamics of the capitalist economy and pressures from an increasingly complex life. The second home ownership paradox is located through the empirical data, which also shows that “escape”-motives are correlated with second home ownership debt. The paper concludes that if a sustainable development trajectory of the current phenomenon is to be reached, knowledge about the second home ownership paradox and its relatedness to the society as a whole is important.

Keywords: Second homes, Debt, Second home ownership paradox, Recreational escape, Recreation

Introduction

Second homes in Norway are often considered an economic gain to hosting municipalities and an expression of owners’ and users’ cultural heritage – a continuation of the Norwegian tradition of utilizing mountain and coast line, though through changed practices (Christensen, 2015). As such ‘going to the cabin’¹ is rooted in Norwegian self-image. The phenomenon is often portrayed as a get-away sanctuary allowing people to escape an increasingly fragmented, discontinued and plural every-day life² originated in the post-modern western world. However, there seems to be a lack of focus on negative consequences of this practice. One critique is the environmental threats that second homes and social activities linked to second home usage pose (see eg. Gansmo, Berker & Jørgensen, 2011; Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Sjuland & Støa, 2011). Another largely overlooked issue is economic challenges many prospecting buyers face. Because the Norwegian second home phenomenon in recent decades increasingly has been materialized and capitalized it, in many cases, leads owners to acquire debt. Steffansen (2016) describes it as a second home ownership paradox, in which second home owners desiring to escape the hectic modern life in urban areas have to take up loans in order to recreate via a second home. Resulting debt entangles people even more with the hectic urban work-life. The second home ownership paradox is part of the Norwegian second home phenomenon, which in general terms can be considered as a spatial transaction between the urban and the rural (Arnesen, Overvåg, Skjeggedal & Ericsson 2012). From an environmental perspective, it trades local and global environments (Aall, 2011) with individual exploitation of natural amenities, while it, according to the second home ownership paradox trades individual loan taking and following social instability with local rural economic development.

The second home ownership paradox has been theorised by Steffansen (2016) but not been subject to empirical inquiry. Therefore, this article asks the question:

¹ ‘dra på hytta’ is a common phrase in Norway used when asked about weekend plans. ‘Hytta’ (cabin) as the common language expression of what in this article is referred to as ‘second home’.

² Habermas argues for a ‘technology-induced, explosive growth in the complexity of everyday life, at a domestic level’ (Habermas, 2016)

- To what extent are second home owners subject to an ownership paradox, and what reasons exist for such paradox?

By asking this question I aim to establish groundwork to understanding debt financing of second homes through collected survey data. Learning this insight will give necessary information to further understanding the Norwegian second home phenomenon alongside other development trends as investigated earlier in research. Further, such understanding will help critique the phenomenon from within and give valuable knowledge in order to remedy the unsustainable trajectory of the phenomenon (Aall, 2014).

In section three a further explanation of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox will be presented, while in section four, a more theoretical approach is offered. The methods of the empirical part is presented in section five. As an introduction to survey results, section six gives an overview of answers while the next section take an analytical approach. Rounding up in section eight and nine is a brief discussion and conclusions, respectively. First however, a presentation of the Norwegian second home phenomenon follows.

Context of Norwegian Second Homes

Being a phenomenon in Norway, second homes have a special place in national folklore and are often described in literature as 'the true/real Norwegian'. This is also present in statistics. With a Norwegians population of 5.2 million and approximately 455,000 second homes growing 5,000 per year, the relative number is high, as in most of Scandinavia (Müller, 2007). The number of second homes owned abroad might be as high as 66,400 in 2014, multiplied more than eight times since 2001 (Statistics Norway, 2016). The most popular abroad destination is Sweden, followed by Spain, then France and Turkey. The share of households that own one or more second homes is 26% (Statistics Norway, 2016), some surveys suggest 36% (Farstad, Rye & Almås, 2009). However, this does not necessarily tell the whole story, as *access* to second homes is reported at about 40% (Statistics Norway, 2016) or up to 49-56% in some surveys (Farstad, Rye & Almås, 2009; Støa, Manum, 2013). Average size of a second home was in 2013 88m², while it was 65 m² in 1995. Most second homes have tap water and electricity and 67% report TV installed (Farstad, Rye & Almås, 2009). Traveling distances to second homes have increased considerably since the introduction of free car ownership in the 1960s. Now average distance between primary and second homes is 160 km (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011); in 1970 average distance for car owners or disposers were 85-90 km, while for those who did not own or dispose a car it was 55 km (Statistics Norway, 1972). There is an average visit rate of 19.4 visits per year, consisting of an average of 40.8 days (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011). Rye and Berg (2011) call the relative high rate of use a part-time ruralisation. In 1968 42.3% of households owning a second home did not own a car (Statistics Norway, 1969); in 2005, 97% of the estimated trips to second homes were performed using a private car (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011).

The Norwegian second home phenomenon is often portrayed as being egalitarian (Rye & Berg, 2011), though the rate of ownership is positively correlated with income and educational levels. However, there seems to be a changing trend of the egalitarianism of the phenomenon. In 1969 both for the lowest and highest income group of households, 15% owned second homes, while for the second lowest income group it was 20% and for the second highest it was 25% (Statistics Norway, 1972). In more contemporary surveys 22% of low household income group (<200,000 NOK) own or have access to second homes while it is 59% for above middle household income group (700,000-999,999 NOK) and it is as high as 75% for very top income group (<1.5m) (Støa & Manum, 2013). This tendency is also confirmed by other surveys (Farstad, Rye & Almås, 2009). The value of second homes also has a clear

correlation with household income groups, with low income groups having second homes with lowest values (Støa & Manum, 2013).

This might not be surprising, considering the increased value of second homes over time bearing in mind that average real wages increased by little less than 100% from 1970 to 2008 (Statistics Norway, 2015a). Aggregated purchasing price of freely traded second homes has from 1992-2014 increased by 250% while the number of freely traded second homes has only increased by 50% from 2000-2014 (Statistic Norway, 2015b). More comparable figures might be found between fire insurance value on second homes in 1969 and average estimated value in 2008. In 1969 average fire insurance value (2008 inflation accounted) was just short of 320,000 NOK³ (Statistics Norway, 1972), while average estimated value of second homes in 2008 were 1,524,000 NOK (Støa & Manum, 2013), which makes a 367% increase. Parts of this value increase should be attributed to changes in material standards as described earlier.

Pressure on the egalitarianism of the phenomenon is also apparent through yearly expenditures that relate to second home ownership and use. In 1969, yearly costs were 7900⁴ NOK, inflation adjusted. In 2008, this figure was 59000⁵ NOK, thus an increase of approximately 650%⁶.

While these figures tell about material and economic changes within the second home phenomenon in Norway, folklore/cultural story has not changed decisively. However, there are some points that should be raised.

The Norwegian second home phenomenon is many-faceted and diverse. Although it is often portrayed as a romanticised ideal, it also tells a story about Norwegians and captures some of the national psyche. The most prevalent story is one about the special Norwegian cultural ties to nature, outdoor life and cabin life. Many researchers have described Norwegians' desire to own and use second homes as an escape from everyday life (see eg. Kaltenborn & Clout 1998; Gansmo, Berker & Jørgensen, 2011; Christensen, 2015). A place to re-create yourself, get in touch with nature and enjoy simple life. A story originating in the history of nation building.

As part of a nation building process, urban elite (during 1800s) relied on fjord and mountain areas as the tale of the real Norway and rural practises as the nation's pride (Rees, 2011; Christensen, 2015). Early cabin ideals rely on re-enacting such rural practices of e.g. growing vegetables during holiday with an aim of austerity. Writers in modern time began to place the 'true Norwegian' within the context of second homes (rather than rural landscapes and rural practices), but second home ideals to some extent continue to be about rural practices and austerity (Christensen, 2015). Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss describes his remote and simple cabin as the 'prehistoric Norwegian cabin', thus a story about the 'real Norway' (Christensen, 2015). As this cabin ideal is still present today, other ideas about second homes now supplement the original second home phenomenon, which gives the phenomenon a

³ 2008 equivalent to 1969 42,000 NOK

⁴ Interest payments, mortgage, income tax, wealth tax on second home, property tax, lot rent, insurance, various (electricity, road maintenance, water, garbage, etc.), small decor changes below 76,000 NOK (2008 adjusted), repairs, maintenance, in total 7900 NOK (2008 adjusted) (Statistics Norway, 1972)

⁵ Ownership and upkeep: Lot rent, water, sewers, garbage, road maintenance, downhill slope charge, electricity, materials and equipment for maintenance, equipment for interior, furniture, phone, security, etc.: estimated 18,812 NOK. Refurbishment, upgrades or extensions: estimated 25,400 NOK. Consumption during stays: estimated 15,000 NOK (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011).

⁶ The 1969 figures do not include cost of consumption during stays while the 2008 figures does not include insurance and financial costs. It is likely that the 1969 figures are not considerably incorrect of a comprehensive cost as the missing expenditures are considered relative insignificant. However, for the 2008 figures the exclusion of financial and insurance cost could lead to a considerable underestimation of the cost of ownership and use (Steffansen, 2016, cf. later on amount of loan).

heterogeneous character. Some fiction writers describe a 'leisure class' of modern urban people among which second homes and practices rather become a place for conspicuous consumption, a rural sanctuary in opposition to the urban life, a place to relax and solve psychological issues (Rees, 2011). This description fits quite well to material development of modern second homes. Christensen (2015) therefore describes the story about the Norwegian cabin as positioned some place between dream and reality.

Idealisation still triumphs in academia and especially in popular media and magazines. One could however question the term 'typical Norwegian' because of the increasingly multicultural composition of the Norwegian population. Likewise, some researchers also point at material changes within the phenomenon (as well as changes in recreational activities) and describe changes as a transition of the meaning of 'simple living' (Aall, 2011; Aall 2014; Christensen, 2015). Here primitive material standards (the original meaning of simple living) has transformed and become pleasurable living. The latter meaning free of practical domestic tasks, having every modern electronic device at disposal. Thus to some extent the popular story stands in contrast with the reality many modern second home dwellers face. The new reality thus asks the question if the phenomenon is invaded by capitalism, which also possesses a threat to the environment, while the original cabin ideals were short lived and necessitated by limited household economy (Christensen, 2015).

The context described above of Norwegian second homes thus forms a contradicting phenomenon in which the second home ownership paradox is central. Development trends as described are intertwined into this paradoxical phenomenon. 'Cabin' ideals about simplicity and austerity stand in stark contrast to the latest material development of the phenomenon. Still the commercialized 'escape' ideals drives the phenomenon forward. Material changes have fostered a need for financial support that places people in a paradoxical situation. This has only been made possible through acceptance of the changed social meaning of the 'simple living' ideal, now being more a question of relief from practical and physical tasks more in line with stress-relief, relaxing and consumption. As such, the formation of the second home ownership paradox seems only to become stronger.

The Second Home Ownership Paradox

The idea about a paradox is that something within e.g. a phenomenon is contradicting. In this case, contradictions derive in a loop mechanism that could be conceived like this (see figure 1):

A need to escape from everyday work-life --> A need to debt-finance a second home --> A need to pay back a mortgage --> a need to work more in daily life.

The main configurations of bank-based mortgages is a 30-year settlement period in which the second home owner has to work to meet the bank's requirements.

Depending on the size of the loan, it might necessitate two full time jobs to fulfil the settlement (maybe alongside a similar loan in the primary dwelling). Positively, the second home owners are now reassured

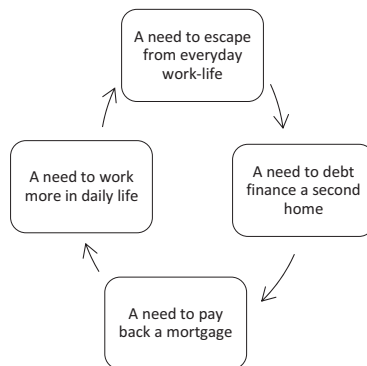


Figure 1 the second home ownership paradox loop mechanism

they really need this place of escape. For a more detailed description of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox, see Steffansen (2016).

Different theories could help explain this paradoxical loop mechanism, and three questions that might be explained through theory could be posed:

- Why is there a need to escape everyday work life in present-day Norway?
- Why is there a need to debt finance a second home?
- Why is there a link between escape and the need for a second home?

These questions all relate to the second part of the main research question: what seem to be the reasons for a second home ownership paradox? This question, as specified in the three sub-questions, will be discussed in the following. Going directly to the second part of the research question might seem an odd order of presenting. However, dealing with theoretical explanations for the phenomenon first will allow for a more comprehensive interpretation and understanding of the empirical phenomenon. As the research question were formulated, the context section indicates a paradoxical situation (partly answering the first part of the question), with the final empirical documentation of the phenomenon will come later. In the next section, a deeper theoretical understanding of the phenomenon will be presented.

The Second Home Ownership Paradox Explained

The concept of a Disneyland-effect, coined by Norwegian eco-philosopher Sigmund Kvaløy (1973) could partly explain why there is a need to escape from everyday work life. According to Kvaløy a growing dissatisfaction with the increasingly complicated modern life is compensated through the Disneyland-effect, in which people are compelled to live in 'amusement park' amused by a constant flickering of symbols and signs as well as ways of superficial engagement. Steffansen (2016) argues that modern second home development areas could be compared to 'Disneylands' and thus be part of the dulling modern people need in order be distracted from their complex urban lives. Inherent in the term is the need to escape, to experience something different and maybe even to connect to something 'real' both in time and space. Kvaløy also argues for a basic human need of developing physical and psychological complexity – a need presently absorbed by the Disneyland-effect. Today, this need is interrupted from being developed also on a societal level (Høyer, 2007).

On similar notes, Harvey (2001/1975), in his geographies of capitalism, describes the human need to express creativity. From the outset, the Norwegian second home phenomenon satisfied a need for citizens of industrialized society to express their creativity e.g. through building a cabin, and to connect to their assumed roots, e.g. through foraging or growing vegetables (Christensen, 2015). For Harvey (2001/1975) this 'free time' was an essential deal between the capitalist and the worker and was made possible by different structural changes. People were given more spare time, private car ownership was released and ideals of Norwegians' right to enjoy nature were manifested through law. However, late modern neoliberal tendencies of capital have included such arenas of creativity into the capitalist agenda of perpetual growth. Drawing on Marx's theories of capital accumulation, Harvey (1975) describes capitalism as specifically linked to geographical places. Therefore, time and space are barriers to the need for capitalist accumulation inherent in the capitalist. Here, capital always seeks new land to incorporate into the capitalist agenda. The modern Norwegian second home phenomenon is an example of this.

Capitalist takeover of the Norwegian second home phenomenon has been made possible by different trends. Obviously, physical development of the phenomenon has required a substantial increase in material consumption and thus increased spending. Likewise, as an increased number of second homes

began to be scattered around the Norwegian landscape, this forced planners to tighten regulations of core infrastructure, land use (second home construction permitted or not) and building styles, which in some cases might have put a pressure towards higher levels of standard of second homes (Christensen, 2015). To enable such a material standard, debt is theoretically an essential component (as well as a marketization process), especially since wages have not been able to keep up with increased real estate prices (Harvey, 2014). A disjointed development of second home prices and annual wages is also the case in Norway (Steffansen, 2016) and as such, debt become the means for many to realize their dream of owning a second home.

Turning to the last of the three sub-questions, the need for a second home is partly explained in ideals of a true Norwegian lifestyle, as already described. However, the second home could also be considered as a status symbol as well as a place to gather core family. This was also indicated in interviews (and survey data) included in the empirical part of this study (see the Methods section below). It might especially be related to families who have teenagers whose attention could be difficult to catch. One example was a newly married couple (their second marriage) who lived apart and used the second home as a meeting point in weekends the second home being geographically located in between their primary dwellings.

In the context section, some evidence was already put forward, which indicates different trends or traditions that make up some basic fundament for the paradox. These are increased materialisation, which fosters an increased financialization (as documented in this article) and a Norwegian tradition for using second homes (or cabins) that indeed have ties to early nation building processes describing what is 'truly Norwegian'. Yet, the second home ownership is also presented as an escape from the harsh realities of everyday work-life. This still needs empirical investigation, which will be the commitment for the rest of this article. Thus, in the following, the method for exploring the trends of the Norwegian second home ownership paradox through empirical inquiry will be described.

Methods

To discuss the research question I mostly draw on a web-based questionnaire survey in which 10,000 residents were randomly drawn within representative postal zones in greater Oslo metropolitan area. Postal zones were selected based on, among others, urban density, socio-demographics and distance to city centre. Residents were approached through a paper letter distributed through ordinary postal services, asking them to participate in the web survey. 1104 persons completed the questionnaire, yielding a response rate of 11%, which is considered fair in the contemporary Norwegian context. Both owners, users and non-owners/users were asked to participate, but there was a considerable overrepresentation of owners/users (70.6% of respondents) compared to non-owners/non-users (28.4% respondents). As mentioned, in former surveys owner or user rate is about 49-56% (Støa & Manum, 2008; Farstad, Rye & Almås, 2009). However, also for those surveys response rate for owners/users seems high given the more accurate level of owners/users given by the national bureau of statistics indicate that the actual number is (as also mentioned earlier) about 40% (Statistics Norway, 2016). Nevertheless, the aim of this article is to access data about second home owners, thus a high response rate for this group turns out positive.

The questionnaire was developed in such a way that persons having access to or owning more than one second home could individually answer questions related to the two most used second homes. Questions included year of acquisition, type of access, debt/rent, level of standard, location, and so on. This paper focuses predominantly on the second home most used by the owners (thus excluding those who do not own and those second homes that are the second most used, and so forth, by the owners), which makes a sample of 564 respondents for the purpose of this paper.

As can be seen in Table 1, households to which respondents belong are on average bigger than for the population of Oslo and Akershus counties. Respondents also have higher education than typical for the county populations. Together, these circumstances contribute to household income levels considerably higher among respondents and interviewees than among inhabitants of the counties. On the other hand, there is also a higher proportion of pensioners among respondents than in the general population of the counties, reflected in higher age and lower proportions of workforce participants in the survey sample. This is however expected, since the proportion of respondents owning or having access to a second home is considerably high in the survey, as mentioned earlier. This is however not necessarily a methodological problem, as this paper, as mentioned, only focuses on those owning a second home. Thus, I regard the sample of to be representative for the second home owing population of metropolitan area Oslo.

Table 1 Demographics of respondents and population of Oslo and Akershus

	Respondents (N=1104)	Inhabitants of Oslo and Akershus counties (including the greater area of oslo)
Average number of persons per household	3.3	1.94
Average number of children aged 0 - 6 years per household ⁷	0.45	0.15
Average number of children aged 7 - 17 years per household	0.4	0.13
Average age among respondents (all aged 18 or more)(all aged 18 or more)	60	45.5 (aged 16 or more)
Gender (proportion female)	48.7%	50.3%
Proportion of workforce participants among respondents	69.2%	81%
Average annual household income (1000 NOK)	981.5	812
Proportion with education at master level or higher	52%	16%

As part of a funded research project on Norwegian second homes and climate change, which the author is part of, 19 interviews have been conducted. This paper draws on some of these interviews as an underpinning of theoretical arguments. Interviewees represents second home owners and users who either live in the Oslo region, or own a second home in three different areas in Norway. Two winter oriented mountain recreation areas, Trysil and Oppdal and a summer oriented coastal recreation area, Kragerø. As interviews are here only briefly used to underpin theoretical arguments they will undergo more methodological and analytical scrutiny elsewhere.

One aim of the article is to use the questionnaire as an exploration of the second home ownership paradox hypothesis. By exploring the phenomenon, the purpose is to investigate if the hypothesis is supported by empirical observations among second home owners living in Greater Oslo. Another aim is to identify reasons why the second home ownership paradox exists, by going through the empirical data

⁷ System missing have been set to be zero children for the questions about amount of children below 17, as it is believed that people without children to a high degree, did not answer these questions. This could of course skew the results some and for the ages above 17 years setting system missing to zero for this category is not possible.

and holding them up against the theoretical foundations as well as the previous development trends of the phenomenon in general.

Results

In table 2, some characteristics of the respondents are listed according to how they responded in relation to the most and second-most used owned second home, respectively. The table shows frequencies of some relevant questions from the questionnaire and will thereby partly answer the main research question.

Table 2 value of different variables from the survey on the most and second most used second homes based on owners' answers.

Variable	Most used and owned second home (n=564)	Second most used and owned second home (n=184)
Debt financed	41.4% (n=536)	27.6% (n=174)
Debt financed share among second homes bought on open market	60% (N=225)	43% (n=58)
Other object posed as guarantee to obtain loan	51% (n=210)	49.2% (n=63)
Average estimated value	2.7m. NOK (n=424)	2,7m. NOK (n=137)
Median category of debt amount	41-60% (n=208)	41-60% (n=57)
Shared ownership	19.2% (n=557)	29.8% (n=181)
High standard second home ⁸	44.5% (n=560)	47.8% (n=182)
Inherited or bought from family	38.2% (n=558)	45.6% (n=182)
Average household income above 1.2m.	38.2% (n=558)	50.3% (n=183)
Average years access	15.9 years (n=541)	16.2 years (n=168)
Average estimated increased value throughout ownership ⁹	0.77m. (n=378)	0.4m. (n=122)
Placed outside Norway	9.6% (n=563)	14.8% (n=128)
Single-family detached primary dwelling	41.9% (n=561)	46.2% (183)
Primary dwelling owned	97.5% (n=557)	97.3% (n=183)
Average age respondents	58.1 years (N=563)	56.7 years (n=183)

As the table shows, 41.4% of second home owners debt-finance their second home, and while there is a high rate of inheritance (38.2%), people buying second homes through the open market seem to have a higher tendency of debt financing with a share of 60%. Average self-reported value of second homes on 2.7 m NOK is quite high compared to Støa and Manum (2011), who found an average self-reported value of about 1.5m NOK in 2008 (among the general Norwegian population). Median reported debt share among respondents is between 41% and 60% while almost 20% share their ownership with others. Average period since obtaining access to the second home is almost 16 years. On average, the second homes have increased their value by 0.77 million NOK during the ownership period. Second homes are mostly of high standard (44.5%) rather than middle or low standard, and the share of owners' households with and income above 1.2 million (on 38.2%) is high compared to Farstad, Rye and Almås (2009) who reported a 12 % household share earning more than 1m NOK in their survey. Almost 10% of the second homes used the most are located outside Norway. Proportion of owners living in single-family detached houses is 41.9% and for respondents owning a second home the share that also owns

⁸ Includes electricity, tap water, WC, shower/bathtub, dishwasher and washing machine.

⁹ Inflation adjusted with an annual inflation rate at 2%.

their primary dwelling is 97.5%. The average age of the respondents is lower (58.1 years) than the average for all respondents disregarding ownership (60 years).

In relation to the second home ownership paradox, it is interesting to know what owners with debt think of as motives for their ownership. Figure 2 shows the three highest and three lowest rated motives out of 18 possible motives for owing a second home among all second home owners participating in the survey. As the figure shows, the three highest rated motives are 'to get break from a hectic everyday life', 'I/we like trips to the "wilderness" or sea trips' and 'gives peace and quiet, which is missing at home'. The lowest three are 'To experience cultural arrangements', 'investment or to place money' and 'cannot sell because it is inherited'. As such, these motives confirm the need to escape as motives for ownership rather than owning a second home for e.g. investment purposes.

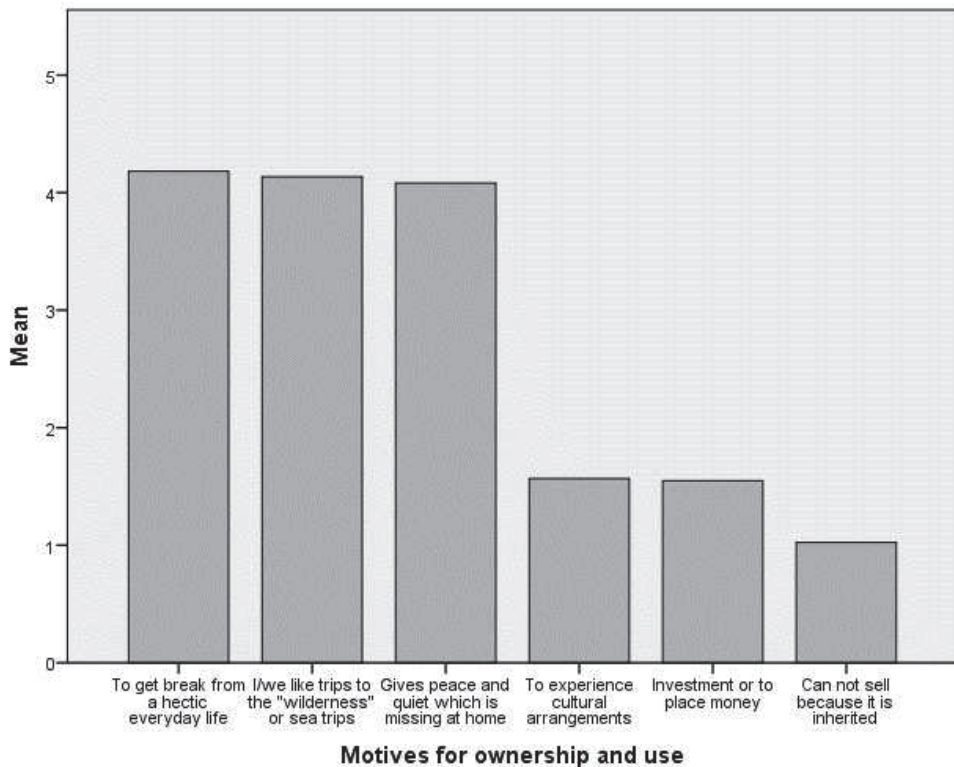


Figure 2: Top three and bottom three motives for second home ownership and use for owners with debt. Excluded motives ranked from highest to lowest with mean value in brackets: Something different from the everyday (3.69); To carry out sport activities (3.30); To gather family (children and parents in household) (3.27); To experience 'untouched nature' (3.20); I can be more myself (2.97); To get contact to other than family (2.45); to carry out practical labour (2.43), because of the children (2.42); To be able to be creative (2.20); To experience special weather conditions (2.14); As an environmentally friendly form of vacation (2.02); To maintain contact with childhood environment (1.63).

Above stated motives for second home ownership as well as the amount of debt financed second home ownership is consistent with the hypothesis about a second home ownership paradox. Had for example investment been an important motive for second home ownership through debt financing, the escape theory, which makes up an important element of the paradox, would not necessarily have been supported. For second home owners stating investment as an important motive, the commitment of having to pay back the your debt might be more acceptable than for those who have stated escape motives as the most important.

Analysis of Relationship between Debt and Categories of Second Home Owners

In this section the aim is to statistically test the argument for existence of the second home ownership paradox, more precisely correlation between debt and a categorization of motives for ownership. This in order to give a more interesting analysis between motives for ownership and the debt second home owners face.

Through a factor analysis, four categories were created from ownership motives expressed through survey data. These are: 'active-social', 'recreate', 'core-family' and 'family memories'. Most interesting in relation to this paper is the 'recreate' category as this category theoretically fits very well with the second home ownership paradox. Also, categories of 'core-family' and 'family memories' fit with theory and intrinsically makes sense¹⁰. The 'active-social' category is more difficult to make theoretically sense of and later analysis also shows this category has little interest in this article. In the following, focus will therefore mainly be focused on the 'recreate' category as it complements the theoretical frame in this article.

On a common sense logic, the 'recreate' category correlated by the factor analysis of five different motives also seems reasonable. It includes two escape motives 'Gives peace and quiet which is missing at home' and 'To get a break from everyday life' of which the last one is also the theoretical formulation in the second home ownership paradox conceptualization. Two motives 'To experience "untouched" nature' and 'I/we like trips to the "wilderness" or sea trips' relate to experiencing and taking trips into nature, which encompasses the very classic motives for second home ownership and also express the nostalgia about the Norwegian nature so present everywhere. The last motive 'To carry out sports activities' might seem odd in this connection with relaxation and nature experience motives, however it complements the other ones quite well. Sports activities might be interpreted differently by respondents, and many traditional relaxation and experiencing nature activities are highly associated with going into nature. Hiking and cross-country skiing could be such examples. This category is also supported through interviews, as these motives were often expressed by interviewees. Next, the different categories are tested for linear correlation with having debt.

First, an analysis was carried out where all four categories found in the factor analysis were put into the model, using a backward conditional approach. This showed, the categories 'active-social' and 'core family' did not come out with a significant p-value. In order to increase the number of respondents included in the model (some had missing answers to questions included in these two factors), the categories 'active-social' and 'core family' were left out in the second run of the model. This also

¹⁰ Family memories: *'Can not sell because it is inherited', 'To maintain contact with childhood environment'*; Core-family: *'Because of the children', 'To gather family (children and parents in household)'*; Active-social: *To be able to be creative, 'To experience cultural arrangements', 'As an environmentally friendly form of vacation', 'To experience special weather conditions', 'To carry out practical labour', 'To get contact to other than family', 'I can be more myself'*

improved the significance level for the 'recreate' category slightly. This supports the second home ownership paradox in the light of the escape theory. In table 3, results are shown. The table shows the category 'family memories' is significantly negative correlated with having obtained the second home through debt. This is not surprising at all since these second homes are often inherited¹¹. What is interesting in this analysis is the category 'recreate', which comes out as significantly positive correlated with obtaining a second home through debt.

Table 3 Binary logistic regression analysis of having debt

	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.
Recreate	,053	,019	7,512	,006
Family memories	-,207	,037	30,976	,000

Backward conditional analysis: Nagelkerke R squared = 0.099; n = 512

As an interesting category to look closer at the recreate category is tested against other variables in the survey in a bi-variate correlation analysis. It shows the category is significantly negatively correlated with age. Since the average age of respondents owning a second home is 58 years it could also express that middle aged and working parts of the respondents' need to recreate in weekends is stronger than for those who are pensioners. Additionally it is significantly positively correlated with education, which could be expected as well as it is expressed through interviews.

The 'recreate' category is also significantly positive correlated with the number of second homes accessed, which could express a kind of self-selection tendency. Those who express high desire to recreate might also tend to seek out possibilities to access more second homes. Alternatively, people who have access tend also to express high need to recreate. This might be because they have become accustomed to going to their second home, and have thereby developed a desire to re-experience positive elements associated with being at the second home.

The 'recreate' category as well shows a significantly positive correlation with the self-reported value of the second home at the time of acquisition. The 'recreate' category is also positively correlated with having children below 18 in the household.

A constructed variable, burden of debt, from average household income and the calculated amount of debt is used in a linear regression model in order to investigate to which extent different variables are exposed to high levels of debt. In the model, outliers have been deselected. Included in the model are now all second home regardless of whether they have debt financed their second home or not. Of course for those who did not debt finance their second home the debt burden will be zero, and since this group is the majority (see table 2), this group dominates the model

Conducting a Heckman sample selection analysis on the data to account for overrepresentation of respondents with a zero debt burden does not make a result with meaningful conclusions. Thus, in order to be able to investigate those second home owners who have debt financed their second home, only these respondents are selected in the further analysis. Despite a low number of observations (n=149),

¹¹ Indicated by a significantly (p=0.000) positive correlation between the 'family memories' category and acquired through inheritance.

four independent variables come out with a significant p-value. These are household income, the recreate category, value at acquisition and years of ownership. Though the two values of household income and value at acquisition were used to construct the dependent value, debt burden, there is no sign of multicollinearity. R-squared is high in this analysis at 0.693. See table 4.

For household income there is a negative effect on the debt burden, which would indicate that people with higher incomes are less burdened by debt. It might also indicate what has been suggested before in this paper, that the phenomenon is decreasingly egalitarian. A higher burden of debt on those households with lower income suggest such households take a higher economic risk when acquiring a second home through debt. Whether this is to use it as a place to recreate, as conspicuous consumption or to become 'true Norwegians' the model does not tell. The model also indicates a negative tendency for the 'recreate' category of second home owners and the pressure from debt they face. This indicates that though the 'recreate' category is positively associated with indebtedness it does not seem for this category they are burdened more than average by debt. Further analysis of this effect will follow.

A positive effect of the value of second homes at time of acquisition on burdens of debt indicates those who acquire more expensive second homes are more prone to be burdened by debt. This might reflect they also take up loans for other purposes (e.g. cars, boats, or renovating their primary dwelling) using their second home as (partial) security. This independent variable has the highest explanatory factor as seen in the standardized coefficient.

Interestingly, there is a negative effect of the number of years the second home has been owned and the likelihood of burdens on debt at the time of acquisition. This could be explained by increasing second home prices and the skewness in relation to peoples' income. It might also indicate new second home owners increasingly are strained by debt.

Table 4 linear regression model of with the constructed debt burden as dependent

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Coefficients		
Household income	-3,748E-7	,000	-,193	-3,802	,000
Recreate category	-,023	,008	-,131	-2,791	,006
Value at acquisition	,374	,024	,822	15,476	,000
Years of ownership	-,008	,004	-,123	-2,325	,021

N=149, r-squared 0.693

That the 'recreate' category has negative effect on the burden of debt could be related to the value of the second home at the time of acquisition. It might be so, that those respondents with modern and expensive second home do not score high in the 'recreate' category of second home owners. Making a divide between second homes with a value below and above 2.5m NOK at time of acquisition it is possible to analyse whether those who have the more expensive second homes are less likely to score high in the 'recreate' category.

With the same parameters as before, investigating only those who own second homes with a value above 2.5m NOK at the time of acquisition, there is a significant negative effect of the 'recreate' category on the debt burden. For second homes with a value below 2.5m NOK there is no significant effect of the debt burden on the 'recreate' category. It might indicate the popular story of the 'true Norwegian' does not affect the choice of ownership for second home owners with more expensive second homes and it might even indicate that motives for ownership are more related to investment, as conspicuous consumption or as status symbols.

Discussion

This paper has been concerned with empirically investigating the theoretically grounded hypothesis of a second home ownership paradox. However, a short discussion of a decline in individual subjective wellbeing as a result of the uptake of debt and structural mechanisms working through the uptake of debt, is interesting here.

Nettleton and Burrows (1998) specifically found mortgage debt played a significant role in the subjective wellbeing of homeowners. While this study was conducted in relation to the primary home, there is no reason to believe second home debt would be any less stressful. Often, such debt is guaranteed through another object (in the present survey, 51%), most likely the primary home, as also indicated by Arnesen, Overvåg, Skjeggedal & Ericsson (2012). A second home bought as a place to recreate and a place to relieve from stress now becomes the opposite. However, there should be no doubt those second home owners interviewed enjoy their time at the second home and that might also exactly be the reason for the popularity of the phenomenon: it is enjoyable to be at the second home. On the other hand, there should also be little doubt that if the second home is obtained through debt it will cause some extra stress in the everyday life/work arrangements. The analysis in this paper indicates that this could be an increasing tendency.

On a structural level, debt-financed second home tourism might be considered as an environmentally unsustainable practice on two parameters. First, it helps finance the current development trajectory of increasingly higher standards of second homes, which from material, land use and energy perspectives should be considered unsustainable, as argued by Berker and Gansmo (2011). Second, money creation from debt could in itself be regarded as unsustainable. As described by authors such as Graeber (2001) and Bjerg (2014) and even the Bank of England does research (Jakab & Kumhof, 2015) on how private banks, when issuing loans, create money out of the blue. Therefore, the Norwegian second home ownership paradox is part of this money creation. Money creation for productive purposes can be contributing to the greater good of society. However, creation of money for the sake of spare time consumption, which in the case of the modern Norwegian second home phenomenon is environmentally harmful as well as contributing to social stress factors, it is certainly not positive in the long term. An interesting question in relation to the issue of money creation is the concept of the spatiality of banking (Werner, 2013) that is also related to the geographies of capitalist accumulation, but on a more concrete level.

Conclusion

Exploring the second home ownership paradox, it is interesting to notice that 41 percent of the respondents owning their most used second home have financed it through debt and as much as 60% if disregarding those who did not buy on the open market. Highest rated motives for ownership among those who debt financed their second home are motives that could be considered as 'escape' motive. Categorizing second home owners according to their highest regarded motives for second home ownership an interesting second home owner category becomes visible. The 'recreate' category, which includes many of the reasons for second home ownership and use described in literature also fits well

with what Norwegians regard as their own recreational values. Testing this category against debt financing of second homes shows that this category is significantly correlated with debt financing. This is consistent with the second home ownership paradox hypothesis about a need to recreate in modern Norway, which in many cases results in the purchase of a second home, which (now made visible in this analyses) for many in turn necessitates the uptake of debt. It is then possible to learn more about this 'recreate' category of second home owners through statistical analysis. However, as a generalized category it includes some generalized tendencies that should be exposed to further scrutiny in empirical investigations. Testing for a constructed value of the burden of debt, different independent values are exposed as correlated which most interestingly reveal a tendency towards a more economically burdensome second home phenomenon.

The 'recreate' category turns out to be positively correlated with having debt. However, when investigating the level of debt through the debt burden, the conclusions are more nuanced. For second home owners with debt and a second home with a value above 2.5m NOK, an increased debt burden is associated with lower likelihood to consider recreational values as important. Since the value of the second home is positively correlated with the debt burden, it could indicate that those respondents with expensive second homes value other parameters such as investment, conspicuous consumption or status symbol as important. As such, since the 'recreate' category is associated with having debt it does not necessarily mean that those respondents who consider recreational motives important are especially burdened by debt.

All things considered the empirical analysis supports the theoretical arguments about the existence of a Norwegian second home ownership paradox. Theoretically, asking questions as to why it exists, different but corresponding arguments can be used. Among the most prevalent is the rootedness of second home ownership in the Norwegian self-understanding, a need in everyday life to 'recreate' and a capitalist agenda of always seeking areas to capitalize and exploit. Such insights are important if the general trends within the phenomenon are to be changed according to the requirements of a sustainable development.

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Neoliberalism articulated through Norwegian second homes – and the iatrogenic second home planning

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Abstract: The current phenomenon of Norwegian second homes has been shaped by the general development trends of society. The neoliberal economic agenda has been one such development trend to which the second home phenomenon has been submerged. Despite various planning efforts, the current development cannot be considered sustainable. This article explores, through a literature and document study, the influences of the neoliberal economic agenda on second home planning and uses a contemporary case study to exemplify the current planning situation. The examination of the Norwegian second home phenomenon through the lens of neoliberalism, theories of a geography of capitalism and the concept of iatrogenic planning discloses two development tracks. First, a material development where second homes have been transformed from simple to being commodified. Second, an institutional development in which developments have changed from convivial towards a technocratically steered process. The case study shows that planners have difficulties in enforcing a more environmentally friendly development. In order to become a more sustainable phenomenon that also pay attention to cultural aspects, even more regulation of second home development might be needed, enforced on a higher level than the local municipal level .

Keywords: Second homes, Neoliberalism, Planning, Iatrogenic planning, Capital accumulation, Second home development

Introduction

Second homes in Norway play an important cultural and economic role. Their development forms an arena of struggle between different agendas that are often categorised within three domains of sustainability¹². From a rural perspective, sustainability is commonly viewed through an economic perspective, where second homes contribute to local sustaining of different services and job creation for the permanent population, as well as to development in general (Engeset & Velvin, 2004; Ericsson & Grefsrud, 2005; Farstad, Rye & Almås, 2008; Ericsson, Arnesen & Vorkinn, 2010). Overvåg (2010) frames second home developments as a re-resourcing of rural land, where re-resourcing encompasses the transition from land used for forestry and farming to being used as places to be consumed. On an individual level second home owners often see second home use as a traditional form of recreation (Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998; Kaltenborn, Bjerke, Thrane, Andersen, Nellemann & Eide, 2005; Müller, 2007), thus sustaining social traditions, while environmental concern are often enacted through the planning system (Holden & Linnerud, 2011; Kaltenborn, Andersen & Nellemann 2007; Skjeggedal, Overvåg, Arnesen & Ericsson, 2009; Arnesen & Ericsson, 2013; Aall, 2014).

Most of the current research lacks an analysis of the underlying mechanisms that seem to have played an important part in the development of the phenomenon as such. The prevailing understanding comes from the idyllic story of Norwegians as a people with some special and strong relationship with the landscape. However, while this might explain some of the cultural reasons behind a general preference towards this particular form of recreation, it does not tell anything about the development of the phenomenon.

In this article, I will argue that the development of the Norwegian second home planning and the developments of Norwegian second homes should be seen and understood in the light of historical and contemporary changes in society. I will argue that the mega-trends in political-economic and social thinking have shaped the Norwegian second home phenomenon as it is articulated in present day Norway. The main political-economic trend in focus is neoliberalism.

The concept of neoliberalism is a widely recognized and used analytical tool used to coin a certain worldview, policy programme or actual policies imposed. Though it is not a homogeneous phenomenon,

¹² the social, economics and the environment

it is also a widely accepted concept to describe certain aspects of societies around the world. This analysis will make use of the concept of neoliberalism in order to investigate the current state of the Norwegian second home phenomenon, using it as an overarching concept related to the societal trends otherwise studied. As what is being analysed is a development process, it will be a matter of understanding the development in terms of a neoliberalization process. To my knowledge, no attempt has been made earlier to conduct such a relational study between neoliberal trends in society and the Norwegian second home phenomenon. Yet, such an analysis is nevertheless important, as it will provide a critical understanding of the current trajectory of the phenomenon. I will present this analysis as one understanding of the phenomenon, while arguing that seeing it in this light will help understand which solutions are needed if a true transition towards a sustainable second home phenomenon is to be achieved.

Discussing these mega-trends and relating it to a primarily local phenomenon provides a kind of case study on the spatial implications such trends can have on society. Further, a specific case study will be provided, analysing the neoliberalization process at the local level. The main aim of the article is to investigate and answer the question:

Can traces of a neoliberal agenda be found in the modern Norwegian second home phenomenon and if yes, which developments did this result in?

With a modern second home phenomenon, I mean the post-war period and by developments, I mainly investigate in relation to spatial planning. The research question contains two parts that are investigated through two different methods. The first is a literature and document study of the mechanisms behind the important changes in the planning from the perspective of second home developments. The second part is a case study of a particular contemporary planning reality in one municipality.

Method

The article is partly based on a theoretical investigation of the mechanisms behind changes in planning practises. The overarching theoretical concept is neoliberalism as described. Linked to this concept is David Harvey's interpretation of Karl Marx's conception of capital's relation to the spatial dimension, a theoretical analysis of the geographies of capitalist accumulation.. The Harveyan-Marxist analysis adds to the understanding of a phenomenon being subjugated to a neoliberal development. This particular theory is clearly relevant, bearing in mind the spatially detached nature of second home¹³ developments. Second home developments in Norway often take place in outer regions or at least places that are not considered urban, thus establishing a dichotomous relationship between urban settlements and rural landscapes. The Harveyan-Marxist approach binds the dichotomous relation together in an economic analysis that helps the understanding of a potential neoliberal development.

The theoretical analysis is thereupon backed by an empirical investigation into the planning legislation, guidelines, reports and planning practice of regulating Norwegian second home developments. All document were read with the intent to locate whether and where development interests have been prioritized before other interests, such as environmental, social or cultural aspects. The main aim was to

¹³ In Norway, it could be relevant to argue for a new "multiple-dwelling home" concept. Here I apply the commonly used term second home to describe the outer-region dwelling mainly used for recreational purposes as this paper discusses these places of development. Arnesen, Overvåg, Skjeggedal and Ericsson (2012) uses the term "multi-house home", however the use of "house" might be discussed, since many with a second home live in apartments (though not the majority), while some second homes are apartments or something else that might not be best described under the term "house".

locate potential neoliberal and/or capitalist intentions. Findings were then cast against the theoretical framework and judged accordingly.

This article thereby presents a case study of the Norwegian second home phenomenon in its general development as well as it presents a specific local case study. The municipality of Trysil will act as the local case study. The point in choosing a case like Trysil, which is a mountainous outer region municipality with low population but large-scale ski-tourism and second home industry, is that the mechanisms that I want to study are more visible here. Still, the case is comparable to other mountainous, ski and second home leisure activity oriented municipalities. While a neoliberal agenda might not be plainly visible in other cases e.g. like municipalities in the inner Oslo fjord, this does not mean that such forces are not at play, just that they are held back by counter-mechanisms. Yet, Overvåg (2010) describes tendencies similar to a process of neoliberalization in his account of an inner Oslo fjord municipality, Kragerø. As the mechanisms investigated are general to the entire Norwegian society, I consider the mechanisms investigated to be present in other municipalities as well. Some municipalities might still have some preconditions better to counteract such mechanisms and balance development.

Interviews with two planners and a document study have been the methods used in the Trysil case study. Interviews were conducted in 2014, combined with a trip to inspect different second home developments. The interviews were mainly explorative with an open-ended interview guide in order to elicit the planners' account of recent second home developments. The objective of these interviews was mainly to get a basic account of recent developments and insight into the planning process. Another trip to Trysil was conducted in 2015 as part of a research team project to investigate second home developments in relation to climate change. At this occasion, too, a trip around the area to get a sense of different second home developments was conducted. Analysis of interviews have been carried out after these visits. The two trips to Trysil were used to subjectively sense and get a first-hand view of the place and different development periods of second homes. The sensory experience was not planned for an intended outcome, but nevertheless it proved useful in relation to the information found in planning documents as well as to the theoretical framework, as it contributed to a general understanding of the local planning process in Trysil.

Throughout the analysis, the terminology of Ivan Illich will be used as it fits very well to describe and criticise the development that the Norwegian second home phenomenon has undergone. The terms iatrogenic and conviviality will be deployed. The terms will be described when relevant. Illich's critique of the process of industrialisation comes essentially as an anthropocentric concern but is tightly linked to a concern of the environment and as such, Illich's ideas relate to the debates within political ecology as a research field. Political ecology is mainly an arena for analysing human-environment relations with a concern for social and environmental justice (Poulson, 2015). Important in a political ecologist analysis are the power relations on and across multiple scales both historically as well as present. The analysis in this article does not directly employ specific power analyses, but indirectly there is an understanding of power relations as well as inherent power play between conflicting agendas.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism as a term is often used to criticize the economic system to which most countries currently adhere. The term conceptualizes some important trends within the functioning of the modern state and therefore the conditions under which planners work (Sager, 2011). A short introduction of the term and the evolution of it will here be presented, with focus on planning and social traits in the light of neoliberalism.

The neoliberal ideology is penetrated by a desire for individual freedom, competition and the market as management ideal (Hermansen, 2004). This does not necessarily make the state weaker in the process,

the state still plays an important role in institutionalizing the management tools of neoliberalism¹⁴ (Hermansen, 2004; Castree 2010; Nielsen, 2011; Taşan-Kok, 2012).

Though planning and neoliberalism might be at odds, planning still has a role in the market-oriented society, as Klosterman (1985) argued at the height of Thatcher's anti-planning campaign. The neoliberalization of land-use planning relates to making a ridged and regulatory planning system into a more flexible and negotiable strategic planning process (Taşan-Kok, 2012). However, as part of the globalization process investment capital becomes less local, as well as businesses (Sager, 2011). This makes the planning departments of local communities compete with other local communities for the free-flowing investment capital, forcing planners to present their planning system as being flexible and able to participate in public-private relations with the goal of getting projects approved and implemented. For the planner adhering to the pro-growth policies of neoliberalism, the preferred approach is to be entrepreneurial, risk-taking, profit oriented, take a positive view on market-led developments, simplify the planning process and relax on plan-implementation control (Sager, 2011). This makes the planner an enabler of development, less preoccupied with social and environmental impacts.

What lies underneath the competitive climate might best be conceived as a constant state of crisis feeling. Baeten (2012) uses Naomi Klein's (2007) thesis of the shock doctrine to describe the neoliberalization process of urban planning as happening along moments of crisis and their particular framing of these crises. Likewise, the outer regions in Norway can be described to be in a constant state of crisis, with declining and aging populations, transformation of the foundation for local jobs, focus on urban culture and being labelled as periphery. This induces outer region municipalities to compete with each other for development and investment opportunities, marketing each sellable asset they possess. Such assets are often natural amenities, which are developed and sold as recreational resorts or made into tourist destinations.

For Nielsen (2011), neoliberalism is also a marketization process of all aspects of social life. The promise is individual freedom. But for Harvey (2005) this also introduces a postmodern cultural stage, which is characterized by fragmentation and ephemerality (Harvey 2005), which relates to loss of identity, disorientation and a flight from reality (Nielsen, 2011). The neoliberal freedom then lies in a lack of restrictions from bureaucracy and state patronage, not from need for transport, shelter or safety (Baeten, 2012). The neoliberal subjects have self-responsibility for their well-being and personal improvements, thus becoming self-governing atomized entrepreneurs with obligations to be free with endless opportunities (Baeten, 2012). This 'freedom' also comes with an obligation to seek every possible opportunity to self-betterment.

Meanwhile, individual consumption in contemporary neoliberal societies have become a form of "cultural-capitalism" in which consumers buy commodities primarily for the experience provided by them, not for the utility or as status symbols (Žižek, 2009). To frame cultural-capitalism Žižek invokes the Lacanian triad (RSI) of the Real of direct utility, the Symbolic of the status (Thorstein Veblen's perspective) and the Imaginary of pleasurable and meaningful experience. Thus, commodities are now primarily consumed in order to deem our lives pleasurable and meaningful. We are clinging to something 'real' in the wake of lost identity. Žižek argues that time is important for the cultural consumer. Time should be used on self-betterment via "quality time" with "authentic fulfillment of one's true self" through sensory experience and caring for others (e.g. charity work or voluntary work motivated by ecological concerns). An example of caring for the environment through consumption of

¹⁴ For a further general introduction, see. Harvey 2005; Saad-Filho and Jonston, 2005; Castree, 2010, and for a particular Norwegian account see Hermansen, 2004).

experience is sustainable tourism. However, the authentic experience is central here. People buying a Norwegian second home then do not only buy it for the purpose of using it or the social status it might give, but chiefly because they buy into the imaginary tale of the “true Norwegian” as being in touch with nature, in touch with the ancestors and in touch with a cultural history. In this way, buyers buy the whole story around the second home, which for Žižek is more important than the command of the second home, the activities it enables and the social status it conjure.

Geographies of capitalist accumulation

David Harvey (2001a) undertakes a reconstruction of the Marxist theory on the relationship between spatial development and capitalist accumulation. At the root of the capitalist system lies the inherent need for capital circulation and accumulation (Marx, 1993; Gordon and Rosenthal 2003; Fotoulouos, 2010). Therefore, there is always a need to ease barriers, which prevent such circulation and accumulation. Time and space are two such fundamental barriers (Harvey 2001a). The capitalist mode of production therefore seeks to compress time and space in order to make money circulate more easily, (Harvey, 2001a).

Harvey (2001a) thus argues that Marx issued a theoretical connection between economic growth and the emergent structure of spatial relationships. The evolution of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is an example illustrating this connection. The Norwegian second home phenomenon fully emerged after the rationing on car ownership was abolished. This abolition acted as a major time-space compressor for common people. The general rise in income and the increased spare-time were mechanisms that supported private second home ownership. The cultural understanding of a special connection between Norwegians and their beautiful landscape and nature, which had been fostered since the national independence in 1814, provided an underlying cultural platform from which the capitalist agenda could benefit. From a theoretical standpoint, the release of private car ownership makes sense also in relation to the act of “*allemannsretten*” (common right). As people were given the right to use the landscape and nature, the car provided the right time-space compression to realise this right. From a capitalist standpoint, the release of the car was necessary in order to make new areas for capital accumulation possible. One major form of this was the private appropriation of the “common right” land manifested by the building of a second home. Likewise, the continuous improvements of roads and cars has pushed the urban recreational hinterland further into the “untouched” Norwegian nature.

At the same time as the capitalist expansion tries to compress time and space, it also seeks to take advantages of and capitalizes on the cultural realm (cultural-capitalism). For Marx, any sort of production requires a prior usage of human imagination (Harvey, 2001b). You cannot reach an end before you imagine it and the needed efforts to get there. However, under the capitalist mode of production, this imagining has been given to the few who hold the production capacity, do the designing and decide which products are to be made as well as choose which technologies and processes are to be used (Harvey, 2001b). This denies the mass of the population of fully using their human creativity. As compensation people have been given spare time in which this creativity can be unfolded. Nevertheless, in search of new growth arenas, capital has also found its way to the spare-time activities, which were at the outset assumed to ensure people’s creativity or their “free-time” in which they could do whatever they desired (Harvey, 2001b). As will be described later, the Norwegian second home phenomenon undertook such a transformation from the early years of free-time creativity to contemporary cultural-capitalism.

latrogenic planning

In medical practise, an iatrogenic effect is used to describe an unintended effect or consequence of a treatment or procedure. Stemming from the Greek language, iatrogenesis is a combination of the two words *iatra* and *genesis*, which combined means; “brought forth by a healer”. Although originally a neutral term, the contemporary meaning is negative. While Illich (1975/1995) uses the term to describe how “[t]he medical establishment has become a major threat to health” (1975/1995, p.3) Moe (2015) uses the term to describe how architectural innovations intended to make buildings healthier or sustainable have had an opposite or unintended negative side effect. Likewise, I will here argue that the evolution of Norwegian second home planning has unintendedly effected an increase in the environmental consequences it was meant to prevent¹⁵. This should be seen in the light of a planning reality as placed within a society heavily influenced by an ideology of neoliberalism (Sager, 2012).

The understanding of a neoliberal hegemonic society in which capital is seeking out every niche even on the cultural stage to accumulate, coupled with a planning system with good intentions that in some cases leads to further consequences of development, will in the following form the theoretical frame for the case study.

Brief context of second home developments

The historical developments of the Norwegian second home tradition and some of the coevolution of the planning institutions is the focus of this section.

We can divide the Norwegian second home development into two main periods: one before and one after the 1940s. The first period can be characterised as the historical period where second homes (recreational) mainly were restricted to the wealthy elite, and there were only few of this type of houses. However, another type of second homes was also present and these second homes were high in numbers and used by the rural population for seasonal work, e.g. summer grazing in the mountains.

The second period is the modern period where large parts of the rural population left *the land* for work in the city and changed the function of their second homes to recreational purposes. This period thus began with a process where access to second homes for recreational purposes became more common. Ordinary people suddenly enjoyed some of the same luxuries as the wealthy elite. They got spare time and a little extra money to use in that extra spare time. Some used this on building their own second home. Planning of second homes in Norway has since 1965 been regulated by the municipalities with an increasing variety of possibilities for regulation.

The development of the second home phenomenon in this period can be aligned in two parallel tracks, one being mountain developments and one being developments along the coastline. These two development tracks are different at some points to planning and culture. The mountain developments are mostly oriented towards autumn and winter activities like picking berries and skiing, while the coastline developments are more suited for summer and maritime activities. For planning, the main difference has been for costal developments to control and give access to the common shoreline and prevent it from being built up. This is especially a problem in the Oslo fjord near the capital, where collection of sewage water was also an important issue. For mountain developments, the issues related to planning are limiting the aesthetic impact of dispersed developments and collecting sewage water. In the 1960's it is estimated that around 150,000-160,000 second homes existed in Norway and that

¹⁵ A stated purpose of the 1985 planning and building act was that “special emphasis shall be placed on securing children a good environment in which to grow up” (PBA, 1985, chapter 1 section 2). The present planning and building act reads more directly on sustainability: “The Act shall promote sustainable development in the best interests of individuals, society and future generations” (PBA, 2008, section 1-1).

around 10,000 were built every year. In 2009, about 65% of the second homes could be characterised as inland or mountain developments while the rest is to be considered located within a 1 km. zone along the coastline (Skjeggedal, Overvåg, Arnesen & Ericsson, 2009).

The modern period (1945-present) will be the focus of this analysis. The main aim is to discuss how the above theory of capitalist accumulation from a geographical perspective and neoliberalism, can help answer the main research question.

From simple and convivial to commodified and technocratic

The change of second home developments in Norway is described from a planning perspective by Skjeggedal, Overvåg, Arnesen and Ericsson (2009), as a transformation from developments of cabin areas to developments of mountain villages. Skjeggedal, Overvåg, Arnesen and Ericsson (2009) argue that the principles of spatial planning did not change in the modern period, though some of the institutional settings changed, e.g. as a result of the 1965 and 1985 planning acts. Aall (2011) shows that a physical development of second homes has consisted of increased material use and increased travel. Obviously, this presents some environmental issues on all geographical scales (see e.g. Hille, Aall & Klepp, 2007; Gansmo, Berker & Jørgensen, 2011; Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Skauland & Støa 2011 and Aall, 2014). There are thus two sides to this process: an institutional and a material. It can be argued that the transformation on the institutional side has been characterized as going from convivial to technocratic while the transformation on the material side has gone from simple to commodified. In order to be able to judge this transformation in relation to neoliberalism, a short introduction to the neoliberalization of the primary dwelling sector in Norway will be presented.

Norway is a population of homeowners. In 2016, 77% of households owned their dwelling while 18% rented (Statistics Norway, 2016). The post-war period has been characterized by a general policy towards expanding the share of homeowners. The Norwegian Labour party's official policy in the 1950s was that "every family ought to own their own home", while it explicitly worked to abolish the private sector for rental (Sørvol, 2011). Later, the strong state policy towards the housing sector was diminished and largely put into the hands of market forces. In 1981, the neoliberal period in Norwegian policy was ushered by a new right-wing government. From the 1980s and onwards, legislation to control purchase, selling and renting dwellings was abolished (Sørvol, 2011). This naturally led to an expansion of home ownership. The deregulation was rationalized by the general growth in wealth and a reliance on market efficiency to resolve housing demand. The tax system has favored homeowners during the entire period. Although subsidies have in the later period been decreased, homeownership is still favorable. The deregulation also resulted in a commercialization of the housing stock, which was sidelined by a deregulation of the banking sector. In 1984, the state control of bank lending policy was radically deregulated (called the "great let go"¹⁶), which led to comprehensive speculation also in the housing market (Sørvol, 2011; Sejersted, 2017). As a result, housing prices kept rising until 1988, when it ended in a housing market crash. The housing sector did not start to recover again until 1993, but prizes have been increasing since. What this development did for the second home phenomenon was that the deregulation of loans and following rise in housing prices created a great deal of available money to be invested in e.g. second homes. Since Norway is a homeowner country with a cultural affinity to outdoor life, it naturally led to a situation where second homes increasingly became investment objects with resulting commercialization and marketization of that sector too. This will be described more specifically in relation to planning in the following.

From simple to commodified

¹⁶ "Det Store Frislippet"

The process from simple cabin-like second homes to detached single-family houses being sold as commodities (or a certain experience) has been quite well described in research literature (Overvåg, 2009; Skjeggedal, Overvåg, Arnesen, & Ericsson, 2009; Aall, 2011). I will therefore only refer briefly to this process through literature and go more deeply into the analysis of the transition from convivial to technocratic.

In the beginning of the modern period, the majority of second home developments were an issue between the landowner and the person desiring to build a second home. The physical developments were often scattered and cabin-like. Overvåg (2010) describes contemporary developments as a process between multiple actors, often external, who negotiate among themselves before going to the public to get development plans approved. Developments are rarely single case project but large “mountain village” development projects involving large development companies that can handle such developments. The Norwegian second home development trend has been identified by Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Skauland & Støa (2011) as consisting of three different steps. First, the number of second homes is increasing (now more than 448,500 buildings are counted as second homes, and about 5,000 new per year). Moreover, many Norwegians now own second homes abroad, with some figures suggesting almost 70,000 second homes owned abroad in 2014 (Statistics Norway 2016). The average size of domestic second homes is still growing; in 1995 the average size was 65 m², in 2013 it was 88 m² (Statistics Norway, 2014). Secondly, the technical standards of the second homes have increased, which is indicated by survey data presented by Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Skauland & Støa (2011), suggesting that for cabins built between 1970–89, 13% had high technical standard, meaning electricity, water supply, water closet, bathroom and a dishwasher, while for cabins built from 1990, high technical standard increases to 43%. Thirdly, this has resulted in a changing use pattern from few long stays to many short stays.

Economically, the expenditure on second home ownership has increased by approximately 650% from 1969 to 2008, which indicates a process of commodification (Steffansen, 2016). In this period, wages only increased by 100%. Overvåg (2010) describes the process of rural land value changes in Norway where rural land formerly representing marginal production value has been turned into high-priced land assets. Land in rural municipalities is now traded as commodities for the purpose of second home developments. Considering how the cost of second home ownership has evolved while the activities during stays as well as the rationales for ownership seems not to have changed significantly (Statistics Norway 1972, 1979; Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998; Ericsson, 2006), it highlights the process of commodification.

In the government’s long term programme 1978-1981 it was a stated claim that it should be easier to build second homes so that more people could get access to second homes. A second home committee was subsequently formed (NOU 21, 1981). Its mandate was to investigate potential conflict areas of second home development and find possible ways to make planning more flexible. The conclusion was stronger state engagement in planning regulation and guidance for second home developments. In 1982, the Ministry of the Environment disseminated a circular, saying municipalities could not say no to dispensational development on a general argument (Department of Environment, 1982). Such development-friendly initiatives are not necessarily a sign of neoliberalism, as such interest in development were also characterized by post-war Keynesianism. It was not before a financialization of the housing sector through the liberalization of banking the process of neoliberalization became effective.

While the period up to 1985 was characterized by self-built, low-technological and largely unregulated second home developments, the planning act of 1985 imposed the possibility for detailed regulations e.g. in size, levels of standard and infrastructural demands. As described above, the value of housing had

a significant decrease in 1988 and it did not start to rise again until 1993. Together with a significant tax reduction for high-income groups¹⁷, it presented house owners with a new capital ready to be invested. The winter Olympics of 1994 is often mentioned to be the igniter of the mainstreaming of high-standard second homes. This event required better infrastructure to handle the pressure of many people on the mountains for a longer period, and showed how alpine skiing could become desirable for the greater public. Regulation of these better standards became possible in the 1985 planning act, and rising housing prices (as a result of a deregulated banking sector) and tax reductions made it possible for larger parts of the population to aspire to this new ideal of modern second homes.

From convivial to technocratic

For Illich (1973), conviviality basically means the opposite of industrial production. Conviviality is much about individual freedom, but in personal interdependence, which makes it an intrinsic ethical value. Conviviality refers to a society in which tools are enjoyed by everyone, in an integrated and shared manner, and where the usage does not rely on a body of specialist. As Illich criticizes the process of industrialization and industrial growth, his understanding of conviviality reflects the awareness of a certain threshold for wellbeing. If conviviality is reduced to a certain level, human needs will cease to be able to be fulfilled by industrial products. If this threshold is passed, the end to which the tool or institution originally were intended will change and there is a risk that they become threats to society (Illich, 1973). As such, conviviality is the pre-state of cultural-capitalism. Processes of industrialization often create what Illich terms “radical monopolies” which means that industrially produced products essentially end up depriving people the possibility to produce their own, and while needs are commodified the invention of new products creates new needs. Thus, the term convivial could describe the pre-regulatory phase of the Norwegian second home phenomenon, and in the process from convivial and simple to technocratic and commodified, the threshold is passed.

In the historical period of second homes for the purpose of life-supporting shelters, the activities conducted there were primarily a collective effort, a concern for the community, of the farm hold or small villages. This changed in the second period, in which the second home traditions were carried into the consumer society and where individualism and the private became ideals (Christensen, 2015).

Before the planning act of 1965 it had, in most municipalities, been up to prospecting second home owners themselves to choose the spot, plan the blueprint and build their second home (which most often was a simple cabin). *“This is probably how we [the people] would like it the most to be”* (Ministry of Local Government and Labor, 1968, p: 25, author’s translation). The planning act was enacted as a result of the increasing pace of spatial development and following conflicts of interests of mainly landscape protection and waste water management. The new planning act made it possible for municipalities to enforce some restrictions towards second home development, but it was still up to the municipalities whether they would make use of the regulations. It was not before the planning act of 1985 that second home development areas became a mandatory point in the general municipal plan of development.

The economic rationales among politicians after 1945 were Keynesian relying on public investments in infrastructure and industry to secure the economic future. Underlying the social-democratic policy of “work and prosperity for all” was also the idea that every Norwegian should be able to enjoy the identity-building Norwegian nature as they pleased (Jørgensen, 2011). As mentioned, the common rights to use the land for recreation and the release of private car ownership expanded the possibilities for second home use and their developments, which resulted in an explosion in second home. However,

¹⁷ People with high income formerly being taxed with 50% income tax in 1980 were then being taxed with less than 40%. Such fluctuations on income tax were not at the same level for average and low incomes (NOU, 2009:10).

the unregulated and amateur developments were a concern of architects and politicians (Jørgensen, 2011).

Planners and politicians were faced with a dilemma in which the idea about the right to privately owned second homes in or near natural areas threatened both the desire to protect “untouched nature” and the right to travel on foot everywhere. Along the Oslo fjord, public access to the shoreline and coastline areas in some places had become blocked as a result of second home developments. While this continues to be an issue in many coastal zone areas despite regulatory measures to prevent it (Stokke, Skogheim & Skår, 2008), such developments can also be seen in mountain areas with nature-rich amenities and/or recreational values. For the Norwegian authorities, the privately owned second home thus represented a privatization of nature. For architects and planners the emphasis was primarily on the aesthetic threat to wild nature that second home development represented as well as concern of water pollution due to lack of proper sewers. The conflicts of interest were therefore conflicts of human interests in nature as well as in activities.

The objective of planning regulations was thus ambitiously twofold; to secure the “free” nature and to allow for private development of second homes. Potential conflicts were to be internalized in the planning system. The planning guide for the 1965 planning act represents a certain sense of “predict and provide” rationale, thus this goes well in line with the postwar planning ideals of rationalism (Allmendinger, 2009). Obviously, the assertiveness in resolving the issues by technical instruments originates in the strong political reliance in professional knowledge and scientific expertise as well as the prevailing environmental paradigm in Norway at the time, namely “growth with protection” (Jansen, 1989). As the problem was seen as concerning public access, aesthetics and sewage water, but not as a result of overall material consumption, there might not be any reason why the problem could not be resolved technically by architects and planners. The rise in material consumption was not necessarily considered as a problem, as second home developments as part of the industrialization of the post-war period, could potentially contribute to economic prosperity.

The institutionalization of second home planning and the following increasing regulations, represent, along with the commodification process, a transition towards a technocratic phenomenon. Technocratic because it becomes difficult for prospecting second home owners to imagine, plan and construct a customized second home that satisfies particular recreational needs.

The regulatory measures to prevent environmental degradation that are to be provided in the local planning can in some cases be considered iatrogenic. Measures such as dense and concentrated developments around particular recreational areas and measures to secure a certain standard of the developments in terms of sewages, garbage collection and building standards are all intended to protect local nature and they also improve the comfort at the second home. However, such measures are shown to also induce changes in the behaviour of second home users and invoke further developments. The improved comfort at the second home is argued by Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Skuland, & Støa, (2011) to cause more but shorter stays at the second homes, which therefore leads to more travel. Such travel is almost entirely carried out by private cars (Farstad & Dybedal, 2011), which contributes to environmental problems on a global scale, not forgetting other issues with roads and car travel. A changed meaning of simplicity as originally meaning simple technical and material standards has turned into meaning easy and convenient living through high technical standards and easy access by car (Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Skuland, & Støa, 2011). This naturally means, apart from the building itself, a minimum of technical devices and instalments to avoid labouring tasks. Building dense and concentrated also leads to other forms of development. Different services and infrastructures are often developed sideways with dense second home areas, e.g. shopping facilities, cafes, restaurants, nightclubs, indoor activity facilities, downhill ski slopes and facilities, cross-country ski tracks, marinas and water based

attractions. All of which are positive from a local economic perspective but also attractions that affect the environment directly and indirectly in complex ways.

A general increase in the economy is of course also a contributor to such changes in in the phenomenon, and might in fact be at the root of some of these issues, but this is not the issue here.

What is described above about the development of the Norwegian second home phenomenon is characterised by two parallel tracks: a material development in which the phenomenon seems to move from a simple cabin to a commodified second home, and an institutional development in which different policies and planning regulations have altered a somewhat convivial phenomenon to one that could be characterised as being technocratic. Christensen (2015) comments on the development undertaken by the Norwegian second home phenomenon: "It might [...] look like most people discard the simple cabin-life, as their practical and economic opportunities allow. Public policy, with the wide-ranging demands to the configuration of cabin areas, also plays a role here. In many places, old outhouses are not even allowed anymore and the prohibition is justified with reference to the environment. The strict regulations, in combination with the demands for comfort and aesthetic perfection make it inapplicable to build your own cabin or possibly to make large renovations or conversions." (Christensen, 2015, p: 287-288, author's translation).

In the following, the local case study of the planning in the municipality of Trysil is presented. The case reflects the end-result of the general development of the phenomenon described as a process from simple and convivial to commodified and technocratic.

Trysil

The municipality of Trysil is located in Hedmark county in the mid-eastern part of southern Norway, bordering the Swedish area of Sälen. In 2016, Tysil counted 6525 inhabitants (decreasing), with 6438 second homes (2016) and an area of 3,014 km². These figures rightly suggest the importance of the second home industry for the municipality, which is also physically visible for most inhabitants as the large tourist destination is centred around the Trysil mountain at the foot of which the largest urban settlement, Innbygda, is placed (see figure 2). The municipality is located in what might be called an outer region of Norway, but it is still only a two and a half hour drive from central Oslo. The short relative distance to Oslo and the fact that the municipality is home of the Trysil mountain that is suitable for downhill skiing makes it a popular destination. As such, the most important industry in the municipality is linked to second homes and their spin-off effects.

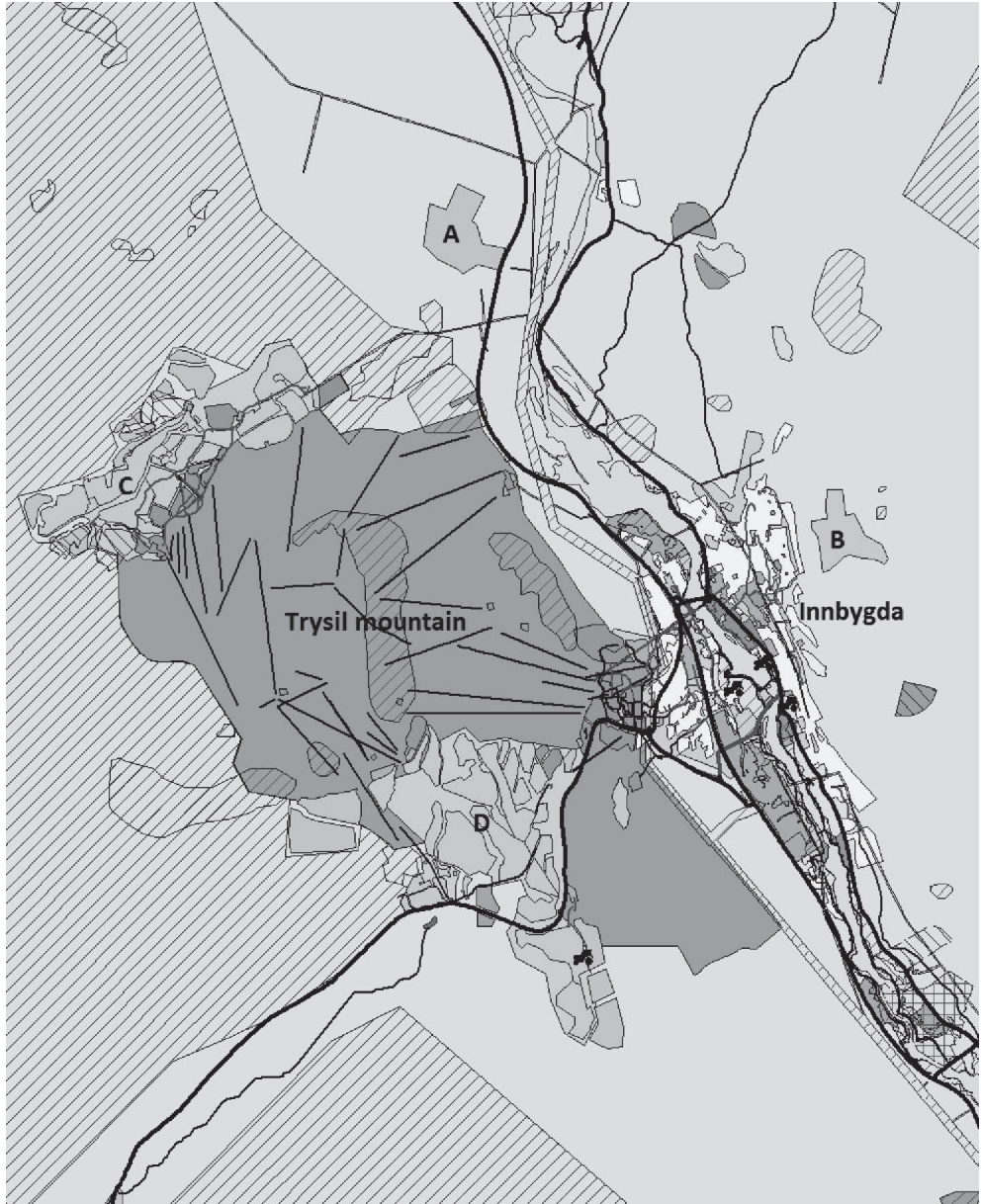


Figure 2 small section of the spatial part of the municipal plan. The central village Innbygda is placed along the river which runs at the foot of the Trysil mountain where the large ski resort is placed. A: newly planned second home development area, B: second home development area approved in the earlier version of the spatial plan, C: northern second home area, D: southern second home area. The black lines on the mountain indicate ski-lifts. (Municipality of Trysil, 2014a, author's markings)

According to Trysil's long-term development strategy from 2009, second home development with related businesses is expected to be a main driver for municipal development and is clearly the single most important development strategy for the municipality. In the strategy, it is stated that *"Trysil should become the North's leading sustainable year-around tourist destination"* (Municipality of Trysil, 2009, p:5, author's translation).

The regulation of second homes in Trysil mainly relates to physical appearance, i.e. size, height, use of materials, and parking, sanitation, electricity and TV-cables. Figure 2 represents a typical large modern second home, which represents the technocratic and commodified second home developments. Such developments should also be regarded as investment objects, and thus they also characterize a commercialization and financialization of the phenomenon.



Figure 3: Type C second home as seen around the Trysil mountain. As also seen in the following pictures, the style is typical for the modern second homes representing a romantic idea of the Norwegian second home tradition. Photograph by the author.

Part of the neoliberal planning theory suggests that enforcements of regulation is relaxed upon. This is visible in one newly developed area (B on figure 2). As seen in figure 3, the alterations to the terrain of the mountain side is well above the 1.5 meters allowed through the municipal plan's spatial part (Municipality of Trysil, 2014b),.



Figure 3: Newly developed area on the Innbygda side above the village. Since tree cover is still missing it is possible to see the alterations done to the mountain. The mountainside is being altered to fit the plot and the individual driveway. Photograph by the author.

Figure 4 shows one of the older areas that were developed in the 1970s, positioned north in the outskirts of the municipality at an approximately 30 min drive on dirt road from the central village (not visible in figure 2). The second homes here and other areas with “older” developments are characterised by small, often self-built cabins, many of which have several add-ons as the user requirements have changed. In this sense they are of a convivial nature. With small cabins that are fitted to and placed in the terrain, such areas are in sharp contrast to the newly developed areas.



Figure 4: An old second home area built in the 1970s representing a more traditional “cabin” on the outskirts of the municipality. This small type second home area was considered less harmful to the terrain and in a visual sense by one planner, though it was placed close to the tree line, thus more exposed.. Photograph by the author.

After this short introduction to Trysil and its second homes, the focus in the following will be on planning for second homes.

Planning in Trysil

The interviewed planners expressed regret towards a lacking overall second home strategy. The absence of such a strategy was seen, among others, through examples of incremental planning when it came to spatial allocation of areas for development. Two recent examples were mentioned where good planning arguments were lacking for those specific allocations (A and B in figure 2). The planners described processes where landowners had asked the municipality to include the areas into the municipal plan’s spatial part, a proposal towards which the planners were reluctant. The politicians would, however go through with this proposal, simply for the sake of development. The planners had argued that it would have been better to place new areas in connection with the second home areas already existing in abundance on to the mountain close to the ski resort (C and D in figure 2)

). The politicians disapproved of this argument, as the proposed area B was a development opportunity in new attractive areas. In the instance of area A in figure 2, the county governor (“Fylkesmann”) disapproved of the allocation as a mere satellite development. The objection resulted in a dialog, and the municipality would have to develop a second home strategy (a strategy already promised in the long-term strategy from 2009 (Municipality of Trysil, 2009), but still no sign of it can be seen on the web page of the municipality) and got permission to carry on planning for the second home area. Such a strategy might result in less incremental planning. However, as Trysil already has a long history of second home development, there is a great deal of path dependence, and the above example might

result in even more second home areas on the opposite side of the river or close to the new satellite development.

The above-described case for location of new development plots seems to be a good representation of similar cases described by the interviewed planners and fits very well with what Overvåg (2010) found in his case studies of two other municipalities in Norway. Another case, which the planners disapproved of, was related to the planning process of the new spatial part of the municipal plan approved in early 2014. Here, planners and politicians discussed an introduction of a protection border towards undeveloped areas, beyond which development should not take place. However, this was dropped in the process of negotiating with landowners.

Another example to make Trysil more attractive to second home developments is plans to build an airport across the Swedish border in collaboration with Swedish second home destinations. This would act as a time-space compressor as it opens up for more long distance visitors. Although environmental concerns are to be sought for through the planning regulations and process and the two interviewed planners' ideas about what environmentally friendly second home development is were in line with that of national guidelines, such concerns seem to have difficulties in getting through. Kaltenborn, Andersen and Nellemann, (2007) argue that planning competences in small municipalities do not match the pressures of large development actors and that this is a threat to the environment in second home municipalities. Likewise, they argue that un-controllable second home growth threatens the very foundation of their existence by impairing on nature experience qualities, local culture and recreational access.

The planning process described by the planners seems to coincide well with the notions of a neoliberal planning system entailing a strongly market oriented reality that extols the transfer of authority from government to private actors (Sager, 2012). Castree (2010) documents that such a neoliberal environmental policy favours owner-operators above other stakeholders and that it does not do enough to tackle the ecologically destructive and wasteful effects of capital accumulation. Although it was not directly discussed in the interviews, the planners' role in the above examples shares similarities with the described theory of the neoliberal planner. It might seem that this role was brought down on them unwillingly, as planners and politicians might not have the nerve to stand through the pressure of the prospects of development. As described, these outer regions are in a constant state of crisis and since modern jobs are being located in urban areas, tourism becomes one of the opportunities for getting hold of investment. Second home development fit into the neoliberalization process extremely well, as it privatizes¹⁸ and commercializes environmental goods for profit. This case study therefore disclose some of the same mechanisms of neoliberalization of nature and culture through the tourism industry as other studies find (see e.g. Duffy, 2014, 2015; Scher, 2011) The deregulation of bank lending has also enabled a financialization of second homes, which for Steffansen (2016) has introduced a paradox into second home ownership. The paradox arises when the neoliberal cultural realm creates needs for recreation, which then are satisfied through a second home bank loan that again needs to be paid back through wage labour subjective to the forces of the neoliberal agenda.

Discussion and conclusion

As seen through the empirical data, the development tends to be pro-development and although environmental concerns are to some extent recognised, they seem to be neglected or subordinated to

¹⁸ It does so to a greater extent than privately owned undeveloped land, because here the right exists, through the common rights law, for the public to access and use the land for recreational purposes. This possibility becomes reduced with second home developments.

growth policies through the planning process. As such, the case shows traces of a neoliberal agenda influencing on the planning process. In a system where development interests continuously win the power struggle with environmental concerns, people are free to satisfy their aspirations for an increasingly unsustainable second home. This is especially so since the situation of Trysil as an outer-region municipality in decline has not changed. Therefore, another major barrier for more sustainable second home development seems to be the state of crisis and decline in outer regions and a policy reliance on second home development to turn this development around. In this decline, there is a fear that further regulations imposed on developers will send them off to other municipalities with softer regulations, resulting in losses of economic opportunities. They thus go for supply that meets the demands. The case of Trysil therefore, at least in the examined planning, represents an example where the ideal that characterises neoliberalism has the upper hand. In general, the current planning system does leave most planning considerations to the individual municipalities, of which many have to struggle with development interests. Such development interests seem to have an easy case, especially in outer-region municipalities. Therefore, stronger national directions for second home development might be necessary in order for the planning not to focus on local development interests primarily.

The neoliberal agenda is throughout the article argued to be an agenda that basically seeks to ease barriers towards economic activity, but also an agenda that have shaped the landscape of consumption into that of 'cultural capitalism'. On a geographical scale, capital also seeks to overcome barriers of time and space in order to seek new arenas to exploit. The Norwegian second home phenomenon has proven a good example of these agendas. On an agent level, inhabitants and local authorities are thus facing a number of structural incentives that reward environmentally unfriendly actions and punish environmentally friendly actions, especially those that can slow down productivity and growth. The spontaneous, bottom-up actions of most inhabitants and most local authorities will therefore often be to compete for individual and local wealth at the cost of environmental sustainability and conviviality.

The Norwegian second home phenomenon has therefore developed from something rather simple and convivial into a contemporary phenomenon that has to a large extent been commodified as well as become technocratic. The process of commodification is a sign of both capitalist and neoliberal agendas imposing on the phenomenon. The commodification is in conflict with the goal of securing access to nature for all since it threatens the otherwise proposed egalitarian phenomenon and privatizes nature. The material development and the commodification process seem to have fostered planning's technocratic development. However, there seems to be a form of iatrogenic element as planning regulation in some aspects appears to provide the neoliberal agenda with a set of regulatory measurement applicable for the process of commodification and thus the environmental degradation, which the phenomenon also causes and planning was supposed to prevent.

In the light of the criticism from a conviviality perspective, one might ask whether the planning regulations, which arguably have helped induce increased standards of second homes, should be entirely abandoned. I believe that this is not the case, but then a seemingly paradoxical situation arises. However, we might also look at the current situation as contradictory as "planning, if anything, may be seen as being in direct contrast to neoliberalism..." (Baeten, 2012, p. 205). It is therefore relevant to see planning for second home development as being used in two ways. The first, which is the current use, is a legislation that sets out standards of future development issued by a capitalist agenda. The second uses legislation to set limits on development in a manner that recognizes the entire population's need for recreation and then decides the amount of resources that should be used for such purpose. Such inversion of policy goals would however require a recognition of current structures of the growth fixated society and a subsequently change of such structures. Being aware of such structures will highlight that a legislation that sets out minimum standards for development will often not be sustainable, as minimum standards will only increase in the pursuit of growth and create a phenomenon for the few.

On the other hand, a set of limits recognizing real human needs, environmental boundaries and social equality might reconstruct a phenomenon with its original qualities, such as conviviality, creativity, rural culture, contact to nature and relaxation. Such legislation would then need to be the responsibility of national government who could have a more comprehensive analytical understanding of the developments and be able to steer it, through regulations, towards a more sustainable and convivial development.

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Appendices

Appendix I – Invitation letter to questionnaire



«Adresse»

Undersøkelse om bruk av fritidsboliger

Institutt for Landskapsplanlegging gjennomføre en undersøkelse om forhold rundt bruk eller ikke bruk av fritidsboliger. Vi har fått trukket et utvalg av tilfeldige personer som vi nå ber om å være med og svare på et spørreskjema. Derfor ber vi deg svare på denne undersøkelsen. Dersom du ikke bruker fritidsboliger er deltakelsen din likevel viktig.

Informasjonen fra undersøkelsen vil gi et viktig bidrag til å forbedre kunnskapen om livsstiler i tilknytning til bruk av fritidsboliger og gi et bedre grunnlag for planlegging av fremtidige fritidsboliger. Vi håper du vil hjelpe oss gjennom å svare på dette spørreskjemaet.

Det tar vanligvis omtrent 15 minutter å fylle ut skjemaet.

For å svare går du inn på denne lenken:

www.nmbu.no/flerboliger eller skanner denne QR koden:



Når du har fulgt lenken skal du skrive **id-koden: »ID»**

Vennligst fyll ut spørreskjemaet innen to uker - på forhånd takk for at du deltar i undersøkelsen. Svarene dine er viktige!

Hvis du har noen spørsmål, kan du ta direkte kontakt med prosjektleder Rasmus Steffansen via e-post: rasmus.steffansen@nmbu.no

Vennlig hilsen

Rasmus Steffansen

Prosjektleder / PhD-stipendiat

Institutt for Landskapsplanlegging

Alle svar behandles anonymt og konfidensielt ved Institutt for Landskapsplanlegging, Norges Miljø- og Biovitenskapelige Universitet, og alle resultater vil kun bli presentert som statistikk slik at det ikke er mulig å finne ut hva enkeltpersoner har svart. Kun prosjektdeltakerne har adgang til datafilene. Forventet prosjektslutt er 30. juni 2017. Alle data anonymiseres fullstendig så snart som mulig og senest ved prosjektslutt. Deltakelse er frivillig og man kan trekke seg når som helst uten å oppgi grunn. Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Appendix II – Questionnaire

Questionnaire survey questions, to be answered through the web-page questionnaire survey solution from Questback.com. These are all the questions, if respondents has access to more than one it was possible to answer question 2-15, specifically both for the most used and for the second most used second home. In general, the example here does not represent the experience of the questionnaire, which respondents got, because it is not possible in a satisfying manor to exemplify it here. Depending on whether respondents were owners of one, users one, owners of more than one, users of more than one, debt or no debt, or non-owners/users, the questionnaire would be different.

Undersøkelse om fritidsboliger

Tak fordi du velger å delta i denne undersøkelsen :)

I undersøkelsen blir du bedt om å svare på disse temaene:

- Generel informasjon om fritidsbolig
- Finansering av fritidsbolig
- Motiver for bruk eller ikke bruk
- Holdninger til bruk av fritidsboliger og miljø
- Generelt om deg

Din besvarelse er viktig uansett om du har tilgang til en fritidsbolig eller ei.

Fritidsbolig er i denne undersøkelsen en bolig du bruker i fritiden din. En bolig på fjellet, en leilighet i byen, i Norge eller utlandet er eksempler, hvis de for det meste blir brukt til fritidsformål. En bolig i forbindelse med ukependling til jobb er for eksempel ikke inkludert, selv om den en gang i blant brukes til fritidsformål.

Hvor mange fritidsboliger eier eller disponerer du eller din husstand ? (Med disponere mener vi at du/dere har tilgang til fritidsboligen så mye du/dere vil f.eks. gjennom familie, venner, arbeide eller leie gjennom en lengere periode.)	1	0
	2	1
	3	2
	4	3
	5	4
	6	5 eller flere
Fritidsbolig: Hvordan vil du karakterisere den fritidsboligen du/dere bruker mest? (Uansett om denne er eid, leid eller lånt)	1	Hytte
	2	Hus på gårdsbruk
	3	Ferieleilighet
	4	Bolig i byen
	5	Ikke flytbare campingvogn
	6	Kollonihage
	7	Husbått
	8	Annet
Hvor er fritidsboligen plasert?	1	Norge
	2	Skandinavia (ikke Norge)

	3	Europa (ikke Skandinavia)
	4	Utenfor Europa
Hvilken standard har fritidsboligen?	1	Primitiv (ikke innlagt vann)
	2	Middels (innlagt strøm, vann, vannklosett og dusj/badekar)
	3	Høy (innlagt strøm, vann, vannklosett og dusj/badekar, vaskemaskin og oppvaskmaskin)
Hvilken tilgangsform har du/dere til denne fritidsboligen?	1	Langtidsleie
	2	Jeg/vi har tilgang, men fritidsboligen eies/leies av familie/venner
	3	Jeg/vi har tilgang via arbeid eller forening
	4	Eier
Hvordan ble fritidsboligen anskaffet?:	1	Bygd selv
	2	Kjøpt på åpent markedet
	3	Arvet eller kjøpt via slekt
	4	Vet ikke
Eier du/dere denne fritidsboligen selv?	1	Ja
	2	Nei, sammen med andre
	3	Vet ikke
Når overtok dere fritidsboligen? (Angi årstal f.eks: 1954 eller 2004)	1	
Hva er antatt salgsverdi av fritidsboligen i dag? (Angi ca. antall hele millioner norske kroner. Eksempel: 300.000 = 0,3 eller 2.400.000 = 2,4)	1	
Hva var verdien ved overtakelse? (Angi ca. antall hele millioner norske kroner. Eksempel: 300.000 = 0,3 eller 2.400.000 = 2,4)	1	
Hva var leie siste år (2015)? (Angi ca. antall hele tusen norske kroner. Eksempel: 150000 eller 300000)	1	
Ble fritidsboligen finansiert via gjeld ved overtakelse?	0	Nei
	1	Ja
Spesifiser vennligst ca. prosentvis lån av kjøpsverdi?	1	1-20%
	2	21-40%
	3	41-60%
	4	61-80%
	5	81-100%
Har et annet objekt blitt stilt som garanti for lånet i fritidsboligen? (eksempel: jeg har benyttet egenkapitalen i primærboligen min til å oppta lånn slik at jeg kunne kjøpe fritidsboligen)	1	Ja
	2	Nei, lånet er tilknyttet fritidsboligen

I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i disse påstandene?: For å kunne beskytte miljøet trenger Norge økonomisk vekst	1	Sterkt enig
	2	Enig
	3	Hverken enig eller uenig
	4	Uenig
	5	Sterkt uenig
I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i disse påstandene?: Økonomisk vekst skader alltid miljøet	1	Sterkt enig
	2	Enig
	3	Hverken enig eller uenig
	4	Uenig
	5	Sterkt uenig
I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i disse påstandene?: Jorden vil ganske enkelt ikke tåle at befolkningsveksten fortsetter slik som idag	1	Sterkt enig
	2	Enig
	3	Hverken enig eller uenig
	4	Uenig
	5	Sterkt uenig
I hvilken grad er du villig til å godta følgende utsagn: Jeg er villig til å betale mye høyere priser for å beskytte miljøet	1	Svært villig
	2	Villig
	3	Hverken villig eller uvillig
	4	Uvillig
	5	Svært uvillig
I hvilken grad er du villig til å godta følgende utsagn: Jeg er villig til å godta en reduksjon i levestandarden min for å beskytte miljøet	1	Svært villig
	2	Villig
	3	Hverken villig eller uvillig
	4	Uvillig
	5	Svært uvillig
I hvilken grad er du villig til å godta følgende utsagn: Jeg er villig til å betale mye høyere skatter for å beskytte miljøet	1	Svært villig
	2	Villig
	3	Hverken villig eller uvillig
	4	Uvillig
	5	Svært uvillig
<p>Prøv å forestill deg et fremtidig fritidsboligområde. Les vennligst de to nedenstående eksemplene på fremtidige fritidsboligområder og svar på spørsmålene som følger. Anta at bruken din av fritidsboligen samt de servicetilbudene som ellers finnes i fritidsboligområdet, f.eks. skianlegg, innkjøpsmuligheter, havneanlegg osv., er de samme i begge eksemplene.</p>		
Fritidsboligområde «A»		Fritidsboligområde «B»
Rundt fritidsboligen min er det mange moderne enfamiliehytter med tilhørende tomt		Rundt fritidsboligen min er der bare noen mindre og primitive fritidsboliger, ferieleiligheter og enkelte rimelige hoteller

Fritidsboligen har moderne standard	Fritidsboligen min er enten en primitiv fritidsbolig eller ferieleilighet	
Jeg eier fritidsboligen selv	Som alle andre fritidsboliger i området er fritidsboligen min delt med minst en annen familie	
På grund av mye utbygging er nærmeste skispor/-anlegg langt unna	Skisporet/-anlegget er rett utenfor døra	
Jeg må ofte bruke bil for å komme til de aktivitetene jeg gjerne vil	Jeg kan gå på ski eller til fots til de aktivitetene jeg gjerne vil utøve	
Jeg bruker ca. 3 timer på å komme meg til fritidsboligområdet og eneste transport-mulighet er bil	Jeg bruker ca. 1 time til å komme meg til fritidsboligområdet i enten bil eller tog	
Hvis alt annet enn de nevnte egenskapene er det samme: hvilket fritidsboligområde vil du da velge?	1	Fritidsboligområde «A»
	2	Fritidsboligområde «B»
Hvilket fritidsboligområde mener du passer best inn i den virkeligheten Norge befinner seg i nå?	1	Fritidsboligområde «A»
	2	Fritidsboligområde «B»
Hvilket fritidsboligområde mener du vil passer best inn i den virkeligheten Norge vil befinne seg i i framtida?	1	Fritidsboligområde «A»
	2	Fritidsboligområde «B»
Hvor miljøvennlig mener du bruken av fritidsboligen din/dine er?	1	Overhodet ikke miljøvennlig
	2	Ikke miljøvennlig
	3	Hverken eller
	4	Miljøvennlig
	5	Meget miljøvennlig
Hvor miljøvennlig mener du fritidsboligbruken i Norge er generelt sett?	1	Overhodet ikke miljøvennlig
	2	Ikke miljøvennlig
	3	Hverken eller
	4	Miljøvennlig
	5	Meget miljøvennlig
Kjønn	1	Mann
	2	Kvinne
For hvilken kategori vil du beskrive deg selv?	1	Norsk
	2	Skandinavisk (ikke norsk)
	3	Europeisk (ikke skandinavisk)
	4	Ikke europeisk
Hvor mange medlemmer har kjernefamilien din, inklusiv deg selv?: Under 7 år	1	0
	2	1
	3	2
	4	3
	5	4
	6	5
	7	6 eller flere

Hvor mange medlemmer har kjernefamilien din, inklusiv deg selv?: 7-17 år	1	0
	2	1
	3	2
	4	3
	5	4
	6	5
	7	6 eller flere
Hvor mange medlemmer har kjernefamilien din, inklusiv deg selv?: 18 år og over	1	0
	2	1
	3	2
	4	3
	5	4
	6	5
	7	6 eller flere
Hva slags utdanning har du? Kryss av for den høyeste utdanningen du har fullført	1	Grunnskole
	2	Videregående skole (tidl. gymnas, yrkesskole)
	3	Utdanning som håndverker eller fagarbeider
	4	Inntil 3 års universitets- eller høyskoleutdanning
	5	Universitets- eller høyskoleutdanning på 4 år eller mer
Er du for tiden yrkesaktiv (heltid eller deltid minst 1 time per uke) eller under utdanning? (Sett kryss i en eller flere ruter):Ja, jeg er yrkesaktiv	0	Nei
	1	Ja
Er du for tiden yrkesaktiv (heltid eller deltid minst 1 time per uke) eller under utdanning? (Sett kryss i en eller flere ruter):Ja, jeg er student/elev	0	Nei
	1	Ja
Er du for tiden yrkesaktiv (heltid eller deltid minst 1 time per uke) eller under utdanning? (Sett kryss i en eller flere ruter):Nei, jeg er verken yrkesaktiv eller student/elev	0	Nei
	1	Ja
Hvor stor er husstandens samlede årsinntekt (bruttoinntekt før skatt)?	1	Under 200.000 kr
	2	200.000 – 399.999 kr
	3	400.000 – 599.999 kr
	4	600.000 – 799.999 kr
	5	800.000 – 999.999 kr
	6	1.000.000 – 1.199.999 kr
	7	1.200.000 kr eller mer
	8	Vet ikke

Hva slags bolig bor du/dere i?	1	Enebolig
	2	Rekkehus
	3	Annet småhus med inntil 4 leiligheter
	4	Leilighet i bygård eller blokk
	5	Hybel
	6	Gårdsbruk
	7	Annet
Eier eller leier du/dere denne boligen?	1	Eier
	2	Leier
Hva er postnummeret der du bor?	0	Not Selected
	1	Selected
Er det noe mer du vil fortelle oss om ditt valg og bruk av fritidsbolig, måten du har finansiert boligen på, fritidsboliger og miljø eller motiver for bruk eller ikke bruk? I så fall er du velkommen til å skrive kommentarer nedenfor.		

Appendix III – Interview guide, planners

Projekt introduktion

Først og fremmest er det at få en snak med praktikere om de ting som jeg har siddet at læst på ift. hytter i Norge. Jeg har læst om forskellige teorier og forskellige forskningsresultater. Det kunne være fint at få en snak om det synes jeg - relateret til praksis selvfølgelig. Så jeg kan få en forståelse af hvordan virkeligheden ser ud. Mit projekt handler om hvordan planlægningen håndtere de forskellige konsekvenser af den seneste udvikling indenfor hytte trenden. Hvilke problemer og hvilke fordele der kan drages fra udviklingen.

Jeg er interesseret i hvordan kommuneplanens langsigtede og areal-delen bliver fortolket og håndteret i praksis. Jeg har valgt Trysil som case for mit projekt – casestudiet går mest på at undersøge hvordan planlægningen håndtere hytteplanlægningen i forhold til bærekraft begrebet og hvordan I som praktikere forstår et begreb som bærekraft.

Interview:

- Hvad er de generelle trends for hytte udbygningen i XX kommune?
 - o hvilke hytter vil kommunen helst?
- Hvorfor tror du Trysil er blevet en hytte kommune?
 - o hvorfor fortsætte med at udbygge?
 - Hvad er kommunens rationaler bag hytte udbygning?
- Hvordan udformes kommuneplanerne og andre relevante planer?
 - o I samarbejde med andre aktører?
 - o Andre kommuner / fylke / Sverige sälen?
- Dispensationspraksis?
- Hvilke kundskabsgrundlag kræves der tilvejebragt for at udlægge nye hytte områder i kommunen?
 - o hvem har bevisbyrden for miljøkonsekvenser/for kundskabs grundlag?
- Hvad er dit indtryk af hvordan hytte udbygningen har påvirket kommunens generelle udvikling, e.g. befolkning, arbejde (sæson), andre muligheder for at slå sig op på?
- Hvordan tænkes bærekraft begrebet ift. hyttebygning?
 - o Transport?
 - o Hvor kommer den største andel af hytte ejere fra?
 - o Trysil som bærekraftig helårlig reiselivsdestination?
- I forhold til klimaændringer hvordan forholder I jer gennem planlægningen til det? er det noget der bliver taget højde for?
- Hvordan vurdere du forholedt mellem økonomiske interesser og miljøverninteresser?
 - o hvordan er samarbejdet mellem økonomiafdelingen og plan-byg-og miljøafdelingen?
- Andre vigtige planer- fylke niveau?

Appendix IV – Interpretation schema, example

Analytical question	Interview extract	Kondensed/analysed response on the analytical question
Hvad der er kommunens rationaler for udbygning af hytter	<p>ei, det er jo på en måde et mål for kommunen å være en stor hytte bygger kommune, faktisk , det er jo, altså ringvirkningerne av hyttene er relativ stor ift. både den daglige kjøbe når man først er på hytta og så er der jo det her med mye varer og tjenester som kan leveres fra kommunen, da, med oppgradering og alt sånt, så det kaster jo en go del av sig og ikke midst de mindre grendene så kan det på en måte være det som gjør at du har næbutikkene, fordi du har så tilpas mye hytter i nærheten at du oppretholder kjøpekraft da, i området øhm, ja, og det er på en måte et ønske at vi skal utvide den turistme biten da</p> <p>Utvikling, ja øh, fordi og og de mente blandt andet at en del af de områdene som lå inne før vi starta og som har ligget inne i længere tid uten at blive utbygget de mente at de var kanskje var lite interessante og bygge ut at de, der måtte vi, nye utbyggere måtte få mulighet for å komme med nye områder der der kanskje var mere interessant å bygge, så det var vel primære argumenterne dems,</p> <p>jeg tror de fleste ser det som positivt da, øhm jeg tror folk ser mere positivt ut på de utbygginger som er rundt, rundt i kommunen end kanskje en av og til for inntryk av at man ser på fjellet der er sån de og os, den holdningen er der nok lidt fremdeles, um, ja når der er høyseson i vinterferie, i romjula, og påskefeire og sån, man bliver lidt lei, nogen bliver nok lidt lei at der er fylldt over alt av folk, vi er jo 6600 og nogen innbyggere og så er vi vel et eller annedet sted mellom 30-40 tusind her i kommunen i..</p> <hr/> <p>de fleste ønsker mulighet for store hytter, for da kan dem tage ind en højere pris når dem selger tomter eller sådan nogle ting da, de fleste ønsker det,</p>	<p>The municipality wants to be a big second home developer</p> <p>There are some benefits from the SH development like the possibility to have a higher level of services local shops, especially in the small villages</p> <p>Development is the main reason for the municipality to continue to include new SH areas in the spatial plan even</p> <p>Most people/SH unions see SH development as a positive thing, especially in the small villages, maybe not so much in the central village where there might be a feeling of us (locals) / them (Trysilfjellet)</p> <p>Pressure on possibility to build large SH because it makes more money</p>
Hvad der kan betegnes som værende imod en mere bæredygtig planlægning	<p>trafikke skal øke dramatisk i sentrum de åra, baseret på hvor meget vi skal bygge ut, folketallet det går jo jævnt nedover os prøve det er jo å tillate folk å bo på hyttene en bruks endring fra fritidsbolig til bolig og det har resultert i nogle få saker så vi har en, i hvert fald offisielt har vi sagt ja til en 10-15 personer som er fyllet her til fordi de kan få lov til at bo på hytta</p> <p>men det ser vi at der er et stadig økende press på de områdene uten vei, ikke nødvendigvis så mye ift. at de skal komme ind dit om vinteren med bil, men de vil gerne have muligheten for at køre ind på sommeren og kanskje også ift. at dem ønsker sig mere komfortable hytter med kanskje noe toilet løsning som kræver tømning og sån ift. at hytter bliver solgt eller går vider til barnebarn eller noet sånt, og der kommer fort spørsmål om høyere standarder og ankomst og sån som f.eks. rundt [ulkart]sjøen så sagde politikerne ja til en tre fire sån stikveie for nogle år siden, og der har de på en måde sagt ja og da der har vi sagt ja til de allerfleste der har spurt, ble bygget på 70-tallet, ja de fleste er kanskje mere 40 men drøyt 40-60 kvadrart eller noe sånt, hvor mange nå ønsker lidt mere areal og når de først gjør det så oppgraderer de kanskje den gamle delen lidt : øhm, hvis vi ikke tager med trysil fjellet og nybergssund så har vi til rette for ca. 1200 nye tomter og der er noen av dem som allerede er regulert og så er der nogen nye</p>	<p>Areas already in the municipal plan which are not being developed, they are seen as not attractive enough and new areas must be put forth, also even if they are placed against environmental criteria</p> <p>Traffic increase in central village because of SH development (on the opposite side of the river/mountain)</p> <p>Decrease in population in spite</p> <p>Active campaign to make people move permanently to their SH (mostly elderly –no kids)</p> <p>Increasing demands on increasing standards (toilets, roads, floor area etc.) when generation shift takes place in older areas</p> <p>Tendence for precedens if politicians approve e.g. a road to the SH, or a SH area</p> <p>1200 plots for SH development approved through the plan, outside the areas Trysilfjellet and</p>

<p>og så i tillegg til de 1200 tomtene så har vi jo nå i den nye plan mulighet for at øke fra ca 26000 senger som der er bygget idag til 43500 så det er en 60-70% økning</p> <p>ja det er i trysilfjellet, inkludert her indbygda og nybergsund, (peger på kort)</p> <p>, og (he) så blev alle tomt, alle indspil der ble lagt ind fra politisk side, ja, uten hensyn til grøn streg og egentlig til de meste av de andre krit</p> <p>: ja altså det, kommunen, vi sjøl peker ikke på noen områder og sier at der vil vi bygge hytter, vi har storset bare fået noen indspil og så har vi vurderet det og lagt det ind etter om vi mener de følger kriterierne så den, det er på en måte den strategien vi mangler lidt</p> <p>, men det er på en måte den runden i den overordnede arealplan det er der politikerne lagde in veldig mye mere end det vi mente var riktig da. fra administrationens</p> <p>men er jo, det resulterte jo i innsigelser fra fylkesmannen blandt andet, på antal tomter, antal senger, og så, han nævnte spesielt det område som ligger der (peget på kort, HA+1619) det hetter (lørvangs-/lørvandsbakken) der fik vi innsigelser fra fylkesmannen at dette var en ren statelit og at den hadde burde ligge oppe i fjellet, og etter mye (om og men) og frem og tilbake så endte det med at vi fik lov å beholde men da har vi lovet fylkesmannen at da skal vi lave en strategi fritidsbebyggelsen som vi kan bygge på næste gang før næste revision, så det er vi så vidt i gang med nå</p> <p>vi hadde ment at vi skulle være færdig med den før årskifte, men om vi rekker det det vet jeg ikke helt</p> <p>, selv om, selv om, det virker som om at, den, økonomiske biten i trysil er dårligere ift. utbygging end det er i en del andre destinationener, vi tjener mindre penger per turist end noen andre gjør.</p> <p>, men det er jo blandt andet at vi har hat veldig rask utbygging, det vil sige at vi har for mange små firmaere så der er kommet veldig mange firmare fra Harmar, Oslo, (romriketrakten) kommet ind, bygget tager pengene med sig ut og forsvinder, (snakker om andre hytte destinationer som klare sig bedre fordi der er gået langsommere, trysilfjellets utmarkslag har bare solgt tomter ikke været utbygger)</p> <p>: men var det før 2000 du snakkede om at der var et skift om at landbruseiendomme kunne deles op i tre tomter og der skete det nærmest per automatik eller?</p> <p>24:47 EJ: jeg ved ikke helt hvordan det foregik (det var nok ganske let)</p> <p>EJ den er jo på i hvert fald på seks måneder, så det er lidt av målet med den der, at den skal få lidt mere turister og folk her på sommeren sån at du får flere helårsarbejdspladser, det er lidt av det og så og så ønsker man selvfølgelig at det skal være, at det skal være goe miljøløsninger og hele den pakke der på en måte, men det er ikke, det har ikke materialisert sig i sådan veldig konkrete tiltak ennå,</p> <p>140 (taler lidt om forsøg med energisparrende tiltag eks nærvarme, men det svarer sig ikke, lidt om bedre isolering for mindst varmebehov når ingen er der)</p> <p>problemet er nå, at med de nye områdene de ligger lidt lægere under og med lidt dårligere løsninger, lettere på en måte at sige ok jeg tager bilen,</p> <p>om den nye luftplads og miljøaspekt af det, trysil luftplads er for lille, Sverige luftpladsen kan tage ned 90 eller 120 passageres fly), der sjker jo det nå at ski markedet i norden er er på en måte ikke så mange flere å hente, hvis du skal øke og vokse så må du hente ind folk andre steder fra, for hvis ikke så tager du bare gæster fra Sælen og til Trysil, eller Sælen stjæler gæster fra os, så blive det lidt mere internt røkeringer af skigæsterne så det de mener det er at man må hente gæste fra en større region england, nederland, tyskland, polen</p>	<p>Nybergsund (old and new allocations)</p> <p>In addition to these there is approved an increase of 60-70% beds around Trysilfjellet, Indbygda and Nybergsund (from 26000 beds to 43500)</p> <p>Politicians overrule plans and agreed on programmes for development e.g. when developers wanted to include areas that did not take "green line" or other criteria into account, Politicians seem to favour development arguments rather than planning arguments</p> <p>The municipality do not look for suitable areas, but let developers make suggestions, these suggestions are (should be) approved only if they take into account the set criteria for new areas</p> <p>A long term strategy for SH development is lacking, but under development (since 2007?), might not be finished in 2014</p> <p>Some new areas are "satellites"</p> <p>Fylkesmann have had several objections e.g. on "satellite" development, number of beds, and lacking strategy</p> <p>The municipality as a whole does not collect as much economic spin off from SH development as other SH destinations, because of too fast development and too small business to keep up, not good enough organisation from the SH unions</p> <p>Before 2000 it was easy to get dispensation to divide our poperty in up til 3/4 units for SH development, not it tis much restrictive</p> <p>The municipality of trysil wants to extend the tourist season to last throughout the summer</p> <p>The notion of trysil as "a year around sustainable tourist destination" has not resulted in any specific initiatives in relation to the environment. Some few attemts but no effect.</p> <p>New areas in the mountain are less geared for ski in ski out routes, and there is becoming longer distances between facilities</p> <p>New airport in Sweeden to attract long distance tourists, resulted in</p>
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<p>der var jo noen som ønskede å legge ut noe, et felt her (peger på kort op mod svensker grænsen), , ja dem har 460 snøkanoner så de basere sig på en måte på at de må produsere snø,</p> <p>: men det er ikke noget i har taget højde for i planerne endnu?</p> <p>17:56 EJ: nej ikke noget sån veldigt, jeg vil ikke sige at vi har, vi har ikke fokusert så veldigt mye på det nej,</p> <p>: nei altså jeg vet nesten ikke hvad jeg skal sige, jeg synes vi har lite, lite føringer fra egentlig fra fylke, så vi har egentlig lite regionale føringer som vi bruker, vi har lidt mere nationale føringer om sateliter og arealer og transport ift. at prøve å klumpe det lidt i trysilfjellet sån at, som vi bruker... det kan hende Bjørn Tore har nogle foreslag til det men vi har ikke fokusert veldigt mye på de planer</p> <hr/> <p>: altså der er jo et kriterie som vi har lagt til grund, øm til, prøver at ligge til grund på vores site da, så er det ikk altid at politikerne er egnige i det men det er jo at koncentrere ny hyttebebyggelse til områder der du allerede har eksisterende bebyggelse</p> <p>34 [uklart] der er jo mange som ønsker å etablere et hytteområde på sin egen tomt, en som har skogeiendom foreskempe, en som har skogeiendom her [pejer på kort] kan jo ønske å, ha et ønske om at utvikle et hytteområde, for at selge tomter og tjene penger på sin eiendom, så det gjør at vi ønsker at sige nei noen ganger da, og av og til sier politikerne ja imot vore råd, det er jo sån systemet er], helt imot svenskergrensa her, der foreslog jo vi eh, der var der et ønske fra grund eier, og vi, og der ønskede politikerne å tag ind eh, men nu ble det, endte med at det ble tat ut til slut alikevel for fylkesmannen hadde sådan en insikelse til den omådet. Og et område her [peger på kort, HA1619] det område her for eksempel som vi mener er lidt sån, der burde ikke ligge et hytteområde der det burde ligesom koncentrerer rundt her, men det ville politikerne have ind da, ellers er der flere man har tat ut da, men der er flere eksempler på områder som vi har, hvi har et her.... som vi ikke ønsker at ha, men som politikerne vbetto at det skulle ligges ind da, det hender nei, da går det ret og slet på sån, at dem ønsker at sige at der er privatpersoner som har en ide, en forretningside ret og slet, og noen ganger synes dem det er viktigere end å ivareta nogle av disse mere overordnede prinsipper som vi ønsker at ligger til gurnd da.</p> <p>: nei nei der er ikke en fylkesplan for hyttebygging, hver kommune har sine planer ret og slet, men fylkes mannen (transport) jeg kan bare illustrere med et eksempel i, vi sitter jo her mit i sentrum, et hytter område som ligger opihier [peger på kort, HC1752] som er under utbygging nå .. (trafik gjennom byen, boligområder, handelscenter osv. stor belastning)</p> <p>langs dele af denne veien gjennom boligområdet som demmå kjøre så er der bygget fortov da, i etter tid, for å bedre trafiksikkerheten for dem som bor i området her</p> <p>vi hadde ganske hardt press for å få bygget ennå mere her i den pesen nå, men det blev nei da, ja det ble nei, i den runden her, men det kan komme tilbake senere, for der brukes gjerne argumenter, jamen dere har jo allerede sakt ja til å etablere et hytteområde, nå må vi få lov til å utvide, er det vi ofte erfare da, at har du først fåt startet i et område så blir det vanskeligere og vanskeligere og si nei til senere utvidelser], det bliver vurderet hver for sig, de her områder?</p> <p>21:28 BT: ja, men vi, med sådan en plan som den her så gjør vi sådan en overordnet vurdering....(ledige reserver - mange ubebyggede hytte tomter, så hvordan flere, nogle argumentere for at deres nye områder er bedre end ubebyggede)</p> <p>: Nabo kommunen er sjældent at dem på en måte er involvert i de planerne her (...)</p>	<p>poposals for new "satellite" SH development near the border.</p> <p>No real worry of climate change, not included in plans, ski destinations based on production of snow,</p> <p>Not really any regional guides or planning directives in relation to SH development and planning, few from the government.</p> <p>Each area is evaluated for itself, but in the overall municipal plan there are some overall evaluation of the proposed new areas</p> <p>There were many reserves (of SH plots) in the old plan but politicians wanted to include new more attractive areas (as argued)</p> <p>No collaboration with neighbour municipalities</p> <p>Soon areas around the (åmot) lake will be developed by SH</p> <p>No real possibility to decrease the use of energy in SH only through the size of the SH, but often pressure to build large SH</p> <p>The municipality does not have a clear definition of what they think of as a sustainable second home development</p> <p>Planner does not believe that SH owners think of the environment</p> <p>Sometimes there is a lack of knowledge before approval of new SH areas</p> <p>Difficult to control developers and what they have promised</p>
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vi ser her langs osensjøen da så er det nå etterhvert begyndt å komme veldig mange hytteområder på den side her av sjøen og nabo kommunen (åmot) har jo et tilsvarende planer på sin side her, så at du bygger veldig mye af strandsonen her det er en mulighet) (bekymring for trysilfjellets rekreasjonsområder der er områder der er lagt ud for hyttebygning, der må komme en linje der skærmer mod hyttebygning for at værne om attraktionerne....man skal etterhvert gå langt for at komme til tur-stier og løiper.

, den forsvandt.um. og dem ønsker hellere at lægge kriterier til grund da, og det er nogle af dem kriterierne som jeg nævnte for dig, men dem...

... det var ligesom de dem ville ha istedet for den grønne stregen men de kriterier var jo dem som lå til grund for den grønne streken [griner] [utydeligt] så å se bort fra dem det er jo lige som så går det på det emd energibruk vi har jo haft en periode med, spesielt i trysil fjellet med bygging af veligt store hytter som forbuker enormt mye elektrisitet til oppvarming og andre ting og genererer et veldig sådan forbruk da, generelt højt forbruk det er jo ting vi har påpekt flere gange at at, vi kanskje bør redusere maksimalstørrelsen på hytter for at det skal bli, næsten eneste virkemiddel kommunen har for å redusere den private energibruket, i private hytter det er jo at redusere størrelsen på hyttene, vi har ikke noget ikke noget hjemmel for at kreve bruk af fornybarenergi foreksmpel eller nærvarmeanlæg eller jordvarme, eller slike ting det er, det er en ting, ofte et økonomisk spørsgsmpl at dem som vil bruke kjempe mye elektrisitet dem får lov til det.

, men kommunen som organisation har egentlig ikke, synes jeg da, gjort sådan en god definition og sat op kriterier op for hvad er det vi synes er en bærekraftig...

Nei, det er nok mere untakelsesvist tror jeg, det er nok mest de hytte ejerne som har mindre eldre hytter som, (men de store hytter i trysilfjellet til mange mil. har ikke noget forhold til det, store biler, oppvarmet garager alle de ting, enormt højt forbrug)

Nei, veldig lite (har prøvet kampanjer på energireducerende tiltag, har mange hytteejere med god økonomi)

altså det er nok lidt sådan længere perspektiv på det så hverken politikere eller reiselivet virker at være veldigt bekymret for det, dem ligesom de tror det her, det skjer i andre pladser og ikke i trysil (hehe) (uklart) dem har nok ikke så veldigt lang tidshorison.

: vi prøver at ivareta de nationale hensyn og jeg synes jo at det er i den som kom fra miljøverndepartementet dengang, der er en del gode ting der() så er det også slik at i så stor en kommune som trysil så ser vi at vi har ikke god nok kundskap og kartlegging av for eksempel naturmangfold over hele kommunen... (en del tilfælde ender ud i mangelfuld udredning)

: men vi kan i hvert fald utfordre dem som kommer med planerne (taler om at de kan snakke med udbyggeren, men når planen er godkendt er der ikke noget at gøre, hvis udbygger ikke gør som de har sagt kan de senere have svært ved at få noget igennem, men der kan ikke være krav om lokal arbeidskraft)

: det er ikke den viktigste, de fleste tilfælde for os så er det de områder som er laveste kategorien, da, sådan mindre end en km. (den kategori er ikke den viktigste heller ikke nationalt det er de 3-5 km som de forsøger at ligge vækt på, i trysil er der næsten ingen af disse)

: nei, ikke i utgangspunktet, så har dem, ikke veien i sig sjøld et er den trafikken den genererer, der har vi set mange eksempler på gjennom historien at når der først er bygget en vei, så bliver der kanskje senere et argument for å få lov til at bygge nogle hytter og så videre hen av den veien osv

<p>Hvad der kan betegnes som værende for en mere bæredygtig planlægning</p>	<p>, vi kommer ikke til at sige ja til veiprojekter til alle de hytterne som ligger oppe i snaufjellet, den ene var en strategi for fritidsbebyggelse og den anden var en grønstrukturplan for området rundt trysilfjellet</p> <p>, så da, sagde vi at der måtte de komme med indspil der, men vi ville ikke øke antal senger rundt fjellet, og politikerne var med på det og vi hadde laget, og vi hadde laget en såkaldt grøn streg da opi her op i fageråsen, som viste at vi ville ikke længere ut og vi var egninge med politikerne og vi lagede et planprogram og enig fremdeles og så kom vi tilførste gangs behandlingen og vi forholdte os til planprogrammet og vi sagde nei til alle de som ikke fulgte kriterierne,</p> <p>r, vi laver på en måte en slags liste med en del kriterier da, du skal ikke op på snaufjellet, det skulle være goe muligheder for ski ind og ski ut og vi skulle kreve plan for krydsning av veier og ja vi hadde en del sån kriterier og vi skulle ha på en måte, ski og tur-veiesystemer skulle være det primære og så kunne man tilpasse byggeområdene etter dem, så der var en del sådan ting som vi hadde som prinsip som vi midste lidt på veien</p> <p>ja de ansat, de har oprettet et nyt firma nå, som skal begynne at bygge ut tomter i eget regi, men det er på en måte på baggrund i den nye plan og den eldre plan det er i startfasen, men det er i riktig rening da,</p> <p>: ja helt klart, vi ser jo i hvert fald sån som på de som regner på det her med tjenester som findes tilgængeligt i kommunen så har vi jo et tjenesteniveau som er rimeligt højt ift. hvad vi egentlig burde have har, hvis vi bare var 6700 mennesker her, masse flere funktioner som er her som vi ikke ville have hat,</p> <p>det er vel egenligt ganske strengt fremdeles vi har hat nogen få saker i det sidste hvor politikerne har sagt ja og der drejer det sig ofte om arv, arve oppgjør og sådan nogle ting</p> <p>, så er der en ski bus som går, ja i vinter var der over 100.000 (taler om lidt andre tiltag ski ind og ski ud</p> <p>men nå ski buseen så tilpas regulær og går så tilpas godt at folk har skjønt at her er der faktisk, det er en go løsning også {</p> <hr/> <p>Men hvad siger du der er for nogle argumenter der vejer tungest ift. den her grænse op imod fjellet, er det estetikken, mandfold eller friluftsliv..? ift. det med kriterier for lokalisering av hytteområder..... (der skal være en egen attraktion)</p> <p>konsekvensutrede,</p> <p>(variere i det ene område meget lidt, men efter naturmangfold loven stillers der større krav, kommune registrere selv, forskelligt kundskabsgrundlag)</p> <p>Men her har vi gjort det, i de to områder her (peger på kort).... (snakker om grøn streg som er et stop for utbygninger i på den anden side af strengen)</p> <p>undtak med det område her (peger), som stadig skal for lov til at utvikle de største hyttene, så har vi de nye områdene her(peger), øh og her er langt til gund en lavere hyttestørrelse end tidligere da, men fortsatt ganske store hytter</p> <p>her(peger) har vi fået politikerne med på å begrense hyttestørrelsen mere end det utbyggerne sjøl ønsker det, det har vi gjort og det har lidt med hensyn til øh, til øh, energibruk men også hensynes til arealbruken , men vi prøver jo det da, i ver job, at få det frem, så når den (ukart, til den grad politikerne følger vores foreslag), så skal det til en vis grad være ivaretaget da, men det er sjællent at politikerne bringer det på banen sjøl</p>	<p>Restrictive towards roads to SH in particular important areas</p> <p>In the 2007 long term plan, it was proposed to formulate a strategy for SH development (yet to finish) and a green structure plan around the Trysil mountain.</p> <p>The planners had a plan for the trysil mountain which were agreeen upon by the politicians, which were said, no more beds and introduced a "green line" a line which bound no more SH development should take place in order to protect recreation areas/green areas</p> <p>The planners do have a list of criteria upon which they base their judgements of new development, criteria which should protect green areas and such environmental protection criteria, and other good planning criateria (ski in ski out)</p> <p>The SH union which the municipality is part of have formed a company which can handle development of SH structures, maintainance..</p> <p>It seem the municipality are able to provide more services and goods for their permanent citisens as a result of SH development</p> <p>Strict procedure for dispensations</p> <p>A ski shuttle bus that goes around the trysil mountain and carries more than 100.000 passengers, the bus has become an integrated part of the mountain</p> <p>Introduction of "green line" in two areas</p> <p>Though most recent areas have permission to develop large SH one big new area has only permission to build the small SH, it seem the planners pushed this through, this because the developer wanted larger SH, but the planners had luck convincing the politicians with arguments of energy use and spatial demand.</p>
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Appendix V – Interview guide, SPAVACC, respondents

Interview guide to households in Oslo region who obtain regular access to non-primary dwelling(s) and second home owners in Oppdal, Trysil and Kragerø:

*The texts and questions marked with grey are targeted for WP4 about how climate change could affect the potential use of second homes. Interviews with second home owners in Oppdal, Trysil and Kragerø should start with an introduction of the interviewees themselves to obtain basic information including age, education, occupation, household size, etc. In addition, the questions about how climate change could affect the potential use of second homes should be prioritized in the interview process.

Purposes of the interview

The interview aims to gain:

- Information on how they use each dwelling: frequency, length of stay, activities
- Information on the potential trade-offs between the consumption of each dwelling: space, dwelling type, location, indoor house quality
- Information on the mobility pattern between dwellings and within local areas of non-primary dwellings
- Information on the motivations for multi-dwelling home lifestyle
- Information on the perceptions on the impacts of multi-dwelling home lifestyle on the environment and climate
- Information about how use pattern of 2nd home owners has changed due to changing weather conditions in the past
- Information about how the motivation of the 2nd home owners for using the 2nd homes is related to weather conditions at different seasons
- Information about how the current use pattern of the 2nd home owners (and their families) is likely to change due to changing climate/ changing weather conditions

Preparation by interviewers

Before the interview, interviewers should be familiar with the information about the interviewee derived from the questionnaire. Survey data of the interviewee should be printed out. The interviewers prepare a sketch showing the location of primary and non-primary dwellings and workplace/place of education recapitulated from the questionnaire. The sketch will be placed on the table during the interview and the interviewee can point out the dwelling in question and sketch the mobility pattern between the different locations.

Firstly, the purpose of the research project is briefly iterated. Depending on the interviewee, the purpose is different:

- The project will investigate how people choose and use other dwellings (we call ‘non-primary dwellings’) beyond the primary dwelling, and its effects on housing consumption, transport behavior, and climate change.
- The project will investigate how future climate change can affect the potential use of second homes.

Secondly, explain the concept of multi-dwelling home lifestyle to the interviewee and show the conceptual scheme. Let the interviewee speak freely for some time (15-20 minutes or so) about how he/she visits and uses each dwelling.

Questions about the topics below should only be asked to the extent that they have not already been covered in this introductory part.

1. General life arrangement of multi-dwelling home lifestyle

For how long have you been living like this? When did you buy, rent or get access to each dwelling? Why did you decide to do so then (life phase, work requirements, economic capability, perception on quality of good life, role models, etc.)?

Do you consider your access to multiple dwellings as strongly characterized by routines, or do the activities vary considerably from week to week, or month to month, or year to year?

If it varies, can you describe how it is like?

If the household lived in a single, static dwelling before (the transition from a single, static dwelling lifestyle to a multi-dwelling home lifestyle may not be clear-cut. The relevance of the following questions will be judged based on the situation of the household), ask:

- Has your life arrangement changed? If so, in which ways?
- Has your mobility pattern changed? If so, in which ways and why? (e.g. one possible change could be that they might travel less in the local area of primary dwelling or change the travel mode) Do you think you have traveled more or less than before?
- Has your car ownership changed? If so, in which ways and why?
- Have you changed the location, size, type of your primary dwelling? If so, in which ways?
- Do you think the household's consumption of energy, furniture, appliances, and the demand for housing maintenance has increased or reduced?

2. Motives, activities and travel pattern, housing consumption, and use in future in relation to EACH dwelling

2.1 Motives/purposes

Why do you choose this place as your primary dwelling? How do you think of the quality of the dwelling and its residential environment?

For what reasons do you visit/use each non-primary dwelling?

What does it mean for you to visit and stay in this dwelling? Is having access to this dwelling important for you? In which sense? Does it feel like home?

2.2 Activities and travel pattern

How often and when do you visit each non-primary dwelling and how long do you stay?

What are the rationales for the choice of the travel mode between primary and non-primary dwellings?

What do you usually do in each non-primary dwelling (both leisure and non-leisure activities, e.g. work)? Describe a typical day when you stay there. If relevant, what do other family members do? How long does each type of activity take?

What are the means of transport in the local area for each activity? How often do you go shopping, where and how?

If relevant, in which situations do you travel between non-primary dwellings and workplace, or between non-primary dwellings?

Do you have different rhythms of life, mood, feelings, and behaviors in different dwellings? How different?

2.3 Housing consumption

What are the important factors for you to decide the location, size, building type, technical standard and decoration of each dwelling? (e.g. needs, preferences, economic ability, requirement of job or study, social and physical conditions, availability of facilities, environmental amenities, leisure activities opportunities etc.)

Is the cost related to this dwelling (rent, housing price, maintenance, travel) an important factor for your access?

Does the quality of your primary dwelling have influence on your choice of location, size, building type, furniture, and appliances of non-primary dwellings?

Does having access to non-primary dwellings influence your choice of location, size, building type, furniture, and appliances of primary dwelling?

3. Motivations for having multi-dwelling home lifestyle

How do you in general feel about having access to multiple dwellings? What does it mean for you to live this way?

Do you think that living in multiple dwellings has any influence on your own and other people's perception of what kind of person you are? If so, in which ways?

Do you think multi-dwelling living is modern and trendy? Is the multi-dwelling home lifestyle considered as high quality of life?

What are the important conditions that can make this way of living possible? (e.g. economic ability, ownership of car, cheap flight, work flexibility, increased leisure time, physical infrastructure)

What do you consider are the benefits and challenges of having this lifestyle? (e.g. social, economic, psychological, physical, time, maintenance)

4. Perceptions on the impact of multi-dwelling living on environment/climate change

How does this lifestyle affect your energy bill for housing, total travel distance, amount of furniture and equipment? If relevant, compare with the life before.

How environmentally/climate friendly do you think your way of living is (retrieve the answer from the questionnaire and ask why it is as such)? Which environmental impacts and particularly climate impacts does this living pose?

How does the use of EACH dwelling (including mobility) differently affect climate/environment? Do you have different environmental concerns in different dwellings? Does that influence your way of using the dwelling and mobility?

If the interviewee thinks it is not environmentally/climate friendly, ask: how do you think you can reduce the impacts on the environment and climate change, and to what extent are you willing to change your behaviors and lifestyle?

5. Climate change influence on the potential use of second home areas

Which activities does the household take part in Oppdal/Trysil/Kragerø when they stay at the 2nd home?

What time of the year do these activities take place, where do they take place, who participates, for how long time each time?

How are these activities influenced by weather conditions?

How do the activities influence the use pattern of the 2nd home- frequency of travelling to it, length of staying, travel pattern within the area at different seasons? How are these activities important for using the 2nd home?

How have the activities and use pattern of 2nd home changed due to changing weather conditions in the past?

How do they think it is likely to change due to changing climate in the future? (he interviewer presents the climate scenario)

Scenario of climate change and physical conditions in Oppdal in medium future:

Compared to current situation, in the period 2071-2100, the following changes may take place:

- Winter will become warmer, days with snow cover will become 2-4 months shorter, and there will be a significant 20-50cm reduction of max amount of snow (snømengde). The normal temperature (1961-1990) in Oppdal in January, February, March is -5°C, -4,5°C, and -2.5°C respectively, so an increase of winter temperature by 4.7°C will significantly affect the snow conditions for skiing;
- Cross-country skiing in the lower areas ("bygda") will have a shorter season with more unstable conditions, but in the mountains cross-country skiing opportunities will still be good. (But there too, the cross-country skiing season will be shortened although it will still be quite long.)
- Summer temperature will increase, which improves the condition for hiking and mountain biking; But there will be more rain in summer which makes the biking and hiking paths sometimes more slippery; The path condition can also be worsened by more frequent river flood;
- Growing season will be 1-2 months longer, leading to better conditions for vegetation. Nature can become more attractive for some, or less for others. Higher tree line may block views from cabins.

Scenario of climate change and physical conditions in Trysil in medium future:

Compared to current situation, in the period 2071-2100, the following changes may take place:

- Winter will become warmer, days with snow cover will become 1-2 months shorter, and there will be a reduction of 0-30cm max amount of snow (snømengde). The normal temperature (1961-1990) in Trysil in

January, February, March is -11°C, -10°C, and -5°C respectively, so an increase of winter temperature by 4-5°C will not significantly affect the snow conditions for skiing;

- There will be more rains in the winter;
- Cross-country skiing in the lower areas ("bygda") will have a shorter season, but in January and February the conditions may still be good. In the mountains cross-country skiing opportunities will still be good. (But there too, the cross-country skiing season will be shortened although it will still be quite long.)
- Summer temperature will increase, which improves the condition for hiking and mountain biking; Small changes in summer precipitation with increased evaporation will lead to increased possibility of summer drought;
- More intense precipitation in shorter period is negative for biking;
- Growing season will be 1-2 months longer, leading to better conditions for vegetation. Nature can become more attractive for some, or less for others. Higher tree line may block views from cabins.

Scenario of climate change and physical conditions in Kragerø in medium future:

Compared to current situation, in the period 2071-2100, the following changes may take place:

- Both summer and winter will become warmer. The normal temperature (1961-1990) for Kragerø in June, July, August is 14,5°C, 16,5°C, and 15,7°C respectively, so an increase of temperature by 4-5°C will lead to a summer temperature of more or less 20°C.
- Summer will become drier;
- A few bad days with storming weather and intense rains in short period in summer;
- There will be more vegetation due to warmer summer and winter;
- Sea water temperature will become warmer, leading to better bathing conditions;
- More storm surges and sea level rise can damage infrastructures (e.g. marina);
- More intense rainfall in short period in summer together with sea level rise and storm surges can lead to increased potential of flooding in cities.

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