



Figure 1 Outdoor shower

TORPING

When seemingly 'doing nothing', working and house ownership is part of tourism

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2.0 ABSTRACT

The unit of analysis is the phenomenon of *Torping*; a contraction of ‘torp’, a particular Swedish cabin type, and the ending ‘ing’ which in this project relates to the practices of Danish nationals who own a torp, in Sweden. The multiple life cycles of the torp have been taken into account as it has endured as a place, despite changes in society that transformed the space as a dwelling unit for peasants to today being a holiday space that relates to tourism.

The project is a qualitative study that place emphasis on the practices around Torping of today and is considered through the lens of *second home* ownership, even though this is often not recognized as tourism. The lack of novelty in the practices, of second homeowners has previously discarded it as tourism, but when second homeowners are considered within tourism, narrations of *alterity*, *rurality* and *escaping from the everyday* reigns in literature about. This project criticizes this emphasis as it highlights tourism as an ‘out of the ordinary’ type of experience. Instead Torping is investigated through a practice oriented, non-representational approach and the project concludes how seemingly non-eventful practices of ‘*doing nothing*’ and manual ‘*work*’ is very integral to what is valued within this type of holiday and argues how Torping is not detached from modernity, but complete with own split firewood and iPad’s.

While the framework of second homes have been applied throughout, the data collection suggest how the notion of multiple dwellings is worth considering due to an attachment to place that many informants depicted as ‘another home’ as opposed to ‘secondary’, where one does not escape from the everyday, but an everyday is rather a part of Torping.

KEYWORDS: *Torping, Torp, Second Homes, Multiple Dwellings, Practice Theory, Posthuman performativity, work, ‘doing nothing’, ‘just’.*

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4.0. CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 The story of the moose; “I still remember your eyes when you saw it!”

“The owner of the house visited us in the evening, and told us, that the hunters had shot a moose” my dad corrected himself mentioning how “wait it was the calf that was shot in the afternoon and they shot the cow in the evening” my mom burst out astoundingly “how are you able to remember that in detail!”. As he continued to tell the story about how the farmer asked if we wanted to come along and see, I recollected how we drove after him. Remembering how my sister and I were waiting, in the backseat, tucked in our quilted blankets and waiting impatiently to see what the fuss was all about, leaning forwards to see through the windows in front. He continued to tell the story of how we followed the tractor into the forest, while gesturing with his hands how my sister and I were about THIS tall, in reality meaning short, as his hand didn't come up much higher than his waist, and continued;

“and then this big cow was laying right here with its split belly, torn apart, and with guts and intestines and all sorts of things, pushed aside. And you realize that it has such a huge head when standing next to it. WHAT a head! And then I remember we thought how the heck are they going to transport it away? ... and then they tied the back of its legs and drove out pulling it behind the tractor” (Appendix 2.1 p. 4-5).

The abovementioned text is an autobiographical memory from one of my personal holidays to Sweden over 25 years ago. The memory testifies of an incredibly dense experience while renting a torp and pretending to go Torping with my family. It was also a unique event, an experience we kept chasing and something that influenced the stories we told each other.

Highlighting what is out of the ordinary and researching tourism from these stories is not uncommon within tourism, and the autobiographical memory plummet right into a particular way of “painting tourism” that is visible in literature about second home ownership, as well as it follows a way of doing cultural analysis, that highlights the extraordinary and the eventful. Therefore, this story is presented here in the preface to acknowledge how this would reduce what Torping is generally about. When speaking to a family of four that owned a torp, the father of the family mentioned; *“you just get deeply disappointed, if you buy a holiday home in Sweden to get the*

experience of seeing a moose every single time and observe how the deer are jumping around the premises (Appendix 4.1 p. 177).

Despite the many weekends and holidays spent during their 9 years as torp-owners the informant mentioned that they had only seen two moose and added this is “*not what you do it for, it is not*” (Appendix Ibid.). The family of four had almost missed the encounter with the moose; their son was sound asleep in the back of their car while the wife was looking for something in the front seat, while it sped over the road (Appendix Ibid.).

Instead he recounted how they did see excretion from moose and deer. He explained how they the day before our talk had been sitting on a rock, by the lake, letting the sun hit their faces while the children were laying on their stomachs throwing sticks into the water and had painted each other with water from the lake (Appendix 4.1. p. 176). Another informant who enjoyed going hunting described how he instead had spent more time being fascinated by the small things. A mouse running across the road, hearing ducks quack or the sound of birds chirping, than actually focusing on shooting the boar he had originally set out to chase (Appendix 4.3 p. 234).

While the autobiographical memory highlights the exotic eventfulness, it was a rare occasion, and thus a part of the stories we retell. However in contrast to the eventfulness of seeing a moose, it was somehow its remains, that became valuable for the family of four, and the hunter that had intended to shoot a boar, mentioned how it really “*does not matter, it does not mean anything*” in comparison to the value he had gained from these other encounters (Appendix 4.3. p. 239).

By scoping the practices of the second homeowners, Torping offers a critique upon the valuation of narrations that favors *novelty*, *escape* as well as *creative* practices that can be found within theory on second home ownership, as well as tourism. The project draws on the research fields of tourism, ethnology and sociology and focus on Torping as a second home, where the everyday, and the mundane takes part in tourism, as eventful or seemingly uneventful it may seem.



Figure 2 Picture of hunter and moose, Bjørnarud October 10th 1998

The focus on the eventful encounter with the moose is therefore applied as an example of a particular way of framing tourism, that is intended to be left in this part of the project; because after all, there is no need to depict the eventfulness that once was, when intending to understand current holiday practices, just as little as it makes sense to chase a dead moose.

4.2 Research objective and Research question

RQ QUESTION:

- *How does a practice oriented, non-representational perspective on the infra-ordinary in 'Torping', that relate to second home ownership, come to matter in tourism?*

This project is a critical ethnographic study of 'Torping'; a notion that refers to the holiday practices of Danish nationals owning torps in Sweden and is understood as a form of second homes. The projects introduce both the representations from what is shared by the homeowners about their doings and combined with nuances made visible through doing Torping myself and visiting the informants during their holidays. This combination is particularly important because Torping may entail naturalised and habitual performances, that can be difficult to verbalize.

Due to the lack of research within torp-ownership and the practices within these types of holiday homes, Torping is first sought to be understood in relation to existing literature on nature tourism, cabin tourism as well as second home tourism. This is included in order to understand how Torping relates to these already established findings. These theoretic approaches however depict a sentimentalisation of the practices that take place within cabin tourism and place emphasis on the value of liminality and escaping modernity through travelling away from the everyday to the second home.

In order to embrace the importance of how the mundane and everyday-like practices are part of what is valued when going Torping, the work; *The secret world of doing nothing* (2010) by ethnologists Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren have been an important inspiration. As this book place prominence on the importance on the so called 'non-events' when doing cultural analysis of the world we live in; that in this case is in relation to tourism in the case of Torping.

The project also encompasses, how non-human actors also 'perform' upon the actors within Torping, and hereby includes the importance of both human and non-human actors. The project also places importance on understanding how 'matter comes to matter' (Barad) in the post-humanist understanding of performativity. Where the informants encounter with Torping is not only initiated by their actions, but sometimes

influenced by non-human ‘performers’, that affects how Torping is perceived, embodied or sensorily experienced. I hereby aim to contest the understanding of performativity as only the doings of human actors, and though this approach alludes to the importance of the pitfalls in reducing tourism, to the eventfulness, and the happenings that people engage in. This project argues that the value found within Torping is not a commodity or a tourism product, but part made up of material and immaterial aspects, that due to the history of the place, the immateriality of the weather or the agency of the nature and the animals around, becomes valuable when understanding what Torping is. Just as well as we need to consider what people chose to engage in and around their torp, and the different projects or tasks they partake in, as well as the significance of so-called non-events and seemingly novelty-less doings, as a part of tourism.

4.3 Contributions of study

While the field of tourism have for the past 20 years argued for the de-differentiation of binaries within tourism, and for the conflation of previously understood divided spheres, the lack of studies on second home owners as part of tourism, may suggest that there still remains a certain valuation of tourism as a ‘one purchase’ entity, rather than something individual actors can engage in from time to time in their holiday homes.

It is striking how research on this type of "borderland tourism" is not that prominent within the Nordic countries, as cabins, cottages, and crofts are a big part of the landscape in many Nordic countries. In Denmark there exist 240.000 ‘*sommerhuse*’ (Danish for holiday homes) throughout the country, and in Finland every fourth household own or have access to a holiday home (Periäinen, 2004, p. 43), every fifth Swede and Norwegian own a holiday home, and about half of the populations have access to one (Berker & Gansmo 2010 & Sweden.se, n.d.)

If we look outside further east of the Nordic boundaries around 60 million Russians own a ‘дача’ (Dacha) that act as a seasonal or year-round second home, where the owners are described as *dachniki* (‘*Cottage People*’) (Themoscwotimes.com, n.d.). In the same way, the torp has it’s ‘*Torpare*’. 10.500 Danes are members of the association called Danske Torpare (Danish Torpare) that aids Danish house owners of Swedish torp’s with juridical issues as well as other concerns that relate to house purchase and life in Sweden (Torpare, 2012a p, 19). This amount is quite impressive

when 12.533 Danes in total own holiday homes in Sweden, a number that doubled since 2000 (Sweden.se, n.d.), that perhaps is related to the opening of the Øresund bridge between Denmark and Sweden the same year. The Danish home owners primarily own homes in the southern part of Sweden where they contribute economically with around 1 billion a year to the Swedish economy (Torpare, 2012a, p 23). But still Second home tourism remains a relatively unacknowledged sphere within tourism.

The overall intention is to contribute to tourism research on the everyday as part of tourism, as it is perceived that tourism as a field can still do something more and different, that has been done previously. The already established narratives around second home ownership as well as cabin tourism were confronted by the lived narratives from the torp-owners that help us challenge the established dogmas of second home tourism and cabin life as an escape from modernity.

5.0 Clarifications of concepts



Figure 3 The colour "Falu red"

5.1 The multiple enactments of the torp

The torp is a traditional red Swedish cabin, and the association for Danish Torpare have claimed that almost every Dane have dreamt of this little red house with white corners (Torpare, 2012b, p. 3) We are not just talking about a red colour, in fact the *"real red house is painted with 'falu red', a beautiful, extremely matt, so-called mud colour"* (Torpare, 2012b, p. 3). This depiction of the *'beautiful mud colour'* is unmistakably a depiction by people invested in the holiday type, and this type of paint is sometimes also referred to as *"Torpare red"*.

However, while torps of today can be characterized by intricate white curled scrolls and the abovementioned red colour, that has been used as the exterior cladding of torps since the 1800, it has not always had this distinctive appearance. Instead the early torp was timber bare and unpainted which is quite telling of the several life cycles of the torp, and how it has sheltered very different types of residents across time.

A 'torp' is sometimes referred to as a 'stuga' and is best understood as a small cabin, built of tree and roughly translates to a small farm. Despite this depiction the torps were placed on land, that were not particularly fertile, and the torp did generally not have the best plots of land for farming. G. Ulväng mentions how the torp makes one *"recall a time when many hands are needed in agriculture"* (Ulväng, 2017). An account that is integral to the story about the Swedish peasant society, and quite different than the one we encountered above, where concerns about cladding the exterior with beautiful paint of decorative elements were perhaps not a concern for these previous owners.

The first inhabitants were referred to as 'Torpare', an adjective that means 'owner of a torp'. There was a great need for labour at the nobility's manor houses so these dwelling units were erected to provide shelter for the Torpare that in historic accounts are often referred to as service people and "all round staff" (Ulväng G, 2017).

The Torpare worked as assistants to the landlord that owned the torps they were living in and the land they worked on. The Torpare became members of the household through their work-related ties with their employer, that enabled them to pay for staying in the torp and get the goods they needed. The work was strenuous and to top it off a day's work could easily consist of having to walk 6 or 7 kilometers before reaching the place where they would do their '*dagsverken*' (their daily work). This work life consisted of manual labor as making or repairing fences or it could consist of working in the '*trädgård*' (garden) belonging to their employer.

The torps were built to a basic standard, without any 'grids' as water, drainage, electricity or insulation and it was only during the beginning of the 19th century it became increasingly common for the Torpare to become homeowners. However less than a century later during the end of the 19th century; "*the Torp was abandoned*" (Ulväng G, 2017), or what Marie Steinrud mentions; the torp disappeared (Steinrud, 2003, p. 116). Ulväng mentioned how "*Most landowners chose to demolish the cottages and sell them as wood*" (Ulväng G, 2017), which is an interesting depiction because they were more land than homeowners, as it was the earth on which the torp had been erected, and the tree it had been constructed with that was attributed value, not the house itself.

The house no longer appeared to fill a purpose when Sweden became industrialized during the late 1800s. The countryside became depopulated due to the mechanisation of the agriculture. Many small villages were demolished, torps destroyed and 'Torpare' were not only considered as ineffective labour due to these societal changes, crofting were also made illegal in 1945 when receiving "wages" in kind became banned.

However, in all actuality while the former inhabitants moved away, and their professions became a thing of the past, this did not mean that '*Torpare*' became extinct, or that the torps disappeared. In reality it was only one third of the torps that were torn down (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 232) and a new type of homeowner moved in during the 1940s. These new residents were "*vacationing city-dwellers*" (Ulväng G, 2017) During the 1980ies an interest in the torp as a dwelling unit arose, where Germans, Norwegians and Danes (Lagerqvist, 2010, p 232) became aware of the Swedish torp.

The notion of '*Torpare*' became revived, when a Danish association were created in 1980 to help Danish homeowners mitigate the problems, they had encountered when buying a house in Sweden. The association had chosen the name "*Danske Torpare*" as it "*felt very natural, as it had to indicate a Danish affiliation and something typically Swedish*" (Torpare.dk, n.d.), and suddenly a new type of Torpare were created.

The torp has thereby sheltered different types of people, and different types of practices during the last 200 years, and the understanding of the torp as a dwelling space and as a home that has changed throughout time. This development has fostered a sort of separation between the land and the torp, as tending to the land was no longer a pre-requisite to be able to stay there.

The story about the torp is hereby not only a move from rurality to urbanity, but the migration to America is also part of this narration. As Maja Lagerqvist has argued; the general interest in the dream life in the torp that exist in society of today does not necessarily have any derivation in the historical definition (Lagerqvist, 2010, p.181). While the association had mentioned torp-life as a "*dream*", where sparseness in a way "became part of their attraction" (Sweden.se, n.d.) the simple cabin, and sparse life were possibly more a matter of cause for the original Torpare, that perhaps dreamt more about America, as migration is an important part of Torpare-history where famine and hunger had led to a search of this dream life elsewhere (Högman, n.d.)

5.2 Clarification of 'Torping' and 'torp'

What does Torping, the heart of exploration entail? A clarification of the notion is crucial, as it has not been explored previously in research but is simply the English pendant to '*at torpe*' (to do Torping). The add on of '*ing*' to 'torp' relates to the what is done or what happens in and around the Torp. This was something the association of Danske Torpare mentioned they regretfully do not know much about when it comes down to what their "*members do when it comes deep down to their motivations and what they are enthusiastic about*" (Appendix 2.2 p. 18).

The notion is perceived through the status of ownership as it delimits the analysis at hand, while it recognizes how other forms of Torping may share similarities¹.

While the informants for the project was found on a Facebook group titled “Uofficielle Danske Torpare” (Unofficial Danish Torpare) the informants have not been depicted as ‘Torpare’, as the focus has been on their practices that together establish what is referred to as Torping. This is important as the project focuses on doing, rather than the identity-based question of being, which is the principal theoretical approach within the study.

This project refrains from translating the notion of torp to an English equivalent, because no English definition seemed to fit. When writing words as ‘cottage’ and ‘croft’ to paper, we are suddenly dwelling somewhere green in the British landscape, and the word ‘croft’ perhaps take us even further to a remote (and windy!) part of Scotland. However, when Lagerqvist (2010, 2016) chose to translate the torp into croft, it makes sense because the definition of Torpare is linked to the lifestyle of the ‘husmand’ (smallholder) that in English translates to crofter. The notion encompass both the tenants that lived and worked on the land, but also include how crofters of today own their crofts and do not necessarily make a living from the land (Scotland.shelter.org.uk, n.d.).

While the torp and Torping, may seem similar to crofter and crofting, the latter relates to a specific lifestyle in Scotland, that have not been encountered in literature about second home ownership or tourism, but rather is integral to a narration about cultivating the land and the preservation of a “way-of-life that is intrinsically linked to the land” and how crofting plays an important role in shaping the landscape as well as enhancing the natural environment (Crofting.org, n.d.) As the analysis will show, this depiction does not relate to the notion of Torping. Therefore, ‘torp’ is applied throughout the project, together with the more general notion of cabin. Within theory on second home ownership cabins are often depicted as a board all-encompassing notion, despite major differences in dwelling unit type and evidently the type of practices that this deduce.

¹ E.g. the auto-ethnographic memory about visiting Sweden and “playing pretend” Torping when renting cabins growing up.

A torp is not the same as an ‘*ødegård*’ or a ‘*sommerhus*’ that is sometimes used synonymously by the informants. Where the notion of ‘*ødegård*’ refers to a farm that had been abandoned for more than 10 years and situated remotely a ‘*sommerhus*’ is understood as a sort of “*uncompromising version of the modern house, and summerhouse-areas can be considered as another version of the modern suburb*” (Bech-Danielsen & Gram-Hansen, 2011, p. 7).

Distinguishing between the different types of notions has therefore been crucial, as Torping is neither the same as having e.g. a ‘*sommerhus*’ or doing crofting.



Figure 4 Picture: A Torp, peasant society and Torpare



Figure 5 Picture B: Present time family picture

6.0 THEREORETICAL FRAMEWORK

6.1 Literature review: Torping as nature- and cabin tourism and a second home?

The chapter opens with defining and understanding Torping as a vacation practice by contextualizing it in relation to several of the categories that were perceived to share similarities to Torping. While a literature review usually requires an evaluation of the available literature on the topic that is investigated, this was quickly accomplished as the emphasis on understanding torp ownership within tourism, has only been highlighted by the Maja Lagerqvist (Lagerqvist: 2010, 2016). Despite that Torping has been a vacation-form for nearly the past 80 years, a practice theoretical approach to these actors have only been acknowledged by Lagerqvist who writes about Swedish nationals owning a torp as either a permanent or holiday home.

Due to the un-established nature of the phenomena of Torping, it has been significant branching out into other fields. Holiday types as nature tourism, cabin tourism (and the Swedish and Norwegian equivalent of cabin tourism '*fritidshus turism*' and '*hytteturisme*'), were reviewed due to their assumed similarities to Torping that would help to understand the 'landscape' of these types of holidays in relation to Torping. The concept '*Second Home Tourism*' is a widely applied concept in theory about cabin tourism, where both notions have been examined in order to understand regularities within Torping and consequently grasping the ontology of Torping. The notion of '*multiple dwellings*' (McIntyre et al. 2006) will be included in the discussion as the term second home ownership conflicted with some informants understanding of Torping.

6.1.1 Nature tourism, Second' Homes and Torping

Nature tourism:

Perhaps Torping belonged under the nature tourism umbrella as it is defined as "*tourism based on the natural attractions of an area for holiday forms as camping hiking e.g.*"? (tdpw.gov, n.d.). Thomas Berker, Helen Jøsok Gansmo (2010) situates cabin tourism within nature tourism. However discoveries in theory about nature tourism as how "*Much nature tourism takes place in landscapes larger than individual land holdings*" (Vail & Hultkrantz, 2000, p.

230), seemed concerning to the case of Torping, as individual land holdings are exactly what the torp-owners buy into.

The abovementioned quote appeared in direct opposition, and the depiction of nature tourism as a “*fast-growing business of international nature tourism*” (Vail & Hultkrantz, 2000, 233) did as well because the depiction of ‘business’ relates to the agency of tourism planners, marketers and the tourism production system, that in part is founded by a restructuring of place that relates to economic structural change from “*agrarian society and the growth of the tourist industry*” (Periäinen, 2004, p. 46)

While Torping is made possible due to the presence of torps today, that were erected for the purpose of farming, these torps were later used by ‘tourists’, when the countryside decreased in economic value and became attractive for what Frykholm refers to as; lifestyle migrants, home owners and tourists, that showed interest in both places and buildings in these rural areas (Frykholm, 2017, p. 5). This means that we might be jumping the gun by characterizing Torping as nature tourism, because as Frykholm mentions, the buildings themselves were also part of the attraction.

‘Holiday homes’ are nevertheless mentioned as one in four trends within the tourism sector, where the countryside plays a central role. Hall and Müller mention ‘*national parks*’, ‘*deserted landscapes*’ and ‘*winter sports tourism*’ as the remaining three trends within nature tourism (C. M. Hall & Müller, 2004, p. 304). Holiday homes are mentioned as the only trend of the four that relates to ownership or permanent settlement. Understanding that tourism is not just a part of the entertainment industry (Franklin, 2003, p. 28) is however crucial when understanding Torping, because in contrast to the three other ‘trends’ Torping somehow resides outside the traditionally understood tourism industry.

When conversing with one of the informants about how Torping resides somewhere outside of the tourism industry, he agreed and made quite an advanced comparison between the tourism industry and the pharmaceutical industry, to which he was familiar with due to his working life. He compared Torping to a natural hormone in the body, and the tourism industry to sleeping pills.

“You can't file for patent because it was already there. It is not a political tourism venture that some tourism agency has developed, and because the Swedes did not bother to live in the countryside, so they moved to the city and then the torps became vacant, and the Danes began buy them sometime during the 60s.”

It is like in the pharmaceutical industry if you discover a substance that is super active, for example, sleeping which is a natural hormone we have in our body. You can't patent it, so the Medical industry cannot use it because they cannot take a patent, and it is a problem that you sleep better on this natural matter, than you do on sleeping pills, because then they do not sell their sleeping pills, so they see no reason to venture into it, they would rather make it go away, not because it is just a matter of not being able to sell it because they cannot get a patent, but it takes up a part of the market share from them. And then one can also say in tourism that Torpare can be a little annoying because you do not have an overview of how much of the market parts of tourism it takes, because they live their own life it is such a niche that has arisen because of a natural vacuum” (Appendix 3.1, p. 37)

Torping allows us to recognize that we are dealing with another type of agency, than is present in either *winter sports tourism* or tourism within *national parks*. It is also not about visiting deserted landscapes but living in close vicinity to nature.

As stated previously the torp was erected as a shelter that allowed the Torpare to be able to cultivate the surrounding nature. Yet this does not determine that nature by default is part of present-day Torping practices. Many torp owners are in fact tenants of the land the torp is placed upon, despite being owners of the torp. This may appear quite curious but is in fact a very well-known structure within torp ownership. In some cases it is possible to buy the land, but it is often the case that the torp is on a plot with a so-called "leasehold" where the ground the house is built on is rented (oresunddirekt.dk, n.d.). This forces us to be critical towards how nature is part of Torping.

Second homes and the romantic narration of ‘the cabin forever’

Putting nature aside for a second allows us to place emphasis on what is known to be a shared commonality of Torping; the torp. The shared feature of house ownership became a way of ‘weeding out’ or perhaps rather ‘channeling in’ on Torping; as the latter analogy perhaps is the more fitting, when we methodically are saving the discussion on how nature as part of Torping. When choosing to scope ownership as central to the project, theory about second homes appeared alongside the concepts of *cabin life*, *cabins*, *‘hytter’* and *‘fritidshuse’* (holiday homes) and vice versa.

Viewing ownership as a prerequisite for being able to ‘do Torping’ allows us to create a literature review of the field that encircles Torping, without determining one of the primary

external factors that may characterize what it is, although when that is declared; second homes are mentioned as *"one of the most popular forms of nature-based recreation in the Nordic countries"* (Pitkänen, Puhakka, Semi, & Hall, 2014, p. 207). Holiday homes are sometimes referred to as the *"hidden giants of tourism"* which relate to the fact that holiday homes are nowhere as common as in the Nordic countries and a major feature of Nordic tourism (M. C. Hall, Müller, & Jarkko Saarinen, 2009, p. 193).

Despite being an important tourism phenomenon the academic attention around second home tourism has been limited, conceivably because second homes by Müller (2004) have been *at the edge* of what can be regarded as tourism (Lew, Hall, & Williams, 2004, p. 387), or mentioned in the in the borderland between tourism and migration (Frykholm, 2017, p. 9) or debated if *"second homes are really a part of tourism at all"* (M. C. Hall et al., 2009, p. 194). That the concept of second homes have not always been considered within tourism, stems back to Erik Cohen (1974) who identified second home owners as *'marginal tourists'* because *"there is no aspect of novelty in their travel behavior, and when traveling to a personally owned cabin"* (M. C. Hall et al., 2009 p, 193). Perhaps second homes only become significant within research, if they are rented out, where profit is maximized for the tourism industry, municipalities or other actors? But how do we even scope how cabins as second homes fit within this field, before we know more about the Second homeowner's attachment to place, and how these homes fit within established criteria for rentals?

Second home residences are not just purchased but often inherited and considered as stable entities as argued by Reine Jaakson (1986). Cabins are also often mentioned as inherited entities, and therefore represent a place of family heritage, that are meant to be passed on to the next generation (Lew et al., 2004 p, 390). A depiction that is explained by others by the notion of 'continuity', that because of its apparent contrast to 'novelty' may be part of the reason why Cohen did not consider second home ownership as part of tourism and why Jaakson referred to the home owners as recurring or permanent tourists because of their travel patterns (Frykholm, 2017, p. 11), where the "degree of recurrence may characterize all tourism, rather than disqualifying some types of activity as being non-touristic" (Jaakson, 1986, p. 386)

There is prevalence on Nordic perspectives on Second Home Research (as well as North American and in particular Canadian studies on cabins). Within a Nordic perspective Dieter K. Müller mentions how second homes together with the tradition of outdoor recreation are the *"true mass tourism in the Nordic Countries"* (Müller, 2013, p. 273). Müller argues how

second homes qua this statement should be recognized and be of high relevance to researchers within tourism but also to decision-makers in general (Müller, 2013, p. 273). Despite this statement however it was only possible to find one study about second home tourism in a Danish context despite the argument made in this study how “*second home tourism is the predominant branch of the tourism industry in Denmark today*” (Tress, 2002, p. 109).

In relation to cabins in general, Kaltenborn & Cloud argued how little research has been done about the subject, despite the fact that the majority of Norwegians have an opinion on what cabin life is (Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998). There have nevertheless since been several Norwegian studies that apply the notion of ‘second homes’ in relation to ‘hytter’. In relation to studies of torp ownership purchased by ‘foreigners’ Lagerqvist mention how “*the actual foreign purchases of torp has not been particularly prevalent in case studies*” (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 232). While Dieter K- Müller explored the experiences of German second-home owners in Sweden his focus where on how they engaged with the other the inhabitants of the countryside (Müller, 2002, p. 426), there appear to be no studies on the value that non-Swedish torp owners find through their purchase of the second home.

6.1.2 Vacation from the everyday by going ‘Back to nature’:

Let’s go ‘back to nature’, because despite the unwillingness to uncritically view it as part of Torping, nature does in fact play a large part of the narratives within the studies of second home ownership. Some researchers even assert that second homes are “solely being treated as a rural phenomenon” (M. C. Hall et al., 2009, p. 195) which would be faulty in relation to what was argued in the previous chapter. In a Norwegian context however Johan Fredrik Rye & Nina Gunnerud Berg (Rye & Berg, 2011) investigated the second home phenomenon in relation to Norwegian rurality, where Rye joined Maja Farstad two years later in 2013 where they presented a qualitative study of second homeowners and their perspectives on rural development. The homeowners were “protective of their rural idyll” but also open for rural development (Farstad & Rye, 2013, p. 41).

Rurality is in addition a vital part of the definition of cabins as “*a small wooden shelter or house in a wild or remote area*”; a definition to which Google translate tries to help us understand by adding the subtext: “*the cabin lay three miles into the reserve*” (Google.com, n.d.) which fits the general definition of rurality as a place of low population density and a space situated in remote areas (Rousseau, 1995, p. 2-3). It is consequently often defined by its

seclusion to everything else, which correlates with the Danish translation of the word torp; '*ødegård*' that translates to a farm that is situated remotely, but from what? Hall et al. argued how touristic curiosity and idealisation of the countryside arose from the process of urbanisation where the rural landscape and countryside life became romanticised through the contrast (Frykholm, 2017, p. 196).

This narration is also present in relation to the torp that "*in media have been represented and linked to a rural idyll*" (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 217), or sometimes attached to the discussion of how outdoor recreation is one of the most prominent motivations of second home owners (M. C. Hall et al., 2009, p. 205). Holidays at the cabin are often scoped as a "*vacation from modernity*" (Kaltenborn, 1998, Berker & Jøsok Gansmo 2010). Berker and Jøsok Gansmo summarize how literature describes life at the cabin as "*romantic, striving after an alternative to modern urban life*" (Berker & Gansmo, 2010, p. 173). This is also concluded by Claus Bech-Danielsen and Kirsten Gram-Hansen (2011) that writes about the Danish '*sommerhus*' where one essential quality is the absence of everyday life. They mention how "*sounds from urbanisation (cars, machines, telephones, etc.) were meant to be absent - like duties, entertainment and rules of everyday life that should be left back home*" (Bech-Danielsen & Gram-Hansen, 2011, p. 19).

This contrast between urbanity and rurality is also present in relation to the torp, that Lagerqvist views as a creative project that is all about disconnecting from the urban and modern life (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 201). She even argued that disconnecting from modernity can happen because of the historic space the torp offers. That can provide a higher sense of being away from modern society (Lagerqvist, 2010 p, 215). She reduced the "*idea of the torp*" as completely integral to the story about non-modernity and simplicity and argued how, a torp can no longer be considered a torp if any of these properties change too much (Lagerqvist, 2010, p 211). Literature on cabins often present this narration on the 'simple life', that also is evident in present societal trends as going 'off the grid' and 'back to nature'.

While Berker and Jøsok Gansmo mention how cabin life is "*simple, family-owned wooden cabins without connection to public utilities and with very basic equipment*" (Berker & Gansmo, 2010, p. 175), Phillip Vannini & Jonathan Taggart ventured out into the Canadian outback looking for people who permanently chose to live in cabins 'off-the-grid'. Some even

depicts how cabin tourism has been considered as an ‘escape’ that happens due to the search for alterity from modern everyday life (Berker & Gansmo, 2010, p. 174).

This narrative is omnipresent in the autobiography; *og den store flugt* (2013) (and the big escape) by Andrea Hjelkskov that in itself becomes a performative practice, where she shares her personal account about “*what happens when a modern family leaves modernity and escapes far into the Swedish forests*” (Hjelkskov, 2013, p. 237). Escaping from modernity is central to her depiction, of how her family decided to settle close nature and live in a simple cabin without modern amenities. Kaltenborn argued that the central motives of all cabin users in general is *a simple lifestyle, inversion and continuity* (Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998, p. 121). Where continuity relates to an attachment to place over a long period of time and has been defined previously in the project, inversion will be described in the following.

6.1.3 Leisuring while doing ‘creative’ and ‘pleasant’ work

Cabins have been considered as spaces for family recreation and leisurely activities, that have sometimes been considered as hindering to work-related activities (Rye & Berg, 2011, p. 129). Vittesø argued that despite “*Norwegian ideals ascribed to primitive cabin life and outdoor recreation*” new norms are finding their way into cabin life, and argues how owners instead favors “*convenience, comfort and extraordinary experiences*” (Vittersø, 2007, p. 266). While other theoreticians include work within second home practices, they induce a prelude as seen in notions as ‘pleasant work’ that Kaltenborn relates to in relation to inversion; that he explains as the combination of pleasant work and relaxation (Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998), and others like; Jaakson 1986, Müller 1999, Jarlöv 1999 refers to ‘creative work’.

This is a notion that relates to “*maintaining and changing the interior and exterior of the second home*” (Lew et al., 2004, p. 387) and that Jarlöv mentioned in relation to the Swedish summer homes as a space for leisure and creative work (Jarlöv, 1999, 231), sharing similarities to Kaltenborns understanding of inversion. While Lagerqvist mention how several of her case studies were strongly associated with ‘*hemskapande*’ (creating the home) and a certain interior style (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 234), she also argues how movement, resources, toil and work, are part of the summer cottage, despite the perception of holiday homes as places of serenity; “*everything is certainly not all just tranquil in the summer cottage*” (Lagerqvist, 2016, p. 181). Lagerqvist mentions these work-related pursuits, as painting, renovation and gardening and especially an emphasis ‘*igenväxning*’ (keeping down over growth) despite mentioning how

this has diminished in importance (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 205). She mentions in conclusion how "*body work and rest*" is part of going to the torp (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 200).

Sub conclusion: Moral narratives deconstructed:

The above-mentioned literature has been reviewed in order to grasp the field of Torping, since the phenomenon has not previously been established within tourism research. This literature have shown how second homes offer a '*simple*' life (Berker & Gansmo, 2010, p. 180), and a space for family recreation and leisurely activities that by some researchers is understood as hindering for work-related activities (Rye & Berg 2011), except from '*creative work*' (Jaakson 1986, Müller 1999, Jarlov 1999) or '*pleasant work*' that is about relaxation (Kaltenborn 1998).

This project however is a critical ethnographic study that attempts to delve into these representations to explore what Torping is, but place importance of practice theory, performativity and the value found in non-representational approach, in order to understand the field of Torping, due to a belief that some of these narrations reduce what second home practices are about. Notions as 'creative' and 'escape' appears as visibly romanticized notions, where 'creative work' may be used, just for the sake of exotifying what happens in the cabins, because describing it as work, or something that has any correlation to the everyday could perhaps depict it as outside of tourism.

Despite that the torp was once a modest dwelling unit, perhaps cabin life in 2019 may not be so 'simple' anymore. As Arnesen and Skjeggedal (2003) explained; the Norwegian Cabin is not only about "*enjoying leisure in pristine nature*" (Skjeggedal & Arnesen, 2011, p. 1) but also noted how a transformation of improved standards in the cabins, have challenged the understandings of cabin life is, that often is treated as a rural phenomenon. Berker and Jøsok Gansmo also confront the romanticized nature of cabin tourism literature by describing cabin life as "*just as embedded in modern everyday life as any other leisure activity*" (Berker & Gansmo, 2010), which is considered as interesting in relation to Torping, that tied to ownership, perhaps is also part of modern everyday life.

6.2 Practice theory, performativity & non-representational ethnography

Being by doing

As will be mentioned later in the discussion, the informants considered tourism to be about buying ice cream and merchandise. This is a depiction that relates to an understanding of tourism as *things, a product, a behavior or as an economic thing* (Franklin & Crang, 2001 p, 6.). Within this project however tourism is scoped as a part of modern-day life, which is an approach that differs considerably from the tourism ontology that once was, where binaries not only helped structure tourism, but also delimited the nature of tourism. The amalgamation of ethnology and tourism would not have been as natural a mere 10-20 years ago as it is today. Tourism theory were generally concerned with what was out-of-the-ordinary and ethnology concerned with 'home' and the 'everyday', if one should forcefully divide the two. When binaries were left in theorizing tourism (S. A. Cohen & Cohen, 2019) a shift from 'permanence' to 'flux' and a focus on 'doing' rather than 'being' became important part of how tourism were understood (E. Cohen & Cohen, n.d. p, 4.)

This de-differentiation of tourism means that it is now conceivable to scope tourism through sociological approaches as performativity (E. Cohen & Cohen, 2012 p, 4.) and practice theory, that is also part of the ethnographic toolkit. Practice theory is about 'what people do' (Crouch, 2001, 66) and is often discussed alongside the notion of performativity, where performance as well as conscious and subconscious ways of being or enacting in the world are completely integral. Torping without doing leaves us with the 'torp', because Torping from a linguistic standpoint is formed by a present participle (long extension) attached to the word 'torp' that hereby becomes a verb. Torping is therefore scoped from a practice oriented so-called 'micro sociological perspective' in order to understand how this holiday type unfolds as a touristic phenomena, as well as it opens up a discussion about second home ownership as part of tourism, when tourism becomes more than an escape and a quest for novelty but part of an everyday.

Embodiment

Within tourism John Urry explored the practices and materiality of traveling and acknowledged the value of performativity in his book; *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies* from 1990. However, scholars have since stressed how tourism is more than seeing or gazing, but also include the embodied practices (that in a way is also integral to gazing). Embodiment is emphasized as an important part of performativity as it allows us to “overcome a Cartesian divide between body and mind” (S. A. Cohen & Cohen, 2019), where mind and body are traditionally viewed as dichotomies.

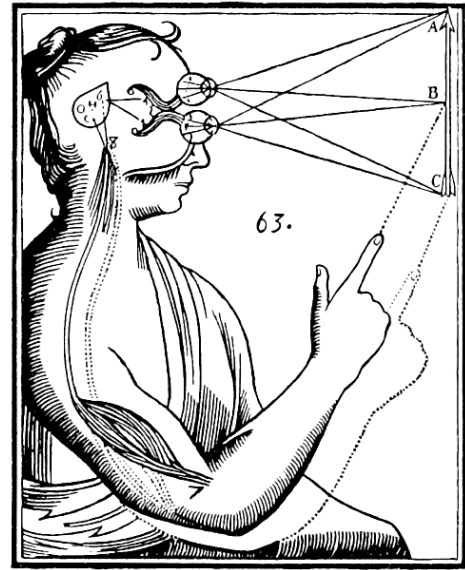


Figure 6 Dualism, René Descartes

However, we engage in and perceive the world through our embodiment. This relates to the critique on Urry by Jonas Larsen that argued, how “*Gazers are never disembodied traveling eyes*” but that the act of gazing is naturally connected to processes that go on internally (Larsen, 2014 p, 308).

Agency of the non-human, "Things as our daily friends"

While stating that practice relates to what people do, we need to consider the combined nature of the notion of Torping and not only consider, what is being done by the people who do Torping but consider the materiality of the torp itself and how this is integral to Torping.

Haldrup and Larsen have argued that tourism studies have “*failed to understand the significance of materiality and objects in modern tourism*” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006, p. 276), and that tourism as a field has reduced places as well as things to just what they represent. Instead I join scholars like Harman, that argue for the importance of acknowledging that people and objects coexist in a mutual relationship as nature and society are not two separate poles (Harman, 2010, p. 13) . Acknowledging that the object of the torp is naturally tied to the act of Torping, as well as immaterial phenomena may also have capacities to affect, how Torping is being done.

This focus on action done by people and the agency of non-human actors relate to non-representational ethnography (Vannini, 2015, 321), and while the project argues for the value that narratives can bring, the study also follows the 'post humanism' stream of thought in recognizing that material culture has agency. Mikkel Bille & Tim Florh Sørensen argue that because of this relationship of interdependence “*we cannot think ourselves out of the material*

world” (Bille & Sørensen, 2012, p. 219). However while I join this statement to some extent the research design were highly influenced by a belief that language use and the sharing of images online represent a specific reality that does not necessarily fully reflect how the world is lived, as interviews are sometimes criticised as “*naive or misunderstood anthropocentrism*” (Bille & Sørensen, 2012, p. 219).

The material is considered because of how the embodied and enacted practices are made possible due to the relation with the material. It becomes a matter of “following-the-thing” in tourism research when considering materiality as valuable, because of how the approach has the ability to extract important sociological insights (S. A. Cohen & Cohen, 2019, p. 9). Places become what they are through the experiences within them (Ingold, 2000:192) and Ingold argued how a place “*owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there—to the sights, sounds, and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these in turn depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage*” (Vannini & Taggart 2014, p.16). The torp is thus to be understood as made and re-made through the on-going practices that take place in and around its materiality, as Löfgren states; “*Places are never there, they are constantly made and remade by people, smells etc.*” (Wilk, Ehn, & Löfgren, 2016, p. 82)

Places become outcomes of the practices and the practical engagement with them, and as a result Ingold argues they can be viewed as *taskscape*s, because their incorporation through tasks (Vannini & Taggart 2014, p.18). Doreen Massey even explain places as created by the “*throwntogetherness of people, matters, tasks and affect*” (Ehn et al. 2010, p. 4).

In the case of Philip Vannini & Jonathan Taggart they argued how every task in the cabin requires “*choreographing bodily movements and activities with the naturally occurring movements and energy resources*” (Vannini & Taggart 2014, p.18). This means that a sort of socialization of the physical space happens. This was discovered in relation to the ‘das’ (A primitive type of toilet. Read more on page 67) that became an important materiality that somehow became a symbol of Torping and the value many found in Torping. However while the word ‘task’ may have negative connotations Marie Mikkelsen have argued how everyday practices as doing the dishes or taking out the trash does not have to be tedious, due to the way people accentuated these types of practices within her PhD, on Caravanning Mikkelsen believed that these types of ‘chores’ actually provided people with *thick experiences* (Mikkelsen 2017, p. 26).

Non-events and the mundane in tourism

The value that can be found in the seemingly mundane, as the examples above, is a perspective that performativity sometimes neglects. Because performativity can be understood as what happens on the ‘stage of life’ it sometimes makes us tune into “*the event-ness of the world*” (Vannini, 2016 p. 321). Even in ethnology where fieldwork has traditionally centred on the perspective of the ‘little man’ his experiences and the importance of small details in the everyday, Swedish ethnologists Magnus Öhlander and Lars Kaijser mentions in the book *Etnologiskt Fältarbete* (Ethnological fieldwork) that the purpose of fieldwork is to make “*more significant events visible*” (Lars Kaijser, n.d., 11).

This depiction essentially fails to understand the ‘little man’, as eventfulness becomes the measure of value. Where one could say, that the ‘acting’ side of ‘being’ is favored as there is a sort of integral dichotomy in ‘being’ and ‘performing’ that valorises the eventful. Performativity should not only encompass the eventfulness of the world. Vannini mention how performativity “*underline the boarder relevance of ‘events’ – in our mundane existence and their fragility and – at times – inscrutability*” (Vannini, 2015, p. 321). By placing quotation marks around ‘events’, he shows the inherent paradox of the word. He himself argues how performativity also includes the importance of ritualised performances, habitual & non-habitual behaviours, and the “*doings of which everyday life is made, no matter how seemingly mundane or unimportant*” (Vannini, 2015 p, 320-321).

This is the general theme in the book *The Secret World of doing nothing* (2010) written by Orvar Löfgren and Billy Ehn that argue for the importance of doing cultural analysis on the *mundane* and the *inconspicuous*, that they chose to refer as non-events. This relates to the definition of performativity as argued by Vannini, when they argue for the value of the “*mundane activities that are generally considered inconspicuous and unimportant - not worth paying attention to - or pursuits that remain unnoticed by others*”(Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 2010). They investigated ‘in between’ places as *transit spaces*, *pauses* as well as moments of *indecision* (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, 217), this project deals with Torping as an ‘in between’ phenomena in many ways, as in between mobility, as in between home and away, as in between traditionally perceived tourism and the everyday.

Performativity has been highly criticized for the emphasis and focus on mobility, or sometimes mentioned as hypermobility rather than e.g. dwelling or pause. Where mobility studies within tourism can be criticised for valorising mobility, this project is however as previously mentioned scoped though it's relation to ownership, and a sense to rootedness by perhaps not being the most mobile holiday form, as the house owners return to the same place time after time, to dwell and to re-visit. We are therefore also dealing with the value found when "staying", dwelling as a part of doing. This means, that performativity also encompasses everything that is traditionally considered as immobile – inactive, pause, dwelling, that may be important within Torping.

As an example; the informants mentioned how they sleep better in Sweden, which was mentioned as an important value that distinguished life when Torping from what was experienced back at home, where sleep comes to matter.

The belief that performativity extends to non-events is thus adopted due to a belief that tourism itself does not need to be 'eventful' in order to be worth researching. The approach is as such both rooted within contemporary tourism research as well as European ethnology that argue for the value in the so-called "*infra-ordinary*" (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p), that opposed to "*the extraordinary front page splash*" is used to describe "*an everyday that is neither ordinary nor extraordinary, neither banal nor exotic*" (Perec, 1997, p 177). We do not tour the exotic, but revisit, the already perceived to be well-known everyday in tourism where it is in fact is not that well known.

7.0 METHODOLOGY

7.1 Fieldwork & Data collection

Approaching the field of Torping as more than the physical field, has been crucial for the data that have been collected.

When studying a phenomenon that unfolds in Sweden, at the torp or represented online in fora or in literature that are easily available online, being in place was possible through many different methods. The analysis is in part based upon 11 qualitative semi-structured interviews, with 18 people who either owns a torp or has a partner (or a parent) who participated in the interviews and were found in a forum online. Being in place meant doing the initial desk research online, as well as reverting back to own experiences in Torping, that were highlighted through autoethnography.

That the interviews were conducted in a mix of environments, in Denmark and in Sweden allowed for different approaches to ‘get inside’ what Torping is. Images became a tool to obtain an insight into Torping alongside the verbal encounters that were shared throughout the interviews. The interviews in Sweden were combined with a walk and talk, where being in physical space allowed for engaging with the space and do participatory studies. Whilst visiting the informants and personally dwelling in Sweden allowed for a peculiar processing of the outcomes of the data collection, where being in place suddenly were accompanied by the stories of the informants.

Rather than referring to the informants as singular, it became important throughout the fieldwork to consider how entire households participate in half of the cases. Despite only having been in written contact with one person from each household through Facebook, half of the interview situations consisted of two informants or entire households. This resulted in informants ranging from 6-to around 70 years old. In three cases children also participated, and families, that co-owned to torp together with other family members became a part of the discussion. Some informants additionally shared their resemblances and differences from their families, while others mentioned the variances between the different generations. As a result, a broader insight into Torping life was revealed, through these narrations. It was very apparent how Torping is situated within the framework of the nuclear family.

Number of informants:**Categorization of informants:**

	15.	The amount of people who participated. The number include the representative from the association of 'Danske Torpare' as she spoke not only on the behalf of the association but on behalf of her personal experiences.
	3.	The number of children / teenagers that participated in the conversation.
	1.	The amount of organizations that were invited to partake in the conversation: The association of 'Danske Torpare'
	4.	The amount of family members that participated in the conversation.
	1.	The researcher

7.2 Research design & humanistic exploratory research:

This chapter is guided by the concept of *trustworthiness* that is generally considered as integral to qualitative humanistic research. The four notions *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability* that Alan Bryman (2015) have presented are approaches that enables trustworthiness within humanistic research. They revolve around the ethical dimensions, that in a condensed sense is the backbone of trustworthiness in any type of research. It is applied throughout chapter when explaining the approach to the research design, in order to clarify the specific approaches taken in this project, from the concern to how the data collection has been approached, the importance of verbatim transcripts and the value of mixed methods as applied within this project.

Verbatim transcripts were completed as this was considered completely integral to the trustworthiness of the research, that have been structured upon the narratives of the informants. The transcripts are therefore included, in order to secure the dependability of the project. Including all transcripts have been important not just to provide proof of the work that was done, but because of the context of the fieldwork, where informants were interviewed in Danish, and their narrations later translated into English. This project has thus been concerned with the notion of transferability, where certain ways of describing certain 'events' have failed, the Danish or Swedish word are included, which would benefit the Danish reader, however arguably not provide much value to ones who are not familiar with either of these languages. The analysis of the data collection is primarily concentrated on the specific ways in which the informants present and speak about their practices, so it makes sense to be transparent about the fact that the shared language was Danish, however much value have been placed on

translating the quotes as close to the original depiction as possible, due to a belief that it is the narrations that are useful.

The interviews took place in Denmark and Sweden, in a mix of environments. In Denmark the informants were visited in their homes, at their workplaces as well as in public space of a café. The interviews were intentionally planned to be conducted in domestic spaces which may be perceived as contradictory to the inquiry of doing exploratory research, but exploring how they lived were valued when speaking about house ownership and the everyday. However, for some meeting while at work, or at a café became a compromise that had to be made when merging their daily life and social reality with mine. The interviews as well as walk & talks in Sweden were conducted in and around the torps of the informants located in the southern part of Sweden, ranging from localities in Municipality of Markaryd, the Municipality of Tibro and the Municipality of Kristianstad. My personal dwelling was done in the Municipality of Tidaholm.

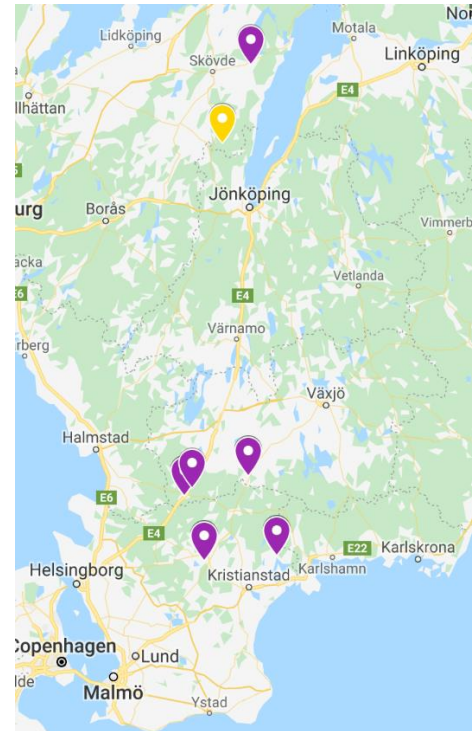


Figure 7 The visited torps (purple) own dwelling in place (yellow)

Mixed methods:

The notion of transferability is also characterized for the ability to transfer the findings to another setting (Bryman, 2015, p. 384) which has been approached by viewing mixed methods as completely integral to the research design of the project. Because the data collection was a combination of doing interviews, that were considered as ‘mental space’, and half of these were conducted in the torps that are considered as ‘physical space’ this provided an insight into how ‘representations of space’ were present within the field.

The analysis of Torping is thereby founded on a dataset created on the values of applying mixed methods to research. The research design is mainly qualitative as the data collected for the project have been qualitative and treated qualitatively, as this method “*does not search for rules that govern behavior, but rather seek to pinpoint the factors that unite social action with some regularity*” (Hastrup in Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015, p 72). The collection of empirical data has been conducted until a saturation point was reached within the data. At times it felt like the informants were together in one room, conversing as part of a

focus group interview, because of the way distinct themes and certain ways of expressing their practices shared apparent similarities. Due to the broad age group, and division between men and women, families with children as well as empty nesters that are part of this study, this project argues how it has capacity to say something about Torping in general, and not just the Torping lives of e.g. families with children or retired couples.

While it may seem that triangulation has been used as the approach within this analysis, by combining interviews, walk and talks and participant observational studies, triangulation is often used for confirmatory analysis or in order to dispose of a certain hypothesis. The purpose of including mixed methods into the research design have however been to create a "*more complicated, conflict-filled or multi-faceted descriptions*" (Frederiksen 2015, p. 201) and while findings like the example below were definitely found, the intent was not to confirm or deny a hypothesis.

Included below is an example from the project that exemplifies how not only similarities in findings have derived through using mixed methods, that would enhance the opportunity of transferability; it has also strengthened the *credibility* of the findings, as the combination enabled the transformation of seemingly insignificant data into important parts of the knowledge production. Below is an example of a joke encountered in conversation with Danske Torpare about if stereotypical Torpare existed? (Appendix 2.2. p. 25) The representative of Danish Torpare explained the stereotypical Torpare as such:



Figure 8 The stereotypical Torpare was depicted as: Elderly, checkered shirt, owning a Volvo, wearing Crocs and pants by Fjällräven

In fear that the example may seem frivolous, it is included because it perfectly illustrates the messiness of doing cultural analysis, as well as it visually symbolizes the value of applying mixed methods. While this conversation was never intended as valuable for the project the

conversation became more than just a fun way of reducing Torping into a visual imagery of what Torping entailed. When revisiting the images and videos produced from the fieldwork in the physical field it suddenly became noticeable how the depiction had not only been a caricature but something that actually materialized in the field.

This correlation was however not apparent to me while dwelling in the physical field. This was possibly since I was wearing pants by the Swedish outdoor brand Fjällräven, that was mentioned as part of the Torpare uniform (Appendix 2.2 p 25). It thus becomes a matter of not only about who wears the pants in a relationship, but what pants the researcher is wearing. This is important not only to be transparent of one's potential bias, but also place emphasis on the importance of revisiting previous collected data.

This is important as I join the belief that the researcher as a fieldworker is attributed with different roles within the field (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2009, p 35). Being both researcher and someone who had a relation to Torping meant that I literally had to distance myself from the field in order to acknowledge how the depiction of the stereotypical Torpare became actual, and more than a representation or imagination.

I had dressed like the stereotypical Torpare and had not noticed how the house owners were dressed as this had somewhat been concealed from me in the field, until putting on other lenses and doing the desk work, where it became visibly prominent. The informants had treated me as part of the community of Torping, in the sense that the informants talked about specific cities, places or turnoffs on the highway that I knew of, but they just assumed to make sense, and while bringing a laptop had been second nature in Denmark it suddenly felt strange and alienating when recollecting walking up to the first torp visit with a laptop bag in hand.

While revisiting prior data collected in the field (in the case of images and video material) the collage suddenly turned a joke into a reality when encountering Torping in the physical field., just as assumptions or singular narrations kept gaining momentum in relation to what other homeowners said, where an understanding of Torping began to materialize in the process (See images below in order to see how the joke materialized in physical space)



Figure 9 Showing how to make water while wearing Crocs. Photo taken by the researcher



Figure 10 Showing how to make planks of wood with a chainsaw and without the assistance of a sawmill while wearing Crocs. Photo taken by the researcher

The images above do not only communicate a story about what they are wearing. The Crocs become an important material object that somehow succeed to summarize one of the major conclusions in Torping, as it depicts the unison of comfortability and work-related practices that are mentioned as one of the most integral parts of Torping; as Crocs are often referred to as the “*most comfortable shoes ever*” (“Urban Dictionary: Crocs,” n.d.) and the photos tell a story about the manual work tasks that is part of Torping.

7.2.1 Doing semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to understand what people share about Torping, but also in order to understand who are moving in and engaging in the ‘actor network’. The approach is applied to not only understand how the actors describe their practices of Torping, but also what they “give” meaning in the process. The interviews were structured as open conversations due to the belief that it creates an atmosphere where informants would feel at ease and therefore be inclined to share what they did when Torping.

While this project tries to grapple the implicit nature of doings, the routine and the everyday in tourism practices, language is an important medium, through which the doings can be revealed. The project largely argues for the value that researchers can gain from human interaction, to which interviews are central to both traditional ethnological inquiry as well as central to tourism studies. Human actors are thus completely crucial to understanding the doings of Torping as it provides a way of ‘capturing’ human emotions, experiences, etc. and provides a tangible way to approach the doings, that are sometimes ritualised or naturalised as well as it acts as a tool to gain knowledge about the *“people’s lives, their opinions or experiences, and listening to their experiences of different phenomena in their lifeworld”* (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015 p. 52).

The data collection consisted of two pilot interviews. One with my family and another with the Association of ‘Danske Torpare’ at their headquarters in Søborg, Denmark. The latter of the two pilot interviews were intended as a test of the preplanned semi-structural interview guide, that would serve as the foundation for the one that would be the aid when speaking with the homeowners. In order to do culturally competent research; applying it in practice was important before venturing into the field, as it allowed testing whether the informant understood the questions, as well as it helped identifying relevant issues. A pivotal moment happened prior to pushing record before the interview. The representative for the association ‘Danske Torpare’ asked “What is Torping”? Since they had discussed it curiously, internally at their offices prior to my arrival. My stomach plummeted instantaneously, considering that to me they were clearly working with it daily. If there is Danish Torpare there naturally must be Torping! The primary encounter challenged me to be more aware of my own bias within the field of Torping as I had assumed the notion made sense even though it was not already an established notion.

When conducting the interviews, the majority of the informants assumed knowledge were to be ‘collected’ and that I would hereby ask them questions in order to extract knowledge. However, while an interview guide was prepared before meeting the informants the guide was merely intended more as a tool than as a guideline that would determine the direction of the interview. Instead the focus was the opposite way around, where the informants informed me about what Torping was. However, it should of course be stated that I had been pre-exposed in what was written about second home tourism before the interviews and entered the conversations aware of certain themes in preexisting literature and my own experiences about

Torping. However since doing the interviews was approached as informal conversations, what was anticipated to appear, were not part of the conversation if the informant themselves did not bring it up.

The semi structured interview guide was thus only intended as a can opener if the informants did not have much to say, or something that was reverted to, if the themes were touched upon by the informants themselves. While boxes were 'ticked off' others were not. E.g. while I had assumed that sustainability would be a re-occurring theme, as well as the contrast to the everyday, these did appear, but were only highlighted when the informants paid the conversation forward in this direction.

The importance of not only listening, but being assertive to how the informants paid their arguments forward (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015 p. 52) were particularly crucial, when informants spoke in a certain way about their holiday practices in relation to how others went to their torps, or they situated themselves as 'doing nothing' in relation to certain ways of doing within the scope of Torping. Interviews are thus a method to grasp their realities and what Torping entails; however, is this the best way to approach performativity methodologically?

"You can always learn something, if you ask, but you cannot ascertain the implied" (Kirsten Hastrup p. 67 in Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015)

While Kirsten Hastrup mentions how the implied cannot be ascertained, it may be hard for people to vocalise the habitual and the routines of Torping, that may happen through repetitions or appear as perhaps too trivial, to share within an interview situation As Billy Ehn & Orvar Löfgren argues, we should not only consider culture as an explicit narrative of identity and meaning but also the value in considering nonverbal practices as well as the materiality of "*seemingly mental activities*" (Ehn et al. 201, 209). Can doing interviews sufficiently capture the doings of Torping? You can only to some extent talk about what is done. As shown in the auto-ethnographic memory, the eventfulness may be highlighted and reality may be idealised or colorized through language use, and the stories we tell. While the method would claim to be about how the torp owners do things, it would in all actuality more be about how you talk about the things you do. If the method were only capable of offering a veiled 'storytelling' type of reality, what could we do in addition?

7.2.2. Going there mentally, virtually, visually and physically:

As stated previously the word 'exploratory' have traditionally been linked to the importance of being in the field, this relate to an understanding of place that is found in the landscape (Hastrup p. 61, in Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015). However, the case is Torping, and not necessarily the torp which should be kept in mind, when thinking of how participation pre-supposes that the researcher situates themselves 'in place'. There are many ways of 'getting inside' the space that allows us to understand the practices of Torping.

While going to the torp was considered to be crucial, because presence has habitually been what characterizes the validity of anthropological knowledge (Hastrup in Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015, p. 69), the term '*exploratory*' asks that the researcher is investigative and reflected within his or her field, and be able to have an open mind, when it comes to the research design and the field that is studied. 'Going there' has thus consisted of reverting to an auto-ethnographic memory, visiting Torping virtually online, visually trying to grasp what Torping entails when not in Sweden as well as going to the torps, and being in physical place.

Returning to being in place with Auto-ethnography

As just stated, there are other ways of doing cultural analysis than solely being interested in language and the stories we tell. While the interviews form a sound base of the data collection, the auto-ethnographic memory was included in order to tell a story about how a singular event became a tempting obstruction. The memory was applied in order to freeze a scene at a moment in time, from the perspective of the ethnographer. However, this subjective nature of experimental ethnography is occasionally critiqued by being too "*narcissistic or simply too personal*" (Ehn et. al. 2016. P. 99), however this is exactly what was valuable, as it places the researcher as an individual and acknowledges the situational aspect of the research that is produced. The memory forced me to be self-reflexive about being seconds away from gleefully jumping down the rabbit hole and entering the discussions about cabin tourism as novelty and alterity and joining in on the traditional tourism studies bandwagon.

The own immediate preoccupation with the eventfulness of Torping made me think twice about the intellectual aims and plans for the project (Ehn, Billy, Löfgren, & Wilk, 2016, p 100-101), and instead revert focus on the mundane about going and doing Torping, which were correlated with the choice of choosing tourism as a field, when coming from a background in ethnology. Because how do we chose to spend our time when we are not at work? This type

of research place focus on everyday actions, emotion and experiences that relate to ‘the more-than-representational perspective’ (Ehn, Billy et al., 2016, p. 102). The encounter made me explore how other methodologies could help support interviews, when investigating the everyday as part of Torping.

Virtually visiting representations of Torping

In order to focus on the reality of Torping and how it unfolds, the project has therefore been inspired by Ignacio Farías work on *Destinations as virtual objects of tourism communication* (Farías, 2012). Farías argues that there are two central problems to how destinations are conceptualized, by their perceived sameness, and how destinations throughout history (and tourism marketing) empirically have been treated as singular and distinct objects. Instead he argues for the multiplicity of destinations and how “*actual associations and virtual processes*” become important when understanding destinations (Farías, 2012, p. 129).

In order to familiarize myself with life lived in the Swedish torps, considering how destinations are not just ‘boundary objects’ (Farías, 2012, p. 135) found in physical place, but understanding Torping as something than what could be encountered online was important during the beginning stages of the project. Due to the lack of research on torp living and holidaying the Facebook page of “Uofficielle Danske Torpare” were considered as an actor that co-create the image of Torping. I hereby allude to the importance of the agency that seemingly ‘non-human’ actors have in destination development and the potential the digital worlds can offer in relation to knowledge production (Munk & Birkbak, 2017, p. 27).

‘Torpare’ or Torping is not just an ‘imagined community’ (Benedict Anderson, 1983). In this digital day and age Torping is also materialized in digital communities through language use and the sharing of images and or stories, and people interact and engage with each other despite never having met in person. It is therefore important to defer from solely understanding the ‘lived life’ that happens in the torp as the so-called ‘real world’ from the digital by treating them as entirely separate dimensions as “*the internet can be scoped as an online grounding of phenomena, that also plays out offline*” (Munk & Birkbak, 2017).

Online, despite being somewhat immaterial is also a ‘place’, and while the Internet is immaterial its users are not. When referring to the group as a non-human space it is done because of how the digital setup of the page create a unit, through what the individual actors share, e.g. the grid of images that appear when scooping the images in the group. However, its

users are situated in the physical world, which were evident as the informants of the project were found online, and their actions on the internet “*necessarily have to be part of an everyday life side by side with everything else*” (Munk & Birkbak, 2017, p. 16). This was highly evident in relation to how the informants referred to what was shared online during the interviews, where one mentioned how digital representations sometimes tend to be a highlight reel in relation to the value in “*doing nothing*” (Appendix 4.1, p. 176). While the method of digital ethnography could have been applied to the online lifeworld of Torping, the willingness of the online actors to meet in person were favored as being in physical place were preferred due to the belief of the value of nearness, the value of personal encounters as well as it allowed for going Torping personally.

Visually invited in place

Before entering the physical field, much energy was spent pondering about how to get a hold of what anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup refers to as “*silent knowledge*” (Hastrup in Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015, p. 67), and much time was spent thinking about how to access this through conversations. When interviewing the informants in Denmark photos were considered as a way to scope the performative nature of Torping, while not being physically at the torp, as photos were considered to be a methodological ‘tool’ that “generates the sounds of silence” (Scarles, n.d., p. 1). This approach is generally known to be as what Donna Schwartz refer to as “*photo-interviews*” (Schwartz, 1989 p, 126). The approach of including photos within interviews are more generally known as photo elicitation interviews (PEI), however a distinction should be drawn here, as it is mainly the researcher who present images for the respondents as part of the interview context.

While Caroline Scharles argues how it is visual autoethnography that can generate the sounds of silence and “*transcend the limitations of verbal discourse*” (Scarles, n.d., p. 2), I will argue how visual ethnography of the images shared by the informants can contribute similarly. While she opts for understanding tourists and their encounters with place, I believe that we through the embodiment of photography can get valuable insights about the practices of ‘tourists’, or holiday homeowners in the case of Torping. Their photos were applied to get inside their torp, and be in place, which was highly welcomed by the informants.

It becomes important to highlight the position of the interviewees as *informants* rather than *respondents*, as they informed the empiric outcome with their reality, as I did not

predetermine the images of relevance, or opted for negotiating mine with theirs, it was rather the opposite way around. As Smith & Barker (2004) argued, this lets the informants “*control the images that are presented of their everyday world*” (Epstein, Stevens, McKeever, & Baruchel, 2017, p. 4). The value however is intended as the same; to grasp the embodied social practices. Images were also considered a tool that is particularly fit to visualise the ‘non-events’ and what was perhaps not typical photo album ‘worthy’. This is assumed, due to the change in how we take photos today. The digitalisation of photography means that our perspective upon taking photos have changed. From a time where analogue cameras and film determined what was chosen worthy of a click, and a space on a film roll that only consisted of 27 images and cost around 90kr (Photocare.dk, n.d.).

People were perhaps more inclined to immortalise events or spectacular doings, as the moose in the introduction, that were eternalised in six photos in total. While it once was a prerequisite that the roll of film was developed before you could see the photos, the final outcome of taking a picture today is not necessarily for the photo to end up on print or in a traditional photo album, and we have as a result perhaps become more liberal with what we chose to shoot as personal accounts are sometimes just meant for our tablets and phones.

The photos were also believed to act as a can opener to get the conversations going, however instead they sometimes acted as disturbances to the flow of the conversations. Despite this slight drawback the approach highly contributed to the interview situation. It was in moments like when Mona showed their three seat toilet, when Anders showed how he spend time in nature, or when Louise flickered through her photo album on the phone, a grid of fuzzy selfies appeared of her and her husband, taken one morning, and shown to me, and she said “*And there you can see, it's just one of those mornings, quite private right?, but really it's just nothing... crispbread and then just sitting and starring*” (Appendix 3.3 p. 92). I was suddenly not only transported away from the café we sitting in in Denmark and invited into their torp, the tourist photography become less visual and more embodied, as Jonas Larsen have argued through the spectacles of performativity, where the focus shifts from how spaces are consumed to how they are capable of showing how social relationships as e.g. how family life is produced.

(Larsen, 2005, p 416). I was able to sense the intimacy of that morning, and everything she had mentioned throughout the interview became perfectly aligned with the visual grid.

Being near the subject that was studied were perhaps never ‘clearer’ than in this moment, despite the assumption that it would have been being in physical place while doing the tour the torp, that would provide the density and the ‘thick experiences’ that would perhaps lack from simple conversations. While it is *“not the photographs themselves which inform, but rather, the analysis of them”* (Schwartz, 1989, p. 151). These images allowed me to obtain an insight into a time, that was outside normal visiting hours for researchers, as well as it allowed me to understand the time spend with her and her partner.

I was also invited inside after ‘opening hours’ the day after having dinner with Mona, her partner Tore and her daughter Gro. Gro would much rather talk about her room, during the visit, which unfortunately were not the realm of investigation. Mona sent me a video the following day, where she had asked Gro some of the questions I had asked her the day prior.

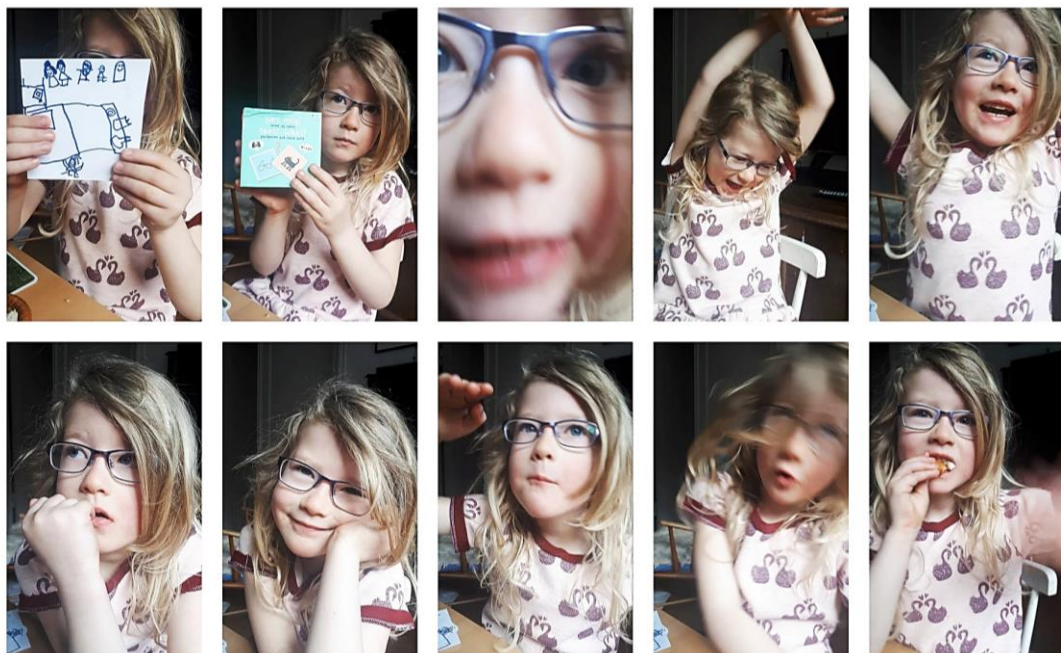


Figure 11 Screen grabs from the video, where Gro told about torping

These screen grabs provided a perspective of what Gro valued, and the practices she decided to highlight. She had made a brief summary of what they did within the house; as braiding hair, not jumping on the couch in image 1. and playing games in image 2). She talked about Swedish food as ‘köttbullar’ (meatballs) and ‘polkagriser’ (Swedish hard candy) in images 3. 4. 5. These images however also show us her reactions, as well as the embodiment of certain practices that relates to their way of doing Torping. Image 7. shows her reaction when Mona asked if

köttbullar and polkagris was the best things about Sweden, to which the verbal answer was yes but was also clearly evident in the screen grab. In image 8. we see her playing going hunting, and on image 9. she emulates how they roll around in the snow in the winter, which in an evocative way suddenly transports the interview situation to Sweden in minus degrees, before she waved goodbye in image number 10 whilst eating one of the 'kanelbullar' (cinnamon buns) from the visit the day before.

Visiting the physical place

Participant observation was done in order to become wiser of Torping as a phenomena and participation starts with meeting a concrete reality. The integral irony of studying the doings of Torping however were personal concerns about joining people in their cabin, as the space is often small and primarily visited by close family and friends. However, people were more than willing to meet up (See Appendix 5.3 p. 262). The challenge was instead more about how to physically be in Sweden, that proved to be almost practically impossible and as quite the initial challenge. As previously stated, the Danish word for torp, '*ødegård*' translates directly to 'remote farms'. This narrative of 'off the grid' that had come up in cabin tourism literature suddenly materialised in relation to the possibly of visiting the torps. It also became apparent when one informant sent GPS coordinates rather than a specific address prior to the visit, while another just provided us with the postal code for the small 'town' their torp was situated within. Public transport was quickly ruled out as a possibility as I realized how the torps were situated in relation to one another, which made the quest of visiting several families at a time, impossible, and not even mentioning, how being in physical space would presuppose that the informants needed to be in their torps around the same time. It begun to make sense how Torping as a holiday form initially became popular, due to increased mobility through car ownership as it conflicted with my reality of having no car and no drivers licence.

The Easter holidays were selected which made it possible to mitigate the initial practical obstacles 4 families were visited during the holidays, as well as it allowed for going Torping myself. This did not only provide me with a driver (my partner), at the same time as it placed me in Sweden for enough time, to visit the informants while dwelling in the family of my partners torp alongside the scheduled interviews. Performative engagement through participation was highly valuable when trying to grasp the physical landscape, the routes that people take or the tasks that people do. As well as it was valuable when understanding what

they spend time on. E.g. understanding how they “made water” was something you had to be present for (Read and see more about it in the analysis on page 65).

Walking and talking

The method of ‘walk and talk’ were included during the visits to Sweden, as a form of “*sedentary method in motion*” (Evans & Jones, 2011, 850) and applied before or after the interviews conducted in Sweden. By combining interviewing with walking and talking, insights from the landscape and the place were considered to produce a richer data set as it was assumed that informants would find it easier to “*verbalize attitudes and feelings when ‘in place’*”(Evans & Jones, 2011, 850).

While the walk and talks contributed with seeing how different materialities and projects were materialized in the space, like houses that had been built or tress that has been logged, or how a primitive shower system there has been installed, it also opened up for stories about what has not yet materialized, but was part of future projects, as beekeeping or a barn that had to be renovated. So, while the methods provided insight into the material nature of Torping, many walk and talks focused on the eventfulness of particular experiences, as e.g. when Per turned 50, or the future plans of Eva and her husband. The method was therefore in a way more fit to explain the “before” and “after” than what was in all actuality done now in Torping.

When the ethnographic toolkit is not compatible with the field visited:

It became increasingly important to be able to work ‘off the grid’ during the writing process of the project. Not because of an assumption that I was ‘going native’ qua the literature on people who lived in cabins off the grid, and somehow closer to how ‘real’ Torpare lived, if they did exist outside the representations online and in literature, but because it was a part of the conditions of the data collection. Replacing my old HP computer was a pre-requisite as its power cord was its final lifeline.

The purchase of the new Lenovo ideapad 530s was not only a fast charging device but also packed a 12h battery time. It was the perfect utensil for the modern ethnographer venturing into the field. Increasing the possibilities of journaling while in the physical field and allow me to do so despite my terrible handwriting and without the hassle of being tied down to a power outlet.

The computer even saved word-documents automatically and it reminded me that “you don't have to worry about saving anymore” as it automatically saved to One-Drive, a cloud system for Windows (See picture below). This would all be a huge help if it was not the fact that we were walking ‘off grid’ and wasn’t connected to the Internet. This conflicted heavily with the reality on site and while I am of a generation that stores my files on a hard disk, the computer was not. It was quite ironic of how a computer purchased in order to be less depended on on-grid structures, as power plugs, due to its programming proved to be neither fit for, nor created for an off-grid world. Due to these advances within technology and the inability to easily save the files on the hard drive on my on-grid programmed computer all the initial observations were close to being lost.

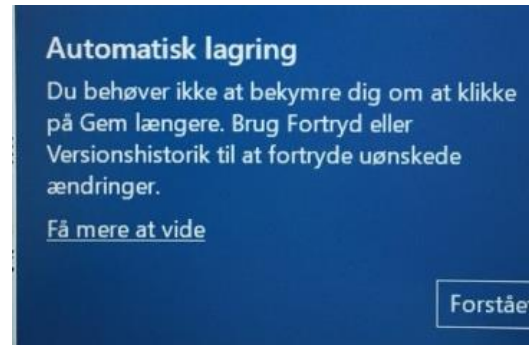


Figure 12 "Saving automatically" and "You do not need to worry pressing save"

8.0 ANALYSIS

The approach of the analysis

The upcoming analysis were created by tracing practices through narratives and the specific approach has been comparable to the one of the digital ethnography, where searching for patterns; re-appearing understandings and different forms of associations have been the primary focus point. These findings have then been combined with the participatory observations or sometimes vice versa. The unit of analysis is thus a combination between what is being said (the narratives) about what is being done and combined with what was observed in the physical field.

The structure of the analysis is in part also based on the structures of theory where existing literature on second home ownership as well as cabin tourism is related to the findings in the data collection. The upcoming analysis uses the first names of the informants. An overview of the informants is visualised in the image and tables below:

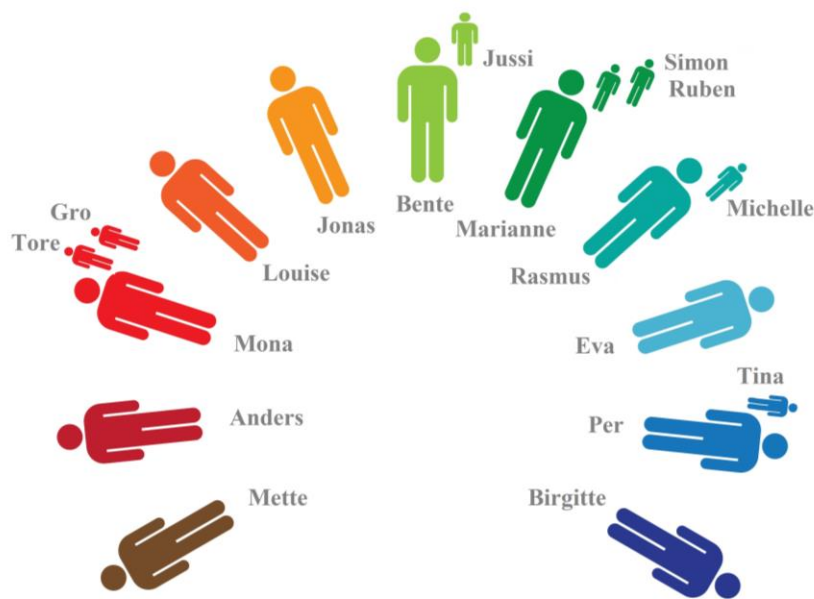


Figure 13 Primary informants (large figures) and their family members that partook interviews (smaller figures).

Overview over interviews in Denmark 'out of place':

Name of primary informant:	Place of interview	Family structure	Attending	Length of interview
Anders	At his workplace (Physiotherapist)	Family of five. Father, mother and three children	Anders	1.24.36

Mona	At their apartment	Family of three. Mother, father and one child	Mona, Tore, Gro	2.07.04 (+5.31)
Louise	At a public place (at a café)	Wife, husband, two grown up 'kids' and three grandchildren	Louise	1.07.81
Jonas	At his workplace (At a university)	Family of five. Father, mother and three kids.	Jonas	1.09.11
Bente	At their home	Retried couple	Bente and Jussi	1.35.68
Marianne	At their apartment	Mother, father, and two children.	Marianne, Simon and Ruben	1.01.17

Overview over interviews in Sweden 'in place':

Name of primary informant:	Place of interview	Family Structure	Attending	Length of recorded walk and talks	Lenght of interviews
Rasmus	At their 'Sommerhus' Close to Markaryd	Family of four. Father, mother and two small boys under the age of boys.	Rasmus and his wife Michelle	(Not recorded)	1.07.06
Eva	At their torp Close to Villands Vånga	Wife, husband and grown up children.	Eva	00.14.35.	1.04.34
Per	At their torp Close to Tibro	Family of four. Father, mother and two children	Per and Tina	1.11.55	1.11.54
Birgitte	At their torp Close to Markaryd	Family of four. Husband and wife and two children.	Birgitte and in part her daughter Anna	00.18.02	1.07.49

The following chapter is structured around two dominant narrations, that the reader should take notice of before delving into the sub-headings in this analysis chapter. The notions of *work* and *seemingly doing nothing* have been crucial when understanding what Torping is, and a third theme, about how tourism is part of these discussions is saved for the discussion chapter.

8.1 How to achieve the good night's sleep when Torping?

Having a house in Sweden can be done in so many ways, as Jonas referred to in relation to the Facebook group, where the informants had been contacted; *"many of the things they do, I could never dream of doing, and there are clearly also some of the things we are doing, which is clearly not what they think, to be a torpar is"* while acknowledging that they are a fairly diverse group (Appendix 3.5 p. 100). However there seemed to be one thing, the informants had in common; you sleep better in Sweden! (Tore, Eva, Rasmus, Per, Anna - the daughter of Birgitte). All of these people mentioned this statement dispersed throughout the different

interviews, and they related it to the quietness, darkness, fresh air and "the natural tiredness" that kicks in after a day out that according to Per "*makes you sleep as pigs in the stable*" (Appendix 4.3 p. 229). As Anders stated, "*It's all about sleeping well at night, otherwise you are not on holiday*" (Appendix 3.1 p. 44).

8.2 Renovation as a hassle or part of the experience?

For the good sleep to be able to materialize there seemed to be two very different holiday narratives and outlooks on how to do Torping. This related to either the active choice of on-going maintenance or the active rejection of on-going large renovation projects. Anders mentioned that it was owning a renovated house, that made him sleep well at night. An outlook that seemed to be shared with other homeowners, who placed value on doing other things than continuously renovating their torp. For some it was evident how their holiday practices would clash if the house was not only maintained gradually, but that the torp needed a full-on renovation to fit their needs as holidaymakers. While some relaxed by working on the house, others favored dwelling or being active in other ways, and 'practicing' doings that were sometimes discarded as "*just's*" in relation to what other homeowners created and produced from their time in the torp (See page 71 to read more about seemingly '*doing nothing*').

When it all comes down to the choice of paint and linseed oil

Debates about modernization, and how to renovate were very prominent parts of the conversations, Eva even compared the two approaches to the on-going discussions about wolves in Denmark; "*There are those who go for linseed oil and those who do not, and it reminds a little about the wolf in West Jutland. Should it die or should it not die?*" (Appendix 4.2 p. 207).

In the same way, there were two different camps presented in Torping. Those, that use traditional materials and value of the traditional state of the home, and those who were more concerned with longest possible durability. Jonas mentioned how their torp was just 'as it should be'; without on grid installations as electricity, water, or toilet they had actively chosen not to change the status quo, however they had added a solar panel and a battery to be able to use a few lamps (Appendix 3.5 p. 101).

Per was also a proponent on keeping the torp in its original state alongside Bente that argued for the importance of using traditional materials and linseed oil. Many of the

conversations revolved about the choice of using traditional surface treatments or not. As a result, conversations about linseed oil, new and traditional paint types and different approaches to isolating the home, or how the torp was kept warm were integral to most conversations. While this relate to the materials that are being used it is also highly important to understand how the choices of one or the other automatically is reflected on the practices that are done, and thus what constitutes Torping, as the material conditions of the torp has the capacity to affect torping practices.

Bente was a strong proponent of linseed oil and mentioned; *“if you buy a house in Sweden you don’t put in thermo windows you just do not”* (Appendix 3.6 p. 128). Anders had foreseen this narrative days prior when interviewing him, where he mentioned how his response to this indictment would be, that he had thermo windows simply because it was cold without them (Appendix 3.1 p.28). Anders had like 1/3 of the other homeowners renovated his torp a “100 percent” with toilets, a bathroom, internet and insulated the house (Appendix 3.1 p.27). Rasmus and Michelle had stripped everything bare and included on grid installations of every possible apparatus and Birgitte and Eva also had a functioning bathroom.

Having a drag and drop can within Torping be quite a sign of modernization even if all other installations are not changed. Eva had like Anders chosen to renovate by using modern materials with the longest possible durability but stated how, *“it should have been linseed oil”* (Appendix 4.2 p. 200) presumably aware of the debates within Torping. While Birgitte’s partner had suggested using linseed oil she mentioned the impossibility of the task, as it would take several days to dry but also mentioned being concerned about how *“it’s an old house, it must be able to breathe”* (Appendix 4.4 p. 248).

The informants appeared conscious about their choices of materials, so while Birgitte had been apprehensive about using linseed oil, it was interesting to hear her detailed account about renovating their windows. She mentioned spending a lot of time going about grinding all of their windows down and changing their hinges in the process of maintain them; *“so there are four frames in each window. That’s a lot, I spent three years on that right? And sometimes, I got up at 7 o’clock, painted it once, and then at 11 in the evening I could return and give it one more layer before I went to bed”* (Appendix 4.4 p. 247).

This example shows the effort it takes for these on-going-renovations that value this as part of Torping. In the other camp we had Anders that instead of sanding down anything had put new windows in, and mentioned that you will spend all your time maintaining, if you use

the paint color of “*slamfarve*” (sludge color)(Appendix 3.1 p. 43). He simply valued something else and decided to use “*proper paint*”, that favored durability because he could not be bothered by the alternative. While using long-lasting paint made it easier for Eva to maintain their torp, she emphasized the effort it still took to keep up with maintaining the house and stated that while there might be time to read a book, there is usually also something else you also have to do (Appendix 4.2 p. 200).

DIY: Doing it yourself

In relation to how these physical tasks are carried out the narration about DIY (Do-it-yourself) were present. Not just by the people who enjoyed on-going renovation but for all torp-owners except from one family. Bente explained the joy of discovering how easy it was to make your own doors in a cabin made of tree; “*then you take a chainsaw and then say it says biiv dii diiew, then you put a door in, and then you have a new door*” (Appendix 3.6 p. 121). Easy as that! Her husband compared her to Pippi Longstocking, the Swedish fictional character and national hero Pippi, who believes; “*I haven’t tried that before so I’m probably really good at it*” (Appendix 3.6 p. 121). This mindset was shared by others, without mentioning Pippi however Per had explained how “*It’s not certain that I have tried it before, but I ignore it*” (Appendix 4.4 p. 219). He considered that being self-made is a large part of Torping and mentioned how he considered “*the epitome of being a Torpare is that you do it yourself*” and added, even if it is only basic things such as painting the house (Appendix 4.4 p. 220). Rasmus explained that they had done everything by themselves and Jonas spoke about how changing some windows and were currently restoring a “*jordkælder*” (earth cellar) (Appendix 3.5 p. 100).

Creative (?) work!

If we revert to the literature review, how does this abovementioned narration of on-going renovation fit into the statement made by Jaakson and other theoreticians; that mentioned that second homes are places for creative work as e.g. gardening or interior design? When flickering through the Facebook group of Danish Torpare (Facebook.com, n.d.) it was easy to become a slightly skeptic on how this would relate to Torping as people seemed to share more photos of doing renovations and images of literally working on their torps. So the discussion followed; What about ‘work’ work and is Torping even creative?

Anders had mentioned, “*We do not sit and do cross stitching!*”(Appendix 3.1 p. 32).

However, a few informants did mention activities that can be described as creative work. Anders mentioned how his daughter paints and had decorated a blind door with a Torpare-landscape (Appendix 3.1 p. 45). It was also visible, that painting was done in case of Per and Tina when visiting them at their torp. Michelle had mentioned how the older children thought it was amazing to draw on stones and make creative stuff as dripping candles, painting pictures or creating chestnutmen (Appendix 4.1 p. 187), and while Louise had described some of their Torping practices as ‘doing nothing’ some of her doings fit well under the notion of creative work, as she mentioned *“We have also painted a little and done a little interior design”* and mentioned enjoyed spending time redecorating and placing new purchases within the home (Appendix 3.3 p. 82).

Both Eva, Per and Bente were pre-occupied by *‘perlespont’*, a Swedish way of making panels. Where they either mentioned the desire to use this technique in their Swedish torp (Bente), or how it was already part of it (Eva). Per stated how they could see it in the hallway and mentioned how it *“could be really nice to get painted with high gloss paint”* (Appendix 4.3 p. 224). So, the aesthetic charm was valued but it had not been one of their projects, but perhaps projects for the future.



Figure 14 Examples of creative work

So, while Torping do encompass creative work in relation to what happened inside the torp, but majority expressed the value of embodiment, through manual tasks like chopping firewood, renovation etc. and how the tactile experiences that provided them with value mentally (Jonas, Eva, Rasmus). The act of chopping wood or dragging trees down from a hillside was what provided Eva with value and using the body became a kind of mental outlet

for her. She talked about how it enabled her to ‘place the everyday in boxes’, and sort through it rather than distancing herself from the everyday (Appendix 4.2 p. 210).

I therefore suggest that the concept of creative work, favors the aesthetic through an ordering of nature and the escapism of the creative, rather than what the embodied practices can contribute with in relation to leisure. Escapism can be read into the notion of creative work, as a refuge into creative thinking, which falls into the poetic narration on cabin life that is visible in the literature review; however as Freya Higgins-Desbiolles argues “*tourism can be viewed as not an entirely banal pleasure-seeking escapism*” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, p. 1197) but there is something much messier, and embodied going on here!

In relation to creative work as gardening the informants instead place value on having a natural plot of land without too much interference with the natural surroundings. It is more about trying to keep the forest at bay, which Eva referred to as ‘work’ (Appendix 4.2 p. 209), and there is no desire to plant bulbs for flowers or cultivating the ‘garden’ (Appendix 3.2 p. 72). It could even be tempting to question if people who do Torping even have a garden as a garden is defined by cultivation (Meriam-Webster, n.d.). Simon referred to the practices around their torp as “*rough gardening work*” a trip with the brush cutter or a tour with the chainsaw (Appendix 3.7 p. 162). Some informants directly countered the need to monitor nature or create fences to keep animals out, in contrast to most e.g. most domestic gardens in Denmark that are enclosed by bushes. Due to these types of narrations, I will argue how it would be more fruitful to also include how work plays an integral role in many torp owners’ Torping practices.

When urge-related work is part of the holiday

While the silence and quietness of the nature and the space around the torp is mentioned as valuable, having the ability to do projects around the house is central for many of the informants. Per even stated that how projects sometimes become welcomed ‘obstructions’ when enjoying nature (Appendix 4.3 p. 218). This alludes to the capacity of the materiality to act upon us, both in relation to the nature, but also suggest that the torp as a space demands something from its owners, as has already been established. For most continuous renovation seemed to be integral to Torping, and the statement that there would be work for the rest of their lives were shared by both Birgitte and Eva, that respectively mentioned that “*you can start all over painting, once you are done*” (Appendix 4.4 p. 249), and when you are finished in one end its “*dags*” (time) in the other” (Appendix 4.2 p. 200).

Many of the informants use the term 'work' to describe their Torping practices where on-going projects are completely integral. When I told Eva that second home ownership is sometimes scoped as a space for doing creative work, she mentioned; *"There's nothing creative about what you do, it's work!"* (Appendix 4.2 p. 209). Birgitte even structured their time in the torp through the division of *"work and then we 'hygge' (coze ourselves)"* (Appendix 4.4 p. 247). Bente even mentioned not being cut out for relaxation, and that work was omnipresent within her ways of not only doing Torping, but central to her tourism practices in general, where she either built houses or attended various workshops around the subject (Appendix 3.6 p. 123).

Birgitte stated *"We always work when we are there, we need an agreement, oh now we take time off, because you are never done"* and even mentioned how her husband had worked so much, he was sore all over and they needed to take a break" (Appendix 4.4 p. 244). Which is a depiction that hardly can be viewed as the romantic cabin life. While it is valuable to them, soreness was part of the holiday as well.

Per that considered how these 'practical' practices shift meaning from being duties to hobbies, mentioning the work as *"lystbetonet arbejde"* (urge-related work) (Appendix 4.3 p. 220). This is similar to Bente who referred to it as *"holiday related work"*, because *"if you would rather drink beer and lie in the sun, that's what you do"* so it was in fact work was not present in everything (Appendix 3.6 p. 123). Mona appreciated the practical things that they were able to do in Sweden and enjoyed them *"because it still feels like a holiday"* while mentioning how her woodworking skills were revived by one project (Appendix 3.2 p. 72). While Lagerqvist divided body work and rest, a problem arises in relation to Torping, as they are not perceived as separate entities in Torping. Body work may be resting, despite the physically it takes to do so.

It is interesting how everyday practices such as lawn mowing was described as tedious by Rasmus who do it back home in their house in Denmark (Appendix 4.1. p. 173) and how Tore that lives in an apartment in Denmark mentioned how *"even mowing grass, it is a holiday activity for us, because we do not do that at home, and therefore we still relax while doing it"* (Appendix 3. p. 55). Handling & chopping wood by axe is mentioned as a enjoyable, leisure activity, and Rasmus mentioned, how his mom and had cut enough firewood to last them the next 100 years (Appendix 4.1 p. 184) which was also pretty evident in the case of Birgitte and

Monty (See Figure 17. below). It is interesting because sometimes the actions they did at home, were not even just equally enjoyable at the torp, but valued in a completely different way. Rasmus told about how they usually buy a tower of firewood in Denmark because he would have hated it at home, but absolutely loved splitting firewood by himself in Sweden. He also mentioned generally disliking painting, but mentioned it was somehow different in their torp (Appendix 4.1 p. 187). While the sound of a lawn mower was wildly annoying for Marianne at home in Denmark, she really did not mind the sound of a chainsaw in Sweden (Appendix 3.7 p. 146)



Figure 15 Firewood #1, Photo taken by the researcher



Figure 16 Firewood #2, Photo taken by the researcher

Working while Torping & work life in Denmark

Just as the concept “DIY” were a very present narrative though-out, it is important to emphasize how a narration of ‘Learning By Doing’ followed. Per and Eva were nurses, Bente had worked in IT and Simon, Marianne and Jonas were working behind desks, but payed enormous emphasis on the value they found in working in and around the house. Eva mentioned how Torping offers a balance between *“being in my head when I am at home and allows for me to be much more in my body and use my physique when we are here”* (Appendix 4.2 p. 210). In continuation, Simon mentioned the value of not having to *“think-talk”* that was part of both his

and Marianne's workday; where they in their indoors have to "sit and look into computers or stand and talk to people" (Appendix 3.7 p. 162). Instead Simon valued walking around removing tree roots, sawing them into smaller pieces and throwing it the fire, perhaps while listening to a podcast and trying to empty his head; *"Worrying more about if the cutting edge of the chainsaw is a bit skewed... () ... it's more like that than thinking of something academic"* (Appendix 3.7 p. 162)

Jonas who had referred to himself as a *"desktop academician"* mentioned the same sentiment and mentioned enjoying using himself physically continuously by e.g. getting the oven going, retrieving and getting rid of water, chopping firewood that he mentions as strenuous tasks but something that *"keeps one alive"* - despite how *"over-dramatic, banal and messy it may sound how these normal activities require huge amount of practical work that become completely meditative for me"* (Appendix 3.5 p. 105) Eva that had mentioned valuing being physically present stated; it is *"more about being physical and be more in that ... () ... and no, I may think thoughts while doing it, that is not what I say, but I actually don't find it particularity creative"* (Appendix 3.1 p. 43).

These two examples show us again, this combination of the body / mind, that happens through embodiment. It may not be about a creative process because the informants mention the value that happens, through what we refer to as embodiment. That the place and the practices allow for them to do, as mentioned by Eva *"when I use my body I actually do something for my brain"* (Appendix 4.2 p. 210) quite literally rejecting the Cartesian divide that was mentioned on page 27. Where Simon had mentioned making a woodshed, a sauna and some 'natural' benches (Appendix 3.7 p. 162). He mentioned how fixing things as putting a shelf up, cutting down some trees or splitting some wood helped cleanse his mind (Appendix 3.7 p. 156). Eva instead talks about mentally putting *"the thousands of thoughts she has had at home"* in Denmark in place in her mind, which also is done by physical work (Appendix 4.2 p. 210). These types of practices were considered as a nice *"free space"* as Jonas explained, as this contrasted with his daily work life, where he had someone else to do the manual tasks for him, and his job had to work like clockwork (Appendix 3.5 p. 113).

Are Torping really 'Back to Nature' and 'Off the grid'

There is absolutely no doubt, that the informants value nature in general, and not just while at the torp, but it is also evident how they spend more time in nature than they would at home. The different nature is an important push factor in the house purchase, and something that is

not only valued, but reflected in their practices. Jonas had mentioned the desired to take a year's leave, go out into the woods, live there for a year, to completely try to "*stå af*" (go off the grid) and "*not let work life define how we perceive ourselves, but do something just because you just want to*" (Appendix 3.5 p. 106).

This relates to a central theme mentioned by Jaakon that second homes offer a space where one's identity can be based around leisure rather than work. While I do not wish to discuss how they identify, it was mentioned how you get in a lower gear in the torp where "*all those stressors that can be in a normal everyday life, they just disappear*" (Appendix 3.5 p. 109). Eva mentioned a silence and grounding and emphasized the value that people could not get a hold of her due to bad cell phone connection around their torp (Appendix 4.2 p. 201). Being 'off the grid' where thereby defined as; to be without the demands of others and working life, while manual work for some becomes a way of 'leisuring'.

While Vaninni and Taggart argues that people, per definition cannot be off-grid there was this perception of feeling or wanting to be off the grid while being in the torp, in nature.

A correlation between Torping practices of then and now?

Lagerqvist asked how the torp has survived as a place and acquired the meaning it has? (Lagerqvist, 2010, p. 245), and while this is a large question, it was interesting to scope how the practices of then and now meet through the conversations, and a question about if crofting was as part of Torping today? When scrolling around online the crofter life materialized, in some of the images shared in the Torpare group, where people e.g. made their own sausages with meat grinded in an old fashioned meatgrinder (Facebook.com, n.d.). A preindustrial Laura Ingalls from the Little House on the prairie persona arose in this representation, and she was somehow also met, during some of the interviews with the informants.

Bente and Birgitte recognized how the notion of crofter is part of the practices of going Torping, and Anders acknowledged how these 'back to the roots' type of practices is an approach to Torping, and mentioned "*If you have nothing else to spend your time on, you can stroll 200 years back in time and paint in a mixture of mud and I do not know what*" (Appendix 3.1 p. 44). Louise thought the notion was too far away to her understanding of the life they lived in the torp, where they had an everyday while Eva acknowledged how other Danes in the area would perhaps fit under this narration. Birgitte had grown up in the countryside, where being self-sustaining was a natural part of the doings in a small household. It was not something foreign, but practices that had been part of her childhood as pickling, making your own honey

and doing renovations (Appendix 4.4. p. 259). Bente felt “*very much like a crofter*” due to her belief that they had a holistic approach to all their things. This was apparent when visiting her in Valby, where everything was bound to be repurposed. They had even brought and their extra Swedish ‘*Vedspis*’ (old traditional stove) to Denmark and built an environmentally friendly heating system back home in Denmark, because they had been inspired by their torp in Sweden (See figure 17. below):



Figure 17 From Bente and Jussis home in Valby; the biodegradable heater and matches of Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen. Photos taken by the researcher

The informants were very knowledgeable about the torps previous owners and the former use of the torps. Mona mentioned how they had seen an aerial photo of their torp from the fifties that showed a cow or a pig, which told how they had “*just enough to sustain themselves*” (Appendix 3.2 p. 48) and Eva mentioned how the apple trees and currant bushes had sustained the Torpare living there (Appendix 4.2 p. 195)

Many informants mentioned a respect for the Torpare that had lived there before them. Tore mentioned the time of migration and poverty (Appendix 3.2 p.49-50) and others highlighted the awe for their ability to nourish themselves from these plot of land, and the enormous work they did by keeping the forest away; “*I understand that they went to America, honestly, I understand how they almost died of hunger! Trying to get these plots of land*

cultivated, it has not been possible everywhere! (Appendix 4.2 p. 194). During the walk and talk Birgitte explained how she had tried planting potatoes, but the ground were not a great match, which other informants had also come to realize, in Bente's case however it was the moose that ate both their potatoes and apples (Appendix 3.6 p.141).

While it would be a stretch, to draw a direct parallel to Torping as crofting and Torpare of today to the original torp-owners, there were certain similarities in the practices. However, an important difference was why the traditional Torpare concerned themselves with materials and resources. As Jussi mentioned it was perhaps done due to need, than due to a holistic mindset, but Bente still liked this approach of making do with what you already got.

The parallels between Torping today and Torping then, could however be found in the narrations about how the torp owners lent their place to friends, family and colleagues: They all asked them to do some work around the house (Tore, Rasmus, Per, Birgitte and more). Just like the Torpare did back in the day, where they worked as a crofters.

Despite the imperative difference that the original Torpare did it due to necessity, the house owners and guests are doing it as part of a holiday, it is however interesting how this type of exchange now have become part of a leisurely activity, where painting the house, a rail, mowing the lawn, splitting firewood becomes an exchange for shelter like it was many years ago. However now not as a pre-requisite, but perhaps as mutual symbolic, embodied and material exchange, that is valuable for both parties.

But in all actuality:

The understanding of going back to nature as some sort of ascetic practice was not prominent in the most cases. Instead the combination of being in nature and having these routine enjoyable tasks, while still placing value on the convenience of watching a DVD, handing the children a tablet when shoveling 'humanure' or using the internet were integral to the practices of almost all homeowners. There were no obstructions to what you could and couldn't do in the torps, despite my own assumption that people had chosen to deselect certain things from the everyday in Denmark. There were no strict moral lectures about rejecting technology, as an informant told you can; *"unwind by driving a tractor, use a chainsaw or put logs in the stove and otherwise enjoy the fact that there are no TVs and other modern amenities - although the internet connection is disappointingly good"* (Appendix 5.3 p. 263).

This combination reoccurred in many of the interviews. While Tina saw Torping as a obvious opportunity to choose not to look at what is happening in the world and to put the

phone away, "*4G sneaks in all places*" despite their decision that there should definitely be no Wi-Fi in the house, like they had no inlaid water (Appendix 4.3 p. 235). This relates to Vannini & Taggart that mention how myriad lines exit and enter our homes through which our lives are suspended in powerful webs that "*reel the world closer to us and our homes closer to the world*" (Vannini, Taggart, Francis, Sheblé, & Dicaprio, 2015, p. 8-9)



Figure 18 "Here will be fiber!" (internet & fiber-TV) Photo taken by the researcher

Residing 'off the grid' and outside of modernity is thus not really part of Torping as these grids enter the torps tree clad facades. It seemed that the practices happening within them are not only transformed by the choice's families take but also what happens in general society. When driving away from one of the interviews in Sweden, we stopped to stretch our legs, and I noticed this sign that read; "*Här blir det fiber*" and the sender of the message was www.fibertillalla.se. The quote means 'here will be fiber', and the name of the website states 'fiber for all', where fiber relates to Internet. It was thereby not only about the choice of not having it, as it would be there anyway. Watching a new episode of Games of Thrones, or in Per's case watching Formula 1 were welcomed and completely okay (Appendix 4.3 p. 235). Tore mentioned jumping of the trend of 'disconnecting from everything' and mentioned that they live in a city with 4G and have chosen to have full access to the Internet, electricity and so forth. He also mentioned that they use their phones the same way as when at home in Denmark, while Mona recognized that while she walks around with it her phone in their apartment, she spends less time on it in the torp.

As mentioned the informants did not have certain obstructions when it came to separating the everyday at home from their practices within the torp, and Louise even stated how she believed that some on the Facebook group for Danish Torpare glorify their own ascetic approach in relation to this 'off grid' as it only takes a second before people reply to inquiries online. Tina talked about digital detoxing and her belief that many house owners go to Sweden to get away from social media and digital noise, but also mentioned the paradox that 'Torpare' are very on grid and online, and thus highlights that being on grid, contrary to depictions of cabin life, seems to be an integral part of Torping practice.

While the fact that modern technologies were part of Birgitte and her family's life in the torp, it was however not too evident during the interview. She mentioned how the TV worked in order to show films, but it was interesting how being in physical place and walking around their house showed the material presence of different types of technological devices; as a weather station, a tv, a mobile phone, and a laptop that were situated close to all these traditional materialities as the '*kakkelovn*' (tiled stove), the old couch, the TV on the '*slægtskiste*' (genealogy coffin); a traditional piece of furniture, that was very exemplary of how this combination of the house and the modern utilities were part of Torping.

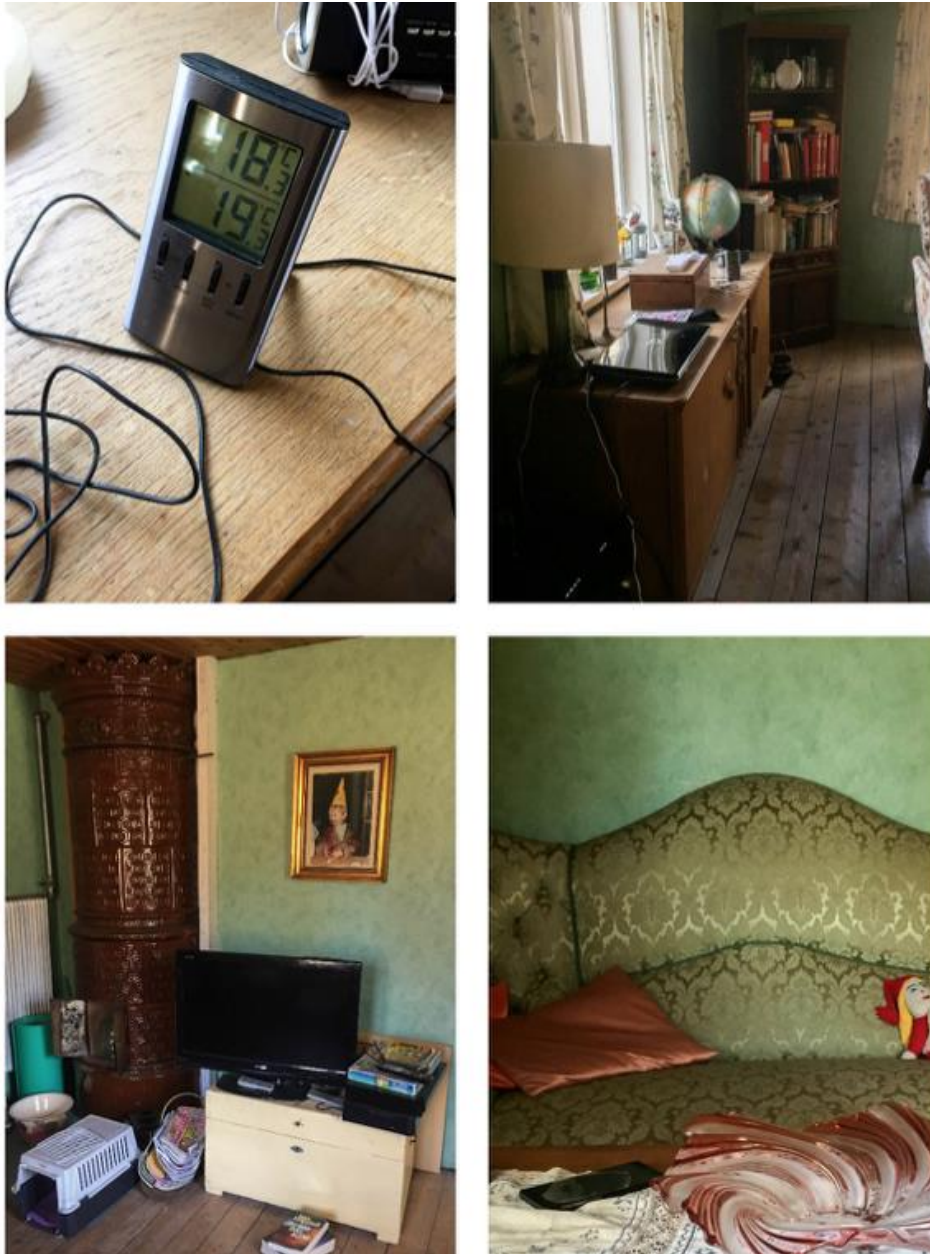


Figure 19 Picture of 'on grid' elements within a torp. Photos taken by the researcher

(Top right: Electrical weather 'station', top left: laptop. Bottom left: television. Bottom right: smartphone.)

Voluntary simplicity a choice or predetermined by the condition of the torp?

"I think it's nice that things are cumbersome, it's nice that you have to make firewood before you can fire up the stove, it's nice to have to pick up water before you can make coffee, it's nice to have to work for it, it is great that you have to remember to fire up the bathing water 3 hours before you want a shower" Tina; (Appendix 4.3 p. 217)

What was explained here went along with a narration often shared by the informants, that these types of skills are something we have forgotten at home in Denmark, or something that just was not present in their daily life in Denmark. Jonas mentioned how everything worked at

home, heated floors, a dishwasher, three balconies and mentioned how "*Vacations are allowed to be something completely different*" (Appendix 3.5 p. 104). In this case different in the sense, that the holiday was more convenient, but rather simpler than all the amenities back at home. Simplicity can be considered as a synonym to *convenience* (Vannini et al., 2015, p. 117), however Louise mentioned how you cannot state that you are escaping from a dishwasher, but explained that one would rather say, that you escape from doing the dishes by hand (Appendix 3.3 p. 83-84). So how do these perceived 'complications' provide them with value?

While the voluntary aspects of the primitive or modernized condition of the homes are sometimes not an active choice, but rather as a preexisting condition.

Jussi mentioned how their torp was "born with inlaid water," and so, that was something they had. In contrast, Louise did not have a washing machine in the torp and mentioned; "*We just keep not having it ... I would say that maybe it's more an active choice if we got one because it's wasn't there to begin with*" (Appendix 3.3 p. 83)

While the comparison between the non-existing washing machine and the primitive nature of the torp may not be completely relatable, it shows how some of the 'primitive aspects' of the houses were predetermined because of the type of house a torp is, and because of what was. This is the same in Jussi's case, where the 'developed' nature of their house, had been predetermined by previous owners and hereby not an active choice.

It was is sometimes even the simplistic nature of the torps that enabled the purchase; "*they are cheap because many of them do not have inlaid water*" (Appendix 3.4, p. 107) and many informants mentioned how the torps were economically within reach, not just in relation to the purchase but that it would also be cheap to own, as opposed to Danish summer homes. The economic aspect was central to why the informants had become homeowners in Sweden, was mentioned just as often as motives as the different Swedish nature and the room it could provide families.

Therefore this notion of voluntary simplicity notion is not always about a 'rational calculated choice' (Vannini et al., 2015, p. 26) but an outcome of the property, they have bought, but for Louise washing the dishes manually provided her with time with her family. She could be present while they were playing board games.

Many informants mentioned the task of heating up the house as a precondition for Torping, where Mette mentioned how it "took it almost one and a half days to warm it up" (Appendix 2.2 p. 22) and Mona described the specific feeling of arriving to a cold house and

"walking around and humming" because of the cold (Appendix 3.2 p. 71). Heating is completely central to dwelling as it for some requires work to get a fire going, while others have chosen to install heating, where in contrast is just about flicking a switch.

While voluntary simplicity has until now only been looked upon through the ones who live in the primitive torps, one could also consider the intentional modernization to be a part of voluntary simplicity. As Anders mentioned it keep things from literally falling on him, and he replaced windows that had previously been clogged with 42 nails. Elements were taken out of the house and its interior simplified, sustainable choices as sun cells on the roof were also added in order to minimize their consumption, which is the 'kiim' of voluntary simplicity to begin with.

The informants also mentions limitations in Torping that come from nature; *"If you, as a teenager, go bathing for a half hour, then the well may be empty and it is a long process to get water in it again"* (Appendix 3.1 p. 34). Voluntary simplicity is thus also about the available resources. Mette had explained the primitive nature of bathing when speaking about using a *"tub of water where you never feel like you are getting cleaned"* (Appendix 2.2 p. 13). Mona referred to bathing as a complete 'circus', that her partner Tore however thought was fantastic! Louise mentioned how the act of *"having to boil water if you are planning to do the dishes, is like stomping the pedal, because it takes the time it takes. You can't make it faster"* and she mentioned as a sort of valuable counter pole to society in relation to efficiency (Appendix 3.3 p. 84).

The drought last summer, had emptied Birgitte's well, which meant that they had to manage from June to September without being able to sustain themselves with water, but she liked that everything cannot be taken for granted when it comes to resources and passing this 'lesson' on to her children (Appendix 4.4 p. 245).

This latter example is however not *voluntary simplicity* but a rather a condition of living this way. Many informants mentioned that you are not alone in controlling what happens in Torping, as nature and its inhabitants play a large role. Simon recollected planting 100 fresh spurs, in the hopes it would turn into trees. However, these were just in right height of the moose and deer that *"also had their opinion on what to do with those"* (Appendix 3.7 p. 153), and consequently ate all their hard work. Mona mentioned how their "lawn" had been turned upside down by wild boar and Rasmus mentioned walking around in bare bellies during summer time and getting eaten by gadflies and stung by mosquitoes to an extent that they do not like to use the torp in the summer (Appendix 4.1 p. 174).

When discussing voluntary simplicity as either a result from pre-existing conditions or a choice, it is interesting to scope how the torp owners make the resources work for their holidays. There are interesting examples on how the torp owners worked on making the natural resources available to them, by creating hot water or sustaining themselves with a larger water supply. Both Anders and Per had chosen to create an outdoor shower space. Anders had sustained their torp with an additional water supply, so they could take longer showers, and Tina and Per mentioned *"Making water"*, so they could shower outside year-round with a water temperature that allowed this to be an enjoyable possibility. At that moment I was more than thankful to be visiting Per and Tina at their torp rather than just hearing about it, because making water couldn't be verbalized, it had to be shown as Per explained! (Appendix 4.3 p. 234) (Click on the link in this footnote² to watch the video of the bathing area and get a sense of the atmosphere).

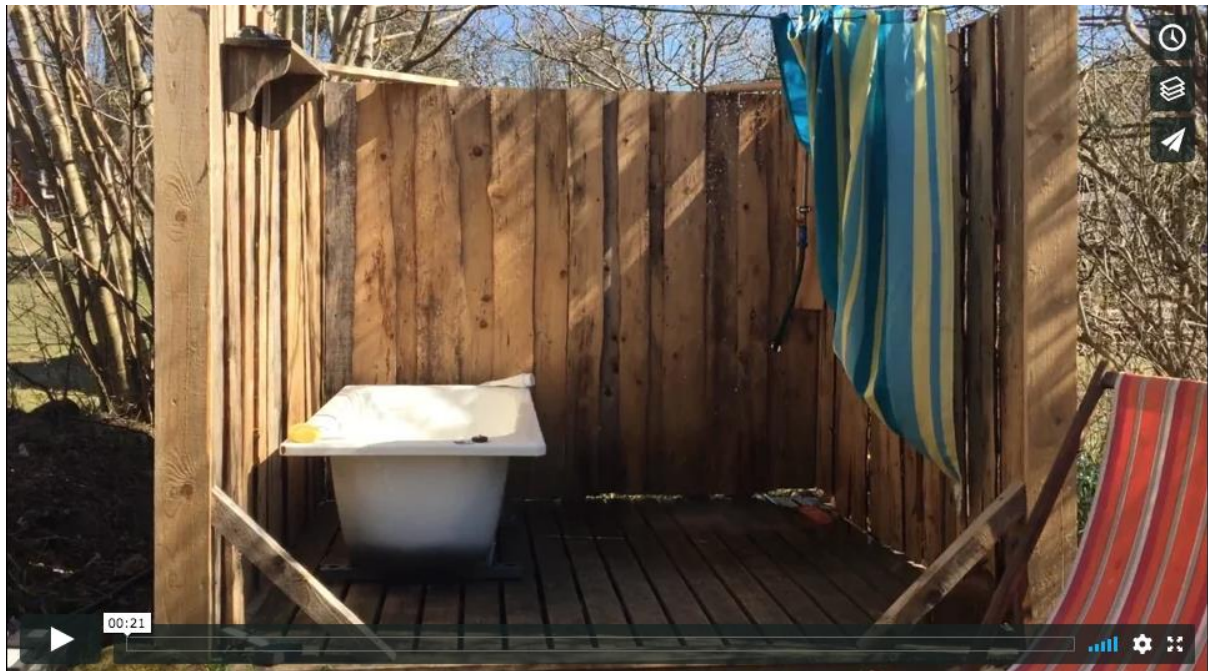


Figure 20 Still from the video "How to make water filmed by the researcher"

The 'recipe' for making water was shared during the walk and talk, and included below;

Recipe for making water:

"So here's the bathing area and this old Serva, that was found in the barn, along with all the other s-h-i-t, and I actually think it took a few years before I found it, because there was just so much junk and we didn't have time for that, but light it up, a 12 volt Biltema boat pump, a

² <https://vimeo.com/335184820>

battery, I can demonstrate! Done job! How hard can it be. There is still hot water! (short break) Yes you were lying here while the sun went down in the west! Who's going under? (Appendix 7.4 p. 275).



Figure 21 The 'Serva' hot water container, still from the video



Figure 22 The 12 volt battery, still from the video



Figure 23 Bathing area. Photos taken by the researcher

Per mentioned how some perceive these types of practices as troublesome, but explained that while they require consideration, it's only if you forget to do something that it becomes just that. Instead it could rather be perceived as thick experiences, as Mikkelsen had mentioned. It also shares parallels to the narration of 'creative work' as well as the work by Vannini and Taggart, that argued how cabin life was as not just being 'off the grid' but being innovative. Anders had mentioned how some torp-owners have spent the last 5 years building a battery in their attic or constructed a windmill, while sarcastically adding how they would mention "*it doesn't work yet but it will in 10 years*", an ironic depiction of these on-going projects that to somewhere so integral to Torping.

Per told about building a new house on their premises that had taken 4 years to complete (Appendix 4.4 p. 216), and Anders had almost spent all his holidays renovating for 10-11 years in order to create a space that fit their needs. While it had been hard, he was still able to relax but stated how he wanted to "få bund i lortet" (get it done) in order to be able to relax more (Appendix 3.1 p. 43-44). This however seem to be a great difference from the people that Vannini & Taggart had interviewed that had created these types of projects in order make everyday life work, whereas the torp-owners have time to make these doings into long term projects because they have alternatives.

While the findings presented in this chapter relate to the findings of Vannini and Taggart that argued how people re-invented several things in relation to convenience when living in a cabin (Vannini et al., 2015 p. 117), Torping seems to be more about reverting to something, than actually inventing something new, which is the theme for the upcoming chapter.

The 'Das'

"What is also really great, is that you can open the door, so you sit right out in the woods"

– Tore

A very surprising theme, that continuously kept coming up in the interviews were the importance of the "das" short form of the German *das Häuschen*; 'the little house' (Ordnet.dk, n.d.), sometimes described as 'udedas' (outside-das) as these are situated in small sheds, located in a short walking distance from the torp. Sometimes the das of the torp-owners was the type of 'muldtoilet' that relates to the function of 'muld' (topsoil) that is placed within the bowl of the toilet, where remains are left to decompose, before the remains become useful as compost.

As Mona explained *“if you have done something 'big', it lies down there and become really good topsoil, and then you scrape it out when there becomes too much of it”* (Appendix 3.2 p. 51) while others had a *‘separeringstoilet’*, where the different entities are flushed through the system and then used for various purposes. The similarities between the two is that you discard, or rather reuse the remains, instead of a modern drag and drop. Composting “humanure” as Vannini & Taggart argued and the *“disposal of waste as a manifestation of an individual’s right not to be inconvenienced with the consequences of one’s consumption”* (Vannini et al., 2015, p. 110), was mentioned by the informants, where taking care of your own waste for Bente was part of a holistic mindset (Appendix 3.6 p. 126) while others valued it for other reasons.

Torping is therefore not only about ‘innovative’ ways of sustaining themselves with more and warm water it was even more prominent how people in Torping valued the simple materialities that already there. Mette mentioned how her cousins had rejected using a newly installed toilet; *“they simply still refused to go to the toilet because they simply didn't think it belonged having a real toilet in an ødegård”* she said laughingly, and mind you this was several months post installation (Appendix 2.2 p. 18). Mona also mentioned how the das was meaningful, but stated how it was not due to ‘a romantic idea’ but because it was simply part of how it is, when they go to Sweden, while mentioning that it was still nice to return to ‘drag and drop’ again, when they went back to Denmark.

The das is however described by some as a sort of last frontier, before the torp and the home in Denmark has the same amenities. While many had updated their torp with inlaid water, wifi, the possibility of showering outside, the das remained for many of them. The udedas was somehow described a romanticism, despite the apparent triviality. Louise mentioned how *“one would think that something that a drag and drop would be easier more hygienic and free of odors”* (Appendix 3.3 p. 78), but told how they put their feet in Wellingtons and traversed out into nature (Appendix 4.1 p. 75), or Mona who was afraid of the dark, but would rather confront her own fears, than installing a small camping toilet inside because *“it takes something away from it if we got a toilet inside”* (Appendix 3.2 p. 51). Refusing to cave in because there was something really pleasant about going outside to go to the toilet; *“it is enormously cozy in the morning and the angle of our toilet, the angle is the way, that when you open the door... ()... you can actually sit with the open door and look out at the forest”* (Appendix 3.2 p. 51).



Figure 24 Top left, topsoil toilet. Top right, washing area with a water dispenser made from a milk churn. Bottom left: Topsoil toilet, bottom right: Instructions when using a "Drag and swing"(see picture on the left) as opposed to a drag and drop toilet. Photos taken by the researcher

This type of narrations sheds new light on the concept of alterity. Alterity as viewed through the most basic practicalities of human life exposing of what we drink and eat. Cohen placed second homeowners as outside of tourism, because the lack of novelty in travel behavior.

While *alterity* is mentioned in the literature review and highlighted as an important part of the second home experience, we are perhaps experiencing the contraction of novelty and alterity, where one of the seemingly most mundane practices become meaningful, and both full of novelty and alterity in its deceptive mundanity.

While the primary function remains the same, the before, during and after the experience of the visit to the bowl is changed. Visiting the das becomes more than the function. The ways that Torping is performed through this everyday activity is telling to how seemingly mundane doings can be perceived as ‘extraordinary experiences’, and how these can “*spring from ordinary foundations*”(Mikkelsen, 2017, p. 65)

Per argued, that if they cannot walk 17 meters over the grass, then they should not be there anymore. Eva on the other hand argued how a desire to be able to use their place as eighty year olds enforced them to install a toilet, and Birgitte mentioned how having a das wasn’t a sort of romantic trope for her as it involves work and you have to dig holes, so they had decided to have a toilet, despite being highly devoted to all other types of work. Rasmus and Michelle mentioned the convenience of having a toilet, when having small children.



Figure 25 An image of Eva’s torp-bathroom, toilet and bath. Photos taken by the researcher

8.3 What happens when nothing happens? The art of (seemingly) doing nothing

Until now, this analysis chapter has highlighted what is being produced, and the work and maintenance that is part of Torping, however within these chapters, it has been alluded how others chose not to renovate gradually, how nature is an important asset within Torping and how family time together but sometimes separately is important as well.

In this chapter the focus is on all the practices, that makes Torping meaningful to the informants, despite not ‘producing’ or ‘creating’ something or appearing as simply ‘doing’ nothing. Many informants provided detailed accounts of what they did during Torping as well as the mundanity of their holiday practice, despite the concern that “*routines sink into the body and become reflexes*” (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 208) and would be difficult to talk about as well as some practices perhaps would seem too mundane to share. This however was not the case, but there was some sort of veiled resistance found in the language used by the informants. When Louise mentioned throughout how she did ‘*Ingenting*’ (nothing) several times over, (Appendix 3.3 p. 75), I remembered the key idea in the analytical perspective of Orvar Löfgren and Billy Ehn in the book *The secret world of doing nothing* from 2010, where they suggest that researchers stop thinking of the why’s of a particular event, but instead ask how something occurs (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, 219). When asking her to reflect upon how she did ‘nothing’ she described a day of seemingly doing nothing. She told about her morning, that that many other informants also highlighted and continued by mentioning “*Then then we return, prepare some fruit, then we eat a ‘sildemad’ (ryebread with herring) ... So really DO NOTHING*” (Appendix 3.3 p. 91)

It was however evident how this narration of nothing was not a fair representation of their holiday practices. Louise compared her holiday practice to others and explained how “*Other people relax when they are doing things, we don't, we're relaxing when putting our feet up and do nothing*”. This narration instinctively valorize that, it was only doing something, if you produced something from these doings and the lack of novelty, and the lack of “pomposity” in her actions seemed to lay behind her explanations. In relation to others that have shared online how they “*have scraped off, made planks for the floor and isolated a wall*” it made her think “*then we do nothing*” but she mentioned actually having built a small cabin during a weekend in the autumn (Appendix 3.3 p. 91). However while building a cabin falls into the

narration of doings as producing, she mentioned how “*we just need to ‘hygge’ (coze ourselves)*” and mentioned playing games, and doing as little as possible (Appendix 3.3 p. 75). Where valuing not producing anything of permanent nature (except, perhaps a good mental health) comes to matter, as she mentioned how it’s about relaxing and enjoying yourself and do what you want to do in the moment.

Even though Louise had chosen to explain their doings as ‘nothing’, she described a morning at the torp and it was clear how this ‘nothing’ contained several actions, that seemed completely naturalized to her. She later showed me a couple of images, and of one taken one of these mornings that she had previously explained in depth.



Figure 26 A morning in Louise's bedroom (Photo taken by Louise)

In the image we see, that there is a fire going in the fireplace, as well as a cup of coffee in the right-side corner. Both of which that are perishable and elusive: the fire that devour the tree logs so they vanish, and the coffee that is meant to be drunk so this must have been produced or done by somebody.

However, while the photo had the capacity to show the embodied, I realized how depiction as mentioned in the methodology favors an “*intellectual trend has been to elevate mobility over pause*”(McIntyre, Williams, & McHugh, 2006, p. 315). The picture above does not only show us how the fireplace must have been lit by someone, but it also has the capacity to show about dwelling and pause as this is almost a prerequisite when taking a picture. This is valuable in relation to Michelle who mentioned that the images shared on social media always make it appear like you do something “wild” when you share an image.

She mentioned some respond to images they share online; “*orh is it exciting things like that that you do, when you go? well yes, because I don't take a picture of the kids sitting and 'just', or now we play a game*” (Appendix 4.1 p. 176). So, while Michelle perhaps did not show the ‘just’s’ online this was depicted in Louise’s photo that was shown during the interview situation, that provided the project with an insight into seemingly doing nothing.

The narration of 'just' provided an insight into doings that despite the narration proved valuable when understanding the value of the mundane, and the uneventful. Narrations of the importance of small things as drinking coffee with someone, sitting, walking or sleeping, and being in nature were particularly important as well as 'just being'.

- Så er vi bare her (3.2, 59) + (4.1, 180)
- Så lå det der bare (3.7, 153)
- Bare et andet hjem (3.2, 59) + (3.3, 86)
- Bare være os (3.2, 59)
- Bare gå ture (2.2, 13)
- Bare være ude i naturen som familie (2.2, 13)
- Bare set en sluse (2.2, 13)
- Bare kørt nogle ture (2.2, 13)
- Så står vi bare der (3.1, 42)
- bare mærke (3.6, 132)
- bare lykkelig (3.6, 132)
- bare almindelig hverdagsmad (4.1, 188)
- bare hygger fredag aften (3.7, 162)
- bare have gang i brændeovnen (3.6, 134)
- bare et rigtigt hjem (3.7, 150)
- bare snakker med dem (3.7, 151)
- Bare hygge og spille spil (3.3, 75)
- der er man bare (4.1, 173)
- Bare er turist (3.3, 76)
- Bare sådan en morgen (3.3, 92)
- bare at gå og rydde op (3.7, 163)
- bare det at være udenfor (3.7, 163)
- Bare ingenting (3.3, 92)
- sover bare bedre deroppe (4.2, 211)
- Så er der bare vildt (3.3, 92)
- bare drengerøvsfis (4.1, 166)
- bare fordi man kan (4.1, 167)
- bare gå tur og så bare (4.1, 167)
- Bare sidde og glo (3.3, 92)
- skulle bare på traktoren (4.3, 235)
- skal vi ikke bare (slappe af) (3.3, 93)
- Bare en stor grund (3.5, 101)
- fordi man bare har lyst (3.5, 106)
- de forsvinder bare (stress-faktorer) (3.5, 109)
- det er bare rutine (5.3, 111)
- bare være her (4.1, 180)
- bare holde sig i live (5.3, 113)
- bare så nemt at lave en ny dør (3.6, 121)
- bare lave herretur (4.1, 165)
- bare mere ude (4.1, 211)
- vi går bare og cykler (3.5, 122)
- bare ikke termovinduer (5.6, 128)
- det er bare et bræt (5.6, 279)
- Bare skal have lov at gro (3.3, 83)
- Den er der bare (naturen) (3.3, 279)
- bare vores lille frimærke (4.3, 227)
- så skal vi bare have luft (3.7, 154)
- altså elsker bare den ro (3.7, 156)
- man kan bare gå ud (4.3, 238)
- bare for at få ro (3.7, 158)
- bare at rende rundt (3.7, 162)
- bare lige varmes op (4.3, 233)
- bare det der med at sidde på min køkkenbænk og sidde og skrive (3.7, 163)
- Bare læst nogle bøger, slapper af og tænder pejsen (2.2, 13)
- bare tage den ind igennem (skoven) (4.1, 167)
- bare ved at tænde for en knap. (4.1, 170)
- bare at stryge tændstikken (4.1, 170)
- bare nogle andre ting vi ændrer på (4.1, 171)
- bare af at kigge rundt (komme ned i gear) (4.1, 173)
- drømmer sig bare væk (4.1, 173)
- bare vores hverdagsliv, men bare med mindre pres (3.6, 134)
- bare når vi sidder og spiser heroppe (4.1, 173)
- bare ædt af de der hestebremser (4.1, 174)
- bare det der med at gå på jagt i skoven (4.1, 173) (lege)
- bare sad og slappede af og nød det (4.1, 175)
- bare bruge dagen på at nyde, at det var anderledes, men alligevel have det dejligt, trykke ved det hjemlige (4.1, 176)
- der sidder vi bare eller spiller et spil (4.1, 176)
- hvis man bare er 'Nåja der ligger en lort' nu går vi videre (hvis man synes det er spændende, er der det) (4.1, 178)
- bare at kunne trække stikket og sige nu skrider vi (4.1, 179)
- heroppe er der bare ro (4.1, 183)
- Ikke sjovt at sidde i hytten og bare lave ingenting (3.5, 104)
- bare knoklet (med at hugge brænde) (4.1, 184)
- bare på med gummistøvler og regntøj (4.1, 188)
- man skal bare kunne være ude (4.1, 188)
- Bare tænde op i pejsen og spise noget (3.3, 75)
- bare ikke sidde på de sociale medier (4.3, 214)
- bare bålhygge, et sted at have bålhygge (4.3, 215)
- bare sidde og nyde og her kunne tiden stå stille (4.3, 218)
- det er bare inkorporeret (4.3, 221)
- nu hygger vi os bare (nu er der ikke noget at lave) (4.3, 221)
- så kan du bare sidde i dit hus (4.1, 226)
- ikke bare tro, at man kalde fælde et død træer på samme måde, som man kan et levende (5.3, 118)
- det giver bare meget, rigtig meget (at være ude) (4.1, 174)
- bare en større natur, det er bare en voldsommere natur (4.3, 228)
- man er bare ude, man er i skoven, man er... (4.1, 173)
- der stod bare sådan nogle 30cm grantræer (3.7, 152)
- bare det der hus i skoven (3.7, 153)
- bare have mos og skov (3.7, 153)
- bare meget fedt at opleve noget andet natur (4.1, 168)
- det er bare sådan nogle små ting (4.3, 239)
- bare komme forbi til en kop kaffe (4.4, 243)
- bare som en filmmaskine (4.4, 252)
- så tog jeg bare bær med herop og så kogte det (4.4, 259)
- så er jeg bare hjemme, så er jeg bare i det (3.7, 157)
- bare tage en ting om dagen eller to (3.5, 122)
- bare gå og lave sådan praktiske ting (3.7, 162)
- bare ligge ude og tage sol og drikke øl (5.6, 123)
- nu er træerne bare blevet kæmpe store (3.5, 103)
- så render jeg bare rundt og prøver at tømme hovedet (3.7, 162)
- bare der er rigtig mange der bruger det som digital detox (4.3, 214)

Figure 27 'Just' doing something (Narrations from the data collection).

Dwelling in place but out of time

When Louise was asked about if the practice of seemingly ‘doing nothing’ were what they valued in Torping. Louise confirmed, and mentioned how it could be done with a better conscience: *"At home, we might choose to do nothing because oh we can't be bothered... ()... But up there 'now we are here, then we can do nothing'"* (Appendix 3.3 p. 92). This somehow ties into what Ehn & Löfgren describes as a *"longing for purposely being inactive"* (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 6). However due to the choice of this traditionally perceived ‘non-event’ it is very much an active decision, or sometimes a followed cause by the material surroundings.

While Louise did a lot of things despite her narration on doing nothing, we should not just value what is done, because there is an integral problem with only valorizing what is done or produced as productive. This relates to a narration built up around a present-day Western fixation with being productive that Ehn et al. refers to *"the cult of speed and a fear of wasting time"* where *"active life as morally superior the tradition of being busy to be a necessity"* (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 6) (Ehn et al. 2010, p. 6). Ehn & Löfgren mentions how *"Followers of Tao and Zen believe that doing nothing may be a sign of wisdom, the highest good, its aim that of being in the here and now, fully aware of the present and not striving for the future"* (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 5).

This depiction of doing nothing in some way seemed apparent to many of the informants. Some mentioned another sense of time, when being in and around the Torp. Mona that mentioned how they do not have any big plans but *"then we just are"* (Appendix 3.2 p. 59), and the same narration arose, when visiting Rasmus and Michelle in Sweden where he explained *"there you just are"* (Appendix 4.1 p. 172).

Rasmus explained, how there was another sense of time, and concerns about time passing seemed entirely non-existent while visiting them, despite from the materiality of massive clock that took up an entire wall in the kitchen. You simply had to assume it was for decoration, as it appeared as quite an ironic installation. The watch hands could have stood completely still when experiencing the calmness of the informants, the sun shining through their large windows and their two boys playing on a mattress in front of the fireplace, that they had mentioned somehow provided another type of warmth, than the heater they had, while it evidently also created a space for the family, in a way that I have never seen any radiator being capable of.

The valuable non-events



The butterfly
“Common brimstone”
(*Citronsommerfugl* in Danish)
an example with how encounters
with the non-human is
considered as valuable in
Torpington.

Figure 28 Common Brimstone

While arguing that pause and embodiment can materialise through images, there is also the importance of the elusive qualities in Torpington. Where the value of doing ‘nothing’ is when seemingly nothing is done. Tina mentioned seeing two butterflies by the species Common Brimstone dance together the day before my visit;

“one was bright yellow, and another was the color of curry and that was a big thing yesterday. I would never notice that at home, but that was the main attraction of those who were not out hunting yesterday, it really is not very high-end entertainment!” (Appendix 4.3 p. 238).

The torp-owners did not consider themselves to be tourists, because tourists go somewhere with merchandise and ice-cream! (Appendix 3.1 p. 37), Instead they view snails and stay put! (Appendix 3.3 p. 93) to summarize the difference. Tore stated that it is *“the location itself that is the primary tourism”* and the immediate area, i.e. the nature (Appendix 3.2 p. 54) and Bente mentioned how they find value in what can be found in the nature around the house (Appendix 3.6 p. 122). While others like Tina mentioned how the nature acted upon them, just as the animals did the garden work for the Torpare, or the weather put restraint on their resources.

Reverting back to Tina’s explanation that the entertainment lies is the natural surroundings around the torp and in *the “small things”* as seeing trees or sometimes even a tree root or being or walking in nature (Appendix 4.1 p. 177) Mette explained one of the rare occasions, where her family had went away from their torp, by recollecting going to see a canal lock, with her family, something she laughingly described as *“real low key entertainment right?”* (Appendix

2.2 p. 13). Michelle mentioned how they valued walking two different ways to the forest, and she mentioned the meaningful encounters they would come across, that they had no control over in advance.

When Absence becomes meaningful

Karen Barad have asked; is all performances performative? (Barad, 2012, p. 808). I would say no, when considering the post-humanist understanding of performativity, where the material, immaterial and non-human have capacity to act upon us despite not acting 'intentionally', however because we are entangled in the relationships with the 'non-human', it is important to acknowledge, how materiality and immateriality are part of Torping.

In conversation with Rasmus and Michelle this became increasingly apparent, through their narration about the everyday in and around the torp. It's not just about seeing a moose or shooting a boar, but there is something else going on; "*You catch what you meet on the road*" as Rasmus described while mentioning how they may not see many moose but "*we see a lot of shit from moose and deer*", which was something they talk about as a family (Appendix 4.1 p. 178). The family explained having seen the traces of how a moose had been laying on a piece of meadow, due to the meadow being covered in snow. Michelle mentioned noticing footprints in their driveway and mentioned that it's entertaining how you can hear the "pow pow" from the hunters during hunting season, or you can hear the geese flying (Appendix 4.1, p. 178).

When they sailed out into 'their' lake she mentioned the echo, and Rasmus chimed in "*And then you hear some cows standing and roaring back*" (Appendix *ibid.*).

These are thought-provoking depictions that signaled for absence becomes meaningful. You don't have to see the cow, the geese or the animals that have created the footprints or the moose that had laid on the meadow. It's somehow the absence of, it's the imprint, its' the remains and the sounds that comes to matter. During an interview, I even mentioned being able to "hear the silence" which perhaps would have seemed as quite ironic depiction, but the absence of sound made me able to listen to the silence, and experience birds chirping for the first time in forever.

9.0 DISCUSSION: Torping as tourism and a space of multiple dwelling?

In prolongation of the theory found on second homes as tourism, as well as the lack thereof, it seemed important to reflect upon how the people going Torping associated their own practices to tourism. Many informants had not considered the relation previously, but Anders stated how *“the link between tourism and torp was quite exciting, because perhaps it is tourism”* (Appendix 3.1, p. 36) and Eva mentioned the inquiry had made her reflect upon what they called themselves, and mentioned how Torping was an interesting notion in the sense that *“there is no doubt it is a lifestyle to some extent”* (Appendix 4.2, p. 191).

9.1 Tourists when going somewhere with merchandise and ice-cream

“They probably don’t feel like tourists when they are on the premises” - Mette (Appendix 2.2 p. 15).

This assumption appeared to be true, as the notion of *tourist* was not part of the majority of the informants’ self-perception when Torping. When conversing about why this may be Louise mentioned, *“Well maybe it's because it's almost too close? And you have a hard time turning your perspective inwards, right? It is easier to think out in the world and think of tourists in that way”* (Appendix 3.3 p. 76).

The representative form Danish Torpare had assumed how the house owners would answer that the torp would be *“as much our first home as the home we have at home, because people have a sense of belonging”* and would discard the notion of tourist since they know the area the Torp is situated within as well as their neighbors, and ‘tourist’ seemed to relate to something more *“experience related”* (Appendix 2.2 p. 15).

As assumed several informants only associated their holiday practices with tourism, when they went away from the torp, Bente mentioned *“We do a few days when we are tourists e.g. we agreed on, now we want to be tourists for 2 days”* (Appendix 3.3 p. 121) and only referred to being tourists when driving out to see certain ‘attractions’ away from the torp and *“playing holiday”* (Appendix 3.6 p. 125); Anders seemed to have the same understanding of tourism and stated that his family are often tourists where they live at home where they *“venture out to be tourists, and make touristy things, and of course we also do that*

in Sweden” (Appendix 3.1 p. 36), where tourism here is part of a central modality of modern life as well, as argued by Franklin & Crang (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 6-7). But being a tourist was something you could select on certain days it seemed, and the informants mentioned rarely visiting attractions as integral to this narration. Tore explained how there were a few attractions in their area, but that they also did not visit them that frequently (Appendix 4.3, p. 54). While Rasmus mentioned that his sister “*do the Tripadvisor model*” his other immediate family valued other things than going to tourist attractions or big cities “*is simply not what it is about when going*” (Appendix 4.1 p. 176). While Bente mentioned visiting a city that celebrated the opening of canal lock (Appendix 3.6 p. 137), Anders mentioned visiting “*a car graveyard*”, that he explained as not “*set as tourism*”, because there were “*no ice cream shop, and merchandise*” but an attraction that had grown from the bottom up (Appendix 3.1 p. 37).

9.2 Tourists do not empty a bucket of shit, they leisure!

In contrast to the abovementioned opinion of tourism as merchandise and ice cream, a certain valuation of the practices within Torping materialized when the informants separated themselves from this type of tourism; “*don't you think those 'leisure tourists' chose not to buy a property, but rather would want to go on a charter tour or something?*” (Appendix 4.3 p. 220). The same narration appeared when speaking to Eva who did not consider herself to be a tourist;

“We do not use the money to drink coffee down at 7-75 (a café) or what they are called, we use them to buy paint and go and do something around the house so, it is a kind of active holiday too, it's not like we just lie down in the sun” – Eva (Appendix 4.2 p. 194).

While Per had acknowledged being a tourist, he stated that they were a “*different kind of tourists*” (Appendix 4.2 p. 212). He later asked his wife Tina about how she felt about the notion? She firmly responded, “*No, I have a house in Sweden, I am absolutely not a tourist under no circumstances*” (Appendix 4.2 p. 230). Louise answered, why the notion of tourist may not be something people would like to refer to themselves as because; “*you would like to be special, and you are not, if you are just a tourist!*” (Appendix 3.3 p. 76) and another informant mentioned; “*You don't get real tourists to empty the bucket with shit in the woods, do you?*” (Appendix 4.3 p. 231).

This relates to what Germann Molz refers to as the landscape of good and bad tourism, where the tourist enters discussions with a high level of normativity (Molz, 2013 p, 212). In these types of depictions, a sort elitism in Torping arose, that Jaakson had mentioned

were part of second home ownership. Torping were considered as a more "inner controlled" space, whilst tourism was viewed as being more about "*perhaps see me, hear me, if you have to go out and take pictures of all of the places you've been*" (Appendix 3.3, p. 87). Bente also mentioned tourism as going many places and having a set plan for their day (Appendix 3.6 p. 122). Within these narrations, tourism is valorized as both inactive; as soaking up the sun type of practice at the same time as it involves a lot of pit stops, both for coffee and fleeting pleasures and visiting a lot of places. The tendency of generalizing, and referring to The Tourist rather than the individual tourists (Löfgren, 1994, p. 102) were apparent, when the informants placed Torping outside of tourism, however later in conversation Tina mentioned; "*When thinking about it, it is actually a bit prejudice with this understanding of a standard tourist, there is something really negative about that word*" (Appendix 3.3 p. 231).

9.3 The everyday in Torping:

While the understanding of tourism as *attractions* and *merchandise* was apparent in the conversations that distinguished Torping from tourism, it was clear that it was not only due to common prejudices towards tourists. Instead many mentioned the torp as '*another home*'.

One of the primary assumptions that exist within second home tourism is how it offers a contrast to the everyday, however in actuality many dialogues revolved around how the everyday exists within Torping. Contrary to traditional tourism studies, there are no 'escaping the everyday' while on holiday, as Per mentioned; "*It is everyday life, we run a house here, and some may imagine that it is not, it is pure holiday and idyllic, but... ()... we just moved the work camp 2000 km south*" (Appendix 4.3, p. 225). This statement shows how an everyday arose as part of their status of homeownership, while others mentioned how the contrast from the traditional '*home*' and '*away*' were greatest in the beginning. Eva recalled feeling impressed by their own Torping practices back in the day, and Michelle mentioned the changes in practices over time, when contemplating how they did no longer over-pack, or had the desire to create three course menus, but had by now realized that bringing something from the freezer at home was completely fine (Appendix 4.1, p. 187).

The division between '*home*' and '*away*' become blurred, as the labels or interests, that we carry with us is not 'escaped' when going on holiday, as Torp-owners are not detached from everyday life at home when Torping. Tina had mentioned how watching Games of Thrones had become a part of Torping, and Jonas mentioned attending a beginner's course on how to handle a chainsaw in Denmark, after having overturned a couple of trees in Sweden

(Appendix 3.4, p. 118). The children sometimes had homework to do as part of Torping (Tina, Eva & Louise).

Nathalie, one of Tina's and Per's children told about having been occupied by thinking about an art project for her upcoming visual arts exam and Tina mentioned how they had worked on her physics exam, the day before my visit (Appendix 4.3, p. 234). Internet had become a prerequisite for Louise, when their children had assignments to do, but also mentioned her partner who was self-employed, and needed it when working from the torp. In his profession the traditional separation of work from leisure time cannot be divided as that of most wage-earners, despite the industrialized world's perception of the divided world through home and work, or home and away (McIntyre et al., 2006, p. 315).

9.4 Another home, when second home theory upon Torping becomes faulty

While second home theory has been useful as a tool in order to dive into the analysis of the subject of Torping, second home ownership also has its limitations, as the theory fundamentally presuppose a sense of attachment to place, that is divided through a primary and secondary dichotomy. The realities of the torp-owners perception of Torping is in fact much more complex.

While Torping can be characterized as second home ownership, second home theory is just one lens to consider the phenomenon of Torping by, and while some informants did explain how the torp served as a second home, another depiction was more prominent. In actuality the notion of *multiple dwellings* (McIntyre et. al 2006) seemed more fitting for over half of the informants, as many described their relation to Torping as 'another home' (Mona, Jonas, Marianne, Rasmus, Eva, Birgitte, Per).

Despite the fact that second home theory is predominantly applied within research on holiday homes and cabins, the understanding of Torping suggests how multiple dwellings for many should be considered in extension, as it encompasses how "*a person develops a sense of being 'at home' in two or more places, is one way in which people attempt to negotiate meaningful links with family, and with nature in an increasingly complex world*" (McIntyre et al., 2006, p. 314). A quote that in a beautiful way summarizes many of the crucial findings within Torping. The value of family space, and a place with nature. One could perhaps even argue, that the traditional tourism binaries is part of the position of primary and secondary, and how the notion of multiple dwellings instead let us 'revisit escape'. Because the practices of Torping is done as simply another home (McIntyre et. al 2006:129) where

Torping instead allows us to not only consider how an everyday is part of tourism, but also how relations to tourism in general is far more multifaceted.

While the central question were never intended to be the discussion of the torp-owners as tourists, it opened up a conversation about their attachment to place that provided an insight into Torping space. The sense of attachment is important to highlight as this correlates with how Cohen had stated that there was a lack of novelty in their touristic practices. Torping is very much explained as a domestic space where the cats of the families live in both the Swedish torp and the Danish apartment or house (Mona, Birgitte and Bente) and even tomato plants are joining the families on vacation (Appendix 3.2, p. 72) and as Anders mentioned, "*I live there when I'm there*", despite not being permanent residents (Appendix 3.1, p. 42)

Where Cohen had depicted, the lack of novelty as one of the deciding factors as to why second home ownership resided outside of tourism, this was not the case for Jonas that referred to himself a tourist. He ended up wanting to buy a torp, because they had rented a holiday home twice. As he described they had "*experienced that the news value had worn off, but it was still just as awesome*"; now it just annoyed him, that a tree was blocking the sun, and he wanted to carve sticks with his eldest daughter which wasn't possible to the extent he wanted when the house belonged to others (Appendix 3.4 p. 105). Second home ownership and tourism are thus not mutually exclusive even though novelty is not what characterizes the experiences to be had within it.

Rasmus mentioned how tourist would be a wrong depiction and stated, "*I am in my other home. I pay taxes in Sweden; I have a holiday home*" and go shopping and act on equal terms with everyone else (Appendix 4.1 p. 180). Whilst Birgitte mentioned the torp as a part of home (Appendix 4.4. p. 244), Marianne explained how the torp was an "extension of the home" and Simon as and expansion of their home (Appendix 3.6 p. 147).

The belief that the Torp were only a 'second' to a 'primary' home quickly begun to dissolve. Marianne and Simon mentioned how they had "*two lives and the two places*" (Appendix 3.7 p. 146), and Marianne even mentioned how she felt a greater affinity their place in Sweden than their home in Denmark. Birgitte stated how she does not see themselves as tourists because "*it is something else from 'coming and going', so you can say, this is a big part of our identity*" and explained how a great deal of their "*world would be cut away*" if they sold their house, as Torping offers a space for family time and they have become a part of the

community (Appendix 4.4 p. 244). Eva argued how being a part of the local community were integral to why she stated *"I do not see myself as a tourist, I do not in any shape or form - or in any way, and I do not think that the surroundings do"* (Appendix 4.2, p. 193).

Louise stated that the *"One has the opportunity to be something once in a while, that one is not all the time"* while arguing how they as a family are not experiencing a type of identity change equal to Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde (Appendix 3.3, p. 85). While I do not wish to argue if Torping allows for multiple identities, as this suggests fragmentation, the notion of multiple dwellings pay importance to how ownership of multiple dwelling "units" challenge notions as what it means to be 'at home' as well as what tourism means - that in turn relates to a sense of belonging / place attachment, that is valuable to consider within tourism.

Both Rasmus, Eva, and Per acknowledged how Torping were part of tourism, in the sense that their practices were part of the general economy. Eva recognized how their purchasing power is placed in Sweden instead of another place *"you can say I use my tourist money, if you look at it that way"* (Appendix 4.2 p. 193). Both Per and Jonas mentioned being tourists, due to not being full-time residents, and Jonas considered his family to be tourists *"despite the negative connotations that lie within the word"*, but also mentioning not being *"the regular charter tourist"* (Appendix 3.4, p 100) .

Per who referred to the torp as a second home were unwavering about being a tourist, and mentioned how the Swedish tourist council have been concerned about the amount of money the 'Torpare' actually did use, and Jonas mentioned that the Swedish authorities *"must perceive us as a type of tourists"* mentioning how they should consider the potential negative consequences, if there are any and consider how the Torping can be a source of income (Appendix 3.4, p 100).

Some Danish municipalities have tried to mobilize holiday home owners or 'tempt them' to rent their so called 'second homes'; *"All holiday homes have interest, both newer and older, because there is a target group for all houses"* (Fischer, n.d.) in order to generate economic growth, but perhaps there are some obstructions? Not only in relation to the place attachment, but also the type of practices that the torp 'demands' from its users.

Tourism agencies within the field of holiday rentals have in some cases attempted to reach the holiday owners by drawing on the financial gain they could acquire. Dansommer.dk tries to sell the idea by the depiction; *"Is your holiday home empty, when you*

do not use it yourself?”(Dansommer.dk, n.d.), or Feriepartner.dk who asks; *“why not earn money on your holiday home if it is empty anyway?”* (Feriepartner.dk, n.d.)

In case of Torping it was visible how the homeowners did not only consider it as a secondary place, but another home, and if one believed that ‘home is where the heart is’, it is hopefully never empty. That it is considered as another home, tells us something about the attachment to place, which may be valuable when scoping holiday homes as part of the tourism industry. The holiday owners depict their homes in an entirely different, almost sentimental, way in relation to the depiction of ‘empty’ houses. So perhaps they are not easily transactionable. In closing it is also worth considering if going Torping is even translatable to in a tourism industry context, if torp-owners are even interested in sharing and if it is possible to rent out.

Table of some of the informant’s attachment the torp:

Informant	Relation to their Torp as either SH: (Second home), AH: (Another home), PH: (Primary home)
Mona Another home	<i>”But I also do not know if I would call it a second home, well of course, it is not where we live in our everyday , and it is not the place we often uses ... (short break), but it is just another home . So not a number 2. home, but it's just another life”</i>
Jonas Another home / ‘free home’	<i>”I have previously noted that I am home in many places. I say home about where I myself live, I say it about where my parents live, even though they do not live in my childhood home, I say it about the place my father-in-law lives... So I at least consider these three places as home. And yes going home to Sweden, it makes sense to say so too ... and Second home, it is a free home, a free space, yes it is our space in a way!”</i>
Marianne Primary home Another home	<i>”I said, this is simply our home, and this house is something we must always have ... when the children were younger, we talked about so many times; should we sell this apartment or not, so this place has been more unstable, where the house in Sweden is not. And every time I am up there, I have the experience of, walking around and thinking, this is my home and I love it up here”</i>
Rasmus Another home	<i>”I often say when we are up here, that it is like coming home”</i>

Michelle Second home	<i>"But it's actually quite fun, because I haven't thought much about it in relation to 'home', and now it's 6 years since I started coming up here, and I actually don't, I don't feel like I'm home when I am here, I love to be here, but I am in a holiday home. It is not the same home feeling, but i feel just as comfortable as I do at home ... and I think that means something else to me than it does to be home"</i>
Eva: Another Home	<i>"Yes, but I can easily follow the idea. I am also sure that if I was alone or when I am retired, I will be staying up here for much of the time, but it depends a little on where the grandchildren are children and my children are moving to"</i>
Per Home, Second home	<i>"... but of course, it's our secondary home, because our primary home is in Viborg, that's how it is. It is fun if other picture something else, but you could have the desire to do so"</i>
Louise Second home Another home	<i>"I think it's 'another home' haha, but it's not like that. It's too much another home to be two primary homes, it's primary and secondary"</i>

10.0 CONCLUSION

When lack of novelty does not matter

Second home ownership has often been neglected with tourism due to the lack of novelty in tourism behavior. However, juxtaposing the lack of novelty and homeownership is not only a faulty simplification that reduce the practices of what this type of tourism contains, but also diminish the value that is found in the everyday or what is perceived as everyday '*tasks*' within tourism. The lack of novelty in the travel behavior of 'second' homeowners, should not determine second home ownership as outside of tourism, or that Torping should be considered within tourism because this discussion builds on an outdated understanding of what tourism entails. While the literature has shown how second home ownership and cabin tourism revolves around narratives of '*escape*', '*alterity*' and '*creative work*', these narratives depict a sentimentalisation of the practices that take place within Torping, while an informant mentioned how the "*news value had worn off*" he mentioned how it was still just as awesome, torping and being a tourist (Appendix 3.4 p. 105).

While McIntyre et al. have argued how "*the weekend cottager or seasonal-home owner*" privileges pause over movement (McIntyre et al., 2006, p. 315) this does not seem to be the case in Torping. However, it seems important to acknowledge how dwelling or staying still is mentioned as just as an important part of Torping, that deliberately moving or doing something is.

While Torping includes creative work, we predominantly encounter '*work*', without any prelude when it comes to Torping, or perhaps '*urge-related work*' if an add on must be made. Despite leisuring was believed to hinder work-related activities (rye & berg 2011), it is central to understand how "*Leisure is a state of mind rather than prescribed activities in a particular context*" (McIntyre et al. p. 136). Despite the previous understanding of work and leisure as separate entities, the combination is highly valued within Torping, which was not only perceived through the narrations, but materially visible through the combination of work and comfortable footwear (As visualized on page 36. about the combination of Crocs and work pants).

While the value in the seemingly mundane was argued as sometimes neglected in performativity, the project have argued for the value in understanding the ‘events’ from our mundane existence no matter how seemingly unimportant or mundane (Vannini 2015) as well as the inconspicuous, mundane activities that go unnoticed (Ehn et al, 2010). The project hereby contests the understanding of performativity as only the doings of human actors. Through this approach the project alludes to the importance of the pitfalls in reducing tourism, to the *eventfulness*, and the happenings that people engage in. While tourism is sometimes perceived as part of an “*entertainment industry*” (Franklin 2003), this project argues how much of the value found within Torping is not a commodity or a tourism product, but part made up of material and immaterial aspects. Aspects as the history of the place, the weather or the agency of the nature become valuable when understanding what Torping is.

The non-representational approach has allowed us to understand how Torping is enacted and performed by many types of actors. It is not only about what we humans do, and what is produced within Torping e.g. as making a bench or cutting down trees, but Torping is rather understood as formed through the ‘*throwntogetherness*’ of “*people, matters and tasks*” (Massey 2005), that allows us to understand the immense world of Torping and how it is enacted. The encounters that happen within Torping is not only initiated by human actions, but sometimes influenced by non-human ‘performers’, that affect how Torping is perceived, embodied or what is gazed upon.

Material culture has agency and non-human actors also ‘perform’ upon the actors as part of Torping; as the *Common brimstone* butterfly that entered the gaze of one of the informants and the project have thus acknowledged how “*matter comes to matter*” (Barad 2012), that is the post-humanist understanding of performativity. Where non-events, and the seemingly non-eventful practices provide meaningful experiences within Torping, this was decoded by the informants’ description of ‘*doing nothing*’ that were mentioned in contrast to producing something. Also, the narration of ‘just’ that was added upon different practices as being “*nothing more than*” (Learnersdictionary.com, n.d.) however depicted the value in seemingly mundane ‘events’. The narrations that were attached to just were; ‘*feeling*’, ‘*starring*’, ‘*dreaming*’, ‘*sitting*’, ‘*walking*’, ‘*lying*’ or - “*just being*” - ‘*happy*’, ‘*us*’, ‘*outside*’ (Revert to page 72 to see the overview of how just has been applied).

This displayed valuable insights into the world of seemingly doing nothing, but it also showed how recreation in nature was as central theme in Torping. Sleeping well at night, was the ultimate goal. The reason you slept better in Sweden was related to the quietness, darkness, fresh air and, "the natural tiredness" that kicks in after a day out. In this regard it was about the absence of sound and light, that was accentuated but with an emphasis on how nature has the capacity to work upon the people in Torping. A nature where many found thick experiences in the small things, where sounds, trails etc. were of high value, and novelty in a way was part of not being able to decide what would be encountered next.

When understanding Torping practices it has in addition been completely integral to highlight the relation between Torping and the materiality of the torp itself. Because the torp is naturally tied to the practice of Torping and considered as existing in a mutual relationship (Harman 2010) that inhibits or makes certain actions possible. As the torp often is purchased an old dwelling unit it somehow 'demands' attention. While the notion of voluntary simplicity in relation to Torping has been discussed, it was clear how for some it was an actual choice to be off - some grids, and found value in this approach, while other practices, similar to voluntary simplicity were rather predetermined due to the simple condition of the torp. The approach to renovating gradually or all at once, evidently influenced Torping practices of 'work' and 'doing nothing'. Doing something in relation to the state of the house is crucial for the holiday practices that unfold in Torping.

While this project intended to treat Torping through the theory of *second home theory* and *second home tourism* it is argued how the notion of *multiple dwellings* instead allow us to understand how both the everyday is part of Torping, while being related to tourism, and how the affinity to Torping is for many much more than a secondary home. While Lagerqvist depicted how the materiality of the torp perhaps could provide a sense of being away from modern society, modernity is not escaped by the Danish torp-owners, but rather explained as another everyday. Even those informants, that have decided to do Torping primitively, told about how the children were handed an Ipad while they themselves were getting rid of the 'humaneure' from the das (Appendix 3.4 p. 105). Also, cats, tomatoes, and modern technologies are brought along, so being 'off the grid' is rather referred as a mental state than an actual goal for many within Torping.

The combination of unwinding by the tractor, while the Internet “*connection is disappointingly good*” (Appendix 5.3 p. 263), summarizes the approach within Torping that is not about a rejection of modern technologies or obstructions around how Torping should differ from the everyday because Torping was considered as ‘another home’. While Torping contains a lot of traditionally non-touristy practices as ‘working’ or ‘doing nothing’, Torping is a case that illustrates the many tentacles within tourism and highlights the importance of the infra-ordinary within tourism. Where second home ownership and multiple dwellings is considered as part of tourism have opened up questions about attachment to place, the possibility that torping may or may not have in relation to the tourism industry, but mostly what matters to these homeowners, and how this matters to tourism.

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