

Negotiating Norms in Nature:

The moral landscape of outdoor recreation and nature based tourism in North Troms

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Here is my canoe, here are my nets, my guns, and my dogs. Forest and lake are at my disposal. I sit in my shirt-sleeves in front of my tent and feel like a millionaire.

Helge Ingstad, *The land of feast and famine* (1992 [1931])

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This Ph.D started out as a project in social anthropology when I was enrolled in the Ph.D-program of the Department of Archaeology and Social Anthropology. However after working closely with the tourism section at the Department of Sociology, Political Science and Community Planning for several years I changed programs to tourism. The considerations that led to this choice included the room and freedom to use my disciplinary identity as an anthropologist as well as opening a door to the interdisciplinary field of tourism research.

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Abstract

This dissertation is about norms of the outdoors and it is based in four publications. While the articles are about specific norms, the summary article focus on how these norms are negotiated between locals and tourists and how they in sum can be seen as a negotiable room – a *moral landscape of the outdoors*. Firstly, I set out to investigate how nature based tourism is affecting the normative negotiations among hunters, anglers and outdoor recreationists in North Troms. Secondly, I have focused on what these norms can do. The data presented in this dissertation are collected through participant observation and interviews. The fieldwork was conducted over 12 months between 2011 and 2012. The fieldwork includes participatory engagements with tourists, guides, companies and locals outside the industry. This comprises activities like ice fishing, small game hunting, canoe paddling, salmon angling, glacier hikes and deep sea angling. The most extensive part of the fieldwork was a four months internship with a nature based tourism company in the region. During the internship I got to work as a co-guide as well participate as customer to test their products. The main finding of this dissertation is that nature based tourism has a substantial impact on how outdoor recreation is practiced and how acceptable behavior in nature is negotiated and reconstructed in North Troms. The norm denotes the line between the acceptable and the un-acceptable. The negotiations about where this line should be drawn mark the processes that altogether constitute morality. These processes are characterized by a tension and overlap between outdoor recreation and tourism as something non-commercial and commercial, that I argue is a symbiotic antagonism. This antagonism, which must be seen as extremes on a scale rather than a dichotomy, leads in turn to a morality of the outdoors that is unique to North Troms.

Chapter 1: Introduction

As I started to work on this summary article¹ I had a vivid flashback from my childhood in North Troms. Growing up I heard many people talk about my grandfather as a man of high morality. He was often explicit about right and wrong – however, always judging his own actions the harshest. As a young boy I strived to please him by doing the right thing – although not always sure what that was. Later, as a teenager I shot my first black grouse (*orrfugl*) one day after school. I was very proud but also uncertain how grandpa would react as he normally only hunted ptarmigans (*rype*). I remember standing on his porch with the bird in my hand waiting to see his sparkling eyes and hear some words of approval. However, when he came out he looked at the bird in disbelief and turned towards grandma who was standing behind him and said: “He shot it.” He turned around and walked back inside in silence. That day, I learned that according to my grandpa, there are species one simply does not hunt as they hold other qualities besides bringing food to the table. Going home I was sad but curious why grandpa – the man who taught me so many things about hunting – was against hunting black grouse while my dad and friends were avid black grouse hunters. Little did I know at the time that this incident would provide food for thought on how right and wrong in the outdoors are constantly changing. Neither did I know that this turned out to be the main theme of my Ph.D. more than 20 years later.

The story about my grandfather illustrates the fluidity in the perception of right and wrong. Morality of the outdoors, as an aggregated totality of norms, is the main focus of this summary article. The discussion is based on four published articles about norms in the outdoors. All four articles seek to identify norms, not just to describe what they are, but rather understand what they do. These norms provide direction to both outdoor recreation and nature based tourism in North Troms today. Article 1 shows that when tourists’ violate encounter norms among anglers they also pave the way for new angling and management practices in a surprising way. Articles 2 and 3 deal with reciprocity as an interactional norm. In Article 2, I show how reciprocity is incorporated differently in the business strategies of two tourism companies, choices that have two very different outcomes. Article 3 shows how a traditional reciprocal exchange norm called *verdde* is challenged by modern technology, leisure and tourism. In Article 4, I focus on hunters’

¹ This article based dissertation is tied together with a text that goes by different names. I have chosen to use ‘summary article’ (*kappe*).

and anglers' secrets and how secrecy norms are dealt with in the emerging nature based tourism in the region. Telling a secret is very different from selling it. All in all the norms constitute a moral landscape – a landscape that denotes the process of the constant recreation of practices shaped through encounters between locals and tourists.

When pursuing questions that focus on the social life of hunters, anglers, outdoor recreationists and tourism entrepreneurs this requires presence and involvement – an engagement that has a specific methodological anchoring. This dissertation is based on an anthropological fieldwork where the basic method is participant observation. This is also a fieldwork were conducted partly in my hometown Storslett, which is the regional center in North Troms.

Although this dissertation is very much inspired methodologically and theoretically by social anthropology it is a Ph.D. in tourism research. Tourism research is interdisciplinary, however, anthropology has been an important and influential part. Anthropology has contributions that go back to the early days of this field of research. Dean MacCannell (1973, 1976), Nelson Graburn (1983), Malcolm Crick (1985, 1989, 1995), Edward Bruner (1989), James Clifford (1992) and Valene Smith (1989) are all social anthropologists who have had a substantial impact in defining tourism research. Somewhat condensed, one can say that these contributions have evolved around the question of what tourism does in various places around the world.

1.1 Locals, tourists and norms in nature

Nature is an important matter in North Troms. Just like some people say they live here because of the nature (Brostrøm, 2014), some people travel there for the same reasons. This dual interest from both locals and tourists is not new as people have traveled here to fish for salmon as early as the 19th century (Hansen, 1957). The motives for hunting, angling and outdoor recreation have also changed, from household economy to recreation (Riese & Vorkinn, 2002). Just like motives change, new outdoor practices emerge through the contact between locals and tourists, or traditional practices as well as global trends. This long lasting interaction between locals and tourists comprised the focus of this dissertation. It is through such interaction that outdoor norms are negotiated. As such, through this dissertation I seek to “pick up” some of these norms, not

just to describe them, but to see what they produce. As I will argue, these norms do many things – things that give direction to both current outdoor recreation in the region, as well as nature based tourism. The articles discuss how outdoor norms are negotiated *between* locals and tourists or tourism entrepreneurs. In sum these norms constitute what I have labeled ‘morality of the outdoors,’ which represents a meta-perspective in this summary article.

Morality, or *moralities* as the anthropologist Signe Howell (1997) insist on, is a social construct anchored in time and space, consequently leading us to talk about morality as something that is insolubly connected to a specific culture. Hence, what is regarded as a moral act is, just like culture, characterized by fluidity. The line between the moral and immoral in the outdoors is constantly negotiated by locals and tourists. As such North Troms is no exception. Morality of the outdoors, like morality in action, is an important part of the social life in North Troms. There are two theoretical perspectives that are central to the discussion about morality of the outdoors in this dissertation. Firstly, regarding morality of the outdoors as something that draws on both local traditions and global trends, one is really also pointing out diverse *regimes of value* (Graeber, 2001). The simple fact that tourism has a financial point of reference, serves as a contrast to a more general perception of what locals perceive as value in outdoor recreation. Hence, nature based tourism and outdoor recreation draw on distinctly different perceptions of value. Value-theory is used here to show the dynamics of the reconstruction of morality of the outdoors when two different perceptions of value are at play. Secondly, Fredrik Barth’s (1963, 1967) actor perspective is the underlying theoretical principle in the articles as well as in the summary article. As such, morality of the outdoors is not just re-created as part of a specific culture, but also negotiated through individuals’ (inter-)actions. As such this dissertation should be read as a bottom-up perspective where morality is reconstructed through the numerous norms that constitute the complex empirical context. But morality, I argue, is also constructed with reference to what people have in common in a given time and space.

Howell (1997) says that there have been few contributions from social anthropology that highlight morality as a research topic. She points out that we should conduct research that provides insight on: “Which social domains most profoundly articulate moral values and which are most (or least) affected by such?” (ibid: 4-5). She continues by saying that we should also focus on encounters between moral and economic values. This makes tourism and outdoor

recreation well suited domains to pursue these questions as they stem from such encounters. This is also implicitly what tourism researcher Brent Lovelock (2008) points out saying that there are few things that are more controversial than hunting and angling tourism. This is a notion shared by many who are interested in this field of research (Akama, 2007; Franklin, 2008; Gunnarsdotter, 2008). However, with few exceptions these contributions do not offer any viewpoints on why this is controversial – and maybe even more interesting – what these controversies do. Among the exceptions are Øystein Aas (2002), Hogne Øian & Øystein Aas (2012) and Øian (2013). Øian (2013) shows how friction between local hunters and anglers and tourists, reflects morality in terms of differences in commitment to community and landscape. In short, Øian argues that locals and tourists have different practices that in turn produce diverse meanings or perceptions of wilderness. In a local perspective² hunting and angling is seen as a moral commitment to communities and landscapes (ibid.). For me then, research on morality of the outdoors is about how social life, practices and traditions – the complex totality of human life and interaction in nature – are constantly negotiated and reconstructed through encounters between people with divergent interests in nature. Values are articulated and implemented in nature based tourism. As such they are profoundly a part of local culture and the reconstruction of morality in North Troms.

In this introduction ‘morality of the outdoors’ will be given some clarification followed by an empirical contextualization of North Troms as a region. Congruent features between outdoor recreation, tourism and morality are therefore central in the introduction chapter. In the theory chapter I pursue discussions that look at how individuals' choices of action constitutes norms and furthermore how this is vital to the constant negotiations that surround the reconstruction of morality of the outdoors. In the methodological chapter I give an account of the epistemological dispositions as well as the methodological implications that follow. After this I will give a brief presentation of the main findings presented in the articles, followed by a discussion chapter. The conclusion presents some thoughts on how this kind of research can be used and points out why morality, outdoor recreation and tourism should be the focus of research in the future.

² Fieldwork was conducted in a valley in the south-eastern part of Norway.

1.2 North Troms – people and nature

Troms is the second northernmost county in Norway and it is divided into four regions where North Troms is one of them. There are six municipalities that altogether constitute North Troms – Kvænangen, Nordreisa, Skjervøy, Kåfjord, Lødingen and Storfjord. In 2014 the total population was 16123 (SSB 2015).



Figure 1 Map of North Troms

North Troms is often referred to as the “the encounters of three tribes” (Bjørklund, 1985, 1978;

Hansen, 1957, my translation). This saying denotes the ethnic history of the region. Sami, Kven and Norwegian comprise the majority of the region’s population, which implies diverse cultural composition. The names in the region reflect this multi-ethnicity, where names of places (Imerslund, Lindgren, & Hiltunen, 1993) and persons (Imerslund, 2008) reflect a complex linguistic and cultural history. A lake for instance can hold three different names ending in *javri* (Sami), *järvi* (Finnish and Kven) and *vann* (Norwegian). This practice can create confusion. A valley in the Reisa National Park (Nordreisa municipality) holds the official Sami name found on maps, *Geatkevuopmi*, meaning wolverine valley³. This valley is however most often referred to by Norwegians and Kvens by its Kven name, *Ahmavuopmi*. This also means wolverine in Kven. This can be confusing for people that are not familiar the region and its cultural heritage.

Despite some controversies regarding public initiatives aiming to establish an understanding of “who we are or what we are,” including for instance an image project (*omdømmeprojektet*) (Brostrøm, 2014), there have not been many disputes or discontent regarding ethnic background in recent decades. However, the Sami heritage has been under-communicated or hidden in this region for a long time (Bjørklund, 1985).

³ The Sami name *vuopmi* is just one of many names for different forms of valleys. A *vuopmi* would normally be wide and without steep hills.

The Sami are the indigenous population of Norway and the region resides in what is referred to as Sàpmi⁴. As the indigenous population of the region, the Sami have a history which is estimated to go back at least 5000 years (Broadbent, 2010)⁵. The Sami culture is diverse in many ways and just like the rest of society it also includes changes and several aspects associated with modernity (Viken & Müller, forthcoming 2016). The reindeer pastoralism is often seen as a symbol of continuity and tradition within the Sami community. However, this industry only employs about 10% of the Sami population today and has undergone changes, new technologies and market economic principles for meat distribution. Today there are also music- and cultural festivals that celebrate the Sami heritage emphasizing a heterogeneity in the Sami community. There are many ways to be Sami, but the public definition qualifying one to take part in the Sami Parliament election (described in The Sami Act⁶), is that a person should have Sami as his or her domestic language, or forefathers that had Sami as their domestic language. In short a person that has Sami as his or her domestic language or has relatives (as far out as great grandparents) that have Sami as their domestic language, qualify to register in the electoral register. The revitalization of a Sami identity in North Troms has been controversial. One of the major recurring incidents that has come to symbolize the struggle between the Sami and Norwegian identity of the region followed from the road signs in Kåfjord that were written in Sami in the 1990s. As these signs were shot shortly after they were put up (and on several occasions later), Kåfjord became known for the resistance against the public status as a Sami area (Eidheim, Bjørklund, & Brantenberg, 2012; Hiss, 2013; Puzey, 2012). Despite some historical overlap, the revitalization process of the Kven has been quite different.

Since 1996 the Kvens have had a minority status, as one of five ethnic groups⁷. Kvens are characterized by a language (Kven) and history descending from Finnish immigrants to Norway⁸

⁴ Sàpmi stretches over four countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia). The common ground for Sàpmi rest on culture and language that, despite numerous differences, are shared by the Sami in this cross-border region that covers about 400,000 km². In many contexts it is distinguished between the national states, hence to talk about for instance *Norwegian* or *Swedish* Sàpmi. The Norwegian government ratified the ILO convention in 1990 recognizing officially and internationally binding the Sami as the indigenous population of Norway.

⁵ Some archeologists claim that Sami settlement dates as far back as possibly 11000-8000 BC. I do not wish to make a stand on what dating might be correct. In this dissertation it is enough to point out the obvious, namely that the Sami have a long and important history in the region.

⁶ The Sámi Act. Act of 12 June 1987 No. 56, § 2-6. The Sami electoral register.

⁷ The other four are Romani people, Roma, Jews and Forest Finns (regjeringen.no).

⁸ North-Troms and Finnmark (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2003).

as far back as the 16th century⁹. There is no fixed understanding of what defines Kvens as a minority today. However, Einar Niemi sums up the perceptive when he points out that *Kven* is: “the old Scandinavian term of people with a Finnish cultural background who have moved to Norway” (2002: 25 my translation). Megard posts a somewhat more narrow definition of Kvens as: “everyone with Finnish language- and cultural background who have moved to Norway before 1945, and their descendants, given that this background is perceived as relevant [for the person in question] in one way or another” (1999: 3, my translation). What constitutes the Kven today in North Troms is negotiated in a similar fashion as the revitalization of the Sami heritage that started in the 1990s. Currently ethno-political controversies are not about whether or not one should secure language and culture, but rather which direction these efforts should take. On the other hand, there seem to be few controversies regarding whether the Kven heritage represents something unique in terms of outdoor practices and traditions. Just like the Sami culture, the Kvens have their specific traditions for things like clothes, buildings, boats, hunting and angling.

As the North-Norwegian population was included in the national project of unifying the nation throughout the 19th and 20th Centuries, one of the major strategies was to teach solely Norwegian in school. The Sami and Kven population suffered the same fate in terms of the public initiated eradication of other languages and consequently cultural background – a process that is often referred to as the Norwegianization process. Despite some of the similarities between the Sami and Kven there are of course numerous differences, thus leading to the notion of three tribes. This can be traced to language, clothes, food, traditions and practices in nature. As mentioned in Article 4 the terms *vetse* and *njozon* denote the same thing – the fish snare – in Kven and Sami.

The fisheries, agriculture and primary industries in general have traditionally been the source of income for the population of North Troms. Although, but still important, there has been a shift toward employment in the public sector alongside some secondary and tertiary industries, including tourism. This is not unique for North Troms but rather a development shared by many rural places in Norway. Despite this shift where more people work indoors and not on the sea, fields or in the mountains, there seems to be an important connection to nature. When people are asked why they live in North Troms, nature, harvest, hunting, angling and outdoor recreation is still essential to quality of life (Brostrøm, 2014). However, hunting, angling, harvest and outdoor

⁹ The oldest documented proof of Kven settlement in the region dates to 1522 (Halti Kven Culture Centre).

recreation are not just a phenomena of the north. All these diverse practices are part of traditions and history of Norway as a nation.

1.3 Outdoor recreation and nature based tourism: building a nation and an industry

One of the mantras that come up from time to time in the North Norwegian discourses within the tourism industry is that the overall product is nature with an exceptional character. However, ‘nature’ – as a gaze and worldview – is a cultural product. The basis for our perception of nature is culturally and socially defined (Witoszek & Hanssen, 1998) – hence, its beauty is very much in the eye of the beholder. What we see and how we perceive our surroundings, and how we act are a product of socialization – a socialization that is taught and partly influenced by tourists (Pedersen, 2001). Looking historically, and not that far back, our nature as world-view and practices are highly shaped by tourists.

Angling, small game hunting, dog mushing and outdoor recreation in general, have a clear Anglo-American legacy (Sillanpää, 2008). The impact of people like the British mountaineer Slingsby is profound. Slingsby and other explorers redefined Norwegian perception of certain types of nature. In this process, the mountains transformed from something ugly and threatening to something pristine, wild and beautiful, not only in the eyes of tourists but also in the way Norwegians perceived their own nature and themselves as part of this (Nedrelid, 1992, 1994; Tordsson, 2002). Canoes were for instance first used in Norway by the English anglers and hunters Walter J. Clutterbuck and James A. Lees in the 19th century (Køhn, 2000), in an expedition that led to the famous book *Three in Norway* (1880). Much of the interest from outsiders such as Clutterbuck, Lees and Slingsby, coincided with the nation-building process in the 19th century. Outdoor recreation became the national symbol of Norwegian’s relation to a pristine nature that was substantiated by national romantic painters such as Tidemand and Gude

(Riese & Vorkinn, 2002; Tordsson, 2002; Witoszek & Hanssen, 1998). The Hardanger fiddle¹⁰ and the skies were lifted up as symbols of the Norwegian and the relationship to nature became important elements that created a national identity (Richardson, 1994). Throughout the 20th century outdoor recreation remained an important project with clear political ambitions (Tordsson, 2002). The explorers Nansen and Amundsen became national icons who represented the strong, healthy and vital benefits from life in nature. When an Outdoor Recreation Act was passed in 1957 this was a natural part of the political project that secured public access to Norwegian nature¹¹.

Outdoor recreation today is not just a fundamental part of what it means to be Norwegian and consequently an important part of proper socialization (Nedrelid, 1993; Woon, 1993). Outdoor recreation has also been part of college education. The practices in outdoor activities today are part of complex processes where local identity is formed with reference to both local traditions and global trends. Morality of the outdoors is therefore *glocal* – pointing toward a local cultural construct as well as incorporating practices and mindsets that have external origins (Robertson, 1995; Saarinen, 2004).

For rural areas, nature based tourism is seen as a salvation with the potential to replace other industries like agriculture, forestry and fisheries (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Nybakk, Crespell, Hansen, & Lunnan, 2009; Tangeland, Aas, & Odden, 2013; Tervo, 2008). This is very much the case for North Troms too. Although nature based tourism often happens without direct contact with locals, it is not produced in a vacuum outside the local community. The industry is characterized also by lifestyle entrepreneurs – people who create their business based on their hobbies or passions (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011). Concerning lifestyle entrepreneurs in tourism, the articles presented in this dissertation show that the affiliation to the local community is important in terms of compliance with norms (Article 2 shows that there are local entrepreneurs who choose to act in a way that is perceived as immoral by other locals). Morality is part of a socialization where we learn about right and wrong. If morality is part of

¹⁰ The Harding fiddle or *Hardingfele* in Norwegian is a fiddle that originally came from the Southwest part of Norway. It is distinctly different from other types of fiddles in terms of sound, techniques, design and type of music it is used for. (<http://fiddlingaround.co.uk/scandinavia/index.html>)

¹¹ The Nordic countries share several of the characteristics regarding public access to nature. As such, although some minor differences, Norway's neighboring countries follow the German legal tradition which includes the freedom to roam (also known as the *all man's right*).

who we are, then cultural background is of importance for entrepreneurs in their everyday life within the industry as well as outside, wherever that line might be drawn. A guide is never just a guide. They are friends, family and neighbors in a local community. For many of the guides presented in the articles the outdoor norms are habituated – it indicates not just the way things should be done – it is a question of who we are. When *Sven*, a guide presented in Article 4, tells a story about how a German guide spied to get new fishing locations for his business, he implicitly underlined his own compliance with a norm and a community.

Outdoor recreation or *friluftsliv* in Norwegian, is important as it influences various aspects of society. It furthermore varies widely in how persons ascribe value to the activity in question. It has the power to define us as individuals and a nation, where we are and where we come from. Some have claimed that the Norwegian understanding of outdoor recreation is so embedded in our culture that it is not translatable (Beery, 2013; Gurholt, 2014; Pedersen Gurholt, 2008). Researchers like Pedersen Gurholt (2008) chose to treat it like an emic term and use *friluftsliv* as she talks about the Norwegian tradition and practices even when she writes in English. Others have also incorporated this term even when writing about the North American tradition (Henderson, 2007). The title of this dissertation draws on an understanding of outdoor recreation that includes hunting, angling and harvest. This somewhat contradicts the way outdoor recreation has been defined. The philosopher Arne Næss' much cited definition is *the rich life with the simple means*, and it draws on different traditions and practices than hunting and angling (Ivarhus & Holtmoen, 2012). Activities that include forms of harvest are, according to Nils Faarlund (personal communication 2003), neither less valuable nor outdoor recreation, as he sees it¹². These definitions serve as a contrast to Breivik's (1978) and later Gurholt's (1999) definitions, which I choose to follow. They argue that we need to include the diverse practices such as harvest, hunting and angling. Pedersen (1999) uses the category *specialist* for these types of outdoor recreationists. This is in line with what Tangeland and colleagues (2013) define as *special interest outdoor recreation activities*. Breivik and Pedersen locate two different paths of interpretations of outdoor recreation – the urban and the rural. Whereas the urban path has a close

¹² It should be mentioned that Nils Faarlund has been the spokesman for the challenges of using the English term outdoor recreation. His argument stems from Arne Næss' deep ecology, where he says that the need of *recreation* represents an alienated relation to nature where our daily work tasks represent consuming nature in an unsustainable way. When this leads to an outdoor recreation which is about recuperating, we simply use nature as an arena to find energy to precede a destructive life style.

relationship with the recreational, non-harvesting legacy of the early tourism, the rural path is based in harvest. When Breivik points out that we have *two traditions in Norwegian outdoor recreation* (1978) he acknowledges a dualistic legacy drawing on both consumptive and non-consumptive elements. Although this might be seen as a generalization where hunters and anglers come from the country side, and the recreational non-consumptive from the city, Breivik's definition include two very different traditions. This definition also overlaps with Riese's and Vorkinn's, who later argue:

“Historically, the tradition of outdoor recreation in Norway may be said to have several origins. Hunting and gathering, carried out ever since the country was originally settled, lie at the root of activities such as berry picking, hunting and fishing. These activities, though having utilitarian value, also have a recreational aspect” (2002: 199).

Norwegian outdoor recreation is thus characterized by a great diversity that captures many different motives for activities in nature. What constitutes legit practices in nature is constantly negotiated today, just like it has been for a very long time. The motives are not static. Modern outdoor recreation is characterized by shifts where there is more room for the playful and recreational than before – a transition that could be labeled going from [homo] *logos to ludens* (Viken, 2003), which draws on the relationship between benefit and pleasure or work and leisure. This distinction is not clear and the overall impression after the fieldwork is that many people still justify their outdoor recreation through household economic motives in North Troms today. By including hunting, angling and harvest when defining outdoor recreation one includes many of the activities that give many people in North Norway meaning and purpose. However, outdoor recreation is not just about providing food on the table. In order to make sense of the place specific culture that is central to tourism research one needs a historical and social context. This is what Valene Smith highlights as she says that: “The social and economic values inherent in tourism are best understood by examining the past and studying the present” (2001: 3).

1.4 Focus and locus: on outdoor recreation and tourism in the north

This work is the result of a so called industry Ph.D., tied to Halti National Park Center in Nordreisa in North Troms and funded by Troms County. There is an underlying expectation of generating research questions and results that stem from specific needs that are defined locally. For Halti National Park Centre, which works with the broad public interest regarding protected areas, outdoor recreation, public health, and nature based tourism. Knowledge about how interaction between different stakeholders is negotiated and recreated is therefore important when working closely with outdoor recreation as practice and discourse.

All articles in this dissertation were anchored in discussions about nature and norms in one way or another. The articles show that the dialogue between different stakeholders and the tourism industry has many nuances and it affects tourism just as much as it affects local practices and traditions. In this Ph.D. project I set out to look at the impact of nature based tourism on local practices and how tourism influences the negotiations on how one ought to behave. I soon realized that it was problematic to look at the local community and the tourism industry as something separate. Tourism *is* local. It has long traditions in the region and it is not entrepreneurship that is only produced somewhere outside. There is a strong fluidity that



Figure 1 Nordreisa and Lyngen, Photo: Rune Sundelin/Nord-Troms museum

characterizes the dialogue between different stakeholders in outdoor recreation and tourism in North Troms.

Flying on a clear day to the only airport in the region, Sørkjosen Airport, reveals the diversity in the landscape. Looking out the window you will see the Lyngen peninsula that is famous for its mountains, often

marketed to skiers as *sea to summit*. Long fjords and steep mountains characterize the coastal landscape in all municipalities (Figures 1 and 2). The contrasts are big when looking South-East

as this part of the region is flat barren land (Figure 3). This corner of the region borders Finnmark County and the boreal *taiga* (forest) of Finland. This diversity in the landscape also reflects a



Figure 2 Lyngen, Photo: Rune Sundelin/Nord-Troms museum

great diversity also to be found in practices and traditions both in how people act in nature, but also why they act as they do. Similar to Riese and Vorkinn (2002), the overarching motives of hunting and angling have traditionally been utilitarian and with a close relation to household economy. As pointed out in Article 4, these practices are the historical premise for sustaining human

life here. To hunt, fish and harvest have provided food on the table in one way or another. It still is a vital motive for many people in the 21st century although this is also rapidly changing.

To identify the typical outdoorsy in North Norway might be hard, but Willy Simonsen's book *My North* (2000) that describes the various practices and traditions that have become popular. One of the reasons why people seem to identify with this book is that it describes what many people hold dear and can relate to why he has a passion for hunting and angling in this region. In this autobiographic book Simonsen makes some reflections on the basic values that constitute his outdoor recreation in North Norway:

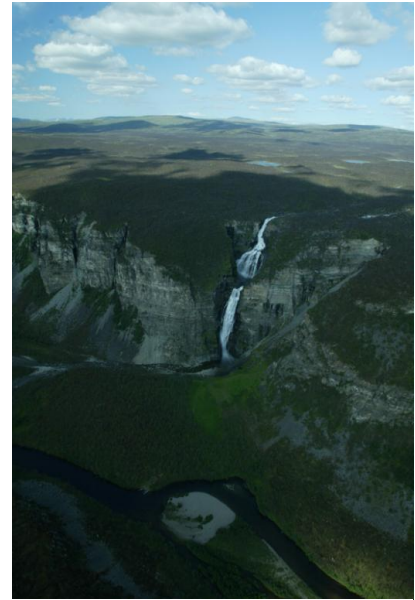


Figure 3 The Mollis fall in Nordreisa, Photo: Rune Sundelin/Nord-Troms museum

“Sometimes I get the feeling of living in a region that has little significance. A region distant from the modern and urban pulse. Far from the European center. Far from where the big decisions are made. Distant from the good weather we see on television. Perhaps it is so, and maybe it's why many have packed their bags over the years have rolled southward. Nevertheless, in such moments I come to the conclusion that I am not living on the periphery. Here there is no Oslo Stock Market, Aker Brygge [shopping area in Oslo] or a grand Hollywood Boulevard. But here there are values which I hold close to my heart. I know I could not have found a region that would suit me better. My days become richer when I can harvest what the Northern Norwegian nature generously offers. When I walk in the woods

and mountains or along the weathered outcrops by the ocean, my days are filled with new perspectives and compelling content. At almost 70 degrees north we come face to face with the elements of the harsh nature up here. If we manage to meet the challenges, play along with the weather and an erratic nature, our northern region hides unknown treasures. It is a question of aligning with the harsh elements and on nature's own terms. This is a life – inciting, hard and hectic but sweet! The rewards can be very rich if we let nature provide the serving. Whatever we do we are left with memorable experiences” (my translation, 2000: 6-7).

Despite the risk of generalizing it is tempting to paint a stereotypical picture of the hunter, angler and outdoor recreationists of today based on Simonsen's hymned presentation of North Norway. There are some prominent virtue-like qualities that characterize the outdoorsy. One enjoys the physical challenges and the hardship. There are two somewhat contradictory features that characterize the hunters, anglers and outdoor recreationist: both the solitude and the social aspects are embedded in traditions and local practices. While friendship, family and the community at large are important factors that construct meaning in outdoor recreation, the individualistic, isolated solitude is also a premise for recognizing the pristine tranquility of nature. As Simonsen (ibid.) says: “even though the solitude occasionally can be my best companion, I prefer to go into the forest and mountain with my good friends” (2000: 5). This highlights an important aspect of the production of meaning in the outdoors. Meaning in the outdoors is a two-fold process that involves the individual and collective simultaneously (Riese & Vorkinn, 2002). The fluidity that characterizes outdoor recreation must also be seen in relation to the production of meaning.

The changes that outdoor recreation has undergone involve more than just the new practices. Some of these practices also underline some new motives, going from harvest to recreation or, as previously mentioned, from *logos to ludens* (Viken, 2003). As Pedersen (1999) identifies two sets of motives in outdoor recreation she also emphasize this transition: the generalist and the specialist are not absolute, mutually exclusive categories. They point toward some of the changes that Norwegian society has undergone after World War II. I would argue that the generalist has a clear household economic legacy where the focus has been on the outcome of the trip. Fish, game and berries have a clear utilitarian premise. For the generalist the recreational aspect is secondary – one is supposed to bring something home besides a good feeling. This can also be seen in relation to another prominent aspect of Norwegian culture, namely our protestant ethic:

“The emphasis on work and rejection of playfulness in the protestant ethic has the consequence that even though outdoor recreation is considered a leisure activity, it implies hardship. Pleasure is something one experience as a *result* of hardship, and it is not necessarily part of the outdoor recreation itself, although it may be involved through the experience of beautiful scenery, or merely being in natural surroundings” (Riese & Vorkinn, 2002: 200).

For the generalist the reward seems to be located in the success of getting something besides fresh air and nice scenery. However, this does not necessarily mean that this is without significance. Nevertheless, it is the pietistic morality that justifies the activity – one is not supposed to simply just enjoy oneself. One of my informants told me: “I bring the fishing rod with me regardless of what kind of trip it is. It just feels weird to go without a purpose.” The generalist view can however justify an appreciation of the scenery and the fact that a hunt or a hike makes you feel good, but these experiences emerge from a specific activity.

This could further be seen as an overlap between work and leisure – where the rural population has a history which does not provide a clear cut distinction between the two – especially when looking at outdoor activities. The combination of fishing and farming – that constitute the *fisherman farmer* – serves as an example of occupational forms characteristic to the region and a subsistence that has underlined the grey zone between work and leisure, or as Maurstad (2000) calls it, *multifaceted adaptations*. My grandfather, who probably would fall into the generalist category, would only be able to justify a catch and release in angling if the fish was too small to eat. Growing up in the first half of the 20th century, people would normally chop wood for heat and fish to eat.

Although the generalist motives have their rural anchoring, this neither means that specialists are always an urban phenomenon, nor that the specialists are not to be found in rural areas. The specialist, Pedersen Gurholt (1999) argues, is characterized by special interest, skills and knowledge – not necessarily defined by household economic motives. They have a willingness to spend substantial time and money on their passion-like hobbies. Examples are fly fishing, dog mushing, small game hunting with special breed dogs and kayak paddling. In contrast the generalist could be the angler that uses a lure fishing salmon. As Bryan (1977) argues the distinction between the generalist and specialist angler

would in case of a catch then be reduced to luck versus skill or knowledge (Tangeland et al., 2013).

The tension between different stakeholders like the generalists and specialist has created further stereotypical emblems. For instance red anorak (*rød anorak*) has, according to Melhus (2012), been used by snowmobile activists in Finnmark county. Red anorak is used synonymously for an environmental friendly, skiing person with affiliation to urban areas, sometimes also referred to as a southerner (*søring*, meaning a person that comes from southern Norway). This denotes a person that opposes the use of motorized vehicles in nature. Although this might be an outdated example, as the anorak seems to be associated with old fashion compared to other outdoor clothes, Melhus' point is interesting and still an emic term in North Troms among some of my informants. Somewhat generalized a red anorak can be a sign of lack of comprehension for the way of life in the North. Hence, the red anorak will never understand the meaning and value of a locally defined outdoor recreation. The red anorak stands out in striking similarity to a different and gendered typology namely the red stocking (*rødstrømpe*). The red stocking is also somewhat politicized and gives some connotations toward feminist left wing politics and ideology (Kvarsnes, 2014). With the risk of generalizing even further it is tempting to point out the somewhat caricatured and undocumented tendency of the red anorak and the red stocking becoming spouses – producing even more snowmobile resistant children. Growing up I remember one specific car sticker made by the local snowmobile and boat union as part of a campaign. It said: *There are snowmobile hostile people born every day – use condoms!* I remember thinking that this was a bit contradictory as it might affect the recruitment of pro snowmobile forces just as hard. In chapter 3.2 I will talk about reflexivity, but drawing on the red stocking and the red anorak here I am probably a result of an encounter between the two categories as my father might have been perceived as a red anorak and my mom as a red stocking.

1.4.1 Nature based tourism in North Troms

Nature based tourism has become an important year-round industry in many places in North Norway. While the industry, including marketing and financing organizations, focus on what the tourists want and how they can be attracted in competition with other destinations, this dissertation is about what the locals want – or more specifically, what they do not want. Nature is not just a premise for nature based tourism but also local culture in the form of outdoor recreation in North Troms. Morality of the outdoors as overall local guidelines for acceptable behavior, gives direction to outdoor recreation, and is constructed and negotiated with reference to tourism. Outdoor practices are, despite many local traditions also changing, changes that are mediated through nature based tourism today. In contrast to the situations when friends, neighbors or people one knows do something wrong, tourists' norm violations create a space where sanctions are easier due to the social distance. The negotiations that can follow reconstruct a morality where norm violations and controversies are important factors. This dynamic is often neglected in tourism research that focuses on hunting, angling and outdoor recreation. This is important if we want to understand not only current outdoor recreation and consequently an important part of local culture, but also how nature based tourism is reconstructed.

There are numerous definitions of nature based tourism. Fredman and Tyrväinen (2010) point out that there is no fixed understanding on what constitutes *nature based tourism* today. Tangeland and colleagues (2013) argue that: “[...] nature based tourism is either defined normative (*what it should be*), [or like others that] are more empirical (*what it is*)” (2013: 191-192). Beside Tangeland and colleagues there are many others who include consumptive activities like hunting and angling in the definition (Nybakk & Hansen, 2008; Tangeland & Aas, 2011; Weber, 2001). Others have used *consumptive wildlife tourism* (often referred to as CWT) as a label for those tourism products that include hunting and angling (Lovelock, 2008). As far as I see it, the definitions of nature based tourism tend to include other activities beside hunting and angling, and consequently they are more overarching than the CWT definition. In my work I have used both *CWT* and *nature based tourism* to include hunting and angling. Within tourism research *nature based tourism* seems to be the most established term with broader acceptance as defining this field.

Most tourists in North Troms *pass through* rather than stay or come because of what this region has to offer (visitnorway.no). The single most important group here is car or bus tourists that pass by on their way to North Cape in the summer months. Nature based tourism in general does not constitute a big industry in the region compared to the primary industry and public sector that employ most locals. However, game and fish attract many of those tourists that have North Troms as their only or final destination. Much like the rest of the country the majority of tourists that come to fish or hunt are Norwegians. In 2014, 99.54% of the registered hunters in Norway were Norwegians (SSB, 2015). In Finnmark County there are for instance now more tourists (domestic) hunting ptarmigan than locals (NRK 10.09.2015.)

Angling on the other hand recruits more international tourists. Among the anglers in Norwegian rivers in 2008, 30% were foreign (Tangeland, Andersen, Aas, & Fiske, 2010). This has of course local variations and as argued in Article 1 Finnish anglers constitute a substantial part of anglers in most of North Norway. However, the overall picture concerning nature based tourism is that this is a sector dominated by domestic tourists.

That being said, judging from several cases presented in the media over the last few years, the conflicts that have followed from angling involve mostly tourists and locals. As tourism that involves hunting, angling or harvest tends to create more friction than other forms of tourism, we need research that focuses on interactional aspects of life in nature and conflicts of interest. Morality of the outdoors is negotiated and reconstructed between people. Knowledge about morality of the outdoors is knowledge about a fundamental premise for the development of outdoor recreation and nature based tourism. If one is to follow up on the political ambitions to make nature based tourism one of the industrial cornerstones of the rural parts of Norway, one needs research that highlights the interaction between different stakeholders of nature and natural resources like game, fish and berries. The nature in North Troms is not just the historical premise for sustaining human life in this region. It constitutes one of the most important factors for people living here, and in some cases staying here, when moving could be an option (Brostrøm, 2014), and the single most important factor for tourists that come to this region. Salmon, ptarmigan, halibut, northern light, waterfalls and mountains are all *destinating* factors (Granås, 2014). It is through categories of species, natural phenomenon and types of nature, that areas and localities are transformed into places to visit – they become attractive based on specific values. The

negotiations on the morality of the outdoors is often expressed and visualized through overlapping interests. This is a major reason why nature based tourism is important when asking questions about the moral landscape of the outdoors.

1.5 Research questions

Following up on Howell's (ibid.) view, one can say that there are few social domains where values – values as the totality of financial and moral values – are articulated more explicitly than between different stakeholders in nature. Furthermore, there are few domains that are more affected by such negotiations than tourism and outdoor recreation. This is why it is interesting to return to Lovelock's (2008) statement when he says that there are few things more controversial than hunting and angling tourism – also regarding North Troms. As in many other rural areas, stories about conflicts in and around nature based tourism are quite common in North Troms. These controversies have a distinct normative nature. They refer to a local habitus and reflect some sanctions in one form or another. This dissertation seeks some of the key elements in people's life in the outdoors as they are contrasted and expressed through tourism. When I lift these norms up and look at local culture through them, I seek to shed light on more than what these norms are – I rather seek to question what these norms can do. In this dissertation I pursue the following two questions:

(1) What does nature based tourism do to the negotiations about outdoor norms in North Troms, and (2) what do these norms, as components of a morality of the outdoors, do for tourism and outdoor recreation in North Troms?

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework – morality and value in the outdoors

The four articles in this dissertation all have an underlying dualistic character. They point toward an implicit ambivalence toward nature based tourism – where, depending on who you ask, it represents both threats and possibilities. The values that are ascribed to nature include things like natural resources, practices and traditions, pointing toward some underlying binary oppositions. Just as outdoor recreation incorporates global trends and local traditions, values related to nature emerge in a similar way. These are central elements in the discussions in all articles and they underline that value is complex and the dualism that follows can be seen among other things as negotiation between economic and non-economic values. The monetary values underline a global unifying value system which is the premise for tourism. The non-economic values are an important part of negotiating tourism and outdoor recreation today. As opposed to the economic, the non-economic values are partly intrinsic, social, and cultural, and have room for individual constructions of meanings. A lake can therefore represent many things: a tourism product with a price tag, childhood experience, contribution to household economy, secrets, potential secrets and numerous other ascribed values. It is between forms of values, or in the words of Fredrik Barth (1981) between *economic spheres*, that the morality of the outdoors is expressed, negotiated and reconstructed. Nature based tourism will expose values that are ascribed to both the economic and non-economic. As argued in Article 1, tourism has the power to make what is often implicit, explicit. These perspectives on how humans construct and navigate between different spheres of value have been part of the theoretical contributions of social science for a long time. Simmel (2004), Parry and Bloch (1989), Appadurai (1986), Kopytoff (1986), Graeber (2001) and Barth (1963, 1967) are all among those, and the last two will be central in this chapter.

Before I go into these theories I would like to point out one more prominent characteristic of a polarization of value. Just like economy brings forth aspects of value, there is another important factor that shapes the moral landscape of the outdoors. The Norwegian legal system has, like most other parts of the world, its counterpart in the customs and traditions that constitute normative boundaries. While our legal system has its institutions, the unwritten rules are enforced through social sanctions. How humans act in nature, what we do, what we are expected to do and

not to do, constitute the norms of the outdoors. Norms regarding human life in and in relation to nature shares many of the characteristics of the other norms in society. These norms are negotiated and reconstructed through different processes of ascribing value. On the one hand there is the formal and legal platform, like the Outdoor Recreation Act (1957) that gives direction to human action in nature (Reusch, 2012). On the other hand there is the informal and normative that plays an important role in the construction of codes of conduct. Outdoor management is thus two fold. It incorporates laws as well as the unwritten rules of behavior – a foundation that is eminent in the construction of morality of the outdoors. In this chapter I will look at theoretical contributions on norms, value and exchange in relation to outdoor recreation. More specifically I will as mentioned, focus on the contributions made by Fredrik Barth (1963, 1966, 1967, 1981), David Graeber (2001) as well as Signe Howell (1997).

2.1 Norms and outdoor recreation

Norms are essential in people's lives. The boundaries between right and wrong mark not only moral differences between cultures, it is culture (Durkheim, 1951). Norms are used here as the expected social behavior that is typical for a given society. As such norms are defined by being shared in a specific time and space by a given social entity. Discussions about norms can be traced back to Bronislaw Malinowski and *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (2002 [1926]). Malinowski focused on what it is that gives direction to human actions: do sanctions pave the way for activities or is people's interaction guided by something else? Signe Howell (1997) points out that there has been little effort made by anthropologists to dig into the questions that surround morality today. She says that: "While anthropologists have, by and large, ignored the theoretical challenges of the empirical study of moralities, moral philosophy has a long intellectual tradition. Philosophers, however, do not concern themselves with locating the moral subject within social and cultural worlds" (1997: 8).

Howell continues as she offers a rather wide definition of morality by saying that: "Our sense of morality is, after all, what constitutes our sociality, the very basis for relating" (1997: 9). She follows up saying that morality is the sum of several components including things like moral order, values and practices (ibid.). As such, she talks about a morality that is intersubjective. It is

practiced and expressed by individuals through a common recognition by a given group in a given time and place.

Regardless of the definition one chooses, norms are at the core of what constructs meaning for individuals in a given society. In general one can say that a norm marks the expected or proper behavior in a given time and space. It is what keeps us together, what we share but also with power to separate and mark differences between cultures. Norms are thus the social glue and fences at the same time. This notion can be traced back to Clifford Geertz's statement: *culture is public because meaning is* (Geertz, 1973), as well as Fredrik Barth's (1994) somewhat contrasting view that [norms] *reproduce difference*. For Barth (1966) the contrasts to structural functionalism can be seen in the way he looks at morality in society. In this perspective society is reproduced through individuals' interaction. Consequently norms must be seen as a result of interaction rather than something that leads to interaction. This is at the core of the actor perspective where individual (inter-)action is the premise for social change.

In early anthropology, the question of norms and social *structure* or *function* was central. In this perspective norms are seen as something that gives direction to social life. Talcott Parson (1949 [1937]) used the term *normative function*. The premise for this perspective is that individuals will act on the basis of rules which they have not formed themselves. Barth (1966) among others opposed this idea strongly. Barth suggested that we rather should look at society as a result of transactions between actors. The negotiations that follow naturally from these transactions will ultimately reproduce norms in society. Social integration and social form are a consequence of individuals' targeted actions – actions that aim at maximizing specific value. One of the major points in Barth's process analysis is that society is reproduced or generated on the basis of individuals' interaction. The basic dynamic that follow is that individuals (actors or (tourism) entrepreneurs) acting in a new way will ultimately be the premise for social change – it recreates social form. Values are established (in a given time and space) through negotiations that are based on repeated transactions over time.

Norms in outdoor recreation are not much different from other kinds of norms. They give direction to practices and can be traced back to the various traditions of life in nature. Much like all social life the morality of the outdoors unites, includes, acknowledges, condemns, excludes and divides – or in the words of Jacqueline Waldren (1996), norms have the power to define

insiders and outsiders. What anglers and hunters do is never constructed in a vacuum outside society. What makes it meaningful and what constitutes value is neither universal nor is it solely an individual construct.

The research conducted on norms and morality has been a central theme in social science – constituting questions that were fundamental in defining disciplines like sociology (Durkheim, 1951, 1976, 2013, 2014). The focus in this dissertation is not on what norms are but rather what they produce. Without going into the details on these theories, early sociology distinguished between two types of norms in society: mores and folkways (Macionis & Gerber, 2010; Sumner, 1906). Whereas folkways are about casual interaction and proper behavior, mores are to a greater extent overarching and are often ascribed a wider moral significance than folkways, according to



Figure 5 Illustrative photo TV 2, the sign says “duty to greet”.

Sumner (1906). A bit simplified one can say that: “[mores] distinguish the difference between right and wrong, while folkways draw a line between right and rude” (Macionis & Gerber, 2010: 65). However, the difference is in line with deviance theory, visualized most explicitly through violations. The sanctions that follow from violations of folkways

and mores are very different. If someone fails to greet the way they are expected to do when they meet during a hike, which is a custom in Norwegian mountains (Figure 5), the sanctions can take the form of a raised eyebrow. This was the reaction I had when my wife and I passed some hikers on a trail in the Finnish mountains some years ago. They did not make eye contact to perform the “Norwegian outdoor greeting.” Our discontent over this incident was replaced by a discussion about this norm. There seems to be some invisible line where greeting strangers at some point suddenly becomes the proper thing to do. Meeting the same people in the parking lot before our hike started would not lead to the same expectation – on the contrary. Greeting strangers here would have the same result as *not* greeting in the mountains. These are the informal folkways that constitute parts of the moral landscape of the outdoors.

However, concerning the reciprocal norms and secrecy as presented in Articles 2 and 4, some sanctions indicate a strong resemblance to mores. The sanctions that follow from violations of mores are strong, explicit, forceful and with potential great impact on business or social life (or both). This morality that is reflected in the various sanctions presented in the articles point toward both folkways and mores. A tourist that refuses to rotate on a fishing location (Article 1), despite the local custom of doing so, is met with disgrace and some words of discontent – a reaction most people could live with. Other violations, like revealing a secret place without approval (Article 4), might lead to ended friendships. However, recent events of encounters between local and tourist anglers in Lakselv and Finnmark County also indicate sanctions beyond folkways as Finnish anglers were threatened with a shotgun in July 2015 (Nordlys, 29.07.2015).

Many folkways fall under what could be labeled reciprocal norms. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) offers an example that can serve as an illustration of a transition between different forms of economy, or in Sahlins terms, different forms of reciprocity (Sahlins, 1972). Bourdieu shows how:

[...] “a much esteemed mason, who had learned his trade in France, caused a scandal, around 1955, by going home when his work was finished without eating the meal traditionally given in the mason’s honor when a house is built, and then demanding, in addition to the price of his day’s work (1000 francs) a bonus of 200 francs in lieu of the meal” (1990: 114).

In doing this the mason tried to force a transition of a ritualized gift to an economic equivalent. This was, according to Bourdieu, considered immoral as the gift did not represent something monetary in the Algerian society at the time. This form of conversion described by Bourdieu overlaps with the cases presented in the articles in this dissertation – as it shows transitions of value and the negotiations that follows.

Returning to the overall research questions, the articles presented in this dissertation follows some normative negotiations within and around tourism. The overall ambition with this dissertation is to contribute to tourism research by analyzing morality in and around nature based tourism, as well as provide insights on important factors in the local reconstruction of morality of the outdoors in North Troms. In the next chapter I will focus on values that are fundamental premises for normative negotiations in outdoor recreation.

2.2 Value

The symbiotic relationship between outdoor recreation and nature based tourism is characterized by fluidity and constant changes. These changes, traced to both discourse and practice, are mediated through negotiations between stakeholders. What these negotiations have in common, besides being about morality, is that there is an underlying reference to value in one form or another. The American anthropologist David Graeber has given an influential contribution to value theory. In his book *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value – the False Coin of Our Dreams* (2001), Graeber offers a refreshing criticism of several classical texts in anthropology. Graeber's starting point is the paradox that we tend to use the same word – *value* – to describe profoundly different things. The fact that we have one term that denotes both moral and financial values is problematic, not only for society at large, but also in the way value has been treated academically. Graeber argues that one has failed to address the important research questions regarding value today.

David Sutton (2004) points out, referring to Graeber (2001), that there is an ambiguity that characterizes the Western neoliberal use of 'value' regarding it solely as something monetary. However, this ambiguity is not something unique for a perception of value. In Greek, he says, the word *timi* refers to both honor and price (as in the price of a t-shirt) – an example that corresponds to Graeber's strain of thought. In sum Graeber's theory can be read as a critique of market liberal ideologies that dominate the general perception of value in the western world today. This bears resemblance to Julia Elyachar's (2005) *Markets of Dispossession*, where she leans on Graeber (2001) in her analysis of creation of value in workshops in Egypt. What is at stake, she says is "the power to decide what matters or, in other words, what is value" (2005: 8). Elyachar refuses, much like Graeber, the neo-liberal notion of a value-neutral and objective mechanism of market economies. She says that: "Markets are social and political worlds with their own cosmologies. Each is a cosmos of its own, an intricately functioning field of power" (2005: 214). This is at the core of what constitutes the politics of value – a notion that also underlines the importance of research on value. Value includes of course numerous examples of things that are regarded as being outside the economic sphere. Love, friendship and parenthood are all sanctuaries we like to see as un-commoditized realms of social life. Without going into the deep ecology of Arne Naess (Naess, 1973) it is tempting to point out a general assumption of the

value of the Norwegian outdoor recreation as something located outside an economic sphere. The value-notations of tourism are of course in most aspects associated with economy. This causes a polarized understanding of value inherent in nature based tourism and outdoor recreation. Similar transitions between different forms of value can be traced to many debates in social science.

Graeber's (2001) theory of value serves as a contrast to Arjun Appadurai's much cited *The Social Life of Things* (1986). In short Appadurai argues that commodities capture social features through exchange – where exchange serves as the key to understand the creation of value. The social life of things in this perspective is somewhat economic-centric – denoting what Graeber calls *valuables* rather than *values*. For Graeber valuables differ from values as they are disconnected from interaction.

Graeber argues that we need to look at the relational and social aspects in the construction of value. Values are cultural specific virtues, like qualities, that are produced outside an economic sphere. Value, in this perspective, is neither monetary nor objective. It is characterized rather by fluidity and intersubjectivity. But even more importantly, he says, is to recognize the impact of human action as the true source of value. He says: “What if one did try to create a theory of value starting from the assumption that what is ultimately being evaluated are not things, but actions? What might a broader social theory that starts from this assumption look like?” (2001: 49).

Graeber draws on the work of Nancy Munn (1977, 1983, 1992) as he argues that one needs to look at human action ultimately as the source of how value attains meaning in a given society. Action, in the form of social interaction or human labor, is the central point here. Money in this context is just a representation or a platonic reflection of value – or *The False Coin of Our Dreams* so to speak. The Marxist influence is quite clear here – something Graeber is explicit about. He says:

“Economists of Marx's day, like economists now, tended to speak of money as a “measure” and a “medium” of value. It is a measure because one can use it to compare the value of different things: e.g. to say that one steak-frites is worth the same as five loaves of bread. [...] Money [is regarded] as value in itself. [...] It becomes the very embodiment of value, the ultimate object of desire” (2001: 66).

In many ways this draws on the same point Bohannan (1959) made when he talked about unicentric and multicentric value systems¹³. Graeber talks about the transformative potential that characterizes beads as they can shift from unique to generic forms (2001: 106). In short Bohannan argues that there was a huge impact that followed from the introduction of the pound sterling among the Tiv's of Nigeria. This unicentric, and non-contextual way of ascribing value, was very different from the traditional multicentric economy. Bohannan shows how this changed the Tiv society dramatically.

Although Bohannan's example is somewhat different, Graeber shares this view as he points out some of the paradoxes that follow the logic of neoliberalism. For Graeber value needs context and becomes meaningful through interaction – a view he shares with both Munn and Elyachar. However, for Graeber value becomes meaningful in (inter-)action, but only in a larger social context. He says that: “[...] value is the way action becomes meaningful to the actors by being placed in some larger social whole” (ibid: 254). He continues by saying that: “Parts take on meaning in relation to each other, and that process always involves reference to some sort of whole: whether it be a matter of words in a language, episodes in a story, or ‘goods and services’ on the market” (ibid: 86-87). A lake, valley, mountain or a guided northern light trip for that matter becomes a meaningful value through interaction and only as part of a greater whole. The monetary opposition in this perspective bears resemblance to the alienation of Marxist thought. The transition between the two distinctly different ways of ascribing value is central when Graeber talks about *fetishism*¹⁴. For Graeber fetishism is a process of transforming value to valuables.

Graeber (2001) says that fetishism as a process describes different things including both objects and money. Firstly, fetishism can be seen as objects that are transformed from tokens of value to embody value in themselves – when value is reflected in objects and not action. Objects like heirlooms become meaningful, and gain value, through action of the past. As part of one's social identity these objects can create room for action in the future. In other words this form of fetishism is about what some objects do. This serves of course as a contrast to the social, holistic

¹³ This perspective is elaborated more thoroughly in Article 3.

¹⁴ For Graeber fetishism is a process – a process that is symptomatic for the neoliberal dynamic of today. It has no references to the work done within social sciences on fetishism as something deviant related to phenomena like taboo etc.

and contextual anchoring that Graeber argues is central in his theory of value. Secondly, fetishism can be seen as a process where money gets to represent action. In this perspective money is confused with action, and not what it really is: nothing but the promise of potential future action in one form or another. Again, this perception of money is part of the *False Coin of Our Dreams*. Graeber criticize the neoliberal assumption that value is static and that it can be turned into a universal standard. Fetishism as a process, he says, is one of things that characterizes modernity. In capitalist society this process can transform even money to the ultimate value. It is here in Graeber's notion of a Marxist alienation is seen best. Here the contextual and fluid dynamic of value evaporating in the face of money. In this perspective action is left with little room in the creation of value. Although Graeber himself does not make this connection, it is tempting to point towards Bourdieu's capital forms (2011). The movement between symbolic and economic capital can shed light on Graeber's use of fetishism as a process.

Given the fact that outdoor recreation and nature based tourism have experiences or actions as their main motives, Graeber's distinction between values and valuables is a fruitful starting point. As I will argue in the discussion later, this distinction serves as an example of the difference between tourism and outdoor recreation and their moral roots. However, before that I would like to look at research on morality. This is the focus in the next chapter.

2.3 Moralities in the outdoors

In *The Ethnography of Moralities* (2005) the anthropologist Signe Howell argues that moralities are in nature something intersubjective. It gains its momentum from being shared by a group of people defined in time and space. For Howell the intersubjective and plural are eminent aspects of moralities. The moral or immoral is not an individual construct. Perceptions of right and wrong and shifts in this perception are always part of a common ground. The plurality that characterizes moralities is what marks differences between groups, communities, nations or cultures. However, this complexity might be one of the reasons why this has not been the focus of anthropological research. Howell (ibid.) says that moralities have been avoided as a research topic. There can be many reasons for this reluctance. However, the ambiguity that characterizes the way they have been used does not provide an analytical common ground. In Howell's work moralities are part

of what constantly constitutes a specific culture. In other words moralities and meanings are culture specific. It is part of some shared social elements that unite people and consequently it has the power to reproduce difference. Howell's contribution can be seen as making morality, as a premise for cultural reproduction that often is dealt with implicitly, into something explicit. The way I read Howell she underlines a distinction, much in line with the prevailing moral philosophy, where she recognize morality as practice and ethic as theory about practice (Christoffersen, 2005; Johansen & Vetlesen, 2005). The reason I use Howell is to point out the plurality and fluidity that characterize morality of the outdoors.

In this summary article the goal has been to identify the theoretical common ground that unifies the four articles. The overarching perspective that gives direction to this is morality. Although, morality is more an implicit part of the articles, they all point out elements that are eminent in the reconstructions of morality of the outdoors today. The theoretical chapter in this summary article seeks to identify a common ground that hopefully brings out some new elements from the articles. This is the overarching perspective where different norms altogether constitute the morality that is vital to the meta-story to be told in this summary article.

Norms are an essential part of the discussion in all four articles in one way or another. In Article 1, I talked about anglers' encounter norms. However, it felt necessary to go more explicitly into the theoretical contributions on norms in social science. This is why it is brought into the theoretical chapter in this summary article. I briefly look at David Graeber's value theory in Article 4 about secrecy. Bringing this theory of value into the summary article provides a new angle, not just on morality of the outdoors, but especially concerning morality in relation to nature based tourism. Graeber is used in Article 4 to bring out nuances in secrecy among hunters and anglers as well as contrasting Marcel Mauss' (1954) theory of gift exchange.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This dissertation is inspired by the abductive research strategy. I will give an account of the dispositions this has given my research after a short introduction on the philosophical ancestry of the abductive, or what is often referred to as interpretivism in social science. In short the abductive inference goes somewhat simplified from one case, to what explains the case best. I will return to how this relates to the other basic scientific positions. For now I will point out that the interpretative tradition falls under the more overarching abductive inference, shared by several research traditions within social science (Blakie, 2000). In this summary article I use interpretivism as a research tradition that follows an abductive inference.

3.1 Philosophy of science: Toward an abductive interpretivism

Social science has, like natural science, its own diversified history with numerous discussions marking different traditions, debates and hegemonic positions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). These debates and constant changes mark an important acknowledgement in social science that stands as a contrast to the paradigms of natural science: truth and knowledge are not universal but rather products of a specific world-view with its own internal logic (Berger & Luckmann, 2000). There are however branches within social science that emphasize generalizations, conduct experiments and that test theories and hypothesis – approaches that previously were associated with primarily natural sciences (Blakie, 2000). This is why the clear cut distinction between the so called “hard” and “soft” sciences is not as distinct as it may have been. Both quantitative and qualitative data constitute legit empirical platforms in social science. Mixed methods and triangulation are also examples of transitions that social sciences have undergone in terms of methods. These changes have created more scientific nuances and maybe a less polarized understanding of the main difference between social and natural sciences. However, the point of departure for any research should provide a clear cut distinction of its scientific heritage.

As Kaplan (1964) underlines *every inquiry must start somewhere*. The locus of this somewhere marks an ontological and epistemological anchoring. In my case this means that I had

no fixed hypothesis or research questions prior to the fieldwork conducted along river banks, lakes, fjords and within tourism companies. In terms of philosophy of science all research questions reflect different research positions. Norman Blaikie (2000, 2007, 2009) points out that research questions reveal profoundly different traditions, hence creating different methodological obligations in research. In general one could say that a *what* question has a more hard scientific, and descriptive ambition. On the other hand a *why* or *how* point towards qualitative studies. Blaikie underline that: “Answering a ‘what’ question is usually easier than answering a ‘why’ or ‘how’ question” (2000: 85). In my own research it would be pointless to describe what secrecy, reciprocity or encounter norms look like without going into the social context of the specific phenomenon. Characteristics that can be described visually can of course be a good starting point to locate new questions, but only if they lead to a ‘why’ or ‘how.’ These differences between typologies of questions show the link between methodology and methods.

Although often intertwined and mutual dependent, methods and methodology must be distinguished and to a certain point be kept apart. While methods are highly part of a methodological tradition it is about the techniques and procedures used to collect and analyze data (ibid: 8). Methodology incorporates debates on how research is, should or could be conducted. Hence, methodology includes arguments on what different methods can do. What we do has a profound impact on what we see as researchers. For example our gaze, the position from where we (under-)stand, is a matter of choice within some disciplinary obligations and epistemological traditions. Methodology has also been labeled *logic of enquiry* or *research strategy* (ibid.). These strategies that all together constitute social science, rest on many traditions within and between disciplines. The methodological strategies have been defined in different ways. Blaikie (ibid.) distinguishes between four overarching main types of research strategies: inductive, deductive, retroductive and abductive. He states that:

“Each strategy has a philosophical and theoretical ancestry and foundation, and includes ontological assumptions about the nature of reality and epistemological assumptions about how that reality can be known” (Blakie, 2000: 101).

Inductive, deductive, retroductive and abductive inference are the overarching foundation of any research. While the inductive inference goes from the individual case to the general, the deductive goes the opposite direction. The retroductive strategy is closely connected to research

conducted through experiments in natural science. In contrast to these strategies, the abductive is solely associated with social sciences (Blakie, 2000). The abductive goes from an observation of a given phenomenon to a theory that offers an explanation for the observation in question.

As a social field, norms are about the implicit and under-communicated. For me norms as part of a place specific morality cannot be understood as the dynamic and complex social phenomena it is through inductive, deductive or retroductive research. This is even more evident as the ambition is to follow norms in order to understand what they do. This goal is time consuming because norms are most often made explicit only when violated. To follow norms as part of something tacit and often unarticulated interaction, to explicit formulations in interviews requires methodological tools that provide an insider perspective. This is what interpretationism is providing. Interpretionism encourages the researcher to seek: “[...] to discover why people do what they do by uncovering the largely tacit, mutual knowledge, the symbolic meanings, motives and rules, which provide the orientation for their actions” (ibid: 115). In my case, interpretationism invites me to identify, follow and question social phenomena as they appear in my informant’s everyday life. It allows me to step back to reinterpret and reformulate questions about norms. This could not have been done by following deductive, inductive or retroductive research strategies. Furthermore, even to go from a limited number of cases of one kind to say something about all similar cases (induction) would not acknowledge a site specific morality as argued here. Somewhat simplified, the abductive inference goes from one case, as a norm in the outdoors, to what explains the case best. What explains the case best is here always a matter of context, both empirical and theoretical – a contextualization that in sum constitutes an ever changing morality of the outdoors.

As part of his work on philosophy of science the term ‘abductive reasoning’ is attributed to the American philosopher and mathematician Charles Peirce (1955[1935], 1974 [1931]). For Peirce the goal was to locate an alternative to deductive and inductive reasoning. He says that: “Abduction is the process of forming explanatory hypotheses. It is the only logical operation which introduces any new idea” (1974, CP 5: 172). Interpretivism on the other hand, has its ancestors in German philosophy. Thomas Schwandt (1994) says that: “Painted in broad strokes, the canvas of interpretivism is layered with ideas stemming from the German intellectual

tradition of hermeneutics and the *Verstehen* tradition in sociology, the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz and critiques of scientism and positivism” (ibid: 119).

The Norwegian anthropologist Runar Døving (2003) advocates an abductive inference. For Døving the abductive strategy is about systemizing the discoveries in a fieldwork – a strategy distinct from the inductive and deductive. Abductive reasoning seeks theory that offers some explanation of a phenomenon. This is the eclectic nature of the abductive strategy where the dialogue between data and theory follows a logic where new theory can be brought in and old theory rejected (but not falsified) in the process. This is at the core of what I have called the rhythm of abductive interpretivism which I will get back to shortly. According to the Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy, “Abductive reasoning is not limited to everyday contexts. Quite the contrary: philosophers of science have argued that abduction is a cornerstone of scientific methodology [...] Ernan McMullin (1992) even goes so far as to call abduction ‘the inference that makes science’” (Douven, 2011).

The common ground for the numerous approaches that all together constitute the abductive research strategy is the interpretative ambitions. This is perhaps why Blaikie uses ‘interpretivism’ as synonymous with abductive. He says:

“This approach [abductive] has been labeled in many ways. During the paradigmatic debates in sociology in the 60s and 70s it was commonly called ‘phenomenology’, ‘symbolic interactionism’, or even ‘ethnomethodology’, although each of these has a different ancestry. It is now commonly called ‘constructivism’. ‘Interpretivism’ is being used here to include all or a part of a number of traditions that share similar ontological assumptions. These include hermeneutics, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, existential sociology and social constructivism” (Blaikie, 2000: 114).

As Blaikie points out, abductive research is based on several traditions – traditions with their own methods and theoretical paradigms. Hermeneutics, interpretivism, symbolic interactionism, existential sociology and social constructivism that all fall under the abductive have a common ground that is based on more than an interpretivistic goal. Their common features are based in debates that have managed to create fundamental contrasts with other strategies. Interpretivism posits a relativistic world view which consequently creates a clear ontological distinction that opposes the ideas of positivism and critical rationalism. It further rejects the positivistic and

critical rationalistic notion that statistical patterns and correlations will make sense on their own. Meaning is a social and cultural construct formed between people. Blaikie argue that:

“Interpretivism takes what Positivism and Critical Rationalism ignores – the meanings and interpretations, the motives and intentions, that people use in their everyday lives and that direct their behavior – and it elevates them to the central place in social theory and research. For interpretivism, the social world *is* the world interpreted and experienced by its members, from the ‘inside’. Hence, the task of the Interpretative social scientist is to discover and describe this ‘insider’ view, not to impose an ‘outsider’ view on it” (2000: 115).

For the interpretivist there is no such thing as a static and universal social reality. The various social realities are constantly negotiated, reinvented and reinterpreted. Hence, ‘reality’ is a social construct with its own internal logic. The methods that follow from this must be modeled with reference to a specific ontological assumption. The ontological obligation which has become the social anthropological mantra has a clear relativistic premise: a society must be understood on its own terms. Recognition of an internal logic can be done in different ways and through numerous approaches. Schwandt (1994) says that:

“Proponents of these persuasions [interpretivist and constructivist] share the goal of understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who lived it. This goal is [...] the emic point of view, for understanding meaning, for grasping the actor’s definition of a situation” (1994: 118).

Interpretivism aims at interpretations of meaning as they are constantly constructed in people’s everyday lives. Schwandt continues by saying that:

“[The] interpretivist believes that to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it. The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors. To prepare an interpretation is itself to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer’s construction of the constructions of the actors one studies” (1994: 118).

The tacit, implicit, explicit, rules and regulations constitute some of the elements that define the social and moral landscape that the researcher must interpret, or in the words of Blaikie, *reinterpret*¹⁵.

¹⁵ Further elaborations on this could be done with reference to the distinction between the emic and etic perspective.

The social researcher is not dealing with a *tabula rasa*, neither in terms of one's own background as researchers, nor in terms of the social reality of the informants. The reality is pre-interpreted by the informants. The data is not located in a reality outside or untouched by the inhabitants of a given society. Blaikie says that:

“Social reality *is* the symbolic world of meanings and interpretations. It is not some ‘thing’ that may be interpreted in different ways; it is those interpretations. Hence, in contrast to physical reality, which has to be interpreted by scientists, social reality is pre-interpreted; it has already been interpreted before social scientists begin their task of interpretation” (2000: 116).

When I ask questions about hunters' and anglers' secrets, it is not done in search of an objective reality but rather the different interpretations that altogether can provide some insights on this phenomenon and its context. This is ultimately what constitutes the foundation for my analytical work which is nothing but reinterpretations of my informants' worldview.

Interpretivism is a dynamic process where the researcher must be able to rephrase questions and change focus as new elements in a certain phenomenon emerge. Hence, interpretivism includes a *re*-search where the interpretation is a result of a constant search for new questions and nuances that follow this reinvestigation.

3.2 Reflexivity, situatedness and biasness

Reflexivity, situatedness and biasness are all entangled and part of the same underlying question: how is knowledge produced and how are we as researchers part of this knowledge? Reflexivity is not one thing but rather numerous obligations that follow from different methodological positions. Different methods call for different reflections on how this approach will produce knowledge that is analyzed within a disciplinary or research tradition. *Reflexive practices* as Alvesson and colleagues (2008) labels it, have a two-fold ambition. Reflections focusing on the researcher as interpretive subject include, on the one hand, perspectives on how meaning in much of social science is co-produced in a dialogue with the informants, or as Blaikie (2000) put it, re-interpreted. These re-interpretations are, on the other hand, always done (or expected to be done) within an epistemological tradition. Research without an explicit epistemological direction does

not provide the reader a necessary context. Reflexivity is therefore not a research tool constructed outside a scientific tradition. According to Alvesson and colleagues, it incorporates numerous practices that are part of paradigmatic debates and disciplinary traditions.

“If knowledge more generally is a product of linguistic, political, and institutional influences, so too is reflexivity: it is a construction of communities of researchers whose work is informed by particular university systems, journals, and granting agencies; who operate within discourses of science, education, management, and progress; and who use language to promote particular versions of ‘truth’ or claims to superior insights. Reflexivity is not a fixed ‘thing’: what we – as members of a research community – know to be reflexivity is shaped by practices carried out by researchers in producing texts which are accepted as being reflexive” (Alvesson et al., 2008: 498).

Reflexivity is a critical consideration about what knowledge is and how it is produced. The reflexive debates are intertwined in and part of the overall epistemological platform. Just as different epistemological positions have produced different ontological positions it has produced different reflexive practices. The abductive research strategy does not point towards a specific reflexive practice. Following Alvesson et al. (2008), although they are not explicit for either the abductive or interpretivism, there are several reflexive practices that rest on an interpretive research goal. However, my approach falls under what they call *multi-voicing practices* and *positioning practices*.

Reflexivities have specific epistemological anchors with numerous traditions. Alvesson and colleagues (ibid.) identify four sets of reflexive practices: *Multi-perspective practices* (1), *Multi-voicing practices* (2), *Positioning practices* (3) and *Destabilizing practices* (4). Their categorizations do not advocate for absolute entities but rather different traditions. They point out that: “[...] our four categories should not be seen as rigid boundaries [...] [it] points to a range of textual practices – to *reflexivities* rather than reflexivity” (2008: 482). These categories sum up some key questions: (1) What are different ways in which a phenomenon can be understood? How do they produce different knowledge? (2) Can we speak authentically of the experience of the other? If so, how? What is the relationship between the self and the other? The limitations that are listed for this last category are described as attempts that often end up drawing all attention to the researcher when trying to ‘downplay’ the researcher. According to Alvesson et al., that is why: “it is impossible to give everyone a voice (let alone an equal voice)” (2008: 491). Although the categories here are kept apart, these practices often combine something that, as far

as I see it, has the power to meet some of the criticism that points at the limitations of each direction. Interpretivism invites and encourages reflexivity as it is a central element in this kind of knowledge production.

The multi-perspective practices aim at, as the term indicates, combining several metaphors and theories or *bridging paradigms*. The plurality is central to the multi-perspective practices and is what creates the common reflexive obligation. This is characterized by a form of pantheism (as Alvesson et al. calls it), where the reflexive goal is in reach only by applying different perspectives, or where reflexivity is about applying multiple viewpoints. This has been criticized. The question would then be if reflexivity can be achieved through any individual theory on its own, or in other words, if a perspective is multi enough.

In contrast the destabilizing-practices point out the limitations or the lack of reflexivity, usually on the part of others (ibid: 489). The destabilizing-practices are therefore associated with criticism which is an important part of the overall reflexive agenda in the research community. As such the destabilizing-practices also embody a paradox as they on the one hand say that there are no authoritative texts, and on the other hand they want to be read as exactly that.

Research that includes taking account of morality in one way or another has some reflexive implications. Morality of the outdoors is negotiated, expressed and sometimes visualized through interaction and between people. The positioning practices acknowledge an epistemological assumption where: “knowledge is not something that people possess in their heads, but rather, it is something that people do together” (Gergen, 1991: 270). The positioning practices are concerned: “[...] with the way that the author’s research takes place within a broader network or field” (Alvesson et al., 2008: 484). When I “pick up” for instance secrecy as a phenomenon I look at the local community through it and try to figure out what secrets do rather than attempt an explanation of what it is. This is the contextual nature of positioning practices where the focus lies at the social implication. In this tradition: [the positioning practitioners] “are used to examine the fates of competing claims made by actors, how technical and discursive resources are used to legitimate claims in keeping with broader institutionalized norms, and how context, power, and historical circumstances combine to produce knowledge” (Alvesson et al., 2008: 485).

There is a special reflexive obligation that follows fieldwork at home. One is expected to address questions regarding *the relationship between the author and the other* (ibid.). Where is the line drawn between the voice of our informants and ourselves as researchers, or interpretations and *re*interpretations? Putnam (1996) says that we need to involve explicitly our informants and readers in the productions of research. In other words we should strive not only to make the emic etic, but allow the etic *re*interpretations to become part of an emic reality. In doing so we acknowledge explicitly the multi-voices that create a reflexive sound argument.

As Døving (2003) points out in the abductive strategy the researchers are co-producers of context and the anthropologist will always use him or herself as a tool to understand this context (2003: 343-344). This consequence is best met with an explicit acknowledgment of the influence that the researcher will have on the data. Contextualized to my own fieldwork, to talk about intersubjectivity, or norms in nature, is pointless without underlining that this is anchored in a subjective interpretation. My own background has positioned me in regard to what I perceive as pros and cons of tourism.

As a teenager I encountered ptarmigan hunters, some southerners that visited one of my own secret places. Occasionally the ptarmigan will have to re-lay their eggs if the first ones are taken by predators. This will result in very small chicks when the hunting season starts. These are called *pipkyllinger*. Shooting these birds is not illegal but it is frowned upon throughout the hunting community as they are regarded as sitting ducks (they do not provide much food either as they are so small. Thus, they serve only one purpose and that is to make seemingly impressive trophy pictures). As my friend and I encountered many *pipkyllings* in one area we, much in line with the local norm, left this part of the valley without shooting any birds. About an hour later someone started shooting in that area. Later that day we met the other hunters. They were much older than us and had illegally been flown into the area. Regardless of our discontent we never commented on the fact that they had about three dozen *pipkyllings* altogether on their backpacks. Incidents like these have shaped my attitude toward tourism, which is best described as ambivalence. This ambivalence gives direction to my own perception of the morality that surrounds tourism. I recognize and can personally relate to the skepticism towards tourists that come to hunt or fish. This creates some challenges that the anthropologist conducting fieldwork at home faces. Although, he does not talk explicitly about the domestic fieldwork, Barth point out

that: “[...] our task is to find out what kind of things there are to know about this society, rather to attempt a rigorous recording of answers to questions that are already in principle known to the investigator” (1983: 8). This notion can be traced to research where the focus is on morality or where moral issues are central in one way or another. Signe Howell says that:

“In our own fieldwork it is at times difficult to avoid taking a moral stand. Our deeply felt sense of right and wrong is put severely to the test when we observe socially sanctioned physical violence, or manifestations of exploitive relationships between unequal social persons, such as between parents and children, husbands and wives, rich and poor, masters and servants, nobles and commoners, etc. Anthropologists can easily find themselves in situations where their disinterested role is severely challenged. This, in turn, may result in a reluctance towards conducting a disinterested analysis of the moral system in question on a par with an analysis of the kinship system, exchange relations or any of the more traditional anthropological themes. However, in my view, this ought to act as a spur to investigation, reflexivity and interpretation, not as a damper” (1997: 10).

3.2.1 The reflexive rhythm of abductive interpretivism

Both Blaikie (2000) and Døving (2003) advocate an abductive research strategy that includes some underlying reflexive obligations. The rhythm of fieldwork within an abductive tradition comprises time of withdrawal. This must not be confused with the ambition of the classical anthropological fieldwork where the withdrawal stems from the need for a timeout, privacy or simply to work with field notes, although it could also serve a similar purpose. There is a clear analytical ambition that follows from the rhythm of interpretivism. Blaikie points out that: “[...] theory is generated as an intimate part of the research process; it is not invented at the beginning nor is it just produced at the end” (2000: 181). This means that new theories are brought in. Hence, new questions emerge and new interpretative reflections are made where the researcher acknowledges her or his own role as mediator. Blaikie continues that: “[...] data and theoretical ideas are played off against one another in a developmental and creative process. [...] The data will then be reinterpreted in the light of emerging ideas [...]. Research becomes a dialogue between data and theory mediated by the researcher. Data are interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of the emerging theory, and, as a result, change the process” (2000: 181). During my fieldwork the Finnish anglers were a recurring topic among locals (Article 1). In retrospect there are some issues that are worth mentioning here. First of all coming from the area I understood the

Finnish legacy with the Kvens and the connection to people on the other side of the border. Someone with a different cultural background may have seen the criticism of Finnish anglers in relation to the Kven heritage of the region. Someone with a different background may have seen the Kven heritage in relation to the local criticism of Finnish anglers, where it would represent criticism of *insiders* – and not as I have argued outsiders. I have argued that it is despite and not because of this legacy that there are many local anglers that express their frustration over the Finnish angler's behavior. Secondly, my initial theoretical angle came from deviance theory in this material. It is not the fact that this proved to be a theoretical dead end that is interesting here, but rather that this choice might also reflect my own background. Instead I chose to follow Jacqueline Waldren's (1996) perspective on ethnic revitalization through tourism which provided the theoretical angle that gave direction to this article.

This rhythm enables and encourages the researcher to make reflections on the position of where the research stems from – something that is often referred to as positionality (Rose, 1997). Positionality belongs to the same discussion as Howell (1997) when she talks about 'interpretative communities'. She states:

"[...] different anthropologists [...] are a product of his or her relationship to one or more 'interpretative communities' (Howell 1994) and has a particular vision of the discipline and the kinds of question that are important. This fact is, I suggest, particularly relevant in the present case because [moralities], as discussed above, moral issues and moral values are embodied knowledge which make us act in the world in ways that render the separation of fact and value – subject and object – especially difficult" (Howell, 1997: 11).

What we as researchers see can never be understood without reference to the position from where we see it. In other words it would be pointless from an interpretivistic tradition to advocate for an objective truth that does not recognize the researcher's profound impact on how the world is understood. To talk about *re*interpretation as an interpretivistic research mantra is in itself an acknowledgement of the researcher's cultural, personal and academic background as a premise for research.

For me the timeouts, as part of the abductive interpretivistic research, served an important purpose. In my own fieldwork the withdrawal had three major consequences. Firstly, it created room for reflections on choice of theory. Secondly, it helped me to discover and identify the

phenomena that became the scope of the articles, and consequently this dissertation. Thirdly, the time of withdrawal led to an epiphany-like experience in my own background as an interpretative premise where I was faced by my own prejudices in the tourism organization. I will elaborate on the first in the following section and return to the other two later.

Early in my fieldwork I was, as mentioned, inspired by deviance theory. To me the most interesting contribution here was the dynamic created from the deviant, where norm violations contributed differently than complying with a norm in the reconstruction of morality. However, leaning on Howard Becker (1993) among others, proved to be an analytical detour. Without going into detail, deviance theory did not open the discussion in a way that provided a sound argument. The dialogue that was established between data and deviance theory never offered for instance any view points on why tourism created a need for a new management system. As mentioned, to view the Finnish tourist as an *outsider within* (Harrison, 2008) was simply a mismatch. Waldren's (1996) theory had the power to underline nuances in this material that gave a new direction for this paper. Somewhat condensed one could say that Waldren points out a dynamic where it is *because* of and not despite the presence of tourists that the locals are able to revitalize and recreate a local identity among the indigenous inhabitants of Mallorca. Much in line with Waldren's perspective on tourism it was because of, and not despite, the presence of the tourists that one managed to develop a new management system in the Reisa River. However, it took me more than six months to realize the limitations in deviance theory for this part of the work. Following Blaikie (2000) this is exactly what the interpretivism invites us to do. It is part of a research dynamic where theories are played off against data, and where the need for new perspectives is a natural part of the strategy. How (and when one might add) theories are selected and integrated into the research process reflects many different considerations. Doing research at home will affect the process. When deviance became the theoretical point of departure it can be seen as a result of my own habituated view of the social life of anglers. For me it was easier to identify with the Finnish anglers as norm violators as opposed to locals doing the same. In an interpretivistic tradition the question is not *if* our background affects the research but rather in what way it does. For me, just like anyone else, background will inevitably bring some things to the fore of attention at the expense of other things. Social and cultural background are in this context also part of what is labeled "fusion of horizons."

"Fusion of horizons" (German: *Horizontverschmelzung*) is central in the legacy of the German philosopher Hans Georg Gadamer (2004 [1960]). The Norwegian translation *forståelseshorison* – horizon of understanding, meaning the multifarious context of which we understand the world – seems somewhat closer to Gadamer's own original definition. In *Truth and Method* (2004) Gadamer laid the ground for what later would be seen as the roots of hermeneutics (Warnke, 1987). Central in this methodological approach is the acknowledgement of the complex background of both informants and researchers, and how this is a fundamental premise for how we understand the world. All individuals meet the world with a set of prejudgments and biases – a cultural interpretive tool that provides meaning. Reflections on prejudice in this sense should therefore recognize how socialization and cultural background provides people with means to construct meaning, not to be confused with the ethnocentric connotations that often are associated with the term. The hermeneutic tradition – the fusion of horizons – merely points out the importance of bringing forth the reflections on where the interpretation comes from. This reflective obligation in hermeneutics falls under the interpretationism of the abductive research strategy. Hence, the hermeneutic tradition is, also as Blakie points out, part of the abductive research strategy.

Now I would like to return to the epiphany-like experience on tourism organization. Working with the research proposal for this Ph.D. I wanted to focus on how companies in North Troms cooperate, how they interact, and how this could be understood. As I recently came from a job in Troms Tourist Board (today North Norway Tourist Board) this was a subject that received much attention at all levels of the industry. More specifically for North Troms there was a recurring frustration on what was seen as a lack of ability or willingness to cooperate between companies. This materialized as a mantra posted by the marketing section in various destination organizations. A prominent CEO of one of the growing destinations (Målselv) in Troms County was underlining this as he was presenting at a conference: "coming to North Norway I noticed something that is different than what I have been used to down south. The industry is characterized by entrepreneurs that are more pleased with other's misfortune than their own success." This characteristic of the region was underlined during my time in Troms Tourism Board as they chose to host a cooperation seminar for tourism companies. Many interreg-

projects¹⁶ had a similar ambition – to create a platform for partnership and cooperation between potential partners on all sides of the borders (Norway, Finland and Sweden). The industry reproduces an image of a certain structure or organization model. Any discrepancy from an ideal model is seen as proof of a need for reorganization.

Coming from this job in Troms Tourism Board I had an occupational socialization which had shaped my own understanding of how a proper tourism destination should be organized. As I later attended a seminar on destination organization in North Troms I felt a growing frustration about the recurring problems of organizing the tourism industry in the region. The status for the industry in the region did not seem to have changed much over the last decade. As I was collecting data for a paper (Viken & Svensson, 2016) on destination development in the region with my co-writer (and supervisor), I expressed my frustration over the situation. As we were going home after some interviews we started to talk about this. The conversation went as follows, retold by memory:

Gaute: “So where should we go with this? They are all saying the same thing: *We need a destination marketing organization*, but every attempt to establish this collapses. They end up at the same place over and over. To write about destination development with data showing no development is hardly sexy research. They will never be able to form a viable organization here.”

Arvid: “So what do you mean by organization?”

Gaute: “What do I mean....well they have this new marketing company now in Lyngen, Kåfjord and Storfjord [part of the region] but they won’t be making a turnover that is sustainable in the long run. They will soon be back to square one.”

Arvid: “So you don’t see signs of anything *organizing* in our interviews? I do not think that they are not organized; it is more a question of what kind of cooperative system they have and how we can understand this. They certainly *act* as if they have some form of organization creating cooperative behavior.”

This conversation made me realize how much my occupational habitus has positioned me in my own research. I had a clear understanding of what a well-organized destination should look

¹⁶ European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) – promoting European regional cooperation and development. This is a public funding system.

like. Foucault's (Foucault, Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991) perspective on governmentality, which became one of the theoretical angles in this paper, invites me to reflect on, not only perceptions about how people ought to think about specific things, but also on how we as researchers, are part of this world view. The dialogue that was shaped by Foucault's (ibid.) perspective calls on reflections about how researchers are positioned within a field of research. This critical question of positioning in research is not a question of whether or not we as social scientists can produce objective knowledge, but rather how we reflect and express our subjectivity. We are all part of a social and culturally defined reality. Being prejudiced in this sense is not about judging others as better or worse than oneself, but rather to acknowledge a world-view from which something is analyzed. This is the overall analytical premise that in many cases is made implicit in anthropologist's work. Through cross-disciplinary encounters the anthropologist is often asked what her or his instrument is. As pointed out by the anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1993) *we* (the anthropologists) are the instruments. The consequences that follow are simply to take account of some of the implications of this in terms of how we are situated as researchers. Within anthropology this debate has been connected to the distinction between the classical fieldwork in other cultures, in contrast to domestic anthropology which calls for different reflections.

3.5 Distant closeness: doing research at home

This Ph.D. project is based on fieldwork at home in more than one way. Firstly, I grew up in Storslett which is one of the villages in North Troms. Although, most of the companies that I have followed in my research are located elsewhere, the region as such is familiar and constitutes 'home' in many aspects of my personal life. Secondly, my most important hobby growing up and later in life has been hunting, angling and outdoor recreation. This has influenced not only the focus in this dissertation, but also my educational and occupational choices. Given this background, fieldwork that involves hunting, angling and outdoor recreation within a familiar cultural context represents yet another aspect of 'home.' Thirdly, this being a so called business-Ph.D. has some implications regarding focus and locus. The project owner and employer has been Halti National Park Centre in Nordreisa. Despite an explicit freedom given to me from Halti

National Park Centre in terms of research dispositions, there is an obligation and expectation of involvement of the company in this kind of research funding. The obligation is two-fold. The company is expected to be directly involved in defining the scope of a research and it is expected to anchor the results and apply the knowledge in the institution in a way that suits the company best. In many cases this is done based on the fact that the Ph.D. candidate is internally recruited. In my case as an external recruit, this anchoring has been done through presentations and different projects that have come out of the Ph.D. project¹⁷. Although, applied research has become a part of the anthropological practice, the business Ph.D. has so far been part of more mercantile research traditions.

The disciplinary cradle of anthropology was founded upon a focus on the ‘others’ – the extensive fieldwork on different and exotic cultures located outside the western world. The research was justified by a difference and distance to the informants creating an angle that is vital to the methodological mantra *from the native’s point of view* (Geertz, 1974). This is the backbone of cultural relativism which has given direction to the method of participant observation. The distinction between ‘us’ and ‘the others,’ or exotic and endotic – where the line between the familiar and unfamiliar is drawn – have had implications on a long lasting perception of “the real fieldwork,” as Katinka Frøystad (2003) critically labels it. This debate in Norway has been somewhat polarized. On the one hand there is a fraction arguing that good anthropology is produced through the encounters with other cultures, and on the other hand there are people arguing that domestic anthropology is important in understanding our own society (Rugkåsa & Thorsen, 2003). Signe Howell is among those who give voice to the criticism or limitations in the fieldwork at home. Her point is that current theory and method does not provide the necessary tools for dealing with the familiar (Howell, 2001). The limitations she pointed to were the degree of contact with one’s informants. The researcher will in fieldwork at home often easily get access just to the arenas that are directly relevant to the subject or phenomenon in question. This will potentially have an impact on what kind of empirical material the researcher ends up with as the verbalized data is given more attention than interactional data (ibid.). On the other hand research

¹⁷ Initialized and organized trilateral seminar on protected area management in Yellowknife Canada in 2013 and partly initialized and organized a research node (which is a three year research project) in Nordreisa that were established in 2015.

at home has the power to question the known and to bring out nuances in our own society (Rugkåsa & Thorsen, 2003).

As they oppose Howell's (2001) idea of the impossibility of the fieldwork at home, Rugkåsa and Thorsen (2003) implicitly reject the notion of homogeneity as they point out that domestic anthropology can bring out both nuances and unexpected perspectives on the Norwegian society as well as contribute to a development of theory and method. The question that arises from this debate is, to paraphrase Gregory Bateson (1972), when does the difference that makes a difference occur? What constitutes a distance that prevents 'home blindness'? Is it language, national states or culture? If these are among the criteria it is tempting to point out that this would dismiss and legitimize research on fragile pretenses. For the sake of argument this strain of thought would legitimize research conducted in the Finnish border city of Hetta by a Norwegian coming from the neighbor village Kautokeino. Following Howell's (ibid.) argument the same person going to Oslo to conduct research 2000 kilometers away would face insurmountable challenges. As much as I disagree with Howell's view on this she has managed to spark an important debate that brings forth fruitful reflections on how and where knowledge is produced. For me norms like secrecy and reciprocity are intertwined with something habituated. This has of course affected my reinterpretation of these phenomena in North Troms, just like it would somewhere else in the world. Home blindness is not necessarily about not seeing because it is familiar, but to fall for the temptation of thinking that one knows what it is one is seeing.

If the anthropological project is, like Hastrup (1992) points out, to make the unfamiliar familiar and the familiar unfamiliar, the domestic anthropological project must strive to understand aspects of doxa through *paradoxa*. The unreflected and taken for granted everyday life that Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977) labeled doxa has its etymological counterpart in *paradoxa*. To locate the more elementary forms of social life has been an important ambition throughout my own fieldwork. Selection of informants and companies were part of the considerations that touch upon the challenges of fieldwork at 'home.' All forms of familiarity have potential advantages and disadvantages that should be made explicit. Fieldwork at home touches upon such a potential challenge as one merges personal background, hobbies and interests with research ambitions. Conducting research at home also means to enter a field where one is recognized as anything but a researcher. In fieldwork that involves people one knows, it might appear odd to question the

things taken for granted. Why you keep your favorite fishing location secret (Article 4), might seem like a weird question if an informant knows you as an avid angler. To avoid situations where my enquiries would lead to questions about me, hence taking away the focus from the phenomenon, I chose to conduct some of the interviews with close childhood friends. This represented a personal closeness that, given the nature of the relationships where the informants understood why a specific subject can be of academic interest, provided an angle to look at the phenomenon from a distance. Much like the personal and private conversation with trusted friends these interviews were characterized by little effort needed to reflect on how others perceive you. In other words I would not come out as less of an angler after an interview where I have asked my friends the most basic questions about angling. In contrast other acquaintances and unfamiliar informants did not provide similar room for personal reflections within a private sphere. However, the data presented in Article 4 is based on much more data than just close friends.

On the other hand, in selecting companies that I would follow I chose to avoid the ones I had most personal contact with previously. The need for distance in working with the companies had to do with the focus in this part of the fieldwork which was tourism entrepreneurs' interaction with the local community. Without the prior knowledge about social network and local interaction I was forced to account for this more explicitly than I would have done with a familiar company. Through internship the focus was somewhat wider than working with local hunters and anglers (Article 4). The interaction with the local community as a scope was more undefined in terms of what I would choose to bring out as an interesting element in the negotiation of morality. The reciprocal relationship that emerged from this part of the fieldwork and led to Article 2, about reciprocity, was an element which became important after some time in the internship. With a less defined focus, the unfamiliarity with the company was important. The event called Open day (Arctic Sensation invites locals to the company's camp site), which is described in the article, became important only as I participated in this event. As this was something I had not attended before, I was alert even though I had met several of the locals before. As this reflected on potential aspects of home blindness, I was alert to avoid the temptation where I thought I knew what I observed. In other words, through an event like Open day, that proved to be of crucial importance, the job is very much about locating the ordinary through the extraordinary.

The discussion about the limitations or challenges in the domestic fieldwork is important because it calls for explicit direction on how to develop a method that can navigate between the familiar and unfamiliar (Hastrup, 1992). In doing research at home the researcher must be equipped with tools that can bring forth doxa through paradoxa where, to make an example from my own work, selling a secret visualizes the norm of how people normally tell them. Doing research at home provides the researcher with a good starting point to locate and follow the distinction between the doxa and paradoxa as they after all are both local constructs. Despite the broad rejection of the idea of the impossibility of the domestic fieldwork, the debate paved the way for important methodological reflections. The closeness to the field is important and the methodological implications have been labeled in different ways. Clifford Geertz (1973) made a distinction between the *experience-near* versus the *experience-distant*. The overall question is simply how to model a method that provides distance in the near and closeness in the distant.

3.6 Methods – the rhythm of abductive interpretivism

The core element in my own fieldwork has been participant observation. Participant observation is an important and prominent feature for anthropology as a discipline. Although new methods have been incorporated, the participating observer is still the ideal and a vital part of the overall anthropological identity. As a method it is very much embedded in the discipline that it can hardly be described as a tool – it is rather a tool box. It includes things like: “making notes, asking questions, doing interviews, collecting data, drawing up lists, constructing databases, being active in research” (O’Reilly, 2005: 101). There are numerous aspects and stages within a fieldwork connected to the participant observation. As researchers we strive to achieve a *natives point of view* (Geertz, 1974), often through what can be described as a *re-socialization* (Wax, 1986), taking part in and asking questions about people’s everyday life.

There are some contradictory ambitions in the participant observation as one tries to be on the inside and on the outside at the same time. On the one hand, *participating* means seeking closeness, getting involved and being subjective. *Observing* on the other hand means being

objective, unbiased and distanced. This is what O'Reilly (2005) labels the participant observation oxymoron. This is the duplex nature of the anthropological fieldwork. Although this represents something that appears to be incompatible, it is a prerequisite dynamic in the anthropological fieldwork. To make sense of the world as it is for one's informants cannot be done without taking part in this world in one way or another. Analyzing a multifarious worldview includes abstracting and re-contextualizing the phenomenon in question. It is in making the emic etic – where the researcher strives to translate meaning – that a local worldview is transformed to scientific knowledge. However, the question of method in an interpretivistic tradition is not given. Schwandt (1994) states that:

“[Interpretivism is] principally concerned with matters of knowing and being, not method per se. [...] not only are methods the most unremarkable aspect of interpretive work, but a focus on methods [...] often masks a full understanding of the relationship between method and inquiry purpose. [...] Purpose, in turn, is shaped by epistemological and methodological commitments” (1994: 119).

For the interpretivist the methods chosen should come as a result of the nature of the phenomena in question and as a part of the disciplinary tradition (Schwandt, 1994). For me outdoor norms are deeply embedded in the social life of hunters, anglers and outdoor recreationists, and as such un-articulated. Secrecy, reciprocity and encounter norms are highly habituated and implicit, and most often expressed through interaction. For me there are few methodical alternatives than to enter the everyday life of people in North Troms when asking questions about outdoor norms. Participant observation followed by interviews is well suited to pursue the tacit and implicit outdoor norms. However, when methods are as disciplinary embedded as participant observation is in anthropology this can result in few reflections on choices of method.

Døving (2003) points out that anthropology as a discipline has been dodging questions regarding methods and methodology. This, he says, can be traced back to the subservient position of anthropology (and other social sciences one might add) compared to the hegemonic position of natural science. Although I agree with Døving in that there has been a tendency of under-communicating methodological position, I think there might be a different reason for this. A clearly defined method through participant observation has generated an internal justice where the focus has been on other aspects than method. In my own encounter with tourism as a research

field the expectation of methodological reflections has been more explicit. Much in line with Alvesson et al. (2008) I would argue that this is a quite natural consequence given its interdisciplinary nature. When facing such a diverse audience as the tourism research community, the methodological dispositions are not part of a disciplinary habitus in the same way as within social anthropology.

The story – the piece of empirical material that becomes the central element in one's analysis – will not speak by itself or appear out of thin air. It is *given* a specific meaning, context and direction, and as such is central to the interpretationistic approach. The stories are selected and highlighted for a specific purpose. It is, in the eyes of the researcher, representing an analytical potential and as such, serves a certain purpose. This is in line with Blaikie (2000) and Døving (2003), in the way that research is based on re-interpretations. It is through these stories, these empirical glimpses of people's everyday life, brought forth through interviews or observations, that a micro context produces macro context. The analytical results in academic work rest on the dialogue between data and theory. My own articles could, somewhat condensed, be presented in the following way:

In the spring I observe two anglers beside a lake talking about secret places (Article 4). As the youngest rejects the oldest's request of a tip I start to follow secrecy as a norm. Secrecy is not just about protecting something precious. It has just as much to do with the integrating aspect of the gift – knowledge with a profound power to determine social relations. This is why secrecy elevated as a *prism*, to paraphrase Døving's (ibid.) metaphor, reflects not just negotiations about ecological knowledge, but also important aspects of local culture including exchange and entrepreneurship in tourism. Later in my fieldwork I observe a Finish and a Norwegian angler who argue about who should have access to a specific fishing spot on the banks of the Reisa River (Article 1). I choose to follow encounters between locals and the tourists as it creates room for negotiating norms in angling – norms that are organizing encounters along the river just as much as it provides moral direction in the overall social life of the anglers. Later a man tells me about a local tourism company that has become unpopular due to a repossession of a community house that was built on the company's property (Article 2). As this serves as a contrast to the reputation of the company I have followed, I focus on the reciprocal norms in and around nature based tourism. I follow these norms because they appear to be insolubly connected to a morality

that is just as important to people inside the tourism industry as it is to people outside the industry.

When I talk about research rhythm I refer to the fieldwork sequences – sequences that denote a rhythm that can be seen as reflections of a specific epistemological anchoring. To locate, follow and refocus on phenomena like secrecy, has in my case required several different processes in the field. Timeouts, interviews, participation and redistributing texts to one's informants are all part of the analytical process, following an abductive inference. As such the rhythm depends on things like personal background, where fieldwork at home will necessarily create a different rhythm than fieldwork someplace else.

In my own fieldwork one of the most challenging things has been to re-discover what Geertz (1974) calls *experience-near*. In this lays an ambition to create room for observations of everyday phenomena and to follow them systematically as they appear in and form context. This is an approach that stimulates the process of discovery, where the attention is directed toward what the anthropologist Marianne Gullestad (1999) calls 'logic of discovery' (*oppdagelseslogikk*, my translation). This approach can be characterized as an open method where locating the research questions or hypotheses are essential and where it is more important to identify and follow them than answer them. It is a method that suits the ambition of searching for things that are taken for granted. This corresponds with the hermeneutic legacy of participant observation where knowledge is not tested as 'true' or 'false.' Hence, the logic of discovery is about creating room for locating and following a phenomenon, like for instance secrecy. Following here means to explore the numerous contexts in which secrecy appears and rephrase questions regarding for instance how secrecy as a social phenomenon is negotiated and constructed. This constitutes what I call the rhythm of the abductive interpretivistic fieldwork – which describes the research sequences.

Everyday life, the things that are taken for granted are always constructed with reference to something outside the familiar. The unorthodox is probably even more important in fieldwork at home as much will slip past the attention of the researcher. Most of the data presented in the articles have a starting point in something extraordinary, something that stands out and creates some contrast. The empirical starting points have been observations or statements that are somewhat surprisingly alike: Two anglers start to argue by the river (Article 1), a man tells me

about locals' frustration over a company's behavior in *Vouma Valley* (Article 2), a reindeer herder is convicted of misuse of the verdde status in tourism (Article 3), and an angler rejects the effort from another angler to reveal secret angling locations (Article 4).

The interpretivistic research sequence is as much about creating room for constant reflections – reflections which can go through the extraordinary toward the ordinary. One participates in an event or happening with a defined idea of where to look. The logic of discovery is then about identifying a phenomenon and adjusting attention to this while following as it appears in different contexts. This includes timeouts whether on the ice, on river banks or during an internship with a tourism company. New questions create a need for interviews and maybe relocation. As mentioned, during my internship in Arctic Adventure they hosted an event they called *Open day* where they invited locals. During this event a man told me about an emerging conflict in the community regarding another company. I chose to direct my attention towards reciprocal interaction between tourism companies and the local community in this area. As this phenomenon became the scope of this part of the fieldwork I followed this through interviews and adjusted the focus on behavior that expresses reciprocal elements of everyday life. In *Vouma Valley* (Article 2) there was a senior club where people met on a weekly basis to have waffles, coffee and basically socialize. Going there after Open Day and the man's statement about a conflict gave me an explicit angle and focus. Given this focus the scope was directed toward what it is that constitutes the contrasts between the two companies in the eyes of the locals. How can this difference that apparently makes a difference be understood and what can it say about this community? These were the rephrased questions that gave direction in this part of the fieldwork and forced me to re-gaze as I attended Arctic Adventure's guided tours. The later interviews with people like *Petter*, the CEO of Arctic Adventure, were therefore influenced by this. When I participated in a guided paddle trip in a river nearby, I was told that we should enter and depart the river on one specific piece of property. So I asked *Petter* how agreements with the landowners were established. The bottom line here is that Arctic Adventure has managed to create and maintain good relations which have resulted in goodwill and a good reputation – a reputation that serves as a contrast to some other companies.

Døving (2003) uses *prism* as a metaphor for the analytical process where he “picks up” food (waffles, lunch (*matpakka*) and coffee) and looks at society through these phenomena. The

metaphor describes a process where the phenomenon is not the focus per se, but rather the social implications that follow it. In a similar fashion, I seek to “pick up”¹⁸ different norms, and look through them as a prism, to understand outdoor recreation and tourism in North Troms today. The fieldwork process has its methodological implications where I do not just focus on the phenomenon in itself but rather try to look at the numerous social implications that follow. In doing so the analytical ambition can be described as looking through the norms of the outdoors, not to describe what they are, but rather offer some perspectives on what they do and what they do in relation to tourism.

3.7 Ethical aspects

One of the corner stones in my fieldwork was supposed to be an internship in one of the companies, *Naturligvis*, which I had visited previously on several occasions. The goal was to get insight on the everyday life of a tourism entrepreneur in North Troms. Central questions were how do they conduct their everyday business, their interaction with other locals and the local community? As I had a good relationship with *Bjarte*, the CEO of *Naturligvis*, I felt welcome as we agreed on an internship in the spring and summer of 2011. Specialized in deep sea angling and nature guiding in general *Naturligvis* had been an important source of data previously. However one incident changed all this. As I called *Bjarte* one day in the spring I found out that his son had died in an accident the previous day. As *Naturligvis* is a family business this had of course a huge impact on everything including the day to day activities. Although *Bjarte* suggested that we postpone the internship, something that could have worked out for me, I decided to cancel our plans. Even though something tragic like a fatal accident would fall under the category of everyday life, it felt unethical to proceed like nothing had happened. At the time I am not sure if I considered this as a research specific or just ethical dilemma. However, in hindsight I could have proceeded with the planned internship without being unethical in terms of research ethics. The considerations that I faced were, on the one hand the obligations toward the fieldwork and data collection, and on the other hand the respect for mourning family. I was moved by their loss so I did not feel like I had much of a choice. I had to look for some other solution. Although

¹⁸ It is tempting to point out that this aspect, where one is isolating something like secrecy, bears an etymological resemblance to the abductive inference as it is *abducting* a given case.

being a bit dramatic, a note from my fieldwork sums it up: “my research struggle for some locally defined meaning seems suddenly pointless compared to seeking the meaning in losing a son.”

The question that comes to mind in a situation like this is how our situatedness, our cultural background, affects our choices and interpretations as researchers in the field. Our moral compasses are part of the interpretative tool that gives direction in our data collection, just as it gives direction in life in general. My choices and considerations that guide my life as a researcher cannot be seen as something else other than the cultural background providing a moral direction in my personal life. Although I was disappointed because I lost a potential important source of data I was left no choice when asking myself what the right thing to do was. The *right thing* is of course a cultural construct; hence this might have led to a different conclusion by someone else with a different background. At the end of the day I also chose to avoid a situation that might have been uncomfortable given the new circumstances.

In contrast to the retroductive research strategy where one use experiments as the tool to uncover some truth, the abductive interpretivism represents an approach where a major tool is the researcher. As research tools we are always a product of our own cultural background. Right and wrong is essential in socialization and it provides direction for people in their everyday lives – lives no different for tourism entrepreneurs like Bjarte or researchers like myself.

Article 4 in this dissertation sums up an aspect that is prominent in the research that involves local knowledge and practices in relation to nature. Secrecy between hunters and anglers represent a phenomenon that brings forth some ethical aspects. In this article I argue, with reference to Anita Maurstad (2002), that research involving data where people’s secrets are at the core, has a profound ethical responsibility in terms of protecting your informants. The distinction between *why* and *where* (or how) is eminent when analyzing secrecy as a cultural phenomenon. This is why it has been eminent for me to point out to my informants that I am not interested in what the secret is, but rather what secrets do. What all articles have in common is that the social life in nature and tourism involves knowledge, norms and practices that are highly implicit, tacit and relational. Conducting research on this includes involvement in people’s lives that calls for some considerations regarding how to protect informants and their knowledge. This can be done without jeopardizing or exposing the knowledge that constitute for instance people’s secrets.

Although fieldwork and participant observation can be an immersive experience where people's everyday lives are at the core of research, there are times where certain considerations call for a break. This can be due to one's personal need for privacy, to work on field notes or that one's informants need assurance that some things are kept out of a research gaze. This has to do with respect and serves as a premise to create mutual trust. When the CEO of Arctic Sensation, *Petter*, hosted an annual party for his partners, he created a room where people could and should blow out steam. "When people work so close over months and up to 18 hours a day it is inevitable that we step on each other's toes every now and then." During my internship in Arctic Sensation Petter invited me to their party but had one condition: "This is where you have to put down the pen and paper." Petter added that this party is important for everybody as an informal evaluation where they can speak freely while having a beer. If they feel that they are watched in any way this might change an important dynamic where people can figure out their differences and thereby avoid potential conflicts in the future. In this situation I accommodate Petter's request and act more like an employee than a researcher.

To repatriate texts to one's informants serves several purposes. On the one hand there is an ethical obligation in letting one's informants in on how their contributions have been used and understood. There is a sense of courtesy and common sense in reciprocating to one's informants by providing them access to the research. The other point has an epistemological anchoring in that the informants should play an important role in all phases of the research. To include one's informants in the research process by letting them take part in the analytical work follows the rhythm of the abductive research strategy. By letting the informants into the analytical process one not only prevents misunderstanding important context but it allows and encourages new questions, which again could call for new theoretical contributions. If the metaphor *socialization* (Nielsen & Smedal, 2000) is describing the role between the researcher and his or her informants one might add that the abductive interpretivism includes a child constantly pulling his or her parent's leg asking what things means. In that sense my fieldwork – or childhood – included much leg pulling. This form of relationship, which I think can be just as challenging for the informants as for the researcher, has been essential to the findings in this research.

Chapter 4: Findings – articles in short

In this section I will give an account of the major findings in all four articles. But first I will present a schematic description of the diverse data that constitute the empirical foundation of this dissertation. This is categorized with reference to the articles:

Type of data/topic and focus	Locus	Method
Article 1 - <i>Not everybody has good manners</i> - fishing tourists' norm violations and local management		
Interactional data. Anglers	The Reisa River	Observation, field notes
Finnish anglers	The Reisa River	Interviews, informal
Newspaper Finnish angler attacked	Sagat (newspaper)	Field notes
Online TV Finnish angler attacked	NRK (Norwegian broadcasting)	Field notes
Finnish angler attacked	Head of Nesseby hunting and angling association	Interview, formal
Solo paddling, Interactional data	Reisa River	Participant observation, informal interviews
Guided angling with several tourists and companies	Initialized by head of the Reisa River Association	Participant observation, informal interviews
Management of Reisa River, conflicts	Head of Reisa River association	Interview, formal
Angling norms, online blog	Stein Evensen's blog	Mail correspondence and field notes
Article 2 – Exchange and change in North Norway: On reciprocity in nature based tourism		
Internship Arctic Adventure, 5 months during spring and summer of 2012	<i>Vuoma Valley</i>	Participant observation and interviews, field notes
Peak Experience and community house	CEO of Peak Experience	Interview
Arctic Adventure – Guided canoe paddle	External company provided guide service	Participant observation, field notes
Arctic Adventure – guided glacier walk	Steindalsbreen	Participant observation, field notes
Arctic Adventure – Guided dog mushing	<i>Vouma Valley</i>	Participant observation, field notes
Arctic Adventure – Sami adventure	Storfjord	Participant observation, field notes
Senior club meeting	<i>Vuoma Valley</i>	Focus group interview, field notes
Article 3 – Respect in the <i>girdnu</i>: the Sami <i>verdde</i> institution and tourism in North Norway		
Verdde stakeholders	Reindeer herders 1	Interview, formal
Verdde stakeholders	Reindeer herders 2	Interview, formal
Camping site	Camp owner	Interview, formal
Verdde stakeholders	Ranger 1	Interview, formal
Verdde stakeholders	Ranger 2	Interview, formal
Conviction tourism entrepreneur	NRK, online news	
Verdde stakeholders	Reindeer police	Interview, formal
Verdde stakeholders	County administration	Interview, formal
Prosecutions of verdde-relations	Newspapers and online TV	Field notes
Article 4 - <i>Do you have any particular favorite place: Hunters' and anglers' secrets meet tourism in North Norway</i>		
Ice fishing	Arac lake	Participant observation, field notes
Shared and protected secrets	Angling Magazine	Interviews, formal and informal
	<i>Alt om Fiske</i>	Field notes
	Various newspapers	Field notes

4.1 Article 1

Not everybody has good manners

- fishing tourists' norm violations and local management in the Reisa River

Author: Gaute Svensson

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With theoretical reference to Jacqueline Waldren's (1996) book *Insiders and Outsiders*, I argued that the increasing presence of tourists has created room for expressing the local norms of angling. When locals meet along the river banks there is, due to the various complex social relations in the community, limited room for explicit negotiation of angling norms. These encounter norms are an important part of the social life of anglers as people are chasing the same fish – they organize angling on local premises. These norms are constructed through a complex set of customs and practices anchored in both modern international trends and local traditions. However, when facing friends, relatives, neighbors, colleagues or others from the local community the data presented here reveal that there is not much room for expressing discontent with other angler's behavior. On the other hand, when facing the tourists that do similar mistakes there is an arena for expressing a local identity or an angler habitus. The presence of tourists has consequently led to legitimizing the management system due to these norm violations. The norm violations made by tourists have the power to visualize and express the implicit – a dynamic that is very different without tourism. This article has its methodological base in participant observation along the Reisa River among local anglers, tourists and guide services. The Reisa River has over the last decade had a substantial increase in spawning salmon returning to the river each summer. This has led to a revitalization of the river as a good angling destination for both domestic and foreign tourists. Alongside the increase in number of salmon and tourists a new management system has been introduced including catch and release as well as size and bag limits. Whether this is the reason why the salmon population has grown is not the scope of this article. The focus in this article is however, on the interaction between local anglers and tourists and how tourism has implicitly shaped the management of the Reisa River. This article shed light on an aspect of consumptive wildlife tourism that has, with a few exceptions (see for example

Barnes & Novelli, 2008; Foote & Wenzel, 2008), been neglected in tourism research. This article contributes to the field Lovelock (2008) labels 'impact of consumptive wildlife tourism.'

4.2 Article 2

Exchange and change in North Norway: On reciprocity in nature based tourism

Author: Gaute Svensson

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Reciprocity is a central element in social life. It is also a vital part of the norms of north Norwegians and it is deeply embedded in local culture. The focus of this article is on how we can understand reciprocity in tourism and how it is incorporated in the company's everyday business in various ways. Reciprocity in tourism says much about the industry but it maybe says even more about society at large. This is because tourism is just one of several arenas where this is negotiated. The data in this article stems from fieldwork conducted through an internship in a company I called Arctic Sensation. They specialize in winter activities like dog mushing, snowmobile trips, Sami adventures and northern lights. Through numerous activities that include the locals, Arctic Sensation incorporates reciprocal relationships in their everyday life as tourism entrepreneurs. Located in the same area there is another company I called Peak Experience. This company chooses a very different strategy in their interaction with locals. In short they end up with a community house that is used to accommodate guests through a process that is perceived as expropriation by locals. The two companies highlight the contrasts in reciprocity in North Norway and how it is incorporated in the industry in various ways. These contrasts – the different ways of complying with reciprocal norms are eminent factors of how their activity is perceived by the local community and ultimately what their everyday life as tourism entrepreneurs look like in terms of future opportunities on cooperative actions. With reference to Marshall Sahlins' (1972) distinction between three different forms of reciprocity, I argue that reciprocity in North Troms has the power to define how tourism companies are perceived and how this can determine if they are met by good will or sanctions. These social forces have a profound impact on legitimacy for the tourism companies in general and more specifically how developmental initiatives are met locally. Reciprocal interaction in tourism is not a unique scope for a paper. As argued in the article, *guanxi* is the Chinese equivalent to reciprocity that has been the focus for tourism research. What this article offers is, besides giving input on reciprocity as cultural variation, are nuances in reciprocal interaction and how this gives direction to tourism. This

article also underline that reciprocity is a vital part of morality of the outdoors as it is constantly negotiated through tourism.

4.3 Article 3

Respect in the *girdnu*: the Sami *verdde* institution and tourism in North Norway

Authors: Gaute Svensson and Arvid Viken

Published in *Tourism and indigeneity. Diversifying or othering the Arctic?*, forthcoming 2016

The *verdde* institution is an important part of the relationship between the reindeer herders and settled residents in North Norway. Although reindeer herding, the Sami culture and the *verdde* institution has changed, the *verdde* tradition is still vital not only within reindeer husbandry but also as a symbol of contact between the diverse populations of North Norway. *Verdde* is a Sami word that translates to ‘helping friend’ – where the settled person offers help. The term connotes the need for assistance required in the industry from time to time as the herds move between seasonal pastures. What the helper – the *verdde* – offers has changed just like what constitutes the repayment has changed. In this article we point out some of the cultural challenges that follow from the modern *verdde* relationship as it has become part of the tourism industry in different ways. Through exchange theory we argue that the *verdde* institution plays a part in tourism in two very different ways. On the one hand it constitutes, much in line with the original dynamic, a generalized reciprocity where the exchange is defined by being more social than economic. There is no direct transaction and the relationship is based on mutual trust. On the other hand the *verdde* institution has been used to provide locals and tourists with motorized access to areas that otherwise would be closed for people outside the reindeer herding industry. This is characterized by a very different form of reciprocity where there is a direct payment – a form of reciprocity that serves as a contrast to every feature ascribed to the traditional *verdde* institution. When the *verdde* relationship turns into *negative reciprocity* it is an outcome that is not unique to the tourism industry. However, despite the legal grey areas that surround the modern *verdde* it is tourism that brings forth explicit sanctions both internally and outside the reindeer herding industry.

4.4 Article 4

Do you have any particular favorite place: Hunters' and anglers' secrets meet tourism in North Norway

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Secrecy constitutes a vital part of hunters' and anglers' social life in North Norway. This article explores how we can understand secrecy – what secrets do – and how this is challenged by tourism. Hunters' and anglers' secrets are, despite a protectionist trait, part of a practice where knowledge is contested, shared and even stolen. Secrecy as a norm is therefore constructed with reference to both protected and shared secrets. This article suggests that we must look at the secrets shared in order to understand secrecy as a norm. However, tourism represents a different premise for sharing secrets. In short the main finding presented in this paper is that there is a difference between telling about a secret location for hunting or angling versus selling it. An increasing demand for guide services which includes knowledge about locations and techniques that give harvests and catches raises new questions about how local practices are affected by tourism. The data presented in this article is anchored in a social anthropological research tradition with qualitative data collected mainly through participant observation and interviews. The main theoretical contributions presented here are located within exchange theory.

Chapter 5: Nature based tourism and outdoor recreation – a symbiotic antagonism?

In this dissertation I have argued that outdoor recreation and nature based tourism draw on different perceptions of value. While outdoor recreation tends to underline its value as something located outside a monetary and economic sphere, economy is the premise for nature based tourism. This dissertation demonstrates this dialectic between these phenomena that define the dynamics of morality of the outdoors. The nature of tourism is commercial and strongly contradicts the values of outdoor recreation. This opposition can be both constructive and destructive. Following Graeber's value-theory, there are many paradoxes that emerge when different regimes of value meet. In this line of thought a term like 'moral economy' has a self-contradictory element. Morality would in the light of Graeber's theory, be a matter of people and their actions, and not money. The contrasts between nature based tourism and outdoor recreation reflects different perspectives on value. Drawing on Graeber, and his criticism of market liberalism, one may say that there are many oxymorons like 'moral economy' inherent in tourism. 'Eco-tourism,' 'sustainable tourism,' 'green tourism' can all be examples of self-contradictory concepts. As demonstrated by for instance Duffy (2012) and Gössling (2006), there is a substantial discrepancy between the ascribed meaning to 'eco-tourism' and its actual content. For Stefan Gössling 'eco-tourism' started out as a part of the industry that was rooted in environmental ideology, but ended up as rhetorical exercise with commercial intensions (Gössling, 2006). This ambivalence is inherent in most tourism; tourism is both a friend and enemy in a local context, it gives constructive and positive connotations but also represents threats. Such ambivalence is a prominent feature of modernity according to Zygmunt Bauman (1991). In his discussions of the ambivalence of modernity, Bauman places the stranger as a character, between a friend and an enemy.

“The friends/enemies opposition sets apart truth from falsity, good from evil, beauty from ugliness. It also differentiates between proper and improper, right and wrong, tasteful and unbecoming. It makes the world readable and thereby instructive. It dispels doubt” (ibid.: 54).

Tourists and tourism, as strange elements, challenge the familiar and known, and thus the morality of the outdoors as it has been locally constructed through generations. In this chapter the

aim is to highlight this antagonism, or in Bauman's words, the ambivalence, between the local and known, and the external and global. I argue that this is an inevitable and formative antagonism. Thus, morality of the outdoors is established from opposing perceptions of value. Such oppositions are similar to well established discussions in social anthropology, as the opposition between the *exotic* and *endotic* (Goyal, 2014; Head, 2003; Lacombe, 2000). The endotic, being the familiar, is always constructed with reference to a contrast – the exotic. Similarly, the exotic as something extraordinary and different needs its counterpart. People on travel leave their endotic, and enter the exotic. Nothing can ever be exotic to everyone, but every place can be exotic to someone. Thus, there is a symbiotic relation between the endotic and the exotic, a symbiotic antagonism, where the presence of tourists as norm violators creates room for normative negotiations¹⁹.

As I briefly argued in Article 4, people in North Troms regard different species of game and fish differently, and some species are preferred over others. Why is it that there are encounter norms that give direction to for instance angling of salmon and sea trout, and not pike or whitefish? The simple answer would be that species are *given* culture specific value that reproduce meaning and consequently difference. There is an underlying principle in my articles of a constant contextual affiliation in the creation of value. Value, in the form of a nice char caught, or a new lake discovered that bears the promise of becoming a secret, is always a matter of context. Although, secrets or reciprocity might be global phenomena, they do, much in line with Graeber's theory, not represent a unifying or global value, but rather something that is defined locally through (inter-)action. This interactional creation of value serves as a contrast to the economic and commercial, which Graeber calls valuables. The most interesting feature of the negotiations between the two forms is how morality is recreated through the constant tension between value *and* valuables. Thus, for instance encounter norms for anglers in the Reisa River, refer to both value and valuables ascribed to salmon, char and trout. For the locals they are values, while they are valuables in the tourism industry. The transition between the two forms is part of both idiosyncratic and intersubjective processes. In turn this is what leads to recreation of norms in nature. These processes are central to what I have chosen to call the moral landscape of

¹⁹ 'Symbiotic antagonism' as it is used here, is meant to denote the complex process that characterizes the negotiations that in turn lead to the reconstruction of morality of the outdoors. Although there is a tension or antagonistic feature characterizing this process, there is also a mutual dependency that I choose to label symbiotic.

the outdoors. In the words of Bjørn Egil Flø (2009), this is a *place specific morality* (my translation), supporting the idea of a common moral ground that defines a region like North Troms.

Although neither Graeber (2001) nor Howell (1997) makes the explicit connection between value and morality or norms, it is an underlying premise for them both that the two are intertwined. For Howell morality reflects cultural specific value, and not global unifying standards that Graeber would regard as valuables. The underlying and implicit premise for Graeber, is that neoliberalism, inevitably transforms value to valuables. For Graeber this denotes the process of fetishism, which is not only alienating, but even something that can be seen as immoral. This is why it is important to look at the relationship between value and norm. The norms are regulating practices, often based on a compromise between antagonistic regimes of values. The distinction between values and norms is important and can be explained by looking for instance at secrecy in hunting and angling. Secrets are values while secrecy is the norm. However, the norm as secrecy is constantly negotiated through the tension between value and valuables. The sanctions of norm violations of secrecy are then explicitly about protecting secrets as value, but also implicitly about protecting secrecy as a norm. In all my four articles I focus on encounters or interactions that highlight different perceptions of value, illuminated by the contrasting financial values of tourism.

My informants that are not part of the tourism industry in North Troms, also recognize the potential monetary value of fish, game, berries or other resources that are harvested. For them it is not a question *if* these resources also represent a monetary value. It can rather be seen as resistance against attempts to redefine value from relational to un-relational. When secrets go from being value that is shaped through friendship or family to something that can be sold, it suggests redefining how secrecy as a norm is anchored. The negotiations and antagonism between different stakeholders within hunting, angling and harvest as leisure activities, can be seen as a resistance towards commercial fetishizing of non-economic values. One will find both guides that oppose an ideology where everything is for sale, as well as people outside the industry who argue for capitalizing these resources into nature based tourism. And it is not obvious that such capitalizing perverts the non-financial values within local traditions and habits. As an

example one can look at the fishing industry. The development in the coastal fisheries has undergone massive changes over the last decades, including reorganization and outsourcing of ownership. It has become highly technological and capital based. But still, local traditions of sharing fish as a gift with the local community exist (called *kokfisk*²⁰ (Brox 1966, 1984)).

In many cases tourism entrepreneurs represent a dynamic that could be described as, in Sahlins' (1972) words, *generalized reciprocity*, or what Bohannan (1959) would identify as part of *multi-centrism*, which also can be found in the outdoor practices of today. In previous fieldwork, for my Master's thesis, I met guides in North Troms who were skeptical about turning some of their favorite angling locations into tourist sites (Svensson, 2007). They discussed how and why some places hold qualities that make them difficult to sell. Hence, I ended up with the title for my Master's thesis that was based one of the guide's statement saying: *Sometimes it is too nice to be sold*. In retrospect I would say that these places hold a different *value* for these guides, significantly different from the *valuables* they sell. They are able to distinguish between different regimes of value where some places are part of their relational, generalized reciprocity, while other places can be sold as part of a balanced reciprocity. The Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Lien (1989) show how this reciprocity is at play concerning the harvest and distribution of cloudberrys²¹ in Finnmark County. In short she tells a story about how a lady in Båtsfjord is approached by a neighbor after harvesting cloudberrys. The neighbor wants to buy some berries. The lady with the berries says: "I could always have given her a glass of berries. But to ask [to buy] like that....that is quite rude." (my translation, 1992: 38). The response is seen as a resistance towards commoditizing something that is a matter of different allocation locally. The berries are used as means to create, maintain, re-establish, or confirm social relations. In other words, they are part of local interaction, not a matter of transactions. They are furthermore part of moral negotiations, and thus values in action. In Lien's paper, and in this dissertation, this can be seen as a resistance towards ascribing a monetary value to something relational. This does not mean that people in Båtsfjord do not recognize the potential monetary value in cloudberrys, or game or fish for that matter, but in different arenas.

²⁰ *Kokfisk* is a Norwegian term denoting when fresh fish is distributed among friends, family and neighbors as a gift.

²¹ Cloudberrys are a yellow berry about the size of a raspberry found in the marsh barren land. It is also a popular ingredient in the common Christmas dessert whipped cream with cloudberrys (*multekrem*).

This dissertation shows that morality of the outdoors is a social construct that is drawing on both individual actions and collective sanctions. This might lead to the question that bears resemblance to the proverb about the chicken and the egg – does practice form morality or is morality forming practice? The short answer would be yes. As Barth (1963, 1967) showed us long ago, the entrepreneur has a potential to point out new ways to conduct business, hence redefining morality. On the one hand, the actor perspective is reflecting much of the dynamic that characterizes nature based tourism and consequently outdoor recreation in North Troms today. Through practice, individuals, both locals and tourists, all violate and confirm norms of the outdoors. On the other hand morality is never just a matter of the individual or idiosyncratic. As Howell argues, a common ground is vital to our perception of right and wrong – a line that will be adjusted through sanctions. Although, executed by individuals the sanctions have a distinct shared point of reference as they are part of something intersubjective. Without this shared overarching understanding of what constitutes the moral in a given situation, sanctions would lose their momentum. However, the encounters between locals and strangers, still has momentum for change.

I think secrecy serves as a good example of this dynamic. Any given secret (or norm for that matter) is shaped in dialogue between the subjective and intersubjective, hence recreating a morality that rests on several interdependent factors. Although a secret as a value may be a very personal matter, secrecy as a norm is not. Secrecy needs, like any other norm, its common ground where it is recognized and shared in a fairly similar fashion by a given group of people. A society without this common moral ground, would often be described as anarchy. Locals that sanction tourists' norm violations are consequently reflecting such a common ground or morality of the outdoors.

There is obviously a discrepancy between outdoor recreation as something non-economic where value is regarded as relational, contextual and recreated through tradition and practice, and the touristic neoliberal paradigm. Tourism is in essence not very different from other industries, as it is based on a financial premise – the growth paradigm – a premise where value is located outside the relational and contextual. Morality of the outdoors, as something also anchored in the relational and un-fetishized, is recreated when facing the fetishized. This is central in all of my four articles, but it is brought out most explicitly in Article 1, that shows how the presence of

tourists is vital to how angling norms are recreated. As such it should be obvious by now that I have argued that the norms do different things with and without tourism.

Returning to the question in the heading of this chapter – does nature based tourism and outdoor recreation represent a symbiotic antagonism – the answer would be yes. The reason I have used Howell and Graeber is two-fold. Firstly, morality is a local construct, but constantly recreated through encounters with, in the words of Waldren (1996), outsiders. Secondly, these normative negotiations are based in the tension between divergent perceptions of value, where value today also represents something relational. In this line of thought economy and tourism represent something entirely different. The transition between something that appears as polarized as outdoor recreation and tourism becomes more complex when talking about morality. However, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and locals are all aware that the tourism and outdoor recreation draw on totally different and opposing connotations of value. It is this friction and ambivalence that recreate norms of the outdoors. Thus, it is not despite, but rather because of these opposing ideas of value that norms are negotiated the way they are. The moral landscape of the outdoors is a social space constructed through the tension between the two. As such this dissertation shed light on how morality as a social process gives direction to both outdoor recreation as local practices *and* nature based tourism, as the two are closely intertwined. Morality of the outdoors is, as a process, characterized by a dualism where there are both antagonistic and cooperative forces at play simultaneously. It is this ambivalence between nature based tourism and outdoor recreation that empowers the morality of the outdoors in North Troms.

North Troms proves to have strong moral common ground when facing unwanted changes through tourism. It is not passively adapting to the divergent interests of tourism. Morality of the outdoors, as a process is characterized by a complex antagonistic symbiosis that involves locals, tourists and tourism entrepreneurs simultaneously. Both morality of the outdoors and outdoor recreation as practice and discourse are constantly changing in a manner that echoes Heraclitus' river metaphor. I have argued that tourism is vital in this process where negotiations between right and wrong are reconstructing how we are expected to behave in nature. These numerous norms give direction to both outdoor recreation among locals as well as the tourism industry as such.

To sum up, this dissertation examines value and valuables, and how they relate to outdoor norms. Graeber (2001) sees the relationship between the two as a dichotomy. The findings of this dissertation are rather that values and valuables are extremes on a scale, where the contemporary practice is a compromise, a norm that is constantly negotiated. This norm marks the line between right and wrong in a local context. The negotiations about where this line should be drawn, are the processes that altogether constitute morality. Morality of the outdoors then, is recreated through the tension, contrasts and synergies between the two regimes of value, where outdoor recreation and tourism are interdependent. This gives just as much direction to nature based tourism as it does to outdoor recreation.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The work for this Ph.D. made me realize that my own skepticism towards parts of the tourism industry is similar to the unease I occasionally feel towards the undisputed confidence placed in neoliberal forces. One night as I was watching a commercial on TV I felt the same discomfort. The international credit card company MasterCard has a slogan in their commercial: *There are some things money can't buy – for everything else use MasterCard!* This sales pitch is followed by numerous examples around the globe of situations or things we regard as, in their words, *priceless*. These commercials are anchored in a contradictory premise where this utopian state goes through a transaction, preferably involving MasterCard. Going to a football match to watch your favorite team with your child, sharing a bonding moment is priceless – however, only within reach through a payment. Thus, MasterCard's priceless moments come with a price. Though, you should never regard it as a moment with a price tag. Regardless, of my discontent towards MasterCard's commercial, their marketing has managed to capture an essential ambivalence that characterizes modernity. Many aspects of human life draw on economic and non-economic values simultaneously. Morality of the outdoors is no exception. Morality of the outdoors is not reconstructed *despite* such ambivalence, but rather because of this.

Nature based tourism and outdoor recreation in North Troms are closely tied together. In this dissertation I have argued that this is a symbiotic relationship – a relationship with much overlap as well as friction. This is what recreates a moral landscape of the outdoors – a morality that corresponds with anthropologist Signe Howell (1997) who sees morality as the aggregated totality of norms, rules and regulations at any given time and space. As such the morality that materializes from the interaction between locals and tourists expresses both a recreation of discourse and practice, like Howell (*ibid.*) argues. As an example one might say to be perceived as a good hunter or angler does not refer to the moral aspects – as being good or bad. It might be obvious but it refers to the practice where skills are central. However, practice is never excluded from morality. Practice is, just like Aristotle taught us long ago as he talked about *phronesis* (Viken, 2014), morality in action. New practices challenge the established perception of what is acceptable and unacceptable. Hence, individuals that introduce new ways to conduct their actions in nature pave the way towards moral change. As such these are the moral entrepreneurs that redefine, or attempt to change the ways one should judge actions in nature in North Troms.

Barth's actor perspective underlines the importance of individual action as a factor that creates moral change. It is here norms as *normality* are negotiated. It is between doxa and para-doxa in the outdoors where I have pursued my research questions in this dissertation:

(1) What does nature based tourism do to the negotiations about outdoor norms in North Troms, and (2) what do these norms, as components of a morality of the outdoors, do for tourism and outdoor recreation in North Troms?

Regarding the first question – what tourism does to the normative negotiations – the findings show that when tourists violate outdoor norms the negotiations are verbalized and visualized explicitly. Nature based tourism has the power to make the implicit explicit, and as such, it represents a vital component in the negotiations about outdoor norms in North Troms. However, tourists also introduce new practices where some are adopted by locals while others are rejected. These practices redefine where the line is drawn between the acceptable and unacceptable, and as such they are central elements in the negotiations about the norms of the outdoors.

The second question, about what these norms do, examines the social implications of morality of the outdoors. Secrecy, reciprocity and encounter norms determine friendships and family relations, and create leverage, legitimacy, or the potential lack of this, for tourism entrepreneurs and tourism in general. These norms, which are shaped through interaction between locals and tourists, form a strong moral landscape. In North Troms these norms give direction to tourists, entrepreneurs as well as locals.

I would like this dissertation to be read as research that highlights the unique character of the moral landscape of the outdoors. This landscape as a social space is just as unique as the nature in North Troms. However, morality of the outdoors, as a process of negotiations between tourists and locals, is not unique for North Troms. As a process this is a global phenomenon that follows nature based tourism in one way or another.

The terms 'outfield' and 'infield' (*utmark* and *innmark*) mark an important distinction in Norwegian (and Scandinavian) outdoor management as well as in the public perception of nature. Without going into detail, one could say that outfield represents what is public, shared and accessible, in contrast to the private infield. Bjørn Egil Flø in 2009 held a presentation called *The moral economy of the outfield – the place specific moral collective meeting the market* (my

translation). He showed how political initiatives toward an increased commercialization of the moose hunt are met with skepticism and resistance in a small community somewhere in rural Norway. Despite the fact that moose hunting is constantly changing (it is a fairly new species in Norway – presented in North Troms for instance in the 1950s), it has quickly become an important part of local identity. The adaptation that follows some species characterizes outdoor recreation of today²².

The morality that Flø (ibid.) described is much like what I have found in my own research. Morality of the outdoors is characterized by a collective adaptation to new conditions, biological, political, commercial, or social. This is fluid, forceful and robust when facing something external, whether it be tourism in general, political initiatives or individuals who refuse to comply with norms. My articles show that norms in North Troms do not passively adapt to changes, nor are something forced on the local community. As argued in Article 1, tourism also has the power to revitalize local practice where tourism makes the implicit explicit. This is why tourism is reproducing, what Flø (ibid.) calls, a place specific morality, also through norm violations. However, as argued in the introduction, tourism also represents continuity, or continuous changes. Outdoor recreation has for generations been influenced both by domestic and foreign tourists. In that sense it is safe to say that morality of the outdoors includes different aspects; norms are on the one hand recreated through introduced practices where some have been adapted by locals. On the other hand, norms are visualized and negotiated through violations that are made by both tourists and locals.

This dissertation was not based on research that attempts to predict the future. However, if I allow myself to look briefly into the crystal ball, there is reason to believe that we will see nature based tourism as an important part of rural industries in Norway in the future. Some of the scenarios that follow, like the debates on deep sea angling (Borch, 2004, 2009; Ferter, Borch, Kolding, & Vølstad, 2013; Solstrand, 2014; Solstrand & Gressnes, 2014; Solstrand, 2013), follow the competitive and destructive reasoning to be found in Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons* (1968). However, as argued in this dissertation, there are some robust local norms in North Troms that give direction to tourism as well as outdoor recreation. This morality proves vital and

²² Again, some species become desired while others are not. Moose, geese (some types) and king crab are newly introduced species that are desired. Raccoons, dogs and wild boar are among the newly introduced species that are not broadly appreciated, either by locals, tourists or management authorities.

strong in facing scenarios like Hardin's famous example. When codes of conduct of tomorrow are to be written, the native's point of view should be just as important for the bureaucrats as it is for researchers interested in outdoor recreation and tourism. Negotiation about morality are negotiations based on differences. Leaning on Fredrik Barth, tourism reproduce differences – differences that also implicitly reflect some similarities and a common ground for morality. Nevertheless, regarding morality of the outdoors, nature based tourism is a difference that makes a difference.

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Maps:

Map North Troms:

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Map Troms County:

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Figures:

Figure 1:

<http://www.tv2.no/a/3166703>

Figure 2 Nordreisa:

<http://www.ntnm.no/Samlinger/Fotografi/Helifoto/Helifoto/Nordreisa-5>

Figure 3 Lyngen:

<http://www.ntnm.no/Samlinger/Fotografi/Helifoto/Helifoto/Nordreisa-1>

Figure 4 The Mollis falls in Nordreisa:

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