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# NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING

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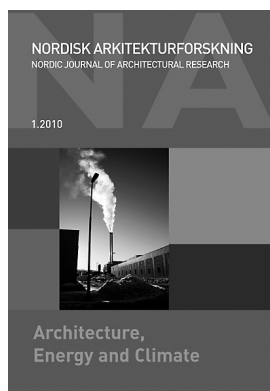
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# Reusing the past: Popular architecture in Golsfjellet summer mountain farm area

Inger-Lise Saglie and Grete Swensen

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## **Abstract:**

Summer mountain farming tradition has created landscapes and vernacular architecture that are highly valued. This practice has declined and farmers are seeking new ways of making a supplementary income in tourism and second homes. In this article, we investigate the relationship between the socio-economic tradition and the resulting physical form in these landscapes through an embedded case study. This study shows how a mountain region with an abundance of traditional rural resources has made modern adjustments to be able to reap the benefits of a steadily expanding tourist market. We analyse three examples of contemporary forms of re-traditionalisation in new construction of farmhouses and second homes where historical elements and references have been selected, transformed and used in popular architecture.

The three examples show the interdependency that exists today between the farming and the tourist discourse, although the farmers have responded in different ways. All three farmers refer to past elements in their present day practice, but there is an evident difference in the way certain elements are highlighted and the way they connect to earlier practices.

The building types are in the process of change. The reference to the old building heritage is important: e.g. the inclusion of the old building structure in new setting and the use of certain elements such as grass roof, log building and latticed windows. These elements are found in summer farm buildings, but the way they are used rather evokes the image of manor house, wealth and prestige. Thus a new mountain second home style is created, also much appreciated and welcomed by the local people.

## **Keywords:**

Building tradition, popular architecture, mountain summer farming, cultural landscape

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The summer mountain farming landscape has been formed through hundreds of years of building tradition, grazing and hay making. It has been based on a need to use all available natural resources, out of which a yearly pattern developed. In summer the farmer brought the livestock to graze in the mountain areas in order to produce dairy products and secure fodder for the winter. Summer farm buildings were erected to shelter people, animals and hay.

Today's farmers are facing new challenges, and many farmers are on the lookout for new and additional opportunities for the utilisation of the resources of the farm. Summer mountain farming areas are sought-after places for recreation and second homes for an increasing urban population. Thus, tourism is an obvious source for providing additional income, also supported by national policies (St. meld. 19 [1999-2000]).

When marketing summer mountain farming areas as tourist destinations, references to earlier vernacular architecture become important. The summer mountain farm buildings are material as well as visual remnants of a highly valued tradition and thus easily accessible as cultural heritage for the tourist gaze. In the present day marketing of these areas, earlier traditions in rural architecture are being reinterpreted and reinvented to fit in the national romantic image. This reinvention is clearly manifested in new popular building practice, both in the use and reuse of summer farm buildings as well as in the construction of second homes. Our goal is to investigate the close connection between the socio-economic traditions in use and the built form. In this article we will address the following questions:

How are historical elements being selected, transformed and used by summer farmers in present day building practises?

How can these building practises be interpreted in light of processes of continuity, de- and re-traditionalisation?

We approach these questions by examining how three summer farm owners have chosen to reinvent and reuse the past through references in the building form, materials and ornaments. This reinvention is taking place regardless of whether they have chosen to uphold the tradition of summer farming or not. However, the solutions differ, particularly with regard to size of buildings and degree of ornaments used.

## 2. METHODS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Methodology

This study is embedded in a larger research project on historical elements in a changing summer mountain farm landscape. Golsfjellet is an example of such a landscape under considerable pressure for change as it is located within reach for weekends and holiday use for large urban areas. The larger research project included perspectives from geography, planning, ethnology, and archaeology, but with coordinated empirical data collection. The data collection was conducted in two stages. The first stage of data collection included studies of documents relating to the planning processes and semi-structured interviews with main actors in the planning processes including the mayor, the heads of the municipal administration as well as the most active and central persons in the master planning processes. From the agricultural authorities we obtained a list of active mountain farm users, 25 in all. Due to factors such as interest in being interviewed, geographical location in the mountain area, and other practical aspects such as availability for interview, we ended up interviewing in all nine active users. Five were interviewed at the summer farms and four in their farm down in the valley. The data collected in this stage supplied mainly background material for this study.

For this particular study, data was also collected in a second stage. The local knowledge we obtained in the first round enabled us to select three examples of building practices that could illus-

trate the diversity and complexities of the processes in the use of landscape and the way references to historical elements are made. The cases were selected because of their suitability to highlight differences in continuity and de-traditionalisation of use of buildings, building practices as well as showing interesting similarities in the resulting built form. These changes in tradition, building practices and architectural style have emerged in many second home areas in the mountains, and the three stories presented in the article are thus typical of the changes that occur. Two examples were selected among the active farmers already interviewed, and we made a second more thorough interview with them. The third example was frequently referred to both among local administrators as well as the local farmers. In addition, we studied the building permit documents.

## 2.2. Conceptual framework

The transformation process of the built environment is interpreted within a framework of commodification and heritagization. More specifically we will use the concepts of continuity, de-traditionalisation and re-traditionalisation in the case analyses.

Tradition is understood as the process that passes down cultural elements from one generation to another. It represents connections through time, and is based on the assumption that certain cultural elements are rooted in the past with a continuity into the present and maybe even into the future (Selberg 2002,p.2). Discussion of old traditions in a contemporary setting is often linked to the question of what constitutes heritage and heritage values (Lowenthal 1985, Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983). A straightforward definition of heritage is *the contemporary use of the past* (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000,p.2). Heritage became a topic outside the close circles of antiquarians when Hewison (1987) launched his criticism of what he referred to as the "heritage boom", followed shortly after by Urry`s focus on heritage tourism as part of a wider pattern of leisure and travel in contemporary societies (Urry 1990). The specific focus of what has become known as the "heritage debate" was upon a context of rapid change in which the growth of profit-making heritage centres, open-air museums, heritage attractions at an unprecedented rate saw the vast "heritagization" of both rural and newly redundant urban landscapes (Butler 2006,p.468). It relates to an idea of heritage as a commodity in free flow on a consumers market. Cities, buildings and landscapes are adapted to satisfy the "eye of the tourist" (Urry 1990, Hajer & Reijndorp 2001). What is remembered, as tradition or heritage, is selected from a vast range of built, natural and cultural environments, to celebrate the past and bolster the present (Harrison 2006,p.6). The original multitude of meanings is then usually reduced to one: that of the promotional brochure. This commodified version of heritage has been criticized because, according to Bodnar, it promotes "a pseudo-democracy where people are free to pursue a myriad of personalized pasts and leisure-time fantasies and thus be diverted from reality" (Rowlands & Tilley 2006,p.502, Bodnar 2000,p.957). Heritage however also has a strong value-creating potential. In recent years cultural heritage is more frequently related to an economical discussion, where the role heritage can play as the basis for new economic activities is underlined (an example is The Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway`s pilot programme for 2006; "Creating New Assets in the Cultural Heritage Sphere"). The process of heritage-production is in other words understood as picking something from the past for present day use. What is considered "heritage" is continuously subject to interpretation and reinterpretation, claim and counter claim, and negotiation (Harrison 2006,p.7).

In our analysis of the transformation processes we make use of the concept of continuity as well as the two polar concepts of de-traditionalisation and re-traditionalisation. By continuity we mean the upholding of a tradition although there may be differences in the way it is upheld. It describes a situation where the use has continued unbroken over a long period. De-traditionalisation is used to describe a process in modern times which underlines how traditions have gradually lost their position and been emptied of meaning. In a summer farming context, a major process of de-traditionalisation took place when the rationalisation of agriculture led to the closing of many summer farms. This process is met by counter tendencies where new traditions are being created and elements of old traditions are being transformed into new settings (Bråten 2006, Henriksen & Kroghseth 2001, Dunn 1998, Giddens 1994). The eclectic way in which symbols are used in post modern society can be carried forward to the way historic elements in building traditions are selected, transformed and incorporated in new settings.



The study of types is well known in the morphological study of the built environment, and is defined through traditions. A building type belongs to a certain time in history and is connected to a certain practice (Abarkan 2004). Typo morphology underlines the close connection between the socio-economic traditions in the production of a particular building type. Indeed, it is argued that the type is changed when the same physical shell is used for different purposes (Gauthier 2005). The building type can then only be described in relation to a certain practice. It follows that if summer mountain farming ceases and the summer mountain farm buildings are used purely for recreational purposes, then they will no longer belong to the building type "summer farm building".

### **2.3. The tradition of summer farming**

The summer farming in Norway represented a common life style in most farming communities for hundreds of years. It developed as an adaptation to natural conditions and the main reason for the continuity of summer farming is the need for supplementary animal fodder. In the establishment of a seasonal base (June - September) for resource use in the outlying fields, the summer farm was crucial for securing the production of dairy products for the farm household (Daugstad 1999ab, 2002a, Olsson 1996). As well as supplying additional grazing land, the mountain areas provided fishing and hunting grounds that secured important extra resources to the family household. Moving into the mountain region with the livestock was part of the yearly working cycle on the farm and was looked upon as a welcome change at the end of a long winter. The summer mountain farm was primarily a female domain, where the dairy-maid was in charge of most of the chores during the week, while the men in the family came more occasionally to partake in certain tasks, like haymaking, building maintenance etc. When people look back on the days they spent on the summer mountain farms, they refer to this time as particularly happy, despite the strenuous work and exposed situation the close contact to nature often brought. "For the older generation many of our most pleasant memories from childhood are from the summers in the mountain" (Narum 1967,p.22.) One hundred and fifty year ago, virtually every farm had a supplementary summer mountain farm. Due to major changes in agriculture there has been a dramatic reduction in number of farms, but an even more dramatic reduction in summer mountain farming, particularly after 1945. Out of 50 000 farms in active use in 2005 only about 1500 of them maintain their summer mountain farms in active use (Daugstad 2008). Over the last few years various measures have been promoted to change the negative trend and different forms of grants have therefore been introduced, both for community development and cultural landscape management. This revitalisation process has resulted in a slight increase in summer farming since the lowest level was reached in 1989 (Statens landbruksbank 1999,p.6).

The general physical characteristics of the ideal type of a summer farm can be described as follows: The summer farms were built as functional units, designed to be utilitarian, and ornamental details were only sparsely incorporated. Summer farms have traditionally consisted of a cluster of buildings (combined dwelling and storehouse ("*stølsbu*"), cow barn, hay barn, cookhouses and storehouses). Fencing, paths and grazing land surrounded the summer farmstead. Such dwellings were embedded in the landscape in a way which by visitors was conceived as harmony between built settlement and the surrounding landscape (Swensen 2006).

The oldest summer farm buildings in our case area today originate from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and have been built within a vernacular architectural tradition. Vernacular architecture is mostly regarded as the past traditions of predominantly rural building, and by most specialists it is generally accepted that building in the vernacular tradition ended with the development of the railway and the free movement of building materials (Oliver 2006,p.395). Brunskill (1971) uses the term "vernacular zone" to distinguish between the period when buildings appear as buildings in relatively permanent use of materials, and the period in which they cease to have the qualities included in a vernacular tradition. When the building activity is no longer a popular activity, but is taken over by professional architects, it has passed what Brunskill has named "the polite threshold". According to Brunskill, virtually every house nowadays bears the mark of polite architecture and has lost all significant vernacular quality (Brunskill 1971/2000,p.28). We will use this concept in this strict definition. There are old mountain summer farm buildings in our study area that quite clearly are vernacular in this sense. A strict definition is also useful when distinguishing between today's production methods and those of earlier traditions.

## 2.4. Second homes – a new and emerging building tradition

Parallel to the changes within summer farming practices, there is a clear shift towards tourism in many mountain areas. There is a relatively long tradition of tourism in mountain areas, and from early days summer farmers gave leisure tourists shelter and food (Helberg 1994). In mountain areas close to urban centres, tourism provided a welcome source of additional income from early 1900. The tourists rented accommodation on the summer farms, but they also started to build cottages for their own use. There are about 380 000 leisure homes in Norway, and the number has doubled since 1970 (Horgen 2007). New second homes are the dominant form of more recent building activities in some mountain regions, such as e.g. at Golsfjellet. The newly constructed second homes are continuously more spacious, between 2000 and 2004 the average was 92 m<sup>2</sup> while 20 years earlier the average was 62 m<sup>2</sup> (Overvåg og Arnesen 2007). This new construction has set a highly visible imprint particularly in the more popular mountain areas and with its own particular architectural style. Figure 1 shows a collage of advertisements for second home producers in the popular log building tradition, with turfed roofs, latticed windows and ornaments.

This new and emerging building tradition shows some strong similarities in its architecture, particularly in the ornaments, and can be labelled “popular” architecture. This emergent building tradition is also evident in our study area, Golsfjellet.

Figure 1:  
Collage of promotional pictures  
from second home producers’  
websites.



## 3. RESULTS

### 3.1. Summer mountain farming at Golsfjellet

Golsfjellet is a mountain area in Hallingdal in mid-Norway in the municipality of Gol which has 4500 inhabitants. The main centre of Gol is about 400 meters above sea level while Golsfjellet is about 8-900 meters. It was quite common for the farms in the valley to have a summer farm in the mountain area. In addition, recreation and tourism as well as the construction of second homes have been integral parts of the use of Golsfjellet the past 100 years as a source of extra income for the farmers. The summer farm had a section that was let out to city people. Some owners were so industrious that the summer farms were gradually transformed into hotels. Their origin as a summer farm, however, is still important in their marketing.

At the beginning of the 1970's, the municipality gave each farm the right to develop or sell a certain number of plots for cabins according to the size of the farm. Thus step by step, Golsfjellet today holds about 1000 second homes scattered around. Increasing demand for comfort in terms of bathrooms, hot shower, electricity, internet connection and driving the car right to the entrance, have resulted in heavy investments in infrastructure. In turn this has resulted in more dense development patterns, resembling detached suburban dwelling areas in building structure.

The hotel owners at Golsfjellet initiated a cooperation between themselves and the land owners, forming an organisation, Golsfjellet development in order to act with one voice vis-à-vis the municipal planning authorities with the aim of producing a master plan for further development. About 100 of the 140 land owners joined this organisation. In the planning process, Golsfjellet was subject to a professional assessment of its strengths and weaknesses as a tourist destination, and the summer farming landscape was seen a major asset. The report argues that there are emerging trends in the population searching for quietness, peace, calm as well as the genuine and real. The attraction of Golsfjellet was thus defined as a place for old and new traditions in recreation, and the main commercial idea was to be to sell *rotnorsk fjellferie* (a genuine Norwegian mountain holiday) with a

Figure 2:  
Recreation at Golsfjellet in a  
tourist brochure of Hallingdal.



modern touch. Summer farming activities, the cultural landscape and its visual environment were seen as a harmonious and well suited setting for traditional recreational activities. Life on the summer farm was a central element and could offer parents and grandparents the opportunity to show the young generation "my childhood's summer" (Mimir 2001,p.59). Having a cottage can be said to entail nostalgia for one's own or past generation's former rural home region in the Finnish tradition (Periäinen 2004). This seems

also to be the case in Norway. Figure 2 is taken from a promotional website for tourism at Golsfjellet.

### 3.3. Presentation of three examples of popular architecture

While the strategic master plan advocated selling and branding of Golsfjellet, there are also other discourses and practices defining and giving meaning to the landscape resulting in physical changes. The landowners are important actors whose view on the heritage and values of the area will influence further development.

#### *First example: Continued farming practice - continued building tradition*

There are about 20 summer farms in active use where cows are milked; one of them is our first example. This summer farm has two *stølsbu*, buildings where people slept while they stayed at the summer farm. The older is from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and had been neglected for some years. But the younger generation on the farm wanted to use this old, dilapidated *stølsbu*. The farmer is also a carpenter and could both draw up the plans and actually physically construct the rehabilitated and enlarged *stølsbu* (figure 3).

The extension is about 30 m<sup>2</sup> and includes a new bathroom as well as two new bedrooms. The entrance to the *stølsbu* has been kept, and thus the relation between inside and outside is unchanged. The setting in the landscape is also unchanged as the building is an extension and the location is still in a grazed and fenced *setervoll*. For this farmer, it was important to take care of the old buildings. He argues: "Too much has been torn down!" We will argue that his *stølsbu* is an example of a continued practice in summer farming. The cows still graze there, and each spring the family moves up to the mountain looking after and milking their cows. Clearly modern conveniences

Figure 3:  
The picture shows the mountain  
summer farm where the *stølsbu*  
is extended but is still used as a  
dairy farm. The old barn at the  
right is still in use and new  
equipment has been installed.  
Photo: Authors



have changed life at the seter. The car has facilitated easy transport between the farm and the summer farm as well as allowing visits to the village down in the valley. Increased comfort in the summer farm buildings has opened the way for extended leisure time use, also in the winter. The construction of the new summer farm building also follows earlier traditions. The farmer designed and built his new *stølsbu* himself, much in the same way as farmers earlier had to perform a multitude of tasks, often including house building. The *stølsbu* is the farmer's own interpretation of the building task. Also the building is to a large extent a continuation of earlier practices. In this case, it was important for the farmer carpenter to use some of the old material from the 17<sup>th</sup> century *stølsbu*, even if it meant a complete dismantling as the bottom logs were rotten. At the outset he wanted the extension completely in log building since the old part was constructed like this. However, as he found that the building would appear too long he decided on stavlaft (standing wood panelling and log). This type of construction was new to him, so he had to complete a course. The windows and the roof are also completely new. The new extension introduces all kinds of modern conveniences, including better insulation. The latter also means that they frequently use the *stølsbu* also in winter for skiing, just like any other second home owner at Golsfjellet. This farmer clearly expresses his delight in being at the mountain farm in the summer as a form of recreation for himself: "Being at the summer mountain farm is the best thing about being a farmer. It is nice to change surroundings. I am very fond of this summer farm. It has a soul". Neither this farmer, nor his preceding generations had ever wanted to enter into tourism, not even in a small scale such as letting out the *stølsbu* for shorter periods of time. The farmer joined the Golsfjellet development, but disagreed with the outcome of the process. The extent of new development permitted in the plan was far too extensive in his opinion. But as he admitted, he had not actively joined in the process, and therefore could only accept the outcome.

**Second example: reduced active farming - increasing income from small scale tourism**

Our next example is a summer farm that is no longer a milking farm, but the land is still grazed by calves. This change in practice means that the farmer need not be there every day. The farmer has recently decided to cease to keep livestock. This example is therefore partly a continuation of the *seter* tradition as the calves are still there, but is in the process of de-traditionalisation. He wants to generate more income from the summer farm through a shift in emphasis towards tourism. He has therefore reconstructed one of his two summer farm house buildings in order to make it a high standard object for letting out. The old *stølsbu* is one wing in a much larger new building. This is spacious and has every modern comfort including an espresso coffee machine, while incorporating some old elements giving it an aura of the old and in tune with the history and the tradition it connects to. The new extension offers access to the old *stølsbu* via a new hall. The extension comprises bathroom, bedrooms, and a spacious sitting room. The relationship between indoor and outdoor is clearly changed. New elements are terraces that are partly under roof. The construction principle is

Figure 4:  
The extended *stølsbu*/cottage for hire. The old part is the right "wing" of the building with new windows, door roof and exterior panel. Photo: Authors



no longer log building as in the old *stølsbu*, but staves where the logs are filled inn. This allows for inserting large windows, indeed terrace doors to accommodate modern tastes and fashion using the terrace for outdoor eating and barbeque (figure 4). There is thus a much closer indoor/outdoor relationship, and also more light and view particularly in the sitting room. As this is an example of an extension, the relationship between building and landscape is unchanged as the building is set in a grazed and fenced *setervoll*.

As the building now is let out to a head hunting firm it has clearly ceased to serve its original purpose as accommodation for the dairymaid. It may however be seen as a continuation of the tradition for small scale tourism adapted to present demands of comfort. The owner argues that tradition and the visual appearance is important for him. However, in giving the building task an appropriate architectural form, the owner has not chosen to continue the modesty and utility style characterising the traditional *stølsbu* in his new *stølsbu*/cottage for hire. The size is big (total 175 m<sup>2</sup>), and the architectural elements include huge dimensions in the timber logs, arches, porticos, latticed windows and turf covered roofs.

This is an example of changing the emphasis from food production to tourism. It also illustrates how the summer farm is being used as a new form of resource. This is shown in the incorporation of the old *stølsbu* as well as in an eclectic choice of architectural elements when designing a cottage for hire for present days need and tastes. This farmer too, joined the Golsfjellet development, but was not active in the core group negotiating the content of the plan. However, he largely accepted the outcome of the planning processes.

***Third example: The entrepreneur - the abandoned summer farm landscape and the introduction of suburban planning principles in second home areas***

The third example is a former summer mountain farm landscape turned into second home development. When the present owner took over the farm, he was quite convinced that he wanted to develop the land for second homes. He has previously been working in hotels and is very concerned with market demands. He was heavily involved in the master plan process, being one of the driving

Figure 5:  
New second homes on overgrown  
former grazed land.  
Photo: Authors



forces among the property owners involved. The second home area is organised as a typical detached housing area with car access to each plot from long winding roads, and the houses are placed in rows along the access road approximately in the middle of the plot. There is a total of 100 plots and most of them have been sold.

The spatial organisation of the buildings is thus entirely different from the cluster of buildings at the *setervoll*, with principles taken from suburban areas.

For the farmer/property owner it was important to offer the opportunity to construct large houses, in order to attract wealthy buyers thus increasing the status and image of the area. The maximum limit is set at 275 m<sup>2</sup>, and the second homes being built are generally large. The land owner has made an agreement with a ready-made second home producer. This firm is based in another Norwegian region, but the buildings themselves are mostly produced in Baltic countries. Many buyers of the plots have chosen this firm to deliver the new house. In 2009, this firm has built 28 second homes in the area. The firm can offer help from architects to tailor their models to the customers' wishes. The lay-out varies, but there are important common links in log building, latticed windows and turf covered saddle roofs. An important common element in the building design is outdoor terraces partly under roof with terrace doors directly from the sitting room, and in some cases balcony under turf covered roofs in cases of two stories. As in the previous case the indoor/outdoor relation is frequently changed.

In this case the former grazing land, now overgrown, has been cleared once again and completely changed through new construction. New ways of organizing the built environment have been introduced for an updated version of a second home. The elements of the past are brought in the summer mountain farming landscape as a way of marketing the area, as well as in the architectural elements in the new second home buildings.

## 4. DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Heritage as consumption – selecting and transforming historical elements

As Sack (1992) states, heritage places are places of consumption and are arranged and managed to encourage consumption. Such consumption can create places but are also place altering as they tend to consume their own contexts (Ashworth & Graham 2005). Sack argue that such consumption may have a "homogenizing effect on places and cultures" (Sack 1992,p.159). Sack's arguments are highly relevant to describe the situation Golsfjellet finds itself in. The work on the master plan clearly defines Golsfjellet in a tradition of heritagization and a commodity to be sold on a tourist destination market. Traditions in the old summer mountain farming as well as in tourism and recreation are used in these marketing and commoditisation efforts. For the farmers the combination of mountain farming and the reception of guests have been parallel traditions for the past 100 years. The changes that can now be observed can be explained as a shift in weight between these two. The resource utilization is important for an increasingly declining number of people and tourism is important for a growing number. As the importance of tourism is growing it is accompanied by an increasing need to define, refine and develop the area as a tourist attraction.

### 4.2 Socio-economic tradition of new building and development

Our goal in this article is to investigate the close connection between the socio-economic traditions in use and the built form. An overview of the three cases is shown in the table in the next page.

The first example is a reinterpretation of the same type, the traditional *stølsbu*. It is produced in the same way and largely in the same socio-economic tradition and its use is roughly the same. It is a result of a continued tradition of farming and active use of the summer farm. However, changes in technology and economic resources have clearly influenced the 2003 version as opposed to the 17<sup>th</sup> century version. The built result can be interpreted as a further development of the type.

The second example, however, is in this view not a *stølsbu* any longer. The same physical shell is used for different purposes, resulting in a high standard second home unconnected to farming practices. This is in line with the argument that the type has been changed when the same physical

|   | <b>First example</b>   | <b>Second example</b>   | <b>Third example</b>   |
|---|--|---|--|
| <b>The role of the summer farm in the farmers economy</b> | Income from farming practices<br>Unrelated to marketing  | Gradual shift from farming practices to income based on small scale tourism   | Former grazed land used as plots for second homes.<br>Large scale development<br>Benefits from marketing   |
| <b>Summer farm tradition</b>                              | Traditional setting<br>Milking cows<br>Hay harvesting  | Grazing of non-milking cattle<br>Hay harvesting   | None   |
| <b>Recreation tradition</b>                               | Own recreation<br>More comfort<br>Unrelated to tourism   | Own and small scale tourism   | Large scale tourism<br>Selling and marketing<br>Golsfjellet as an attractive area for recreation   |
| <b>Architectural form</b>                                 | Modest in size of extension 30m <sup>2</sup><br>Integration of modern conveniences   | Introduction of new scale in size of extension – 175 m <sup>2</sup><br>Integration of modern conveniences   | Suburban planning principles for detached housing areas<br>Large buildings up to 275 m <sup>2</sup>  |
| <b>Architectural elements from past into present</b>      | Reuse of old timber in log building<br>Preserving lay out, proportions and timber from the old <i>stølsbu</i><br>Turf covered roof<br>Latticed windows | Reuse of old timber, log building preserving lay out and proportions of the old <i>stølsbu</i><br>Turf covered roof<br>Latticed windows<br>Terrace, terrace doors | Marketing ready –made machine log building<br>Turf covered roof<br>Latticed windows<br>Most often terrace and terrace doors  |
| <b>Mode of production and actors involved</b>             | Owner designing and building the <i>stølsbu</i>  | Cooperation in design and construction. between owner and local firm specializing in industrial cog joint   | Cooperation with non local firm specialising in industrial cog joint.<br>Architect available for tailoring prefixed models.<br>Extensive use of carpenters from Eastern European countries |

Table 1:  
Socio-economic tradition of new building and development

shell is used for different purposes (Gauthier 2005). Indeed, in its present occupation the building serves as an element in tertiary economy, being partly used by a head hunting firm as premises for work as well as purely for recreation. The example shows a de-traditionalisation of summer farming, as grazing cows and milking is on its last legs, but where the tradition of "receiving tourists on the summer farm" has been expanded. The active summer farm is in process of becoming history, and it is only the physical shell that constitutes the link to former activities.

The third example illustrated a situation of de-traditionalisation of summer farming. The intentions are to produce a physical form mainly for leisure. Thus, we have moved far away from the *stølsbu*, and clearly into a second home type of building, creating a new popular architecture with strong national romantic elements.

Our three examples show that the building types are under constant change. The reference to the old building heritage is important, such as including the old building structure in the new setting and in using some traditional elements such as grass roof, log building and latticed windows. These elements are found in summer farm buildings, but the way they are now being used rather evokes the image of manor house, wealth and prestige, as visualized in the folk tales. This manor house style is illustrated both in overviews of building traditions such as "Bygget i Norge" (Brochmann 1979) presenting drawings of large farms such as Bjølstad i Heidal (Brochmann 1979 p.13). In folk tales such "kongsgårder" (Royal farm) are also frequently presented in illustrations by e.g Kittelsen "Gullslottet som hang i luften" (Asbjørnsen og Moe II 1975 p 280) or Alf Rolffen Asbjørnsen og Moe II i 1975 p.102,105,193,257), Dagfinn Werenskiold (Asbjørnsen og Moe II 1975, p.321) or Erik Werenskiold showing elaborate ornaments (Asbjørnsen og Moe II 1975,p.85.) Thus a new mountain

second home style is being created, also much appreciated and welcomed by the local people. As far as architectural form is concerned, many of the same architectural elements can be found when active summer farmers also modernize and enlarge their *stølsbu*, although the dimensions are very modest compared to the second case. In the third case, the *stølsbu* is no longer an element. But the value of the land as a location for second homes is enhanced by the story about the summer farming landscape into which it is embedded. In the interpretation of a suitable architectural form references to farmhouses are made, but then mostly to the affluent style of manor house. These can also be found in more modest and restrained versions in old and newer *stølsbuer*. In this case the local building traditions have had no influence, as the second homes are being imported from other regions. The role left to traditional mountain summer farming is to offer temporary visits to a different life style and to function as an attractive and exotic recreational landscape.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This study has shown how a mountain region with an abundance of traditional rural resources has made modern adjustments to be able to reap the benefits of a steadily expanding tourist market. Summer farming is considered an important resource in this context. The fact that Golsfjellet is an area with farming traditions that reach far back in history, is a tremendous boost when the area is being promoted on the market. At its peak summer farming was built on the basis of securing fodder and producing milk, while it is now used as an asset to promote a mountain region in public master planning.

If we look at the stages traditional summer farming has gone through, we see a process that can be described from several dimensions: from a tendency of de-traditionalisation - to new forms of continuation and re-traditionalisation. The de-traditionalisation process that took place in many Norwegian mountain farming regions when farmers rationalised their production in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, led to a rapid decline in numbers of active summer farms. The downturn wore off in the 1990s, when more focus was put on the role summer farming is playing as an important link in a larger environmental and ecological adaptation. It gave momentum to a process of re-traditionalisation, where a new interest for old lifestyles and local traditions gained ground. It led to an understanding in wider circles of the importance and necessity of maintaining important elements of the old building traditions and encouraged heritage work. Parallel to this trend, we find a process of continuation in summer farming, where methods of production are being adjusted to contemporary demands, but kept in accordance to established principles laid down a long time ago. The general interest for tradition and local history has revived the interest for historic elements in building traditions and lead to new ways of selecting, transforming and incorporating them in new settings. Some initiatives are based on handed down knowledge, some are products of creative minds. In some recent examples historicism emerges more like a reinvention of tradition, where the physical framework introduced is totally new and just barely succeeds in playing at familiar associations. They are however all part of a more general process of the heritage-production characterized by choosing elements and fractions from the past for present day use.

This playing with former building forms is a style in new popular architecture that is highly discussed. Some are highly critical e.g. in an article in the professional journal *ArkitekturN*: "A large proportion of today's second home building is by no means a respectful continuation of old tradition in building and craftsmanship. On the contrary, it can be viewed as a collective grave robbery corrupting genuine and distinctive building traditions closely connected to the society that produced them" (Kiran 2009,p.36). Nevertheless, it is popular. Indeed, there are examples to show that some municipalities prefer this type of architecture and have laid down rules in the local plan prohibiting new modernist architecture<sup>2</sup>. It is beyond the scope of this article to analyze the role of professional architects and the professional discourse, but it is an interesting theme for further research.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.riksantikvaren.no/?module=articles;action=article.publicshow;ID=4942>

<sup>2</sup> Such as e.g. in the neighbouring municipality of Hemsedal where there has been a struggle between an architect who has built a modernist second home in spite of regulations calling for turfed saddle roofs. In a newspaper article the headline is: Kjemper mot bunads-arkitektur: "Fighting against folk-costume architecture". <http://avis.dn.no/artikler/avis/article4536.ece>

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