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Huts, bothies and buildings out-of-doors: an exploration of the practice, heritage and culture of 'out-dwellings' in rural Scotland

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Abstract

This project provides an insight into the culture and practice of what has been termed 'out-dwelling', a cumulative term for huts and bothies. In doing so it draws attention to Scottish rural leisure and seeks to explore the materialities, experiences and practices of the 'out-dwelling' scene. As such, it focuses upon both the buildings and their users, speaking to the intimate geographies of this culture, as well as to its broader cultural significance. Part of this task involves an exploration of landscape, and of the means by which out-dwellings facilitate an engagement with physical surrounds beyond their built form. Just as this thesis seeks to situate the intimate interior of being in buildings, it also displays the 'out-dwelling' world through a broader lens, viewing these buildings and their users as part of a broader cultural movement, informed by the social history of land-use and ownership in rural Scotland. Inspired by an interest in hutting as a political act, this thesis also explores the critical edge to this potentially radical culture and situates 'out-dwelling' within a broader international hutting history. In doing so, this thesis enables a fuller understanding of the past, present and, to a certain extent, the future of such practice within rural Scotland.

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Acknowledgements

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I would like to express my thanks to my supervisory team of Professor Hayden Lorimer and Professor Chis Philo who dealt well with my numerous neurotic moments and lack of academic confidence. Your support both personally and professionally has been crucial to the production of this thesis. Here I would specifically like to thank Hayden for helping me to secure funding for this thesis and always seeing the potential in my Norwegian escapade.

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This thesis is thanks to all of you.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature: ……………………………

Printed Name: **Rachel Hunt**

Chapter 1: Introduction

Opening Words

On Tuesday 28th December, 1965, eleven people gathered at the Scout Hut in the village of Dalmellington, Ayrshire. Another twenty-six had sent in their subscriptions. By 7pm there were thirty-two in attendance. At this time, 'the meeting was unanimous that they be left open'. The 'they' spoken of were bothies and this group of people had travelled from across Britain, resolved to set up a 'Mountain Bothies Association' (MBA). The meeting discussed issues of repairs, custodianship and a 'bothy code' was drawn up, and crucially, the framework for an organisation established. As well as practical and administrative proceedings, J.B. Heath, a leading light in the nascent movement, stood to tell the dedicated gathering an origin story of 'how it all began'.
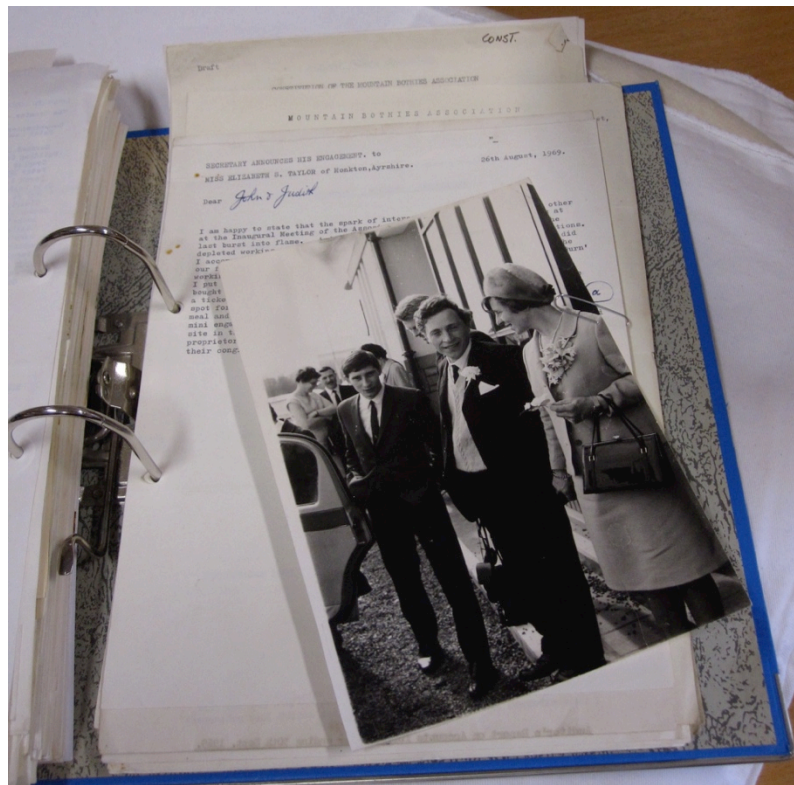
Figure 1. Bernard and Betty Heath on their wedding day. MBA archive.

The emergence of the MBA represented, he observed, the consolidation of a modern social movement and the canny appropriation of a longer, older history of dwelling. This doctoral thesis offers something comparable to Heath's tale, detailing a cultural-historical geography of Scotland's outdoor life and a critical appraisal of its popular built forms – the bothy and the hut. By coining and utilising 'out-dwelling' as my label of choice, encompassing these two distinct, though still linked, traditions of habitation and

occupancy, this project considers the nature and purpose of these buildings and the cultures of their user-groups, aiming to enliven the histories and current practices, both of place and of person. While touching on an older history, this thesis focuses on data derived from the near past and the present day, telling a tale reaching from the 1970s to today. This opening chapter to the project offers some introductory guidance on these particular buildings and their associated socio-cultural practices, orientating the reader in the out-dwelling story.

Foundation Stones

The word 'bothy' originates from the Gaelic word *bothan* – a hut[1] – and the term bothy itself is a relic of an older relation between self and landscape. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the term 'bothy' was used across Scotland to refer to accommodation provided for unmarried, male farm-workers, or a basic countryside shelter provided for shepherds working in remote, upland settings. As one labourer recalled:

> The bothy is a dirty-looking thatched house, joined on to the end of a cow byre and scarcely one yard from the door there is a large dung-hill… In front of the side of the house is a window, below which there is an old table; and at the end of it is a press fastened to the wall for holding milk pails. The bothy is very often in a terrible state of filth – an empty dark, filthy sooty place
> *James Taylor "Eleven Years at Farm Work" (published Aberdeen 1879)[2]*

Few of the buildings termed 'bothies' today form part of a direct line from these historic agricultural beginnings. Many originated as the small rural family homes of shepherds or deer stalkers,[3] although byres and redundant railway or mining structures are also used.[4] This stock of disused agricultural industrial buildings were made available through social and technological change (such as the land clearances and the invention of the jeep facilitatating easier mountain access and removing the need for estate staff to be lodged at remote, upland postings) and these earlier buildings have since been complemented by the addition of forestry huts and purpose-built buildings (such as memorial huts) which have expanded the range of bothy types. For over a century, these unlocked and publicly available buildings have been used as havens during outdoor recreation, allowing access to the more remote sections of the Scottish outdoors. It was in response to steady increases in

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[1] Mountain Bothies Association Members Handbook – 1st edition, 2001
written and compiled by J. Ross, R. Genner, C. Scales. p.3 in I. Butterfield personal collection.
[2] Mountain Bothies Association Members Handbook – 1st edition, 2001
written and compiled by J. Ross, R. Genner, C. Scales. p.3 in I. Butterfield personal collection.
[3] I. Watson, 'The Gathering – Cairngorms, late September', MBA Newsletter 157, Autumn 2006, pp. 18-21, in I. Butterfield personal collection.
[4] Mountain Bothies Association Members Handbook – 1st edition, 2001.
written and compiled by J. Ross, R. Genner, C. Scales. p.3 in I. Butterfield personal collection.

patterns of use, that the MBA was established in 1965 with the aim, 'to maintain simple shelters in remote country for the use and benefit of all who love wild and lonely places'.[5] As the primary advocacy organisation for bothies, the MBA continues to play an important part in the contemporary outdoor scene, seeking to ensure the continued existence and good repair of these shelters distributed across Scotland.[6] However, it is also important to note that bothies rely on the co-operation of a number of people and stakeholder groups, from landowners, foresters and government agencies, to the group that the MBA define as having 'the broadest range of interests of all: those who use bothies for their recreation'.[7]

At this early stage of the thesis, I should declare an interest, since I am one of those people. My earliest memory of a bothy is of weekend spent 'out-dwelling' as a little girl, with my father and the company of five other young boys. I was aged only four. It was a tumultuous time. My friend's father had died in a climbing accident that week and we had been taken away, distanced from the pain and removed to make space for the necessary organisation of a funeral. These places have, it seems, always been in my life. From a young age I have used these places as a convenient stepping stone to, and stopping point within Scotland's great outdoors. Bothies became a place to break out and flout society's rules and expectations, to enjoy small adventures. These experiences have also perhaps made me ontologically predisposed to the small, programmed to admire little dwellings.

Scotland has a strong tradition of hutting, particularly around Scotland's central belt. Given that the original occupiers of these structures are now often deceased, information on the origins of these sites is acknowledged as, 'vague and anecdotal' (Scottish Executive Central Research Unit 2000:6). However, a rough history can nonetheless be sourced and told. Hutting culture grew in the aftermath of the First World War, continuing to flourish after the Second World War, although most sites were developed during the 1930s. Oral histories suggest that these were simple shelters, constructed from wood, placed on land for which nominal rent was paid. These were not the second homes of the wealthy but a retreat for ordinary folk, a place to holiday, to cultivate, and to escape the clamour of urban life. Huts were built by their owners, adapted and added to over time, designed for temporary occupation, at holidays and weekends. These buildings were usually clustered together in neighbourly fashion but not tightly packed, within the same field, patch of woodland, or stretch of river bank. The term 'hutters' is used to refer to those who own and

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[5] *Mountain Bothies Association* <http://www.mountainbothies.org.uk/index.asp> (accessed on 17/09/10).
[6] There are also bothies in northern England but they are not included in this study.
[7] Mountain Bothies Association Members Handbook – 1st edition, 2001
written and compiled by J. Ross, R. Genner, C. Scales. p.1 in I. Butterfield personal collection.

use the properties, though not the land upon which they are built. The pace of development for these sites was essentially demand-responsive, a chain migration operating through family and friends. The only systematic study of Scottish hut sites,[8] published in 2000, found that '[t]he spread of hut sites across Scotland is largely in a band from the Angus coast to the Clyde coast, with extensions into East Lothian and the northern Borders on the east and south to the Solway coast in the West' (Scottish Executive Central Research Unit 2000:3).

It is commonly reported that this growth in hutting coincided with increased interest amongst urban dwellers in accessing the wider countryside. During this interwar period, as Lorimer (1997:94) notes, '[d]irect experience of the great outdoors was believed to help foster an organic knowledge of the self and the homeland'. This was not only for the alpine adventurer, the moneyed middle-class. A more populist outdoor movement grew, particularly in the West of Scotland drawing on the legacy of Hugh MacDonald, 'Glasgow's pioneering rambler', and a swell in cycling club membership. For many, 'the refreshing prospect of a trip into the countryside lay in direct contrast to the penurious living conditions which a great many Scots were forced to endure' (Lorimer 1997:106-107). Liberated by employment reform and using 'tentacles [of public transport] which stretch outwith the tang of commerce' (Brotchie 1923:5 in Lorimer 1997:107), workers now had access to new environments, experiences and opportunities beyond the city limits.

In eastern side of Scotland, huts at two sites, Soonhope and Eddleston, near Peebles, are also linked with these origins and the period of philanthropic owners leasing land for leisure during the 1930s. In this case it is thought that the huts serviced the leisure needs of the local mining industry, based in towns within cycling distance such as Rosewell, which housed many workers keen to escape to cleaner air (Reforesting Scotland 2011).

However, it is, Carbeth, located ten miles north west of Glasgow, that is popularly understood as the country's oldest hutting site, and its emotional centre of gravity. Established as a camping ground for Glasgow socialist Sunday Schools, use of Carbeth was soon extended to the Clarion Scouts, rambling clubs and cycling clubs. Subsequent hygiene problems led to the provision of sanitary facilities and further amenities, including a tented wooden dance floor, a shop, communal kitchen (Reforesting Scotland 2011). After

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[8] There is currently similar work underway by the A Thousand Huts Campaign.

initial refusals from the landowner for the addition of huts for accommodation purposes, two[9] were eventually permitted in the 1920s, for a nominal plot rent:

> Huts were simple and built along the guidelines laid down by the estate owner. The guidelines, while in complete accord with today's notions of living lightly on the land, were in fact drawn up to minimise the visual impact on his estate. Thus they were small and always painted green, hidden among trees and behind hedges. The hutting areas slowly grew as hut numbers increased. (2011:13-14)

The Carbeth area is well known locally, not only for its recreational use but also as a temporary home for those made homeless as a result of the Clydeside bombing in Second World War.[10] Historic links to Glasgow's working-class population are strong. Early hutters at this site were working people, building huts without disposable income, using materials from reclaimed sources. Anecdotal reports suggest that 'foundation pillars were of brick, often brought in a couple or three at a time on the bus from town until enough were accumulated to start building' (Reforesting Scotland 2011:14).[11] At its peak the Carbeth site is thought to have had around 250 huts and became a strong, family-orientated community.[12]

This settlement history however, is not confined to Scotland's past. A strong hutting community of over 140 huts remains on site at Carbeth and in 2013, as a the result of a protracted rent strike, the 'Carbeth Hutters Community Company (formed in 2008) made headlines by purchasing their 90 acres of land valued at £1.75 million.

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[9] There is an acknowledgement that other sources highlight different figures for this. The website for the Carbeth Hutters Community Company argues there were three at this point, built, 'following an initiative by William Ferris and a Mr McMilan … Ferris is a significant figure, becoming a vice-president of the Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland, vice-chairman of the Scottish Council of Physical Recreation, Chairman of the Scottish Rights of Way Society, Scottish Ramblers Federation and members of the Scottish Tourist Board' (www.carbethhutters.co.uk).

[10] A development called upon in the setting and plot of the novel, *Mavis' Shoe.*

[11] A humorous development to this claim was made by one interviewee, who recalls her mother, after a 'merry' open day at Carbeth, telling a researcher that 'people even carried in matresses on their backs, while on bikes'. This anecdote, her daughter described, required a shameful phonecall in the morning, to avoid misrepresentations, and to apologise for embellishment. It remains, nonetheless, an impressive image.

[12] This figure is contradicted by others who suggest a figure of 191 (www.carbethhutters.co.uk).

Carbeth Hutters buy their forest home
after bank loan

Seen as pioneers of the Scottish hutting movement, the Carbeth hutting
cooperative near the Campsie Fells has found £1.75m to buy their land, more than
80 years after first setting camp

Morven Gregor and Gerry Loose of Carbeth Hutters Community: now proud co-owners of their 90 acre home
near Glasgow. Photograph: Murdo MacLeod

Figure 2. Example of press coverage. (Carrel 2013).

This event was important. Crucial to the occupants of huts at Carbeth. Many have argued that it was this buyout that allowed the site to remain and protected this hutting heritage.

These buildings (small and simple, shelters) are not the only dwelling type with a place in the history of Scotland's countryside. There are mountaineering club huts and private estate bothies, both which could be classed as leisure buildings. This being the case, it is important to note that my thesis does not encompass the entire spectrum of Scotland's small rural dwellings. I have elected to position many as beyond the scope of this study. Attention is instead focused upon hut and bothy. As the opening descriptions depict, these buildings are in many ways distinct from one another. Bothies are for public use, open and unlocked. Huts on the other hand are often privately owned buildings placed upon rented land and are certainly not left unlocked for open access. Moreover, bothies are very much basic, they may be furnished with a stove and sleeping platform, but they do not have the interiors that a hut would offer. There are no soft furnishings, no neatly stored goods. They work with a different purpose. In addition, huts while rurally situated, are often proximate to a city, within a 15 mile radius. Bothies on the other hand are located purposefully in the least accessible regions of the country, positioned thus to provide access to the wider surrounds, rather than easy access from the city. That said, my decision to address huts and bothies as a complementary pairing arises from the social, cultural and economic histories that these building types share.

They are distinct kinds, but also have much in common. The collective term of 'out-dwelling' is employed throughout the thesis, representing the twinned phenomena, allowing me to analyse a pivotal material presence in Scotland's outdoor scene, and consider social interactions with simple buildings on a temporary basis across a wider range of users-groups and spectrum of interests. Considering huts and bothies together in this thesis allows a broader consideration of rural leisure and use of the Scottish landscape.

The term 'out-dwelling' becomes a central tenant of this thesis. This phrase was chosen partly for its inclusion of 'dwelling', a theoretical framework central to my approach. To have used the singular term dwelling as a naming expression therefore would not only have confused the theoretical foundation but also, in this singular form, would not have encompassed all that I sought to depict. It was not only this, however, which influenced the final terminology. 'Out-house' was deemed overly sanitary, a place or ordure rather than shelter. Shed, shack and cabin equally did not suit. 'Tiny-house', while pejorative in popular contemporary discourse appeared overly romantic, rustic-chic, the product of daydream. 'Hide-away', however, was a close second choice, apt in its connotations of a distancing from the everyday, but overly connotative of retreat. 'Out-dwelling' the noun was thus chosen for its theoretical resonance but also for the way in which is situates these buildings, the hut and bothy, in dialogue with the outdoors. 'Out-dwelling' however is not only a noun, it is also used throughout this thesis as a verb to denote a way of life, a culture and the practice of a certain web of activities.

Current interest

The campaigning at Carbeth apart, and in marked contrast to the well-established hutting traditions of many Nordic nations, Scotland's modern engagement with such cultures of occupation has been uneven and fragmentary. While bothies have featured in romantic landscape imagery, they are popularly imagined and pictured as abandoned, solitary, empty structures. Hutting practices declined, in part, due to a reduction in the provision of public transport, such as the Beecham Railway cuts of the 1960s. But, of late, advocacy for and defence of the significance of these simple structures has become a feature of Scottish civil society.

In 2010 Reforesting Scotland launched the 'A Thousand Huts' (ATH)[13] campaign. Acclaimed by leading commentators and thinkers, A Thousand Huts aims to celebrate, expand and protect the use of huts in rural Scotland as dwelling places for living, working and relaxing in. ATH lobbyists have campaigned for political change, been influential in creating new hutting sites and as such have set forth a radical vision of environmental change. Perhaps most importantly, they have been the catalyst for an active community of hutters by hosting events and promoting their cause on social media. On Facebook alone, their page has 4,263 members. The 'Bothy Project' also entered the scene in 2011, initiated by artist Bobby Niven and architect Iain MacLeod as an arts organisation aiming to create residency spaces for artists across rural Scotland. The Bothy Project uses the term 'bothy' to describe simple, but beautifully crafted dwellings, available on a pay-for-use basis; a very different definition of bothy to that of the MBA who continue to be an active force in the Scottish outdoor scene. The MBA (who have active charitable status) provides stewardship for around 100 bothies, mostly in Scotland but with a few in England and Wales. As recent recipients of The Queen's Award for Voluntary Service, the MBA organisation celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2015 and continues to maintain a healthy membership. National profile increased on this landmark date, with books published, radio features and television programmes all dedicated to the subject of 'bothy life'. Combined with recent and ongoing policy changes, the time therefore appears right for a detailed study to understand more fully the past, present and to a certain extent, the future of such practice within rural Scotland.

This research then, with its focus on out-dwellings, fits within a wider cultural movement driven by a heightened appreciation of environmental values, community politics, and a related affinity for smaller 'designs for life' exhibited in the current vogue for 'down-sizing' and 'simple' or 'tiny 'living'. Popular philosophies of 'living lightly' have reinvigorated some of the 1970s environmentalist ethics, translated into a built form popularly conceptualised as 'cabin fever'. City-bound office workers sit at their desks and scroll through image upon image of 'cabin porn' (Klein and Leckert 2015), adorning coffee tables with glossy representations of this aesthetic for living. This culture of aspiration amounts, it is argued, to 'something subtler than luddism' (Burkeman 2012). Hutting heritage is clearly in vogue, celebrated for its place as a space of reflection, solitude and, often, a recreation of community. It is in this sphere that space is made for what this thesis shall term, a geography of small things.

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[13] Technically named 'A Thousand Huts' but, for ease of scansion, I drop the 'A' on most occasions.

Thesis aims and structure

This project aims to provide an insight into out-dwelling culture and practice, seeking to explore the materialities, experiences and practices of the 'out-dwelling' scene. As such, I have sought to draw attention to both the buildings and their users, speaking to the intimate geographies of this culture, as well as to its broader cultural significance. Part of this task involves, of course, an exploration of landscape, and of the means by which out-dwellings facilitate an engagement with physical surrounds beyond their built form. Just as I seek to situate the intimate interior of being in buildings, I also aim to see the 'out-dwelling' world through a wider lens at times, viewing these buildings and their users as part of a larger cultural movement, informed by the social history of land-use and ownership in rural Scotland. This ambition led to an interest in hutting as a political act, seeking to explore the critical edge to this potentially radical culture. Equally integral has been the aim to situate this culture within a broader international hutting history, in particular that of Nordic Nations, which are of particular influence in recent political dialogue.

What I offer here might usefully be labelled an example of 'applied cultural geography', a form of research and writing which provides a crossover between ideas of cultural geography and the traction provided by empirical endeavor. To this aim, the structure of this thesis is, admittedly, unusual. Inspired in part by Lorimer's (2006) evocation of three different mentors (while 'herding memories of humans and animals'), the material for each of the six empirical chapters is figuratively set against an intermediary, be that person, thing or place. Each of these acts as a placeholder for ideas, a springboard through which to initiate a set of correspondences to guide the reader through.

Following on from this introduction, **Chapter 2** lays out the **literature and theoretical foundations** of this project. This chapter opens with an acknowledgement of the academic literature which attends directly to the bothy or hut. As such, it initially offers an investigation of the popular literature in which to situate this project. From there, I set up a four part foundation of academic inputs, designed to situate and stimulate my exploration of this culture. The first of these turns to the concepts of landscape, dwelling and 'taskscape', focusing particularly upon those ideas which circulate around a phenomenological and humanist standpoint, paying heed to the vernacular culture. Second, I chart my engagement with architectural geographies, drawing together material in what remains an emergent sub-discipline. Here I draw on ideas of cultural diffusion, placing the

notion of buildings as artifact alongside practice-led approaches and the non-(or more-than) representational, where buildings become processes (as much as finished products) full of the people, spaces and relationships of which they are part. In doing so, I draw from both older intellectual traditions and more recent disciplinary approaches, embracing both the forgotten, and the newly emerging in my interactions with this work. The third field of literature reviewed concerns 'geographies of the home' where I open by discussing the idealised home. Critiques of this reductive and static view of home have, however, been numerous, and it is these that I shape into a series of subsections, opening up discussions for what home may be, and how it differs (or not) from the particular shelters in question in my work. The fourth and final field of disciplinary literature subject to critical review is rural geographies, an exciting yet sometimes maligned feature of the geographic discipline. Focusing upon the themes most pertinent to this project, I open with the idyll and its cultural opposite, before turning my attentions to neglected rural geographies, the radical rural, and therapeutic landscapes. While this chapter does not exhaust the range of literature drawn upon in this thesis (since other specific areas are drawn into later chapters) it is these four broad sub-fields which underpin the logic of the thesis and structure my empirical findings in what follows.

Chapter 3 explains how a qualitative **methodological approach** was used to research out-dwelling culture in rural Scotland. Opening with a scene-setting section, this chapter explains the humanist, cultural and phenomenological epistemological positions which shape this project. It then turns to detail the methods used to explore out-dwelling culture and practitioner communities. Acknowledging that I have embraced a 'make-do' approach to collaging and combining sources of research data, Chapter 3 details my use of, and justification for, drawing variously from archives, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, as well as identifying the means used to explore the Norwegian hutting scene. In addition, within this chapter I outline my analytical strategy as well as the ethical considerations of this work and the influence of positionality, both in reference to my own project and wider research practice.

In **Chapter 4** I animate the conversation between **'Thought-Hut-Word'**, inspired by Martin Heidegger and drawing on Gaston Bachelard's belief in the importance of the hut in the 'phenomenology of the imagination' (1994[1958]:33). This chapter opens with a discussion of earlier philosophers, writers and thinkers who have sought inspiration and solace within their own hut. These figures are used to preface an underlying theme of the relationship between person, place and thought, which is subsequently traced through the

narratives of bothy users, using their words to provide insight into dwelling in such buildings and, through this, the overarching relationship between 'Thought-Hut-Word'. The chapter, also, provides a geography of bothy books (containing the words of bothy users), as objects with geographies of production, circulation and consumption, alert too to the spaces of writing, reading and relocation. Yet, utilising literatures of landscapes, dwelling and morality, the aim is also to present these books as windows into dwelling in huts, to the conflation of person and place, and the way in which this gathering together can be understood by putting thoughts down on paper. Discussing the literary dynamics, ideas of dwelling and memory, the desire for escapism and the moral geographies of bothy space, this chapter explores the experiences of dwelling that these books now embody, grounding these buildings within their environments and subsequently introducing many of the main themes to be investigated in the remainder of the thesis. In doing so, it also seeks to push the boundaries of what Ogborn and Withers' (2010) have called 'geographies of the book', opening up this sub-field to new books for study and new theories to be set in conversation. In creating a correspondence between ideas of dwelling and geographies of the book, the chapter broadens the scope of both historical and cultural geography in creating theoretical resonance around the narratives of these books.

Chapter 5 seeks to give life to form through what I refer to as a **'geography of small things'** which draws upon geography's engagement with architecture. Calling, in particular, upon on the work of disciplinary forebears F.B. Kniffen and David Seamon, this chapter offers comment on the benefits of re-engaging with scholars who are oft forgotten, yet whose work highlights where cultural and architectural geographies meet. In order to do this the chapter opens with a brief discussion of architecture within modern geographical discourse. Thereafter I turn to ideas of learning through looking, seeking to emphasise the importance of foregrounding the visual, and detail the very 'thingness' within studies of material objects. In order to facilitate this move I conduct a Kniffenesque out-dwelling tour, detailing the specifics of these individual vernacular forms. However, acknowledging that there is a need to move inside buildings, beyond the façade, I then turn to the idea of 'looking through seeing', calling upon Seamon as an aid in attending to the environmental and architectural experience of the out-dwelling. Through this shift, from looking to seeing, I turn to the meaningfulness of place, the environment beyond the walls, the importance of heat and ideas of emotional and biographical mark-making. The culmination of these themes speaks to these 'small things' and is attentive to the 'precarious conditions of alliance' (Jacbos 2006:22) which create a building.

Turning to geographies of home, **Chapter 6** uses a deconstructed notion of home to analyse further the space of the out-dwelling. The idea of **house-as-hut-as-home** is used to highlight that these buildings are not quite home, nor quite a hut. While huts, like homes, are certainly inhabited built structures, they have something else, something different, to offer in terms of the dwelling experience. And so, like the previous chapter, this attempt to appraise the cultural condition of out-dwelling seeks to get to the heart of what these buildings and their uses are. By comparing and contrasting out-dwellings with varied meanings of 'home', the chapter's thematic sub-sections show how a series of thematic social relations are played out amidst these buildings: how gender, nature, the uncanny and an ascetic ethic of embodiment can be all experienced differently within out-dwellings; how ideas of temporariness and journeying are fundamental to the experience of these places; how, despite their categorical difference, the hut can be homely; and how huts can be found within the mind. In doing so, this chapter utilises a very particular narrative formulation, the fairytale, to offer a different take on the idea of folk as informative for a study of 'out-dwellings'. The chapter focuses specifically on the cultural significance of the folktale of Hansel and Gretel to deconstruct the hut through existing academic work regarding the concept of 'home', and to arrive at, if not 'hard truths', then bolder conclusions. Here, I aim to learn more about new tales of home in the light of older tellings; using them as hooks upon which to hang my arguments in much the same vein as I learn from earlier geographers and geographies in the previous chapter.

In **Chapter 7**, **'Words through Walden',** I explore what users of huts and bothies regard as the idylls of out-dwelling culture. As such, this chapter is a gathering together of reasons *for* hutting: the wants of users, what matters to them, the benefits they perceive from hutting, and the knowledge and skills that they understand themselves to gain. Using Henry Thoreau as the mainstay of this chapter, I deploy his environmental philosophy and time spent in his hut as a framework for the stories and themes uncovered during my fieldwork. In doing so, I set Thoreau's design for life in conversation with out-dwelling users, thereby oscillating between big philosophical ideas and everyday encounters. Therefore, after exploring a little of the existing research surrounding the rural idyll, the chapter turns to address ideas of wilderness, nature and environmental attunement, setting these places in relation to an emerging environmental consciousness and in opposition to a seemingly malignant 'modernity'. From there, the chapter turns to address ideas of nostalgia and temporality, in 'an older time, a slower time', where escape allows users to rejoice in the time that living takes. A further section explores Thoreau's concept of nature as preventative for 'black melancholy', and highlights the potential for out-dwelling spaces

to provide benefits in terms of physical and mental health. Space is also given over to a discussion of the social dynamics of out-dwelling life, including the seduction of solitude and the comforts of community. Lastly, this chapter explores the notion of the simple as a skilful undertaking, considering the many gains to be made through the concept of a skillscape.

Chapter 8 shifts attention away from the 'idyll-ised myths' (Cloke and Little 1997:3) of out-dwelling culture, instead turning attention to the progressive, even radical, potential of **hutting as political endeavour**. Drawing on Andy Wightman's campaigning activism and associated knowledge of the Scottish landownership system, fired by his clear sense of purpose and inspired by his outrage, this chapter advances the case for an "outlaw" culture of out-dwelling that can radically change the relationship of people to the countryside, to leisure, to land, and ultimately to themselves. The chapter begins by fracturing the idyll of Chapter 7, exploring the 'insidering' of outdoor culture and exposing the various moral schema which patrol this culture. To do so is important so as to ensure that I do not homogenise this culture or overwrite its diversity. From there, I turn to politicise out-dwellings in four ways. Firstly, I turn to resistance in reflection and practice, seeking to explore users' thoughts on the radical potential of out-dwellings, and to open up ideas of small scale radicalism, offering a means of gaining a sense of belonging in today's world. Secondly this chapter deals with the idea of resistance through mobility, comparing out-dwelling to other mobile cultures, as well as undermining the assumption of a homogenous, monolithic rural. From here, the chapter thirdly addresses ideas of resistance in access to leisure, charting historic examples and placing recent changes in planning law centre-stage in order to highlight the way in which this culture has made space in legislation, space in the imagination and, perhaps most importantly, space for better informed dialogue, for talking, growing and shaping ideas of how Scotland's physical landscape could be used in the future. The notion of resistance in terms of land ownership is the fourth and final stretch of this revolutionary road. Carving out political space for these activities, however, does not automatically create physical space. As Wightman so often observes, land ownership, rather than public access, is Scotland's key problem. This section then discusses the issue of ownership, exploring user experiences and the potential for out-dwelling to tackle ideas of who owns Scotland.

Many have, in recent years, sought inspiration from abroad in imaging a future for Scotland. In particular, eyes have turned northward. Taking their lead, it is pertinent for the last empirical chapter of this thesis to go north, examining Scottish 'out-dwelling' in

relation to Norwegian *Hytte* (hut) to analyse this potential future that many lobbyists in Scotland currently champion. **Chapter 9** therefore explores ***Norsk hytte liv*** (Norwegian hut life) outlining the history of this national culture as well as the similarities and discontinuities between this tradition and that of Scottish out-dwelling. Setting these *hytte* (huts) within current discourse about a 'Scandinavian model' for social and political life, empirical data gathered within Norway is grouped into the following four themes. Firstly, hutting in Norway has similar ideals to those of Scotland in terms of escape from everyday life, reconnection with simplicity and the benefits of proximity to nature. Secondly, Norwegian independence, although achieved over 200 years ago, has impacted upon the success of hutting in a nation which is in many respects akin to Scotland, and yet has a far more extensive hutting culture. Thirdly, a connection to nature, *Friluftsliv* and land offers Norway a national cultural investment in the outdoor life. Fourthly, I show how Norwegian hutting, although built on a real or imagined heritage of the simple life, no longer unilaterally fits this ideal. Luxury and consumerism are powerful influences at play, and are factors leading to the development of the DNT 'hotel' and the '*hyttepalass'*; a far cry from the aims of those working within and campaigning for huts and bothies in Scotland today.

Chapter 10 concludes the thesis, collating these ideas, taking stock of their meaning and assessing their contribution to the discipline of Geography. Offering the concept of an 'applied cultural geography', this chapter subsequently lays out four ways in which this thesis could be applied, to policy, as advice for campaigners, and as a furthering of academic theory.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

To attain a sense of inner freedom, one must have solitude and space galore.
Add to these the mastery of time, complete silence, a harsh life and
surroundings of geographic grandeur. Then do the maths, and find a hut.
(Tesson, 2013:72)

These are the words of Sylvian Tesson, author of *Consolations of the Forest*, a tale told of time spent in a hut in the woods, on the shores of Lake Baikal. He spent four months there, having promised himself that he would before he turned forty. Tesson is just one of the many who have written of a hut, of time spent within or pondering upon them. As the topic of out-dwelling does not come with an obvious or singular academic footing, a review of the literature must first pay heed to these various encounters with the hut or bothy, portrayed and displayed for various means. From there, I will turn to the academic foundations of this project, including, but not limited to; literatures of landscape, dwelling and the taskscape; architectural geographies; geographies of home; and rural geographies.

Various encounters with hut and bothy

Complementing Tesson's depiction of hut encounters are whose authors who situate the hut within experience and literature (Pollan 2008), architectural history (Silverio 2011) and philosophical biography (Sharr 2006). Enmeshed in the romanticisation of the hut, these authors seek to add history to experience, exploring the various elements of the hut physically, while also discussing these buildings in geographical terms through considerations of space and place. These works therefore fit well with philosophising on huts by of the likes of Gaston Bachelard who writes,

> … the hut appears to be the tap-root of the function of inhabiting. It is the simplest of human plants, one that needs no ramifications in order to exist. Indeed, it is so simple that it no longer belongs in our memories … but to legend; it is the centre of legend… Its truth must derive from the intensity of its essence, which is the essence of the verb to inhabit. (1994[1958]: 31-32)

Such works of thought are enlivened through visual depictions by the likes of the renowned hut activist Lloyd Kahn (1973, 2004, 2012) whose 'How To' publications have done much to illustrate that 'shelter is more than a roof overhead'. More recently, websites such as, so called, 'Cabin Porn' have added to this genre, adding 'inspiration for your quiet place somewhere' (Klein and Leckert 2015: title).

Bothies, although embroiled within this renaissance of the small, are subject to a rougher romanticism. Perhaps the most well known example, Brown and Mitchell's (2009) *Mountain Days and Bothy Nights* is comprised of a series of tales from which the reader can conceptualise bothy culture in its most romantic yet rustic of forms. Described by the authors as a book with 'an impact way beyond cultural terms, which we never assumed it would have had',[14] it highlights a number of themes such as escapism, wilderness, conflict, camaraderie and class; all of which are prime topics for exploration. Offering equivalent insight into bothy life is Morimer's (2013) personal appraisal of bothy social structures and his establishment of a counter-culture within this subsect of the Scottish Outdoor scene. References to bothies, however, are most frequently provided as passing concerns in studies on a range of issues such as outdoor education and mountain craft, including navigational difficulties (Hunt 1988, Firstoff 1965) and discussions on the pressures on mountain accommodation such as that offered by Nimlin (1988) who disparagingly portrays the bothy as a damaging deviation away from the traditional mountaineering ethos. Most recently, the bothy is again placed centre-stage by Smith (2015) in her *Book of the Bothy*, a guide to a select few, and the MBA's 50th birthday celebratory publication.

There is thus an established albeit minor vein of popular literature from which to draw from for this thesis, situating huts and bothies within not only within the Scottish Outdoor scene, but also the words and minds of a more global appreciation of small places. Within academic literatures, this placing is less obvious due to the lack of a specific hut or bothy literature. While I have come across works which deal with childhood play (Kjørholt 2003), environmental impacts (Crowe and Reid 1998) and ideas of origins (Prynne 2008), all related to huts or bothies, the available body of literature is disparate. Yet, there remain all manner of subdisciplines and interdisciplines within which to situate this study. Seeking to place these buildings, both inside and out, within an academic framework, this chapter will, now turn to address four principle themes. Firstly, through considerations of dwelling, being and taskscape these buildings will be set within geography's landscape tradition while, secondly, a review of relevant geographies of architecture will focus upon these buildings themselves. Following on, thirdly, a consideration of the literatures surrounding home will seek to explore the inside space of these buildings, followed, fourthly, by discussions of the rural to place these buildings as a whole within their spatial setting. It is important to emphasis that these four sub-fields do not represent the sum total of the

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[14] Interview with Ian Mitchell, co-author of *Mountain Day's and Bothy Nights* (2009).

literature called upon in this thesis. Each chapter will call upon other literatures in order to fully explore the out-dwelling scene, including, but are not limited to, literatures concerning the geography of the book, geographies of skill, and ideas and work surrounding Norwegian hutting culture.

Landscapes, Dwelling, Taskscape

Landscape has been a principal concern of geographical inquiry for several generations, but the meanings, theories and interpretations ascribed to it have been far from constant. Beginning with the regionalism of Sauer, running through Jackson's innovative forays into *vernacular* lived and travelled landscapes (1997a, 1997b), furthered in the symbolic yet lived-in world of 1970s humanism (Meinig 1979), later becoming a *way of seeing* (Daniels and Cosgrove 1993) and finally a product of practice (Ingold 2000), the concept has come far over the years. Thus, landscape enables discussion about space and place, as well as debates involving particular power negotiations, politics, ontologies, visualities, materialities and even affects (Merriman *et al* 2009). The influences that I choose to call upon in terms of this chronology are not uniform. My focus with regards to these literatures, as my methods have alluded, tends towards those which engage with the world from a phenomenological and humanistic standpoint.

Therefore, seeking to explain the origins of this research project the first section of this chapter looks at landscape, charting the development of academic landscape inquiry which has paid heed to the vernacular landscape. This feeds into an understanding of landscape as lived and the development of a subjective and intimate tradition of landscape phenomenology. From there I venture further into the relationship between person and place in addressing Heidegger's concept of dwelling and Ingold's more recent theorisation of the 'taskscape'. Lastly, I address the concept of moral landscapes, seeking to discuss further the relationship between landscape and practice.

Landscapes literature origins

Carl Sauer is my first point of reference. The modern origins of geographical landscape study are often attributed to Sauer (and the Berkley School), who sought to understand landscape as an expression of the people who live within it. Inherent to this view was his

appreciation of phenomenology[15] and thus his work emphasised that landscape was not merely a scene upon which life was enacted, but was rather, in part at least, defined by the work and lives of its inhabitants (Cresswell 2003). Sauer's approach, so common in early geographical endeavours, was that of a detached observer, as Wylie (2007:41) notes, an 'expert, someone one who stands apart from the phenomena in question, the better to objectively scrutinise it'. Yet, while Sauer's style was detached, Wylie here perhaps underestimates the extent to which Sauer's style was not only physically immersive, representing a commitment to fieldwork, but also attentive to seeing the landscape through the eyes of its inhabitants, he believed in the need to 'become a participant observer of an unknown land and life' (1956:296). While more recent approaches to landscape offer far deeper attention to experience and participation, it can be argued that Sauer's work was grounded in an empirically close relationship with the landscape, and laid the foundations for observation as a respected method of research.

With practice in mind, however, it is J.B. Jackson who might reasonably be figured as the 'hero of this story' (Cresswell 2003:271). Despite his early attachment to the study of landscape through aerial views, Jackson soon grounded his thinking, collating and evolving his thoughts in the journal *Landscape* which he founded and edited. Paving the way for a shift from the 'morphology' of landscape towards an 'experience' of it (Cresswell 2003:217), Jackson's diverse writings from the 1950s and 1960s emphasised that the orthodox view of landscape as a visual, survayable construct, did not put enough emphasis on the lived component of landscape. While he, like Sauer, accepted the human influence on the land, he preferred to think of himself as active participant within it (Wylie 2007). In Jackson's (1997c:343) words, 'we are not spectators; the human landscape is not a work of art. It is a temporary product of much sweat and hardship and earnest thought'. Jackson's landscapes are the ones inhabited and produced by people's everyday actions (Cresswell 2003:274). Inherent to his work is the principle that landscape should depict the material or in his words 'workaday' world, a world of houses, roads and sidewalks: an ordinary world, the local, the known, the inhabited world of the everyday, where people are 'improvising and elaborating a life far removed from both metropolitan power and abstract intellectual theorisation' (Wylie 2007:43). It is this world, founded in dwelling practices, which he terms the 'vernacular landscape'.

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[15] Note that this is a later association; Sauer pre-dates this philosophical label and therefore it is perhaps more accurate to call him a 'landscape materialist.'

It is this focus on the material, as well as a keen appreciation of the symbolic, which Wylie argues made Jackson so attractive to the North American humanistic geographers of the 1970s such as Donald Meining and Yi-Fu Tuan. For Meinig (1979:229) at least, the great strength of Jackson's view of landscape was 'the naïve fresh look, unordered by orthodoxy; the clean prose, unsullied by jargon; the conversational tone, unstructured by analytical forms'. Meinig was drawn into Jackson's embodied conceptualisation of vision, one insisting that landscape was a construct not only of vision, but also of feeling, 'not only what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads' (Meinig 1979:34).

It is also of note that, unlike traditional landscape studies, which, by Cresswell's (2003:270) estimation, 'encapsulate the notion of fixity', Jackson's landscapes focus on notions of mobility and movement. Crossing the landscapes of the American continent he studied a country while moving and so as Paterson (2015:45) notes, his 'wanderlust resonates with contemporary theories of how people develop worldly knowledge by living along paths and communicating associated stories (Ingold 2007a)'. It is these interests which drew his attention to trailer parks as dwelling places worthy of study and he soon recognised their status as 'very precise expressions of important trends in American life' [through] the successive reduction of the function of home … to little more than a shelter' (Meinig 1979:221). This pertinent focus upon the home or dwelling place highlights the phenomenological current of Jackson's work (Wylie 2007:5), where landscape is seen as a product of being-in-the-world. Unlike the work of authors like Kniffen (1936), who argued for houses as a material manifestation of culture, here Jackson's argument is that the landscape, while broader than home, is set in the same dwelling-activities, in the practices of everyday life. Thus when Jackson states that 'the primary study of the human geographer must be the dwelling' (1997c:334), he not only speaks directly to this project, but also make a broader argument, that we are all participants in the world around us.

Ultimately these ideas fuse in 'The abstract world of the hot-rodder' (1997a) where Jackson's central ideas are once again those of experiencing the landscape as an insider and moving within it at close quarters rather than claiming the position of a rational, distanced observer.[16] Therefore, shadowing social theorists the likes of de Certeau and Bourdieu, Jackson is a seminal figure in studies of the everyday and the unexceptional

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[16] This essay will also be useful for a discussion of therapeutic landscapes and the draw of wilderness. As Jackson (1997a:203) states, 'to put it more simply, when people choose to practice a certain activity out of doors, we ought to assume that the outdoors is somehow important to that activity'.

(Cresswell 2003) and as such he has done much to move academic thinking, particularly with regards to landscape, towards an ontology of practice.

Sauer's early emphasis on fieldwork and Jackson's interpretation of landscape as a milieu of social practice has much resonance with current phenomenological work that has developed across disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, cultural geography and performance studies. In the section to follow, my focus therefore turns to landscape literatures where a phenomenological perspective is central to understanding how people create, live within and understand the places that surround them.

Phenomenology and humanist geography

The philosophical tradition of Phenomenology was established in the early-20th century by German thinker Husserl and sought to encompass a way of thinking, as opposed to a specification for doing (Tilley 2004). The primary focus rests upon human subjectivity and, therefore, it operates in direct contrast to empiricist and positivist means of understanding the world. As Tilley notes:

> [Phenomenology] attempts to reveal the world as it is actually experienced directly by a subject as opposed to how we might theoretically assume it to be. The aim is not to explain the world (in terms, say, of physical causality or historical events or psychological dispositions) but to describe that world as precisely as possible in the manner in which human beings experience it (2004: 1).

Phenomenology has long been defined and practiced in multiple ways but it is Merleau-Ponty who paved the way for writers to discuss the lived experience of landscape, writing that phenomenology was a school of thought that gave 'a direct description of our experience as it is, without taking account of its physiological origin and the causal explanations which the scientist, the historian or the sociologist may be able to provide' (Merleau-Ponty, 2002: vii). Geographers developed an interest in phenomenology in the 1970s. To humanist geographers in particular (Buttimer 1976; Buttimer and Seamon 1980; Seamon 1979a; Ley 1979; Ley and Samuels 1978a; Relph 1976; Seamon, 1979; Tuan 1979), phenomenology, among other 'humanistic' approaches, offered a means to critique the positivist union of science and technology, 'once the Promethian harbinger of utopian society' (Ley and Samuels 1978:1), seen to be driving a wedge between humanity and the surrounding world. Phenomenology offered 'ideas and languages to describe and explain

the human experience of nature, space and time' (Buttimer 1976: 278 in Ash and Simpson 2014: 1).

This work was part of the re-seeding of academic geography in the late-1960s which brought into question traditional analytical ontologies (Ley and Samuels 1978:1), rediscovering humanism as 'the central concern for a geography of [hu]man[kind]' (Ley and Samuels 1978:1). Ash and Simpson (2014:2) note that humanistic geographers have drawn on various versions of phenomenology which is in itself already 'highly complex'. Therefore, here I focus upon those for whom the writings of Husserl and Heiddegger on dwelling and the lifeworld provide the central inspiration. Relph's landmark book *Place and Placelessness* is a key reference for these early phenomenological ideas (1976), as are Buttimer's (1976) endeavours to explore the concept of the 'life-world'. Here these authors sought to encourage a questioning of the overlooked nature of day-to-day routines, and to focus upon the importance of place.

In particular, though, my attention has turned to the work of David Seamon, who, in the introduction to *Dwelling Place and Environment* (1989 [1985]; see also Seamon 1993) edited with Robert Mugerauer, critiques with dramatic flair, how;

> our modern Western world faces a paradoxical situation. At the height of our technological mastery, we often find ourselves separated from both the earth and our own human being. After many centuries of building our world, we meet an unsettling nexus of domination and homelessness (1989 [1985]:1).

In line with this, in order to rekindle the damaged relations between humanity and its dwelt environment, Seamon turned to phenomenology, defining it as:

> a science of beginnings that demands a thorough, in-depth study of the phenomenon, which must be seen and described as clearly as possible. Accurate description is not a phenomenological end, however, but a means by which the phenomenologist locates the phenomenon's deeper, more generalizable patterns, structures and meanings (1998:2).

Seamon (2007:1) argues that his concept of the *lifeworld* – the 'taken-for-granted-ness' world of actions, gestures, meanings and routines which form the 'crux' of everyday life (Seamon 1980:149) – can be seen more clearly in the 'less complex' (Seamon 1991:202) world of the vernacular. In this way, Seamon offers a guideline for vernacular study which includes the main tenets of his wider works. Of particular interest are his pleas for studying the phenomenology of landscape, an argument which posits that buildings reflect their

surroundings and so, in order to understand them fully, one must understand the environing landscape. To this end, phenomenology enables the subjects (or object) to be seen as they would describe themselves, and thus Seamon instructs the reader's attention towards Goethe's (1991:203) way of science, particularly the experiential experiments taught in his 'theory of colours', as a means of becoming more sensitive to the world at large.[17] After also explaining the applicability of Relph's (1976) established notions of existential insideness,[18] Seamon (1991:204) latterly introduces his notion of *body-subject*, arguing that 'the gathering of second hand cerebral information on building and caring practice is crucial, but these practices themselves continue in the lifeworld because the body as subject knows the doing'.[19] This focus demonstrates his interest in both the material world and the process of its creation. Ultimately, Seamon concludes:

> a study of vernacular lifeworlds is important to the phenomenology, first, because in many ways those lifeworlds are more *existentially* simple and real; they may, therefore, be more in contact with essential qualities and components of humanness, including aspects of sacredness and higher awareness' (1991:204).[20]

As Paterson (2014:43) notes, it would appear that 'phenomenological approaches have provided a new baseline for examining landscape'.

In aiming to reconnect with the concerns of humanity, Seamon (1989) regularly acknowledges his debt to the philosopher Martin Heidegger, whose ontological forays into what exactly it means to be on earth. Subsequently, in the following section, attention turns to dwelling, exploring its origins in Heideggerian philosophy before exploring the ways in which it has since been reconfigured in the theories of social anthropologist Tim Ingold.

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[17] In Goethe's theory of colour he used simple experiments to conclude that 'this reciprocity between darkness and light points to the Ur-phenomenon [the essential pattern of a thing] of color: color is the resolution of the tension between darkness and light' (Seamon 1998:5). Thus, he opposed the ideas of Newton in arguing that colours arise out of both darkness and light.

[18] Described by Seamon as 'a situation of feeling completely but unselfconsciously at home in place' (1991:204).

[19] This comes from Seamon's notion of the *body-ballet*, borrowed from French phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty which refers to the intentionality that a body can have, undermining the total control of cognitive function over bodily movement. *Body-ballet* is this, 'a set of integrated behaviours which sustain a particular task or aim, for instance, washing dishes, plowing, housebuilding, potting or hunting' (1980:157). It is worth noting that this idea could come straight out of the much more recent 'non-representational' lexicon, along with Ingold's claims about 'practice' and 'taskscapes' (2000).

[20] However, while Seamon's designs may be more humane and his focus may be on the vernacular, his adherence to Goethe's way of science offers an inkling of elitism, positing that not all are equal in their ability to see properly through 'delicate empiricism'. Moreover, as the focus here is upon the vernacular built environment, it is worth highlighting that there is indeed an 'indulgence; of hearing about well heeled suburban and rural communities entering into existential angst over the details of their local places' (Philo 1994:123). As Ashworth (1983:110) puts it, 'his world is one of effortless movement rather than struggle and exhaustion, his places are sweet realms of bourgeois contentment. The dark side is missing – his geography has no night'.

Dwelling and taskscape

As Harrison (2007) notes *dwelling* has a long history in the geographical discipline, beginning in the humanistic tradition (Seamon 1980; Seamon and Mugerauer 1989[1985]; Merleau-Ponty 2002) and returning with renewed vigor in recent decades (Cloke and Jones 2001; Harvey 1996; Ingold 2000, 2004). As Cloke and Jones (2001:650) note, any study of the concept of dwelling must acknowledge its 'formidable intellectual pedigree'. The theory of dwelling is effectively a theory of social practice, understood as the set of practices through which humans make the world around them. As Wylie (2002:157) notes, the word 'dwelling' is colloquially associated with notions of home and inhabitation, and Heidegger's understanding bears similar roots. Heidegger's theory of dwelling is primarily attributed to his pivotal essay 'Building Dwelling Thinking' which appears in *Poetry, Language, Thought*. Although conscious of Harrison's (2007:626) warning of repeating 'the impression that discussion around dwelling begins and ends with Heidegger', it is with this, admittedly 'complex and obscure' (Cloke and Jones 2001:651), legacy that this thesis largely works. His discussion takes the form of an exploration into 'the manner in which mortals are on the earth' (Heidegger 1996:350 in Wylie 2007:158), and this 'being-in-the-world' philosophy can be summarised as an attempt to challenge the ontological priorities of Cartesian rationalism – paralleling ideas within Merleau-Ponty's work mentioned previously. In this manner, just as society and nature were not to be separated, nor were 'building' and 'dwelling', and so rather than having a world upon which we build, he argues that we make that world in the act of dwelling. In Heidegger's (1971: 160) words, 'only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build'.

Thus, as Mitcham (2005:33) writes, 'humans are not only at rest within dwellings, they are and find themselves in building'.[21] It is these ideas, of being-in-the-world, part of its construction, that geographers take from Heidegger's philosophy, and it is these ideas which lead Seamon (1979b:40) to summarise that 'to dwell successfully is to live intimately with a place – to care for that place and to feel comfortable and at home there'.[22]

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[21] Mitcham's paper 'Thinking re-vernacular building' provides an excellent discussion of the vernacular, its disappearance and, he hopes, its re-emergence. Of particular interest is his query that, 'is it not the case that all homes, as they become transformed by do-it-yourself projects, over time, partake more and more of dreams – and of the vernacular?' (2005:40).

[22] Also relating to Heidegger's influence, 'for example, Harvey (1996) emphasises the contribution of 'dwelling' in terms of its emphasis on how repeated encounters with places, and complex associations with them, serve to build up memory and affection for those places, thereby rendering the places themselves deepened by time and qualified by memory. Dwelling is this *potentially* bound up with ideas of home, local, and concern or affection for nature and the environment' (Cloke and Jones 2001:651).

Albeit noting some residual reservations, as Wylie (2007) notes, work on landscape from a phenomenological and practice-based stance which draws upon dwelling has flourished in recent years. Examples focus on a range of issues such as inhabitation (Hinchcliffe 2003), flows (Cloke and Jones 2001), mobility and doxic landscapes (Cresswell 2003) and biography, memory and the importance of 'small stories' (Lorimer 2003). Even those who critique these ideas, continue to draw from and expand upon them, as is the case with Rose's (2012), making and claiming. All of these works aim to create views of landscape which are, to borrow Cresswell's (2003:277) words, 'more connected to the forces that shape our lives'. These works are inspired and complemented by research in anthropology by the likes of Hirsch, Tilley and Ingold which, Merriman and Revill (in Merriman et al. 2008:193) argue 'pre-empted' academic geography's move away from representational approaches to landscape. Ingold, in particular, has infused the notion of dwelling with a particular landscape dimension and thus supplies a crucial reference point for this thesis.

Ingold (1993) distinguishes between the 'building perspective', a collective term for the idea that 'worlds are made before they are lived in' (Ingold 2000:179), and the 'dwelling perspective', where there is no world 'out there' and rather 'it is through being inhabited … that the world becomes a meaningful environment' (Ingold 2000:173). Drawing from Heidegger, Ingold therefore describes dwelling in terms of practical activity, including that of both humans and animals, creating an 'ontology of dwelling' which breaks down the division between human dwellings (including out-dwellings) and a distant nature, outside of the structure. Ingold's conceptualisation of landscape is related to that of Shanks and Tilley (1992), who see the practices of everyday life becoming embedded within the landscape, constitutive of it, and in doing so leaving traces behind. For Ingold (2000) too, this is a temporal process, and he stresses that meaning is made from people's interaction with the world and, through that connection, is continually subject to change. Therefore, in his words,

> … building, like other environmental structures, are never complete but continually under construction, and have a life-history of involvement with both their human and non-human inhabitants. Whether, at a certain point in its life history, a structure looks like a building or not will depend on the extent and nature of human involvement in its formation (Ingold 2000:154).

As a generative phenomenon, '[b]uilding, then, is a process that is continually going on, for as long as people dwell in an environment' (Ingold 2000: 188). With issues of temporality so pertinent in terms of out-dwelling use, Ingold's ideas here are crucial. This latter view in mind, he introduced the idea of a 'taskscape' (Ingold 2002), highlighting the

perennial relationship between persons and landscape. Through this term, he epitomises his ideas that 'it is always contextualised, lived, practices which create spaces, times, places' (Cloke and Jones 2001:652). Ingold (2002: 199) writes that 'the taskscape must be populated with beings who are themselves agents, and who reciprocally 'act back' in the process of their own dwelling. In other words, the taskscape exists not just as activity but as interactivity'. Through this co-mingling of person and place, landscapes are continually made, and remade, created and shaped through the practices that they are part of and party to. While normally utilised with reference to outdoor landscape, within this thesis his arguments can also be taken inside and used to articulate the means by which living simply within out-dwellings enfolds deeper meaning. Ingold's comprehensive work encourages an awareness that any attempt made to understand an environment must be formed through a rich engagement with the practicalities of living, dwelling or 'inhabiting', as Ingold (2008) would later pose; a change brought about through Hinchcliffe's (2003) critique that 'dwelling' is an overly romantic and static concept. Ingold's argument parallels the increasing advocacy of 'practice theory', a concept which places action at the centre of the creation of culture – Ingold's first major contribution to academic geography, according to Lorimer (2008).

Moral landscapes

Attention to these forces, and to the relationship between landscape and practice, can be further developed through consideration of 'the normative relationship between space and behaviour' (Cresswell 2003:279): an area of enquiry collectively termed 'moral geographies'. With links back to radical geographies of the late-1960s and early-1970s, the full force of this 'moral turn' (Smith 1997) was felt in the mid-1990s with, as Smith (1998:7) notes, 'an awakening of interest in links between geography and moral philosophy, or ethics'. Early work tied together environmentalism and moralism (Driver 1988) while others highlighted the link between moral considerations and notions of space and power (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988). Focusing on moral landscapes, Tuan (1989) is a valuable source whose work highlights the association of particular moral values to different settings, such as the synthesis of moral and good in aestheticised landscapes. As such, much of the work on moral geographies is useful as it considers the way in which the relationships between people and their environment represent and reproduce the moral judgements of particular groups. Subsequently, different actions are deemed appropriate or otherwise and thus 'the theme of moral geography then is that of different, often conflicting, ways of being-in-the-world' (Matless, 1994:130). As Matless' (1997) later

work on the landscapes of 'leisure and pleasure' in post-war England attests, this can lead to normative *ecologies of pleasure*, the assumption of *unbridgeable cultures* and *dialectics* to be 'carefully negotiated, stretched, stumbled over, and inhabited' (Matless 1997:154). Conflict and moral judgements are thus seen as inseparable (Jackson 1989), a notion which connects to Sibley's (1988) work on the process of exclusion and purification in the creation of 'others'. Thus, 'moral assumptions and arguments often have [been] built into … thinking about space, place, environment, landscape' (Philo 1991:16), and as such, to call upon Shapiro (1994:499), 'all geographies are… moral geographies'. Consequently, as Philo (1991) notes, research into the social world needs to situate its findings within the variety of moral codes, operating at national, regional and intimate scales.

Architectural Geography

The second substantial field of literature used as a foundation for this project can be loosely described as 'architectural geography'. Thus far, geographical scholarship on buildings has taken many forms within geography. Fields of 'geography of settlement' 'urban morphology', 'urban semiotics', 'cultural politics of the built environment', works inspired by 'actor network theory' and 'non representational theory' have all tackled the built form, albeit from theoretically and methodologically disparate standpoints. In what follows I tackle those of relevance to my research project, and this thesis.

Cultural Geography of Buildings - buildings as cultural artifact

Geographers were once drawn to buildings as part of a rural landscape tradition of cultural and historical geography. This work was dominated by scholars at the University of Louisiana (LSU) and, to a lesser but nonetheless significant, degree by those at the University of California (Kniffen 1936, 1963, 1986; Kniffen and Glassie 1966; Lewis 1975). These geographers saw in architecture indicators of unique landscapes, and the people who were inhabitant upon them (Ford 1984). Early work focused upon the materiality of buildings, particularly their exteriors, operating with forensic attention to detail in order to ascertain patterns and, through that evidence, offer claims about broader processes of settlement and cultural diffusion. These authors sought to produce typologies of buildings, often vernacular, and as such can be seen to have counteracted the overemphasis of architects of the time on 'the monumental, the unique and the urban' (Goss 1988:393). The treatment of buildings as cultural artifacts in this manner was well established, especially in America, as evidenced by the large number of articles to be found, especially in the journal *Landscape*.

Particularly influential in this tradition is the contribution of F.B. Kniffen whose work typifies the cultural geography of this era, particularly his 1965 paper 'Folk housing, key to diffusion'. Kniffen held that the most commonplace phenomena gave the strongest expressions of cultural meaning. He applied this view to a wide range of material topics – country fairs, folk graveyards, barns, covered bridges, outdoor ovens, expanding his early anthropological interests in 'Indian tribes and Indian mounds' (Crozen 1993:48) to explore the material products of a landscape's inhabitants. Exhibiting remarkable dedication to his field, he produced over 150 published pieces over his working career (Vlach 1995). Right up to the end of his career, Kniffen continued to publish on the topic of folk architecture, crafting, as Mathewson (1994:33) notes, 'a cultural geography recognized as both original and close to its essentials'.

Fundamental to this individual style was his early interaction with Sauer, a relationship which made clear to Kniffen (1983) that geology (his previous major) was not his true passion, and rather created in him a dedication both to fieldwork and cultural enquiry. His style is also infused with a dedication to folklore[23] undoubtedly influenced by his study under Kroeber, to whom Kniffen has repeatedly acknowledged his intellectual debt. Thus, perhaps equally pointed in terms of Kniffen's intellectual foundations, were his formative years spent in Berkeley where he discovered an interest in the world that meant that 'nothing was too simple or even too complex to be interested in' (Kniffen 1979:62). It was on these grounds that he stepped out into what was, at that point, an unstudied field: the world of vernacular housing.

Becoming synonymous with geography at LSU, Kniffen created a unique tradition in American cultural geography. This tradition, the 'Louisiana school', carried on by his students and admirers, has instilled a respect for the rural, an appreciation of the small (yet simultaneously grandiose) scale, and perhaps most poignantly, an enthusiasm for vernacular architecture, so long denied such stature and yet now eagerly embraced by architectural historians, folkloreists and geographers alike. He stands, therefore, as a crucial marker in the genealogy of those who seek to study material culture from the

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[23] It is worthy of note that Kniffen had a somewhat complex relationship with 'folklore'. Although he was elected in 1951 to serve on the Council of the American Folklore Society, Vlach (1995) has argued that his legacy in folklore is diminished by his decision to resign on account of his impatience with the contemporary discourse which focussed on ballads and folktales, giving little room for material culture. Yet, as Vlach (1995:3) continues, Kniffen did not resign his interest in folklore along with his post and maintained, throughout his career, the ability to 'talk the folklore like a folklorist'.

bottom up, through the everyday, the mundane, yet by no means less worthy products of the lived landscape.

Standing apart from this legacy, but certainly with influences upon this field is J. B. Jackson (1997a, 1997b, 1997c), a figure whose work sought to, in his words, highlight that 'we are not spectators; the human landscape is not a work of art. It is a temporary product of much sweat and hardship and earnest thought' (1997:343 in Cresswell 2003:274). His depictions of the 'workaday' world, a world of houses, roads and sidewalks provided much inspiration for a focus upon the material and the everyday.

Yet, this work on buildings as cultural artifacts has been heavily critiqued. For many the chief problem is the assumption made by these early architectural works that:

> … if the folk architecture of two adjacent regions is fundamentally different, then the folk culture of those regions is also likely to be different in other important ways. It follows that if people migrate to a new land, they will carry their house-types with them [and] that one can trace the persistence of their culture through time and space by the continuity and discontinuity in the kinds of houses the migrants build. Through his folk house-types man [sic[etches his culture onto the landscape (Lewis,1970:33).

Therefore, as geography moved beyond regional studies with their focus on 'looking' (the architecturally minded equivalent of Sauerian thought) to a geography couched in theory, this tradition was chastised for 'suffering from a relative lack of theoretical sophistication that allowed (now seemingly) naïve correlations to be made between architectural types and cultural ones' (Lees 2001:54). These older cultural geographers sought not to interpret buildings, but to map their styles, and thus their descriptions were perceived to be 'thin' rather than 'thick'[24]. As Goss writes,

> Although some of the work produced was of high quality and historic interest, much of it was narrow in focus and concentrated on relic forms. Articles, for example, on the style and distribution of tobacco barns generally lack theoretical development and social relevance. While elaboration of socially relevant theory was not their aim, they cannot claim to constitute an architectural geography substantively distinct from the subfields of cultural, historical, or regional geography (1988:393).

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[24] This distinction of 'thin' from 'thick' comes form the cultural anthropologist C.Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London, Fontana, 1993, original edn 1973).

Thus these geographies were partially forgotten, seen by upcoming so called 'new' cultural geographers to have 'in general failed to *interpret* culture as a unitary complex of social relations, abstract beliefs, and material or symbolic forms' (Goss 1988:393).

'New' cultural geographers – cultural politics and semiotics

Goss (1993, 1988) was therefore one of these 'new' cultural geographers who, partly in response to these perceived failings and inspired by social theory, brought about a new architectural geography. While acknowledging that she is 'at the risk of some oversimplification', Lee (2001) has divided this school of thought into two distinct groupings. One, led by the likes of Cosgrove and Daniels (1993), inspired by Marxism and cultural materialism, sought to understand architecture as both a product and a legitimating entity of underlying social relations; while a second, utilising the cultural anthropology of Geertz (1973) along with semiotics, sought to read the built environment, as 'a text in which social relations are inscribed' (Lees 2001:54). Such distinctions can (as usual) be challenged. In his call '[t]oward an architectural geography' Goss (1998:394) not only sought to cement the sub-discipline, but also to combine the signs of semiotics and the power of Marxist social theory through the notion of buildings as 'objects of value':

> A building is more than it seems. It is an artifact – an object of material culture produced by a society to fulfill particular functions determined by, and thus embodying or reflecting, the social relations and levels of development of he productive forces of society … [but b]uildings reflect not only culture … for they are engaged in reproduction of social relations, both as monuments or more prosaic signs and symbols in communication of social meaning, and through their relations of separation and containment. A building is invested with ideology, and the space within, around, and between buildings is both produced and producing (Goss 1988:392).

Therefore, from the 1980s to the early-2000s architectural geography took a similar trajectory to studies of landscape in claiming to offer critical appraisals of their study subjects, focusing upon the textual, symbolic and iconographic properties of architectural creations and the inherent power relations which were simultaneously written within these built landscapes. Through this focus on symbolism they sought to 'read' buildings, as with landscapes, for their inherent power relations (Cosgrove and Daniels 1993), unearthing the notion of architecture as code-making through empirical work on sites from shopping malls to cathedrals.

While I do not wish to adopt a semiotic approach overall in this thesis, I do want to acknowledge how this work highlights a long geographical appreciation 'that the power of built space to affect their inhabitants is fundamental to architectural form making' (Kraftl and Adey 2008:214) – a factor at the heart of my discussion of out-dwelling.[25] In addition, as Lees (2001:54-55) notes, it is important that the political impetus which created this 'new' cultural geography must not be entirely removed: 'the very best work in the field remains in touch with the connections between the cultural and the political, in the very broadest sense of the word'. This thesis will remain attentive to this suggestion.

There are also authors whose work defies any attempts at a strict chronology of the theoretical developments of architectural geography. Seamon – mentioned earlier – is one such figure who, while seeking to explore meanings and search out power, also viewed buildings in a phenomenological way, foreshadowing more contemporary architectural geographies which tackle the affective realm. It is rightly argued that most political-semiotic approaches failed to place people within the landscapes they sought to situate, offering little, if any, comment on the way in which 'ordinary people engage with and inhabit the spaces that architects design' (Lees 2001:55). As Bondi (1992:162) argues, such a reading 'strips the built environment of the meaning it is given by the people who live in it and the transformations, however modest, that they make'. Seamon (1991:201), though, offers an early forward-thinking connection between person and place, going so far as to argue that the apparent simplicity of vernacular environments 'provide[s] one context in which to see more clearly the essential core and foundation of our humaness'.

Following Seamon's lead this thesis draws more heavily upon a recently revitalised scholarship emerging within social and cultural geography which has challenged 'new' cultural geographies scholarship for failing to expose the work undertaken to create such symbols (Kraftl and Adey 2008). These more recent works call for closer attention – we might say a renewed attention – to the material entities themselves, as well as to the lives lived within or around them, while also inviting a deeper engagement with practice.

Amidst this turn geographers began to utilise Harvey's ideas of 'structured coherences' (1996) or Latour's notion 'actants' (1999) working together through networks to create space. Through this it was seen that geographers of architecture could examine not only the production, but also the consumption of built space (Lees 2001). This was a turn (back to)

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[25] See also Ley (1987), Duncan and Duncan (1988), Barns and Duncan (1991), Schein 1997, Matless (1998).

the material, which reannimated the material as an actor in the construction of the world. Jacobs (2006) was a prominent voice in this shift, calling for a geography of 'big things'.

Jacobs (2006) uses the term 'things' in order to emphasise that an object's status as a 'building' – or as we shall note in a moment, a building's status as 'architecture' or 'shopping centre' – is not given but is produced. A 'thing' becomes a particular sort of building as various materials are held together in specific assemblages by work of various kinds. For Jacobs (2006:3), then, the aim is to highlight that a given, seemingly self-evident 'thing: is variously made or unmade'.

This work inspired a number of other authors tacking 'big things', often buildings such as residential tower blocks (Baxter and Lees 2009; Lees and Baxter 2011; Kraftl 2009; Llewellyn 2004; Jacobs et al. 2012), airports (Adey 2008a, 2008b), skyscrapers (McNeill 2005), among others. These studies saw buildings as 'building events', a hybrid built/human form meaning that buildings are not 'consumed' but 'reproduced' (Llewellyn 2004:230). Llewellyn (2003) argues that giving voice to the inhabitants of these spaces, creates a 'polyvocal' narrative, and provides the opportunity for 'critically engaging with historical built environments, rather than passively analysing them in their contemporary setting' – particularly relevant in terms of out-dwellings. Amidst this, work by Jenkins (2002:223) considers 'the role and use of technology in enabling the interaction of a building's internal spaces with the spaces traditionally seen as being outside of it'. Jenkins (2002:225) also argues that much of the earlier work in geographical architecture saw 'the individual buildings as a blank canvas on which another discourse is illustrated', thereby neglecting the ongoing, lively intersection of materiality (changing building spaces) and human practices within the warp and weft of their materiality.

Non-representational theory and affect in architectural geography
Furthering the history and aiming for a critical geography of architecture are calls for scholars to 'acknowledge that much in the world is not discursive' (Lees 2001:56). Hailing Thrift's (2008) seminal work on 'non-representational theory' scholars called for work to focus less on the representational and more upon theories of practice, theories which see place as both embodied and performative. Lees (2001:56) became a prominent voice in this appeal, calling for geographies of architecture to 'engage with the in-habitation of architectural spaces as much as its signification … practically and actively with the situated and everyday practices through which built environments are used'. Through her

study of Vancouver's Public Library, she moves away from semiotics and explores, 'a more critical and politically progressive geography of architecture' (Lees 2001:53) taking seriously 'rapidly accelerating flows' (Lees 2001:53). Architectural geographies, she concludes, are crucial as a means of 'anchoring identities' (Lees 2001:53). Focusing this paper on the 'feelings' of buildings, Lees' claims tie to phenomenologically inspired work by Seamon (1974, 1977), Relph (1976) and Seamon and Mugerauer (1989[1985]) which focuses on the relationship between space, place and experience. It is here, therefore, that architectural geographies come into contact with notions of dwelling, as Lees (2001:75) writes: '[t]he meaning of both architectural form and behavior in space are processual and based in everyday life, in dwelling'.

Such ideas have gained traction and over the last decade there has been a steady flow of work attending to the built structure through everyday practice, using ideas of actor network theory but increasingly incorporating ideas of the non-representational and affect-based scholarship (Rose et al. 2010). A special issue of the journal *Social and Cultural Geography*, entitled 'Practising architectures', edited by Jacobs and Merriman in 2011, draws these ideas together, collecting works which deal with skill, building, vision, touch, dwelling and inhabiting, with empirical work focusing on a variety of issues, from maintenance to squatting (Bell 2011; Strebel 2011; Paterson 2011; Vasudevan 2011; Olwig 2011). These inquires aim to go beyond architecture as practised by humans (designers, occupants) to incorporate all those other practitioners (pets, insects, birds) as well as the very matter of architecture (joining, weathering) (Jacobs and Merriman 2011). In this, they include the matter (bricks, mortar) but also the *mattering* (meanings, judgements and affective atmospheres). Such work is complemented by scholarship which focuses upon the 'understanding buildings' more affective, tactile, sensual effects' (Kraftl and Adey 2008:215).

Vannini and Taggart have done work in this style and provided a body of papers in quick succession all with regard to off-grid lifestyles. This work, which focuses upon a similar set of built environments to those of this thesis, attends to the lives of inhabitants with regards to topics such as the affective properties of heat (Vaninni and Taggart 2014a), visual comfort (Vaninni and Taggart 2013a), as well as commenting on motivational

factors (Vaninni and Taggart 2013b)[26] and the practicalities of building (Vaninni and Taggart 2014b). These works provide;

> … a glimpse into the practices and experiences of off-grid communities as we have provided here – as well as other nonmainstream lifestyles centered on the value of voluntary simplicity, which more research could address – might then have a lot of to teach us about ourselves (Vaninni and Taggart 2013a:1090).

In particular, their ideas of 'thermocaption' – of heat as relational, as 'a nexus of intersecting practices and experiences through which different actors become entangled in the lifeworld' (Vaninni and Taggart 2014a:66) – are interesting, drawing attention to the underlying sensations that are difficult to 'perceive or register' (Vaninni and Taggart 2014a:66). This form of 'atmospheric attunement' within or with buildings, demanding attention to embodied experiences and practices, has much scope for expansion in architectural geography. Once again, amidst this attention to the life-world of builder and user and the co-production of space, this thesis finds inspiration. Buildings are no longer viewed as 'a passive backdrop upon which activity take place' (Adey 2008:29), but rather 'as a mechanism to make people think; to make them believe a certain thing, or to act in a particular way' (Adey 2008:31). This claim from Adey does indeed stand as a clarion-call statement for the various moves taken in the empirical chapters that follow.

Geographies of Home

Expanding on efforts to position buildings as objects worthy of focused study, this thesis also draws from geographies of home in an effort to further situate out-dwellings within theories of interior spaces. Home is a term of multiple meanings. Across different cultures and languages the associations vary. Although rooted in the Latin (*manere*) meaning 'to remain, dwell', the French word *maison* connotes a more physical image than the comparative English *home*, while the German *Heim* contains a heightened sense of refuge and asylum, thus being far from a direct translation (Tuan 1971:189). Within academic study the definitions are equally diverse. The term has been tackled by a number of disciplines, including housing studies, geography and architecture, and research into its intricacies has been exponentially expanding, with several special issues on home appearing in academic journals such as *Antipode* and *Cultural Geographies* over the last few years (Blunt and Dowling 2006:2). Subsequently, as Blunt and Dowling (2006:2) concede in the opening pages to their book *Home*, 'there is some confusion surrounding

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[26] It is worth noting that this paper also has much to say about 'radical ruralities', hence linking to my later chapter.

the term'. The following exploration will chart the multiple meanings of 'home', as special metaphor, imaginative setting and physical residence. I therefore aim to highlight that this thesis is heavily influenced by Duncan and Lambert's (2004:395) assertion that 'home is a concept that demands thorough exploration by cultural geographers'. While architectural geographies were tackled above chronologically, here I pick out themes, selecting those which are most pertinent to this thesis; idealised homes, home diversified, linking identity and home, home in terms of exclusion, and home as space, place and journey.

Idealised homes

The literature on home repeatedly highlights that house and home are often conflated, where home becomes a term for the structure in which one lives. Yet, while this thesis does not draw from such simple definitions, looking deeper at the meanings behind such a powerful term enables the underlying components of its traditional idealised form to be identified. The white, western ideology of home is primarily associated with structure, ideally detached and suburban (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Physicality, however, is not the only issue, for home is also constructed through a range of economic, social and sexual relations. In terms of economics, the concept is widely associated with ownership and is thus couched in wider patterns of capitalist accumulation (Blunt and Dowling 2006:89), articulated as 'filling the Fordist container' (Greig 1995 in Blunt and Dowling 2006:90) and subsequently enmeshed within issues of both class and race. This spatially divides the provision of home upon material lines (Blunt and Varley 2004:3). Although, interestingly for this project, as Blunt and Dowling (2006:940) note, practices of *self-building* can be used to contest the capitalist provision of housing. In addition, fundamental to the construction of home is the notion of idealisation, that certain structures, locations and social relations are perceived as more appropriate, more 'normal', and as something to aspire towards. These homes are gendered, family-orientated, existing as 'place of origin, a place of belonging, a place to which to return' (Bowlby et al. 1997:344).[27] Separated from the public sphere, these 'homely homes' (Blunt and Dowling 206:100) are places in which we feel 'at home', or 'ontologically secure' as Easthope (2004:34) suggests.[28] As such, home conveys a positive image of safety, warmth, and even love. These homes or 'havens',

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[27] It is through the practice of these social relations and assumed roles that Bowlby et al. (1997) come to a notion of 'doing home', recreating the idealised image through everyday practice, Reinders and Van Der Land (2008) argue a place for 'mental geographies' which parallels Bowlby et al.'s notions of 'doing home'. They argue that the mental geographies of the residents (what they feel and think) can inform the attitudes which subsequently shape their surroundings.

[28] This sense of home is not only created out of comfort, a refuge from the world outside, but also through personalisation of space, marking 'home' through factors such as colour, pictures and furniture choices (Dowling and Mee 2000:280 in Blunt and Dowling 2006:119).

as they sometimes appear, are portrayed as 'something we all desire' (Bowlby et al. 1997:343).

These idealised views of home are fundamental to a geographical *understanding* of home but they should not be seen *as* home. Rather, these ideals represent a rather white, western, middle-class version of this term. In different nations, cultures and even between individuals, home will be articulated in different ways, with different aspirations and expectations accredited. Therefore as Blunt and Dowling (2006:109) accurately acknowledge, 'meanings of home are dependent on social, geographical, and historical context, as are the material forms they take'. Nevertheless, as Bowlby et al. (1997:334) also aptly comment, these relations, 'may be accepted or rejected but they cannot be ignored' (1997:344) – they can, however, be critiqued.

Home diversified

Critiques have been consistent against a reductive and static view of home. Cultural and feminist geographers in particular have taken up the challenge of diversifying the experience of home, undermining the numerous binaries through which home is cast – Figure 3.

Home	Work
Feminine	Masculine
Private	Public
Domestic	Civic
Emotions	Rationality
Reproduction	Production
Tradition	Modernity
Local	Global
Stasis	Change

Figure 3. Dualistic understandings of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006:17)

The term is reconceptualised as 'the multi-scalar, material and imaginative site in and through which power and identity intersect with, and disrupt, and extend common understandings of home' (McLean 2008:397). The accepted definition is thus revisited, beginning with the notion of refuge. Home is ritualistically defined as a refuge, as a private, safe space where people can retreat and relax, protected from the public world outside (Reinders and Van Der Land 2008). Home is thus construed, in both physical and emotional terms, as house and 'at-homeness' where home becomes both a metaphor and a

place. According to Manzo (2003), problems arise when this metaphor is taken literally, undermining the complexities of the concept and sugar-coating home, linking it to the positive images of the Romantic tradition where home becomes haven.

This thesis has, however, drawn heavily from critiques of this 'house as haven' thesis, as it has become known (Brickell 2014). Blunt and Dowling suggest that 'homely homes' can be unhomely and places assumed to be unhomely can in fact prove otherwise. To elaborate, Sigmund Freud's concept of the 'uncanny' can be used to explore the way in which home may differ from haven (Blunt and Dowling 2006:26). For Freud (1959 in Day 1997), *heimlich* is a term referring to familiarity and homeliness, and can be contrasted with *unheimlich*, which can be read as unfamiliarity and unhomeliness. As these concepts interact, the 'uncanny' is produced, and one's house may appear unhomely or unfamiliar and one feels out of place (Kaika 2004). In such instances, for some the 'homely home' can represent a prison, as well as a refuge. Feminist work on both domestic labour and domestic violence highlights this notion, but these are not the only voices to raise critique (Bowlby et al. 1997; Domosh 1998; Valentine 1992). Within art, Peter Landy's *Semi-Detached* – an exact replica of his parents' house constructed in the Tate art gallery – physically represents home as a space of isolation for his increasingly immobile father (Burn 2004). This notion of isolation can also be found in terms of sexuality (Valentine 1993), the pervasive notion of home as a familial space ignoring the fact that 'indeed for some, home is a closet' (Blunt and Dowling 2006:115). Therefore, the idea of home as a familial construct implies notions of 'appropriate membership, relationships, and behaviours against which deviations may be compared and measured' (Bowlby et al. 1997: 344). The notion of home as a private idyll is thus shattered in the face of such exclusionary experiences of home while the dialectical separation of public and private is simultaneously undermined. Home is not always a haven, and should thus be seen as both connected and formed through a complex network of interactions and social relations which take place beyond the physical entity of the house (Massey 1992; Reinders and Van der land 2008).

Furthermore, as Blunt and Dowling (2006:121) note, 'unhomely places can be experienced in homely ways'. Notions of home are not restricted to house and can be associated with a wide range of structures. Indeed, distantly echoing Jackson on trailer-park America, home can be created in novel ways in improbable dwellings such as student accommodation, boats, mobile homes, squatter settlements and, just as easily, huts or out-dwellings. In such places, certain elements of what it takes to constitute a sense of home (shelter, privacy,

control, continuity) can be felt and experienced (Blunt and Dowling 2006:121). In this light, it can be argued that mobile homes cannot be 'home' due to the associated mobility, although work exists which emphasises the 'homely practices' of caravaners and their 'miniturisation of home' – another pertinent concept for studies of the hut (Southerland et al. 2007 in Blunt and Dowling 2006:123).[29] Therefore the ideal home is an illusion, replaced by a diverse and yet fluid notion of home which leaves far more room for a hut to embody something of a home.

Linking identity and home

Also influential in terms of the geographies of home have been more philosophical works on home by the likes of Bachelard and Heidegger, and humanist geographers such as Tuan and Relph. Having become somewhat obscured during the rise of positivist spatial science and Marxist theory (Blunt and Dowling 2006), the so-called 'cultural, interpretive and linguistic turn' (Castree 2011:188) from the late-1980s, put home back onto geographical agendas. While such research can be critiqued for its focus on male identity (Rose 1993 in Blunt and Dowling 2006) and for pedaling romanticised notions of home which fail to adequately acknowledge the relations between social structures and experiences of place (Blunt and Dowling 2006:15), the humanist approach to home is nonetheless fundamental to a subsequent understanding of the hut or out-dwelling. In this perspective, *meaning* is foregrounded, prompting research into how people experience their dwelling place and in turn create a sense of home through their own identity (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

Seen in this way, for humanistic geographers, home was not necessarily a house or even another form of shelter. Rather, home was, and indeed is, seen as a 'special kind of place' (Easthope 2004:135): an 'irreplaceable centre of significance' (Relph 1976:39 in Blunt and Dowling 2006:11) and also a location 'to which one withdraws and from which one ventures forth' (Tuan 1971:189). In order to fully describe the arguments at play here, it is first necessary to look back, exploring the works of an earlier age.

As chronicled earlier in my explorations of landscape-related literature, Heidegger's (1973 in Easthope 2004) arguments in *Being and Time* have gone a long way to break down Cartesian dualist thought which separates mind from body, suggesting instead that the

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[29] While perhaps not crucial for an examination of 'out-dwellings' home can also be formed without shelter. In her work on homelessness Valentine has found that 'homeless people create relationships, social networks and appropriate spaces which take on many of the meanings of home (eg abode, identity, roots)' (2001:101 in Blunt and Dowling 2006:129).

mind (who we humans are) is intrinsically linked through our bodies to the outside world. Thus, Heidegger's argument is an ontological one which, through the notion of dwelling, views home as a means of being-in-the-world. These ideas can be linked to Bachelard's *Poetics and Space*, first published in 1958, which focuses upon the meanings of house and home. Writing from a phenomenological perspective (with insights from psychology and anthropology), Bachelard finds in the house 'a metaphor for humanness' (Stilgoe 1994:vii), and 'a *tool for analysis* of the human soul' (Bachelard 1994:xxxvii). To understand home, for Bachelard, we must thus go beyond mere description of homes and look at how we inhabit and make meaning in that space, 'for our house is our corner of the world. It has often been said, it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word. If we look at it intimately, the humblest dwelling has beauty' (Bachelard 1994:4). Bachelard's argument is thus not only that self and place are linked, but also that the humble is worthy of study.[30] He walks us through his idea that the places which we inhabit shape the people we become, through dreams, memory and imagination. Physicality is not the key influence of home, but rather it is the images created through the interplay of mind and place which creates our experience of home and 'moves us at an unimaginable depth' (Bachelard 1994:6), from the hermit's hut (associated with primitiveness, solitude and yet warmth) to the interplay of cellars, imagined danger and fear. In short, as Malpus (1999:5 in Easthope 2004:130) notes, 'inner space is externalised and outer space brought within'.

These arguments surrounding the existential state of home, have continued in humanistic writings. In Tuan's (1971:182) *Topophilia*[31] he provides a set of examples of how 'geography mirrors man [*sic*]', arguing that the better we understand the world, the better we understand ourselves:

> It is of course stretching the metaphor to say that 'the house is the man [*sic*]' since a man's world is far more than his house; but we readily accept the idea that a careful reading of the house can tell us much about the occupant – beyond his biological and economic needs to his intentions and aspirations (Tuan 1971:181).

Seamon recurs as a familiar influence, broadening this notion of understanding the world in which we live, discussing 'at-homeness', 'the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in, and familiar with, the everyday world in which one lives, and outside of which one is visiting' (Seamon 1979:70 in Manzo 2003:40). While, as

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[30] A claim of course echoed by both Jackson and Kniffen.
[31] A term used to denote the 'affective bond between people and place' (Duncan and Duncan 2001:141 in Easthope 2004:130).

implied earlier, it is necessary to note that *topophilia* (positive, affection, 'at homeness') for places can be paralleled by *topophobia* (an oppressive, restrictive feeling) (Relph 1976 in Manzo 2003: 51), such work is important to show that home need not signify shelter. Bunkše's (2004) work is particularly illustrative of this argument that home can extend outwith the material dwelling, or around particular elements within. Focusing at one point on a wood stove he writes, 'home is sometimes a state of mind' (2004:94 in Blunt and Dowling 2006:13). Therefore, while works such as these do tend to focus on the notion of home as refuge, these theorists nonetheless help us to see that relationships to place are dynamic, created not only out of social processes outwith the home, but also from within the self.

'Matter out of place': home in terms of exclusion

While home can be viewed as the simultaneous creation of place and self, it can also be argued that home is defined by that which it excludes. Although touched upon above in terms of home as a refuge from social problems outwith, this notion of exclusion can also be turned to non-human entities such as nature and dirt. Campkin and Cox (2007) offer an excellent theoretical overview of dirt, where it can be seen to be socially constructed as both a material and psychological entity. These ideas link back to Douglas's ground-breaking book *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (2002) first published in 1966. Her arguments depict the way in which pollution and purity reflect social states of order and disorder, and thus, as Wolkowitz (2007:17) notes, 'nothing is dirty in itself; dirt only exists because, as matter out of place, it lies outside and threatens the social system'. These concepts may appear inconsequential but in truth are far from so being, as these ideas are so pervasive they have come to constitute 'normality'. As Campkin and Cox state,

> … beyond the specific architectures of hygiene, notions of dirt and cleanliness can be said directly or indirectly to influence the arrangement and occupation of all interior and exterior space, informing the minutiae of human behaviour and actively influencing relations between people (2007:4).

These ideas can be read socially, as Sibley (1995:ix) notes, since 'the human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion'. In terms of this exploration of house-as-home-as-hut, however, it is salient to examine the way in which understandings of dirt, pollution and nature more broadly have been conceptually advanced through the field of post-Freudian (particularly Lacanian) psychoanalytic theory, often as a direct outcome of Douglas's work. The French feminist theorist Kristeva is certainly informed by Douglas's work in her

concept of abjection (in Wolkowitz 2007). In this line of thought the abject provokes fear and disgust because it highlights the fragile border between self and other. The abject however, is also juxtaposed as a source of fascination and pleasure. Therefore, while dirt is to be avoided, there is also a draw to discover how much can be tolerated, an idea with interesting connotations for out-dwellings (Douglas in Wolkowitz 2007:17).

These ideas are continued in work that traces the entanglements of nature and culture. Maria Kaika states that 'the idea of a house as a means of separating the inside from the outside, nature from human beings, the public from the private sphere, has existed since antiquity' (2004:265). Such duality operates on a twin process of exclusion: excluding social processes and relations (crime, homelessness, undesired others) and natural processes and elements ('dust, cold or polluted air, rain, dirt, sewage, smog etc.') (Kaika 2004:266); and, by her reckoning, exclusion of the elements is indeed 'the whole history and *raison d'étre* of architecture' (2004:272). Yet, having examined the way in which 'nature became scripted as "the other" to the private space of the bourgeoisie home in western societies' (Kaika 2004:266), it is this idea which she subsequently challenges, deconstructing a home's ability to exist apart from both social and natural processes.

Highlighting the 'porosity' (Kaika 2004:274) of the modern home, she details the simultaneous need and denial of an 'other', in this case water. Water is here depicted as a prime example of Latour's 'quasi-object' (1993 in Kaika 2004:267), something that is neither a purely natural nor purely human construction. Nature by this argument is not excluded entirely, but rather is recast in terms of good (purified, commodified) and bad (polluted, wild), where good is not only allowed to enter the home, but is a vital part of its smooth function:[32]

> … hence, we can detect an interesting parallel between the ideological exclusion of social processes and the ideological exclusion of natural processes from the domestic sphere. In both cases, the sense of familiarity within the modern home is predicated upon its material connection to the very elements and processes which are excluded ideologically. The 'other' in the form of natural processes or social relations of production is simultaneously inside yet outside, domestic yet unfamiliar, homely yet unhomely. Thus, although the modern home is ideologically constructed as independent and *disconnected* from natural processes, its function is heavily dependent upon its material *connections* to these very processes which are mediated through a series of networks and social power relations (Kaika 2004:275).

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[32] Note that Kaika (2004) also highlights that nature is only ever 'visually excluded' in pipes, bins etc. Therefore, the idea of a dualism of home and nature is predicated not on complete exclusion, merely visual exclusion – there is no such guise in hutting.

Her argument is thus that natural processes are hidden, rather than excluded, as previous discourse would suggest.

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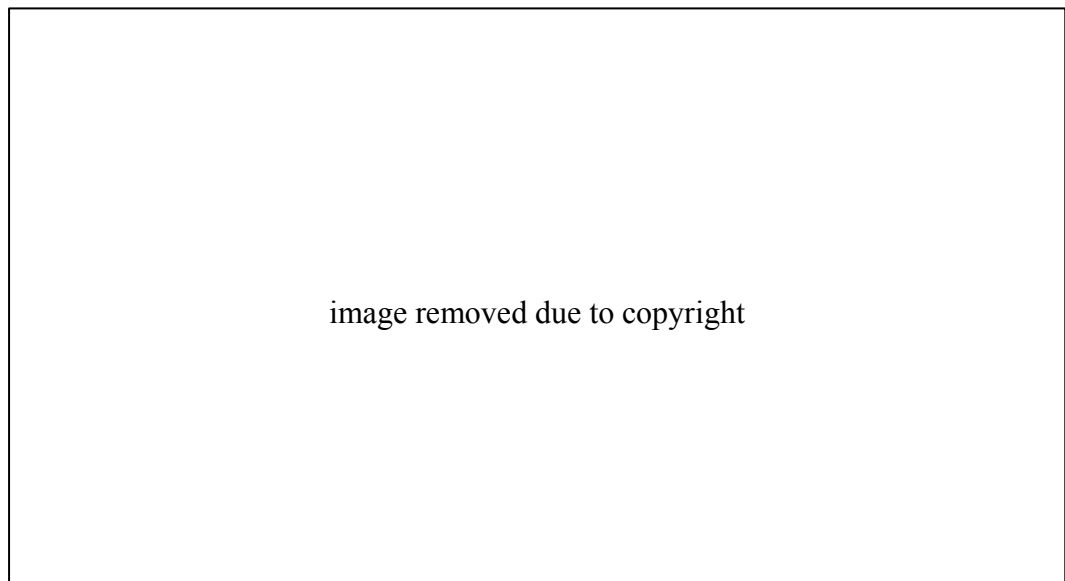
Figure 4. Renso Piano and Richard Rogers Pompidou Center, Paris.
(https://archidialog.com/tag/renzo-piano/)

It is from this standpoint that Kaika (2004:281) argues that 'the dwelling places of modernity are *hosts* of the uncanny in their very structure', a particularly intriguing line of thought. Within this, incidents such as a tap no longer producing water can create a sense of uneasiness, threatening the comfort of familiar spaces and creating a sense of un-homeliness within the home, Freud's 'the uncanny', as discussed earlier. Using Piano and Roger's Pompidou Center in Paris (Figure 4) as an example, Kaika (2004:277) states that, 'it is when the predictable nature of the familiar acts in unpredictable ways that the uncanny effect is produced', as is the effect of this building showing its 'guts'.

It thus appears that, while dirt, pollution and nature cannot be entirely excluded from the home, they can still create discomfort when discovered or malfunctioning[33] within it. However, according to Freid (2000 in Reinders and Van der Land 2008:8) in reference to a disruption of home, 'most people manage to acclimate themselves and even appear satisfied with conditions they may have considered intolerable only shortly before' – a poignant point in reference to out-dwellings. Moreover, underlining the purpose of this literary excavation, as Cox (2007a:11) aptly states, 'these ideas about the home, and

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[33] The uncanny produced by the presence of something can also be felt in its absence, and thus leaking water or not flowing water can elicit the same response.

domestic social relations can be used to understand notions of pollution and purity in other settings' – particularly in those she would term the 'quasi-domestic'.

Home as place, space and journey

This last section will briefly attend to three conceptual cogs of home; multiscalar definitions, home beyond the residence, and the importance of journey. Primarily, as Easthope (2004:135) highlights, 'what appears clear in all of the reviewed literature is that home is, first and foremost, a special kind of place'. With idealised forms conceived around notions of ownership permanence and residence (Blunt and Dowling 2006), a spatial definition of home requires discussion, foregrounding the notion of a 'sense of place' to which home can be attached and from which a sense of identity can be created (Easthope 2004). According to Rose (1995:103 in Easthope 2004:130), however, 'a sense of place is part of the politics of identity', and thus is implicitly defined by the creation of an 'other'. Existing as the thesis underpinning Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (2003 originally 1978), this notion of 'othering' and the negative projections of 'us/here' to 'them/there', has led many to discuss 'the dark side of topophilia'. These notions link to the psycho-social approach taken by Porteous (1976:383) when exploring the ecological theory of territoriality and noting that home provides humans with the 'essential territorial satisfactions [of] identity, security, and stimulation'. Thus home has been scaled up as a concept, into ideologies such as 'homeland security', and utilised by governments to demarcate boundaries and promote national identity and nationalism (Bowlby et al. 1997, Blunt and Dowling 2006). As Philo notes, this phrase suggests that,

> … actions on a national, even global, stage can readily be allied with protecting the intimate spaces of domesticity, the home and hearth, potentially stirring into the mix of geopolitical praxis deeply problematic connotations about who 'we' would wish to invite into or, more tellingly, debar from 'our' cosy homes (2012:2).

It therefore appears that home should be seen in connection to a complex network of interactions, rather than a specific geographic space. Unlike other scalar epistemologies, as Reinders and Van Der Land (2008:4) note, 'home often stretches beyond the residential environment and can connect with both functional as well as affective relations in other settings than the place where people actually reside'.[34] Such ideas sit well with Massey's (1992:13) notions of a 'stretched' sense of place, where modernity has ensured that place is

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[34] Also interesting is Caluya's (2010:204) point that home has a 'certain plastic tendency that enables its boundaries to expand and shrink', and Briknell's (2012:585) argument that space needs to be made for research aware that 'geopolitics is influenced *by*, and emerges *from*, the home'.

no longer bounded, but exists 'as particular nodal points within a complex web of social interactions which stretch around the world' (Easthope 2004:129). This suggestion that place attachment is a dynamic phenomenon is far from new, however, since it exists in earlier theoretical concepts such as Relph's notions of 'inside/outside' (1974 in Manzo 2003:48) and even Tuan's 'home and journey' (1971:188). Extending this notion of home as a dynamic concept, it is crucial to highlight that, as Blunt and Dowling (2006:10) reflect, 'the spatialities of homes are broader than just housing'. Manzo highlights that Heidegger's work on 'dwelling' succinctly describes this point. Rather than specifying that labour takes place 'here' and dwelling 'there', his idea denotes a way of being in the world (Heidegger 1971 in Manzo 2003). As Heidegger (1971:145 in Manzo 2003:49) writes, '[t]he truck driver is at home on the highway, but he does not have his shelter there; the working woman is at home in the spinning mill but does not have her dwelling place there'. Houses hold no guarantee that dwelling occurs within them, and thus home not only can be scaled up and stretched, it can also be heterogeneous. As Manzo (2003) goes on to highlight, public spaces, the 'sacred structures' of the everyday material surroundings, can hold great value in local lives, as can locations outwith the everyday.

Home, as Tuan (1971) has notes, cannot be fully accounted for without a mention of journey. Taking a phenomenological perspective, he argues that home and journey are two elements of a pair, and thus home cannot be identified with safety[35] without journeying to the dangers outwith. Thus, it can be argued that home is the product of an active engagement with the outside world, rather than a retreat from it (Cassiman in Reinders and Van Der Land 2008). Furthermore, as Case (1996 in Manzo 2003) notes, through a dialectical process of interaction, being away from home can highlight the meaning and significance of an individual's conceptualisation *of* home. Manzo (2003:57) suggests that, 'important lessons can be learned from recent research on people's relationships to places outside of their residence'. Natural setting and wilderness experiences in particular can have restorative effects (Manzo 2003). However, while such research is crucial for a project such as thus, as Manzo adds, we must also look beyond such research and 'learn more about the ways that many different places hold meaning for people outside of natural environments and local neighbourhood places' (2003:57) – a gap in which huts can comfortably sit. Jones' work on memory (2003, 2015) is also of note here, where, most recently, he has used the memory of his childhood home to narrate between loss of place, memory and landscape. Acknowledging the breadth of academic interest in displacement,

[35] It is acknowledged here that the conflation of home and safety is false.

migration and exile, Jones (2015:13) focuses instead on what he calls, 'more local … geographical terms and singular … experiences', which, in their 'remembered absences can become entangled in a range of materialities and practices of the new home landscape'. Such ideas have tremendous potential for discussions concerning the making of home, through the experiencing of hut. As Jones continues;

> 'Absence, a not-being-anymore, or not-being-with-me-anymore (there is a difference), can form such threads, carried by memory, photographs, flowing through objects, places and texts in ways which infect the living landscape of presense' (2015:12)

Ultimately, home is a fluid concept which cannot be pinned to a rigid definition. As Bachelard (1994:xxx) notes, the psychoanalyst fails to see the object but looks at the factors which shaped its creation – '[h]e explains the flower by the fertiliser' – while spatial science omits emotion and humanism is critiqued for neglecting the social. Therefore, while this thesis most certainly draws from this diverse home literature, I have been vigilant throughout that any attempt at understanding home, as much as not home, must be multifaceted, embracing the contributions from across and beyond the geographical tradition.

Rural Geographies

Lastly in this review of the concepts used to inform my thesis, I address rural geography, a named sub-discipline which can largely be defined as 'the study of the processes through which rurality is produced, reproduced and contested, and of the places and practices that are associated with "rural" ways of being' (Woods 2009:429). Rural geography has developed from the mapping of rural areas, and the statistical analysis of their characteristics (see for example, Kniffen (1936) within architectural geography or referenced above), along with a focus on traditional concerns such as agriculture, rural resource management and conservation, rural land use and planning, population, migration and rural social structure, rural economic development, rural settlement patterns and communities, rural infrastructure and recreation and tourism. While such foci are important in the formation of this sub-discipline, this thesis has instead drawn on versions of rural geography which has emerged since the 1970s, where significant areas of study have shifted to address poverty, deprivation and social welfare in rural areas, rural governance and politics, social difference and experiences of rural life, and rural culture and media representations. To this list I would add a notable shift in methodology, encompassing

ethnography and an integration of theory, including critical theory but most recently including ideas from the non-representational canon (as discussed earlier).

In my considerations of rural geography I must again acknowledge that my inspirations are widespread. I do not pull from a particular thread of this sub-discipline but rather take motivation from work across the last thirty years. In acknowledging these contributions, the following investigation charts a number of themes, beginning with the idea of the rural as a social construct through the notion of the idyll and counter-idyll, before making an attempt to fracture the idyll in tracing the influence of the cultural turn in producing a new wave in rural geography alert to 'neglected rural geographies' (Philo 1992). Drawing together threads for a possible radical rural, I then consider works on counter-urbanisation and back-to-the-land movements, before lastly addressing another facet of rural geography – the growing engagement with therapeutic rural landscapes.

Rurality as a social construct - idyll

Following from the influence of political economy, rural geography (inspired by wider geographical turns) sought to investigate ideas of representation, which led to an understanding of rurality as a social construct. As Little notes,

> … in showing that the experiences of different identities were profoundly affected by space and place, geographers began to draw attention to the ways in which we understand rurality, arguing that it was this cultural construction of the rural that lay at the heart of social exclusion as experienced by some groups of rural residents (2015:796-797).

Central to this shift was the concept of the idyll popularly imagined through village greens, pubs and roses, with an atmosphere of charm and an air of timeless traditions. This is, however, a culturally and geographically specific version of the idyll, and not one which necessarily travels north of the border from England to Scotland. The effect of the idyll is well documented (Bunce 1994, Halfacree 1995; Little and Austin 1996, Mingay 1989; Short 1991; Williams 1973; Bunce 2003; Cloke 2003; Newby 1979), it being well appreciated that the image of the idyll forms an active discourse which shapes representations and understandings of the rural. As Cloke notes,

> [s]omewhere deep down in the early twenty-first century psyche there seems to be remaining longstanding, handed-down precepts about rural areas, marking them as spaces enabled by nature, offering opportunities for living and lifestyle which are socially cohesive, happy and healthy, and presenting a pace and quality of life that differs from that in the city (2003:1).

A fuller exploration of the idyll is offered in Chapter 9, but, of note here are those studies which highlight the diversity of idylls (Cloke et al. 2002), the importance of the shift from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption in creating them (Bunce 2003), and their place often set in opposition to an industrialised urban. It is, however, ideas of the idyll as a 'universal need' (Bunce 2003), as 'refuge from modernity' (Short 1991:34 in Woods 2005:13) and as a binary formulation of spatio-temporal life (Tuan 1974) which have proved most salient to this project.

These studies have not only charted the rise of the idyll, and its effects upon rural society, but they also show that it 'is remarkable … how culturally embedded it is' (Bunce 2003:19). As Bunce concludes, 'while the issues may shift and the strength of the idyllic vision will be challenged from time to time, history tells us that it will continue to dominate the discourse over the future of rurality for a long time to come' (2003:28). Addressing the spatial as well as temporal importance of this term in writing his 'Armchair countryside', Bunce seeks to capture the notion that successive generations have consumed the rural at a distance, discounting the need for direct experience (Bunce 1994, 2003). Therefore, these imaginings of the idyll are not necessarily the product of a rural reality, but, as Halfacree (1993) highlights, are largely the visioning of a hegemonic bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, as Little's recent appraisal of rural geography notes,

> [c]onstructions of rural places and societies were revealed as potentially responsible, in Western economies, not only for the general attitudes toward the countryside – in the UK in particular for the overwhelmingly positive representation of rural lifestyles – but also for more specific responses to social groups and events (Little 2015:797).

Work on the idyll has therefore not only highlighted the creation and effect of the idyll (or more accurately idylls) but also the longevity and strength of its effects.

Counter-idyll

Investigations of the idyll have also emphasised that the rural is fractured along social lines, and within 'the evidence for the rural idyll, even in different idylls, as a possession of the white, Anglo middle class is overwhelming' (Bunce 2003:27). Halfacree (1993) was early to highlight that the rural idyll was the visioning of the rural by a hegemonic bourgeoise. Bunce argues that it has been cemented through their ability to turn idealisation into practice in these landscapes. While this claim could lend itself to hutting

through the creation of the idyllised hut, such a view of these buildings and the associated lifestyle does not carry through for all as many aim to create different idylls, which are idyllic for 'other folk'. Take, for instance, this account of Arcadia, an English example of a hutting landscape used to situate my contemporary study;

> Seemingly a world apart from classical images of Arcadia as a rural paradise is a landscape of self-made homes and converted railway carriages in irregular layouts of plots, with unmade roads and a marked absence of service. Yet for many urban dwellers who escaped to the country, if only for a weekend, this makeshift world was to all intents and purposes the Arcadia of classical repute (Hardy and Ward 1985:141).

Such development in what came to be known as the 'plotlands' marks a highpoint in English hutting history, with huts appearing on marginal land in reach of urban centres. Yet, while an 'arcadia' for some, others were less enamoured with such structures. During the late 1930s, S. B. Mais lamented that 'the whole side of the Chiltern escarpment that leads down to Ashton Rowant is now honeycombed with hideous shacks thrown haphazard like sponges of mud against the hillside once covered with trees. The hut-dwellers both get the view and spoil it' (in Hardy and Ward 1985:143). This view captures the sense of outrage in the preservationist lobby against the assumed assault on the traditional countryside, despite the fact that such structures comprised only a small proportion of development during that time. In line with such views, similar development was sharply curtailed with strict planning controls introduced after the Second World War (Hardy and Ward 1985). This example gives life to Bell's caution against 'assuming a monolithic rural idyll' (in Bunce 2003:26) as in this instance the idyll of the minority did not match that of the majority, and the normative views quickly sought to curtail its deviance.

Therefore, inspired to broaden, unpack and to a certain extent deconstruct the association between the idyll and hutting, this thesis is reflective of changes in rural geography over the last two decades or so. As Cloke and Little summarise;

> in terms of theoretical 'stuff', rural studies has travelled a tortuous and non-linear journey from a fascination with theorising regularity, via a fascination with a critical theorising of the sameness inherent in the structuring of opportunities and the agency of human decision-making, to the more recent emphasis on theorising differences and significations in geographies of otherness, discourse and cultural symbolism (1997:2).

Neglected rural geographies

Many cite the debate between Philo and Murdoch and Pratt in the *Journal of Rural Geography* as a key moment in the shift towards noticing the previously neglected elements of rural life. Acting as a 'springboard' (Little 2015:796) for change, a relative outsider to rural geography, Chris Philo highlighted that existing work on the rural had been predominantly cast through a lens of the typically middle-class, white, straight, healthy male, and so he argued for research which moved beyond the narratives of these 'Mr Averages' (1992:200). He urged academic rural geographers to broaden their angle to include the non-hegemonic within their research repertoire. Such was the impact of this call that Philo (1997:22) later went on to argue that 'there is presently an excited swirl of interest within and around rural geography about the conceptual, empirical and perhaps 'political' implications of paying attention to different kinds of people occupying, experiencing, shaping and coping with different kinds of spaces'. It is into this category that a study of out-dwellings can fall, aiming to shed light onto a much maligned world of rural Scotland, continually overshadowed by windfarms, estates and tourism.

Much has been written about this need to address neglected rural geographies and those 'othered' within them. These include studies of young people (Jones 1999; Valentine 1997), black and ethnic minority people (Snipp 1996), gays and lesbians (Smith and Holt, 2005) and homeless people (Cloke et al. 2002). This work strives to situate these 'others' within critical debates in social and culture theory, and it has also 'recognized that everyday experiences of those living in rural areas are shaped by the interaction of identity and place' (Wood 2011 in Little 2015:796). As Little (2015:796) notes, this shift in the 1990s to work on 'neglected others' was important due to 'its focus on forms of disadvantage that were not entirely class-based'. New works therefore incorporated novel (at the time) aspects such of gender (Cloke 2003; Little and Austin 1996; Little 2003, 2007), and drew upon theories from Foucault and Said in seeking to understand the societal and spatial constructions of rural life. As such, attempts arose to show how places are not only forgotten by the academic community, but also how they are shaped and controlled by the society of which they are a part. This move in rural geography is crucial for inspiring this thesis to pay heed to Cloke's (2003:2) conclusion that 'we *must* go beyond cultural constructions of idyll in order to find new ways of knowing and understanding rurality'.

Radical rural

This thesis has also sought inspiration from an emerging rural geography which appreciates the potential for a radical rural. This work can be grouped thematically as; resistance in reflection in practice, resistance through mobility, resistance through access to leisure and resistance in land ownership. To this end inspiration has been drawn from work emerging from the 1980s and 1990s which tackled the nature and implications of migration into rural areas. During this period 'counterurbanisation was identified as both a threat to and saviour of a traditional way of life' (Little 2015:795). Of particular interest, however, have been more recent reappraisals of the term. Counterurbanisation, although subject to Mitchell's (2004:160) 'definitional conundrum', has been offered new life by Keith Halfacree (2008:410) who, despite acknowledging a falling arc of research on the topic at the end of the twentieth century, argues that 'there *is* more to say'. Perhaps most pertinently,

> There is much to be gained by refusing the predominant framing of the definitional debate as it has progressed thus far and seeing counterurbanisation as a flexible category, capable of embracing a broader range of people and experiences than is typically the case. (Halfacree 2008:481).

Acknowledging that there are multiple meanings embedded in the seemingly mundane, '"leisure" for Lefebvre, for example', Halfacree (2008:485) pushed for acknowledgement of 'creative energies' that lie beyond the 'ordinary' manifestation of counterurbanisation. He argued that to cast it off, 'would be a superficial, simplistic and conceptually naïve dismissal, with recent years witnessing an upsurge in studies of everyday life' (Halfacree 2008:484). These 'creative energies', for this topic at least, lie in the idea of migration, arguing that such movement has 'the potential to stir a radical ingredient into the emerging post-productivist countryside' (Halfacree 1997:71).

Of particular value here are Halfacree's ideas concerning the relationship of movement and the attraction of nature. While there are those who deem the seeking out of nature as a basic human condition (Harrison 1982 in Bunce 2003), Halfacree (1997:75) asserts that such 'abstract universal needs' are abstract only in a conceptual sense, since they are always situated in specific contexts. Therefore, such migration can be seen as a product of the times. It is here that the so-called postmodern condition can be seen to create a reactionary rurality as individuals scramble to find ontological security in a society which

no longer affords it.[36] As Halfacree (1997:81) reflects, however, 'it seems to easy to dismiss counterurbanisation as a reactionary premodern nostalgic response'. It is thus in looking deeper into the possibility of a 'hidden subvertiveness' that Halfacree introduces the notion of a 'critical modernist' perspective within counterurbanisation. In this way, such practices could be read as a 'a form or dialectical synthesis between postmodernism and premodernism, refracted through the modernist concern for order' (Halfacree 1997:83), or, in other words, an ability to see the benefits of understanding the past in dealing with the present. It is here that counterurbanisation has 'the *potential* (whether or not realised) to feed into radical critiques of postmodern capitalist society' (Halfacree 2008:485). If nothing more, such action at least presents knowledge about the fallibility of the previous steadfast belief in the power of progress (Halfacree 1997).[37] Therefore, if driven by a critical modern impetus, as opposed to a search for 'lifestyle' or a nostalgic passion for the past, counterurbanisation can have a radical element and it is here that the concept of 'marginal counterurbanisation' (Halfacree 2007a) is of particular use.

One example of this 'marginal counterurbanisation' is the back-to-the-land-movement that typically involved rural migration and the adoption of a set of cultural values which differ from that of the mainstream. Integral to this movement is a wish to reconnect with both the land and its assumed 'nature' (Halfacree 2007a). Although commonly associated with the 1960s and 1970s, it has reformed and gathered increased interest over recent years, appearing in very different form to its predecessor and becoming influential in debates surrounding the future of the rural in the global north. It is around this recent incarnation that Wilbur (2013) puts forward a strong case for a radical ruralism within the back-to-the-land movement. He argues that, in 'placing food production at the forefront of their adopted lifestyles, back-to-the-landers promote a positive, pro-rural ideal over reactionary anti-urbanism' (Wilbur 2013:149).

Also of use in considering 'back-to-the-landers' are Carlesson's (2008) arguments that, while self-sufficiency practices create alternative infrastructures which reclaim power from capitalist structures of provision, there is yet more to be gained;

> … the common values and material experiences gained during the life of these projects reinforce each contributor's imagination, self esteem and stamina, and provide indispensible lessons in self-organisation. DIY experiences become

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[36] Definitions and wider discussion is given to both the postmodern condition and ontological security in Halfacree (1997), as too in the Philo, Pratt and Murdoch exchange.
[37] There are of course cautions to this tale, and Halfacree (1997:84) talks of the twin dangers of trendiness or righteousness.

key foundations for on-going, sustainable commitments to radical change (Carlesson 53 in Wilbur 2013:151).

Exploring back-to-the-land migration as a positive example of a 'politicised enactment of alternative social and economic relations' (Wilbur 2013:154-155), Wilbur highlights how the radical can be practical as well as reflective. He cites Kingnorth (2010), who verifies this notion in arguing that the key for changing the stagnant view of the rural as conservative and homogenous lies in demonstrating the potential for a new way of rural living. Aiming to get back to the land, he claims, creates and shares knowledge about human interaction with the world around them, about local ecologies, about mitigating waste and about acting against unnecessary consumption (Kinghorn 2010 in Wilbur 2013). At the root of this lies not only a greater sense of order, as in Halfacree's 'critical modernism', but a heightened sense of control over the local environment. Wilbur (2013:157) thereby highlights Holloway's suggestion of 'a continuity and solidarity between organised political rebellion and individual efforts toward greater autonomy, in that both 'share in a movement of refusal-and-other-creation''.

This recognition of the radical potential of new rural practices is integral to Halfacree's (2007b:title) work on 'trial by space', a paper which uses Lefevre's model of space to analyse the ways in which the rural can be radical. Through this lens, Halfacree creates space for future studies to appreciate that "radical ruralities' can [thus be seen] to take many forms' (Halfacree 2007b:131), offering notions of difference which, in Lefebvre's terms, aim to 'shatter' the 'system' (1991 [1974]:372 in Halfacree 2007b:131). All of this confirms Merriman's conclusion that, 'radical politics has to begin and end in everyday life' (2002:79 quoted in Halfacree 2007b:138).

Such radical potential is also present in the work of rural scholars who address issues of mobility. Halfacree (2007b:133) sees radical potential in the ability of migration between urban and rural (or within rural) to 'inscribe a kind of nomadism'.[38] David Sibley (2006) offers similar conclusions in acknowledging the ability of marginalised or 'neglected' others' to enable researchers to understand rural divisions. Offering a psychogeographic stance on rural issues he posits that movement is troublesome because it differs from the dominant view of the rural as homogenous and bounded, encapsulating certain social and cultural qualities (Sibley 2003:219). Discussing the privileging of knowledge and subsequent discourse of ownership, Sibley (2003:220) describes the issues surrounding an

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[38] See here Halfacree's (1996) work on transience undertaken by festivalgoers and travellers.

'imagined rural community' where certain minority voices are disregarded and peoples displaced.[39] Exploring these issues through psychogeographies, Sibley argues that, although produced in the unconscious, entrenched anxieties about social and cultural change can be realised in real processes and are often apparent in spatial practices. The consequence can be a culture of defense against difference, often cast along class boundaries:

> The bourgeoisie have for a long time signalled their anxieties about movements into *their* rural space by others who bring with them elements of disorder. The familiar coupling of disorder and dirt has been used in connection with recreational trips of the urban working class into the countryside in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, (Matless 1998) and, in the nineteenth century, the same images were used to denigrate Gypsies travelling in rural England (Mayall 1988). The latter is particularly interesting because modern, negative, reactions to Travellers often include the romantic observation that they formerly blended into the rural scene. This kind of displacement (placing a group in the past) is a common method of distantiation. These responses to Others in the countryside clearly required a vision of order and harmony produced by the work and stewardship of landowners and farmers and the erasure from rural social space of anything discrepant, like the shanty towns occupied by the migrant workers who built the railways, or plotland settlements in the 1920s (Sibley 2003:224).

In terms of boundaries, this process can also be reversed. Just as there are those who seek to defend the countryside, there are others who seek to defend their right to access it. I am interested in these other groupings, those who, energized by a counter-rural idyll are potentially producing new ways of occupying, indeed of dwelling, in rural spaces. As such, it is crucial to note that this thesis has also learned much from previous battles for accessing leisure. The Kinder Scout Mass Trespass on the 24th April 1932 is an iconic example. This popular act of defiance against the power of the landed elite is by no means the first example where civil disobedience has been used to fight for freedom of access to recreational land, and it is unlikely to be the last. Nonetheless it remains, as Donnelly (1986:211) notes, 'a cultural moment of great significance', as impetus to later reform, including that which has taken place since the trespass and that still to come. Donnelly writes that this incident tackles the 'classes to the masses' thesis in terms of rambling, echoing the ideas of E.P.Thompson whose seminal social history (1963[1980]) notes the social roots to this physical movement. Donnelly's (1986:218) work teams history with

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[39] Sibley (2003:220) aptly argues that 'Rhetoric is important when it resonates with the sentiments of powerful figures in a regime with authoritarian tendencies and, in order to understand conflicting representations of the rural, we need to try to understand this rhetoric. The rhetoric, in effect, produces threatening others who may then become targets for legislation'. Such legislative pressure is something which is of particular note regarding the rapidly changing position of hutting in Scottish land and planning policy.

theory, suggesting that such control over the land was an example of the dual aspects of hegemony (force and consent), combined with Gramsci's notion of a 'special kind of power' (in Donnelly 1986:227): a position which not only provides the power and opportunity to shape and legitimise situations, but also portrays them as the natural evolution of things. He argues that, if change was to be brought, a 'radical alternative access ethic [was] necessary' (Donnelly 1986:227).

Therapeutic landscapes

In addition to attempts to find the radical within rural geography, this thesis has also drawn from interest in rural geography about the relationships between health, well-being and rurality. The term 'therapeutic landscapes' was first developed by geographer Will Gesler in 1992 through his examination of places with historical or contemporary reputations as restorative or healing. Gesler's work on the landscapes of Bath's hot springs alongside Epidaurus (a healing temple in the classical world) drew from the (then) 'new' cultural geographies where landscape was increasingly appreciated for its cultural and phenomenological dimensions (Wylie 2007). Gesler recognised that landscape can have different meanings and uses, and subsequently focused particularly on those associated with physical or mental treatment. These landscapes he coined as therapeutic. Work here links back to the phenomenological landscape discussions which opened this chapter, owes much to earlier geographical explorations including a 'sense of place' (Tuan 1974; Relph 1976) and Thrift's later notions of an 'ecology of place' (2008). These works on therapeutic properties, as Willis (2009: 87) notes, predominantly focus on 'non-ordinary' places, relying too on the generally agreed correlation between green spaces and 'emotional gain' (Conradson 2005a; Ewert et al. 2003; Korpela and Hartig 1996; Hartig et al, 2002). Works such as these seek to explore how 'places do have the capacity to shape our feelings' (Conradson 2005a:107) and instill specific emotions (Ewert et al. 2003). Therefore, as Manzo (2003) notes, much of this work on the restorative effects of natural settings and wilderness experiences has enhanced people's understandings of emotional relationships to place.

This association of place and health is of course far from new. As Parr (2007) shows, in the 18th and 19th centuries, mental health issues were thought to arise where there was deficient contact with nature brought about by increasingly urban-centred industrial lifestyles. Thus patients were effectively removed to rural spaces, whose 'pleasant order' was thought to promote 'calm, rational reflection' (Parr 2007:540), but one example of the Western

tradition of a 'retreat to nature' (Conradson 2005a:104) for therapeutic means. Little's recent review of rural geography traces the increased attention to the embodied experience of these spatial relocations in recent work, particularly focusing upon activities such as retreats (Conradson, 2005b), yoga (Lea, 2008) and exercise (Little, 2012). As Paterson (2015:63) notes, '[a] place is considered to be a healthy retreat when it is either metaphorically or physically distant from the potential chaotic, dull or repetitive rhythms that may make everyday life stressful or uninspiring'. In addition, however, as Little argues,

> … once again 'nature' has been shown to be at the heart of the therapeutic landscapes concept, in both a material and a spiritual sense, encapsulating the restorative qualities of the environment and the body. Therapeutic landscapes are thus regarded as those in which a connection can be made with nature in a return to a premodern engagement with 'pure' nature (2015:799).

This work on therapeutic landscapes has also faced critical engagement, including Davidson and Parr's (2007) work on phobic spaces, where spaces which seen to be therapeutic for some, were found to have no therapeutic impact on others. Conradson's extensive work on the topic of therapeutic landscapes offers further critique in challenging the assumption that places are inherently therapeutic. He has called for what he terms a 'therapeutic landscape experience': a relational outcome based on ones' own experience of and response to a landscape (2005b). Placing the self-landscape encounter as central, Conradson (2005b: 340) draws upon psychotherapeutic understandings of the self, where the human is 'not … an autonomous, tightly bounded entity but rather … something that emerges within and through its relations to other people and events'. Through this window he supposes that people are able to 'fold particular events into their selves' (2005:340). See, for example, work by Milligan and Bingley (2007), which observes a correlation between time spent in woodland during childhood and later restorative connections with such landscapes. Such observations are relevant to this research because out-dwelling is sometimes connected to issues of mental and physical health, as well as to the intricacies of the person-place encounter. I am hence acutely aware, as Cloke et al. (2014:n.p.) suggest, 'understanding how health and place are intertwined remains a crucial task for geographers'.

Conclusion

Through these four substantive reviews of relevant literatures I have sought to set the intellectual foundations for this thesis. Positioning the topic within considerations of

dwelling, being and taskscape has set out-dwellings within the geographical landscape, while an appraisal of relevant geographies of architecture has aimed to place the buildings themselves in geographical context. Explicating the buildings from the inside has been sought through a review of home which situates the interior of these buildings, delving further into the meanings and experiences of inside space. Conversely, an acknowledgement that these buildings reside on land - rural land - has led to a consideration of rural geographies. This final focus has sought not only to situate the exteriority of these buildings in physical terms, but also their place in a politicised rural. Once again, it must be added that each chapter to follow will, as appropriate, introduce other aspects of literature which enable this thesis to tell a fuller story, offer a deeper understanding and a broader appraisal of contemporary out-dwelling culture in rural Scotland.

Chapter 3: Methods

The full measure of fieldwork is not simply the published article but the entire process.
(Price 2001:150)

Introduction

This chapter explains how a qualitative methodological approach was employed to research out-dwelling culture in rural Scotland. Initially couched in humanist, cultural and phenomenological terms, this discussion then turns to detail the methods used to explore out-dwelling culture and practitioner communities. Acknowledging that I have embraced a 'make-do' approach to collaging and combining sources of research data, I detail my use of, and justification for, drawing variously from archives, semi-structured interviews and participant observation as well as the style of writing which adheres to what has recently been termed 'literary geographies'. The chapter then outlines the comparative component of this thesis, outlining the means and methods used to explore Norwegian hutting culture. I also account for my analytical strategy, exploring and explaining my approach to interpreting gathered data. I follow this account with some reflections on the ethical implications of this work and, drawing the chapter to a close, I address the broader issues of my own positionality and certain methodological problems encountered during the process.

Scene-setting: epistemology and methodology

Cultural and social geography involves research inquiries that explore 'the relationship between people and their environments, be they familiar settings or exotic ones' (Price 2001:143). This is not to suggest, however, that such research is an easy or straightforward task. Out-dwellings as places and the heritage, culture and practices associated with them cannot be measured through experiments, tested with hypotheses or simply mapped into clarity. While existing academic work on such buildings, in this country at least, focuses on environmental impacts (Crowe and Reid 1998), favouring fact over meaning, this project has followed a different methodology – one which foregrounds cultural interpretation. I have sought to do justice to the buildings, their surrounds and their user groups, acknowledging the importance of both built materiality and human experience within the encounters constitutive of out-dwelling. As such this research project is conducted from a post-humanistic standpoint. In contrast to human geography's forays into the mapped, measured and categorised world of spatial science, the thesis takes its lead from the groundbreaking work carried out in the 1970s by geographers such as David Ley,

whose work still has influence today (Philo 2004). It pays full attention to the lived experiences of individual lives, aiming to speak 'of a reality as lived and understood by active human subjects' (Proctor 1997:12). Therefore, the research utilises qualitative methods, working inductively to explore the meanings embedded within social worlds, as well as 'the myriad personal impacts of impersonal social structures' (Brockington and Sullivan 2003:57). This decision was emphasised by the fact that quantitative data, while useful in certain situations, does not delve into the human stories integral to cultural investigation: in short using such data, 'depth is sacrificed to increase the generalisability of conclusions' (Hoggart et al. 2002:154).

So far, then, nothing out of the ordinary. This methodology could cover countless research projects conducted over the last forty years. Therefore, in addition to this focus on the human aspects of out-dwelling culture, this project also takes heed of John Law's (2004) eloquent dissection of social science methods. His critique of the Euro-American assumption of a specific knowledge out there somewhere, just waiting to be discovered, along with his post-stucturalist inspired ideas of knowledge creation led me to think anew about where I wished this project to go, and how I wanted to conduct it.

Firstly, in terms of influence, Law's (2004) term *method assemblage* [40] (which acknowledges the connection with Deleuze's idea of assemblage) emphasises the now well established argument that 'methods are not simply neutral tools' (Bryman 2008:4). Methods are intrinsically linked to the ways in which social scientists view social reality (the ontological project) and how they think it should be examined (the epistemological process). Subsequently, in using this term, Law (2004:5) argues that methods are in fact 'counter intuitive', and that the methods used 'not only describe but also help to *produce* the reality that they understand'. This argument takes inspiration from Latour and Woolgar (1986) who observe that 'out-thereness' is not found but formed, and that the methods handed down by standard social science ensure that realities are created by the assertions made and the knowledge claims placed upon them. Therefore, the fact that such things are usually seen as definite, singular truths is a product of practice and importantly 'a *consequence* of method' (Law 2004:39). This idea is crucial to an understanding of methods not as objective tools, but rather as having active agency in knowledge creation.

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[40] Law (2004:144) defines this as 'a continued process of *crafting and enacting necessary boundaries between presence, manifest absence and Otherness*'.

This acknowledgement fits with the phenomenological groundings for this project in which social things are seen to be formed in process.[41]

Secondly, if realities are formed rather than explained by certain practices, then it seems obvious to speak of multiple realities and subsequently multiple worlds. As things are constantly in process, created in relation to the changing world around them, then consequently research can never fully understand a place, product or process which it seeks to explore. This is not to say that research is somehow rendered useless, as the world cannot be fully known, but rather to accept that the world is messy and that the creation of knowledge – this research project included – needs to bear witness to such messiness. This ontological politics is clarified by the feminist Haraway (1991a) who, in her use of the metaphor of 'cyborg' (a hybrid of machine and organism), claims that we are unavoidably entangled in the world which we seek to explore. She also argues that failure to recognise the impossibility of being entirely disembodied and objective results in the 'god trick', the idea of 'knowledge from everywhere and nowhere' (Haraway 1991b:191). Subsequently, a conclusion is drawn that 'only partial perspective promises objective vision' (Haraway 1991b:190), which also prompts the realisation that to be (truly) objective is to be open about one's inevitably partial perspective. Therefore, it was these two points – the co-creation of knowledge through method and the honest incompleteness of partial perspective – that came, together with my humanist, cultural and phenomenological principles, to form the epistemological base of my methodology. Like others before me, it was this influence of the 'cultural turn', and of poststructuralist criticism more broadly, which led me to rethink the standard methodological toolkit for social research.

As Law notes, 'the world is not to be understood in general by adopting a methodological version of auditing' (Law 2004:6). To tackle the world of the out-dwelling, with all its slipperiness, overlaps, contradictions and delights, my methodology needed to hold less firm to the notions of rigour in which I was earlier trained. Or, put another way, I had to recast what is meant by rigour. Rather, I accepted the idea of indefinite knowledge and of 'deliberate imprecision' (Law 2004:3). As such, I have embraced the notion of 'greater methodological variety' (Law 2004:4) in this research project, utilising new texts, bodies, human apprehensions, presentations, conversations and 'more besides' (Law 2006:146). Taking note of Lorimer's (2006:216) observation that 'empiricism and materiality are, once again, shared concerns', it seemed obvious for a study of vernacular buildings to (try

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[41] It is noted that phenomenology and humanism, while closely related, cannot be simply mapped on to one another.

to) incorporate 'materially innovative methods' (Law 2004:154). In this regard, DeSilvey's (2007:38) idea of '*bricolage* practice' has been valuable in examining the material 'debris of decades' from which out-dwellings are formed. Scholars have called for attention to be paid to the previously overlooked elements of enquiry (Lorimer 2013), and Law (2004) agrees in his call for an inclusion of allegory, to take something about absence from what is present. For Lorimer (2010), this move amounts to a methodological 'freeganism' in which he pays heed to the cultural traces and by-products so often ignored or cast aside by conventional methods. He also calls for attention to be paid to 'those lives once lived that give meaning to place' (Lorimer 2010:262). Although this project is only in part a historical inquiry, such methodological ideas have nonetheless been pivotal.

Through this broadening of the project's methodological scope, I have sought to respond to the 'out-thereness' (Law 2004:7) of the out-dwelling world in order more accurately, although still partially, to depict the heritage, culture and practice associated with these buildings. My research will not, and cannot, be a perfectly holistic representation, and yet the practices of method assemblage, like any other form of methodology, condense, collect and create certain realities while also ignoring others. Thus, I turn to language and vocabulary. As Law (2004:139) reflects, in order to observe the theoretical arguments above, it is crucial to '*keep the metaphors of reality-making open*, rather than allowing a small subset of them to naturalise themselves and die in a closed, singular, and passive version of out-thereness'. My work at times talks of crafting, of gathering, of resonances, inferences and hints. I have, wherever possible, used these metaphors to shape an idea, but not a concrete image, of the world in which these buildings sit, and also to rework these metaphors in terms of the fieldwork, giving them new conceptual weight.

From the outset of this project, I considered there to be much to be learned from Lorimer's (2010) notion of 'make-do-methods'. By this view, while close attention can be paid to the theory of research in advance, there is much about the practice of it that will be *ad-hoc*, last minute or happenstance. Even with prior thought, many of the specifics may, as he admits, 'still be hard to pre-plan' (Lorimer 2010:258). Thus, an open approach to research can prove profitable, as Lorimer explains:

> *Findings*, as poet and writer Kathleen Jamie (2005) has it, exist both as verb and noun, they are the process and the culmination of any quest: however modest in ambition. Activities take shape on-the-hoof, are improvised according to circumstance, conditions underfoot and things to hand (2010:258).

This may be the logical way forward in research, a more honest depiction of what really happens when a researcher goes out into the world, but it is certainly not sure ground for the fledgling investigator. Combined with the notion that there are no correct methods, as there is no single answer, such spontaneity of method undermines the security of existing method templates and regimes. Wrong turns, blind alleys and rocky ground compound the uncertainty, ensuring that this method was, as Law (2004:10) warns, 'a risky and troubling process'. Although authors such as Jones and Jones (2017:151) note than in affective based approaches, 'lost is good, that is part of the process', it took me a while to embrace such feelings of being adrift. Therefore, while I wished to embrace the new 'art' of method, like Lorimer (2010:269), I have also ensured that I kept a 'toe-hold' in the 'science'. Thus, I have used a sense of method which is, as Law (2004) hopes, multiple, modest, uncertain and diverse; one which is not prescriptive or prescribed, but is nonetheless given some sense of structure – a starting block if you like. With that in mind, I will now lay out what it is that I have done in order to research out-dwelling culture in rural Scotland. I begin by detailing how individual methods have been used in data gathering covering archives, interviews and participant observation. I then detail the methods used to explore Norwegian hutting. This section has a notably different tone. Where my research in Scotland sought to be slow, embedded and sustained, my work in Norway was, of necessity faster, intensive and evaluative. The section I offer on my methodology used during this period is also more descriptive, aiming to give voice to a period offered less space in my empirical analysis (Chapter 9). From there I move to detail my analytical strategy before finally considering my own positionality and the ethics associated with this project.

Archives

Despite the 'normative logic' that archival work is 'eminently straightforward' (Lorimer 2010), over the past decade archival research has been subject to a great deal of attention in terms of both theory and practice. In his discussion of the opening up of the RGS-IBG[42] institutional archive, Withers (2002) provides a useful summary of critical reflections offered to test previous assumptions of the passive, inert archive waiting to offer objective knowledge. Crucial to this account are Derrida's reflections in his text *Archive Fever* on the archive as both a topological site and a nomological space (Derrida 1995 in Withers 2002:304). As such, the archive is not only a reflection of society but also an expression of institutional authority. What is kept, considered worthy, where and by whom are all key

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[42] Royal Geographical Society – Institute of British Geographers.

questions of power associated with the archive. Key to this critique is the acknowledgement that archival data is never, in fact, 'raw', but rather is always shaped, created and authored (Lynch 1999:67 in Withers 2002:304). Thus the archive is indeed, as Dwyer and Davies (2010:89) claim, a site of 'contradictory processes', a place which re-animates the lives, places and experiences of the past, while simultaneously masking those deemed uninteresting, dangerous or merely forgotten. This understanding of the archive complements the post-structuralist ideas of research and knowledge which opened this account of my methodology.

Challenged though they have been, archives are still, as Osborne notes, defined in some sense by 'a principle of *credibility*' in which sources claim 'a certain right to speak, a certain kind of author function' (1999:54 in Withers 2002:305). As Lorimer (2010:248) notes, 'dust is still, at least for the more romantically-inclined, part of the archive's atmospheric appeal', a 'part' bestowing authenticity to our engagement with the past. Yet, as Lorimer continues, to consider dust as part of the archive is to accept that an archival experience is more than an engagement with text and thus it is possible:

> … by implication, … to seek out … methodological means to evoke more archival life: as a particular kind of place where complex subjectivities, and working relations are created through the act of researching the past. And – pushing further still – it is to reconsider the limits and location of any set of materials determined as an 'archive' (2010:249).

In part, this imaginative relocation of the archive from the darkened room to the world outwith is a consequence of the theoretical rethink in which new attitudes attributed to the 'cultural turn' have filtered down into the archive. Legitimising the use of a wider range of source materials such as films, adverts, music and even individuals' belongings (Lorimer 2010), changing attitudes towards the credibility of particular sources has led to the growth of unofficial archives (Withers 2002), collected by individuals, embedded in the landscape (DeSilvey 2007) or even inscribed on to the body as an 'ethnographic archive' (Withers 2002). Ultimately, as Lorimer notes,

> The very idea of the archive – its origins, scope, layout, composition, content and treatment – has been stirred up and shaken, and in the process, the status of the information it holds, been rendered more provisional, indeterminate and contestable (2010:253).

Despite the critiques, and largely as a result of this helpful shake-up, archival sources have proved invaluable to this project. They add depth to more contemporary data and have

allowed me, the researcher, to get 'behind the scenes' into places that proved awkward to reach personally due to physical distance or temporal limits (Hoggart et al. 2002). The fact remains, however, that the archive should not be viewed as a quick way to access the past. As Hoggart et al. (2002:2) stress, researchers 'cannot dabble with documentary sources', for they do indeed require 'patient labours' (Lorimer 2010:251). Therefore, in order to become suitably immersed within the research topic, a set of three clear archives, and a still active and emergent fourth, were established as key sites of investigation: (i) the Cairngorm collection of bothy books, (ii) the Irvine Butterfield collection, (iii) the Mountain Bothies Association collection and (iv) the current *in situ* bothy books.

(i) The main archive utilised consists of a collection of bothy books initially kept in bothies themselves. The books date from 1973 to 2008 and cover eight bothies from the Cairngorm area of the Scottish Highlands. A complete list of the books in this deposit is provided in Appendix 1. and a map of the region in Appendix III. These books are glorified visitors' books, in which people staying in – or making more temporary use of – a bothy record some details about themselves, and maybe add some more profound comments. Users hence note not only their name and the date of visit – in line with the customary functionality of most visitor books – but also their thoughts, feelings and actions, all of which amount to geographies, discourses and, as this research will argue, the cultures of bothies themselves.
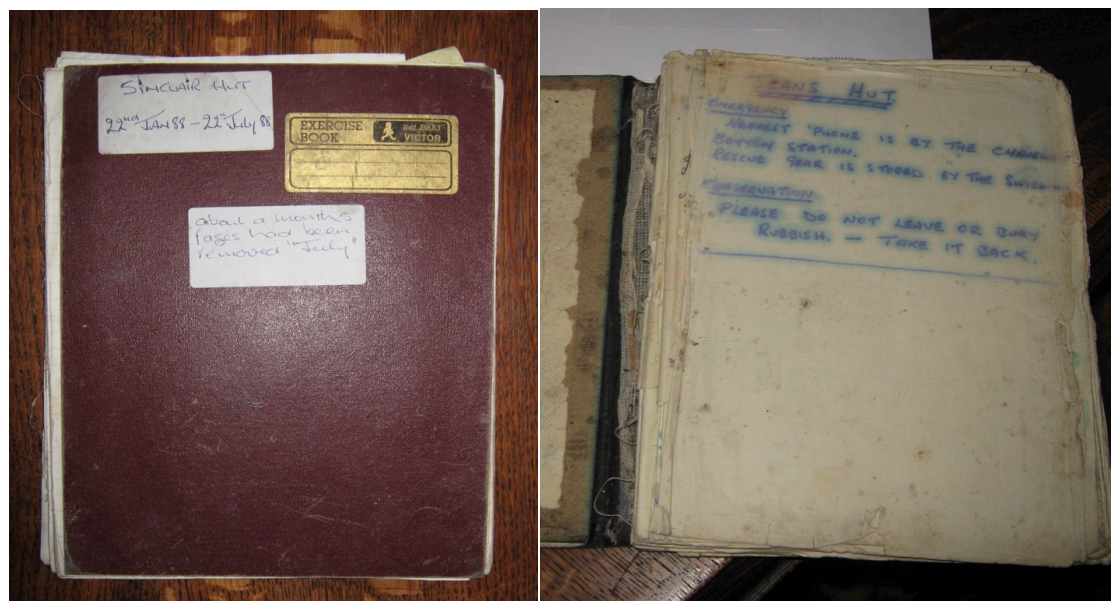
Figure 5. Sinclair Hut Book no.14 (22/1/88 – 22/07/1988) and Jeans Hut Book no.2 (13/10/79 – 15/08/77). (Author's own).

Although written individually in 'wild and lonely places' (www.mountainbothies.org), these books (Figure 5) are now retained by Scottish National Heritage (SNH) and were made available to me through the Aviemore office. They are (on occasion) very much the crumbling pages of the traditional imagined archive which, through its dusty decay, exudes authenticity (Lorimer 2010), but in truth these books exist in a limbo somewhere between official documentation and personal effect. They are nonetheless an inspiring resource that helps to push the ever expanding boundaries of what constitutes source material for contemporary historical geographies (Graham and Nash 2000). Fortunately, I have been able to take this archive away from the usual sites of archival research, and delve into it in my own office and even at home. This is hence a 'post-custodial' archive (Lorimer 2010:256), rehabilitated into the world if only temporarily. This has allowed for perhaps a deeper engagement unhampered by archive opening times or reproduction restrictions.

(ii) The second source for material employed in this research project consists of what can only be described as the life-work of writer, hillwalker, photographer and conservationist Irvine Butterfield on the subject of mountain bothies. This archive is one first accessed during undergraduate research (Hunt 2010) and, due to both the individual to whom it pertains, and the information it includes, it remains of relevance to this current project. Held in the A.K. Bell Library in Perth, the Butterfield archive contains not only the first *Survey of Mountain Shelters* but also manuscripts of Butterfield's later published works, a complete set of MBA Newsletters and Journals, along with numerous items of correspondence between the various parties involved in bothy establishment and management. Despite the varied nature of the material, Butterfield's collection was (unlike the bothy books) harder to trawl in search of nuggets of information and so, while startling for its architectural style sketches and meticulous in its detail, it offered little for the task of wider cultural interpretation.

(iii) Also housed in the A.K. Bell Library, is an archive containing the minutes, correspondence and publications of those involved in founding the Mountain Bothies Association (MBA). This proved to be a fascinating resource, outlining not only the motivations behind the move to protect such buildings, but also the divergent ideals, negotiations and power struggles involved in that process. This archive introduced me to an organisation in its infancy, finding its feet within the landscape of outdoor culture in, and since, the 1960s; it has been a valuable source for setting the compass of my whole enquiry, as should be evidenced from this thesis.

(iv) The final collection of documents utilised is, as yet, still emergent as an archive, consulted in mind of Lorimer's (2010:249) calls for 'methodological innovation and non-conformism in an expanded archive'. It consists of bothy books still in active use and retained in the buildings; their natural habitat as it were. Although they may enter the SNH archive in future, including these books *in situ* was something that I considered important. The A.K. Bell previously made the decision not to take more than an appetiser of the bothy books that they were offered into their archive, a choice which highlights the importance of moving outwith the usual archival spaces in order to find sources of data which may not be considered worthy of the formal archive. This example adds weight to Ogborn's (2010:92) argument that 'any place where such records are kept so that they may be used as sources of information is thought of as an archive'. Nine of these *in situ* bothy books were used.

This emergent, on site archive also allowed for a deep engagement with the bothies in which this research has become so absorbed. These books are indeed 'sites of memory' (Ogborne 2010:92) but they are also physically situated exactly where where these memories were made. Thus, reading the books *in situ* animates the archive, and to a degree reanimates residents long-since departed from the bothy. Adding colour to the text, this archive is 'embedded in the field' and acts as a link between the traditional archive and the landscapes or indeed out-dwellings in which they were formed. This archival work complements Lorimer's (2003:199) call for making geographical investigations smaller, more personal and inclusive of the 'small stories' which constitute the 'fabric of everyday life'. As such, it embraces the notion that 'particularity and mundanity are … the qualities that matter most', and focuses upon material sources which 'capture (or at least take us closer to) the smells, sounds, sights and feelings of direct, embodied experience', crucial to experiential geographies today (Lorimer 2003:200,202). This emphasis on the small-scale is something which carries through to the other research techniques used in this research. It is these I now turn to, exploring my use of interviews before turning to my experience of participant observation.

Interviews

Across the research process in Scotland I conducted thirty-two in-depth interviews.[43] Each of these took around an hour. Data was also gathered from conversations with bothy users and hutters users which, while useful, did not amount to a full interviews. As with the

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[43] This form of 'dwelling interview' was also be used during the fieldwork conducted in Norway, discussed later. A full list of participants is provided in Appendix II.

archival methods documented above, interviews have been used in this project to highlight that 'words, stories, narratives [do indeed] matter' (McDowell 2010:156). Therefore, adhering to a humanistic epistemology whereby 'those who are researched should be treated like people and not as mere mines of information' (England 1994:82), in-depth interviews have been deployed to explore the lifeworlds of both the buildings and their occupiers/users. Echoing work inspired by the humanistic tradition, these interviews were semi-structured (Anderson 2004). As those writing about methods have noted, for researchers interested in the impact of place on the lives of individuals, social groups and cultures, talking to the people and having a personal interaction with those who use the buildings is clearly an obvious method of collecting 'data' (McDowell 2010).

Perhaps even more obvious to a researcher interested in place is the usefulness of talking to people while *in* place. Acknowledging the deeper geographical history of interviewing by getting into the field and talking to those around me (Cloke et al. 2004), I was drawn to the increasing body of more recent work on the walking interview, the 'go along' or the 'bumble' (Anderson 2004; Evans and Jones 2010; Carpiano 2009; Clark and Emmel 2010; Jones et al. 2008; Pink 2007a), partly arising through the 'new mobilities paradigm'[44] (Sheller and Urry 2006). This kind of interviewing encourages an active engagement with the landscape under discussion.

> … it has been argued that walking interviews generate richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surrounding environment and are less likely to try to give the 'right' answer (Evans and Jones 2010:849).

Thus, rather than isolated within a distanced 'blandscape' (Edensor 2007 in Evans and Jones 2011: 850), respondents are encouraged to talk while in the landscape which can help them articulate their thoughts, prompt discussion and assist the researcher to understand more fully the environment of which they speak (Clark and Emmel 2010).[45] Resonant with the peripatetic tradition,[46] this method created interpretative space in which to reconnect with, and subsequently communicate about, the landscape (Anderson 2004). Anderson (2004:255) suggests that, 'this method is noteworthy because it is explicitly premised upon and seeks to harness the relationships between humans and place to

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[44] As Sheller and Urry (2006:208) note, 'the paradigm challenges the ways in which much social science research has been 'a-mobile''.
[45] Jones et al. (2008) argue that there has been a lack of association between what people say and where people say it, and thus GIS use of GPS data has been introduced to examine this correlation. However, my focus here is on elucidating knowledge in practice, rather than fixing it to place and therefore I did not gather such spatial data.
[46] This refers to the tradition of walking.

uncover meanings and understandings in the life-world'. Tackling such a co-constitution of people and place, this methodology therefore ties in with the phenomenological ontology underpining this project where the dichotomy of self and place is diminished and 'there is no place without self and no self without place' (Casey 2001:684 in Anderson 2004:255). These ideas find their root, to an extent as already explored in Chapter 2, in Heidegger's 'Being-in-the-world' (1971) and the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (2002[1962]), along with works by humanist geographers and others such as Tuan (1974), Relph (1976), Seamon and Mugerauer (1989[1985]) and Tilley (1994), all aiming to show that the human condition is indeed 'profoundly spatial, or indeed *platial*' (Anderson 2004:255). Thus, places are not passive but active agents in human practices and to understand this agency requires a 'socio-spatial methodology' (Anderson 2004:257).

In line with Anderson's (2004) reminder that methods can harness the connections of people and place, the research project moved beyond the walking interview to what I term the 'dwelling interview'. As such, interviews have, where possible, taken place while walking, during the travel time to, from and around these buildings. They also involved time spent talking indoors, *in situ*; within the out-dwelling. This combination of mobility and situatedness was necessary to generate information about both specific places and relationships to the neighbouring environments. Conversations about sounds to be heard (such as the rustling of leaves) and practices in which we took part (ranging from where the toilet roll goes in a composting toilet, to demonstrating why particular construction joints were chosen) would likely have not happened had the interviews taken a different, more distant form. As such these dwelling interviews enabled respondents to recall memories, sensibilities and assumptions embedded within the buildings' fabric, acting as a mnemonic trigger and thus enabling research to generate a richer picture of the co-constitution of these buildings and their users. While the 'dwelling interview' was preferable, as Carpiano (2009) found in her use of walking interviews to explore health and wellbeing, chosen forms of interview may not always suit the respondent. Interviewees' schedules, plus weather, timing and location, meant that some interviews were conducted in other locations, sometimes my own office at the University of Glasgow or within participants' homes or places of work.[47]

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[47] In these instances care was taken to ensure that both the interviewee and myself, as the researcher, felt safe and that it was quiet enough to record effectively.

As Cook (2005:172) notes, no matter how fit for purpose a method may be, negotiating access is 'where the fieldwork starts'. Interviewees were originally recruited through basic snowball sampling from existing contacts in the Carbeth hutting community, A Thousand Huts, the Bothy Project, and a Facebook site for the Thousand Huts' campaign. Others were secured through a series of posters and postcards (Figure 6.) distributed in Climbing Walls and other outdoors centers around Scotland. I also deposited these in bothies during field visits. Uptake from these routes was admittedly limited, with only four respondents secured through this means. They were among the most useful of my participants, however, reflecting active attempts by users to take part in my work. Moreover, as those already conducting interviews while walking have noted, being out in the environment enabled me to meet others who engage in these activities, thus gaining a 'foot-in-the-door' (Carpriano 2009:268). This engagement helped to foster trust, alleviating 'stranger danger' while enabling a more sensitive understanding of the buildings and their users. Additional interviewees were deliberately chosen and approached to be representative for certain bodies such as the MBA, Thousand Huts, and Scottish Government.

Figure 6. Front and back of postcard created to invite participants (Author's own).

The sample-set accumulated through these various routes did not seek to be a representative one, but rather 'an illustrative one' (Valentine 2005: 112) that has enabled this project to highlight key elements of the out-dwelling culture.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed proving invaluable for generating revisitable accounts of lived experiences, beliefs and practices. Transcription was conducted throughout the fieldwork period, partly for efficiency, but also because it helped me to reflect more fully on claims made by interviewees, feeding and developing my own understanding. This approach suited a more 'processual' form, fitting with the overall idea

of 'make do' methodology. Reference will be made below to my analytical strategy, including my use of 'coding', to make sense of these transcripts.

Participant observation

In addition to these 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess 1984:102), I used participant observation as a technique for data generation during this project. While the observation of practice has a long tradition within academic geography, as Lorimer and Spedding (2002:227) highlight, it is only in the last two decades or so that researchers have focused upon 'aspects of disciplinary practice that tend to be portrayed as mundane or localised, but that represent the very routines of *what we do*'. For research that intends to give credence to the 'small stories' of this wider culture, it appeared that observation of the humdrum, intimate practices of hutting would be crucial. As my earlier account of the project methodology highlighted, nothing is static, and rather events, cultures and experiences are constantly being enacted through practice. It is therefore through participant observation that the various forms, fractional and multivariate, can be enacted, experienced and made present for re-wording in this thesis. As Law (2004) has highlighted, however, the world cannot be understood through looking alone. Similarly to work in feminist geographies, Law (2004:97) notes that researchers need to 'acknowledge and apprehend these realities materially, corporeally and emotionally'. Hence, with an emphasis on the participant component of this methodology, attention was paid to what happens within the out-dwelling's walls, not only in terms of observing those encountered, but importantly including my own experiences.

Attuned to the work of non-representational researchers, I sought to use participant observation to account for events, relations, practices and performances, affective resonances and backgrounds – those 'sites which fall outside of common awareness' (Vannini 2015:9).[48] This method offered me a chance to fill the 'in-between' of Stroller's (2008) description or, as Hinchcliffe (2000) would argue, 'the gaps between the knowing and the unsaid' (Vannini 2015:14). Participant observation thus offered a means to account for the doings, goings and becomings of out-dwelling culture, and to explore the 'more than representational' (Lorimer 2005) elements of this world.

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[48] As Vaninni (2015:9) notes, 'backgrounds are thus (post)phenomenological lifeworlds which come into being as an outcome of practices of habitation' - see also Ingold (2010).

In addition, a factor in my decision to use such a method was simply due to the innate draw of the places hidden within both the pages of the archives consulted and the words of those to whom I spoke. As Lorimer aptly notes:

> Pilgrimage and homage might seem too strong a vocabulary, though forms of spiritual connection and feelings of intimacy are privately conceded. Spending time where others did so in the past might forge new kinds of connection, and throw out new leads; even perhaps attempting to shadow, in practice, just a little of what was once laboured over or enjoyed at leisure (2010:257).

Therefore, in line with my greater methodological design, this participative approach included time spent within the field, observing behaviour, asking questions and generally interacting in the social world encountered. My conclusions draw upon participant observation during fourteen bothy visits and hutting events. These field experiences were spread across Scotland, allowing for a range of 'ethnographic exposures' through nights spent in isolated bothies within the Cairngorm mountains as well as visits to rural huts in the Scottish Central Belt and Borders region. It amounted to time spent *witnessing*, in accordance with Thrift's (2000a:252) flipping of 'participant observation' to 'observant participation', conducted while engaging in out-dwelling practices and dwelling in huts and bothies, as well as when participating in Committee meetings and AGMs[49] of the MBA. During these events I was a notable outsider, largely on account of my youthfulness. At my final MBA visit, at the 2015 AGM, I sat in the front row and, after the new positions had been elected and a site chosen for the following AGM, was immediately asked, '*what are you doing here? You don't fit the demographic?*' Such enquiries were harmless, inquisitive, but nonetheless acted as a reminder that, despite my personal interests, I was indeed an outsider in this social world. This AGM also marked the celebration of the MBA's 50th Year, with Bernard and Betty Heath, founding members of the MBA, cutting the celebratory fruitcake (see Figure 7).

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[49] Annual General Meeting.

Figure 7. Bernard and Betty Heath presented with the Queens Award for Voluntary Service on behalf of the MBA at the 2015 AGM (Author's Own).

Researching at this time was particularly useful due to the amount of attention that the anniversary had drawn. It proved an apposite for an appraisal of bothy culture and a period of self-reflection for a now aging core demographic within the organisation.

I also participated in Steering Group Meetings for Reforesting Scotland's Thousand Huts campaign, along with attending campaign events in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Napier University (Figure 8). All events fostered an ethos of change and an atmosphere of excitement, a palpable air of enthusiasm for an imagined future for Scottish hutting.

Figure 8. The top two show the Thousand Huts Network meeting in Edinburgh on Feb 22nd 2014, and the bottom image is from the Bothy, the Hut, and the Wild, Wild Mind symposium at Heriot Town. (All author's own).

Additionally, I attended the Scottish Parliament, for a celebration of new hutting guidance,[50] was involved in 'The Bothy, the Hut and the Wild Wild Mind' symposium (Figure 8),[51] took part in open days at Carbeth Hutting Site, as well as visited potential sites for the Forestry Commission hutting pilot. These diverse fieldwork experiences were personally rewarding and professionally useful, providing multifaceted insights into contemporary hutting culture.

Other more unique research opportunities arose. I spent time with the founders of the Bothy Project during the construction of Sweeny's Bothy on the island of Eigg,[52] playing my part in the build (Figure 9). While my construction skills were limited, 'making myself

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[50] For information on this guidance see - http://www.thousandhuts.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/160215-Huts-Guidance-FINAL-screen-res.pdf.

[51] For information on this event see - http://www.cabn.info/assets/files/events/Sweeney's%20Bothy%20Symposium%202.pdf or http://www.thebothyproject.org/symposium/

[52] http://www.thebothyproject.org/sweeneys-bothy/.

useful' meant that I was able to spend more time at Sweeny's without becoming a nuisance and straining my relations with this group. I was able to find out about the founder and artist, Bobby Niven, and thus contextualise information gathered in the more formal interview. Bobby has since spoken to me of the 'cultural mining' to which he has been subjected in his work, particularly on this project, and the resentment it can produce. This exchange highlighted the need for care to be taken to ensure that I did not overstay my welcome. Time *in situ* required careful negotiation throughout the empirical section of my research where I was wholly reliant on out-dwellers time, and conscious of the social as well as economic costs of this engagement.

Figure 9. Various images taken during the period of construction of Sweeny's Bothy on Eigg. Author's own.

Throughout these research activities my intention was to be infused by the practices, effort and investments of all parties in the creation of this world, and, as Dewsbury (2009:327) argues, 'forced to think' within the ecology of these material settings. In order to do so took Cook's (2005:174) advice that 'you should try to make the most of contacts you already have and prepare to be flexible with others'. Many of those encountered in the bothy environment were there by chance, and their involvement in my project could not have been foreseen. Much of the knowledge generated here came from casual conversations, or from observations of actions very much part of the 'normal' bothy experience. Likewise, my presence at certain events was not planned from the outset, but brought about by relationships made, and contacts developed through the process of research. It is acknowledged therefore, that the research has indeed owed much to serendipity, happenstance and opportunism; all in the spirit of 'making-do'.

Throughout these encounters, the research was conducted overtly. Although it is generally acknowledged that both covert and overt research are laden with political, moral and ethical dilemmas, 'covert research raises the potential for danger and violence (in both the metaphorical and actual sense of the word), as well as personal heartache' (Hoggart et al.2002: 270). Conducting research in an overt manner has avoided any invasion of privacy issues by enabling participants to have more control over what they permitted me to view or hear. It also had the additional benefit of allowing notes to be taken openly. A detailed field diary was kept, recording things observed, heard, smelt or physically felt, as well as the (mis)understandings which have resulted from these encounters. This diary was then written up in greater detail away from the field, with photographs added and a depth to the notes paused when rain, wind and darkness plagued the best of my attempts (Figure 10).
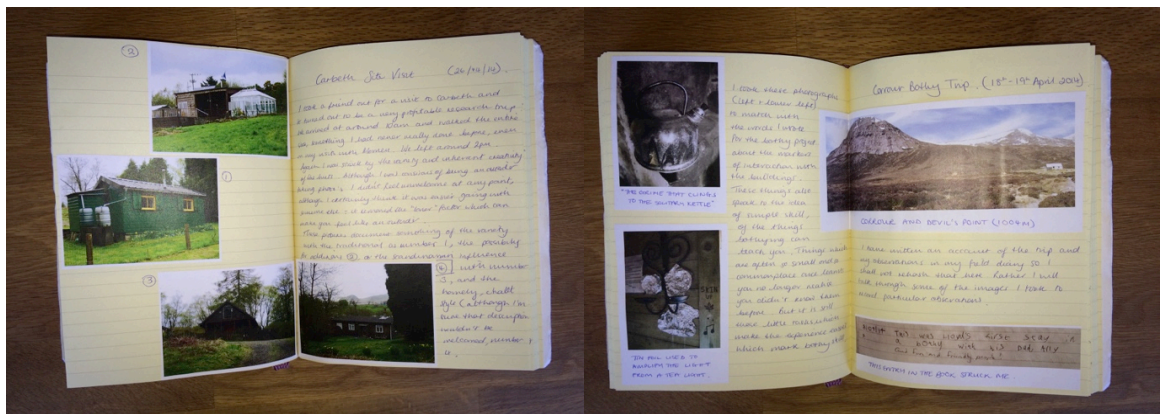
Figure 10. Field notebook examples. Author's own.

Taking heed of Ingold's (2011b) calls for new traces in writing, I have also taken care to record the experience in a more multisensory manner through the use of photography, sound recordings and video, as well as sketches designed to highlight the way in which these spaces are inhabited. Although these are not quoted or reproduced extensively in the finished thesis, they have nonetheless, combined with my notebooks, proved invaluable accounts of the social situations encountered. It is here that Lorimer's ideas of the 'make-do' come into their own. Accumulating data from all of these bothy-and-hut-inspired events and data recording methods has enabled a gathering of information, a slow yet fruitful accumulation of the various facets of out-dwelling culture.

It has been stated that participant observation is a means by which the researcher can analyse a community or culture 'from the inside' (Cook 2005:176). Yet, attending to feminist methodological critiques it is also clear that this notion of an 'insider' is something of a mythological creature. Rather, I have inhabited the space of the

'between'[53], a perpetual 'intercolator'[54] shuttling between out-dweller and researcher. Whether in familiar spaces, among familiar people, or in the faraway and foreign, my position as a researcher, regardless of my class, age or gender, sets me at a difference, if not a distance, from those with whom I interacted. During research the question '*so are you working now*?' or words to similar effect were often noted. I was there, but I observed and therefore I was different. Subsequently, attention also needed to be paid to Katz's warning that, 'only in 'The Wizard of Oz' do women descend on other lands without obvious cultural baggage', (1994:68, in Hoggart et al. 2002:263). Attending to critiques borne of the representational crisis, I appreciated the need to take seriously my reflexivity and hooks' calls for (white) researchers to interrogate their own positions critically, mindful of the difficulties of translating the 'other' (in Hoggart et al. 2002:260). I was both within, and outwith, wary of separating my observations of others from my own actions, and sometimes confused about my ability to participate without influencing the outcome. This was a particular issue in meeting with the Thousand Huts Campaign where a lack of involvement was viewed negatively by the group, but involvement made me question my position in influencing the data gathered. Moreover, I was perpetually aware that, in 'any translation from the observed to the written, meaning is both lost and invented' (Hoggart et al. 2002:263-3): there are no doubt things I missed and moments that passed me by.

Despite its critiques, participant observation had particular appeal for the depth of description it affords and how it allowed me to address the richness and complexity of social life. Nonetheless, I remain acutely aware that this method does not offer instant access to the experiences of others: 'there is *always* a gap between lived experience and communication' (Hoggart et al. 2002:210 my emphasis).

'Literary geographies' style

In writing this thesis, I have also drawn upon previous works acknowledge storytelling, utilizing the likes of Lorimer and Parr, who pay heed to stories, fore-fronting their potential in arguing that geography's '"telling turn" has come of age'. Methodology is thus combined with ontology, telling tales through stories reaped from practice. As such my work seeks to emphasise that, as MacDonald (2013:478) argues 'writing matters' and needs to be taken seriously, thought through and delighted in. These arguments are not

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[53] 'Between' – A term explicitly mentioned by Katz (1994), Kobayashi (1994) and England (1994), which suggest that notions of difference are so integral to our social relations, that we can never work with those who are not others and thus 'we are never 'outsiders' or 'insiders' in any absolute sense' (Nast 1994:57).
[54] 'Intercolator' (Nast 1994:60) – This comes from Nast's notion that the field is, 'providing a place wherein one is neither and insider nor an outsider in any absolute sense, but rather an intercolator' (1994:60).

new, both Lorimer (2003) and MacDonald (2013) have independently sought to further this form of literary geography. Perhaps then it is due to my physical situation, my presence as a masters student in Glasgow amidst events such as *Excursions: Telling Stories and Journeys* conference where speakers were 'granted more freedom of expression' (Lorimer and Parr 2014:545), such ideas, liberalism and attention to writing has perhaps permeated my academic insights. In fact, certainly so. I did not always realise I was doing things differently. Playing my part in this literary renewal did not necessarily mean writing 'as if every word counted' (Law 2004:12) but rather that I was mindful of engaging a fuller range of human sensibilities, of thoughts and feelings, through description. This 'art of description' allows for a closeness to the subject, an immersion in worlds that goes beyond description, alternately allowing the author to 'craft a creative form of telling' (Lorimer and Parr 2014:543).

In doing so I have engaged in what follows, the fairy tale, as a literary device for telling. Going beyond a focus upon the style of writing in creating a literary geography I seeks to co-opt this literary device as a means of making known the out-dwelling world. Authors such as Warner (1995) have, in recent years, been at pains to explore and explain the main meanings, constructions and uses of these tales. In using one here I extend this model, pushing the boundaries of the emerging sub genre to encompass, and make use, of the world of words in more creative means. If, as Warner (1995) notes, tales help people to make sense of the world, then telling tales is certainly a valid direction for opening academic to new readers, as well as new writers.

Norway component

The overall research project has also included an international element, in the form of looking to, rather than initiating a direct comparison with, the Norwegian experience of hutting. In order to explore the culture surrounding these *hytte* (hut), from a base in Oslo, I travelled extensively within the country during three months of 2014. I conducted a total of thirty-one interviews (with DNT – *Den Norske Turistforening* – users, volunteers and employees, and private hut owners), and made site visits to fifteen DNT huts. I also visited a number of private *hytte* sites, as well as conducting *in situ* research with *hytte* owners to gain a deeper knowledge of *hytteliv* (hut life). Unlike the sustained and durational fieldwork conducted in Scotland, this Norwegian research was intensive and evaluative and the tone of the following section reflects this.

These interviews, both in communal and individual huts, were crucial to allow participants to describe their experiences 'in their own words' and to feel empowered to introduce aspects which I, as a young, Scottish woman, may have had no experience (Valentine 2005:110). However, while aiming to incorporate such voices, this research required an acute awareness of England's warnings about 'appropriating the voices of 'others' and representing yourself as an expert on their lives' (1994 in Valentine 2005:114). The dangers of speaking for others are particularly evident where issues of language are apparent. These interviews were conducted in English throughout and, although English is spoken widely and to a high level within Norway, care was required to minimise issues of misunderstanding and subsequent cultural misrepresentation. This varied work enabled me to share my knowledge of the Scottish hutting system with a wide range of individuals who were, in the main, as keen to learn about Scottish huts as to offer their own thoughts on, and experiences of, Norwegian hut life.

In researching the private *hytte*, I interviewed users of both summer and winter *hytte* (a distinction I elaborate later), including a range of ages and genders. These interviews were conducted in various locations, from interviewees' homes, to cafés, offices, and parks. Each took around an hour and informed consent was gained. In terms of access, snowball sampling was used utilising existing contacts such as Dr Karen Syse and Dr Gro Ween both based within Oslo University,[55] and through those with whom I was sharing accommodation.

In addition to interviews, the research also included three site visits.[56] For one, I spent four days in the Dokka region, near Lilliehammer. On this visit I was the guest of a retired anthropology professor and we stayed at both his *hytte* and his 'mountain *hytte*'. The former of these was just outside Dokka itself and was situated directly on the road. Although it had an *utedu* (outside drop toilet), it was fully equipped with running water and electricity. The mountain hut was an hour's drive from Dokka and a further 1.5 hour walk from there. This journey is far quicker on skis I was told, as you can go straight along the lake. This *hytte* was built in the early 1900s by the owner's grandfather. There were no amenities such as running water, electricity or rubbish collection, while an *utedu* again services sanitary requirements and a woodburning stove provides cooking facilities (Figure 11).

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[55] These contacts were made through one of my supervisors, Hayden Lorimer.
[56] More detailed descriptions of the Scottish sites (bothies and huts) visited will appear in later empirical chapters.

Figure 11. Interviewee making coffee on the wood fuelled stove (Author's own) .

The sense of the past embedded in this building was palpable. From the *hytte bok* (a visitor book) with entries from the 1930s, to the maps in the bookcase which were stolen as trophies of war from Nazi soldiers during the five year occupation of Norway during WWII, this place, 'Steinbu', as it is affectionately named, represents the epitomy of dwelling in practice (Figure 12).

Figure 12. The interior of Steinbu – hanging bedding out of reach of mice (Author's own).

My second site visit was to the Hemstedal region, where I stayed for three nights with another *hytte* owner (Figure 13). Her *hytte* was part of a 1960s hut area, built by numerous farmers aiming collectively to use their land for maximum results. Huts here are nicely spaced, often so one cannot see another, and many are still fairly small and as such would not look out of place in Carbeth. The *hytte* where I was staying, however, had running water, electricity, a second floor and even a sauna (Figure 14). Although the owner was

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emphatic that this was just the same as it had been before its renovation in terms of feel, to me this no longer embodied the simple life ideal, a key point to which I will return in Chapter 9.

Figure 13. The *hytte* in Hemstedal – Authors own.

This visit was nevertheless incredibly productive as the owner helped me to uncover the history of this particular region and took me to visit farmers upon whose land such *hytte* had been built. In addition, I was able to analyse one of the contracts for the Norwegian *Festetempt* (a form of land lease) providing a useful insight into legal aspects of hut culture which are currently being debated in Scotland. While there, I was also able to visit some of the *hytte palace* (hut palace) style properties that have sprung up in proximity to downhill skiing areas across Norway.

Figure 14. The interior of this *hytte* highlighting the grand dining space, the hints at tradition, the sauna and the influence of downhill skiing. Author's own.

My third site visit was a short one involving a couple of days spent on Lindøya, an island in the Oslo fjord, a mere fifteen minute ferry ride from the city centre (Figure 15). This island, along with others around it, is peppered with *hytte*. On my initial visit I was struck by the similarities to Carbeth and so, keen to learn more, I constructed a brief cover letter with an invitation for owners to contact me and a list of four questions to try to gain superficial information from those who did not have the time to meet with me. I handed

out a total of 100 questionnaires with a feedback rate of just two, a fairly disappointing return. Nonetheless, this site visit, or dwelling interview, taught me a lot about the island, its similarity to Carbeth and its unique place in Norwegian *hytte* culture.

Figure 15. Example *hytte* from Lindøya (Author's own).

With regards to the fifteen DNT hut visits, these took the form of three sustained trips, and several overnight trips in the area surrounding Oslo. In terms of DNT visits, the first longer period of hutting took place in June (early in the season) and involved a three night, four day trek in the Voss region. This trek took in two unserviced huts and one self-serviced, allowing me to experience the range *within* more 'simple' DNT huts and to discover trends, such as those nearer roads (as with bothies) being used more frequently by families. I was also able to interact with other users, interviewing and conducting participant observation as I went. While in each hut, I read the *hytte bok* (as I would with a bothy book) for the similarities and differences. In all, this trip was an eye-opener in terms of the level of services available; I turned up completely over-prepared, with clothes, cooking facilities and food that were not required. As I was used to the bothy system, I had not trusted the level of provision promised on the website, but quickly learned that the DNT

hut system enables lightweight travel, allowing greater distances to be covered and, arguably, a safer experience in the mountains to be ensured.

The second trip was designed to experience the serviced DNT hytte and so I went to the most famous region, the Jotenheim National Park. Here I did a five day, four night trek comprised of stops at three serviced huts and one self-serviced. This trip revealed a very different side to the DNT system with, for the most part, a very different clientele. As some of these huts are based right on the road, there are far more tourists who are not used to outdoor activities. The provision of three course meals, private rooms (if available) and hot showers makes these places far more accessible across the board. Subsequently, there is less of a communal feel, with several users commenting on the difference in social mixing and socialising between the two types of DNT buildings. Whether due to the size of the buildings or the clientele who inhabit them, it is hard to tell. This trip was valuable in that I was able to interview staff at the cabins, gaining a different insight into the buildings and their use. Fortuitously as well, in one of the huts I began talking to a visitor only to discover that he was the new head of the entire DNT organisation – a happy accident.

The third trip took place on the Lofoten Islands in Norway. Here I visited two huts, one to the south and the other in the north of the region. These trips enabled me to experience the provision of huts by a local DNT division. These are still DNT huts due to the umbrella structure of the DNT, but they have a different feel. The pricing is different, the key required for access a local variant, and the trails not as clearly marked. Nonetheless, these huts offer all the same amenities and are used in similar ways to give access to rural areas, or in this instance the impressive mountains of the region.

Analytical Strategy

While data gathering is fundamental for the research process, equally vital is the method of analysis, which was an ongoing process throughout the fieldwork activity in both Scotland and Norway. In terms of field notebooks, Kitchen and Tate (2000) highlight the use of 'on-the-spot' interpretation and analysis as certain happenings are noted and others passed by. I was aware of this occuring during the fieldwork process, and was able to make more considered judgments in relation to my project aims during the later stages of my participant observation. I am aware, however, that the knowledge gained was, and would always be, influenced by my position as the researcher. While I aimed to be open to all aspects of the out-dwelling culture, I was no doubt purposeful in determining which parts

of the culture were carried forward to later analysis. The same is true for my experiences of archival data gathering. The bothy books provided a wealth of information and the details taken from them, typed up in my notes, were unavoidably selective, chosen when they stood out as interesting, capturing repeating themes or exemplary of the mundane, the less interesting but representative messages left on their pages. This stage of analysis should not be glossed over as these initial choices have, of course, been as equally crucial as my later coding endeavors.

The process of transcribing my interviews was also an ongoing one, which allowed for crucial 're-familiarisation' (Crang 2005) with my data and fed into an ongoing process of drawing out 'theoretical memos' and theme coding notes for later analysis. Returning to code was therefore a process of close reading, adding annotations and comments in margins, to be later worked into theoretical memos from which I draw out emergent themes. Use of this 'open coding' system enabled the research to get as close as possible to the material, without suffering the pitfalls of numerical coding noted earlier. Subsequently, upon completion of fieldwork I then re-read all archive data and notebooks in order to immerse myself in the rest of my data. This process allowed for the creation of 'emic' codes (those used by informants) such as the notion of 'get it', to which I shall later refer, and 'etic' codes (assigned by the researcher to denote theories) such as 'in place/out of place', were developed in response to literature grounding. These codes, however, were not exclusive. Etic codes were derived from emic and both of these weaved together in the coding process. In practical terms codes were denoted using colored tabs and annotations in the margins of my work (Figure 16), which aimed to 'identify general patterns, clarify connections and relations, develop possible insights and refine ideas' (Watson and Till 2010:128).
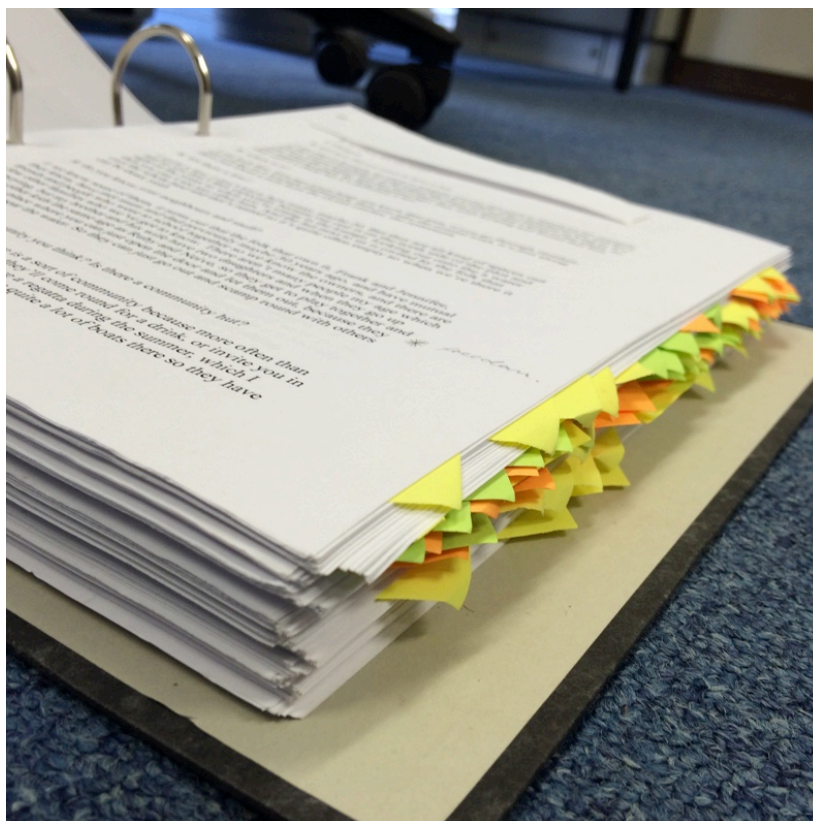
Figure 16. Initial emic codes. Author's Own.

Once complete, these codes were related across to separate empirically-focused chapters in the thesis and all information relating to these codes (e.g. ideals, home/unhomely) was extracted and separated into a single word document, although this process was of course far from the end of the coding process. As Agar (1986) notes, the process of coding is 'maddeningly recursive', as it develops through a series of 'breakdowns' where codes are subdivided in what can be termed 'axial coding' (Strauss 1987:32). This process involved further categorisation of material, teasing out further aspects and properties of each main code into a series of sub-codes. At times this work was done through use of on-screen highlighting, with codes and colours denoted at the top of the document and then utilised throughout (Figure 17).

This procedure was then followed by further manual 'cut and paste' exercises where subsequent documents were created for each sub code. While rigorous, this approach was not rigid and efforts were made throughout to remain flexible, so as to not brush aside crucial points because they did not fit in the coding system. This sensitivity allowed the data, as far as possibly, to 'speak for itself', avoiding the imposition of definitive concepts and the preconceptions or 'straightjacket' which can accompany them. Likewise, a rigid

approach would not have fitted with the phenomenological aims of this project, nor the 'make-do' methodological approach adopted from the outset.

Figure 17. An example of coding taken from the depicting the breakdown of 'rural resistance' codes.

To underline, this coding exercise cannot be objective 'science' and, without doubt, my own analysis, judgements and positionality feed into each chapter. As Fisher (1990: xxvii) once said, 'after all, I wrote it'. Nevertheless, I attempt to let the respondents speak, and be heard, as much as possible. For this reason, quotes have been included faithful to the manner in which they were delivered, with no attempt made to tidy or clean the language used. Pseudonyms have also been used throughout (unless requested otherwise). Ultimately, as Sidaway (1992:406) notes, 'there are no simple answers'. Nonetheless, this strategy enabled me to work the empirical data into a more understandable form, and from this develop the empirical chapters which follow.

Positionality and methodological problems

Throughout this project I have remained aware of the need to acknowledge the subjectivities and position of myself, as the researcher, throughout the design, collection and analysis of data. These reminders are therefore threaded through what has been relayed up to this point. Yet, there is more to be said. The need to consider the effects of our personal, social, economic and political identities is well documented by feminist theorists such as Haraway (1991), McDowell (1992), Rose (1997) and Butler (2001), particularly in reference to those with whom we work. As Rose (1997:306) simply states, the 'sort of knowledge made depends on who its makers are'. Despite efforts at reflective examination of the self, a researcher cannot remove the 'me' from the research (Rose 1997)[57] and rather I was drawn into the process of research with it, and had to negotiate carrying it appropriately.

This baggage was particularly apparent when I was tackled on my position as a researcher and upon mentioning I was a PhD student, met with the phrase, 'when are you going to get a real job then?' Such comments were undermining, questioned the legitimacy of the work and my position within it. I was forced to laugh these off, be professional but nonetheless these comments left me feeling bruised. I was also made aware of my position during periods of participant observation where I have noted in my diary that it was 'hard to research', 'asking questions is difficult as I worry it will mess with the flow of conversation happening around me'. This issue of researcher presence was a recurring one, yet one which resolved itself in an unforeseen manner, as the following entry depicts.

> Also, interviewing is difficult in this position so I gave up and decided to just chat to folk. I went into the other room to see McTavish [the dog] and his owners and just chatted. When they were comfortable and the conversation was flowing they brought it up [my research] – asked about the research and things got going that way. They seemed excited to say things commenting 'oh you should write this down', 'use this, it'll be my moment of fame'. At first I thought that writing was rude, would make people uncomfortable. Yet here it seemed like me writing it down was a means of legitimising what they were saying.[58]

This field diary entry describes a research incident with a group of men where I initially felt uncomfortable. My attire, my gender, my accent and my reason for being in that place, at that time, were all seemingly at odds with this group. Yet, it was this group who affirmed my position as a research and the validity of my methods.

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[57] Rose (1997) questions the limits to which 'we' are transparent to ourselves.
[58] Field diary extract extracts will be italisised, as will direct interviewee quotes.

Throughout the research process, however, I was constantly left questioning the position of the 'powerful' researcher. While I appreciate that I was, to some extent, in control of the knowledge produced, I was also subject to the whims of my participants. They had the power to tell or to conceal certain information. They were largely in control of who I was able to speak with and observe, and thus for a large proportion of the work I felt shaped by their decisions. This was made most apparent during one memorable interview. I am a pescatarian, and have been so since birth. Having arrived at an interview and been offered home cooked, caringly prepared food, I was not about to upset this interviewee with a refusal. I had come a long way, and I needed his candid answers. Interviews, after all, are often about rapport with your interviewee as much as proximity. I therefore dutifully consumed my first bowl of chicken and chorizo stew, and, much to my chagrin said 'yes please' to the offer of another bowl, immortalised on my interview transcript. I could, and perhaps should, have said no, but I felt constrained by researcher position to make a good impression, to make things 'flow'.

Even in this scenario, though, I was reminded, not for the first time, that fieldwork is conducted not merely by yourself, but also in a sense by those you encounter along the way. It is these meetings, these experiences, that really make the process enjoyable for me and reminds me of the generosity of strangers. Although this perhaps reads as a cliché, that should not mean that it remains unsaid, or that it is not specifically stated in my thesis. My work is indeed testament to the kindness of strangers, and my experiences both within Scotland and abroad emphasise this fact. In Scotland, amidst those I know, coming home to familiar surroundings, this was less easy to perceive. Yet in Norway, in a strange place, knowing no one and speaking a different language, small acts (and on occasion large ones) stood out as precious pieces of the research process. My thesis is witness to these encounters and my methodology and subsequent analysis and write-up hopefully does justice to such acts and their authors.

Ethics

With regards to ethics, while 'every project undertaken has associated ethical issues' (Kitchen & Tate 2000:35), these are particularly pointed in intensive methods where, as Hoggart et al. (2002:245) note, 'the legitimacy of the work stands on the transparency of the 'stories' told'. Subsequently, this research has remained acutely aware of the older work by feminist geographers such as England (1994), Kobayashi (1994) and Valentine

(2005) over issues of representation and the role of the researcher. Moreover, all respondents are competent adults (over the age of 18) and so I have not worked with those groups usually described as 'vulnerable' in a legal-ethical sense (as not necessarily able to give or withdraw consent). Nevertheless, this research has strictly followed all standard Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and University of Glasgow approved guidelines, including gaining full and informed consent from all participants, with anonymity offered and care taken to be overt in all research proceedings. It was made clear that participation was entirely voluntary and it was reiterated that participants could leave the project at any time and remove their contributions from the data generated. In a bothy situation where anyone could turn up, consent was gained if my research was discussed. All participants were given the option to be anonymised through use of a pseudonym, and reminded that they did not need to give responses to all of the topics. Efforts were also made throughout to ensure that respondents did not feel beholden to take part. However, research can 'develop in ways that raise unforeseen ethics implications' (ESRC 2010: 27), and a constant recognition of the issues involved was intrinsic to my endeavours. This issue became particularly poignant when sensitive issues such as mourning, loss of huts and bankruptcy over hutting issues were addressed. At these times it was crucial that I was both sensitive and responsive, not pushing for information but ensuring the welfare of my participants, both physical and psychological. This did not mean shutting these conversations down since, for some, talking was cathartic. Rather, I was required to read the situation, adapt to the individual and respond as best I could to their needs. A sense of the 'change' felt in such encounters will occasionally intrude into the empirical materials which follow.

Conclusion

As Devereaux and Hoddintott (1992:10) noted over two decades ago, 'fieldwork is always full of surprises'. This chapter has therefore sought to demonstrate the means by which I have embraced this warning, utilising an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, seeking not to test a hypothesis or theory and rather to create ideas from the data generated during the research process. While Sarsby states that, 'many successful episodes in the field do come about through good luck as much as through sophisticated planning' (1984:96 in Bryman 2008:401), I nonetheless sought not to eliminate planning entirely but to develop an outline methodology and suite of methods designed to address the aims of this project. While at times stressful, scary and unpredictable, I want to end on a reminder that research is indeed a 'prime privilege' (Price

2001:143) to be enjoyed; and this has certainly been the case during this process. The following chapters are therefore the fruits of this labour, a topic developed from planning to process to thesis production.

Chapter 4: 'No Moments of Great Philosophical Insight': Introducing Out-Dwellings through Thought-Hut-Word

Introduction

Each of the chapters to follow focus on a specific theme, borne out of the data and laid out for both exploration and explanation. What is offered in this chapter differs slightly in its focus on one specific kind of data source. This chapter is one that pushes the boundaries of 'geographies of the book' while also setting the scene, grounding these buildings within their environments and user-communities and subsequently gently introducing many of the main themes to be investigated within this thesis. And so, let me introduce an entry, hand written, in a book.
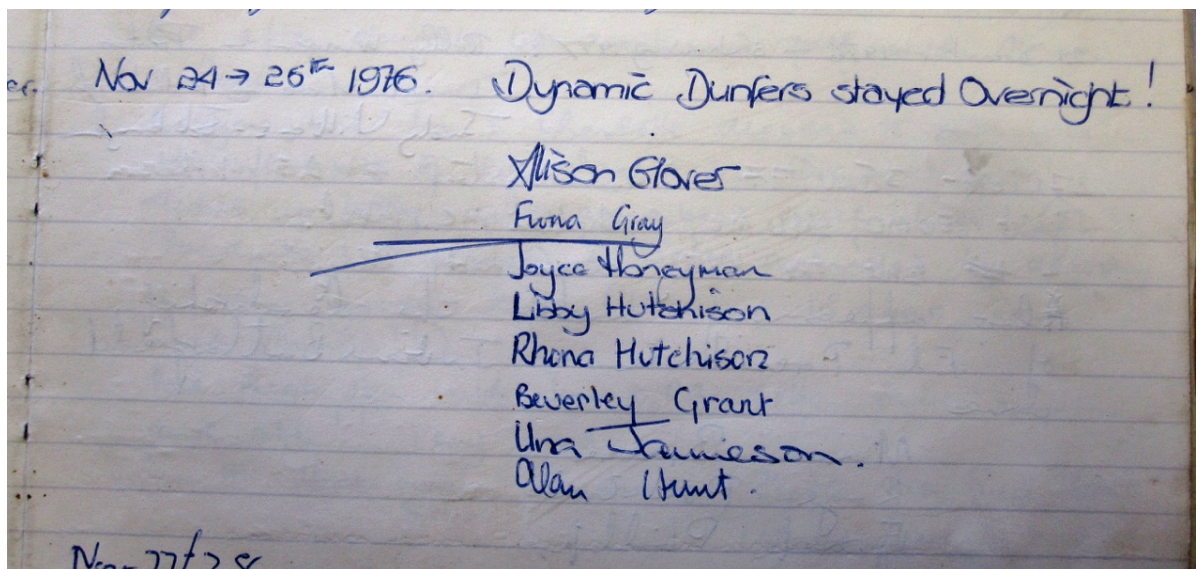
Figure 18. 'Dynamic Dumfers', an entry from Ruigh Aitechain Bothy in 1976 (Author's own).

To the unwitting reader this entry portrays nothing special; it harbours no great insights, no deeper philosophical meaning and no obviously geographical information. It is, to most, exceptionally ordinary. The 'Dynamic Dumfers' have merely written their names, noted their stay. On this page, they have added their pen to those of others, each scribing their own mark. This book, of which this page is but one, is party to hundreds of such figures, individuals or groups giving permanence to their transience, through ink on paper. Yet these marks are not normal, this book not commonplace. While print culture is already known to be 'profoundly, and importantly, a matter of geography, and a matter for geography' (Keighren 2006:537), the 'print culture' of these books is by no means mainstream. These books have no publisher, no printer, no title page, no chapters, headings

or index, no contents, no printed text and no editor in the assumed definition of the word. They will never sit on a library shelf and the reader does not know 'what to expect': they are quite simply different. For these are Bothy Books, a unique kind of book where visitors can choose to diarise their experiences of a stay in personal terms.

However, despite their unique qualities, these books are still most certainly geographical artifacts to be considered among Cartier's notions of 'object studies' (in Keighren 2006:527). They are, as Keighren (2006:537) states, 'culturally situated phenomenon', developed in individual bothies and able to impart a plethora of cultural particulars. Moreover, these books also have a unique element to bring to geographies of the book. Like the fieldnotes consulted by Lorimer (2003), they are lone documents, the only ones of their kind, the antithesis of the reproducible image of the e-book that we hold in light of the digital opportunities available today. Although this limits the practical possibilities for analysing their 'trajectories of diffusion' (Keighren 2006:525), it by no means undermines their research potential. On the contrary, these books, in their handwritten state, become a modern day manuscript reflective of the initial days of the revolutionary move from orality to literacy (Finkelstein and McCleery 2002). They take us back to a time when there was only one book, one 'object', in one place. The makers thus mimic the monks of days gone by, creating books to be valued and protected. Although battered, worn and smeared with the remnants of spilt tea and squashed midgies, these books are both precious and beaten, treasured and abused, to be treated with reverence and irreverence: the embodiment of contradiction. The books push the boundaries of geographies of the book, opening the sub-field to these conflicting circumstances and new 'books' to be studied. In doing so, they also pay homage to the folk geographies of the likes of geographer F. B. Kniffen, who pays full attention to the vernacular, the ordinary, and the lived within (Kniffen 1979, 1986).

Hut-Thought-Word[59]

The particular book from which the opening extract is taken is nestled within Ruigh Aitchechain bothy, itself a remnant of days gone by. Now home to walkers, wanderers and enthusiasts unknown, the building is mistakenly known as Landseer's bothy, haven of the noted English painter who watched and studied red deer, etching Scottish iconography in his 'Monarch of the Glen' (Pringle 1988). Sitting amidst the Cairngorms, this bothy and

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[59] The absence of commas in this phrasing is intentional and designed to mirror Bachelard's own reasoning for omitting the commas in his own title 'Building Dwelling Thinking' as a means to emphasis the harmonious linking of the three ideas. To be equally harmonious I have chosen to link the words together.

this book thus gather the dispersed geographies of the many, largely unknown, contributors to this notable, yet unnoticed place.

Huts of this type have often been overlooked, the world within their walls viewed through the product rather than the process. But there are those who have made note of their connection with thought. Poignantly, the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard commented that,

> *A hermit's hut. What a subject for an engraving! Indeed, real images are engravings, for it is the imagination that engraves them on our memories ... And because of this very primitiveness, restored, desires and experiences through simple images, an album of pictures of huts could constitute a textbook of simple exercises for the phenomenology of the imagination (1994 [1958]:31-33).*

Taking note and for the moment putting aside Bachelard's (1994[1958]) use of the complicated term 'primitive', what he speaks of here is the way in which a 'hut' dream' can penetrate the imagination, shaping and creating the way in which individuals experience the world around them. In his mind, the hut is of particular significance for those (in his mind phenomenologists) who are 'looking for the roots of the function of inhabiting' where 'we hope to live elsewhere, far from the over-crowded house, far from city cares. We flee in thought in search of real refuge' (Bachelard 1994 [1958]:31). Thus, the hut dream is not just a dream of a far-off retreat but something we can find within the mind, without leaving home. The hut, therefore, is emblematic of humanity's affinity for simplicity, for intimacy, for a space to think. Thus, while the 'hut dream' can shape the mind, many seek this same intellectual refuge in huts in a more physical sense.

E.B. White wrote *Charlotte's Web* (1980 [1952]) within the walls of his hut and he is far from alone in having found such places conducive spaces in which to write and think. Dylan Thomas had his boathouse and likewise Henry Thoreau had his cabin at Walden Pond. Aiming both to undermine the economic entanglements of the emerging market regime and to embark on a spiritual adventure, Thoreau lived at Walden Pond for just over two years, using it to explore the rich treasures that a simple life could afford. Consequently, as his biographer Henry Seidel Canby, writes, 'the social thinker, the scientist, and the artist concerned with form as well as meaning, all awoke in Thoreau at Walden' (in Landis 1945: 330).

Spiritual connections can also be made with small buildings. The Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, founder of the 'deep ecology' movement, coined his personal philosophy 'ecosophy T' after his mountain hut (Taylor 2001). A prime example of those who experience 'mountain epiphanies' (Taylor 2001:180), Naess believed that true spiritual perception and appreciation of the inherent value of nature required sustained distance from city life. As he states, 'it takes time for the new milieu to work in depth. It is quite normal that several weeks must pass before the sensitivity for nature is so developed that it fills the mind' (Taylor 1989:179). A hut, therefore, allows both access to nature and sustained and contemplative residence within it. More recently, Pollan (2008:xi) has written of 'The architecture of daydreams', in accounting for his own need for, and experience of creating, *A Place of My Own*, a place to read, to write, and in his words, 'launch … critiques of modern society'. For him, a hut becomes a necessity, 'a place of solitude a few steps off the beaten track of real life' (Pollan 2008:3).

Of particular relevance to this thesis is Martin Heidegger and his famed hut at Todtnauberg in Germany's Black Forest. Heidegger named this six-by-seven meters building 'die Hutte' (The Hut), and it is here that he crafted much of his work, including the first draft of perhaps his best known book, *Being and Time* (1962). In this work the Cartesian split of mind and body was challenged and, rather than having a world upon which we (humans) build, he argued that we *make* that world in the act of dwelling. In Heidegger's (1962:160) words, 'only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build'. As such in 'Building Dwelling Thinking' Heidegger tackles the association of place, person and product, intimating at the ways in which our surroundings structure our thinking, ideas then taken up by anthropologist Ingold (1993) and geographers Wylie (2005), Harrison (2007) and Cloke and Jones (2001), among others. All of these works stress the co-mingling of person and place where environments are thus continually made and remade, created and shaped, through the practices users are part of, and party to.

The work undertaken in Heidegger's hut was indeed full of 'great philosophical'[60] insight, but it was also precisely at the same time about the everydayness of dwelling, of being. In his short essay, 'Why Do I Stay in the Provinces?', published in 1934, Heidegger set out the significance of the hut in his life and, by extension, his work (Sharr 2006). Sharr (2006:7) endorses this synthesis in arguing that, to Heidegger, this hut was more than a physical location, being, as he put it, his 'work-world', where the rural rigour and solitude

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[60] The source of this phrase, also used in the chapter title, will be explained later in this chapter.

provided a 'constant dialogue partner'. There was thus a profound connection between Heidegger's black forest hut and the philosophical, ethical and practical dimensions of his writing 'great philosophy' books.

Just as Heidegger's 'hut books' were shaped by Totnauberg, so too are these buildings and their bothy books 'enmeshed' in their users' thinking and feeling, ultimately becoming, as Benjamin (2006:xv) notes, 'as much a philosophical event as it is an architectural one'. As such, buildings of this type can be seen as places where ideas gestate and words are put down. Not only are books part of bothy life, they are also a uniquely placed product of time spent in these spaces, a place for people to give personal expression to their world view through their vernacular philosophising. Bothy books provide a new contribution to Ogborn and Withers' (2010) 'geographies of the book'. But these books are also thoroughly entangled in the dwelling life-world of these buildings and hence are both representational and performative material objects. Therefore, while this chapter ultimately aims to introduce the key thematics to take forward into later chapters, underlying this aim is a larger problematic, traced in what follows through the narratives of bothy users, using their words to provide insight into dwelling in such buildings and, through this wordy encounter, the overarching relationship between 'Hut Thought Word'.

Books as source

As previously noted, the books upon which this chapter will draw are those presently, and previously, housed in bothies in the Cairngorms mountain range in the Scottish Highlands (Figure 19). These books are not only an untouched avenue of information for scholars, but also an unusual source that helps to push the ever expanding boundaries of what constitutes source material for contemporary historical geographies of place.

And so what follows is *a* geography of *a* type of book, an account of geographies *within* a book, and a geography of the people and place involved in that process. It sits comfortably within the new and emerging literatures on the book, its creation, distribution and reception.

Figure 19. Examples of the body books from the archive held by Scottish Natural Heritage (Author's own).

'Terminologically novel' (Keighren 2013:751) yet with deep roots in histories of the book and the history of science, this new subfield of geographical inquiry deals with situating both the production and consumption of books, and with reference to books, as Keighren (2013:752) notes, is 'making the claim that … place matters'. Attention is paid to the 'paper world' (Rhodes and Sawday 2000:1) with specific works focusing on the 'spatial setting of reading' (Chartier 1994), the locational reception of books (Davis and Womack in 2002) and the idea of 'scribal communities' (Love 2002) which allow us come closer to a social history of culture (Hall 1996). Of particular interest is Johns' (1998) engagement with the small-scale, intimate geographies of production, which complements yet contrasts Withers' (2010) notion that the production of a book is not static, but rather is built through process, across space, and by numerous actors. This foregrounding of the spatial ties to Secord's (2004) stand against localism, through which he explores the notion of 'knowledge in transit' and also breaks down the distinction between 'production' and 'dissemination'. Ultimately, all of this is work underpinned by Cartier, who acknowledges

a sociological perspective, 'viewing the text not only as a physical object but also as a historically and culturally situated phenomenon' (in Keighren 2006:527). It highlights Ogborn and Withers' conclusion that, despite the 'electronic revolution' (Finkelstein and McCleery 2002:3), a geography of books 'makes a new sort of knowledge possible' (Ogborn and Withers 2010:6). Yet, in line with the use of increasingly divergent sources (Lorimer 2006), we are constantly reminded of Keighren's (2013:752) call to 'expand the range of material forms and genres which usefully can be subject to geographical interpretation'.

What follows is indeed a geography of these bothy books themselves, as objects with geographies of production, circulation and consumption, alert too to the spaces of writing, reading and relocation. Yet, utilising literatures of landscapes, dwelling and morality, the aim is also to present these books as windows into dwelling in huts, to the conflation of person and place, and how in which this gathering together can be understood through thoughts on paper. And so, as one bothy user has noted, *'good evening [or indeed just hello] to ye'll all'*,[61] and welcome to what appears to be, academic geography's first episode of *'bothy nights'*[62].

'To my grandchildren of the future'[63]: literary dynamics

Despite the fact that this chapter *is* about bothies, in light of the argument set forth above, the focus is not on the bothies as buildings but on the bothy books once held within their walls. These books begin life empty, devoid of ink and lead. Only once deposited within the bothy, by a Warden or the MBA, do they begin to document the lived and dwelt experience of bothy use. These books are depositories of not only the customary name and date functionality of most visitors books, but also thoughts, feelings and 'episodes' of experience. They thereby, initiate an interesting literary dynamic where some rules are followed and others deposed, written with no obvious purpose, no prearranged audience, but nonetheless deemed valuable, intended for keeping, written 'to my grandchildren of the future'.[64]

Additionally, in line with Withers' (2010:219) astute hypothesis, for bothy books, 'production is less a location than a process distributed across space and different persons'.

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[61] Corrour Bothy, book 3. – 7/9/80.
[62] Corrour Bothy, book 3. – 7/9/80.
[63] Sinclair Hut, book 13. – 16/6/85.
[64] Sinclair Hut, book 13. – 16/6/85.

The books have numerous, diverse – and sometimes unnamed – authors with no '*rights to [their] literary gems*'.[65] Consequently, the books also have a multitude of adopted tones, styles and aims. For some, such as those displayed below, the bothy books are a rudimentary cookbook:

bothy burgers
½ lb. mince
1 onion
salt and pepper
1 teaspoon hot curry powder[66]

For others they are a guide-book, an honest and proud reflection of ambitions achieved and machoism revered,[67] a weather check of aspects such as cloud cover and snow conditions,[68] or even an outlet for artistic expression such as short plays, poetry and song which hark back to the traditions of the bothy ballad.[69] The books also appear in 'dear diary' form,[70] a safe haven for thoughts, confessions or moments shared. The entry below, in which the user describes his companion's actions, provides one such example:

> *I am sitting by the fire while Phil eases his social conscience by burning rubbish on it so this message is being scribed with the pervading odour of burning plastic bags and other noxious items....*
> *Use of the hut much appreciated.*[71]

These entries are like a written pause in time allowing us to see into an evening, an event, a moment, a culture. Through them we become part of, or at least onlookers to, the scene. Although we cannot taste or smell the moment, the words allow us passage into a secret, some might say lost world of the bothy. Despite one user's proclamation that '*words don't matter, people do*',[72] words do matter; the words that people write become more than an archive, they create a written picture.

Aside from the visitor's book tradition of name and date, the most prominent form taken by the books is that of the social network, which can somewhat surprisingly come in the form of a rudimentary dating site, an in-situ lonely-hearts column or a children's pen-pal

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[65] Corrour Bothy, book 4. – 29/6/81.
[66] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 2. – 19/3/78. On occasion I will format quotes to mimic how the text appeared originaly in the relevant bothy books.
[67] Garbh Choire Bothy, book 5. – easter 1986, no exact date.
[68] Corrour Bothy, book 1. – 18/1/78, Garbh Choire Bothy, book 1. – 9/3/78.
[69] Sinclair Hut, book 10. – 30/12/82.
[70] Sinclair Hut, book 10. – 20/9/82.
[71] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 4. – 5/4/82.
[72] Corrour Bothy, book 4 – 15/7/81.

finder.[73] More often, however, the books appear akin to the 'wall' of an online forum through which issues such as litter, wildlife, geology and outdoor gear can be debated and discussed.[74] Clearly, these books are not ascribed a single meaning, they are interactive objects, produced and consumed by the culture which surrounds them. These books also fit neatly with Secord's (2004) ideas of 'knowledge in transit', where 'it is not so much a question of seeing how knowledge transcends the local circumstances of its production, but instead of seeing how every local situation has within it connections with possibilities for interaction with other settings' (Secord 2004:664). It is this phenomena which accounts for the near unique dialogic structure of these books. Epitomised by the phrase '*Dear next writer*', there is an anticipatory nature to these geographically sited conversation penned by transient participants for readers and authors yet to come. Here the geographies of the bothy books give material form to Ogborn and Withers' (2010:23) argument that 'production, circulation and consumption need to be considered together'.
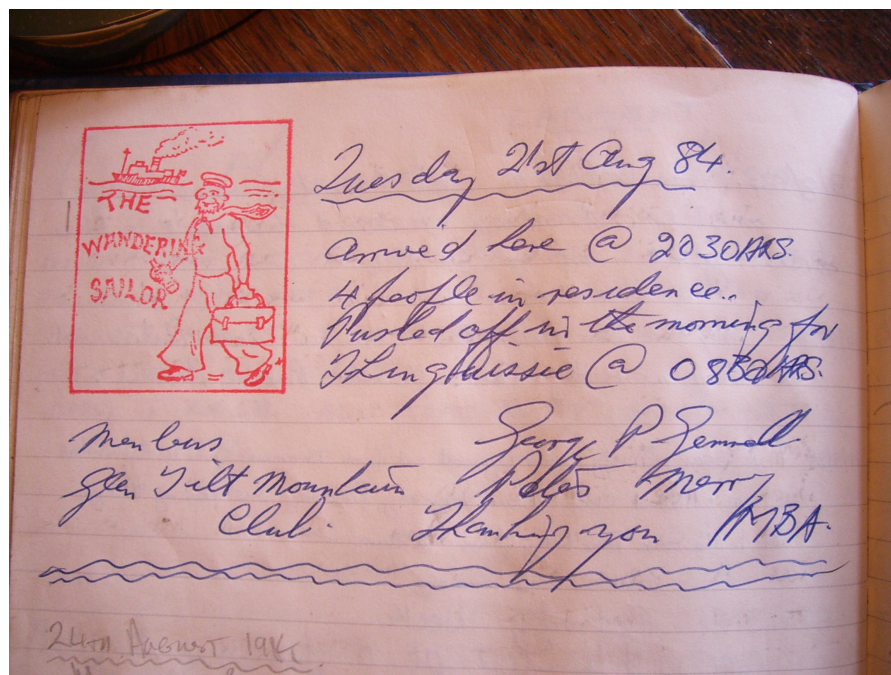
Figure 20. The Wandering Sailor. An example of his customary red stamp. Fords of Avon Bothy, book 7. – 21/8/84 (Author's Own).

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[73] Jeans Hut, book 4. – 3/12/78; Ruigh Aiteachan Bothy, book 3. – no date given.
[74] Garbh Choire Bothy, book 3. – front cover; Jeans Hut, book 5. – 15/4/79; Sinclair Hut, book 1. – 9/8/74.
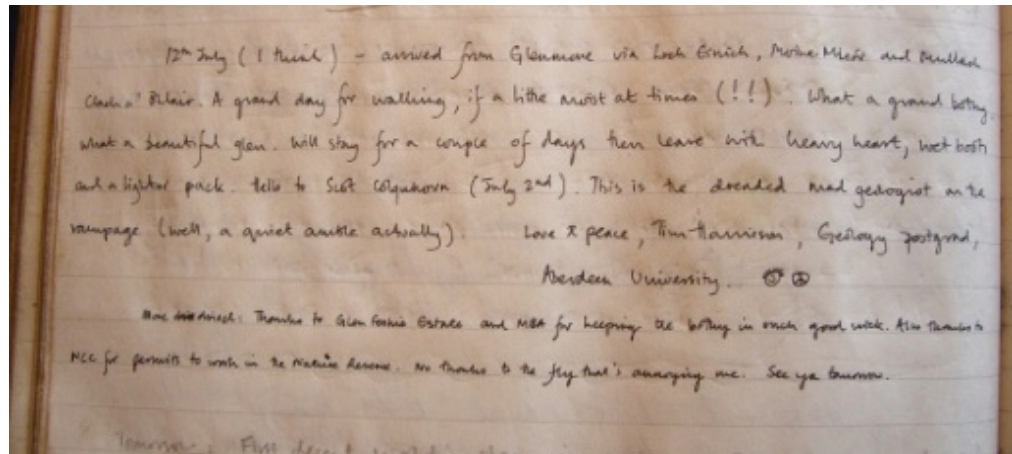
Figure 21. Tim Harrison. One of the numerous entries he logged during his time researching in the area. Fords of Avon Bothy, book 7. – 12/7/84 (Author's own).

However, despite their unique authorship, bothies do have - in some form - several of the more customary characteristics of a book. Firstly, across the archive a number of figures reappear as though characters in a 'normal' book. Tim Harrison the researching post-graduate geologist, Dave Holland the dedicated warden, and the 'Wandering Sailor'; just three of the regular contributors appearing in several entries across numerous books.

In addition to characters, the books are also peppered with illustrations. A few of the more graphic and yet clean-natured of those on offer, Figures 22-24 show that, although bothy books are not traditional books, they are most certainly branches of that established communicative genre.
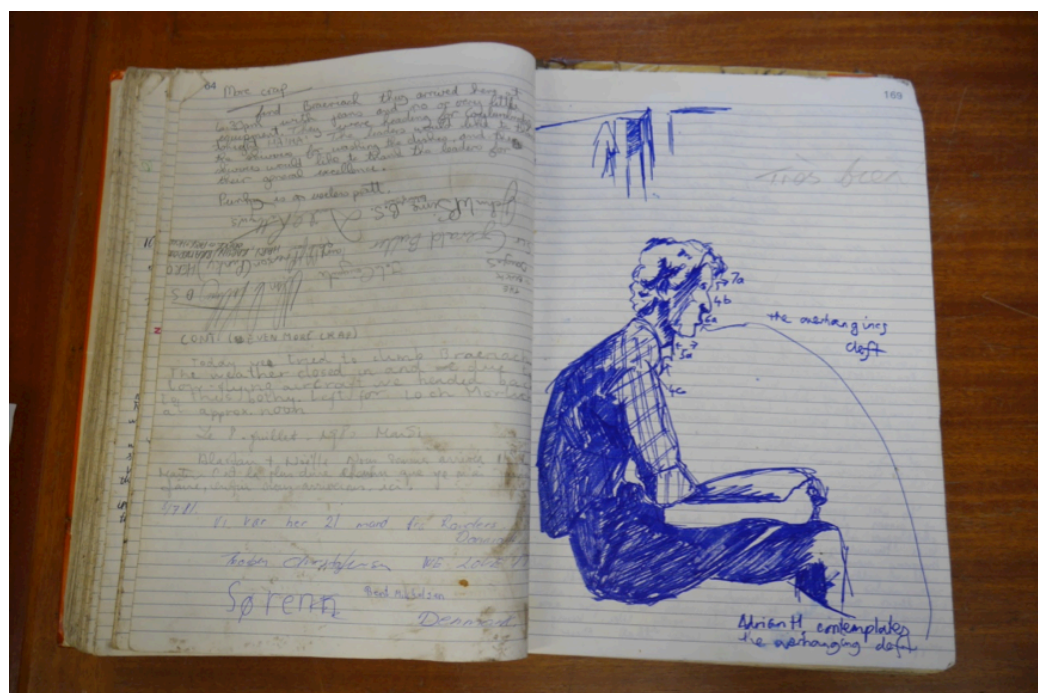
Figure 22. Cliffhanger. MBA archive bothy books sample. Year Unknown (Author's own).
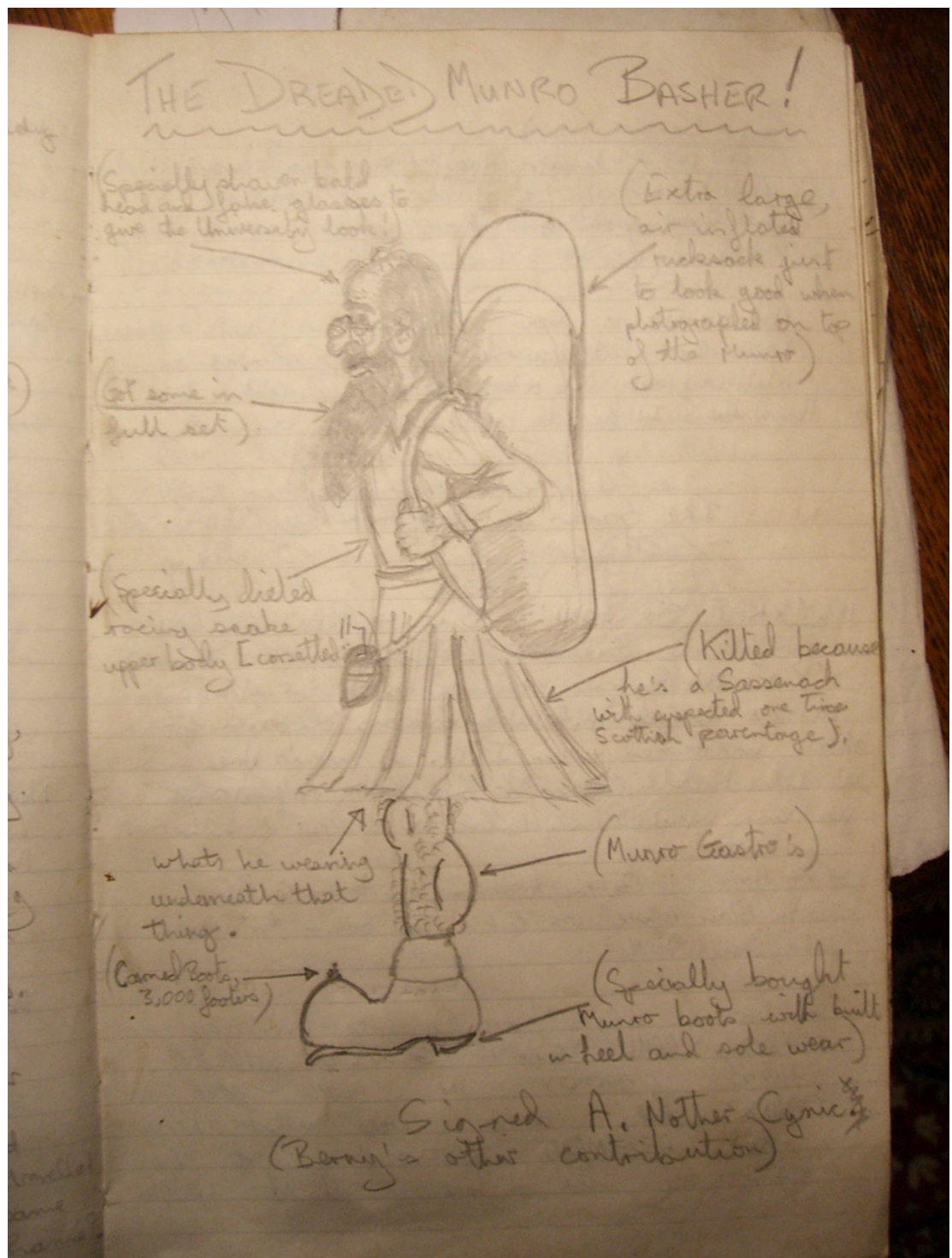
Figure 23. The Dreaded Munro Basher! Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 3 – 26/4/80 (Author's own).
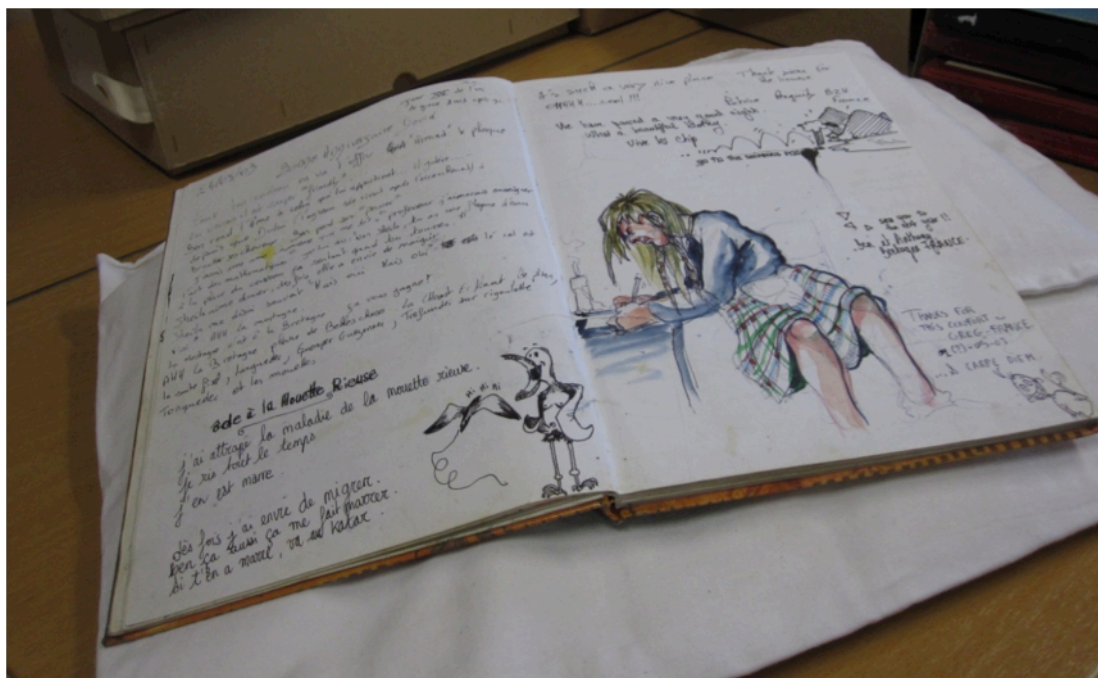
Figure 24. Bothy Thoughts. MBA archive bothy books sample. Year Unknown (Author's own).

Moreover, when taking account of the longer entries offered on these pages, the books do fall into a number of literary genres. Part social realism, certain sections are more akin to an Irvine Welsh[75] novel than Heidegger's intellectual endeavors.

> *Corrour 7/9/80 'Good evening to ye'all, welcome to yet another episode o'*
> *BOTHY NICHTS!! (Hurray! Shite...) This evening we've a bra' line up o'*
> *entertainment, we've got Angus on his accordion! (o' no' bloody Angus*
> *again!) Erchie on the spoons, Morag playing the old tin bath 'ower there, and*
> *Boad gein urs one of 'is liltin' renditions 'o' 'My Ferret's troosers. Again!!*
> *But firstly I'll need tae opologies for the absence of Willie McTatie smasher*
> *'oor resident compare. Willie was taken fae us suddenly one cold winder's*
> *nicht as he went out to get some water fae the stream at the bottom o' the peat*
> *bog and he was never... seen again!! However it was runoured he ran 'aff wi*
> *Boab's wife! Boab – 'I didnae ken aboot that! I' thoucht she was away tae see*
> *her sister at Boat o' Garten! – looks out of the window, blizzarding outside.*
> *"meh, what's that comin! (unintentional pun). Wud ye believe it, it's alec wi –*
> *Boab's wife!! – Boab – 'I never kent he has these men around her!! Erchie –*
> *"well Angus is the biggest ram about her an he says he's had her!' Boab –*
> *Angus, ye sleekit b*****d!' Erchie – "honest boav, ah only screwed her four*
> *times! And any way he had four of my sheep up the Lairig Ghru (make of that*
> *what you will)[76]*

Such entries speak to ideas of social transgression, of bothies as being places in which you can escape from the pressures of social norms and push the boundaries of accepted behavior. Yet even here there are confines of control, morality and order as users are

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[75] A Scottish author of controversial, gritty, social realist tales of, crime and addiction, written in raw dialect.
[76] Corrour Bothy, book 3. - 7/9/80.

deplored, '*Please don't swear. It upsets the more sensitive readers.*'[77]. And so perhaps most prominently, bothy books can also have editors, if not quite in the traditional sense. Although Mitchell and Brown (2009:10) claim that bothies are a place to get away from 'rules and regulations', they are clearly not devoid of all restrictions. For some, such as the entries shown below, there appears to be pressure to write certain comments, to fulfill certain roles or self-edit;

> *sorry, at 5.30am bright and witty comments are beyond me!!*[78]
> *no mice, no blizzards, no moments of great philosophical insight. No explosions*[79]
> *haven't got time to draw pretty pictures or wax lyrically or write down tatty jokes or anything – sorry*[80]

In other situations the 'editing' is far more apparent; pages are ripped out, comments are written over and entries stipulating proper use are employed, as shown in Figure 25.
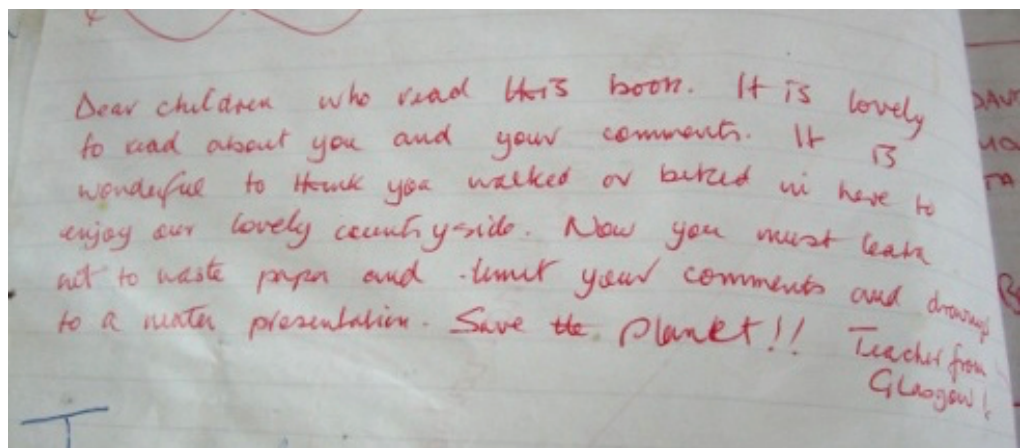
Figure 25. 'Teacher from Glasgow', commenting on the use of the book by children. Inshriach Bothy, book 11. – no date, approx. 15/6/06 (Author's own).

Finally, the books themselves can also be seen to edit the actions of the users, as in the case in Corrour bothy in 1978 when the occupants refrain from exterminating the bothy mouse apparently in light of a rule placed on the inside cover of the book, *'protect and preserve plant and animal life'*.[81] Clearly, both the books and the bothy are not an entirely free space; the entries and the users who create them are certainly restricted by the assumptions and actions of those who surround them, the assumed rules of bothy culture. Ultimately, the bothy books themselves create new geographies in a different sort of book.

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[77] Etchachan Bothy, book 4. 2/10/83.
[78] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 4. – 23/7/85.
[79] Garbh Choire Bothy, book 3. – 5/5/80.
[80] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 1. – 12/11/77.
[81] Corrour Bothy, book 1. – 1/1/78.

They are, as users note, both '*a marvelous idea*'[82] and an '*interesting read*',[83] a precious chronicle which permits access to the unspoken textures of experience within the bothy world and the ultimate new source for an understudied culture.

Dwelling, memory and the bothy

The utility of the books can be taken beyond their literary characteristics. As Johns states (1998), in addition to understanding the materiality of the books, attention must also turn to the material conditions, meaning the locations, in which these books were produced. Focusing on the relationships and locations of printing in early modern London, he argues for recognition of 'particular clusters of representations, practices and skills' (Johns 1990:59-60, in Ogborn and Withers 2010:7). This geography of the book, rather than focusing on distribution, takes note of the intricate geographies of micro-places and so it is with this attention to the place of production in mind that I turn to dwelling, to the co-production of people and place, and ultimately to the bothies themselves. As Cresswell (2003:271) notes, traditional analysis of landscapes through documents has produced a rather static visual depiction of the environment that it seeks to explore, resulting in 'purely material topographies'. In contrast, landscape phenomenology, inspired by Heidegger (1988) and Merleau Ponty (1962), and developed by Ingold (2000), focuses on the embodied practices of being in the world. In this way, landscape is defined as a processual interaction of body and world, thus breaking down the Cartesian distinction between these two. In this reading, closer attention is paid to the full 'livedness' of landscape, and in turn this move opens up the opportunity to 'enliven' (Lorimer 2003:202) geographical inquiry through inclusion of the affective, emotional realm.

However, as Lorimer (2003:202) notes, '[m]uch is … contingent on the availability of 'sources' which capture (or at least take us closer to) the smells, sounds, sights and feelings of direct, embodied experience'. Happily the bothy books are a prime source for such a task. The entries detail the life-in-the-now of people in the past, providing a rich emotional plane for discussion of bothy culture in relation to lived experiences such as grief and memory, and for considering how places are co-produced through inhabitation.

Bothy culture is clearly, in part, a product of the connections between persons, environments and emotions. These can indeed be emotions of grief or remembrance, and these sentiments may be built into the structures themselves, as is the case for the Jean's

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[82] Sinclair Hut, book 10. – 22/7/82 .
[83] Garbh Choire Bothy, book 4. – 2/4/81.

Hut, the Sinclair Hut or the Hutchinson's Memorial Hut (a.k.a. Etchachan Bothy). These buildings were (and, in the case of Hutchinson's, still are) the physical embodiment of memory-making, 'environments of memory' at their zenith (Hockey et al. 2005:135). This notion is exemplified in the placard pinned to Guirdil Cottage (an MBA bothy), which marks the memory of Tom and Margaret Brown:

ONLY IN HEAVENLY SPIRIT NOW THEY TREAD
HIGH TOPS, WHERE DAILY WORRIES FLED.
WHERE LIFE WAS GOOD AND DAYS WERE LONG
AND NATURE THRILLED THEM WITH IT'S SONG[84]

But it is not only the names or placards which instill these relationships. Recognition of the term dwelling involves a change from seeing the world in a 'built perspective' where humans create (build) upon an inanimate world, to that of a dwelling perspective, in which all acts of living and thinking are acts of dwelling, of being-in-the-world: that co-production of people and place. As Ingold (2000:188) proposes, echoing Heidegger, 'it is in the very process of dwelling that we build'. Dwelling emphasises the ways in which recurrent encounters with places echo upon one another, enabling the development of complex associations which 'serve to build up memory and affection for those places, thereby rendering the places themselves deepened by time and qualified by memory' (Cloke and Jones 2001:651). We (humans) are indeed, as Jones (2005:208) has noted, 'creatures of memory', and bothy users are not blind to this fact, their entries clearly implicating memory-making as a distinctive emotional element of bothy culture:

treasured memories before I depart for Afghanistan[85]

The weekend leaves me with very happy memories[86]

harder to leave than to come[87]

This element of memory is not only part of the culture, however, but also arguably something of the buildings themselves, their placeness.

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[84] I. Butterfield, Survey of Mountain Shelters research folder, groups 18,19 and 20, in Butterfield's personal collection.
[85] Ryvoan Bothy, book. 1 – 13/7/10.
[86] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 2. – 20-23/5/78.
[87] Sinclair Hut, book 10. – 22/7/82.
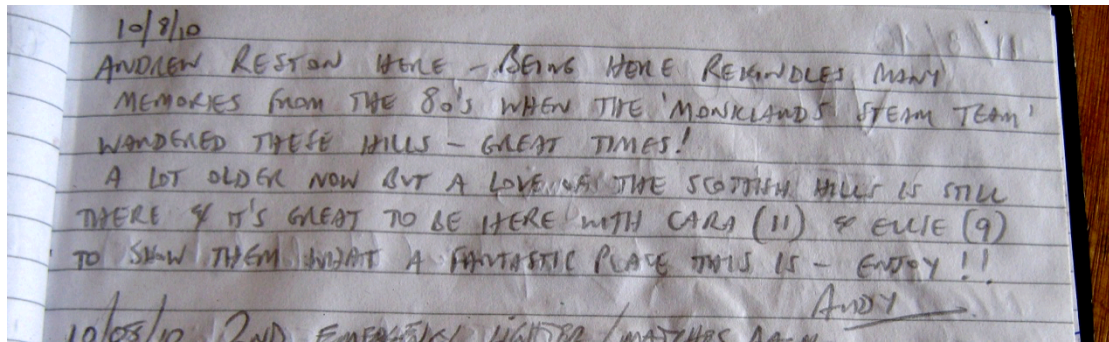
Figure 26. 'Andrew Reston Here', noting fond memories. Ryvoan Bothy, book 1. –10/8/10 (Author's own)

This entry, in Figure 26, exemplifies that memory is both spatial and, as Jones (2005:213) also asserts, 'clearly bound up with processes of place and emotional attachments to place'.

These memories are also affected by the taskscape of the bothy, the repeated practices which imbue a place with specific associations, characteristics or, in this case, emotions. Bothies are places in which dangers are encountered and deaths have occurred: these 'wild and lonely' (www.mountainbothies.org.uk) places are not the placid landscapes of a romantic idyll. Harrowing entries such as that from Jean's Hut in 1977, detailing the frantic efforts of a mountaineer following his companion's fall from a cornice, immediately force this point home. The Cairngorm Tragedy of 1971[88] is perhaps the ultimate example. Although not wholly attributable to the bothies themselves, the subsequent closure of many high level structures highlights the connection between bothies and emotional engagement. Furthermore, even when the surrounding environment, or the structure of the bothy itself, is not implicated in the deaths, these places are still used as environments in which to remember, as Figure 27 portrays.

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[88] One of Scotland's worst mountaineering accidents in which five schoolchildren and their instructor perished in bad weather *en route* to a bothy.
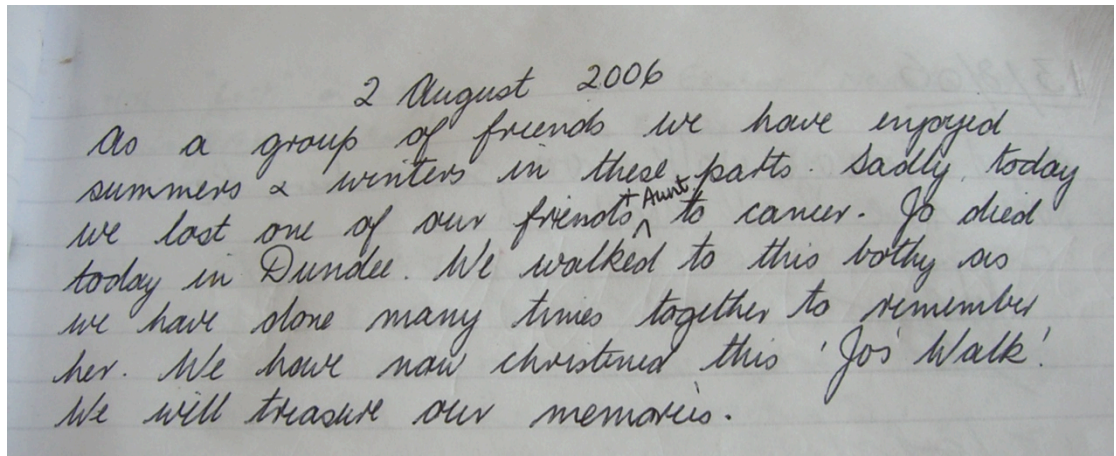
Figure 27. 'Jo's Walk', an emotional entry from Inshriach bothy. Inshriach Bothy, book 11. – 2/8/06
(Author's own).

Clearly the bothy landscape is a story, enfolding, as Ingold (2000:189) reflects, the lives of those who have been involved in its creation. Remembering here 'is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past'. Thus we are brought back to Meinig's (1979:244) reminder that we observe 'the powerful fact that life must be lived amidst that which was made before'. Bothies are essentially places in which the 'stuff of life' in all its forms takes place, with birthdays, anniversaries, proposals and honeymoons all encountered within their walls.[89] Even for those who do not implicate specific events within their experience, bothies can still be viewed as '*not just physical shelters but stages in your past*' (Ian), be they fleeting or sustained. A tangible example can be found in the baby's footprints cast in concrete in the foyer at Peanmeanach Bothy on Scotland's west coast, likely the result of a child accompanying an MBA work party as was the case in Strathan Bothy.[90] As Mitchell aptly highlights, these 'baby feet' are symbols of which each user will have their own, metaphorical agents which complement Urry's (2005) assertions that places harbor marks of those who interact with them. These marks, these 'baby feet', highlight that these buildings have life-histories (Bluer 1987, in Ingold 1993). They emphasise that landscapes are testimony to the lives that have dwelt there and, as Ingold (1993:152) states, 'in so doing, have left there something of themselves'.

Despite this time-depth, however, the creation of the bothy, just like the creation of the books, is a continuing process; it does not stop with the creation of the bothy or the end of one book. As one entrant astutely notes, '*each time you visit the bothy it's a different*

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[89] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 1. – 16/4/77; Corrour Bothy, book 4. – 25/7/81.
[90] I. Butterfield, Survey of Mountain Shelters research folder, groups 11,12,13 in I. Butterfield personal collection.

experience, it's never the same'.[91] And as Ingold comments, 'building, then, is a process that is continually going on, for as long as people dwell in an environment. It does not begin here, with a pre-formed plan, and end there, with a finished artifact. The "final form" is but a fleeting moment in the life of any feature' (Ingold 2000:188).

The dichotomy of bothy escapism: 'in the mountains you feel free' vs. Star Trek

While Ingold appears to see landscape as a process, fluid and changeable, he has nonetheless been critiqued for viewing dwelling as purely 'something created out of people's activities rather than through their representations' (Bender 1998:37). The bothy books allow for an exploration of a different interpretation, one in which representation and imagination together are seen as key to the experience of dwelling within a bothy. I begin this task with the words of A. M. Lawrence, from a poem reproduced and stuck up in a bothy (Figure 28).[92] The last verse of this traditional bothy poem provides a perfect introduction to a discussion of the dichotomy integral to bothy escapism: the need and pleasure at leaving 'civilisation' behind, yet the inability to do so really.

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[91] Ruigh-Aitechain Bothy, book 8. – 17/7/07.
[92] A woman who, according to the MBA, lived at Burgh on Sands, Cumbria in the 1950's, and spent a large part of her childhood at Nethy Bridge.

I Leave Tonight From Euston

I shall leave tonight from Euston
By the seven-thirty train
And from Perth in the early morning
I shall see the hills again.

From the top of Ben Macdui
I shall watch the gathering storm,
And see the crisp snow lying
At the back of Cairngorm.

I shall feel the mist from Bhrotain
And pass by Lairig Ghru
To look on dark Loch Einich
From the heights of Sgoran Dubh.

From the brocken Barns of Bynack
I shall see the sun rise gleam
On the forehead of Ben Rinnes
And Strathspey awake from dream.

And again in the dusk of evening
I shall find once more alone
The dark water of the Green Loch,
And pass by Ryvoan.

For tonight I leave from Euston
And leave the world behind;
Who has the hills as a lover,
Will find them wondrous kind.

The poem opposite was written by a lady called A.M. Lawrence who lived at Burgh on Sands, Cumbria in the 1950s, and who spent a good deal of her childhood at Nethy Bridge.

The poem appears in the anthologies 'Poems of the Scottish Hills' and also 'I'll Walk Where I Will'.

There is a tradition of having a copy in site on the bothy door. Please respect the tradition, the bothy and its surroundings.

This laminated copy has been placed here by *the Mountain Bothies Association*, who maintain the building.

Figure 28. 'I leave tonight from Euston', posted on the door in Ryvoan Bothy (Author's own).

It would seem that many agree with the words of T.S. Elliot quoted in a Fords of Avon bothy book: '*in the mountains, there you feel free*'[93] – the mountains appear, as stated in the poem above, 'wondrous kind'. Like many of the areas engaged in studies of therapeutic landscapes, the bothy is certainly among the 'non-ordinary' (Willis 2009:87). However, like other places of 'self-landscape encounter' there is definitely evidence of bothy users engaging with the Western tradition of a 'retreat to nature' for therapeutic means (Conradson 2005:113,104):

FRED NIND   EDINBURGH - SOUL CLEANSING[94]

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[93] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 1. – 7/9/77.
[94] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 4. – around 25/6/82.

Here we found where we have been looking for: the silence of a wonderful
nature, the silence we needed to find ourselves. It was here we learned to
respect every little thing, to be protect[ed] to have warm[th] and some food
made on a little hunting fire far away from home and civilisation. Thank you
little hut for the protection you gave us.[95]
fairly blows the cobwebs away[96]

The quotes above are just some of the many entries which elucidate this point. It seems that therapeutic landscape ideology is not confined to the designed versions commonly studied, and the theory that, 'in coming closer to other ecologies or rhythms of life, we may obtain distance from everyday routines, perhaps also experiencing renewed energy and finding different perspectives upon our circumstances' (Conradson 2005:104), is certainly valid here. The dialogue below is but one example:

a lovely escape from reality even if it was just for one day
[commented on with]
or even 'escape <u>to</u> reality' – after all, it's just a question of attitude[97]

The discourse that urbanisation has led to a renewed focus on the restorative potential of nature is widely documented (Gesler 2003, Lea 2008, Conradson 2010). Subsequently, the literature suggests that 'work pressures, urban noise, and other stressors drive people to seek relief through outdoor recreation' (Hartig et al. 2002:109), a point captured forcefully in one entry:

it was one of those mad ideas late at night suffering from city blues "get me out
of here" and we marked this bothy on our maps two months ago[98]

For some, such as those noted below, the experience is cathartic, hinting at ideas of solitude, imagination and introspection hinted at be Bachelard.

Here to get my head together and let my mind thoughtfully meander. Just the
place I need to be alone, great bothy.[99]

Here we found where we have been looking for: the silence of a wonderful
nature, the silence we needed to find ourselves. It was here we learned to
respect every little thing, to be protect[ed] to have warm[th] and some food
made on a little hunting fire far away from home and civilizarion. Thank you
little hut for the protection you gave us[100]

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[95] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 1. – 12-13/7/76.
[96] Inshriach Bothy, book 4. – 10/1/87.
[97] Inschriach Bothy, book 4. – 7/5/88.
[98] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 7. – 1/1/86.
[99] Garb Choire Bothy, book 4. – 31/7/82. Sometimes bothy book users do comment on each other's entries, a kind of written staged dialogue.
[100] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 1. – 12-13/7/76.

This sense of self-help, of healing, is certainly a self-conscious decision for some. Despite the physical strain of the bothy experience, it is still identified as a therapeutic recreational activity, in which '*the beauty of the mountains pays for your sweat*'.[101] Here, we see, just as Tuan (1993) found, the moral conflation of the aesthetics of 'nature' with appraisals of what is 'good'. For these users, no matter what the weather conditions or the state of your final destination, bothying is '*still, better than sitting at home watching DALLAS*'.[102] Their love of the self-landscape engagement, the 'need' as author and interviewee Mitchell terms it, is certainly strong. For these '*bothy addicts*'[103] it is a '*fix*',[104] an '*annual pilgrimage*',[105] all sentiments which perfectly illustrate these 'bothyites'[106] emotional attachment to bothy culture.

This search for therapeutic engagement is often coupled with a hunt for solitude, a common attraction to wilderness areas (Hartig et al 2002). Such notions are included in the MBA's definition of bothies as designed for those with a love of remote isolation, and these ideas are carried over into the bothy books themselves;

> *Here to get my head together and let my mind thoughtfully meander. Just the place I need to be alone, great bothy*[107]

Such users praise the bothy experience as '*wonderfully deserted*'[108] and decry situations where the '*traffic on the Lairig Ghru* [is] *up to motorway standards today!*'.[109] To leave '*civilisation*'[110] behind is the apex of bothy pleasure. Ultimately, therefore it appears, as Conradson (2005a:103) argues, that 'these environmental encounters are in part appreciated for their capacity to move us to think and feel differently'.

However, although therapeutic landscapes have the ability to 'shape our feelings' (Conradson 2005a:107), this does not mean they have the ability to cause users completely to evade the '*real world*',[111] quite the opposite in fact. It may be true that 'experiences in one place can seed the construction of new stories to live by in other places,' (Willis

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[101] Sinclair Hut, book 10. – 28/7/82.
[102] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 4. – 2/9/83. Dallas – popular sitcom-like drama series.
[103] Sinclair Hut, book 14. – 17/6/88.
[104] Inshriach Bothy, book 11. – around 6/8/06.
[105] Jeans Hut, book 1. – 26/7/73.
[106] Dixon, 'The WHITE LAGGAN 'SAGA'', p. 1, in I. Butterfield personal collection.
[107] Garbh Coire Bothy, book 4. – 31/7/82.
[108] Corrour Bothy, book 1. – 13/8/77.
[109] Sinclair Hut, book 1. – 29/7/75.
[110] Jeans Hut, book 4. – 31/7/78.
[111] Inshriach Bothy, book 11. – 8/6/06.

2009b:87), but this does not alter the likelihood that the claims to be able to escape civilisation are, according to the books, a total fallacy for most users. In line with Ian's comments during his interview, '*maybe it's a therapeutic self-deception but it's self deception nonetheless*': bothy culture is not a utopia and the users cannot entirely escape.

Even at the most basic level, as Moran (1988) has highlighted, each bothy itself is an infringement on that isolationist, wilderness ideal so cherished by many users. The numerous comments concerning their '*home comforts*',[112] and even those who critique any complaints as to their condition, all speak to the idea that bothies themselves are a '*real home from home*',[113] a '*holiday resort*'[114] and an infraction on the escapist ideals discussed above. Even the litter they leave, a bone of contention within the culture, is a symbol of civilisation, and harks back to the commercial world that bothy users claim to leave behind.[115]

Here we are reminded of Conradson's (2010:84) point that those seeking retreat 'all arrived with baggage, trailing behind … in only partly visible ways'. The encroachment of civilisation, this notion of bringing-the-outside-in, is far from confined to physical aspects and it is here that the books highlight the dichotomy of bothy escapism. One simple example comes from the numerous Star Trek inspired entries which pepper the books from the 1970s, a clear reflection of the world back '*home*'.[116] In addition to these '*captain's log*'[117] entries, a plethora of references to pubs and women (highlighting the gender bias of certain bothies), along with historic and current world references, dust the beaten pages of every bothy book.[118] From the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana,[119] to the troubles in Ireland,[120] popular music,[121] popular fashion,[122] the Falklands War,[123] the Cold War,[124] the global energy wars,[125] and even through the innumerable entries concerning

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[112] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 6. – 25/7/83.
[113] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 7. – 18/6/85.
[114] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 6. – mid July.
[115] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 1. – 20/7/76.
[116] Corrour Bothy, book 1. – 16/10/77, Jeans Hut, book 5. – 22/5/79, Sinclair Hut, book 10. – 6/11/82.
[117] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 5. – 29/1/83.
[118] Corrour Bothy, book 2. – 24/7/79.
[119] Corrour Bothy, book 4. – 29/7/81.
[120] Inshriach Bothy, book 4. – 9/6/88.
[121] Sinclair Hut, book 1. – 16/6/75.
[122] Corrour Bothy, book 6. – back page.
[123] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 5. – 15/6/82.
[124] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 6. – 4/11/83.
[125] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 9. – 6/1/09.

football teams, rivalries and scores,[126] the outside world is stitched into every book and every bothy. Figure 29 is a case in point.
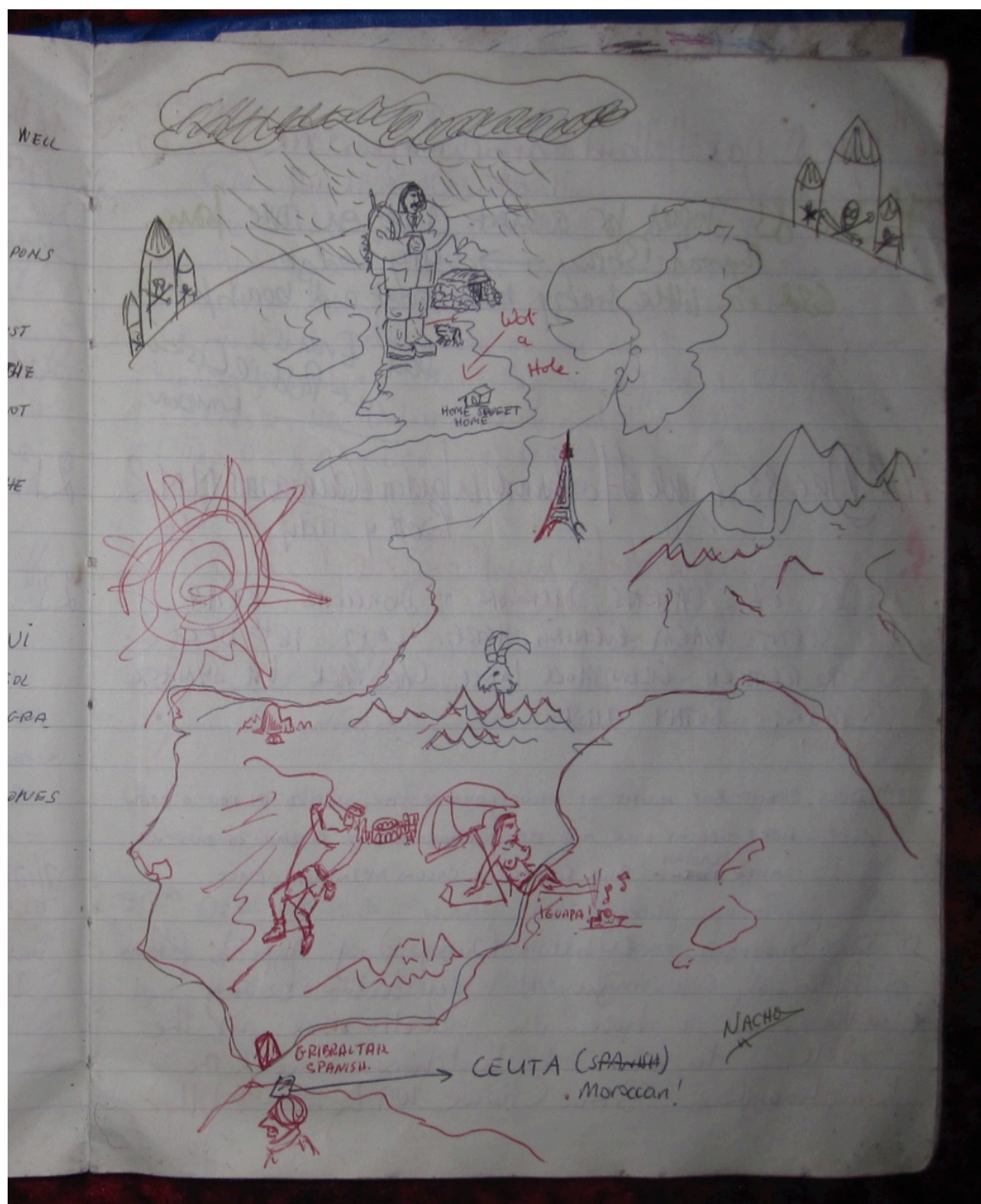
Figure 29. An illustration capturing a climber's mental map of Europe. Note the nuclear weapons on either side of the world, representing the Cold War.

Even economic reflections can be gleaned from the words penned within the books. When viewed in addition to the abundant comments on collecting unemployment benefits ("dole money"), the term '*unemployed*' used as a by-line to signatures and the group names such

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[126] Inshriach Bothy, book 1. – no date first page.

as the '*merry miners*', the following quote immediately spotlights the financial situation of the 1980s.[127]

> *sorted my things out and got bored. Decided to write down a few whimsical japes to cheer you up in case you are the same situation as me:*
> *Margaret thatcher passed away and went to Hell. After a period of only three weeks old nick got on the phone to big "g" (god) Ring Ring ....Ring Ring.......Ring Ring.....Hello God speaking can I help you? Yes this is the devil. I've got this Thatcher woman down here and you'll have to do something about it. Why what on earths wrong (Big g)? She's only been here 3 weeks and she's shut down ten Furnaces already.*[128]

And so, like Lea, I would call upon Conradson's (2005b:338) critique of how the therapeutic landscape tradition has tended to equate 'physical presence within a landscape with the unproblematic receipt of its therapeutic influence'. If landscapes are made through a co-mingling of people and place, then the idealised landscape that bothy users imagine, a therapeutic landscape where nature equates with the good, is actually fairly static and limited. The 'orchestration of feeling', after all, is 'no simple matter' (Conradson 2010:83). Not only are these places not therapeutic for all, even those who find such solace bring all of their 'stuff' with them. So, by dwelling in place, people undermine their own image of what that place would be, and what it could do for them. The argument made here need not suggest that places cannot be therapeutic, but rather that they are not always therapeutic in the way that they are assumed to be so. Ultimately, dwelling is not just a hermetically sealed process of people in place, but rather a coming together of people, place, preconception and preexisting experience. As Cloke and Jones note:

> Dwelling can only be a useful concept if it can be adapted to a world where views of authenticity as some form of idealised past original stable state are clearly unhelpful; to the complex interpenetration of places with other places, and to the flows of ideas, people, and materials which coconstitute and coconstruct those places; and to the need for dynamic rather than fixed ways of understanding embodied engagements with landscapes (2010:664).

Bothy culture does take users away from their usual world, and it does allow space for reflection and a place to 'feel differently', but the bothy experience and the dwelling implicated therein is not a complete secondment. All of the bothy users' preconditions, their gender, their class, even their age: they all travel into the 'wilderness' embodied within the users themselves. Bothy culture is not separate from 'real life', not sectioned off. Although taking place in the 'non-ordinary', it is still very much a product of the

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[127] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 6. – 11/6/83, Garbh Corrie, book 1. – 27/12/77.
[128] Garbh Corrie Bothy, book 5. – around 8/8/85.

'civilisation' outwith. This dichotomy of escape versus entrapment, just as ideals versus the idyll, is something which this thesis shall address in more detail in Chapter 7.

A new compass and a new map: moral geographies of the bothy

The bothy books also provide the opportunity to delve into the spatial orderings and relations of bothy culture which 'invite' (Smith 1998:14) a specifically moral reading. As Jackson (1989) has highlighted, because of its moral content, culture is also often a site of contestation and of difference. Bothy culture is no different and there appear to be a number of strata within the sub-culture itself. A discussion of difference in the bothy sense however, must begin with a discussion of camaraderie. From the numerous entries describing '*strangers who treated me like a friend*'[129] or those depicting '*good fun*'[130] with '*liquid gold*'[131] around a '*night of fire*'[132] going on '*into the sma' hours*',[133] it is clear that the fellowship of bothy culture is certainly strong. Conceivably the strongest signal of this solidarity comes with respect for mountain safety, portrayed through the various entries detailing parties retreating to report missing persons on the basis of their unclaimed belongings.[134]

It is perhaps the very nature of the bothy which creates this camaraderie. A sense of togetherness, a transgression of everyday life, brings with it a new set of moral mores in the bothy space. Here a lack of hygiene is tolerated, sleeping arrangements are unorthodox and privacy is but a luxury. Although these buildings are shelter, a home for the evening if you will, they remain very much a public space. Smith (1998) questions whether moral codes apply in private spaces, and yet here it is the fluidity of definition which allows the bothy to turn Smith's argument on its head. The bothy *is* public, but if anything it is here that conventional moral codes need to be reapplied or readjusted. Among the books, it thus appears that there is a new (or emergent and to an extent negotiated) moral compass from which users can navigate.

This new moral code is not universal, though, and subsequently there is much weight in Brown and Mitchell's (2009:49) argument that 'the so-called camaraderie of the hills is a bit of a myth'. Bothy culture is not merely that of the mountaineering fraternity as

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[129] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 9. – 25/11/08.
[130] Corrour Bothy, book 6. – 17/6/83.
[131] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 6. – mid July.
[132] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 10. – 12/10/09.
[133] Corrour Bothy, book 6. – 16/4/83.
[134] Jean's Hut, book 4. – 27/1/79.

commonly portrayed in popular literature, and, while it always includes an engagement with the world lived out-of-doors, it is actually an incredibly diverse recreational activity. From climbers to photographers, children's groups to bird watchers, bikers to researchers, mountain challengers to people just *'pottering around'*,[135] a ream of activity is accommodated within the bothy walls. Moreover, users can be local or foreign, they can be male, they can be female, they can be old, they can be young; essentially they can be anyone.

As such, there is no escaping the more toxic elements of society that, through the books, infiltrate this supposed sanctuary. Xenophobia between Scottish and English users is a strong element throughout the period in question and unquestionable racism makes a sturdy appearance too.

> *ps ref above it's a pity they don't make mountains like these in Kent. Then maybe all you Sassenach **?!'s would stay down there*[136]

> *fuck all ye English cunts*[137]

> *a black man divided by a black woman …. another black bastard on the social security*[138]

Moreover, issues of conflict such as bothy publicity, group sizes and environmental degradation listed in existing bothy research by Crowe and Reid (1998) are all evident across the board. One element not listed in such work, though, is how this multifarious catchment culminates in what can only be described as a stratified bothy culture, as the comments below suggest.

> *Is there any way to stop Scouts/D of E/ School Parties…their paw marks?*[139]

> *bothy and surrounding area are an absolute disgrace. Obviously too many punters and not enough mountaineers in the area*[140]

> *just enough midgies to keep the tourists away*[141]

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[135] Jeans Hut, book 4. – 16/11/78.
[136] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 6. – 20/8/83.
[137] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 4. – 18/7/92.
[138] Corrour Bothy, book 2. – around 24/8/79.
[139] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 4. – 14/9/82.
[140] Corrour Bothy, book 1. – 3/5/78.
[141] Fords of Avon Bothy, book 6. – 27/8/84.

Many thanks… There's a dram on the shelf for a genuine walker (not a Sunday tourist) Cheers![142]

With different communities of bothy users commenting, sometimes negatively, on other 'communities', some obvious cleavages emerge between the supposedly 'authentic' (non-tourist; non-organised group; well equipped) bothyite and the 'interlopers', creating clear fractures in the bothy community. Ultimately, as this crude opening comment from the 2006-2008 Inshriach Bothy book aptly illustrates, '*shitty dogs Shithead dog owners*', difference is perhaps what bothies do best.[143] These comments imply a means of proper practice, for, as Matless (1997:142) notes, 'the good citizen … [makes] sense only in relation to the "anti-citizen"'. Subsequently, just as Matless (1994) found in his work on the Norfolk Broads, clearly some activities in the Cairngorms (mountaineering or 'genuine' walking) are afforded a higher moral reading than others (day trippers, 'punters') due to the moral codes ascribed. 'Genuine' outdoor pursuits are attributed to hardiness, often masculinity and a good dose of self reliance, while the latter are credited to hedonistic revelry, or conversely the characteristics of being safe and sedate.

This question of difference can also be seen between the bothies themselves. Focusing on Lorimer's (2003:200) belief that 'particularity and mundanity are … the qualities that matter most', the notion of bothy culture as a homogenous entity can be seen as a misnomer. Indeed, bothy culture is in fact a mosaic, a seasonally controlled phenomenon of fluctuating character. Not only are the bothies different in their physical design, the structures themselves have their own individual cultures.[144] As the interviewee, Mitchell, has alluded, the bothies of the 'high doss',[145] Garbh Corrie and the like, are the realm of the climber, a crude, gendered and odorous space. The valley bothies, such as Ryvoan and Inshriach, are, although not exclusively, the sphere of a far gentler clientele, by day at least. Contrast the crude literary gems coursing out of the high level bothies with that of Figure 30, and the variety rapidly reveals itself.

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[142] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 6. – 12/7/84.
[143] Inshriach Bothy, book 11. – opening page, no date.
[144] I. Butterfield, Survey of Mountain Shelters, in I. Butterfield personal collection.
[145] Indicating meaning: high in altitude, "doss" meaning a place to sleep.
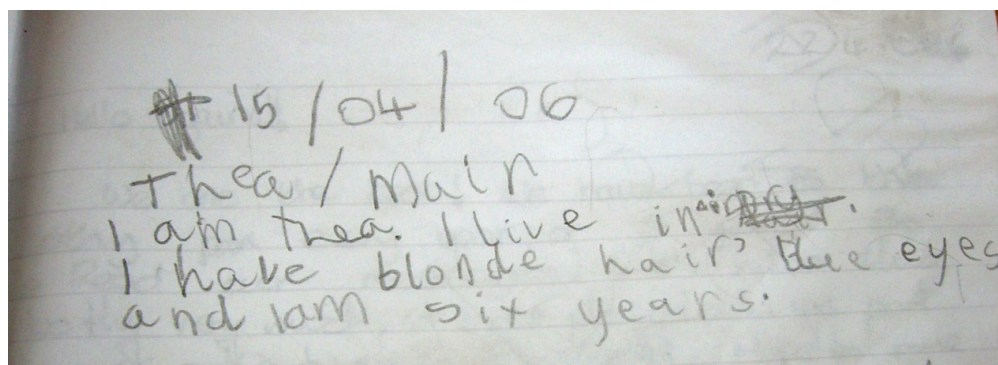
Figure 30. A child's perspective - 'Thea/ Main I am thea. I live in… I have blonde hair, blue eyes and I am six years'. Inshriach Bothy, book 11. – 15/04/06 (Author's own).

This spatial disparity brings to mind Philo's (1991:19) assertion that we have to understand local culture in order to intuit the everyday moralities of 'particular people in particular places', and so the idea of a local morality is introduced, moralities that are 'made and remade across space' (Philo 1991:26). This intricate map of local moralities is a product of the community of users, and of the differences between them, but it is also a topographic difference, a feature of the location and the co-production of the bothy landscape by both building and user. Also of note is the fact that this differentiation has seasonal fluxes, with the summer welcoming a wide variety of users and the winter months narrowing the bounds once more. With this in mind, it is clear that the term 'bothy' encompasses a broad and multifaceted cultural remit, each with its own moral code, again ensuring that the bothy is continuously made and remade.

As Matless (1997:154) states, such tensions 'are inherent in and formative of the landscapes of leisure and pleasure, always there to be carefully negotiated, stretched, stumbled over, inhabited'. Yet, despite the difficulties of navigating a new moral map, with a new moral compass, that these buildings are appreciated is not restricted to one group or one bothy:

for this relief, much thanks' (hamlet Act 1, scene 1)[146]

As this quote scribed into a Ruigh Aiteachan book in 1979 suggests, the bothy system is most certainly loved. The comments from this one bothy alone more that clarify this affection:

HEAVEN IS…a warm dry bothy[147]

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[146] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 3. – 9/12/79.
[147] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 5. – 30/8/82.

heartfelt thanks to these four walls[148]

a real port in a storm[149]

*Thank you very much to everyone involved in maintaining this place you may
well have saved my life*[150]

Ultimately, as Mitchell argues, these are not just physical places; if they were they could be replicated, '*what makes them unique is their culture*'. As Figure 31 demonstrates, foreign visitors are not blind to this fact and Scotland would do well to heed their words.
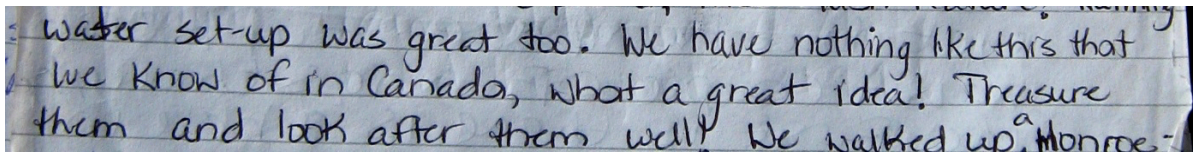
Figure 31. 'Treasure them and look after them well'. Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 10. – 5-7/6/10 (Author's own).

Conclusion

In offering some summative thoughts, let me return to where this chapter began, the 'Dynamic Dumphers'[151] and their entries of 1976. This entry, for me at least, is not ordinary, it is most definitely special. Alan Hunt is my father and Fiona Gray is my mother and this entry was written twelve years before I was born. This entry prompted me to dwell upon and within these books, to seek to understand their creation, meaning and impact. Instilling such intrigue, it is also this entry which has led me to consider the connection between hut thought word.

While compiled *en masse* in 'wild and lonely' places, these books are certainly personal, emotional and social artifacts. Yet, while clearly invested with collective meaning, but unlike the great philosophical musings arising in Heidegger's hut, for the most part the comments recorded in the bothy books are '*no moments of great philosophical insight*', as one bothy book author notes. Especially when encountered alone, out of *situ*, they are exceptionally ordinary, passing words fleetingly scribbled on paper. It is the very existence of these books, with their strange geographies, which nonetheless finds a wonderful theoretical resonance when set in the orbit of Ogborn and Withers' (2010) claims about

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[148] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 5. – 22/2/83.
[149] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 3. – 30/6/80.
[150] Ruigh Aitechain Bothy, book 5. – 11/4/83.
[151] This refers to Dunfermline College of Physical Education.

book geographies. As they note, 'the many processes, decisions and practices involved meant that the places of production had a significant effect on what "books" themselves actually were' (Ogborn and Withers 2010:15). This relationship has thus been read backwards, decoded from the books and partially displayed here, in doing so potentially enlivening work on geographies of the book in seeing these books, or indeed 'things', as thoroughly caught up in the dwelling that co-produces bothy culture. In this way, the relationship between hut-thought-word is uncovered in the books, through the experience of dwelling that they now embody.

While it is a story that these books tell, 'telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to *cover up* the world, it is rather a way of guiding the attention of listeners or readers *into* it' (Ingold 1993:154). In this way, perhaps ironically, these books do also provide myriad entry ways to taking seriously the Heideggerian point about dwelling in and with the everyday objects to hand. In this instance, this co-dwelling is not only the books created in this place but also all of the other ingredients, human and physical, organic and inorganic, invited and uninvited, material and immaterial, prosaic and even sensed, which go into making up the bothy life-world. Thus these physical books demonstrate the relationship between these three elements, the hut, the thought and the word. They are, to borrow from Merleau-Ponty (1962:24 in Ingold 1993:171), not only the product but the *homeland* of our thoughts.

Out-dwelling life at its essence is both simple and complex and these books offer us entrance to this world. This chapter has thereby been the *homeland* of many of the thematics to follow in this thesis. It has shown that these are places which make and mark our thinking while also opening the door for discussions of dwelling, nature, modernity, morality, community, dissonance and many more. The following chapters will address these matters in turn, returning to many of the ideas above in offering further glances into out-dwelling life, and its place in a modern, rural Scotland.

Chapter 5: A Geography of Small Things: The Skill of 'Looking', the Art of 'Seeing' and the Geography of Vernacular Architecture

Introduction

The last chapter sought to give life to the study of out-dwellings through an appreciation of words, other peoples' words, written over the years in a series of unusual books. Threading ideas of 'dwelling' into the field of geographies of the book, it was designed as an *entrée*, a thematic taster of what is to follow. In this chapter, I move from a focus upon books to an emphasis on buildings, offering a systematic review of 'out-dwellings' which seeks to give life to form, drawing upon geography's somewhat patchy engagement with architecture and offering a comment on the benefits of re-engaging with scholars who are often forgotten, yet whose work highlights where cultural and architectural geographies meet.

Geographies of architecture

Much of the recent body of work classified as geographies of architecture is directly or implicitly inspired by Jane Jacobs, who in 2006 called for attention to 'the geography of big things'. Her 'big thing' was a residential high-rise building. This 'self-conscious … recuscita[tion]' (Jacbos 2006:1) of a geographical attention to buildings spawned new work, as we have seen in Chapter 2, attending to topics including and beyond built form. Her work sought renewed attention to the thing, to its fragmented nature and to the networks involved in its production, effectively calling for work to understand that built things are themselves built of many things. As the title of this chapter suggests, what follows takes inspiration from her work, offering instead a geography of 'small things'.

The small 'things' of this project are numerous small-scale, single level buildings, individual indeed but with a certain cohesive nature as to typify them as distinct. It would be all too easy to write this thesis with all manner of insights into the users, the places, the significance and the politics, but with a complete omission of the things, the buildings, the out-dwellings themselves and what they actually look like. This chapter seeks to avoid such an offence, by first using *surfaces*, and geography's past engagement with them, to give a visual comprehension of the thing that I seek to explain. In detailing her reasons for using the term 'big thing', Jacobs too attends to the notion of surfaces, stating that:

> By using the term 'big thing' to describe the highrises I want to forestall the constructivist force of those more coherent terms like architecture, building or housing, a force that predetermines specific understandings as it precludes other kinds of knowing. Commenting in passing on what might distinguish a 'geography of things', Philo draws on Baudrillard's prescribed technique for a 'surface accounting' of the 'goings on of the thing-realm'. Through this technique it is possible to see that a seemingly minor thing like a 'toy rabbit' lies on the same level as 'advanced capitalism. (2006:3)[152]

I too want to work with this idea of understanding more fully the small, in order equally to attend to geography's 'big questions' later in this thesis. However, my use of the term surface here is twofold. While I will later attend to similar issues brought forth by more contemporary scholarship, such as issues of practice, affect and other phenomenologically-inspired insights into meaning (motivated by the work of cultural geographer David Seamon), what I seek first is to focus upon surfaces in a visual manner, influenced by early geographical encounters with buildings, namely those of cultural geographer F.B.Kniffen.

Learning through looking: attempts into thinking through design

The study of built form is certainly varied, focusing upon a range of places, using a range of methods and epistemological stances, but there are few geographers who have devoted their lives to its study. Kniffen, however, is one such character. Completing a doctorate at Berkeley in 1930, and latterly rising to Boyd Professor in the Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University, Kniffen was zealous in his attempts to piece together an account of the American cultural landscape through close inspection of its material offerings. The subsequent outcome of this lifelong labour was an assertion of 'the diagnostic power of folk housing' and its ability to demonstrate cultural diffusion from 'initial occupance' (Kniffen 1986:25).[153]

This notion of cultural diffusion is not what captures my interest but rather it is Kniffen's attention to detail, his thorough cataloguing and effectively his focus upon the visual form. His is a world where 'seeing' is the primary method of assessing the material outputs of culture.

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[152] Philo has since asserted that the 'toy rabbit' was part of a literary description on which Foucault draw and that his 1992 paper was more Foucaudian than Baudillairian.

[153] A term from W. G. McIntire which refers to the idea that the initial imprint of one ethnic group's landscape influence survives even when a new ethnic group is introduced. Kniffen (1986:5) argues that it should not even be necessary to conduct research to acknowledge the importance of this concept, yet 'somehow it was by seeking out again and again the repeating, integral, functioning parts; housing, field forms, fences, economic activities, routes of transport, that the basic significance of the occupance structure was reaffirmed'.

Kniffen (1936:180) himself notes that in his early forensic methodology, 'almost the sole virtue of this system is its completeness'. He later dropped many of his diagnostic features to streamline the process and so I am not alone in breaking from this painstaking dissection of a houses features. While his and my epistemological groundings in architecture differ, our belief in the importance of vernacular built form, this attention to detail in depicting what these 'things' actually look like, is where our aims converge. Embryonic of his later works, yet also iconic of his style, Kniffen's (1936) paper 'Louisiana house types' is perhaps the strongest example of this visually strong depiction of the built world. In this paper it is not the diffusion maps which startle, but the carefully crafted images, completed by a Mr J. A. Ford, to whom 'grateful acknowledgement' is made by Kniffen.

Methodology in 'Louisiana House Types' *Annals*, (1936: 180)

'The first attempt at classification involved the detailed analysis of several hundred houses. A card file was devised, embracing headings for each of the constituent elements of the individual house: plan, roof, chimney, porches, appendages, paint, windows, height, etc. As each of these elements was encountered in new form it was given a card and a number under its proper heading. On the field sheets each dwelling was analysed by means of the index. The location of each house was recorded to the nearest tenth of a mile, to permit relocation and to facilitate mapping.

Almost the sole virtue of this system is its completeness. It is slow; it involved an unwieldy mass of data; and its very detail obscures the ready perception of the essential form of the structure. In place of the index system there was gradually developed a largely graphic method of representing the form of the dwelling. A few strokes are sufficient to indicate all essential details concerning plan. Roof, porches, appendages, height, etc. Separate columns on the new field sheets provide classification of each structure according to broad catagories of age and class. Qualities other then the aforementioned were largely neglected, being noted only where regionally conspicuous. The defection is not so serious as might first appear, since it was early that certain elements show little variation, and may be disregarded.

 The state was thoroughly traversed…with a grand total recording of about 15,000 houses. To effect a thorough sampling every dwelling visible from the road was included, and old roads were alternated with modern highways.

Methodology in 'On Corner-Timbering', *Pioneer America*, (1983:1)
'if the study of pioneer America is to be carried out effectively, it must be pursued systematically. That is, what is being studied must be measured, located accurately, and about it all must be recorded that is known. Field notes, pictures, and other pertinent data should be in such form that a stranger could make use of them without difficulty. Surprisingly, perhaps, it is much more satisfactory and much greater fun, actually, to do the job right than to do it in a haphazard manner'

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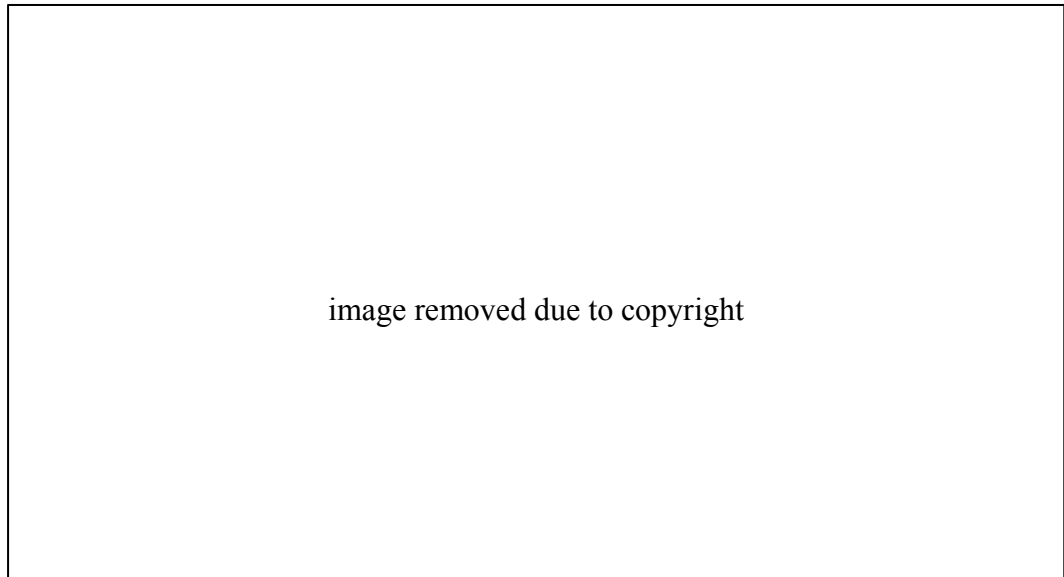
Figure 32. A collage of Ford's illustrations, including figure 7,8,11 and 12 from Kniffen's paper 'Louisiana House Types' (1936).

The nine types depicted in the article, all accompanied by drawings such as that in Figure 32, build up a picture of this culture arguably far more quickly than the written word alone.

Moreover, as a fellow scholar of the vernacular, Kniffen holds that the most commonplace phenomena are the strongest expressions of cultural meaning, and thus, while I do not seek to study diffusion itself, his work offers inspiration for a section which focuses upon describing these buildings, noting their architectural forms and comparing the differences between them. He notes that,

> I can affirm honestly with Brunhes and Jackson that housing even considered alone is a basic fact of human geography. It reflects cultural heritage, current fashion, functional needs, and the positive and negative aspects of non cultural environment (Kniffen 1986:4).[154]

This is a belief which we share. Kniffen forestalled critique of his work in arguing that, 'this study is not intended to be descriptive of specific areas, but rather it is one step in an attempt to *define* the culturographic regions of Louisiana. It is also an attempt to get an areal expression of *ideas* regarding houses – a groping towards a tangible hold on the geographic expression of culture' (Kniffen 1936:192). His work was not designed just to be descriptive, but the following section of this thesis is just that. What I offer, however, is not an exercise in literal copy. While inspired by his work, the following analysis of out-dwellings is Kniffenesque but not Kniffen-bound. Adding to his weighty intellectual heritage are more recent works, academic and non, incorporating depictions of vernacular

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[154] The references here are to J.B.Jackson and Jean Brunhes (French cultural geographer).

heritage from the likes of Lloyd Kahn's *Shelter* (1973)*, Home Work* (2004) and *Tiny Homes* (2012), all of which encouraged a depiction of out-dwellings visually, as unique built forms. Kahn's books are iconic of an era, of a culture of self-sufficiently and all seeking, as this thesis, to show that '[s]helter is more than a roof overhead' (Kahn 2012). It is not to say that Kahn's works are themselves Kniffenesque, but rather that I draw from them all manner of clues about the detail of architectural form, including the importance of illustration (see Figure 33). What follows is in some measure a meeting of Kniffen and Kahn.

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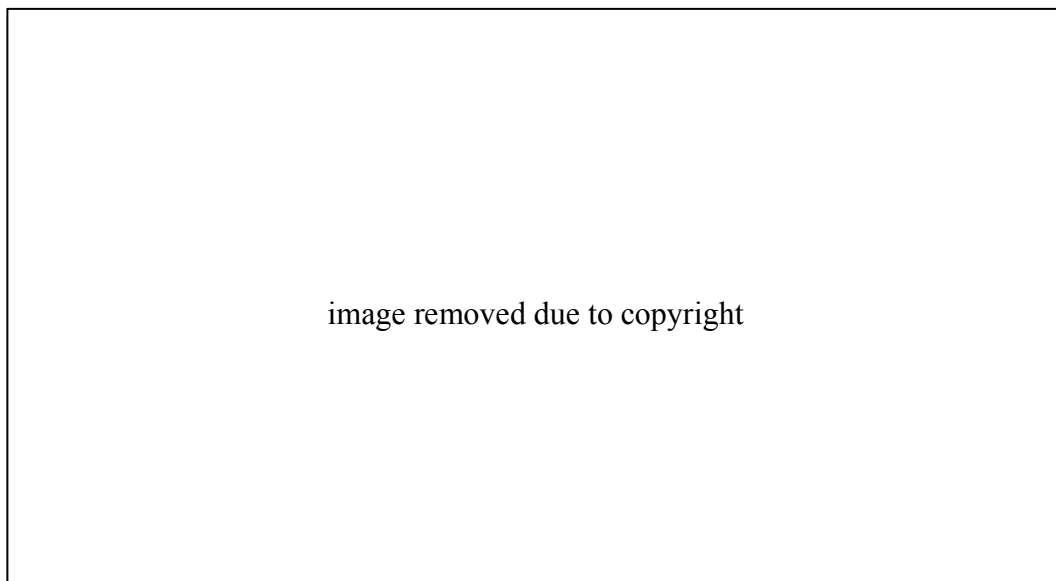
Figure 33. Pages 22 and 48 of Kahn's *Shelter* (1973).

A Kniffenesque out-dwelling tour

The following section details six structures, three huts and three bothies, but all out-dwellings, chosen to highlight the range in forms of the buildings about which I speak in this thesis. The bothies can be cross referenced with the map in appenxix III, but due to the questionable legal status of the huts they are not precisely located as this could put them, and their owners, at risk, something of course, I must aim to avoid. Although this thesis lacks the talents of Mr J.A. Ford, each one is described in detail, drawn by me and analysed for its visual properties. This is not a typology, not by any means, rather it seeks to give life through description to the buildings at the heart of my work. Through this I aim, like Kniffen, to discuss ordinary things, in an ordinary manner, effectively.

Corrour Bothy (Cairngorms)
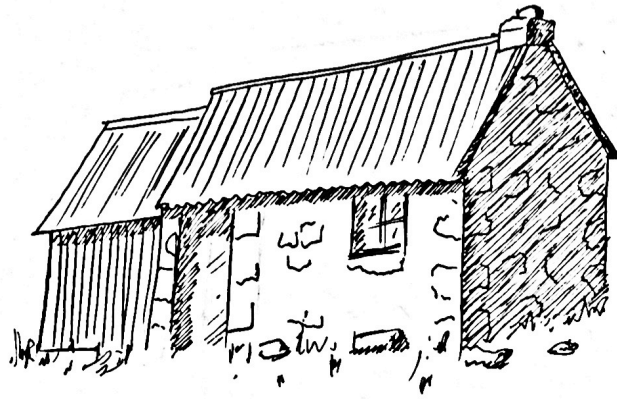
Figure 34. Corrour. (Author's own).

Corrour bothy is nestled in the Lairaig Ghru, nature's route through the Cairngorm mountains, a half way house between the bright lights of Aviemore to the west and Braemar to the east. This building is petite, devoid of ornament and stocky in form. Set back from the valley floor, this bothy sits in a fairly flat section before the topography of the area steepens up to Devil's Point.[155] The single window, faces north, towards the river and the more open aspect. This traditional wooden, single-glazed, four-pane window is the only source of natural light. Constructed in stone, the structure is topped with a corrugated iron roof, steeply pitched and thus doubling the overall height. The elevation is asymmetrical, with a large external chimneybreast running midway up the right hand gable, connecting to a modest chimney on the right hand end of the roof when viewed from the front elevation. To the left, a toilet block has been added, a modern environmental management measure installed as part of a 2006-2007 refurbishment. This extension is not accessed from the main building, but rather from an entrance on the left gable. Wooden in construction, this addition jars slightly with the original bothy, but the use of matching roofing material suggests efforts made to assimilate this necessary addition into the overall design. An entrance porch is fitted internally, sectioning off the main dwelling area from that of the external door, a simple wooden construction secured with a farmhouse door latch.

Ruigh Aitchachain Bothy

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[155] Including description of the surroundings is not Kniffenesque, yet it appears important to situate these buildings, if not visually, then textually, within their landscapes. To situate, to contextualise, is important to lessen the claims of façadism made against Kniffen's work, as shall be later detailed.
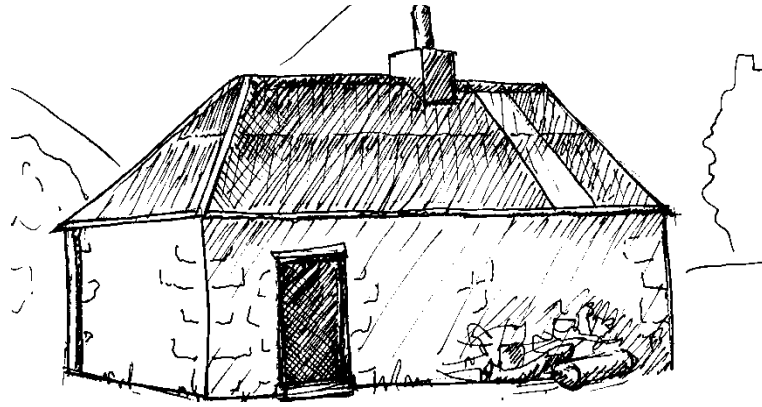
Figure 35. Ruigh Aitchachain bothy. (Author's own).

Ruigh Aitchachain sports a similar design, with stone walls capped by a corrugated roof. The front elevation, or at least the side which a user meets first from the path, is all but bare with a single wooden door on the left and a chimney in the centre. The pot of this chimney is long, a light colour and a notable feature. The dark roof is broken only by a single sheet of corrugated pvc, serving as a window to the now dormant section of the loft. From the rear, the stone is punctuated with two six-pane windows, evenly spaced, along with a small window in the roof slightly to the right and below the chimney. This bothy also sports a toilet, although it is worth stating that this is not a standard feature of bothies more generally. In this case the latrine is held in an outhouse and emptied periodically by hardy volunteers. This bothy sits aside the River Feshie, whose valley houses mature trees and hosts 'wild' horses as regular visitors. Perhaps most prominently, this bothy recently found itself alongside a newly built sizeable track, a sign of civilisation which, while being a practical sign that this is a very managed landscape, nonetheless dampens its lonely feel, (Figure 36). This building still speaks of a typology of earlier use, of a vernacular legacy now appropriated for recreational means.

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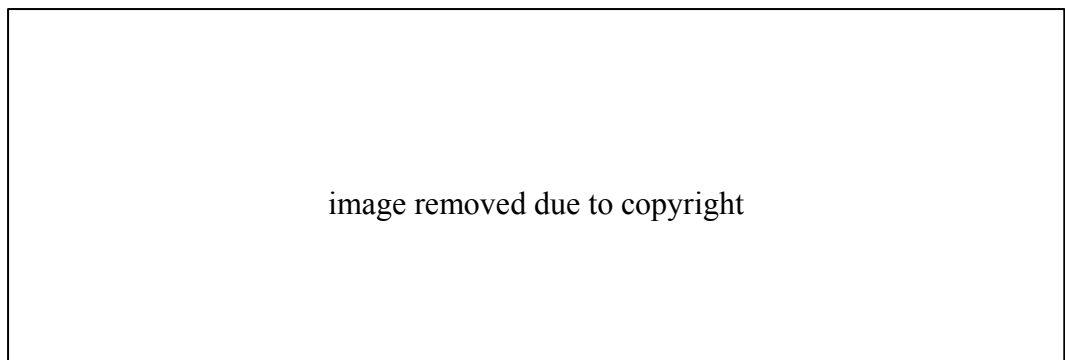
Figure 36. Ruigh Aitchachain before and after the road was installed (Alan 2011, Atkinson 2014).
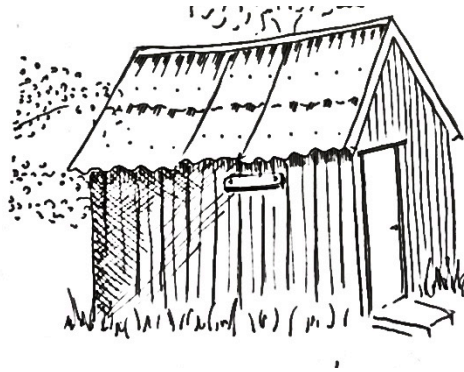
Inshriach Bothy

Figure 37. Inshriach bothy. (Author's own).

Inshriach bothy is the final bothy to be described, and this building does not fit within the mould presented above. Unlike the other two outlined, it has a very different design. Wooden in construction this far smaller building has its entrance on the gable, on the left hand side. The elevation that faces the approach that a user would take is completely bare, detailed only by the pvc stripe providing a sky light which sits among yet more corrugated iron. The gable harbouring the door overhangs slightly, not a porch by any means but offering some protection from the elements as one enters the building. The rear elevation is detailed with a single window, again four-pane, but this time in a linear fashion. The wooden finish is rustic, bearing the marks of its milling and stained a deep brown in keeping with the trunks which surround it. The surrounding forest is dense, particularly behind the bothy. In the foreground there sits a large Caledonian pine, overshadowing the bothy and its humble features.

In many ways this 'out-dwelling' listed above has more in common with the huts to which this research also speaks, than to the bothies of popular imagination. The huts viewed during fieldwork offer yet further disparity with regards to design, emphasising Kniffen's observation that in vernacular building styles, 'the diversity of cultural pattern is obvious even to the casual observer' (1936:179).

Carbeth hut
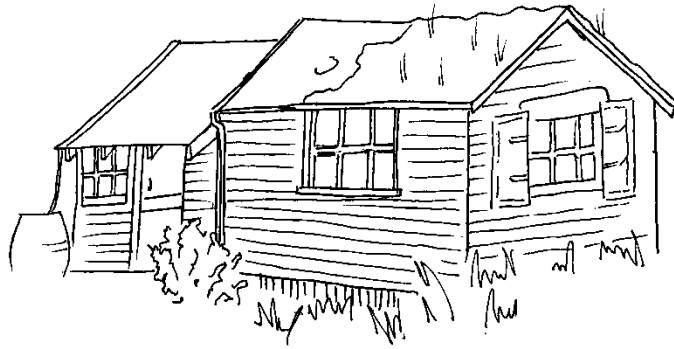
Figure 38. Carbeth hut (Author's own).

The first hut under scrutiny is from Carbeth, a site already introduced in Chapter 1, and forms the archetypal hut from media coverage of Scottish hutting traditions in recent years. This hut, a rich green in colour, is dominated by a main rectangular section, approximately 12 x 6 ft with a softly pitched felt roof. There is no chimney visible from the front elevation. The walls are clad horizontally, and two six-pane windows, one on the side and one on the gable, offer light to the living space. A further extension has been added more recently, in which a barn style door now sits. This extension houses a further window visible from the front, with the new gable hosting a further three large modern style windows (although still wooden framed). Although there is an increasing amount of diversity in the designs on this site, this style, or at least that of the main section, remains typical of huts at Carbeth.

Eddleston hut
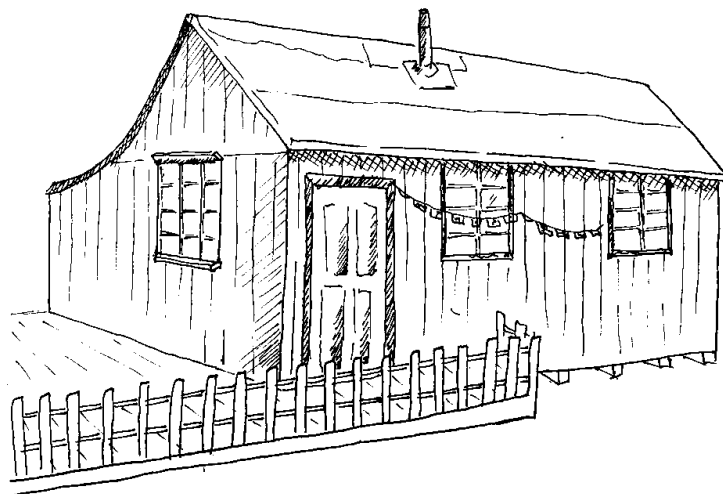
Figure 39. Eddleston hut (Author's own).

Such 'typical' styles are not only found in the west of Scotland. The hutting site of Eddleston, on the eastern side of the Scottish borders, is home to the hut in Figure 39. Similarly rectangular in shape to those seen at Carbeth, it is thought by the owner to resemble a traditional Scottish fishing hut. It has a small central chimney in the centre of the softly pitched roof. The front elevation is patterned by a white door on the left hand side, followed by two eight-pane windows which stretch over half the height of the wall. On the left gable a further window can be seen. To the rear an extension adds around five feet to the build, arching the roof down at that side to form an asymmetrical pitch. This hut boasts a deck, although not a porch, with a small fence which mirrors the vertical cladding of this hut.

Individual hut

Not all huts, however, fall into the above category. A more modern hut, found in South East Scotland, displays more contemporary tendencies and has a more unusual side elevation. It is perhaps a more sequentially-thought project, developed from page to project in a one-stage process. It mimics Pollan's (2008) *Place of my Own,* developed for a specific purpose, as that personal ode to hutting already encountered in Chapter 2.
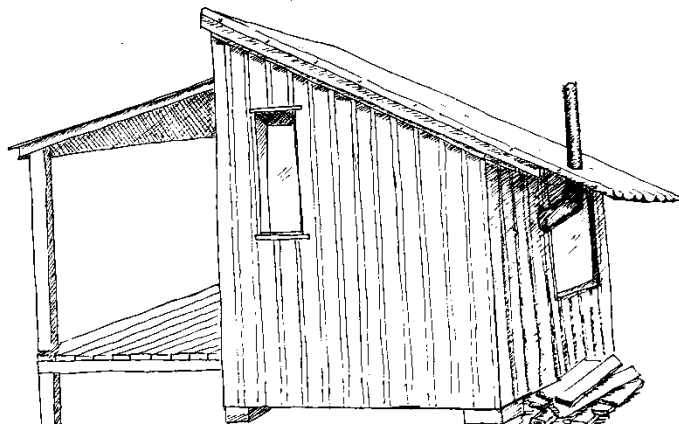
Figure 40. Individual hut (Author's own).

Although similarly simple in design, the asymmetrical lines drawn into the final form from the outset, as opposed to existing as later additions, stand in contrast to the designs described above. The hut is clad in wood, using '*dwang and noggin*' (Giles) method. The roof is corrugated iron, its silhouette broken by a tall and slim chimney at the left hand edge of the front elevation. At this side the roof overhands the gable, offering shelter for a wood pile. On the far gable, a long thin window adds a feeling of height, which contrasts with the rectangular window opposite and the square window on the smallest of the four

walls. The hut itself is offset by a porch, which almost matches the dimensions of the hut itself. This hut is therefore notably different from those described above; yet at the same time, it is typical, if not in design but in overall impact, to many of the more modern huts appearing in rural Scotland, including those huts intended as arts residency spaces which have sprung up thanks to the 'Botshy Project' (see Figure 41).

Figure 41. Inshriach Bothy and Sweeny's Bothy (www.thebothyproject.org).

Looking at out-dwellings

Describing the buildings in this way, from this epistemological stance where 'looking' is the main method of assessment, is essentially an exercise in 'thick description' (Geertz: 1973),[156] an exercise in which there *is* a lot to be learned about the design of these buildings, of their apparent simplicity and of the limited range of materials, sizes and ornament offered to these structures. In many ways this emphasis hints towards a culture of asceticism, of modest living and humble origins. It does also allow these buildings to be put centre-stage and analysed for their own sake, as crucial elements in the composition of this overall dwelling culture.

However, unlike Kniffen's tight typology and distribution maps, the culture of Scottish out-dwellings is not so easily drawn out from paths of origin. While not doubting the 'diagnostic capabilities' (Kniffen 1936:182) of vernacular housing in 1850s America, with regards to the kind of cultural understanding that this project aims to achieve, such 'ocularcentric'[157] reasoning does not even achieve that 'groping towards a tangible hold on

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[156] This phrase is usually understood textually but I would suggest that images can be part of the 'thickness' as well.
[157] Such an etymological position privileges vision as a means to survey the world. This totalising notion has been heavily critiqued by the likes of Gregory (1994) and Rose (2009).

the geographic expression of culture' (1936:192) for which Kniffen hoped. Part of this failing is certainly a result of my own methodological choices, not least of those defined by my ethical obligation *not* to map my hut sites as many fall conspicuously outwith building and planning codes. Moreover, as previously stated, Kniffen's work is founded on three central ideals: that commonplace phenomena are strong cultural signifiers; that everyday material phenomena are indicative of wider trends which may be made visible through mapping; and that both meaning and connections can only be found in systematic and meticulous fieldwork (Lewis 1983). This project is not wholly attuned to Kniffen's central tenets. Even when widening Kniffen's focus, including the setting of these buildings in their descriptions (notably something he does not do), the descriptions of out-dwellings offered above fail to capture more than a superficial understanding of the culture in which they are embedded. Perhaps it is that Kniffen's approach is just not broad enough for this project which seeks to deal with meaning rather than pattern. While it is easy to see how a rough assimilation of his methods offers some basic insights into the main tenents of this culture, there remains a constant and niggling apprehension that too many factors are being, in his opinion, '*justifiably* omitted from consideration' (Kniffen 1936:183 emphasis added). Therefore, while I do see value in Kniffen's work, in its attention to the vernacular and to detail, it appears that such a 'façadist' approach is limited in its ability to denote a broader sense of culture based on substance below the surface. Likewise, the anti-modern undertone, and deliberate attempt to justify geography in the face of other 'sciences',[158] is not matched or seen as necessary here. Admittedly like Kniffen (1936:192), though, I see this form of architectural description as but 'one step' on the route to cultural understanding.

As Jacobs accurately typecasts, I therefore find myself more comfortable within the 'new geographies of architecture', which is, as she notes, indebted to both older settlement traditions of form and function *and* more recent cultural geographical interest in meaning. While I may not invest entirely in Kniffen's use of buildings to denote settlement patterns, his attention to a building's 'physical presence' does indeed serve as 'a faint skeletal infrastructure for studies more concerned with meaning and the politics of representation' (Jacobs 2006:5).

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[158] His article 'The Physiognomy of Rural Louisiana' (1963) refers to the reasons that he practices geography in a manner far more open than given in earlier work. He starts with 'a cultural analysis, that is, preoccupation with such homely phenomena as houses, barns, wells, roads, fields, fences, bridges, boars, and the like, may seem to the layman a strange form of scientific endeavor. Yet one may venture that to assert such a study is as legitimate scientifically and potentially fruitful of significant results as research in biology, chemistry, or any other established field' (Kniffen 1963:291).

I am not the first to show interest in such attention to form and detail with regards to the Scottish example. The lifework of the writer, hillwalker, photographer and conservationist Irvine Butterfield attends to mountain bothies in such detail. His archive (introduced in Chapter 3) contains a Survey of Mountain Shelters which details the locations, plans and state of each mountain shelter in existence at that time. While I previously wrote that 'living up to Webb et al.'s (in Hoggart et al. 2002:141) comments on archival work containing 'a high amount of dross, Butterfield's survey, while startling for its architectural style sketches and meticulous in its detail, offered little in terms of cultural enlightenment' (Hunt 2011) – I now account for how wrong I was to be. While revisiting such an archive is the task of later and possibly major geobiographical work, I mention the archival achievements of Butterfield to highlight that attention to detail is unfortunately often overlooked.

Such attention was not missed in my more recent encounters with the archive of the MBA, a slightly slapdash collection also housed in Perth's A.K. Bell Library. It is to one particular story from this archive that I now attend, aiming to highlight that attention to detail can instigate the telling of bigger tales. In this way the MBA archive becomes a bridging of these two means, of detailed survey, and meaningful depth. In this case, the focus on technical and formal qualities leads to an appreciation of what would be called 'siteing', of construction, and the complicated mixing of these two.

Figure 42. Exerts of the MBA archive in the A.K. Bell in Perth (Author's own).

Figure 42 highlights the technical skill that goes into rejuvenating a building into a workable bothy, and it was these images that drew my attention to this tale. These sketches are part of a 'circular' (newsletter), and early account of correspondence between the members of the MBA, at this time still a fairly closed affair. The circular is specifically addressed to Irvine Butterfield, of the survey noted above, and sent by Bob Heath, co-founder of the organisation.
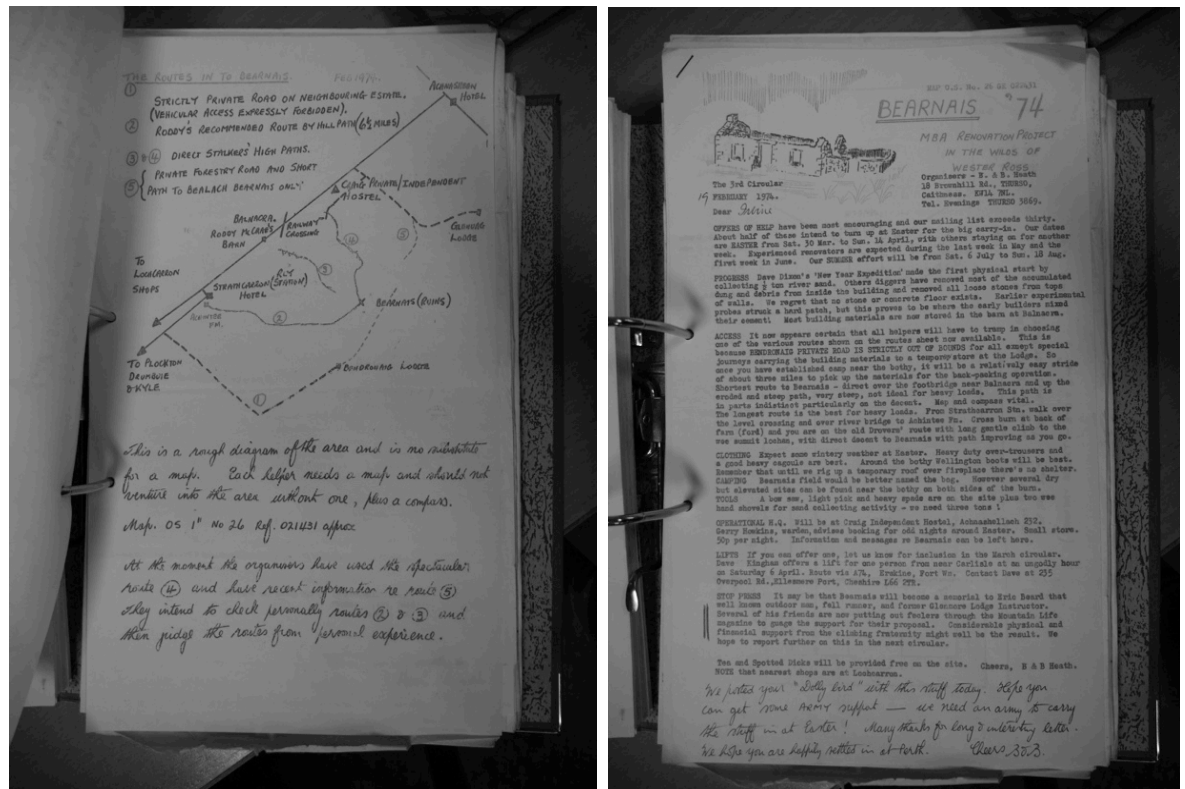
Figure 43. Exerts of the MBA archive in the A.K. Bell in Perth (Author's own).

The main body of the 'circular', to the right of Figure 43, while generic in many ways, is also intricately personal, finished with a handwritten comment and adorned with a multi-coloured illustration to the top left corner.[159] This circular refers to upcoming work (in 1973) on 'Bearnais' bothy, a site outwith my main area of focus, but one of the approximately 100 maintained by the MBA. The content of this piece and that offered to the left of Figure 43 account for the decisions to be made before a construction work party can begin, the complicated negotiations of landowner and MBA, along with the manual labour required to create even simple shelter. Talks of a 'relatively easy … back-packing operation' to collect materials from three miles away, during a time in which volunteers

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[159] This archival snippet offers a useful insight into the relationships between these key figures and may prove useful for later work on Butterfield.

are advised to 'expect some wintery weather', are indicative of the hardships implicated in this form of construction, never mind the three tonnes of sand required to be extracted from the surrounding area. Attention to form in this case highlights how bothies, while simple in design, still require planning, spanning out from the usual architectural drawings and encompassing maps of potential pathways, collation of (person)power, and negotiations over rights of access.

It is now hopefully clear that, while I appreciate how form does not wholly attend to meaning, my interest lies in the argument that being alert to the look of a place is a worthy outcome of study in its own right. To detail the very 'thing'ness of that is you aim to research is an important outcome. This example has sought to highlight that such attentions can take research in unexpected ways, highlighting important snippets that might otherwise be overlooked. While Jackson sought for the speeding up of the way in which we look at the world, there is also something to be said for slowing down, for attending to form and seeing where that takes you. That said, I am still, comfortably or not, couched in the convergence between detail and meaning, form and significance, the very epitome of Jacobs' typecasting. Geography today, and architectural geography in particular has taught both readers and scholars that there is much to be learned in moving beyond the façade, getting inside a building, in changing from a focus on learning through 'looking' to learning by 'seeing'. It is to this shift that I now attend.

Learning through seeing: attention to environmental and architectural experience

David Seamon is a geographer whose name is rarely associated with Kniffen, but, as the literature section of this thesis has shown, use of one is arguably complemented by mention of the other. Both authors adopt a humanist approach, both focus upon meticulous observation, consideration and description, and crucially both give due care and attention to the practical, everyday, lived-in world of the vernacular. Yet, Seamon's looking through 'seeing', demonstrated in his edited work, *Dwelling, Seeing and Designing: Towards a Phenomenological Ecology*, takes the notion of description deeper than the 'looking' of Kniffenesque typologies. Instead of concluding reflection at the point of the 'observable feature' (Kniffen 1963:293), Seamon's phenomenological approach takes the researcher deeper, in looking for sedimented layers of meanings inscribed in places and their bodily occupants. His work therefore falls within the architectural geography of the 1980s and 1990s which sought to find meaning, search out power, but attended to buildings in a

phenomenological way. Seamon's humanist research also offered an opening gambit to more contemporary architectural geographies which tackle the affective realm. My use of Seamon as an interlocutor for this project is underpinned by his belief in the very 'thing' in focus, the vernacular, and, again, the small. He argues that the apparent simplicity of vernacular environments 'provide[s] one context in which to see more clearly the essential core and foundation of our humaness' (Seamon 1991:201).

Therefore, a further step in understanding out-dwelling comes from paying increased attention to the meaningful relationships between people and place. While the descriptions above offer hints about the design of these buildings, such accounts fall short of detailing the many meanings and experiences to be drawn from a broader phenomenological engagement with out-dwellings. The following section will thus account for the landscape in which these buildings are set, along with what might be described as their 'in-between' nature, their interiors and their biographies. Thus, while attempting to engage this research with the 'lifeworld'[160] of huts and bothies, the focus for now remains on charting what exactly 'out-dwellings' are and subsequently emphasising, as Lorimer (2006:216) states, that 'empiricism and materiality are, once again, shared concerns'. I seek to offer something of the taken-for-granted-ness of the out-dwelling world, beginning with the attachment to place beyond walls, the space that exists around the hut, nurturing both the building and the user into a relationship of co-dependency. This phenomenological form of 'seeing' also requires attention to a new set of sounds, now stirring in the words of out-dwellers for whom the bothies and huts hold variegated meaning. Kniffen seemingly never spoke to anyone inhabiting his houses – Seamon did occasionally – I seek to do so as a prime dimension of 'seeing', it might be said to 'see' the out-dwelling world through the eyes of its dwellers.

The meaningfulness of place

> *hutting and Carbeth for me are intrinsically linked, you know it's difficult to separate one from the other. If I had a hut elsewhere, doing something else, I don't know if it would mean quite as much to me* (James)

> *you wouldn't stay here [in this bothy] if this was in the city* (Ava)

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[160] 'I am first of all concerned with the **lifeworld** – i.e., a person and groups's everyday world of taken-for-granted-ness, which includes surroundings, artifacts, gestures, behaviours, events, meanings and so forth'. (Seamon 1991:202).

the house has never been worth that much. Some people buy ... and it's an investment ..., but at Glennan it's the place. In a way it's like a verb. Because the [building] is just something you come and go out of, but it's the whole beach, the trees, the walk through the woods to get there, the swing tree, the wee chapel at the back, the deserted village about a mile from [us]... So, it's all the stuff that you do round about the house that makes the place if you know what I mean. (Emma)

The interview containing the last of these quotes comes from a conversation with Emma that took place in her home in the city. Taking me through album upon album of photographs depicting happy times spent in her hut, artist Emma talks animatedly of her place, Glennan '*the verb*', a site of doings, happenings, ongoing, becoming. The place here in itself is a body-ballet (Seamon 1980), if only in Emma's mind during our conversation. Glennan was a place of choreography, a place that spoke of doing, of attachments, of activities and experiences all tied up with the building, 'Glennan', but encompassing so much more. [161] This dwelling and its surrounds thus represent sub-conscious entwining of person and place in which the place becomes seen as an active phenomena rather than mere bricks-and-mortar.[162] Or, perhaps learning from Seamon rather than Freud, this should rather be written as 'pre-conscious', as Emma's comments do intimate this phenomenological notion of acting before knowing (Seamon 1979a).

A further conversation with interviewee Paul offered yet another indication of the importance of *their* (indicating a sense of ownership) place in the experience of 'out-dwelling'.

Here's the pub, and we call this unofficially the pub field. But this whole area is known as Carbeth Hill because it is a hill, you've been there, and it has upper hill, and mid and lower, and this bit is just kind of tacked on. So you don't really need to label that because it's already labelled. This is known as Coats Road, and here, I think, well there's another little hut here so this whole area with these couple here, there's one, and another in here, but you know Google maps is not the best, but there's overlap in here and that's the Clachan... there are some huts here, and that's Lochwood, for fairly obvious reasons because it backs onto a wee wood ... so there's a boundary here and these huts here, I drew it a bit badly, so all the way down and in like that, along the West Highland Way and around this bit at the old swimming pond. And there's one hut here and another couple going up as we speak. And this here is Lochside.

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[161] This is reminiscent of Merriman's (2015) work on the cultural and historical geographies of overlooked built space – in his case the motorway.

[162] Here I am reminded of the platial turn, in which place turned from '*place as location* to *place in action*' as Schiller and Rubridge remind (2014:12). Here they list familiar figures: Bachelards attention to the agency of place in the *Poetics of Space,* Thrift's acknowledgement of the role of affect in experiencing place; and Seamon's contribution in which 'Seamon even went as far as adding a choreographic spin with the integration of dance terms such as *place ballets* (washing dishes in a kitchen) and *time-space* routings' (2014: 12).

Described in parallel with an annotated aerial photograph (Figure 44), this somewhat lengthy quote gave life and meaning to this place through the inscription of naming, formed in history and delivered with weighty tone.

Figure 44. Paul's Guide to Carbeth. This screenshot was annotated by Paul during our conversation. His marks have been recoloured in red to make them more visible (Author's own).

But such attachment to the place need not be held at a distance. In fact, a blog post from the very same user illuminates the differing scales of this connection to dwelling in place:

> There are no insights at a hut that are not brought about by silence and solitude aided by the creatures and plants who live here too.
>
> Woken in the night by a gnawing noise, slowly to recognise the sound of a mouse setting up house in the hut wall, is simply to be aware of a most basic shared need – shelter – and the commonality of that necessity.
>
> And we're all at it. I should be mending the roof. The wren is flitting to and from her small troglodyte home in the stone dyke, her egg hatched and half the shell laid at our doorstep, the way a cat might leave a rabbit there for approval. The damselflies have just burst from their own homely nymphal skins to flitter from the pond skirts here. The geese are sitting on their thrown-together nests, while the magpies look out from under their thatched roof in the big thickening leafing oak.
>
> The woman with her son and the two dogs all intently peering into the lizards' stones. She had noticed their habitation last year and returned to reconnect with that spot another time: lizards, dogs, mother, son – at home.

The garden plants too are dwelling, rooting down into our leaf-mould loam, down into that soil that is probably not silent, teeming with microfauna and microflora, cities and nations of co-habiting creatures. Our final home is the one we're walking on.

The Unfinished Hut (carbeth.blogspot.co.uk)

I'm not aware that Paul has read any 'academic' theory; he may in fact have read Ingold, even studied dwelling. But maybe it is the hut, the place, which make such words mimic Ingold's ideas of the house as organism, of the mice, the wren, damsenfly, geese, magpie, oak, human, dog and lizard, all working together over the years to create that place in that particular form through dwelling in or around the hut (Ingold 2000). This relationship with the outside, in which both elements, building and out-with-building, are important to the overall creation, is a crucial element of out-dwelling identity or typology.

Beyond the walls

even if it's just sitting on the beach, or like sitting just outside on the awful chairs we have or something. Because inside there's not a huge amount, if the weather's nice you always end up outside. (Naula)

Yeah it's definitely about being more outdoors than in. We do need an indoors. That's where we do our cooking and if it does get dark and cold then we will go inside for shelter. And we sleep indoors rather than outdoors but yeah, outdoors is a huge part of it. (James)

I just want more connection with the outdoors and I believe that children should have that too. And I just don't have any need of a house. ... I just think they [houses] are so restrictive in that they almost seem to seal you off from the outdoor environment in which I want to have one foot in. One foot outside and one inside the whole time. (Douglas)

Reflections such as these highlight that the experience of out-dwellings extends beyond their walls, incorporating the surroundings into their makeup and their meaning, just Paul's comments and mapwork above point to such a wider (beyond walls) perspective. I am reminded here of Seamon's (1991:201) comment that, 'in relation to environmental design, phenomenological study of the vernacular environments offers clues to "an architecture that would give full justice to the requirements of human dwelling" (Harries 1983)'. These buildings thus become a space of *in-between* (speaking to Mugerauer's ideas of 'between'), facilitating inside space while at the same time absorbing outside space into their frame of reference and subsequently spatially extending the meaning of this term out-

dwelling to encompass the world outwith the dwelling. This annexation is partly the product of practice, born out of a requirement to engage with the outside for practical means. Toilet facilities, flowing water and other necessities all require users, borrowing from Seamon (1991), to deal with the world more directly.

However, it is not just users' actions that draw them outside, creating a connection between these two worlds. The buildings themselves also facilitate this relationship through their design. As a student of the vernacular build, Seamon's work offers a perfect introduction to a phenomenological discussion of design:

> [A] phenomenological geography, like behavioural geography, is interested in environmental experience and behaviour. It seeks to understand such essentially geographical themes as the experience of place, the nature of environmental awareness, the way that physical design affects people's experience of physical environment and space (1979b:41).

Previous scholarship has provided phenomenological accounts of how specific landscape elements can join people and world (Seamon 1993). Silverstein and Mugerauer's respective chapters in Seamon's edited work *Dwelling, Seeing and Designing* provide such examples and, in the words of Philo (1994:122), such authors 'concretise these theoretical claims about place and architecture'. Mugerauer's (1993) account of the porch as 'between' has been particularly useful here. He argues that 'Heidegger's interpretation of building and dwelling provides a means to understand the nature of architecture and the possibilities of design vocabulary' (Mugerauer 1993: 103), and it is in this vein that the chapter here has sought to animate the 'out-dwelling' as a space of 'in-between'. Like the out-dwelling, the porch is mediated by weather and it upon aspects such as this that Mugerauer makes his argument for environmentally-situated design. In arguments which fit with those from interviewees above, he states:

> On the porch we can linger late, letting night remain as a distinctive environment … The porch today may be one of the few remaining places where town and city dwellers have significant access to night sky, atmosphere, and bird and animal activity. The porch enables people to be together with nature by providing an intermediate site (1993:108).

While such a feature is not ubiquitous to the hut or bothy, for those with such additions the feature certainly functions in a similar manner. James is one such user who discusses the time spent on the porch of his family's hut and their decision to use it as an outside, yet almost inside, space:

R: *Do you think a hut could be seen as an in-between space, it's not ever really inside?*

J: *Aye, aye, we spend more time outside our hut than we do inside. I guess we're quite lucky we've got quite a nice porch outside and in all weathers that's where you'll find us. Even at night we'll be sitting outside on the porch, the fire's on inside the hut, and we're sitting outside without anoraks and hats on and whatever.*

Another interviewee, Giles, spoke of the importance of putting up a deck, of having outside space to continue the span of his hut. The garden too, with a greenhouse and vegetable beds, all incorporate the outside space into his experience of the building. Even the internal porch at Corrour bothy, mentioned in the description earlier, functions in such a way: a space of between before you go inside.

Pollan (2008:77) continues such thinking in his discussion of the 'entrance transition': 'a transitional space at the entrance of a building – a covered porch, or a curving path brushing by a lilac, … or a change of texture underfoot before one reaches the door'. Such changes serve as intermediate spaces, allowing one to shed outside behaviours and enter into a more 'intimate spirit' (Pollan 2008:77). Such is the use of the porch, the path, the dyke or garden, and numerous other features found in many of the out-buildings that this project has encountered. Not all of these buildings have such features, and in these cases perhaps it is just the simplicity in design and the constrictions in space that enables this interaction with the outdoors. Nonetheless, these elements function as a 'pre-social' (Philo 1994:122) notion of engagement with the out-dwelling environment, enabling the building itself to act in the creation of out-dwelling experiences. As Seamon (1993:5) notes, 'this tactic of reciprocity between the built environment and human experience is a central phenomenological insight'.

The weather is also an important factor in the 'out-dwelling' experience, as my field diary notes:

Bothying, and the experience of the bothy itself is weather dependent. In this weather users can be outside, extending the homely feel beyond four walls. The bothy becomes a starting point for adventures into the environment as opposed to a space in which to retreat. (10/10/13)

Bachelard has commented on this phenomena of weather dependency, comparing the experience of home with an animal shelter within *The Poetics of Space*, quoting a painter who, living in the country wrote,

The well-being I feel, seated in front of my fire, while bad weather rages out of doors, is entirely animal. A rat in its hole, a rabbit in its burrow, cows in the stable, all must feel the same that I feel (1994 [1958]:91)

There is a feeling of 'at oneness' in how a hut/bothy, becomes a burrow of sorts, a theme to be followed through in Chapter 6. The sketch below acknowledges weather dependency, giving a spatial indication of the way in which these places are used. As such, their meaning is multiple, particular to the occasion, the situation and those present at that time.
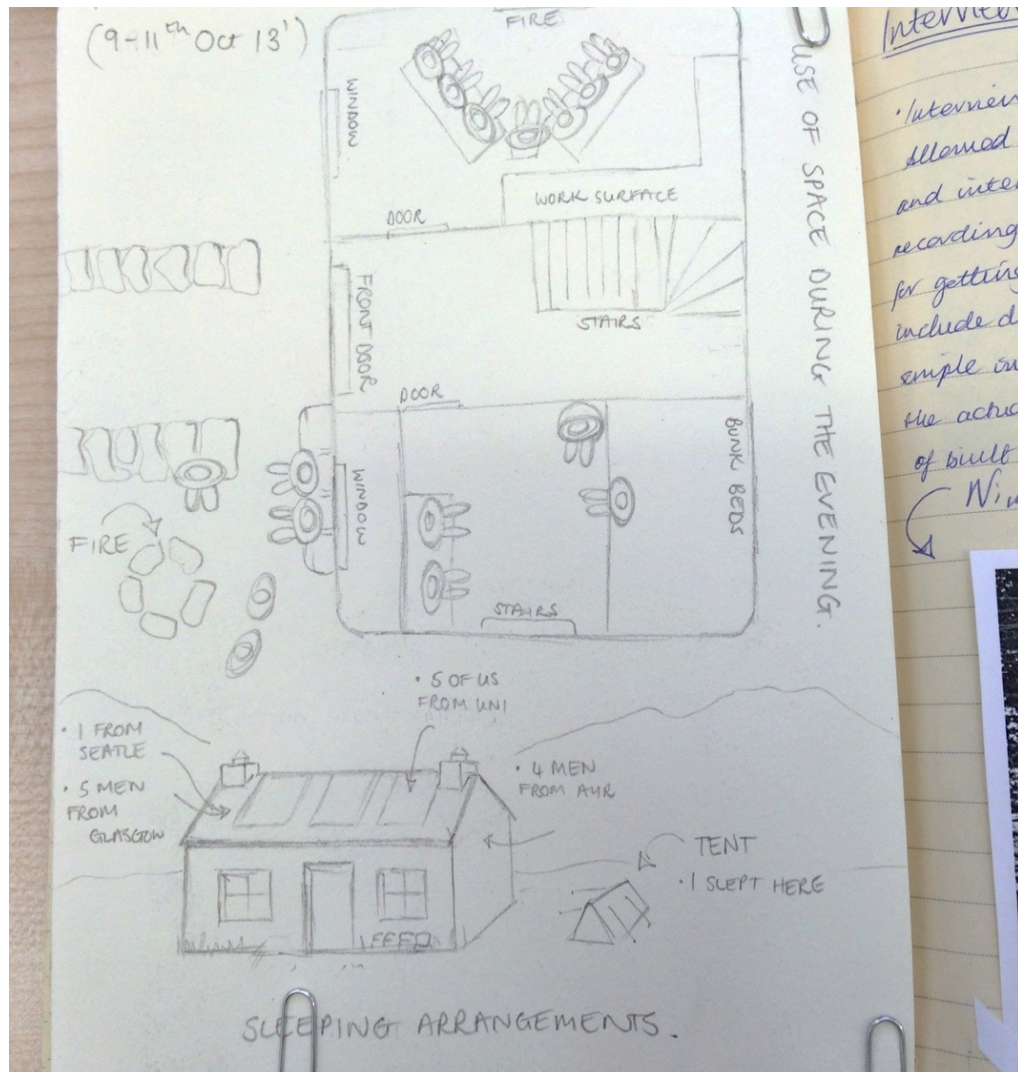
Figure 45. Exert from my field diary showing how the space is used.

It thus appears that these huts, in multiple ways, induce an engagement with the world outwith their walls, particularly in good weather. Yet, lest we forget, outside necessitates inside. Subsequently, then, this 'reciprocity' continues within the buildings themselves. In some of the more architecturally imaginative builds, this connection comes in the form of specific features.

Figure 46. Wooden pegs. (Author's own).

Hooks such as these utilise their original wooden form as branches of a central bough, bringing the outside in with them. Interestingly, such design is considered a traditional feature of Scandinavian huts (Abram 2012).

Heated Worlds

Throughout all of the huts and bothies visited, however, there seemed to be one prominent feature which can join people (users) and world (out-dwelling), a distinguishable feature upon which, as previously noted, to 'concretise' (Philo 1994) ideas about the relationship between place and person. In the case of the 'out-dwelling', this is the fire or stove.

Figure 47. The 'Calor stove' and the 'Original'. (Author's own).

The stove on the left of Figure 47 is an up-cycled Calor gas canister, the version on the right was an 'original' in the hut; while another user found theirs on the streets of Glasgow's West End. Stories of finding stoves, fitting stoves and sitting around them were delivered with pride by many hut owners. Similarly in bothies, it is the fire which proves to be the focal point as users cook upon them, gather around them or even be social because of them. In some cases this warmth has preserved lives, saved them even in these often inhospitable places.

Figure 48. A night round the fire with potatoes slowly roasting and socks gradually drying. (Author's own).

To live simply does not mean to reject all comforts of life connected with regular dwellings, particularly those of light and heat. Although out-dwellings lie 'off grid', this disconnect by no means constitutes a complete rejection of comfort, for, as Vannini and Taggart (2014a:62) note, 'warmth is an important dimension of everyday life'. Asking how warmth is made and experienced, these authors offer a useful springboard for an embodied ethnographic understanding of heat, one which uses the concept that Ingold refers to as

'thermoception'[163] to offer an affective account of heat.[164] In doing so, they write an account of heat which could easily be transferred from their focus on 'off grid' homes to out-dwellings, indicating that warmth is affective and therefore not just a feeling but created through an entwinement with the world around us. Thermoception therefore becomes a skill, a sensibility with which to engage with the world, and practically to perceive a lack (or less likely in this case an excess) of heat and to act upon that realisation. As they note, '[t]hermoception, therefore, is not like a thermometer. Instead it is an atmospheric attunement … : an affective force that manifests itself in involvement in the lifeworld and in its transformation' (Vaninni and Taggart 2014a:66). As such, this form of heating involves the practice of specific skills, sensing and observations, continually refined. This process is referred to by Ingold (2011a) as habitation, the fundamental mode of being. As such, heating a building becomes 'involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings' (Ingold 2011a:10).

To heat an out-dwelling is certainly 'involved'. The process of starting a fire in a bothy can begin far before one is seated before the hearth. Lack of resources proximate to the bothy, particularly for those located in the higher altitudes, often necessitates the transport of fuel, bags of coal, sealed tight, strapped upon or encased within a backpack, travelling the distance with you, anticipating the heat that they shall provide. Within the hut, the importance of heat is equally understood, felt even. Interviews conducted *in situ*, within a hut, flowed more freely, opening conversations more generously, when taking place above a gentle crackling, a seeping heat. Interviewees were well aware of this foregrounding of heat. One interviewee, although meeting me in town, visited his hut earlier, set and lit a fire, on the off-chance that I might want to visit. A cold hut, he explained, was '*not for visitors*' (Tom).

This connecting of person to place through heat is also born out in continued traditions. During one visit to Carbeth, seeking to take photographs of hut life, my solitude was broken by a yell, a series of yells and the slow grumbling of a laden diesel engine. The coal truck moved steadily into view, calling for custom, £16 a bag and depositing regular orders for later payment. Heat thus connects out-dwelling life not just to an older way of life, but to an enduring one. Every building affects its inhabitants (Kraftl and Adey 2008), yet, as

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[163] 'Thermocreption is a sense, but from a non-representational and relational perspective (Ingold, 2000, 2011) we can understand a sense as not a passive receptor but rather as an interface' (Taggart and Vannini 2014a:65-66).

[164] This work, by Taggart and Vannini, falls with a later stage of architectural geography which, inspired by earlier phenomenological works (including Seamon), introduced non-representational theory and ideas of affect to the study of the built environment.

Vaninni and Taggart (2014a:71) explain, 'different architectural designs operate in different ways to 'channel, preclude, and evoke particular affect' (Kraftl and Adey, 2008:226)'. Yet, in most modern houses heat is distanced from production, relegated to a switch, less inhabited than assumed. In the out-dwelling, though, it resides up front. Likewise, continuing a familiar argument, in most residencies, the building is designed to separate the user from nature, 'relegating it to an alienated outside' (Vannini and Taggart 2014a:72). Such ideas of what is and is not allowed in constructing a hut or bothy will have to wait for the following chapter. What I seek to emphasise here, however, is that out-dwellings, like 'off-grid homes', 'are designed to maximise participation within natural processes – such as solar radiation and its absorption and release – pulling outdoors indoors and pushing the inside outside' (Taggart and Vannini 2014a:72). It is above all clear, from the example of the fire or stove, that material entities create an affective atmosphere within these spaces, impacting upon those who enter.

Emotional and biographical mark-making

It is not only design in which we see these buildings having an effect on their users. As Seamon (1984:764) notes, with regard to emotion, 'the phenomenological need is to examine this affective link with environment as it is experientially, and to identify qualities that make it possible'. Emotional engagements with out-dwellings were indeed a prominent feature of the interviews. Figure 49 depicts one interviewee, Hannah, making me a cup of tea during our interview.

My field diary entry for that moment is as follows: '*She looked happy here. It was a comfortable, mish-mash space where everything and anything combined in cluttered comfort. Shoes came off to indicate that this was an inside space and she made me feel welcome.*' While I documented the space, Hannah was keen for me to '*not focus on the imperfections*', but in fact it was clear they were part of the charm for her. As my diary notes, '*the main room was packed, and had the feel of a collector's den with riches to be discovered. The roof sagged, the glass was cloudy and wallpaper peeled, but the place had a warmth in that it felt used. Textiles were a key contrast to other bare huts*' (28/10/13). This is an even more affective sense of 'warmth', a further gloss on the 'thermo' affects discussed previously.

Figure 49. Interviewee making tea (Author's own).

While the eclectic ensemble of this hut was key to Hannah's attachment, for others, when asked what they wanted inside their huts, the response came, '*I think as little as possible*' (Giles); for this user it was a place of simplicity above all and the sparse was viewed as almost sacred. This viewpoint is reminiscent of pre-modern typologies of hut and monastic cell, such as the isolated beehive cells which still, now unused, sit atop the island sanctuary of Sceil Michíl, amidst this 'geyser of spiritual energy'' (Nicolson 2007:157). Although not explicitly mentioned, this idea of an energy was implicit in the words, actions and general demeanour of many of those who favoured an ascetic hut aesthetic. Therefore, while it might have been assumed that huts would impart more of an emotional charge due to their personalisation, this need not be the case. It seems that the ability for a particular materiality to induce happiness, cosiness or comfort was not ubiquitous, and out-dwelling hence do not fit a strict typology in this regard. They are ultimately, as one user aptly concluded, '*something that suits you as a person'* (Karen).

There are nevertheless aspects of out-dwellings which impact on all users, making them live, just that little, differently. To offer an example, consider the extract below, from one interviewee who, with his family, offers respite fostering two children with 'chaotic' home lives. The family hut, to which they often bring these children, offers them the chance to:

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... experience things they wouldn't do at home ... and not having electricity is actually quite a novelty for them, yeah, so we've got a wood burning stove so having a fire there, and burning candles at night or a bonfire outside, things that children don't do nowadays ... [at night they can be] a bit unsure of it ... because when it's dark its really dark so they were allowed to take torches to bed with them ... the next day the sense of achievement ... from having stayed there and had a good nights sleep. (James)

I experienced this blossoming of new understandings while having lunch with James, his wife and a couple of their friends, who had invited me in when I happened upon them during a visit to Carbeth. We sat outside on a bench, as a flurry of bagels, coffee, toppings and condiments were ushered from inside. Their charge, I will not use his name, pottered around, dragging sticks, climbing trees and occasionally popping by to pick up a mouthful. Loud but shy, he was a child of conundrums, one who was thoroughly dirty, constantly smiling.[165] This was his third visit to the hut and now he appeared completely at home, a far cry from the boy who these guardians described in a previous interview.

Therefore, just as bothy life requires you to wash your dishes in a stream, or wash less than normal due to the '*technical difficulties*' (Ross) of such a task, users' engagement with the world is changed by the materiality of these buildings, by what they offer (or do not). No matter how much this action is endorsed by the users of these buildings, it is nonetheless the building themselves which 'necessitate' such actions and contribute to such feelings of accomplishment. Revisiting Seamon's ideas (1991), it appears that these are pre-social results of the conditions of these places, as users are forced, or perhaps more accurately 'afforded' (Gibson 1979),[166] the opportunity to engage more directly with the outside world.

It is not only the case that these buildings act upon their users, hut on to person, the material on to the cultural, for these buildings are also shaped by those who encounter them. As tackled in Chapter 4, out-dwellings are products of time spent in place, an evolution of the biological and the material, co-dwelling together. As Heideggerian dwelling theory would suggest, 'forms of buildings arise as a kind of crystalisation of human activity within the environment' (Ingold 2000:186). Thus, buildings hold a biography of past interaction. For some, this has created interiors that are lived, cosy

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[165] This issue of dirt, and its new found acceptance in the out-dwelling space, is something that I shall explore in the following chapter.
[166] The literature on 'affordance' is oddly underplayed in non-representational geographies.

corners with beds built in, solar energy harnessed for light and blankets for trapping in heat.

Figure 50. A cosy corner for hutting children. (Author's own).

Yet all of this may be formed in a space not their own, or not always so. While the cosy corner of this hut (Figure 50) may be the creation of present users, the bathroom, fully tiled and expertly decorated as seaside chic still fits with the theme of cosy comforts for a back to basics life, incorporating what many would see as luxury. Yet the bath in this bathroom is not plumbed in, the hut has no plumbing and the act of bathing would thus be a lengthy process, as the current owner notes,

> *We've got a bath tub as well but we've never used it. It's dirty and so you'd have to clean it and then fill it up with enough hot water and there's just no point. It's be cold by the time you got in.* (Elsie)

These buildings thus reflect the personalities of users, their beliefs, they are made through interactions with people, all tied with those who have come before them. With bothies, this is perhaps most obvious in the way people make their mark despite the stark surroundings. As one field entry states;

> *The bothy books, while valuable are not the only way in which users make their mark and I must remember this. Scratches into the wood or written in the soot that cakes the roof, people feel the need to have their say, to make their mark.* (19/4/14)

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As seen Figure 51, such marks can be obvious physical marks but I am also interested in the less tangible sense of individuals leaving their mark and thus shaping what places are, later, like.

Figure 51. 'Vote ~~Yes~~ No in 2014 for a better Scotland'. (Author's own).

In some cases the influence of time is more extreme. While some out-dwellings have certainly been purpose-built for their current owners, crafted in their own hands or those of skilled others, in many instances, of huts and bothies in Scotland, such dwellings are passed down or, in the case of most bothies, designed for an entirely different purpose altogether.[167] Here thinking through these buildings marries with Kopytoff's (1986) arguments surrounding 'the cultural biography of things' and also Fontjin's belief that:

> things or buildings can endure beyond any expectation, and how society around them will change in the longer term can never be foreseen. An impressive number of objects and constructions made or built by past societies reflect not just 'a there-then', but just as much 'a here-now', to use Knappett's terminology (2013: 186).

These buildings are thus living testament to the notion that 'some of the best places are not so much made as remade, as people find new and unforeseen ways to inhabit them over time' (Pollan 2008:274-275).

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[167] Which also prompts awareness of another venerable old geographical concept; 'sequential occupance', conceptualised by Derwent Whittesey in 1929.

These ideas are picked up by another geographer of the vernacular, perhaps the pivotal geographer of the American Vernacular after Kniffen, J.B. Jackson, whose work, like Seamon, also emphasises doing over looking. In his essay, 'A sense of place, a sense of time',[168] he argues that far too much attention is offered to the design of buildings, when in reality it the experience of places, and the routine actions carried out within them, that create a sense of place and give a building its character (Jackson 1994). Rather than being a designable feature, experiences are thus a product of time, and so, in Pollan's (2008:274) words, 'spaces and times – have grown together'. Therefore, while modern architecture arguably overly focuses upon economic, technological or aesthetic concerns, out-dwellings provide a prime example that such concerns alone 'do not relate to the full range of human experience, particularly a sense of place and dwelling' (Seamon 1993: 2). Designers are, to use Relph's (1993:38) term, but 'environmental midwives', providing a template upon which to build. The ideas presented above have sought to illustrate Seamon's (1993:2) ideas about looking through seeing, highlighting the ways in which phenomenological and other qualitative approaches can deliver an understanding of our environment that aligns with our lives, 'as human beings in the everyday world'.

Conclusion

It is now clear that academic geography's engagement with architecture may be intermittent and uneven, but there is still much to be gleaned from previous work about the virtue of considering buildings in a discussion of the culture of which they are part. The world of Kniffen encourages contemporary research to emphasise the visual, incorporating ideas of how buildings look into what they mean. Greater depth – a delving beneath and behind surfaces – also requires a more sustained engagement with meaning, however, incorporating both humanist and post-humanist literatures into an understanding which incorporates symbols, biographies, inhabitation and affect. Of course, it is reductive to adhere strictly to a dichotomy of 'see-ers' and 'do-ers', and I do not wish to enforce such a typology. I appreciate that any attempt at understanding needs to be more nuanced. My purpose for the distinction was merely to emphasise the individual merits, and to highlight the importance of both seeing and doing in, as Kniffen (1936:192) writes, 'groping towards a tangible hold on the geographic expression of culture'. In doing so it aims, like Jacobs' (2006:22), to attend to one, this time small, thing, and likewise being attentive to 'the

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[168] Here Seamon's work indicates, a 'practice turn' in geography long before current observations by the likes of Lees (2001), Jacobs (2006), Jacobs and Merriman (2011). Seamon is seemingly acknowledging, as Jacobs (2006:3) later does, that the 'doing' in a place impacts upon what the 'thing' is and so a thing is 'variously made and unmade'.

precarious conditions of alliance' which create a building. Highlighting the various aspects of the lived, attributed, spatial and felt meanings of these material entities also celebrates Jacobs (2006:22) assertion that 'one of the foundational methodological commitments of cultural geography – which is the imperative to attend to the small, the minor and the exceptional in the making of our "big geographies"'. As such the approach of this chapter constitutes an important contribution to the emergent work on the interface between buildings and users, material and social. However, there remains still another way to understand what these buildings are, involving perhaps a little looking *and* seeing, and that is to embrace the imaginary fantastical and, through this, move to analyse not what these buildings are, but also what they are not. It is to this theme that the following chapter will attend.

Chapter 6: House-as-Home-as-Hut: a view into Out-Dwellings through Hansel and Gretel

Introduction

Unlike its semi-detached engagement with architecture, contemporary human geography is in a comfortable zone when considering matters of 'home'. Scholarship in this field, introduced earlier in Chapter 2, has unpicked the stereotype of home, analysed its imagery and offered deeper, more fluid thinking on what qualities and situations constitute the spaces of home. It is these ideas that I use in an effort to highlight that huts are not quite home, nor quite a house. While certainly (in)habited built structures, they have something else, something different, yet at the same time similar, to offer. And so, like the last chapter, this attempt to appraise the cultural condition of out-dwelling seeks to get to the heart of what these buildings and their uses are. By comparing and contrasting out-dwellings with varied meanings of 'home', the chapter seeks to show how a series of thematic social relations are played out amidst these buildings: how gender, nature, the uncanny and the ascetic can be all experienced differently in out-dwellings, how ideas of temporariness and journeying are fundamental to the experience of these places and how, despite their categorical difference, the hut can be homely and huts can be found within the mind. Such exploration conspicuously omits discussion of public vs. private in the sphere of out-dwelling. Although this is an important element in the construction of 'home', with equal relevance to hut and bothy, these issues are addressed instead in Chapter 7 as part of discussions on the draw and allure of the out-dwelling experience.

And so to home

Home is an expression into which is folded multiple meanings. In academic thought these meanings are diverse, encompassing a way of being in the world, a spatial metaphor for place attachment, a literal reference to a physical residence and address, and all of the experiences taking place within that space. Having offered detailed commentary in Chapter 2, these theoretical terms of reference are visited here only briefly. I want to call upon snippets of this vast literature. As in the preceding chapter, there are issues to be addressed surrounding gender and nature, as well as gender and home, topics discussed by feminist geographers (Valentine 1992, 1993; Domosh 1988; Manzo 2003; Blunt 2005; Blunt and Dowling 2006) as well as in literary scholarship (Warner 1995). Through an engagement with this work, issues of domesticity and familial-orientated gender relations are developed, scrambling the idealised notion of home as a site of reproduction or nurture,

and interrogating the role of emotional relationships with places. To encompass ideas about the interplay of nature, the inside, and the uncanny, it is important to consider work by Kaika (2004), Douglas (2002 [1996]), Wolkowitz (2007), Cox (2007a, 2007b) and Campkin and Cox (2007) that considers 'matter out of place' and the unsettling presence of dirt in the home. Likewise, philosophical works of phenomenology by Bachelard (1994), Heidegger and, more recently, Ingold (2000), as well as contributions by humanist geographers Tuan (1971), Seamon (1979a) and Relph (1976), shape an ontological exploration of home, where its existence can be seen as a product of dwelling, living and being in the world.

It is here, therefore, taking stock of the vast range of scholarship on home, that this chapter turns its attention to analysing the out-dwelling in contrast to the most common built form, the house or home. As Bachelard states:

> The house, quite obviously, is a privileged entity for a phenomenological study of the intimate values of inside space, provided, of course, that we take it in both its unity and its complexity, and endeavor to integrate all of the special values in one fundamental value (1994 [1958]: 3).

The chapter also utilises a very particular cultural formulation, the fairytale, to offer another, albeit different spin, on the idea of 'folk' as informative for a study of out-dwellings. Their 'timeless truths' (Warner 1994:213), although inhabiting the world of the imagined, still speak to the more material surroundings, enciphering cultures, beliefs and experiences within their fantastical realm. The traditional fairytale of 'Hansel and Gretel' is employed here to demonstrate how similarities and discontinuities are constructed in the out-dwellings of contemporary rural Scotland. The use of a fairytale may seem incongruous, a cultural outcrop, jarring with the tone or jolting with the more standard academic conventions observed in other chapters. The fairytale here however is the interlocutor, used to highlight how understandings of the hut, one of the four most common settings in traditional fairytales (Thomas 1986), can learn much from the breadth of work already in place with regards to the concept of home. Its use is therefore deliberate, playing on, and accepting of, the way in which the hut is a popular cultural trope, figured, like the home, as many things in society today (notably Western society). Fairytales are formed through cultural understandings of various topics – for instance, evil, dirt, danger, gender, class and home, or pertinently, not-at-home – and also provide a perfect backdrop upon which to get to the heart of meanings, to a depth of explanation couched in simplicity and intimacy, yet capable of scaling up to wider social situations.

These are tales told over, again and again, at bed or by the fire, but these are also, as a literary critic such as Warner suggests, ways of seeing how social and symbolic boundaries are formed, and what happens when these lines are overstepped. This is the reason people tell tales, they carry some sort of moral story, and it is this which makes them universal, tales which can be told anywhere and offer relevance, weight and caution, to their audience. As critics note, 'these are tales that continue to enchant and entrance, the stories that invite us to engage which characters, events, and conflicts that still matter to us today' (Tatar 2004: xvi). This universality is useful for the arguments made in this chapter, and the attempts made to unpick the symbolism of this the Handel and Gretel tale, as much as its precise storyline.

Yet, as Warner (1994: xviii) laments, 'the thrust towards universal significance has obscured the genre's … power to illuminate experiences embedded in social and material conditions'. Simultaneously however, as she notes, any attempt 'to place fairy tales in relation to society and history, is hampered from the start by the difficulty of composing any kind of firm chronology or origin' (Warner 1995:xvii). It is this very rootless nature that makes the fairytale a perfect tool to co-opt here and through which to picture the hut. No stranger to the re-write and born of an oral tradition, the tale arguably has no home. It is, like the hut, a complex coupling of temporary use and permanent attraction. Not only is the fairytale accustomed to being scaled up, universalised through moral codes, it is used to being moved around, written and re-written, morphed into contemporary tales as often as it is released in original form, whatever, as Warner has argued above, that may be.[169] As Tatar (2004:xvi) notes 'tales are adapted, revised, rescripted and bowdlerized, they greet us at the movies as *Pretty Woman* … at the opera as *Hansel and Gretel*':

> [t]hey ceaselessly migrate from one medium to another, shape shifting to suit audiences both young and old and morphing into variants that crackle with renewed narrative energy. We may not all be familiar with Luke Skywalker's geneology or understand how to navigate the complexities of Mortal Kombat, but we all know what happens when Little Red Riding Hood ventures into the woods and when Cinderella leaves for the ball (Byatt 2004:xxvii)

These are tales used to obscure uses, yet familiar enough to make their point. Moreover, while this particular tale, Handel and Gretel, may not have a definite origin point, there are some geographical pointers. As Gaiman's (2014:4) re-write begins, '[t]his all happened a

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[169] Commonly perceived to be the tales written by the Grimm brothers, but this is widely considered a collation of existing stories.

long time ago, in your grandmother's time, or in her grandfather's. A long time ago. Back then, we all lived on the edge of a great forest.' The environmental history of these tales is set within dispersed forested landscapes, and this is no doubt the reason for the form they take. Again here the fairytale, aligns itself with the hut, underscoring its use for unpicking the hut. Lastly but importantly, the tale takes us to unknown, into a world of candied houses, wicked witches and anthropomorphised animals. This is the unusual, and so is the hut. And so, in a thesis concerned with the variegated experience of existence under a roof, the fairytale is helpful for exploring some of the out-dwelling's cardinal themes, highlighting in the process that, as always, a tale is never as simple as it seems.

For the fairytale to do its work in this chapter, a brief synopsis of the plot is now supplied. This set-up enables an analysis that tackles a series of thematics, each in turn: gender, the uncanny, the un-homely, the temporary and journey, home within the hut and huts in the mind. The plot summary is likely familiar but worthy of quick rehearsal: times are hard for the woodcutter and his wife (often depicted as stepmother), hard enough that they discuss leaving their children in the woods to fend for themselves. Overhearing their plans Hansel is at pains to avoid this fate, laying a trail of breadcrumbs when led away into the wood. However, when birds eat the crumbs the children find themselves truly lost. Having come upon an isolated house (often depicted as a hut) constructed entirely of sweets and cake, the children enter and are enticed to eat by its sole inhabitant, a witch. The witch imprisons Hansel with the intention of fattening him up then eating him, only to be outwitted by him, believing that he has lost weight rather than gained. Finally deciding to consume her prisoner regardless, the witch is again foiled as Gretel pushes her into the fire intended for her prey. The children are then led home by a forest creature and are welcomed back into the family home, where their father now lives alone (Walter 1992).

Gender

The tale opens with a house, traditionally coded as safe, domestic, familial and feminine. And yet this particular house is not a home. It is the breakdown of this idealised form of home, due to both desperate hunger and cruelty (on the part of the children's stepmother), which ensures they will get lost in the forest. Yet, as Warner (1995) notes, it is important to understand the development of fairytales, as with most material or social creations, in their historical and social conditions. It was the Brothers Grimm's collation of folklore that introduced the stepmother, 'to allow Mother to flourish as a symbol of the eternal feminine, the motherland, and the family itself as the highest social desideratum' (Warner

1995:13). Their romantic idealism ensured that the 'mother' could not be seen as dangerous or, arguably for this case, as unhomely. Hence, the stepmother is introduced as the evil character, casting out the children. Additionally, the children come across a hut inhabited by a female, but not feminine figure – the witch. Out-dwellings can thus be seen as a masculine space, the antithesis of the feminised home. This notion of attributing a gender to the building is propagated within popular culture, none more clearly with the conflation of men and sheds (Thorburn 2007), or latterly the proliferation of programmes focusing on this type of build, all presented by, and largely including, men.[170] Just as 'her' and 'home' popularly operate as a pair, arguably so too can 'him' and 'hut'.

Of course, in practice this is not such a starkly binary situation, since many of the out-dwellings encountered in my research were visited or owned by women, many of my interviewees were women and there were certainly what are often described as 'womanly touches' to the interior design of these spaces, particularly with regard to huts. As one hutter mentioned:

> *....and another nice thing is that it's not one of those sort of like, [sighs] there's no gender division, there's not sort of like 'me man, saw some bits of wood'. The women do it equally, because there's lots of women with huts, single women with huts and they do all that sort of thing themselves as well which is great* (Paul).

Yet, such a comment does not denote a ubiquitous reality; were there not a divide of sorts, such a comment, unprompted, would arguably not have been made. Such arguments are largely supported by observation, rather than verbalised by participants. The organisational meetings of the MBA are a case in point. During the course of my fieldwork I encountered the bureaucratic machinery of the organisation twice: once at a management meeting held at the YHA at Park Circus in Glasgow, and again at an AGM, this time in Newtonmore village hall, within the Cairngorm National Park. On each occasion, my age and gender stood out, positioning me as an oddity and interloper, a curiosity amid the majority of male, retirees, aged in their 60s, 70s and 80s. While the AGM offered, comparatively, a high proportion of women at around 20%, at the management committee, of the 22 members present (not including myself and another researcher), there were only two women. I was not the only one to notice this 'oddity', the first words directed to me during the AGM were, '*well you don't fit the demographic*'[171]: this was effectively a boy's club, one where RonHill leggings and fleece jackets featured as an unwritten dress code, and a

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[170] See for example *George Clark's Amazing Spaces* and Kevin Macleod *Man Made Home.*
[171] This quote is also in Chapter 1.

washed-out Flora tub, containing two scotch eggs, did not draw attention as an unusual, mid-meeting snack. Such gender designation in the out-dwelling experience is backed up by my experiences at a public symposium, *The Bothy, The Hut, and the Wild Wild Mind*, run at Heriot Toun in March 2014. The day's programme, comprised of eight speakers (six male and two female), began with the comment '*it's good to see women in huts research*'. For those studying these buildings, just as for those using them, the gender assumptions implicit in this statement are clear. Likewise, practically, while I interviewed a fairly even number of men and women, participant observation undertaken in bothies was a largely male-dominated experience. On one occasion, a particularly busy bothy night was made up of twelve men and two women (my companion and myself), an outnumbering which, although less extreme, ran through all of my fieldwork experiences. While it would be foolish to rule out the potential for gender-equal out-dwelling experiences, there was no bothy-night during my fieldwork when women outnumbered men. This might be regarded as a reflection of recent social history and habits of use, but it is perhaps also a result of the practicalities of tasks such as toileting outside or, trickier still, dealing with sanitary requirements as a female – a problem for hut users also. In addition, talk of '*wanted, three nymphomaniacs …. preferably lady Diana look-alikes*'[172] infuses the bothy books, along with the more lewd entries such as the following illustration (Figure 52) which appears alongside the comment: '*things to make and do during your stay at the Sinclair Hut. 1 – How to make a blow up doll out of a bivvy bag*'.[173]
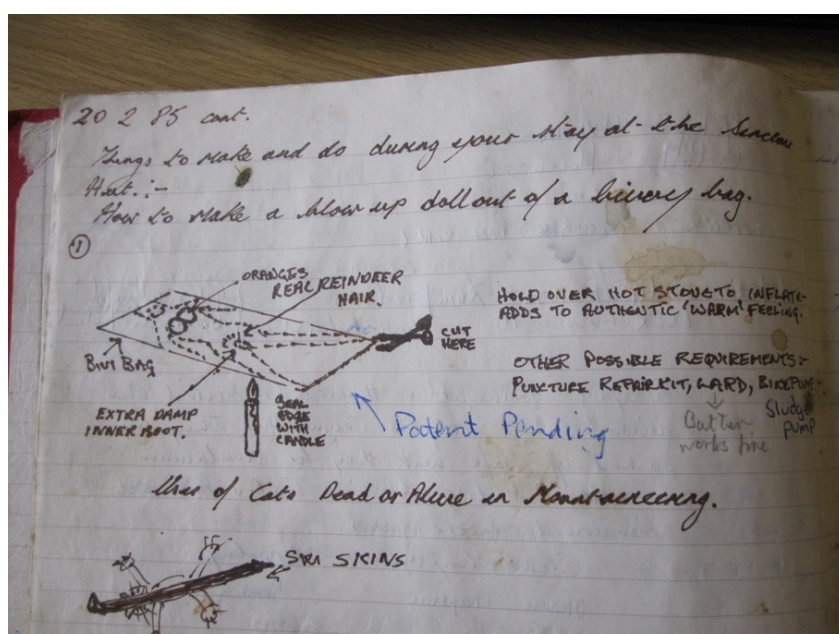
Figure 52. Sinclair hut Book no.17 (02/02/1985 – 16/10/1985) entry from 20/2/85 (Author's own)

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[172] Sinclair hut book no.9 22/02/82.
[173] Sinclair hut book no.17 20/2/85.

Yet, while the gratuitous commentary of the bothy books no doubt alludes to a sexist overture of bothy culture, there is no evidence of a physical manifestation of these tones. Rape, abuse or even fear on the part of women was not mentioned in my work. While I cannot rule out such horrors, I can also not evidence them in my research. However, certainly for some the closely confined sleeping arrangements can be an issue as males and females sleep on the same level, often the same surface, a religious and moral conundrum for some who, through tales told, made me aware that they found bothying more difficult than most.

However, as with fairytales, 'evidence of conditions from past social and economic arrangements co-exist in the tale with the narrator's innovations' (Warner 1994:xix), as she continues: 'Fairytale offers a case where the very contempt for women opened an opportunity for them to exercise their wit and communicate their ideas', for women were the ones who told these tales, traditionally verbally communicated. Therefore, Paul's statement at the opening of this discussion indicates that an established gender divide can be blurred. As the MBA press officer also commented, *'there's a lot of women who use bothies because there's a lot more women climbing the hills and going to the outdoors even than there was in what even 10 years ago'* (Neil). Such assumptions are backed up by the bothy books, where a lessening in the appearance of gratuitous language aimed at (or referencing) women is notable in more recent entries and volumes. While it is true that bothies may have, as one user notes, a *'ratio of three guys to one girl [as a] reasonable representation'* (Ross), this gender association is not a binary scenario of him vs. her. Particularly in the hut sphere, where 'out-dwellings' more closely resemble the 'homely home' of popular imagination through their (at times) softer furnishings of curtains, blankets, rugs and pictures, women become a prominent feature in out-dwelling life, proffering equal ownership, financial and emotional, over their hut space. Therefore, women, families and gender integration are certainly a prominent feature of out-dwelling reality.

Nonetheless the gender connotations of these buildings are still carried forth in popular imagination, propagated by certain users,

> *my boss's wife … he [the boss] was saying that … she wouldn't want to stay there … not luxurious … don't know if my mum would want to stay there*
> *(Ross)*

my wife doesn't do huts (Giles)

my girlfriend wouldn't be too happy (Tom)

how would you sell this weekend to a girl? (Iain)

While many of those interviewed were women, particularly with regards to huts, popular perception perpetuates that, just as with the witch, it is a certain type of female who is seen to appreciate the bothy sphere: *'you're probably a bit good looking for it ..., you need to be more knarly, more weathered'* (Ross).[174] As Thorburn (2007:9) writes in his account of 'Sheddism', '[p]erhaps the ladies allow us to construct our hideaways so we can escape from the house and get away from her indoors'. This quote hints at gender theory, highlighting the coupling of out-dwellings, especially bothies, as male-spaces. As the tale of Hansel and Gretel posits, huts are equated with nature, out in the forest and, as the previous chapter has emphasised, these are buildings that facilitate a relationship with 'nature' as outside. Yet, it is women who are perceived to embody a 'deep connection with nature' (Kaika 2004:270), a dualism geography has done much to 'denaturalise' (Castree 2011). However, with this contrast in mind, perhaps Thomas (1986:128) had more than nature/culture in mind when commenting that '[t]he forest is nature's chamber. By contrast, the castle, tower, and hut are *man's* chambers, ones he has constructed to keep nature out'. In introducing the exclusion of nature from the inside space, we now come to the uncanny.

Out-dwellings and the uncanny

Warner (1995:xvi) writes that, 'despite all their supernatural elements, these are not tales of the uncanny either; they do not leave open prickly possibilities, or enter unnegotiated areas of the unknown, as in fantasy or surrealist literature'. Yet, when we take into account the positioning of the hut in the forest, and the placing of nature in that relationship, such assertions can nonetheless be questioned. As with the home, nature cannot be encoded as 'other' to the out-dwelling (Kaika 2004) for the latter does not exist apart from natural processes. Like in the home, nature is *necessary* for the smooth functioning of the out-dwelling, highlighting the similar 'porosity' (Kaika 2004) of this dwelling structure. Fuel for warmth and water for cooking are equally crucial to the house and out-dwelling but, as with the gender associations noted above, the 'out-dwelling' proves to be different from the home.

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[174] While this was possibly meant purely as a compliment, the comment about my appearance was nonetheless making gender assumptions about what a female out-dweller should be and look like.

In Hansel and Gretel, as in other fairytales, the hut is to be found in the woods. As critics have noted, '[o]nce Hansel and Gretel enter the forest, they find themselves in a world that not only admits the supernatural, but also takes it completely for granted' (Tatar 2003:51). It is in this setting that different social mores (rules even) can be said to apply: '[t]he forest is an appropriate threshold to the super-natural. Its edge constitutes a literal threshold between [hu]man and nature, the cultivated and uncultivated, the tame and the wild, the known and the unknown' (Thomas 1986:127). Also, as Watkins (2015: 8) has written in his recent cultural history of *Trees, Woods and Forests*, '[w]oodland can be benign and provide shelter, warmth, sustenance, fuel and fodder. But it may also be dark, disorientating and threatening and associated with debauchery and death'. While many huts lie within woods, often bothies inhabit the more barren Scottish landscapes such as the sub-arctic tundra of the Cairngorms, the rocky shores of the Scottish coastline or the more rolling lilt of the Southern Uplands. Even here, though, these buildings are no stranger to the lived natural environment as a dualistic presence, a feature of mystery, the spectral and the uncanny. As such, the 'felt world' (Lorimer 2014:595) of the bothy is no stranger to tales intended to unsettle. Of particular note is the Grey Man of Ben Macdui or Am Fear Laith Mhór in Gaelic, a presence said to roam the plateau, inhabiting 'an ancient landscape where myths and legends used to roam freely' (www.biggreyman.co.uk/legend.html). This figure of fear, subject of the aptly named Affleck Gray's book, *Big Grey Man of Ben MacDhui* (1994), is mentioned regularly in bothy archives, in seriousness as much as in jest. As quoted in Lorimer (2014), Timothy Neat, an oral historian of rural lives, has sought to give function to this belief in the ethereal, or ghoulish particulars of place;

> Isolation and danger have always nurtured superstitions in peoples vulnerable to events and powers beyond their control. Such vulnerability is a fact or Highland life and the common lot of soldiers, sailors, fishermen, small farmers, lovers and gamblers. Heroism, fateful stoicism – codified as superstitious belief – is one way of dealing with exposed circumstances and, like memory, superstition can be seen as an attempt by the mind, and whole communities, to deal with the uncontrollable and catastrophic by creative, divergent thinking. Superstition, like surrealism, can give order, drama, meaning, variety and fantastic release to lives lived at the edge of experience (Neat 2000 in Lorimer 2014:596).

Once again the out-dwelling exists in a space of the in-between, and it is this concept of a threshold or liminality which has interesting ramifications with understandings of dirt as a constitutive element of rural life, an area of study largely overlooked until recently

(Campkin and Cox 2007). With regards to the mapping of dirt onto rural setting, Cox seeks to highlight how,

> … the countryside does not … have a simple relationship with dirt. The countryside has repeatedly been conceived of as a space of moral purity and uncorrupted by the worldliness of city life. It is also imagined as being physically clean and healthy, a place to go for fresh air and clean water. However, rural life is also traditionally based on real dirt – on mud, manure, and human sweat. The grand sanitizing projects that have attempted to clean and 'civilize' the city – paving, street sweeping and mains sewerage – are largely absent from rural areas in most developing countries, leading to city dweller's stereotypical representations of the countryside as dirty in the sense of being uncivilized and wild (2007b:154).

Thus, while dirt (contrasted with nature more broadly) may have been considered as 'matter out of place' within the home, within the rural setting of the out-dwelling, muckiness can be more readily accepted: outdoor shoes can be worn indoors, food cooked over an open fire, and cobwebs left undisturbed. Where dirt equals matter out of place in the classic Douglas (2002 [1996]) model, dirt, as in mud, *in* the rural is 'in place' and hence is arguably not actually dirt. This of course depends on the extent to which an individual seeks to *re*create a 'city' house or home, seeking to remove, as far as possible, the 'out' from 'out-dwelling'.

This troubling of the status of dirt was a particularly acute observation during my ethnographic work. Although a keen outdoor enthusiast, I remained compelled by the urge to wash. I would, compulsively, crawl from my sleeping bag during bothy visits, gather my miniature bottles of shampoo and facewash and seek out a water source. Kneeling on the bank I would tip my head over, using my camping cup to pour ice cold water onto my head, repeatedly, often experiencing brain freeze in the process. Other body areas would be left until later, until my return to civilisation. My head, it appeared, was all that needed to be cleaned for me to feel 'normal'. Muddy clothing, re-used plates, unknown human and animal sleeping companions could all be accommodated as apparently normal or at least acceptable: here, different rules applied. Perhaps there is a distinction between the removal of 'dirt' from the self, and removal of 'dirt' from the building. The potential is clear, certainly in my own case, that the zone of purity narrows to one's immediate self (the head): a spatial reappraisal of comfort.

The same observations relate to all of the out-dwellings encountered, voiced by most of those encountered. While the muddiest of boots might be disgarded at the entrance, many would still find a way to the fireplace, to be nestled beside users who sat entranced by

flames and pot containing dinner or tea. The same can be said of hutting spaces; while a broom may find a home in a hut, a hoover, bleach or duster are unlikely to be found in residence.

Certainly this not a wholescape acceptance of 'dirt', it is still hidden and excluded to a certain extent; if not, there would indeed be no need for walls or roof. However, in this 'quasi-domestic' (Cox 2007a:11) space, the uncanny discomfort attributed to things usually deemed 'dirty' is no longer experienced as it is in the 'home', the dirt and processes of nature no longer hidden. Subsequently, this connection between people and place, felt so keenly in these settings, embodies a reappraisal of what we find acceptable. At a bothy, sleeping arrangements operate to different norms: *'Dirt, I mean yeah, you probably wouldn't sleep on a floor in a house, like if I was to stay over in your house and if the floor was like the floor of a bothy I'd probably think that's not acceptable'* (Ross). Likewise, at the out-dwelling children discover that *'it's ok to be dirty... I suppose it to be a sign that they're having fun'* (James). And so, *'it kind of gives you permission I suppose to be a bit scruffy and not have to worry about the niceties so much'* (James). Certainly, for bothy dwellers, *'if I was staying in a bothy then I wouldn't wash. Certainly in winter'* (Ross). Even for hut users, some of whom have facilities, *'I would have to wash the bath, and fill it from the stove. I can't be doing with that'* (Elsie). In fact, the dirt, and the accepted nature of it, can be a draw, something which revolts yet draws inhabitants to the hut experience. Jenny Pickerill (2015) discusses these themes in her analysis of the practices of bathing in British self-built eco-homes. Decoupling comfort from 'femininity, care, or home' and instead exploring how it is (or is not) created with regards to washing, Pickerill argues the case for reinterpretations of comfort as seeds to larger pro-environmental changes in personal practice.[175] Citing Kraftl's (2007) belief that utopia (in this case eco-homes) can be deeply unsettling to those in society 'outwith', she argues that some users deliberately chose not to have bathrooms, selecting discomfort deliberately, for 'it is both about sacrifice for the environment and a way of showing themselves as being sufficiently dedicated to their cause' (Pickerall 2015:1073).

Yet, against such defensive, sacrificial reasoning, researchers of the rural have also highlighted how dirt can have positive associations with traditional ways of country living; for example, 'when cleanliness is associated with modernity and capitalism, dirt can take on positive attributes, representing time honored ways of life, closer and more equitable social relationships' (Wolkowitz 2007:153). It is the latter which appears most applicable

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[175] See also Davis A. and Doyle R. (2015).

to hut experiences, which, although often imbued with environmental sentiment, are not always formulated with an alternative environmentalism as their *raison d'être*. Dirt and nature are certainly fundamental to material and imagined experiences of bothy culture. For some, such acceptance of the unclean is liberating:

> *… it's almost like there's a spirit inside of you that wakens and you realise that the way of living in a city is not the ways to be, not the way to do it. It's something that comes from within you and you don't mind being covered in mud and soot and kicking about in ripped jeans and stinky clothes. It's just something inside that makes you want to do it … so I don't think I act differently, I just dress and wash less.* (Tom)

There is a limit, a point to draw the line, for everyone, however, and this user notes that, some 'nature' is still not warranted entry: '*I wouldn't be that relaxed about mice*' (Ross).

There is indeed a socio-spatial element to this reappraisal of what is acceptable, where it is acceptable and when it is not. Dirt may be symbolically acceptable within the bothy space, but that does not change its material presence. Take for instance, James and his reversible waistcoat:

> *… on Sunday, we were at Carbeth, we had two kids with us at the weekend, I was taking them home on the Sunday but, before that, I also sing in a choir and my choir was performing at Kelvingrove art galleries on Sunday, and I wasn't performing with them but I wanted to go and visit them. So the result was, and it never crossed my mind until after the concert, because I bundled them into the car, drove them home, got to Kelvingrove, watched the concert and then I went to speak to all my friends from the choir afterwards and I was filthy. Fortunately, I had on a kind of reversible waistcoat thing so I just turned it round so the clean side was facing out* (James).

That which is warranted, expected in the hut space, is suddenly a source of shame, no longer socially acceptable when returning to the city. As another user notes, '*I think it's totally acceptable to be absolutely stinking in a rural environment but it wouldn't be acceptable even if I was going to the shop across from my house… it's interesting that*' (Ross).

While the natural may be embraced at the out-dwelling (hut and bothy), the technological, particularly the electrical, is seen as *unheimlich*, unwanted, even decadent. In the out-dwelling space, electricity becomes the equivalent of dirt in the home, it is out of place. To bring along an 'iPad' or smartphone, could be considered bad practice, outwith the bounds of a code for right living in the out-dwelling. To arrive in expectation of luxury, which

electricity can rank as, or worse still to install it in your own place, were both frowned upon by many of those to whom I spoke and spent time with. The out-dwelling is a place for going without, and going along with that credo meant going back to '*the way things were*' (Hannah). As one user noted when asked about the technological adaptation in huts such as insulation or electrics;

> *...no, no [his tone here speaking to his distaste] no we've resisted that. Yep. Solar panels are getting really popular, lots of people are putting them in. We've chosen not to. The main reason, well, initially we were taking our own children up there, one of the reasons we got the hut, it's the children, we wanted them to experience some of that and at home their leisure time revolves around gadgets, electronic gadgets, so we wanted them to get away from that.* (James)

It is important to note here that this does not the express the views of all hut users. At the Hut Network Meeting held in Edinburgh in Feburary 2014, six workshops were run to explore what was really meant by the term 'hut'. Workshop 6, titled 'Off-grid?'[176], was dominated by discussions of the 'proper' way to hut, an issue which will be revisited in Chapter 7. The prominent observation to be drawn from the discussion was that values varied. For some hutters, a bothy style ascetic aesthetic was key while for others there was no need not to embrace some of modern life's 'conveniences'; water, electricity and sanitation of sorts.

While electronics are treated scathingly by some, then, other elements are accepted and cherished for their presence. In the aural world, for example, different elements are accepted or not. For some the experience of silence is uncanny: '*it's completely different, the silence is almost completely deafening sometimes*' (Emma). For others, it is exactly the fluidity between 'in' and 'out' provided by the out-dwelling which is central to the enjoyment. For one user, it is encapsulated in the ability to hear bird song, to hear the visitors and know their differences, as he states: '*It's just part of being connected with nature isn't it. Knowing what the weather is doing, knowing everything. Just feeling very connected with it which houses tend to stop you doing*' (Douglas). Unlike the out-dwelling, he insists, houses, ironically particularly eco-houses, are designed to 'seal you off', although this claim does of course refer to eco-homes as permanent dwelling places. In such instances the 'rules' change depending on the extent to which a place is to be occupied permanently. Consequently, as hinted at earlier in the previous chapters, different

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[176] This term is a powerful metaphor for being off the national grid (national electricity supply) but has become generalised in various ways. To suggest a life of remove, a life lived in an alternative manner with environmental concerns at the fore.

codes apply to this unique transgressional, temporarily occupied space of the 'out-dwelling'.

The un-homely hut – feared yet desired

In many ways akin to the arguments above about dirt and nature, through examination of its occupants, the hut can again be read as a cultural opposite to the home. As Tatar (2003:52) notes, 'supernatural events, by their very nature, invite interpretation', and therefore it is here that the notions of 'threshold' and 'abject' can be subject to further scrutiny through the symbolic character of the fairy-tale witch. Of greater symbolic value than merely highlighting the historical realities of witchcraft, her presence in the fairytale hut represents a more threatening negative force. Although taking human form, she is inhuman, existing as a supernatural presence, first welcoming, but then threatening, and the witch comes to represent something of a threshold figure. Taking the literary term, a 'threshold crossing' (Campbell 2008 [1949]), the out-dwelling itself symbolises a passage into the unknown; a crucial element of fairytales and a telling cultural component of the out-dwelling experience. As Cashdan (1999) argues, the unknown is often found in the wood, the abode of the dangerous, the magical and, in this case, the witch. However, as he continues, 'whereas the wood contains unimaginable danger, it also offers protection' (1999:32).[177] Thus the hut, or more broadly, the 'out-dwelling' can simultaneously become a site of both safety and the unknown.

I experienced this dualism during fieldwork, particularly within the bothy space. For me, the asceticism associated with these buildings is familiar, known, representing safe experiences, but at times this sense can change. During one bothy experience, I sat alone, in the main room of the bothy, listening to four men from Ayr tell me their bothy tales. I had introduced my topic, and was warmly received, ushered into their circle around the fire and handed a '*wee dram*'. One user had been to all of the MBA bothies, while one was '*new to the whole thing*'. These men had come here to escape, to take 'magic' mushrooms and other class A hallucinogens, and had spent the afternoon on their own sort of trip.[178] This is an interesting inversion of the popular assumption of the outdoors and health. Even in Irvine Welsh's iconic novel *Trainspotting* the 'Great Outdoors', site of the much cited

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[177] Work on the place of the forest/woods within culture has also been covered by Schama (1996) and Watkins (2014). Collectively such works help attend to the mythic qualities that huts get afforded when found in mountains and woods. Discussion of the symbolic, mythic version of the hut removed – not in an ordinary human settlement – will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

[178] This is not a typical 'bothy trip' but it is notable with regards to the various ideas and ideals of users. This issue will be further explored in Chapter 8.

'it's shite being Scottish' rant, is positioned as the place to go if you want to get 'clean'. These men took the opposite approach, utilising the location as the site for their activities, playing on its isolation, away from the watchful eyes of the law, to partake in illicit drug usage (Welsh 1996[1993], Petrie 2010). *Now*, however, they were lucid, telling tales of nights spent in wonderful locations. I listened keenly, hastily scribbling down notes while conscious of engaging, nodding and encouraging their openness. At one point though, the mood changed as one of the group, dressed distinctively in a synthetic kilt and tartan trilby, began to remove his shirt, uttering the words, '*I'll show you something*'. Momentary panic ensued: here I was, alone, in a bothy, three hours walk from a road and another hour drive to a village. Seconds dragged as the man drew his shirt over his head, knocking off his hat, as he stood, then turned. On his back was a tattoo (Figure 54.), a sizable one, covering most of his lower back. The scene depicted in ink on skin was a bothy, *this* bothy, Peanmeanach. My tension eased, made way for intrigue as I hastily grabbed my camera to capture what this man termed '*my dedication to the cause'*.

Figure 53. Highlighting 'embothyment' at its best (Author's own).

This tale hints towards the various users groups to be encountered within the bothy, including the deviation from the stereotypical 'middle class', Berghaus[179] clad collective, but it also speaks to notions of fear, unknown and of the potential for danger. Part of the fear comes from the location when out-dwellings are set aside from other signs of civilisation. As one user notes:

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[179] Classic 'sensible' outdoor attire.

A haunted house isn't it. Scared by, I think some people are just scared but I think a lot of people are excited by it. There's a facebook group that's very popular at the moment, lots of people are following it, it's called Abandoned Scotland. And I think there's an element of Abandoned Scotland in a bothy, but you're not breaking the rules, it's exciting but you're not breaking the rules. So I like that, and I think a lot of people like that level of excitement. (Ross)

And so, '*it's not just the location in the wilderness. It's sort of going to this place you don't know exists*' (Ross). Amid this, for all types of out-dwelling there is something about plainness, about the purity of going without. When interviewing a representative from Venture Scotland, a charity that takes young people to bothies as part of *'a structured 12 month programme of adventure, conservation and personal development activities known as 'The Journey'',*[180] he notes that, '*they're [the young people] physically getting away and because there is no phone signal, there then there's no electricity, there's no land line and no phone signal. So all their lifelines have gone, as well as, you know, problems coming in*' (Jack). While the issue of problems from 'civilisation' seeping in to 'out-dwelling' life has been addressed in Chapter 4, it still appears that in the out-dwelling there is a willingness to accept a level of uncertainty that would not be allowed in the home. For bothies (or arguably hut visitors), there is an issue of '*how clean?*', '*who else?*' and '*what facilities?*' with which to contend. Arguably, 'the unknown' is a property that is becoming less and less acceptable within contemporary society. Just such an observation is reflected in a recent BBC news (2015) video which asked, 'Are you brave enough to sleep in a bothy?'. During the piece, Phoebe Smith, author of the recent Cicerone guide, *Book of the Bothy* (2015), commented that:

There's so much in this life now that we have to control and predict and book and you just can't do that with a bothy. You never know until you knock on the door and arrive what you're going to find inside and what kind of night you're going to have. It's all serendipitous, which is wonderful.

Ideas of solitude and community will be discussed later, in Chapter 7, but for now this comment acts to reinforce this idea of the unknown and the draw of that experience. This appeal ties in with broader notions about 'risk' and our ability or even right to experience 'risk', what Wolport (1980) has called, 'the dignity of risk'. In a world of over-planning he argues 'risk' avoidance runs on a perpetual cycle of crisis management: to experience risk, uncertainty, is therefore, perhaps unexpectedly, a privilege.

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[180] see http://www.venturescotland.org.uk/ypj.htm.

For huts, the unknown is perhaps less relevant, but for hut users there is still an element of *'doing without'*, even if this is part of the attraction itself. As one user notes, *'it's just all wee things, you've not got electricity in most of them, there's not dishwashing stuff, there's not toilets in all of them, you've not got all the comforts you've got at home but at the same time it's nice not to have them for a while'* (Finlay). As another comments, the basic nature of hut facilities is *'always a wee bit exciting ... [because] well at home everything works'* (Naula). In the out-dwelling there are no such guarantees. When asked about the emotional experience of bothying one user highlighted this juxtaposition: *'feeling adventurous. Feeling excited, content ... it's sort of the satisfaction of bringing in all the things you need, and eating and sleeping, and doing all the things that gets you through ... it's good to know that you don't need all this stuff that you've got at home'* (Ava). Some of these comments speak to issues of skill, of the placing of skill in the 21st century, all matters to be addressed in Chapter 7, but they also hint at the draw of asceticism, of hardship and endurance, all valued as empowering and educational. What once would be considered 'character building' and traditionally masculine in travel tales is now present in a somewhat diluted version as appealing for what it can offer, a contrast to the apparent softening of sensibilities in current everyday Scottish society.

The dualism of safe and dangerous imbued in the situation of the hut in both the fairytale and Scottish out-dwellings is also found in the witch who is feared yet desired, a figure of dread but also of education. In her character:

> … the child views existential dangers not objectively, but fantastically exaggerated in line with immature dread … "Hansel and Gretel" encourages the child to explore on his own even the figments of his anxious imagination, because such fairy tales give him the confidence that he can master not only the real dangers which his parents told him about, but even those vastly exaggerated ones which he fears exist. (Bettelheim 2010:166)

The witch is therefore not only a supernatural figure of fear but also a character who helps children to deal with everyday life. In it is in this vein that the out-dwelling can be perceived as a place located beyond the everyday realm, serving as an antidote to the excesses of 21st century living, reintroducing the feared unknown as something experienced, a knowable state of the unknown, to be feared less, embraced more. As one user noted, *'having the bothy makes you bolder at going out into the world'* (Iain).

Therefore the witch symbolises the abject nature of the 'out-dwelling' as something which can be feared but also desired.[181] Geographical literatures tend only to play up the latter, the disgust, and so it is important to underscore the desire pulling users to the out-dwelling, as well as the carefully modulated disgust. In addition to the draw of the unclean, of dirt, in the experience of out-dwelling, the buildings themselves become abject structures characterised through its ambivalent attraction as civilising *and* wild, unknown *and* educating, both home *and* its opposite. This complex doubling of the out-dwelling is crucial to its meaning, and so the witch can be seen as a medium to highlight the complexity of these buildings as shaped (like the fairy-tale) by the dialectical relationship 'between the tangible and the intangible, external and internal, between material and mind' (Thomas 1986:133).[182]

Temporariness and journeying

It is the relationship between material and mental realms that this section begins to explore, introducing issues of temporality and journeying, crucial elements of both the Hansel and Gretal tale and the out-dwelling experience. The previous section highlights how idyllic associations with the 'out-dwelling' experience are not entirely standard. Here, a different notion of the idyll pertains, a Scottish variation if you will, in which there is pleasure to be found in the withdrawal of luxury and the adoption of an ascetic lifestyle, if only temporarily. It appears that this temporariness is key to understanding these structures of experience as their draw lies in the fleeting glimpses offered into a different way of life. When asked how he would define a hut, one user commented '*a hut is first and foremost, I think, for me, it's not a permanent residence* [both physically and in terms of use]' (James) and as another user emphasises, '*I think it is important, it would be difficult to have it as an everyday experience and it would start to change the nature of hutting*' (Paul). Unlike the home, the hut is not designed for permanence, in all manner of instances covert or overt; in current use, in building materials and in temporal inhabitancy, an out-dwelling is deemed a place to go to, to visit perhaps, but only importantly ever for a short while.

Part of this acceptance is undoubtedly due to the experiences that these places afford. Having a bothy as a temporary residence allows users to venture into the hills and mountains futher than would otherwise be the case, to break up walking days that threaten to be over long. Reiterating Iain's words from above, it makes dwellers '*bolder at going*

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[181] See also Sibley (2005) for information on abjection.
[182] For some people these places also avail 'excess' in terms of alcohol, or other substances.

out into the world'. The hut becomes, like the home, a location 'to which one withdraws and from which one ventures forth' (Tuan 1971:189). Likewise, huts afford a lifestyle change, as one hutter from the Carbeth community notes: '*we've got busy lives and so the chance to do things differently, with different priorities*' (James). Different qualities are afforded the out-dwelling experience because occupation is temporary and different things are wanted for the same reason. Permanence would no doubt change this notion of acceptability.

Yet, just as in the fairytale, the story ends with a return to home, to safety, to 'normal' life. Therefore, the hut fits with Tuan's (1971:188) notions of 'Home and journey', which, taking a phenomenological perspective seeks to detail how home cannot be identified with safety, in the absence of journeying to dangers located outwith. Thus, it can be argued that home is the product of interaction (Reinders and Van Der Land 2008), of an active engagement with the world, rather than a retreat from it. Much of the work analysing people's relationships with places outwith the home focuses upon wilderness experiences, and this thesis is certainly comfortable with such a fit (Manzo 2003). As Manzo (2003) notes, much of this work on the restorative effects of natural settings and wilderness experiences has enhanced understandings of people's emotional relationships to place. Within this work, place attachment connected to rural recreation is defined 'in terms of ecological stewardship, emotional responses to nature and a commitment to return to a setting' (Manzo 2003:50). Yet, focusing on the buildings themselves, it can be seen that the out-dwelling and home are, in Tuan's way of thinking, two parts of a pairing. It is temporary inhabitation which enables much of the excitement, the novelty and subsequently the enjoyment. To be temporary, however, requires a journey. Acknowledging academic geography's efforts to trouble dualistic thought in recent decades, it is important to complicate this particular binary, since a spatial consideration of out-dwellings should not simply be a case of 'home' vs. 'away'. Rather, out-dwellings must be seen in connection to a complex network of interactions, as opposed to a specific static geographical space. The potential for a stretching of space – to see, as Massey (1994) might, out-dwellings as nodal points within webs of interaction – is crucial to the spatial formation of out-dwellings in my thesis. The potential for spatial pluralism in the concept of home (the notion of feeling at home in various locations) is more fully explained in the next section. What I wish to consider is that the *going-to*, and the *leaving-from*, which are very much part of hut and bothy experience, emphasised repeatedly through talk of 'getting out' and 'going to', active phrases which speak of out-dwelling mobilities, and not the specifics of place alone.
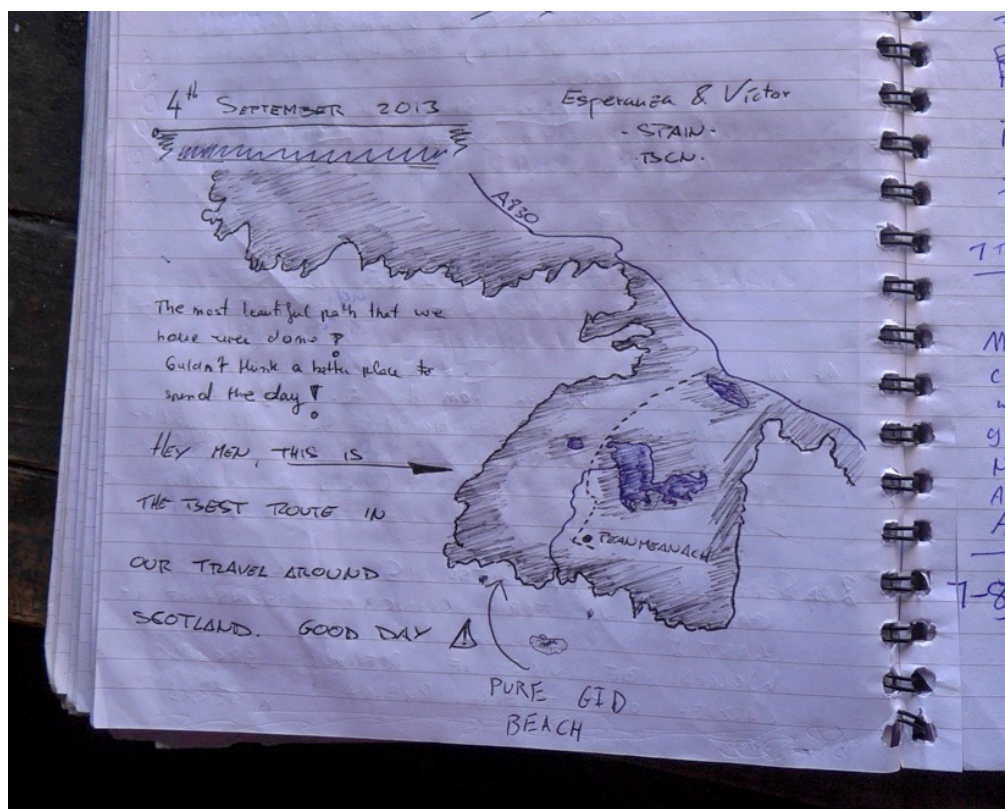
Figure 54. Mapping the journey within the bothy book. Author's own.

The importance of this travel-time and the distances to be travelled are notable features in the bothy books, not only in journeys detailed texturally but also in visual-cartographic form, as shown in Figure 54. These images stand out, as my field diary notes: '*I really like these maps that run through the books. It would be lovely to see them in the thesis*'. Although the bothy books have been characterised thoroughly in Chapter 4, from these visual representations of time spent travelling to and from bothies, there is still the potential to conceive of the books as 'time-space' diaries where users record how they moved (Sheller and Urry 2006: 218). This function, of books as records of time spent on the move, is precisely what the Royal Air Force (RAF) value when they stop-off in bothies during an emergency call-out. Detailing the search process in a recent talk at the MBA 2015 AGM, former RAF Mountain Rescue Team Leader and keen outdoor enthusiast David Whalley noted how helicopters stop first at nearby bothies, using the books and bothies to search for clues as to whereabouts of the missing person. He repeated, '*how many lives have these bothies saved ... countless*' (Whalley field diary 17/10/15).

The value attributed to of 'getting there' and 'getting out' might be more obvious for bothy trips, but ideas of journeying are equally prominent in hutting discussions. The experience of walking to your hut from your home and thus the siting of huts, isolated or in

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communities, was a major topic of discussion at the Hut Network Meeting which took place in Edinburgh in February 2014. At issue was not only finding a site for new pilot hutting communities, but also people's preference for huts that were not right next to a road, for locations that do offer users that precious journey time. Many present were scathing of the drive-to-the-door approach, often indicating that this did not fit with the environmentally attuned, and arguably pro-ascetic, mindset considered in earlier sections. This was obviously not the case for all. One interviewee, Eve, was no longer a hutter. She had been once and spoke fondly of these times. I had interviewed her because she had written a novel, based in Carbeth, not then knowing of her hutting past. Yet, having spoken of her writing, she told me of her time hutting, detailing the impracticalities, as she saw them, of getting two young children, on her own, to the hut with all of the things that they required to stay. It was, she argued, a burden that she could not sustain. Thus, she fondly remembers her hut days, but no longer classes herself as a hutter. Such discussions of a heterogeneous 'hutopia' will be continued in Chapter 8, being mentioned here merely a cautionary reminder against grandiose claims of a single vision and unifying experience. Nonetheless, there is certainly a stretching of place to be addressed through ideas of journey, a seeping of the outside into experiences of inside, and the use of one to explore the other, all made acceptable, appreciated, because of their temporary nature.

Home within the hut

The suggestion made above, that an emotional attachment to space is both a stretched and dynamic phenomenon, can be taken further by considering the ways in which home can be experienced away from home, in new locations, in different ways. Feelings of 'at-homeness' equate to 'the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in, and familiar with, the everyday world in which one lives, and outside of which one is visiting' (Seamon 1979a:70). That said, it would seem that feelings of home as described here require residence, familiarity, within a fixed point. As would be the case for Hansel and Gretel, home, by this reasoning, could not be experienced within the hut because, as Paul notes, '*for most people who use huts, like Carbeth and I expect elsewhere, it's completely different from the rest of their existence*'. Yet, closer examination of these spaces would suggest that this separation is not quite the case, and so it is here that the fairytale analogy breaks down. As the literature on home has highlighted, certain criteria of home can extend to these structures: protection from the elements certainly, along with notions of retreat from society. While out-dwellings evidently allow for a more engaged relationship with the world outdoors, they also provide a place to go inside, play board

games, read, chat and escape from the weather. Simultaneously, as Chapter 4 has detailed more clearly, these buildings also provide an escape (albeit illusionary) from the society outwith their walls. Subsequently, it can be seen, as Manzo (2006:10) has noted, that 'the spatialities of homes are broader than housing'.

Heidegger's ideas of dwelling are crucial to forming this argument for home within the hut. Tackling the hegemonic view of building and dwelling, he asks, 'do the houses in themselves hold any guarantee that *dwelling* occurs in them?' (1971:146, in Ingold 2000:185). Tackling the issue through etymology, his dissection of the word 'build' leads to the conclusion, mentioned previously, that '[w]e do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is because we are dwellers…. To build is in itself already to dwell…. Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build' (Heidegger 1971:148,146,160, in Ingold 2000:186). [183] This assertion, 'the founding statement of the dwelling perspective' according to Ingold, is what enables an understanding of home within the 'out-dwelling'. If we dwell, we build, and we *make* home, regardless of setting.

Part of this dwelling process pertains to the value afforded to places: as Easthope (2004:135) notes, 'what appears clear in all of the reviewed literature is that home is, first and foremost, a special kind of place'. For users this point was key: these buildings, owned, leased or used only for the night, were imbued with emotion, spoken about with passion. One user, Tom, chatted at length about the significance of his hut to him, his leisure time and, importantly, his mental health. For him, it was more valuable than his flat, his 'real' home, by popular imaginings. Devoid of many of the trappings of the idealised home it was nonetheless here, in his hut, that control, continuity and shelter meant most:

> *I mean if somebody tried to kick me out of my flat in Edinburgh I'd just get on with it but if somebody tried to kick me out my hut, or burn down my hut I'd be mega pissed off. I'd fight for it … I think it's because I've been given an opportunity to do something that I've always wanted to do. And I'm trying to make the most of it.*

Tom acquired his hut on the off chance. Having driven past the site for a number of years, on one wintery day in 2004 he made the decision to '*just go and have a wander round and see*'. Enquiring how to get one, he was told to go and speak to the farmer, who informed

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[183] See also Rose (2012).

him that they were hardly ever sold, usually only passed down through generations. When they were sold, the first that she knew of it was the day that the rent is due annually. Leaving his name and number, the matter was subsequently '*quietly forgotten about*': that is, until his birthday, some five years later. In January 2011 Tom received a phone call stating that the owner had died in a vintage motorbike race, and that the hut was now up for sale. Having no idea of the worth of such a property, Tom consulted the Government hutting survey compiled in 2000, and upon finding out that huts could be bought for '*The hundreds rather than the thousands… I was like, ok, 'what could I do'? I could sell a guitar … I put in an offer of 350 pounds … and got a phone call that afternoon saying I'd got it*'. Such pricing is irregular, as Tom notes; '*I couldn't believe it, there's people on our site who have paid £14,000, there's one up for sale at the moment for £18,000 and one that was a complete ruin went up for sale and sold last week for £5,000. So I was really really lucky*'. He went on to do up this hut, making it his own, adding in the features shown in Figure 55.

As another hut user notes, '*it's a form of nesting*' (Karen), which creates this feeling of being 'at home' particularly in huts where personalisation is key. Akin to the 'homey practices' of caravaners (Southerland et al. 2001,) each hut is, like the caravan, 'both 'home' and 'escape' (Crouch 1997:200, see also Crouch and Ward 1994) and each hut visited has objects, marks, signs of effort and work that enables these places to house the 'taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in' about which Seamon (1970:70) speaks. In his book of the hut, Silverio (2011:15-16) notes that '[I]n the mind's eye, the outside [of a hut] seems clearer than the interior', but, as he continues, 'the mood of the place must also seem hutlike' for it to qualify in this classification. This is certainly a theme encountered in the fieldwork: when presenting at the Association of American Geographers (AAG), it was just this question that I received having accounted for Hutting Heritage in my 15 minute slot: 'what about the inside?'.

Figure 55. Tom' hut: a view of now and then. (Author's own (left) and Hutter's own (right)).

This nesting within need not be a permanent event. Even in the bothy setting, after a period of inhabitation, from minutes to hours, often at the moment you unroll your sleeping bag, the bothy '*starts to feel a bit like home*' (Ava). The space may not change, there may not be a material shift, and, as this chapter has previously detailed, these spaces remain crawling (sometimes literally) with many of the things that home, in its idealised version, should not have. Nonetheless, there is comfort to be felt, albeit involving a certain recalibration of popular conceptions of the word. As with Pickerill's aforementioned work on bathrooms, comfort becomes defined as 'an ongoing process of negotiation using materials, habits, and practices but also includes how one feels, senses, and delights' (Pickerall 2015:1065). This can of course be congregated around particular objects, born of

'atmospheric attunement' (Stewart 2011) regarding, fire as detailed in Chapter 5. A feature which *'all such spaces have'* (Paul), the fire has the ability to transform this quasi-domestic space into one in which users experience feelings of home. Much of this amounts to the Norwegian word *Koselig*, or its Danish counterpart *Hygge,* partially translated as 'cosy', but encompassing so much more from the physical, emotional, visual and affective registers.[184] It would appear that conceptions of 'at home' mould themselves, as with those of comfort, adapting to the surroundings in an existential need to experience home, or at-home, in whatever location someone finds themselves. The literature that I have encountered does not draw such bold conclusions, and I am wary of issuing them. Nonetheless, there seems to be something of a societal *need* (not merely ability) for a malleable, portable quality of home.

Such ideas, of home within the hut, are also to be found in the work of the phenomenologist Bachelard (1994:5), who notes that 'all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home.[185] Taking his ideas of 'topoanalysis' (an auxiliary to psychoanalysis) which focuses upon the 'sites of our intimate lives' (Bachelard 1994:5), we are able to understand the out-dwelling more thoroughly as experiences of shelter created, in both 'reality' and 'virtuality', 'by means of thought and dreams' (Bachelard 1994:5). Therefore experiences do not necessarily hold any relation to the 'true' sturdiness of a structure: just as we can find 'comfort itself with the illusion of protection', we can also 'tremble behind thick walls' (Bachelard 1994:5). Users note this correlation, and, when asked if small spaces feel more homely in bad weather, Naula replies, *'yeah, it's like when you're in bed and you can feel the rain pounding on the window and you just want to stay in bed, it's like that. But because it's so small it just feels exciting. And when it's really windy the whole hut shakes ... it vibrates'.* As Bachelard intimates, it is when faced with bad weather that the ability for a building to convey safety can come into its own. It thus appears that users can and in the instance of the out-dwelling *do* create, experience and imagine home. Although out-dwellings do not embody all of the multiple ingredients which formulate 'home', they can nonetheless be experienced in homely, perhaps even hyper-homely ways precisely because they can heighten awareness of the outside world.

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[184] These terms will be addressed more fully in Chapter 9.

[185] As Philo (2003: 10-11), highlights, Bachelard's 'ideas are probably less than fashionable in these post-structuralist and post-humanist days', but his most famous work *The Poetics of Space* still 'offers a challenging account of the deep 'psychology' underlying how the spaces of everyday human inhabitation, notably the ordinary house, are constituted, apprehended and lived within'. As such his work is to be found in the work of humanist geographers (Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph 1976; Seamon 1979), a reference which, as Philo (2003:11) notes, 'is unsurprising given the obvious bridge that his texts offer them between difficult psycho-philosophical territory and the substantive concerns of geographers with space and place'.

Huts in the mind

The imagined hut is of course central to the fairytale, imbuing Hansel and Gretel with many of the themes discussed above. Ideas of fear and of excitement, as well as gender associations, are implicit in the tale through popular conceptions of the hut within culture. It is in this 'imagined' hut that these spaces can be seen to function without their material parts, becoming, to quote Bachelard (1994:29), 'centres of condensation of intimacy, in which daydream accumulates'. As such, he talks of the hut as a 'dream', a fantasy capable of impacting on the real, the everyday life of a user, even when the structure is not *in use*. As one user notes:

> *It's somehow about going back to something that feels very fundamental, it's basic shelter, it's the next step on from a den, in some ways, you know. And in some ways it's much more than a den, you know. But it has in some ways, I think it elicits for me the same excitement of going to a den* (Gilian).

While admittedly this comment harks back to Ingold's work upon dwelling, which tackles the preoccupation with the 'first hut' (reached through analysis of home- or den-making in animals), what I want to stress here is the means by which the hut is anticipated, is longed for, as a primal retreat from the everyday, the human-day. It feels, as the user above highlights, '*very fundamental*' and thus speaks to Bachelard's (1994:32) account of the hut as 'the very essence of the verb, 'to inhabit''. Recounting work by the forgotten writer Henri Bachelin, Bachelard (1994:31) tackles this 'hut dream', noting that 'we hope to live elsewhere, far from the over-crowded house, far from city cares. We flee in thought in search of a real refuge'. He remarks that Bachelin is more blessed than the common dreamer of a far-off retreat, for he finds the origins of the 'hut dream' within the house itself. It is through this imagining of the hut that Bachelard argues:

> … the hut appears to be the tap-root of the function of inhabiting. It is the simplest of human places, the one that needs no ramifications in order to exist. Indeed, it is so simple that it no longer belongs to our memories – which at times are too full of imagery – but to legend; it is a center of legend. When we are lost in the darkness and see a distant glimmer of light, who does not dream of a thatched cottage or, to go more deeply still into legend, of a hermit's hut? (1994:31).

The hut is hence arguably emblematic of humanity's affinity for simplicity, for intimacy, for a space to be and maybe to think. Just as the home is created through the interplay of

mind and place, once again, 'inner space is externalised and outer space brought in' (Malpas 1999:5).

Such feelings are borne through not only the bothy books detailed in Chapter 4, but also at A Thousand Huts campaign meetings and in discussion surrounding the Forestry Commission Pilot Hut site, currently in development. As Donald McPhillimy of Thousand Huts, who works for Reforesting Scotland, admitted, although the project has yet to be formally advertised, already over 700 people, hearing of these plans through hut community meetings and social media, have registered their interest. The proposal for twelve huts in this pilot is likely to be oversubscribed.[186] Out-dwellings are therefore indeed the 'Architecture of daydreams', as Pollan (2008) has titled his book. It is as true for out-dwellings as it is for tales that 'all the wonders that create the atmosphere of fairytales disrupt the apprehensible world in order to open spaces for dreaming alternatives' (Warner 1995:xvi). Even for bothies, where ownership is not an aim, bothy trips are spoken of with excitement, dreamed of, written about and, in the last half decade, researched repeatedly through the Internet, all to feed a need. These places are ones which stay in the mind, haunting you with their promise.

Conclusion

Ultimately, as Warner (1995:415) notes, fairytales can be critiqued, 'and with reason – for their easy lies, the crass materialism, the false hopes they hold out'. Nonetheless, as she continues, 'the enchantments also universalise the narrative setting, encipher concerns, beliefs and desire in brilliant seductive images that are themselves a form of camouflage, making it possible to utter harsh truths, to say what you dare' (Warner 1995:xvii). Therefore, this chapter has sought to use Hansel and Gretel to deconstruct the hut through existing academic work regarding the concept of 'home', and to arrive at, if not 'hard truths', then bolder conclusions. Like, Warner (1994: xix) I would not want analysis of these tales to dim enjoyment of them; this is not my aim, 'these are stories with staying power, as their antiquity shows'. Rather here I aim to learn from old tales, as I have from older geographers (the likes of Kniffen and Seamon), revisited as hooks upon which to hang my thesis.

Inhabiting a space may not be enough to *know* it. Proximity in fact can obscure understanding. To gain a clearer view, it is sometimes necessary to take a step back, or in

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[186] This pilot project will be discussed in more depth, with regards to the politics of provision, in Chapter 8.

this case, a leap into the unknown. It is for this reason that this chapter turns to home, a word deeply textured with competing and complex ideas extending far beyond its etymological foundation in shelter. Through the fairytale, the out-dwelling was pitted against home, compared and contrasted in an effort to dig deeper into both the meanings of these buildings, and their impacts on those who reside inside. While in the latter stages this imaginative framing broke down, failing to encompass the intricacies of this most humble of dwellings, there is no doubting, as Warner (1995:xvi) aptly states, 'it helps us to see the actual world to visualise a fantastical one'.

Notably, one striking difference omitted from the discussion is the public/private divide, omitted here due to the later discussion of this opposition in Chapter 7. Nonetheless, discussion has shown that it is surely too blunt to state, as one user does, that *'you could almost define it by saying hutting isn't a house'* (Gilian). Both concepts, home and out-dwelling, are too complex to be easily pinned down. Yet, as with Bachelard's (1994:6) ideas regarding home, 'by approaching the … [out-dwelling] images with care not to break up the solidarity of memory and imagination, we may hope to make others feel all the psychological elasticity of an image that moves us at an unimaginable depth'. Through the analogy of the fairytale, we are able to see that home and hut ('out-dwelling') are both fundamental images, imbued with ideologies that accompany, and transcend, experience of either space.

Chapter 7: Words through Walden: Exploring the Ideals and Idylls of Out-Dwelling Culture

It is in vain to dream of a wilderness
distant from ourselves. There is none such.
It is the bog in our brains and bowels, the
primitive vigour of Nature in us, that inspires
that dream. I shall never find in the wild of
Labrador any greater wilderness than in some recess
Of Concord, i.e. than I import into it
Henry David Thoreau, Journal, August 30, 1856

Introduction

I begin the chapter with a quote, one used by Simon Schama as the opening dedication in his popular publication, *Landscape and Memory* (1996). This book, a masterpiece in collation, speaks to what this chapter aims to be: a gathering of the reasons *for* hutting, the wants of users, what matters to them, the benefits they perceive from hutting, and the knowledge and skills that they gain from practice. Summatively, it is a critical consideration of what people see as the ideals (standards), or idylls (scenes), of the out-dwelling world. My use of Thoreau's words in particular, however, is twofold, acting also as a primer for introducing a figurehead for this chapter, someone serving as its interlocutor, mentor (or arguably straw person). As described in Chapter 4, Thoreau is one of several principal philosophers who used a hut in the woods to think. 'Walden', as Thoreau's ten-by-fifteen-foot wooden hut was named, became his home between 1845 and 1847. Simply furnished, the hut was nestled into woods on the lands of his friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson in Concord Massachusetts. It was here that Thoreau produced some of his most notable work, in particular *Walden*, a book articulating 'a new perspective on the human relationship to the natural world' (Curtis 2010:31). It is writing which, although often subject to critique, has also led Thoreau to be viewed as a 'keystone species in the ecology of environmental history' (Curtis 2010:38).

As a man with a hut, writing in a hut, describing his time spent building, living and thinking in that hut, Thoreau acts as the keystone to this chapter. As Curtis (2010:32) observes, '[t]he model presented in *Walden* continues to inspire right down to the present'. Each year new insights are found in his time spent on the shores of Walden Pond, trips are made to his residence, or, importantly, people 'embark on their own personal Walden experiments' (Curtis 2010:32). More broadly, as Updike highlights, this book, *Walden*,

has become a totem of the back-to-nature, preservationist, anti-business, civil-disobedience mind-set and Thoreau so vivid a protester, so perfect a crank and hermit saint, that the book itself risks being as revered and un-read as the bible …. In a time of informational overload, of clamorously inane and ubiquitous electronic entertainment, and of a fraught, globally challenged, ever more demanding workplace, the urge to build a cabin in the woods and thus reform, simplify, and cleanse one's life – "to front," in Thoreau's ringing verb, "only the essential facts of life" – remains strong (2003:ix).

Walden is thus written with an eye not for the audience, but for the particulars of the world around him, and Thoreau's writing therefore is 'more interior' (Updike 2003:xii), animating a world of sensation and perception, all named and catalogued with intimate detail. The book indeed 'lives in its particulars' (Updike 2003:xiv). *Walden* highlights the everyday world, the sights, sounds and smells; reflecting encounters that require a slowness, time taken to observe the world around him. He is, it appears, a perfect tutor for an out-dwelling world.

Yet, like many, I wince at his assertion that 'to maintain one's self on this is earth is not hardship but a pastime'. I fully accept that his was a life not lived by all. His life and work at Walden Pond was fed by the society in which he sat, a society fattened by the victims of capitalist economy. Yet, as Updike (2003:xvii) accepts, 'if it cannot be swallowed as a cure-all, *Walden* can be relished as a condiment, a flavouring, a head-clearing spice'. It is this lasting legacy which this chapter seeks to test, exploring the wants and needs, ideals and ultimately idylls of a shared out-dwelling consciousness. Yet before turning to detail the lure of hutting and the various ideals and idylls associated with these practices, the chapter first opens with a brief reminder of the recent geographical engagements with the idyll as an imagined space, providing a background upon which to place these ideas, and subsequently, in Chapter 8, an orthodoxy to push back against. Secondly, this chapter draws on Thoreau's love of wildness and the Concord landscape which has, over time, come to symbolise a love of nature, alongside a desire to respect and, above all, protect such places. Such tendencies within some out-dwelling users were immediately apparent, along with themes of biophilia, environmental protectionism and the restorative effects of nature. Through these ideas the chapter charts the ways in which nature, and environmental values are factored into the ideals of users, informing their imagined ideal of out-dwelling.

The critical consideration of what is behind the draw of the out-dwelling does not stop here. While keeping Thoreau in mind, the chapter thirdly addresses issues of nostalgia, exploring the longing for a culture supposedly rooted in the past. Beyond that exploration,

thoughts then, fourthly, turn to notions of health. Parr (2011:57) notes, 'given popular assumptions about the *Gemeinshaft*[187] qualities of rural life', it is crucial to critically assess the assumptions of a happy, healthy rural community. These are qualities which draw users to the out-dwelling life, but ones also brought to bear in this situation. Moreover, the chapter will fifthly detail the social side of out-dwelling life, accounting for the idea of isolation, as well as the draws of community and the discordances in-between. Finally, this chapter will turn to the ideal of skill, introducing the notion of 'skillscape'. It does so to advance a series of observations: firstly that there is the potential for a innate skill to 'get it', a knowledge rather than an act; secondly that there is the claim that simplicity in itself is skilful – the ability to make something *look* simple, is in fact, where the true skill lies in this case, embedded in an impressive relationship between out-dweller, thought, practice, and environment; and thirdly that while living simply is often typecast with the trope of 'return' or 'escape' to a 'simpler' existence, to be successful in that endeavor can require a complex 'skilling up' – a process of learning, adaptation, creativity and flexibility which is, arguably, 'akin' to what is routinely expected in the modern world.

Cumulatively, a critical examination of these ideals will show that there is no simple escape to pre-modern simplicity and that it is foolish to uncritically valorize primitivism over modernity. These grand titles reflect relative conditions, and, therefore, as Latour (1993) notes, perhaps, 'we have never been modern'. Thus, if there is to be a 'folk geography' written of these practices, a celebration of what is commonly seen as anti-modern, the story, while sometimes being a defence of 'simplicity', is not one of 'simple folk' (if it ever could have been).

Hutting and the rural idyll

The idyll has become a grounding conceptual term in rural geography, certainly in Britain, and to an extent elsewhere, since at least the 1990s. Its effect upon the contemporary countryside is well documented (Woods 2005; Bunce 2003; Cloke 2003, 1994; Cloke and Little 1997; Philips 1998; Yarwood 2005; McLaughin 1986), as are the ways in which it seeps into our lives through a welter of media, art and traditional practice. These images sell a notion of rural spaces; in Cloke's (2003:1) words 'marking them as spaces enabled by nature, offering opportunities for living and lifestyle which are socially cohesive, happy and healthy, and presenting a pace and quality of life that differs from that in the city'. The rural is thus seen as a more genuine form of society, where friendships, communities and

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[187] Referring to ideas of community.

pursuits are more authentic: even honest. As Little and Austin (1996:105 in Woods 2005:13) highlight, 'even unemployment [is] seen as somehow… unencumbered with the false and insincere trappings of city life or with their associated dubious values'. This idyll creates an aspirational ideal of rural worlds which embody notions of 'peace and quiet', of a slower life surrounded by scenic green space to be inhabited and consumed. Subsequently, as Short (1991:34 in Woods 2005:13) describes, '[t]he countryside has become a refuge from modernity' and is valorized and sought as such.

It has been argued that underpinning this notion of the idyll is the universal need for a connection to nature, to the land and to communities upon it (Bunce 2003). It is the supposed loss of these experiences which creates feelings of nostalgia, a term which Bunce notes literally means the sense of a loss of home or, in some definitions, homesickness. In this visioning, humankind has become distanced from its imagined home in the idyll, and thus has a deep seated, profound and existential urge to move back, or to go, home. Tuan (1974) addressed precisely this issue some years ago positioning the draw of the idyll within a binary formulation of our spatio-temporal lives; day/night, mountain/valley, country/city. As such divisions intensified with industrialisation, so popular imaginings arose in favour of reclaiming the rural. Taking a long cultural view, Schama (1996) observes that the rural satisfies humankind's basic spiritual needs, and the rural idyll hence becomes the natural product of the rise of urban lifestyles and the subsequent dislocation from the rural, its supposed binary opposite.[188]

It can appear that nostalgia for times past is 'as old as civilisation itself' (Bunce 2003:15). However, Bunce (2003) argues that the idyll is less an inevitable element of humankind's psyche, and rather a cultural phenomenon created from within urban-industrialism. He argues that, from the mid-18th century, and throughout the 19th century, thoughts and appreciation of nature underwent fundamental shifts, as a result of reappraisals of the industrial system and the burgeoning of romantic values elevating rural life and landscapes on to an ideological pedestal (Bunce 2003:17). Underlying these shifts in cultural meaning was a 'philosophical discourse about industrial capital' which has continued to be a formative presence in discussions of rural and urban. Given voice by writers such as Thoreau (1995 [1854]), these critiques of industrial capitalism have conversely cast rural nature in an idyll-ised light.

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[188] These arguments are a highly simplified pan-historical narrative of town/country (civilisation/primitivism) relations – saturated with values, assumptions and prejudices. See Raymond Williams' 1973 text *The Country and the City*.

Whether created in opposition to, or within, industrialisation, the idyll has long been apparent in the many discourses of rurality (Woods 2005); be they academic efforts to define a subject of study, policy discourses prioritising certain forms of planning, or hedonistic discourses seeking to define the rural in terms of idealised natural beauty. As Cloke (2003:1) asserts, 'while it is all too easy to satirise and parody these aspects of the so-called idyll, it is very much more difficult to reject them altogether'. These notions have proved pervasive in the modern age, and thus it would be naïve to think that out-dwelling, a practice which takes place in the rural, amidst nature, is immune from the pull of such potent imagery.

Such notions are frequently voiced in literature and media surrounding the practice of hutting. In his first foray into writing on huts, Pollan (2008), followed in Thoreau's footsteps, using the process of building as a means to explore humankind's connection to nature. This 'how-to-think-about-it kind of book' (Pollan 2008:xi) explores the entanglements of nature and culture in such a way as to place the hut in the idyll, as a place of peace and serenity, and as a private place to write. Media representations reinforce these ideas, reporting 'detoxing' (Lloyd 2004) experiences in places which, in the words of one hutter, are 'green, peaceful. It's a haven' (in Alies 2013:n.p.). Even a recent consultation response from the Thousand Huts Campaign to the current draft Scottish Planning Policy,[189] highlights the ways in which 'hutting builds community support and resilience' enabling users to 'thrive on access to the rustic, simple life in natural surroundings' (Thousand Huts Campaign Response 2013, personal correspondence). Clearly contemporary notions of hutting are heavily influenced by images of the rural idyll.

In the four sections that follow I shall explore this aim in detail, broaching the claims, draws, needs and benefits of the out-dwelling experience, to fully investigate this idyllic lifestyle and the ideals intrinsic to it. It will work between big philosophical ideas and non-representational everyday encounters, setting out-dwellers and thinkers in conversation. In doing so what follows shall also seek to keep an eye on the potential for fracturing this idyll and, as Chapter 8 will show, move beyond it entirely.

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[189] The first planning policy in Scotland to make specific provision for huts.

Wilderness, nature and environmental attunement.

As the literature on the idyll has shown, an emerging modern environmental consciousness (spawned by a love of nature, a presumed necessity of proximity to the countryside or more specifically the 'wilderness') is a powerful discourse within out-dwelling culture. Like Thoreau before them, users see the woods (as well as the Scottish coasts, hills and moors) as a place to get away from society, to escape, as Short (1991:34 in Woods 2005:13) describe it, 'from modernity' and all of the presumed ills that it creates. Vaninni and Taggart (2013:308) write, with reference to life 'off grid', that '[a]cts of remove are practices of spacing' and so are 'a way for people to separate themselves from undesirable elements of a place and a society'. Out-dwellers in my study precisely echo such claims:

> *sometimes the city is just so busy and there is so much noise, and you can go up to the hut and there will be proper silence*[190] (Naula)

> *there was in me, something of that real desire for simplicity and so I had this sort of notion of what I want is this little place, and I suppose in sense it is, this little place to retreat from the craziness of life, in the woods here* (Giles).

The idea of escapism (previously introduced in Chapter 4) can be expanded here noting that, for certain users, it is not escape alone that matters, but merely the difference in location that facilitates therapeutic benefits:

> *it is a different physical environment to the everyday one. So you know straight away that you're playing or it is leisure time* (Tommy)

Yet, there is often more to the experience than just this relocation. For some, there is an idea that this is not only a retreat away from something, or a sidestep into something else, but rather a forward motion. As Thoreau stated:

> I went to the woods to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn from what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived (1995 [1854]: 59).

The deliberate nature of Thoreau's design for life is echoed in those of the users who I encountered. One respondent notes how his hut is a place '*where you get away to it all*' (Paul). It is, after all, just a matter of perspective. As Thoreau (1995 [1854]:1) writes, 'at present I am only a sojourner in civilized life again', since he saw the world cut off, in the

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[190] Even this is relative, for a bothy or hut is rarely silent, it is just new noises, noises which do not represent modernity such as river, wind, crackle of a fire, snoring, even breathing. Nan Shepherd talks of this: 'To bend the ear to silence is to discover how seldom it is there. Always something moves' (2011 [1977]:96).

woods, as his real home. Certainly, for many, the outdoors environment is said not only to offer a place of remove from modern life, but rather to have its own pull, the pull of the remove as Vaninni and Taggart (2013b) describe it. Thus, the out-dwelling experience, and its situation amidst 'nature' is seen as follows:

> Rather than a calculated option, remove is experienced by off-gridders as a call or an affective pull they have no control over: an unexplainable attraction toward the idylls of the countryside and the wilderness (Bunce, 1994; Cloke, 2003; Halfacree, 1997; 2003), the "physical quality of the environment" (Halfacree, 1994), or as Bell (2006) puts it, the "wildscapes", the "adventurescapes", and the "farmscapes" of a place. This is not to say that off-gridders are hermits; indeed, if they were this writing would not have been possible. Rather than reclusiveness it is idyllic peace and remove they seek. (Vaninni and Taggart 2013b: 308).

The claim is then made that everyone should have access to wilderness, as one user noted at the aforementioned hutters gathering in Edinburgh – '*I don't think the benefit of the wild should be restricted from anyone*' (Leona). This egalitarian ethos to the out-dwelling world is a clear contention in both bothy and hutting circles. Bothying is heralded for its free use, and likewise those in the Thousand Huts Campaign are at pains to make it an activity '*available to all*', running focus groups on this topic at events and commonly positioning this mission online. Accessibility and inclusivity are themes returned to later in the thesis.

There is also a feeling, however, that while availability to all should be respected, provision should not be overindulged. As the following comments articulate, there is a balance to be struck between provision and destruction of the wilderness:

> *sitting here in the sun you can't really beat this right now. So you don't want, I don't think I'd want a hotel stop every sort of mile, I think that would ruin this sense of wilderness that you get in Scotland. But actually it's probably better to have well maintained bothies where people can go and use the facilities like toilets and there's signs and notices about how people look after the environment and keep people educated* (Ava)

> *maybe more in certain locations, but not everywhere, because you don't want it to completely take the wild part out of the hills, or it ruins the scenery* (Finlay)

Even in casual conversations about my research project, such viewpoints are portrayed: '*why would you want dirty little huts everywhere destroying the wilderness?*' (Angus). The question of whether there is really any true wilderness in Scotland to 'ruin' is a debate for a

different project,[191] but it is worth noting nevertheless that Thoreau's wilderness at Walden was no pure idyll. He had visitors, and writes excitedly of other work being carried out in the woods, such as of the harvesting of ice from Walden Pond and the laying of a new railroad. Thoreau was thus not experiencing life alone, as is so often presumed of a wilderness. Thoreau scholar Curtis (2010:51) argues that 'Thoreau found nature in places where we neglect it today and he expected the presence of people in places where we do not want them today'. There are contemporary echoes of this valuing of nature. As one hut user notes, the expectation of an overarching environmental ethos with which I approached this research has been not assuaged but reinvented: *'wilderness to you is just a wee wood. It's peace and serenity away from your own mad world'* (Leona).

Describing his experiences of offering new hutters potential sites, one user reflects,

> *I think one of the issues will be the tension between, you know lots of people like the romantisiced idea of being off grid and having this remote place, but people want to get to that remote place, so there has to be a track to allow you to take your car to it. And the more people want it the more they're going to want facilities to go with it, and that changes the nature of it [it being hutting]. So I think the people who would be prepared to park their car and get out their backpack and walk a mile to their hut, and there are undoubtedly some that will do that, but quite a small number of people I would think. ... At Carbeth we've got the benefit that there are pathways and for most you can get your car reasonably close to the hut. Because that's the nature of the world we live in now, most of us do things with cars… you know, especially if you're having to take your own building materials to your site and take your own provisions with you when you go to visit and so on. Going to the hut for us it's never just a case of jump in the car and lets go. You have to think, what, I mean, it's no a million miles away to the nearest supermarket but we like to think that we're not going to be going shopping when we're there* (James).

The idyll of nature represented in photographic portrayals of out-dwellings, (the 'coffee table' sort), does not fit as easily with reality. Here, it does not need to be laced with staged perfection, rustic chic or sublime vistas. Being outside, a setting facilitated by the out-dwelling – itself a form of inside - is what is at stake. This it appears can be found nearly anywhere: in the heart of the Cairngorms or ten miles out of Glasgow; eight hours walk distant from a road or in *'just a wee wood'*.[192] In this culture there is variety in what is considered nature, or wilderness, and what is required for benefits to be gleaned. It certainly seems that, regardless of its exact expression or incarnation, a love of nature is a clear draw for some users.

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[191] See for example Habron (1998).
[192] The bothies built as artistic retreats are a notable exception to this rule. They are predicated on staged acetic perfection.

The love of living things, biophilia as Wilson (2003[1984]:1) terms it, is 'the innate tendency to focus on life and lifelike processes', underpins the commonality with 'ecosophy', brainchild of Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss, which proposes 'a philosophical world-view or system inspired by the conditions of life in the ecosphere' (1989:38). While it would be an exaggeration to claim that all those participating in out-dwelling activities are fervent environmentalists, led by a belief in the wholeness of all life, there is certainly aspects of this value system to be found:[193]

> *I do think there is some intrinsic good that comes from being in touch with nature and kind of living at a different pace.* (James)

> *I think being in touch with nature is, for me, and I know, it is for some people, being in touch with nature and the environment, what ever you want to call it, is so totally part of my existence, so I can't imagine living any other way. I wouldn't want to be sealed off from it.* (Douglas)

> *There is something about just being out in nature.* (Louise)

Such ideas are reflected in discussions about buildings and their construction, particularly with reference to huts:

> *One of the things I think is important is that in theory it [the hut] should be disposable, or removable if not disposable.* (James)

Or, for some this environmentalism is displayed in what they surround their hut with:

> *This is a wildlife hedge I've put round it so I've got hornbeam, dog rose, hawthorne and gelder rose in about the hut. The idea is that in about 10 years time it'll be a well established wildlife hedge to get more birds down and hopefully some bees.* (Tom)

These values gain expression within the Thousand Huts Campaign which argues that, *'we would ideally ... try to infuse hutting culture with a sense of environmental responsibility, social responsibility, ... consideration to the land and the nature, plus consideration to neighbours and community'* (Karen). Likewise Alexandra McLeod, the maintenance officer for Peanmeanach bothy looked after by the MBA, expressed similar concern when talking of the need to protect an area and not to burn live wood. She notes, 'we do have a

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[193] In some instances this is reflected in an increased ability to see, or so it was described, the world around them. As one user describes, '*my dad ... he turns into wee boy when he's up there. He gets giddy and he goes down to [the sea]'*. This speaks to ideas of immersion, of the immersion required to look, really to look, to wonder, with the eyes of a child, at the world surrounding us. This not only ties with the ideas of Næss (1989) but also back to Heidegger's (1971) ideas of being and dwelling.

problem with people cutting live timber here … They have a habit of burning the furniture as well which is really annoying, a bit frustrating but 99% of bothy users are very responsible users but it's a bit of a pain' (Bothy Life, BBC: 9/12/15).[194] Similarly, the MBA website, while noting that '[t]he great attraction of using bothies is that there really aren't any rules as such', also supplies a 'bothy code' which, among other issues, states: 'avoid burying rubbish; this pollutes the environment' (www.mountainbothies.org.uk). The environmental respect element of this thesis is so clear that to omit it, as one user notes, '*I think you'd be missing the point*'; and yet, as Elsie continues;

> *there's a different extent to which [tails off]. So Jim and Grant down from us, they've just built a composting toilet so obviously theirs is more environmentally friendly … And some of our neighbours … came down and told us that we shouldn't be burning plastic.*

The out-dwelling experience is thus one from which to learn. While there are differences in personal commitment to this ideal, it is clear that out-dwelling has, to some extent, like Thoreau envisaged, become 'a benchmark for appropriate environmental behaviour' (Curtis 2010:32). To be a bothy or hut user, environmental awareness is seemingly expected as a standard, although notably this expectation, as is often the case, does not always get reflected in everyday actions.

Despite such differences, whatever the situation, there is still a claim that true immersion needs time. As Næss (1989: 179) comments,

> [i]t takes time for the milieu to work *in depth*. It is quite normal that several weeks must pass before the *sensitivity* for nature is so developed that it fills the mind. If a great deal of apparatus are placed between oneself and nature, nature cannot possibly be reached.

Users concur insisting that, '*staying in a youth hostel … it's not the same experience as just immersing yourself in the hills for continuous periods of time*' (Steven). Whether pottering on the shore, climbing a Munro,[195] or doing any number of the activities facilitated by out-dwellings, it is pleasurable exposure which provides access to nature's virtues.[196] Thoreau (1995 [1854]:82) once wrote that nature was his '"best" room', part of

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[194] Environmental concerns are what led to the installation of drop toilets at Corrour bothy. For a voluntary organisation this does pose difficulties. These toilets need changed and as one volunteer noted during the BBC programme 'Bothy Life', it is lucky for TV viewers that there is not '*smellavision'.*
[195] Munros are mountains in Scotland over 3000ft.
[196] As hinted at earlier, for others this connection to nature is less full on, more a case of passively soaking up a proximity to nature, than actively thrusting oneself upon it. Naula is one such user. Her hut is part of a collective, a custom built clachan of 20 or so huts, built at the same time, in the same style and rented by one

his experience at Walden, just as much as was his wooden shelter. His hut extended out into, or, arguably, was never separate from, the open world out-of-doors. Out-dwellings provide this connection, and invite a permeable threshold, as Tom remarks;

> *What does hutting mean ... so disconnecting from things like the idea that you need to be on the national grid, you need to be on mains gas, and then reconnecting with being, the remoteness of it and trying to figure out ways to make your life comfortable without having to be connected to all those previous things. And that is a challenge ...*

An older time, a slower time

Just as Thoreau and Tom sought or seek connection, so too is connection central to ideas of nostalgia which, in turn, are heavily implicated within notions of the idyll. As Bunce (2002) writes, nostalgia is based upon this idea of reconnection, in his mind a reconnection to land, nature and community. As detailed in discussing geographical discussions of the idyll, the notion of nostalgia is a prominent draw for those entwined in out-dwelling culture. One user notes that, '*it's almost like stepping back 100 years*' (Tom), but there is more to this matter than a simple association of out-dwelling culture and a return to some past age, a stepping back in time. Following Bunce's footsteps in looking closer at the etymology of the term, we find the Greek 'nostos' (return home) and 'algos' (pain), a contrasting coupling of emotions. [197] These linguistic roots, suggesting a sense of melancholia/melancholy at returning home, are certainly present in values of out-dwelling. For some practitioners this takes the shape of remembering family and loved ones, wanting to do as they did – as Tommy notes, '*maybe there is a nostalgia for it in me, did the hutting with the grandparents when I was younger, and now I want to go back to it*'. Tommy is, seemingly, wishing for what his relations had, their traditions, as a means of getting closer to those lost, or at least times spent with those now dead. Yet, there is also a rosy hue afforded this sort of reminiscence. Speaking to a congregation of hutters at a hut network meeting[198] in Edinburgh, another long-standing user, and member of the Carbeth Community Company, announced with some assurance that '*I believe at Carbeth, time has come around again*'. For this user it was clear that hutting represented the recreation of a 'better past'.

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private landowner. These huts have running water and electricity, exactly the huts that others would chastise for their 'civilized' 'capitalist' form. Yet here ideas are similar. She seeks an escape from the city, access to nature, to potter and ponder in relaxing surrounds. She does not seek asceticism, merely distance, space from her city life.

[197] On this topic see also work by Bonnett (2015) by which charts nostalgia and loss as a global and local phenomenon.

[198] Held at the Quaker Meeting House in Edinburgh.

On this trip down memory lane, there is still an argument that imaginative projections are in play, an angst to go back to a hutting or bothying utopia which did not ever properly exist; a national culture we are creating, not re-creating. As with Thoreau's (2007:10) attempts to recreate the peasant's simple life by his own vernacular design, the life he lived there, where he took 'four hours a day at least' walking not for purpose but for pleasure,[199] did not resemble the toil of the life that he wished to emulate. He was similarly creating anew, reacting against the present, not re-presenting the past. Nonetheless, real or invented, feelings of nostalgia permeate users' reasoning throughout these activities, complementing the environmental draw of out-dwellings and re-emphasising the romantic, idyllic view of what contemporary out-dwelling represents.

Issues of time continue to characterise this idyllic lifeworld. The out-dwelling life is figured, to a considerable degree, as a reaction against the excesses of modern world living, namely: capitalist accumulation, over-regulated lives and the distancing of humankind from nature. In the face of modern living, these buildings provide a place for: *'getting away from a sort of inward looking cycle of daily life in whatever daily life is'* (Karen), *'because life can be fairly hectic'* (Tom). As such, out-dwellings are for many a *'place to retreat from the craziness of life'* (Giles) and *'a place to breathe'* (Karen). They can therefore be somewhere that *'keeps my feet on the ground'* (Giles)*,* where *'I can be away from everything'* (Ava*).* It is this aspect of out-dwelling which, one interviewee observed, *'keeps me sane'* (Ava).

It is worth considering, as a consequence, that hutting might usefully be framed by work paying attention to the experience of time. Thrift's (2000b:675) concern with 'the temporal' manifests as one aspect of modern societies where 'fast subjects' feel compelled to operate in a state of 'permanent emergency'. Observing that the fast can also be a 'fragile' state, Thrift questions an overriding logic of management governmentality to ask: 'How thin can I spread myself before I am no longer there?' (Barlow 1999:85 in Thrift 2000b:688). A time-centred critique of contemporary lifestyles is manifest in the 'slow culture' movements, seeking to recalibrate food production and consumption, as well as, more ambitiously, the temporality of neighbourhood or city living. Pink (2007) documents the experience of residents in Aylsham as the town is transformed by the Cittàslow movement, embracing and celebrating a slower life where:

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[199] Perhaps the purpose being pleasure.

> … suitable doses of guaranteed sensual pleasure and slow, long lasting enjoyment [may] preserve us from the contagion of the multitude who mistake frenzy for efficiency (The Slow Food Companion 2006:6, in Pink 2007b:60).

There is thus a tempo shift in out-dwelling life where '*everything here is just a bit slower and a bit gentler, and takes longer*' (Hannah). In this slowness there is a sense that things become just that bit more acute, and users that bit more attuned, '*because the tempo is slower, and I appreciate time to think. Positive values gives me the energy to see the intrinsic value of the things I have to do*' (Ingrid). From the respondents' views, there is a strong sense that temporality makes them more primal, more alert, allowing them to appreciate (perhaps more fully) the world around them. These are exactly the themes espoused 'in praise of slow' by Honoré (2005) and hinted at by Thrift (2000b:688) in his scepticism about whether 'fast subjects' can ever 'live lightly' or be 'sustainable'.

Nan Sheperd, author of *The Living Mountain* (2011[1977])[200] develops this idea of slow living, speaking of the mountain in holistic terms and the way life is lived in its midst. She writes:

> In these crannies of the mountains, the mode of supplying elemental needs is still slow, laborious and personal. To draw your water from the well, not even a pump between you and its sparkling transparency, to break the sticks you have gathered from the wood and build your fire and set your pot upon it – there is a deep pervasive satisfaction in these simple acts. Whether you give it conscious thought or not, you are touching life, and something within you knows it. A sense of profound contentment floods me as I stoop to dip the pail. But I am aware all the same that by so living I am slowing down the tempo of life; if I had to do these things everyday and all the time I should be shutting the door on other activities and interests; I can understand why the young people resent it. (Sheperd 2011 [1977]: 82)

For those with the ability to walk away, rejoin the life they love to escape, such simple acts do not trap or stifle. Out-dwelling users hence rejoice in the time that living takes.

'No black melancholy'

Despite Shepherd's acceptance that a 'slow' way of life, as a permanent condition, may not attract all to its reduced tempo, there is certainly more due to be given to the argument that it '*keeps me sane*' (Ava). Throughout the process of writing this thesis, it became clear to me that an evaluation of out-dwelling which omitted to mention the health benefits would

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[200] A testament to the Cairngorm region to which this thesis is tied and a classic example of early phenomenological work developed independently of the more well known efforts of Merleau-Ponty (Macfarlane 2011).

be remiss. While there is an established field of study dealing with health, particularly mental health, in rural communities or in 'wilderness' spaces (Parr 2005, Conradson 2005, Hartig et al. 1997, Gesler 1992, Williams 1999), there is, as yet, little attention paid to the curious space of the out-dwelling, a space which undoubtedly encompasses a little of the ideas surrounding community and the 'wild' as restorative. Thoreau (1995:85) was a great believer in nature as restorer and healer: '[t]here can be no very black melancholy to him [sic.] who lives in the midst of Nature and has his senses still'. Appraisals of his biography argue that it was the management of grief (due to the loss of this brother) rather than spiritual enlightenment, that first led Thoreau to a life at Walden Pond (Curtis 2010).

The potential for these places and the activities involved in their use to have a positive effect on users was made apparent in the testimonials from a number of interviewees. For one user in particular, there was '*no doubt'* (Giles) in the health promoting potential, and in fact the health-giving benefits provided by his hut were the most defining piece of his tale. This was a man who owns and manages a large estate, and who stated himself that '*my working life is crazy … that can all be very stressful'*. As a response he had built a hut. This hut, small, wooden, furnished with a bed, a workbench, chair and stove, was new, still awaiting a coat hook, so he told me. Sitting in that small place, he spoke of his own head space: *'I think certainly for me going to my hut, which I manage to go to once or twice a week, keeps my feet on the ground. And I suppose, going back to the mental bit, it keeps me rooted, you know it keeps, it keeps me healthy I think. The thought of not having my hut to go to at the moment is quite scary'* (Giles). Giles was involved in plans for setting up a new hut site which would support people with mental health problems, helping them to gain the skills and confidence to get back to the workplace. His view on the benefits of these places was clear, *'it's a lifesaver for me' (*Giles). As indicated in the section above concerning the attraction of environmental engagement, there is already a fairly large body of work pertaining to the therapeutic qualities of natural environments.[201] It seems reasonable to argue on this basis that it is these buildings, as well as their immediate environs which facilitate these health benefits. The buildings, their scale, facilities, amenities and structures, all act as a pull factor in life lived there, making users operate differently, in their minds (if perhaps not realistically) healthier.

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[201] There is also a story to tell about the envisioned therapeutic qualities of rural/rustic surroundings for all manner of mental health facilities, older and more recent. See Parr H., Philo C. and N., Burns (2004).

For others too hutting serves as a remedy or a cure: '*it's addictive ... a bit of a drug*' (Jim). As James notes,

> *I can feel the benefit. If a fortnight goes by and I've not been then I start to crave it, an' that seems exactly what it is, it's about looking after my mental health. Finding a way to wind down, and do things differently, an' put things intae perspective a wee bit.*

For some these health benefits are therefore about getting away. As James and Naula explain,

> *I firmly believe that there's a benefit for children, well for everybody, adults. I mean my wife and I, it's about getting away from the normal 9-5 we both work full time, we've got busy lives, so the change for a change and to do things differently, with different priorities.* (James)

> *because you get a proper break from everything. You don't think about anything, just what you're doing that day and what you're having for dinner [so] yeah. And my dad, he has trouble with his legs. He has really bad blood supply and he rarely walks anywhere and he'll moan if he has to walk. But he'll happily stoat around the grounds or walk down to the water's edge when the tide's out. And he'll come back and complain a wee bit, but he definitely moves more there than he ever does in Glasgow. I always feel so much better when I come back as well. You come back and ... I feel rested. In all ways.* (*Naula*)

For Naula and her family, their hut offered rest and recuperation, but also a physical health benefit for her mobility-constricted father. Other users offered similar observations, stating that to avoid stress, '*the hut gave me a place to sit and think ... so on a Tuesday night you can basically lock the door in Edinburgh and come down here and get the fire on and just completely shut yourself off and not think about it again until Thursday morning*' (Tom).

There is something here about relaxation, the alleviation of stress provided by these places, and their associated activities. As Hannah states, '*it's difficult to quantify but experientially I just know that I breathe more easily, I relax physically when I'm here*', and as the representative from the MBA stated, '*going to a bothy or getting out into the outdoors should be a stress busting activity*' (Neil). It is therefore not only escape, touched upon in Chapter 4, which offers these health benefits. For others, there does seem to be a different underlying thread to the perceived benefits, one more suited to the arguments made at the start of this chapter surrounding the restorative effects of nature, as well as the ones put forth by Thoreau. Users duly noted the following;

[mental health], yes a lot of people mention that, there are folk who find Carbeth their salvation, folk who don't fit in the city. People from all walks of life. Because you cannot help but benefit from being in nature, that rhythm and natural power of nature acts on you (Hannah).[202]

I think any kind of outdoor is good for your mental health, any kind of contact with nature ... I think for, example, if you live in London and never leave London then going to the gym is better than just sitting watching the tele but equally if you're in a wheelchair then you could sit outside and see the birds and that could be better for you than sitting indoors. But if you've got the exercise and the contact with nature as well, then you're onto a real winner (Steven)

definitely mental health, I'm happier, and physical health. As an organism I'm more healthy – that ability to connect with what's going on (Dawn).

This latter user goes on to argue that hutting culture could be beneficial for the nation, reducing youth suicides – an interesting although unproven hypothesis. Here, it is a vocabulary of nature that is used to process the affective influence of the natural environment.

For others, the attraction of these places in health terms materialises as an antidote to 'life inside', at home, particularly within the city. As Paul notes with reference to the perceived resurgence in hutting,[203]

so the world has changed, but the huts grow ever more attractive, not just for psychological benefits but for the physical health benefits, people are seeing that you can do what you like and be healthy, you don't have to buy a subscription to a gym, you can saw planks of wood, you can fetch water you, you can build your hut, you know, all physical activities which lead to physical and mental wellbeing.

The same could easily be said of bothying and the activities encompassed in not only getting to those buildings, but also making a life, if only temporarily, within their walls.

Existing studies of mental health in rural locations, such as Parr's (2008:57), analysis of the rural as an 'alternative landscape',[204] have sought to disrupt the notion of the rural as socially cohesive, hence questioning the idyllic rural vision. So too has Cloke and Little's (1997:3) claim that: 'new windows onto the social and spatial process of boundary

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[202] It was also noted in this interview that several members of the Carbeth community are those who have, in the past, had issues with alcohol and/or drugs. It was claimed that Carbeth has been a 'solace' for them.
[203] Something which will be covered in greater detail in chapter 8.
[204] See also Philo C., Parr H. and Burns B., (2003).

formation in rural areas whereby some groups and individuals are separated out from society as being different and often deviant'. The testimonials offered above do not do this. Rather, on the surface, they affirm these brash conclusions of a safer, cozier, rural – just the wildness of which Thoreau speaks. But there is a difference. I have not sought out mental illness in my study, and I do not speak for those dealing with existing mental health issues. Rather, in offering something different from everyday life, but at the same time specific to the style of out-dwelling, the hut or bothy is presented as a preventative or precautionary measure, helping seemingly, but by no means determining potential issues.[205] A single reply to my poster call for interviewees read as such:

> *Hi Rachel,*
> *I saw your notice/request in Inverness climbing wall about bothy times and stories. I've stayed in several bothies but have a particular favourite near Gairloch. I kind of lived there during a difficult patch in my life and times spent there are remembered fondly.*

Perhaps it is the perception of out-dwellings as idyllic which help with such *'difficult'* times.

To be alone, to be with family, to be with unknown others

It is not only the restorative effects of nature and buildings, and the associated mental health benefits, that users seek. For many, the seduction of solitude is what leads them to spend time in and around out-dwellings. Many of these users express sentiments attuned to those of Thoreau (1995 [1845]: 88) when he stated that, 'I find it wholesome to be alone the greater part of the time. To be in company, even with the best, soon wearisome and dissipating. I love to be alone. I never found the companion that was so companionable as solitude'. Many out-dwelling enthusiasts offered similar ideas: '*talks of loving 'having that isolation' a place to go alone 'whenever I can I'll just do it, you can get completely lost in your own thoughts*' (field diary, 10/10/13). One hutter's blog yields similar ideas: '*there are no insights at a hut that are not brought about by silence and solitude aided by the creatures and plants who live there too*' (Loose 2010). Others describe similar feelings in a more humorous vein – '*I mean even working outside on a cold day on my own you get lost in your thoughts. Sometimes it's even quite annoying if someone comes over to talk to you. It's like piss off, I'm thinking here you know*' (Tom).

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[205] I write this because I have no evidence that huts prevent mental ill-health issues, and as such I want this section to say that out-dwellings can help, but are not a panacea for mental conditions, they do not cure all ills.

Here we come back to ideas again initially voiced in Chapter 4, reflecting upon those well known examples of the association between hut and thought, as Curtis (2010:34) notes of Thoreau: 'wilderness was ultimately significant... for its beneficial effects on thought'. Users are not ignorant of these connections:

Giles - it's about not being able to plug in and get wifi, so it's about getting back in some ways. And almost plugging into something else ...

Rachel - what do you mean about something else?

Giles - I'm not sure, but I think it's about getting to nature, about getting into the woods as we are here, but I think it's also about our own nature. ..a guy who occasionally comes out here and spends hut time here he says that for him it was the quality of the silence ... of just noticing, whenever I see him he reminds me that it's not about the Thousand Huts, it's about the one hut, that's about acknowledging the simple, solitary hermit, or Celtic Iona type of place where people would kind of go to their place of solitude, their place of peace, their place of immersing themselves

Here, Giles touches upon the longstanding association of out-dwelling and thought, discussed in Chapter 4. Their status as places for solitary contemplation can in fact 'be traced back over three thousand years to the Far East' (Sharr 2006:76). Within Britain, the isolated hermitages of the Celtic Church sprung up across Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, the Isle of Man and Brittany (outwith Britain) (Bowen 1979). As early scholars noted,

Single individuals or groups of three, seven. Or twelve were seized with the desire of separating themselves from the large colonies of monks – for such the Irish monasteries were ... and went to live in still greater seclusion from the world. At first they were satisfied with little isles in their native lakes and rivers, not far from the monasteries forming in civitas. Then they began to retire to the numerous islands of the Irish coast, and when those were no longer places of solitude, a voyage in frail boats was risked to search for some desert isle in the ocean' (Zimmer 1902, in Bowen 1979:196).

Although the 'most important' of these secluded structures, according to Bowen (1979:209), is the monastery on Iona, founded by St. Columba, the island sanctuary of Sceil Michil, mentioned in Chapter 5, eight miles off from the Kerry coast, is the 'most impressive'. There, atop a lone rock, a dozen or so monks inhabited six beehive cells, perched seven hundred feet above the Atlantic. Like Heidegger's hut, this 'severely restricted landscape' brought with it a 'discipline' with regards to nature. The solitary hermits chose these locations to focus spiritually and to give themselves entirely to this

occupation, and it is telling perhaps that Giles invokes such deep – historical out-dwellings as a kind of precedent for today's huts and bothies in Scotland.

Here, now, we can turn to ideas of work. Although these out-dwellings are primarily a place of leisure, there are those who seek their solace for productive means beyond those acts necessary to live and function. Thoreau (1995 [1845]:12) is again a fitting companion in this sphere, writing that 'my initial purpose in going to Walden Pond was not to live dearly there, but to transact some private business with the fewest obstacles'. Many writers have noted an economy of solitude, with particular reference to huts. Pollan (2008:8) discusses the introduction of the concept of 'a room of my own' for writers in the Renaissance period, a study off the master bedroom perhaps, where one would conduct work: '[a]pparently this [timing] is no accident: The new space and the new self actually helped give shape to one another. It appears there is a kind of reciprocity between interiors and interiority.' Like many authors since, Pollan (2008:8) sought space of a different sort: rather than a study off his bedroom, he pursued 'an outpost of solitude pitched somewhere in the landscape'. In this sphere his comment on the reciprocity between self and space is a familiar one.

In a consideration of the cabin as household Anker, (2003:131) notes that 'built households provide a key to understanding the household of nature'. Unlike other scholars (Cronon 1991), who consider nature the founding principle in shaping the world around us, generating built structures and formulating social behaviours, Anker (2003:131) takes an opposing view in arguing that, 'the manner of thinking about the environment is best understood through the chief manifestation of human agency: buildings'.[206] Thus, the setting and structure of a hut, account for *how* thought proceeds and is shaped. Focusing upon Thoreau himself, Anker is dismissive of his idealising of the vernacular, the simple building, attributing Thoreau's views on nature as a testament to the overtly ornate architecture of the time. Pollan mirrors this assessment in noting,

> Thoreau wrote in his journal that in the building's architecture "I found all his peculiarities faithfully expressed, his humanity, his fear of death, love of retirement, simplicity, etc." … I doubt that a big house could ever offer quite so intense a distillation of a single character or voice, so tight and uncompromising a fit of space to self (2008:23).

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[206] George Bernard Shaw's writing hut, for example, an eight-by-eight pine shack at the bottom of his garden, was constructed on a steel turntable that allowed him to single-handedly rotate the building during the course of the day, in order to follow the arc of the sun: 'What could better suit a playwright than a house that looked at the world not from any angle, but from every possible angle in turn?'(Pollan 2008:23). It is of note that this questions the 'dwelling' to 'building' logic of Heidegger followed in this this thesis.

The bothy too is drawn into the imagination as a potential place for great works. At the 'bothy symposium' at Heriot Town in March 2014, these places were celebrated as thought-provoking spaces. The high profile work of the 'Bothy Project' articulates this concept well. Having attempted to work at public bothies, the project's founding members found that the uncertainty surrounding solitude (never mind the basic absence of a table or chair) in bothies, spaces which are inherently public due to their open door policy, led to the potential for disruption, '*stag party fear*', as the founder of this organisation declared. This was enough to spur a desire to create designated bothy spaces. Albeit ones with a power socket, a desk and a bed. Here is a space, Alec notes of Sweenies Bothy on Eigg, '*it's not time to chunder out a novel, it's just time to change your thinking to leave your usualness behind*' (Finley in field diary, 01/03/14). Yet, as Anker (2003:140) admits, the conclusion to be drawn is '[t]hat thinkers frequently have sought out far-away places to gain perspective on current affairs is nothing new or even original'.

What is discussed less is the opposite conclusion: that not all feel the pull of isolation. One user, a lone bothy visitor, portrayed this point particularly well. Jack lived in Cambridgeshire, had a biology PhD and had come across Peanmeanach bothy on the off-chance having gone for a walk with his girlfriend (now wife) a few years earlier. He still lives in Cambridgeshire and now comes up to this bothy every year, usually alone. He plans to bring his son once he turns eight, and has already stashed all manner of 'treasure' around the area to stage a hunt for his young offspring. My field diary records his comment that '*it's one of the few times you have so little distractions, no TV, and if there's people it gives you a chance to talk*'. Although he comes alone, solitude is not his saviour: '*there's just something about the isolation .... but pretty quickly you look for company. You go crazy pretty quickly on your own*' (Jack).

Being alone is indeed not the popular idyll of bothy life. Rather, it is a building and social practice, known and accepted for its '*social lottery*' (Ross). As one user states, '*you meet people there, there's always different folk to talk to when you meet people out*' (Finlay), as another 'bothyite' concurs, '*you could meet anyone from any background and everybody is even, and I like that level playing field*' (Ross). In this space there is a different ethic, as Finlay continues, '*if the same group of 20 folk were in the city or whatever then you wouldn't talk but when you're there you do talk to people more than you would do in the city*'. This very fact was of great use in my own research practice, ensuring that I, as a

person asking personal questions, many miles into the countryside, was not viewed as strange, not overly out of place. As the BBC programme 'Bothy Life' details:

> you get strange folks, well not strange folks, but adventurous folks. Like last night there was two guys appeared over there carrying surfboards would you believe, and they'd been surfing down at Sandwood bay. Why not just leave your surfboards down there I say, nobody's going to pinch them. Oh we're going over to Cape Wrath they say to surf a Kurvaig beach. As you see it's quite windy today and they've got their wet suits and their surfboards and they're going to hike over that vast moor all the way just so they could surf (Bothy Life, BBC: 9/12/15)

I was deemed one of those adventurous folks, to whom people, for the most part, were willing to share their tales. Many a night was spent around a fire, talking, as my diary details, '*of life in far more detail than I would normally with strangers, a kinship was struck as a result of this place*' (field diary). Authors of *Mountain Days and Bothy Nights*, Brown and Mitchell (1987:176) also tackle the ideals of a bothy culture, the draws and the lure of this form of leisure, concluding that, '[a]ll the things that have been mentioned are true in part, but none is the real reason, at least as a man grows older. You come for the banter, the camaraderie, the tale-telling, the rituals of bothy life. The hill is an alibi. In the end, the bothy nights are as important as the mountain days'. With a dram passed round, a fire crackling, the bothy inhabitants momentarily become a community. Similar ideals in the same idyll.

It should not be thought that this communal approach is singularly a quality of the bothy experience. While it may appear that the hut is associated with solitude rather than sociability, that is not to say that ideas of community do not also permeate hut culture. At the broadest level, some A Thousand Huts events are even dubbed meetings of a 'hutting network'. At these events there was certainly an appreciable spirit of togetherness, of progress, most often unnamed and undefined: a feeling that this was, as one potential hut owner mused, '*a meeting of your tribe*' (Louise). On a more personal level, this need not be a national sense of commonality but entirely a family one. James tells one such tale. At least sixty members of his extended family, over four generations, have owned a hut at Carbeth. He gained his own one at the age of nineteen. He met his wife here. Fell in love. While there have been years without a hut in his life, he is now there again, a community member, a member of the new community company which now manages the land. Community, its appeal and strength at Carbeth, is *the* thing that he voiced repeatedly. During my time interviewing and spending time with this man and his family, I could

appreciate this social community and sense of responsibility. As he elaborates, speaking to an audience of hundreds at a hut network meeting,

> *I believe that one of the things that saved Carbeth was the sense of community ... about finding a simpler, slower way of spending my leisure time and sharing it with family and friends ... the thing I love most about Carbeth is the sense of community that we have there and I think that comes from being I supposed what we might call an intentional community. I know my neighbours at Carbeth better than I know my neighbours at home. I spend more time with my neighbours at Carbeth* (James in field diary: 22/02/14)

Other users note how people drop by all the time and share things when needed: '*vandalism isn't an issue, because it's a community*' [and] '*being part of a community is a good thing in this day and age*' (Hannah). Comments such as this underpin the assumption of the rural idyll as a more cohesive, tight knit, community, a homogenous placing of cosy conversations, a *Gemeinschaft* kind of locale.

Yet, even in '*this day and age*', the same user who uttered these words was conscious of putting her community (Carbeth) before that of a larger umbrella organisation (a hutting network). These feelings were voiced during a gala day, a poster-day for the community-feel so emotively discussed. Live music was played, open air games played, popcorn sold for 50p and soup for £1. A quaint affair by certain measures. In this setting Hannah spoke openly of her allegiance to Carbeth, her desire to put Carbeth first.

> *With reference to other campaigns she said she was wary. Her priority was to Carbeth and her involvement was because she wanted to make sure that their point of view is remembered. They had, she reminded me, been hutting for 100 years.* (field diary, 03/08/13)

Even within a single community there may nonetheless be signs of discord, perhaps typified in the identification of differing '*types of hutter*'.[207]

> *There's the real hands on tradesman kind of guy… there's the huppy[208] kind of eco guy. And there's the drinkers. Unfortunately there are drinkers, there's guys who use it as a bolt hole when they have an argument with their wife. They go down there and spend a week getting you know shit-faced. Then there's the guy who's, there's the dreamer who buys it because they think it's going to be an easy thing, they think they can just go down, hang some dream catchers in the window and just get high, and that works for a certain amount of time. And then there's the guy who wants to work with his hands, someone who's a bit more earthy.* (Tom)

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[207] The regulation of users in hutting will be addressed in the following chapter (8).
[208] An environmentally conscious type of 'yuppie'.

Ultimately, as voiced by one user during a focus group at the hutters meeting, *'she's from a hutting collective but she's also an individual and so would want to retain individuality'* (field diary entry on Leona: 22/02/14). Ideals may not be collective and each user seeks to protect their own notion of the idyll.

Similar 'bones of contention' can be found within the bothy sphere. Although the bothy code notes an open door policy, and popular imagery of bothy culture depicts a cosy, whisky-sharing, conversation-conductive affair, this need not always be the case. Here what I aim to highlight is the divergence of individual and collective, stressing that as Shepherd (1977:84) wrote when talking of the mountains, '[t]here are addicts of all classes of this strange pleasure'. Chapter 2 of Mortimer's, *Bothy Culture* (2013), is titled 'The Outdoor Knobber' and proves an apt response to tackle Ross's earlier assertion about how, within the bothy space, *'everybody is even'*. This book comes from one of the self-titled 'Bothy Council', a group with an opposing ideal of bothy ideals. He writes:

> "what we require," began The Sargent Matron one evening, whilst filling up his *Parker 73 Bulldog* pipe … "is some kind of device to detect these buggers long before we come into contact with them."
>
> I was most curious and academically minded by his outburst. What kind of device did he have in mind? Could such a technology exist in the 21st Century? I had just smoked a bong full of 'Blue Cheese' weed and my synapses were firing like the sparks coming from that over-sized log we had just chucked onto the bothy fire.
>
> "Oh, do go on," I exhorted.
>
> "Some kind of electronic handheld device," he explained. "The kind of thing one comes across in the likes of Star Trek, for example."
>
> "Like a Tricorder?" I propounded.
>
> "Yes, precisely," he replied. "We could call it something like the *Outdoor Knobber-O-Meter*, or *OKD Meter* for short, and it'd have to have a range of about a hundred yards or so, to detect any hint of these bastards within our vicinity."
>
> "A proximity detector?' I suggested.
>
> "Er, yes; something like that," he agreed. "That way we'd have time to don lab coats and the like, and seriously fuck with their noodles."
>
> (Mortimer 2013:19)

This self-defined, quirky 'subculture of the bothy' (Mortimer 2013:28) distinguishes itself from the 'outdoor knobbers' who, by 'Bothy Council' description, are: a middle class group, involved in serious business, who lack a sense of humour, abhor 'fun' in the outdoors and 'takes the weight issues of their backpacks to an extremely ludicrous level' (Mortimer 2013:21), takes only a smattering of warmth for fuel, and a seemingly abstemious amount of provisions. With these words, the idyll of a cosy night, around a fire, with like-minded folk – or indeed open-minded and welcoming – is scrambled, potentially.

A comparable schism was something I witnessed during an otherwise cosy bothy night spent with thirteen other users.[209] One group, decidedly middle-class, originally met as gym members and were led by a man they referred to as "The Reverend". My diary entry for the time reports events unfolding;

> *We're sharing, talking in depth about ourselves, our education systems, our jobs. All focused around the fire, the smell of woodsmoke in the air. But note the social poliarisation of that night, middle-class Glasgow and working-class from Ayr in different rooms.*
>
> *[in one room were the middle class group] 'The Reverend won't stop talking about his £60 chair, a lightweight collapsible contraption. I, like everyone else, was forced to take a shot, and correspondingly coo over its comfort… 'Interesting, conversation moved to the guys next door. The geography teacher commented 'Christ, when we found out that they were from New Cumnock we all [intake of breath], we all checked if he had the right number of fingers and toes – limited gene pool' – I added 'interesting critical comment, especially in a place with such thin walls'*
>
> *[in the other were the working class group] 'Talking to them about the MBA and he is not keen – thinks they're selfish', he's anti climbing clubs too. Basically talks of being looked down upon. 'come up here and make a cunt of yourself' – that's what people think they're doing.* (field diary:10/10/13)

What I wish to draw out of this encounter is the social polarisation and value judgements between groups.[210] While whisky was still shared, notably a one-way display of generosity by the group from Ayr, this was not the idyllic bothy scene. Such instances amount to an othering (Sibley 2003)[211] of those considered to be 'not the right sort'. The idea of a common and unified 'imagined community' of bothy culture can shatter on closer inspection and the unity and harmony of democratically open rural leisure exposed as a myth. Thoreau (1995[1845]:91) may have had three chairs for his house, 'one for solitude,

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[209] Notably none of the other 13 were members of the MBA.
[210] Issues of discordance with MBA ideals will be discussed in Chapter 9.
[211] Detailed in more depth in Chapter 9.

two for friendship, three for society', but in out-dwelling it seems he would have needed a few more. One assumes they need not cost £60.

The simple as skillful

Despite such occasional discordance, across the research conducted there is one unifying trait portrayed as imperative to 'hut well': the need to '*just get it*' (Hannah). The term 'get it' has appeared frequently in interviews with both hut and bothy users without prompt or prior mention. While I, like Eden and Bear (2010), appreciate that it is challenging to give words to practices that can only fully be *felt*, this short phrase, a mere two words, nonetheless speaks volumes to the ideals of the imagined hut or bothy user and the skills they may be presumed to hold. When asked for explanation of this phrase, one interviewee explained:

> *H: a true hutter [laughs], I don't know, not very articulate to say someone who just gets it, erm, I think it's about respecting that there's a community and a tradition, ... that you'll watch out for your neighbour, and that you value the natural space and place, respect it, look after your hut, you're not a nuisance, and that you don't want the electricity and all that, you're happy to walk away from all that. Because you know what's magic is putting on a candle (Hannah)*

These 'true hutters' strike me as a collective of people who might share in Thoreau's opinion that 'my greatest skill has been to want for little' (1995 [1854]:45), a statement of both pride and skill. While I concede that this notion of '*just get it*' has exclusionary connotations (see Matless 1995), setting one group – who do '*get it*'[212] – over/above all others, it does seem that the out-dwelling ideal requires this accomplishment, this skill, innate or learned, to know that, as Hannah states, '*what's magic is simply putting on a candle*'. This specific notion holds wider appeal, as Deakin (2007:13) writes in his work *Wildwood*, quoting Thoreau: 'Electricity kills darkness, candlelight illuminates it'. Here it seems that there is skill to this innate knowledge, this attuned body and mind which is ineffable. Though a short phrase, 'getting it' therefore holds within it a vast world of knowing/feeling and is thus an imaginative leap of faith rather than just practical accomplishment. It is, as Lorimer (2005) would write, 'more-than-representational'.

Anthropologist Grasseni (2007) has discussed this matter in her theory of 'skilled visions', which are, as she explains, 'the diverse process of developing 'an eye for' something …. [the ability to] absorb certain capacities' (Grassini 2008:152). Describing experiences

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[212] Of course different cohorts of bothy goers will likely have different things that should be 'got' in order to hut or bothy well.

while researching dairy farming, she voices frustration at not being able to pick out individual cattle and call them by name. She was thus not 'able to absorb certain capacities for looking that … [her] host's grandchildren leisurely exercised' (Grasseni 2008:152). While anyone could go to a hut or a bothy, perhaps there is something in this notion of '*just get it*' that denotes a *skilled appreciation*, a honed interest in living life a little differently, if just for a short time. There are no assurances, however, that all users can uphold this ideal. As Lea (2009) highlights in her assessment of the skill involved in learning a profession, there is no assurance that such skill can always be gained. Importantly, repetitive action does not necessarily increase skill, just as repeated exposure may not make time spent in an out-dwelling a skillful experience for certain users.

Whether users 'get it' or not, the ideals of out-dwelling remain intimately linked to skill. For many who offered up their thoughts during this project, it appears, through both language and action, that there is a lure in out-dwelling life based, in part, around the most simple of tasks. What some would view as mundane or menial in other settings become enriching experiences in the hut space. Just as Shepherd's (1977:82) words above suggest, 'there is a pervasive satisfaction in these simple tasks', and it is these 'practices of place' (Kohler 2002, in Lorimer 2008:382) which engender skills in this instance. It is the ability to light a fire, to chop wood, to cook without a stove, or to craft tin foil into a reflector to get the most light from a single candle which all adds to the experience (Figure 56).
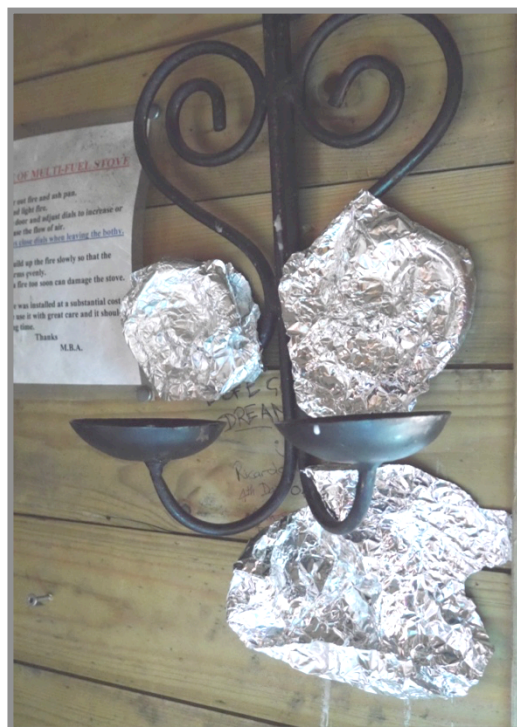
Figure 56. A tin foil reflector fashioned by users. (Author's own).

In hutting communities, it is the skill to mend, to re-use and to build which are most commonly discussed. The following interview extract derives from one user of the Eddleston collection of huts, which lies 18 miles south of Edinburgh. Talking of his experiences since purchasing his hut, he notes:

> *T: I've done all the work myself and I don't know anything about DIY ... but my granddad died in 1990 when I was like 11 years old and one of the things I inherited was a big box of old tools. Never used them. So I'm 32 years old and I've got this big box of tools, and I thought perfect, so I've used them and it's been great, they're all woodworking tools.*
> *R: they'd be tricky to get hold of?*
> *T: yeah, there's thousands of pounds worth there and I've made a lot of mistakes.*
> *R: have you done it all yourself?*
> *T: absolutely, no... people, some friends have helped, there's a guy on the hutting site that I've met that's a joiner and he'll come and he'll look at something and say what've you done that for, and I'll say well I didn't know what to do, and he'll say oh well you want to do it this way. He came when I was trying to fit a window in the kitchen and he was like C... [laughed], what are you doing? ... you don't want to do it that way because it's going to leak But ... that's it really, it's just been myself, it's been a real learning curve. My social life's vanished* (Tom).

While other secondary works talk of skill as mastery (Sennett 2008; Ocjeco 2012) here skill is seemingly appreciated for the attempt, the process and the 'make do'. The hutting idyll is not sited perfection, but rather in practice, in process. As with the 'make do' of my methodology,[213] the skills here aim to work with what you have. Here, however, these skills are stitched upon the 'make do and mend' philosophy, and as such are couched in a resource-saving, economically sensible and (largely) environmentally conscious approach, all part of the wholesome image, of a rural country idyll.

There is also, as the following excerpt shows, a prevailing sense that these are skills which society has largely lost:

> *it's funny, I had this conversation with somebody a while ago and I was saying that one of the things I'm interested in about Carbeth is the idea of skills, developing skills and learning new skills. My dad left school at 14, his first job was in the mines and he did his National Service and he did a variety of labouring jobs after that. But he could turn his hand to all sorts of plumbing and joinery, far more than I could and I've had the education that he never had and I could never do any of these things. Um, so for me it's about learning processes* (James).

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[213] Covered in Chapter 3.

This comment above is from the young child shown in Figure 57, all grown up now but shown here as a young boy with his father. His words highlight the way in which hutting is cast as a reconnection with an imagined breadth of skills base which, as a whole, society supposedly no longer holds. Just as Ingold (2011a:62) concludes, the information put forth by users suggests that the frenetic pace of life and availability of new technologies has 'not inevitably auger[ed] the end of skill'. In the case of the out-dwelling it is just this speeding up which has arguably ignited a return to skill.

Figure 57. Interviewee and his father (taken by interviewee).

The importance of skill is in fact taken further by one representative of the Thousand Huts Campaign. Mentioned in brief earlier, this refers to a campaign started in 2010 by Reforesting Scotland which has sought to make legal, social and physical space for a rejuvenated hutting culture in contemporary Scotland. During an informal interview, when asked of the benefits of hutting, the following comment was made: *'You need to be active and that's a big benefit because everything else in society is encouraging you to be passive. And I think that's the strongly political aspect of hutting. It's re-skilling people in being active in life, physically, mentally and creatively active'* (Karen). Clearly, then, 're-skilling' is central to the lure of out-dwellings and their future in modern day Scotland. While such activities may be tied to the imagined geography of a 'going back', returning

and playing into the cosy country canvas, in this case it appears to be a case of complex 'skilling up', a need created within modern society for, as Thrift (2000b:688) notes, 'for there to be faster subjects, there have to be slower ones'. Rather than couching itself in a preassumed rural psyche, out-dwelling is actually redefining these measures as a progressive reaction to the present, not demanding a reinstated rural past.

Turning back to the users themselves, it nonetheless appears that there is a craft to hutting well. Thoreau (1995 [1854]:46) writes that, 'in short, I am convinced, by both faith and experience, that to maintain one's self on this earth is not a hardship but a pastime, if we live simply and wisely'. While many of the skills perpetuating this lifestyle can be seen as simple or basic, there is nonetheless, in contrast to Thoreau's conclusions, an acceptance by users that it actually takes considerable work to live simply, and that some do this better than others. The placement of value in this way has also led to a moralising narrative of skill acquisition and deployment within these out-dwellings, as this interview exchange reveals:

> R: so what do you do when you go to the hut?
> E: well I'm not very good at it, I have to say…
> R: what do you mean by that, why are you not good at it?
> E: well my mum will knit or crochet and she'll make rugs, and my dad will clad the walls and chop logs and do very countryside activities. Whereas I'll arrive, pour a wine, read quite a lot of my book. And then … go for a walk. Very ambient activities, and I amass TV shows on my tablet and power through all of them in a night.
> R: so do you find it more difficult to do the sort of 'simple life' things?
> E: yeah I get fed up doing them. And well I don't have the skills' (Elsie, my emphasis).

Specific skills are here deemed acceptable, in fact necessary for good hutting practice, as opposed to those activities which remind the user of city life. There is no room in this idyll, for modern ideals. Here Elsie is honestly critiquing herself: she does not regard herself as a 'good hutter', seeing herself as insufficiently skilled. The moral geographies apparent in the creation of this social coding are clear: accepted are those who cherish the 'simple life', who are capable of going without a wash, a kitchen and, pertinent in today's society, the presence of wifi. Less accepted are those who fall outwith the tacit knowledge and embodiment of this social code.

Central to this matter is not only practical skill, but also a perception of 'closeness' to nature. Littering in the out-dwelling is lamented not as a lack of the skills to dispose of rubbish, but as the byproduct of a '*disconnection with the land*' (Tommy) and the loss of

the broader skills of engaging with the environment 'out there', as argued above. Such associations blend with the work of Matless on the British landscapes of leisure in the 1930s and 1940s. He argues that the countryside was here deemed a crucial tool for generating citizenship, in which context the outdoors became 'an instrument, the most important we possess, for the training of the citizen of the future in the art of living right' (Joad 1934, in Matless 1997:143). Such grand national ideals still cling on within the culture of these out-dwellings, separating what is deemed acceptable from that which is not. Many users chastise those who are not the 'right sort', who, just as in the 1930s and 1940's, 'make … a racket and leave… their empties' (Matless 1997:143). Those in the 'other room' mentioned above are just these figures. While they were the ones willing to share their whisky, their antics and accents, did not fit with what 'the Reverend' and his group considered to be the 'right sort'. These *anti*-out-dwellers are held up in opposition to what the right user is thought to be. But coming back to 'E's comments above, it is not only active hedonism which falls within the discourse of the other, for being passive, and not honing skills is also seen to rub against the hutting (or bothying) grain.

In addition to the moral geographies at play here (momentarily sidestepping users' ideas and idylls), there is also an argument to be made based upon Ingold's (2000) 'taskscape'. Tasks, in an Ingoldian vein, clearly necessitate skills, but perhaps there is something to be said about honing skills beyond what is required simply to complete the task. Here we begin to encounter the skillscape (see Hunt 2016), made up of skills, gathered, practiced and refined which create not only a landscape made up of tasks but one in which skill is central to the experience, crucial to its success in delivering the aim of that particular 'scape'. Many users talk of the experience of packing for their trip, or seeing the ability to pack efficiently, to take only what you need, as a skilful act (Steven, Ava). As one user, who travels over 500 miles from London to the Cairngorms for a weekend in a bothy, reflects on the topic of skill:

> *I mean there's social skills, I suppose, and not everyone you meet has them [chuckles]. You know you've got to make the best of it, if you're sharing with other people. What else? I suppose the little things like if I go on a trip and I go shopping, then I straight away know what stuff to buy, but that's stuff you pick up … It's just remembering what you missed the last time.* (Steven)

Thus, just as Eden and Bear (2010) found that anglers learned to 'read the river', so too do users of this recreational community learn the skills to undertake their pastime of choice. Learning the art of camp stove cooking, of weight minimisation and the balance between necessity and luxury, they become able to '*pack to perfection'* (Ava). As with the anglers,

this skill is developed ecologically, through bodily movements alongside environmental interactions. In addition, part of the skill of out-dwelling is not only learning what to take, but also learning to repurpose, and also (crucially) when not to, as one fairly young respondent recalls:

> *… just more self sufficiency, it's the same from camping but you learn sort of to, not so much a skill, but taking away what you take in. You get folk that think that sticking a candle in it means that you've done something with it, but you just end up with loads of bottles sitting there with wax all over them.* (Finlay)

Thus, in upholding out-dwelling ideals, there is also skill in *not* doing, in absence just as much as in actions. Such tasks may seem simple, yet it is often precisely skill which make them appear so. In practice, each of these examples highlights an articulation of complex embodied actions, full of knowledge, even if tacit. These 'out-dwellers' are arguably aware of this skillscape: they bemoan their own lack of skills acquisition, acknowledge the attendant possibility of failure, and critique those not yet up to the task. There is of course the concern that this awareness has emerged through exclusion of what is cast as unskilled, perhaps not physically, but certainly in discourses of acceptance and about the possession of skills to hut well. The lure of the out-dwellings idyll may be predicated on simplicity, but successful out-dwelling is pervasively dependent on skill.

Conclusion

Just as the idyll is a key geographical term, so too is it key to out-dwelling culture, differing perhaps from the 'chocolate box' pastoral of the English countryside, but offering no less sweet a *douceur* for the welcoming appetite. The out-dwelling idyll here is more rustic, more infused with environmental thought, more nuanced in situation, deeper in sentimentality, nostalgia, and feeling of restorative escape. The idyll here is curative. The idyll (as a physical locale) is abundant in ideals, written above in number, but not fully accounted, for this is an idealist culture. It houses many ideals: the pulls of simplicity, nature, past, present, health, skill, community, isolation, hardship and freedom. All figure in the make-up of this culture, forming these buildings and their appeal as substantial as the stone, wood, nail and sweat from which they are constructed.

Just as H.D Thoreau discovered at Walden, the experience of out-dwelling is not only about the buildings. It is of course about them, *in part*, their setting, structure and the push they that have on life, lived differently. But Thoreau's time at Walden was founded on a myriad of ideals, of what life could, and should, be. These ideals give character to his

book, speaking of what fellow humans value in simplicity, solitude, skills, accomplishments, and above all personal pride. Thoreau was proud to live differently, outside the mainstream, his avid environmentalism an outcome, but perhaps not a spur to why he lived in the woods. To 'live deliberately' (1995 [1854]: 59), a resonant term, was to take on life, to create a space for returning, retracing, and re-appreciating what life could be. This, by Thoreau's reckoning, could only be achieved when set apart from the brash architecture and en-closed walls of what he saw 'culture' to be. Summatively, therefore, life at Walden, like the culture of out-dwellings, was founded on a set of ideas used to create the ideal life. Collectively, both bothy and hut speak to a collective imagining of somewhere better and simpler.

Yet Thoreau's idyll was but a myth. Thoreau was cut from a fine cloth, had visitors, had a mother who fed him lunches and pies throughout his time at Walden Pond (Anker 2003) and lived without a job (during that time at least). This was not the peasant's simple life that he so clearly idealised. Yet, nor is it for those with whom I have been working. Those who partake in out-dwelling culture also come with their own set of privileges, not least the ability to go to these places, and, importantly, the ability to go home again. The users of these places, like Thoreau discern much to admire about these spaces, long for within them and learn from them, but to paint a picture of this 'out-dwelling' world through these ideals and idylls alone can divert our precious gaze away from the more contentious aspects of these engagements, their fraught, and difficult nature. Taggart and Vannini (2013b:309) write of the motives of off-gridders, that merely to talk of the 'chronicles of free choice, morally superior political practices, or the carefree pleasures of simplicity' ignores the 'hopes, failures, aspirations, idyllic pleasures, complexities, affective drives, struggles, ironies, disillusions, compromises, and the negotiations typical of this quest'. To do so here in my project equally obscures the nuance of out-dwelling realities. While I have hinted at this heterogeneity, the following chapter takes up this task, addressing not only the complexity of the out-dwelling situation, its divisions, schisms and power relations, but also its inherently political nature and its increasingly radical potential.

Chapter 8: "*Out-Law Culture*" Out There? Buildings, Movement, Access, Land

Introduction

This chapter shifts attention away from the 'idyll-ised myths' (Cloke and Little 1997:3) that can be reasonably said to engulf out-dwelling culture through mediated representations of these activities and also, in part, in the words and action of their users. Rather than having this thesis perpetuate these ideals, of a situated set of idylls, the following arguments seek to address the less obvious, the overlooked and the more potentially progressive, even radical, nature of hutting as a political endeavour. Taking inspiration from land rights campaigner, writer, commentator and activist Andy Wightman and his observation that 'the revolution will start in a hut' (Wightman 2013), this chapter seeks to create space for a new vision for how to use Scottish land. Certainly a case can be made to challenge the words of one user that these are '*small buildings for the poor… and that's all they are*' (Paul). In order to situate these buildings and their use within a contemporary political context, I first trouble the idyll before, secondly, embedding out-dwelling within a literature of rural resistance. Thirdly, I discuss the potential for resistance in reflection and practice, incorporating ideas about critical modernism and the post-modern[214] condition; and fourthly, I address the means by which mobility remains a counter-culture in itself, anti-norm, yet integral to 'out-dwelling' culture. In order to contextualise this radical vision for an alternative 'folk geography' of the Scottish countryside, in the fifth and sixth sections, I will explore out-dwelling within the wider national context of reformed landownership, community buyouts, improved rights of public access over the last two decades, and extended struggles for land and leisure.

Philo once argued that,

> there is presently an excited swirl of interest within and around rural geography about the conceptual, empirical and perhaps 'political' implications of paying attention to different kinds of people occupying, experiencing, shaping and coping with different kinds of spaces (1997:22).

As this fervour has arguably slackened in rural geographey of late, my chapter here seeks to re-engage with this disciplinary heritage, situating out-dwelling within current, post-Referendum[215] re-imaginings of rural Scotland, incorporating this once '*out-law culture*'

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[214] I acknowledge that 'post-modernism' is a now seen as rather outdated reference-point.
[215] Referring to the independence referendum of 2014.

(Karen) into visions for a new Scottish landscape, and above all reiterating Demonsthenes' (in Halfacree 2007b:138) early observation that 'small opportunities are often the beginning of great enterprises'.

Why Wightman?

Andy Wightman (Figure 58) is an compelling choice for an intermediary with whom to tackle the issue of a radical rurality in Scottish out-dwelling culture. Author of *Who Owns Scotland* (1996) and *The Poor had no Lawyers* (2010),[216] Wightman has, over the past twenty years, by his own description 'undertaken a wide range of work on land tenure, landownership, land reform and, more recently community land rights, governance and the hegemonic dimensions of land relations' (www.andywightman.com).
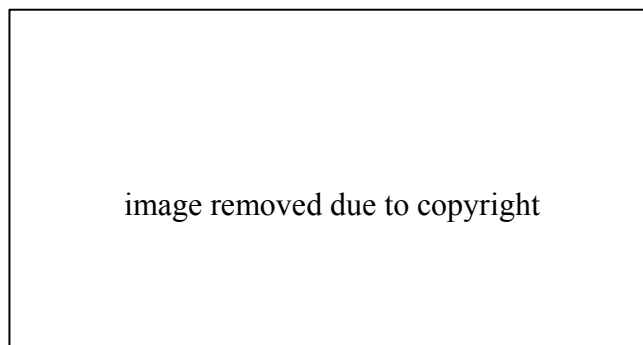
Figure 58. Andy Wightman (The Scottish Farmer 2013)

His aim is true, namely countering 'hegemonic landed power in all its guises' – the subject at the heart of this chapter, and arguably out-dwelling culture more generally (www.andywightman.com). Drawing upon Wightman's knowledge, embracing his purpose and inspired by his outrage, the following chapter seeks to argue how out-dwellings can radically change the relationship of people to the countryside, to leisure, to land, and to themselves.

Fracturing the idyll – why we need to politicise.

This chapter hence charts what might reasonably be labeled a political geography of out-dwelling culture, mapping its extent and arguing for the ways in which it can be seen to challenge the landed establishment both 'from below' and *within*,[217] creating space for the voices of this vernacular culture to be heard on a wider Scottish stage. Yet, in seeking to

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[216] Since reprinted (and forewarded) three times.
[217] 'Below' referring to out-dwellings place outwith established norms, and 'within' through policy pressure at Government level.

identify a radical stance I do not wish to homogenise its 'culture', nor to overwrite its diversity. As the following section highlights, there is often at work an 'insidering' of outdoor culture; that is to say, an internal patrolling or policing, a moral schema of what is acceptable, a positing of who should be allowed, what terms should be used, and for whom the leading organisational bodies (the Thousand Huts Campaign and the MBA) really speak.

Therefore, to offer an initial insight into the many lives that fracture the out-dwelling idyll, allow me to introduce Dave and his pet terrier McTavish, both keen members of 'The Cumnock Hillbillie Hillwalkers'. This pair have visited all of the publicised bothies in Scotland, and I encountered them on more than one research trip, both in person and on the page (Figure 59).
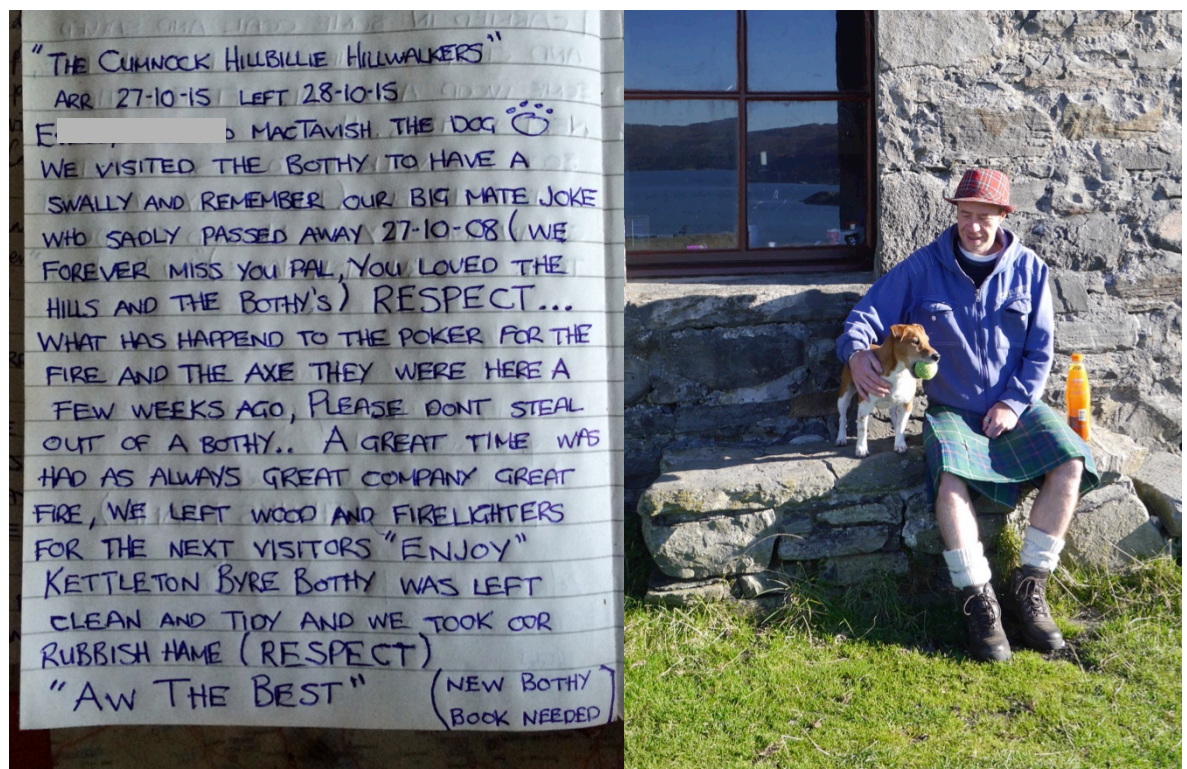
Figure 59. Dave, McTavish and "The Cumnock Hillbillie Hillwalkers" (Author's own).

Dave does not wear Ronhills, Rab or any other item of 'technical' branded outdoor clothing, aside from perhaps his boots. The last time I saw him he wore a tartan hat, a kilt and a well-travelled Scotland football shirt. He listened to a Bruce Springsteen live set for most of the night, played from his mobile phone, and brought with him solar-powered fairy lights to stave off the dark. Dave is not one of Mortimer's 'Outdoor Knobbers.' He is also not a member, or a fan, of the MBA. Talking about the MBA, he argues that they are

selfish and exclusionary. Recounting past experiences he details being looked down upon, judged, for the way he looks, the way he sounds. Yet in the many bothy book entries I came upon written by Dave, he still upholds the MBA notions of a good user; he tidies the bothy, leaves cut wood and carries out his rubbish. Despite this, he still feels he is not, and does not want to be, one of '*them*'.

Issues of exclusion run right back through the MBA's history, detailed in the archive and enlivening Bell's (in Bunce 2003:26) caution against supposing a 'monolithic rural idyll'. On one level, then, this all reads as a history of othering, exclusion, of creating a moral geography of the outdoors in which many are not welcome.
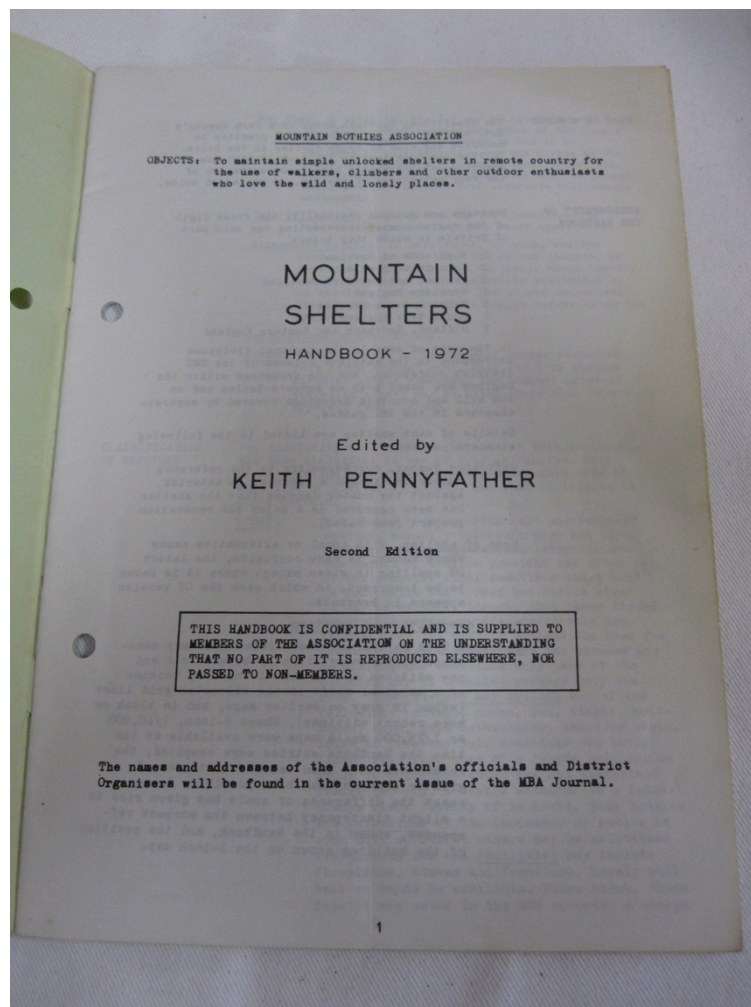
Figure 60. Members Handbook from 1972. See particularly the text box which reads 'This handbook is confidential and is supplied to members of the Association on the understanding that no part of it is reproduced elsewhere, nor passed to non-members' (Author's own).

In the early years, the locations of bothies were to be kept secret, with the inaugural meeting announcing that only one copy would be given out per member, and as this copy

(Figure 60) of the 1972 Members Handbook details, they were not to be passed on. This schema of 'us' and 'them' went further as discussions of privacy became more contentious.

In a letter to all members, in 1972 it was stated that:

> Although supplied to members only, on a "confidential" basis, in practice this is clearly difficult to control. Over 900 copies have been distributed so far, and it is well known that information is "leaked"; sometimes for the benefit of individuals and sometimes for those at, for example, adventure centres. More seriously, from time to time landowners have discovered on odd copy lying around and some have been understandably enraged at finding their own property included in the list without their knowledge. It is bad enough to receive a complaint direct from a landowner when the MBA's name is at stake, but for a landowner to put the matter in the hands of his solicitors – as at least two have done – could have disastrous consequences. In any case, it is pointless to pretend that all the information is confidential, as any regular hillwalker will sooner or later discover the principal bothies by word of mouth.

This letter was born out of a postal referendum, decided upon at the 1971 AGM which asked members whether information in the bothy handbook should be split into section 'A' – including all bothies to which the MBA has obtained permission (from the owner, club or equivalent), and about which they have accurate information, to be printed in a handbook for all members – and 'the contentious' (correspondence, MBA archive 1972) "section B", a list of unofficial bothies, held by the MBA records secretary and only given out after two years of membership. These early days, in which information was be to be 'safeguarded' (correspondence, MBA archive 1972), paralleled ideas of 'true walkers' and those who are 'genuine'. In some of the archive correspondence it was made clear that expansionism and publication were frowned upon, seen to be to detrimental to those who had invested time and effort in restoring and maintaining these buildings. Despite being 'open to all', all were clearly not universally welcome. However, this moral schema was not unopposed, with committee members standing down, members leaving and ideological schisms marking the MBA's early years.

Despite publication of bothy locations and the democratic principles of the organisation, the MBA is, as it has been, still a narrative of Philo's (1992:200) 'Mr Averages', male, middle-aged and above, and seemingly middle-class. However, the archive (just as the

bothy books of Chapter 4) highlights that the MBA,[218] while representing a certain type of outdoor enthusiast, on closer inspection is no more uniform than any other social grouping.

Fractures also exist within the Thousand Huts campaign group, its membership, aims and image. At an early Steering Group meeting a comment was made when talking of approaching certain MSP's[219] that the group wanted '*good folk, earthy types*', typecasting the group immediately within a selective ideal-driven environmentalist image. One hut user, a familiar face at hutting events, argued that, '*it's trying to be very catholic*' (Douglas), projecting a certain style of life for those with the '*spirit of a hutter*' (Giles). The impression given, at all of the events attended, was of a leftist politics, a liberal ethos, butting up against a deep-seated "small c" conservatism, about who should, is, and could be involved in this culture. The argument is often made that '*they [huts] have the potential to be a great equaliser*' (Giles) and, as one speaker from the bothy symposium commented (in reference to huts), most seek to '*protect the biodiversity of the hut concept – you can have a right wing hut and a left wing hut*'. Again we are met with multiple identities, persona and ideas for what the hutting idyll might comprise.

This contention is perhaps most pointedly represented in discussions over the Bothy Project, whose work is cast by some as '*a forerunner of future exclusively, rich, artists funded by the public, or the comfortably well off "artists"*' (Donald Gunn 9/10/2014 www.facebook.com). Issue is taken with the matter of cost, the £250 residency fee,[220] and the use of the term 'Bothy' for a building which does not align to any meaning of the term, contemporary or historic. It is indeed not open, it is not free, it was not built to house farm workers. As one of the founders of the project admits, '*Bothy's is more of a sentiment, it's more about having open doors. Although ours aren't open doors, they are open to the public at least, and a hut, and the Thousand Huts, is for private dwelling… they're not open to the public*' (Bobby). This last comment was in response to a particularly vicious social media attack (since deleted and so not reproduced) which questioned the use of the term 'bothy' for a building of this sort. At the Bothy symposium, two key players in the project later argued, '*just as the bothy is an appropriation, these buildings were before*' (Alec), '*we used bothy because it is colloquial and because we want to take it internationally, bothy is a Scottish term*' (Bobby).

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[218] While on some level enchanting, the BBC's 'Bothy life' programme showcased mainly the committee, the dedicated members of the bothy core, the outdoor enthusiast of popular stereotype.
[219] Member of the Scottish Parliament
[220] One which I too paid in the course of fieldwork.

Clearly out-dwelling culture is not a homogenous social movement. It would be foolish for this thesis to argue so. To turn to the radical potential of this culture without accepting such heterogeneity is not possible. There are here effectively a contemporary variant on Halfacree's (1998) 'neo-tribes', postulating and battling for space in a post-productive rural.[221] So, underlining this 'messiness' of the rural there is even more need to be reminded of Cloke's (2003:2) conclusion that' 'we *must* go beyond cultural constructions of idyll in order to find new ways of knowing and understanding rurality'. Subsequently, rather than presenting out-dwelling as a passive product of the 'armchair countryside' (Bunce 2003:20), this thesis aims to present a more active vision of hutting, contextualised through direct rural experiences, historical precedent and contemporary debate. Cloke and Little (1997:8) list five unresolved issues about 'otherness' in rural terms; politics; policy discourse; morality; privilege and tourisms,[222] and it is to politics and privilege that the following sections shall seek to attend.

Resistance in reflection and practice

Out-dwelling activities have, thus far, been neglected as a subject of academic concern and, therefore, fall within Philo's (1992) suggested 'neglected rural geographies'. Though practised by 'ordinary people' and through everyday activities, this is still a '*counter culture*' (Giles), aligned with counter-urbanisation. Out-dwelling culture adds an element of temporality to this phenomena of the counter urban, since these are people who do not move perminently, they likely return to city (or town) lives. However their ideals may remain comparable to those who move permanently to the countryside. It appears that out-dwelling culture, figured in terms of users, practice and ideals, can readily speak to Halfacree's (1997:71) argument that 'creative energies' are where the radical edge of counter-urbanisation lies, and that such migration has 'the potential to stir a radical ingredient into the emerging post-productivist countryside'.[223] Here is a brief but instructive exchange from my record:

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[221] This is taken from Maffestoni's concept of 'neo-tribalism' and applied to the countryside by Halfacree: 'Neo-tribes are defined as groups rooted in individual self-reflexive acts of identification, a precarious existence reliant upon the construction of space … for their longer term survival. Within the post-productivist countryside a context is envisaged between neo-tribal middle class in-migrants and more tribal (i.e. less reflexive) established groups of residences, as well as between different neo-tribal fractions within the in-migrant population' (Halfacree and Boyle 1998:15).

[222] In terms of privilege, they note: 'Idyll-ised landscapes are favoured for study at the expense of less glamorous subjects and things which are woven into landscape tapestries… 'Ordinary' other places can become shadowed out by the privileging of special landscapes, with the result that the 'messiness' of rural space is sometimes lost (as indeed is the messiness of taken-for-granted metaphors such as text, landscape, mapping and so on)' (Cloke and Little 1997:11).

[223] The idea of the 'post-productivist' countryside' has developed in response to perceived changes in British rural areas and, as Halfacree and Boyle (1998:7) note 'it is important to stress that the idea of a post-

R: what do you think are the benefits of access to these buildings?
H: well, revolution! (Hannah)

There can be no clearer endorsement of the radical potential of 'out-dwelling'. Many of those involved in this culture are not shy about articulating the political potential of their endeavours: '*I think the resurgence in hutting has been brewing for at least 10 years. People have a feeling of rejecting how society has gone*'. These are the words of Karen Grant, Spokesperson for the Thousand Huts Campaign, delivered at the Centre for Human Ecology in 2014. Her campaign rhetoric, identifying a counter-modern edge to the out-dwelling impetus, was matched in other settings, in talk of resisting the '*clutter*' (Thousand Huts Fouder Ninian at 'The Bothy, The Hut, and the Wild Wild Mind' symposium) of everyday life, the '*speeding up*' (Grant talking at the Centre for Human Ecology) of society. There are echoes here of Pollan's (2008:xi) conclusion that the hut is a place to 'launch critiques on society'. While the previous chapter has discussed the draw of the wilds or the call of nature, making no attempt to disprove the validity of these ideals, there is also evidence to endorse Halfacree's (1997:75) conclusions that 'abstract universal needs' are both situated and date-stamped. Thus out-dwelling can be read within discussions of the postmodern condition of contemporary society which creates a reactionary rurality as individuals scramble to find a meaningful identities in a society which no longer affords it. Rather than dismissing this as 'a reactionary premodern nostalgic response' (Halfacree1997:81), Halfacree (1997:83) argues for a 'hidden subversiveness' in these ideas, arguing that such practices could be read as 'a form or dialectical synthesis between postmodernism and premodernism, refracted through the modernist concern for order', or, in other words, an ability to see the benefit that traditional notions of order could have in finding understanding for contemporary life. Such notions appear in out-dweller thinking. One hutter, Douglas, argues that for him hutting is a reaction to modern urban living, an act of resistance and a '*latent desire*'.

> *I can't help but be a bit of a revolutionary…. I've always thought, in some ways … the problems really have to be solved in the rural environment. I mean what I'm really trying to say is that the world is not going to be saved by urban people that's for sure. I think the world is much more likely to be saved by people who are actually living in the rural environment. They at least are deeply connected with it, because of course ultimately the way we grow food and manage the land and the natural resources are really where it's at. People who live in cities, they're just consumers, that's what they do. And the rural environment has to feed that. The people who live in cities, I don't think they're*

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productivist countryside does *not* mean a countryside in which agriculture is either no longer present or in which it has been eclipses in significance by other land issues'.

ecologically attuned. They don't really get the full implications of it. And actually the more important thing, which really answers your question, is I think really, I don't think that the world's ecological crisis, if you could call it that, will actually, can actually be solved unless culturally people are much more understanding and in tune with the natural world because I just don't think you can care enough if it doesn't affect you and touch you I suppose in some kind of more immediate way. Um I mean it's fairly easy in a city just to forget about what's going on there in the natural world (Douglas).

Likewise at the Bothy Symposium,[224] it was noted that '*a modern world has a different necessity for a hut*'. Halfacree's ideas are carried through in these 'out-dwelling' which have established a new niche in contemporary society, one embracing both forward and backward glances to navigate the present. Rather than purely offering an escape from the modern, out-dwelling can be seen as both a marker of existential concerns and a way to gain a sense of belonging in today's world. It is here that counter-urbanisation has 'the *potential* (whether or not realised) to feed into radical critiques of postmodern capitalist society' (Halfacree 2008:485). I argue that this potential is being realised here, in relation to out-dwellings.

This is a small-scaled version of radicalism, quiet in its operations. It often goes largely unnoticed. Yet, it brings with it certain strength. Several users, of both hut and bothy, spoke of using these buildings to educate their children on a new way of life, a connection to land and older values with which to tackle future issues. Reduce, recycle, reuse here are set against ideas of thriftiness, a seeming integrity in making new from old. Huts in particular might not always have been seen to be progressive, not by all at least. One user spoke of being embarrassed to have a hut in his youth, the fashion then (and arguably now) was for holidays abroad. A hut spoke of poverty, not the well-publicised ascetic aesthetic which so appeals at present. Today, however, James is aware of the potential of hutting, particularly as a result of recent events.

I think it's extremely political, yeah. I probably didnae always. I didn't really find it much thought until recently, but the combination of the rent strike, the buyout process and what reforesting Scotland, Thousand Huts are doing, has highlighted to me just how political it is.

The radical potential is arguably growing, poised perfectly amidst current changes in access to leisure and land. However, it is not only institutions, rallies, or campaigns which can politicise an issue. Out-dwellings are first radical in their capacity to use the past as both a progressive and palliative force for dealing with today's society.

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[224] The Bothy, the Hut and the Wild Wild Mind.

Wightman's work, both in published form and impassioned public speaking, is targeted at a radical transformation of Scottish landownership practices. As he writes, 'I should stress one thing. This [his] book is about how landed power emerged and how the legal establishment connived in this process' (Wightman 2013:3). This thesis, and more specifically this chapter, takes a less forensic perspective, aiming to question the hegemonic practices of current land use and ownership, through out-dwelling practice as well as action. The argument to be made is that a change in thought can have just as much radical potential as a change in practice.[225]

Resistance through mobility

Issues of movement have also enabled out-dwelling culture to trouble the imagined boundaries of a homogenous rural. Just as fractures in the imagined community of the idyll can impact upon the dominant view of the rural as cohesive, so too can this sort of 'nomadism'[226] (Halfacree 2007b:133) messy the urban rural divide. Although Scotland has confirmed in law the 'right to roam' (a point to which I will return in the following section), this does not preclude the radical resonance of out-dwelling's inherent mobility. The mobility in question here pertains to the movement of persons to and from these out-dwelling spaces, a movement afforded increased status due the temporary use of these buildings. Out-dwellings are not places where people live, they are places that people visit and to visit requires one to arrive, and to leave. Here I draw upon Sibley's (2003) psychoanalytic analysis of movement within the rural environment which sees transience as troublesome, because it clashes with the dominant and sedentary view of rural life. As he continues, although formed in the unconscious, these thoughts evidence themselves in social and cultural practice and, with particular relevance for this thesis, spatial practice. Sibley (1997, 2003) uses historic examples of Navvies, Plotlanders[227] and Gypsies, all people with transient lifestyles, and whose mobility is thus at odds with a perceived norm. Although the out-dwelling community is not defined by their mobility on an individual scale – they have permanent dwellings elsewhere – the practice of out-dwelling culture as a whole is nonetheless troubled by this sanitising spatial impulse. In particular, early communications between the MBA and landowners mirror this concern. While a mobile

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[225] The establishment of a Federation of Scottish Hutters by Reforesting Scotland should be key here, offering a space for speech. As Wightman and Planterose argue, 'it is envisaged that this user group will play an important rile in supporting the responsible development of hutting' (2013).

[226] See also Halfacree's research on 'New Age' Travellers (1996).

[227] For more information on plotlanders see Hardy and Ward 1985.

usership was to be tolerated, an open door policy, with access for anyone, was not to be permitted.

> The project at Burg on the Isle of Mull has fallen through in the last few weeks. This was due to a change of heart within NTS [National Trust Scotland] hierarchy, when they realised that the MBA concept of an open bothy is literally that – open to all, at virtually any time without prior booking. We gather that the NTS were expecting the bothy to be open to all who had booked in advance and obtained the keys, and clearly as this was contrary to our aims we had to withdraw (MBA Newsletter 1982:2).

Such diversity went too far beyond the model of a bounded rural, while known others were acceptable, the unknown remained intolerable. Even in the contemporary sphere, hutting is still supposed as something of a marginal activity. As a result of the fiftieth Anniversary celebrations, media attention about bothies blossomed with one article asking 'are you brave enough to sleep in a bothy?' (BBC 2015). While presenting an ordinary bothy experience in the video itself (attached to the article), the rhetoric of the title still places these activities, and those who enjoy them, as outside of the norm. Such media representations are is as the MBA Chairman attests, 'but one view of bothy life'.

As Sibley continues, these ideas of exclusion and transgression are often class-based. He explores discourses around countryside legislation to make his point about the imagined rural community (a British image), wherein, it is often the less economically advantaged, who are excluded from that vision. In out-dwelling there is certainly an element of this exclusion. While relationships between Carbeth hutters and the surrounding area have on the whole been good, interviewees were nonetheless subjected to crude insults: '*they breed like rabbits up there*' (Hannah).

Extending and complicating Sibley's discussion of the imagined monolithic rural is the way in which this exclusion of the poor is matched by an exclusion of those presumed to be wealthy. It is here that fears over rural second homes come to light. Wightman has often spoken of the problematic concentration of power and land in the hands of the wealthy, particularly the super-rich but it is not at this level of wealth that anti-out-dwelling critiques are levied. Rather, there is a concern about re-appropriation of the rural by the urban, and worse still, the temporary rural dweller. Critique of this middle-class elitism permeates the language of many who critique these dwellings, but hut campaigners would argue that their small, simple, temporary nature enables out-dwellings to be '*small homes there is no shame to own*' (Alec at Bothy Symposium). Nevertheless the assumption levied

at Carbeth is that '*it's a middle class concern, hasn't born out in reality… [it] isn't all people who work for the BBC*' (Hannah). Likewise, Hannah whispered at the Carbeth Gala Day, '*look around you, do these seem like the kind of people who have second homes?*', as she continues;

> *You know the Scottish index of multiple deprivation, we did an analysis based on postcode and over a third of hutters live in the top 15 percent of most deprived areas, and a significant number, 10 percent, live in the 5 most deprived areas.*

The fear of invasion that Sibley identified applies up the social scale as well as down. Privilege remains seen as distasteful, dangerous. Such ideas work into bothy culture as well. While it appears fair to state that the MBA is predominantly middle class, bothy use does not necessarily replicate this pattern. Dave, as introduced earlier, stands testament to this fact, highlighting the truth in the MBA's mission statement that these activities are 'available to all with a love of wild and lonely places' (www.mountainbothies.org.uk). Amidst all of this spatial practice, however, it appears that these psychoanalytical ideas are troubled by consideration of the material out-dwelling. Out-dwellings, small buildings in the rural, are seen to belong, generally. They have a place. Rather, it appears to be the movement of people that causes a perceived issue. People not places are seen as the malevolent force, their use of these buildings troubling a Scottish countryside largely reserved for the wealthy, owned by them, and preserved in ecological deficiency (Monbiot, 2013) for profit and leisure.

'One person's hut is another's shabby shack or egotistical decadence': resistance in access to leisure

> The hunting estate remains the dominant landholding framework in the Highlands and Islands and, since its genesis, has resisted any attempt at reform bolstered by a political climate that has taken little interest in its affairs. The British upper classes and, now, a much wider sector of society are passionate about hunting. Ownership of a Scottish hunting estate is the epitome of the hunting lifestyle, allowing for the enjoyment of exclusive hunting rights over large areas of country. This conspicuous consumption of leisure is thus intimately bound up with the ideology of landownership and the sanctity of property rights. Any challenge to the hegemony of the hunting estate attracts equally passionate defence. (Wightman 2013:223)

Wightman's words here speak of the historic version of leisure for which Scotland is known, a wild land, untamed, filled with nature, tooth and claw. Land and lives seen as something to be conquered, tamed, shot; leisure there for the taking. Yet this is not a

leisure enjoyed by the average Scot. Leisure within Scotland's wild land was fought over, battled for, in campaign and letter, over years and by many in order to gain what is commonly referred to as the 'right to roam'. This was inspired in part by an early glance north to Norway's *Allemansrätten* ('everyman's right'), a forerunner to this inspirational legislation which grants legal access to the hills. Although fundamental when enshrined in law, this well known legislation does not mark either the end or the beginning of the fight for leisure in the Scottish Countryside.

I wish to posit the MBA as a radical movement in their very inception. From the inaugural meeting of this organisation in December 1965, the members present were '*unanimous that they will be open*'[228], to maintain huts for '*all*', to give access to the hills and valleys for leisure, for every person. It was 38 years before the Land Reform Scotland Act (2003) put political power behind this ideal. Moreover, the archival records of this organisation highlight their involvement in land issues, from personal battles for access to bothies, to relationships formed and lost with landowners, threats of violence and meetings attended for the Wild Land group amongst others. Today this organisation have negotiated access, maintained and protected around a hundred such buildings in Scotland. Arguably, this amounts to a track record of radicalism.

The MBA has been criticised for being a little stiff, a little homogenous, in their appearance, their demographic and their outlook upon the outdoors, perhaps seeming more like a home of reactionary rurality than anything more challenging. The MBA themselves are wary of their image and their future, noting in management meetings that the 'user-ship' has shifted over last 20 years. The same members who started this tradition are those involved in it today. There are fewer families and the average age of work parties is rising all the time. This raises concerns for the future. As one committee member notes, '*there is no magic solution to a younger usership. One of the big challenges is galvanizing people, they are happy to use but not get involved … [and] lots of the Maintenance Officers are not good with social skills, good round the fire with a dram but they don't advertise work parties to 'strangers', usually just them and their pal*' (Maintenance Committee Meeting, 22/03/13).

Yet, to critique and typecast bothying as 'a bureaucratic shambles administered by a bunch of retired school teachers of middle-class "Outdoor Knobber' variety' (Mortimer 2013:10)

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[228] Incidentally, they also voted that 'bothies must be provided with house books' (what are now known as bothy books) at this meeting.

is not the whole story. It is a modern story too, one which omits the truly radical nature of what the early members, elitist thought they undoubtedly were, sought to do. Seeing Bernard and Betty Heath at the 50th Anniversary AGM, now shuffling rather than striding forward for a press picture, prompted consideration that this organisation should not be neglected, seen in its own words as having followed 'it's steady and uncontroversial course' (MBA Newsletter 1984). Rather, its inception, the work of these two people, and numerous others besides was, like the Kinder Scout Mass Trespass of 1932, 'a cultural moment of great significance' (Donnelly 1986: 211), and crucial for later campaigns to improve legislative protection of countryside access. Although acknowledging that 'there is no coverage at all of the question of public access' within his book, Wightman (2013:223) nevertheless highlights that 'the conspicuous consumption of leisure is … intimately bound up with the ideology of landownership and the sanctity of property right'. While the MBA may not have possessed the ability or impetus wholly to overrule the power which legitimises this concentration of access, restrictions and hegemony of use, the development of an organisation (later afforded charitable status) which puts bodies onto land from which they were once denied, arguably tackles the notion of a 'special kind of power', Gramsci's idea of a hegemonic position (in Donnolley 1986: 227) which not only provides the power and opportunity to legitimise situations, but also to portray them as the natural evolution of things. Rather than accepting the Scottish landscape as all but a wet desert lest for a few stags (Monbiot 2013), the MBA insist on putting people back in the picture.

In legitimising access demands the MBA had, and still has, the potential to put pressure on an increasingly fragile system. As Wightman notes,

> In European terms it is also notable that the investment made by public and voluntary associations in mountain huts, footpaths and other aspect of the recreational infrastructure in many countries is difficult to foster in Scotland where the land resource is held in large privately owned hunting reserves. Indeed, currently, much of the footpath infrastructure and accommodation in mountain areas is far inferior in its extent, range, quality and management to almost everything that other counties in Europe have to offer. Mountain accommodation in particular is struggling to cope with the demands placed upon it (Wightman 2011:170).

In order to offer greater access to these buildings, many interviewees have argued that out-dwelling's require increased ownership, both of land and buildings. Therefore, out-dwelling is unavoidably implicated in discussions about the redistribution of the power over land in Scotland, and consequently located within a political debate far more radical

than the idyllic notion of a quaint or humble rural building may hold in the popular imagination.

In recent years at least, the radical potential of hutting culture has been far more evident, profiled in the media and even finding its way onto the legislative agenda. The recent upsurge is largely due to the launch of the Thousand Huts campaign by Reforesting Scotland in 2011. Through this group, a briefing paper drafted by Wightman and Planterose was presented to the Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs and the Environment in January 2013.[229] It argued for 'the creation of a planning and development regime for huts that provides a straightforward means by which huts can be constructed within the law' (Wightman and Planterose, 2013). This early action has seen real success with the following changes made to planning law through both the National Planning Framework 3 and the Scottish Planning Policy (2014);

> Reference to hutting was made for the first time in national planning policy with the publication of National Planning Framework (NPF) 3 and the revised Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) in June 2014. Paragraph 4.21 of NPF3 states the Scottish Government wishes to see rural areas playing an important role in supporting the quality of life of all, including through renewed interest in hutting and increased community ownership of rural assets.
>
> Paragraph 79 of SPP states plans should set out a spatial strategy which, where appropriate, sets out policies and proposals for leisure accommodation, such as holiday units, caravans, and huts. Huts are defined in the Glossary to SPP, defined as: "A simple building used intermittently as recreational accommodation (i.e. not a principal residence); having an internal floor area of no more than 30m^2; constructed from low impact materials; generally not connected to mains water, electricity or sewerage; and built in such a way that it is removable with little or no trace at the end of its life. Huts may be built singly or in groups" (Stirling Local Development Plan Topic Paper: Huts and Hutting 2015).

To many this information will, admittedly, read as dry, technical and perhaps rather impenetrable. Indeed, such technocratic language is, as Wightman (2013) and some interviewees, Giles and Douglas, note, the bureaucrat's greatest weapon. Many do not (or cannot) engage with this language, misunderstand it, avoid it, become bored by it and, as a result, fail to challenge it. Yet, this consultation nevertheless generated 787 consultation responses, demonstrating the level of popular interest in these simple builds.

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[229] This was a precursor to a motion in support of hutting voted in by 39 members of the Scottish Parliament in early 2013.

Changes in hutting policy have since manifested in local planning documents such as that quoted above from the Stirling Local Development Plan Topic Paper: Huts and hutting (2015). Ideas are clearly shifting and hutting is now in the public eye and political lexicon. Both, it seems, harbour an appreciation that the time has come to bring this 'outlaw' culture into line with Scottish policy. 'Hallelujah' as Wightman writes: 'for the first time ever in the history of land-use planning in Scotland there is a proposal that hutting should be encouraged, facilitated, and expanded' (www.andywightman.com). The radicalism of this move is not quiet, not gradual. It is transformative. Many of those I interviewed were at pains to ensure I that would not publish the whereabouts of their hut, their own little place on earth. This is not the social elitism of early bothy culture, a fear of unknown others, undesirable elements. While there are issues of vandalism implicated in publication, anxieties over revealing a hut's whereabouts more often concern officialdom, and the fear of retrospective reprisals on a building that should, by law, not have been built. Acceptance in law is therefore ground-breaking in hutting circles.

Similar gains are in the early stages with regards to building regulations (one of the two key points for which the aforementioned briefing paper sought to advise change). As the Thousand Huts publications attest, '[c]urrently, if you want to get permission to build a simple hut with sleeping accommodation you have to comply with the same building regulations as you would if you were building a house' (Wightman and Planterose, 2013). Yet these buildings are patently not houses and most would not meet current building regulation standards.[230] Those involved in this growing social movement are not blind to the implications of these changes, noting in discussions that, '*we'd be trailblazing in terms of this legislation*' (Graham).[231] Trailblazing perhaps, but not by a rate universally welcomed. Responding to the Draft Planning Policy, the MBA stated that:

> Huts are locked buildings made available as temporary recreational occupation only for the use of the individual, family, friends and groups providing and maintaining the hut.
>
> Mountain bothies, on the other hand, are unlocked buildings made available for use as temporary recreational occupation for the use of any member of the public without charge, pre-booking, membership or other restricting

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[230] Notably the Thousand Huts have also 'been given a grant by the Planning Exchange Foundation to roll this out into a series of seminars for planning professionals, hut builders and other interested parties' (http://www.thousandhuts.org/).

[231] This quote came from a meeting between the Steering Group and the Napier University's Centre for Offsite Construction and Innovative Structures to see how these bodies could work together for knowledge exchange.

requirements with the majority being made fully available on this basis on a year round basis.

> This availability of mountain bothies for free unrestricted public use is the main differentiating factor; and it is our view that it would be perverse for the Scottish Planning Policy not to include these two distinct building usage types separately in the legislation (received copy through Personal Correspondence)

The tide of change was viewed as a potential threat. Making the case for Bothies as equally important and emphasising their contribution to the 'policy objectives of the Scottish Government with respect of access to the countryside, recreation, health benefits, volunteering, etc.' the response went further in noting:

> Given that the hutters reference bothies and bothy culture in their campaigns, it is easy for those who do not know otherwise to regard mountain bothies as a form of hut; and this presents a potential risk to mountain bothy provision.

> Mountain bothy provision relies entirely on land owner trust, and it is our view that if mountain bothies are perceived as huts, any progress that the hutters make in their various campaigns which does not have universal support from landowners has the potential to prevent new mountain bothy projects being agreed and could ultimately even lead to a reduction in existing mountain bothy provision which would be against the public interest. (replicated in Personal Correspondence)

Thus the MBA are requesting that the words 'and bothies' be inserted into legislation, defining and differentiating these two sectors of out-dwelling culture from the damaging effects of a potential popular convergence. Legislation was also a point of contention in management meetings where '*health and safety gone wild*' was seen to be putting financial and bureaucratic strain on this charity run endeavour.

Such legislative concerns were also held in hutting circles. During a hutting think-tank at Napier University, it was argued that the group had to be,

> *… certain that in the development of huts in Scotland that we don't wipe out a historic building language and site specific vernacular huts. Argues we may not be able to build with the vernacular language of our forefathers – those buildings would now be deemed unsafe* (field diary).

This vernacular language, detailed in Chapter 5, is crucial to this culture. Other members followed, arguing that creativity was key to this culture and must be protected (Karen). However, concern was voiced about the Government's disengagement from the issue. While supportive of hutting endeavours in general, the official stance remains decidedly

'hands off'. In an interview with a sympathetic government official,[232] it was clear that Government is keen to delegate proposed responsibilities arising from legislative changes to the Thousand Huts campaign, and they are, as the Thousand Huts accept, not wanting '*to create something they have to police*' (Karen). This devolved responsibility, however, places a great deal of power in the hands of the Thousand Huts movement, which are, ironically, the hands of a relative few. While the campaign clearly aspires to inclusion, this delegation does pose issues of creating leisure determined by the aims, styles, and concerns, of the few. The stated objective is nonetheless to remain attentive, not only to diversity in build and aesthetics, but also to accepting that '*one person's hut is another's shabby shack or egotistical decadence*' (Karen). Diversity is key.

Exposing where the stresses fall in this emergent out-dwelling grouping is crucial in assessing the radical potential of an umbrella movement. Under this label, it is clear to see that these are revolutionary times. Quiet perhaps but forceful too. For, do not all of these agenda's put Scottish people, and other citizens, more in touch with the land? A common resource which, over time, has been stripped away from the hands of the many and concentrated into the hands of the few. Out-dwelling cultures do fulfil Wightman's ambition to see 'a continuum of civilized spaces for people and nature' (www.andywightman.com). Monbiot (2013) talks of re-wilding people as well as lands and both cultures take a step in this direction, providing the means and impetus for people to engage with Scotland, beyond the urban, reclaiming ownership or at least access to the land that for decades they have been denied. These cultures have made space in legislation, space in the imagination and, perhaps most importantly, space for better informed dialogue, for talking, growing and shaping ideas of how Scotland could be used in the future. With the Scottish Land Use Policy set for an update in 2017, the time has arrived for change in how outdoor leisure is accessed and practised.

Resistance in terms of land ownership

Carving out political space for these activities, however, does not automatically create physical space. As Wightman so often observes, land ownership, rather than public access, is Scotland's key problem. While figures vary, Wightman (2011:105) notes that in 2010, 60% of rural Scottish land was owned by just 969 people, the most concentrated pattern of land ownership in Europe (Sellar 2006:101). Channelling Gramscian sentiments, Wightman notes that such power was achieved through what German writer Gronemeyer

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[232] Keen not to be named.

calls 'elegant power', a power which 'is characterized as generally unrecognisable, concealed and inconspicuous' (Wightman 2011:3). As Lorimer (1997:11) states, this vein of critical thought provides 'a useful means to articulate these themes … [and explain] the tussle for control in the assembly of a new Highland order'. Unlike other Europe countries which experienced sharp revolutionary change in their modern histories, Britain's political system acquiesced to critique, adapting at a glacial pace in order to suppress dissent and maintain (landed) power, under a veil of naturalised consent (Wightman 2011). As Wightman writes,

> the institution of landownership in Scotland evolved gradually and it evolved under the political control of landowners and their agents in the legal establishment. This was the key to its survival and to the development of the current pattern of ownership. The role of the law has historically been to serve the interest of those in power (2013:2).

The purpose of this chapter however is not to unpick how land has been stripped from the masses into the hands of the few, as Wightman has done with forensic and pain-staking attention to detail based on two decades of investigative research. Nor is it to argue, as others have done, that this is a post-colonial landscape, living with the legacy of oppression (MacPhail 2002; Hunter 1995). Rather, what I seek to do here is highlight the way in which out-dwellings pick at these threads, unweaving this fabric of power which stretches the length and breadth of Scotland. Out-dwelling is thus an effective tool for levering change by which to reclaim land - small tracts admittedly - for re-peopling the landscape, temporarily, simply, through dwelling for leisure.

Within hutting circles some of those interviewed owned their own land. This, they admitted, was a '*privilege*' (Douglas). But even these few were quick to emphasise that land ownership was a key issue in out-dwelling provision. Without it, users are continually at risk of eviction and their hut being destroyed. Without ownership, hutters have no control over the future and less incentive to invest in '*their place*'. Emma, an artist who shares a hut on the west coast with her family, was one such person, at risk from such action as her hut, while privately owned, was located on Forestry Commission land. Bought for just £500 her family had paid a '*couple of hundred*' in annual rent in the 1970s rising to £800 by 2014. Insecurity was hence key to her experience, '*so in a way we've been throwing away money every year because we didn't own the land*'. Moreover, as she notes, '*if you don't own the land … you can be asked to remove the house in a remote spot*'. Historically, her family's lease was renewed every ten years. It had been for decades. Yet, at the last renewal the lease was given only four years, leaving Emma and

her family in a state of uncertainty, precarious ownership resulting in '*panic stations*' and a dread about the future which tainted those years. There is an important point to establish about long leases. If out-dwellings are to increase the investment in people and place, soil and soul then those providing land, must acknowledge that users need time and security, legalised in the provision of long-lease rents. This issue has been raised with the Scottish Parliament through a petition (PE014) submitted by the Carbeth Hutters Association in 2000. The case made little headway long term, although it led to a report by the Justice and Home Affairs Committee in 2000, which recommended 'the introduction of an independent system of rent control and arbitration and new legal measures to give hutters greater security of tenure' (in Wightman and Planterose 2013), and was followed by the research paper 'Huts and Hutters in Scotland' (Scottish Executive) and a consultation on the proposals to introduce legislation to 'improve protections'. All of their activity ultimately resulted in no legislative action, however, and so consequently insecurity remains the status quo.

Yet, for Emma, ownership was the ultimate goal. At the time of interview the Forestry Commission had agreed to sell the land for, what was at that time, an undecided price. This place, '*Glennan the verb*', was worth so much more than money, yet she could not invest, materially or emotionally in securing this site and her experiences, until ownership was obtained. One hutter circumvented this problem by buying her land by unusual means, Obtaining a half acre plot on which to site her hut through a, 'be a Scottish Laird' scheme which aimed to sell small plots of land to those overseas, she capitalised on the commercialisation of North American nostalgia for the 'motherland'.[233] A practical response to the chronic centralization of landownership in Scotland.

As Halfacree and Boyle (1998:8) note, '[t]he post-productivist opening-up of the countryside to new interests has promoted various dimensions of dispute and conflict'. Perhaps the most well-known example of a struggle over land with regard to out-dwelling arose from the rent strike at Carbeth, and the subsequent buyout of the 90 acres for £1.75million by the Carbeth Community Company. During the years preceding the buyout the landowner, Mr Barns Graham, had sought to develop the land occupied by huts for more profitable ventures; leasing the land brought in £400 per hut in annual rent in 1997. Rents were thus raised, prohibitively so, up to 47% for some huts (Justice and Home Affairs Committee 3rd Report, 2000) – '*I think it was a psychological thing to get us off*

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[233] These are still available on Amazon at a cost of £19.99 for one square foot. With regulations of 30 square feet currently set this would allow hutters to buy the necessary land for £600.

(Paul). In response hutters gathered together in an effort to stave off this financially driven form of eviction. A 'Community Good' fund was accumulated, gathering the withheld rent and using it, amongst other things, to pay legal fees for those facing eviction.[234] The landmark moment in this dispute came after a feasibility study, conducted by Fiona Jamieson in 2010 for Stirling Council, led to the huts gaining conservation status (Jamieson 2000).[235] As Hannah explains,

> *that was fantastic because it wasn't just for the natural environment it was for the built environment as well, and it was kind of a vote of confidence that huts were part of [the], social history that ought to be conserved. And what it actually meant on a day to day basis was that unlike what had happened in other parts of the U.K, he [the landowner] couldn't demolish the huts.*

Proposals followed proposals, discussion after discussion. A PR manager was employed by the landowner and both sides consulted lawyers. Interviewing users on this issue was an emotional task, since pain and suffering were recounted for both hutter and landowner. Huts were destroyed, allegations and insults traded, and a battle raged, both legal and emotional, for a hutting heritage which stretched generations on both sides. Finally, in 2008, the Carbeth Community Company bought the land, '*a dream come true*' (Hannah) '*we're probably only just now [2014] starting to recover from the whole effort and energy and to start thinking what are the next steps and to start making a real difference in folks' day to day lives*' (Hannah). This process took 13 years. By its conclusion many had moved, left their hut or been cut off in the five acre plot still privately owned across the road from the main community. However, finally, this community had their land.

Buy-outs such as this should have been made easier since 2003, with the enactment of the Land Reform Scotland Bill and precedents set by communities in Assynt and Eigg. By 2011, around 425,000 acres of land across Scotland was owned by differing sorts of community-based arrangement (Wightman 2011:151). Land, it was supposed, would as a consequence be easier to come by. Bryden and Geisler (2007:25) emphasise the connections between landownership and community, arguing that 'the community's right

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[234] Further information on this can be found in the Scottish Parliament archive: '95 hutters have been issued with eviction notices, and about a dozen cases are being currently pursued through special sittings of Stirling Sheriff Court. Three cases have been heard in the Summary Cause Court, and the Sheriff has found for eviction in each one. Two of these cases are being appealed, even though the hutters concerned are already faced with bills for the landlord's costs of £3,500 and £4,100. None of the hutters whose cases have started so far have received legal aid - some have been representing themselves, others have been being represented by lawyers (and in one case an advocate) giving their time pro bono.' - http://archive.scottish.parliament.uk/business/committees/historic/justice/reports-00/jur00-03-03.htm
[235] For information on this see - http://minutes.stirling.gov.uk/pdfs/environmental/Reports/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20eq67cm.pdf

to buy is fundamentally a right "to be" and to secure a place-based arena of common identity and interests, protected by legal title'. Their argument thus suggests that community participation is somewhat 'hollow' if not supported by property rights, in their view 'a key form of empowerment' (Bryden and Geisler 2007:26). The benefit of ownership over access is certainly something future hutting communities should bear in mind.

The discussion of community power is thickened by Mackenzie et al.'s (2004) appraisal of the role, creation and reworking of community in the new political spaces afforded by the 'legal watershed (Bryden and Geisler 2007:28) of the 2003 Act and related legal changes regarding community ownership. Linking the debate to discourses of social justice and sustainability, Mackenzie et al. offer an exploration of the ways in which communities attempt to create a future in terms of land ownership that moves away from the dispossession of the past. Thus they link conceptually to ideas of local resistance and the ways in which reclamation of that which was lost is key to a 'culture of resistance' (Said 1994:226 in Mackenzie et al. 2004:160). Subsequently, the argument holds, that rather than being acted upon as *subjects* in the increasingly globalised world, community ownership offers a means of remaking collective subject identities, changing 'practices of the self' (Foucault 1985:28) and contesting an 'economy of sameness' (Gibson-Graham 2003:54). Simply put, community ownership offers a means for greater social justice. Citing examples from before the Scottish Land Fund and Land Reform Scotland Bill (2003), Mackenzie et al. claim that buyouts are not a mere reaction to policy change, but in fact cumulatively form a 'quiet revolution' slowly taking over Scotland (2004:178). The Carbeth buyout falls within the province of this revolution.

Yet, this same buyout at Carbeth falls outwith this legislation's definition of community. As Hannah explains,

> *we dealt with a splendid lawyer who helped us to become a community company, and although frustratingly we weren't going to be eligible under land reform legislation under the community reform buyout because we're not residential, and it's a technical thing*

As Bryden and Geisler (2007:32) note, the issue with this '*technical thing*' is that the 2003 Act has a limited definition of community which pays little consideration to the various interest groups implicated therein. Such a narrow classification of 'community' is

continued in the current land reform bill which, when introduced in June 2015, contained the following definition.

> (9) A community— (a) is defined for the purposes of subsection (2), (3), (4) or (5) by reference to a postcode unit or postcode units or a type of area as the Scottish Ministers may by regulations specify (or both such unit and type of area), and (b) comprises the persons from time to time – 20 (i) resident in that postcode unit or in one of those postcode units or in that specified type of area, and (ii) entitled to vote, at a local government election, in a polling district which includes that postcode unit or those postcode units or that specified type of area (or part of it or them). (Scottish Parliament 2015)

This definition is prohibitive for hutting, since it is a 'community' comprising various geographical locations, classes, genders, interests, and most importantly, one which is intrinsically transient, constantly in flux. For hutting to have a transformative effect on a redistribution of land ownership, hutting needs to be included in this legislation. Therefore, communities for leisure need distinct acknowledgement within this definition and, subsequently, within the right-to-buy stipulations. Wightman notes (in his role as a land reform spokesperson for the Scottish Green Party), that, while new legislation is afoot, 'radical means "going to the root" and we're a long way from that. This Bill is just the start' (cited in Learmonth 2013). Without fundamental reform of land ownership in Scotland it is likely impossible to encourage hutting across the whole of Scotland.

Nonetheless, I want to make obvious that this issue of ownership is not a reductive polemic, figured around an oppositional 'us' and 'them' of out-dweller versus landowner. Many hutters recount good landowner relationships, citing the need for respect on both sides, and the preference for a code of conduct in terms of hutting practice. This relationship, they highlight, was key to a successful site.[236] The Thousand Huts too, are cautious of endorsing an all-out land grab, '*especially in the modern day I think it's important to make it appealing to landowners… ensure it's a mutually beneficial relationship, [it] has to be sensitive and protective to the rights of both*' (Karen, Centre for Human Ecology). The issue of progressive landowner/user relationships is also particularly pertinent for bothies. Although the MBA own one of the bothies they steward, bequeathed to their care, they own none of the land upon which these buildings sit. Since inception, the work of the MBA has relied on brokering and maintaining positive relationships between owner and user. Interviewees from this organisation were at pains to make clear to me that landowners were good, relationships were positive and the kindness of the owners was not

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[236] Admittedly this is different for those with individual huts on privately owned plots.

to be taken for granted. This has not always been the case, with the archive telling stories of bothies boarded up, doors locked and threats made. Even now, bothies are threatened by landowners reclaiming buildings should the bothies be abused, and such is the case currently with ecological concerns over Penmeanach Bothy where live trees are cut down for want of a warming flame (Figure 61).

Notice from the owner and MBA

Peanmeanach and Ardnish are beautiful, because they are unspoilt wildernesses. Please help us to keep it that way by only burning fallen wood or drift wood.
If people using the bothy continue to cut down living trees for burning, the owners will sadly have to close the bothy.
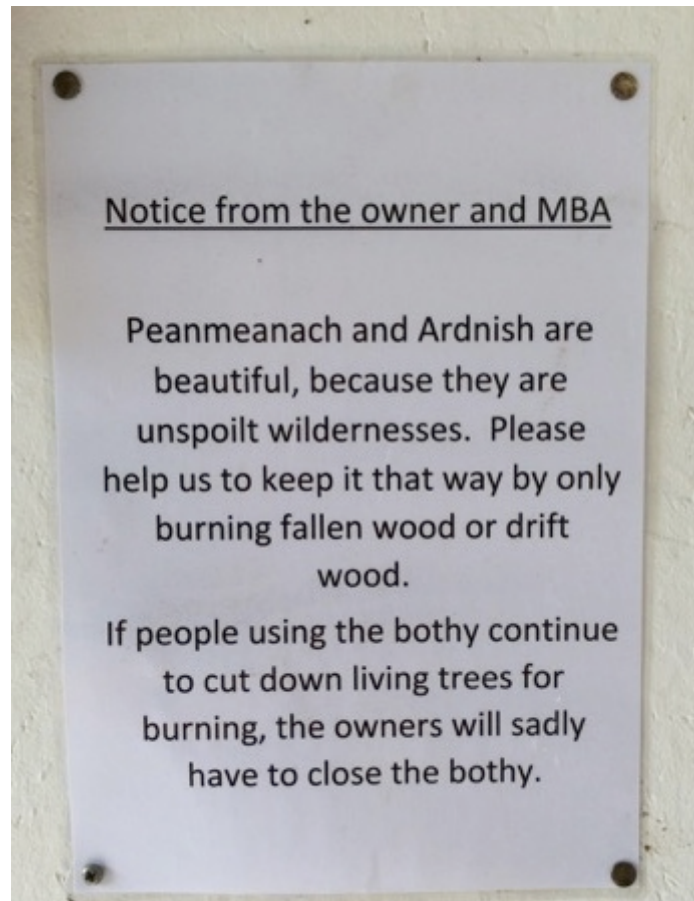
Figure 61. Notice from the Owner and the MBA on the wall of Peanmeanach, August 2015 (Author's own).

Issues of landowner relations are further complicated in consideration of the planned hutting pilot, to take root in a woodland near the village of Saline in Fife. This project marks the culmination of pilot site discussions by Reforesting Scotland and the Forestry Commission. As MacPhillimy (2014) argued in the Study Report, 'this Pilot Study of huts on the National Forest Estate is welcomed by the Thousand Huts campaign and seen as integral and trail blazing by that campaign'. The pilot marks the culmination of site visits (to which I was party), community liaison and endless consideration of issues such as 'governance', 'management' and 'research, planning and liaison' (all covered in MacPhillimy's 2014 report), a lengthy process indeed.
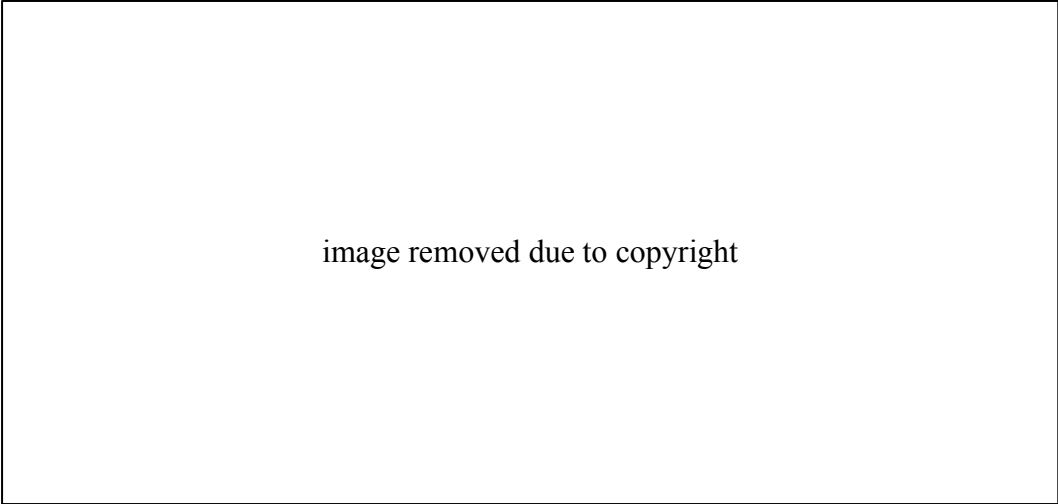
Figure 62. McPhillimy's Pilot Study Report and image of the first visit to a potential pilot site. As McPhillimy reported at the Huts Network meeting, the problem with site 1 = too bare, 2 = too full of fallen trees, 3 = just right.

The crux of my point regarding this pilot was highlighted in BBC coverage of these developments. In McPhillimy's words; 'who own[s], who *manage*[s] this woodland on our behalf', with the emphasis on 'our behalf'. This land is owned by the Scottish Ministers and managed by the Forestry Commission Scotland and so it is not private land. There are those with reservations about this development, about the involvement of a government body, and the dilution of this '*out-law*' (Karen) counterculture through involvement in mainstream means. But this movement, even so, marks a way – or a contribution to a way – in which out-dwelling could tackle ideas of who owns Scotland, thus reconnecting the people of Scotland with the Scottish land.[237]

Conclusion: Taking stock and looking north

Like Wightman (2013:7) I am minded that, 'above all … [we] want to see a more informed level of debate about such matters'. In this case Wightman is referring to land ownership specifically, but I would carry these sentiments over to outdoor leisure, rural leisure and particularly leisure associated with out-dwellings. As this thesis has shown this *is* a diverse culture, creating and curating a medley of buildings, old and new, which are fundamental to the vernacular heritage of the Scottish outdoors. These buildings, simple though they are, encourage a different relationship with the outdoors and indoors, a more fluid, reciprocate movement of bodies and space. These buildings, their books, materiality and users have shown, rendered up, how thematic social situations play out differently in these spaces; gender, the uncanny, temporariness, and the journey to and from them. There is

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[237] There are of course issues here of who gets access. This project aims to make 10-12 huts. Not exactly provision for all. The Thousand Huts are aware of these limits, working on a means of making these huts accessible, affordable and, with the help of fund-raising, more widespread.

fascination in those who use them, in the idyll of health benefits, community, solitude, and skill, ultimately enabling the creation of a skillscape in the repopulation of a vernacular language of building and being. As shown above, out-dwelling can also be a resource for critiquing postmodern capitalist society, offering resistance through its very practice as an alternative to the hegemony presented. While no doubt facing a riposte from those who seek to defend their image of a selective and homogenised rural, out-dwelling also resists through bringing movement back into the Scottish rural scene. Add to this matter the politicised nature of land rights, access and ownership, and out-dwelling is immediately embroiled within a wider context of radical transformations in the Scottish rural landscape. Thus, while Wilbur in this instance is referring to the back-to-the-land movement, his ideals no doubt carry over;

> The radicalism of …['out-dwelling'] is more akin to a lengthy experiment than a sudden revolution, but one that consciously seeks stable, replicable and enduring results (2013:157)

Out-dwelling hence need not be viewed as a passive, idealised act and can instead be seen as an active, radical and lived force – as a place where, in Silveno's (2011:52) words, 'the radical meets the romantic'. Out-dwelling, through all of these means, culturally, socially, politically, can clearly be seen, as this hutter argues, in terms suggesting '*the beginning of something much bigger*' (Bernard, at Napier meeting), a '*stepping stone*' (Dawn) to a new relationship with land. An outsider, an overlooked and in some cases an '*out-law culture*', out-dwelling remains a culture with a healthy opportunity for enacting change. Change in our use of rural land, and in the availability of recreation upon and within it. This all then promises changes in land ownership, use and access through changes in the way in which the Scottish Government endorses and protects such forms of leisure. But also changes in appreciation, in the cultural expectation and normality of such connection of people and nature. These are changes which could make out-dwellings a mainstay of out-dwelling culture, removing its 'sub' status and elevating it to part of Scotland's present and future cultural identity.

Whether this potential for change is realised remains up for debate, as Halfacree (2007b:125) notes: 'Some element of our (rural) future is always there for the making'. Many have, in recent years, sought inspiration from abroad and eyes have particularly turned northward. Organisations such as Northern Horizons have sought inspiration from Scandinavia, and much of the leftist political rhetoric in the lead-up to the 2014 Referendum suggested a northern affect, setting cultural allegiances with those of

Scotland's latitude, to learn from and work with such nations in shaping Scotland's future. Considerations of the future of out-dwelling have been no different. Users of both huts and bothies, publications to government and propaganda by related bodies have all suggested this connection. Taking their lead, it therefore seems pertinent to take this thesis north for its final empirically-focuses chapter, setting Scottish out-dwelling in conversation with Norwegian *Hytte* to analyse this potential future that so many espouse.

Chapter 9: *Norsk Hytte Liv*: A National Pastime, Cultural Ideal and Potential Scottish Future.
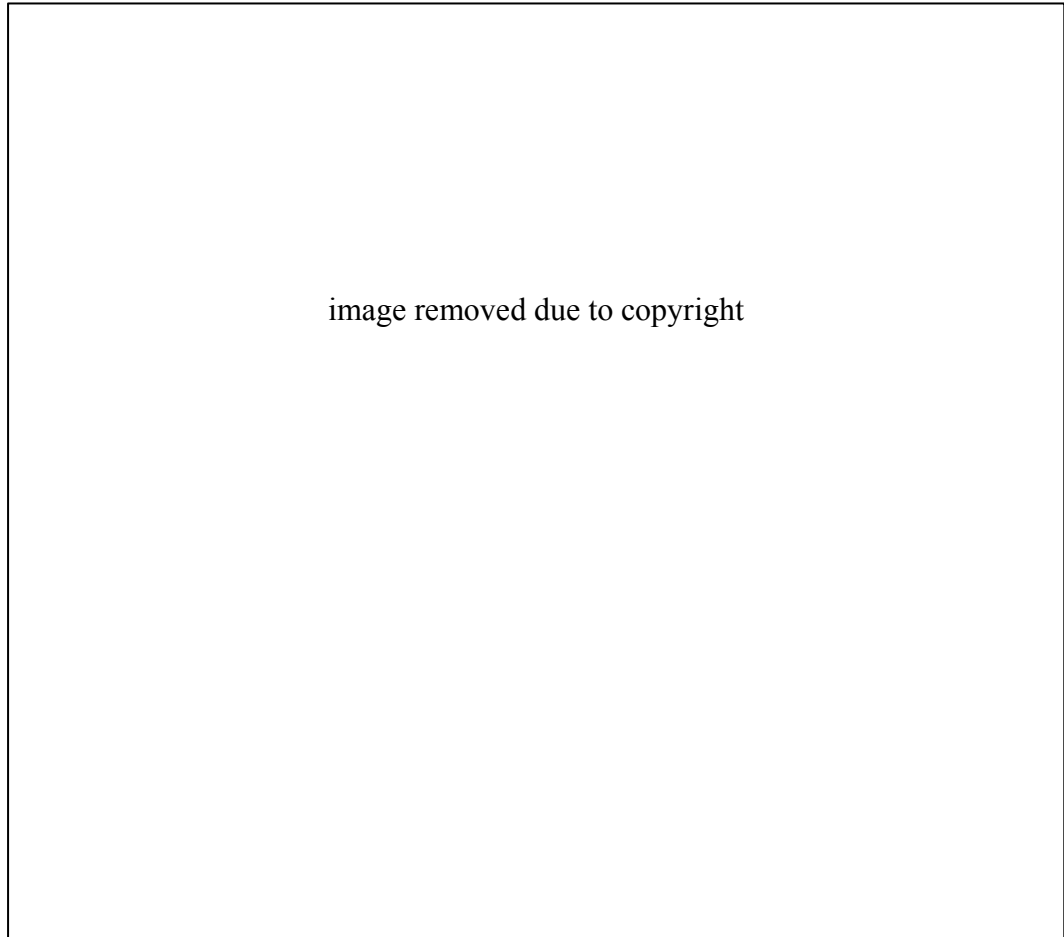
Figure 63. The Great Norwegian Hytte (Jenny Blake 2013).

Introduction

> *The hut is even acknowledged in the Norwegian national anthem! .... We need to change the mindset ... it would be wonderful if we could see such commitment here.*

The words above are those of one MSP,[238] Angus MacDonald, speaking in the Scottish Parliament at the introduction of new hutting guidance on the 23rd February 2016 (field diary:23/02/16).[239] It was, as the current Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs, Food and Environment, Richard Lochead, stated, a 'landmark for … [the Thousand Huts] movement', a moment of political recognition for a well-fought campaign. Yet, even at

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[238] Member of the Scottish Parliament.
[239] For further information on the new hutting guidance see - http://www.thousandhuts.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/160215-Huts-Guidance-FINAL-screen-res.pdf.

this moment of celebration for Scottish hutting, rhetoric was pointing away from Scotland across the North Sea. In fact, the widespread appeal of this sort of culture, of living small, simply, for leisure, was often voiced throughout the fieldwork process. As one prospective hutter noted, '*we are really abnormal compared to other countries at the same latitude*' (Dawn), given that as Paul notes, '*it's a pan-European thing*'. While wider discussions of hutting history could have taken in Finland or Germany, it is to Norway that this chapter turns, charting the results of ten weeks fieldwork carried out across this hutting nation, as detailed methodologically in Chapter 3. It seeks to explore the 'Great Norwegian Hytte' (Blake 2013), in theory and in practice, setting it beside its Scottish kin. In order to understand the appeal of the North such exploration is crucial, acting not only as a contemporary comparison, but also a prospective look into future; as an investigation into what many argue Scottish out-dwelling could and maybe, should become. As previously noted, the Norwegian *Hytte* is a cultural norm, a national symbol and aspirational marker for many of Scotland's Northern neighbours. The forerunner to a Scottish out-dwelling future could, therefore, already be written and read from their experiences.

Having charted the history of Norwegian hutting, both private and public, the chapter then turns to a discussion of this culture, its crossovers and contrasts with the Scottish scene, using Norwegian experience to question the projected future of out-dwelling culture in rural Scotland. With many contemporary Scottish minds looking north to see an out-dwelling future, this comparison will critically analyse this relationship to more fully understand the Scottish context. This chapter is heavily threaded with secondary literature, used here to situate this *Hytte* culture within Norwegian social, cultural, economic and political history.

Norwegian hutting history – individual *hytte*

Hytte are scattered all across the Norwegian countryside (figure 64). From coastlines to forests, mountains to islands, such buildings serve the hunger of a nation to escape. The *hytte* are therefore a telling example of a building type which takes on significance beyond purely its functional or aesthetic qualities. As Ling et al. (1998: np) note, 'the *hytte* is far more than a physical structure. In many respects it is the manifestation of one's background and one's location with the larger national culture'. Today, *hytte* are ubiquitous in Norway and the figures stand testament to this point. Studies claim that in

2005 there was one second home per 10 people (Bjerke et al. 2006:87),[240] and so, as Bjerke et al. (2006:87) note, 'to most people in Norway today, owning a cabin[241] or knowing someone who has one seldom needs further explanation'. And yet, like all cultural norms, the *hytte* have a story.

Figure 64. Example of traditional *hytte*, and a more modern style (Author's own).

In many ways this story has similar features to that of the Scottish hutting history, stretching back around 150 years. Semi-nomadic herding for grazing – the practice of transhumance – led to the establishment of permanent residences at higher altitudes for the purpose of facilitating grazing in the summer months. These *seter*, popularly translated as summer farms (or, more suited to this research, 'sheilings'), created the physical fabric for a hutting history. It was the *seter* which were attributed significance, embroiled within the wider Romantic movement and becoming 'the allegorical home for the [at this time] fledgling nation' (Rees 2014:182). It was at this point, during the nineteenth century, that the idea of a second home began to emerge, influenced by tourism trends emerging across Europe. Scotland is particularly noted for its input as 'Scottish landowners had increasingly travelled to the west of Norway to indulge in elk and reindeer hunting, and salmon and other fishing, bringing with them their tastes in hunting lodges and attire' (Abram 2012:235).[242] At this early stage, these buildings were tied to the rise in tourism and for the time being limited to the wealthy. While at first existing structures (such as

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[240] These figures are hard to use as second home is arguably a much larger category than that of the out-dwelling, upon which I wish to focus my attention. Garvey also offers supportive figures in noting that '[a] large number of Norwegians possess holiday cabins: in 2006 there were 379,000 holiday houses, and approximately 40% of the population have access to holiday homes (2008:204-205). Berker and Gansmo (2010) suggest that these figures are even higher and in fact, 50% of the population have regular access to a cabin.

[241] The term 'cabin' is not generally used to refer to such dwellings in the U.K. but it has resonance in America.

[242] It is interesting that the connection between Scottish and Norwegian hutting heritage has been registered here; in many ways, the more recent connection has been envisaged in the other direction, *from* Norway *to* Scotland.

fishing cabins, hunting lodges and *seter*) were used, eventually such practices moved beyond pre-existing temporary dwellings and began to generate purpose-made buildings.

Behind this socio-cultural shift there was also a political rationale. As a consequence of centuries of occupation by Sweden and Denmark, Norway was bereft of cultural institutions, leaving an opening for nature – or at least aspects of human closeness to 'nature' – to become a national symbol. With political independence secured in 1905, and the establishment of a social democracy as the national ideology, the *hytte* became a 'productive trope' (Rees 2014:80) helping to forge a unique Norwegian identity and offering a middle ground between civilisation and wilderness. Therefore, gathering significance in the interwar period, the cabin in the wilderness became a social ideal.

The *hytte* is, therefore, a politicized symbol in the narrative of a new nation. Yet, there is also a practical rationale for the deployment of the *hytte* as a wider national ideal. Increasing levels of urbanisarion meant that more and more people lived in towns and cities, more distant from the rural parts of the country. In doing so urbanisation squeezed nature from the lives of a nation built on the principle of connection to this nature as an ideal. In response, tiny summer houses were built in the 1920s upon the islands in the Oslo fjord, while cabins in the mountains also grew more numerous in the post-war period. This was partly due to the rise in car ownership and an increase in disposable income (Abram 2012), but was also attributable to the post-World War II ethos (also found in Britain) in which access to nature was considered beneficial to physical and mental health, and was to be made available to all levels of society. The 1960s in particular saw an explosion in the number of mountain *hytte*, with new areas opened up for people to buy (or long-term lease) small plots of land on which to build (Abram 2012). Amid this expansion, *hytte* culture was stimulated by a national ethos of self-sufficiency born of nationalist mythologies of a nation founded on rural workers, farmers and fishermen, and spurred on by the adventurous exploits of Arctic explorer Fridtjof Nansen. Add to these ingredients, the spirit of resistance and fierce independence, products of a lengthy German occupation and an active resistance movement, and *hytte* indeed became a national symbol and source of virtue (Rees 2014).

This combination of factors ensured that, by the 1960s, it was increasingly possible for more and more families to realise a 'state sanctioned' (Rees 2014:4) *hytte* dream.[243] It is worth noting that these were simple buildings, often located miles from a road, and with basic facilities. As Abrams (2012:236) notes, 'cabins were built for practical use rather than display' and yet, there was a simultaneous rise in the cabin as a spiritual place for reflection and introspection, predicated upon the emergence of psychoanalysis and epitomised by Arne Næss and his lifelong 'experiment' with isolation at Tvergastein (his mountain *hytte*) (Rees 2014). It was, according to his wife, a place that 'does something to you'. Built when he was just twenty-five, the philosopher Næss found there 'a place to contemplate his place in the world' (Ress 2014:117) and, like many philosophers, found it to be a place to think, read and write as described in Chapter 4. He described this place in complete opposition to modernity, pushing, Rees (2014:118) argues, 'this imagined tradition to the utmost extreme'.

In response to this culture, Rees (2014:5) posits that the 'golden period' from 1930 to 1980 was based on 'nostalgia and a sense of atavistic longing, a longing for an imagined past that never was'. At the same time this *hytte* culture was founded on discourses that can be traced back to the Enlightenment as domestic primitivism 'revived and fetishised the Enlightenment ideal of the simple farmer in his simple cabin' (Rees 2014:120). I would reason that this argument can also be carried forward to the *hytte* culture of today where things still are, as Rees (2014:5) notes, 'quite complex'. Since the discovery of oil in Norwegian waters, this relatively small country has had unprecedented economic growth, distributed throughout the country. Subsequently, where economics as much as ideals may have reigned in the *hytte* for the majority of the twentieth century, by the late-1980s, and more strongly in the 1990s, the buildings have marched in step to their new nation,[244] becoming more numerous, equipped with more amenities, and often matching the size of the average Norwegian home (Berker and Gansmo 2010). Such modern *hytte* are characterised by running water and electricity, often justified as crucial elements to maintain the interests of teenage family members. Equating amenities with family values is a far cry from earlier *hytte* ideals and is equally at odds with the imagery of a simple life.

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[243] Rees uses 'state-sanctioned' in reference to the post World War II welfare state social engineering which demanded access to outdoor recreation for all sectors of society. She also notes, that is its not widely acknowledged that the building programme of reconstruction following the Nazi occupation included an increase in cabins.

[244] In 1814 Norway began a journey toward independence with the signing of a new Constitution having been under Danish rule. Yet, derailed by a forced union in 1814 with Sweden, full independence would not arise until 1905.

Increasingly luxury has led to the rise of the term *hyttepalass* (cabin palace) often built proximate to other cabins, and on occasion with heated driveways. I will return to the implications of such super-huts shortly.

Nonetheless, while *hytte* have themselves evolved architecturally and stylistically, the national imaginary remains bound to the simplicity of the post-war era *hytte*, where the cabin stands in splendid isolation, a rustic imaginary of this foundation story (Garvey 2008). Over time, as Rees (2014:120) notes, '"the primitive" became increasingly fetishised'. This aestheticisation of the 'primitive' is crucial; and, where cabins have evolved, many owners cling to the imaginary of the cabins in the post-war era. Understood in these terms *hytte* culture can be read as riddled with contradiction: on the one hand, a longing for the past, while on the other, at the vanguard of modernising mission. While there is an overall impression of *hytte liv* as a national pastime, it is indeed by no means a simple endeavour. This tradition is reinforced by the Norwegian relationship with leisure. As Vittersø (2007:268) asserts, 'in Norwegian culture there is a sharp contrast between work and leisure, which means that work has priority during weekdays, whereas pleasurable activities belong to the weekends'. This division protects and promotes leisure time, creating space for hutting which might not be seen to be available in other cultures. Ultimately, it is 'a matrix of cultural and historical vectors' (Rees 2014:120) that has created the *hytte* in Norwegian culture.

Norwegian hutting history - DNT

The Norwegian Trekking Association (Den Norsk Turistforening or DNT) was formed in 1868, almost a hundred years before its Scottish counterpart, the MBA. The organisation emerged at the tail end of the Romantic era outlined above, and it was due to this ethos that Norwegian banker and philanthropist Thomas Heftye called a meeting with the purpose of establishing 'the suitability of founding a trekking association' (Branigan and Jenns 2014:234). At that founding meeting 223 people joined, whereas today that number has increased a thousand-fold to an impressive 250,956 (Annual Report 2013:13). In 2011, this membership equated to 4.7 % of the Norwegian population as members (Annual report 2011:13).

Figure 65. Keillandbu DNT *Hytte*, (Author's own).

Although members during the 1800s were, as with the private *hytte*, those with the means to enjoy such activities, the DNT was established with the vision of making the outdoors accessible to all. As Dr A. Bjartnes wrote in the DNT yearbook in 1932, *'...vi må opp i minst 20.000, og det er min faste overbevisning at vi kan nå det tall meget snart hvis vi bare mannjevnt vil det'*, ('We need to get to at least 20,000, and it is my firm conviction that we can reach that number very soon if we just make men willing') (DNT 2014). By the 1920s the DNT had significantly increased its membership, largely due to the increased interest in the mountains in the 1880s and 1890s due to the well-publicised activities of the adventurer Fridtjof Nansen (www.turistforeningen.no), the opening of the Bergen railway line in 1909 (www.turistforeningen.no) and later efforts to situate *hytte* within easy reach of city-dwellers. Over time the organisation has grown and merged with other regional trekking organisations to form an umbrella organisation controlled from Oslo (Figure 66).

Notably, when the DNT was in its infancy, the organisation encouraged users to find accommodation from rural farmers, in exchange for a small fee (Abrams 2012). This agricultural link carries similar tones to the origins of bothies in the Scottish setting. Nowaday, the DNT has 460 (http://english.turistforeningen.no) cabins (including Figure 65) available to DNT users, either open or available with the DNT key, which is handed out to members upon payment of a modest membership fee.

image removed due to copyright

Figure 66. A visual depiction of the DNT development from the 2011 annual report. www.turistforeningen.no.

image removed due to copyright
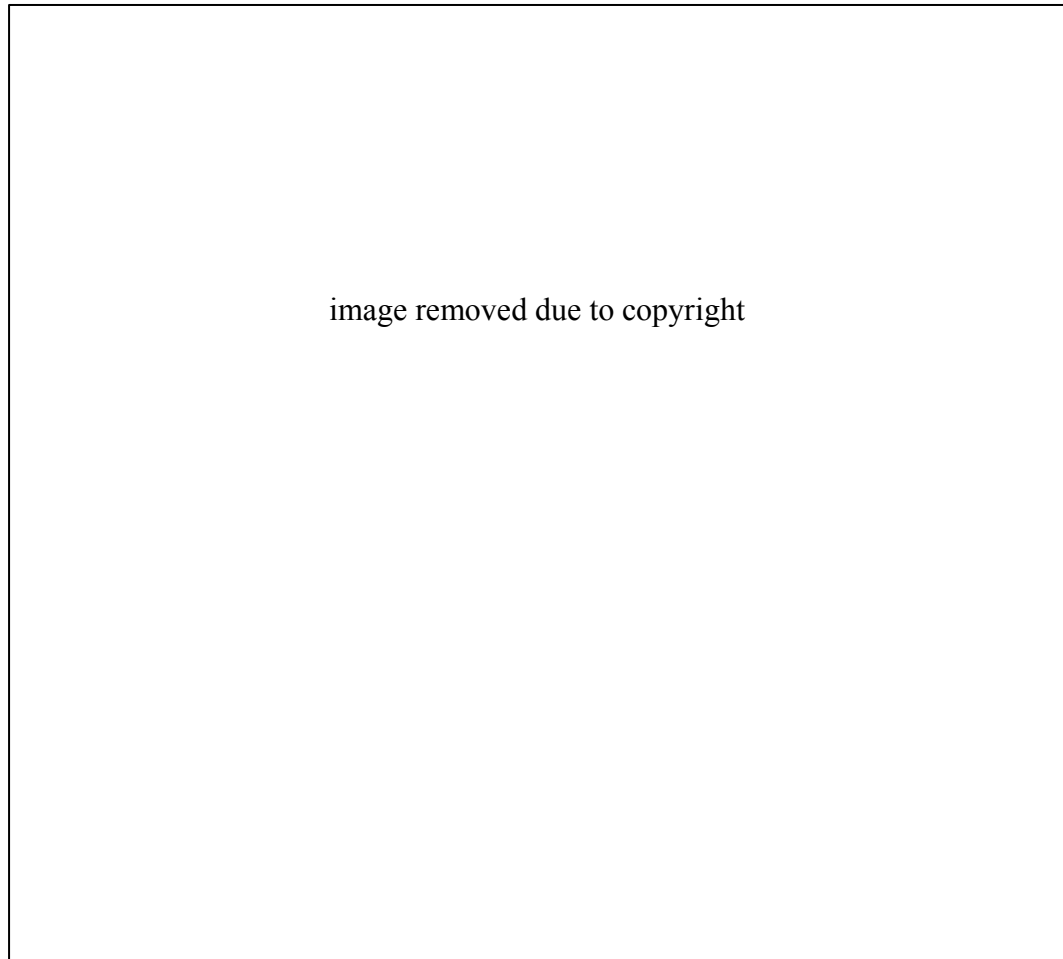
Figure 67. Map of Cabins available on the DNT website. The red symbols represent the various categories for DNT hytte while the blue are those available to the public, but privately owned (www.turistforenigan.no).

As the different cartographic symbols in Figure 67, indicate, these cabins come with different levels of provision: un-serviced, self-service and staffed. The differences between these levels are indicated below in Table 1.

Table 1 The DNT *hytte* system. Information from fieldwork and (www.touristforenigan.no)

Hut category	Services Available
No service	These huts offer beds complete with mattresses, duvets and pillows. All you have to bring for bedding is a sheet liner. They will have gas stoves and fully equipped kitchens (pans, crockey, mugs, glasses, cutlery, utensils and the means to wash them up. The will be a wood fire and a plentiful supply of pre chopped wood. There are buckets marked for drinking water and soiled water and all the necessary fire safety equipment. A plentiful supply of candles is also provided as well as matches. There is usually ample reading available, often including books on the surrounding area. Of particular note is the supply of an information folder in each cabin directing users to useful information such as the location of the water supply, and any special requirements (eg boiling).
Self Service	These huts are similar to those above. However they also come equipped with a store room of food. This contains mainly tinned goods, flat breads,

	spreads, noodles, pasta and oatmeal – along with drinks. However this is a fairly wide range, from mackerel tomato stew to pancake and bread making ingredients. This is all paid for, like the accommodation, through the honesty system
Staffed	These *hytte* are different in that they are staffed and so all meals are provided by an commercial standard kitchen at set times. There is a focus on local produce and tradition in the meals provided which often take the form of three courses. These huts also come serviced with dorms and smaller (2-4 person rooms) with prices that differ accordingly. There are usually shower facilities and electricity at these huts. Payment here is taken by staff for lodgings and meals.

In 2011 the cumulative provision of these huts amounted to 9,600 bunks (DNT Annual Report 2011:19), although DNT inclusive policy states that no person shall be turned away and every cabin is equipped with spare mattresses to service this claim. In addition to providing *hytte* for overnight shelter, the DNT also provides 20,000 km of trails marked with the characteristic 'T' and a further 6,500km of '*kvistløper'* (skiing tracks marked with tall wooden poles) (Ween and Abram 2012).

Figure 68. Characteristic 'T' marker (Author's own).

The trails are all plotted onto specific DNT regional maps which also show time estimates for walking from one *hytte* to the other, encouraging the system of the hut-to-hut experience. Combined with 'multifaceted DNT pedagogy' (Ween and Abram 2012:1), this infrastructure acts to open up Norway's rural landscape to its wider population. In a country populated by just over 5 million, where only 3-5 % of the land is arable, this amounts to a vast wilderness with which to work (Rees 2012). This point about land is

something which is also key to any comparison between Scotland and Norway. The lack of a feudal history in Norway has also had a notable effect on the relationship of its inhabitants to the land in which they live (Larson 1950).

Behind this practical provision lie a mass of ideals and values, as well as connections to wider environmental nature-based philosophies. The mission statement of the DNT is a clear example of this remit, highlighting a role offering far more than simple shelter: 'DNT works to promote simple, active, versatile and environmentally-friendly outdoor life and to ensure its natural and cultural bases' (DNT Annual Report 2011:8). The 'vision' of the organisation encapsulates this observation: 'Lifetime outdoor experience' (Annual report 2011:8). The role of the DNT therefore extends beyond the provision of buildings and into the life course of members and even the life of the nation. This issue is emphasised by how public health promotion is stated as an explicit aim of the association (DNT Annual Report 2011), a core goal reported as putting 'key outdoor life issues on the agenda and position itself as a public servant contributing to improved public health' (DNT Annual Report 2011:21).[245] Moreover, this provision is targeted with a specific focus on making outdoor activities more 'known' to immigrants 'from non-western countries' (DNT Annual Report 2011:9) was recently prioritized. The ideal of the DNT and, more widely, outdoor life as constitutive and reflective of Norwegian identity could be no more plainly revealed.

Another key feature of the DNT is its commitment to conservation and the promotion of a sustainable outdoor life. In addition to participating in public campaigns of opposition to hydro-electric projects, the DNT has been a key player in the establishment of Norway's national parks (www.turistforeningen.no). More recently, this wider environmental mandate has determined the development of new *hytte*, driving DNT involvement in the promotion and provision of public transport networks serving Norway's most popular mountain regions such as the Jotenheim national park.

In order to participate widely in national outdoor culture, the DNT requires major organisational effort. In particular it depends on the strong Norwegian cultural tradition of *dugnad* (volunteering). In 2013, the association was supported by 533,621 volunteer hours, directed to maintaining trails, replenishing supplies, leading tour groups and servicing *hytte*. In addition to volunteer support, the DNT is also subsidised by regular large donations from companies and wealthy individuals (DNT board member interviewee) and

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[245] There is a big link to widespread contemporary claims about green space, outdoor living, 'nature therapies' and positive (population) mental health.

government subsidies. This 19.4 million NOK or around £158,565 GBP in 2011 (DNT Annual Report 2011) is one factor which sets the Norwegian system apart from the Scottish. Membership dues remain the largest source of income. Perhaps the most surprising element of the economic model of the DNT (to an outsider at least) is its 'trust system'. Rather than having each *hytte* staffed, in many cases payment is made by writing your bank details on forms provided and putting them in a metal safe, a system of payment covers both accommodation costs and use of the rich food stores in self-service *hytte*. Both the costs and honesty system mark a key cultural difference between Norwegian and Scottish hut systems. *Hytte* (both private and DNT) continue to gather new meanings, combining with traditional values to create, as Rees (2014:9) notes, 'a complex conceptual and real space'. The following section of this chapter uses this history, as well as my own fieldwork findings, to assess the relevance and applicability of the Norwegian example in a Scottish Future.

How this compares to Scottish out-dwellings

The Norwegian example of hutting, both public and private, offers insights into what Scottish out-dwelling could yet become. The elevated status of *hytte* as a national symbol sets Norway apart from other countries' hutting heritage. Although the focus of this study is Scotland, modern experience in Norway affords useful comparative insights. Yet, the literature, interview responses and my first-hand experience derived from time spent in Norway enable a critical comparison with which to assess the current enthusiasm for future Scottish out-dwelling culture to learn from that of Norway. Findings are grouped thematically. First, hutting in Norway has similar ideals to that in Scotland in terms of escape from everyday life, reconnection with simplicity and the benefits of proximity to nature. Second, Norwegian independence has impacted upon the success of hutting in a nation which is in many ways similar to Scotland, and yet has a far more extensive hutting culture. Third, a connection to nature, *Friluftsliv* and land offers Norway a national cultural investment in the outdoor life not found in Scotland, and which translates powerfully to hutting heritage. Finally, I show how Norwegian hutting, although built on a real or imagined heritage of the simple life, no longer unilaterally fits this ideal. Luxury and consumerism have become potent influences at play, and have led to the development of the DNT 'hotel' and the *hyttepalass*; a far cry from the aims of those working within and campaigning for huts and bothies in Scotland today. It is these points upon which I will seek to expand in the themed sections that follow.

Similar Values

Comparable kinds of hutting culture from Norway and Scotland can be found on the pages of the bothy books, in the words of my interviewees, at the events of the Thousand Huts campaign, and through the practices of various *hytte*, hut and bothy users. There are many shared ideas in evidence. This is perhaps unsurprising in a land of comparable size and population, with a similar history of hutting emerging in the 1920s. Attitudes to nature, contrasts between an indoor and outdoor life, along with the importance of health, family and an overarching moral narrative can be identified in the modern historical geographies of nationhood in both countries. My research has highlighted a variety of attractions to cabin culture in Norway, but most demonstrate a general trend towards experiences which are not associated with the everyday life tied to Bjerke et al.'s (2006:88-99) conclusion that Hutting represented five things; '(i) removal or inversion from everyday life (Wolfe, 1951; Jackson 1936; Williams and Katenborn, 1999), (ii) the experience of informality and relaxed everyday lifestyles (Jansson and Müller, 2003)', along with, (iii) ideas about returning to nature, (iv) identifying with place and (v) potential health benefits.

The connection of *hytte* to a particular valuing of nature is a strong theme throughout both the literature and data collected on both private and DNT *hytte*;

> *[the hytte] gives me some values .... Like how to appreciate nature* (Kari)
> *Lots of fresh air, and we believe in that. Lots of fresh air, into the nature, healthy food ... we think it's important for children to learn how to be outside in the nature, and to learn how to ski and to learn how to go. And also, it's good life learning I think ... So we're not scared of nature, we're used to nature, we respect the nature. You know if you're here during winter the weather conditions can easily change, and I think it's a good thing that you learn to respect nature* (Hilde)

> *Because I think we're re-connected with it somehow, even for our ability to ... participate in campaigns towards climate change, I think it even goes that far, it's a background for our mentality towards nature as well.* (Ingrid)

To these people, this connection is seen as important to impart to younger generations, and fundamental to Norwegian core values. As Bell and Lyall (2002:179) propose, 'in Norway a love of nature is a vital component of that country's national identity', and indeed this cornerstone is depicted nowhere more clearly than in the nation's *hytte*. As the literature suggests,

> The cabin is the starting point for private expedition into the great outdoors, on skis in the winter, on foot in the summer. Spending a whole day in the cabin is

viewed as immoral and meaningless. Not before evening is it legitimate to relax in front of the fire with a game of cards and perhaps a drink, and you should be physically tired from the day's natural experiences. (Bell and Lyall 2002:180)

This image of the outdoor-loving Norwegian is a key national trope and the *hytte* is subsequently the site upon which this ideal is launched. Viewed thus, the *hytte* acts as something of a crucible for adventure, for 'a cabin is generally seen as a place from which to move outdoors' (Abram 2012:244). This notion of the *hytte* as somewhere to facilitate activity, rather than being an activity in itself, is something which is equally attributable to both private and DNT *hytte*. This placing of the hut as facilitator matches with the Scottish example, particularly in bothies which are positioned as places from which one ventures forth. The Scottish privately-owned hut, however, does not share such expeditionary zeal. While it is no doubt the impetus for some, throughout the research it was clear that a hut could also be a destination, hutting being a verb in itself, to hut, to spend time in and around the hut.

As Ling et al. argue, the *hytte* is also a place attributed to good health, a place in which one feels safe:

> …one visits the hytte to relax and to share time with one's family. In the eyes of many it is a place of renewal, a sanctuary, a womb into which one can retreat in order to regain a certain perspective (Ling et al. 1998:n.p.).

In a similar vein, Bjerke et al. (2006) focus upon the affective aspects of hut environments, arguing that these buildings and the activities which take place within them (or in their vicinity) are beneficial for mental health. Not only do they call upon the well-documented theories that natural environments are beneficial for health, citing Ulrich *et al.* (1991) and Hartig et al. (2003), they also call upon theories such as Attention Restoration Theory (ART) which argues that 'distance from places which [normally] direct our attention can restore mental ability' (Bjerke et al. 2006:89). These ideas were followed through in interviews, with users reporting the benefits to health, speaking to ideas of nature as 'retreat' (Conradson 2010). One interviewee puts these ideas particularly well;

> *You've got great opportunities to be active. So that's the physical bit. But I think also the mental health bit is equally important in the sense that you get time and space to think, and reflect, and enjoy things, and appreciate things that you would otherwise be too preoccupied to notice … It could be the small things, like watching a bird that you've seen twice, sort of er, to observe life around you, … but also getting the opportunity to talk to the people around you more … we do because we have more time, so it comes naturally.* (Ingrid)

Like in Scotland, this is both mental and physical, the hut seen as the facilitator of healthy space, to think and breathe.

As the statements above show, much of the existing literature characterises the *hytte* as a space for nature appreciation, family time, outdoor recreation and an escape from the ever-accumulating stresses and strains of modern life. Much of this escapism relies upon moral narratives (Berker and Gainsmo 2010), where escape is equated with alterity. Lack of amenities, some hardships and engaging in routine maintenance work are thereby equated with tradition, living traditionally, and with positive experiences when in this place, closeness to nature in particular is viewed as 'imperative for every cabin visit' (Berker and Gansmo 2010:176). Interviewees in both Scotland and Norway have described the pleasure of sitting in the in-between space of the front porch, and out-dwellers have voiced an '*indescribable*' enjoyment of completing manual or maintenance tasks, be this gathering water (Kari) or perpetually completing DIY on the 'unfinished hut' (Loose 2010). These sentiments are foundational to the strong positions taken by many Norwegians on what cabins comprise. In these instances, as Berker and Gansmo (2010:174) note, 'Norwegians often assume a strong moralistic authority'. This sense of ownership over the concept of the *hytte* is something which certainly translates to discussions over an emerging hutting culture in Scotland where opinion varies over what a hut should, or importantly, should not be.

The following quote from a female Norwegian interviewee, aged in her thirties, highlights many of these shared ideals;

> *... like how to appreciate nature and taking it, like the value of not doing anything, the value of leisure time. And ... the beauty of just being there. And a simple life or lifestyle. That you don't need luxury to relax and ... holiday ... it's kind of weird that you go to a place with no electricity and no water to relax and that makes you feel, like no stress, but it does. For other people that would be just like a lot of work... we had like the cabin was on the top of a hill and the water tap was at the bottom of a hill and we had several 10 litre big containers. And to have like a backpack and one of them in your backpack and snow to your knees, but it was fun, I don't know why, but it was good to have that kind of physical work and then the feeling when you had managed to fetch enough water, and me and my brother would do that together and we had 10 litre or 20 litre each, and then we always did that when we got back after skiing and that was like, now we can relax.* (Kari)

Practitioners in both countries have also noted the relaxing effects, the escape from modernity or 'rupture' (Garvey 2008) of everyday life. The hut is also, to some at least, in both nations, described as a sociable space in which *'you hang out in a different way'* (Trine).

With respect to family time, to which *hytte liv* (hut life) is often strongly linked, commentators argue that it is particularly strained when the children grow up to become teenagers, since it proves harder to motivate them to spend time at the cabin. 'They have to get some "carrots", as … [one] mother expressed it. Such incentives may, for example, be a trip to the downhill ski slope or to have the opportunity to bring some friends to the cabin' (Vittersø 2007:275). While familial attachments are more common in Norway, for those who had experienced out-dwelling as children, or for those who had children now, this difficulty certainly carries over to the Scottish hutting scene. Several Scottish interviewees voiced similar concerns, admitting their own feelings of hutting being 'not cool' in the 'eyes of a child' being replaced by the glaze of a teenager. Vittersø also highlights that:

> It is important that the family members share the same experiences when staying at the cabin. They share the same memories, as well as expectations for future stays at the cabin. In this way these leisure-time activities are important for creating a family identity. Through these activities ideals and knowledge about outdoor life are transferred from the parents to the children, and being outdoors, close to nature, is an important aspect of this knowledge transfer … Not only leisure activities, but also cooking, eating and meal practices are important parts of life at the cabin, and something that may be experienced as different from everyday life (2007:276).

These comments, on family time and on cooking and eating as crucial practices, as well as inter-generational expectations and tensions, are transferable to Scottish contexts. As Vittersø (2007:277) continues, '[w]hen the families described the ordinary life at the cabin, they emphasised the social aspects, seeing family and friends and having a good time together'. This 'togetherness' of family and friends, of meals shared, was echoed in Scotland with talk of 'barbeques', people 'popping over' and, in James' case, his mother's *'wail when another walked in… for she was usually the cook'*. The social atmosphere at the Norwegian cabin is described as 'cosy' ('*ha det koselig*') (Vittersø 2007:277). While these ideas of cosiness also feature in Scottish hutting, this term *koselig* is yet another linguistic clue about the existence of a hutting culture in Norway; and so, while there are certainly links between the two hutting cultures, it appears that Scotland is less voluble when giving expression to this aspect of hut life.

This difference in familial association need not limit the links in the ideals between these traditions, as even the philosophical heritage of Norwegian eco-philosophy-inspired hutting finds similarity in the ideals of some Scottish hut users, who highlight that these buildings offer a space to think, to work or to be a hermit, if just for a while as touched upon in Chapter 7. This claim is perhaps particularly true of the buildings of the Bothy Project, built specifically to give numerous users just that – space to think. Of interest here, however, is an idea posed by a Norwegian interviewee when discussing the progression of cabin culture. She argues that increasing commercialisation, leads people to '*start to think of it more as a building, and less of a place*' (Ingrid); and consequently its ability to act upon you, to enable you to dwell in that place, is diminished.

Moreover, in seeking to situate the *hytte* within Norwegian culture, many look to position the building type in relation to modernity. Garvey (2008:215) makes a persuasive argument for 'situating the country cabin *within* the 20th century modernising project', seeing it as a negotiation rather than an escape from the everyday. Amidst this placing, she claims, the foremost factors in the *hytte* experience are in fact 'routine and rupture' (Garvey 2008:215), foregrounding the inherent temporality of her analysis. Although the materiality of the cabin may be constantly adapting in comfort and in cost, 'as a contrast to the everyday it remains the same' (Garvey 2008:215). It is this idea of routine which comes under question. Different theories are proposed for what the cabin offers, such as Löfgren (1994:108), who argues that wilderness has become 'a new kind of emotional space, an experimental zone where norms, habits, and routines of bourgeoisie city life could be stretched a bit, transgressed, and even questioned'. This argument is furthered by Lefebvre's (1971:68) theory of the everyday, in which he argues that 'modernity is obscured behind this habitual unexamined nature of everyday life'. Through this lens, the *hytte* becomes a place in which stagnation is ruptured as routine is replaced with difference, meaning that everyday life is interrupted, set to a new rhythm within a new setting. Garvey (2008) hence emphasises not only the physical but also the emotional effect of this distance in noting feelings of authenticity and of an idealised different existence. The Norwegian Ecological Research Institute extends the meaning:

> Life in the cabin is more real. It comes probably because it is closer to the earth. Problems up there are lighting a fire, collecting water, finding food and preparing it, collecting post, tidying up and around the cabin, the joy of walking on the grass feeding the birds and sitting looking at them . . . in other words, one has time to be human (Else NEG, *Norwegian Ethnological Research Institute* 28274, in Garvey 2008:217).

Garvey's argument is founded on Lefebvre's notion that the wish to escape the routinisation of everyday life is in fact an expression of a need to get away from the grasp of modernity, and thus 'pre-eminently the *hytte* exists in its construction as 'not everyday'' (Garvey 2008: 219). The *hytte* here can be seen as not existing outwith modernity, but in symbiotic or, for some, dialectical relation to it, a claim echoing threads pulled out in earlier chapters.

Conversely, seeking to explore this notion of the *hytte* as outside of modernity, Berker and Gansmo highlight Krogh's (1995) use of Urry's (1994) 'tourist gaze' to depict how landscape can be created out of the idea of a premodern connection to nature. Seen in this way, *hytte* are 'located in pockets of the pre-modern engagement in nature within a modern or post-modern world' (Berker and Gansmo 2010:176). Hut users who describe a life 'closer' to, with more practical engagement with, nature certainly seek to animate this theme. Yet, as Berker and Gansmo (2010:176) admit, there is no need for the practical and the gaze to polarize proximity to and distance from nature, and subsequently there is 'no reason why life at the cabin should not show traits of practical engagement with nature, modern distanglement from nature, and post-modern[246] gaze at nature at the same time'. Thus, opinions on these buildings need to be understood as a mixture of these positions.

Rees (2014) offers a further interpretation of the *hytte* which rests on similar ideals of difference, if from a very different angle. The central thesis for her recent publication *Cabins in Modern Norwegian Literature* is that the *hytte* functions as a prime example of Foucault's (1968) 'heterotopia', 'a particular type of social space that functions on numerous registers simultaneously, and thus has far more affective and social significance that it would appear to warrant on the surface' (Rees 2014:2). In particular, she argues that it is a *heterotopia of compensation*, a perfect space created to compensate for the chaos of life. This idea of the *hytte* as the central heterotopia for Norway offers obvious points of comparison. While the emerging hutting culture of Scotland may embody some elements of this theory, it is, unlike Rees's (2014:3) claims for Norway, by no means yet 'the single most important heterotopia' in Scottish society.[247]

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[246] It is acknowledged that 'post-modernism' is a somewhat problematic reference-point now for geographers.

[247] Yet another means to address this notion of the value laden *hytte* is to view such buildings as a microcosm. Implied by Bourdieu (1992 in Abram 2012) with reference to the home, this idea again highlights the place of these buildings in Norwegian culture.

Yet, while Scottish out-dwellings may not qualify as a heterotopia, in both countries there is a voicing (if perhaps not always a physical enactment in Norway) of a desire to be simple, an ideal which carries with it both Garvey's (2008) notion of the *hytte* within modernity and Berker and Gansmo's (2010) notion of hut life as a temporary attachment to the pre-moderm. Users in both countries escape everyday life, stress and strain to what may be construed as a pre-modern construct, but what is ultimately a responsive negotiation of modern life. The often heard argument therefore remains: 'at the same time, cabin life is embedded in the very same modern everyday life and as such fundamentally shaped by it' (Berker and Gansmo 2010:174).

The similarities between the two cultures are continued in controversies over amenities, in which moral and often Romantic narratives are popularly associated with the most basic of provision. As previously discussed, there are strong ideas of what a *hytte* experience should encompass and this sense of ownership over the concept of the *hytte* is echoed in discussions over the emerging hutting culture in Scotland, and specifically Mortimer's comments about the MBA and hutters' concerns over the cultural authority of the Thousand Huts campaign. It is also worth revisiting a comment by Hannah that:

> *you don't want the electricity and all that, you're happy to walk away from all that. Because you know what's magic is putting on a candle.*

There is here a subtly authoritative statement about what a hutter should be. This similarity in ideals carries over to the more public shared hut systems. The same ideals of escape and claims for the curative effect of nature are expressed in interviews with users, as is the notion that these buildings are, for the most part, entry-points to the outdoor experience rather than destinations in themselves. Even the *hyttebok* and the bothy book tell similar tales of peaks conquered, outwith and strangers welcomed within (see Figure 69).
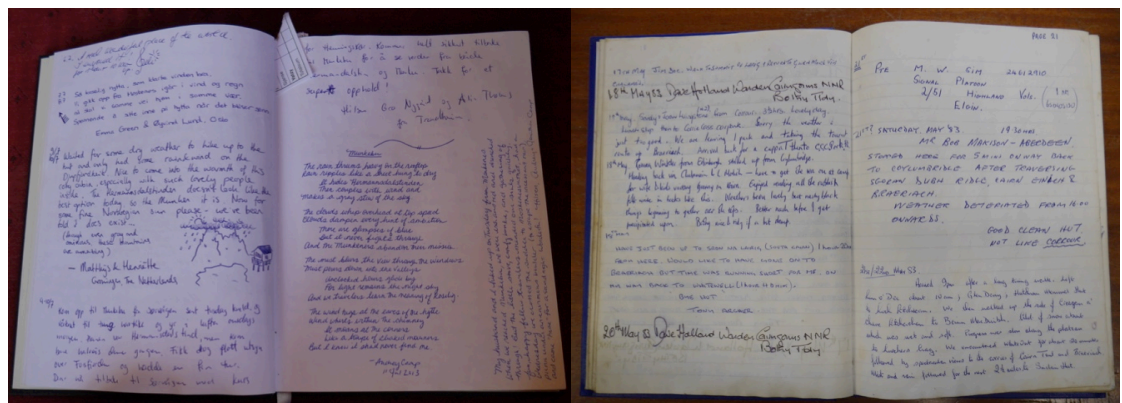

Figure 69. Left Image, Munkebu Hytte, Lofoten. (Author's Own). Right image, Extract page from Sinclair Hut Book no.11 (19/01/1983 – 17/08/1983), (Author's Own).

The DNT, much like the MBA, is based on the idea of getting people into nature. The mission statement of the DNT is mirrored in the MBA's aim to provide access to 'wild and lonely places' (www.mountainbothies.org). This commitment to the outdoors, and to active participation, is mirrored in the now open policy of both institutions. Despite the need for payment in the Norwegian system, considering the facilities, this is clearly not designed to limit usage, but rather to create safe and popular passage into the outdoors. Likewise, the reliance on voluntary labour is again mirrored in both organisations. While the MBA have yet publicly to publish any findings on this issue, speculation in Committee meetings suggested that the 103 work parties from 2015 could be monetised to a figure of £500,000 (on the basis of each member doing £100 of work per day). This equates to approximately 625 volunteer hours. While I appreciate that this figure does not include the voluntary time injected by the Committee, it remains a small figure compared to the 533,621 volunteer hours contributed by DNT volunteers in 2013. Nonetheless, both organisations are dependent on public support for their operations.

Work by Ween and Abram (2012) on the DNT offers a critique of the organisation as a product of social control because of how it uses tools of governance, such as maps, trails, huts and guidebooks, to prescribe a certain way for nature to be used. As these authors state,

> [I]n our view, these nature practices are inseparable: lines inscribed in guidebooks and on maps are directly connected with lines inscribed in the landscape. In the DNT's trail net, people create lines and lines create people (Ingold, 2007), in what could be called a 'meshwork' consisting of both human and non-human traces (2012:8).

In this way they observe how the DNT is afforded power over how users interact with nature, so that the *hytte* (along with the 'T' waymarkings and other such technologies) sterilise nature to some extent, making it predictable and to be interacted with in specific, prescribed ways (Ween and Abram 2012). Part of this situation, however, is a sense of ownership which the DNT aim to convey: 'DNT morale encourages a sense of belonging across the whole national landscape, rather than, or in addition to feeling attached to one particular place' (Ween and Abram 2012: 9). Ween and Abram (2012) also draw in the idea of Foucault's work on governing mentalities, whereby the DNT acts at a discourse in associating particular actions with being 'National'. They suggest how the use of paths depicts this exertion of control:

> What is striking about the DNT paths is that they are situated in a regime of freedom of movement – not the path-bound policing of the British countryside, but a path focused discipline freely chosen by DNT trekkers. [*here I assume they refer to English law*] As such they can be understood as the archetypical internalised self-discipline that Foucault defined as modern governing, made possible through universalising technologies (Ween and Abram 2012:10).

Yet in Scotland the MBA do not carry such cultural authority as to be seen as a tool of governance. Although encouraging use of the outdoors, their reach does not govern the pathways and so controls less of the 'meshwork' of human and non-human traces on the landscape. Therefore, while the ideals of these groups converge, their place on the national stage is where they diverge.

The importance of nation-building

Despite sharing similar ideals, the hut culture of Norway is far more extensive both in terms of levels of participation and also ideological significance. Norwegian independence, achieved over two centuries ago, has enabled the creation of this far more extensive hutting culture in a nation which is in many respects akin to Scotland in size, population and latitude. In contrast to the Scottish example, which is only now gaining government recognition, with regards to planning policy at least, Norwegian hutting has been for decades a state-sanctioned activity. It is a Norwegian phenomenon designed to be uniquely Norwegian. At no point previously has the hut been used comparatively as symbol in Scotland. However, in recent terms, amid discussions of Scottish Independence in 2015, the hut or bothy was given little profile within debates about a Scottish identity, despite campaign claims of looking towards Nordic states to create a new Scotland which was to be more attentive to land use.

While in its ubiquitous nature the Norwegian *hytte* could be cast aside as a national stereotype, the *hytte* in Norway actually gives substance to this claim of prevelance, illustrated in the number of people with ownership or access to such buildings. Moreover, this acceptance or even encouragement shines through in land policy where, without the legacy of a concentrated system of feudal landownership, access has continuously been much more open. Returning to earlier comments on land in Chapter 9, as Donnelly (1986) suggests, control over land is an example of dual aspects of hegemony (force and consent), combined with Gramsci's notion of a 'special kind of power' (in Donnelly 1986:227)[248].

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[248] A position which not only provides the power and opportunity to shape and legitimise situations, but also to portray them as the natural evolution of things.

To change nexus this would require a 'radical alternative access ethic' (Donnelly 1986:227). Norway has just such an ethic: indeed the Norwegian hegemony *is* access, even if it is rolled up, as Ween and Abrams (2012) note, within a blanket of Norwegian ideals. As Ween and Abram comment,

> in striking contrast to the seizure of commons in countries such as England and Scotland, the political strength of the regional communities, or perhaps, the weakness of central government and landowning powers, meant that the fight for the Norwegian commons would not be so easily won (2012:6).[249]

The mountain law (*Fjelloven*) established in the 1920s went a long way to assist access, ensuring that the commons were open to all nationals to harvest resources, not only locals. Access for leisure was then formalised in the Outdoor Recreation Act of 1957 (*friluftslivsloven*) which, among other things, enshrined the right of access to land as well as the responsibly to protect it. Therefore, while Scotland achieved the 'right to roam' in the Land Reform [Scotland] Act of 2003, Norway held to this ideal almost half a century previously. Moreover, several interviewees introduced me to the notion of *temprefest*, the system of a perpetually extending rent-controlled lease. Interestingly, this system was recently taken to the European court by Norwegian farmers looking to make more money from their land. The lease owners won the case and therefore have, for now, protected this system.

On the basis of this comparison it is useful to stress the importance of history. As previously mentioned, Britain's political system did not face revolutionary change and, therefore, landed power was maintained under a veil of naturalised consent (Wightman 2011) or 'cultural hegemony' (Lorimer 2000). The hut did not figure in Scotland's nation-building process, and lack of land access has only cemented this distancing from hutting culture and the state, eroding throughout the late twentieth century what would have perhaps been a similar hutting phenomenon. Conversely, land and its users were incorporated into Norway's nation-building. While some of this is historic circumstance, it was also political power play as independence in this manner established a radically different land ethic. While Scotland may be moving towards this ideal in recent years, it remains hampered by its own histories, power structures and public policy, as Wightman of course makes clear.

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[249] The phrase here means the fight to seize the Norwegian commons – to remove its ready accessibility – not the fight to secure the commons as commons.

Additionally, in terms of the DNT, it has been suggested that it is this nation-building project and overt nationalism (without the negative connotations it carries in other countries) that has created a sense of unity which allows the honesty system to function successfully. As one DNT board member noted in our discussion, to steal would be '*like stealing from the nation*'. Whether this kind of egalitarian principle could be generated and maintained within Scottish society remains to be seen.

Cultural investment - *Friluftsliv*

This process of nation-building is also bound up with Norway's connection to nature and *Friluftsliv*. As Ling et al. (1998:n.p) note, 'perhaps more than any other country in Europe, the Norwegians revere nature and cultivate an active relationship to it'. This particular Norwegian connection to nature is a cultural phenomenon that implicates national identity and self-image, at both an individual and national level. With roots in mid-19th century Norway, this appreciation of nature grew out of a need to forge a new national identity and unite a newly formed nation-state. Using nature as a symbol was an obvious choice for a nation where only 3-4% of the land is arable (Rees 2014), and thus the vast wilderness of Norway was presented as a canvas upon which to create a nation of nature-loving, -respecting and, in particular, healthy and hardy individuals. This way of thinking about nature rejected the notion that 'knowledge is power over nature', turning instead to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophy of the 'noble savages' (Ewert et al. 2014), a trope of Romanticism. This is not quite to suggest that rural Norway is subject to the 'primitive' tropes often associated with nineteenth century rural Romanticism, for, as Garvey (2008:203) objects 'overarching concepts … masks local articulation'. Romanticism in Norway, by his view, is based on farmers not as peasants but as political actors, and so farming culture does not bring forth images of subordination and feudalism, but rather a progressive force (Garvey 2008). This move highlights that the rural, and the wild, were fully implicated within Norway's modernisation process, not set against it. As Ween and Abram (2012:4) reflected, '[t]he rural was considered the home of nature and the more authentic national culture, an idealisation that persisted, allowing Fridtjof Nansen, polar explorer and national hero, to complain that, '"urban life is still not cultured" (1921)'. As Witoszek (in Garvey 2008) suggests, by the mid-nineteenth century three definite references for Norwegian identity were formed: the fjord and mountain landscape as iconic of Norwegian identity; the farmers as bearers of national values; and, the importance of the Norway's National Day and constitution in advancing the nationalist will. Ultimately, as Ewert et al. note,

> [b]y the 20th century, with the redefinition of a national culture at home in a sublime mountain and fjord landscape and with polar explorers returning as heroes, Norway had done what no other European nation had been able to do, it achieved freedom without militant nationalism. It had done so in large part by identifying with nature (2014:126).

It can thus be seen that nature has been cast as a powerful tool of Norwegian nationalist politics.

It is from these roots in a national association with nature, that the concept of *friluftsliv* arose as a key term of reference in the formation of the Norwegian nation-state. First coined by Henrik Ibsen in the mid nineteenth century, this term, when roughly translated, means 'fresh air life' and today denotes a philosophical lifestyle centering upon an outdoor life. The term has changed over the years, beginning as a romanticised notion in the nineteenth century, then becoming associated in the mid-twentieth with health and fitness (akin to the Outward Bound[250] movement in Britain). In 1966 it took on a more modern guise through the influence of the late Arne Næss, rock climber and philosopher. Næss conjoined the term to ecophilosophy, incorporating the importance of *frilufsliv* within an argument that the development of environmental ethics emphasises the importance of place, requiring direct personal experience of nature (Anker 2003). Today the term is used extensively in reference to outdoor activities and experiences of nature, and there are even university degrees in *frilufsliv*. Ultimately, therefore, *friluftsliv* distils into a single nationally identifiable term the idea that access to nature has intrinsic value. As yet, Scotland has no such equivalent.[251]

These histories trace a deep cultural investment in the outdoor life which, in turn, translates to their hutting heritage. The depth of emotional attachment and the extent of personal and state economic investment in these activities is testament to its national importance. Whether sanitised or distilled, used for creating a nation or escaping from modernity, this devotion to an outdoor life and the means to facilitate it creates not only cultural but also political space for a hutting culture. While it would be an exaggeration to claim that *hytte* are available to every person in Norway, it nonetheless appears clear that access to nature and *friluftsliv* are more widespread across society. While social change is evident and an

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[250] An outdoor sports organization.
[251] A Norway united against Dutch and Swedish oppressors may hold weight in the national memory, but it does not necessarily represent the emerging multicultural Norway of today. While it is not the purpose of this paper to go into the intricacies of a changing national value in terms of *friluftsliv*, it is worth noting that changes in the value of this term were much discussed by my participants in Norway.

outdoor life is not ideal for all, it still appears much more of a national narrative in Norway than in Scotland, where outdoor culture is largely 'out' of reach; outwith national tropes, outwith mass recreation ideals and increasingly outwith working class leisure paradigms. That throughout my Norwegian research I did not have to explain what I meant when I spoke of a *hytte*, as I so often did in Scotland when discussing the hut, highlights this point, however anecdotally.

Part of this increased value of the hut in Norway is perhaps due to Norweigian national heroes such as Nansen stating that 'urban life is still not cultured' (1921 in Ween and Abram 2012:4) within Norway. Yet, despite the repeated academic comment on such pro-rural narratives, I am uncomfortable about falling completely into line with this argument. While a national image pertains that 'Norwegians revere nature and cultivate an active relationship to it' (Ling et al. 1998:n.p.), it is not a universally applicable narrative for all contemporary Norwegians, particularly as the population diversifies in light of immigration. As one interviewee commented

> *I think that if you look into the Norwegian hut culture you will find mainly native Norwegians and ... so I think that that might be the only kind of negative thing that it's kind of you know it's not all including, so it might be reinforcing differences in the society that were always there, ... a kind of segregation* (Hilde)

However, perhaps this is precisely the point: the importance in theory, as a national image, ensures the continuation of outdoor life as part of the popular psyche. The lack of anything of comparable significance on a national level within Scotland means that outdoor recreation, despite a brief heyday in the post-war era, remains the passion of a few, perhaps even an aging demographic, rather than a national pastime. This will no doubt impact upon the amount of infrastructure available in the bothy system, but also the type of private huts emerging within Scotland.

Yet, this need not have been the case. The Valley Recreation Plan, published in 1949 by Abercrombie charts an effort to modernise Glasgow and the surrounding area, giving weight to the national importance of nature and recreation within it. This plan was forceful in recognising the health benefits of nature. Admittedly, though, it was not an open call for huts. The burgeoning hut culture that existed at that time was deemed inappropriate, ugly, indeed, 'one of the worst menaces to the coast and country' (Abercrombie 1949:153) in the region. Such developments were to be curtailed, controlled and, if required, at all pre-designed into lots of 'not more than 20 huts' (Abercrombie 1949:154). Certainly, huts were

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not encouraged to develop ecologically in line with growing aspirations for a nation at leisure; ideas which parallel with the similarly despised plotlands developments in England. Although critical about hutting, this plan still espouses a modernist vision, critical of the effects of continued urban living and convinced of the benefits of nature for liberating 'city-stifled emotions' (Abercrombie 1949:135). The plan continued:

> Since the restless inventive power of man [*sic*] created for himself mechanical aids to work, the whole trend of living has been towards the progressive perfection of mechanical industrial efficiency, and towards the ever increasing massing of peoples into urban communities where they became more and more embroiled in speed and complication. There is evidence to show that this mechanisation of man's movements and purposes has created new problems of human behaviors and psychology, and that the individual has not adapted himself successfully to the great material acceleration of living. Many approaches to this problem of the widening gap have been made, but it must be generally agreed that one of the most promising is the conception of mental and physical recreation in the open spaces of Nature. As the complexity of living increases then increasingly also grows the need for full recreation; it is the necessary complement to work and, without it, in increasing measure, work, productive efficiency and human happiness must suffer. Facilities for natural recreation must be offered; space demands are bound to be high; recreation deserves and must have the necessary space and importance (Abercrombie 1949:129).

This ambitious image of highly integrated urban and rural realms was never fully realized, and 'ample provision' of campsites, training camp sites and holiday chalets did not happen. Leisure of this character remains privatised, not endorsed or funded by government means – not on this scale at least. Although '[u]rban and rural communities better connected to the land, with more people enjoying the land and positively influencing land use' is one of the three objectives in the Scottish Government's current Land Use Strategy (http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/365706/0124378.pdf), such commitment has not seeped into the national consciousness in the same manner as it has in Norway.

Moreover, it is thus perhaps worth commenting that this Norwegian commitment to *friluftsliv* has enshrined the image of the *hytte* as a place providing access to recreation. As such, it is part of a wider network of the outdoors. In Scotland, this is again not the case to the same degree. Those who have a hut in Scotland are not automatically those who practice such active outdoor activities on a regular basis. This is not to say that nature is less important to users of private huts within Scotland, but more that it is used in different ways: to potter and to wander, with low-key practices given just as much moral significance as the outdoor expeditions of the Norwegian ideal. Subsequently, there is a difference between the traditions of these two nations, but also perhaps more of a division

between the two forms of out-dwelling within Scotland (huts and bothies) than within Norway (private hytte and DNT *hytte*) in this regard.

Transforming Values

A case is gathering that the Scottish model does not neatly fit the Norwegian mould. It seems reasonable to argue that Norwegian hutting, although built on a real or imagined heritage of the simple life, no longer unilaterally fits this ideal. Thus any argument for influence or inspiration taken from Norway must account for and appreciate the *hytte* in transition. Although *hytte liv* (hut life) continues to permeate Norwegian society, the way in which this cultural tradition has been practised has changed drastically over the years. As scholars highlight (Vittersø 2007; Abram 2012), this change is perhaps most obviously demonstrated in material terms through an increase in size; with many *hytte* matching, or even out-costing the principal property of its owners. Moreover, all mod-cons are ubiquitous in many contemporary *hytte,* moving beyond staples such as running water and electricity to fully kitted-out kitchens. At the extremes, among the emerging *hyttepalass*, this notion of luxury is taking new forms.

Changes such as these are hotly contested in the literature and media alike. Berker and Gansmo (2010) make the argument that, despite being a nation which portrays nature as central to its ideals, the cultural centrepiece of the *hytte* is no longer sustainable. Despite moves to encourage 'soft tourism', the ideal of the isolated *hytte*, along with raising standards of living, has led to unprecedented CO^2 output from this form of leisure making it, as Berker and Gansmo (2010) highlight, environmentally unsustainable; less communing with nature, and more its slow degradation (Ingrid, Heidi, Marte, Torjus). Kari in particular voiced concerns at both a personal and societal level:

> *K: Well if it is a sign of affluence or something then of course there is a negative, because some people can feel like they are left outside if they don't have the access. [but also] so it's kind of it's a simple life but then again it's more property, it might be a bit of a paradox. For me, I don't like it that the new cabins or huts they are so, I mean you have a Jacuzzi or a sauna, it's like a second home. For me then it loses, or some of the benefits disappear.*

Abram (2012), on the other hand, makes a plea for revenge of the 'Normal Cabin'. She notes that built-in utilities (such as water and electricity), proximity to the road (involving a hike or not), and space (ability for three generations to visit at once) are key sticking points. Again, there is a concern for the environmental impacts of this increased luxury and

the realisation that the difference between a cabin and a home can become limited to permanent residency, as *hytte* become 'playgrounds of the leisured middle class' (Abram 2012:248). However, Abram (2012:238) does offer some context, observing this is a 'fictive norm' created by the media and estate agents.[252] Outwith this discourse of the extravagant *hytte,* there is, she observes, a revitalisation of the practices and ideologies of the simple, self-sufficient *hytte*. This re-found (or continued) appreciation of the old-style has clear value for the analysis of Scottish huts, where, for the users of both bothies and huts, simplicity remains valued, enshrined in recent policy, and championed as the Scottish ideal in hut and bothy propaganda alike.

While this sort of simplicity may be making a return in Norwegian *hytte* values, it is not yet pervasive in practice. One interviewee's experience is illustrative (Oda). A passionate Norwegian private *hytte* user, she describes in great detail the image of her hut. It was a half hour's walk from the road, had no running water or electricity and was nestled in a forest overlooking a lake. Spending time there, she went skiing, did repairs and maintenance, and spent time with family. She ate specific *hytte* foods, played cards and wore clothes that you *'just wouldn't wear out in the city'* (Oda). It was, as she described, *'real hytte life'* (Oda). Yet, once the recorder was turned off and talk had turned to the activities of the weekend, she sheepishly confessed that she was going to a *hytte* that weekend but not to *that hytte.* In fact, she had not been there for years. The *hytte* that she used regularly belonged to her boyfriend's family. It had water, electricity and a fully-fitted kitchen – *'we go there because it is easier'* (Oda). The ideal that she wanted to portray to me was in fact not her reality. Although recent social commentators such as Lesley Riddock (2010:9) have argued that 'some are very fancy, but many are very basic wooden huts', instances like this, along with other interviews and site visits, confirm to me that, as Vittersø's (2007) title suggests, 'cabin life [is] in transition'. Vittersø (2007:267) then adds that the term *hytte* now 'addresses the function of the second home (for recreation) rather than the physical form'. With a drastic increase in both size and provision in both new-build huts and those which are renovated, this development in standards is at odds with the traditional ideals of *hytte* life (Vittersø 2007). Although, as Abram (2012) argues, there is still a strong attachment to traditional ideals, particularly, I found, in the romanticisation of a younger generation, the fact is that contemporary trends in Norwegian *hytte* do not match those ideals portrayed by the Thousand Huts Campaign, and nor do the prices.

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[252] This point is highlighted by the magazine *Hytte Liv* which portrays page after page of exquisite luxury design.

Prices vary with factors such as proximity to an ocean view, availability of a downhill ski area, or being in driving distance from a major city, but *hytte* remain a pricey business. On the hutting island of Lindøya, admittedly a unique case due to its proximity to Oslo, the huts resemble those at Carbeth, with similar worker origins. These huts are bound by island rules to go without running water, although electricity has been installed.[253] Despite their simplicity, however, one respondent reports that these huts sell for around 2million NOK (roughly £200,000). Compare this with Carbeth, where the price of sale is capped at £20,000. While family inheritance may be seen as a way to mitigate this rising 'hut ladder', such spiralling costs have led respondents to admit family feuds resulting from problems of inheritance where certain siblings want to sell and others cannot afford to buy them out. For a place and practice known for engendering family connections, this is not the intended outcome. Moreover, in environmental terms the Norwegian *hytte* culture is perhaps not always such a desirable model. While 'eco village' style *hytte* may be one solution to this, it is not the ideal currently propagating within Scotland.

Therefore, while, as Vittersø (2007:279) states, 'changes in leisure habits are perhaps not as drastic as one can get the impression from the media', in terms of the material structures, their economics and environmental impact, hut life has certainly changed within Norway. I would argue that the attachment to simplicity in Scotland may be no stronger than in Norway, but the economic investment is at another level. Although Scottish huts do sometimes have generators, televisions and even Sky satellite dishes. My point therefore is not a moral one: no tradition is more just. All I suggest is that there has been a romanticising of the Norwegian heritage from the Scottish perspective. The ideal of Norwegian hutting, so often espoused at campaigning events within Scotland, is, I would argue, that of the 'golden era' (Rees 2014) of the *hytte*, now to a large extent lost, which perhaps complicates what might be at stake in transplanting such a ubiquitous hut culture to Scotland.

Similar cautions could be offered to those who may wish to see bothies as widespread as are the DNT *hytte*. On the surface the MBA, established approximately 100 years after its Norwegian counterpart, is embryonic relative to the organisational might of the DNT. In terms of physical provision, the DNT outstrips the MBA in offering gas stoves, wood fires, plentiful fuel supplies, fully equipped kitchens (with branded crockery) and beds complete with duvet and pillow. The hard wooden floor of the bothy seems a poor cousin in

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[253] Admittedly this information is based on one interviewee.

comparison. On the other hand, the MBA offers something sacrosanct in the rustic charm of the ascetic bothy.[254] Several of the staffed DNT huts are, as interviewees confess, '*like hotels*' in their provision of three course meals, hot showers, and on occasion a hot tub.[255] While the claim has been made that the sharing of rooms keeps the ethos of the *hytte* alive, a comment made by the manager of Gjendesheim, the commercialisation of the *hytte* experience is clear. Moreover, it is understandable. Staffed *hytte* are operated on a contracted system whereby the building and the income from the beds goes to the DNT, but the income from food and drink, along with any other marketable services, goes to the *hytte* manager, effectively running their own business. Thus, while the ethos marketed by the DNT may not have changed, and in fact the experiences outwith the *hytte* may not have altered much either, the buildings themselves and the services offered cannot be equated with a simple mountain hut. Many Scottish interviewees claim that they would not like a vast increase in the provisions in bothies, or in the number of them available for use, and so the DNT system as a whole may not be a viable future goal for Scottish out-dwellings of this type. Moreover, while the DNT as an organisation operate tools of governance stretching beyond the provision of 'simple shelter' associated with the MBA, this control of the landscape could not be offered by the MBA, whose finances can not stretch to 'multifaceted ... pedagogy' (Ween and Abram 2012:1). In this instance, then, while there is much perhaps for the MBA to learn from the Norwegian example, they should not necessarily aim to simulate the Norwegian ideal. As with the individual *hytte*, while the ideals are often similar between the cultures of these two nations, practices do not – and need not – converge.

Conclusion

The Scottish hutting community is not the only body to acknowledge the influence of Scandinavian society. As BBC journalist Philip Dodds (2016) muses, speaking on 'Thinking to the future', out-of-town IKEAs and Scandinavian Noir are increasingly cultural staples in Britain, where even Mama Mia has 'notched up' a fifteen year run on London's West End. Britain is currently caught in a Scandinavian 'spell', with Scotland in particular enthralled by the 'Scandinavian model' of social and political life. Therefore, I acknowledge the current pertinence of the 'Norway example' in political terms and accept that an independent Scotland campaign has (or had) many reasons to tout the parallels across northern latitudes. Yet, as Dodds later continues,

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[254] There is arguably a similar development within the UK Youth Hostels movement – with distinction between old style (plain, cold etc) hostels and ones now run more like hotels.
[255] Albeit for a cost of £150 a night.

> … the seeming passion for all things Scandinavian is happening at the same time as the much admired Scandinavian model of society is under immense pressure. There are unparalleled border checks between Sweden and Denmark. Norway's oil economy is in crisis, Denmark has voted to confiscate the belongings of migrants and much as in the rest of Europe, far right parties do well in elections across Norway, Sweden and Denmark (www.bbc.co.uk).

In *lieu* of this, he asks whether 'the days of the Scandinavian model … are over'?

Such remarks carry through to a questioning of the ambition for the 'Norwegian model' to inspire Scottish out-dwelling. I have found that there are certainly parallels, notably the lure of *hytte liv* and a sense of out-dwelling life cast in terms of moral narratives, a desire for simplicity, enjoyment in manual tasks, adapted social dynamics and a reliance on voluntary labour. But contrasts are also notable, and the thus MBA does not resemble the DNT. There is much that the former could learn from the latter, but the unique qualities of the MBA should not be undermined by comparisons with an organisation of such size and national investment as the DNT. In terms of private hutting, moreover, the differences are more apparent. Returning to the words of Angus MacDonald, used to open this chapter, there is not 'such commitment here'. Although based on similar origins and couched in similar ideals, the Norwegian *hytte* occupies a much more central position in the building of the Norwegian state and, indeed, in current cultural investment. Without such history, it appears unlikely that Scotland could ever emulate such status. Moreover, it may not want to. As with any culture, the *hytte* culture of Norway is riddled with contradiction and controversy, marbled with ideas of simplicity and practices of modernity. It arguably presents a confused imagined geography of what the *hytte* has now become.

While there is a lot to be learned, maybe aspired to, from the ubiquity of the Norwegian *hytte*, with their numbers, provision, support and use, with regards to 'out-dwellings' it would appear that Dodds' questioning is well-founded and that *hytte* realities no longer match with those who espouse this connection. Subsequently, while the emerging hutting culture of Scotland can certainly learn from looking north, it should not do so through rose-tinted glasses. The hut in Norway is, as Rees (2014) notes, a heterotopia, complexly layered with the history, culture and imaginations of a nation. This sentiment is perfectly portrayed in one simple statement in the Norwegian *hytteliv* magazine:[256] 'show me your cabin and I'll tell you who you are' (in Garvey 2008:207). Scotland is not yet at this stage. Whether it ever will be – or even should be – is open to question.

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[256] There is more than one magazine devoted to hut life in Norway.

Chapter 10. Conclusion

Rachel: "So can you tell me, what is a hut, to you?"

Interviewee: "That's a tricky question, where to start…"

Opening the close

By seeking to draw this thesis to a close I am reminded of one interviewee's words, '…where do I start?'. The seeming simplicity of basic shelter masks all manner of complex considerations. In this wide-ranging and sympathetically critical examination of the 'out-dwelling' scene, I have sought to tell and interrogate complex tales about meaning and myth, significance and purpose, status and access. In this Concluding chapter, I will revisit the aims of this study, take stock of its outcomes and ask how the many strands of thought and practice creating the out-dwelling world might yet be extended. To this end, I will elaborate on the prospect of 'applied cultural geography' as a means to consider how this thesis finds a fit on the map of contemporary human geography, asking where and to what sorts of research the label can usefully be applied. Finally, I offer some closing words that include reflections on the research process and the briefest of thanks-givings.

'Out-dwelling' worlds through words

The project was designed to provide insights into Scottish out-dwelling culture and practice, and to investigate the buildings which facilitating these experiences. In doing so, Chapter 4 sought not only to situate these buildings within their cultural history, and also to create conversations between geographies of the book and the cultural concept of dwelling. Setting out to explore the links between 'Hut-Thought-Word', it spoke through both intimate geographies and greater philosophies, a social-intellectual relation threaded throughout this work more generally. Chapter 5, in contrast, focused specifically upon the built structures, taking time to talk through their built form, as well as their co-creation with users of their space. I drew attention to both these buildings and their users, speaking to the small-scale geographies of this culture, as well as to its broader significance in appreciating notions of 'folk', and the importance of telling tales. The empirical content of Chapter 5, also entailed an exploration of landscape, and of the means by which out-dwellings facilitate an engagement with the exterior world out-with their walls.

Addressing my stated aim to situate the specific geographies of being in and around these buildings, Chapters 5 and 6 charted out-dwellings through a series of social and cultural

themes. These chapters used literatures on geographies of the home and the rural geography, respectively, to trouble an idyllic, standardised imagery of the countryside and to delve deeper into the experience and practice of out-dwelling as a way of life. In these chapters, by thinking through ideas of environmentalism, biophelia, gender and journeying, I explored more of the 'who' of out-dwelling, and a great deal of the why too. These chapters in particular are indebted to the 'dwelling interviews', first introduced in Chapter 3, which worked well, eliciting responses to the dwelt environment that the interviewee and I were momentarily inhabiting together. Chapter 6 also developed the notion of a 'skillscape' – akin to Ingold's 'taskscape' – but filling it with the deceptively simple skillful accomplishments of hutters and bothyers.

One of this thesis' aims was to view these out-dwellings and their users as part of a broader cultural and social history of land use in rural Scotland. This aim led to an interest in out-dwelling as a form of political intervention, one where it is possible to disclose the critical edge to this potentially radical culture. This sharp edge focus of Chapter 8, which traced the multiple ways in which hutting can be figured as a "quietly" radical act. Through reflection and mobility, as well as access to leisure, out-dwelling proves its potential to upset rural norms, of stasis, of agricultural land uses and, in the context of Scotland's physical landscape, the hunting, shooting, fishing leisure of the elite. Most importantly, this chapter tackled the issue of land reform, thrusting these small buildings into the center of a larger national debate.

Finally, Chapter 10 situated Scottish out-dwelling within a broader international context of outdoor culture, turning to Norway and the culture of *hytte*, which are of particular influence in recent political discussions. Cross-cultural comparison enabled a deeper understanding of the rough-and-ready particularities of the Scottish context, prompting reflections upon a possible Scottish future which might emulate a 'Norwegian model' – but which might also pause before doing so in recognition of the extent to which this model itself might arguably harken to a vanishing Norwegian hutting culture.

This thesis has therefore told a variety of tales about the practice, heritage and culture of out-dwellings in rural Scotland. By deploying a mixed methodology it has animated the past, and resurgent present, of a particular leisure culture. By figuring a series of mentors in each empirically-facing chapter (be it book, person or place) as the means to initiate a set of critical conversations and reflections, the thesis followed a slightly unconventional route designed to draw the reader deeper into this out-dwelling scene. It has sought to

enliven the out-dwelling, populated these shelters with the experience of their users and the details of my own archival questing and field diary recollections, sketches and photos.

As is ever the case, there remains scope for further research. There are other tales to be told and work could be done incorporating a greater range of Scotland's rural recreational dwellings. While Lorimer (1997) has previously explored the origins and cultural importance of youth hostels, other buildings which offer temporary shelter, such as mountaineering club huts and sporting estate bothies, are certainly worthy of future exploration. Likewise, a full history of these cultures, a history of small stories, can certainly be envisaged. If this thesis offers a flavour, more could be done to uncover the origins and lived experiences of these cultures in the 1930s with regards to hutting, and the 1950s, with reference to bothies. It thus appears, even two decades after Philo's (1992) original call, that there are, undeniably, still 'neglected rural geographies' to be addressed, still work to be done.

Applied cultural geographies

To help establish this thesis' contribution and "best line of fit" in contemporary human geography, it is worth introducing a new conceptual label, one seeking to capture a disciplinary position and associated trend in research culture. Writing on 'applied geography', Jane Wills (2009:34) notes, 'there are particular strands of geographical enquiry that prioritise the production of knowledge that can be applied to solving pressing issues or concerns in society'. While most commonly associated with environmental policy, development and urban and regional planning, as in the journal 'Applied Geography', there is no reason that all research could not be applied to this goal. Wills continues to highlight that numerous geographers are rethinking how they source and engage audiences through their work and spread its societal influence. Wills (2009:34) concludes that '[o]ur notion of applied geography thus needs to be widened far beyond the traditional focus on policy, to incorporate the discipline's relevance to multiple audiences and political forces for change'. It is to this task that my thesis has turned, in offering one manifestation of 'applied cultural geography'.

Cultural geography, by received disciplinary wisdom, is not a standard outlet for applied research. It has largely fallen shy or stepped back from real world applications. While usually based on real world examples and methods, cultural geography has explored a range of theoretical positions that enable differing interpretations of worldly structures of feeling. Until very recently, it has been uncommon for cultural geographers to deal in

functional matters of policy formulation, even practical matters of research dissemination beyond an academic readership. However, there have been two key shifts in this professional scene. Firstly, there is the 'impact' agenda[257] that, as noted earlier, has encouraged researchers thoroughly to rethink the potential audiences for their work. It is in this era of research impact that this thesis has been written. Secondly, there has been a call to contemplate how themes of cultural geography can be made applicable to wider publics. In the case of my doctoral research, this amounts to conversations around how we see landscape and environment, and then value them accordingly.

Established in 2005, the Landscape and Environment (L&E) Programme was designed by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). This programme was intended to:

> advance knowledge, critically and creatively, of the cultural forms and processes shaping, and shaped by, landscape and environment. It broke new ground in bringing together researchers from a wide range of disciplines and approaches (including those for whom practice is integral to the research) to address the changing ways landscapes and environments have been imagined, experienced, designed, made and managed, and in communicating research findings to a wide audience (www.landscape.ac.uk).

Although this AHRC thematic programme has now ended, the themes that it raised remain pertinent generally and germane to the specific concerns of my research project: one seeking to explore the Scottish out-dwelling landscape, and the environment of its use, as well as offering applicable findings to its users, to the government and possibly to advocates of land reform. Work coming out of this AHRC project, such as that surrounding the concept of 'contested common land', has particular resonance, as it too 'has important policy implications for the delivery of nature conservation, recreational access and other land use priorities for out commons' (www.landscape.ac.uk). The L&E programme was thus inspirational, not only in putting Landscape front and center on the academic map, but also for acknowledging, and emphasising that landscape matters;

> As both imaginative representations and material realities, landscape and environment matters as a medium for the expression of complex ideas and feelings, about beauty, belonging, access to resources, relations with nature, the past and the future, making sense of the world and people's place in it. (www.landscape.ac.uk)

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[257] The Research Councils UK (RCUK), of which the ESRC is part, defines research impact as 'the demonstrable contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy'; while the Research Excellence Framework (REF) incorporated a first systematic exercise designed to assess the impact of research outside of academia.

Although, as the authors accept, '[s]uch concerns are topical, but they are not new', such emphasis upon landscape, and studies of it, as central communicable and applicable research concerns, is arguably fundamental to the foundations of an 'applied cultural geography'.

Such interest has also been noted earlier still in the creation of the 'Cultural Geographies in Practice', a subsection of the journal of *cultural geographies*, initiated in 2000. Here dedicated page-space has been provided for reflections on creative expression in geography. The guidelines state that it 'acknowledges, presents, and discusses the intellectual and practical engagements with the journal's interests beyond a narrowly conceived academy' (www.uk.sagepub.com). This section of the journal also reflects upon the way in which practices outwith academia (often in the artistic, civic, and policy fields) can speak to the journal's cultural geographical concerns. As such it makes connections into, and out from, academic practice, seeking to engage more fully with the world and the various means which can be used to understand and explore within it.

Moreover, in 2014, a collection of articles in the *Journal of Historical Geography* appearing under the title of 'Historical Geography at Large' introduced the idea of participatory historical geography, offering a set of commentaries on issues such as outreach (DeLyser 2014), archival activism (Cameron 2014), public historical geographies (Bressey 2014) and working with the public (Geoghagen 2014). These articles appeared as a result of a similar predicament to that noted above for contemporary cultural geography. Historical geography has similarly not been known for its applicability, with accounts of historical geography as subject tending to focus on the genealogy of intellectual concerns rather than pedagogic or outreach developments. Yet, the works cited above offer 'room for optimism about the potential for further engagements' (Driver 2014:92), implying the ability of historical geography to be participatory and the increasing opportunities for it to involve itself beyond the academy. Again, this move offers a frame for what I have sought to provide in this thesis, and for prospective research work in the field.

In using this term of 'applied cultural geography', I want to contend that my thesis has added to conversations around the potential applicability of historical and cultural research in geography. Offering work which should appeal, and be useful, to the current A Thousand Huts campaign and also the MBA, I have also been asked to engage more publically at seminars on 'shelter', 'bothies' and 'huts' respectively. Through these

events,[258] I have been able more broadly to articulate my ideas in the presence of artists, writers and other users of these recreational spaces. In efforts to gesture towards possible applications of the findings from this thesis, I now make four comments for communities outwith the academy.

Applied 'out-dwelling' geographies

I found the MBA newsletter dating from 1984 within the 70th annual Journal of the organisation. Stuck into booklet form with a liberal application of double-sided tape, it contained the general secretary's resignation statement: 'I feel the MBA is a little too slick and professional'. I was intrigued to find contemporary concerns of an over-emphasis on style over substance in the out-dwelling movement being foreshadowed here by one of the founders of the movement. There is indeed a growing future for out-dwelling, an exciting future, but one with many questions left still unanswered. Questions of growth and support are all nestled neatly alongside matters of power, privilege, access and ownership, and may perhaps risk being obscured by too much of an emphasis on the 'slick and professional'. In the following pages I therefore detail something of this thesis' application, teasing out four prompting questions for possible out-dwelling futures.

Awareness of 'weekend settlers'

In 1996 Jedrej and Nuttall spoke of 'white settlers', of second homes, and the appropriation of rural space. It is true that out-dwelling is a different culture to the one bemoaned by Jedrej and Nuttel. The spaces that I have researched are made for temporary use, with a different politics and arguably older histories. Perhaps, though, in reference to out-dwelling, we could now talk of 'weekend settlers' appropriating rural land as a world of idylls, with ascetic luxury, wholesome dirt and rustic chic. These 'weekend settlers' concern me. I do wonder about an increasingly modern conception of what Silverio (2011) calls 'holy poverty' in hutting. There is an emerging culture of structures built not by humble hands but according to expensive blueprints. There does now seem to be an increasing appreciation of the hermit's hut, the isolated destination, but built to high architectural specifications and standards. These buildings *are* beautiful. They are wonderful spaces in which to dwell; and yet, as this thesis has shown, the out-dwelling collective is not homogenous but built by different wants, needs and financial approaches to these buildings. I am concerned by a possible costing out, or costing up, due to an

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[258] The events were: The Hut, the Bothy and the Wild Wild Mind symposium (01/03/14), the Hutters Network Meeting (22/02/14) and 'Gimmie Shelter' (24/07/16).

increased appreciation for these simple shelters. Those working in the field, with the A Thousand Huts in particular, must stay attuned to this concern and be attentive to the origins of this tradition to avoid financial exclusivity.

This is, admittedly, an issue for huts more than bothies. Although critiques are levelled at the Bothy Project with respect to charging for access to their ascetic luxury, bothies of the modern tradition (those maintained by the MBA) have upheld their initial aim, to 'be left open' (MBA minutes, 1965). Financial concerns here could be proffered with regards to user groups, but not with regards to access. Turning back to huts, there are already safeguards against this financial exclusivity that have been drawn out in this thesis. Carbeth has set an upper limit on hut sales at £20,000. A Thousand Huts regularly asserts that keeping hutting available is a key concern. Yet, given the principles of market pressure, those involved in publicising, aiding, and encouraging the development of out-dwelling culture will need to remain attentive to the slow creep of commercialised interests.

Heritage from below

Amid my concerns, I also conclude that out-dwelling is an element of Scottish heritage that should be appreciated, protected and encouraged. Scotland is a nation known for using its cultural capital for economic benefit. Castles, tartan and whisky, along with glens, lochs and stags, have long been symbols synonymous with a tourist industry happy to trade in stereotypes and which has, it would appear, created a central narrative of romance and tradition.

Tackling Scotland's relationship with heritage, Lorimer (2002:97) notes that:

> The cultural capital which these referents retain is such that McCrone *et al.* (1995:4) has described 'the power of heritage' as 'unduly onerous on Scotland' Heritage has become perhaps the most powerful signifier of Scottish identity: 'Indeed', he continues, 'it seems at times as if Scotland only exists as heritage: what singles it out for distinction is the trappings of its past'. Rojek (1993:181) goes further still, suggesting that the tourist industry has consistently represented 'Scotland as land out of time… an enchanted fortress in a disenchanted world'. Even beyond these clichéd and familiar symbols, the accent in self-representation seems to have been almost wholly retrospective. In such a fashion, the properties and holdings of the Trust have been used to tell a selective version of Scotland's story.

Here Lorimer speaks also of a century of conservation of existing buildings, monuments and statues – a favoured charitable contribution of the concerned middle classes, who through organisations such as the National Trust, 'tell a selective version of Scotland's story (Lorimer 2002:97): in their words 'for the benefit of the nation' (in Lorimer 2002:97). And yet, as Lorimer suggests, heritage need not be that ascribed by the National Trust or any other powerful agency. Instead heritage can come from below, can be grassroots, built and maintained by people, for people. The buildings discussed in this thesis, and the culture surrounding them, provide seeds for such a heritage from below.

This is not to say that the notion of a single out-dwelling heritage is any less artificial. Undeniably, disputes over what constitutes a 'true hutter' or a 'real bothyite' rumble on. The Thousand Huts campaign is to some extent founded on a middle-class escapist idyll, while more traditional hut groups steadfastly retain their working-class roots, despite the increased diversity of hut owners. Bothy culture too grumbles about the right sort of user, about those not kitted, trained or socially equipped to uphold the bothy ideal. Each leisure culture accessing the countryside has its own power struggles, a class battle perhaps, of landowner[259] versus recreation, liberty and freedom to explore.

Fractured in their appropriation of history, these out-dwelling cultures also 'tell a selective version' (Lorimer 2002:97). Unlike the national heritage discourse described above, however, this is usually a heritage of change, or appropriation, and so arguably it suffers less the creation of a false past and a replica present. The MBA *does* build new huts; the Thousand Huts campaign *does* encourage more creative builds. Moreover, the average users of these places are still around to tell their tales. Their stories are not yet condemned to the placard, or to the audio walk cassette of the average castle tour. This thesis has laid out, in detail, a tale of folk Scotland, offering important recognition of this overlooked element of national heritage, but crucially a still-living heritage, ongoing, in the making. It is hence not my intention to argue for the establishment of an official relationship between out-dwellers and a heritage organisations, such as Historic Environments Scotland. Perhaps, by not being labelled 'heritage', not stamped with the associations that such a label brings, there is more room for an integration of heritage within out-dwelling culture – little bits of the past maintained for the present and even the future. Therefore, all I call for is that this culture, indeed these cultures, be recognized, appreciated and cherished diversely.

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[259] Of course not all landowners fit with this dichotomy.

Land access

For one final time, Andy Wightman appears in the frame. Since I began writing this thesis in 2013, Wightman has been elected as a Member of the Scottish Parliament, representing the Scottish Green Party. Opening the Environment, Climate Change and Land Reform debate in his maiden speech to Holyrood, the physical home of the Scottish Parliament, he called for 'a further land reform act in this parliamentary session' (Wightman 2016). This call bodes well for Scottish out-dwelling. The leisure culture attributed to these small structures has been argued in this thesis to be an outsider, overlooked and, in some cases, an 'out-law culture'. Yet it is still a culture offering a healthy opportunity for enacting change. Land reform is the next challenge set to recast the future of out-dwelling. Constrained by the hegemonic control of a landed few, Scotland remains a country outwith the grasp of many. While the 'right to roam' enables access to land, it is the potential for ownership that offers true transformation.

Although ownership of land is admittedly not a goal of the MBA, bothies and the culture surrounding them, remains reliant is upon relationships with land owners which can, on occasion, break down. Here, then, the chief issue is public access, albeit too rigid an approach to ownership of land, to property rights, would not be helpful. For hutters, though, issues of ownership *are* paramount, and arguably it is here where out-dwellers should focus their political efforts. There has been a rising tide of work aimed at disarming the 'elegant power' behind ownership, uncovering its uneven spread and weighted power. Ownership is indeed a goal for many of the hutters to whom I spoke, an issue sparking discussion and passions such as to be on the verge of tears. In extending existing rights to include this culture, new legislation should consider the extension of the term 'community' to those who wish to own land for leisure purposes, including those who, at their fixed residency, do not share a post-code. These changes are substantial. I do not underestimate them. But movement towards land reform could transform this culture and this country – and my vision of an applied out-dwelling geography could, conceivably, play a part in this process.

Northern affect

This thesis has also sought to orientate itself so as to open up a Northern affect in relation to out-dwelling, one which seeks to emulate the 'Scandinavian model' – and more specifically a 'Norwegian model' – within Scotland. This comparative element and subsequent chapter has been crucial to the thesis. While work could certainly have been

done which focused solely upon the Scottish context, delving deeper into aspects such as the affectual resonances or material culture this would have this would been of less practical use to those campaigning for these cultures within Scotland. This research found parallels between these cultures but also discovered contradictions, divergences and discord both between the two countries and within the Norwegian culture. Therefore, it seems again pertinent to note that while the emerging hutting culture of Scotland can certainly learn from looking north, it should not do so through rose-tinted glasses. Scotland has much to offer in its own right through the culture of out-dwelling and such nuance should not be overlooked in grasping for something more, something heterotopic, something which can as *Hytteliv* insists, 'tell you who you are' (in Garvey 2008:207). Therefore, in creating an applied cultural geography, such comparison was not only informative, it was also an important practical caution for contemporary hutting movements.

Out-dwelling and the gift of 'small things'

This thesis is, in essence, a geography of 'small things', deliberately playing on the provocation – empirical and conceptual – in Jacobs (2006) call for geographers to take more seriously 'a geography of big things'. I want to highlight the contributions of such a study in terms of knowledge extension and the development of theory beyond the suggestion of an 'applied cultural geography'.

Part of this provocation is a call for researchers to reflect on smallness in various forms and expressions. This is perhaps a re-issuing of Lorimer's long-ago appeal for 'small-stories' (variously used and cited since) which is really about bottom-up, ordinary, vernacular accounts of experience and in the original case (Lorimer 2003) happens to be about formative outdoor/upland experience. What I am asking for however is not just attention to the vernacular, but also increased appreciation of and research into the fashion, taste or turn, over the past decade or so (while acknowledging that this has been an ongoing impulse for a century or more) to "downsize" life in terms of worlds, ambitions, hopes and homes. I seek greater interest in the small and simple kinds of achievement that the out-dwellers I have worked with appreciate and celebrate. There is, certainly, need for further research into this downsizing economically, socially, and aspirational.

In the introduction to their seminal *Geographies of the Book,* Ogborn and Withers (2010:1) state that this sub-field 'can … be said to still be defining what it might become'. This

thesis – in its careful attention to the bothy books – offers something to this process of becoming, arguing for increased dialogue between the cultural concept of dwelling and the current predominantly historical consideration of the book. Work seeking to bridge this gap has the potential to move the dialogue more smoothly towards an increased understanding of the making and consumption of material objects, and of their place-based particularities.

The focus on books, is equaled by a focus on writing. In contributing to the evolving literary geographies sub genre this thesis uses a wide range of voices to weave the tale it tells. Incorporating the personal, the academic, and at times the conversational, while also combining this with elements like the fairy tale, this thesis explores the idea of writing and pushes the boundaries of accepted thesis fare. Structures around a set of conceptual hooks, or interlocutors, each chapter offers something slightly different in terms of tone, and writing trajectory. Where works of representational research are often critiqued for missing nuance, here writing is used, in various forms, to capture this sense of nuance, creating 'ecologies of narrative' through which to convey meaning. This shift, though perhaps subtle, should not be undersold, as it offers not only a more immersive means of exploring the world, but also creates a style which is, potentially, of wider popular interest in aligning the likes of authors such as Solnit (2002). Literary geographies, thus ties with applied cultural geography and offers a potential trajectory for research which seeks applicability, wider interest, and impact.

Likewise, this thesis has reacted to Crang's (2010:193) somewhat begrudging admission in 2010 that cultural geography has undergone 'a death of sorts'. In admitting its entry into the mainstream, Crang simultaneously sets up a new path for cultural geography to embrace its current place as 'ordinary intellectual dress' (2010:195). Arguing that the dismissal of 'the traditional' (in terms of both lifestyles and intellectual approach) was one of the most detrimental outcomes of cultural geography's trend-setting era, he invites a re-connection with an older intellectual heritage – in particular that addressing 'folk geography' and vernacular landscapes. Charting the intricacies of Kniffen's approach to built form, this thesis not only speaks to the value of the vernacular, but also invigorates a reconnection with our own disciplinary intellectual past, one with which possibly to stimulate our future. That said, this reconnection is also straddled with other intellectual conversations, effectively pulling Kniffen into dialogue with Seamon and, through him, a wealth of (post-) phenomenological possibilities.

In focusing upon Scotland's vernacular history, this project also adds to the emerging field of geographies of architecture, offering a voice for the small building as well as the skyscrapers, shopping malls and airports of earlier consideration (Jacobs' big things spring to mind once again). I have shown that small structures, and their modes of inhabitation, are equally important in elucidating geographies of the built world. Concentrating upon small buildings, this thesis enhances discussion around the more intimate spacing of person and place, understanding the co-mingling and co-creation of these two elements. The idea of the skillscape, offered in Chapter 7 is particularly useful in this regard, as too is a scene in which the out-dwelling skillscape – full of dwelling, creativity, energy, passion and more – becomes a possible resource, a small one perhaps, in that broader political struggle over land mentioned previously (the point when my cultural geography just maybe does get 'applied').

Lastly, this thesis makes critical contributions to the development of the dwelling concept within a geographical setting. While Ingold may have moved past this term, turning instead to the idea of 'inhabiting', this thesis directs attention back towards dwelling and through the notion of out-dwelling offers a means of continued conversation around this principle. As noun and verb this term, out-dwelling, suggests a means of inhabitation, a particular way of building and being in the world. Viewed in this way out-dwelling provides a useful extension to the ongoing literatures over dwelling, encouraging the term to have a life beyond Ingold.

Final Words

> The thing to be known grows with the knowing (Nan Shepherd
> 2011[1977]:108)

I cannot agree more. Researching 'small things' is no small task. With each interview, site visit and archival page, the small things grew: there were new avenues to explore, new stories to do justice. It has been daunting. It has been challenging. But it has also taught me a great deal about myself, my discipline and the country in which I live. Out-dwellings are buildings to which I have a personal connection but they are also part of a culture which continues to be an important and oft-overlooked element of Scottish rural life. This thesis has challenged this oversight and encouraged conversations about these structures. Asking not only about the who, what, where and why of the culture in question, this thesis has also

ventured deeper, exploring a little of the perhaps, the maybe and the not quite describable. In doing so, it has drawn from a host of people who were, for the most part, strangers, and the thesis is predicated on their kindness, their time, their generosity. 'Acknowledgements' alone are not capable of doing justice to this debt. Therefore, in drawing this work to a close, I want, once more, to thank all of those who spoke to me, welcomed me into these buildings or penned their words for me to find.

Let me finish with this poem, framed on the door of Corrour bothy in the Scottish Highlands.

THE SIMPLE THINGS
Let the tourists gawp and point and huddle in their swarms
All I seek is a lonely peak and a run before the storm
To a bothy tucked into a glen and a kettle on the fire
To talk of hills with people whose ambitions are no higher.

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Appendix I: Primary Sources

Bothy Book archive in possession of Scottish National Heritage at Achantoul, Aviemore

.

Box 1.

Sinclair Hut

- Book no.1 (18/07/1974 – 17/01/1976)
- Book no.2 (22/01/1976 – 20/07/1977)
- Book no.3 (07/07/1077 – 21/09/1977)
- Book no.4 (22/09/1977 – 18/05/1978)
- Book no.5 (20/05/1978 – 07/02/1979)
- Book no.6 (23/07/1980 – 05/09/1981)
- Book no.7 (18/08/1980 – 07/01/1982)
- Book no.8 (16/09/1981 – 26/10/1981) *in shelter stone here – part of book 12*
- Book no.9 (08/09/1981 – 03/07/1982)
- Book no.10 (09/07/1982 – 19/01/1983)
- Book no.11 (19/01/1983 – 17/08/1983)
- Book no.12 (18/08/1983 – 08/03/1984)
- Book no.13 (01/04/1984 – 22/01/1988)
- Book no.14 (22/01/1988 – 22/07/1988)
- Book no.15 (08/03/1984 – 08/08/1984)
- Book no.16 (08/08/1984 – 29/01/1985)
- Book no.17 (02/02/1985 – 16/10/1985)
- Book no.18 (26/07/1985 – 12/08.1986)
- Book no.19 (16/10/1985 – 17/07/1987)

Box 2.

Inshriach Bothy

- Book no.1 (29/12/1977 – 26/03/1979)
- Book no.2 (21/10/1979 – 16/11/1982)
- Book no.3 (23/11/1982 – 28/09/1985)
- Book no.4 (03/11/1985 – 01/01/1989)
- Book no.5 (15/09/1991 – 29/08/1992)
- Book no.6 (01/01/1993 – 11/05/1996) – actually 1/1/1992 – 11/5/1993
- Book no.7 (07/07/1994 – 02/05/1996)
- Book no.8 (15/05/1996 – 31/03/1998)
- Book no.9 (10/04/1998 – 03/07/1999)
- Book no.10 (21/08/1999 – 30/10/2001)
- Book no.11 (24/02/2006 – 29/09/2008)

Ruigh Aiteachan Bothy

- Book no.1 (19/03/1976 – 29/01/1978)
- Book no.2 (15/02/1978 – 14/03/1979)
- Book no.3 (01/08/1979 – 23/02/1981)
- Book no.4 (05/04/1982 – 29/08/1982)
- Book no.5 (01/09/1982 – 13/06/1983)
- Book no.6 (14/06/1983 – 29/09/1984)
- Book no.7 (28/11/1984 – 19/05/1986)

Box 3.

Jeans Hut

- Book no.1 (01/01/1973 – 09/03/1974)
- Book no.2 (13/10/1976 – 15/08/1977)
- Book no.3 (15/08/1977 – 26/06/1978)
- Book no.4 (02/07/1978 – 28/01/1979)
- Book no.5 (29/01/1979 – 15/07/1979)

Box 5.

Corrour Bothy   dates

- Book no. 1   (19/03/77 – 03/05/78)
- Book no. 2   (01/03/79 – 29/09/79) nb this one says its MBA maintained
- Book no. 3   (30/09/79 – 24/01/81)
- Book no. 4   (21/02/81 – 24/01/81)
- Book no. 5   (14/09/81 – 02/09/82)
- Book no. 6   (24/09/82 – 18/08/83)
- Book no. 7   (25/05/84 – 24/02/85)

Fords of Avon Bothy   dates

- Book no. 1   (21/07/77 – 22/12/77)
- Book no. 2   (07/10/78 – 07/09/79)
- Book no. 3   (27/07/79 – 07/09/79)
- Book no. 4   (10/03/82 – 24/07/83) – actually Hutchinson's Memorial Hut
- Book no. 5   (06/02/82 – 04/01/83)
- Book no. 6   (01/01/83 – 28/02/85)
- Book no. 7   (28/02/85 – 14/11/86)

Garbh Coire Bothy   dates

- Book no. 1   (22/10/77 – 09/05/78)
- Book no. 2   (27/07/79 – 13/07/80) –in loose sheets document
- Book no. 3   (16/03/80 – 08/11/80)
- Book no. 4   (31/03/81 – 19/09/82)
- Book no. 5   (26/07/85 – 12/08/86)
- Book no. 6   (02/04/89 – 22/08/89)

Etchachan Bothy   dates

- Book no. 1   (04/05/75 – 03/08/77)

- Book no. 2   (22/08/77 – 09/02/79)
- Book no. 3   (20/02/79 – 04/08/80)
- Book no. 4   (22/09/83 – 25/08/84)
- Book no. 5   (15/05/88 – 30/07/88)

Books from Shelter Stone are included in this archive but as they have been classified as a howff rather than a bothy in terms of this study, they have not been included in this research. Also, box 4 was omitted from this research as its contents were not relevant.

In-situ bothy book archive

Ryvoan

- Book no.1   (2011)

Inshriach

- Book no.12   (2011)

Ruigh Aiteachan

- Book no.8   (09/06/07 – 05/07/08)
- Book no.9   (10/10/08 – 17/05/09)
- Book no.10   (2011)

Corrour

- Book no.8   (2014)

For ease of reference the book numbers used in this list have been continued throughout the two archives.

Irvine Butterfield's personal collection in possession of A.K.Bell Library, Perth

The collection contains the research folders for I. Butterfield's Survey of Mountain Shelters, arranged as follows.

- The Mountain Shelters Survey Index
- Groups 1, 2, 3
- Groups 4, 5
- Group 6, 7
- Groups 8, 9, 10
- Groups 11, 12, 13
- Group 14
- Group 15
- Groups 16, 17

- Groups 18, 19, 20
- Groups 21, 22

It also contained a complete set of Mountain Bothy Association Newsletters, Journals and Members Handbooks from its establishment in 1965 until Butterfield's death in 2009.

MBA Archive (catalogue below)

MBA ARCHIVE

Minute Books:

1. December 1965 to January 1973 — *working through* — *really useful for names and major decisions. Will take time to get through properly.*
2. April 1973 to April 1976
3. July 1976 to April 1979
4. July 1979 to April 1982
5. July 1982 to October 1984

Files Listing Bothies (originally 1960s with later additions):

AB; C; D-F; G; H-O; P-S; T-Z

Box assorted bothy photographs – mostly 1960s and 1970s.

3 x flip albums bothy photos, 1930s -1999

calandars, sketches + proofs diagrams, + mounted photos c 1970s - 1990s

Lever Arch Files containing Minutes of Trustees, Management Committee, Area Meetings etc. (+ some other papers):

1. 1960s, 1970s, 1980s.
2. 1990 – 1998
3. 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
4. 2003, 2004
5. 2005, 2006
6. 2007, 2008
7. 2009, 2010

Sample of Bothy Books (3) (7)

Camasunary Bothy 29/3/03 – 27/09/03
Maol Bhuidhe 23/01/1970 – 17/05/74
Over Pha whope 8/12/94 – 10/6/96
Tunskeen 30/05/00 – 31/12/00 31/05/88
Pen Rhos Isaf Bothy 6/05/1982 – 30/8/82
Loch Chiavain 17/7/04 – approx 22/09/05
Nant Syddion 3/04/09 – 5/2/2012

Appendix II: Participant List

Scottish Research Participants

No.	Pseudonym	Role	Date
1	**Ian Mitchell**	Author	10/08/11
2	Dave	Bothy Visitor	10/10/13
3	Ian	Bothy Visitor	10/10/13
4	Billy	Bothy Visitor	10/10/13
5	Jack	Bothy Visitor	10/10/13
6	Giles	Thousand Huts	18/10/13
7	Hannah	Thousand Huts	28/10/13
8	**Bobby**	The Bothy Project	01/11/13
9	Sarah	Bothy Visitor	10/11/13
10	Ben	Bothy Visitor	10/11/13
11	John	Bothy Visitor	10/11/13
12	Kim	Bothy Visitor	10/11/13
13	Jess	Bothy Visitor	10/11/13
14	**Donald**	Thousand Huts	13/11/13
15	Tom	Hut owner	04/12/13
16	Dawn	Hut Owner	05/12/13
17	**Neil**	MBA committee member	06/01/14
18	Douglas	Hut owner and builder	14/02/14
19	**Karen**	Thousand Huts Representative	26/02/14
20	Finlay	Bothy User	11/03/14
21	Louise	Aspiring hut owner	12/03/14
22	Tommy	Aspiring hut owner	12/03/14
23	Elsie	Hut owner	17/03/14
24	Jack	Venture Scotland volunteer	19/03/14
25	Paul	Hut Owner	21/03/14
26	Ross	Bothy User	02/0414
27	Emma	Hut owner	03/04/14
28	Eve	Ex Hutter	03/04/14
29	James	Hut owner	15/04/14
30	Ava	Bothy user	19/04/14
31	Steven	Bothy user	28/04/14

No.	Pseudonym	Role	Date
32	Nula	Hut owner	*30/04/14*

Some interviewees have non been given pseudonyms as they represent institutions or organisations. In these instances consent has been given. They are listed in bold text in the table above.

Norwegian Research Participants

No.	Pseudonym	Role	Date
1	Marie	Visited private Hytte	18/05/14
2	Marte	Private Hytte owner	19/05/14
3	Rose	University Lecturer	22/05/14
4	Lisa	DNT hytte visiter	25/05/14
5	Kari	Private Hytte owner	28/05/14
6	Torjus	Private Hytte owners and DNT Hytte User	31/5/14
7	Li	Private Hytte user	02/06/14
8	Randi	Private Hytte owner	02/06/14
9	Berit	Private Hytte owner	02/06/14
10	Terje	Private Hytte owner	03/06/14
11	Bjørn	Private Hytte owner	03/06/14
12	Paal	Private Hytte owner	03/06/14
13	Lise	Private Hytte owner	05/06/14
14	Lars	DNT hytte user	06/06/14
15	Kristoffer	DNT hytte user	07/06/14
16	Mette	DNT volunteer	14/06/14
17	Oda	Private hytte users	15/06/14
18	Trine	Private hytte user	15/06/14
19	Ewan	DNT hytte visitor	15/06/14
20	Leif	Private hytte owner	17/06/14
21	Hilde	Private hytte owner	23/06/14
22	Kristine	Private hytte owner	24/06/14
23	Marianne	Private hytte owner	26/06/14
24	Ingrid	Private hytte user	28/06/14
25	Catriona	DNT hytte employee	01/07/14
26	Trond	DNT hytte manager	01/07/14

27	Kristian	DNT board member	03/07/14
28	Kasper	DNT hytte user	03/07/14
29	Ava	DNT hytte visitor	04/07/14
30	Tale	Private hytte owner	08/07/14
31	Heidi	DNT board member and Hytte Owner	10/07/14

Appendix III: Bothy Map

image removed due to copyright