

MAPPING GENDERED RURALITIES

Gunnel Forsberg¹, Susanne Stenbacka²

Received 14 May 2012; Accepted 22 October 2012

Abstract: The conventional picture of gender relations in rural places is that of a traditional, masculine social fabric. In this article, we challenge this understanding of the rural. Using three methodological approaches (quantitative, discursive and narrative), we test the hypothesis that there is an ongoing feminization of the rural, which is concealed by society's focus on the masculine rural. We conclude that each method can give important, but not necessarily sufficient, information to answer such a process-orientated question. This methodological triangulation demonstrates the complexity of gendered rural spaces. The quantitative (map-based) analysis shows a *gendered geography*, the media analysis unpacks how *gender is spatialized* and the interviews show how *space is gendered*.

Key Words: rural geography, gender, masculinities, femininities, triangulation

Abstrakt: När landsbygden ska belysas med ett genusperspektiv innebär det vanligen ett fokus på traditionellt manliga miljöer och aktiviteter. I denna artikel utmanar vi denna ensidiga förståelse. Genom att använda tre skilda metodologiska angreppssätt – kvantitativa, diskursiva och narrativa – testar vi hypotesen att det pågår en feminisering av landsbygden och det rurala. Vi argumenterar för att varje metod kan ge viktig men inte tillräcklig information för att belysa en sådan processinriktad problematik. Trianguleringsmetoden avtäckar den komplexitet som kännetecknar könsmärkningen av det rurala. Kvantitativa analyser avtäckar geografiska mönster och variationer, mediaanalysen visar hur genus konstrueras rumsligt och intervjuerna belyser hur platser påhängs specifika genusrelationer.

Sökord: rural geografi, genus, maskuliniteter, femininiteter, triangulering

1. Introduction

The contemporary trend in global migration towards urban regions raises questions about the future of the countryside. Will these regions survive in the long run or will we have a depopulated countryside with remote-controlled agriculture and forestry? Daily newspapers contribute to this debate by presenting a picture of divided countries. In Sweden, this 'gap' discourse also occurs among lay people and politicians, which fosters a planning debate about how to support rural development and prevent the decline of the countryside. One aspect of this problem is the perception of rural areas as regions with a traditional, hegemonic, rural

¹ Professor Gunnel Forsberg, Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, 106 91 Stockholm. E-mail: gunnel.forsberg@humangeo.su.se

² Fil. Dr. Susanne Stenbacka, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University. 751 05 Uppsala. E-mail: susanne.stenbacka@kultgeog.uu.se

masculinity – an unsustainable male-dominated way of life in which women are more subordinate and have less economic and social opportunities than in urban areas.

The aim of this article is to elaborate on the question of transformed gender relations in rural areas, using Sweden as an empirical example. Sweden is a good example, because the 'gap' discourse is explicit in public debate (Forsberg, Lundmark, & Stenbacka 2012). We aim to challenge this one-sided understanding of the changes in the countryside by focusing on the changed gender relations, as we see these changes as crucial for a sustainable future. Our tentative proposal about changes in the countryside is that the traditional hegemonic rural femininity is challenged by a new, more publically and economically active femininity – with a corresponding new masculinity – as the countryside is becoming increasingly residential and family orientated. Maybe there is even an ongoing femininization of the countryside.

One problem we face is that this process is not easily testable by a single method; the trend needs to be analysed using several methods. This article will show the kinds of information different mapping methods can discover. By analysing gender relations in the Swedish countryside, we will discuss various methodological techniques and their explanatory power in spatial gender analysis. Gender relations have undergone overwhelming changes in the past few decades, in parallel with economic, political and social transformations that have occurred. Rural areas have also been transforming, with new modes of production, consumption and social relations. A combination of methods will allow us to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of these complex processes. In this article, we stress the way in which different methods can support each other and lead to new perspectives and understandings. We will use triangulation, the classical definition of which involves the 'confirmation of conclusions from the convergence of findings from different methods' (Fielding 2008: 38). The use of different methods is related closely to the formulation of the research question, in the same way that the use of quantitative or qualitative methods will relate to how questions are formulated. The triangulation approach, then, aims to 'generate something that is over and above its individual quantitative and qualitative components' (Bryman 2008: 89).

In our project *Gender and Rural Life – Creating Gendered Ruralities*, we employed both qualitative and quantitative methods to unpack the ways in which gender is created and maintained in special spatial environments (see, for example, Forsberg 1998, 2001, 2006; Stenbacka 2008, 2011). We have focused on rurality for various reasons, one of the most important of which is that most gender research and gender understanding takes the (unproblematized) urban perspective. When rural or countryside issues are addressed, it is mostly to assert some deviant behaviour or position. Urban society is the norm, and urban forms of livelihood are taken for granted. Thus, the rural perspective helps us challenge the urban norm and clarify unaddressed questions. The points of departure for this article are the spatial aspects of the construction of gender and the complexity of the transformation of the rural, together with a commitment to a multiple methodological understanding. This leads us to the following question: How do different methods and different sources of empirical data affect the knowledge creation of a presumed femininization of the countryside?

2. Spatial gendered identities and ruralities

Before addressing femininization, we need to add an additional perspective: the overall emphasis on the rural as a masculine space. In traditional rural research, women are seen as supporting the main (male) actors (Woods 2005: 228), and such representations have been found in media and analysed from a gender perspective (Morris & Evans 2001). In Sweden, the rural man has become a recurrent actor in diverse media, reproducing male stereotypes (Forsberg & Grenholm 2000; Stenbacka 2011). The media image of the rural man is a stereotypical expression of an almost alien, exotic figure. This perspective seems to have its roots in a contemporary understanding of the rural: as a counterpart to the urban – and to the urban man. We have witnessed a growing trend in Swedish films of rural masculinities and femininities becoming main themes. Examples of this pattern are *Änglagård* (*House of Angels*), *Såsom i Himmelen* (*As it is in Heaven*), *Masdjävlar* (*Countryside Devils*) and *Jägarna* (*The Hunters*). The lead characters are urban people and the films typically begin with a sequence in which they – in a car, on a motorbike or by a train – travel to a specific rural place

– they are not initially from the countryside. As the films progress, it becomes clear that urban men are understood as completely different from – and more attractive than – rural men. Rural masculinity is presented as raw and violent, but at the same time rather childish and anti-intellectual, whereas urban masculinity is seen as mature, cultural, sensitive, more feminine and intellectual – but unhandy (that is, lacking practical manual skills). It is noteworthy that these films are so successful because they are believed to portray the rural accurately.³ However, it was not always so. In the popular 1973 film *Vem älskar Yngve Frey* (*Who Loves Yngve Frey?*) by Lars Lennart Forsberg, based on the novel by Stig 'Slas' Claesson (1968), the narrative was almost reversed: the leading characters were sympathetic rural people, and the strangers were stupid urban tourists. There has obviously been a transformation of the understanding of rurality and of rural masculinity, at least in media.

While the countryside easily lends itself to definition, defining rural and rurality is complicated, as these terms are more concerned with awareness and identity. Countryside people usually live in both urban and rural areas. The word 'rural' has traditionally been related to earning a living through primary production, such as farmers and fishermen. However, with the advent of moonlight farmers – small farmers who also have clerical positions in town – this is no longer very clear. Rurality can also be understood as a lifestyle, practice and philosophy.

Since the beginning of the century, we have witnessed a growing body of literature concerning female and male rural identities. The variety of rural identities has been highlighted, as well as the gender restrictions related to certain lifestyles and the relation between female and male identities in rural areas. Several interesting examples are given in the volume *Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues*, edited by Little and Morris (2005). As an example, Leyshon (2005) explores young people's drinking habits and the gendering of social space in pubs in rural England. The performances of young male bodies have consequences for other groups of men and for women. The power relation at the pub 'serves to marginalize young women, and bothered young men, to side spaces and consigns them to bit parts in the performance of rurality' (Leyshon 2005: 120). Elsworth-Hollard (2005) examines gender identities prior to adulthood and finds that traditional feminine identities are spatially embedded, but that does not mean that they are predictable, as they are always negotiated and contested. Knowing what is considered as 'acceptable femininities' also includes (although sometimes concealed) knowing when you are conforming to and when you are challenging existing norms.

Another reason to focus on rurality and gender concerns sustainability. The women–femininity–rural space relation is a limited area of research. Most knowledge concerns traditional femininities and the reproduction of unequal gender relations. We need to know more about how rural femininities transform, affect, and are affected by rural spaces, as our point of departure is the relational change (i.e., an equalizing process) between genders as an indicator of local prerequisites for (sustainable) development. Gender equality may be a goal in itself, or it may be seen as a means to reach other goals, such as economic growth or social sustainability. By making existing norms visible, it is easier to discover possibilities connected to traditionally female areas (for example, Pettersson 2008). In Sweden, gender equality has become an important dimension in the work for sustainable development (Tillväxtverket 2011). However, such dimensions are hard to measure, which is another reason for scrutinizing the way gender relations develop in different places or regions. As the relation between men and women is one of the longest-standing social patterns, it is likely that change and development in other areas can occur by questioning what were previously perceived as natural and normal male and female roles.

These questions relate to an identified ongoing change in the construction of gender and of relations between genders. What is happening in the understanding, narratives and practices of rural men and women? We are currently witnessing a process of gendered changes in some rural areas that is understood as a transformation of femininities, masculinities and their mutual relations.

³ See Forsberg and Grenholm (2000) and Forsberg (2006) for further discussion of these films.

Morris and Little (2005) note the feminization of the rural labour market, stating that there is an increasing rate of labour-market participation among rural women. This changing pattern can be understood as a shift in gender identities and as a reflection of changing relations at the household level. A parallel example is a study by Stenbacka (2008) of the household practices of rural men and women in areas with high employment rates for women and low employment rates for men. Men cope with unemployment by finding alternative identity positions in civil society or by reinterpreting their own professional and other male identities (such as husband or neighbour).

Doing Gender, Doing Space

For a significant period, the 'doing gender' perspective has been used in gender analyses (see Acker 1981, 1987, 1992 for the earliest studies from this perspective.). It is a constructivist perspective in which gender is seen as made through social interaction. In a corresponding way, we can talk about 'doing space' (Massey 2005). Just as gender is constructed, so is space. When gender and space meet, a gendered spatial expression emerges. When the construction of gender meets that of the rural, we find some special forms of rural masculinities and femininities – quite unlike their urban counterparts – in a process of doing gendered spaces as well as spatializing gender. The 'doing of space-specific gender' can either correspond to a dominating spatial ideology or it can 'be done differently' (see, for example, Elwood-Hollard 2005).

In an earlier study, we observed that women are becoming increasingly active in various rural development projects. In some villages, women outnumber men, both as middle-aged income earners and as widows who no longer move to town when their husbands die (Forsberg & Carlbrand 1993). Transformation of the economy also contributes to increasing female dominance in the labour market in rural areas, as the service sector grows and the productive sectors decrease. Caring for the elderly is still an important task, and traditional food production is becoming less labour intensive. The number of women managing small-scale farms with niche production is increasing, and the private service sector related to tourism is growing (see, for example, Foghagen & Johansson 2004). Important work on farmers' wives has also shown that their income is crucial for the maintenance of the farm (Kelly & Shortall 2002). Although many studies emphasize how the impact of women in rural areas has been underestimated or neglected, some studies provide support for our assumption of increasing female footprints in rural areas.

Implicit in the notion of urbanity in most gender studies is the idea of a metropolitan, big-city environment. Implicit in rural gender studies is a masculine hegemony, the subordination of women and a picture of women living their rural lives on terms dictated by their role in a traditional gender contract. However, as we shall see, this picture is nuanced. Not only must we discuss countrysides in the plural, we also need to uncover diversity within rural masculinities and femininities. There is a need for clarification, to allow us to recognize differences in the scale and 'relational' aspects of places. A place represents more than a location defined by longitude and latitude – what really matters is how a place is located in relation to other places.

3. A triangulation approach

We first wish to state a need to analyse non-urban places in the plural: we must discuss not the countryside and rurality, but rather countrysides and ruralities. It is easy to find support for this. Everyone has had a visual experience of the variety of and disparities between rural places. It is so evident and simple that it is hardly worth mentioning. However, it is of analytical importance. Although we understand the simplicity of these findings, we can just as easily state that even urban environments must be analysed in a pluralistic way. The situation in small and medium-sized towns is very different from that in metropolitan areas.

In this paper, we will present three ways of analysing constructions and transformations of masculinities and femininities and their implications for everyday life in rural environments, with special focus on the mapping of these rural aspects. Thus, we want to capture the spatial

aspect of gender practices and changes in a rural context using a variety of methodological approaches. Although multiple methods will allow us to address the diverse characteristics of our theme, they may also make it difficult to obtain a coherent result (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2000). However, a coherent result is not our primary objective. Multiple methods make it possible to see the outcomes as corresponding layers, synthesizing a narrative of gendered ruralities. Findings from statistical data, media discourses and interviews will allow us to elaborate on the spatial variations and temporal changes concerning gender identities and relations.

Triangulation may lead to an outcome that is supported by multiple lines of evidence, but it may also produce results that point in different directions (Potter & Wetherell 1987, in Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2000). Just as important as the technique for data collection is how we formulate our questions and develop our analyses. Different analyses can lead to diverse phenomena (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2000: 78). We argue that triangulation can be the vehicle that transports us through some important understandings and interpretations of how the rural and gender are related and used. Numerical data (statistics) discourses and narratives are alive in politics as well as in everyday dialogue and practice. This work will contribute to research in the area by uncovering alternative ways of understanding the gendered aspects of rural areas, focusing on femininity.

The analysis uses three methodologies.

3.1 Statistical analysis: Mapping statistical data

Statistical data are often used to determine whether an area is rural or urban. Population statistics can be used to categorize diverse living environments, convey social and economic characteristics and services, and to some extent, suggest possibilities associated with a region or a place. The temporal dimension of population statistics is important, as it allows us to see whether an area is suffering from population losses or if it is growing. The age and sex composition of a population is also interesting. A young population has mostly positive connotations, whereas a surplus of men is seen as problematic for fertility and social relations. One problem with statistical definitions of rural and urban is that they may tell us nothing about the functioning of an area. For example, a small influx of people may push an area from rural to urban, even though very little may have changed about how the region functions (Woods 2005). Therefore, why are we interested in statistical data and gender? The reason is not to define the rural but to identify processes of change. To illustrate the possible feminization of rural areas, we can turn to quantitative data to uncover processes of change and relations between men and women. The numbers of men and women may not tell us about the qualitative aspects of their presence, but they can reveal information that is important to the formulation of discourses and the development of rural policy. Figures are indeed actors in the allocation of resources as well as in creating images. To analyse the relation between the gendered discourses of ruralities and the current situation, we used a regional database from the Swedish National Rural Development Agency.⁴ This data set enabled us to map the numbers of men and women in various regions. The maps use an index calculated by the following formula: $(\text{females} - \text{males}) / (\text{females} + \text{males}) * 100$. When there are equal numbers of women and men, the score is zero. We note that a map based on relative figures can provide an exaggerated impression of the importance of differences in sparsely populated areas, but the information on geographical relations is nevertheless reliable.

3.2 Discourse analysis: Analysing existing norms of relevant media channels

Discourse analysis deals with the domain of statements: 'that is, of texts, and of utterances as constituent elements of texts' (Fairclough 2003: 123). Diverse aspects of the world, such as processes, relations or structures, and thoughts and feelings are represented in discourses. This means that the way discourses are connected to other elements of social life is crucial,

⁴ The Swedish National Rural Development Agency was a national authority from 1991 to 2009. Its objective was to report on the development of rural and sparsely populated areas in Sweden. This is now monitored by the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth.

such as the way discourse relates to politics (see, for example, Eriksson 2010). Discourses constitute nodal points affecting the relation between language and other social elements (Fairclough 2003: 126). The meaning of a word is socially constituted. For example, 'rural men' is not an objective definition of men living in certain statistically or biologically defined areas. It is constituted socially and politically in everyday talk, in news and commercial media, in utterances from rural men themselves and from other individuals, groups and institutions (see Hay's 2005 reference to Foucault 1972). Individuals are affected by discourses in their negotiations with others (e.g., concerning access to resources) because discursive norms can be empowering or disempowering. Hay (2005: 174) maintains that geographers have turned to discourse analysis to investigate the processes and effects of individuals' positions relative to discursive norms, with an interest in actions, attitudes and power relations. In this work, we want to use discourse analysis to identify processes related to the (presumed) femininization of rural areas. Will the processes identified point to a strengthened femininity, or will we find that the masculine rural environment still prevails?

We have chosen a number of public media, such as films, TV programmes and magazines, in which we can find representations of both femininity and masculinity. We have not chosen the most obvious examples for this analysis. For example, analysing a magazine for forest workers would hardly provide rich material on the representations of women and femininity, whereas it would readily give a picture of men and of their relation to nature and technology. We chose a more family-orientated magazine, which we found to be a richer source of representations of masculinities, femininities and the relations between them. For TV productions, we chose a long-running Swedish television series to analyse the duration of and possible temporal changes in perceptions of rural femininity and masculinity.

3.3 Interview analysis: Narratives of places by rural inhabitants

We use data collected through interviews with rural inhabitants, both in their key roles in local development projects and as local residents. This analysis builds upon three studies focused on gender relations from a regional perspective.⁵ In all, the material consists of about 120 interviews from three regions, including small villages and towns. The interviews were conducted as discussions with individuals, focus groups, key informants and people engaged in various local activities. In interviews, it is easy to address the processes of change because individuals can reflect on the past, present and future, and in many cases provide self-analyses. People speak about themselves in relation to other individuals, places, daily practices and the outcomes of those practices. Life stories convey knowledge not only about subjective and personal experiences, but also about social structures, social movements and institutions: i.e., transpersonal and collective processes (Connell 2005). It is important to acknowledge here that individuals' stories and self-presentations cannot be interpreted simply as 'constructions', because of the risk of losing their integrity. We will obtain an understanding of the human being as a social and cultural construction (Steele 1997) and simultaneously note the meaning of bodily experiences and practices according to gender, without reducing gender to simple linguistic activities (Nilsson 1999). Individuals and groups shape discourses through place-specific masculinity and femininity, activities, characteristics and expressions. These are created on an everyday basis in conversations, practices and through understandings of others and the self in a spatial context.

4. Mapping statistical data⁶

This section elaborates the methodological aspects of mapping for analysis of spatial variations and temporal changes. One way to analyse the relation between gendered discourses and

⁵ The studies were performed as part of the following projects: Women leave, men remain... Issues of Gender, Welfare and Labour Market in the Nordic Periphery, 2002–2007, financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers and the Swedish Research Council; Utveckling och omställning i en gränsregion [Development and adaptation in a border region] 2005–2008, financed by EU's Interreg II program; Genuskontrakt i Uppsala län [Gender contracts in Uppsala county], 2007–2008, financed by Uppsala County Council.

⁶ All statistics in tables and maps were analysed by Imber Råbock, who was an employee of the Swedish National Rural Development Agency in Östersund. We are very grateful for her contribution to this article.

the current situation is to make use of regional databases. One such source is maintained by the Swedish National Rural Development Agency to analyse data at a local level.

As can be seen in Figure 1, men outnumber women in rural areas in all age groups until 60 years of age. Then there are equal numbers of men and women until 70 years of age, after which women outnumber men. However, this picture is too broad. It is more interesting to analyse different countrysides and ruralities. A common definition of rural is any area that does not meet the definition of the urban. According to Statistics Sweden, all conglomerations of more than 200 inhabitants with distances of less than 200 metres between houses are defined as urban; the rest of Sweden is rural. For our analysis, this definition is too narrow. Residents of villages with populations greater than 200 may define themselves as rural people. In our projects, we have tested various definitions of rural. We have extended the definition to include urban conglomerations of 500, 1000 and 2000 inhabitants to obtain a better and more relevant identification of rurality. The overall picture of gender relations, however, is not affected by changes in size to any significant degree. Other definitions, such as relational location (i.e., the structure of the surrounding places and region) are more relevant.

The National Rural Development Agency identified two distinct countrysides:

(a) Sparsely populated areas (in Swedish: *glesbygd*) with a car drive of more than 45 minutes to the nearest urban centre of more than 3000 inhabitants, and islands without a physical connection (i.e., bridge) to the mainland.

(b) Near-urban countrysides (sv. *tätortsnära landsbygd*) with a car drive of 5 to 45 minutes to the nearest urban place of more than 3000 inhabitants (Glesbygdsverket 2007).⁷

The third category in their classification is urban places (sv. *tätorter*) of more than 3000 inhabitants. These definitions have been in use since 1996.

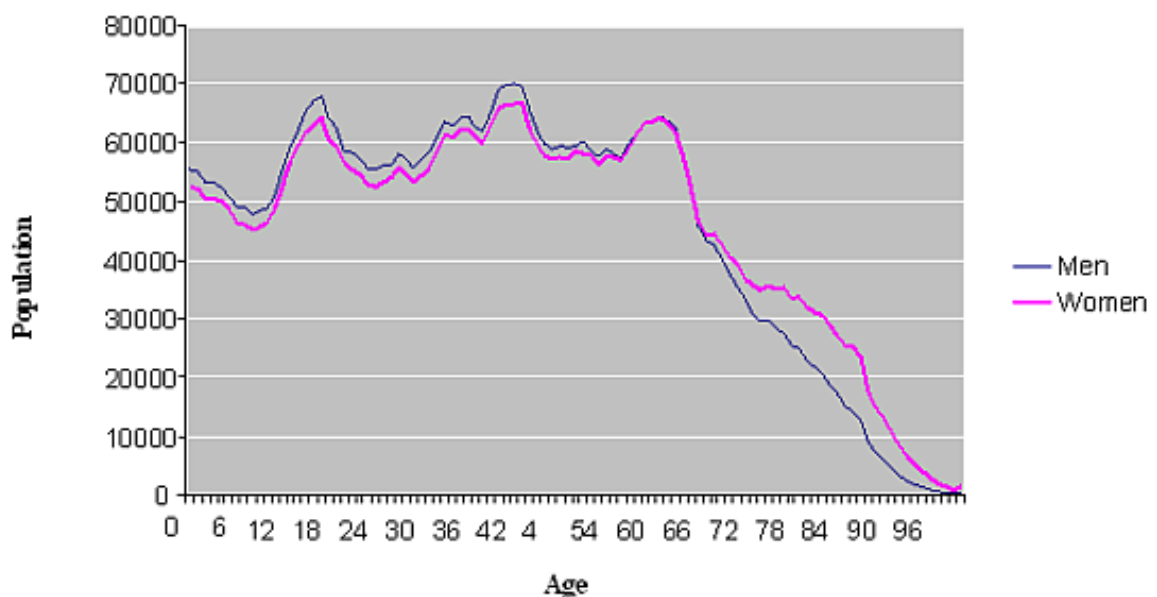


Fig 1. Rural population in Sweden 2007: Men and women by age. Source: Råbock, Swedish National Rural Development Agency, 2007.

The gender composition of the population and the ratio of women to men in each of these three categories are shown in the following tables. Among young people, women are a minority in all categories. Table 1a shows the differences between the countrysides for young people (aged 20-39 years). The scarcity of females is most evident in sparsely populated areas, whereas the ratios of women to men in urban places and near-urban countrysides are higher (and similar to one another). Living within commuting distance of a city allows access to both educational

⁷ The definition of rural people in Figure 1 includes both (a)- and (b)-type countrysides.

opportunities and the labour market without the need for migration. We consider this a benefit of the countryside as a place to live.

People aged 20 to 39			
	Women	Men	Ratio W/M (equal = 1)
Sparsely populated areas	13,931	16,023	0.87
Near-urban countrysides	187,585	197,404	0.95
Urban places	940,147	976,581	0.96
Total	1,141,663	1,190,008	0.96

Tab 1a. Population aged between 20 and 39 years in countrysides and urban places, 2007. Source: Råbock, Swedish National Rural Development Agency, 2007.

Table 1b shows a different situation for the distribution of elderly people. In this age group, women outnumber men in all areas, but more so in urban than in rural places. However, we need to take into account the greater longevity of women, which impacts all areas.

People aged 65 and older			
	Women	Men	Ratio W/M (equal = 1)
Sparsely populated areas	24,559	21,310	1.15
Near-urban countrysides	193,180	177,822	1.09
Urban places	733,722	507,385	1.45
Total	951,461	706,517	1.35

Tab 1b. Population aged 65 years and older in countrysides and urban places, 2007. Source: Råbock, Swedish National Rural Development Agency, 2007.

Based on this examination of young and elderly people, we do not see support for increased feminization in rural areas. The countryside population does not have a higher proportion of women than urban areas. The most 'equal' rural areas are the near-urban countrysides, which indicates that these areas deviate from the other two categories. From other studies,⁸ we know that these areas have experienced an immigration of young families and new retirees who buy old houses, build new ones, or move to their summer-houses. This process is largely family driven.

Table 1c shows the figures for people aged 40-64 years and provides further support for this interpretation. It seems that there are differences both between the two countrysides and between the countrysides and urban places. In addition to the tendency for young people to commute instead of migrate, there is a trend towards immigration to these countrysides. This is a stronger trend among family-building couples and retirees than for middle-aged people, which is a result of a variety of population flows.

People aged 40 to 64			
	Women	Men	Ratio W/M (equal = 1)
Sparsely populated areas	29,789	34,221	0.87
Near-urban countrysides	348,639	381,490	0.91
Urban places	1,136,581	1,133,362	1.00
Total	1,515,009	1,549,073	0.98

Tab 1c. Population aged 40 to 64 years in countrysides and urban places, 2007. Source: Råbock, Swedish National Rural Development Agency, 2007.

⁸ See Amcoff, Forsberg and Stenbacka (1995), Amcoff (2000) and Stenbacka (2001).

In studies we conducted from 1980 to 1990, we found a remarkable population movement from urban places to rural settlements during the beginning of the period. This trend decreased slightly at the end of the period (Forsberg, ed. 1994). As can be seen in Table 2, the population figures for both men and women show a small increase in the near-urban countryside population after 2000 relative to the 1995-2000 period. The net negative change became positive. On the other hand, the population decrease in sparsely populated areas was greater in the later period than in the earlier one, whereas the increase in the urban population continued in both periods. The figures support the view that the countrysides are diverging.

Consequently, when examining population and gender relations, it is problematic to regard all countrysides as the same relative to urban places. These figures show that it is appropriate to distinguish between sparsely populated areas and near-urban countrysides. It is difficult to make a living in sparsely populated areas, and maintaining contact with labour markets and commercial sites is time consuming. Near-urban countrysides, on the other hand, provide their inhabitants with very different opportunities.

	Women				Men			
	1996	2000	Difference	%	1996	2000	Difference	%
<i>Sparsely populated areas</i>	95,991	91,405	-4586	-4.8	102,039	97,391	-4648	-4.6
<i>Near-urban countrysides</i>	971,054	957,424	-13,630	-1.4	1,021,878	1,007,650	-14,228	-1.4
<i>Urban places</i>	3,407,734	3,441,209	33,475	1.0	3,245,798	3,287,712	41,914	1.3
	2001	2007	Difference	%	2001	2007	Difference	%
<i>Sparsely populated areas</i>	90,252	85,330	-4922	-5.5	96,186	91,157	-5029	-5.2
<i>Near-urban countrysides</i>	956,602	961,347	4745	0.5	1,006,617	1,012,520	5903	0.6
<i>Urban places</i>	3,453,828	3,572,329	118,501	3.4	3,305,641	3,460,244	154,603	4.7

Tab 2. Population changes between 1996–2000 and 2001–2007 for women and men: Absolute and relative. Source: Råbock, Swedish National Rural Development Agency, 2007.

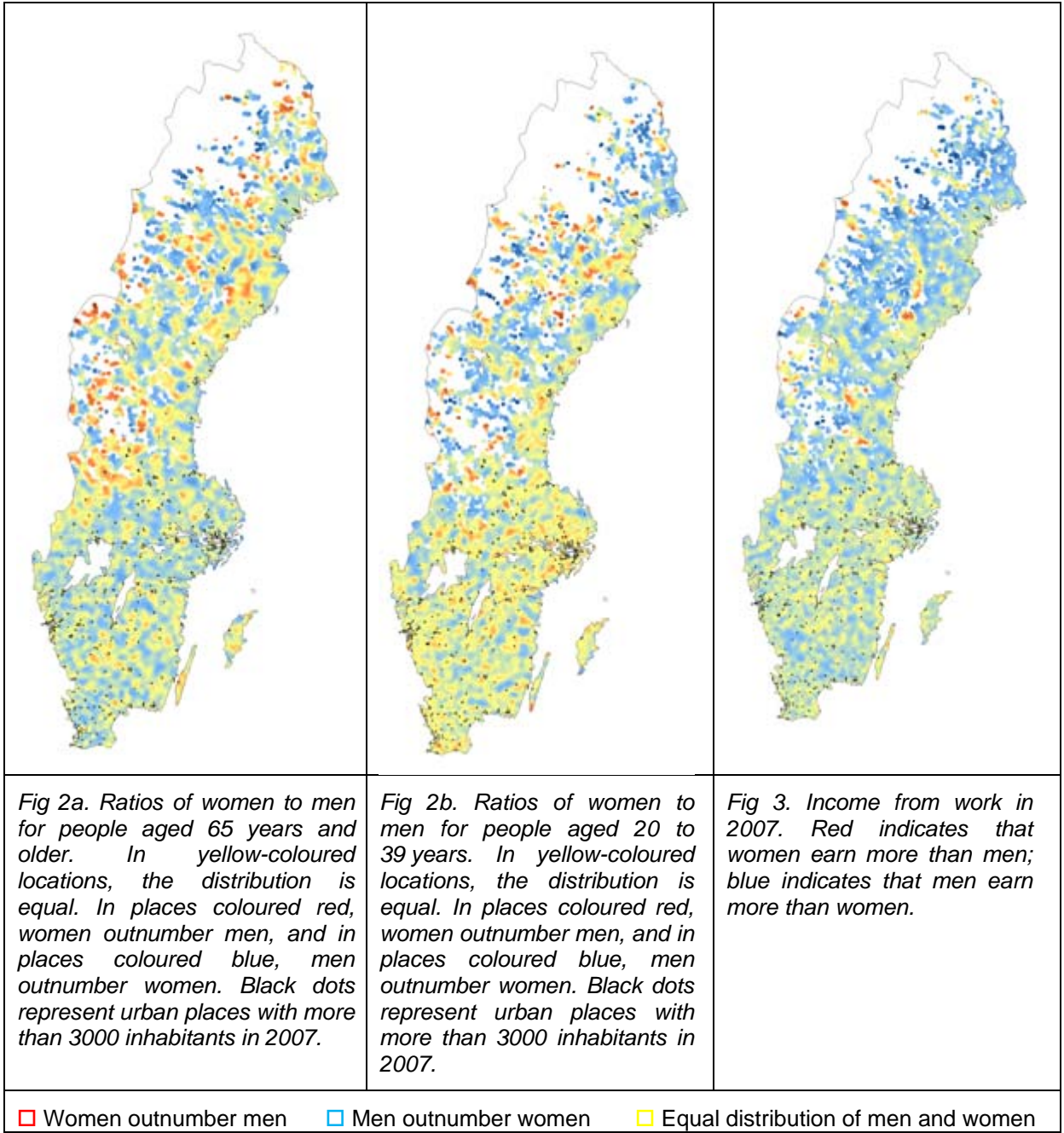
The figures in Table 2 also reveal a male-dominated countryside. There are more men than women in countrysides, and more women than men in urban places. At the same time, we can see that men are increasingly following the female pattern. The urban increase in the number of men is greater than that of women. However, we wish to examine the spatial dimension further, and we will do this by analysing the gender distribution on maps.

The maps in Figures 2a-c show the geographical distribution of the data in Tables 1a-c. In Figure 2a, we see the ratio of women to men for people aged 65 years and older. We already know that many urban places are more gender equal (in the statistical sense), and also that in a substantial number of places, elderly women outnumber men of similar age; but the map shows something else. The ratio varies between different regions. Figure 2a shows a preponderance of elderly women that is especially noticeable in the northern part of the country.

The map in Figure 2b of the gender ratios for people aged 20 to 39 years shows a more diverse picture than the corresponding statistics in Table 1a. This map shows the existence of countrysides with more women than men, even among young people. These areas are found across all of Sweden, but they are most apparent in the north.

Regarding people aged 40–64 years, the map in Figure 2c presents a slightly different picture again. Here we find fewer countrysides with more women than men. Male dominance is more

evident in this section of the population. In relation to Table 1c, the map yields the additional information that male dominance varies geographically.



Source: Statistics from the Swedish National Rural Development Agency, cartographically processed by Imber Råbock, 2007.

From the mapping analysis, we can conclude that the male-dominated discourse of rurality mainly fits middle-aged people, especially in the southern part of Sweden. In other age groups and places, the situation is more diverse, although there is a significant number of countrysides, even in the north, with more men than women. The analysis, thus, slightly supports the view that in some regions there is a tendency towards a more female-dominated countryside.

However, feminization is not a simple question of counting men and women. It also concerns living conditions, which we have long known. One important aspect of this is the economy. The map in Figure 3 shows income levels, and the overall picture here is that men earn more than women almost everywhere. More interestingly, however, there are places where the situation is reversed, and wages are more equal (and lower overall, especially for men) in

rural areas. To some extent, this supports the notion of the femininization of some (i.e., northern) Swedish countrysides.

These maps illustrate where gender differences occur in the country, but we should remember that they tell one of many possible stories. We can elaborate on this analysis by examining qualitative material, such as media representations and experiences expressed in interviews. In the next section, we will analyse norms and discourses in the media.

5. Analysing norms in media representations

There is a growing body of research in geography based on media (films, TV, print articles). This section is intended to unveil the gendered spatiality constructed through media representations of masculinities and femininities in a Swedish TV series and a magazine with a rural focus.

Earlier studies in this field have effectively illuminated a transformation of rural masculinities in branch journals (Brandt 1995; Brandt & Haugen 2000), as well as the construction of a 'rural idyll' in lifestyle magazines with certain context-dependent gender relations (Baylina & Gunnerud Berg 2010). We want to use mediated versions of rural life to illuminate how the content of the rural is expressed at a variety of times and in various settings. Crucial to this understanding is the tension between the urban and the rural. Media constructions of the rural can be seen as a way of collectively defining the content of urban and rural identities.

As we stated earlier, the definition of a word involves more than its dictionary meaning (Foucault 1972 in: Hay 2005). It also involves a socially constituted meaning, which in this case refers to the way men and women are understood in relation to each other and to their geographical setting. Discourses, then, are 'particular ways of representing part of the world' (Fairclough 2003:26). The underlying question here is whether we can find a timely variation in discourses on rural femininities. By using mediated representations of masculinities and femininities from various sources, we can examine earlier periods and grasp how these identities have been produced and transformed over time. The concepts 'femininities' and 'masculinities' are used to highlight the relation between gender and lived lives. The way men and women live and act, cope and adopt, depends upon their sex. Masculinity and femininity cannot be understood as singular or static characteristics; they vary through space and time (see, for example, Berg & Longhurst 2003; Connell 2005). Variations among diverse femininities and masculinities reveal differences in status and hegemonic power. Geographical variations become important, because spatial belonging is linked intimately with power relations. There are at least two ways to think about these relations. First, the local geographical and social context will affect which masculinity/femininity is hegemonic. Moving your body into another local context may involve a change in status. Second, there are relations working on 'non-local' levels concerning, for example, the relation between urban and rural or north and south. This means that your body can be 'marked' by a certain label that implies your status. The construction of spatial femininities and masculinities reveals expectations about men and women and their practices and possibilities.

All media contribute to the production and reproduction of certain practices and ideas. Individuals and groups do not consume media productions in an objective way. On the contrary, the media play an active role because their messages build upon an understanding of ongoing life or the world and help to build a consensus around the reproduction of practices. Magazines and TV programmes are part of a larger context and should be analysed and demarcated from other media as pieces of a bigger puzzle. Popular culture can take different forms because the concept is articulated and disarticulated continuously (Storey 1997). When we consume products of popular culture, our actions are part of the interrelated process of giving meaning to the world.

Back To The Village

We begin this section with an analysis of the Swedish TV programme *Hem till Byn* (*Back To The Village*), which provides evidence of changing perceptions of rural gender relations (Eklundh 2010). It presents an interesting part of the construction and transformation of

gendered ruralities from the 1970s to the twenty-first century in Sweden. Our analysis of this programme, shown periodically on Swedish Television over more than 30 years (from the early 1970s until the most recent broadcast in 2006), revealed a transformed masculinity and femininity. Although fictional, the programme tends to be perceived as a true reflection of the shrinking countryside. Almost all the actors have remained with the programme throughout its run, growing older in real time, which has increased the feeling of authenticity. In this series, writer Bengt Bratt provided an interesting interpretation of changes in the rural scene, including changing livelihoods and providing possibilities in rural areas. In that sense, the series is a gauge of the changes that have occurred in the countryside.

How are such changes expressed in the series? Interestingly, they are shown via changes in gender relations. We examined the programme's representations of gender using 46 episodes from 1971 to 2002 (each episode is one hour long, which yielded a data set of 2,760 minutes). Each episode from the chosen years was investigated. The aim of the study was to discover what activities men and women performed and the extent to which they were shown doing them. The analysis focused on some central practices, grouped into five categories: *indoor activities*, *farming*, *forestry*, *at the gas station* and *decision-making*, as shown in Table 3.

Activities	1971		1990		2002	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Indoor activities						
Cooking	100	0	66	33	83	66
Baking	100	0	0	0	17	0
Washing	100	0	0	0	0	0
Cleaning	100	0	100	0	0	0
Child-care	100	0	100	0	0	0
Farming						
Milking	100	0	33	66	0	0
Feeding	0	0	0	0	0	17
Cleaning out	0	33	0	0	0	0
Sowing	17	83	0	0	0	0
Ploughing	0	100	0	63	0	17
Planting potatoes	17	0	0	0	0	0
Threshing hay	0	12	0	17	0	0
Harvesting	0	0	0	37	0	33
Forestry						
Felling trees	17	66	0	0	0	50
Carrying wood	0	100	0	17	0	50
Sawmill work	0	100	0	100	0	17
Gas station						
Pumping petrol	10	100	100	100	83	17
Workshop	0	100	0	100	0	50
Decision-making	33	66	66	66	66	33

Tab 3. Gender divisions in the TV series *Back To The Village*. Percentages of episodes per year that show women vs. men performing various types of work. Source: Eklundh (2010).

Quantitative and discursive approaches are combined in this analysis. Although the number of men and women shown in certain situations can tell us something about the importance of that practice for the overall story, the qualitative definitions and analysis can tell us about how these data relate to other social elements and changes in society. Our analysis revealed that in the later episodes, from the beginning of the 1990s onwards, women had positions that are more prominent. They left the kitchens and took over the local economy: they ran the local store, made fortunes on the stock market, bred horses, etc. They became decision-makers, both in the family and in the local community. The men are represented as confused people during this period, with identity crises and sometimes as drinkers – if they are still alive. This portrayal depicts rural men as backwards and in need of help (Stenbacka 2011). They wander

around in the forest – not for timber, as in the early years of the series – but for recreation. The sawmill has shut down and the petrol station has become a grocery store. As a further expression of this change, women are shown in scenes twice as often in the 1990s as in the 1970s.

One interpretation of this finding is that the masculinity of rural men has been redefined such that jobs are no longer part of the definition of a rural man. Men define themselves based on social relations and leave the bread-winning responsibility to the women. This should not necessarily be understood as a change in the power difference between the genders. What is evident is that this transformed gender relation is staged in fictional stories in films and TV series as an expression of a changed discourse about the situations and practices in the Swedish countryside.

Another example from the media is the gender representations in the Swedish magazine *LAND* over the same period. The question is whether, and to what extent, it is possible to identify changing representations of men and women in this family magazine. The analysis is based on written texts and pictures in 10 issues from 1976, 1986 and 2006. Issues were sampled from the same time of year, from April until June. The magazine consists of the main journal (which is a weekly family magazine with articles, recipes, opinion pieces, information on leisure activities and advertisements) and a variety of periodic supplements. These supplements, *LAND Agriculture*, *LAND Forestry* and *LAND Milk*, are targeted at farmers as business people and, to a lesser extent, people with a general interest in rural businesses.

We examined the front pages, main articles and editorials in the main journal. We also considered the magazine as a whole to ascertain whether it is possible to identify changes in presentation of the magazine, its target audience and key messages, its expression of attitudes towards the rural–urban tension, the distance between or merging of urban identities, and social development in general.

An initial point to be made is that the supplements contain many reports from regional meetings of the LRF (the Federation of Swedish Farmers). The general impression of these reports – not surprisingly – is that the subjects of these articles (and those seen in the pictures, standing on a rostrum, sitting at the conference table, etc.) are, with very few exceptions, men. Women are in the background of photographs, if they are seen at all, or they are giving flowers to prominent guests or receiving them for long service as a secretary in a regional or national division of the LRF. However, it is even more important to stress here that if this analysis had focused on the pictures or enclosures it would have been easy to infer the dominance of men and the more reserved role of women, but we would then have missed the ongoing negotiations and the ambiguous character of gender relations in connection with rurality.

In the first issue in 1976, it is possible to identify rural femininity as traditional or (unexpectedly) 'capable'. Examples from the 'capable women' category are found in the female biographical articles. One woman attended the national meeting of agricultural co-operatives despite suffering from slipped spinal discs, and a photo of her lying on a sofa was included. Women are also presented (or present themselves) as traditionally female. One woman and her husband are presented as a traditional nuclear family, but also as deviant because they had six children. They agreed that it was necessary for the mother to stay at home with the children during their first years. There is also a public discussion of female priests in this issue and of the low salaries in typical female jobs. Texts convey the attitude that women should be appreciated for their own capabilities and characters, and they stress the importance of domestic chores. Evidence of consciousness of gender roles and the degree to which they are followed or challenged can also be found. One boy wished to join the 'Blue Star' (an organization for the nursing and medical treatment of domesticated animals), where he could play with small animals, even though he knew it was looked upon as a 'girls' club'. One girl who won a football competition was not given a medal because she was a girl – but she received the medal from the journal instead.

The complementary discourse is also present, as well as more individual perspectives, but the reviewed articles and texts do not offer a clear picture. There are contradictions and coexisting femininities, depending on the context and particular issue. For instance, the scarcity

of women at the national meetings is criticized, but there is also a causerie by a woman about her insecurity (relative to her husband) about driving, and how a small car accident will prevent her from getting a new kitchen table. Gender consciousness is not found in the advertisements, a sector that always lags behind. Advertisements are traditional, featuring such images as women with vacuum cleaners.

The issues in 1986 are even more differentiated. Traditional femininity exists side by side with the capable and challenging form. However, traditional femininity is of a more innovative character, involving, for example, new expressions of textile handicraft. An article about a woman intending to go on a biking tour and who will bring her weaving tools instead of a camera exemplifies this. Consciousness of women crossing borders and becoming successful in male activities is also present in the 1986 issues. Girls who are good at welding are surprised when they perform better than the boys. One article is about collective baking in a village where the baking team uses a stone oven. Most of the picture subjects are men. The message is that men and women complement each other because men are good at managing the fire and handling the big lumps of dough, whereas women are best suited to baking the loaves. This is an example of the continuing complementary perspective, but the underlying message of the equality and transformation of the gender roles is weaker in 1986 than in 1976.

The most noticeable changes are found in comparisons between the 2006 issues and those from the earlier years. There are fewer 'rural questions' and more news of celebrities, recipes, fashion and issues related to the home, leisure and body. Health is an important field. More than in previous years, femininity is associated with professional roles, and the biographical articles are of career women. Although there are still examples of women who know they are performing non-female roles, challenges to the 'ruling' femininity are more common in the latest issues, as illustrated by women hunters, or a female singer who enjoys riding her motorcycle. She says, 'I like tough challenges', by which she means hunting wild boars or riding her motorcycle. It is understood (although unstated) that she challenges both the ruling femininity (by 'not every woman does this') and masculinity in these activities. She is well aware of the boundaries she is crossing and that she is heading for the masculine domain. Discussed less frequently in the issues from 2006 are questions concerning equality. Could this reflect an underlying assumption that gender equality is self-evident and that, by 'public consensus', it does not need to be discussed?

According to this media analysis, there has been a change in the understanding of femininity in rural lives. The picture is not as simplistic as lay discourses or statistics predict.

6. Identifying narratives of local gender relations

Is it possible to identify an ongoing femininization of rural areas by turning to the subjects themselves, men and women inhabiting villages or small towns? Can the ambiguities depicted in *Back To the Village* and *LAND* magazine also be seen in 'real life'? Here, we will draw some conclusions from studies in rural areas of three Swedish counties. The three empirical cases are from quite different geographical milieus in terms of population density. One county is in one of the most densely populated regions of the country (Resurs Uppland 2007), and another is in the most sparsely populated and remote area of the country (Stenbacka 2008). The third is a forested county that lies between these two extremes, both geographically and with respect to population density (Berger et al. 2004; Berger et al. 2007; Forsberg et al. 2006).

These interviews revealed interpretations of place-specific gender relations. We call these 'gender contracts', or the relations between men and women that are produced and reproduced at the local level by people's practices (Forsberg 2010). Gender contracts are shaped by a combination of the overall structure of gender relations and the way in which they have been arranged by local conditions in the labour market, demographic structure, history and traditions. These local gender contracts are the everyday practices that people perform, mostly without noticing or being aware of them. By emphasizing external or structural conditions, we do not ignore agency or the actors' own intentions and goals. Structures are built up and maintained by agency, and individuals can affect structures by negotiating and challenging existing norms (see Stenbacka & Forsberg, forthcoming). From time to time, people comment on the way in which

these gender contracts guide everyday lives in their area. They also express how the gender contracts are locally constructed. On other occasions, the specific contract is less explicit.

There was no evidence in our interviews that population density (as one common base for defining what is rural) in and of itself defines gender contracts. The economic base (dominated by an industrial or service economy) and geographical characteristics (central or peripheral location relative to the capital region) offer explanations that are more reliable. People referred to historical relations and historical economic patterns in their explanations of current gender practices.

It has to do with heritage and tradition – you've seen it at home and you continue along the same route.

It takes time to reach gender equality. ... At least up here. We have that kind of culture.

In each of the studied countrysides, the local gender contract that emerged was quite traditional, and interviewees often commented that this was characteristic of rural gender relations generally. Such hegemonic gender contracts are thus acknowledged, lived and experienced. At the same time, we identified a variety of local gender contracts in our analysis of interviews with local men and women, as well as in our focus-group interviews with local engaged persons. There are individuals who explicitly state that they deviate from traditional norms or the local gender contract. These deviant households or individuals are indicators of changing gender relations and a possible feminization of rural areas. By this, we mean that gender borders are blurred; men take on duties and chores that are considered female tasks and women enter areas considered men's domain. Before illustrating these openings for change, we will examine the traditional aspects of local gender relations.

In the forested county, our informants interpreted the local contract by referring to the emigration of young women (and the corresponding surplus of men), the traditionally male sectors in agriculture and forestry, and the scarcity of women in local political life. Here, the discourse was more implicit than overt. One theme considered gendered characteristics: what is seen as masculine or feminine. An important aspect of being a man was to be handy.

An ideal man is one that takes care of himself and his family. He should be practical.

A practical man is a big thing here: independent. ... But there's also a tragic alcohol culture here, a guy culture that remains in their 40s. There is a romanticization of home-made spirits, which leads to fights and family tragedies.

A man in the northern region also stressed this character as being essential.

If you live like this you have to be able to take care of things by yourself. You can't solve it with one phone call and ask someone to come and assist you. You need to learn a lot.

This was simultaneously applicable to women.

They should be able to bake bread.

The lack of careers in a remote area means that leisure activities become important and socially structuring. There is a hunting tradition, which was discussed explicitly in the forest region, and during hunting season, everyone takes part. Many women hunt as well, and one female informant talked about how she had been a hunter for twenty years. However, deviations from the norm such as this are not without problems. Women must understand and follow the social norms: if you are a woman, you must not be too skilful with the gun. The limit is subtle.

One man expressed the mix that characterizes the present hegemonic masculinity.

Men are expected to be interested in hunting, fishing and forest adventures, be dressed in forest clothes, be silent and have a good heart.

He stressed that he deviated from this picture by wearing an overcoat. He said of the women that they *should like to stay at home and be 'traditional'*. *A young woman has to be particularly careful about what she says and does, so as not to get a bad reputation.*

In the industrial towns, the discourse of a traditional gender contract was even more explicit and addressed directly. It was associated with the social structure created around the 'male

employer – male employee' relation. Here, there was a 'worker's life mode' in which women were supposed to take care of the reproductive work for the working family. It is considered best to do 'what you are good at', even if this changes.

When I got married, he washed the car and cut the lawn. It is natural that I do what I am good at and enjoy and he does what he is good at. ... I think in the old days men were a bit spoiled. They did not need to take responsibility if they wanted, they did not even try.

We encountered a slightly different discourse of gender contracts in industrial villages in the central county. Some informants claimed that the man did most of the housework, based on the informant's estimation of his own share of the domestic work burden. However, in those cases, they perceived themselves as different from the town in general. Most people thought that such a situation was uncommon.

As stated earlier, the local economy, i.e., the structure of the labour market, is seen as one factor affecting gender relations. The informants reflected on the extremely segregated local labour market and believed greater equality of genders was desirable. One man who was unemployed taught himself nursing and works in health care. He has told other unemployed men that they should try to do the same: *you don't know, I could never imagine what it would be like*. Several men working in the health care sector said that they received much positive feedback associated with their masculinity. It is being strong, being able to do heavy lifts, to speak with men about hunting and fishing or speaking with women as 'men'. A decrease in the labour market gender segregation may nevertheless involve references to traditional masculinities and femininities, as expressed by another informant.

Above all, it would be good if there were more men in the caring sector, because it's a tough job and because many patients would appreciate it. It would also be good because new groups can help to develop the profession. Men can make more energetic efforts.

However, the informants also reflected on the need for women to take the toughest male jobs. One woman mentioned seeing a young woman of 25 outside her window who operated one of the largest bulldozers, illustrating the combination of femininity and a masculine job.

She always has well-styled hair and a stylish outfit.

In the northern region, the increase of men working in the public sector with health care illustrates the transformation of the gender contracts. New roles are emerging and a changing labour market may lead to other changes. One man employed in health care talked about a male colleague.

It was Frank who came here and said, 'well, when you are in a [sissy] job, you may just as well go all the way. Now I am also into weaving', he said.

Regional differences are not expressed in a convincing manner, at least with respect to 'evidence'. Rather, they are presumed to exist and they are presumed to depend on geographical context. We can identify a discourse of place-dependent gender relations and a rural traditional gender contract. However, according to these interviews, there also seems to be a more ambiguous gender contract, including a tendency towards femininization. People reproduce the discourse of the traditional gender contract in their locality, and they arrange their lives in relation to this discourse, but they do not necessarily reproduce the dominant gender contract. Most people living in today's countryside have spent time in urban areas for education or jobs, or they have moved to the countryside from urban areas. This implies a mixture of households in rural areas. Household structures have changed and so have the migration flows. As we discussed in the statistical analysis, migration occurs in both directions. However, it is not clear how mobility affects the presumed femininization of rural areas. It may be that mobility helps to cement existing discourses as individuals experience diversity and assume this diversity is spatially determined. But more likely, it will contribute to the dissolving of the contracts, as migration leads to an influx of alternative practices.

7. Conclusions: The ambiguous gender relations in rural areas

Can we use this exercise in triangulation to answer our initial question about the transformation of gender relations in rural areas? With the statistical, discursive and narrative analyses, we have found evidence of both de- and regendering processes in rural areas. We have identified two alternative trends. First, there is evidence of competing femininities and masculinities in rural areas, and these have changed over time. Second, we have identified processes involving feminization. However, this does not mean that rural areas in general experience less male dominance. The rural is still considered more unequal relative to urban areas. Using statistics, however, it is possible to show that a perceived male dominance is not general; it depends upon how the data are analysed. Different age cohorts are differently represented and the maps also show differences in earnings. There are areas where women earn more than men, or where wages are equal. Looking at media, we found an increased emphasis on women as actors in new settings. We have also identified this change in the constructions of femininities and masculinities in the *LAND* journal. This is an example of how discourses are connected to other elements of social life (Fairclough 2003: 124). In the interviews, it was possible to identify a strong understanding of the rural as unequal, accompanied by awareness among both women and men that there is no single way of life that characterizes either the male or the female identity in rural areas. Reflexivity concerning one's own roles and positions is common with respect to both gender and rurality. In a way, the discourses and narratives are 'acting', as they take part in setting the agenda for everyday practices, and they can be used as frames of reference for behaviour and strategies. This also shows that the dominant 'gap' discourse in the public debate does not necessarily correspond to how rural inhabitants understand their situation.

By using different methods, it has been possible to grasp the complexity of the renegotiated gender identities without falling into anecdotal or essential versions of men's and women's practices. This triangulation of methods provides complementary perspectives and shows the relevance of a variety of sources in a discussion about changes in the countryside. There is a need for multiple methods in rural studies. It may not be possible to test the accuracy of one method by seeking confirmation from another – it is more interesting and urgent to stress the diversity of relations uncovered by the triangulation approach.

Merging different narratives has been beneficial in this analysis, but it will not necessarily yield a meta-narrative that differs substantially from the component parts of the narratives. More importantly, it can deepen our understanding of the prevailing ambiguity characterizing rurality and create an image that is more complicated but more nearly 'correct'. Merging narratives can also contribute to a contextual understanding of rurality and of the processes creating the countryside as material as well as discursive spaces. Returning to the issue of gender and sustainable development, the triangulation approach can help identify areas that open for change as well as areas in need of certain policies. Visualizing existing norms and discourses, as well as material relations (for example, mapping wages or unemployment) can help to improve the knowledge base used to formulate objectives and allocate resources.

The triangulation of methodological approaches should provide an elaborate analysis of the ongoing transformation of gendered rural spaces. Although the statistical analysis showed *gender geography*, the media analysis unpacked spatial gender in a presentation of perceived gendered practices in specific geographies. Triangulation verified the complexity of the reciprocal practices of *spatializing gender* and *doing gendered space*. The interviews showed how the construction of a gender discourse 'does gendered spaces' when it combines certain gender relations with geographical locations. Meanwhile, people in the various countrysides try to live their lives based on a combination of what they believe is possible and what they recognize as a good and decent life.

- [1] Acker, J. (1981). *Towards a Theory of Gender and Class*. [Working Paper.] Stockholm: Arbetslivscentrum.
- [2] Acker, J. (1987). *Hierarchies and Jobs: Notes for a Theory of Gendered Organizations*. [Working Paper.] Stockholm: Arbetslivscentrum.
- [3] Acker, J. (1992). Gendering organizational theory (pp. 248-263). In Mills, A. J. & Tancred, P., Eds, *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. London: Sage.
- [4] Alvesson, M. & Sköldbberg, K. (2000) *Reflexive Methodology. New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- [5] Amcoff, J. (2000). *Samtida bosättning på svensk landsbygd*. Geografiska regionstudier, 41, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet.
- [6] Amcoff, J., Forsberg, G. & Stenbacka, S. (1995). *Inflyttning och nybyggnation i Mälardalens landsbygd*. Delrapport inom projektet Mälardalens landsbygd i förändring. Arbetsrapport nr 155. Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska inst. Uppsala Universitet.
- [7] Baylina, M. & Gunnerud Berg, N. (2010). Selling the countryside: Representations of rurality in Norway and Spain. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 17(3), 277-292. Doi: 10.1177/0969776409356215.
- [8] Berg, L. D. & Longhurst, R. (2003). Placing masculinities and geography. *Gender, Place and Culture* 4(4), 351-360. Doi: 10.1080/0966369032000153322.
- [9] Berger, S., Forsberg, G. & Ørbeck, M., Eds. (2004). *Atlas över Inre Skandinavien – Befolkning, näringsliv och livsmiljö*. Karlstad University Studies.
- [10] Berger, S., Forsberg, G. & Ørbeck, M., Eds. (2007). *Inre Skandinavien – en gränsregion under omvandling*. Karlstad: Karlstad University Press.
- [11] Brandt, B. (1995). Rural masculinity in transition. Gender images in tractor advertisements. *Journal of Rural Studies* 11(2), 123-133. Doi: 10.1016/0743-0167(95)00007-A.
- [12] Brandt, B. & Haugen, M. S. (2000). From lumber jack to business manager: Masculinity in the Norwegian forestry press. *Journal of Rural Studies* 16(3), 343-355. Doi: 10.1016/S0743-0167(00)00002-4.
- [13] Bryman, A. (2008). Why do researchers integrate/combine/mesh/blend//mix/merge/fuse/ quantitative and qualitative research? (pp. 87-100). In Bergman, M. M., Ed., *Advances in Mixed Methods Research*. London: Sage.
- [14] Claesson, S. (1968). *Vem älskar Yngve Frey?* Stockholm: Bonnier.
- [15] Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- [16] Elswood-Hollard, K. (2005). 'We used to Scrump the Apples, We Used to Have Our knickers Full of 'em'. Growing up in the Countryside: Forging Femininities in Rural Somerset c: 1950-1970 (pp. 123-140). In Little, J. & Morris, C., Eds., *Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues. Perspectives on Rural Policy and Planning* Aldershot: Ashgate.
- [17] Eklundh, M. (2010). *En analys över hur man i TV-serien "Hem till byn" framställer genuskontraktet och synen på staden och landsbygden*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.
- [18] Eriksson, M. (2010). 'People in Stockholm are smarter than countryside folks': Reproducing urban and rural imaginaries in film and life. *Journal of Rural Studies* 26(2), 95-104. Doi: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2009.09.005.
- [19] Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

- [20] Fielding, N. (2008). Analytic density, postmodernism, and applied multiple method research (pp. 37-52). In Bergman, M. M., Ed., *Advances in Mixed Methods Research*. London: Sage.
- [21] Foghagen, C. & Johansson, S. (2004). *Att gå mellan ladugården och köket är inget för mig!* Kalmar: Baltic Business School.
- [22] Forsberg, G., Ed. (1994). *Befolkningsomflyttningar på landsbygden. Kunskapsöversikt och statistisk analys*. Delrapport inom projektet Mälardalens landsbygd i förändring Arbetsrapport nr 55, Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska inst. Uppsala Universitet.
- [23] Forsberg, G. (1998). Regional variations in the gender contract: Gendered relations in labour markets, local politics and everyday life in Swedish regions. *Innovation* 11(2), 191-209. Doi: 10.1080/13511610.1998.9968561.
- [24] Forsberg, G. (2001). The difference that space makes. A way to describe the construction of regional gender contracts. In Jones, M., Ed., Contemporary debates in the discipline of geography – space and place, landscape and environment. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift (Norwegian Journal of Geography)* (Special issue) 55(3), 161-165. Doi: 10.1080/002919501753129907.
- [25] Forsberg, G. (2006). '...så och på jorden' – materiella tolkningar av rurala genuskonstruktioner (pp. 127-139). In Buciek, K. et al., Eds., *Rumlig praksis* Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.
- [26] Forsberg, G. (2010). Gender, geography and social practice (pp. 209-222). In Hermelin, B. & Jansson, U., Eds., *Placing Geography, Sweden Through Time and Space*. Ymer, Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi.
- [27] Forsberg, G. & Carlbrand, E. (1993). *Mälarbygden – en kreativ region? En studie av Mälardalens landsbygd i förändring*. Forskningsrapporter nr. 107, Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- [28] Forsberg, G. & Grenholm, C. (2000). Ängla-gård(ar) i feministisk analys (pp. 97-111). In Forsberg, G., Grenholm, C. & Jakobsen, L., Eds., *Rum – upplevelsevård – samhälle. Rapport från forskarkursen 'I genderiserade rum'* Karlstad University Studies.
- [29] Forsberg, G., Grimsrud, G. M., Jakobsen, L., Jansdotter, M. & Vangsgreven Stubberud, K. (2006). *Gränsfall. Platsens betydelse för omställning och utveckling i en gränsregion*. Stockholm: Nordregio.
- [30] Forsberg, G., Lundmark, M. & Stenbacka, S. (2012). *Föreställningar om landsbygden – mer myter än faktiska fakta*. Stockholm: PwC.
- [31] Glesbygdverket [Swedish National Rural Development Agency] (2007). *Årsbok: Sveriges gles-och landsbygder 2007*. Östersund: Glesbygdverket.
- [32] Hay, I. (2005). *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (2nd edition). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- [33] *Hem till Byn* [Back To The Village] (1971-2006). Series by Bengt Bratt. Sveriges Television.
- [34] *Jägarna* [The Hunters] (1996). Film produced by Kjell Sundvall. Memfis Film, Film i väst, Sveriges Television.
- [35] Kelly, R. & Shortall, S. (2002). 'Farmers' wives': women who are off-farm breadwinners and the implications for on-farm gender relations. *Journal of Sociology* 38(4), 327-343. Doi: 10.1177/144078302128756714.
- [36] Leyshon, M. (2005). 'No place for a girl': Rural youth, pubs and performances of masculinity (pp. 104-122). In Little, J. & Morris, C., Eds., *Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues. Perspectives on Rural Policy and Planning*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- [37] Little, J. & Morris, C., Eds. (2005). *Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues. Perspectives on Rural Policy and Planning*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- [38] *Masdjävlar* [Countryside Devils] (2004). Film produced by Maria Blom. Memphis Film, Film i väst, Sveriges Television.
- [39] Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: Basil Blackwell.
- [40] Morris, C. & Little, J. (2005). Rural work: An overview of women's experiences (pp. 9-26). In Little, J. & Morris, C., Eds., *Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues. Perspectives on Rural Policy and Planning*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- [41] Nilsson, B. (1999). Maskulinitet. Representation, Ideologi och Retorik. *Etnologiska skrifter* 19, Borea: Umeå universitet.
- [42] Pettersson, K. (2008). Många bäckar små... Jämställdhet och ekonomisk tillväxt I regionalpolitiken (pp. 139-160. In Andersson, F., Ek, R. & Molina, Eds., *Regionalpolitikens geografi: regional tillväxt i teori och praktik*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- [43] Resurs Uppland (2007). *Strategier för jämställdhet – lokala genuskontrakt i Uppsala län*, Uppsala: Länsstyrelsen i Uppsala län.
- [44] Råbock, I. (2007). Working Material. *Glesbygdsverket*. [Swedish National Rural Development Agency] Östersund.
- [45] Steele C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist* 52(6), 613-629. Doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.52.6.613.
- [46] Stenbacka, S. (2001). *Landsbygdsboende I inflyttarnas perspektiv. Intention och handling i lokalsamhället*. Geografiska regionstudier nr. 42. Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- [47] Stenbacka, S. (2008). Rural identities in transition: Male unemployment and everyday practice in the North of Sweden (pp. 83-111). In Asztalos Morell, I. & Bock, B. B., Eds., *Gender Regimes, Citizen Participation and Rural Restructuring*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- [48] Stenbacka, S. (2011). Othering the rural: About the construction of rural masculinities and the unspoken urban hegemonic ideal in Swedish media. *Journal of Rural Studies* 27(3), 235-244. Doi: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.05.006.
- [49] Stenbacka, S. & Forsberg, G. (forthcoming). Tolkningar av rumsligt formade genushandlingar och – strukturer. In Førde, A., Kramvig, B., Gunnerud Berg, N. & Dale, B., Eds., *Å finne sted. Metodologiske perspektiver i stedsanalyser*.
- [50] Storey, J. (1997). *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- [51] *Såsom i Himmelen* [As It Is In Heaven] (2004). Film produced by Kay Pollak. GF Studios AB.
- [52] Tidskriften *LAND*. (1976, 1986, 2006.)
- [53] *Tillväxtverket* [Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth] (2011). Att välja jämställdhet. Rapport 0107.
- [54] *Vem älskar Yngve Frey* [Who Loves Yngve Frey] (1973). Film produced by Lars Lennart Forsberg. [Film version] Sveriges Radio.
- [55] Woods, M. (2005). *Rural Geography*. London: Sage.
- [56] *Änglagård* (House Of Angels) (1992). Film produced by Colin Nutley, Sonet, AB Svensk Filmindustri.