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Playground Lofoten: joyful-sustainable
adventurous lifestyles and their
multi-dimensional relationship with the natural
environment

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Playground Lofoten: joyful-sustainable adventurous lifestyles and their multi-dimensional relationship with the natural environment

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Abstract

This descriptive case study of the independent documentary series Lofotsprell [Playground Lofoten] aims to describe and interpret the values and practices of the Wegge siblings in order to gain insight into the multi-dimensionality (Langseth, 2012) of adventurous lifestyles. Lofotsprell follows the four Wegge siblings as engage with their local natural environment (Lofoten and Vesterålen, Norway) in playful, adventurous, and sustainable ways. The Wegges practice a 'joyful-sustainable adventure lifestyle'. I employ a phenomenological virtual/analysis (Ardévol, 2012) of Lofotsprell and its virtual (internet) context. My reflexive (Pauwels, 2012) analysis shows the increasingly relational and interactive nature of documentary as virtual content in a virtual context. I also note the implications for the grass-roots environmental movement of Lofotsprell's social media platforms as online 'places' where people from multiple physical locations create culture and community. My inquiry is guided by the question "What is the Wegges' relationship with the natural environment?" I seek to describe ways in which they experience, relate to, reflect upon, feel about, and understand the natural world, and consider the possible social and biological influences of their background and experiences on their relationship with nature. Three emic themes emerge: an anthropocentric perspective on nature, a focus on safety rather than risk, and skill as an embodied practice that mediates interaction with nature. The study reveals ambiguities, contradictions, and identity- and boundary-crossing practices in the Wegges' joyful-sustainable adventure lifestyle.

Keywords: virtual/visual analysis, lifestyle sport, risk sport, extreme sport, adventure, sustainability, nature, skill, risk

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1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an anecdote that situates the author and explains how she came to interested subject of the Wegge's relationships with the natural as documented in their films. Next, the rationale and aims of the study are discussed and the key terms are operationalized. Finally, an overview of the structure of the thesis is given.

In 2010, I studied friluftsliv in Bø i Telemark Norway and there I became acquainted with Markus Wegge. I admired his positive and inclusive attitude, playful and daring exploits, and his efforts to practice an adventurous lifestyle in an environmentally sustainable way. After returning home to Canada I attended the Banff Mountain Film+Book Festival in 2013 and was surprised to recognize the name Wegge again: Inge Wegge's film *North of the Sun* won all three of the festival's biggest awards. Like the rest of the Banff festival crowd, I was fascinated by *North of the Sun*. It was a rare sort of outdoor documentary: the creators were extremely talented at capturing on film their equally impressive outdoor skills, and they communicated the motivations, understandings, and experiences that drove their adventurous and environmentally sustainable lifestyle in a humbly powerful way. The Wegges' next documentary, *Bear Island*, followed the three brothers' expedition to a remote island in the Barents Sea, but rather than competing in the higher-faster-longer culture so common in adventure documentaries fighting for recognition, *Bear Island* was an intimate look at the complex topics like the wayfaring/dwelling dichotomy and sibling relationships, and a demonstration that "if there's a will, there's a way" for even Arctic expeditions to be environmentally sustainable.

In *Bear Island* I noted the similarities in the three Wegge brothers' playful, adventurous, and sustainable lifestyle, and was curious about how they had developed this unique outlook. I wondered: what sort of the influences in their background, experiences, and personalities that created such simultaneously joyful and environmentally conscious adventurers? As an outdoor educator, this is the attitude and lifestyle I aim to promote in people. Therefore, I found it relevant and practical to investigate this joyful-sustainable

adventure lifestyle by studying the Wegges lifeworld, particularly their relationship with the natural environment, in more depth in my thesis.

To narrow down the scope of this project, I chose to focus my investigation on their most recent documentary *Lofotsprell*. I had three reasons for choosing *Lofotsprell* over the other documentaries: First, as the most recent work it provides the most current version of the Wegges' constantly developing lifestyles and attitudes for study. Second, unlike the other documentaries *Lofotsprell* included the sister Katrine. I thought that the presence of the final Wegge sibling would give the most complete picture of how their attitudes and interests may or may not have been influenced by socially constructed and biological factors¹. Third, because it features adventures in their local environment and looks 'behind the scenes' of action sequences and expeditions and into their home life², *Lofotsprell* gives a more holistic look at how the Wegges negotiate adventure and sustainability in their lifestyle.

The research question which drives my inquiry is "What is the Wegge's relationship with the natural world?" To answer this I will look at how the Wegges experience, relate to, reflect upon, feel about, and understand the natural world and the role of the of what I have labeled their '*joyful-sustainable adventurous lifestyle*'. 'Lifestyle' refers to their behaviours, attitudes, habits, interests and opinions. By calling it an 'adventurous' lifestyle, I intend to highlight that elements of adventure, mainly an outdoor setting, risk, and creativity³, are fundamental components of their lifestyle. I created the hybrid adjective 'joyful-sustainable' to capture what I see as the two chief motivations and expressions of the Wegges. 'Sustainable' refers to their aim of conserving nature for future generations to enjoy. 'Joyful' is a reference to the playful nature of their activities and to their environmental optimism. (I decided against calling it 'playful-sustainable' because I feared that it could imply insincerity or frivolity about sustainability.) By using

¹ An investigation of gender in Wegges' films was outside of the scope of this thesis but is a salient topic for further research.

² The Wegges are not native to Lofoten but have moved there from Hurum. Relph (1976) would call their understanding of place in Lofoten the perspective of 'intimate outsiders'.

³ A full list of the elements of adventure as identified by Varley (2006) is given in chapter two.

‘joyful’ I also hope to capture some on the connotations inherent in the Norwegian word “sprell”, such as playful, mischievous, hyper, pranks, and hijinks. The Lofotsprell is the name for the annual Arctic cod migration to the spawning grounds near Lofoten (Christensen, n.d.). Imagine the feeling you might have when looking at the beauty and abundance the water packed with countless shimmering and wriggling fish. This is the feeling of amazement and marvel that the Wegges feel when they play in the beautiful and abundant natural environment of Lofoten.

This study hopes to add to the academic field by describing the unique and not previously studied case of the Wegges’ films in order to fill in our understanding of their specific permutation of an adventurous lifestyle. Their films are popular in many countries around the world⁴; the perception of Norway and Norwegian for many international viewers is shaped by the Wegges. Therefore so it can be beneficial to describe the perspectives represented by the Wegges and how these shape and were shaped by Norwegian culture and landscape. For example, I connect Lofotsprell to Nordic Green Growth, the current wave of interest in and funding for sustainable development(Nordforsk, 2016).

I use the method of virtual/visual analysis (Ardévol, 2012), which is still uncommon in outdoor studies, to study to documentary the Lofotsprell as it appears as virtual (online) content in virtual context. The diverse body of Weggefilms’ work available online are part of an emerging new type of documentary filmmaking and presentation, like webdocs, participatory, and trans-media documentary (O’Flynn, 2012). Documentary functions as sense-making, and as documentary is shifted to online content in an online context it is becoming more relational and interactive⁵.

⁴ E.g. Bear Island and North of the Sun have been translated or subtitled into over eight different languages.

⁵“Dovey has noted that ‘the digital documentary, in its online form, exists within a pattern of connectivity, interactivity and relationality’ (Dovey 2014, 14). Within a digital ecology characterised by rapidly expanding social practices of documentation, including streams of visual and audio-visual material designed to be shareable within the algorithmic processes of social networks, documentary takes on distinctive new characteristics and roles. Within this environment of expanding ephemera, documentary retains its significance as a discourse and series of practices which ‘make sense’ of digital materials which are aligned with reality, which carry the ‘ethical charge’ of the real” (Hight & Harindranath, 2014, p. 177).

Outdoor adventure and lifestyle sport films have been influencing popular culture and counter culture for over 50 years (Booth, 1996), and documentaries often promote tourism to the place it was filmed (Busby, Huang, & Jarman, 2013). Lofoten has already been a tourism destination for hundreds of years (Viken, 2001) but viewer comments online indicate that Nord of the Sun is drawing international travellers to Lofoten. Furthermore, the creation of Lofotsprell (which at the moment is being marketed to a Norwegian audience only⁶) coincides with an economic downturn that sees more Norwegians travelling within their own country instead of abroad to save money. This is an example of documentary's political potential, and in chapter five I will look at Lofotsprell's political potential as a grass-roots source of environment sustainability.

Chapter two will review the literature relevant to my investigation of the Wegges' adventurous physical activities and environmental sustainability actions. Chapter three will explain my research methodology and methods. The following four chapters combine the results/findings and discussion for four main topics: chapter four looks at the background of the Wegge siblings; chapter five discusses the Wegges' understanding of and relationship with nature, chapter six covers the themes of risk and safety, and chapter seven looks at skill as an embodied practice that mediates human-nature relationships. The concluding chapter summarizes the study's results and their implications for future research and practice.

⁶ English subtitles are in progress as of May 2016.

2 Literature Review

This chapter provides the theoretical background that I use to explore and discuss the Wegges' relationship with the non-human world. Here I set the context of the Wegges' activities in Lofotsprell by giving an overview of the concepts risk/extreme, adventure and lifestyle sports in the first part, and environmental attitudes and sustainability in the second part.

2.1 Physical activities in the nature environment

This study focuses on the two main ways in which the Wegges relate to the non-human world: physical activities in nature and environmental sustainability actions. The physical activities in nature that the Wegges do in Lofotsprell include surfing, alpine ski touring and snowboarding, paragliding, traditional climbing, downhill longboarding, highlining, and pendulum swinging. These activities have been called many terms including adventure, extreme, risk, action, gravity, steep, individualistic, modern, new, alternative, youth and lifestyle sports (Breivik, 2010; Brymer & Gray, 2010; Puchan, 2005). These terms are often be used synonymously. Yet a single term can also be used to refer to very different practices. For example, both bungee jumping and BASE jumping are called extreme sports although there is a major difference in the skills required and the risk involved (Brymer, 2010). Grouping all practices that fall under the umbrella of extreme, risk and adventure sports together as one analytical category limits our understanding of the complexities of the category's diverse practices.

As it is not easily measured, an aspect that is rendered particularly invisible is motivations for participation. Extreme, risk and adventure sports literature has been criticized for investigating only the thrill-seeking dimension and neglecting other motives and experiences (Brymer, 2010; Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012). There is a recent trend in the literature that begins to answer the call for research that goes beyond the assumption of thrill-seeking and attempts to provide a more comprehensive picture of the lifeworld (motivations, creativity, understandings, relationships, sociality, identity etc.) of extreme, risk and adventure sports participants (e.g. Atkinson, 2009; Brymer & Gray, 2009; Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013; Burgin & Hardiman, 2012; Elmahdy, 2015; Langseth, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Wheaton, 2013). This case study of Lofotsprell attempts to add to

our dawning understanding of the lifeworlds of extreme, risk and adventure sport participants by investigating the Wegge siblings' relationship with the natural world.

Extreme, risk, adventure, and the other terms mentioned above each highlight a different aspect of the participants' motivation and experience. The abundance of terms used indicates the complexity of the phenomenon. Participants' motivation and experience can be multifaceted and different for each participant (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012). The activities and diverse ways to practice them can be studied from many angles.

When choosing which term to use in my study of Lofotsprell, I considered the precedents in the literature for the various terms, the way the Wegges describe themselves, and the aspects of their experience that seemed most significant. Aspects of risk sports and adventure are relevant to my analysis and discussion of Lofotsprell, however the main term I have chosen to label the Wegges' practice seen in Lofotsprell is 'adventurous lifestyle'. This highlights the angle that I will focus on, namely how these risky, outdoor, adventurous activities are a fundamental influence on and product of the Wegges' lifestyle. I needed a term general enough to cover the Wegges' eight land, sea and air-based activities at different skill levels of practice, their sustainability actions, and indicate that these are central to how they live their lives. By choosing the term 'adventurous lifestyle', I aim to move "beyond simplistic and constraining dichotomies such as traditional versus new, mainstream versus emergent or other related binaries" (Wheaton, 2013, p. 27).

To set up a theoretical framework for understanding the context of Lofotsprell, I will next provide a review of concepts key to the discussion of the Wegges' adventurous physical activities and sustainability actions in following chapters.

2.1.1 Risk sports and extreme sports

Risk can refer to social, economic or physical risks, but this paper will use the term risk to refer to physical risk only. This paper takes the definition of risk sports as "activities in which participants could get severely hurt or suffer fatal consequences if they make mistakes" (Langseth, 2011, p. 631). Meanwhile, the definition of extreme sports used

here refers to activities with an even higher level of risk, where “if something does go wrong the outcome is most likely terminal” (Brymer, 2010, p. 219). Under my chosen definitions the Weggies participate in risk sport but not necessarily extreme sport, because while they do risk serious injury if mistakes are made, death resulting from a mistake would be an unexpected and unlucky outcome. Also, referring to their practices as risky but not extreme reflects the way the Weggies speak about their own activities. Therefore, I will refer to the Weggies’ practices as risky in my discussion. However, in this literature review section, I follow suit with the sources cited and use the terms extreme, risk, and adventure sports interchangeably, i.e. they refer to activities where participation risks serious injury or death.

Many extreme sports originated as alternative and even oppositional to mainstream and traditional sports (Breivik, 2010). In contrast to mainstream sports, in extreme sports, competition is mainly individual: a person competes against their previous abilities, and against the forces and limitations of nature. Competition against other people is also found in some top athletes’ aims to set best-ever records (hardest, highest, longest, etc.). Extreme sports began as niche or cult sports practiced mainly by subcultural groups, and were often an expression of countercultural values. For example, countercultural risk sport participants may be seeking “new challenges and demands in a consumerist society where everything is instantly available and where risk is largely removed through insurance” (Puchan, 2005, p. 172).

When risk sports were unusual fringe practices, the mainstream had a negative perception of participants as irresponsible adrenaline junkies (Brymer, Downey, & Gray, 2009). Early studies in the extreme sports field found that participants were driven by “calculated risk as one of the top motivating factors. Other major driving forces identified are ‘having fun, escape from boredom, experience of the ultimate kick, realising the chance of a lifetime, companionship with fellow adventurers and experiencing natural forces’” (Opaschowski, 2000, p. 29). A variety of possible psychological and sociological explanations for their drive to risk were proposed, including “1) a need or search for uncertainty and uncontrollability; 2) a pathological and unhealthy activity that results in

self deception; and 3) a focus on undertaking an activity where death is probable for thrills and excitement” (Brymer, 2010, p. 221). But as the field grew and hermeneutic data was collected, researchers began question the assumption that participants were simplistically risking their lives for the feeling of rush. Similarly, as extreme sports became increasingly common—for example, in America participation tripled between 1978 and 2000 (Puchan, 2005)—and participants shared their activities and experiences on accessible media platforms, the public’s attitude towards them developed into reverence and admiration mixed with anxiety for the participants’ supposedly irresponsible behavior (Wheaton, 2013).

Recent research has found that risk sport participants often had multifaceted motivations, and different participants ranked them differently in importance. Kerr and Houge Mackenzie (2012) identified a range of motives including: “goal achievement, risk taking, social motivation, escape from boredom, pushing personal boundaries and overcoming fear, as well as connecting with the natural environment, and pleasurable kinaesthetic bodily sensations from moving in water or air” (p. 649). Brymer (2010) found that in less extreme activities, participants talked about thrill as a motivating factor, but the more extreme the activity was, there more participants aimed to minimize risk and focused on embodiment. Brymer et al. (2009) found a high level of connection to the natural world, which is a precursor for environmental sustainability, in extreme sports athletes. They may be seeking various feelings of freedom: “freedom from constraints, freedom as movement, freedom as letting go of the need for control, freedom as the release of fear, freedom as being at one, and finally freedom as choice and responsibility” (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013, p. 865).

Today, extreme sports have undeniably moved from fringe to mainstream. ‘Gravity, ingenuity, and technology’ could be the catchphrase for today’s extreme scene and increasing numbers of young people are considering this alternative lifestyle of a leisure career as path to success and happiness (Puchan, 2005). A leisure career is not longer only for the lucky (or daring) few, but presented as ideal for ‘the masses’, for example

through marketing of a broad variety of products. The popularization of risk and the growing market for it are seen in the following two ways.

First, advances in media technology such as film drove the popularization of these sports to mainstream audiences (Booth, 1996). The mainstream public may not want to expose themselves directly to real danger, but they show a voracious appetite to consume risk indirectly, by watching films of extreme sports from the safety of a couch or grandstand. For example, the caffeine drink brand Red Bull built an advertising empire by hosting and broadcasting extreme sports on television and online. The X-Games, and the addition of extreme sports in the Winter Olympics create and reflect audience demand to watch top extreme sport athletes. Meanwhile, the now ubiquitous use of point of view cameras such as GoPro and online platforms such as Youtube, Vimeo, and Facebook to record and share personal outdoor adventure experiences demonstrate that not only has the audience for risk sports grown, but also that an identity as a risk sport participant has become a positive connotation. “Risk acts as a motivator for participants with little skill but a desperate desire to connect with the image of glamour associated with such sports” (*) The change to risk being perceived as glamorous and seductive to mainstream audiences means that risk has become marketable.

The second major change in extreme sport now that it has been popularized is that it has been co-opted by mass media and consumer capitalism (Wheaton, 2013). Neoliberal influences have turned what were initially oppositional, alternative sports to commercial, tourist-oriented “high thrill, low risk” activities with little semblance to the original experience and values of extreme activities (Palmer, 2002, p. 323). A growing sector provides and markets these activities as ‘extreme’ and ‘adventure’ activities, although ironically the real risk has been managed out of them in order to open the market to a wider group of less ‘extreme’ people, who prefer not to risk serious injury and have little prior skill or knowledge. To be clear, I do not disapprove of these activities where unskilled participants can experience thrill due to perceived risk without being in danger of real risk; I only mean to point out the confusion caused by the fact that these ‘high

thrill, low risk' activities share the labels 'extreme' and 'adventurous' with a very different type of practice which I will label 'high skill, real risk' activities.

Choosing calculated risks by weighing one's competence versus the challenge was a key part of the original adventure experience (Beedie, 2011), but commercial providers of so-called extreme and adventure experiences now 'manage' any risk real for the multitudes of participants they push through identical pre-packaged programs as if selling 'adventure in a bun' (Loynes, 1998). This production line metaphor stems from Ritzer (1993)'s McDonaldization and Ritzer and Liska (1997)'s McDisneyization.

The rising trend of neoliberalism as a threat to holistic outdoor leisure has many critics. Polistina (2012) suggests that the neoliberal reductionist approach has operated as a kind of internal colonization within outdoor leisure. The assimilation or removal of dissenting groups diminishes the diversity of outdoor leisure and accordingly its power for cultural change, such as affecting attitudes to the environment and sustainability (Polistina, 2012). Loynes (2007) dubs this neoliberal trend towards a prescriptive approach the algorithmic paradigm and contrasts it with what he calls the generative paradigm, which is characterized by intuitive approaches, creativity, hope, journey rather than goal orientation, ecocentricism, sustainable vision, and political engagement. As we will see in the discussion, the Wegges' activities fit better in the generative paradigm than the algorithmic. There is a common misperception of risk sports as a poster child for the algorithmic paradigm. It is ironic that practices that originated as alternative, oppositional and even deviant (Laviolette, 2011) are now criticized as shallow and consumerist. This is the neoliberal assimilation process at work.

According to Burgin and Hardiman (2012), the typical demographic of extreme sports participants are in their "teenage years, and are typically from a white/Asian, affluent, upper middle class and suburban culture. They are male-dominated, have high self-esteem, athletic and skilled users of electronic media and, while socially conscious, are disaffected and celebrate danger" (p. 924). They show the self-focus of this generation by individualizing and customizing activities, and are active on social media (Burgin &

Hardiman, 2012). Participants of alternative sports were early adopters of alternative media, such as online forums for discussion and online video sharing platforms (Puchan, 2005), and although now mass media capitalizes on extreme sports, social media is a major part of community.

In this overview of extreme and risk sports I attempted to sort through the many ambiguities in the literature in order to clarify the context of the Wegges' activities. A key concern regarding the previous data on the lifeworld and experiences of risk sport participants is that many different types of practices are grouped together under the umbrella terms of risk and extreme sports. Past studies of extreme, risk and adventure sports have lumped together activities that require extensive skill and where mistakes or accidents can cause serious harm (e.g. BASE jumping), activities where no prior participant knowledge or skill is required (e.g. bungee jumping), and activities where participant knowledge and skill is required but mistakes or accidents do not result in serious harm (e.g. kayaking in grade two whitewater); these studies also presupposed the main motivation of this entire spectrum of participants to be risk and thrill seeking (Brymer, 2010; Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012).

2.1.2 Thrill-seeking

Thrill-seeking, also called sensation-seeking or arousal-seeking, is a motivation put oneself into a risky situation in order to feel an adrenaline rush (Breivik, 2010; Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013; Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012). The criticism of extreme sports participants as irresponsible adrenaline junkies has sparked debate and research into the motivations, experiences and lifeworlds of risk sport participants.

In a comprehensive review of literature on extreme and risk sports, Brymer (2010, p. 219) found a “widely held and theory driven presupposition that extreme sports are synonymous with risk and participation tantamount to risk taking or adrenaline seeking” as well as an assumption that “extreme sports participants are out to conquer the natural world” (Brymer & Gray, 2009, p. 138). He cautions that this adrenaline-junkie presumption is likely a simplistic and naïve view held by non-participant or novice practitioners of risk sports, and that accomplished veterans have a more complex and

multifaceted relationship with the natural world. Brymer (2010) identified three problems caused by the presupposition of thrill-seeking. First, some literature showed characteristics and statistics that were incongruent with the traditional assumption of risk. This shows that further study to account for these complexities would benefit the field of study. Second, other possible aspects of the risk sport experience were ignored by the risk-focused researchers. Third, the lived experiences of extreme sport participants did not indicate risk to be the sole or central aspect. He conducted a hermeneutic phenomenological study that did not presuppose a risk-taking orientation, and found that “participants undertake detailed preparation in order to minimise the possibility of negative outcomes because extreme sports trigger a range of positive experiential outcomes” (Brymer, 2010, p. 218). In other words, Brymer’s study showed that for extreme sports participants, risk taking is not the focus, and thrill seeking is not the only motivation for risk sports. Brymer’s findings are convincing enough that I, too, will be careful to not presuppose thrill-seeking as the main motivation for the Wegges’ activities.

2.1.3 Adventure

Adventure recreation is often synonymous with the above definition of risk sports. Brown (1989) defines it as “outdoor activities in which the uncontrollable hazards of a natural environment or feature are deliberately challenged through the application of specially-developed skills and judgment” (p. 37). The emphasis on thrill as an end product typically differentiates extreme sport from adventure recreation (Puchan 2005). Adventure sports are typically modern and post-modern as they feature “individualism, technology, self-realization and transcendence” (Breivik, 2010).

The elements of outdoor adventure, according to Varley (2006), are:

- risk
- outcome is uncertain
- outcome is the responsibility of the participants
- negotiation of ‘marginal situations’ using skill and experience
- personal commitment
- strong emotions
- flow and peak experiences resulting from self-mastery of risky situations
- authentic and enchanting experience
- new forms of experiences are created (protostructural)

- participants are autonomous and self-reliant
- multi-sensual engagement with nature, distinct from modern urban life
- coping with uncertainties of the natural environment
- romanticizing the natural environment and the (imagined) core qualities of pre-modern lifestyles
- potential for spiritual renewal via de-alienating, creative experiences

Varley proposes the previous points as criteria for the original or ideal form of adventure. The commodified versions, which I have discussed previously and labeled as algorithmic, are called ‘convenience-adventure’, ‘packaged adventure’ or ‘post-adventure’ by Varley (2006). He has created the concept of an adventure commodification continuum, ranging from “controlled, rationalised and risk-managed ‘post-adventure’ experiences in the shallow end, to those experiences that allow greater levels of commitment, risk and responsibility at the deep end” (p. 173). This is useful in illustrating the variety of practices that can be labeled as adventure. I will investigate if there are elements of outdoor adventure in Lofotsprell and if this continuum is an appropriate model for understanding the Wegges’ activities.

Mortlock (1984) sets out a four stage conceptual model for adventure that shows adventure is not fixed, but changes for different participants and circumstances. The stages correspond to increasing challenges to a person’s skill level. At stage one, play, a person is operating below their capabilities. In stage two, adventure, a person uses their skills and experience to solve a problem. It is a key stage for learning and practicing skills as the person is not preoccupied with survival. Stage three, frontier adventure, is slightly beyond stage two in that there is an element of uncertainty and danger with the person can overcome with concentration and effort. Mastering challenges of frontier adventure is intensely satisfying and memorable. Csikszentmihalyi (1999)’s flow concept fits here. In the fourth stage, misadventure, the challenge is too much for the person’s capabilities and the journey fails, resulting in minor or major consequences.

Martin and Priest (1986) developed Mortlock’s four stages into a model called the adventure experience paradigm, where the level of challenge is a function of the risk and a person’s competence. This results in different conditions of challenge: exploration,

experimentation, and adventure when risk is low and competence is high, peak adventure when risk and competence are appropriately matched, and misadventure, devastation and disaster when risk is high and competence is low (Priest & Baillie, 1987). I will investigate which stage(s) are seen in Lofotsprell.

Compared to the term risk sports, ‘adventure sports’ puts more emphasis on skill and luck. The Norwegian concept of *eventyr* (adventure) has two heroes who function as metaphors for two different approaches to adventure (K. Pedersen Gurholt, 2016). The competent and tough polar explorer Nansen epitomizes the conquering paradigm of adventure, characterized by pitting human capabilities and morals against the forces of nature, and goal-orientation to the extent of willingness to risk his life to be the first to achieve something. Meanwhile, the clever and curious folk tale character Askeladden (the Ash-lad) epitomizes the playful paradigm on adventure. He explores the world with an optimistic openness and inquisitiveness, continually tests himself and learns by overcoming the unforeseen challenges that he encounters, relies on luck as well as his creative attitude and skills. *I will investigate if one or both is seen in Lofotsprell.

2.1.4 Lifestyle sports

Extreme sports is not a term that the majority of participants identify with (Brymer, 2009; Elmahdy, 2015; Langseth, 2012b; Wheaton, 2004). Empirical research has shown that “participants described their activities as *lifestyles* rather than as *sports*” (Wheaton, 2013, p. 26, emphasis original). While ‘sport’ narrows the definitions, the term ‘lifestyle’ opens the definition to include and acknowledge to a diversity of different possible lifestyles—different identities, worldviews, ways of combining activities, enacting values. The concept of an outdoor-lifestyle may involve acquiring skill, equipment and technology, building social networks, and regular training, to the extent that these efforts take up most of the time, money, energy and mind of the person (Pedersen, 1997).

The Wegge siblings’ presentation of themselves in Lofotsprell also holistically emphasizes their lifestyle rather than their sports, as the documentary’s screen time is split between sports scenes and domestic scenes that illustrate their focus on sustainability. Wheaton (2013, p. 26) links lifestyle with patterns of consumption and

points out that “youth in western societies create identity through consumption”.

Awareness of their patterns of consumption and their environmental impact are key in the Wegges’ identities as sustainable consumers and driving forces of their lifestyle.

As noted by Langseth (2012b), it is possible to practice activities typically called lifestyle sports (e.g. climbing, surfing, etc) without having them as a lifestyle. In the case central to this paper, the Wegges’ life values inform how they practice their physical activities and these activities are a major influence on their lifestyle. Therefore referring to the Wegges’ activities as ‘lifestyle sport’ (Wheaton, 2013) and a ‘physical cultural lifestyle’ (Atkinson, 2009) is appropriate.

Wheaton (2013, p. 29)’s features of lifestyle sports are summarized in the following list.

- The activities are historically recent or re-emerging phenomena
- Consumption of new objects and new technologies
- Commitment of resources to a distinctive lifestyle and particular social identity
- Participants embrace risk and danger as a means to provide the feeling of ‘stoke’ (thrill, oneness, presence, transcendence)
- Emphasis on creative, aesthetic, and performative expressions; rarely conducted solely for spectators, yet presentation of self to others is part of the experience
- Denouncement of regulation, institutionalization, traditional competition; however this alternative and oppositional nature is now being eroded by commercialization and popularity
- Participants are predominantly middle-class, white, Western; associated with, but not limited to, youth; less gender-separated than institutionalized sports; subcultural affiliations are more transnational than in traditional sports
- Activities are individualistic, non-aggressive, personal challenges
- Occur in new or re-appropriated spaces without fixed or delineated boundaries, often in non-urban environments; reverence for nature; nostalgia for past rural life; ironically some industries underpinning lifestyle sports are contributing to rural and environmental degradation

2.2 Environmental sustainability actions

The context for the Wegges’ physical activities has now been established. Next, I turn to the second major way the Wegges relate to the non-human world: their sustainability actions. Lofotsprell shows that actions which contribute to environmental sustainability,

such as cleaning garbage from beaches, dumpster diving, repairing equipment, building eco-friendly vehicles and houses, are a significant and integrated part of the Wegges' lifestyle. This section reviews literature relevant to sustainability in adventurous lifestyles.

2.2.2 Environmental impact

Lifestyle sports are often criticized for high energy consumption (Aall, Klepp, Engeset, Skuland, & Støa, 2014) and environmental degradation (Ewert & Shultis, 1999).

Lifestyle sports and adventure tourism are leisure travel. Adventure tourism is easily 'green-washed' as eco-friendly, when in fact during leisure travel people often "take time off from their environmental attitudes as well as their daily activities" (Holden, 2011 in Aall et al., 2014, p. 74). Leisure travel makes up 25% of greenhouse gas emissions in rich Western countries; in Norway it is the second highest area of energy consumption (Aall et al., 2014). In 2008, tourism created 10% of all fossil fuel emissions in Sweden, and it was recommended that governments should consider tourism emissions in the climate policy (Gössling & Michael Hall, 2008). In 2012 the Norwegian government identified sustainability as the overarching premise of the national tourism strategy, and developing Norway as a sustainable tourism destination was named one of their three main objectives (Norwegian Ministry of Trade and Industry, 2012). The Norwegian Arena Network of Innovative Experiences and Small Tourism is an example of sustainable experience-based tourism which is growing in small companies in Nordland (Fuglsang & Eide, 2012). The Nordic Green Growth initiative is a large research and innovation program that aims to accelerate the transition to a sustainable society (Funch, 2015; Nordforsk, 2016). Nordic Green Growth is a term that has recently come into use to refer to this trend towards increasing focus on sustainable development in both public and private sectors of Nordic countries.

2.2.3 Environmental attitudes

Sustainable development trends and policy affect lifestyle sports, and lifestyle sports have an influence on sustainable development trends and policy. This is why (Wheaton, 2013) refers to lifestyle sport participants as consumers: they create their identity with their patterns of consumption, not only in sport but in their whole lifestyle. The type of influence that lifestyle sports has depends on which perspective it comes from. As

discussed earlier, different kinds of lifestyles stemming from different values are all called lifestyle sports. For example, lifestyle sports skiers can refer to both people who buy a new clothing and pair of skis every year and drive in an SUV to an alpine resort where they use ski lifts, and to people who ski-tour on undeveloped mountains that they reached using collective transport mountains and use second-hand skis and clothing. In each case the participants are creating an identity through their consumption choices.

So far, quantitative data of the environmental impacts of lifestyle sport participants lumped together all kinds of different extreme and adventurous practices (Burgin & Hardiman, 2012). But theoretical and qualitative works recognize that lifestyle sport participants' attitudes vary in the way they understand and treat nature (e.g. Varley, 2006), and that these attitudes can be complex, fluid, and even contradictory (Wheaton, 2013).

Lifestyle sport participants' identities can reflect anthropocentric or ecocentric attitudes (Thompson & Barton, 1994). An anthropocentric attitude nature is valued for its worth to humans. Sustainable actions are taken for personal gain, like saving money. "From this perspective nature appears to be inanimate, providing a resource, medium or place for human action, an obstacle for conquering or a playground for exhilaration and natural 'highs'" (Brymer & Gray, 2009, p. 135) An ecocentric attitude places intrinsic value on nature, and nature is not seen as separate from human.

Varley and Semple (2015) suggest that that adventure experiences lie on a continuum. On one side experiences are so anthropocentrically disconnected from and unaware of nature that he labels them "de-natured" (p. 74). On the ecocentric side participants experience oneness with nature and value the unique qualities of the specific natural place the experience is set in; I suggest a label for this could be 'en-natured' (meant in a similar sense to Ingold (2011)'s use of 'enculturation' and 'enskillment' in that it refers to an attunement with and practical engagement in one's environment).

Attitudes to the natural world can be seen as a dialectic with an anthropocentric view of nature as a playground or battlefield versus an ecocentric view of an intimate and reciprocal relationship with nature (Brymer & Gray, 2010). The traditional “relationship between extreme sports and the natural world is usually portrayed as a desire by participants to conquer or battle against nature” (Brymer et al., 2009, p. 195). This is built on the assumption that people feel powerless and insignificant in society so they want to prove their superiority, resilience, and important against the ‘other’ of nature. On the other hand, there is also evidence of lifestyle sports practitioners who demonstrate attitudes of unity with and caring for nature. Brymer (2009) found that extreme sport participation at the more skilled levels actually is correlated with high levels of caring for the natural world.

Shepherd (2002, in Atkinson, 2009) describes a ascetic-athletic environmental movement called anarcho-environmentalism, in which people aim to “explore their spiritual and moral connections to the natural environment” and “reduce their environmental footprint” (p. 13). Atkinson (2009) investigates the urban lifestyle sport parkour using anarcho-environmentalism as a framework. Parkour practitioners, called urban traceurs, practice Spartan physical discipline and interact athletically with built urban environments. They “seek oneness and environmental connection” and wage “resistance to commodity hedonism and environmental degradation” (p. 14). Parkour challenges and undermines the dominant construction of urban space by demonstrating through their free movements that nature is present and accessible even in highly built urban environments. “Urban traceurs argue that their movements in the city only appear as strange because the “natural” environment of their city is, in itself, strange” (Atkinson, 2009, p. 16).

I would argue that, in the same way that parkour awakens traceurs *and* spectators to the polysemic nature of city space, extreme sports like skiing, surfing and paragliding challenge our understandings of natural space by bringing commodities like highly technical activities and film equipment into an obviously unbuilt natural space and featuring a form of hedonism in the pursuit of flow. Yet these seeming opposites are both ways for participants to explore the nature/culture dialectic and to demonstrate to viewers

that the two are inextricably linked. Both practices investigate spiritual and moral connections with the natural world and have the option to be practiced without environmental degradation and to affect social and cultural change.

Burgin and Hardiman (2012) found evidence that places used for passive recreation sometimes morph into areas for more environmentally damaging active recreation, and that technology is increasing penetration into wilderness areas. It is possible that an opposite effect is simultaneously occurring: that greater access to natural environments in person and on screen has a positive influence on environmental caring. Whether people's actions towards sustainability stem from anthropocentric or ecocentric attitudes is less important than identifying what activities, settings, legislation, or education inspire sustainability actions. This study cannot generalize findings about sustainable behaviours to the entire diverse demographic included in lifestyle sports, but it can investigate on the individual level of this case study what elements of the Wegges' relationship with the natural world relate to their actions towards sustainability.

This chapter has given an overview of the contexts of the Wegges' physical activities: risk/extreme, adventure, and lifestyle sports; and of their sustainability actions in the context of environmental attitudes in adventurous lifestyles. I stress that there are many complexities and contradictions in the literature because diverse practices are lumped together under umbrella terms, and that these practices both influence and are influenced by developments in society and culture. In the four discussion chapters that follow the next chapter on research methods, I analyze and discuss the Wegges' background, their understanding of nature, and the ways they interact with the natural world, in an attempt to answer the question *what is the Wegges' relationship with the natural environment?*

3 Methods

This study investigates the lifeworlds of the Wegge siblings as seen in the television series⁷ Lofotsprell. My aim is to explore the ways in which the Wegges experience, relate to, reflect upon, feel about, and understand the natural world. I am guided by the research question: What is the Wegges' relationship with the natural environment? I conduct a phenomenological visual analysis of Lofotsprell and its online context.

3.1 Philosophical Assumptions

My study is based on the assumption that knowledge is socially constructed through individual's subjective experiences (Silverman, 2013). My interpretive mode of inquiry is shaped by four key assumptions of the constructivist paradigm: the belief that reality is individually constructed (relativist ontology); that knowledge is based on personal experience (subjectivist epistemology), that inquiry is conducted in the real world; and that the findings are positioned as "reconstructed understandings of the social world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 158).

Allison and Pomeroy (2000) recommend researchers in the outdoor adventure field consider an epistemological and ontological shift to the constructive paradigm. This would "shift the focus of the questions asked" in order "to understand reality in a different way" (p. 96). A constructive perspective and interpretative method of inquiry is well suited to conceptualize the multifaceted and complex phenomena that constitute outdoor adventure (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012). Qualitative researchers should be open to letting the specific realities and understandings guide their direction of inquiry and attempt "to preserve the multiple realities, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening" (Stake, 1995, p. 12) in the phenomena. In my study of the Wegges lifeworlds as seen in Lofotsprell, I am looking for *emic themes*, which are themes that arise inside a case and are discovered during the course of open investigation (Stake, 1995). My aim by taking a hermeneutic phenomenological approach is to be open to

⁷ After being shown on TV, the broadcaster made the series available on their web site. Throughout this thesis I will refer to series Lofotsprell as a 'film' in order to emphasize its cinematic form, rather than the platform through which it is accessed.

individual's subjective experiences and constructions of reality and "[let] the case tell its own story" (Stake, 2000, p. 441).

3.2 Positionality of the researcher

In interpretivist research the researcher takes an active and central role in the interpretation of data. The way the researchers acquires knowledge of their subject's processes, histories, events, language and biographies is affected by *situated knowledge*, which is created through relations between people, and includes the researcher's biography and relation to the research subjects (Thomas, 2013). My situated knowledge as a 26-year-old white female Canadian who is an informed outsider to Norwegian culture and has a background as an outdoor educator, expedition guide and environmental activist creates my positionality and affects my interpretations of the research subject. This is not necessarily a strength or a weakness but simply a given in qualitative research. The difference between my cultural background and that of the Wegges adds a transcultural (Welsch, 1999) approach to the research. Dann (2011) puts it nicely: "the writer's status of an 'informed outsider with some inner Norwegian experience' will enable a combination of stranger-hood and familiarity to add balance to the comparative investigation" (p. 191).

It is impossible for a researcher to avoid the double hermeneutic effect in phenomenological analysis. The double hermeneutic means that a researcher's individual perceptions and lived reality influence their interpretation of the data, which is already a hermeneutic product of the subject's experience, perception, and expression of their individual reality. (In addition, the person reading this brings yet another level of re-interpretation, effectively creating a triple hermeneutic.)

However, in order to be as open as possible to the hermeneutic of the phenomenon of study, a researcher must attempt to suspend their assumptions, pre-understandings and biases (van Manen, 1997). This requires a researcher to be aware of what their own pre-suppositions are. When the researcher's biases are known and suspended, they can approach the phenomenon of study with a greater openness and gather more accurate, precise and valid data about the hermeneutic understanding of the subject of study.

Brymer (2010, p. 224) calls this ‘bracketing’:

Rigour is achieved, to some extent by suspending or ‘bracketing’ pre-existing suppositions about the phenomenon before undertaking interviews or interpreting texts (Hanna, 1993; van Manen, 1997); a particular necessity when exploring a minority activity such as extreme sports (Brymer, 2002; Dennett, 2003).

3.3 Phenomenological visual analysis

I was inspired by the methods of Brymer and Schweitzer (2013), Mullins (2011), and Ardévol (2012) and my method of has been synthesized from them. Phenomenological visual analysis appropriate for my study of the Wegges’ lifeworlds as represented by the film *Lofotsprell*. By a phenomenological approach I mean to emphasize that my method of inquiry “return[s] to the experience as lived and provide[s] a detailed description of a phenomenon based on the structure and meaning of an experience” (Brymer, 2010, p. 224).

I use the term ‘visual’ in the same style as Pink (2006, 2007), who uses the terms visual anthropology and visual ethnography with the intention of highlighting sensory and embodied ways of knowing. I considered changing it to *audiovisual* to make it more obvious that I intend to “question the primacy of the visual, its relation to other sense and modes of expression” (Pauwels, 2012, p. 255), but chose to follow the current convention of the field and refer to an integrated, interdisciplinary approach to analyzing film content and internet content (Ardévol (2012)’s ‘virtual/visual cross road’) as *visual analysis* even when the integrated way of investigating this content often involves the sense of hearing as well as sight. I take the approach of visual ethnography (Pink, 2006, 2007) rather than video analysis (Knoblauch, Schnettler, Raab, & Soeffner, 2012) because my aim is to describe the nature of the Wegges’ lived experience (van Manen, 1997). In this case, lived experience incidentally is recorded, shaped and shared by filmmakers, and accessed and viewed by the researchers, through the medium of film.

All of the data analysed in this study are virtual in origin. The Lofotsprell series was accessed online at nrk.no⁸. The form and style in which a phenomenon is presented matters in conveying the content (Pauwels, 2012), and the context a phenomenon appears in influences the perception of viewers (Ardévol, 2012). Pauwels (2012) calls the attempt to contextualise the contents of a visual production ‘reflexity’. I employed reflexivity to investigate the Wegges’ lifeworld and understandings by investigating the social media content associated with Lofotsprell. I looked at how Lofotsprell and Weggefilms are presented and promoted by NRK (by reading the summary descriptions and reviews that appear below the video-player) and by the Wegges themselves (by following the Weggebros blog, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Vimeo channels) My virtual navigation of the social media (Pink & Postill, 2012) surrounding Lofotsprell, in particular reading the comments left by viewers from all over the world, helped me see Lofotsprell in a broader context. These social media platforms are online ‘places’ where people from multiple physical locations create culture and community (Pink, 2012).

3.4 Case Study Design Frame

The subject of my case study is the Wegges’ documentary Lofotsprell, and the object of my case study is how people with adventurous lifestyle relate to the natural environment. A case study approach was an appropriate design frame for my inquiry into the lived experience and lifeworld (including the motivations, creativity, understandings, relationships, sociality, identity, as so on) seen in the documentary Lofotsprell because it allows me to take an in-depth look at one permutation of the many possible understandings within a demographic. Within the one permutation of my small sample are even more permutations in the form of multi-faceted and individual understandings specific to each of the four individuals (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012). A qualitative case study is a way of developing a detailed and a comprehensive understanding of a certain situation and small group of people. However, a case study’s findings can not be used to make generalizations about a broader population (Thomas, 2013).

⁸ The website of the Norwegian National Broadcasting Association.

3.4.1 Assumptions

After some investigation, I conclude that there is relatively little influence from interests vested in how so the actions seen in Lofotsprell are assumed to be motivated by the Wegges interests, and not biased by outside pressures (e.g. from sponsors or media platform requirements). I make the assumption that what is shown in the documentary represents a relatively accurate and honest version of the Wegge siblings' individual perspectives. I acknowledge that the perspectives seen in Lofotsprell are only one incomplete representation of whole, authentic, and current perspectives of Wegges, and that their perspectives are continually changing and developing.

3.4.2 Ethics

I minimized ethical conflicts by choosing to “not to disturb the ordinary activity of the case, not to test, not even to interview, if we can get the information we want by discrete observation” (Stake, 1995, p. 12). My discrete observation was limited to an investigation of publicly available data. By choosing to distributing their work publicly, the creators and marketers of Lofotsprell have given me implied consent to access and use their work in respectful ways (Silverman, 2013). I acknowledge the creators' copyright over Lofotsprell and am careful to cite the source of data I analyze in this study.

3.5 Data collection

I conducted unstructured and semi-structured observation by watching the series Lofotsprell three times. The first time I viewed the series without taking notes so as to experience the flow and pace of the film without interruptions. The second time I took unstructured notes, which I reviewed with an eye to emerging emic themes. I chose themes using these two approaches (van Manen, 1997, p. 98):

- Holistic approach: “What sententious phrase may capture the fundamental meaning or main signifance of the text as a whole?”
- Selective / highlighting approach: “What statement(s) or phrase(s) seem particularly essential or revealing about the phenomenon or experience being described?”

On the third viewing I looked for and noted ways in which the themes I had identified were confirmed and/or contradicted. NRK provided Norwegian subtitles for the series,

and I assembled these into a document. This document was useful to double-check the sequence of events, and a record of the film's dialogue.

I also collected virtual data related to the Wegges and Lofotsprell, e.g. the online contexts in which the films were available, information available online about the Wegges' background, and the ways in which Lofotsprell and the Weggebros/Weggefilms brand was promoted using social media. This data was found using web searches and by following weblinks from related content. I collected this virtual data in an unstructured way guided by follow-up questions that arose from my main inquiry.

3.6 Data interpretation and analysis

Writing about the emic themes of Lofotsprell was my method of data interpretation. Descriptive writing is a form of interpretation and analysis because it is a reflexive process where the researcher-writer chooses what is relevant to describe and how to describe it (van Manen, 1997). In the attempt to describe lived experience, I used *thick description*: "understanding a piece of behaviour – a nod, a word, a pause, etc. – in context, and using one's 'human knowing' to interpret it when one describes it" (Thomas, 2013, p. 109). The aim of thick description is to capture the complexity of the case in such a way that readers have enough relevant details to be able to make an informed decision of whether or not they agree with my analysis of that situation (Stake, 1995); this a way to address reliability, and rigour of my written interpretation and analysis. I also chose to increase the validity of my description by including many direct quotes because I found that the spoken narrative was a major way in which the Wegges' perceptions, experiences and understanding were communicated to the audience. For ease I opted to directly translate the given subtitles by NRK to English instead of attempting an original transcription of my own. I provide the Norwegian version so bilinguals can efficiently check my translation.

3.7 Research Question

Main question: *What is the Wegges' relationship with the natural environment?*

Sub-question: *How do they experience, relate to, reflect upon, feel about, and understand the natural world?*

4 About the Weggebros and their sister

A person's background including upbringing, education and past experiences affects their relationship with the natural environment. Childhood experiences with nature have been found to positively influence to the person's attitudes of environmental caring as adults. "Youth education and upbringing, place and environmental sustainability may be connected" (Kirsti. Pedersen Gurholt, 2014, p. 234). Wells and Lekies (2006) found that childhood experiences of nature, particularly 'wild' nature were positively associated to adult environmental attitudes. Chawla (1999)'s study of environmentalists in Norway and Kentucky found that experience of natural areas and family during childhood were the most significant predictors of commitment to environmental protection. In this chapter I make a start at answering my question '*what is the Wegge's relationship with the natural environment*' by looking at who Inge, Markus, Håkon and Katrine Wegge are.

4.1 Childhood and upbringing

The four Wegge siblings Inge, Markus, Håkon, and Katrine grew up in Hurum, about 50 minutes drive southwest of Oslo. They were exposed to nature from an early age and grew up doing outdoor activities, especially board sports. They spent holidays at a family cabin in the mountains. They received in alternative education at Røyken Steinerskole (a Waldorf school).

The type of relationship with the natural world that people have as children, which is formed through free play and influenced by the types of friluftsliv that surround them, influences the form of friluftsliv they practice as adults (Kirsti. Pedersen Gurholt, 2014). The hybrid style of friluftsliv the Wegges practice as adults likely results from being exposed during childhood to a multiplicity of styles of interacting with nature, from family trips in simple nature to trendy sports, as well as the freedom to play, explore and follow their interests granted by their school and family.

4.2 The Wegge siblings: "There is no one who is as excited as us!"

4.2.1 Inge Wegge (1986)

Inge Wegge has been based in Lofoten for the last decade. He graduated from Nordland Art and Film school and since has worked as a freelancer as well as producing his own

work. He has freelanced for various TV productions and advertisements, including Nordisk Film TV, Novemberfilm, 71° Nord on P3, and stock background images for NRK. In 2010 Inge began to produce his own serious work under the name Weggefilms. He continues to freelance for various TV programs today, seems to be active in some environmental groups like Nordic Ocean Watch, and is currently building a sustainable house in Kabelvåg where he lives with his wife and child. His main outdoor activities include paragliding and surfing.

4.2.2 Markus Wegge (1987)

Markus Wegge studied a bachelor of adventure guiding and wildlife in Bø, Telemark. His final expedition was a two week cross-country skiing trip in Svalbard. He has diabetes, is interested in nutrition, and wrote his bachelor thesis about low carbohydrate diets on winter trips. His areas of experience include river canoeing, sea kayaking, glacier travel, and accident management. As well as his many hobbies, he focuses on the more simple outdoor life. He seems to be involved with environmental organization such as Protect Our Winters. He has lived in Lofoten for periods, and now is living in Kabelvåg with his wife and some animals. He has worked at folk high school and works with friluftsliv activities for young unaccompanied immigrants. He is known for converting his vans to run on used chip oil so that he can sustainably transport himself and friends to adventures.

4.2.3 Håkon Wegge (1992)

Håkon Wegge specialized in climbing and snowboarding at the folk high school in Gol. He is a former downhill longboard racer, with good results including winning a Norway Cup and silver in the World Championships in 2010. He is interested in philosophy. He moved to Kabelvåg to pursue climbing and snowboarding after finished folk high school in 2012. I could not find information about his work.

4.2.4 Katrine Wegge (1994)

Katrine Wegge graduated from Sogndal folk high school. She lived and worked in Lofoten when Lofotsprell was filmed and now lives in Oslo. She is interested in social justice, environmental welfare, vegetarianism and veganism.

4.3 The Weggebros

The three Wegge brothers dubbed themselves the Weggebros. Since 2009 they have kept a website blog where they share stories, pictures and films of their adventures, and promote and give information about the 'brand' of Weggebros (Wegge, n.d.). This is how they describe themselves:

The Wegge brothers is known for creating shows, there's often a lot of energy and circus. We have had the weggebros.com website in a few years, where we've posted images, text, film and simple clips of different activities we do. Activities fills much of our lives; surfing, snowboarding, skiing, skateboarding, climbing, paragliding, speed riding, kayaking, slacklines, highlines and other active and extreme adventures. But the most important thing for us is to have fun, spread good energy and explore new horizons. Here comes the calmer part in: the reflective, philosophical. -The simple outdoor life, the reflections and attitudes that characterize a large part of us. [...]Some times we have all got the same feeling: «There is no one who is as excited as us!» It results in an activity-boom when we meet. Then it's out with the boards, rigging up pendulum jumps, climbing, skiing, surf, etc!

Companies the Weggebros have partnerships with include Infinitum, Helsport, Åsnes, FireWire and Frost Surfboards, Surfshop.no, and Slakklino.no. On their website they list reasons why they like these companies and the reasons are invariably related to sustainability: eco-friendly materials, long-lasting quality, willingness to repair and reuse. The Wegges use their equipment and often have the company logos showing in their films. It is unclear exactly what the sponsors are giving the Wegges in return for promoting them, but it is probably discounted or free equipment, and possibly grants in the case of Infinitum.

4.4 Weggefilms

Inge is the director of the work under the name Weggefilms. Weggefilms AS (Ltd.) is a tiny company registered in Kabelvåg, with Inge listed as the only staff. Weggefilms also has a Vimeo account where viewers can watch the films, series, and shorter edits that are

shared there. Older edits are free to watch, but viewers must pay to watch the full-length films and webseries, and can choose subtitles in many languages.

Weggefilms' early body of work are shorts and medium lengths edits of a home-made quality. These show various Wegge family members doing activities like snowboarding, slacklining, paddling and climbing, often with playful stunts such as homemade fireworks, jumps and tricks, and without any particularly fancy equipment. Weggefilms' more recent body of work includes professional looking edits of various adventures, advertisements made for work, and the full length films *Bear Island* and *North of the Sun* along with a *North of the Sun* webseries.

In 2010-11, Inge made his first documentary, *North of the Sun (Nordfor Sola)*. It follows Inge and Jørn Ranum as they lived the winter on Kvalvika beach, where they surfed, built a small cabin from driftwood, and cleaned the shores of 3 tonnes of garbage. *North of the Sun* won dozens of international awards. In 2014, Inge and his two younger brothers Markus and Håkon made another documentary about their 3 month adventure living and playing on Bear Island which lies in the Barents Sea. The most recent work of Weggefilms is *Lofotsprell*, a TV series consisting of four 30-minute episodes shown on NRK.no (the website of the Norwegian Broadcasting Association). *Lofotsprell* is currently being translated to English as *Playground Lofoten* for an international audience.

4.5 Lofotsprell

Each of the four *Lofotsprell* episodes focuses on one of the four siblings. In episode one, Katrine is introduced to paragliding and tries surfing in the winter for the first time. She is interviewed about her role in the sibling group, using dumpster food, and vegetarianism. In the second episode, Inge has a special new camera that works in extremely low light conditions. He achieves a new feat in adventure filming by capturing footage of them skiing down a mountain under the northern lights. At the lot where he is building a house while his daughter plays, Inge is interviewed about sustainability and the changes in his lifestyle since becoming a father. The siblings pull off a photostunt at the famous peak Svolvegeita but Katrine injures her ankle. In episode three, Markus is seen converting his van for run on used chip oil and getting furniture from the dump. He is

interviewed about his relationship with risk, diabetes, tendency toward many playful hobbies, and preference for doing outdoor activities in the local environment. The siblings do a local kayaking trip to an awesome cliff for climbing, and they set up a Bridge Swing. In episode four the brothers go to Værøy to find new surfing beaches but they are caught in a big storm. Håkon is seen repairing clothing and is interviewed about his decision to avoid screen time by not having internet at home and his philosophy of climbing as a meditation and way to be present. Katrine has her first high and long paragliding flight. Finally, the siblings pull off a stunt that combines longboarding and paragliding.

4.6 Four Wegges out in nature

A late night nature program [Ut i nature: en naturlig helaften] shown on NRK December 28, 2014 appears to be the beginning of a new stage for the Wegge 'brand' as *the Weggebros and their sister*. The late night nature program shows their documentary Bear Island in full, three segments from a winter camping trip the four siblings took in Svartisen national park, and an interview where Inge and Katrine share a meal of food rescued from the dumpster with the interviewers, and answer questions about themselves and the film Bear Island. In the interview we hear the common questions a Norwegian audience might have: how the siblings see Katrine's role now that she joins her brothers on adventures, and why they started dumpster diving, and how did they get involved in doing such 'extreme' activities. The Ut i Natur program's host Kari Tøft identifies dumpster diving for food as 'the trademark' of the Weggebros and their sister, and introduces them as four siblings from Hurum who 'challenge themselves and the nature' in northern Norway, a byline which becomes the seed of their presentation of themselves in Lofotsprell.

We take you along on our journey
through Lofoten and Vesterålen.
We will explore nature,
in really amazing ways.
We will play on land
and water through all the seasons.
We push each other, help

Vi tar dere med på hver vår reise
gjennom Lofoten og Vesterålen.
Vi skal utforske naturen her
på ganske utrolige måter.
Vi skal leke oss på land
og vann gjennom årstidene.
Vi pusher hverandre, hjelper

each other and take care of each other.

hverandre og passer på
hverandre.

This chapter has introduced the Wegge siblings and the Weggefilms body of work with focus of the tv series Lofotsprell. A number of reasons for their participation in adventurous activities and making films about it can be deduced: for their own personal satisfaction and fulfillment; as a way to make a living; to spread joy by sharing their adventures with other; and as a way to inspire others to lead more environmentally sustainable lifestyles. The next three chapters will focus on the three main themes that emerged from my analysis of Lofotsprell: nature, risk and skill.

5 Nature

We take you along on our journey
through Lofoten and Vesterålen.
We will explore nature,
in really amazing ways.
We will play on land
and water through all the seasons.
We push each other, help
each other and take care of each other.
We are all interested
in conserving nature.
We all must contribute to passing opportunities
on to those who come after us.

Vi tar dere med på hver vår reise
gjennom Lofoten og Vesterålen.
Vi skal utforske naturen her
på ganske utrolige måter.
Vi skal leke oss på land
og vann gjennom årstidene.
Vi pusher hverandre, hjelper
hverandre og passer på hverandre.
Vi er alle interessert
i å bevare naturen.
Vi må alle bidra til å gi muligheter
videre til de som kommer etter oss.

Exploring nature in playful, thrilling ways and promoting nature conservation by modeling that a sustainable lifestyle can be fun are the main aims of the Wegge siblings in Lofotsprell. Nature is central to Lofotsprell, but what is, and what isn't, considered nature and natural in the series? The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the concept 'nature' is operationalized in Lofotsprell, discuss the complexities found in how the Wegges interact with nature.

5.1 What is nature?

It's very nice to live here in Lofoten.
The mountains and the sea are so close.
Just think, you can hike up
a mountain, fly [paraglide] down and surf afterwards.
I haven't been in any other
place where you can do this.

Det er fint å bo her i Lofoten.
Fjellet og havet er så nært.
Tenk å kunne gå en tur opp på
fjellet, fly ned og surfe etterpå.
Jeg har ikke vært noen andre
steder der man kan gjøre sånt.

Where is and isn't nature found in Lofotsprell? It's found "right outside the living room door"⁹, that is, outside the buildings of the small town of Kabelvåg where the Wegges live. Between steep mountains and sea, Lofoten has little flat land, so settlements are

⁹ Markus: I love doing and developing friluftsliv in the local area. That's one reason I live in Lofoten. You don't need to travel to Everest to get the best climbing experience if you can find it right outside the living room door. / Jeg er glad i å dyrke friluftslivet i nærmiljøet. Det er jo en grunn til at jeg bor i Lofoten. Man trenger ikke dra til Everest for å få den beste klatreopplevelsen hvis de kan finnes rett utenfor stuedøra.

surrounded by rugged nature, creating the relatively unique situation Katrine describes above. Lofoten is an ideal ‘extreme landscape of leisure’ (Laviolette, 2011).

In contrast, everything on the inside of the living room door, under a roof, is not nature. Its built-ness and human-ness separates it from nature. On one road trip to Vesterålen in search of new surf spots, there is a huge storm so the Weggebros stay inside their van instead of tent camping. While eating dinner in the van, Håkon raises the question, “Is this friluftsliv? [...] Americans would call this the dirtbag life”¹⁰. Because they were in the shelter of the vehicle, and not under the open sky, they questioned the authenticity of their identity as practitioners of friluftsliv and explorers of nature.

Håkon’s question-- is this friluftsliv? is this nature, or culture?—is one which may be echoed by a critical audience of the film. If judged against a strict black and white interpretation of human as separate from nature, there are inevitably grey zones and hypocrisies seen in their lifestyle as they go about their mission to explore nature in fun ways and promote sustainable living. For example, the ways that they choose to explore and enjoy nature use technology – cars, paragliders, surfboards, skis, ropes, etc.

Håkon’s question also reveals the connotation that nature and being in nature is superior to culture and being under roofs. The subliminal value judgment here is that being in nature is the more admirable way to be, that it brings a higher status, and people who are in nature are tougher and better than people indoors.

His question arose from the situation of eating dinner in the van while on a trip to explore nature. When we look closer at situations like this, the distinction between what is nature and what is culture is never clear cut. Even in a place as pristine and sparsely populated as Lofoten, it’s not possible to completely find a nature that is completely separated from human impacts.

10 Håkon: Er dette friluftsliv? / Is this friluftsliv?

Markus: Bare fordi vi sitter inni en bil? / Just because we’re sitting in a car?

Håkon: Amerikanerne ville kalt dette dirtbag life. / Americans would call this dirtbag life.

The Wegge's indoor/outdoor and in-town/in-nature understanding of culture/nature dichotomy is in line with the commonly understood definition of nature as "everything which is not human and distinguished from the work of humanity", that is, the unbuilt, the untouched, the opposite of culture, 'other' to humans (Soper, 1995, p. 15).

Consider the first activities-in-nature scene in episode one: the low sun is shining a golden light on the faces of the Wegges siblings as they, shivering in their wetsuits, run over snowy stones out into the crashing surf waves. They paddle out and then one by one shout with joy as they catch surf waves. Next we see them back at their van, changing out of wetsuits and warming frozen toes with a thermos of hot water, talking on a mobile phone.

Where is the distinction between nature and culture in this scene? Can we say that as soon as they leave the van, step from the human-built road to the beach, they are now in nature? But what about the neoprene wetsuits they are wearing and the surfboards they are using? These are undeniably products of human technology, necessary to mediate the 'natural' experience of surfing in winter north of the Arctic Circle.

The camera pans to the surrounding mountains and there is no trace of built structures in sight. *Now* is this nature? We might answer yes until we remember that it is the technology of a camera lens that makes it possible that we are even looking this 'natural' scene. Film technology mediates both for the Wegges' experience of nature (because they always have the equipment with them and are filming) and the audience's experience of nature, through the whole Lofotprell series.

Now the camera pans to the beach and the sea. If we forget the ubiquitous presence of the camera, could *this* be nature? Surely the far northern Atlantic Ocean is untouched by humans. But no, there plastic garbage in the beach, carried in the sea from far away. And the water itself contains microscopic particles of plastic from human garbage. Although the effects are not yet obvious, Lofoten is impacted indirectly by the affects of climate change (Rauken & Kelman, 2012). In 2016, humans and their impacts have touched

nearly every place on earth. This is a reality the Wegges have in the back of their mind when they are playing in the natural environment. Their focus on sustainable lifestyle in Lofotsprell makes it clear that the Wegges disapprove of and do not intend to contribute to further human degradation of nature.

Soper (1995) identifies two very different understandings of what nature is. The ‘nature-endorsing’ perspective common in the Green movement is that pristine nature holds intrinsic value and protection of nature from human impacts is more important now than ever as the pristine nature is swiftly diminishing. The ‘nature-skeptical’ perspective of the post-modernists refutes the existence of a nature-culture dichotomy. It sees nature as a totality, not a separate ‘other’ to humans, culture and technology. Humans, as living beings on the planet, have always been part of nature. A ‘nature-skeptical’ post-modernist would also point out that even the ideas that our concept of nature is something separate from humans, and the evaluation of pristine nature as an ideal form, are actually socially and culturally constructed by humans (Soper, 1995).

Although it is useful to be aware of both of these two theoretical perspectives, it is important to how people actually use the word nature in order to communicate clearly in the reality outside this discourse (Soper, 1995). In Lofotsprell the Wegges use the word nature to refer to the obviously-other-than-human. The Wegges’ language and actions are part of the nature-endorsing perspective, but a discerning audience can find questions and contradictions in Lofotsprell that cause them to question the nature-culture dichotomy, thereby taking the nature-skeptic perspective. I follow suit by mainly discussing topics from a ‘nature-endorsing’ perspective, while occasionally raising questions and noting the alternative understanding of the ‘nature-skeptic’ perspective. In any case, the Wegges’ sustainable adventurous lifestyle establishes that human interaction with the nature does not inherently devalue the natural environment.

5.2 How do the Wegges interact with nature?

Here [in Lofoten] I can do
all types of [outdoor] activities.
And I can work with film.
Now we're in the process

Her kan jeg drive med
alt av aktiviteter.
Og jeg kan jobbe med film.
Nå er vi gang med

of building our own house here.
 I have a goal with the place. It
 doesn't have to be 100% self-sufficient.
 But to the degree it's possible
 and enjoyable, -
 - I'd like to grow [a garden, have animals],
 create electricity and be self-sufficient/sustainable.
 If everyone had the goal
 of saving the world, everyone would give up.
 But if everyone tries to do a little,
 it's easier [to make a difference]. Better to think:
 "I won't save the whole world, but
 I can recycle this bottle."
 Then we've made some progress.
 And it all adds up/ it grows exponentially.
 This series is mainly about showing -
 - how nice and how fun
 one can have it out in nature.

å bygge eget hus her.
 Jeg har et mål med stedet. Man
 trenger ikke bli 100 % selvforsynt.
 Men i den grad det går an,
 og det er gøy, -
 - så har jeg lyst til å dyrke,
 lage strøm og være selvforsynt.
 Hvis alle har som mål
 å redde verden, vil alle gi opp.
 Men hvis alle prøver å gjøre litt,
 er det lettere. Heller bare tenke:
 "Jeg skal ikke redde verden, men
 jeg kan resirkulere denne flasken."
 Da er man et lite stykke på vei.
 Og så baller det på seg.
 Denne serien handler mest om å vise -
 - hvor fint og hvor morsomt
 man kan ha det ute i naturen.

5.2.1 Grass-roots sustainability

The Wegges have a grass-roots approach to environmental activism. This is the idea that by focusing on changing the attitudes and every-day behavior at the individual level to more sustainable practices, the effect grows to have to significant impact at the societal level (Gifford, 2007). Documentary films and their virtual context have “successfully generated and sustained an activist media culture by unifying and politicizing viewers through viral online networking [and] public deliberation” (Aguayo, 2013, p. 233).

Lofotsprell has a similar political power as a source of influence in the grass-roots environmental movement. The Wegges’ approach to sustainability is to lead by example. By making their sustainable lifestyle look like a lot fun in their films, they influence other people to consider doing the same. Their reward-centric motive for sustainability is an effective way to reach pleasure-driven types of people, who are more likely to ignore or dislike restrictive policies enacted to protect nature. The Wegges spread proof that the things that make life pleasurable (adventures, in their case) do not have to be sacrificed to achieve an environmentally friendly and sustainable lifestyle.

5.2.2 Optimism

The Wegges that their actions only play a tiny role is stalling the planet’s path to instability and environmental damage, yet they choose to remain optimistic. They find

that acknowledging the serious implications of climate change, yet staying optimistic about the future of humans and nature, is the best strategy in encouraging others to also become environmentally active. Lofotsprell focuses on showing the wonderful and beautiful side of nature rather than the depressing facts of its destruction.

5.2.3 Anthropocentrism

Both anthropocentric and ecocentric motivations for sustainability are seen in Lofotsprell, but the anthropocentric view is more dominant and central. The anthropocentric perspective values nature for human uses. The Wegges appear to want to conserve nature for extrinsic reasons: because they experience nature as a beautiful, fun and useful setting for their activities and want to give future generations of humans the opportunity to experience nature in this way as well.

We are all interested
in conserving nature.

Vi er alle interessert
i å bevare naturen.

We all must contribute to passing opportunities
on to those who come after us.

Vi må alle bidra til å gi muligheter
videre til de som kommer etter oss.

Nature is referred to as a 'playground' throughout Lofotsprell. A 'playground', or nature as a setting for human enjoyment, is an indication of the anthropocentric view. An ecocentric view features a more intimate and reciprocal relationship with nature than the one presented by the Wegges in Lofotsprell (Brymer & Gray, 2010).

5.2.4 Post-modern

In Lofotsprell the Wegges practices are post-modern in that their lifestyle ignores or overcomes the traditional dichotomy between nature and culture (Soper, 1995). Unlike traditionalist perspectives (e.g. Faarlund, 2007; Gelter, 2007), the Wegges do not see a contradiction, hypocrisy or problem in their use of technology to experience nature, and capturing their activities on film in order to inspire other people to play in nature. They accept and celebrate equipment and technology that has a relatively minimal impact on nature, such as long-lasting good quality equipment that enables human-, wind-, and water- powered activities. They draw a line at using equipment that consumes non-renewable resources, for example they do drive a vehicle, but it is powered by recycled

chip fat rather than fossil fuel. Seeing the Wegges' ability to hold a "resistance to commodity hedonism and environmental degradation" while participating in extensive adventurous outdoor activities, without tension in their lifestyle from these two poles, is an 'unexpected strangeness' that causes viewers to rethink their judgements of which practices and what groups of people can live sustainable lifestyles and be environmental activists (Atkinson, 2009, p. 14).

5.2.5 Generative

Despite being post-modern, the Wegges are 'original adventurers' and their practices fit on the deep, non-commodified, end of Varley (2006)'s adventure commodification continuum. This is an unusual finding for the following reason. Features of neoliberalism like control, rationalization, risk-management, and standardization define the shallow, commodified side Varley's continuum. Following a common tendency seen in outdoor adventure literature to use the term 'post-modern' as a synonym for 'neoliberal' and 'algorithmic', Varley labels the commodified side of the continuum as 'post-sport'. Yet the Wegges, who have a post-modern lifestyle (as defined above), do not automatically belong on the shallow 'post-sport' side of the continuum. When their relationship with nature is carefully examined, we see that they reject the commodification of adventure (e.g. they reject consumerism by dumpster diving for food and filtering recycled chip oil to use as fuel). Their authentic, creative practices reflect the core qualities of 'original adventure' (Varley, 2006) and the generative paradigm (Loynes, 2007). The Wegges' lifestyle with its elements of both original adventure and a post-modern understanding of the nature-culture dichotomy shows that adventurous activities can be too complex, contradictory or fluid to be categorized as a point along a continuum.

5.2.6 Subversive

The counter cultural lifestyles of people who make the pursuit of hazardous activities a major part of their life are characterized by more than just physical risks: legal, civic or moral risks are an important part as well. These lifestyle subvert cultural norms like security. "Paradoxically, this subversiveness is infiltrating the cultural norm. One significant reason for this is because this counter cultural ethos has become germane to the dawning of green social thought. An intimate connection with the moral responsibility towards the environment seems to be developing in an ethos of green and

extreme” (Lavolette, 2011, p. 14). In Lofotsprell, the Wegges openly show some of the ways in which take culturally subversive risks, in the hopes that the audience will gain understanding of the green ethos that guides their actions. The two most obvious ways are by dumpster diving and by displaying an anti-oil flag¹¹ in the background of many scenes. Lofotsprell affords audiences an intimate look at how the Wegges’ subversiveness of the dominant culture’s commodified and exploitive ways of interacting with nature are based on moral judgments. Influencing more people to understand and agree with ‘green’ morals grows the environmental movement, which is one of the Wegges’ aims.

5.3 What is a natural relationship with nature?

Many people think it's unnatural	Mange syns det er unaturlig
to consciously seek out danger.	å bevisst oppsøke fare.
Seen in perspective of the last few	Sett i perspektiv av et par
thousand years, it's just as unnatural -	tusen år, er det like unaturlig -
- to live as sheltered as many do now.	- å leve så skjerma som mange gjør.

I have already discussed other things that seem ‘natural’ to the Wegges, the parts of their behaviour that seem effortless and unquestioned: having a playful reaction to natural landscapes, catching their activities in nature on film, and doing the activities in a environmentally sustainable way. Here Håkon articulates his reasons to believe that seeking danger is also a ‘natural’ behaviour for humans. This would only make sense from an evolutionary perspective if consciously seeking out danger did not increase the risk of death. In pre-modern societies the risk of death was certainly higher in life daily life than it is today. Also, seeking danger consciously means that the person is also on guard against getting harmed.

“It is only relatively recently that the lack of certainty and the need to control our surroundings has been boxed as a construct and labelled, let alone labelled as something deviant” (Brymer, 2010, p. 233). The people referred to by Håkon who think it’s

¹¹ People’s action for an oil-free Lofoten, Vesterålen og Senja. / Folkeaksjon Oljefritt Lofoten, Vesterålen og Senja.

unnatural to seek out danger are examples of this modern need for certainty and control. In an effort to explain why whole groups of people are ‘deviantly’ seeking danger today, risk researchers have proposed two explanations at a societal level: the compensation and the adaptation perspectives (Langseth, 2012b). The compensation perspective proposes that risk-taking behavior compensates for the lack of risk in our routine, regulated and secure modern lives. It is a way to escape from modernity. The adaptation perspective on the other hand sees risk-taking as an expression of modernity and its individualistic values like self-development, self-confidence, independent self-image and freedom of choice (Langseth, 2012b). The explanation Håkon offers of risk-seekers getting back into touch with their pre-modern roots is in line with the reasoning of the compensation perspective. It also points to a romanticized view of human-nature relations.

This chapter has investigated the Wegges’ relationship with nature. Their definition of what ‘nature’ and ‘natural’ has been fundamental to this investigation. Fundamentally, the Wegges seem to have an anthropocentric relationship with nature. They value nature for extrinsic reasons: because playing in undeveloped natural environments is fun. They choose to play their play environmentally sustainable so that future generations of people can have the opportunity for a similar experience.

6 Risk and Safety

6.1 “*Enjoyment-adrenaline*”: *perceived risk at the Bridge Swing*

Markus	We often get asked if what we're doing is dangerous. Dangerous... everything is relative. But... I do things from my point of reference. From there I don't experience [the] things [I do] as very dangerous. A pendulum jump, a bridge swing ... or highline. I know that it's safe. It's just perceived risk. It's a thousand meters down. Very dangerous. But I know the climbing equipment will hold. That is enjoyment-adrenaline.	Vi blir ofte spurt om det du driver med, er farlig. Farlig ... Alt er relativt. Men ... Jeg gjør ting ut fra mitt ståsted. Da opplever ikke jeg ting som så veldig farlige. Et pendelhopp, en bropendling ... eller høylynet. Jeg vet det er trygt. Det er bare opplevd fare. Det er tusen meter ned. Dritfarlig. Men jeg vet klatreutstyret holder. Det er nytelsesadrenalin.
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In episode three of Lofotsprell the Wegges set up a Bridge Swing on a very high bridge that connects two islands of Lofoten. A Bridge Swing is a big rope pendulum. The rope is anchored on one side of the bridge and the tail is brought around under the bridge to the far side and attached to a person's harness. The person jumps from this far side of the bridge, experiences free fall, and then the pendulum rope pulls the person's fall into an arc, and they swing under the bridge.

The Wegges rig up the Bridge Swing in a scenic location. The jumps are filmed from a camera angle that shows us the very long drop down to the cold Arctic water and a backdrop of mountains in the evening light. In the episode, we see part of how they set up the swing, we see people discussing how excited and nervous they are before their jump, we see Katrine, Markus, and others doing the jump, and we hear Håkon explaining why he doesn't like to do Bridge Swing or highlines. The episode teaser uses the line, “Now Katrine will show that she is tougher than her big brother.”

It takes knowledge to set up the swing and to properly use the safety equipment, but these are second nature to the Wegges.¹² The Bridge Swing may look extreme to audiences, but to the Wegges it is like being in a playground. Jumping and swinging do not require any special skills and it is a safe setting, however they are challenging themselves by facing fear due to the perceived risk of jumping from the high bridge. In Mortlock (1984)'s four stage model of adventure, this corresponds with the second stage: adventure, where participants are in total control but are being challenged by fear.

Markus and Håkon discuss give their reasons for jumping and not jumping from the Bridge Swing:

Markus	I'm excited! It's been a while! This is just fun. Things we are capable of. Work with climbing equipment and play.	Jeg blir gira! Det er lenge siden! Dette er jo gøy. Ting vi kan. Jobbe med klatreutstyr og leke.
Markus	-Håkon, do you think you'll jump?	-Håkon, tenker du å hoppe?
Håkon	-No, I don't think so. Both highline and pendulums I feel are a fine balance. Between the negative of dreading it beforehand - - and the enormous joy and relief once you've done it.	-Nei, jeg tror ikke det. Både høyline og pendling har jeg følt er en fin balanse. Mellom ... Det negative med å grue seg på forhånd - - og den enorme gleden og lettelsen når man har gjort det.
Markus	Excitement: positive. Fear: negative. But excitement can only be positive. -For my part!	Spenning: positivt. Frykt: negativt. Men spenningen er bare positiv. -For min del!
Håkon	-Everyone has a top limit. [...] It's a matter of definition, and I think it's very individual.	-Alle har en øvre grense. [...] Det er en definisjonssak, og jeg tror det er veldig individuelt.
Markus	I like to push my limits and find out - - what I can and can't do. What's too scary. It's individual whether one likes that feeling of adrenaline. For me it's interesting	Jeg liker å pushe grenser og finne ut - - hva jeg kan gjøre og ikke. Hva som er for skummelt. Det er individuelt om man liker den adrenalinfølelsen. For meg er det interessant

12 Markus: Well, this is fun. Things we can do. Working with climbing equipment and playing. /
Markus: Dette er jo gøy. Ting vi kan. Jobbe med klatreutstyr og leke.

and fun to try out a bridge swing -
-there I can feel deathly afraid,
men I know that I'm totally safe.

og gøy å oppsøke en bropendel -
- der jeg kan få dødsangst,
men vet at jeg er helt trygg.

Perceived risk is “a subjective perception of the potential for injury or death inherent in an activity” (Davis-Berman & Berman, 2002, p. 306). Actual risk or real risk refers to the objective danger. The Bridge Swing has a high perceived risk, because one jumps from a very high height, and a low real risk because it is objectively quite safe as it has a double-backup safety system. Markus and Håkon agree that it is a high perceived risk, low real risk activity, but they differ in whether they enjoy participating in such an activity. Markus loves the safe adrenaline rush of perceived risk so much that he calls the feeling ‘enjoyment-adrenaline’. For Håkon, on the other hand, the adrenaline rush feeling is dreadful rather than enjoyable and he would rather avoid it. Both brothers are accomplished risk sport athletes who climb, surf, and downhill longboard regularly. Yet they have a huge difference in whether they enjoy the feeling of adrenaline rush.

The four Wegge siblings are all risk sport participants with very different motivations. Håkon is a Norwegian champion in downhill longboarding yet avoids the adrenaline rush from the Bridge Swing. Markus loves the perceived risk enjoyment-adrenaline feeling and has set up many Bridge Swings, yet he also differentiates himself from his siblings by describing himself as more focused on simple outdoor life (Wegge, n.d.). We see that Katrine enjoys the adrenaline rush feeling from the Bridge Swing and from paragliding, yet she hasn’t made risk sports as much a part of her life as her brothers have. Inge is also in the enjoyment-adrenaline camp, but he seems to get as much pleasure from capturing it on film as from the experience itself.

The Wegges’ represent a diversity of possible motivations and interests with risk sport. Håkon’s example shows that even accomplished and committed risk sport athletes may not necessarily experience perceived risk as enjoyable. Inge and Markus demonstrate that just because someone enjoys adrenaline rush, it does not mean they are merely adrenaline junkies searching for the next thrill: they also participate in and gain equal enjoyment from other practices like filming and simple friluftsliv. Katrine’s example shows that

enjoying risk sports does not necessarily lead to an addiction to seeking more and bigger thrills. The diversity in the Wegges' enjoyment of perceived risk challenges the traditional view that risk sports participants are adrenaline junkies with thrill-seeking personality types (Opaschowski, 2000) and supports Kerr and Houge Mackenzie (2012)'s and Brymer (2010)'s findings that motivation and experience can be multifaceted and different for each risk sport participant.

6.2 "I don't like to feel nervous": a focus on safety

Håkon is a downhill longboard athlete who won a Norwegian Cup in 2011 and placed second in a 2010 World Cup in downhill longboarding. He explains what it is and why he stopped competing in longboard:

Most people don't know
what downhill longboard is.
It's about riding
fast down hills on a skateboard.
You can get speeds up to
over 100 km per hour.
If you've never seen it before,
it looks deadly.

[...]

Longboarding is one of the
least dangerous things I do.
I don't like to feel nervous or
feel an adrenaline kick when I'm longboarding.

I stopped competing because
I dislocated my shoulder.
So that it doesn't happen again,
I don't compete anymore.
No matter how carefully I longboard,
others could be less careful.
With climbing and snowboarding it's
always me who decides.

Folk flest vet ikke
hva downhill longboard er.
Det handler om å kjøre
fort ned bakker på skateboard.
Man kan komme opp
i over 100 km i timen.
Hvis man aldri har sett det før,
ser det livsfarlig ut.
[...]
Longboard er noe av det
minst skumle jeg driver med.
Jeg misliker å være nervøs og
å ha adrenalinkick når jeg skater.

Jeg har slutta å konkurrere fordi
jeg får skuldrene ut av ledd.
For at det ikke skal skje igjen,
konkurrerer jeg ikke lenger.
Samme hvor forsiktig jeg kjører,
kan andre være mindre forsiktige.
I klatring og snowboard er det
jeg som bestemmer hele tiden.

To an audience unfamiliar with downhill longboarding it would probably come as a surprise that rolling downhill with not brakes at 100km/h one of the least dangerous of the activities seen in Lofotsprell. The Wegges may be choosing to include this kind of information in Lofotsprell because they want to inform their audience about the actual level of risk involved in their activities. One thing that sets Lofotsprell apart from blockbuster extreme sport films and RedBull action reels is that the Wegges repeatedly take screen time to emphasize that they are not seeking out high levels of risk, but are actually focused on minimizing risk and maximizing safety in everything they do. This honesty and transparency invites the audience in to understand the Wegges' lifeworld and gives us a more complete understanding of the experience and motivations of lifestyle sport participants.

Both Markus and Håkon are into climbing. In episode four Håkon says he “climbs so much that rather than planning climbing days, he has to plan rest days, or he would be climbing all the time”¹³.

Markus:

When I'm climbing, the amount of adrenaline should be limited.	Når jeg klatrer, skal det være begrensa med adrenalin.
When I'm climbing trad style, and it's a long distance since the last protection - and that protection is kinda unreliable, maybe...	Klatrer jeg naturlig, og det er lenge siden forrige sikring, - - og den kanskje er litt dårlig ...
Then it's not so good with the adrenaline.	Da er det ikke så bra med adrenalin.
Then I've gone over the limit.	Da er jeg gått over grensa.

Markus and Håkon's preferred style of climbing corresponds to the second stage of Mortlock (1984)'s model: adventure. They prefer to be in control of the situation, to be secure, while climbing, so that only a limited amount of adrenaline is felt, and the challenge comes from mastering moves rather than facing fears. They do not like to be in

¹³ Håkon: Jeg planlegger ikke når jeg skal klatre, men prøver heller å planlegge når jeg skal ha hviledager.

Markus: -Ellers klatrer du alltid?

Håkon: -Ja.

Mortlock's third stage, frontier adventure, while climbing. In frontier adventure one is no longer completely in control, risk physical harm, and feels a high degree of fear. This is where enjoyment-adrenaline goes 'over the limit' turns to fear-adrenaline. The fear-adrenaline of frontier adventure takes away from their aim to feel flow and mastery (discussed further in the chapter on skill).

Peak adventure occurs when the level of risk is equal to a person's competence (Priest & Baillie, 1987). Each individual has a different threshold where peak adventure is found because each has different levels of competence and acceptable risk. In Markus and Håkon's comments about their acceptable level of risk, they make it clear that while they choose to take calculated risks that they personally can control, they also avoid situations that have risks that they cannot control. Håkon continues longboarding, but he leaves space between him and other longboarders who might fall and trip him up instead of racing in a tight pack of people. When Markus feels fear because he is too far from a protection point in climbing, he considers it a mistake.

The Wegges try to avoid feeling adrenaline when they participate in higher-skill activities like climbing and longboarding, where mistakes can lead to a real risk of serious injury. Yet, three of the four Wegges embrace and enjoy the feeling adrenaline during lower-skill activities like the Bridge Swing, where real risk is low. This finding is in line with Brymer (2010)'s conclusion that in less risky activities, participants talked about more thrill as a motivating factor, but the more risky the activity was, there more the participants aimed to minimize risk and focused on embodiment. That low-skill and high-skill risk activities often have different focuses is an important distinction that future research in this field should take into account.

The three Wegge brothers have been doing risky activities together all their lives, so they are very aware of each other's skill level and trust each other's judgement. They share a similar level of acceptable risk, and they seek similar experiences (flow and mastery). These factors make the three brothers an excellent team for doing risky activities together. However, their youngest sister Katrine has done fewer adventures together with

her brothers, which means the brothers might not be so aware of levels of skill and acceptable risk. Katrine's peak adventure is found at different part of the adventure experience paradigm (Martin & Priest, 1986) than of Wegge brothers, and this may have played a role in the misadventure of Katrine's fall when she attempted to hop across the gap between two pinnacles during their stunt on the peak Svolvegeita, discussed next.

6.3 "We're so focused on safety, but still these things can happen"¹⁴: misadventure at Svolvegeita

Inge	<p>The plan is to do a stunt that everyone is part of. That requires coordination. Markus will walk across a highline over a gorge. Katrine will climb up and jump from one horn to another, - -right as I fly by with my paraglider and camera. It is essentially a photostunt, but mostly it's about timing. Managing to get the cool shot. Or do something very difficult . It's gonna be crazy exciting to see if we manage it.</p>	<p>Planen er å gjøre et stunt der alle er med. Det krever koordinering. Markus skal gå på en høyline over et juv. Katrine skal klatre opp og hoppe fra det ene hornet til det andre, - - samtidig som jeg flyr forbi med paraglider og kamera. Det er vel egentlig et fotostunt, men det handler mer om timing. Å klare å få det kule bildet. Eller gjøre noe veldig vanskelig. Det blir sinnssykt spennende å se om vi får det til.</p>
Katrine	<p>My biggest challenge will be to jump. But I have a feeling that - - it's not that bad after all, even though I'm really dreading it. It'll be more challenging for [Inge]... It'll surely be difficult to fly around Svolvegeita.</p>	<p>Min største utfordring blir å hoppe. Men jeg har en følelse av - - at det ikke er så ille likevel, selv om jeg gruer meg masse. Det blir mer utfordrende for ... Det blir sikkert vanskelig å fly rundt Svolvegeita.</p>
Markus	<p>Walking the highline will go well. I feel so steady on the line. I will not fall from the line. [...] Then I'll rappel down a little,</p>	<p>Linegåingen skal gå bra. Jeg føler meg så stødig på line. Jeg skal ikke falle på lina. [...] Da rappellerer jeg litt ned,</p>

¹⁴ Vi fokuserer så mye på sikkerheten, og likevel kan sånne ting skje.

and then rig up the nuts and so on.	og så rigger jeg opp kiler og sånt.
Through, screw in, lock...	Gjennom, skrudd igjen, låser ...
Doing this in a secure way,	Å gjøre det på en trygg måte,
rigging so that it's 100% safe, -	rigge så det er 100 % sikkert, -
- with a double backup, requires	- og dobbel backup på det, krever
us to be incredibly careful with everything.	at vi er utrolig nøye med alt.

Before the stunt began, Katrine took a test-jump between the two stone towers. She did not jump far enough to land securely on the far stone tower. She tripped and slid down the stone, hitting or rolling her ankle. The safety line that held her prevented her from falling enough distance to be seriously injured, but it not protect from landing wrong or smacking against the stone. The Wegges completed their stunt with Håkon filling in for Katrine's jump. After she rappelled down from the stone tower, Katrine was not able to walk down the mountain so a helicopter transported her to the hospital. Her ankle was not broken but she needed to use crutches to walk until it healed.

From this event we can see that even with perfect rigging it is never possible to make an activity "100% safe". There was minimal risk of serious injury or death in the stunt, but injuries were an accepted if unexpected risk. Real risk is always present in the possibly of human error, natural circumstances, and bad luck. The Wegges' prevailing attitude is to take all possible precautions against and minimize exposure to real risk. When we compare the Wegges' cautious attitude and focus on safety to the comparative lack of concern shown by people participating in statistically equal or more dangerous activities such as motorcycling (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012), is tempting to call their practices safety activities rather than risky activities.

Katrine was mostly likely well aware of the risks she was taking. She was dreadfully nervous before the jump but willing to take the challenge. Perhaps the fall was simply an unlucky fluke. Or perhaps she felt pressure to prove herself, or overestimated her abilities. We see that when she falls, her brothers are very concerned and feel bad for the situation, perhaps realizing only afterwards that they misevaluated the match between her skill and the challenge. Her fall was an unexpected outcome: everyone thought that she

was in the peak adventure zone of the adventure experience paradigm but she was in the misadventure zone (Martin & Priest, 1986). In any case, a misadventure experience usually has an effect on a person's future risk sports participation. In light of the unexpected outcome at Svolvegeita, both Katrine and her brothers probably re-evaluated their perception of her abilities and willingness to take risks, and realized that her peak adventure zone is found slightly lower than that of the three brothers. We see that not only is perceived risk different for each individual, but so is real risk. Since Katrine is probably less experienced (less comfortable and physically skilled) at jumping around on high rock towers, the level of real risk that she took on was objectively higher than when Håkon jumped across.

The Wegges' choice to show Katrine's accident and the outcome rather than editing it out of the series is another demonstration of honesty and transparency. By choosing not to hide this negative situation they yet again demonstrate their intention to give a realistic and more complete description of their lifeworld to their audience. It also promotes a realistic understanding of risk activities by showing that (1) while participants strive for '100% safety', human error and bad luck is always possible, and (2) that confidence and skill play important roles in determining the level of risk that a participant decides to challenge.

6.4 Safety

The Wegges' attitude towards safety and risk as discussed above challenges the traditional presupposition that participation in risk sports is about "(1) need for thrills and excitement obtained by taking physical risks, (2) an unhealthy activity based on self-deception, and (3) a need to go beyond the edge of control and certainty" (Brymer, 2010, p. 226). The Lofotsprell case strongly supports the findings of Brymer (2010 and his later papers) and Kerr and Houge Mackenzie (2012). These studies, which look at the experiences of participants rather than being theory-driven, show that people who participate in risky activities are *not* mainly seeking risk and thrill. My findings align with Brymer (2010) on the following points:

- Participants of risky activities like and want control (over their own safety)
- They follow rules for safety

- They gather lots of knowledge so they know what is and is not safe
- They feel safer in natural environment (because they have more control over their safety than when fewer people are around)
- They are “not in search of uncertainty or a desire to go beyond the edge of their control” (p. 231)
- Participants feel that their activities are not about risk (i.e. they believe other activities such as driving a vehicle are more appropriately about risk)
- They do not want outcome uncertainty in their activities
- They felt it was inappropriate to label them as thrill seekers; the experience they seek is more appropriately described as “a deep sense of relaxation and mental and emotional clarity” (p. 228)
- Participants believe the real risk is missing out on life because of fear
- They don’t like the label extreme or its connotation of irresponsibility because the risks they take are carefully considered, similar to how a person makes the decision to speed when driving without being labeled extreme
- They gain a feeling of empowerment from maintaining control

It is a significant result that my findings complement Brymer’s in the above points because we are looking at two different demographics. Brymer’s data is based on participants from the extreme end of risky activities: high skill and high real risk (participants risk *death* in case of a mistake). Meanwhile, my study is of participants from a less extreme demographic: high skill and medium real risk (participants risk *serious injury* or death in case of a mistake). It is interesting that there were many similarities and no obvious differences in the experiences and motivations of these two demographics.

A suggestion for further study is to compare other demographics that are often lumped together under the risk/extreme/adventure umbrella. In particular, I suggest a comparative study of activities that comprise real risk and require skill (corresponding to Loynes (2007)’s generative paradigm and the ‘original adventurer’ side of Varley (2006)’s adventure commodification continuum) with so-called ‘high thrill, low skill’ activities (those which comprise plenty perceived risk, but little real risk, and require little to no

skill; the 'post-adventurers' from the highly commodified side of Varley's continuum; Loynes' algorithmic paradigm). Such a comparative study could investigate the similarities and differences in the motivations and experiences of practitioners from these two different paradigms. Currently, researchers must do a meta-analysis of separate studies to make these comparisons, so examining both demographics in a single study would be worthwhile.

7 Skill

In my investigation of the Wegges' relationship with the natural environment, I have found that the relationship is mediated by skill. Skill is fundamental in the interaction with nature because it is *how*, not a correlate like who or why, people negotiate dynamic and challenging environments. Practicing skilled activities weaves together landscape, environmental conditions and social interactions (Mullins, 2009). I take two main angles towards skill in this chapter: (1) skill as an embodied practice, entailing the holistic engagement of all senses of the body, mind and spirit, and (2) skill as a product of, and influence on, society and culture.

Following Mullins' (2013a) ecological approach, I use the definition of skill as:

[...] an intentional ability of an individual or group to create and/or maintain an outcome, product, experience, or relationship that is imagined in advance but can only be realized through performance of embodied capabilities of perception and action that involve the whole organic being(s) (indissolubly body, mind, and spirit) within a web of particular socio-ecological relations extending throughout and shaping an active environment and dynamic landscape that includes other beings (p. 9).

Mullins (2011) cites Heidegger to explain that meaning is “born out of the interplay between humans and their environment” and therefore, skills, which mediate this interaction, “are keys to understanding the structures and meanings of [people’s] life-worlds” (p. 42). Culture, is in fact “a suite of learned practices and skills cultivated among multi-generational communities through the activity of living” (ibid., p. 46). Therefore, studying skill in the Wegges' adventurous lifestyle is a way of understanding the communities the Wegges are part of, as well as a way to look at the community and culture that Lofotsprell is creating.

7.1 Flow and mastery

As we have seen in the previous chapter on risk, the feelings of flow and mastery are often motivate the Wegges to participate in adventurous activities. The Wegges work towards achieving flow and mastery by developing skill and applying it to overcome the dynamic challenges presented by the surrounding environment. The state of flow occurs when a person focuses on a challenge that is appropriate to their skill level

(Csikszentmihalyi, 1999), and a feeling of mastery occurs when the person is successful at that challenge. “Weber [2001] theorized that increased skill, commitment, and past experience in an adventure activity make participants’ experiences of *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) and *communitas* (Turner, 1972)—individual and communal psychological states of transcendent engagement with surroundings and others—more likely and more profound, leading to changes in participants’ previously held views of themselves and world” (Mullins, 2011, p. 18). To get more insight on how the Wegges achieve flow and mastery, this chapter will look at the role on skill in mediating human’s interaction with their environment.

7.2 Skill as a route to environmental caring

There is a debate in the literature about skill’s role when it comes to environmentally sustainable values and behavior in outdoor adventure participants (see Mullins, 2011 for a comprehensive review). Some authors claim that a focus on technical skill inhibits participant’s experience of nature and their development of environmental caring because it relegates nature and place to a backdrop; they suggest that de-skilling outdoor activities would shift the focus to relationships with nature and place and thereby enhance the environmental outcomes (Lugg, 2004). Others argue that de-skilling is counterproductive in the long term (Martin, 2004). They recognize that skill comprises embodied ways of knowing and inhabiting the environment, which are crucial ways in which we connect with, understand, and develop caring for nature (Mullins, 2011). Contrary to expectation, pro-environmental values, attitudes, and behaviors, place attachment and place identity increased with recreation specialization (Mullins, 2011). Recreation specialization refers to participating in highly skilled activities and the lifestyle that goes along with a serious commitment to those activities; the Wegges are specialized in adventure, risky activities.

Mullins (2013a, 2013b) calls for more research on skill and skill development as a way to address the crisis of sustainability by engaging participants with environments, landscapes, places, and inhabitants. Skilled practices are a way for participants to explore human-place relationships and environmental connection. Enskilment (the cultivation of skill) can lead people to discover humanity’s position as belonging within environment,

dismantling the nature-culture dichotomy which is the source of environmentally destructive attitudes and behavior (Ingold, 2011).

7.3 Embodied skill on the screen

The embodied experience is central to the skilled activities Wegges show in *Lofotsprell*, such as surfing, paragliding, and skiing. Yet because film is limited to the audio-visual senses, a limited version of the actual experience is caught on camera and shown to the film audience, while the people who doing the activities on camera have a complete experience with all their senses. Despite this challenge, the aim of adventure films like *Lofotsprell* is often to give the audience a glimpse of how it feels to be doing exciting activities and feeling a one with the natural surroundings. The Wegge siblings address this challenge in an impressive way, demonstrate their high level of technological skill in capturing and editing film. In *Lofotsprell*, we see the Wegge siblings using using four techniques to give the audience insight into their embodied experiences: describing how it felt and capturing emotions, point of view cameras, and choreography.

7.3.1 Describing how it felt and capturing emotion

Before and after action sequences, the films dedicate a lot of screen time to people describing how they feel in their body. This is done regardless of the person's skill level, showing that the embodiment is equally important and interesting when learning and improving skills at any skill level. For example, in episode one of *Lofotsprell*, Katrine tries surfing in winter for the first time. Before entering the water, she is shown on camera evaluating where to paddle out and where to catch waves, and sharing her skill goal for the session, which is to try standing up on the surfboard. When she returns to land after surfing, the camera catches her again to record how the session felt. This informs the audience of details of her embodied experience that would have been lost had they only shared the visual of her practicing surfing, such as "It would have been a little easier if I could feel my toes a bit more"¹⁵.

The film content goes beyond only action scenes to show the emotions of the participants. The allocation of screen time to the various siblings shows that the Wegges

¹⁵ Det hadde gått litt lettere hvis jeg kjente det mer i tærne.

consider a person's skill level should have no influence on the importance of their feelings and experiences. Later in episode one, Katrine tries paragliding for the first time. Markus and Inge, who filmed the scene, and Inge, who edited the episode, again use the technique of telling Katrine tell about her experience.

I thought I would land on	Jeg trodde jeg ville lande på
the first [clearing], but I went over it.	den første, men kom over den.
So I just flew further. It went	Så bare fløy jeg videre. Det gikk
so softly/slowly. It was so quite and fine.	så sakte. Det var så stille og fint.
I didn't know if I	Jeg visste ikke om jeg
should sing a song...	skulle synges en sang ...

The audience sees Katrine jumping up and down with joy and excitement after the successful flight, they hear about how it felt to be gliding through the air, and they sense the suspense she felt when she continued on to a further landing spot. Adding additional descriptions after the action scenes gives the audience richer insight into the Wegges' physical and emotional experiences. This technique differentiates the Wegges' films from action-scenes-only extreme sport films and seems to be a deliberate technique to share a more complete and authentic version of their lifeworlds with the audience.

Filming feelings seems to be a deliberate technique ingrained in Inge's skill as a filmmaker. For example, after seeing from a distance Katrine's fall at Svolværgeita, he turns the camera to himself:

My heart is in my throat! It looked like	Jeg har hjertet i halsen! Det så ut
Katrine pulled back during the jump.	som Katrine trakk seg i hoppet.
My pulse is 170.	Jeg har puls i 170.

Even in a moment of stress Inge stuck to his habit of documenting embodiment by describing his physical reactions to the camera. His words and his worried, guilty expression capture his reaction to the unexpected fall. The fact that even during this anxious time Inge's reflex was to make his embodied reactions explicit for the camera shows how ingrained his skill at documenting embodied experiences on camera is.

Further evidence for the deliberateness of Inge's technique for capturing emotions is seen in how some of celebrations the four siblings have on screen after a successful stunt are obviously staged. For example, in the last episode Markus and Håkon longboard down a mountain road while Inge paraglides overhead and Katrine films. The four people obviously arrive at the foot of the mountain at different times. Still, they make sure to capture on film many shots of the four of them cheering and hugging, which required the choreography of placing the camera on a tripod. By the end of episode four, the sounds and poses Inge uses to communicate 'this is awesome!' become so familiar that one suspects them of being exaggerated on occasion, in order make the Wegges' positive emotions about their experiences in nature more obvious to the audience.

7.3.2 A first-hand point of view

A second way the film communicates embodiment to the audience is by using point of view [POV] cameras such as GoPros. These small, waterproof cameras take up film and sound from the point of view of where they are placed. They are often attached to the performer's body, typically their head. This frees the performer's hands from holding the camera so their movement is uninhibited, and lets the audience to see 'through their eyes'. POV filming is becoming very common in this age of GoPros and smartphones, but the Wegge siblings shows particular skill in capturing professional quality film with these cameras in challenging environments like huge ocean waves, snowy and cold mountains, and while flying in the air.

They are also skilled in coherently editing these shots together with shots from other points of view. For example, a surf sequence might have a least four points of view: a distance shot of the surfer looking tiny amongst the landscape of beach, ocean, and surrounding hills which establishes the setting and gives an awe factor; a middle shot filmed by a person in the water 5-20 meters away which is the perspective where the surfer's physical expression of skill can be best seen; a POV shot from a GoPro on the surfer's head which lets the audience see what external conditions the surfer is responding to; and a camera on a stick held by the surfer or attached to the front of the surfboard which is aimed at the surfer so the audience can see the surfer's body movements and facial expression. Once these four types of shots are edited together, it

gives the audience a relatively complete and holistic view on the surfer's perspective and the activity they are engaged in. The only thing missing is what the surfer is sensing and thinking, and this often partially added by the post-session reflections that the Wegges often film.

Weggefilms goes even farther by also shooting from an aerial perspective. Filming from a helicopter is almost standard in commercial extreme sports and adventure films, and film makers with lower budgets are now commonly using remote-controlled flying drones which carry film cameras to get similar aerial shots. As far as I can see, Inge uses neither helicopters nor trendy drones in Lofotsprell. Rather uniquely, Inge films the aerial footage from his paraglider. Compared to expensive and fossil-fuel burning helicopter and high-tech battery powered drones, hiking up a mountain and flying down has a low environmental impact, in line with the Wegges' sustainable lifestyles.

7.4 Choreographed skill

Filming while paragliding and filming requires a lot of skill and coordination, at times relying of choreographed and practiced movement and at time spontaneous. Even on land, coordinating the multiple activities, people and cameras becomes a skilled activity is in own right. The Wegges and Inge in particular seem to gain a huge sense of satisfaction from successfully choreographing and carrying out a photostunt. During the editing of the footage, the choice of what to show in the final film and how to show it is in a way that is interesting and coherent for the audience is like another choreography-like process. It is important to remember everything seen on screen in Lofotsprell is somewhat staged, to the extent that staging is possible in a dynamic environment. What we see on screen has actually gone through two deliberate choreography-like processes: the planning and creativity required to capture the original action on camera in exciting and pleasing ways, and then way the footage was combined during the editing process.

The way the Wegges manage to capture their activities on film is like a dance in that is "recognizes a dynamic, rhythmical, harmonious, fluid and responsive interplay between the extreme sport participant and nature" and is "a partially inexpressible, emotionally filled experience (Dienske, 2000) involving intentional and creative movement" (Brymer

& Gray, 2009, p. 138). Like Brymer & Gray (2009), I think the metaphors of dance and choreography are suitable for communicating the holistic experience of risky activities, particularly when it also involves the extra steps of filming and editing in an attempt to communicate the ephemeral nature of the dance on film.

7.5 “You’ll feel it”: A pedagogy of embodiment

Lean forwards, then you catch the wave	Legg deg fram, så får du bølgen
more easily. You adjust by shifting weight [...]	lettere. Det justerer du med vekt. [...]
Small details that you have to recognize	Smådetaljer du må kjenne på
many times. Then you learn it.	mange ganger. Så lærer du det.

I have discussed how Lofotsprell break the cliché of action-centric adventure films by finding ways to represent embodied experience on film. Being aware of one’s body and adjusting to the environment is the basis of mastering any physical skill, but extreme sport films tend to focus on the feats of accomplished, highly-skilled people rather than the learning process of people who are developing skills. These films tend to cater to audiences who are already familiar with the skills required for the activities and want to see the latest ‘sick’ action. To a person unfamiliar with the skill required for the risky activities these films simply look like hair-raising thrills and pretty scenery. For films about risky activities to reach a broader audience, many of whom may have little or no personal experience of the sport they are watching on screen and therefore do not recognize the performers’ skill, the invisibility of the process of cultivating skill and judgement perpetuates the idea that taking part in risky activities only requires bravery. The Wegges’ choice to show the *how* and *why* of risky activities in Lofotsprell makes the series interesting and educational to a broader audience.

Lofotsprell is unusual in that it dedicates screen time to show people teaching and learning. In particular, we see the advanced brothers teaching Katrine surfing and paragliding. Lofotsprell opens a window that is often left closed in adventure films and we get a rare look at how risky adventurous practices are taught and learned.

Embodiment is central to the Wegges’ pedagogy. Further research could answer the question of whether this is a widespread pedagogy in risky and extreme activities.

7.5.1 Guidance and in situ experience

In adventurous activities skill is learned: “through training and experience in situ with direct guidance from others and indirect guidance through stories of various types”

(Mullins, 2013a, p. 9). In the following example Katrine is learning to paraglide under the direct guidance of Inge.

Inge:	Just remember...	Bare husk ...
	Do not brake.	Du skal ikke bremse.
	Don't lift your legs up.	Ikke ta opp beina.
	Stand the whole way. It's much safer.	Stå hele veien. Det er mye tryggere.
	At least most of the time.	Iallfall mesteparten av tiden.
	Lean forward and lift your arms.	Len deg fram og opp med armene.
	You'll do great at this.	Dette klarer du fint.
	Perfect wind conditions, landing spots...	Perfekt vind, landingsplasser ...
Katrine	Don't sound all worked up when you shout.	Ikke vær for hissig når du roper.
	Then I think something has gone wrong.	Da tror jeg det har skjedd noe.
Inge	Not worked up. I'll just sound chill.	Ikke hissig. Bare feel good.
	Good luck!	Lykke til!

Do people with more experience describe a skill differently than those by those with less?

Yes, with more experience people tend to identify and articulate more precisely all the factors that affect their practice. Inge, a paraglider expert and instructor, is teaching Katrine, a paragliding novice. Inge is perceiving multiple broad and relevant factors, such as the wind strength and direction and the terrain, and synthesizing them to make judgements, such as good take off and landing zones. The body movements of how to get the paraglider into the air and steer it are muscle memory for him. As a beginner, Katrine's perception of the many factors involved is more limited and her actions are based on the synthesis fewer of them— she has to consciously consider how to move her body to get the paraglider into the air and steer. Meanwhile she also is focused on managing her nerves. We see the difference between what the expert instructor and the student are focused on when learning a new skill by Inge and Katrine's conversation: he rattles off instructions, and she ask him not to yell because it makes her feel nervous. We also see that the instructor tries to keep the instructions simple and positive, and that for the student emotional factors can influence the experience more that physical factors. In the Wegges' embodied pedagogy, emotional factors are taken as seriously as the physical ones.

Katrine	That wave is too close to shore. If I get on that one, I'll go straight into the ground and hit a rock. Is the current flowing this way?	Den bølgen der er for langt inne. Kommer jeg på den, går jeg rett inn på grunna og i en stein. Drar strømmen ditover?
Markus	No, the other way.	Nei, utover.

In the next example above, Katrine is learning to surf through in situ experience. She looks at the waves, make her own evaluations, and then goes into the water to learn by doing. Her brothers facilitate her learning by listening to her observations, and only interfering in her learning process if she has questions or has made mistake that would put her at risk. The Wegges favour an experiential pedagogy, where the student learns through direct experience and reflection and the teacher only steps in to correct critical things.

7.6 “Our home field”: Skill as cultural capital

Katrine	As the youngest and least experienced I also have the least to say [the least authority].	Som yngst og minst erfaren har jeg minst å si også.
Markus	That happens. It's natural sibling tendencies. There are some tings that are hard to avoid. It's not meant with ill intentions, but it just is like that. We do have fun together.	Det blir litt sånn. Det er naturlige søskentendenser. Det er en del ting det er vanskelig å unngå. Som ikke er med ond vilje, men som bare er sånn. Vi har det gøy sammen, da.
Katrine	Yeah, we always have. It's just that maybe the trips...	Det har vi jo alltid hatt. Det er kanskje turene ...
Markus	Is everything on our [the brothers] terms?	Er alt på våre premisser?
Katrine	I don't know. It hasn't been like that, but that's because we do to same kind of activities. I think it's fun to ski and surf, as well.	Jeg vet ikke, jeg. Det har ikke vært sånn, men det er fordi vi holder på med det samme. Jeg syns også det er gøy å dra på ski og surfe.
Markus	Inge and I have lived her for a while. You haven't been here as long. It's become more our home turf.	Inge og jeg har jo bodd her en stund. Du har ikke vært her så lenge. Det blir mer vår hjemmebane.
Katrine	Yes.	Ja.

We can conclude from Katrine and Markus' conversation that among the Wegge siblings, experience and skill is a source of authority. And when we look at the career progression of the Wegges, we see that as they gained experience and skill, they also increased their authority within the Norwegian adventurer culture. The three brothers' long expedition to remote and uninhabited Bear Island and their film about it was a way to prove themselves in Norwegian adventurer culture and gain authority from media, sponsors and the public. The success of the Bear Island film led to the Wegges' appearance as experts and persons of interest on national outdoor adventure shows like *Out in Nature* ("Ut i Natur") and certainly influenced their opportunity to create *Lofotsprell*. The Wegges' process can be explained by their use of skill as cultural capital.

Cultural capital can be exchanged for economic gain and can take the form of physical capital or symbolic capital (Langseth, 2012b citing Bourdieu, 1986). Physical capital is the embodied manifestation of cultural capital—in the case of skill, this would be the ability to actually handle challenging adventure situations. Symbolic capital is one's reputation for competence and image of respectability, includes skills, subcultural knowledge, commitment, and local affiliation, and can be saved and distributed through film (Langseth, 2012b). Langseth recommends further research on how participants of risky activities negotiate symbolic capital by creating and distributing their own films of their skilled activities.

The Wegges use the symbolic capital stored in their films in a variety of ways. It is converted to economic capital when copies of the film are sold. Different interest groups exchange economic capital for the Wegges' symbolic capital, for example sponsors who provide them goods at a discount in exchange for promoting their brands. Langseth (2012) points out that what is left in and what is kept out of the films people make about themselves shows what their values are. I would add that another way people show their values in by what they exchange their symbolic capital for. The Wegges seem to be very conscious of aiming to exchanged their symbolic capital only with other companies/interest groups that share the value of environmental sustainability. For example, their main sponsor *Infinitum*, which is a company that builds the machines that

collect plastic bottles, has online and magazine platforms that promote sustainable outdoor adventure (Infinitum AS, 2016). Cultural capital is often specific to a certain social field. The Wegges hold cultural capital in the social fields of outdoor adventure and Nordic Green Growth and use it to promote sustainable attitudes and behavior.

In this chapter, we have looked at the role of skill in mediating human-nature relationships. “Skilled performance is potentially powerful: Skill is a form of self-expression, but it also acts on various beings, their surroundings, and their ways of dwelling” (Mullins, 2013a, p. 9). Skill as an embodied practice has the power to enable individuals to feel flow and mastery, to teach and learn a greater perception of and ways to interact with one’s surroundings, to rethink the human-nature dichotomy, and feel oneness with and caring for the environment. Skill as capital has power on a larger scale and it can contribute to shaping society and culture.

Conclusion

This paper is a descriptive case study of the independent documentary series Lofotsprell [Playground Lofoten]. It aimed to describe and interpret the values and practices seen in Lofotsprell as a specific and unique case that can give insight into the multi-dimensionality (Langseth, 2012) of adventurous lifestyles. I followed as the four Wegge siblings engaged with their local natural environment (Lofoten and Vesterålen, Norway) in playful, adventurous, and sustainable ways. The Wegges practice a 'joyful-sustainable adventure lifestyle'. Their adventurous activities include surfing, alpine ski touring and snowboarding, paragliding, traditional climbing, downhill longboarding, highlining, and pendulum swinging. The Wegges' sustainability actions include dumpster diving (especially for food), building an eco-friendly house, converting a vehicle to run on recycled chip oil, cleaning the garbage from beaches, and repairing equipment. Their documentary series is available as audiovisual online content. I employed a phenomenological virtual/analysis (Ardévol, 2012) of Lofotsprell and its virtual (internet) context. My reflexive (Pauwels, 2012) analysis showed the increasingly relational and interactive nature of documentary as virtual content in a virtual context. I also noted the implications for the grass-roots environmental movement of Lofotsprell's social media platforms as online 'places' where people from multiple physical locations create culture and community. My inquiry was guided by the question "What is the Wegges' relationship with the natural environment?" I sought to describe ways in which they experience, relate to, reflect upon, feel about, and understand the natural world. I also considered the possible social and biological influences of their background and experiences on their relationship with nature. Three emic themes emerged: an anthropocentric perspective on nature, a focus on safety rather than risk, and skill as an embodied practice that mediates interaction with nature. The study revealed ambiguities, contradictions, and identity- and boundary-crossing practices in the Wegges' joyful-sustainable adventure lifestyle.

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