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Ydre 2.0: An alternative time-spatial approach towards post-monetarism

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Ydre 2.0

An Alternative Time-Spatial Approach towards Post-Monetarism

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Introduction

In the contemporary global market economy, we can often hear the politicians argue that certain development projects will be implemented, when the market so admits. In this conventional view, we are all seen to be part of one single (homogenous) global economic society where development is regarded as economic growth, valued in monetary terms. The generalized view of a globalized universal development path is strongly grounded in the conventional monetary market perspective. A fundamental dilemma with this generalized perspective is that economic growth is based on models that simplify and generalize a complex time-spatial specific reality. As a result, the possibility of identifying the uniqueness of a place is lost. With a generalized globalised perspective, the specific characteristics of how natural and human resources and constraints are used in place and time become concealed.

Even so, one finds that economic growth (in monetary valued terms) is essentially regarded as development, seen able to cure any development problem from poverty, unemployment, population explosion, debt repayment, crime, pollution and depletion of natural resources. In a provocative manner similar to Daly (1992), one can argue that this conventional monetary valued growth perspective is trapped in a terminal state of “growthmania”. A major reason to this problem is that natural and human resources are predominantly valued in monetary terms, built upon a view of economic growth as equal to development. However, money has in itself no value. Money is simply just a politically constructed transaction mechanism, developed by a society to decide the monetary value of a resource. But people’s organization of daily activities to improve or sustain their livelihood is much more than what is generally calculated and thereby exposed in monetary values.

A Politically Constructed Economy

The way people organise their daily livelihood and use natural resources is constituted by economic institutions and social structures, which are formed by the political construction of society. Through history we find numerous examples where entire societies have collapsed. As pictured by Diamond (2005) in the book “Collapse – How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed”, there are a number of more or less interacting factors that in *time* and *place* influence the progress or failure of a society. We always need to understand and analyse processes of change in its time-spatial context. How a society responds to certain problems depends on its physical resources and constraints, economic structures, social institutions and cultural values. Basically, the structure of a society is determined by its political organization which also forms the economical and social arrangements in society. Hence, the economic and social arrangements of a society are indeed a political construction.

The conventional monetary market perspective of development is still dominant. However, essential values are often concealed or even excluded in conventional monetary analyses, which are fundamental for a societal process of change that aims to improve people’s livelihood. Being so, we need to start addressing the problems at a local level, in people’s everyday lives. There is a need to understand and analyse our society to find alternative structures and policies for societal processes of change. The ambition of this article is thus to search for a conceptual model that reaches beyond the conventional monetary focused economic norms and monetary values – towards a post-monetary approach.

Aim

Basically emerging from a field study conducted in a rural community, this article aims to elaborate and discuss a conceptual model that can contribute to an alternative development approach - the concept of post-monetarism.

Outline of the paper

With an inductive oriented approach searching for an alternative conceptual argument grounded in people's local livelihood, this paper take its initial starting point in a field study conducted in a small rural community called Ydre in Sweden. The field study illustrate that there seems to be a mis-match between the conventional monetary market perspective of development, and the actual reality in which the people find their livelihood. Largely based on the observations made in the field among local people's activities and views of their human and natural resources and constraints, the paper initiate a conceptual discussion. The discussion thereafter strives to identify and analyze what is observed as the most significant factors to understand and form an alternative local time-spatial contextualised post-monetary approach.

The inductive approach of this paper takes its point of departure in people's local livelihood in a small rural oriented context. The conceptual discussion aims, however, to point at a more general model of post-monetarism and is hence not restricted to a rural context. It is people's daily livelihoods that are in focus, which can be analysed in any time-spatial post-monetary context.

From Reality to Concept

The conceptual focus of this paper is part of a research project focusing on rural development funded by the Swedish Research Council FORMAS. In relation to the research project, Ydre is an interesting example of small rural dominated society that in recent decades have experienced increasing problems of economic decline and negative population growth. At the same time, Ydre display a strong local spirit of entrepreneurship and do-it-yourself attitude, and many people are actively involved in various forms of local development initiatives.

The exploration of an alternative post-monetary norm takes off from an in-depth case study in Ydre municipality, Sweden. The field studies in the area have been conducted mainly through the use of qualitative oriented methods. Formal and informal in-depth interviews, as well as passive and active participation have given insight into the local people's livelihood strategies and preferences to achieve what they appreciate as positive changes for the society. The local field study thereby reveals and highlights interesting aspects related to processes of change – development. These aspects include people's views of the nature and humans as a resource and constraint, people's views of local institutional and economic arrangements, which are formed in a specific time-spatial context.

Starting in the Field - Ydre Municipality in Sweden

This study takes its starting point in a rural dominated society located in a lake-rich forest landscape in the south-eastern part of Sweden. Ydre municipality is one of the smallest and most scarcely populated municipalities in southern Sweden with only 3672 inhabitants. (SCB 2009) Ydre municipality was formed in 1952 by merging the six parishes of Sund, Norra Vi, Asby, Svinhult, Torpa and Västra Ryd into one administrative municipal unit. The largest urban-like area is Österbymo, which is the administrative centre with a total population of 877 people. More than 50 percent of the population in Ydre lives in rural areas. (Ydre.se)

People's livelihood in Ydre is still closely connected to the natural resources in the area. The number of people working in the primary sector is considerably higher than the national average. (Östsam 2009). The average income level in Ydre is lower than the regional and national average. Even so, many people own valuable resources in form of properties, forest and farm land. The unemployment rate in Ydre is lower than the national average, which can partly be explained by the fact that many people commute outside Ydre to find employment in neighbouring cities. Another important reason is that a comparatively high proportion of the people in Ydre are self employed. This is to a large extent related to the historical structure of a rural farming society where one creates its own income from the local resources available. This is probably also an important factor that contributes to the strong local community oriented spirit existing in Ydre where people work together and assist each other, to reach a common local goal.

Local Engagement for Development in Ydre

Apart from the beautiful landscape, one thing that struck an outsider visiting Ydre are the many local facilities and activities being conducted. Driving through the area, one will for example find a boat marina around the lake, a down hill ski slope with complete lift system, a local co-operative grocery store, a locally restored mill established as a cultural heritage site, the organisation of an annual folk dance festival etc. It is obvious that people in Ydre join forces and spend a substantial amount of time on a voluntary basis to improve, restore and develop the local area. A large majority of the people are in some way active in different local development efforts. There are 114 registered voluntary organisations at parish level are organised in Ydre municipality, a very impressive figure considering the fact that the entire municipality only consist of about 3.700 inhabitants. (Palmqvist & Assmo 2010). The do-it-yourself mentality is an important asset and force for people's livelihood. It is a way for the people to achieve common local goals, most times without any or minimal public support. As noted by Berry (2010), the local people express a proud strong historical and social connection linked the local geographic area (parish), and they often form and actively participate in various local associations that aim to improve the livelihood in the area.

The many voluntary associations found in Ydre rely almost entirely on un-paid voluntary work, local contact networks and locally available resources. As an example, there is a Boat Club and thereto connected Marina, located in Norra Vi parish on the southern shores of Lake Sommen. The marina is an impressive facility including docking facilities with electricity, a launching ramp, a complete club house, outdoor barbeque, a parking lot and toilet facilities. When talking to the members, the development of the marina has been going on for several decades, through voluntary work and assistance with construction material by the members. One member explains that the facility is mainly developed through that “*many members allocate time, skills, and construction materials*”. Currently, the boat club consists of 85 member families, mostly from the local area. The club receives no public financial support. The most important input to develop and maintain the facility is through the member’s voluntary work. During many weekends, the club members work together with the marina. A member estimates that they, on a voluntary non-monetary basis, allocate a total of more than 1.600 working hours annually working on the marina.

Another of the many impressive facilities found in Ydre is a downhill ski facility in Asby parish. The Alpine Ski club today include several lift systems, including a smaller lift system for the youngest children. A club house with cafeteria, and two fully serviced huts which can be rented on a daily, weekend or weekly basis. For next season, the Asby Alpine has invested in diesel generators and snow canons to be able to extend the skiing season. During the winter season 2009/10, an approximately 10.000 people visited Asby Alpine! A very impressive number for a facility located in a small rural area in southern Sweden. A member explains that the development of the facility was initially made possible through an agreement with the local church who agreed to sell the land area needed, and that an initial agreement was in connection made with municipality allowing the deforestation of the area to construct the facility. The Asby Alpine Club is today organised through a voluntary association that currently has about 100 active members, primarily from the local community. The members assist with construction, maintenance, and running the facility, on a non-monetary voluntary basis. Some minor financial assistance have also been received from EU funds. Today Asby Alpine also has about 40 local companies and institutions from within the municipality sponsoring the activity.

Reflections from the Field

The two illustrations presented above open for a conceptual understanding of a locally anchored process of societal change and development. These processes occur in a specific spatial local context, as well as based on the time spent by local actors to develop the ski slope and the marina. Furthermore, the processes also indicate that the local actors have the inspiration, willingness and competence to actually arrange the resources, and handle the constraints, in an innovative manner to reach their aims. (Wahlström, 1984, 2000).

These processes are indeed local and based on the local ambitions to create a Marina and downhill skiing slope, even in the remote area with few inhabitants and lack of conventional markets demands. Thus they are unconventional and tell us something interesting about how local arrangements may be different from the conventional economic norms of growth and development.

To take these grounded stories into a more analytical and conceptual discussion we begin by identifying that the processes are indeed time – spatial and local. With this view, we will use the approach of time-geography launched in the 1950's by Torsten Hägerstrand (1953) laying a ground for theories on diffusion of innovations. More interesting is that Hägerstrand's later writings (2009), based on a time-spatial concept, are more ontological and open for more general discussions regarded to processes of change. The time-geographical approach also applies an almost holistic geographical view including all actors – humans, non-humans and natural resources into the in time-space contextualized analysis.

An alternative Time-Spatial View of Resources and Constraints

Ydre is also the area where the researcher Torsten Hägerstrand (1953) initiated his studies in the development of a time geography concept in the 1950's. For that reason, it was seen as an interesting idea to actually return to the same area half a century later, trying to further elaborate on a time-spatial concept that could enhance an alternative development perspective. Hägerstrand's holistic oriented time-spatial perspective includes the basic natural and cultural factors in the local area in relation to a development process.

By analysing the two illustrations above through a time-geographical lens we can identify several interesting aspects. Time-geography can be characterised as a synonym for the prevalent perception of the social space, as a continuous process that builds networks of actors and projects. The time-space geography opens for a relational perspective on the power relationships that regulate the building up of large socio-technical networks (Hägerstrand 1974; 1985). The combination of the interplay of the human actors, their context and non-human actors are unique within the social sciences (Lenntorp 2004). As in the cases above, time-geography visualise different actors that compete for time and space, the changeability and the dynamics which build up the society.

Hägerstrand's time-geographical approach has been criticised for being more descriptive than analytical (Giddens 1984). However, the concept *Pocket of Local Order* described below can contribute to provide an explanatory model by focusing on local arrangements of resources and constraints. Thus this concept will lead us through our analysis and discussion of these two cases.

Pockets of Local Orders in Ydre

A Pocket of Local Order is defined as a distinct time-space section in which the actors form a specific order to conduct specific projects. The activities conducted in the distinct time-spatial pocket of local order define and re-produce the order, based on the actor's aims and ambitions. (Åquist 1992; Ellegård & Vilhelmson 2004; Wahlborg 2000) The pocket of local order concept thereby aims to capture the interplay of actors and structure to analyse local practices.

The idea of starting up a local downhill slope as well as a marina in a small scarcely populated remote rural area like Ydre can from the outside be seen as an impossible mission. The pockets of local orders evolved in the two examples described above are solidly based on the ambition, organization and allocation of local resources by the local actors made these facilities to become a true and functional reality. There are local orders that would not appear as sustainable orders in any other location. It is the time-spatial grounding of the resources that set an order. It is indeed non-monetary, but still growing.

The Pocket of Local Order concept describes how different resources and restrictions are ordered and controlled by actors so that they are able to implement certain activities. The concept thereby provides an analytical frame towards “grasping” complex, organizational, social and geographically disembedded “structures”. As noted by Ellergård (1998), actors might also participate in an order for several different reasons, which enable a compression of different projects into one. Apart from an interest in constructing the facility, it might also include interests of social networking.

The Pocket of Local Order is an analytical concept focusing on social orders, but always based on, and formed in, relations to the physical pre-conditions and the actors’ mental interpretations of the process (Hägerstrand 1985). However, the aims and ambitions of the local actors cannot be realised without place specific physical resources. The orders are hence formed in relation to, and based on, the natural pre-conditions and settings in the time-spatial pocket. The significance given to the natural pre-conditions (and its restrictions) is also highlighted by Hägerstrand (1993) who defines the Pocket of Local Order as:

The human pockets of local order are a superstructure, directly added to nature and not possible to maintain without that base. /.../ The human world is full of arrangements in landscapes, homes, and factories that have been continuously designed to provide pockets of local order. (Hägerstrand, 1993, p. 208)

Hence, the specific pockets of local orders are based on the natural landscape. The steep north-facing slope of the hill in Asby and the natural shore area in Lake Sommen in Norra Vi parish are example of natural resources that lay a foundation for the pockets of local orders. It is the interplay of the natural pre-conditions and the actors’ arrangements and usage of the place bound resources that localize the Pocket of Local Order. The innovative arrangements and handling of the locally experienced constraints lay the ground for the specific order in a distinct time-spatial pocket. As discussed by Hägerstrand (1985) and Healey (2007), a time-geographical Pocket of Local Order can hence form a conceptual framework that illuminates the natural presence of time in the organic space. The natural landscape is a resource for the inhabitants’ daily life. The landscape is for many a crucial factor to settle and live in a specific area. This is clearly the so in the case of Ydre where most people highlight the natural landscape with its beauty, freshness, freedom, peacefulness, wildlife etc as a main reason to why they stay in the area. The values they give to the natural landscape to provide a good life is also one of the reasons why some people in Ydre are rather sceptical of increasing tourism in the area, since it would negatively affect the landscape that they value.

The people in Ydre co-arrange the place, natural and human resources to reach goal of being able to ski in the winter and sail in the summer, even in a small rural area with limited resources. The concept Pocket of Local Order is analytical. Even if Hägerstrand viewed it as directly added to nature, it is a human arrangement setting the local order. An analysis of a Pocket of Local Order thus has to include the interplay of both the natural pre-conditions and the technical, social and mental arrangements of the resources and constraints. (Wihlborg, 2000). In so doing, a more holistic oriented concept emerges. Turning back to the local ski slope and the marina it is obvious that these pockets of local order cannot be understood or analysed without their respective local anchoring in the physical, technical, social and mental arrangements. The differences in the natural landscape make the pockets of local order to evolve in different parts of the municipality. However, the social arrangements are largely similar, based on the local people’s local willingness and ambition to participate and spend time to improve the living conditions for the local community.

The Order of Local Order

The analysis of a Pocket of Local Order can be applied on different time-spatial levels. The orders do, however, influence each other. What takes place in a spatially “larger” order may define and/or influence a smaller one, and vice versa. For example, the general time-spatial order valid and functional in a larger municipal time-space context can influence the more local orders at the parish level. Similarly, a pocket of local order might be able to influence and the municipal arrangements.

As exemplified in Ydre, one can at the local level identify a do-it-yourself (DIY) spirit. However, the DIY spirit to work together to reach a common goal should probably be described as a do-it-ourselves (DIO) spirit. The DIO spirit display the connection and common interest found between actors. It forms an order that is bound together in form of a local mental space as well as local physical place. The DIO spirit arranges the Pockets of Local Order in the local community, based on a common goal of developing a ski slope or a marina. The arrangement is, however, to some extent influenced (and sometimes restricted) by the larger pocket of local order at municipal level. These orders are not based on monetary relations, but kept together by including sustainable interactions in exchange of resources. The DIO spirit is formed outside conventional market economy relations and monetary exchange structures. Therefore, the local DIO spirit, as expressed through the Pockets of Local Orders, can have the strength to influence the decisions and activities also at the formal municipal level. Since there are orders for handling activities locally outside the formal monetary economy in a DIO spirit, the demands on monetary resources from the formal municipal decision making process decreases. On the other hand, the local politicians running the formal municipal economy may also avoid getting involved in issues that they know are handled through the DIO in Pockets of Local Orders, as in the case of the Marina and Asby Alpina.

In one time-space pocket there can be more than one Pocket of Local Order, which compete in a hierarchical order where some orders have the power to define others. This is similar to the hierarchy of policies and political power, but the Pocket of Local Order concept also highlights its physical, spatial and temporal implications of power (Wihlborg, 2005). As for example in the Asby Alpine Club, there are hierarchical orders as well as more spontaneous informal orders in the pocket of local order. There are formal schedules for security issues, voluntary work and different tasks that have to be conducted. The security of running a ski-lift is formally regulated in legislation and insurances policies etc. The chair person in the voluntary organisation, settle some orders that other participants (voluntary) have to follow. By agreeing on participating in schedules, like opening the ski lift on a Sunday morning, the individual accepts and agrees to conduct a duty without payment. Interestingly, one can note that there are no legal forces or economic incitement that directs the individual to conduct the duty. Rather, it is based on the social commitment and involvement to participate and assist.

The order of the social arrangement is based on the strong emphasis on the social networks and contacts in the local community. Breaking an agreement is seen as breaking the norm of local collaboration – the Pocket of Local Order is then challenged. The superior order of participation and ambition of getting included make people participate and work without payment in both the marina and the ski slope. However, the main reasons to allocate time to participate are directly related to that they get something valuable in return, in form of a marina and/or a ski slope instead of monetary payment.

Resources and Constraints in Pockets of Local Orders

Everything is a resource, until it becomes constrained in the time-geographical perspective. The ontological viewpoint in a classical time-geography perspective strives to obtain a holistic perspective in the analysis, with the (physical) landscape as the basic starting point. As Hägerstrand (2010:23) himself puts it:

"It would in any case be unwise to try to substitute the automatically functioning resource base that the nature is, with one that is based on science and technology." (Translated from Hägerstrand 2010:23)

It is obvious that Hägerstrand placed an emphasis on the landscape. Following this view, any analysis of social and economic situations must involve the (physical) landscape in which it takes place. As Hägerstrand (1996) argues, "the meaning of taking place – that something actually happens – indicates that it has to take place, and use a certain space." The locality in the landscape is a resource as such. The place is the localization of the orders. The Pockets of Local Orders are as Hägerstrand expressed directly added to nature.

One of the more basic time-geographical concepts related to resources is *constraints*. Since the term defines what is not a resource, it becomes a crucial component to interpret what actually is a resource. There are three main forms of constraints for an individual's possibilities to act in time-space. Firstly, the one connected to the capacity of the individual – *capacity constraints*. Secondly, her ability to connect to other individuals - *coupling constraints*. And finally the *authority constraints* based on legal and discursive power. All these forms of constraints are expressions of different forms of power that limit the individual's possibilities to act in time-space.

However, in the capacity constraints are power implicitly expressed through our body and thereby ourselves. According to Hägerstrand (1985), the *capacity constraints* can be of three types. Firstly, there are the biological capacity constraints, such as hunger and fatigue. Secondly, Hägerstrand identify the mental and intellectual capacity constraints. And finally he discusses the spatial capacity constraints.

In a similar manner, the coupling constraints are mainly restricted by individual (personal) causes, being of biological, mental and intellectual, and spatial character. Coupling restrictions is everything that limits the individual's co-ordination with other people and physical artefacts. The power of one individual to hinder another individual to connect is more a form of authority constraints.

Steering or authority constraints are defined by Hägerstrand (1985) as everything that has a legal power to steer the individual's actions and thereby limit her action space. Authority constraints are controlling different actors' access to time-space. The power of such actors is more obvious and visual. The authority constraints limit the individual's access to the space and thereby also the use of time, since authority constraints define which time-space that is (formally) accessible for the individual. (Åqvist 1992). By applying a spatial perspective on resources, and its use, one can identify constraints and thereby people's capacity to use and/or conserve resources over time.

Time as a Resource and a Context

Resources and constraints are time-spatial specific. As argued by Hägerstrand (1996), individuals' activities take place, and that something actually happen means that when something takes place, it takes time. As illustrated and analyzed above in the pockets of local order forming the organization and development of the marina and the ski slope, it is obvious that the local actors devote substantial amount of time to construct, maintain and run these facilities. Hence, the individual's allocation of voluntary unpaid time is hence a crucial resource. However, to run the ski slope facility demands that a majority of voluntary work is conducted during a certain part of the year. Time is therefore not only resource, but also a critical contextual factor that define what happen during specific time periods. One can also see that many of the local people are actively involved and participate in both the ski club and the boat club association. This is mainly related to that the majority of the work conducted for the different facilities are concentrated to different times of the year.

The examples of the ski slope in Asby parish and the marina in Norra Vi parish, show that the local actors voluntarily participate and allocate time resources to develop and maintain the different facilities. Without the DIO spirit, based on un-paid voluntary work, the individuals would not be able to reach the common goals to develop their local community. The field study discloses that many people allocate substantial amounts time to voluntarily work for the associations. Like everyone else living in a modern Swedish society, most local people have in Ydre have daily activities that include full-time work, collecting children from school, bringing children football practice, shopping etc. This daily life reality means that time is a restricted resource. Not the least for people living in Ydre, where a majority of the adults commute to work. Even so, most local people in Ydre find the participation and engagement in their local society to be so important that they allocate substantial amounts of time also for these activities. And they do it to on a voluntary basis, without receiving any monetary surplus. Instead, people allocate constraint time resources to achieve a process of change that is regarded as beneficial for the local community.

A Time-Spatial Perspective

Inspired by Gregory & Walford (1989) it is apparent that a time-spatial analytical approach that identify Pockets of Local Order can deconstruct time-spatial differentiations, and thereby highlight crucial specific aspects of the local order in relation to the actual analytical focus. The marina and the ski slope are located in different places, but close to each other. The natural pre-conditions fulfil the ambitions of skiing in the winter and have a boat in the summer. Even if it partly is the same people that participate to run and use both the Marina and ski slope, they divide their allocation of time to the different activities over the year. The social arrangements are important but far from enough to create and develop a pocket of local order that can reach a common goal. The temporal and spatial pre-conditions of the pocket are, in combination with the social arrangements, defining and re-designing the formation of the local order.

By applying a time-spatial perspective, one can identify the integrated social (norms, values and structures) – physical (landscape) – time (as resource and context) to understand the processes of change in the society. The concept of constraints is in this view important, since constraints of resources are identified through the specific perspective of the individual.

As displayed in the illustrations from Ydre, it is evident that the conventional monetary based view of development is not suitable to understand and analyse the actual processes of change (development) conducted in the local society. A monetary market perspective even seems to conceal people's local capacity and power to identify local resources and constraints, and to form pockets of local order to organise the resources to reach a common goal. The development of the ski slope and the marina highlight the fact that the local people view the social structure – the landscape – and the allocation of time in a way that do not fit into a generalised market oriented development model valued in monetary terms. Hence, processes of change must instead be viewed and analysed in its time-spatial context, to fully understand and possibilities and constraints of a local development process.

Towards A Post-Monetary Approach

A common mind-set among most local people in Ydre is a “do-it-ourselves” attitude. There are naturally many reasons that can partly explain such an attitude. An argument that is often heard in discussions related to development of the local area in Ydre is; “*if you want something done, you have to do it yourself*”. People very often disclose different viewpoint of what is possible, compared to the official municipal perspective. While the municipality is trapped in a monetary valued structure, the local people view and value resources and constraints differently. Or, as pointed out by the chairperson of the parish association;

“We don’t get any assistance from outside. The municipality has no money. If we want our local society to survive and be attractive for people to stay, and even move here, we have to use our own people and resources in our society to make it happen”.

This quote above displays several interesting openings and summarizes the alternative ways of considering societal development, compared to the conventional model of economic growth. Firstly, the quotation points at the localization. The landscape as the localisation is made to a crucial issue for the analysis – the outside is defined as the others. The processes towards – what the people concerned consider as – development takes place locally. Furthermore, the quotation also displays that the people largely experience the development process as being independent from outside. The considerably important connections to socio-technical systems such as electricity, telephone, broadband, transportation etc is not considered in this view, in spite of their importance for daily life. The second statement in the quotation claiming that “the municipality has no money”, refers to the municipality as an organizational unit, not the people (the demos), nor the area (the territory of the municipality). The formal municipal organization has a number of items that must be covered in the annual budget, and therefore decide that the municipality has no monetary resources available to develop facilities such as the marina or the skiing slope. But, the people in the local community identify resources and constraints differently, and can thereby find and use the resources to make the arrangements they find important. They have time, competence and the natural resources to develop, arrange and manage such activities locally.

Hence, there are obviously resources available that can be organised differently to make arrangements, which meet the needs of the inhabitants and promotes an improved life for the people in Ydre. But, these activities take place without any monetary transactions. There is a local connectivity and trust among the participants, which enables them to initiate and run various processes of change in the society. There are no money provided as input resources in these processes, and thus neither any conventional monetary out-put profit of the processes. But still the processes are arranged with valuable goods and services values being produced. It is seen as gainful for the people participating and spending time in the non-monetary “production”. The people allocate time, knowledge and local physical resources, and receive in return common goods for the local community. There is no conventional monetary measured or valued economic growth, but there are indeed improvements of life quality and satisfaction locally. It is a post-monetary process of development.

The field study illustrates that local processes of change are often valued differently, compared to a conventional monetary model of economic growth. The conventional established “reality” claims that it should be too costly and economically irrational to build a ski slope or a marina in Ydre. Yet, the local people do not value the input and output of their development goal in monetary terms. Instead, they take a starting point in the local physical landscape, its resources and constraints, and arrange a social structure to develop their common goals.

However, in the conventional contemporary perspective of development, we are all part of a (homogenous) global economic society where development is seen as equal to economic growth, valued in monetary terms. A fundamental dilemma with this generalized perspective is that economic growth is based on a model that simplifies and thereby conceals complex time-spatial specific realities. As can be seen in the illustrations above, people’s organization of daily activities to improve their livelihood is much more than what is generally calculated and thereby exposed in monetary values.

A related problem is the conventional view that money is value. However, money has in itself no value. Money is simply just a constructed transaction mechanism, developed by a society to decide the monetary value of a certain resource. As can be seen in the illustration from Ydre municipality, the local population values resources, constraints and time in relation to its specific time-spatial context. There are transactions taking place without money. With a different view and value perspective, these could be (and are!) a significant part of the development processes in the local area. However, in the conventional view, they are concealed, informal and not valued.

There is hence a need to find an alternative approach that enables us to understand and analyse societal processes of change in our society. The time-spatial post-monetary approach includes the integrated relation between the - physical (environmental/biological), - the social (individual/family/household) and – the political (order/structure/organization) dimensions of development. Hereby we can identify, understand and analyze how people view and value processes of change in the society, based on the physical and human resources and constraints in that specific time-spatial pocket. The analysis of Pocket of Local Order focuses on how these are combined into a time-spatial specific arrangement. Orders regarding different resources and constraints can thereby be seen combined in a more holistic manner as they appear in daily life.

By using a time-spatial perspective, evolving from Hägerstrand’s time-geography, we have explored an alternative way of considering social interaction through what we define as a *post-monetary* approach. The broader approach of resources and constraints indicates that resources are much more than what is normally regarded as monetary resources. There are other ways of distributing activities, and through activities participating in local arrangements, that are not measured or valued in conventional monetary terms or “official work”.

A Locally Anchored Post Monetary Approach

The examples from Ydre points at practices where people locally participate and create orders and arrangements that they see as parts of a good life, leaving aside monetary values. The post-monetary approach includes an integrated locally anchored perspective of what in a time-spatial pocket of local order is regarded as resources – constraints – development. The post-monetary norm is thereby largely built upon the local resources, and the connections and trust among the inhabitants of the local community. (Putnam, 1993 & 2000. Herlitz, 1999)

The illustrations from Ydre point at the importance of place, its natural and human resources, with the local people's capacity and engagement to identify these resources and constraints in a local development process. Furthermore, the field illustrations show that time can be regarded as a non-monetary resources (and constraint) that is used to achieve and sustain a good quality life in a specific local area. Time is hence differently valued compared to the contemporary conventional view where almost everything is valued in monetary terms. In Ydre, people allocate substantial amount of constrained time resources on productive activities to reach a commonly decided local development goal. With a local individual oriented view, one can identify and analyse the local organisational order to achieve a local common goal, which is formed in relation to, and based on, the natural pre-conditions in the specific time-spatial pocket.

With this view, it is possible to identify an alternative development approach, which takes its point of departure in people's daily life, opportunities and constraints in time and space. A time-spatial approach open for an alternative constructive model that in the analysis physically anchor and integrate socio-economic and ecological processes extended over time. Such a view contrasts what in conventional economic monetary terms is considered as development (growth). The time-spatial post-monetary approach enhances a more holistic oriented view of local development processes that reaches beyond the conventional monetary market model – and includes post-monetary relations and interaction. This shall be seen as societal development, even if it is not monetary measurable economic growth. It is a post monetary development process, based on values that people care for and value in their daily life, rather than the ordinary global market that only regard values in monetary terms.

Concluding Remarks

The idea of a time-spatial oriented post-monetary approach for local development arises from questions and understanding of local development processes collected in the field. By taking its starting point in the field, the study strives to apply a more holistic oriented methodological approach that focuses on the individuals in a specific time-spatial context. Our inductive case study can also be used as a conceptual discussion for a general modeling on processes of societal change as development. Inspired by Hägerstrand's time geography, this model is primarily based on the importance of local resources and constraints, as they are considered by the local population. Hence, this will open for an alternative constructive approach to analyze and physically anchoring socio-economic and ecological processes extended over time. The time-spatial post-monetary approach provide a broader more holistic approach to development, that aims to include all forms of resources, monetary as well as non-monetary.

A crucial component in this post-monetary approach is hence the significance of place and time in the analysis. Hereby we open for a more general analytical model based on the idea that the people, with a physical and mental connection to the location, organize pockets of local order to invest their knowledge, time and available resources to develop and sustain a livelihood. The investment is, however, rarely valued in conventional monetary terms (even if there may also be monetary resources and costs involved). Instead, one finds that the people look upon their natural and human resources and constraints in order to enhance a positive process of change for the local community. This interest and positive spirit is not necessarily unique to small remote rural areas, even if it might appear more easily visual in this context. Using his holistic time-geographical lens, Hägerstrand (1964) pointed out the significance of place, resources and constraints from an individual perspective also in an urban context. For example Putnam (1993, 2000) highlights that local social network – that can be seen as pockets of local order - are important to achieve a positive societal development process. The localization is both a physical condition but also a social, through the importance of face-to-face interaction to keep up trust. Trust over time make Pockets of Local Orders sustainable.

The post-monetary approach is not only an analytical model for local rural development. It is a conceptual approach with a focus on the individual in relation to resources and constraints in a time-spatial context. The post-monetary view contrasts what in conventional monetary terms is considered as economic development and growth. The analytical ambition of a post-monetary approach is to reach beyond conventional economic rationale. The political implications of this potential conceptual tool could be to analyze and value people's everyday norms and activity patterns in different ways, and thereby avoid inadequate stereotyped standard policies towards development. By realizing that the economy is a political construction, we can also find the means to change what we value as important in societal development processes.

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