

## **From sightseeing to sunbathing:**

### **Changing traditions in Swedish package tours from edification by bus to relaxation by airplane in the 1950s and 60s**

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#### Abstract

The changing notions of tourism are analysed by example of Swedish package tours in the 1950s and 60s, when the dominant means of transportation for package tours changed from buses to airplanes. Simultaneously, Swedish mass tourism developed explosively so that the package-tour markets of Scandinavia in the mid-1960s were the largest per capita in Europe. While package tours by bus, dominating from the inter-war period until the 1960s, implied city sightseeing and visits to cultural landmarks, package tours by airplanes brought focus on sunbathing on beaches and salt-water swimming. This transformation of purpose of the package tours from peregrination to leisure life hinged on new means of transportation making it possible for tourism to find additional and more varied raison d'être in comparison to the traditional view of it as a romantic escape from conditions of the modern society.

## Introduction

In his seminal paper 'A Theory of Tourism' from 1958, German author and publicist Hans Magnus Enzensberger claimed that:

Tourism is thus nothing other than the attempt to realize the dream that Romanticism projected onto the distant and far away. To the degree that bourgeois society closed itself, the bourgeois tried to escape from it — as tourist. Flight from the self-created was facilitated by the very means of communication with which reality had shaped itself. There is more to the feverish enthusiasm with which the English railroads were constructed in the 1830s and 40s than merely the speculative zeal of the capitalists. Railroad mania betrays the ardent desire to escape from the working and living conditions of the industrial revolution.<sup>1</sup>

To some extent, Enzensberger's theory still holds sway. But in addition to railroads, buses and airplanes have become generally used as means of transportation for tourists. This transformation has not left the phenomenon of tourism untouched. On the contrary, the idea of valuable leisure has changed accordingly.

In this paper, the changing notions of tourism will be analysed by example of Swedish package tours in the 1950s and 60s. During this era, the dominant means of transportation for package tours changed from buses to airplanes. Simultaneously, the ideological foundations of package tours and their alleged purposes were transformed. Thus, by using the example of how package tours by bus were more and more redirected to airplanes, I hope to extend the reasoning of how personal transportation in addition to

<sup>1</sup>Enzensberger, 'Vergebliche Brandung der Ferne: Eine Theorie des Tourismus,' 701-720. Translation from: Enzensberger, 'A Theory of Tourism,' 125-126.

creating and shaping social relations also were instrumental in supplying ideological meaning and purpose to different features of modern western society such as vacation practices, generally considered at the forefront of consumerism's culture especially highlighting its desire and pursuit of happiness.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, this transformation had consequences for notions of how a package tour should be structured, what types of activities it should contain and what destinations it should include. Naturally, transformed conceptions of package tours altered general views of tourism, why it was worthwhile to pursue and to what purposes.

This does not necessarily imply, however, that romanticism has played out its role as underlying characterization of those entering on a vacation trip to become tourists. But in addition to exclusively attribute tourism to romantic dreams in the era of industrialization as Enzensberger hypothesized in the 1950s, a first-order approximation easily established as all-embracing if tourism is defined as an activity including movement in space disconnected from working life, there are second-order approximations as well pointing towards subtler variations in vacation practices. One of these, the transformation of Swedish package-tour perceptions in the 1950s and 60s, will be dealt with here.

### The Swedish package-tour expansion of the 1950s and 60s

Thus, the focal object of this study is the package tour, well known as a product including means of transport such as train, bus and later airplane (leading to inclusive tours by charter flights) and accommodations with fixed departure and arrival dates and

<sup>2</sup>Furlough, 'Packaging Pleasures: Club Méditerranée and French Consumer Culture, 1950-1968,' 65-81.

sometimes also meals as well as a scheduled itinerary, all included at a set price. Travel agents sold the package tours to individual consumers, who formed groups of travellers following the same itinerary to cut costs and facilitate arrangements. In addition, the security a more or less homogenous group of companions brings to less experienced tourists should not be underestimated.<sup>3</sup> Alternatively, interest groups, such as Worker's Travel Association in the United Kingdom, organized package tours for non-profit reasons.

In Sweden, mass tourism, especially package-tour tourism, developed explosively after WWII. In fact, in the mid-1960s, package-tour markets of Scandinavia were the largest in Europe per capita.<sup>4</sup> French calculations show that in 1965, the European country with the largest share of chartered flights on the continent was the United Kingdom with 36,5 percent followed by Scandinavia, 26,7 percent and West Germany, 23 percent.<sup>5</sup> When these figures are related to population sizes, it is clear that chartered flights were 2,5 times more common among Danes, Norwegians and Swedes than among British subjects and more than four times as common in comparison to West Germans.<sup>6</sup>

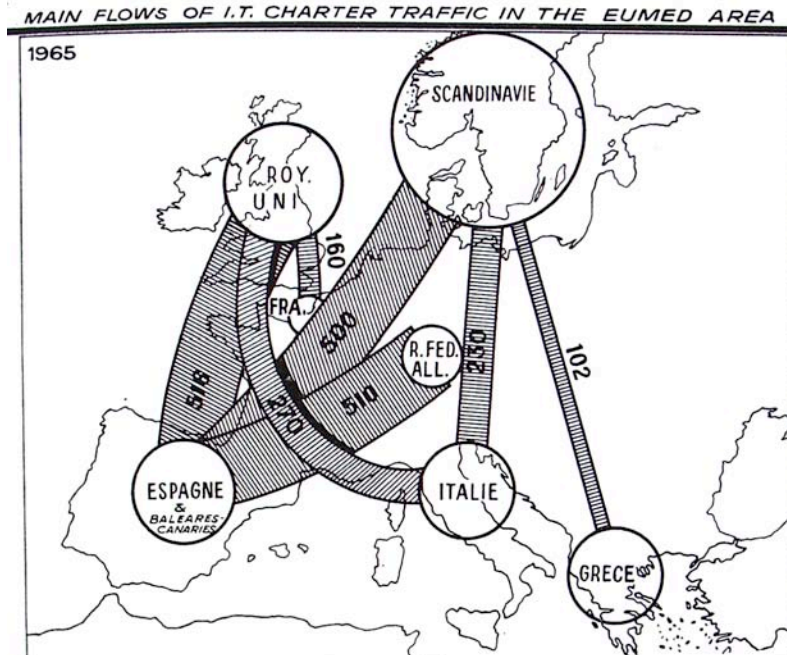
Figure 1.

<sup>3</sup>This was before the era of anti-tourist attitudes, see: Jacobsen, 'Anti-tourist Attitudes: Mediterranean Charter Tourism,' 284-300.

<sup>4</sup>Thus, package tours contributed to "the hidden integration of Europe," see: Misa and Schot, 'Inventing Europe: The Hidden Integration of Europe,' 1-19.

<sup>5</sup>Rosenberg, Air travel within Europe, 22.

<sup>6</sup>In 1965, the population of the United Kingdom counted 54 millions, of Sweden, Denmark and Norway 16 millions and of West Germany 60 millions.



Above graph shows flow of non-scheduled air traffic for passengers between European countries in 1965. Only flows of more than 100.000 passengers are shown and the figures relate to units of 100.000 passengers. (Source: Arne Rosenberg, Air travel within Europe, The National Swedish Consumer Council. Stockholm: Norstedts, 1970, 22.)

One important prerequisite for the relative social dispersion of package tours was paid vacation. In Sweden, a minimum of two weeks vacation was introduced in the labour laws in 1938. This was later than in many other European countries, but the Swedish minimum paid vacation was expanded to three weeks in 1951 and four in 1963 making package tours more accessible for Swedish blue-collar workers in the early 1950s. (In 1978, five weeks of vacation were the minimum required by law.) The reason no major changes were made in the labour laws in the 1940s has been attributed to the fact that unions as well as employers gave priority to economic growth. Later on, vacation was

advanced as a cheaper way to cut working time in comparison to shorter work days or weeks.<sup>7</sup> In addition, many groups of workers managed to get considerably longer vacation through agreements rather than legislation.

The positive development was made possible by mounting economic growth in northern Europe after WWII, not the least noticed in Sweden because of its successful, some say treacherous, foreign policies towards the Third Reich making Sweden stay out of WWII as well as German occupation. During the five years following the end of WWII, wages in Swedish industry gained thirty percent and five years later they had risen another thirty percent. After some years of slower expansion, wages again rose with 58 percent during the 1960s giving further leeway for consumption of tourism.<sup>8</sup>

Besides the economic prosperity of Sweden as well as the Scandinavian countries due to their avoidance of devastation during WWII, it should be noted that both Scandinavian and Nordic identities to large extent have been geographically and meteorologically defined. Being of the cold and, during winter months, very dark north, southbound package tours have become part of these identities.<sup>9</sup> From this perspective, it is no coincidence that Denmark, Norway, Sweden and to some extent also Finland have a high number of inclusive tour charter flights per capita.<sup>10</sup>

Better financial conditions as well as harsher climate for a larger part of the population were paralleled by cheaper tourism. Between 1945 and 1975, prices in

<sup>7</sup>Gråbacke, *När folket tog semester*, 43; Hellström, *Struktur, aktör eller kultur?*, 103-185.

<sup>8</sup>Gråbacke, 45.

<sup>9</sup>Wæver, 'Nordic Nostalgia: Northern Europe after the Cold War,' 77-102.

<sup>10</sup>Pearce, 'Mediterranean charters—a comparative geographic perspective,' 291-305.

connection to tourism fell with an annual average of six percent.<sup>11</sup> Not the least was this an effect of less expensive transport costs where trips by airplane fell more compared to other means of transport, a phenomenon explained by cheaper and more efficient airplane types especially the introduction of passenger jet airplanes.<sup>12</sup> As is well known, air transport expanded across the world, and especially the western hemisphere after WWII, when airplanes for personal transport were more easily accessed, managed and put in regular use. The combination of lowered transport costs and higher wages meant that consumption of travels rose more than any other type of consumption in Sweden between 1950 and 1964.<sup>13</sup>

Bringing all this together, the Nordic countries, especially Sweden and Denmark, were early on important suppliers of charter passengers for the tourist markets of southern Europe despite their relatively small populations. In Sweden, tourism abroad more or less exploded in the decade following WWII. Calculations indicate that 75.000 Swedish tourists traveled outside Scandinavia in 1947 compared to 373.000 three years later and 1.104.000 in 1954 with 1948 being a key year when traveling took off.<sup>14</sup>

These general figures should be compared to the considerably lower number of passengers going on package tours by non-scheduled flights, i.e. inclusive tour by charter flights, between 1955 and 1965 as accounted for in graph 2 below.<sup>15</sup> Calculations show that somewhat more than a third of Swedes travelling outside of Scandinavia in 1965 did

<sup>11</sup>Gråbacke, 46.

<sup>12</sup>Endrédi, Resekonsumtion 1950-1975, 83-84 & 86.

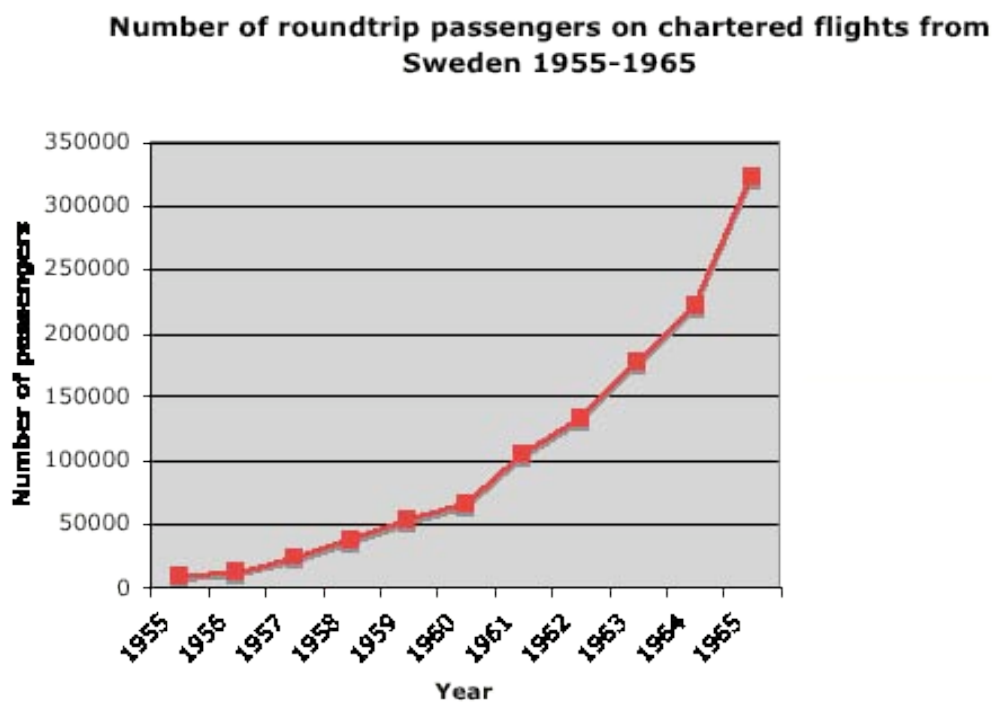
<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 19.

<sup>14</sup>Andolf, Sverige och utlandet 1930-1975, 32-33.

<sup>15</sup>On the difference between scheduled and non-scheduled flights, see: Rosenberg, 68-70 & 134-150.

so in the context of a package tour.<sup>16</sup> It is no question that those carried out by bus dominated throughout the 1950s. Later, the tides turned and in 1965, no less than 320.000 out of a total of 370.000 Swedish package tours were made by airplane. Of these, about 90 percent went to the Mediterranean.

Figure 2.



Above graph does not include Swedes on chartered flights departing from other countries than Sweden, predominantly Denmark where Copenhagen was a popular airport for Swedish travel agents. (Source: Gustav Endrédi, Resekonsumtion 1950-1975. Stockholm: Industrins utredningsinstitut, 1967, 85.)

<sup>16</sup>Sällskapsresor, 16-17.



### Traditions of package-tour consumption

The ideologies of early tourism and later mass tourism were multi-faceted. Tourist trips, including package tours, were allegedly made for a number of reasons: personal edification and the acquisition of social refinement, experiences of the sublime whether cultural or natural, leisure as a contrast to working life or as a result of retirement from duties etc., all with their own historical background and simultaneously, in their own peculiar way, varieties of attempts to realize romantic dreams as proposed by Enzensberger.<sup>17</sup>

Although, package-tour tourism took off after WWII, the historical roots of package tours go back centuries reaching wider social groups already before WWII when mediated design of package tours primarily can be sought in the trips arranged by different interest groups—unions, political parties, study groups etc.—for the benefit of their members or to recruit new ones.<sup>18</sup> In the inter-war period, tourism as a consumption phenomenon developed along parallel lines in America and Europe by state supported and often state promoted tourism industry marketed for both citizens and foreigners in order to strengthen regional as well as national business life through raised market value of certain pin-pointed areas.<sup>19</sup>

The world's biggest organizer of package tours before WWII was the German Nazi organization Kraft durch Freude (Strength Through Joy) formed in 1933 and enrolling

<sup>17</sup>Löfgren, On Holiday.

<sup>18</sup>See for instance: Cormack, A History of Holidays 1812-1990.

<sup>19</sup>Shaffer, 'Seeing the Nature of America: The National Parks as National Assets, 1914-1929,' 192; Baranowski, 'Strength through Joy: Tourism and National Integration in the Third Reich,' 216.

about six million participants in domestic package tours between 1934 and 1939.<sup>20</sup> Taken together, Kraft durch Freude sold eight million journeys, both domestic and abroad, during the same period. But although the largest non-profit British travel organization, Worker's Travel Association, organized 61.000 trips 1937 constituting only four percent of the number of trips organized by Kraft durch Freude the same year, it has been pointed out that close to forty percent of British adults took a one-week vacation away in 1938, while Germans in general still lacked the financial means for such endeavours.<sup>21</sup>

For those who could afford it, means of transportation were normally trains or buses for domestic tours and cruisers for trips outside of Germany, for instance to the Norwegian fjords or to Madeira. Trips organized by Kraft durch Freude often included transportation and accommodation in the cheaper end of the spectrum in order to bar as few as possible for financial reasons. The same type of phenomena can also be observed in fascist Italy where the regime sought consent through a time-leisure organization Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro.<sup>22</sup> In fascist Italy as well as in the German Third Reich, as in other parts of Europe and America, package tours were also organized and sold by private travel agencies arranging trips paralleling those of Kraft durch Freude, although considerably more expensive.

Given the stress on the Heimat (home region) in inter-war Germany, it is probably not surprising to learn that domestic package tours were promoted, if not state subsidized,

<sup>20</sup>Baranowski, Strength through Joy, 121-122; Semmens, Seeing Hitler's Germany, 123.

<sup>21</sup>Spode, 'The 'Seaside Resort of the 20000': Fordism, Mass Tourism and the Third Reich,' 4. Available from [www2.eddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism\\_materials/spode.htm](http://www2.eddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism_materials/spode.htm) (last accessed June 1 2009); Kopper, 'The breakthrough of the package tour in Germany after 1945,' 69.

<sup>22</sup>de Grazia, The Culture of Consent.

by different Nazi organizations. In order to make package tours affordable for a larger part of the population and especially those social segments usually not represented among tourists prior to WWII, collective travelling was supported more than anything else. In this context, it is noteworthy that the trips organized by Kraft durch Freude were transformed throughout the 1930s, from traditional German spas and beauty spots to more underdeveloped areas.<sup>23</sup>

Another important institutional prerequisite for the success of package tours in Nazi Germany beyond the context of white-collar workers was of course paid vacation for larger groups of employees. In Germany, paid vacation for workers was expanded throughout the 1930s. As a consequence, German regulations for paid vacation were singled out by the International Labour Organization as an example for others to follow.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, according to one historical analysis, the collective efforts of package tours in Nazi Germany, low prices of transport and accommodation as well as the possibilities to acquire paid vacation, did not seem to attract the masses on quite the scale organizers of Kraft durch Freude had hoped for.<sup>25</sup> Instead, mass tourism did not develop in Germany until well into the 1960s for foreign travel to become more common consumer good.<sup>26</sup> Others have claimed that package tours in inter-war Germany became sensations with for

<sup>23</sup>Spode, 7.

<sup>24</sup>Baranowski, Strength through Joy, 67-68.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Kopper, 'The breakthrough of the package tour in Germany after 1945'.

example 87 percent of workers in metal-processing industry enjoying a holiday of between six and twelve days in 1938.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the inconclusive comparisons between German and British experiences of package tours during the inter-war period, the following words have been used regarding vacations in the Third Reich:

In sum, [Kraft durch Freude] holidays epitomized not only a new “new travel style” [sic!], but also a “new lifestyle”, one in tune with the aims of the Third Reich. The Nazi regime certainly promoted specific forms of travel, which shared a collective character.<sup>28</sup>

Although package tours weren't invented in the Third Reich, far from it, the support for and relative social dispersion of this collective form of travelling did not pass unnoticed in neighbouring countries. In recent years, activities of Kraft durch Freude have rightly been pointed out as important for the evolution of mass tourism after WWII: “The contributions of the Third Reich to the postwar boom in mass tourism cannot be overlooked.”<sup>29</sup>

### Edification by bus

As mentioned, most package tours organized by Kraft durch Freude used bus or trains as means of transportation, especially for domestic destinations. Buses are well known to historians of technology as the key example supporting the tenet that artefacts have

<sup>27</sup>Spode, 5; Spode, ‘Fordism, mass tourism and the Third Reich: The “strength through joy” seaside resort as an index fossil,’ 127-155.

<sup>28</sup>Semmens, 124.

<sup>29</sup>Baranowski, Strength through Joy, 238.

politics, as famously claimed by Langdon Winner and later revised by a number of fellow historians and sociologists.<sup>30</sup> The prominent place of buses in this context was perhaps no coincidence. Since buses—like airplanes, ferries, trains and other collective means of transport—include more thorough coordination and thus deliberations and regulations in comparison to the for instance more individually used car, they may intuitively be expected to be even deeper embedded in politics and social life.

Even more important in this context, however, is that buses are often, but not always, cheaper and slower than most other forms of motorized land transport. Stressing these features, it is reasonable to assume that they can function as path-blasters or wedges, both socially and geographically. The low price of operation of buses often means that buses hold new opportunities to travel for new social groups with more limited resources to travel. The slowness of buses only adds to the impression of buses as a means of transportation for the poorer. Also geographically, buses can climb steeper hills than trains making buses a suitable feeder for trains in the plains or valleys where railroad tracks are traditionally laid out.<sup>31</sup>

In other words, there is much more to buses than their collectiveness. For instance, their range and speed as well as dependence on well-functioning road systems are features that are important for their efficiency. In fact, Winner's article on artefacts and politics dealt not with buses per se, but how the Long-Island-freeway system was

<sup>30</sup>Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?,' 121-136; Winner, 'Techne and Politeia,' in: The Whale and the Reactor, 40-58; Joerges, 'Do Politics Have Artifacts?,' 411-431; Woolgar and Cooper, 'Do Artefacts Have Ambivalence?,' 433-449; Joerges, 'Scams Cannot Be Busted,' 450-457.

<sup>31</sup>These features of buses became apparent in the Eurobus workshop organized by Gijs Mom and John Walton: 'Eurobus', European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop, Helmond, June 11-13 2009.

designed in order to bar buses and thus an inherent ideology (defined as a set of ideas, beliefs, values and notions regarding truth values) of collectiveness and travelling possibilities for people less well off including promises to reach destinations otherwise only available through the usually much more expensive use of cars.

In correspondence, buses can be part of sets of ideas of what constitute a worthwhile holiday in the form of package tours. A package tour by bus was typically organized by bus companies, which bought hotel nights as well as meals and organized visits etc. The tours were then advertised and sold by either the bus companies themselves or through travel agents. That Swedish bus companies were important also from a continental perspective after WWII is clear from historian Frank Schipper's studies of the proposal to form a European web of bus lines in the early 1950s. Initiatives from American organizations promoting American tourism in western Europe as a way to support growth and close the so called dollar gap generated by the huge import of American goods was one important prerequisite when European transport organizations managed to agree on forming a network of bus lines with at least loosely coordinated time schedules.<sup>32</sup> Important in this system, operating from 1951 under the brand name Europabus, was Scandinavian bus companies such as the Danish Viking and Swedish Linjebuss, which had offered what they called "trans-European bus lines" from 1947 with the longest stretch being between Stockholm and Rome.<sup>33</sup>

Package tours by bus typically lasted for one, two or three weeks. Shorter trips had end destination in Paris or some other continental capital. Longer trips could take tourists

<sup>32</sup> Schipper, *Driving Europe*, 231-240.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

down to the Riviera or even as far as Rome. Longer trips by bus like this could allow a few days of bathing in between the extensive bus trips. There were also package tours that allowed for a week of bathing in the Mediterranean, but that week was then couched in two weeks of intensive bus riding both up and down to Sweden. For those who wished and could afford longer trips to more exotic parts of the world, cruises were the most common choice often organized to the Mediterranean or even to the West Indies.

Longer trips were of course both more time consuming and more expensive and shorter trips lasting for a week or two were presumably more common, at least more advertised. Package tours were described in the brochures and advertisements spread by travel agents and bus companies as endeavours to supply personal edification where important but distant monuments, museums and sights, together with local industry and handicraft, were made easily accessible.<sup>34</sup> Quite a few tours were also arranged exclusively to capitals such as London (reached by boat) and Paris or Rome, Florence and Venice. This type of package tours, with rather packed cultural programs, have been analyzed as a way to conserve and communicate bourgeoisie ideals of what was to be counted as worthwhile cultural experiences.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup>This builds upon a analysis of printed material in: The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect. The most thorough analysis of this material is presented in: Lötmarker and Wendt, Resmål till salu. Unfortunately, however, this analysis deals with domestic destinations only.

<sup>35</sup>Grinell, Att sälja världen, 137-142.

In this context, it is important to point out that these ideals of informing the tourists were not only consumer induced.<sup>36</sup> Instead, there are sources indicating the concern of the organizers of package tours, especially the Swedish labour-movement owned travel agency Reso, to include such components in the package tours.<sup>37</sup> The problem of teaching Swedish workers and other less experienced holidaymakers to use their spare time in a worthwhile fashion in the 1930s was a clear and loud echo of similar ones heard in several other different contexts in different countries and time periods.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, in the 1950s, Reso and others played down their role as mediator of culture and instead stressed the entertainment and relaxation package tours supplied.<sup>39</sup>

As can be noticed, there is another marked difference between post-WWII Swedish package tours by bus and those organized in the Third Reich. Swedish package tours were more often organized with foreign destinations, the goal and value of the trips abroad were to get exposed to foreign, albeit western, culture, whether Notre Dame of Paris or the Simplon tunnel in the Alps. In the German case, the focus was on domestic package tours and the Heimat as well as to get to know the Vaterland. In addition, the activities of Kraft durch Freude have been seen as a substitute for higher wages as well as social and civil rights in the Third Reich. Thus, package tours in Germany constituted an

<sup>36</sup>Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England; Eskilsson, 'Fritid som idé, struktur och praktik. Rätten till lättja och friluftsliv i folkhemmet,' 29-53.

<sup>37</sup>Thus, Reso can be seen as a mediation junction of leisure consumption in the Swedish context, see: Oldenziel, de la Bruhèze and de Wit, 'Europe's Mediation Junction: Technology and Consumer Society in the 20th Century,' 107-139.

<sup>38</sup>Cross, A Social History of Leisure since 1600.

<sup>39</sup>Gråbacke, 157-160.



alternative to better conditions for workers, while in Sweden they were more regarded as consequential to them.<sup>40</sup>

Likewise easy to see is of course the similarities, the package tour as a way to cut costs and make foreign trips accessible also for blue-collar workers. (A ten-days trip to Paris by bus and train including hotels, most meals and entrance fees sold at around 360 crowns, a two-weeks trip to Majorca by bus and boat via Paris and Barcelona was just about the double amount equalling a ten-days salary.)<sup>41</sup> Another common feature of package tours was of course the security a more or less homogenous group of companions brings to less experienced tourists.<sup>42</sup>

There are also more far-reaching similarities. In both countries, package tours by bus were organized for workers and other social groups of less travel experience in order to supply cultural experiences. Although the destinations were mainly of different kinds, with Kraft durch Freude focusing on the home region while Swedish organizers expanded tours abroad in the wake of WWII, not the least because of the favourable rate of Swedish currency after the war, parallels were still made to German and Italian developments when Reso was formed in 1937, Comparisons to both the German Kraft durch Freude and the Italian Dopolavoro focused especially on the aid these organizations got from respective state. In Sweden, however, Reso constituted a “democratic” Kraft durch Freude according to its founder. Also the critics referred to the

<sup>40</sup>Spode, ‘The ‘Seaside Resort of the 20000’,’ 6.

<sup>41</sup>von Seth, Charterhistoria, 34.

<sup>42</sup>This was before the era of anti-tourist attitudes, see: Steen Jacobsen, ‘Anti-tourist Attitudes’.

same foreign examples, but rather stating how Reso would standardize holidays as the Nazi organization had done in Germany.<sup>43</sup>

The reason Reso could be viewed as more democratic than its continental collectively organized travel organizations was the member clubs. These clubs were Reso's way of reaching local communities and spreading awareness of their activities. By 1957, the number of active clubs had reached 190 dispersed around Sweden. Ideally, the clubs could have worked as a way to reach customers without having to erect traditional producer-consumer relations on a market, an institutional solution for at least potentially achieving stronger consumer influence over products. But the efficiency was questioned and in the end, they seem to have worked more or less as traditional travel agencies at best.<sup>44</sup> Since the organization of clubs was expensive, they were finally abolished in 1964.

### Relaxation by airplane

But the focus of this paper is on the transformation of package tours in the 1950s and 60s, from trips made by bus to those made by chartered airplanes. Since entertainment and relaxation were easier to supply with less time spent in transportation mode, a prerequisite was the introduction of package tours with chartered airplanes. In fact, package tours by airplane had been organized already before WWII. In a brochure from 1938, weekend bathing trips by airplane to the islands of Åland in the Baltic Sea between Stockholm and Helsinki were advertised, but the success is doubtful and the trips were

<sup>43</sup>Gråbacke, 37-38.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 164-172.

not heralded the following years.<sup>45</sup> Instead, in 1939, package tours by airplane were advertised with different European cities as end destinations.<sup>46</sup>

After WWII, airplanes were used as means of transport in package tours when Reso had to re-organize a planned bus trip to Italy in the falls of 1947 and 1948. The reason was that obligatory permissions for transit through Germany could not be given on time.<sup>47</sup> In 1952, package tours by bus were organized to Majorca with airplanes transporting tourists the last stretch from the Spanish mainland.<sup>48</sup> So although the year of 1953 is often popularly mentioned as the start of chartered flights, such trips had been organized long before.<sup>49</sup> By the mid-1950s, the ground was no doubt prepared for a marked increase in advertisements for lower priced package tours by airplane, to be effortlessly observed in advertisements and brochures. A two-weeks trip to Majorca and Nice from Copenhagen cost approximately 1,100 crowns in 1955, corresponding to half a good month salary.<sup>50</sup>

As mentioned, the developments can be put in context of the availability of passenger jet airplane. But apart from prerequisites for aviation, ideas of what activities

<sup>45</sup>The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect, 1938, 'Aertransport: Flyg och bada'.

<sup>46</sup>The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect, 1939-1942, 'Flygresor till populära specialpriser'.

<sup>47</sup>Gråbacke, 151.

<sup>48</sup>von Seth, Älskade Charter, 88. This has not been possible to confirm in the printed material accessible, see: The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect, 1952, Brodin Touring.

<sup>49</sup>See for instance: von Seth, Älskade Charter, 46. The source is probably: Rosén, Vägen till Palma, 21-26.

<sup>50</sup>von Seth, Älskade Charter, 46.

constituted valuable leisure also went hand in hand with the transformation of package tours during the 1950s. Ethnologist Orvar Löfgren has pointed out how the idea of the beach, from the Riviera to the beach of Waikiki in the Pacific Ocean, was appropriated by westerners.<sup>51</sup> Such ideas originally occupied the wealthier classes, for instance cruising to the Canary Islands or spending part of the season in Nice. But with lower tourist fares and cheaper charter flights, vacation practices including sand, sea and sun (but excluding sex in this context) dispersed socially as well as geographically.<sup>52</sup>

Clearly, there were close links between package tours by bus and by airplane. Not only in the way possibilities for cheaper personal transport broadened vacation practices socially. In addition, the companies initially chartering airplanes to arrange package tours were indeed bus companies with a history of arranging package tours by bus to the European continent that often went back decades. Due to complaining tourists, it was in their interest to shorten the long and tedious stretches of transportation through Sweden, Denmark and northern Germany when bussing Swedish tourists to France and southern Europe.<sup>53</sup> Instead, bus companies stationed their buses in Hamburg, Marseille and Pisa to be fed by passengers having traveled there by airplane. A clear indication of this is also that airplane types were chosen so that their number of passenger seats corresponded to the number of seats in a bus.<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, package tours by air brought more in-depth differences in comparison to those organized by bus when the new means of transportation also transformed travel

<sup>51</sup>Löfgren, 213-227.

<sup>52</sup>On the making of international sea resorts among wealthier groups, see: Blume, *Côte d'Azur*.

<sup>53</sup>Rosén, 19-23.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 45.

practices from city sightseeing and visits to cultural landmarks to sunbathing on beaches and salt-water swimming.<sup>55</sup> This led to a transformation of purpose of the package tours from peregrination to leisure life. The reason that cultural sightseeing more or less disappeared when the main means of transportation were transformed from bus to airplane was that chartered flights, for example to Majorca or the Canary Islands with hotel nights and meals included, did not have to make intermediate visits to cultural hearths on the European continent for practical reasons as buses had to.<sup>56</sup> Although most airplane types required refilling en route between Scandinavia and the Mediterranean, stops were only brief, perhaps while a meal was served at the airport. Typically, a flight to Majorca was scheduled from Stockholm to Gothenburg for 90 minutes, Gothenburg to Malmö in 60 minutes, Malmö to Stuttgart in 200 minutes, Stuttgart to Marseille in 150 minutes and Marseille to Palma de Mallorca in another 90 minutes making the total flight time an estimated 12 hours including stops.<sup>57</sup>

Instead of cultural sightseeing, substitutions such as locally arranged “traditional pig parties” with unlimited servings of grilled pork and Sangria to mimic a Spanish village fiesta became an archetype of bad taste to be scorned in Swedish popular culture.<sup>58</sup> Such events strengthened the impression of ibizazione, how coast villages and islands such as

<sup>55</sup>Grinell, 164.

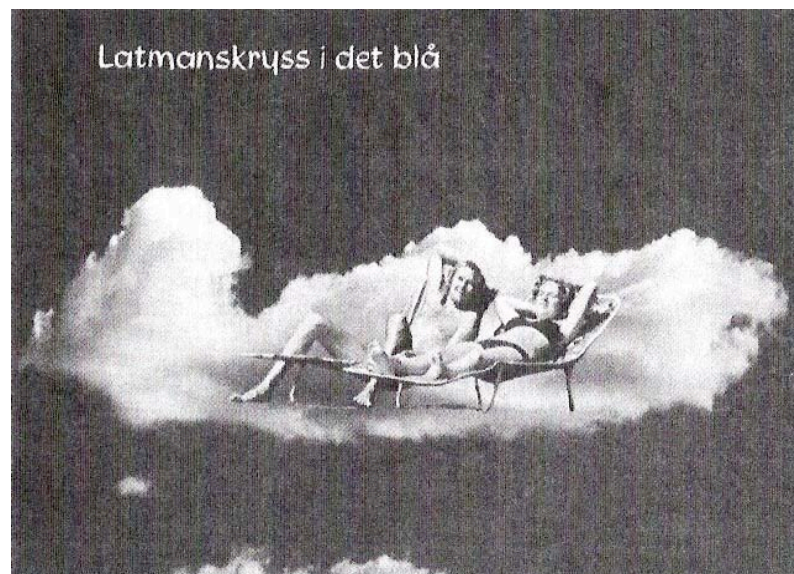
<sup>56</sup>Interestingly enough, this shift in purpose as a consequence of changing means of transportation has not been noticed internationally despite a rather vast tourism literature in the social sciences, see for instance: Montanari and Williams, eds., European Tourism.

<sup>57</sup>von Seth, Älskade Charter, 50.

<sup>58</sup>Löfgren, 181-191.

Ibiza were transformed by mass tourism.<sup>59</sup> In conclusion, package tours by airplane became much more closely connected to bathing than the bus tours had been. In this way, the main activities during a package tour was transformed during the 1950s and 60s, from riding a bus and sightseeing towns and cities to riding airplanes to bathe at a holiday resort.

Figure 3.



“Lazy days in the blue”, Swedish postcard from the 1960s. (Source: Orvar Löfgren, ‘Längtan till landet Annorlunda.’ In Längtan till landet Annorlunda: Om turism i historia och nutid. Hedemora: Gidlund, 1989, 9-49, p. 34.)

<sup>59</sup>Boissevain, ed., Coping With Tourists; Waldren, Insiders and Outsiders. Exceptions are studies of relations between tourism and migration patterns, see: Williams, King, Warnes and Patterson, ‘Tourism and international retirement migration: new forms of an old relationship in southern Europe,’ 28-49; King, Warnes and Williams, Sunset Lives; Gustafson, ‘Tourism and Seasonal Retirement Migration,’ 899-918; Haug, Dann and Mehmetoglu, ‘Little Norway in Spain: From Tourism to Migration,’ 202-222.

## Conclusions

Scandinavian vacation consumption of package tours can be explained using economic, legislative, historical and geographical perspectives, not forgetting the possibilities transport technologies supplied. The relatively cold weather combined with a comparatively high standard of living including both incomes and vacation opportunities have proved a good basis for mass-scale, long-distance tourism to southern Europe early on. Originally, destinations of package tours by airplane were dominated by Majorca, the Canary Islands and coastal destinations on the Spanish mainland.<sup>60</sup> Here, pre-packaged trips were arranged for less experienced tourists simplifying their acquisition of local transport, accommodation and meals and anything else requiring direct contact with the locals.

When trying to explain the ideological and institutional foundations of Swedish package tours, it is necessary to take into account appropriation phenomena with a number of sources. I have highlighted the importance of German traditions prior to and during WWII. In post-WWII Sweden, travel agents and bus companies supplied package tours abroad as a road to edification and insights regarding continental as well as bourgeoisie ways of life. During the 1960s, package tours by airplane grew more common implying a transformation of purpose. Now relaxation in the context of sand, sea and sun more clearly defined the purpose of leisure.

From a more general perspective, Enzensberger's theory of tourism as a result of romanticism in the era of industrialization work well as a first-order approximation.

<sup>60</sup>Pearce, 'Spatial Patterns of Package Tourism in Europe,' 183-201.

Nothing here has contradicted such ideas. Instead, the ambition has been to complement such an overarching interpretation of vacation practices in industrial society by pointing to changing purposes, partly due to new means of personal transportation. A second-order approximation of tourism would have to include the social dispersion of peregrination practices and edification made possible for larger social groups by the introduction of package tours by bus in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It would also have to include the similar process of dispersion of bathing and relaxation at sea resorts, earlier reserved for the wealthier classes, made possible for broader social layers in the 1950s and 60s by cheaper flights.

Thus, if socially broadened tourism and consumption of leisure is traditionally explained by economic growth and distribution of wealth together with vacation legislation, rationalization of personal transport as well as the their packaging together with accommodation and social as well as cultural programs in collective tours, filled it with meaning. In the process, tourism found additional and more varied raison d'être beside the romantic escape from conditions of the modern society.

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