

Resident Populace and Summer Holiday Visitors

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Cultural Contacts between Harmony
and
Conflict in Nordic Coastal Regions

Anders Gustavsson



NOVUS PRESS
OSLO 2013

Front cover

The harbour of the island of Smögen in 1977. Fishing vessels, such as LL 185 and visiting boats sharing the narrow space. This has led to irritation between fishermen and summer visitors as well as with the casual tourists who overnight in their own boats. This picture illustrates conflicts of interest. Photo Carlaförlaget, Lysekil.

Back cover

Landlords and summer lodgers arranged a few informal social gatherings for each other during the summer. They might gather on the steps of houses, as here at the home of a fisherman on Kåringön in 1921. The picture shows that even on such occasions the permanent population and the summer guests still kept a certain distance from each other. The local residents in their black clothing arranged themselves on one side of the steps, while the lodgers, in light-coloured attire, sat on the other side. A local couple, similarly dressed in dark colours, stands next to the steps. This picture illustrates external harmony. Photo privately owned.

Printed with economic support from Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademien, Uppsala, Kungliga och Hvidtfeldtska stiftelsen, Göteborg, Stiftelsen Längmanska Kulturfonden, Stockholm and Aina Barnevik, Stockholm

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Cover: Geir Røsset

ISBN: 978-82-7099-736-7

Print: Interface Media AS, Oslo.

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Introduction

In international cultural research an interest has lately been shown in tourism in modern industrialized society. Tourism, especially mass tourism (*Europe* 2009, Wolf 2001) is studied from a global and contemporary perspective. Research on coastal tourism with a historical perspective has taken place in England and on the Greek islands (Berg and Edenheim 2012) as well as in Mexico (*Holiday* 2010). England was in the forefront regarding sea bathing and coastal resorts (e.g. Fisher 1997). The social historian John K. Walton at Leeds Metropolitan University, who holds a prominent position in this research sphere, is the editor of the interdisciplinary and international *Journal of Tourism History*, first published in 2009 (e.g. Walton 2000, *Histories* 2005). He is also vice president of *The International Commission for the History of Travel and Tourism*, abbreviated ICHTT, which was founded in 2001. The Commission is working on creating an effective network and profitable exchange of information, ideas and research projects between historians of different countries. The purposes of this commission are:

- a. To represent scholars interested in the history of travel and tourism
- b. To create an effective network and profitable exchange of information and ideas between historians of different countries
- c. To promote research in this field of interest

(www.ichtt.org/public/ichtt/statute.htm)

H-Travel is a network for the academic discussion of the history of travel, transport, and tourism. The focus is on the history of travel, transport, and tourism from the earliest beginnings through the present day and the future, throughout the world and beyond (www.h-net.org/travel/).

My research on tourism has for the most part been published in Swedish, with only shorter versions printed in journals and anthologies. After having conferred with international colleagues I have now collected the various partial results of my research in a separate publication in English. This has been done in order to provide an international circle of scientists and other readers with a single volume covering the research I have conducted within different research projects. Numerous American tourists coming to western Sweden have asked me for literature written in English about the coastal regions. Ample illustrations, in both black-and-white and colour, have been provided by archives, but a great number have also been taken from the fieldwork material that I have collected over the years together with other scholars and students.

In Sweden, a country with an especially long coastline, summer holiday visitors from towns, or bathing guests as they were earlier called, have long gone out to certain coastal localities. This is particularly true of the western coast of Sweden. Contacts with the holiday summer visitors were a new experience for local residents starting in the 1880's. Before that time, town-dwellers of higher social ranks had visited health resorts offering hot baths in bathing houses where they lived in isolated accommodations (Stackell 1975, Mansén 2001, Askberger 2011). But from the 1880's and on they sought recreation and physical therapy in the open, and salty waters of the islands farthest out on the seaboard. When they rented an accommodation in the same house in which the landlady lived, preconditions for close contacts between these women and the summer visitors, were established. I have examined the culture contacts that have taken place between these town-dwellers and the local populace in a number of coastal villages in Bohuslän province north of Gothenburg reaching up to the Norwegian border. In the southern Norwegian archipelago called Sørlandet domestic tourism began much later than in Bohuslän, namely in the interwar period during the 1920s and still more in the 1930s (Hundstad 2011, cf Johnsen 2002). Tourism started considerably earlier on the west coast of Jutland in Denmark. Numerous bathing hotels were built in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The area also attracted upper middle class groups and urban artists when bathing in the open sea began to be popular. Local residents also let holiday flats in their own houses to summer guests (Monrad Hansen 2005).

Contacts between summer holiday visitors and the resident population out at the seaside were repeated year after year. Hence, it is important to apply a historical per-



Map of Bohuslän showing the coastal villages mentioned in this study. Drawing: Hanna Nerman, Lund.

spective to the process involved from the later part of the nineteenth century up to the present. A backward time limit for this investigation has been set at the end of the nineteenth century, when summer visitors stopped lodging in special seaside spas where they previously had lived apart from the local populace. Instead, they began to rent summer accommodations among the permanent populace of the coastal villages.

In this study I wish to examine the behavioural relationships between these two population categories, with their differing cultural and social backgrounds. One might say that what is involved here is an encounter not only between different cultures, but also between different social strata. In order to interpret the behavioural conduct exhibited towards each other in the summer by both population categories, I will apply a communicative perspective, i.e., to investigate how people attempted respectively to emphasize or to withhold, that is, to under communicate their social position with respect to one another. In doing so, a symbolic interpretation of their behaviour will be essential.

It is interesting to examine on whose terms the contacts took place, in other words, which party controlled them at various times. What different conditions were important if domination in the cultural contacts shifted during the period under study? I will examine how prior conditions in the society at large, primarily those of an economic and legal nature, have played a role. In addition, it is important to take into consideration how the impress of behavioural norms could differ between the inhabitants of the coastal localities and those of the towns.

The diverse social and cultural background of the local residents and summer visitors creates the basis for conflicts. Bearing this in mind, contact between them may be viewed from a standpoint of harmony versus conflict. A harmonic relationship and one characterized by conflict are at opposite ends of the spectrum. How, when and why did they replace each other in this period? I will look at how differences have developed, been maintained and reinforced. Differences actually designate less tense situations than conflicts. Differences can, however, lead to conflicts.

In this respect it is important to establish the factors which have had a strengthening versus an inhibitory effect on conflicts. Moreover, latent differences may have existed under the surface even when external contacts appear to have been characterized by harmonic relationships. What is it, then, that prevents any covert dissatisfaction from breaking out more clearly? Can this be channelled through other means? In connection with this, I will examine how oral narratives critical of the opposite party have been exploited in this example of cultural contact.

In studying conflicts, a distinction should be made between differences on the value plane and those which are more characterized by a conflict of interests. In the first instance, the parties represent contrasting ideas where fundamental questions are concerned. This can, in turn, be traced to different behavioural norms and values. Conflicts of interests mean that the parties are competing in exploiting limited resources within the same environment.

The focus of the present study will be concentrated on population centres on the coast whose existence as communities having year-round resident populations has

gradually become increasingly threatened. After World War II, these localities suffered the loss of a formerly established base source of livelihood comprised of fishing, shipping or the canning or stonecutting industries. My collected interview material is related to several such threatened coastal villages the most important of which are Kåringön and Fiskebäckskil in central Bohuslän. Fishing and shipping respectively dominated these two coastal population centres. During the 1970s their populace numbered some 100-200 people in contrast to slightly more than 500 at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both coastal communities were among the first localities where summer lodgers began to come at the close of the nineteenth century.

The material utilized in the present study is comprised, on the one hand, of contemporary sources: correspondence, some diaries, guest-books from seaside boarding houses, photographs, the lists kept by some landlords of their lodgers, tourist brochures, and newspaper material in the form of letters to the press and articles involving interviews with representatives of both the local population and summer visitors. Additionally, I have used income and property tax schedules as well as the bylaws, minutes, annual reports, communications and membership lists of local community organizations and of The Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän.

A second category of material used here has been comprised of material, which is based on later records, including literary descriptions and travel notes kept by summer visitors during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Interviews with both local residents and summer visitors are mainly comprised in this category. These interviews have been made within the framework of a research project entitled Culture Contacts in the Coastal Districts of Bohuslän. Many of these interviews can be characterized as informal conversations. In addition to these are the observations of life that I made in the population centers along the coast during successive visits to several communities in both winter and summer. The collected interview material is deposited at the Folklore Archives (abbreviated DAG) in Gothenburg.

In studies of conflict-laden cultural encounters, it is often necessary to steer a middle course between the opposing parties. By avoiding an obvious bias toward the one part or the other, one has the greatest opportunities to make contacts with and obtain accurate information from the various parties involved.

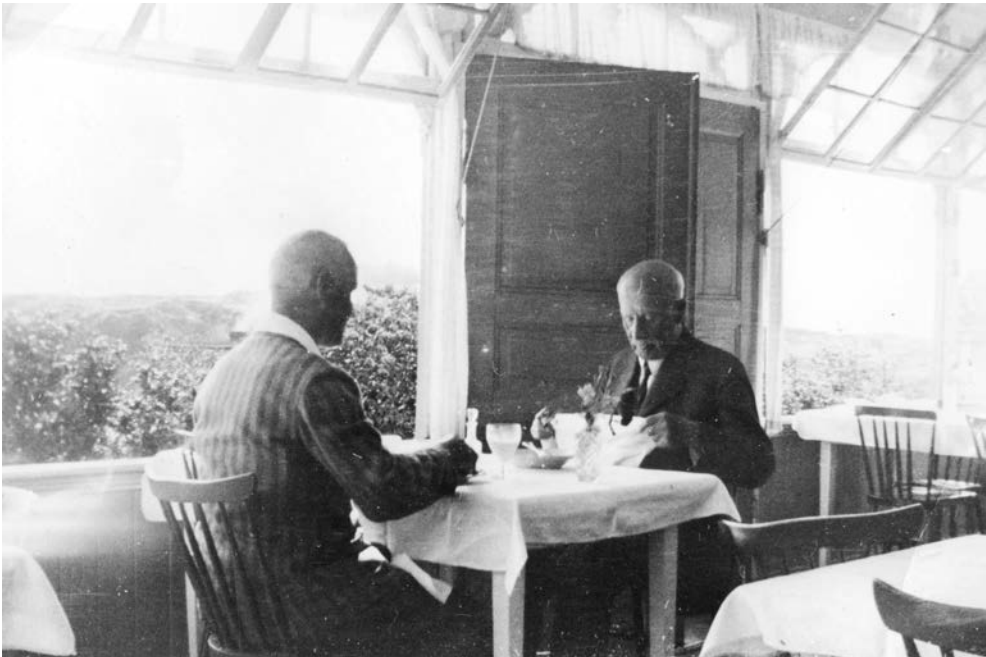
The Summer Lodger Phase: 1880s – ca 1940

An initial phase of summer residence in coastal population centres extended from the last two decades of the nineteenth century and approximately until the beginning of World War II. During this phase summer holiday visitors came to the coastal villages from around the middle of June and generally stayed no longer than the middle of August. People came to the western coast of Sweden from larger towns in order to enjoy the fresh sea air and salt water. These were recommended in the late 1800s and early 1900s by physicians, especially those in Stockholm, as curative agents for both physical and

psychological ailments (e.g., Curman 1879, Wide 1905, cf. Grandien 1969-70). Tourist brochures and newspaper advertisements also tempted people by emphasizing the salutary effect of sea breezes and waters. In order to give some insight into the reasons why summer visitors came to precisely the coastal villages of western Sweden, I cite the impressions of one summer visitor from Stockholm in 1904:

Nowhere is the water more clear and refreshing, nowhere the air more saturated with the salt of the sea. He who longs for peace and quiet for nerves exhausted and worn from urban life, he who desires to get away from social life, work, rush and tear, he will find on Kåringön a refuge closely approaching the ideal (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 25 September, 1904).

The summer visitors came to a large extent from the capital Stockholm by steamer. Steamers began to call at more and more coastal communities during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Hansson 1968, 1970: 87 ff). The lodgers brought their own linens with them, while their landlords usually supplied furniture, bedclothes, dishes and cutlery. Normally the lodgers took their meals at the seaside boarding houses that came into existence at the end of the century. Where these did not exist, the visitors generally had to shift for themselves. Maids who accompanied them from town then prepared the meals.



Two summer visitors, a colonel and a doctor, have their breakfast in Bull's boarding house on Kåringön in 1930. Photo privately owned.



A boarding house in Fiskebäckskil at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time many better-off families, particularly among the shipmaster population, had houses built that were larger than they needed for their own use. They built the houses with the intention of renting them out, as was the case with this big house. Photo Gothenburg Historic Museum.



A large number of summer visitors gathered on the wharf on Käringsön waiting for the steamer. Their light-colored attire distinguished men, women and children from the local inhabitants. Photo taken in 1925 privately owned.

The summer visitors mainly spent their days with sea- and sunbathing, taking constitucionals, boating excursions to bathing-beaches and fishing trips. For the latter two activities, resident fishermen and shipmasters were engaged as crewmen. Social intercourse among the various holiday visitors grew up in the course of meals at the seaside boarding houses and various forms of evening entertainments.

During this summer lodger phase there was a manifest social disparity between the more socially prominent holiday visitors, on the one hand, and the resident population, who were on a lower social footing, on the other. This is evident from visitors' books of the summer boarding houses and the lists kept by the landlords of their summer visitors.



Kåringön ca 1890, when the first summer holiday visitors came as lodgers. The picture shows that almost only women and children were to be found in the fishing villages during the summer, when the able-bodied men were out at sea for lengthy periods of time. Hence, the women had to take care of cottage rentals to summer visitors. The only full-grown man in the picture is a summer visitor. He is recognizable by the light-colored suit and white hat characteristic of male holiday visitors at this time. Their attire deviated markedly from the darker dress of the local population. The photographer was the resort physician in Lysekil, Carl Curman (1833-1913). At the end of the nineteenth century, he photographed the buildings and life of the common people in many coastal villages of Bohuslän. Photo Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

Contacts between the local populace and the summer visitors during this phase appear to have been externally characterized by relative harmony. During the week both residents and holiday visitors strove to maintain their social distance. On whose terms did any contacts take place? In order to answer such a question it is necessary to differentiate between people's conduct on Sundays and weekdays respectively.

Keeping the Sabbath

On Sundays there was an obvious basis for differences arising on the basis of the values. Due to the intra-church revival movement called Schartauanism that was conspicuous in western Sweden during the late nineteenth century, very definite rules regarding Sunday as a day of rest had been inculcated in the resident populace. Local women refused to make the beds or clean the houses for the summer visitors on a Sunday. The visitors also had to respect the way their landlord and landlady spent their Sundays, a tradition especially important to the women. They thus had to be as quiet as possible, especially during the time of the religious service, and dress suitably, since the ideological consciousness of the fishermen's families was great. In this case, ideological influence was stronger than that of social hierarchy. The summer visitors, coming from other parts of Sweden, were unfamiliar with this standard of piety. That the scrupulous observance of Sunday rest was foreign to them is evident from sources such as letters to the press and turn-of-the-century literary accounts written by summer visitors. The latter group wished to make the most of opportunities to bathe and engage in other recreational activities during their brief stay at the summer resorts and restrictions regarding keeping the Sabbath might be felt to be an obstacle in this respect. When they were able to dispense with work, enjoying rest and recreation on a daily basis, the boundaries between weekdays and Sunday easily became obliterated, as many summer visitors have readily admitted. Too, people often experienced more flexibility in their conduct in the summer resorts than in the towns (for information on keeping the Sabbath in the towns, see e.g., Paulsson 1972: 81ff, and Egardt 1978).

How, then, did summer visitors choose to behave in a situation where different behavioral norms were in conflict with each other? Both contemporary sources and the interview material indicate that they largely elected to accommodate themselves to the residents' practices. Their having been subject to social pressure is evident from what a female informant from Stockholm related about her childhood summers on Kåringön:

I know that consideration was shown for the local population. It was as if they got to make decisions on Sundays. ... One had to put on a dress and uncomfortable shoes and show respect for the holy day because the residents did. One could go and bathe, but only after church (no. 1).

Going out sailing for recreation or to fish was one of the more appealing features of the summer resorts. This is especially evident from correspondence between various summer visitors. However, excursions of this nature often did not take place on Sundays because the resident populace refused to be of assistance. In 1920, a former resident of Kåringön wrote in a newspaper:

If, for example, a visitor proposed to go out sailing on a Sunday afternoon he is always met with a friendly, but determined “no” (*Borlänge tidning* 1920).

This type of negative behavior was encountered more frequently among fishermen, less so among the shipmaster and pilot populations (e.g., Ödman 1907: 279). In part, this was because families belonging to the two latter occupational categories had a higher social and economic position than other residents; in part, because they conformed less strictly to the conventions regarding keeping the Sabbath, church attendance and the like.



A fisherman (born in 1866) on a sailing tour with bathing guests outside Kåringön in the 1920s, after he had retired from making lengthy fishing tours to far-off fishing grounds. Note the white student cap. Photo privately owned.

In such a situation summer visitors often had no choice other than to go along with the residents, since the latter owned the boats. It is interesting, moreover, to note that the local population refused to go out, although by doing so they lost an income which comprised a considerable source of support on weekdays, especially for older men. Since the male residents stood up in defense of the Sabbath despite their losing out economically by doing so, this then is an example of how inculcated forms may con-

trol human behavior in certain situations. An economic factor is not adequate as the sole explanation for understanding reactions in this instance of cultural contact.

In coastal communities where free churches rather than Schartauanism had gained a prominent position, women acted firmly to guard all free church ideology and norms, not only concerning Sunday rest, in the struggle with people from outside who might attempt to introduce other ideologies and norms. Both on the island of Björkö, where the Swedish Missionary Society dominated and on Åstol, where many people belonged to the Pentecostal Movement, women were reluctant to admit other lodgers into their houses than those belonging to a free church. If they did not, the women made very sure that the lodgers would not offend against free church norms and that they did not smoke or consume alcohol. A woman from Stockholm, born in 1899, who since 1934 had rented a lodging on Åstol during the summer, pointed out that her landlords

Approved of me because I didn't drink or smoke and I dressed decently even according to their strict standards (no. 2).

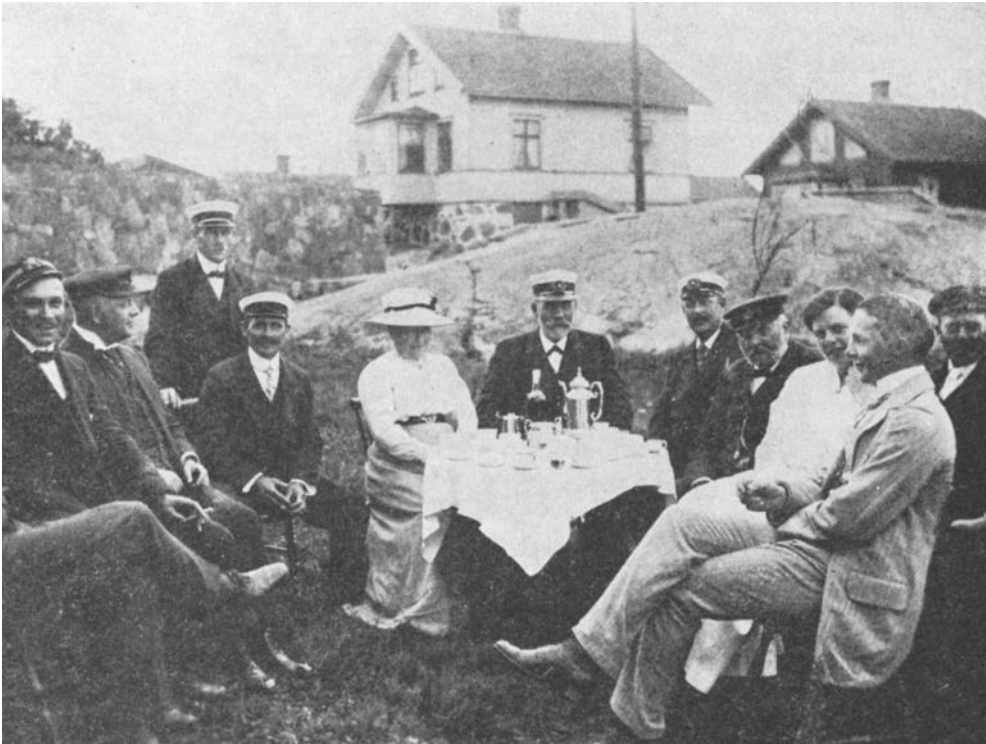
If the holiday summer visitors did not conduct themselves according to the norms that were important among free church members, the women told them so. They had to be moderate in their consumption of good food for example. A summer visitor on Björkö, born in 1896, told that "they didn't like that we ate so lavishly. It made them terribly irritated". The wife of this informant was once told "you have made food into your god" (no. 3).

Weekday Contacts

The situation for the lodgers was completely different on weekdays compared with Sundays. Then greater consideration for the wishes of the summer visitors was encountered among the resident populace. No corresponding inculcation of norms that might have a restraining effect existed where weekdays were concerned, with exception for coastal villages where free churches had a strong position. During the week both residents and holiday visitors strove to maintain their social distance. How was this done?

First of all, we notice *an emphasis on social superiority among the summer visitors*. This is reflected in their letters as well as in photographs and interview material. They kept to themselves and apart from the resident population at the bathing beaches and the seaside boarding houses. In a letter dated July 23 1889, a summer visitor on Kåringön wrote:

We three families are constantly together. We form cliques and are never apart. Coffee parties and sailing are the diversions here.



Summer visitors also gathered together outdoors near the boarding houses, as those here on Kåringön are doing around a table set for coffee and brandy. No local residents were included on such occasions. The picture was taken in 1914. Photo privately owned.

Social distance was also evident at dances. Summer visitors danced by themselves at casinos and at the boarding houses, while resident young people met at dance pavilions. So marriages between summer visitors and local residents did not occur. References are even made to segregation where children's playmates were concerned.

Resident informants have pointed to the fact that many summer visitors were anxious to have the local populace address them by their proper titles. While taking their constitucionals they swung their walking sticks. They could lift their chins haughtily and pretend that they hardly saw the local residents they met. They even walked about looking on, especially when local women were processing the fish. These women had to work hard during the summer, while the summer visitors only sought recreation. In photographs, the white attire of the summer visitors stands out in contrast to the work clothes of the local populace.



Summer visitors often passed their time walking around observing at close-hand how the resident people performed the arduous task of processing fish. The picture was taken on Mollösund in the beginning of the twentieth century. Summer lodgers often photographed the work life of the local residents. Photo Vikarvet Museum and Carla-förlaget, Lysekil.

Letters, diaries and illustrations also provide insights into how the summer visitors distributed gifts such as candy to local children. They gave books and magazines to both grown-ups and children. A man on Kåringön (born in 1876) noted in his diary on 8 August 1899:

The Countess was here this afternoon. She gave Mama a little book with proverbs and verses for each day.

This can be interpreted as a form of charity and contributed to increasing social distance. In letters to the press, travel notes and literary accounts, summer visitors have characterized the local population as “simple folk” (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 25 September 1904), or “these simple but sound and worthy people of the lower classes” (Lindroth 1903: 135).



By distributing gifts to local children, summer lodgers could underscore their social superiority to the local residents. This picture, taken on Kåringön in 1907, may symbolize just such a “vonoben-attitude”. A colonel, carrying the walking stick, characteristic of summer visitors, under his arm, is bending down to give candy to a couple of resident children. Two women from the village who rented out lodgings look on in the background. Photo belonging to a female resident on Kåringön, herself one of the children to the right in the picture.

Interviews with representatives of both the local population and summer visitors clearly indicate that landlords and lodgers met with each other socially only on a very few occasions in the course of the summer. This happened, first of all, when the landlord and his wife invited the lodgers for a cup of coffee upon their arrival, and later, when the lodgers invited their landlords to the seaside boarding house immediately prior to their return to town. On many such occasions, people let themselves be photographed together. Unlike the local population, most summer visitors owned cameras and photographed day-to-day life in the coastal villages.

In turn, we encounter *a stressing of social inferiority among the resident populace*. This was shown in part by the landlord’s family packing their household belongings together well before the arrival of their lodgers and moving down into the cellar, up into the attic or out into a smaller house on their property. The best and more spacious rooms in the main dwelling were reserved for the summer visitors.

The restrictions imposed by the local residents upon themselves are clearly evident from the account of a woman in Bovallstrand about her experiences as a young girl, when she resided during the summers in this type of cottage on the family property.

There we lived, a family of six persons, all summer so that the holiday makers might live in the other house, which consisted of a living room, kitchen, hallway and two chambers upstairs. And we lived in a single room with facilities for cooking (no. 4).

The summer visitors had to have nice dishes and cutlery. In addition, the residents took careful precautions not to disturb their lodgers in the mornings, in spite of the fact that the daily rhythm of the fishing population was completely different and necessitated their rising early. Subordinate behaviour was carefully impressed in the younger generation by older residents.

Subservience may also be noted in letters written by residents during the early 1900s. When one fisherman on Kåringön (born in 1852) received a letter from a summer lodger in 1911, he interpreted it in a response dated 24 February 1911, as proof that “the humble were not despised by the mighty”. Subordinate behavior was carefully inculcated in the younger generation by older residents from a very early age. Parents impressed upon their small sons that they should lift their caps and bow deeply when they met summer visitors. A man on Kåringön (born in 1897) communicated “as children, we never took off our caps to the fishermen of the island. But we had to do this if we met a holiday visitor” (no. 5). There were also clear parallels to such impressions upon the children also in Norwegian holiday regions (Johnsen 2002).

Children and young people also had to learn to write respectful thank-you notes after receiving books or magazines in the mail at Christmas-time. How such behavior on the part of the local citizenry might be construed by the summer visitors can be illustrated by what one summer lodger on Kåringön wrote in a newspaper article in 1897: “The residents of the island surpass each other in their affable accommodation of visitors” (*Nerikes Allehanda*, 20 July 1897).

The local populace, however, did not copy the way of life of the summer visitors. One reason was that the social difference was too great, another that they wanted to mark their social position by keeping a distance. One manifestation was that they usually did not take part in the Midsummer celebrations, for example by dancing around the maypole as the visitors did. The local residents did not know about this tradition until the summer visitors arrived. These examples show that the inferior social and economic position of the local population did not lead to servility in all spheres of life.

If the residents’ behaviours toward the summer visitors were marked by a stressing of their inferiority, one then wonders whether a sub-surface *latent criticism of the summer visitors* could have existed. How could this be channelled if one neither saw

any opportunity for expressing criticism openly nor dared not do so? In contemporary sources one finds no trace of any latent discontent. But oral accounts critical of the summer visitors that are exchanged among resident families, may, however, provide some insight into both the dissatisfaction that was experienced internally and a self confidence, even an occupational pride, that was felt by the local residents. Narratives from the early 1900s play on the summer visitors' negative qualities such as indolence, stupidity, pride, ignorance about fishing, and the like. Their laziness has been contrasted indirectly with the residents' diligence and hard work of the residents during the summer. This was the time of year when the residents were at their very busiest.

Among themselves local residents quietly made fun of the ignorance and different behavior of the summer visitors. When elderly men were hired to go out on fishing expeditions with visitors, they appear to have gone out purposely to sites where they knew there were no fish. In this way summer visitors were hoodwinked and local fishermen avoided having to land fish for the visitors, something the latter would not have been able to do by themselves.



A fisherman from Fiskebäckskil on a fishing trip together with the summer visitors who have hired him around 1960. Photo privately owned.

Local young people ridiculed the special, white attire worn by the summer residents. They objected to their “wanting to be so damned fine”, as one woman in Stockevik on Skaftö (born in 1914) expressed it.

We thought their hats, their white trousers and the walking sticks that they swung about were so funny. We giggled and thought they looked so silly in their clothes (no. 6).

What is involved here is an apparent latent protest among the permanent residents against the social superiority of the summer guests and against having to show them so much consideration as permanent residents. Summer visitors complained openly if they were dissatisfied, while local residents felt forced to keep their criticism to themselves. These accounts, repeated among like-minded individuals, served to modify the residents’ sense of social inferiority. At the same time, their feeling of internal solidarity was reinforced by the positive qualities of the local populace being indirectly accentuated.

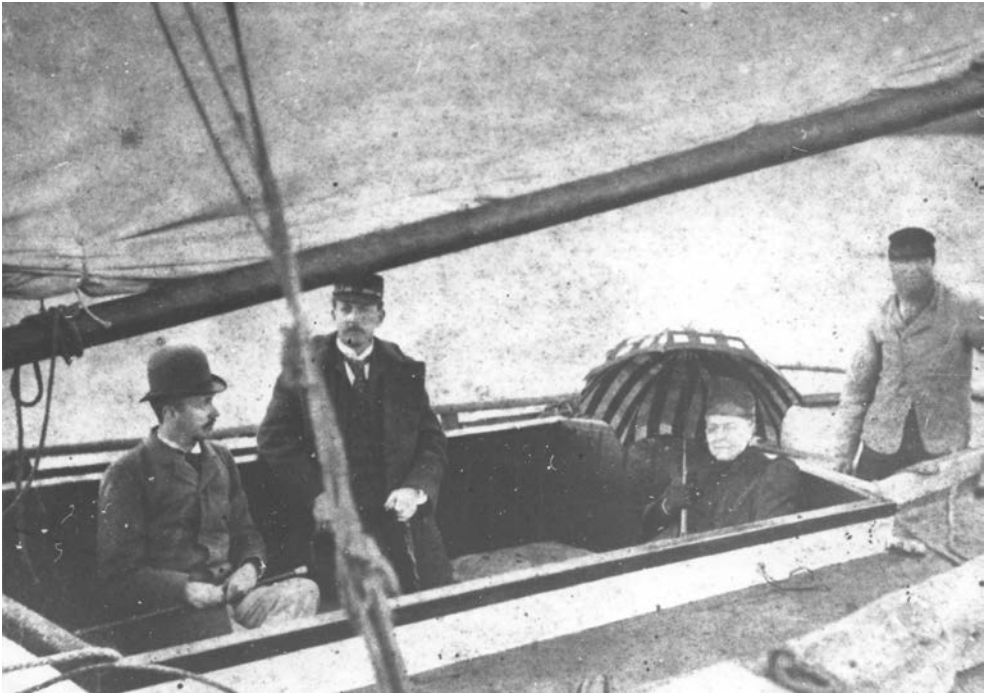
Another form of delimitation with respect to summer visitors, in itself another manifestation of self-assurance or internal pride, was reflected as far back as the early 1900s by the local populace’s disassociating itself from the customs, behaviour and dress of the summer visitors. These latter functioned therefore only marginally as innovators of new fashions. Apparently the social divergence between the fishing population and the summer visitors was felt to be too great for any attempts to be made to imitate their lifestyle. A man (born in 1890) in the fishing village of Bohus-Björkö stated that in his youth the residents of his community “thought it embarrassing to imitate the gentle-folks”. No one wanted to copy their dress (no. 7). When the summer visitors began wearing shorts, the residents of Fiskebäckskil joked among themselves that the former “were so dirty about the knees” (no. 8).

What was the reason for the residents’ accommodation of the summer visitors in their external behaviour and their emphasis of their inferiority? Why did they not allow an open expression of the critical views that did exist?

An economic explanation must have played a key role in this respect. Rental income constituted a welcome supplement to the household finances of many families. A woman in Bovallstrand (born in 1907) said that both in her family and among those living near-by, lodgings were rented out during her childhood and youth.

They lived terribly primitively. But there was a *krona* (Swedish money) to be earned; it was something fantastic to be able to earn a little extra. So they usually denied themselves everything in order to rent out their homes. They were anxious to do so (no. 9).

On the whole the rents represented one opportunity for the women to contribute to the support of their families. Hence rentals were able to play an important part in the fi-



An elderly shipmaster (1828-1909) from Fiskebäckskil, far right, out sailing around 1900 together with three summer visitors. The woman is holding a parasol above her head to avoid becoming sunburned (cf. Waldetoft 1979, Monrad Hansen 2005, Hundstad 2011). In this period the summer guests wished to enjoy the fresh air and salt water of the sea along Sweden's western coast, but to avoid becoming suntanned. White faces and hands constituted an ideal, especially for women in upper class social circles. They were thus able to distance themselves from people of lower social strata who were more forced to spend time out in the sun while working. Photo privately owned.

nances of the local populace even before any direct stagnation began to be felt in their occupational life of fishing and shipping just around World War I. During the 1920s and 1930s, rental income might constitute as much as between 10 and 30 per cent of the total household budget of fishermen's families, something that is evident from studies of income tax schedules and the lists kept by the landlords of their rentals.

Summer rentals involved not only families in weak financial circumstances. For those who were better-off, such as ship-masters' and pilots' families, the rentals constituted an opportunity for economic gain. Early in the 1900s, a number of these families built larger houses than they actually needed with the very intention of being able to rent them out (see picture above from Fiskebäckskil). This may have con-

tributed to reinforcing a dependency relationship with the summer visitors. In this way a position of social superiority relative to other resident families, primarily those dependent on fishing, might also be consolidated.

The arrival of the summer visitors in the early summer, however, brought with it additional income opportunities than through rentals. First of all women, young people and elderly men were able to take advantage of such new prospects for work. Younger women were employed at the seaside boarding houses. Older men, often accompanied by young boys who had not yet begun to go out on long fishing or sailing expeditions, went out with the summer visitors on pleasure sailing or fishing trips for a fee. Interviews with people who had themselves “sailed out with holiday visitors” in this manner indicate how important such income was when they scarcely had any other. Diaries, too, have provided information about how young boys on Kåringön used to wait for the steamer around 1900 in order to earn some change by carrying the luggage of the summer visitors up to their lodgings.

In addition to an economic explanation underlying their subordinate behavior we must also bear in mind that *inculcated norms* regarding obedience, respect and subordination towards one’s superiors (such as the king and clergymen) may have played a part to a certain extent. These norms were reflected in the so-called *hustavleideology* which, according to ecclesiastical historian Hilding Pleijel supposedly characterized people’s philosophy from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries (Pleijel 1970). Its importance increased in conjunction with the religious revival movements that flourished in western Sweden during the late 1800s. Keeping in mind that the summer visitors of the early 1900s were recruited from the higher social strata of Swedish society, it may have been natural for the residents to apply such inculcated subordinate behavior toward them.

Increasing Differences during the 1940s and 1950s

From the early 1940s and on, behavioural relationships between summer visitors and local residents began to change markedly. Differences were no longer restrained in the same way as before. In this respect it is necessary to ask what this change may be related to. How have the conditions for cultural contacts changed?

Differences on the Value Plane

Differences of moral principles have existed parallel with conflicts of interests. Tendencies toward conflicts about moral principles were clearly felt in a controversy reflected in local newspapers during the early 1940s. Middle-aged and elderly residents who made their views known in the controversy expressed misgivings about the possibility of the lifestyle of the summer visitors having a negative influence on local

young people. These residents pointed to how the conduct of the summer visitors was characterized by completely different principles regarding the keeping of the Sabbath, money management, respectable attire, the use of alcohol, and the like. The indolence of the summer visitors reportedly deviated markedly from the industriousness, which hitherto had characterized the fishing populace. One fisherman stated in 1943

We don't want to see our boys lying about sailing and fishing on Sundays with holiday visitors. The lads are becoming so lazy that one can't get them to do any work when the summer season is over (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 14 September 1943).

Critical views of this type began to be voiced more openly from the mid-1940s and on, even in localities where a large number of summer visitors had been coming for years. This was true, for example, on the island of Smögen, where a sea-bathing resort had existed since around 1900. The Swedish Mission Society on Smögen, founded in 1879, warned as early as in the 1910s against young women for having contacts with male summer visitors whom they didn't trust in their living norms (see Gustavsson 2012). On 21 September 1917, a discussion was held in the youth association about

A rumour that had been going around, first, that F (a young woman) had been with and gone swimming with a German gentleman who had visited Smögen in the summer, second, that she had spent a night with him and left him at 4 in the morning by jumping out of a window.

In 1946 the older resident people of Smögen were sharply critical of the scanty clothing worn by female visitors, which was deemed to constitute a moral danger to local youth. Complaints of this sort actually contributed to the employment of extra policemen during the summer; among other things, they were to ensure that female summer visitors did not wear bathing suits while shopping (*Kuriren* and *Expressen*, 9 March 1946).

On the island of Åstol with a strong Pentecostal congregation (see Gustavsson 2012), summer visitors also represented a prospective source of danger that was considered capable of influencing the young people in an undesirable direction. Members of the Pentecostal congregation kept their distance to the summer visitors. Almost no form of rental accommodation or any sale of housing to holiday visitors occurred until the 1980s. Summer visitors did not own more than 20 per cent of the houses on Åstol in 1980. The Pentecostals were less cool towards summer visitors belonging to some urban Pentecostal congregation. Two families, both members of the Pentecostal Movement, became the first owners of holiday cottages in the 1950s. A woman born in 1933 who had grown up in one of these families, stated in the 1980s

It was because my dad was a Pentecostalist that he managed to buy the house where I now live in the summertime. He would never have been accepted otherwise. I remember that very well (no. 10).

Summer visitors were met with open resistance if they attempted to introduce any changes considered by the Pentecostalists as leading to negative consequences for their own young people. This occurred, for instance, when some summer visitors wanted to open a discotheque on Åstol at the 1970s. They had to renounce their plans. One Pentecostalist gave the grounds for his opposition as being that no-one wanted the arrival of “a lot of people from other places who would bring with them a lot of things we don’t want here” (no. 11).

After 1980, the number of people moving away from the island increased, and this negative population development was even more intensified during the 1990s and the 2000s. This has led to a decrease in the membership of the congregation and a markedly skewed age distribution. In addition, the per cent of houses now used as holiday homes has increased from about 20 per cent in 1980 to roughly half of the island’s approximately 200 houses in 2011.

Increasing conflicts of interests

As conflicts of interests between the permanent populace and the summer visitors increased in the post-war period, we must note that starting around 1940, summer visitors increasingly stopped renting summer accommodations. Instead, they gradually began to buy older houses in the coastal communities (e.g., Ekholm 1960, *Statens planverk* 5: 3 1970, Bergqvist 1975, Nordström & Olsson 1977). This was especially noticeable in villages where summer rentals had previously been quite common.

In order to understand the background of this development, we must think of *the financial crisis* that began *in the 1930s*. In Bohuslän it was especially obvious in the fishing, shipping and stone-cutting industries. The difficulties of supporting oneself in the coastal villages brought about a pronounced emigration of younger people. A geographical investigation in Gothenburg has shown that the population of numerous coastal communities was reduced by 20-25 per cent during the 1930s (Olsson 1973). In the Bohuslän fishing industry market values had already fallen off in the 1920s, a trend that continued during the 1930s (Hasslöf 1949, Appendix Diagram 1). On Kåringön the number of professional fishermen was reduced by one-half between 1920 and 1940.

Interviewees who emigrated during the 1930s have justified this in retrospect by saying that incomes had become so low that they could not stay and support themselves by fishing. They did not voluntarily leave their home districts, but did so because they felt they lacked other alternatives. “There was no work. The only thing one could do was to go off to town”, reported one informant (born in 1913) who had left Mollösund (no. 12). In the towns and cities one could count on a somewhat greater likelihood for finding work.

This large-scale emigration of the younger population resulted in part in a shift in the age distribution of the coastal localities so that the percentage of older people gradually increased (e.g., *Statens planverk* 5: 3 1970), and in part to the number of houses standing empty as older people died.

At the same time this development lessened the opportunities for summer visitors to rent accommodations. In addition to this, local *residents* who remained in the coastal villages after 1940 *became less and less willing to rent out their dwellings*, just as they increasingly refused to take summer visitors out for pleasure sailing or fishing trips for a fee. As justification for their increased unwillingness to rent out lodgings, older residents said that at their age they could not cope with the extra work which rentals involved. Instead, they wanted their own children, who had moved to town, to have the use of the accommodations during the summer vacations, which the parents had previously rented out. If summer visitors were permitted to rent at all, they no longer had the main dwelling of the house at their disposal, but had instead to put up with more modest accommodations in the cellar, an attic apartment, or a smaller house on the property.

Even younger local families became increasingly unwilling to rent out lodgings. From the 1940s on, moreover, landlords became more and more openly critical of their lodgers. They became less inclined to do small services and to accept gifts from them, as had been the local custom. Clearly, local residents have increasingly aimed at ensuring that influence over their living conditions was exercised on their own terms.

What is obviously involved here is *increased social consciousness and aspirations*. Residential ideals characterized by modernity and convenience made themselves felt more and more among the residents of the coastal villages, particularly from the 1950s on. This was manifested, for example, by the replacement of older furniture with new and by renovations to the homes. In many instances a competition seems to have existed among the resident families over who carried out the greatest amount of modernization. To do this, it was important that the residents had their dwellings at their disposal throughout the year, something that is visible in a statement from a woman in Bovallstrand:

Since the 1950's, we've rented out the small cottage and then this and that began to be done. They thought it was a little too nice for summer visitors, since before there was always a tremendous amount of wear and tear on the dwellings (no. 4).

The refusal of the permanent population to accept gifts from their summer lodgers is also in line with defending oneself against strengthening of a former position of social inferiority. It was important that nothing would be accepted which could be construed as charity. We may also view as one manifestation of such increasing social aspirations the irritation felt by the local populace if, as did happen in several instances, uninitiated summer visitors, newspaper journalists or tourist brochures characterized

their houses, customs and such in the villages as “picturesque”, “exotic” or old-fashioned. Instead, the permanent residents tended to suppress, or under communicate, whatever was specific to their area and seemed odd to foreigners.

Why did such social consciousness and aspirations become evident just during the 1940s and 1950s? Which altered external circumstances may have reinforced a development of this kind? First of all, we should take notice of *an improved economy*. Among changes of an economic nature in the society at large we must note the new pension law of 1946, which came into effect on 1 January 1948 (cf. Elmér 1960). Elderly residents subsequently became less dependent upon rentals and began to show an open unwillingness to go out on sailing and fishing trips with summer guests.

Professional fishermen started earning higher incomes, which is reflected in the increased market value of their fish. Official fishing statistics indicate that from the 1950s and until the mid-1960s there were increasingly larger catches of various species of fish such as herring, cod, mackerel and shrimp. Market prices increased dramatically (*Fiske* 1952-1962, Andersson & Zetterström 1970, Lundborg 1975, *Fisket* 1976). An improved economy was also felt in the 1950s in the working-class populace out in the coastal villages, and this contributed to this group also becoming less willing to rent out accommodations.

The extended period of summer vacation - three weeks starting in 1951 and four weeks beginning in 1964 - also reinforced this unwillingness among many local residents. Members of the working-class populace in particular no longer wished to stay at home for the entire summer in order to clean up after their summer lodgers and perform other services for them.

Among other changes in society at large we can note the improved educational opportunities of the 1950s and 1960s. Numerous new junior secondary schools were built in the 1950s; at the same time, the system of financial subsidies for education beyond elementary schools evolved. More and more young people from coastal localities now began pursuing such studies. Their parents also largely put their faith in education for their children rather than planning on their taking up one of the maritime professions, as they would have done earlier. In order to pursue advanced studies beyond elementary school, however, more often than not the young people had to leave their home districts during the school year. As this younger generation received more extensive education, it contributed to the strong sentiments of local parents that they now were approaching an equal social footing with the summer visitors. At the same time, this latter group was gradually being recruited from a broader social spectrum compared to before, thanks to both the extended vacations of all social classes and the improved economic situation of more and more groups of people.

However, the trend toward further education outside of the home district simultaneously contributed to an increased emigration of younger people away from the coastal communities to larger urban areas, to a large extent to Gothenburg, since they could scarcely find work in their home areas that corresponded to their education.

In addition to changes in educational opportunity in Swedish society one must

also bear in mind that there was an increased demand for manpower in cities such as Gothenburg in the 1950s and 1960s. It became an attractive alternative for the younger people in the coastal villages to move to town and take employment there, for example in industry, rather than stay at home. In town one had the opportunity of obtaining such benefits, as more fixed wages, definite working hours and statutory vacations compared to fishing. Several informants cited these factors as their motivation for moving away from their home districts on the coasts during these two decades.

The earlier decline in populace, accordingly continued to consolidate during the 1950s, in spite of the improved fishing situation. This reduction in populace also applied to larger fishing communities such as Grundsund. There the number of inhabitants declined during this decade by 12 %, while the corresponding percentage on Kåringön was a little over 30 % and in Fiskebäckskil over 20 % (*Statens planverk* 5: 3 1970, *Folkräkningen* 1952-1956, 1961-1963).

In order to understand the background for this emigration - which was not necessitated by straitened economic circumstances as in the 1930s - we must also pay attention to data from interviews indicating that there was a change in people's outlook with respect to where they wanted to live. Both those who emigrated from coastal localities in the 1950s and those who remained behind during this period have namely said that at that time it was considered "nicer" to leave the coastal villages and reside in a town or city. People consciously tried to get away to something they viewed as being better and, by doing so, also strengthened their social position relative to those who remained behind in the coastal areas, supporting themselves from maritime industries. These latter individuals risked becoming socially depreciated. One middle-aged woman, a lifelong resident of Gullholmen, reported in 1979 on her own experience:

In the 1940s and 1950s none of the younger people wanted to live here, but to move out. They did not want the houses. There was a feeling that only failures remained behind. This is why there are hardly any people here now between 25 and 60 years of age (no. 13).

As increased educational opportunities, a growing demand for manpower in the cities and an altered outlook toward living accommodations furthered migration, the earlier trend toward more and more houses becoming unoccupied was reinforced. In a situation of this kind, it seems natural that summer visitors began buying older houses. This was almost a precondition for their being assured in the future of being able to spend their summers in the localities they had learnt to appreciate as lodgers. The summer visitors did not consciously try to acquire houses, desiring to rent them insofar as this was possible. However, they had to prepare themselves increasingly to change accommodations each summer, if they could find any at all. In many instances the local residents also offered to sell older properties to the visitors during this period.

At any rate, recreational goals in a seaside setting seem to have been the dominating motive as former lodgers began to buy houses in the 1940s and 1950s. This development led to more and more properties in the inner neighborhoods of the villages falling into the hands of summer visitors, a trend which can be followed in the tax schedules. Fiskebäckskil is one of the villages where this began very early. In 1945, summer visitors owned 21 % of the homes. In 1955, this number had increased to 46 %, by 1968 to 62 %, and by 1979, to 70 % (cf. Frimodig 1959, Lundgren 1969: 14).



Fiskebäckskil in 1977. The white dots show houses owned by summer guests. Photo Pressens bild, Stockholm.

As the summer visitors bought more and more houses, this led to older properties gradually increasing in price. This was noticeable early on in Fiskebäckskil. As early as 1947, a resident fisherman there maintained

If a house is worth 8 000-10 000 Swedish kronor, the outsiders will gladly pay twice as much, or between 16 000-20 000 kronor (*Kuriren*, 9 October 1947).

Increasing Differences during the 1960s and 1970s

Negative consequences for the local population from an increase in the numbers of summer residents

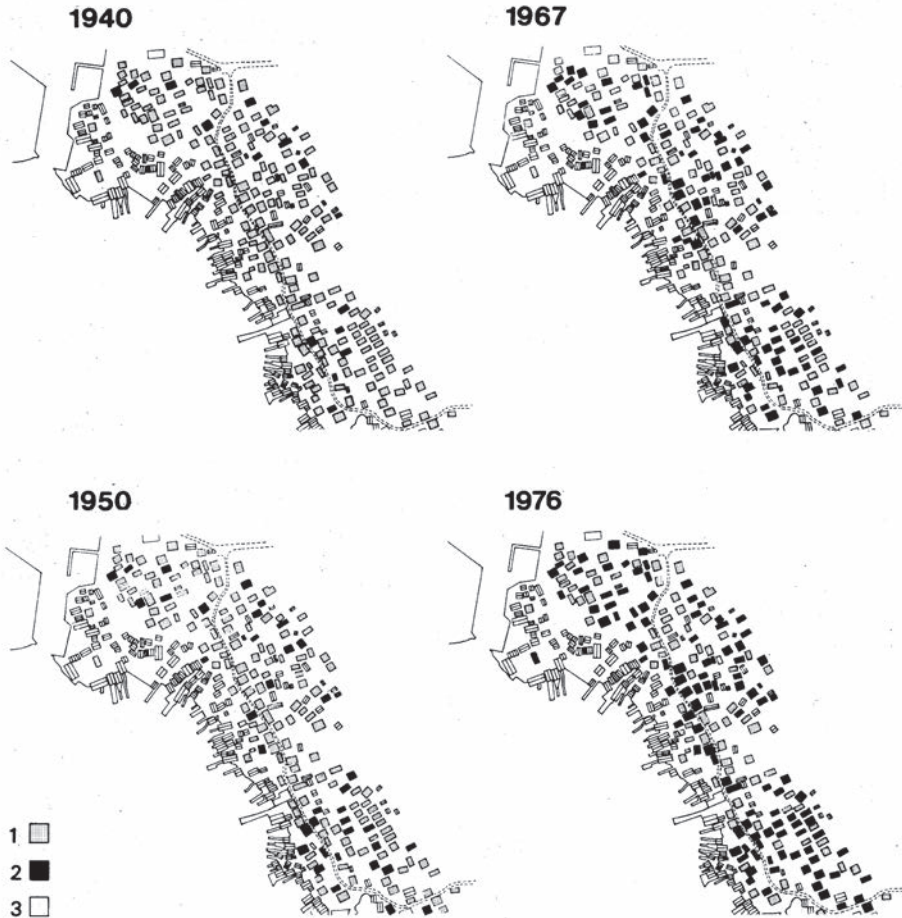
What consequence has the increase in the summer residential populace and their ownership of more and more homes had for the permanent populace?

One obvious irritation has been caused by the desire of the new homeowners to exert greater influence than before in the coastal localities. They have applied the principles they were accustomed to from towns, but these deviated greatly from previous customs in the local communities. Tendencies toward dissatisfaction among the local residents can be seen in letters to the press and in newspaper interviews as early as the 1950s. One letter dating from 1952 stated “we local residents want to see the summer residents as our guests, not as our masters” (*Bohusläningen*, 23 September 1952). According to the interview material, critical views such as this one have subsequently become stronger. Local residents have objected to the summer visitors marking off of boundaries with respect to their surroundings. This has been done



The summer visitors have marked off their property lines with fences as here in Fiskebäckskil, and this has frequently irritated the local residents. The house in the background was originally built to this large size in order to be rented out to lodgers. Photo in 1980 Björn Pettersson, Stockholm.

through the use of signs saying “Private Property” and through fences being put around their homes. By doing so, summer cottage-owners have come into conflict with the principle of the permanent residents that “by time-honored tradition”, i.e., by a popular customary right, everyone has free access to the land between the houses and boathouses, which lie very close together (Hasslöf 1977).



Maps showing the gradual increase in the number of properties owned by summer visitors gradually acquired more and more properties in the coastal village of Mollösund from 1940 and on. In 1940, summer visitors owned barely 10 % of the homes. By 1950, this figure had increased to 20 %, and by 1960, to approximately 30 %. This figure then doubled by 1976, when summer residents owned about 60 % of the homes. In other coastal villages this figure became even higher during the 1970s. 1. Dwellings lived in year round. 2. Dwellings belonging to summer residents. 3. Other structures. From Nordström & Olsson 1977.

According to statements by the local populace, many summer cottage-owners have attempted to exert increased influence over utilization of the harbours, bathing beaches, roads, and parking places and to take over the leadership of local community organizations. In 1978, one middle-aged permanent resident on Bohus-Malmön said in connection with this that many summer cottage-owners “stick their noses in just where they shouldn’t. They want to look down on us and dominate us” (no. 14). Similar criticism has also been directed against summer cottage-owners, who formerly were permanent residents, mainly born and raised there, but who later moved away. During the 1960s and 1970s, former coastal residents have been increasingly returning to their old home districts during the summers. Discontent among the local populace has increased, among other reasons, because these former residents have made demands on their old districts, among other matters, concerning the harbours and bathing beaches. Other critical statements have addressed the fact that the former residents have attempted to maintain their social superiority compared to the local coastal populace. Returning town-dwellers have tended to use summer cottages they have acquired as objects for strengthening their social position and not merely as a means of obtaining recreation in the form of rest, swimming, and the like. A younger male resident of Käringsön objected in 1978 to “they’re wanting to look down on us who have to stay out here all year round” (no. 15).

A second criticism which has been advanced among the permanent population is directed towards the fact that older people in particular, who live in the communities all year round, have lost more and more of their social advantages, i.e., their former forms of socializing. Instead, they have experienced increasing isolation because of the growing number of summer cottage-owners. A woman in Bovallstrand (born in 1907) said in 1978:

It is awful to look out of our window on winter evenings. Everywhere you look, places are boarded up and windows rolled down (no. 16).

Informants have contrasted such negative experiences of recent years with accounts of how the women formerly used to visit each other regularly in their homes while the men were out at sea. When the latter were home, they in turn used to meet for daily conversations in the cottages and stores during the winter. In the spring and summer they usually met more often down by the docks. The skewed age distribution, with its main weight on older age groups, that later became the case (e.g., *Folk- och bostadsräkningen 1972, 1977, Skärgården 2 1979*) was not as yet noticeable.

In connection with the increased number of summer residents, the permanent inhabitants experienced increasing competition for the use of common spaces and resources such as the harbours, bathing beaches, local fishing waters, parking places, and service functions like stores and post offices. More and more permanent residents came to see the opportunities for local stores to make a living as being directly threatened by the increase in summer cottage-ownership. While many coastal local-



Older residents especially, such as this fisherman in Hovenäset, have experienced increased isolation during the winters when more and more houses have been empty and boats and boathouses have been abandoned by their owners in the towns. Photo in 1979 Erik Andersson, Fiskebäckskil.

ities earlier in the century had several stores, their number has frequently been reduced to one, and certain coastal villages lost even this one in the 1970s. Field research has shown that the local populace considered a store to be one of the most essential elements in the coastal community's chances for survival with a year-round populace. Although summer cottage-owners contributed to increased sales in the store for a few summer months, many residents believed that this was not enough for it to be able to operate twelve months a year. Instead, they felt that a guarantee for this was created only if new people moved in and lived in the communities on a year-round basis.

Similarly, an increasing amount of recreational fishing in local waters was being carried on by summer visitors (cf. *Fisket 1976, Fiska 1978, Skärgården 1 1979*). This was increasingly regarded by local residents as being a threat to their own fishing. As a field researcher, one often heard statements to the effect that these fishermen from outside "are taking the food out of our mouths". Many permanent residents have taken a particularly negative attitude toward ex-villagers, some of whom were former professional fishermen. These were viewed as being a special menace since they possessed greater experience than other summer visitors and had more knowledge about fishing spots from having fished before. Dissatisfaction was directed against sum-

mer residents who were content with fishing with hooks, i.e. with hand-tackle, but who also had begun to set out nets. By doing so, they could catch more fish than they needed for their personal use and the surplus gave them an extra source of income by their being able to market it in the towns and to other summer visitors. In situations of increasing competition such as this, oral accounts critical of these non-local fishermen arose and were repeated from one local resident to another. These stories centred on how these summer visitors supposedly had sold their surplus catch for “black money” i.e., unreported, and hence untaxed, income. By forwarding accusations like these against a conflicting party, who was regarded as being a direct threat to their chances of making a living, local residents could actually strengthen their own self-confidence. At the same time they demonstrated the unevenness of the struggle they had been waging. The dishonesty of the summer visitors toward the State was depicted in stark contrast to the honesty of the fishing populace, who had been paid taxes on all the fish any of them had caught.

Although conflicts of interests have played a prominent part during the 1960s and 1970s, we must not disregard the fact that differences concerning value standards have also occurred. These have contributed to reinforcing the negative attitudes of the local residents toward summer cottage-owners. During the 1970s many middle-aged and elderly residents advocated the behavioural rules, such as that regarding Sunday rest, that had been impressed upon them in their youth. They were openly critical of summer cottage-owners who, for example, worked on repairs to their homes or went fishing on Sundays. Immediate misgivings have been voiced that such breaches of local norms might permanently influence the young people who lived in the community.

Several summer cottage-owners have themselves mentioned that they either had received face-to-face exhortations or been sneered at by middle-aged or elderly local residents if they had busied themselves with some work visible to other people on Sundays. One cottage-owner (born in 1931) on Kåringön mentioned, for example, that one Sunday in 1978 he was painting the exterior of his cottage when a middle-aged fisherman came by. The latter stopped and said in a snide tone of voice: “So-o, you work when it is Sunday”. Since then this particular cottage-owner tried to “work on Sunday on the sly”, i.e., to perform work, such as painting the interior of his house, that could neither be seen nor heard by his neighbours (no. 17).

Most criticism seems to have been directed toward cottage-owners who acquired homes during the 1960s and 1970s, including former residents of the area who at that time returned for the summers. One elderly man on Kåringön maintained in 1976 “these are the ones who are the worst about fishing on Sunday” (no. 18). In contrast, summer residents who had lived in the coastal localities as lodgers or homeowners for a long period of time could avoid a great deal of criticism by gradually becoming both more familiar with and showing consideration for the behavioral norms that were important to large portions of the resident populace.

Coordinated and organized criticism of summer visitors and of the authorities

Overt dissatisfaction in the permanent populace against the increasing number of summer visitors assumed a more individual expression at the outset. Individual residents voiced critical views either directly to the summer visitors or through letters to the press and in newspaper interviews. The people who made their views known in the papers in the 1940s and 1950s, however, gave no impression of being prepared to take up any more collective forms of battle to change the negative course of events they said they had noticed. If anything, they appeared to have resigned themselves (e.g., *Göteborgstidningen*, 5 April 1955) and did not seem to have planned any coordinated actions. These, however, became more and more tangible from the mid-1970s on, when residents began to organize protests against the negative trends they had been witness to in the immediate past. Hence, conditions were created for one's criticism having a greater effect. Organized expressions of discontent were first manifested on the local level through community organizations that were newly created or reorganized, if they had existed earlier. In the latter case, summer visitors, contrary to former practice, were, according to the bylaws, excluded from becoming regular members. At most, they were allowed to act as financially supporting members without any vote. A special study of the membership lists of some community organizations has indicated that they acquired a broad basis of support among the permanent resident populace and can thus be designated a form of popular movement.



The board of the Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän shown during a meeting in 1979 with the county governor of Göteborg and Bohuslän. The members of the board wear T-shirts with the emblem of the Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän, which have been sold for the benefit of this council. Photo Bohusläningen, Uddevalla.

As an umbrella organ for some 30 of these community organizations - extending from the southern part of the Gothenburg archipelago up to the most northernmost parts of Bohuslän - *The Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän* was formed in the spring of 1977. Various local organizations were represented on the board of this body as well as on its different committees. According to its bylaws, this Archipelagic Council was to be "unaffiliated in terms of political parties" and ensured that the coastal localities would be able to function as viable milieus, in other words, that they would be able to retain a permanent year-round populace. To achieve this goal, critical submissions to State, provincial and municipal authorities were made on numerous occasions. These bodies were openly criticized for having neglected to foster the ability of the coastal localities to support themselves. The Council and the community organizations urged them not only to initiate economic measures but also to change prevailing legislation. Through efforts such as these, the authorities would be able to make an active contribution to stop the trend by which summer visitors acquired the majority of residential properties in the inner neighborhoods of the coastal communities.

The minutes of this Council give us a clear picture of what work was done in this organization toward changing existing legislation, regarding the acquisition of property. Pressure actually contributed to several coastal municipalities in northern and central Bohuslän having resolved, starting in 1978, in favor of certain financial and other sanctions against individual local residents in these communities who tried to sell their homes to summer visitors.

Moreover, a primary goal of the Council and local organizations was to change the present regulations governing State loans so that permanent residents of coastal communities could obtain these for the acquisition and renovation of older houses. Previously, these loans were reserved only for the construction of new homes, thus contributing to a situation in which younger local residents who wished to find living accommodations in the 1970s had scarcely any choice but to build new houses on the outskirts of the communities or to rent apartments in dwellings recently constructed there. The criticism that was brought up may be said to have gained a certain breakthrough insofar as some coastal municipalities resolved at the end of the 1970s to provide security for loans for local residents who wished to buy older properties in the coastal villages.

Why did such open expressions of protest become organized and coordinated just during the 1970s? First of all, we should note recent price trends for residential properties in the central sections of the villages. An economic study in Gothenburg of home sales in four coastal communities covering 1967-1977, has pointed out the extremely rapid price increases that took place during this period. Between 1970 and 1977 this amounted to a rise of 300 per cent or more (U. Svensson 1979). An inventory of the survey office in Gothenburg in 1979 found that the average price of vacation homes in the coastal area of Gothenburg and Bohuslän nearly doubled during the 1975-1978 period alone.



In the 1970s younger residents had often to settle in the outskirts of the coastal villages, such as here in a newly built residential district outside Fiskebäckskil. Summer visitors had then bought more and more of the older houses in the central areas of the coastal villages. Photo in 1980 Rolf Jonasson, Lysekil.

Such a rapid price increase was caused by outside speculators having offered increasingly higher amounts for properties. This contributed toward reinforcing a feeling of impotence among local residents, who felt themselves outrun when homes were offered for sale. During the 1970s this situation began to be felt more and more acutely and was looked upon as having reached the utmost limit that could be tolerated if the coastal villages were not to lose their permanent populace - something that actually did occur on some of the smaller islands - within the foreseeable future. That developments were deemed by the leadership of the Archipelagic Council to have reached this limit is evident from an appeal sent out in 1977. Here they stated

Home prices are being driven sky-high and our fishing communities are rapidly dying out as viable entities. ... This development has not taken place overnight, but has now reached such proportions that we are forced to go into battle for our province.

Both the coordinated criticism of rising property prices and the more individual criticism reflected in letters to the press and interviews were primarily directed against moneyed summer visitors. Local residents maintained that these were recruited from the highest social strata in Swedish society. These individuals were regarded as able to pay almost any price for real estate property. In many instances, local residents claimed that these summer visitors had not been mainly seeking to find a recreational

spot, but had speculative intentions instead. Older homes in the coastal villages had, then, come to serve as status objects and opportunities for investment of capital. At the same time, these individuals had wanted to view the permanent populace as “picturesque objects to be photographed alongside the houses”, as a 1977 statement from the Council claimed. When permanent residents additionally accused these summer visitors of having financed the purchase of their properties with “black money”, they thus emphasized the kind of completely uneven economic struggle they had been carrying on as permanent residents. A middle-aged woman in Bovallstrand claimed spontaneously in 1978 “many people are buying up houses with ‘black money’” (no. 4).

As another key factor underlying organized protests, it must be noted that, to a certain extent, people from urban areas began to move into or back to many coastal communities starting around 1970, a trend which subsequently continued. The quantitative extent of this is being pinpointed in a geographic project in Gothenburg (Olsson 1980).

This immigration has apparently been linked together with a changed outlook compared to that held formerly by many urban dwellers. In conversations with people who had returned to these communities, it has appeared that they began experiencing more and more negative aspects of the urban environment such as air pollution, noise, stress and unsuitable conditions for the children. In order to get away from this, they sought out the coastal villages where many of these individuals grew up. Where this was the case, they are here called “returning residents” and “new residents” if they lacked familial ties to the coastal locality. The people who moved here hoped to attain such positively-construed benefits as cleaner air, less noise and stress, a greater sense of community, a better environment for their children to grow up in, and the like. Migration from towns and cities, in the main from the metropolis of Gothenburg, was encouraged by the improved opportunities for commuting which had come into existence, especially through improved means of transportation in the form of new highways and bridges as well as better ferry links out to the coastal villages. As one example, the number of people commuting from Mollösund increased from 25 to 49 between 1970 and 1975 (*Folk- och bostadsräkningen* 1973, 1979, *Skärgården* 2 1979).

On the other hand, the population movement of this type was counteracted by the obvious difficulties in procuring houses. Town-dwellers who wished to move into coastal villages, like younger resident families, largely had to be content with residing on the outskirts of the localities - in many cases in spite of their having expressly desired to buy a house in the inner neighborhoods of the communities where they in several cases were born and raised. Before managing to obtain any housing at all, they had often to put themselves on a waiting list for sites, or for renting a house, and these lists tended to grow longer during the 1970s since the administrative authorities of the coastal municipalities granted an inadequate number of building permits.

Hence, both new and returning residents contributed to reinforcing a dislike of summer visitors who bought up properties in the coastal communities. During the

1970s, younger local residents as well began to show an interest in acquiring and residing in older properties, in contrast to the 1950s and 1960s. Through this altered outlook on where they wished to live, these younger local residents, together with both those who already had moved in or who stood in line in order to move, acquired a common interest to safeguard. When local residents and these new residents, largely belonging to a younger generation, between 30 and 40 years of age, desired to effect changes of a similar nature, they were prepared to work together. The new residents were actually generally regarded by the previous permanent populace as a resource that should be exploited when it came to safeguarding the prospects of the coastal communities to continue to function as viable year-round communities. For example, it has been recognized that the clientele base of the stores increased, something, which counteracted threatened closures. Migration to the communities also worked to counteract the skewed age distribution of the coastal districts as well as the feeling of isolation experienced by the older populace in particular. At the same time, it contributed to giving the local populace in threatened communities some form of belief in the future. In these ways, the prerequisites for conflict with both summer cottage-owners and the authorities, which had become the joint opposition of long-time local residents and those new to the communities, had been strengthened.

Why did new and returning residents become so active in their community organizations? One explanation is that those individuals who came from the outside to settle in the coastal localities had different experiences. Hence, they were able to notice unsatisfactory conditions more readily and call attention to them. Permanent residents, on the other hand, had grown accustomed to them and even had given up hopes of being able to effect any changes. One younger man who moved to Fiskebäckskil in 1976 and subsequently became active in the local community organization there pointed out

We new residents have a clearer picture of how things shouldn't be in a community. Everything has gone awry when no ordinary person can buy a house, only a limited upper class that happens to have a lot of money in their pockets (no. 19).

At the same time, people like this individual, who had come from outside the area, contributed toward triggering a latent discontent which long existed under the surface among the permanent populace.

In addition, many of the new and returning residents had proven to be more accustomed to functioning in organizations, keeping minutes, writing official letters, and the like. It has thus been natural for them to be elected to positions such as president and secretary in the organizations.

The reactions of summer visitors toward this criticism

How did summer visitors react in connection with the increasingly more organized criticism put forward by community organizations and the Archipelagic Council? The interview material has provided a clear picture of the fact that many summer cottage-owners perceived their situation in the summer resorts to be increasingly threatened. This also was true for summer residents who had long owned homes in spite of the fact that criticism by the local residents was not primarily directed at them, but more at those individuals who purchased homes during the 1970s for increasingly higher prices. Some summer cottage-owners reportedly experienced feelings of remorse over having acquired properties, which they understood that the permanent populace would now like to make use of. There were complaints over the fact that during the 1970s the permanent populace tended to exclude the summer cottage-owners socially while at the same time becoming less and less willing to provide services to summer visitors such as minor repairs or checking the cottages for damage or break-ins during the winter. If local residents assisted in such services at all, in many cases they refused to accept any financial reimbursement. By doing this, they could emphasize the fact that they were independent while at the same time putting the summer cottagers into an awkward situation over how they might repay services such as these that they felt themselves dependent upon. Formerly, summer visitors had, of course, been accustomed to buying in cash the services they needed from the local populace. Now, instead, due to the stance of the local residents, conditions were created for a reverse relationship of dependency. The difference in what the situation had become in the 1970s compared to earlier periods can be illustrated by a statement made in 1978 by a younger fisherman in Bovallstrand. He justified his unwillingness to be of assistance to summer visitors by saying

I have so much to do, you know, but if I help a summer visitor repair his TV, then I absolutely don't take any more money than to cover the cost of the parts (no. 20).

What defensive reactions, then, arouse on the part of the summer visitors? Those who purchased houses earlier, during the 1940s or 1950s, have said that they bought their properties at a time when the local residents were showing no interest at all in buying them. If summer visitors had not taken over the houses, they would have been allowed to fall into disrepair. These summer cottage-owners also emphasized the fact that as far as possible they had taken pains to keep their buildings in the state they had been in earlier. In this respect, however, they differed markedly from the views of the local populace regarding their residences. The latter instead endeavored to renovate their homes so that these would fulfill the demands for convenience and modernity they made as goals. This point of view was also encountered among the younger local residents who in the 1970s became interested in acquiring older properties in the inner neighborhoods of the coastal villages. As a matter of

fact, many summer cottagers were surprised that residents had not tried to preserve the older buildings, but had altered them instead. A woman who had owned a summer cottage on Kåringön since 1966 after having previously rented there since 1954, had the following to say:

We town-dwellers have tried to preserve the old style, but the islanders have tried to make things as citified as possible (no. 21).

Many summer visitors, moreover, maintained that they had contributed to a considerable increase in the clientele base of the stores in the coastal villages and by doing so had contributed to giving the stores the chance to stay open all year round - to the advantage of the permanent resident populace. Through these lines of reasoning, summer cottagers obviously wished to emphasize that they constituted an advantage for the villages rather than being a burden as they had been accused. One summer visitor who had owned a home in Fjällbacka since the 1940s, stated in 1978

It is crazy that such an aggravated feeling has arisen. The permanent residents live off the visitors whom they are always abusing to a large extent. Without us the stores wouldn't exist and without them we wouldn't be able to come here. So we are dependent upon each other! (*Dagens Nyheter*, October 7 1978).

One can also note an attempt on the part of the summer visitors to emphasize a sense of equality between themselves and the local populace where social life, economics and interests are concerned. They attempted in several ways to show local residents that they were willing to support the interests of the permanent residents. On Kåringön and Åstol, for example, they had elected to provide financial support for the local community organization and the various initiatives taken by local residents such as solving the problem of the water supply for the coastal villages.

In a letter to the community organization of Flatön, one summer cottage-owner stated that he had "a strong feeling of solidarity with the population and a friendship that is more and more deeply rooted for each year that passes". Summer visitors, too, took pains to participate in festivities arranged by the permanent residents to raise money for some common goal for the communities. A middle-aged male summer cottage-owner, who attended one such festivity with his family on Kåringön in 1979, later pointed out:

It is important that we summer residents meet up when the permanent residents have taken an initiative. Then they can see that we are interested in the island (no. 22).

Through newspaper interviews and letters to the press as well, summer visitors stressed their common interests with local residents in working to ensure that the



Summer visitors in many cases tried to show solidarity with the resident people through helping them to solve their problems with the water supply. In this picture the chairman of the local community organization, in the middle, on Käringön is discussing how to pull system of water mains to all the houses of the island. Photo in 1975 Bohusläningen, Uddevalla.

coastal villages could have prospects for functioning as viable milieus on a year-round basis. In the interviews, they have, moreover, in numerous instances carefully pointed out that they did not have any greater capital resources than the permanent residents. In-

stead, they said that they had even told local residents that they had to work hard for many years in order to save the money with which they could realize their long-held dream of buying a house out by the coast. A middle-aged female summer resident rented lodgings on Käringön from 1962 until 1977, when she acquired an older property. When certain local residents openly voiced criticism, she, according to her own account, defended herself by saying

We have denied ourselves so much for many years, working and saving up in order to buy a house here (no. 23).

In other words, summer visitors elected to give in rather than to contribute to reinforcing the overt conflicts, which had arisen. During field work I could note how they endeavored to tone down the expressions of conflict, which had occurred. Instead, they sought to show that there existed a more harmonic relationship in their contacts with residents. In doing so, the summer visitors presented a slanted picture of their relationships; portraying them in the way they wished they actually were. Such

behavior on the part of the summer visitors points to the initiative in the culture contact between the two groups having tended to pass to the permanent populace.

On the other hand, some summer residents have voiced direct criticism of certain kinds of behavior among the local residents, especially the young people, in letters to the press and interviews. In 1979, a couple of female summer cottagers on Kåringön stated that the young people there “drink so much that they’re ruining themselves” (nos. 24, 25). The summer visitors had been disturbed by loud noise at night. In contrast to the local young people, those visiting for the summer have supposedly behaved more moderately and soberly. The underlying intent of critical statements such as this must be a desire to stress that the resident population has not always had reason to think themselves superior to and to express discontent with those who only reside in the community during the summer.

In addition, some summer visitors were critical of the community organizations and of the Archipelagic Council. Organizations such as these were said to be not as fully representative of the permanent population as they had given themselves out as being. They were supposedly either politically one-sided or their membership overwhelmingly drawn from among people who had moved to the coastal villages from the cities and towns.

Mobile Tourists seen as a New and Expanding Category in the 1960s and ‘70s

During the 1960s and 1970s, an increasing number of mobile tourists began visiting coastal area villages. The rate of recurrence for this category has been shown in numerous official reports on tourism. This study will focus on boating tourists who spend the night on their own boats and anchor up at varying places along the coast during the summer. This increase in boat tourism should be seen in the light of changes in society as a whole. Firstly, increasing numbers of people had the financial resources to purchase a boat. And secondly, leisure time increased due to lengthier holiday periods – four weeks starting in 1964, and five weeks starting in 1978 (*Semester* 1977).

Local residents and holiday cottage owners joined forces

How did the new presence of mobile tourists affect relationships between local residents and the owners of holiday cottages? They discovered a common interest to defend. Both groups experienced a conflict of interests in relation to newly arriving tourists. This applied not only to the use of harbours and berths for leisure craft and the near-lying coastal fishing grounds, but also to service functions such as shops and postal services. Queues became longer than ever and fresh food items were sold out more quickly.

Local residents experienced the increasing crowdedness in harbours as being extremely troublesome. In Smögen there were 10 849 registered guest-boat nights in

1978, while the number of guest-boat berths was specified as being 300 and permanent berths as 459 (*Skärgården 2* 1979: 214). There were several reported incidents of mobile tourists mooring their boats at the permanent berths for which local residents and holiday cottage owners had paid fees. Especially sharp criticism was expressed by local fishermen who complained of having great difficulties in manoeuvring among all the tourist boats in their home harbours (see front cover). In addition, mobile tourists had begun fishing in coastal fishing grounds to an increasing extent. In the resulting conflict situation, local residents accused mobile leisure-time fishermen of illicit fishing and that they fished in closed seasons. This related especially to lobster fishing, which is not allowed until the latter part of September. Owners of holiday cottages also stated in great irritation that they, too, became the victims of illicit fishing when they had set out nets. Critical statements by local residents and holiday cottage owners also claimed that boat tourists caused increasing pollution around boat harbours and out on the islets where tourists moored their boats. Threats of penalties did not prove to be effective means of reaction. The powerlessness felt by the injured parties is clearly expressed in a statement by a fisherman from Resö: “Those plastic boats come at top speed right through our fishing grounds and no-one knows who they are” (no. 26).

Reinforcement of earlier conflicts between local residents and holiday cottage owners

Opinions held by local residents and holiday cottage owners, on the other hand, also were seen to diverge. This happened when local residents sometimes regarded mobile tourists as being a greater potential resource for the coastal villages than holiday cottage owners. For their part, the latter in most cases reacted negatively towards the more newly arriving tourists. This was due to an increasing competition for the limited resources along the coast that the holiday cottage owners experienced. They then made efforts to retain the coastal environment for themselves. Local residents, on the other hand, saw opportunities for possible financial benefits from mobile tourists, such as payment of fees for guest berths in the boat harbour. In addition, the fact that mobile tourists did not own property in the coastal villages, and thus couldn't exert any real influence there, was regarded as a positive factor by local residents. One local resident, a man from Tanum (born in 1911) stated in 1979 that mobile tourists “can bring their ready cash with them, but when they leave for home in the fall, they don't own anything near us” (no. 27). Mobile tourism was also in line with the basic concept of the *Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän* and local community organisations, namely to provide as many people as possible with an opportunity for recreation along the coast. Conflicting opinions among summer residents and the local populace concerning mobile tourists can also be found in letters to local newspapers during the 2010s, and these have to do with Norwegians. As a local resident of Lysekil wrote in reply to a summer resident's critical comments about Norwegians:

How many jobs do you create? When our neighbours from the west come here, they bring financial resources with them that are really godsend for our shopkeepers and communities. And that in turn generates jobs. ... But as usual, it's you summer residents who grumble the most (*Bohuslänningen*, 26 February 2013).

Translation: Jean Aase

Islanders and Holiday Visitors in the Borgå Archipelago of Finland

A comparative study with the coast of Bohuslän province in Sweden

In the 1980s, I took part in one of the annual fieldwork expeditions to the Finnish-Swedish archipelago arranged by the Folk Culture Archive (SLS) in Helsinki. The Swedish-speaking minority constitutes about 5 per cent of Finland's population and these people are primarily living along the coasts (Finnäs 2010). Our group, which consisted of four ethnologists, was given use of the research vessel "Rödan", a former salmon-fishing boat built in 1962. The use of this boat was of great benefit since we were conducting our fieldwork on islands to which access by auto or any form of public transportation was very difficult. An added advantage was that the fieldworker gained an entirely different impression of such groups of islands through approaching them in a boat rather than across a bridge linked to the mainland. One must also remember that, historically speaking, the sea has always been the islanders' traditional means of communication.

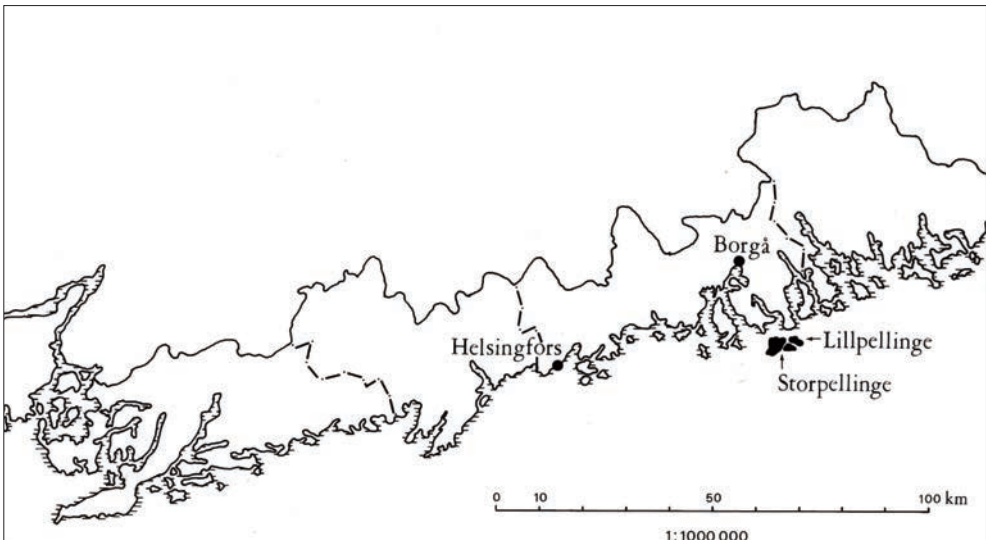
The Pelling Islands in the Borgå Archipelago was chosen as the area in which our fieldwork was to be conducted. These islands were Stor [Great] Pelling along with Ölandet, having about 200 permanent residents, and Lill [Lesser] Pelling, which together with Tullandet had some forty residents in addition to a large number of holiday visitors. Each member of our group conducted two to three lengthy interviews every day in addition to follow-up visits to several of our informants. These last were both local residents and holiday visitors belonging to different generations.

I concentrated my efforts on meetings between permanent residents and holiday visitors, and in this connection I studied organizational activities on the islands. Thanks to the close cooperation of my Finnish-Swedish colleagues, I was able to profit from their knowledge of the social, economic and ecological conditions on the islands. Here I wish to discuss some similarities and/or differences in the meetings between permanent residents and holiday visitors in the Finnish-Swedish archipelago as compared to conditions on the coast of Bohuslän Province.

The development of summer tourism on Pelling during the twentieth century exhibits several obvious parallels to conditions in Bohuslän. Answers given in interviews showed clearly that numerous families belonging mostly to the higher social



The research vessel “Rödan” is seen during an expedition in 1978 to Utö in the Åbo archipelago. SLS 1228: 354.



A map of the Nyland archipelago. Drawing: Hanna Nerman, Lund.

classes in Helsinki were accustomed to rent summer quarters from permanent residents of Pellinge. During the early decades of the 1900s, only a few holiday visitors owned their own holiday cottages. The permanent residents of Pellinge mostly supported themselves by means of agriculture, forestry, boatbuilding, fishing and shipping, or as State-employed pilots or customs officials. It was largely permanent residents working in fishing, or as pilots and customs officials who rented out such summer quarters. These families, often having many children, then crowded themselves into a smaller building, such as a bathhouse, while the holiday visitors had use of the entire main building. Because there were no summer hotels or boarding houses, the holiday visitors' households were augmented by servant girls from the city who then attended to the family's needs. Just as in the coastal villages of Bohuslän these servant girls had the closest contacts with the islanders at, for example, public entertainments. Several servant girls even married men from the islands.



A local family from Emsalö near Pellinge is shown outside their little annex-house. They lived here together with all their children when they rented out their larger house during the summer. Photographed in 1911. SLS 1185: 37.

In the early 1900s, some islanders built larger houses than they really needed, just as was the case with sea officers' homes in Bohuslän, in keeping with the idea that "it would be a good place to rent out", as was said by one informant (born in 1909). His parents had built a large, two-storied house for this purpose in 1914 (see picture).

Holiday visitors also provided other sources of income for the permanent residents in that they bought fish from local fishermen and farm produce from local farmers. Local children and young people picked and sold wild berries, often to order, while local women washed the holiday visitors' clothing and cleaned their houses. Because they lived in an outlying district comparable to Bohuslän, many local residents ended up in a state of economic dependence in relation to the holiday visitors. This contributed to reinforce their feelings of self-effacement in their contacts with the socially and economically superior summer residents. Such self-effacement could be expressed in the way the holiday visitors were addressed. They were called the gentry, and were behaved towards accordingly, something that local parents also impressed upon their children. "Goodness, how we curtsied and bowed. We were taught to do that by our parents, of course", as a woman informant (born in 1908) said. A man (born in 1909) remembered "the humble attitudes towards holiday visitors" that were common in his childhood and youth.



A two-story house built in 1914 on Lillpellinge by the family of a customs official. A house this size was usually built with the idea of being rented out in mind. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

For their part holiday visitors emphasized the outwardly old-fashioned atmosphere on the Pellinge Islands, which they wanted to be preserved in as unchanged a form as possible. In this way they could also maintain their social superiority in relation to the local residents. Summer resident Gunnar Landtman described Pellinge in 1935 as "an



Summer vacationers in sailing boats met the local residents on the shore of the Borgå archipelago in southern Finland in 1927. Photo Svenska Folkkultursarkivet, Gunnar Landtman's collection, Helsinki. SLS nr 187.

old-fashioned and isolated island society” (*Pellingeboken* 1977: 7). A woman (born in 1918) who had spent her summers on Pellinge since her early childhood told of her family’s objections to farmers’ use of barbed-wire fencing at Söderby on Storpellinge in place of the previous wooden fences:

We felt that it was so idyllic at Söderby. It had been old-fashioned for so long, and we wanted it to remain that way.

Renting of summer accommodation on Pellinge became less and less common as the 1900s progressed. Tenant guests were then offered smaller quarters than before, just as in Bohuslän. Several local families absolutely refused to rent out accommodation despite their having sufficient space. Older informants pointed out that incomes had increased so much due to pension payments that they no longer were forced to rent out. They were more interested in providing their own children, who had moved away from the Pellinge Islands to larger cities, with accommodation when they returned to their old homes during the summer. Such moving away resulted in a continuous decrease in the islands’ total population from the 1920s and onwards. The refusal to rent out also indicated an increasing social consciousness and ambition that had slowly emerged among the local residents, just as it had in the coastal villages of Bo-

huslän. They no longer wished to exhibit the kind of social inferiority that had previously existed. This was shown in numerous comments that indirectly indicated a latent criticism of the holiday visitors. A fisherman's wife (born in 1936) emphasized "we want to keep our land for ourselves".

The difficulty of acquiring rental property is one explanation for the fact that increasing numbers of holiday visitors, starting in the 1940s, purchased building sites from local landowners and built their own holiday cottages. These were often situated in forested areas at some distance from the island's original houses. At the same time a changed opinion grew up among the holiday visitors indicating that they would prefer to own their own holiday cottages rather than to rent accommodation. In contrast to developments in Bohuslän during the post-war years, it appears that there were very few instances of holiday visitors having purchased older houses on Pellinge – with the exception of some former residents who had taken over their parents' houses.

During the 1970s, however, the local residents on Pellinge appeared less willing to sell building sites to holiday visitors than during the immediately preceding decades. They had obviously become more aware of the value of owning both land and housing themselves in order to maintain their dominant influence on the islands and to develop the coastal environment on their own terms, not those of the holiday visitors. One trend that we noticed was that some landowners on the Pellinge Islands built holiday cottages themselves that they then rented out for one summer at a time. This development in property management was obviously approved of by other local residents. They believed that permanent residents thus had better opportunities to assert themselves in competition with the third-party holiday visitors. An opinion of this kind was voiced by, among others, a fisherman (born in 1940) who did not own any property on which to build holiday cottages. Developments comparable to this rental practise began to be observed at this same time in the late 1970s on traditionally agricultural islands in Bohuslän such as Flatön and Lyrön. The local residents' motive was that they could then be more successful in maintaining their influence over the development of the coastal environment.

In more recent days the local residents had also attempted to mark their reserve towards the holiday visitors in other ways than the question of residence and land ownership. They displayed less willingness to adapt themselves to the latter's wishes. This was shown, for example, in my investigation of the local folklore society on Storpellinge. The society was founded in 1936 with an original membership of 80 persons and a later increase to about 350 members. According to the records and the membership lists holiday visitors dominated the society. The local residents refused, with some few exceptions, to become members of the society. They were instead active members of their own organizations: a young peoples' club, a housewives' association, a folk-dance group and a fishing club that only admitted members from the local area (SLS 1303). Our interview material indicated that other local residents also bided their time in the question of support for the folklore society. Certain comments indicated that there had been scepticism about participation in the construction



The folklore society museum, Hörberg Farm, on Pellinge, opened in 1972. Photographed in 1978. SLS 1265: 88.

and maintenance of the folklore society's museum founded in 1972. This museum consisted of older buildings that had been moved to Ölandet from various areas of Pellinge. Local residents said during our interviews that the reason for their reserved attitudes was that their own work, whether this was farming or fishing, did not allow them time to assist the holiday visitors. They also thought preservation of buildings illustrating their own older culture was quite unnecessary. Some comments expressed the opinion that the economic grants allotted to the folklore society by Borgå rural district for repairs on the museum buildings should rather have been used to improve the road system on the islands. The underlying ground for scepticism seems to have been that the islanders did not want to become actively involved in an activity that was carried out on the holiday visitors' terms and that could strengthen outsiders' impression of coastal villages as being old-fashioned and thus socially inferior. One holiday visitor who worked actively for the folklore society stated that the islanders would not support or participate in the research on the district's history for which the society had taken the initiative in the early 1970s. The islanders said they feared that outsiders would then begin to laugh at their older local culture. A noticeably condescending attitude towards the islanders and the local culture was still obviously manifest among the holiday visitors. This type of attitude was apparent in, for example, the comment by a member of the society that "we actually arrange these summer festivals for them (the islanders)".

Certain forms of conflict that have arisen due to the opposing interests of the holiday visitors and the islanders have, however, been displayed somewhat more openly to the other part. This occurred during discussions in the 1970s concerning an improvement of the local roads and a planned system of bridges to the islands. These improvements in communication were received positively by many of the local residents, whereas numerous holiday visitors reacted reservedly or negatively. Their standpoints form an obvious parallel to the opposition that holiday visitors on Flatön in Bohuslän exhibited when plans were revealed for the upgrading of the narrow and winding gravel roads on the island, and when discussions were held about the nationalization of the ferry-service (subsequently carried out in 1980). The motives for such reserved or negative attitudes on Pellinge were, just as on Flatön, a desire to preserve the quiet and idyllic character of one's holiday surroundings. It was believed that this character would be threatened, however, if more tourists were to arrive there. One holiday visitor stated "building the bridge will bring an end to peacefulness". Such statements indicate that they wished to protect their summer locality and to keep it for themselves, an opinion that increased the islanders' irritation. One permanent resident (born in 1928), who contested the holiday visitors' opposition to the bridge project, believed that "they are afraid that disturbing elements will come here from town". Several islanders, on the other hand, said they needed better communications with the mainland. This was especially true during the winter when the sea is ice-bound and when the permanent residents are isolated on the islands. These opposing views should be viewed as being a practical, rational approach to the utilization of the coastal environment in contrast to the more aesthetic viewpoint held by the holiday visitors. Indirectly, the discussions about the roads and bridge projects came to be connected with which party would exercise the dominant influence in coastal villages and which party would have to yield. The tension caused by differences of interest did not, however, lead to any sort of open conflict on the Pellinge Islands in contrast to what took place in several coastal villages in Bohuslän starting in the later 1970s.

When comparing the archipelago in Bohuslän with the Finnish-Swedish islands, I find that the most obvious difference in the contacts between islanders and holiday visitors is that the problems arising on Pellinge had a more latent than open character. The Pellinge islanders did not lodge collective protests against the holiday visitors and the decision-making authorities in the towns, as was the case in Bohuslän, in order to influence matters that they considered as constituting a negative development on the islands. What can this come of? What conflict-hampering factors were present on the Pellinge Islands that were lacking in the coastal villages of Bohuslän? In order to understand the background for why relations between the islanders and the holiday visitors developed differently, one must point out how conditions on Pellinge differed from conditions on the coast of Bohuslän.

Firstly, one notices that houses on the Pellinge Islands have not been built as close together as in the coastal villages of Bohuslän, where the most deep-seated expres-



A woman holiday visitor is helping out with the haying on Pellinge in 1980. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

sions of protest have occurred. Landscape and terrain on Pellinge have allowed for a more spread-out building of new houses in relation to older ones. This has counteracted the form for intense competition that arose in Bohuslän whenever older houses were offered for sale. Nor, due to the greater expanse of area, is there the same crowdedness in harbours, parking lots and bathing beaches here as in Bohuslän, and which very clearly led there to a reinforcement of the conflict situations. As is usually the case, the more limited the resource about which there is competition, the easier is it for latent tensions to erupt in open conflict. One should also note the fact that holiday visitors, even as late as in the 1970s, were still overwhelmingly recruited from the Finnish-Swedish minority populace in Helsinki and not from the Finnish-speaking majority populace.

In addition, one must remember that the construction of new holiday cottages that took place provided numerous islanders with increased incomes. They could sell building sites on less productive land lying at a distance from their own houses. Some islanders even built holiday cottages for renting out. And even in the 1970s, farming families could still sell farm produce, such as milk and potatoes, to the holiday visitors. They also obtained help from the visitors in the busy haying season. These incomes and this help with haying must have contributed to minimizing tension with and critical opinions of the holiday visitors.

Conditions on Pellinge differ markedly from those in the coastal villages of Bohuslän where holiday visitors largely ceased to be an economic resource for local residents in the post-war period. Nor had holiday visitors assisted in the work of the local residents, who largely supported themselves through fishing and shipping. Similarities to conditions on Pellinge have only occurred in some few agriculturally dominated coastal areas of Bohuslän. Local residents from these areas have also participated far less actively in the other residents' collective protests.

In keeping with this line of reasoning I noticed that the most critical opinions on Pellinge concerning holiday visitors were voiced by representatives for the fishing population. These families had no economic advantages from the holiday visitors. They did not have building sites to dispose of by sale or where they could build cottages for renting out. Assistance in fishing or in processing fish was not an issue either. Holiday visitors were also reported to be doing much more fishing for their own use, both on the farms' common waters and out at sea, instead of buying the fish they needed from professional fishermen as they used to do. Fishing families also complained that holiday visitors had increasingly begun to pick the wild berries that grow in the forested areas of the islands. Picking berries for sale had previously formed an additional source of income for numerous households. One fisherman's wife objected that

Before anyone else (the islanders) have a chance to get there, the holiday visitors have gone out and picked berries. They are taking over.

In an analysis of the conflict-hampering factors on Pellinge one should also point out that there was little or no appreciable return of younger island families as had begun to take place in the coastal villages of Bohuslän in the 1970s. The population curve has instead sunk continuously. In the coastal villages of Bohuslän it is actually the younger people who have recently moved back who have assumed leading positions among the protesting local organizations. At the same time, these new residents have contributed to invigorate the latent criticism and dissatisfaction that has existed below the surface among the local residents who have lived along the coast the whole time.

Nor had the boat tourists who live on their boats come to play any special role on the Pellinge Islands. In Bohuslän, however, they have been a major factor in increasing the competition for the limited number of berths for leisure craft and thus increased the irritation felt by the local residents towards holiday visitors.

To sum up, it can be concluded that several factors have worked together to reduce the more open expressions of conflict on the Pellinge Islands. The restraining factors that I have pointed out have contributed to the suppressing of latent tensions. With a basis in my fieldwork experiences on the Pellinge Islands I would emphasize the importance of conducting comparative studies in coastal research in the various local environments of Scandinavia. This can lead to new perspectives of interpretation for the scholar. I have myself discovered not only several obvious parallels

between Pellinge and the coastal villages of Bohuslän, but also differences whose backgrounds have provided grounds for analysis.

Translation: Jean Aase

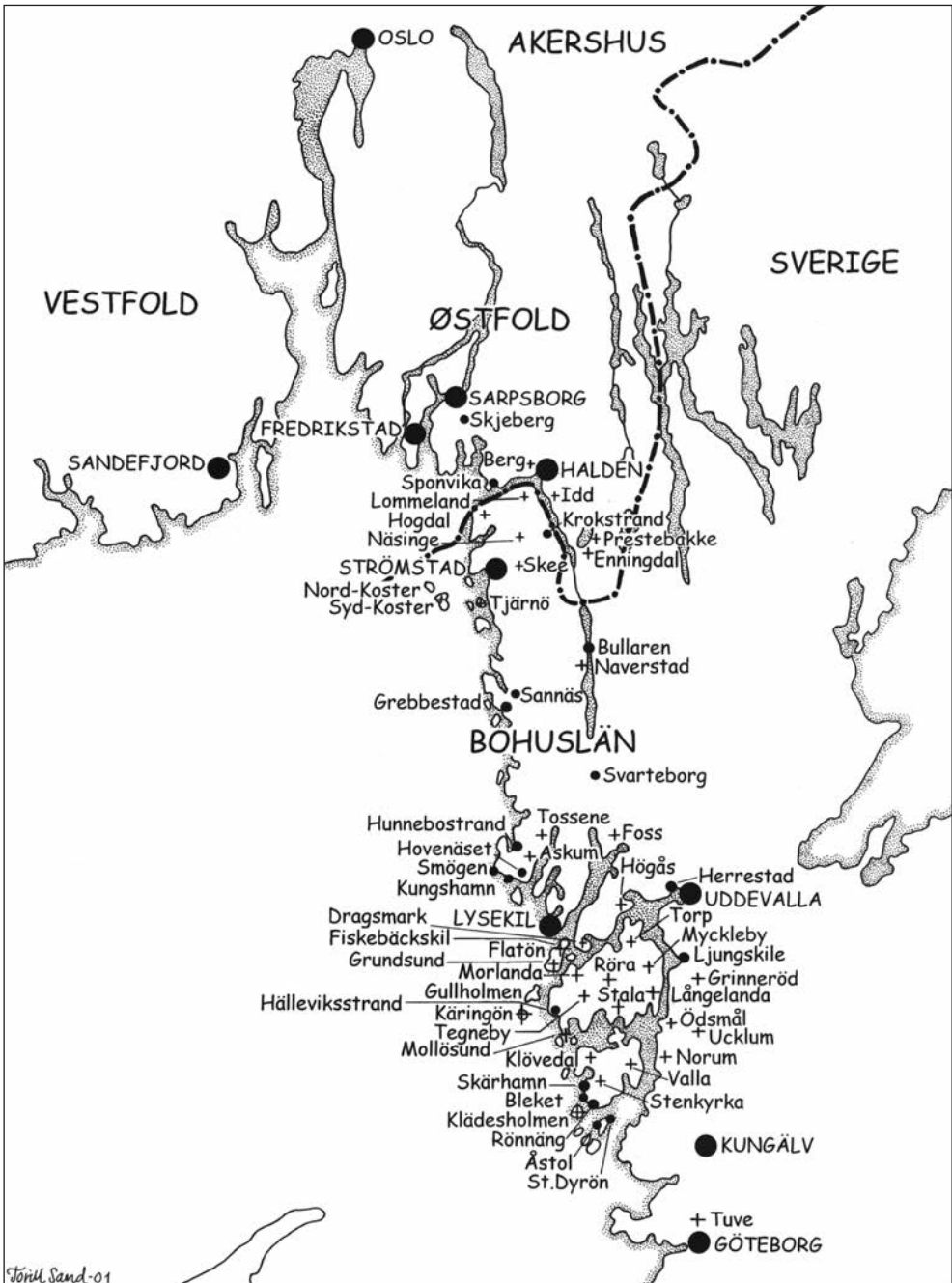
Norwegian Tourists in Bohuslän

Up to this point my aim has been to shed light on the cultural contacts between people from different social strata and with different cultural backgrounds in the Swedish coastal province of Bohuslän compared with the Finnish Pellinge Islands up until the 1970s.

What happened later in the coastal regions of Bohuslän between the 1970s and the beginning of the twenty-first century? In answering this question I will now present some results from a research project dated to the 2000s entitled “Norwegians’ Encounters with Bohuslän”. This dealt with the new and very substantial Norwegian expansion of tourists in coastal regions in Bohuslän that, as a new phenomenon, has taken place starting in the early 1990s and up until the present day.

Mobile Boat Tourists

Boat tourism from Norway to Bohuslän, and especially from the area around the Oslo Fjord, has become a highly noticeable form of contact across the sea. Tourist travel from Norway to the coast of Bohuslän became a realistic option after steamship traffic was inaugurated in the late 1800s. Norwegian holiday visitors from the upper social classes of southern Norwegian cities such as Halden and Oslo travelled to the border town of Strömstad as early as 1862, when steamship routes were set up between Halden and Strömstad and later between Fredrikstad and Strömstad. Summer holiday accommodation was rented to Norwegian guests in Strömstad right up to the Second World War when it had to cease because of the German occupation of Norway. Some of the Norwegians had travelled on scheduled passenger ship routes and some on their own sailboats. Norwegians taking part in such tourist travels seem to have become known for their cheerful temperaments in the new localities. A woman from Strömstad (born in 1919) remembers from her youth that Norwegians “were always jolly and pleasant, and enjoyed themselves here in Strömstad where we also were happy to see them” (no. 28). This form of tourism was limited to the border town of Strömstad and was never extended to the smaller coastal villages of Bohuslän that have been focussed upon previously in this study.



Map of Bohuslän and the southernmost parts of Norway. Drawing: Torill Sand, Oslo.



Norwegian summer holiday visitors from Oslo on their way by boat to Strömstad in 1935. Bohuslän Museum Picture Archives.



Norwegian summer tourism in Bohuslän using private boats started gradually in the later 1940s and the 1950s. A photograph from the harbour of Strömstad taken in the summer of 1959 showing six Norwegian boats with the Norwegian flag flying from the sterns of these boats. Photo Evert Dahlgren, Strömstad Museum.



A Norwegian boat tourist couple in Kåringön's harbour in 1997. The husband was one of the first Norwegian boat tourists on Kåringön in the late 1970s. Photo Anders Gustavsson.



Norwegian tourists' boats in Kåringön's harbour in the summer of 2005. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

Many years passed after the Second World War before conditions again became favourable enough in the 1980s, and even more in the 1990s, to allow for Norwegian tourism on any appreciable scale along the coast of Bohuslän. This then began in the northernmost area. Until the 1990s, such boat tourism was concentrated to the northernmost part of Bohuslän around Strömstad (see picture from 1959). In the summer of 2003, the harbour master of Strömstad estimated that about 70% of the guest boats in the harbour came from Norway (*StrömstadsTidning*, 12 July 2003). From the 1990s, numbers of Norwegian tourists' boats have spread ever farther south in Bohuslän. During my fieldwork in the 1980s in coastal villages in central Bohuslän, I noticed almost no Norwegian boats in the harbours or in coastal waters. A Norwegian man, whom I met in Kåringön's harbour in 1997, told me that he first came to Kåringön in his tourist boat in the late 1970s. At that time, there were no other Norwegians there.

There are several reasons for the increase in the number of Norwegian boats to these areas starting in the 1990s. Boats have become larger and more seaworthy in correlation with the improvement in the Norwegian economy. Norwegian boats, most of which come from the Oslo area, are often recognisable as larger and more spacious compared to Swedish boats in the same harbour. In addition, because of the extreme overcrowding along the northernmost coast of Bohuslän around Strömstad, Norwegians have sailed farther south, appreciating the fact of being able to sail along an inner waterway. The natural scenery of the coastal areas is also valued by Norwegians according to the interview material. Naked cliff sides are especially appreciated. Norwegians love watching the sun set in the west, something that is impossible along the coast of southern Norway. Nor are the coastal areas of Bohuslän as exploited and privatised as in Norway. Access to the coast is something that Norwegians appreciate. This has been made possible due to the Swedish coastal law passed in 1952 (*Fritidsfisket* 1968). This law forbids private buildings and barriers being erected closer than 100 metres from the low water mark. Comparable Norwegian restrictions were put into force first in 1965 (Hundstad 2011), but this law has been less active in Norway than in Sweden because of many exemptions from the 100 metre border made by local authorities (Sol 2002). Because of that there are many more holiday cottages and more privatisation within the 100 metres border in Norway than in Sweden.

Boat tourists in Sweden can also freely land on smaller islands and islets. There they are not in each other's way, something that lessens conflicts. Norwegians also consider Swedish guest harbours to be better organised and more comfortable than the Norwegian. A love of the natural scenery along the coast of Bohuslän has even led Norwegian boat tourists to arrange weddings with a Swedish vicar in churches along the coast. This has taken place on Koster Island and even farther south in Bohuslän. In the summer of 2004, a couple from Oslo celebrated their marriage in Kåringön church and arranged their wedding festivities on the island.



The bridal couple and the bridesmaid from Oslo outside Kåringön church after the marriage ceremony in the summer of 2004. A local musician provides music on his accordion. Photo Erik Nickelsen.

Another advantage of being a boat tourist in Bohuslän compared to Norway has been lower food prices. A boat tourist in his fifties from Oslo whom I met in Stocken harbour on Orust in 2003, pointed out that “consumption” is much cheaper in Sweden and that there is a great deal of “consumption” on such holiday voyages in one’s own boat. A stay in the coastal areas of Bohuslän also allows Norwegians to lengthen the boating season in both spring and fall, i.e. in April and October, as compared to the inner Oslo Fjord. The season usually opens around Easter, when one can observe Norwegian tourist boats, but no Swedish boats, in Strömstad’s harbour. Experiencing springtime nature is highly valued by Norwegians. A man from Tønsberg, who had paid regular visits to North Koster Island, stated in 2004:

The light and the colours are so different here in wintertime. I appreciate the untouched nature and, during Easter Week, the fantastic sight of a virtual ocean of blue anemones (*Strömstads Tidning*, 15 July 2004).

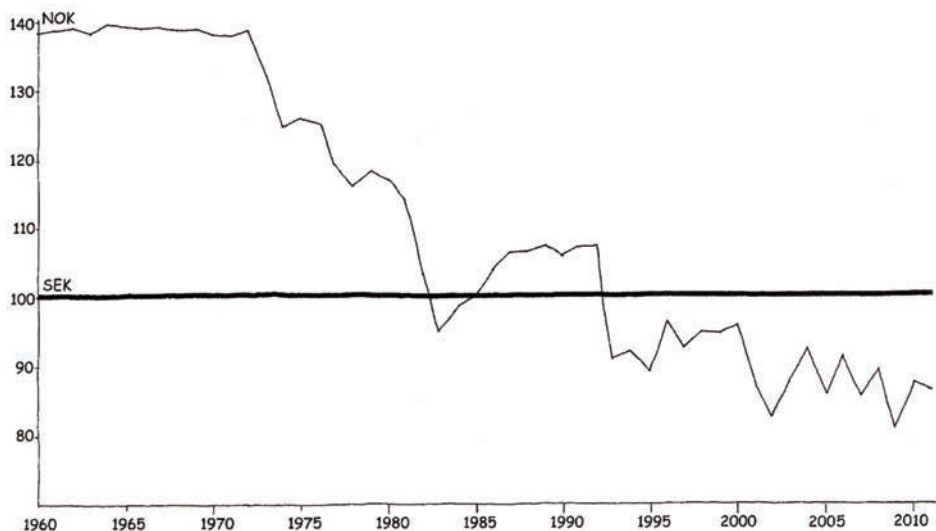
When Norwegians have lengthened the boating season in this way, they often find it convenient to have their boats laid up in central Bohuslän all year. They then make use of boat-storage yards, especially on Orust. In addition to a lengthened boating season, Norwegians also gain financially because charges for winter storage have been lower in Bohuslän than in Norway. During spring and fall weekends, they then drive or take busses from Oslo, for example, to wherever their boat is stored.

Many Norwegians have also purchased pleasure craft from boatyards on Orust in recent years. They have taken advantage of the low Swedish rate of exchange with respect to prices after the devaluation in 1992. The value of the Swedish *krona* then began to diminish in comparison with the Norwegian currency (see diagram). These boatyards, among them Hallberg Rassy of Ellös, have become well-known and have acquired a good reputation in Norway. Many Norwegians also visit the boat shows arranged by the boatyards on a weekend in late summer during the 2000s.

Mobile Norwegian boat tourists have led to economic benefits for the boatyards of Bohuslän without resulting in any significant drawbacks for the ordinary coastal populace. There are, therefore, no obvious forms of conflict between local residents and boat tourists even if harbours should prove to be over-crowded. Local residents even feel that the building of new and larger guest harbour facilities in several coastal villages has improved the situation during the latest years.

Just as in the early 1900s, the Norwegians' cheerful temperament has been remarked upon by the people of Bohuslän. This has worked as an additional conflict-hampering factor. As a merchant on Sydkoster Island near Strömstad stated in 1995:

Norwegians are likable; they are always jovial and never make any problems. Especially those who come here on day trips or are here for a few days. They have an extremely easy-going nature compared to Swedes. ... You usually get far more complaints from Swedes. The Norwegian tourists who are here on an outing have a completely different outlook than the Swedes (no. 29).



The Swedish-Norwegian rate of exchange 1960-2011. The diagram was drawn by Kirsten Berrum, Oslo. Source: www.valutakurser.no.

Mobile Camping Tourists

Norwegian tourism by automobile has also increased from the 1990s and on. Norwegians often have a caravan with them that is placed on a caravan site. While a large number of boat tourists come from the Oslo regions, tourists with caravans come in many cases from other towns and cities outside Oslo's closer environs. These are, for example, Kongsberg, Horten, Fredrikstad and Tønsberg in the counties of Vestfold and Østfold south of Oslo. Such camping activity has a long history in northernmost Bohuslän around Strömstad. Many Norwegians rent a space for their caravans at such sites and leave them there all summer or even all year round. Many tourists experience the campground as being a second home, a place they travel to as often as possible. Retired people can choose to reside there for long and continuous periods of time during the warm months of the year simply because they enjoy themselves so much. Social contact then arises among the neighbours, all of whom are, for the most part, Norwegian. Such areas have become a sort of Norwegian colony. *Strömstads-Tidning* reported in the summer of 1999

Nine out of ten campers at the Kungsvik Caravan Site are Norwegians. And most of them rent year-round spaces for their caravans (*StrömstadsTidning*, 7 August 1999).

Year-round reservations at this caravan site were at that time the case for 125 of 160 spaces. Several families among these regularly returning Norwegian camping tourists are also close friends in Norway. A married couple from Drøbak in Østfold County celebrated their fortieth wedding anniversary in the summer of 2000 in their caravan at the site near Strömstad that they had visited for more than twenty years. The husband said

Since most of our friends are camping tourists and almost all of them live at this caravan site during the season, it just felt natural and we felt this was the best way to celebrate (*StrömstadsTidning*, 6 June 2000).

Norwegian camping during the winter season has also taken place. An article entitled "Wintertime Norwegian campers" was published in the *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1997. This told of the experience of the owners of the Daftö Caravan Site when "last weekend some twenty families arrived in Strömstad with their caravans. We're already booked full for Easter" (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 3 March 1997). Norwegians generally extend the season for leisure-time trips as much as possible. Overcrowding at caravan sites has, however, increased markedly since the mid-1990s. *Göteborgs-Posten* reported in 1995 that the number of guest nights spent by Norwegians at camping and caravan sites had increased by 73 000 compared to 1994. "Bohuslän is the province that appeals most to the largest number of Norwegians, a total of 226 000" (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 29 November 1995).



A Norwegian woman is shown welcoming fieldworkers to her cottage at Grebbestad Campgrounds in the summer of 2011. She and her husband have visited here regularly for fifteen years. Photo Kristina Gustavsson.

It has become very difficult for a mobile tourist without a permanent caravan parking space to find space in northernmost Bohuslän. In July 2003, *StrömstadsTidning* printed an article entitled “Difficult to find a camping space” with the following text:

The caravan site on the island Koster is fully booked. This is the message printed on a notice in the Tourist Office at Strömstad. But it’s difficult to find space at caravan sites on the mainland as well. Some caravan sites are fully booked from as early as Midsummer and to early August. Almost all of the 700 spaces at the five-starred caravan site, Daftö Holiday centre, are booked for all of July. Every space must be reserved in advance at this site, except for tents which are then put up in the areas reserved for them (*StrömstadsTidning*, 29 July 2003).

Such overcrowding has led to Norwegians seeking ever farther south in Bohuslän. The Norwegians I met there during my field work in the 2000s appreciated that there was less overcrowding than in northern Bohuslän where they were unable to find space. They have also expressed satisfaction at not having other Norwegians living close by them the whole time when they want to relax with their families. Those

tourists that do not have a caravan with them can easily rent a small cottage at the site. Many Norwegians have chosen this alternative. Norwegians also appreciate that caravan sites in Bohuslän are well-kept and hold a high standard of cleanliness.

Tourists at campgrounds never encounter ordinary local residents in Bohuslän, but only those who care for the grounds and earn money from the visiting Norwegians. Obviously, this does not lead to cultural meetings or conditions for confrontations.



A man and wife from Kongsberg shown outside their caravan at Stocken's Camping Ground in the summer of 2003. The Norwegian flag hangs on the other side of the caravan. This couple had not found any vacant space at any caravan site in northern Bohuslän. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

Golf

A new form for mobile tourism from Norway concerns golf. Norwegians drive to Swedish golf courses to enjoy a longer golf season in comparison to the Oslo area, covering April and October when Norwegian golf courses are closed. I have interviewed Norwegians who visited the Morlanda Golf Course on Orust in the 2000s. Golf players sometimes take a day's drive by automobile to northern Bohuslän. It can be a man and wife who drive down or a few men together in the same car. Sometimes two or three cars will drive in company. They can be colleagues from the same place of work, or even neighbours or close relatives, and come most often from the Oslo area. These golf players often stay for an entire weekend, such as the Easter weekend. Several hotels then arrange so-called golf packages, which include room



A man and wife from Asker outside Oslo shown at Morlanda Golf Course in April 2004. They had chosen a golf package tour arranged by the Hotel Sjögården in Ellös. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

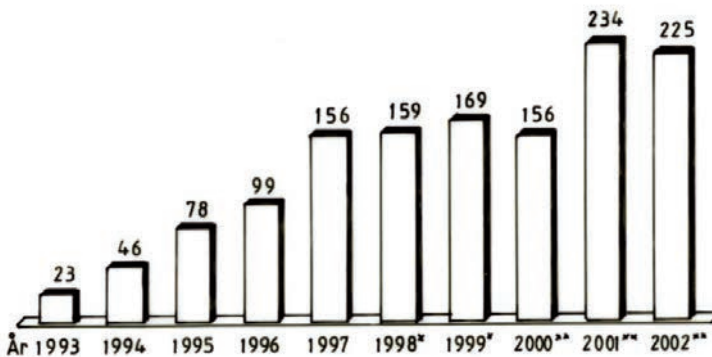
and board and an opportunity to play golf. These special offers are advertised in Norwegian newspapers and on the Internet. On its home page, Stenungsbaden advertised a two-day “Easter golf package-tour” from Maundy Thursday (a holiday in Norway) until Easter eve 2004, for 1 995 *kronor* per person, double occupancy. This included all meals, the room and the green fees as well as two evenings of dancing. Most Norwegians have got their information on the Internet and have found such golf package-tours very favourable in price. Fees for playing golf are considerably cheaper in Sweden than in Norway, sometimes as low as about half price. An informant from Oslo, born in 1968, said that if one is a member of a golf club on the Swedish side of the border, green fees for one round of golf will be about 150 *kronor* compared to 450 in Norway. Norwegians still prefer to play their golf in Norway, however, when the courses are open from May to September.

Proximity is a factor that plays a very important role. This does not concern boat tourists or caravan owners, but rather those who do not have their own facilities for overnight accommodation. It is then an obvious advantage not to have to drive too far to satisfy one’s interest in golf, providing one is not acquainted with some other Norwegian who owns a summer cottage in Bohuslän. When estate agents on both the Norwegian and the Swedish side of the border have tried to entice Norwegians to buy holiday cottages in Bohuslän (see more concerning this below), their advertisements in newspapers and on their Internet websites often have emphasised the fact that a golf course is located near the property for sale. In a brochure about the Nor-

wegian-owned location Nötholmen (Kebal) in Strömstad (see more concerning this below), a Norwegian estate agent used the headline “Sweden – an El Dorado for Golfers”. The Norwegians who have purchased holiday cottages also have emphasised the importance of a nearby golf course. In a newspaper interview in 2002, a man from Oslo who had purchased a holiday cottage in the Nötholmen (Kebal) area, stated: “The golf course here is very good. And it only takes me a couple of minutes to walk there” (*Dagbladet*, 14 July 2002). Golf-playing tourists never meet ordinary local residents in Bohuslän, but only those who care for the golf courses and earn money from the visiting Norwegians. This does not lead to cultural meetings or conditions for confrontations.

Norwegians’ Purchase of Holiday Cottages

Norwegians’ purchases of holiday cottages increased very markedly during the 1990s, beginning in the two northernmost municipalities of Strömstad and Tanum. In 1993, there were only 23 Norwegian property purchases in these municipalities. Since then the increase has risen successively from 46 in 1994 to 78 in 1995, 99 in 1996, 156 in 1997, 159 in 1998 and 169 in 1999 (see diagram). It might be noted that while prices of small homes in Bohuslän sank noticeably after 1991, about 14-20% between 1991 and 1996, the fall was somewhat less in Strömstad and Tanum municipalities. The price fall there was listed as being 4-5% (statistically shown in *Bohusläningen*, 6 March 1997). Estate agents in northern Bohuslän have interpreted this lesser fall in prices as being a result of Norwegians’ purchases of houses in these two municipalities. Prices of holiday cottages in Bohuslän lay about 20-30% under comparable Norwegian prices in the mid-1990s, according to these estate agents (*Bohusläningen*, 22 June 1995).



Norwegians’ purchases of property in Bohuslän starting in 1993. The diagram was drawn by Anette Olsson, Uddevalla. Source Göteborgs-Posten 3 July 2003.

In Norway, a private beach is often included in the property and this contributes to a higher price. Such private beaches are forbidden according to the Swedish coastal law from 1952 and the coastline has thus not been privatised (see above concerning boat tourists). Proximity to the sea along the coast is important to prospective Norwegian property buyers, but they have not felt it be necessary to actually own a private stretch of beach. Estate agents have been very careful about informing Norwegian purchasers that they cannot hinder other people from approaching the sea and the beaches along the coast as is possible in Norway. As an estate agent in Strömstad told the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* in 1997,

I no longer advertise holiday property that is for sale in this area in Swedish media. I use Norwegian newspapers instead. There are more than enough purchasers (*Aftenposten*, 28 June 1997).



The tourist centres (with the Norwegian flag) in Strömstad that were owned or leased by Norwegian business firms in 1998. Graphics: Aftenposten, Oslo.

When Norwegians have found a property with which they have been satisfied, they have been prepared to pay a high price. Several estate agents have noted that Norwegians do not carry on long negotiations about price, something that has been much more usual with Swedish customers. Norwegians also do very well on rounds of bidding for houses in competition with Swedes.

Starting in the year 2000, cottages also began to be sold to Norwegians in the municipalities of Sotenäs and Lysekil, which lie south of Tanum. The total number of Norwegian property purchases was reported as being 156 in 2000, with a marked increase from then on to 234 in 2001 and 225 in 2002. In 2001, previous restrictions in the form of the need for permission to purchase property by foreigners were dis-

continued in attractive regions of Sweden, including the coastal area of Bohuslän. But the majority was still sold to Norwegians in the municipalities of Strömstad (54%) and Tanum (36%) compared to 9% in Sotenäs and 8% in Lysekil municipalities. The closer one gets to the Norwegian border, the more properties have been purchased by Norwegians. Strömstad is the Swedish municipality with the greatest number of foreign-owned holiday cottages; in 2012 these totalled 1279, 1220 of which were owned by Norwegians. This represents one-third of the total number of holiday cottages in Strömstad. Tanum, the municipality to the immediate south, has the next greatest number with 869, or 13.5%, Norwegian-owned holiday cottages. The percentage sinks as the distance to the south in Bohuslän Province increases and is thus farther from Norway. The percentage for the municipality of Orust in the middle of Bohuslän is 30% (*Bohusläningen*, 22 March 2013). Approximately 80% of the holiday cottages sold in the northern districts of Bohuslän in 2011 were purchased by Norwegians (*Bohusläningen*, 29 March 2012). The trend that started in the 1990s has not weakened but has continued in the 2000s and even increased during the 2010s. A real estate agent in Strömstad who has been affected by the rise in Norwegian cottage purchases, explained it by pointing out that Norwegians

are prosperous, are not hit by unemployment and have an extremely strong currency. Business conditions are good in Norway and national optimism has risen with the discovery of new oil deposits (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 23 July 2012).

The Norwegian *krona* has continued to be strong in comparison to the Swedish *krona*, while price levels for housing and house construction have remained significantly lower in Sweden. Price falls for smaller properties have occurred in Bohuslän from 1991 and on. The price fall in 2011 was 13% compared with 2010. One can also see a connection with the value of the Swedish *krona*, which was devaluated by 16% in 1992. The value of the Norwegian *krona* reached its peak in 2002 and 2009 (see diagram). In about 2002, prices of Norwegian houses also fell according to reports from Norwegian estate agents. At the same time there was a somewhat better supply of Norwegian holiday cottages compared to previous years. These factors together give an understandable basis for the certain fall in the number of Norwegian purchases of holiday cottages in Bohuslän in 2003 but not later.

The widespread sales of houses to Norwegians in the early 2000s have received a great deal of publicity in the media. Western Swedish newspapers have used headlines such as “Bohuslän is becoming more and more Norwegian” (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 19 June 2000), “A real invasion from Norway” (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 22 July 2002), “Norwegians invade the coast” and “Bohuslän will soon become Norwegian again” (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 3 July 2003). That last headline plays on the fact that Bohuslän was part of Norway until 1658.

The distance in time from the Oslo area is a decisive factor for how far from home prospective buyers have been willing to buy a holiday cottage. The great improvement

in communications, including a newly built motorway between Norway and Bohuslän, has therefore played a decisive role. In 2005, the new bridge crossing the Swedish-Norwegian border at Svinesund was opened, exactly 100 years after the union between the two countries was dissolved. Now it is possible to reach areas considerably farther south from Oslo by car in two or three hours. This means that the central portions of Bohuslän, and not only the northernmost area, have become interesting regions in which to purchase housing. Families with children usually have indicated a limit of a couple of hours' drive in each direction. It is important for holidaying Norwegians to be able to visit their holiday cottage during as many weekends as possible during the summer season, and not just during their summer holidays. The fact that Norwegians have extended the season in comparison to Swedish holiday-cottage owners is something that is appreciated by local inhabitants (see more concerning this below).

In 2003, the southernmost limit for Norwegian cottage purchases lay at Lysekil. An article in the newspaper *Stenungsunds-Posten*, which is published in Lysekil, in the fall of 2002 was entitled "Prospective Norwegian buyers on a broad front towards the Lysekil region" (*Stenungsunds-Posten*, 20 September 2002). An estate agent in Lysekil reported that at this time almost every sixth house sold was to Norwegians. Another estate agent in Lysekil mentioned in 2003 "our Norwegian clients tell us that there are too many Norwegians in Strömstad. They therefore prefer to stay in Lysekil where there aren't as many of their countrymen". There has been no interest among the Norwegians for living in overcrowded conditions when looking for a holiday cottage along the coast of Bohuslän.

By 2004, the southernmost limit for Norwegian holiday cottages had been moved even farther south, specifically to the fishing village of Mollösund on western Orust Island. A Norwegian company, Planbo AS, had then 18 cooperative flats with harbour facilities built there that were ready for occupancy on 1 July 2004. The down payment was listed as being Norwegian kroner 495 000 with monthly rental payments of Norwegian kroner 6 449. The houses have two storeys and are completely identical. Their owners, who are joint owners of the Mollösund housing cooperative and belonging to the Norwegian law and not to the Swedish, can choose to live there themselves or to rent them out. Advertisements for these flats have been limited to Norwegian newspapers, specifically to the big *Aftenposten* and *Dagens Næringsliv*. During one viewing of these houses in early May 2004, prospective buyers came from Oslo and cities in Østfold County. Purchasers have continued to come from this area. Parking places were still filled with Norwegian cars during the 2010s, not only during the summer but also on spring and fall weekends. This building complex lies just outside the village of Mollösund in a hilly area where no houses have previously been built. This constructed complex is not visible from the village. Norwegian holiday flat owners thus do not compete with the local inhabitants for space in the village centre. This has lessened the possibilities for conflicts with the local residents in Mollösund. I have not met with any such conflicts during field work in 2004 and later. One desire that

I heard expressed by local inhabitants was that some of these recent Norwegian neighbours would come to live permanently in their new flats.



An estate agent, left, from Planbo AS in May 2004 during a viewing of some newly constructed cooperative flats on the outskirts of Mollösund. The man to the right, a prospective purchaser; and his two daughters came from Sarpsborg. Photo Anders Gustavsson.



Norwegian holiday cottages with cooperative flats as built outside Mollösund in 2005. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

A comparable holiday area designed for Norwegians was built in Strömstad by the Norwegian development company Top Destinations AS and the building cooperative Destinations Development Group AS, abbreviated DDG in 2000 and 2001. It is called Nötholmen in promotional brochures. The area lies near the sea, not far from the centre of town. Of the 91 flats and houses sold, Norwegians owned 87 at the time purchasers moved into the area in the summer of 2001.



Aerial photograph of the housing area Nötholmen in Strömstad showing the nearby golf course. Printed in a brochure distributed by Foss & Co Eiendomsmegling, a firm of estate agents with offices in Norwegian Fredrikstad, Drøbak and Oslo, and Mäklarhuset, Strömstad. Photo P. W. Torben Jonsson/Mäklarhuset, Strömstad.

The very last flats here were sold by the summer of 2004 (*Strömstads Tidning*, 29 July 2004). The area has become exclusive by the fact of canals being constructed between the houses. The area is therefore called “Strömstad’s Venice” in both newspapers and advertisements. Estate agents attract buyers by calling it an “Idyllic canal village in fantastic surroundings” in one brochure about Nötholmen. Prices have been high in this development and this means that some well-to-do Norwegians have moved here.

New Norwegian tourist developments

In order to meet increasing demands from visiting Norwegians, business firms from Norway have begun an increasing expansion to serve the tourist trade along the coast of Bohuslän. The necessary economic resources have been available in Norway, and these firms have seen opportunities for future economic gain lying in their new investments. The huge tourist centre TanumStrand was, for example, purchased in 1997 by the Norwegian hotel chain Norlandia (*Bohusläningen*, 7 February 1997). Large construction projects completed during the 2000s have been aimed at attracting potential Norwegian purchasers. The projects' home pages written in Norwegian, stress the fact that "Grebbestad will be your family's seaside paradise" (www.visitsweden.com/sverige-no). Fresh and salty sea air is the vital ingredient here along with all the facilities for activities, such as bathing beaches and nearby golf courses, that both children and adults can engage in.



The new construction in 2011 of a tourist centre Hällevik on the outskirts of Hälleviksstrand, consisting of holiday cottages, hotel, restaurant and a marina with a harbour for 300 tourist boats. On its home page, the Norwegian firm Hällevik Yacht Club tempts potential buyers by stressing the site's proximity to the ocean. "Have you ever dreamt of living really close to the sea? In your own house with your own dock and your own mooring? Now that dream can become a reality!" (www.hallevikyachtclub.se). The tourist centre will totally be opened in the summer of 2014. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

The expansion of large-scaled Norwegian tourist developments has continued during the 2000s and actually increased after 2010. Norway's wealthiest man, Olav Thon, has proffered exclusive and expensive building sites with sea views in northern Bohuslän specifically aimed at the Norwegian market. Purchasers come from Oslo and Østfold County. Here one should remember that housing prices in Norway have risen by 24.6% between 2007 and 2012, which is the highest percentage in the entire world (*Aftenposten*, 2 August 2012). During the summer of 2012, the newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten* published an article commenting as follows on these extensive Norwegian investments in the tourist industry:

Bohuslän once belonged to Norway and can well be on its way to being that once again. A stealthy colonisation has started (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 23 July 2012).



A Norwegian businessman began projecting 13 holiday cottages for sale in the coastal village of Nösund in 2011 which increased to 28 in 2012. He is shown here standing on the building site that is under construction on a lofty hilltop with the newly allotted name the Nösund Park by the sea. The price of each cottage, with a living space of 115 square metres, is about SEK 5 million. The developers' enticement on their home page is "a sea-view that can be yours" and "the dream, the scents, the unique experience" and also "the fresh breezes" (www.nosund.com). This is very similar to the wording in advertisements in Stockholm's newspapers used to attract visitors to the coastal regions in Bohuslän more than a hundred years ago (see above). In 2012 and 2013 a controversy arose when the local authority on the island of Orust denied building permits for the 28 holiday cottages (Bohusläningen, 11 May 2013). Photo Anders Gustavsson.

Reactions from the People of Bohuslän

What have been the reactions from the local residents and municipalities to this vast increase in the number of Norwegian holiday cottages? Due to purchase of houses, it is more a matter of permanent tourism than the mobile tourism represented by boat, golf and caravan tourists. Thanks to the great demand, prices of housing have risen. Permanent local residents are thus affected by having higher rates on their real estate because of the fact that so many former year-round dwellings have been sold for holiday use at greatly inflated prices.

As house owners, Norwegians can also gain more influence at the local level and compete for space and for service in a new and different way. Possibilities for conflicts of interest in this way increase. This is the background for several critical letters to the editor of the *StrömstadsTidning* in their column "Free expressions" in the summer of 2002 when the Norwegian purchasing rush was so high. This criticism was not only concerned with purchases of dwellings, but also with the boat tourism and cross-border shopping that resulted in overcrowding and feelings of encroachment. One contributor, who called himself "Norse friend", wrote

There are two main problems at present: the increased overcrowding in the centre of town and the Norwegian acquisition of Swedish territory on terms that discriminate Swedes. This increased by 45 per cent last year!

A contributing writer, Leif Hedberg, noted at the end of the summer of 2002

In recent times and with a culmination this year, Strömstad has been totally exploited, which has led to the year-round local populace being crowded out of their own city. The resulting and obvious irritation is really only to be expected.

Estate agents in Strömstad also noted that some house owners did not want Norwegians as neighbours because there were already so many Norwegians in the municipality.

In addition to the contributors to the *StrömstadsTidning* who criticised Norwegians, there were other contributors who pointed to the positive effect that Norwegians had. These writers urged reconciliation, tolerance and hospitality. Such articles were signed by Swedes. One writer, whose signature was "Swede", expressed the following in the summer of 2002

One becomes sad and distressed after reading all these anti-Norwegian and almost hateful contributors. They show a complete lack of the tolerance and the hospitality one should show one's guests. ... We and the Norwegians are the same kind of people, after all, and speak almost the same language. ... Of course the town makes a profit from the Norwegians. Our city would be pretty empty without them, and our guest harbour no more than half-filled.

A woman who called herself “A world citizen living in Strömstad” wrote for her part:

My family and I live in Sjöboskogen. Several new neighbours have moved here, they are Norwegians and very pleasant people! We have Swedish flags, Norwegian flags, EU flags and maybe even others! It’s all right, I’d like to see more flags from different parts of the world.

These flags easily take on a symbolic meaning in connection with Norwegians’ encounters with the culture of Bohuslän (see below concerning this).

Norwegian contributors have often pointed to the positive economic significance that Norwegians have had for the Strömstad region. One Norwegian pointed out:

It’s not true that tourism leads to destruction. It helps build up Bohuslän. ... Why can’t we say just as well that it’s the Swedes who are selling off Bohuslän – bit by bit?

Norwegians who have settled in Strömstad have also said that they are ashamed of how more casual visitors and tourists from Norway behave in Strömstad by, for example, not respecting traffic regulations and leaving litter all over the surrounding area. A Norwegian, who moved to Strömstad in 2000, hoped that some change could be made in this respect.

I would also ask anyone who feels called upon or is bothered about this to give any visitors from our neighbouring country who behave discourteously (idling motors, not paying fines, littering etc.) a little lesson in politeness and decent behaviour.

One source of irritation felt by the people of Strömstad was eliminated in 2004, when an agreement was reached between Norway and Sweden giving the National Road Administration the right to collect fines from Norwegians who park illegally. This had not been possible formerly. The municipal commissioner expressed his satisfaction with the new agreement between the two countries in the summer of 2004. This had been a real problem in Strömstad where Norwegians parked illegally without risking fines. Cars were parked almost everywhere. And some Norwegians just tore up the fines right in front of the parking attendants (*Bohusläningen*, 10 July 2004).

The negative comments presented in *Strömstads Tidning* ceased for the most part from 2003 and on, which was the year that coincided with the stagnation in the number of Norwegian property purchases when the Swedish houseprices increased compared with earlier times. Similarly critical comments have not been noted in the municipalities of central Bohuslän south of Tanum and Strömstad where the Norwegian property purchases have not been as numerous. Norwegians have not constituted a threat to the permanent residents in these local settings. Instead, feelings of

solidarity with Norway have emerged in several of the interviews. As a carpenter born in 1942 who worked for summer guests, said in 2003:

Well, of course, Bohuslän used to belong to Norway. There's nothing wrong with Norwegians buying houses here. It's a lot better than people from other countries coming here and buying them.

Other informants have said that they preferred to have Norwegians rather than Germans buying property.

With the arrival of so many Norwegians in Bohuslän since the 1990s, an increase in the use of the Norwegian flag on public buildings and on means of transport has been observed on 17 May. Some Swedish municipalities have arranged some form of official celebration on that day. I had the opportunity to document such a celebration in the parish Kville in Tanum municipality in 2006. Many Bohuslän people participated and were able to listen to Norwegian national songs and eat Norwegian food. This celebration has continued on every later 17 May and was again documented in 2013 (Bohusläningen, 18 May 2013). In addition to Norwegian national songs and Norwegian food a lecture was also held by a Norwegian historian.

One of the Swedish people's most important holidays is their celebration of *Midsummer Eve*. This includes a maypole and dancing round this, midsummer songs, etc. Midsummer Day is set on the Saturday that occurs within the period of 20 to 26 June. Norwegians do not celebrate in this way, nor is this an official Norwegian holiday. Some Norwegians have gradually begun to participate in the celebration when they are in Bohuslän. This is especially true of families with children, seeing that children play an important role in this context. Norwegians find in this certain similarities to their own celebrations of 17 May.



A Norwegian-born woman married to a man from Tanum had baked Norwegian cookies, krumkaker, during the municipal celebration of Norway's national holiday in Kville on 17 May 2006. Photo Anders Gustavsson.



The newspaper Strömstads Tidning reported on 29 June 2004 concerning the Midsummer celebrations on the island of Rossö and published this picture: “Kristin and Anders Smidessang are decorating one of the rings (for the Maypole, author’s note). They are Norwegian summer guests and are looking forward to Midsummer Eve. We don’t celebrate Midsummer Eve in Norway, and that makes taking part all the more fun, says Kristin. Her son, Anders regards the temporarily naked pole with some suspicion. What’s it supposed to be used for? I don’t know what to do because I don’t know anyone here. Mother Kristin calms him down and says that there’ll be a lot of children for him to play with later on”.

Discussions concerning Obligatory Residence

In the early 2000s, deliberations on insisting on obligatory residence began to be expressed openly in the northernmost areas of Bohuslän. This kind of obligatory residence has been in effect in 77 coastal municipalities in southern Norway since the 1970s (Sol 2002) as based on a resolution passed in the Norwegian parliament. There, “concession laws” have been passed that are seen as being ideal by advocates of obligatory residence in northern Bohuslän. These Norwegian coastal municipalities have been divided into zones, some for permanent residency and others for semi-permanent residency. In order to purchase a house in an area zoned as “0-concession” and intended for year-round habitation, the purchaser has to commit himself to reside in the area for at least six months out of every year and to pay taxes to the municipality, or to rent out the house and see to his tenant’s paying taxes. If this is not upheld, the municipality has the right to annul the purchase. This has led to real estate prices in such coastal areas being kept at a lower level, something that favours permanent residents who wish to purchase a house. The one exception to this law concerns taking over a house by inheritance.

Laws of this kind have not been passed in Sweden, but some coastal municipalities in northern Bohuslän have begun to use comparable regulations in the form of

voluntary obligatory residence on a local basis. House-owners who follow these regulations will not sell property if they are not convinced that the purchaser intends to reside in the area. *Göteborgs-Posten* published an article in 2003 entitled “Norwegians don’t cause inconvenience in Edsvik (Tanum municipality)”. The text of the article told about how “obligatory residency has been introduced here on its own. The inhabitants look after their community. Norwegians are no trouble here”. There were 22 houses and 8 active fishermen in this little village. One local man stated that “the most important thing is who is going to live in the houses, not the money we can make. That’s our way of thinking”. This is a case of a collective attitude aimed at what is best for the village and not only at financial gain for whoever wants to sell a house. A newer housing development built at Sannäs Fjord near Edsvik has a total of 50 houses, 48 of which in 2003 were owned by Norwegians (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 7 September 2003). An elderly stonemason from Sannäs expressed his irritation in a letter to the editor of *StrömstadsTidning* in 2002:

In just a few short years, the centre of our community has become overfilled with Norwegians who have bought up houses to use for short summer holidays. It’s sickening to think of all those former generations of industrious Sannäs people who lived in them and really ought to have kept them in the family. But prices make this impossible. We who live here and have seen this ‘robbery’ get both angry and furious.

What could be the solution to this problem according to the writer of this letter? “Do just what the Norwegians do themselves. Insist on obligatory residence in all our traditional villages”. Regulations were adopted for a newly developed area of the island of Bohus-Malmön stipulating that house-owners could only sell their property to purchasers who are or who intend to become permanent residents (*Bohusläningen*, 7 February 2012).

On Resö in Tanum municipality, an “Association for year-round habitation and voluntary obligatory residence” was formed in 2003. Its aim was to work for setting up two different real estate markets, one for permanent dwellings and one for holiday cottages. They are trying to allow property owners who would apply the principle of voluntary obligatory residence when selling houses to be taxed more leniently in compensation. The association on Resö have said that their ideas have been supported by several of the Norwegian summer cottage guests “before everything dies off completely in winter” (*StrömstadsTidning*, 16 August 2003). No more than every fourth house (29%) was occupied year round on Resö in 2003. 60 per cent of the former permanent residences that had become holiday cottages since 1992 were purchased by Norwegians. Their purchase price, 2 million Swedish *kroner* per house, has been considerably higher than the 1.3 million paid by Swedish buyers (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 12 July 2002). When such a large proportion of the houses become holiday cottages, activities die down in the winter and most of the windows become dark. The service industry is close to shutting down, or has already done so.

For the local populace and their access to services such as shops, schools, bus and boat service, it is important that houses are inhabited for much of the year and not just during the short summer season. In this regard Norwegians from eastern Norway, especially from Oslo, are at an advantage due to the shorter distance to holiday areas compared to owners of holiday cottages who live in eastern Sweden, especially Stockholm. Norwegians use their cottages more often during the year than Swedes from central Sweden do. “We drive down to Koster all year round, at least once a month, and from March to October, we are there every weekend”, said a woman doctor from Halden. Her family bought a house on North Koster Island in 1994. A woman from Oslo, whose family purchased a holiday cottage in the coastal village of Hunnebostrand as early as 1990, reported in 2004: “I think it’s just as enjoyable to look at the stormy sea in November as it is to watch the sunset on a warm summer evening” (*Aftenposten*, 7 August 2004). In general, Norwegians are interested in extending their leisure-time season as much as possible during both spring and fall. This is seen as being positive by village dwellers and local municipalities, and eases contacts and reception there for leisure-time residents. The municipal commissioner in Strömstad stated in a couple of newspaper interviews in 1998:

We are more inclined to feel that it is an advantage when Norwegians from Fredrikstad, Sarpsborg or Oslo buy property instead of when people from Stockholm or Gothenburg do that (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 12 January 1998).

Norwegians have a shorter distance to drive from their homes and therefore come here more often, which means that the holiday cottages are used more often (*Böhusläningen*, 13 January 1998).

This affords more support to local shops. The selection of goods in these shops is somewhat adjusted to the Norwegian group of customers. This has to do with certain foodstuffs and, for example, with signs written in Norwegian and, especially with the selection of Norwegian newspapers. In 2003, the municipal commissioner in Strömstad emphasised that “it is due to our Norwegian residents that we are able to maintain service and trade during the winter” (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 2 July 2003). When the mayor of Strömstad was interviewed in 2012, he emphasised the positive effect that the many Norwegians have had on both the service industry and for the pronounced upswing in the number of jobs for local residents. In the local annual publication *Kosterbladet* for 2012, mention is made of the many Norwegian families who have acquired cottages on the Koster Islands. Since they “spend each or every other weekend on the islands”, they benefit both the local ferry-boat company’s passenger traffic and the shops that can keep open all year round.

Generally speaking, I have observed a greater acceptance of tourists among local residents during my fieldwork in the 2000s. The main reason is that they are seen as a resource which provides economic incomes and job opportunities. This means that

a great many coastal villages can retain service functions, especially shops, all year round. The Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän is no longer as actively critical as it was during the late 1970s and the 1980s.

Holiday cottage owners have regained the voting rights in local community associations that they had once lost when controversies were more intense. They have thus come to be more on a par with the permanent residents. On Kåringön, an early summer holiday area, the representative for the permanent residents declared in 2011 that “now relations between us and the summer guests are good. We need one another!” On Åstol summer guests and permanent residents have worked together in the 2010s to form an association to save the local shop that is in danger of being shut down. A holiday cottage owner has even been chosen as foreperson. In the popular tourist village of Fjällbacka, permanent residents and summer residents in 2010 united to purchase the big hotel to ensure that it continues to be run in its time-honoured manner. Norwegians who have purchased houses and cottages have done their utmost to approach and, as far as possible, become integrated with the permanent residents. They have reported that their efforts have been successful, something that has also been observed by many permanent residents. The Norwegian house owners have invited neighbours, both from the village and other summer residents, to participate in celebrating 17 May and other holidays.



Norwegian newspapers in a sales rack to the right, with Swedish newspapers to the left, outside a kiosk in Torp Shopping Mall near Uddevalla in 2004. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

Norwegian Doubts and Carefulness about the choice of Norwegian or Swedish flag

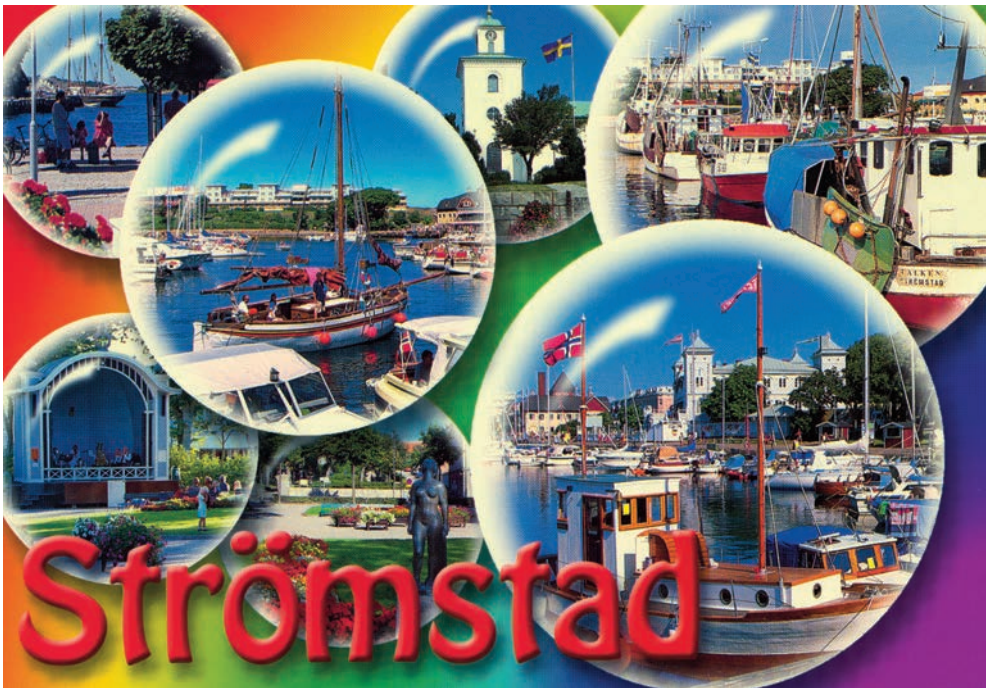
When Norwegians have purchased holiday cottages, one question that arises is how they feel that they can indicate their Norwegian affiliation in Swedish surroundings. The Norwegian flag is the foremost symbol of such affiliation. It is important for Norwegians to manage this in a strategic fashion that will not offend their Swedish

neighbours. This is no problem for mobile tourists who arrive by boat, automobile or are bicycling. They are not property owners, but are instead only paying short visits. All Norwegian tourists' boats fly the Norwegian flag from their stern. There can even be far more boats flying Norwegian than Swedish flags in the harbours of northern Bohuslän. The newspaper *Bohusläningen* reported from Strömstad on 24 July 1996:

If you were to judge which country you are in by the number of flags to be seen, Strömstad would definitely still belong to Norway, at least during the summer.

One can even observe the prominent Norwegian element among the boats and Norwegian flags flying on the harbour flagpoles on postcards sold in Strömstad. Norwegians have, in other words, become an accepted factor in the harbour during the summer.

Norwegian caravan owners also place a Norwegian flag on their caravans. This has become increasingly obvious due to the expansion of camping by Norwegians. "We have to have one," was one Norwegian's comment about the Norwegian flag on his caravan. The Norwegian flag can also have been painted on the caravan by the manufacturer. This is how the caravan owner shows his Norwegian origins. If both a Norwegian and a Swedish flag are placed on a caravan, it is often due to a so-called mixed marriage in which the one partner comes from Norway and the other from Sweden.



Postcard with Strömstad motives. Note the Norwegian flags. Photo CarlaFörlaget, Lysekil.



A Norwegian and a Swedish flag were placed outside a caravan near Stenungsund in 2004, as a sign of a so-called mixed Norwegian-Swedish marriage. Photo Anders Gustavsson.



A Norwegian flag flying outside a rented tourist cottage at Hafsten's campground near Uddevalla in the summer of 2004. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

In cases where camping tourists do not have their own caravan, but rent a small hut, these are occasionally also decorated with a fluttering Norwegian flag.

The situation becomes different if the Norwegians own a plot of land and a house on Swedish soil and then fly the Norwegian flag. This could rouse negative feelings among the neighbouring Swedish people. One should here remember the very great significance that the flag has for Norwegians in general. They always have flags with them and fly them on all festive occasions. Some Norwegians choose to leave the country on 17 May and travel to Bohuslän. One explanation given by adults is that they no longer have children living at home. 17 May is very closely associated with children (cf. Blehr 2000). This national holiday occupies a unique position in this context. I have observed in my fieldworks on this holiday during the 2000s that, without exception, Norwegians raised the Norwegian flag on their flagpoles in Bohuslän. 17 May, the date in 1814 on which Norway had adopted her own constitution after having been subject to Danish rule since the late 1300s, then became the principal symbol of national sentiment. The issues of the flag and the celebration of a national holiday represent an especially significant difference between Norway and Sweden. The latter country has always been sovereign and Swedish inhabitants have not felt the same need as Norwegians to mark their nationality by means of a flag.



A Norwegian couple from Oslo shown wearing their national costumes and standing alongside the Norwegian flag outside their holiday cottage in Orust on 17 May 2012. Photo Kristina Gustavsson.

Norwegians who live in smaller houses with Swedish neighbours all around them in the nearest area have chosen to be more careful about their flag-flying. They do not want to risk offending or causing antagonism among the Swedes with whom they wish to be on good terms. One solution has been to fly both the Norwegian and the Swedish flags on festive occasions. These flags can be on separate staffs or both on the same staff. If one owns a detached house, one can choose to fly a Norwegian from the balcony and a Swedish flag from the flagpole, except on holidays and, especially, on 17 May. Then the Norwegian flag flies from the flagpole. A Norwegian family from Asker outside Oslo acquired a holiday cottage on the coast outside Grebbestad

in 2003. The newspaper *Bohusläningen* reported after an interview with the family in the summer of 2003:

The major question at the moment is which flag they are going to fly. A little Norwegian flag already hangs by the entrance landing. But a Swedish flag will undoubtedly be flown from the flagpole (*Bohusläningen*, 8 July 2003).

A family who purchased an older house in the village of Sannäs as a holiday cottage in March 2003 said:

One certainly hears one or another person grumble about Norwegians taking over northern Bohuslän. That is why we do not fly a Norwegian pennant from the flagpole, says Ragnhild, the wife and mother. ... The house is, however, not completely untouched by the red-white-blue crossed flag. A tiny one has been placed in the hall window (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 3 July 2003).

The matter of the Norwegian flag does not seem as sensitive a question for the Swedish populace when one gets farther away from the border. This should be un-



A Norwegian flag on a house belonging to a local inhabitant on Orust Island. Photo in 2005 Anders Gustavsson.

derstood in connection with the fact that it is the two northernmost municipalities of Strömstad and Tanum that have felt the Norwegian presence most strongly concerning purchases of housing (see above). The farther south one comes in Bohuslän, the less problematic the sight of a Norwegian flag becomes. It is not considered to be a threat and does not necessarily give cause for irritation. A woman (born in 1960) who lives in central Bohuslän said in 2003 “it is easier for us to accept a Norwegian flag. They are so much like us. But it had probably been worse if it had been a case of an American or a German flag”. A Norwegian who owns a holiday cottage in this area and who flies the Norwegian flag on every holiday, reported that Norwegians receive a very warm welcome in this area. His Swedish neighbours have had only positive comments about the Norwegian flag. A few local inhabitants in mid-Bohuslän have flown the Norwegian flag on their houses. By doing this they have wanted to express their feeling of kinship with Norway.

In northernmost Bohuslän, however, Norwegians’ caution about flying the Norwegian flag is considerably more motivated. An estate agent from Strömstad stated that he had occasionally heard the following comment: “It’s OK with these Norwegians, but they shouldn’t keep flying that Norwegian flag”.

One innovation that I observed for the first time in 2011 was that a lot of Norwegian owners of holiday cottages have begun to fly a Norwegian pennant from their flagpoles and to allow it to remain there for the entire summer season. I have not met



A Norwegian couple, who purchased this house at Ellös in 2009, began flying a pennant in the Norwegian colours from their flag-pole in 2011. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

any negative reactions from local residents or from Swedish owners of holiday cottages, but instead expressions of respect for the Norwegian pennants, which are less noticeable than the Norwegian flag. There are some instances of both a Norwegian and a Swedish pennant being flown from the flagpole. This is when one partner in a marriage or partnership is Norwegian and the other one is Swedish.

Examples can also be found of Norwegians placing smaller flags indoors in their holiday cottages in both summer and winter. This is not a strategy for avoiding complications or for taking their surroundings into consideration since these flags are not visible outdoors. For Norwegians themselves, however, this custom of using flags is a symbolic expression of tradition and solidarity with their homeland. Flags are often hung on the Christmas trees of the Norwegian tourists who visit their holiday cottages at Christmas time.



A Norwegian couple from Oslo place small Norwegian flags in their Christmas tree in their holiday cottage in Orust Island in 2011. Photo Kristina Gustavsson.

The Bohuslän Flag

Something that lessens over the antagonism concerning the Norwegian and the Swedish flag, and that contributes to increased understanding for the Norwegian flag among the people of Bohuslän, is the flag of Bohuslän. It appeared in 1996 after the EU referendum in 1994. This flag can be considered partly as a criticism of the EU, when Norway, in contrast to Sweden, chose not to be a member of the Union. This flag was designed by the fish-seller Bertil Engdahl of Grebbestad and resembles both the Norwegian and the Swedish flags. An article in *Göteborgs-Posten* in 2000 called it “the combined Norwegian/Swedish flag” (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 10 January 2000). The



A Swedish tourist fastened the Bohuslän flag to his caravan in Malön's caravan site in the summer of 2004. Photo Anders Gustavsson.

red cross in the centre of the flag symbolises the Norwegian flag, as does the dark-blue section lower down. The uppermost light-blue section alludes to the Swedish flag. Two-thirds of the flag resemble the Norwegian flag and one-third the Swedish. The designer's idea was that Bohuslän belonged to Norway for two-thirds of the past thousand years and had been Swedish for the remaining third of that period after 1658.

By 2000, about 500 copies of this regional flag had been sold. Between the summer of 2003 and that of 2004, I observed more and more of these flags in use, mostly among resident people but also among Swedish owners of summer cottages. An important source of inspiration for residents in Gothenburg and Bohuslän were the articles in *Göteborgstidningen* on 3 and 4 July 2004 concerning this flag. In the summer of 2004, I saw the Bohuslän flag for the first time at caravan sites on Swedish-owned caravans. A woman, whose family bought a former fisherman's house as a summer place in Stocken in 1997, bought the Bohuslän flag for her flagpole in the summer of 2004. Her motive was that the flag "has to do with both Sweden and Norway. It has the Swedish and the Norwegian national colours". Bohuslän is experienced as a border region lying near Norway, in contrast to their home area around Gothenburg where these summer visitors use the Swedish flag.

Because of the Bohuslän flag, less reserve is experienced about the Norwegian flag among permanent residents and holidaying people in Bohuslän. At the same time,

it marks Bohuslän's historic ties with Norway and Bohuslän's present status as a border region next to Norway. The distance between what is Norwegian and what is Swedish lessens, and a feeling of solidarity with Norwegians can increase. The symbol constituted by the regional flag in this border region has smoothed over antagonisms and eased positive cultural encounters.

Norwegian tourists have before 2013 not begun to fly the flag of Bohuslän, but have instead continued to use their national flag. Usually they have not considered the flag of Bohuslän to be especially attractive in comparison with the Norwegian flag. Regional flags are unknown in Norway. In 2013 there was a change when I for the first time observed some Norwegian holidaymakers flying the Bohuslän flag on their summer houses and tourist boats on the island of Koster near the Norwegian border. They were not interested in using the Norwegian flag in Sweden, and in this way they opposed many of the neighbouring Norwegian holiday vacationers who flew the Norwegian flag on many occasions on Koster. They had discovered the Bohuslän flag and found it to be beautiful and more neutral in Sweden than the Norwegian flag. At the same time, they felt it reminding them of two of the colours of the Norwegian flag, namely dark blue and red.

Translation: Jean Aase

International Mass Tourism in the 2000s

Swedish Tourists in Portugal

Eva Wolf: Med charter till Estoril. En etnologisk studie av kulturell mångfald inom modern svensk turism. Göteborg, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 2001. 384 pp. III. Diss. English summary. (Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 32).

In a doctoral dissertation in ethnology presented at Gothenburg University in 2001, Eva Wolf has studied tourists who flew from Landvetter Airport outside Gothenburg to enjoy one- or two-week package tours to Portugal in the 1990s. They travelled to Estoril and Cascais on the coast near Lisbon, which have been tourist resorts for about a hundred years. Wolf's work is thus a synchronic case study. I was a member of the examination committee when Wolf defended her dissertation.

In many cases the travellers took advantage of last-minute vacancies, which were much cheaper than normal holidays booked in advance. The majority of the tourists were from the south of Sweden, mostly in the age range from the twenties to the fifties, with occasional older people. Slightly more women than men travelled. They were mainly from the middle class, with only a small proportion from working-class settings. A social dividing line is thus visible; the status aspect of tourism should not be ignored. There is no close-up study of the home environment of the tourists in Sweden, but age, gender and economy are found as background variables along with social affiliation.

The author has lived for a time in Portugal and has a good command of the language. In her fieldwork she was thus able to function as a link between the Swedish tourists and the Portuguese with whom they came into contact on, for example, excursions.

The study focuses on the tourists' reasons for travelling, their expectations, and holiday life in Portugal. The author's aim is to problematize cultural diversity. She seeks to discover collective tourist styles and their cultural and social context (cf. Picard 2013).

The fieldwork took the form of interviews and informal conversations in Portugal and partly in Sweden with 41 persons. The informants are given fictitious names, such as Sigge and Anna. Participant observation has been another significant method, as the author herself booked charter tours just like the other travellers. She took part in the activities arranged at hotels, in restaurants and on beaches, and on the excursions to historic sites and other places. She also distributed a questionnaire to which 37 people responded. The dissertation is illustrated with a number of photographs of tourist attractions and holiday activities taken by the author herself. In my opinion, the pictures could have been brought more into the analysis and been more commented upon.

In the introduction we are given a thorough survey of different sociological and anthropological theories of tourism since the 1950s and 1960s. These are called meta-theories since they operate on a macro-level, unlike the micro-level with which the author is dealing. These theories include a critique of tourism, partly on the basis of historical materialist reasoning, which regards tourism as passivizing. Contrary views occur, however, according to which tourism gives people an opportunity for self-fulfilment, self-determination, and personal creativity. The tourist can thus also be considered a modern-day secularized pilgrim who is active. In any case there is no question of a conformist mass tourist behaving like everyone else; they all have individual motives and activities.

In a background chapter Wolf presents the main lines of early tourism in various parts of Europe. The surveys here are important but the chapter is rather long in relation to the author's chosen problem, which concerns the 1990s. It is not until page 123 that she starts to analyse her own collected material. She begins by examining what it was that enticed tourists to Portugal and not to more familiar destinations. Historic monuments are an important attraction. The brochures from the tour companies provide information. The tours on offer focus on the educational aspect and not on entertainment and partying.

Based on her empirical material, the author chooses to divide the tourists into five different categories or tourist styles, although the boundaries between them are fluid. No fixed categories can be set up, nor is that the author's intention. Instead she wants to discern tendencies towards collective patterns. She aims to show tourist life as being multifaceted, unlike earlier scholarly perceptions of the uniformity of charter tourists and holiday life. The author constantly relates her analysis of the empirical material to the meta-theories.

The first category of tourist is called the *recreation tourists*, who are interested in peace and quiet. They want to get away from the stress at home and to relax with family and close friends at the tourist resort. They want fixed rituals, and they do not want to be crowded together with too many other people. These tourists take part in an occasional organized excursion but otherwise stay close to the tourist resorts. They have no real interest in bringing back souvenirs. They work in occupations where no great education is required.

Culture tourists are recruited among senior and medium-level white-collar workers, who attach crucial importance to learning about historical Portugal. Through books and travel brochures they have acquainted themselves with the country in advance. They travel a great deal during their stay in Portugal, visiting several museums on their own. They want to be independent. The author classifies the culture tourists as being either aesthetes or explorers. The aesthetes want to learn about Portuguese art. The explorers have a broader interest in living conditions in the country.

Compromisers are among the oldest travellers, aged in their fifties and sixties or older. They are difficult to define as a category, with quite a wide spread as regards occupation. They want to combine different interests and activities, engaging in recreation and culture to an equal extent and in moderation. They are thus an intermediate category between recreation tourists and culture tourists.

Action tourists form a younger category in their twenties to forties who have not had a long education. They want things to happen on their holiday, new impressions and exciting experiences. They do not mind if the program is intensive. The trip to Portugal is viewed as an adventure. There is no need to plan in advance, since surprises and variation are desirable. These tourists want to have something interesting to tell and show people when they get back home. That is why action tourists are busy photographers. They like to meet other people and become friends with them. Entertainment and pleasure are considered important, so this category of tourists visit the discos.

Individualists, like the action tourists, are among the youngest charter tourists, many of them in their twenties and thirties. They are recruited from many different occupations. Variation is important for them. They are the most mobile category of the travellers to Portugal. They are always engaged in various activities, including physically demanding ones such as diving and windsurfing. Nothing should be planned in advance for them. These tourists are also interested in history so that they can better understand the present. In that respect there are similarities to the culture tourists. The souvenirs they take home have to be original.

In a concluding section, which really has many unnecessary repetitions, the author seeks to show that the five tourist styles in different ways combine and prioritize three ideals: harmony, the acquisition of knowledge, and the hope for something exciting. As regards knowledge, the tourists want to become acquainted with the culture of the host country. The perspectives of harmony and excitement are in contrast to each other.

At the end of the dissertation there is an important section in which the author sums up by viewing her findings in relation to international meta-theories on tourism. She is careful to let the material speak and not to allow herself to be steered by earlier theoretical models. The link between empirical material and theory is made in a highly independent, testing way. The theories can serve as analytical aids, without providing answers to the problem in advance. The diversity of the tourists is emphasized, in contrast to the uniformity suggested by the meta-theories, which have not been tested on small groups. In this connection I would like to cite a fundamental statement by the author:

From the perspective of cultural science the macro-theories seem far too blunt as instruments for an understanding of the tourists' expectations and reasons for travelling. The pictures of the tourist that have been painted in the last few decades are based on a number of different theoretical assumptions rather than empirical investigations on the micro-level. More detailed studies of the conditions and needs of different individuals and groups would undoubtedly have led to a more differentiated picture and conveyed glimpses of the diversity that must always have existed in tourism (p. 329).

Different tourist styles occur side by side during the 1990s, even though the macro-theories do not reflect this. Instead they envisage a chronological development, with uniform basic types of tourists succeeding each other.

This dissertation is a thorough investigation based on a body of material collected by the author herself. This is analysed critically in relation to previous theories in international research into tourism. The dissertation is an important contribution to research on tourists who visit foreign countries, far from their everyday domestic environment. There has not been a great deal of research on this topic in Swedish ethnology, although some studies have been conducted by Finnish ethnologists.

Concluding Remarks

In western Sweden, summer holiday visitors from the towns have long gone out to certain coastal localities. The connections with the holiday summer visitors were a new experience for the local residents from the 1880's on. In this book I have examined the behavioural relationships between these two populace categories until present time. A harmonic relationship and one characterized by conflict are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Harmony, latent conflicts and open conflicts have replaced each other during different decades.

The initial phase of summer residence extended from the last two decades of the nineteenth century until approximately the beginning of World War II. During this summer lodger phase there was a manifest social disparity between the more socially

prominent holiday visitors, on the one hand, and the resident population, on the other. Contacts between the local population and the summer visitors appear to have been externally characterized by relative harmony. During the week both residents and holiday visitors strove to maintain their social distance.

From the beginning of the 1940s on, behavioural relationships between the summer visitors and local residents began to change markedly. Differences were no longer held back in the same way as before. Increasing conflicts of interests arose. From around 1940, summer visitors increasingly stopped renting summer accommodations. Instead, they gradually began to buy older houses in the coastal communities. The conflicts became more open during the 1960s and 1970s when the summer holiday visitors had bought more and more of the coastal houses. The conflict situation must be viewed in conjunction with a longer historical process which actually began during the 1920s and 1930s. Coordinated and organized criticism of summer visitors started among the local inhabitants in many coastal communities during the 1970s. As an umbrella organ for some 30 of these community organizations *The Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän* was formed in the spring of 1977. Summer visitors elected to give in rather than to contribute to reinforcing the overt conflicts, which had arisen. Instead, they sought to show that there existed a more harmonic relationship in their contacts with residents. Such behavior on the part of the summer visitors points to the fact that the initiative in the cultural contacts had tended to pass to the permanent populace.

When comparing the archipelago in Bohuslän with the Finnish-Swedish Pellinge islands, the most obvious difference in the contacts between islanders and holiday visitors was that the problems arising on Pellinge had a more latent than open character. The Pellinge islanders did not lodge collective protests against the holiday visitors. In order to understand the background for why relations between the islanders and the holiday visitors developed differently, one must point out how conditions on Pellinge differed from conditions on the coast of Bohuslän. Firstly houses on the Pellinge islands have not been built as close together as in the coastal villages of Bohuslän. Other factors have worked together to reduce open expressions of conflict on the Pellinge islands.

The second part of the book studies the new situation from the early 1990s, when a very substantial Norwegian expansion of tourists took place in coastal regions in Bohuslän. It has been essential to analyse the effects concerning the cultural contacts between the holiday visitors and the local inhabitants. Mobile Norwegian boat tourists have led to economic benefits for the boatyards of Bohuslän without resulting in any significant drawbacks for the ordinary coastal populace. There are, therefore, no obvious forms of conflict between local residents and boat tourists.

Mostly interesting is the situation for those Norwegians who have purchased holiday cottages. Like in earlier decades also here a pendulating between harmony and conflict filled meetings has taken place. One important question has been whether the tourists would be understood as a resource or a threat for the local inhabitants. As

house owners, Norwegians can gain more influence at the local level and compete for space and for service in a new way. Possibilities for conflicts of interest increase. Norwegians are interested in extending their leisure-time season as much as possible during both spring and fall. This is seen as being positive and eases reception among village dwellers. Generally speaking, I have observed a greater acceptance of tourists among local residents during the 2000s. The main reason is that the tourists are seen as a resource which provides economic incomes and job opportunities. This means that a great many coastal villages can retain service functions all year round. The *Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän* is no longer as actively critical as it was during the late 1970s and the 1980s. Norwegians who have purchased houses and cottages have done their utmost to become integrated with the permanent residents. Something that smoothes over the antagonism concerning the Norwegian and the Swedish flag, and that contributes to increased understanding for the Norwegian flag among the people of Bohuslän, is the flag of Bohuslän. The symbol constituted by the regional flag in this border region has eased positive cultural encounters.

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