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From sightseeing to sunbathing:

Blurring German and American traditions in Swedish package tours during the 1950s and 60s

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Introduction

A problem with empirical studies of Americanization—here meaning “the spread of consumerism and mass culture via America as part of broader global interconnectedness”¹—is that they tend to block out other cross-national references.² More specifically, hegemonic cultural influence in international contexts is often thought of as a chronologic series of succeeding, consecutive sets of coherent hegemonic practices. From such a perspective, German influence on Swedish institutions before WWII was followed by a corresponding American influence after the war. In this paper, such notions will be questioned by example of Swedish package tours in the 1950s and 60s.

In contrast to the result of many empirical studies of Americanization, often enough blocking “other foreign influences on the domestic situation”, I have chosen to address the complexity a mix of different influencing traditions induces.³ The reason is that realistically, the ways certain practices are institutionally regulated on a national level are constantly influenced from domestic interests and traditions as well as those imported from abroad. In studies of Americanization processes, domestic influences are often taken into account as modifications of American imports. But more seldom are influential traditions of other countries given any weight in the analyses.

Thus, I agree with Mel van Elteren when he points out that empirical studies of Americanization have had an effect of blocking out other influences, or as he also puts it

¹Richard Kuisel, “Commentary: Americanization for Historians”, *Diplomatic History* 24 (2000), 509-515.

²Mel van Elteren, *Americanism and Americanization: A Critical History of Domestic and Global Influence* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2006), 164.

³*Ibid.*, 164.

“that important influences from other countries or regional sub-globalizations are downplayed or even completely ignored.” By looking at a well-defined and limited case, the transformation of Swedish package tour industry in the 1950s and 60s, I will show how the process of Americanization instead was blurred by such influences. When using the concept of blurring I here mean: “making indistinct”, in essence indicating that my aim is to complicate matters rather than to clarify. More specifically, I hope to show how influences from different national traditions are hard, in fact impossible, to separate and distinguish when studying the transformation of practices and institutions on a national level.

What I set out to do from a more general perspective is to point out the importance of taking into account transnational European cultural traditions when dealing with extra-European influences. In this context, it is important to remember that any (national) culture is a product of fluctuating character in which social groups and individuals invest in order to create and use identities. In order to generalize, I would like to challenge the study of Americanization processes to also look for and analyze the interaction of extra- and intra-continental influences when trying to understand the formation of Europe. If such perspectives were to be applied more frequently, the result would be a different view of Europe as a flexible, open-ended entity, a geographical, but primarily politically, ideologically and social-economically contested space where not only two superpowers influenced institutional frameworks and practices, but also European countries and regions themselves. This would not necessarily imply the rejection of analyses departing from the idea of Americanization processes. Merely make them more complicated to use.

Of course, the issues at stake here, the European post-WWII experience of trans- and inter-continental cultural influences, can also be used to make statements about the more general debate regarding cultural diffusion. In this context, many voices have been heard and it is quite clear that one main line of argument has been to stress the importance of local practices when analyzing diffusion and transformation of culture.⁴ As the case of the transformation of Swedish package tours in the 1950s and 60s will show, such conclusions are valid also for Cold-War Europe despite the assumption of dominating Americanization processes,

⁴See for instance: Arjun Appaduari, Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization (Minneapolis, 1997).

Package tour traditions

North European vacation consumption developed a number of features after WWII, only loosely connected to American cultural hegemony. The focal object of this study is the package tour, well-known as a product including means of transport such as train, bus and later airplane (leading to inclusive tour by charter flights) and a scheduled itinerary with fixed departure and arrival dates as well as hotels and meals, all included at a set price. Travel agents sold the package tours to individual consumers, who formed groups of travellers following the same itinerary to cut costs and facilitate arrangements.

The historical roots of package tours go back centuries, but can be said to have reached wider social groups before WWII when the mediated design of package tours can be sought in the trips arranged by different interest groups—unions, political parties, study groups etc.—for the benefit of their members or to recruit new ones. The ideologies of early tourism and later mass tourism were multi-faceted. Tourist trips, including package tours, were allegedly made for a number of reasons: personal edification and the acquisition of social refinement, experiences of the sublime whether cultural or natural, leisure as a contrast to working life or as a result of retirement from duties etc., all with their own historical roots.⁵

In the inter-war period, tourism as a consumption phenomenon developed along parallel lines in America and Europe by state supported and often state promoted tourism business marketed for both citizens and foreigners in order to strengthen regional as well as national business life through raised market value of certain pin-pointed areas.⁶ The world's biggest organizer of package tours before WWII was the German Nazi organization "Kraft durch Freude" (Power Through Joy) formed in 1933 and enrolling about six million participants in domestic package tours between 1934 and 1939.⁷ Means

⁵Orvar Löfgren, On Holiday: A History of Vacationing, California Studies in Critical Human Geography 6 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁶Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Seeing the Nature of America: The National Parks as National Assets, 1914-1929", in: Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America, eds., Shelley Baranowski & Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 185-212, p. 192; Shelley Baranowski, "Strength through Joy: Tourism and National Integration in the Third Reich", in: Being Elsewhere, 213-236, p. 216.

⁷Shelley Baranowski, Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121-122; Kristin Semmens, Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich (Basingstoke, 2005), 123.

of transportation were normally trains or busses for domestic tours and cruisers for trips outside of Germany, for instance to the Norwegian fjords or to Madeira. Trips organized by “Kraft durch Freude” often included transportation and accommodation in the cheaper end of the spectrum in order to bar as few as possible for financial reasons. In the Third Reich, as in other parts of Europe and America, package tours were also organized and sold by private travel agencies arranging trips paralleling those of “Kraft durch Freude”, although considerably more expensive.

Given the stress on the Heimat (home region) in inter-war Germany, it is probably not surprising to learn that domestic package tours were promoted, if not state subsidized, by different Nazi organizations. In order to make package tours affordable for a larger part of the population and especially those social segments usually not represented among tourists prior to WWII, collective travelling was supported more than anything else.

Another important institutional prerequisite for the success of package tours in Nazi Germany beyond the context of white-collar workers was of course paid vacation for larger groups of employees. In Germany, paid vacation for workers was expanded throughout the 1930s. As a consequence, German regulations for paid vacation were singled out by the International Labour Organization as an example for others to follow.⁸ Despite the collective efforts implied in package tours, low prices of transport and accommodation as well as the possibilities to acquire paid vacation, package tours in Nazi Germany never seem to have attracted the masses on quite the scale organizers of “Kraft durch Freude” had hoped for. Going on vacation was still a relatively expensive undertaking when taking into account the salaries paid out to blue-collar workers.

The German experience of package tours during the inter-war period has thus been highlighted with the following words:

In sum, [Kraft durch Freude] holidays epitomized not only a new “new travel style” [sic!], but also a “new lifestyle”, one in tune with the aims of the Third Reich. The Nazi regime certainly promoted specific forms of travel, which shared a collective character.⁹

⁸Baranowski, Strength through Joy, 67-68.

⁹Semmens, 124.

Although package tours weren't invented in the Third Reich, far from it, the support for and relative social dispersion of this collective form of travelling did not pass unnoticed in neighbouring countries. In recent years, activities of "Kraft durch Freude" have rightly been pointed out as important for the evolution of mass tourism after WWII: "The contributions of the Third Reich to the postwar boom in mass tourism cannot be overlooked."¹⁰

The transformation of Swedish package tours in the 1950s and 60s

Since the days of the Hanseatic league of the 13th century, Sweden has not been much more than one of many other German states that was, with only a mild exaggeration, overlooked or somehow forgotten in the unification of Germany in the 1870s. Cultural influences from Germany kept on dominating Swedish affairs well into the 20th century. Swedish historian of science, Sten Lindroth, has described 19th-century Sweden as "a German cultural province" and historian of technology, Svante Lindqvist, has added "that Sweden changed its second language from German to English the day after the Battle of El Alamein".¹¹ It is in fact true that English replaced German as the second language in the curriculum of secondary schools in 1946, making Sweden change from one of the most Germanic nations in Europe to one of its most Americanized in less than a decade.

As we will see, however, such far-reaching changes were not realized as thoroughly in all areas of cultural life and especially not when it came to mass tourism. One important prerequisite for the relative social dispersion of package tours already mentioned was paid vacation. In Sweden, a minimum of two weeks vacation was introduced in the labour laws in 1938. This was later than in many other European countries, but the Swedish minimum paid vacation was expanded to three weeks in 1951 and four in 1963 making package tours more accessible for Swedish blue-collar workers in the early 1950s. (In 1978, five weeks of vacation were the minimum required by law.) In addition, mounting economic growth in northern Europe after WWII, not the least noticed in Sweden because of its successful, some say treacherous, foreign policies

¹⁰Baranowski, *Strength through Joy*, 238.

¹¹Sten Lindroth, *Uppsala universitet 1477-1977* (Uppsala, 1976), 182; Svante Lindqvist, "Introductory Essay: Harry Martinson and the Periphery of the Atom"; in: *Center on the Periphery: Historical Aspects of 20th-Century Swedish Physics*, Uppsala Studies in History of Science 17 (Canton, MA, 1993), xi-lv, p. xxi.

towards the Third Reich making Sweden stay out of WWII as well as German occupation, gave further leeway for consumption of tourism.

In Sweden, this meant that tourism abroad more or less exploded in the decade following WWII. Calculations indicate that 75.000 Swedish tourists traveled outside Scandinavia in 1947 compared to 373.000 three years later and 1.104.000 in 1954 with 1948 being a key year when traveling took off.¹² It is not possible however, to determine how many of these travellers actually went on package tours, but among package tours organized it is no question that those carried out by bus were dominating throughout the 1950s and early 60s.

A package tour by bus could typically be organized for one, two or three weeks. Shorter trips had end destination in Paris or some other continental capital. Longer trips could take tourists down to the Riviera or even as far as Rome. Longer trips by bus like this could allow a few days of bathing in between the extensive bus trips. There were also package tours that allowed for a week of bathing in the Mediterranean, but that week was then couched in two weeks of intensive bus riding both up and down to Sweden. For those who wished and could afford longer trips to more exotic parts of the world, cruises were the most common choice often organized to the Mediterranean or even to the West Indies.

Longer trips were of course both more time consuming and more expensive and shorter trips lasting for a week or two were presumably more common, at least more advertised. Package tours were described in the brochures and advertisements spread by travel agents and bus companies as endeavours to supply personal edification where important but distant monuments, museums and sights, together with local industry and handicraft, were made easily accessible.¹³ Quite a few tours were also arranged exclusively to capitals such as London (reached by boat) and Paris or Rome, Florence and Venice. This type of package tours, with rather packed cultural programs, have been

¹²Göran Andolf, Sverige och utlandet 1930-1975: Indikatorer för mätning av Sveriges kulturella beroende (Lund: Lund University, 1977), 32-33.

¹³This build upon a analysis of printed material in: The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect.

analyzed as a way to conserve and communicate bourgeoisie ideals of what was to be counted as worthwhile cultural experiences.¹⁴

As can be noticed, there is a marked difference between post-WWII package tours in Sweden and those organized in the Third Reich. In Swedish package tours, the goal and value of the trip were to get exposed to foreign, albeit western, culture, whether Notre Dame of Paris or the Simplon tunnel in the Alps. In the German case, the focus was on the Heimat and to get to know the Vaterland. Likewise easy to see is of course the similarities, the package tour as a way to cut costs and make foreign trips accessible also for blue-collar workers. Another common feature of package tours was also the security a more or less homogenous group of companions brings to less experienced tourists.¹⁵

But the focus of this paper is on the transformation of package tours in the 1950s and 60s, from trips made by bus to those made by chartered airplanes. In fact, package tours by airplane had been organized already before WWII. In a brochure from 1938, weekend bathing trips by airplane to the islands of Åland in the Baltic Sea between Stockholm and Helsinki was advertised, but the success is doubtful and for obvious reasons, the trip was not advertised the following years.¹⁶ Instead, in 1939, package tours by airplane were advertised with different European cities as end destinations.¹⁷

Even if such trips were very expensive indeed, the ground was no doubt prepared for the development of the mid-1950s, when there was a marked raise in frequency of advertisements for package tours by airplane. It is probably no use to pinpoint down the first package tours organized with chartered airplanes and hotel rooms. Popularly, the year of 1953 is often mentioned as the start of chartered flights.¹⁸ In 1952, however, package tours by bus were organized to Majorca with airplanes transporting tourists the

¹⁴Klas Grinell, *Att sälja världen: Omvärldsbilder i svensk utlandsturism*, Gothenburg Studies in the History of Science and Ideas 17 (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2004), 137-142.

¹⁵This was before the era of anti-tourist attitudes, see: Jens Kristian Steen Jacobsen, "Anti-tourist Attitudes: Mediterranean Charter Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research* 27 (2000), 284-200.

¹⁶The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect, 1938, "Aerotransport: Flyg och bada".

¹⁷The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect, 1939-1942, "Flygresor till populära specialpriser".

¹⁸See for instance: Thomas von Seth, *Älskade Charter: Historien om dem som fick vanligt folk att börja flyga* (Stockholm, 2001), 46. The source is probably: Göte Rosén, *Vägen till Palma. 25 års "luftaffärer"* (Malmö, 1970), 21-26.

last stretch from the Spanish mainland.¹⁹ And already before then, travel agents had sold airplane tickets to different destinations with hotel reservations as well. The difference with chartered flights was of course the lower prize as compared to individually bought air-tickets and hotel nights, a feature of package tours in general as already mentioned. A two-week trip to Majorca and Nice from Copenhagen cost approximately several good month salaries in 1953.²⁰

There is indeed a close connection between package tours by bus and by airplane since the companies initially chartering airplanes to arrange package tours were indeed bus companies with a long history of arranging package tours by bus to the European continent. Due to complaining tourists, it was in their interest to shorten the long and tedious stretches of transportation through Sweden, Denmark and northern Germany when bussing Swedish tourists to France and southern Europe.²¹ Instead, bus companies stationed their busses in Hamburg, Marseille and Pisa to be fed by passengers having traveled there by airplane. A clear indication of this is also that airplane types were chosen so that their number of passenger seats corresponded to the number of seats in a bus.²²

Moreover, package tours by air brought more in-depth differences in comparison to those organized by bus when the new means of transportation also transformed travel practices from city sightseeing and visits to cultural landmarks to sunbathing on beaches and salt-water swimming.²³ This led to a transformation of purpose of the package tours from peregrination to leisure life. The reason that cultural sightseeing more or less disappeared when the main means of transportation were transformed from bus to airplane was that chartered flights, for example to Majorca or the Canary Islands with hotel nights and meals included, did not have to make intermediate visits to cultural hearths on the European continent for practical reasons as busses had to.²⁴

¹⁹von Seth, 88. This has not been possible to confirm in the printed material accessible, see: The Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, Okat., Utländska resor, Program och prospect, 1952, Brodin Touring.

²⁰von Seth, 46.

²¹Rosén, 19-23.

²²Ibid., 45.

²³Grinell, 164.

²⁴Interestingly enough, this shift in purpose as a consequence of changing means of transportation has not been noticed internationally despite a rather vast tourism literature in the social sciences, see for instance: Armando Montanari & Allan M. Williams, eds., European Tourism: Regions, spaces and restructuring (Chichester, 1995).

Although most airplane types required refilling en route between Scandinavia and the Mediterranean, stops were only brief, perhaps while a meal was served at the airport. Typically, a flight to Majorca was scheduled from Stockholm to Gothenburg for 90 minutes, Gothenburg to Malmö in 60 minutes, Malmö to Stuttgart in 200 minutes, Stuttgart to Marseille in 150 minutes and Marseille to Palma de Mallorca in another 90 minutes making the total flight time an estimated 12 hours including stops.²⁵ In conclusion, package tours by airplane became much more closely connected to bathing than the bus tours had been. In this way, the main activities during a package tour was transformed during the 1950s and 60s, from riding a bus and sightseeing towns and cities to riding airplanes to bathe at a holiday resort.

American influences on package tours by airplane

Such transformation of the content of package tours, to some extent relying on the different features of air transportation as compared to land transportation, can also be understood in terms of American influences on travelling practices. For instance, vacation trips by airplane constituted an important prerequisite for American tourism in Europe after WWII.²⁶ Mass-produced package tours by jet airplanes starting in 1958 made trips to Europe affordable and less time-consuming for Americans.²⁷ American airplanes were also early on popular among Swedish airlines exploiting charter tourism in the 1950s.²⁸ In addition, some of the airports used in the Mediterranean were built during WWII by the allied forces in order to secure air assistance.

Needless to say, military technology influenced and promoted civil passenger aviation throughout the 1950s and 60s and to some extent continues to do so today. For instance, package tours by air from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean could be made considerably cheaper with Douglas DC-6, a jet engine with pressure cabin originally developed for military purposes and manufactured between 1946 and 1958, making it possible to cruise at an altitude of 30.000 feet and thus pass the Alps without having to

²⁵von Seth, 50.

²⁶Christopher Endy, Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 33-54.

²⁷Richard Pells, Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II (New York, 1997), 137.

²⁸Rosén, 88 & 124-126..

refuel or find ways around the mountain chain.²⁹ Another important factor promoting civil aviation after WWII was the access to educated fighter pilots on the job market.

Equally important was the process of regulating international passenger transportation after WWII. Indeed, the work had started already in the fall of 1944 when the International Civil Air Organization (ICAO) was formed in order to coordinate security and technical features of civil aviation. Different solutions were presented such as multilateral agreements to secure the right to pass over, and also land on, the territory of other nations. Other issues were settled through bilateral agreements.³⁰

Somewhat more than a year later, the International Air Traffic Association (IATA), was formed to promote cooperation between airlines.³¹ Since American aviation authorities viewed Scandinavia as one unit, Scandinavian national airlines were merged into Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) in 1946, a company that proved to work hard to hold back charter traffic in order to promote regular flights. For instance, there were regulations demanding passengers on chartered flights to stay away at least one week and that all meals had to be included in the price of a package tour. These regulations were more than anything else made possible through the allegedly close contacts between the publicly run SAS and the aviation authorities of different Scandinavian countries. Such intimate relations were indeed a European phenomenon since most regular airlines at this time were state-owned and thus usually had advantages regarding permissions granted by the authorities managing air traffic control.³²

But apart from institutional conditions and prerequisites for aviation, ideas of what activities constituted valuable leisure also influenced the transformation of package tours during the 1950s. Ethnologist Orvar Löfgren has pointed out how the idea of the beach expanded its influence on westerners from the Riviera to the beach of Waikiki in the Pacific Ocean.³³ Such ideas originally occupied the wealthier classes, for instance cruising to the Canary Islands or spending part of the season in Nice. But with lower tourist fares and cheaper charter flights, vacation practices including sand, sea and sun

²⁹Ibid., 88.

³⁰Ibid., 63-64.

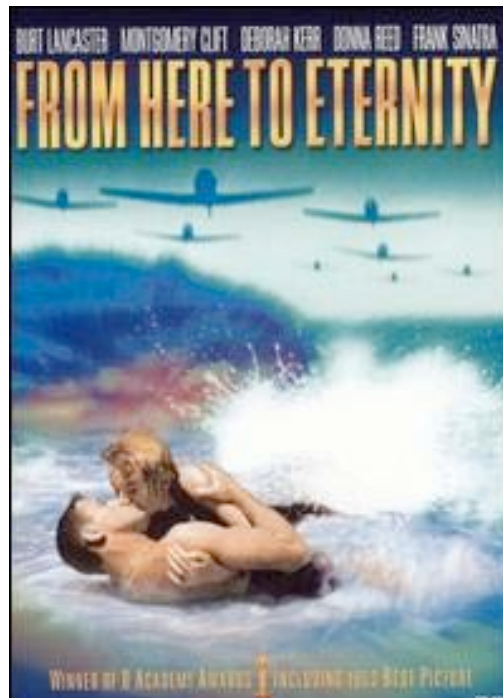
³¹Ibid., 64-65.

³²Ibid., 64-65.

³³Löfgren, 213-227.

(but excluding sex in this context) dispersed socially as well as geographically.³⁴ Popular culture, for example in the form of films such as From Here To Eternity (1953) with romantic scenes in beach environment, was of importance for this process.

Figure 1. Poster advertising From Here to Eternity of 1953. Note the Japanese fighters in the sky connecting romantic sea bathing and aviation.



(Source: The Internet Movie Database, January 2, 2009.)

Still, when trying to determine different historical factors behind the development of package tours by airplane in Scandinavia, Americanization processes did not dominate the scene. The pre-WWII German tradition of organizing package tours by bus had a persistent influence on the production and consumption of package tours also after the war and through a transformation of transportation technologies implying a transformation of purpose from peregrination to leisure life.

³⁴On the making of international sea resorts among wealthier groups, see: Mary Blume, Côte d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

Thus, both German and American traditions influenced the package tour industry in Sweden after WWII. Moreover, an analysis of production of Swedish package tours points towards an amalgam of traditional German influences and new American ideas of leisure in the 1950s and 60s as well as a socio-technical system for civil aviation with new airplane types and institutional regulations heavily influenced by American interests. Rather than to understand this amalgam as the result of a series of consecutive and succeeding hegemonic practices where influences of German traditions before WWII was followed by American after the war, it is reasonable to view the package tour by airplane as the result of indistinct and mixed traditions. In other words, package tours have both German and American ancestry, but blurred to such an extent it is impossible to determine the mother or the father.

In addition, here no weight has been put on the influence of practices and traditions in the countries visited by Swedish tourists travelling by package tours. The reason is that travel agents often went a long way not to expose the tourists to too much exotism.³⁵ The focus of social research has instead been on the *ibizzazione*, how coast villages and islands such as Ibiza were transformed by mass tourism.³⁶ Locally arranged “traditional pig parties” in Spain with unlimited servings of grilled pork and Sangria to mimic a village fiesta became an archetype of bad taste to be scorned in Swedish popular culture.³⁷

Expansion of package tours in the 1960s and 70s

Since tourism is one of the biggest industries in the world, and a sizable part of it consists of inclusive tours by charter, there is a vast literature on tourism development and

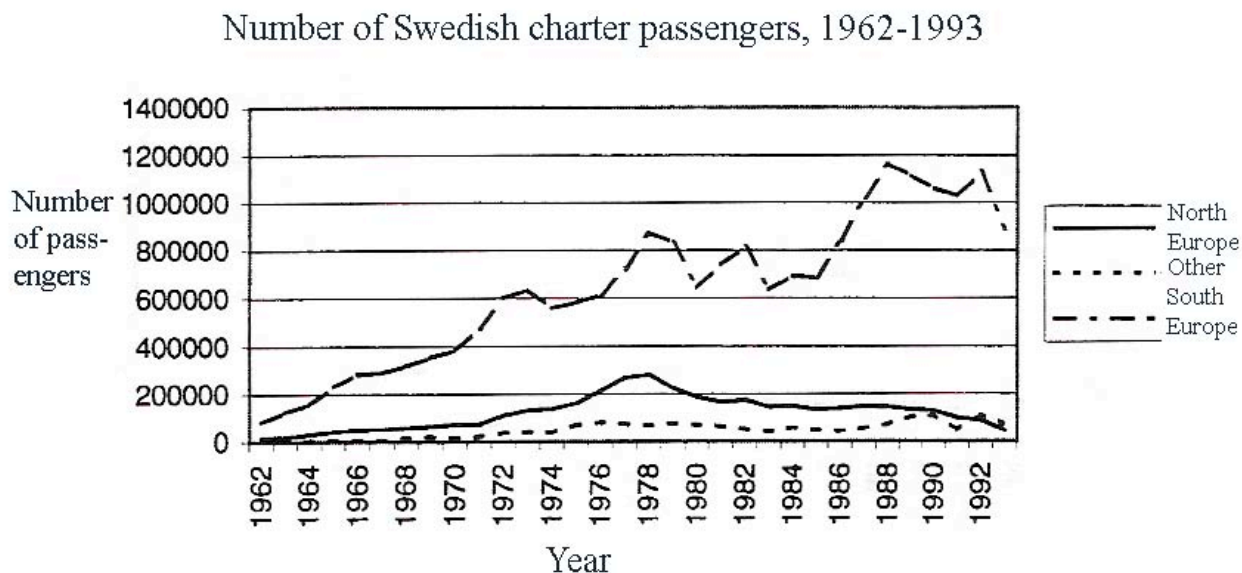
³⁵Regarding concern about Swedish package tour tourists in the Mediterranean, see: Orvar Löfgren, “Längtan till landet Annorlunda”, in: Längtan till landet Annorlunda: Om turism i historia och nutid (Hedemora, 1989), 9-49.

³⁶Jeremy Boissevain, ed., Coping With Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism, New Directions in Anthropology 1 (Providence RI, 1996); Jacqueline Waldren, Insiders and Outsiders: Paradise and reality in Mallorca, New Directions in Anthropology 3 (Providence, RI, 1996). Exceptions are studies of relations between tourism and migration patterns, see: Allan M. Williams, Russell King, Anthony Warnes & Guy Patterson, “Tourism and international retirement migration: new forms of an old relationship in southern Europe”, Tourism Geographies 2 (2000), 28-49; Russell King, Tony Warnes & Allan Williams, Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration in the Mediterranean (Oxford, 2000); Per Gustafson, “Tourism and Seasonal Retirement Migration”, Annals of Tourism Research 29 (2002), 899-918; Bente Haug, Graham M.S. Dann & Mehmet Mehmetoglu, “Little Norway in Spain: From Tourism to Migration”, Annals of Tourism Research 34 (2007), 202-222.

³⁷Löfgren, On Holiday, 181-191.

management including transformed travel patterns etc.³⁸ As a consequence, historical perspectives are more seldom put into the foreground. Nevertheless, Nordic countries, especially Sweden and Denmark, were early on important suppliers of charter passengers for the tourist markets of southern Europe. Besides the economic prosperity of the Scandinavian countries due to their avoidance of devastation during WWII, it should be noted that both Scandinavian and Nordic identities to large extent have been geographically and meteorologically defined. Being of the cold and during winter months very dark north, southbound package tours have become part of these identities.³⁹ It is no coincidence that Denmark, Norway, Sweden and to some extent also Finland have a high number of inclusive tour charter flights per capita in a European perspective.⁴⁰

Graph 1. The development of number of travellers on package tours by chartered airplanes in Sweden 1962-1999.



(Source: Roger Marjvaara, "Mot FjÄrran land—Svensk flygcharterturism 1962-1993", Master Thesis, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University (Fall, 1998), fig. 6.1.)

³⁸See for instance: Douglas C. Pearce, "Spatial Patterns of Package Tourism in Europe", *Annals of Tourism Research* 14 (1987), 183-201; Desmond A. Gillmor, "Evolving air-charter tourism patterns: change in outbound traffic from the Republic of Ireland", *Tourism Management* 17 (1996), 9-16.

³⁹Ole Wæver, "Nordic Nostalgia: Northern Europe after the Cold War", *International Affairs* 68 (1992), 77-102.

⁴⁰Douglas C. Pearce, "Mediterranean charters—a comparative geographic perspective", *Tourism Management* 8 (1987), 291-305.

From the graph above, it is clear that the number of travellers on package tours by chartered airplanes were raised considerably in the first half of the 1960s and then again in the 1970s. From a European perspective, it is also interesting to note that in 1970, Denmark and Sweden stood out as the two European countries with most departures per capita of non-scheduled flights to the Mediterranean.⁴¹ Scandinavians being so few, however, they peaked in 1975 at only four percent of the total number of visitors to Spain.⁴²

In the Swedish case, Spain was the main goal in the early 1960s followed by Italy and Greece. Within Spain, shifts took place from Palma de Mallorca, which was the most popular resort in the early 1960s, to Las Palmas, Tenerife and Lanzarote on Canary Islands dominating from the mid-60s.⁴³ The Spanish domination wasn't really challenged until the 1980s when Greece and Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean became more common alternatives to Spain and Italy.⁴⁴

Conclusions

Scandinavian vacation consumption of package tours can be explained using economic, legislative, historical and geographical perspectives. The relatively cold weather combined with a comparatively high standard of living including both incomes and vacation opportunities have proved a good basis for mass-scale, long-distance tourism to southern Europe early on. Originally, destinations of package tours by airplane were dominated by Majorca, the Canary Islands and coastal destinations on the Spanish mainland. Here, pre-packaged trips were arranged for less experienced tourists simplifying their acquisition of local transport, accommodation and meals and anything else requiring direct contact with the locals.

When trying to explain the ideological and institutional foundations of Swedish package tours, it is apparently necessary to take into account cultural influence from a

⁴¹Ibid., 292.

⁴²Manuel Valenzuela, "Spain: from the phenomenon of mass tourism to the search for a more diversified model", in: *Tourism and Economic Development: European Experiences*, 3rd ed., eds., Allan M. Williams & Gareth Shaw (Chichester, 1998), 43-74, p. 46.

⁴³Pearce, "Mediterranean charters", 300.

⁴⁴Roger Marjvaara, "Mot Fjällan land—Svensk flygcharterturism 1962-1993", Master Thesis, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University (Fall, 1998), fig. 5.3-5.7.

number of sources. I have highlighted the importance of German and American. In a Swedish context, package tours by bus constituted a phenomenon common both in the German Third Reich and in post-WWII Sweden where it was developed by travel agents and bus companies to package tours by airplane implying a transformation also of purpose. Civil aviation as well as sand, sea and sun could well have had connotations of American leisure life, although uncertain how strong.

Rather than to reduce the transformation of Swedish package tours in the 1950s and 60s to a mere consequence of a more thorough shift in hegemonic cultural influence from abroad, and thus consent to a view of such changes as a chronologic series of succeeding, consecutive sets of coherent hegemonic practices, I would like to suggest an understanding more characterized by complexity. It relies on the futility to try to weigh German and American influences against each other in order to reach conclusions regarding their relative importance for the transformation of package tours. Instead, a more reasonable approach is to view package tours as the result of an amalgam of different traditions where the components has been mixed to such an extent they have become indistinct and thus blurred.

From a more general perspective, a first order approximation of the West European condition during the Cold War would doubtless often result in conclusions referring to processes of Americanization. But in order to be more precise about different courses of events, it is also necessary to take into account second order approximations, which I suggest are most likely influences from other Western European countries. Tentatively, a third order approximation would also include influences from Eastern Europe and higher order approximations influences from continents other than North America. But an analysis of influences on the post-WWII development of Swedish package tours does not necessarily align to such a scheme. In this case, it seems harder to discern how influences from different sources have formed the object of study.

This reasoning may also have wider implications for the study of Americanization processes in general. Often, domestic influences and modifications of American imports are taken into account while influences from other national traditions are blocked out. This may result in an unfortunate slant when judging American influences on European practices during the Cold War. For example, in Sweden—one of Europe's allegedly most

Americanized countries during the period—the development of southbound package tours by airplane was strongly influenced by German tourism traditions. That such package tours became a building block of a national identity does not make the case less important.

In conclusion, the concept of Americanization implies simplification, for sure a virtue not to be neglected. But it is also time to address its problems, the lost opportunities to make richer analyses of how Europe was formed after WWII. In order to get there, it is necessary to go beyond domestic modifications of hegemonic American influence. It is time to also more closely analyze transnational European patterns of cultural traditions and their influences across European borders.