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ADVERTISING STORIES OF SECOND HOMES IN THE SWEDISH WELFARE STATE

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The aim of this article is to discuss the greatest expansion of vacation housing in Sweden for the period of 1960–1980. In focus are product advertisements related to new vacation houses for sale by producers of prefabricated wooden vacation houses. The empirical exploration is based on a content analysis of all issues of a widespread Swedish lifestyle magazine, published monthly between 1960 and 1980. A limited selection of advertisements is further analyzed from a perspective of discourse analysis. The selected advertisements are telling stories, a basic approach in advertising. As a result of the analysis a number of recurring stories can be constructed; the story of freedom of choice and of modern life, the story of multiple dwelling and of the good life, and of family unity. The stories could be stated to be closely connected to crucial values of the “people’s home,” the core principle of the Swedish welfare state.

Key words: Second homes; Welfare state; Modernity; Advertising; Advertisements; Stories

Introduction

Access to a second home has been regarded as part of a common lifestyle in the Nordic countries (Hall, Müller, & Saarinen, 2009; Müller, 2002, 2006; Müller & Marjavaara, 2012). Natural environment and landscape aspects as important to second homes have been in focus (Pitkänen, 2008; Pitkänen, Puhakka, & Sawatzky, 2011; Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen, 2010) as well as recent conflicts and problems (Kaltenborn, Andersen, & Nellesmann, 2007; Müller, 2011; Müller & Hall, 2003; Persson, in press). The contemporary transformation of standard of the

vacation house has also been discussed (Overvåg & Berg, 2011; Vittersø, 2007).

However, second homes are rarely discussed from the angle of design and standard—that is to say, the architectural view (Persson, 2011). The aim of this article is to problemize a general image of the vacation house as part of an agrarian Sweden. During a few decades in the latter half of the 20th century the greatest expansion of second homes took place in the country; the vacation house became a product in the market place. By the 1960s the economy was providing greater disposable income for consumption, a growing middle class with more free time

for leisure activities, and a domestic industry that mass produced wood-framed houses. The producers of prefabricated vacation houses advertised regularly in lifestyle magazines. Advertising could be seen as part of society's production of ideology, and actually the producers of vacation houses asserted several key concepts for modern living on vacation in their advertisements.

I argue here that the idea of the vacation house as modern and comfortable could be seen as closely connected to crucial values in the Swedish welfare state. The first part of this article starts out from an account of the idea of second homes connected to a rural past versus ideas of modernity. In the second part of this article I explore representations of vacation houses in advertisements for prefabricated vacation houses in a Swedish lifestyle magazine during the period of the great expansion 1960–1980. In these representations a number of stories are told about the preferable design of the vacation house and what kind of lifestyles such a building could make possible at the time. The analysis reveals specific ways of presenting the vacation house as part of modern lifestyles and as part of welfare. The final section concludes with a discussion of the results and I argue that the development of the idea of comfortable vacation houses was an attitude closely connected to the rise of material standards in the welfare state.

Red Cottages Versus Vacation Houses of Modernity

There is a widespread image of the Swedish preference of rural second homes symbolized by a red cottage and thus part of the heritage of an agrarian Sweden. The general image of "the red cottage" could be interpreted as part of the construction of cultural community and tradition within the nation, and as a part of creating the perception of Sweden as a distinct entity with a common folk memory (Johansson, 2004). It is thus not surprising to find "the red cottage" in the book *Sweden a Pocket-guide: Facts, Tips and Advice for New Residents* published by the former Swedish Integration Board. In this publication one could read about Swedes and tradition as follows: "When Swedes live abroad, there are certain things they tend to miss. For many expatriate Swedes, the image of Sweden is a red

cottage on a lake, with a Swedish flag billowing in the breeze" (Björck & Davidsson, 2001, p. 45).

There are a lot of red cottages on lakes in Sweden, no doubt about it. There are also beloved stories of happy childhoods on farms, by the world famous author Astrid Lindgren, stories not at least very attractive to German buyers of second homes in Sweden (Müller, 1999). But a red cottage on a lake as a symbol for Sweden, a country known as, or at least formerly known as, a leading modern welfare state in Europe, how could that be understood? Historian of science and ideas, Karin Johannisson, indicates it means that modernity is connected to the idea of liberation from the past. That is why nostalgia is a form of memory suitable for romantics at a distance. The meaning of nostalgia in this sense is, according to Johannisson, a deliberate, experimental play with the past, with longing, desire, sensuality, transcendence and identity; all of them conceptions of heavy loading for the subject of modernity (Johannisson, 2001, p. 156, own translation). To dissociate oneself from the demands of agrarian supply is thus a requirement to experience the life of crofters as a pastoral idyll. As seen from this standpoint, a late periodical inhabitant of a rural cottage maybe has more in common with the aristocrats of pastoral country life in the 18th century than with everyday life in the 19th century of Poverty-Sweden.

Bielckus (1977) called attention to the fact that 10,000 Swedish farms each year became available as second homes in the 1960s. However, the transformation could only meet the demand of second homes to a limited extent, and during the last 3 years of the 1960s a total of 55,000 plots were parceled out for recreational accommodation. Bielckus emphasized that in a contemporary survey of Swedish second home owners, almost half of the respondents would have preferred an isolated croft or former farmhouse had they been able to choose their second home again. Bielckus also stated that in the region of Dalarna, traditional styled red wooden crofter cottages of age had been bought, dismantled, and moved nearer urban centers due to their popularity as second homes (Bielckus, 1977). This last statement gave later on rise to the comment: "A particular oddity of the Swedish situation is the concern over the style of second home dwelling" (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000, p. 86).

Whether this article will be regarded as obsessed with concern over the style of second homes is up to the reader to judge. One might reflect over the indirect information by Bielckus (1977); more than half of those asked in the above-referred survey did obviously have other preferences than old cottages. One might also ask what kinds of design they considered more preferable. And all those new vacation buildings at the plots, what kind of design served as model to them? In the middle of the 1960s about every 10th second home was a former permanently inhabited farm according to the authorities. What about the remaining 90%? According to contemporary statistics the period of 1960–1980 stands for the greatest period of expansion of vacation houses in Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2003). The number of vacation houses more than doubled during a little less than two decades. Probably rather many of them were originally intended to be second homes and newly built. What kind of ideal could be brought to life besides the dream of an idyllic peasant society? What other stories are to be told according to the design of Swedish vacation housing during the great expansion?

The long tradition of the Swedish system of governmental commissions has served as an important arena for social research (Wisselgren, 2008). In 1962 the Leisure Committee of Swedish Government started to investigate recreation areas, second homes, and connected matters. In one of the official reports the committee stated that second homes in Sweden had gone through a strong structural change according to building structure and planning as well as social and economic aspects. The development was due to increased living standard, continuous urbanization, added leisure, and improved communications (Official Reports of the Swedish Government, 1964). The development of vacation housing was in the report described in a way rather like other sectors in great structural change after 1945 as industry and agriculture, both with the aim of increased productivity. The wording could be interpreted as vacation housing being a part of building up the material welfare in the 1960s and the ambition of a rise in the standard of a vacation house seemed to be quite normal in “people’s home.” This process seems to have continued in the 1970s in spite of a growing political environmental consciousness. This could be understood as the state at first supporting an expansion of (family)

vacation housing and later on restricting the same process, because of changed standpoints in land use protection (cf. Persson, in press).

The total number of vacation houses increased in certain years in the 1960s to almost 30,000 yearly. During the period 1976–1978 about 9,000 vacation houses were added yearly, a halving of the figures from the beginning of the 1970s. How many of the buildings were prefabricated is unclear. However, after 1978 production and selling of new vacation houses were reduced and the producer’s confederation stated that year that 4,000 vacation houses were produced. In 1980 a couple of thousands were added to the total amount. The same year one third of all single-family houses in the country consisted of vacation houses due to property taxation (Official Reports of the Swedish Government, 1982). The Swedish extension of vacation houses culminating as early as in the 1960s seems to be outstanding in the Nordic context, due to distinctive factors discussed in the following text.

The idea of a Swedish “people’s home” (*folkhemmet*) has been regarded as the core principle of the construction of a Swedish/Nordic/Scandinavian model of a welfare state. “People’s home” means the aim to create a national community providing “a good home” for all and with equality and mutual respect as groundwork, during the long period of Swedish social democratic hegemony from 1932 until 1976 (Pierson & Leimgruber, 2010). Ethnologist Jonas Frykman claims, however, that modernization, by emancipation from the past of poverty, was not merely a social democratic program or something taking place through directives from above in society; the Swedes felt proud of their development, not their culture (Frykman, 2004). The political construction of “people’s home” was built on an alliance between state and capital, facilitating reform politics characterized by high social expenditure, extensive social provision, and progressive taxation (Pierson & Leimgruber, 2010). But the welfare of “people’s home” was to be built not only by a reconstruction of the “home” but also by an improvement of the “people.” Applied social science, or social engineering, was the tool to build a modern society guided by expert knowledge; a well-organized and functional society aimed towards “ever-increasing rates of prosperity, welfare and abundance” (Larsson, Letell, & Thörn,

2012, p. 12). The following could be seen as an illustration of social engineering during the period of social–democratic hegemony.

In 1962 the Leisure Committee of the Swedish Government investigated how areas of vacation houses could be built in denser structures with the aim to make it possible to design rational and efficient vacation houses. The conditions were studied in a systematic way, reminding of the way The Home Research Institute (HRI) earlier had mapped the ordinary dwelling, with the result of the first standardization of Swedish kitchens (cf. Rudberg, 2010). The study in 1962 concerned the planning of space and functions (Official Reports of the Swedish Government, 1965). However, these studies were not supposed to lead to increased legal demands of vacation houses; they could be interpreted as a kind of consumer guidance and general inspiration according to the idea of a family vacation house. The aim of higher building standard of new built vacation houses could in other words be said to be supported by the state, not only to be understood as effect of demands at the consumer’s market (cf. Kaltenborn et al., 2007; Vittersø, 2007). The ambition from the state to upgrade the design of vacation housing should also be related to the early breakthrough of Swedish modernism in the 1930s, a development closely connected to the social–democratic hegemony and its interest of consumption as a driving force to welfare development (Mattsson & Wallenstein, 2010).

An important part of the Swedish model of modernization and technical change was the enlarged possibility of social mobility. Sociologist Boel Berner has discussed education as a means to a modern and classless society in line with the social democratic vision of social mobility. Night classes and correspondence courses developed and filled the gap for principally ambitious young men on the move, since the state educational system was unable to meet the engineer shortage (Berner, 1999). Berner claims “the engineer” to be one of the principal characters on the scene of modernization in the 1950s and “the housewife” the other. The housewife of “people’s home” was a modern product of expert advice and household engineering; she was to become a kind of domestic engineer herself (Berner 1996, 2002). In the 1970s the public sector expanded due to reforms of taxation and child care; the housewife era had its day. As an example,

the number of trained nurses increased from about 24,000 in 1965 to 43,000 in 1975 (Dufwa, 2004).

Consumption was given a central role in “people’s home” after the abandonment of the idea of a socialization of the means of production in 1932 and the citizen was to be educated to be a “reasonable consumer.” The consumer was not to be directed towards “conspicuous consumption” but to act as an educated active consumer on the market. In that way the consumer was supposed to influence the production and supply of common goods (Mattsson, 2010). It was for example no coincidence that Sweden, a country with a successful car industry, had one of the highest rates of private cars in Europe during the 1950s (Lundin, 2008). The prefabricated wooden house became another product at the market. The producers originated in many cases from prior sawmills and had a history of prefabrication of wooden houses during the 19th century, but it was not until the 1920s that they began to market their goods by catalogs to a wider target group; one of the first was Borohus, in 1937 incorporated in HSB, a cooperative movement with standardization and rising of the standard in focus from the start (Edlund, 2004a). The governmental stimulation of the export sector of timber and wood products after 1945 was a means to increase the domestic processing industry. This resulted in the development of new resource-saving building and insulation methods based on standardized building elements and to an increased interest in the construction of prefabricated wooden houses (Jonsson, 1985). The main product was prefabricated permanent homes. Many producers, however, also made vacation houses as supplement; sometimes the reason was to level the production over the year (Edlund, 2004b). In summary, social engineering, social mobility, and “reasonable consuming” could be regarded as crucial conceptions in the construct of a modern “people’s home” with the means of a historic compromise between social democrats and Swedish capital and the building on reform politics.

Conceptual Framework

A contextual study over time reveals that Swedish second homes could be described in terms of simplicity, comfort, production, and consumption. However, there is no obvious connection between production and simplicity, between consumption and comfort,

and thus no unambiguous trend. Depending on their intended use, second homes have been designed as simple and functional or as fully appointed and comfortable buildings during agrarian society, industrialization, and present times (Persson, 2011).

In the 1960s the vacation house appeared as an article of consumption. Dreams of the most private, the dwelling, was exposed in a world of advertising and presented as a product among others. Advertisements could, on one hand, be said to reflect frequent apprehensions (cf. White, 2000) and thus mirror apprehensions in society. Advertisements could, on the other hand, be apprehended as products constructed temporally and spatially; in that respect advertising could be seen as part of society's production of ideology (Lefebvre, 1991; Slater, 1997).

The advertisements in my corpus showed in general the product as icon: that is, a picture of the product with an included text consisting of the trademark and an invitation to send for a catalogue (cf. Ohmann, 1996), and sometimes statements about the benefits of the product. This was mainly in accordance with the smaller, more occasional advertisers' way of presenting themselves. The bigger actors, however, used a more varied and sophisticated advertising and argued rational as well as emotional, sometimes even without showing the product at all. Such advertisements could associate with people, places, or events related to the product and its use (i.e., index) (cf. Ohmann, 1996). Index advertisements could be based on narratives telling stories, a basic approach in advertising (Adaval & Wyer Jr., 1998; Escalas, 1998; Lien & Chen, 2013).

In Sweden the 1960s seemed to signify somewhat of a transition period for the advertising business in general. Smaller advertising agencies began, instead of mediating advertisements inspired by American ways of working, to "start out from the customer and her demands, and the possibilities to satisfy her desires" (Boisen, 2003, p. 26, own translation). As described by Williamson (1995): "Material things that we need are made to represent other, non-material things we need; the point of exchange between the two is where 'meaning' is created" (p. 14).

Mapping Stories of Vacation Housing

The following empirical exploration is based on a content analysis carried out on all issues published

monthly between 1960 and 1980 of the Swedish interior design and lifestyle magazine *Allt i Hemmet*. *Allt i Hemmet* was introduced in 1956 as the first special magazine of its kind on the Swedish market. The magazine addressed house owners, and chief editor Marianne Fredriksson claimed in 1964 that nearly half a million people were reading each issue (quite a lot given that the population of Sweden at that time was 7.6 million people). A check of the issues of the magazine during the period indicates, according to the tables of contents, that the readers were interested in test results, housekeeping economy, and to receive inspiration and information about home living. A check of the same sort, of the competing magazine at the time, *Hem och Fritid*, indicates a direction towards active outdoor life and one's own repair work of the house.

The qualitative analysis of *Allt i Hemmet* is focused on product advertisements related to new vacation houses for sale. The material is sorted on presence over time, producers, and kinds of visual representations. During the period 1960–1980 fully 60 operators inserted around 660 advertisements for prefabricated vacation houses in *Allt i Hemmet*. The advertisers were mainly also the producers of the wooden vacation houses they were selling and they had occasional advertisements during the period. A fourth part of the advertisers were bigger operators and put in advertisements in practically every issue. The producers were mainly Swedish; however, 14% were from the other Scandinavian countries; some of them had Swedish retailers.

Seven advertisements from the period 1960–1980 are chosen out of the corpus to be examined further. The selection of advertisements for analysis can be chosen in different ways; in this analysis the choice is made among advertisements telling stories about the product. Advertisements with only a picture of the product and information about basic facts are excluded. The aim is to demonstrate variety and extent within the stories rather than to concentrate and confirm a certain kind of story. Smaller as well as bigger advertisers are therefore represented. My angle of approach is to discuss what kinds of ideas and images the advertisers are selling presumptive buyers of the product, what kinds of stories are told, and what kinds of constructions are shown.

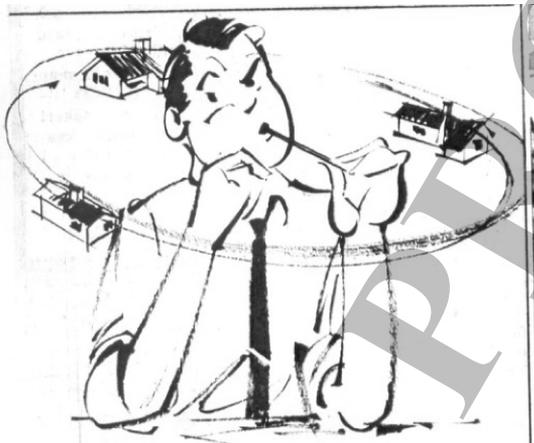
The selected advertisements are analyzed with a starting point of a discourse analytical perspective,

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1 meaning a holistic analysis of text, pictures, and
 2 context (Cook, 2001). Questions of importance for
 3 the analysis are: What do the pictures represent?
 4 What do the texts express? What kinds of appeals
 5 do pictures respectively texts address, and what
 6 messages are communicated by the combination of
 7 picture and text? What kind of image of a dwelling
 8 does the vacation house reproduce? What is said
 9 directly/indirectly about lifestyles in proportion to
 10 second homes and permanent housing? What kinds
 11 of stories are constructed?

Findings

12 One of the stories is about *the freedom of choice*.
 13 In an advertisement from 1960 a black and white
 14 drawing shows a man with an irresolute expres-
 15 sion sitting with his elbows at a table (Fig. 1). The
 16 text promises that he will find a suitable vacation
 17 house among several available types. That kind of
 18 promise could contain functional, technical, and



Funderar Ni på sommarstuga?

Veckorna går raskt till sommaren — till den välfortjänta fritiden. Vid den egna stugan får Ni mest ut av fritiden, fiske, bad etc. Hårlig avkoppling i rogivande miljö för hela familjen.

Hur stugan skall se ut? Ta en titt i LIBO-HUS katalog. Av de många typerna finner Ni säkert den stuga, som passar Era förhållande. Diskutera valet av stuga med någon av LIBO-HUS erfarna tekniker. Ring gärna Stockholm 45 92 95, 21 17 89, Göteborg 16 20 52, 46 27 31 eller Sävsjö 719 och Ni får hjälp med alla upplysningar för Era "bygge".

LIBO
huss

AB Ingenjörfirman S. Lindholm
SÄVSJÖ · Telefon 719

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Figure 1. Libohus advertisement, 1960.



GÖRAN AHLBERG VILLE HA ETT FRITIDSHUS FÖR ÅRET RUNT BOENDE.

Göran Ahlberg arbetar med marknadsföring av shipping. Vi bad honom berätta varför han valde ett Finnbohus.

Efter att han hade bott i lägenheter började jag söka efter ett hus, göran ett fritidshus som var lämpligt för permanent boende. Jag besökte Fritids-Exposition på gång utan att hitta något som passade. Vid tredje eller fjärde besöket hade Finnbohus byggt ett visningshus. Det passade mina behov.

Kontakten med Finnbo-företaget råkade jag säga var positiv. Jag hade diskutera förändring av planlösning direkt med arkitekten. Och fick hjälp med byggnadslovansöran.

Det nu jag såldes var den förlängda 2-an. Men eftersom jag inte hade behov av alla fyra sovrumsrum fick jag ett rejält badrum av dusch-rummet och en del av det intilliggande sovrumsrummet. Det blev plats för badkar, W.C., tvättställ, tvättmaskin och ett linneskåp. Och i köket satte jag in en diskmaskin.

Genom att sätta två stora vitrinskåp över badkåsen blev det oönskat utrymme även för glas och porslän. En detalj i köket som jag verkligen kan prisa är köksfacket. Det är nog den första fläkt som verkligen är effektiv. I förrådet fick jag plats med både omländningarna, bussen och förrådet med frys.

Finnbohus typ 2, förlängd.

Det är ganska märkligt att ett fritidshus kan utnyttjas så effektivt för permanent boende. Men så är också planeringen vettig. Inga döda strymlingar rådnars. Och tack vare takhöjden får rummen verkligen rymd.

Nu har jag och min familj bott här sedan oktober och upplevt huset vintertid. Även om vintern i år varit ovanligt snäll så var det i alla fall minus 14° och rikligt med snö. Men några problem med värmen fanns inte. Och värmekostnaden blev vad jag räknat med.

FINNBOHUS. HUSEN MED DÄCK.
AB Finnbo, Trä, Värtavägen 55, 115 38 Stockholm, Tel. 08-63 19 55.
Försäljningskontor i Malmö, tel. 040-19 48 10.

Figure 2. Finnbohus advertisement, 1975.

19 economical aspects and choices. The advertisement
 20 addresses not in the first place a handy man, but
 21 a man capable to make a good choice; he is even
 22 offered to discuss the product with experts from the
 23 company.

24 Another example is an advertisement from 1975
 25 with the headline "Göran Ahlberg wanted a vaca-
 26 tion house for all-the-year-round" (Fig. 2). The
 27 advertisement shows a color photo of a house at
 28 a distance, placed in a landscape with broad-leaf
 29 trees and without people. This idyll is contrasted
 30 by a dramatic narrative describing a man struggling
 31 for a special solution before he met this producer,
 32 the producer's solution of "Göran's" problems, and
 33 the satisfying result. This advertisement also seems
 34 to stretch the limits of what a vacation house stands
 35 for. At buyer's request the producer easily from
 36 start can rearrange the vacation house into an all-
 37 the-year home.

38 One of the biggest producers turned, in 1977,
 39 indirectly to the presumptive buyer in a reassuring

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— Om 2 dagar kan vi flytta in här... i BORO fritidshus

— Redan om två dagar kan vi flytta in här i en egen, helt färdigbyggt modern tostad. Grundsten är ståtliga redan klar och lag har hela huset kommit i paket från BORO-fabriken i Lundby. Stora, färdiga block för väggar, tak och golv, allsmånsans klart med perfekt inredning. Det blir ett rent, vackerhållet lästerrum. Här kan vi bo och trivas på vår fridstuga lika bekvämt som hemma i stan. Vi fick tillfälle att välja en planlösning som helt passar vår familj. BORO fritidshus kan lätt varieras med hänsyn till för olika utrymmesbehov, tack vare det praktiska "byggledningsystemet". Köket är vi särskilt glada över: Rouffé diskbänk, arbetsbänk i teak, plats för kylskåp och elspis, reptill med skafferi- och skåpgrupperna. Utrymmen för sovet och förråd är inplanerade i huset. Det bästa är att totalkostnaden blir så låg. Det beror på att de nödredningsförläggarna verkligen är färdiga, kompletta och alltid snabba att montera. Miljö och säkerheten får vi göra själva — ett kall jobb! Gör som vi! Titta i BORO fritidshuskatalog. Ni får den gratis genom kupongen i den här annonser.

BORO

HSB's Industri AB Borehus, Lundby

Sänd katalog över BORO fritidshus till:

Namn: _____

Adress: _____

Postadress: _____

4/66

Figure 5. HSB Boro advertisement, 1966.

project is pointed out by the specification of the included equipment such as a noncorrosive sink unit and a teak wood workbench in the kitchen. The statement that the rational production also leads to a lower total cost is not possible to verify. The vacation house is said to be modern, in other words the opposite to old-fashioned; the latter could be the synonym to other second homes at the market such as abandoned rural homes in the countryside.

The general rise in standards can be seen in the annual tests of vacation houses in the magazine *Allt i Hemmet* during the period of two decades. Around the middle of the 1970s the good examples shown by the editorial staff usually are equipped with both water closet and shower. This is also true of an advertisement with the headline "What would one want when buying a vacation house?" (Fig. 6). The manner of the illustrations is similar to contemporary editorial illustrations in the magazine and associations of good examples lie near at hand. Apparently this seems to be a villa but, in proportion to actual villa norms, the dimensions of the

functions are stunted. The text describes "reasonable design," "comfortable standard," and "proper sanitary room." As a contrast to the pictured idyll the text signals an opposition between those people interested in keeping up appearances and those who are using their reason and not are deluded into believing in fancy luxury and vanity. This product is said to be intended for those who are interested of facts and want a "reasonable" and "fair" solution, but without giving up the idea of comfort and space for social activities and rest.

The "nurse" has chosen an up-to-date way of vacation house living and the headline says: "The planning was conclusive" (Fig. 3). The clue to satisfaction thus starts from the arrangements of the planning. But no planning is shown; the presumptive buyer has to take her words for granted since she has an expression of confidence. The woman in this advertisement differs from the usual advertisement stereotype of a young and charming female; she sends out straightforwardness and trust. She had made her choice with good reasons;

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Vad är det man vill ha när man köper fritidshus?

Ja, ibland undrar man. Är det en statussymbol med snygga fasader och lyxig inredning? Är det överromantiserade stugor som bara fungerar som fotoobjekt mot gröna skogar och en blå himmel? Eller är det ett välisolerat hus med lagom stort utrymme, lättskött och inte så dyrt?

Vi har sagt ja till en vetlig funktion och ett rimligt pris. Och struntat i flåden. Men vi gör inte avkall på bekväm standard.

I det här fritidshuset, Sandhamn, finns rymliga, öppna ytor för sanvaro. Entré, allrum och kök i direkt förbindelse med terrass under tak.

Det välisolerade, rejäla trähuset på 62,2 kvm har också ordentliga hygienutrymmen och tre sovrum i avskild rad.

Jämför fritidshus från insidan! Då får du se vad dom går för.

ESSIHUS för hem och fritid

ESSI fritidshuskatalog, tack!
Till Essi AB, 347 01 GULLSPÅNG
Telefon 0551/205 10

Namn: _____

Adress: _____

Postnr, ort: _____

Tel: _____ Har tomt Har ej tomt

Figure 6. Essihus advertisement, 1977.

she did not act emotionally but has made rational and practical decisions. What else could you, by the way, expect of a professional? Now she wants to enjoy her free time, she has regulated holiday unlike a housewife, and she wants to spend time together with family and friends. The apprehension of the vacation house she represents could be interpreted as a reaction to out-of-date ideas of how to spend your leisure. The vacation house was not any longer a part of nostalgia; it was a part of modern life.

There is also *the story of living at more than one place*. The two advertisements from the 1960s, with the “irresolute man” respectively with the “vacation house package on deliverance in two days,” present the vacation house as aimed for “the well-earned leisure time,” respectively the opposite to “at home in town,” clear dichotomies to ordinary life. The stay in the cottage in the first advertisement represents another attitude than the ordinary life; relaxation in a restful setting. The “nurse” advertisement could also be interpreted in that way; she emphasizes that the house is “made for leisure” with a design with openness and space and with a big covered outdoor terrace. However, there is a contrary story in the advertisement about “Göran Ahlberg.” Here the separation between the ordinary dwelling at one place and the vacation house somewhere else is abolished. Placing of the house and its surroundings gives a feeling of leisure and relaxation; an interesting contrast to the headline of the advertisement saying “Göran Ahlberg wanted a vacation house for all-the-year-round place of residence.” According to the advertisement it is possible to have both at the same place (Fig. 2).

An advertisement with the headline “BORO Bungalow: the vacation house for the generous life” could have been an advertisement for a permanent home according to building size, equipment, and general wording in the text, and there is nothing that defines the house as just a vacation house (Fig. 7). “Vacation house” (*fritidshus*) is certainly mentioned a couple of times in the text but together with expressions such as “a generous life,” “lavishly fitted out,” and “ideal,” phrases as well suited for a villa design. Indications of a use for recreation are connected to climatic conditions. The advertisement’s mentioning that insulation is effective and can stand a winter in the north of the country was

BORO Bungalow
Fritidshuset för det generösa livet.

BORO Bungalow är ett påkostat fritidshus med elegant och levig inredning. Stora ytor på 100 m² lockar till samvaro utan att det blir trångt. Storstugan på 50 m² känns "oändligt" men har ändå en avdämd markis "over hönen". I anslutning till det eleganta bärköket.

De härliga sovrum, badrum och bastu med dusch gör fritiden till en njutning. Bekvämt även under den kallaste norrlandsvintern tack vare effektiv isolering.

Det svepande taket täcker större delen av det sköna trädäckret på tre av husets sidor. Du hittar alltid en vindskyddad hörna.

Da för samma föredragsliga lån som på övriga BORO fritidshus. Dvs ett lån på 25 år till byggsatsen och ett tilläggsloån på 25 år till upprätthållande. Båda med 5 års amorteringsfrihet. Och du betalar ingenting kontant.

Vill du ha något extra är BORO Bungalow det idealiska fritidshuset. Också i kvalitet och pris. Jämför gärna med vilket annat fritidshus som helst. Fyll i och posta kupongen idag så skickar vi mer information till dig.

När du köper BORO Bungalow väljer du trygghet.

Till HSB-BORO, S70 12 Landsbro.
Jag berättar mer information om BORO Bungalow.
Posta den till

Namn

Adress

Postnummer

Postadress

Telefon

HSB-BORO - Alla tiders fritidshus

Figure 7. HSB Boro advertisement, 1980.

not necessary according to permanent homes at the time; it was a matter of course.

This latter advertisement is also the clearest example of an additional story; *the story of “the good life.”* The possibility to such a lifestyle was within reach by way of advantageous loans postponed to future paydays. No cash payment was requested, the advertisement offered loans on 25 years’ time, with a 5-year period of exemption from amortization. The headline of this advertisement uses the international word “bungalow,” perhaps a more exotic and exclusive association; an image of something lavishly fitted out and special. The total area of the house, containing a living room of 50 m², was of a good size even concerning a permanent home at the time.

At last but not the least there is *the story of family life*. The two advertisements from the 1960s describe how the breadwinner can arrange a lovely relaxation for the whole family and respectively how the family can choose a design of their own choice to suit their demands, and is basically the

1 same story; the story of the vacation house as a
 2 foundation for family feelings of togetherness (Fig.
 3 1 and Fig. 5). The latter advertisement with a pic-
 4 ture of a man, a woman, and a child gives a direct
 5 association to the idea of a nuclear family. If the
 6 persons in real life do have family connections is
 7 impossible to prove, but the photograph gives a
 8 feeling of authenticity. The product is shown but is
 9 subordinate to the family picture.

10 The advertisement from the 1970s with the head-
 11 line “What does one want when buying a vaca-
 12 tion house?” does not directly mention whom the
 13 intended dwellers are meant to be, but the illustra-
 14 tions show a nuclear family of father, mother, and
 15 children (Fig. 6). When the “nurse” describes the
 16 advantages of her vacation house, a significant fac-
 17 tor to her choice was that all family members could
 18 have a bedroom of their own, and that there still
 19 were places for a few guests as well (Fig. 3).

20 “Göran Ahlberg” seems at first not to be part of
 21 the story of family feelings of togetherness (Fig.
 22 2). Nevertheless, this advertisement also contains
 23 “we”; at the very end of the story it is apparent that
 24 he shares his dwelling with his fiancée. The word
 25 “fiancée” occurs at first in the 22nd sentence of 25
 26 and could be changed to “partner.” A partner of
 27 “Göran” could be interpreted as either woman or
 28 man; the contemporary context, however, contra-
 29 dicts such a queer reading.

30 The exception to the general nuclear family pre-
 31 sentation is the description of the “carpenter.” It is
 32 most unclear if he has any relations to other people
 33 and, if so, what kind of relations. He is also alone in
 34 the exterior picture; he is standing at the roof work-
 35 ing with the chimney in accordance with the stereo-
 36 type of the independent and athletic male (Fig. 4).

38 Conclusion

39
 40 The purpose of this article was to problemize
 41 vacation housing during a period of great expansion.
 42 The article dealt with advertising and stories told
 43 about the vacation house presented by producers of
 44 prefabricated vacation houses. From the middle of
 45 the 1960s the advertisements could be regarded as
 46 carefully edited products, with in this case the main
 47 reason to sell vacation houses but also to satisfy other
 48 requests connected to the product. In the beginning
 49

of the 1960s the senders/advertisers in the corpus
 emphasized “rational” or/and “modern design.”
 During the later part of the 1960s “high quality” and
 “future value” were pointed out; the product could
 thus be regarded as an economical investment. These
 conceptions could be said to appeal to a “reasonable
 consumer” (cf. Mattsson, 2010).

According to Slater (1997), we formulate needs
 in relation to available resources of different kinds
 in society; although individual preferences are not
 exactly the same we reproduce and demonstrate
 our membership of a particular social order by cul-
 turally specific forms of consumption. The theme
 of social mobility could be illustrated as follows.
 In the 1960s legislation and trade union policies
 changed; for instance, fiscal reforms, introduction
 of day care centers, and an expanding public sector
 made it easier for women to have a family as well
 as a profession. In the 1970s the time had come for
 the “nurse” to appear in an advertisement, both as
 a spokeswoman for modernity and a representa-
 tive of a presumptive decision maker. “Lillemor
 Hebbe,” a trained nurse, was likely to be part of a
 growing middle class. Many female readers of the
 magazine at the time could probably identify with
 her being a professional.

The advertisement of the “irresolute man” from
 1960 does not tell about his supposed occupa-
 tion, but he could be interpreted as a professional
 employee sitting at his desk imaging himself on
 vacation; maybe he is a figure for an engineer to
 identify with? His appearance actually has similar-
 ities to advertisements a few years earlier concern-
 ing correspondence institutes offering courses in
 engineering (cf. Berner, 1999). If the man in the
 advertisement from 1960 could be identified as part
 of a vague group of professional employees—as a
 suggestion an engineer—there is no doubt about the
 man in the advertisement from 1977: he is a skilled
 worker. The target group of prefabricated vacation
 houses seems to have widened over the years; evi-
 dently a worker in 1977 could afford to choose pre-
 fabrication even if he was a carpenter himself. The
 producer stated, in an additional advertisement, that
 people from the building sector were buying this
 prefabricated house because they were specialists
 and knew how expensive it was to buy wood, how
 much work it was to build a house from beginning

to end, and how much odds and ends that would be wasted; the precision is said to be even higher when buying a prefabricated house with great blocks put together by fitters. This could be seen as a parallel to the earlier advertisement pointing out expert knowledge useful in buying a prefabricated product instead of making everything yourself.

Standardization and planning of dwellings were part of social engineering and could also be traced in the advertisements' views of building design (cf. Rudberg, 2010). Not for nothing the parallel production of villas left their marks. One of the advertisements has a furnishing that exposed the villa ideal in a stunted way (Fig. 7). This was a reason for recurrent general criticism towards producers in the annual tests of prefabricated vacation houses. The home of "Göran" shows that a possible transformation could be done with ease between dwelling forms.

Between the two advertisements from HSB Borohus there is nearly one and a half decades; the essence of the values over time has been loaded with different meanings. For HSB, a leading housing cooperative started in the 1920s, ideas of quality, security, and comfort were important from the beginning, as well as flats worth its price for its owners. For the presumptive family in the 1960s, quality could be interpreted as a number of rational views of design and technical carrying out in line with a well-considered decision by a "reasonable consumer" (cf. Mattsson, 2010). Attitudes to security could be interpreted as economical reliability; the producer keeping one's promise. It was possible to live nearly as comfortable in the vacation house as in town; the difference of lifestyles had not to do with the equipment of the house but with the enlarged possibilities of leisure activities compared to the ordinary daily life.

In 1980 the description of the qualities of the house expresses a number of emotive phrases about a generous life in a luxurious vacation house; a house that is "elegant," "airy," "gorgeous," and "comfortable." These qualities representative meanings of other kinds (cf. Williamson, 1995) than those supposed to be central for the average common sense citizen of the "people's home." The contrasting picture could be that of a scanty life in a simple vacation house that is in bad taste, with a shut-in feeling and

uncomfortable. The choice between these two alternatives seems to be uncomplicated and choice in itself a guarantee for security. By this time the focus in the advertisement has moved from who the users of the house might be to which qualities the house might consist of. The good life presupposes in this example implicit even a higher and luxurious standard than before. However, the golden days of the "people's home" were over in times of economic crisis (cf. Kautto, 2010; Larsson et al., 2012; Pierson & Leimgruber, 2010) and the target group seems to have shifted to a buyer out of the main stream in spite of favorable loans.

Seven advertisements are analyzed closer. The selectivity could be criticized; I build a limited defense on similar reasons as Ohmann (1996) did in his survey of American advertisements. Ohmann claimed firstly that the selected advertisements of his choice were "by no means unusual" (p. 175); in my case advertisements telling stories occurred in practically every issue of the chosen magazine during the period even though they were in minority in the beginning of the period. Secondly, the codes upon which they depended *were available* for use; the readers were familiar to used conventions (original italics). Applicable conventions in this case could be consumer guidance, rational arguments, and modern design.

This article has contributed to discussions of how conceptions of the Swedish welfare state, such as social mobility, social engineering, and "reasonable consumption" could be traced in contemporary advertisements concerning vacation housing. Hopefully future research shall continue to explore the development of vacation housing and enlighten this interesting but too little known period of the Swedish welfare state.

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