Foreign Second Home Purchases
- The Case of Northern Sweden, 1990-96

Robert Pettersson
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Preface

Currently, the future population development in the north of Sweden is in the focus of the public debate. In a period when the population is stagnating or even decreasing in many areas there are strong reasons for an investigation of how the international interest for this part of the country and its activities may be increased. The regulations that have been connected with purchases of second homes by foreigners in Sweden have obviously been an obstacle for the development this interest.

When those regulations now are on its way to dissolve, a more intense discussion may be initiated on the motives behind such purchases and regarding the sort of attributes that second homes may have which different groups of foreigners have a willingness to pay for. A further question is of cause how the dynamics of interaction between the new inhabitants and the local population is developing.

In this paper, presented at the department of Social and Economic geography, Robert Pettersson analyses a set of purchases of second homes by foreigners within the counties Västerbotten and Norrbotten in the first half of the nineties. The use and location of a cottage seems to be related to the distance to the permanent home, which in turn is correlated to the nationality of the buyer. The study is of obvious interest for those with an ambition to attract new categories of tourists to northern Sweden. Tourists, that in the future may be part of the local population.

The essay was awarded the 1999 Gösta Skoglund Prize for the best paper in the field of regional science presented at a department within Umeå University.

Umeå in august 1999

Lars Westin
Director of CERUM
Peripheral areas in European countries have recently experienced an influx of foreign second home owners. Here, the case of northern Sweden is presented, where Germans and Norwegians have purchased about 100 second homes between 1990 and 1996. It is argued that these second home owners have different motivations for buying a cottage depending on their country of origin, and that this has an impact on the locational pattern as well as the use of the second homes. Moreover, it is suggested that the distance between permanent and second homes should have more significance on location and use than the fact that they are located in different countries. The results of this survey reinforce these thoughts but, nevertheless, underline the importance of the concept of foreign tourism. Both Norwegians and Germans experience certain attractions in Sweden which are not available in their home countries.
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1 Second Home of Tourism

Second home tourism gained notable attention until the 1980s. Commencing with pioneer work by for example, Ljungdahl (1938) in Sweden or Wolfe (1951) in Canada, second home issues became an important part of the research agenda in many geography departments. In particular, the construction of new cottage sites during the 1960s and 1970s had entailed greater research efforts. Issues such as the diffusion of second homes, as well as motives and reasons for this practice, were investigated (Aldskogius, 1969, Burby III et al., 1972, Clout, 1972, Lundgren, 1974). The anthology *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* edited by Coppock in 1977 marked the peak, but also the beginning of the decline, of research interest in second home issues. The new construction of second home sites, originally caused by urbanization, car-ownership and an increased affluence in western societies, had come to an end.

During the 1990s geographers, often rural geographers, rediscovered second home ownership as a research topic. Now, attention is focused on the relationship between second home owners and the inhabitants of the surrounding rural environment, i.e. the impact of second home ownership on rural development (Aronsson, 1993, Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995). More typical tourist aspects, such as the attractiveness of the destination, motives for purchasing a second home, or locational patterns, are still neglected.

Nowadays, however, there is evidence that Europe is experiencing new developments in second home ownership patterns. The stage of mature development in many traditional Mediterranean tourist destinations, as well as the environmental stress in many metropolitan areas in Europe, are leading tourists to travel to new and more peripheral areas in Europe. The influx of British immigrants and second home owners to rural France as well as German second home purchases in Sweden have caused some attention (Buller and Hoggart, 1994, Müller, 1995). Buller and Hoggart (1994) regard these recent developments as part of an international counterurbanization process, in which the impact of national borders is declining. However, the tourist aspect of this development should not be ignored; not everyone buying a second home abroad is planning for later migration to the foreign country. Instead, second home ownership could also be regarded as a substitute for counterurbanization. It is therefore important to adopt a geographical perspective in which spatial relationships are stressed more than relationships between political administrative units.
The purpose of this article is to analyze foreign second home purchases in northern Sweden, here defined as the counties of Västerbotten and Norrbotten, during the period 1990-96. In particular, the attractiveness of the region to German and Norwegian cottage owners is investigated, as well as their locational patterns in the study area. The ambition of the article is also to contribute to the knowledge of how different motives of the foreign buyers are related to the distance between their permanent and second homes.
The emergence of second home living could already be seen in classical antiquity (Coppock, 1977). As then, people today like to experience things other than everyday life. Tourism is the result of this striving for change. Urbanization and widespread car-ownership were crucial preconditions for extending the opportunity of owning a second home to a wider range of societal classes. Urbanization and industrialization created the intellectual urban class that was needed to idealize country-life and the countryside, and that actually had leisure enough to consume such “commodities” (Bunce, 1994). Urbanization also caused the emergence of a suitable housing stock for second home living in the countryside. During the 1960s additional societal groups entered the second home market. Their demand for second homes in attractive mountain or coastal environments could not be satisfied by the existing stock and entailed new constructions in tourist regions and metropolitan hinterlands (Lundgren, 1974).

Nevertheless, the single secluded cottage has never lost its attractiveness. Even today, it symbolizes a simple, original life-style and the roots of living according to the dichotomy between the rural, symbolizing the good, the natural, and the God-made, and the urban, symbolizing the evil, the artificial, and the man-made. For others it is also a continuing link to their home village or, as in the North American case, a symbol for the frontier and the values of the pioneers (Bunce, 1994).

The meaning of cottaging is also related to the location of the second home in relation to the permanent residence. A second home in the nearby hinterland of a metropolitan area or a town probably has a different function for its owner than a second home in a remote location some hundred kilometers away. The leisure space of urban areas can be divided into three categories; the daily leisure space, the weekend leisure space and the vacation space (Aronsson, 1989, Jansson, 1994). The ranges of these spaces are dependent on the individual’s available means of transport, perception of distance, and economic budget. Moreover, the common time-budget of households forms an additional constraint. Second homes located within the weekend leisure space mean that the owners do not necessarily have to change their social and economic field and behavior; they can still shop at the same retail stores and maintain their social relations as in everyday life (Bohlin, 1982). The motive to purchase such a second home is probably the desire to have a place in the countryside that frequently allows the owner’s household to relax within a pleasant environment or to conduct certain leisure activities. Maybe family
ties are also maintained. Second homes within the vacation space can only be visited a few times a year and the motives to purchase a cottage in such a remote location can be different. In particular, if the second home is located in a foreign country, additional reasons such as the experience of a foreign way of life, an exotic environment, status, and “sunlust” have to be considered as motives. However, second home ownership may still imply participating in mass tourism. If the second home is located in a peripheral region outside the usual mass tourism destinations, even escapism can be the driving force for the purchases.

The location of a second home in a foreign country should not be overvalued. In many cases borders still form barriers, at least mental ones. The purchase of real-estate in a foreign country implies the confrontation with another legislation and another language. For example, due to negative experiences in southern Europe, the Deutsche und Schweizerische Schutzhelfer für Ausland Grundbesitz, a pool for owners of second homes in foreign countries, recommends prospective buyers to abandon plans to acquire real-estates abroad or, at least, to consult experts. However, the recent development in Europe shows that people do dare to invest in real-estates in other countries. In some cases, the weekend leisure space of an urban area may already include foreign countries (Müller, 1995, Wolfe, 1951). On the other hand, in large countries such as Canada, the USA, or Australia, exotic environments may be found within the nation’s borders. Therefore, the distance between permanent residence and second home should have a more crucial impact on the usage as well as the purpose of the second home, than the fact that the second home is located in a foreign country.
3 The Swedish Context

Internationally, Sweden has one of the highest numbers of second homes per inhabitant (Pacione, 1984). Altogether, there are 650,000 second homes in the country, i.e. at least every seventh household owns a second home. Most of the second homes are located in the archipelagos near to the metropolitan areas of Stockholm and Gothenburg. Additionally, there are notable cottage agglomerations all along the shoreline, especially on the island of Öland, and in the mountain area along the Norwegian border. Moreover, there is a considerable stock of second homes in the rural interior regions of the country, representing a large part of the original rural housing stock built between 1850 and 1950.

To many Swedes the second home means a great deal. Urbanization in Sweden was late and many second homes are people's childhood homes. Thus, in many cases, travelling to the second home means travelling back to one's own roots, to childhood memories and a good country-life. Outdoor life is still one of the most favorite leisure activities of the Swedish population. Therefore, foreign real-estate purchases were not welcomed. In particular, the German influx to southern Sweden after the devaluation of the Swedish currency in 1992 caused some debate and became an important issue in the Swedish EU-membership negotiations (Müller, 1995). Nevertheless, people living in foreign countries are allowed to buy real-estates in Sweden on application. A license can only be denied if the property is located near to military facilities, or in areas that are especially popular among the Swedish population. The latter regulation aims to prevent real-estate prices from increasing in attractive second home areas such as the archipelagos of Stockholm and Göteborg. The remote location of the study area in the north of Sweden entails that these restrictions have little effect here.

The counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten, which form the study area, are very sparsely populated. About 525,000 persons inhabit an area of 154,312 km², i.e. an average of 3 inhabitants per km². Some 320,000 of them live in the urban municipalities of Umeå, Skellefteå, Piteå, Boden and Luleå, all located close to the Gulf of Bothnia. The area is connected to the neighbouring regions by a well-developed infrastructure of roads, as well as rail and air links. The three main road passages over the mountains to Norway are sometimes closed, or at least difficult to use, during the winter season which usually lasts for about six months. The physical environment generally is characterized by the boreal forests, the geomorphological features of the last ice age and an almost sub-polar climate with long
snowy winters and rather short summer seasons. The region can be divided into six longitudinal zones (fig. 1), and the zones 3 to 6 are also known as Lapland, sometimes labelled as “Europe's last wilderness”. Recently, the interior part of the area has experienced high unemployment, largely due to the mechanization of forestry and cuts in public employment, resulting in depopulation, in particular among women and young people. Tourism is often considered as a chance to create new employment opportunities in the region, which is otherwise very dependent on subsidies and jobs made available by the Swedish state and the EU. Tourism business is always small-scaled, largely due to the long distances to major population agglomerations and due to the lack of specific attractions. Tourism is mainly influenced by the outdoor life opportunities in the vast woodlands and around the numerous lakes, creeks and rivers. Only the mountain range with some smaller winter sport resorts, the Arctic Circle and the Saami reindeer herding culture form more distinct attractions.

Second home tourism fits quite well into the profile of the region, in particular because there is a great stock of cottages available after the recent depopulation. In fact, cottaging is sometimes seen as a tool to preserve today's landscape (Grahn, 1991). Most of the 53,000 cottages in the study area are of timber construction and many of them have secluded locations in the rural areas. New, more concentrated cottage settlements can only be found in the mountain range and along the shoreline of the Gulf of Bothnia. The peripheral location and the harsh climate appear to hinder a greater interest in cottaging in the north. Therefore, cottaging by second home owners should provide a good opportunity to bind tourists to this remote area.
4 The Research Methodology

In Sweden, there is no comprehensive register of foreign second home owners yet available. However, prospective buyers have to fill in an application form, which is evaluated at the county administration. The applications submitted during the period 1990-96 form the database for this article. In this form, everyone has to notify the exact location of the real-estate, as well as the name and address of the buyer and the former owner. Moreover, a copy of the sale's contract and certification of the ratable value have to be submitted. First, the information from the application forms was evaluated, and the most numerous groups were identified. As expected these were the Germans, the Norwegians and the Finns. Then, an almost identical questionnaire was sent to those 20 of the 45 Norwegian and 51 German owners, respectively, who had owned their cottage for the longest time. Hence, the least experienced owners were excluded from the survey. The Finns were excluded, because of language reasons. The response was quite high, with 15 German and 12 Norwegian owners answering the questionnaire, which has been distributed, in German and Swedish, respectively. The questions concerned such issues as the motives for the purchase, the locational decision, as well as the owner’s activities and integration into the local community. The questionnaire featured mostly closed questions, often in form of semantic differentials separated by five points, as described by Smith (1995). That provided the opportunity to compare the answers of the two nationalities. Moreover, a field trip to the region offered the opportunity to actually visit about 20 cottages owned by foreign citizens, as well as to talk to neighbours and shop-keepers. Officials from the county administrations were also interviewed.

The foreign second home owners are a very anonymous group and as they only spend a very limited amount of time during the year in their second homes, no personal interviews could be conducted. The small sample of 27 cases during a seven-year period entailed that no statistical analysis of the data was computed. Moreover, the small number implies that the answers given by the second home owners, as well as by the locals, should not be overinterpreted. All the cases should be regarded more as examples of how a family may reason before purchasing a second home or of how they actually use the estate.
Foreign citizens bought 157 second homes in the study area during the research period. This is a very small number compared to the total number of 53,000 cottages in the area, and the total of 4,349 purchases (Statistics Sweden). The trend increased, at least since 1992 (tab. 1). Besides those from Germany, Norway and Finland, the buyers have come from the other western European countries. Additionally, two are from Russia and one from Morocco. The increase of German and Norwegian second home purchases started after the devaluation of the Swedish currency (SEK) in the end of 1992. Previously, Sweden had been considered as a very expensive tourist destination (Image Sweden, 1992). Afterwards, at least frequent visitors to Sweden became aware that the value of the SEK had declined in comparison to Norwegian or German currency, by 15 or 25 percent, respectively. Sweden had overnight become an affordable destination. However, the number of purchases by Norwegians and Germans does not really correlate to the value of the SEK (fig. 2). The devaluation was probably welcomed by those who had considered a purchase beforehand. Even though the value of the SEK was increasing in 1996, the total number of purchases continued to grow. One reason for that might have been that the price level is still very low. In the case of the Germans, at least, personal networks can virtually be excluded as a reason for the increase. According to the answers in the survey, all of them consider it very unlikely that close friends will follow their example. Only one stated that a friend of the family had already followed them in purchasing a second home nearby. In contrast, 4 of the 12 Norwegians state that it is probable that friends will also buy a cottage in Sweden.

The persons who purchased second homes in the region are very difficult to characterize. Actually, according to the application forms, they represent a wide range of ages and professions. The youngest buyer was 24 years old, the oldest 72. The majority are between 36 and 60 years old, and the age group 46 to 50 years is especially well represented. This is, in a way, the expected distribution for, after raising the children and reaching a more advanced professional position, households often have more money at their disposal for travel and leisure. In this respect, there are no differences between the German and Norwegian buyers. However, with regards to the professional background, German owners have a higher educational level on average and often hold well-paid positions within teaching and administration. This is perhaps a crucial precondition due to the fact that they have to pay for an approximately 2,000 km-long journey, almost
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exclusively by car, several times a year. Before purchasing a second home, some of the German owners already had professional contacts in northern Sweden. For example, some were involved in the car-testing under Arctic conditions that has been conducted in the research area.

The patterns of Norwegian as well as German second homes in the research area are very distinctive (fig. 3). The majority of the Norwegian owners had chosen to buy a second home in the mountain range separating Norway from Sweden. The region between the winter sport resorts of Tärnaby and Hemavan and the Norwegian border is particularly popular among the Norwegian owners. This region is connected to Norway by two roads and has to be considered as the hinterland of the Norwegian coastal city of Mo i Rana, about 100 km away. Scrutinizing the permanent residences of the Norwegian second home owners, it becomes obvious that three quarters of the Norwegian owners actually live quite concentrated around Mo i Rana. Thus, the second homes owned by Norwegians usually fall within the weekend leisure spaces of their home villages. This is obviously not possible for the German second home owners, who come from all over Germany. In contrast, a comparable survey in the south of Sweden showed a different result with the permanent residences of the German owners being heavily concentrated in the northern part of Germany, especially in the metropolitan areas of Hamburg and Berlin (Müller, 1995). This can reasonably be explained by the short distance between second home and permanent residence. The second homes in southern Sweden are thus located at the edge of the weekend leisure spaces of Hamburg and Berlin, whereas the second homes in northern Sweden are remote from all parts of Germany and fall exclusively into Germany’s vacation space. Distance from home only plays a crucial role in second home ownership for weekend leisure - not for vacation usage.

Even the appearances of the single cottages and of the surrounding environments allow a differentiation between the second homes of Norwegians and those of Germans. Almost exclusively, the second homes owned by Norwegians are modern buildings, erected during the 1970s and later to satisfy the demand for winter sport facilities. This purpose entailed that the cottages are usually fully equipped with water, electricity and television. They are part of larger cottage settlements lined up along the road between Tärnaby and Mo i Rana, which follows the valley of the Ume River up to spectacular mountain scenery. All these settlements are connected to the nearby nature reserves by well-developed hiking, cross-country, and snow-scooter tracks. Even the tourist resorts of Hemavan and Tärnaby, offering some downhill-slopes, après ski-entertainment, and the nearest service infrastructure, are no more than a one-hour car-ride away. During the summer season Hemavan and Tärnaby function as important service nodes for tourists hiking on the Kungsleden or other long distance hiking tracks. Moreover, there are good possibili-
ties for fishing and other outdoor activities. Otherwise, the cottage settlement are exclusively used for leisure purposes; only a very few persons reside permanently in the area.

In contrast, the cottages owned by Germans are mainly located in the hilly terrain east of the mountain range. Here, the boreal forests characterize the landscape. Often, the second homes are located outside the very small villages, and lie secluded in the woods. The houses were built during various periods. Nevertheless, almost all of them were originally designed as permanent dwellings, but were abandoned in favor of houses in the villages or other places outside the interior parts of northern Sweden. Many of the houses originally lacked modern facilities, but the German owners have invested in their houses, renovating and enlarging them.

The different form and location of the second homes can also be expressed by the taxable value of the houses, which usually is based on the location and the equipment. The taxable value is meant to represent about three-quarters of the actual market value. The taxable value of the second homes owned by Norwegians and Germans was on average 98,000 SEK and 54,000 SEK, respectively. However, the Norwegians paid an average price of 172,000 SEK, and the Germans 136,000 SEK. In all cases the purchase price is much higher than the one that could be expected on the basis of the taxable value. In some cases, German buyers paid six times more than the taxable values. In Sweden, Norwegians and, in particular, Germans are usually considered to be very rich (Genrup, 1994). This prejudice seems to be reinforced, because many of the houses purchased by Germans actually have no selling market at all, except the one aimed towards foreign citizens. The size of the real-estate influences the taxable value only marginally. Nevertheless, it should be stated that most of the properties are less than 4,000 m². A few of the German buyers own in fact more than 10,000 m²; in these cases, one can wonder whether the aim of the purchase is to own a second home, or to acquire a forest area for economic reasons.
Without any doubt, the physical environment is the key factor in the attractiveness of northern Sweden for all second home owners in the survey. In addition, German owners also mention silence, solitude, various activities, and the Swedish people who are considered to be extremely kind and friendly. By contrast, the Norwegian interests in the region focus on activities, in particular, snow-scootering, skiing, fishing, and berry-picking. Accessibility and climate are other factors named by the Norwegians. Some of them added that it was not possible to find a cottage nearby in Norway, while others stated that they had chosen Sweden very aware that snow-scooters were less strictly regulated in Sweden than in Norway. This focus is also mirrored by the fact that Norwegians give a higher priority to activities when selecting a cottage (tab. 2). In contrast, Germans value a secluded location and a forest environment. One German owner explained his choice of northern Sweden by pointing out that there are no other Germans around. In the majority of cases for both nationalities the initiative to purchase a second home in Sweden was taken by the male side of the household.

In contrast to the Germans, half of the Norwegian cottage owners who answered the questionnaire considered it difficult to find a suitable object. Every second Norwegian required the services of an estate agency, but only every fourth German did so. However, both groups mentioned that they are very satisfied with their purchases today, despite the fact that some of them were dissatisfied with the price paid for the second home.

The distance from the permanent residence has, of course, an impact on the number of visits during a year. According to the questionnaire, 8 German households travel to Sweden twice a year, 5 three times and 2 only once. The Norwegians on the other hand visit Sweden much more frequently; 7 visit the country ten or more times, and 2 eight to nine times. The remaining 3 visit their second homes five, four and two times, respectively. In the survey, the Germans usually stay longer than Norwegians each time they visit their cottage. The seasonal pattern concerning the use of the cottage is very distinctive for each group. The German owners mainly use their second homes during the summer season, while Norwegians have a much longer tourist season extending from February till October, with spring and fall as the most popular seasons (fig. 4). Scrutinizing the constraints that prevent the owners from using their cottages more frequently, only small differences can be found between Norwegians and Germans. Both nationalities experience the availability of leisure as most
constraining. Sometimes German house owners admit that they have competing interests at home. Travel expenses, distance, climate, and the interest in the second home are generally not identified as constraints, even though some German owners do mention distance. Some of the Norwegians complain that it is impossible to travel to the cottage during some winter months, because the mountain passes cannot be used.

One should be aware that the owners are not necessarily the sole users of the cottages. Only two of the twelve Norwegians stated that they used their cottages exclusively themselves, on the other hand nine of fifteen Germans did so. Norwegians are interested in being integrated into the local cottager group and the contact with other Norwegian owners is highly valued. On the other hand, since there is no local population around, most of the contacts are within the cottage settlements and within the circle of friends that is obviously established among the Norwegians. In fact, by purchasing a second home in Sweden seven of the twelve Norwegian households followed the example of friends. From this point of view, the lack of social contacts with locals can be substituted by a good atmosphere among the cottagers. Obviously, only a few of the Norwegians experience the lack of contact as problematic, which is definitely not due to language reasons. The secluded location of many houses owned by Germans entails that they usually do not have any other second home owners around. For them, integration into the local communities is crucial, especially due to the fact that the friendliness of the Swedes is considered as a main attraction. Some reactions in the survey indicate that this integration process did not always progress so well; misunderstandings and, sometimes, few social contacts seem to be rather common experiences. Certainly, the secluded locations contribute to this situation. According to neighbors and other locals, the Germans in the study area are considered as quiet and leading a secluded life. Nevertheless, the German owners are welcomed by the local population. That they usually have some knowledge of the Swedish language is appreciated, as is the fact that they renovate and thereby “save” obsolete rural buildings.

Concerning future developments, the visions of the Germans and Norwegians are rather different. All households in the survey are convinced that they will continue to use their second homes as frequently as today, or more often. Norwegians do not plan to move to their cottage after retiring; only one household thinks that this might happen, but all the others turn the idea down. The German households have different visions of the future usage of the cottage; at least two of them are quite sure that they will move permanently to the cottage (tab. 3). None of the German owners can imagine selling the house, despite the fact that there are many reasons for complaint. The extraordinary relationship to the house in Sweden is expressed by one of the owners as follows: “I could not imagine, even in my dreams,
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giving up this cultural heritage that I bought in Sweden”. Obviously, the second home owners have found what they are looking for.

According to the survey, the Norwegians expect friends to purchase a second home in the area to a higher degree than the Germans, who in fact almost exclude this possibility. Three of the Norwegian households are quite certain that this will happen and another thinks that there is at least a good possibility.
Cottaging in Northern Sweden does not attract a homogenous group of foreigners. Even if all of them are interested in nature and outdoor activities, their motives and expectations are rather different. This is dependent on the region of origin and its distance to the study area. The Norwegian owners still travel within their weekend leisure spaces, whereas the Germans are travelling to a remote and peripheral area within their vacation space. The distance factor is also mirrored in the locational patterns of ownership and in the use of the cottages. At least according to the survey, Norwegians use their cottages frequently - almost the year round. Breaks are only taken during the harshest winter periods, when the mountains cannot be crossed and during summer, when the Norwegians go on vacation. To Germans, being in the north and far away from home means vacation. The journey itself seems to be an attraction, too. In the survey, they express much clearer than the Norwegians, that they are interested in experiencing something different from everyday life at home. As tourists in the vacation space, they want to meet local people and participate in everyday life in the host communities. To put it in another way, they are looking for authentic environments and milieus that allow them to relax and experience the simple life. Their quest for silence and unspoiled nature, in contrast to the overcrowding in Germany, leads them look for areas with few tourists. Hence, the attractiveness of the region is based on its non-tourist character. Their behavior corresponds to the concept of regression, i.e. the attractiveness of living a more simple, unconstrained life, and seems to be typical for second home tourists from remote origins (Croplmpton, 1979, Jansson, 1994). The Norwegians caught by the survey do not seem to share the ambitions of the German vacationers. They are interested in having a place outside the nearby city which allow them to conduct various outdoor activities. According to their answers, Sweden tempts with decent prices, a liberal snow-scooter attitude and some skiing-facilities, all things which are not available in Norway. Outdoor-activities form the greatest attraction of the region. In contrast to the Germans, they do not appear to be that interested in getting into contact with the locals. Instead, they wish to socialize with their friends, Norwegian countrymen and other cottagers with whom they obviously share a lot of interests. The rather well developed tourist infrastructure in the mountain range forms an additional attraction and is a precondition for conducting activities such as snow-scootering and downhill-skiing. Integration into the local community does not seem to be necessary, for friends and relatives are nearby.
Conclusions

The motives of cottaging correlate therefore with distance. Cottaging in the weekend leisure space is based on motives connected to various outdoor activities, while cottaging in the vacation space is based on such motives as relaxation and experiencing the different. Therefore, the Norwegians welcome their countrymen as neighbors, but the Germans do not. Both Germans and Norwegians were aiming to buy a second home in a foreign country; the foreign country allows them to experience different values and things; for instance, the Norwegians profit from a liberal snow-scooter legislation, while the Germans see the absence of other Germans as an important attraction. Despite the European integration, there are still reasons left to distinguish between national and international tourism.
References


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Conclusions


Statistics Sweden, Statistiska meddelanden P16, Fastighetsstatistik. SCB, Stockholm, various years.

### Table 1
Nationalities of the second home buyers and the year of purchase (Source: County administration boards of Västerbotten and Norrbotten)

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### Table 2
Importance of various factors for selecting a cottage: mean values for German (n=15) and Norwegian (n=12) buyers, where (1) corresponds to unimportant and (5) to important (Source: own survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Germans</th>
<th>Norwegians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forest environment</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River/lake</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service infrastructure</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor activities</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secluded location</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3
Attitudes towards a permanent move to the cottage among Norwegian and German cottage owners, where (1) corresponds to not probable and (5) to probable (Source: own survey).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusions

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No. 2 Örjan Pettersson, Lars Olof Persson and Ulf Wiberg, Närbilder av västerbottningar - materiella levnads villkor och hälsotillstånd i Västerbottens län, 1996.

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