

SECOND HOME TOURISM

The Root to Displacement in Sweden?

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I still have pleasant childhood memories from the time when my mom and dad packed our Saab station wagon in Luleå for the 230 kilometre annual summer trip to our second home in Kieksiäisvaara, my parent's former home village. This second home was important for them, a clear link back in history and a place of refuge away from the daily routines of urban life. Here, I found friends that later would become my class mates after my parents decided that the family would move to the second home on a permanent basis. Later in life, I have realised that my childhood vacations and experiences are the products of larger societal processes, such as rural restructuring, urbanization, mobility, second home tourism, place attachment and return migration, the very same processes I later would come across through the work on this thesis. Hence, second home tourism and related issues are something I have experienced from an early age, more or less unconsciously.

During the past five years, second home tourism has accompanied me in my daily thoughts and discussions. The work has given me deep insights into issues previously unknown to me. It has made me realise that this is an important phenomenon for many, and I have even started to consider having a second home of my own. Having such a deep relationship with a specific topic of research has been an inspiring experience and has given me the opportunity to travel to distant places and meet fascinating people who share the same interest. However, at times the work has been tiring. Writing a doctoral thesis is certainly not always a bed of roses. Honestly, I have to say that these years have given me some of the best and worst times of my life so far – some valuable life-experiences.

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Roger Marjavaara
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PAPERS

- PAPER I: Marjavaara R. and D.K. Müller (2007). The Development of Second Homes' Assessed Property Values in Sweden 1991-2001. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 7 (3), pp. 202-222.
- PAPER II: Marjavaara, R. (2007). The Displacement Myth – Second Home Tourism in the Stockholm Archipelago. *Tourism Geographies* 9 (3), pp. 296-317.
- PAPER III: Marjavaara, R. (2007). Route to destruction? Second home tourism in small island communities. *Island Studies Journal* 2 (1), pp. 27-46.
- PAPER IV: Marjavaara, R. (2008). An Inquiry into Second-Home-Induced Displacement. Submitted to *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* on 23 May 2008

APPENDICES

- APPENDIX I: Questionnaire used in paper IV.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Melkersson:

— *So many people!*

Mr. Söderman:

— *Well, here come the summer guests. They are like the locusts of ancient Egypt.*

Mr. Melkersson:

— *So, Mr. Söderman, you do not like the summer guests?*

Mr. Söderman:

— *Yes I do like them. However, most of them are from Stockholm and the others... they are mostly rubbish too.*

This conversation is quoted from the classical Swedish TV series *Saltkråkan* from 1963. The script was written by the famous Swedish children's book writer Astrid Lindgren. The conversation takes place between one of the summer guests (Mr. Melkersson) and one of the permanent residents (Mr. Söderman), on the fictitious island of Saltkråkan in the Stockholm archipelago, while watching the steamboat from Stockholm arriving at the pier during the midsummer celebrations. In many ways, this conversation highlights some of the core issues regarding second home tourism in attractive rural areas, such as seasonality, host-guest relations, urban hinterland and accessibility, issues which are central to this thesis.

The second home phenomenon is not new. For example, the affluent people in ancient Rome had their country villas in the surroundings of the empire's capital, the Russian tsars had their winter palaces and the 18th century Parisians had their *maisons de plaisance* (Clout, 1972). What is new is the increase in the scale of second home ownership in most Western countries in recent decades (Dijst *et al.*, 2005). In many parts of the world, second homes are the destination of a substantial proportion of domestic and international travellers, and the number of available bed nights in a second home often rivals or even exceeds that available in the formal accommodation sector (Hall and Müller, 2004). However, nowhere in the world is second home ownership as common as in the Nordic countries (Jansson and Müller, 2003; Müller, 2007).

Within Swedish society, second home ownership and access is common. According to Statistics Sweden (2007), 46% of the inhabitants in Sweden have access to and can utilize a second home. Further, second homes generate some 34 million overnight stays, or 23 percent of all overnight stays in Sweden (Turistdelegationen, 2004). In 2001, Sweden had around 469,900 registered second homes (Müller, 2007). Compared to the country's low population numbers, approximately 9 million in 2004 (Statistics Sweden, 2005), this means high second home density.

During certain seasons, rural and peripheral places with significant numbers of second homes become the destination for major traffic and commodity flows and, in the process, become what Christaller (1963) terms; '*seasonal central points*'. The outcome of this seasonal flow can become somewhat problematic. Conflicts may arise between permanent residents and second home owners on issues regarding political influence in the host community, the environmental impact of second homes, planning for future development and infrastructure management (see e.g. Clout 1972; Bielckus 1977; Thissen 1978; Gustavsson 1992; Halseth & Rosenberg 1995; Green *et al.* 1996; Löfgren 1999; Hall *et al.* 2001; Aronsson 2004; Halseth 2004).

One of the most controversial issues of conflict is whether the demand for second homes has a displacement effect on the permanent residents. It has been argued that, especially in attractive destinations, the demand for second homes has led to an involuntary out-migration among permanent residents. Due to the documented socio-economic differences between second home owners and permanent residents in the countryside (Halseth, 2004; Müller, 2005), second home buyers can outbid the competition from permanent residents (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Hence, permanent residents must buy dwellings elsewhere, or must leave due to rising living costs through increased property taxes in the area (Fritz, 1982). In Sweden, the *Swedish National Rural Development Agency* (Glesbygdsverket) reacted strongly and even called for a residence obligation in the most attractive locations in order to stabilize the increase in prices and hence improve the future opportunities for the permanent residents by lowering their living costs (Glesbygdsverket, 2001). This was considered a way of ensuring a sustainable development in the area. Otherwise, service provision would disappear and permanent living would become impossible. It has been argued that this trend also exists in other countries, predominantly within the Western world (see e.g. Jordan, 1980; Sharpley and

Sharpley, 1997; Halseth, 1998; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; Fountain and Hall, 2002; Gallent *et al.*, 2003, 2005; Visser, 2004).

However, an alternative explanation for this development is offered. It is argued that the depopulation trend and the weak economic development are caused by a restructuring of the rural economy (see e.g. Ekholm, 1960; Clout, 1972; Shucksmith, 1983; Barke, 1991; Nordin, 1994; Jansson and Müller, 2003; Keen and Hall, 2004; Müller, 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Müller *et al.*, 2004; Selwood and Tonts, 2004). A decline in the traditional rural sectors of the economy – agriculture, fishing, forestry and manufacturing – has resulted in unemployment and out-migration. Further, the diversity of urban areas has attracted the young in particular to migrate to the cities. This development results in empty dwellings or potential second homes (Müller *et al.*, 2004). It is argued that second home owners are only filling the gap caused by rural out-migration.

The debate concerning second home induced displacement is still active in Sweden and internationally. However, it has often been difficult to establish the extent to which second homes have contributed to the problems in a specific area. Given this context, an examination of second homes and their impact on rural change is mandatory (Müller, 2004b).

1.1 Purpose of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to reveal any second home induced displacement of permanent residents in Sweden. The point of departure is the discussion concerning the future possibilities for permanent residents in areas characterised by high demand for second homes. Can it be determined that permanent residents are subject to an involuntary out-migration due to a diminishing supply of dwellings and an increased cost of living? The focus is on the permanent residents (or the potentially displaced) who live or have lived in attractive second home locations and their reasons for leaving the area.

Based on a Swedish context, the objectives of this thesis are to study:

- i. The determinants of attractive second home locations in Sweden. What characterizes them and where are they located? Where can a possible displacement of permanent residents be found? (Paper I).

- ii. The development of second homes, permanent homes and property values in Sweden's most attractive second home region. How has the number of second homes and permanent homes changed in the area and to what extent have second homes contributed to the price inflation for dwellings? (Paper II).
- iii. The characteristics of the in- and out-migrants in three selected, attractive second home locations. Who moves in and out of these locations and how does their socio-economic status change following the move? (Paper III).
- iv. The opinion among the out-migrants. What is the opinion among the out-migrants, or the potentially displaced, towards second home development in their former home, and how do they describe their reasons for leaving the area? Does the demand for second homes have anything to do with their decision to leave, or are there other reasons at play? (Paper IV).

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of three parts: an introductory section, four papers and an appendix (see figure 1). The introductory section starts with a brief overview of issues in second home research and continues to discuss the specific issue of second home induced displacement. This is discussed from an international perspective. After a brief presentation of the methods and materials used, the various papers that comprise the thesis are summarised. Later, a discussion is presented on the implications second home tourism has for attractive destinations, and a number of conclusions are drawn based on the results presented in the papers that follow. Further, a summary of the thesis is presented in English and Swedish. After this, the four papers are presented as a whole, where each paper is situated on different geographical levels, from national to local. Finally, the thesis includes an appendix which contains the questionnaire used in paper IV.

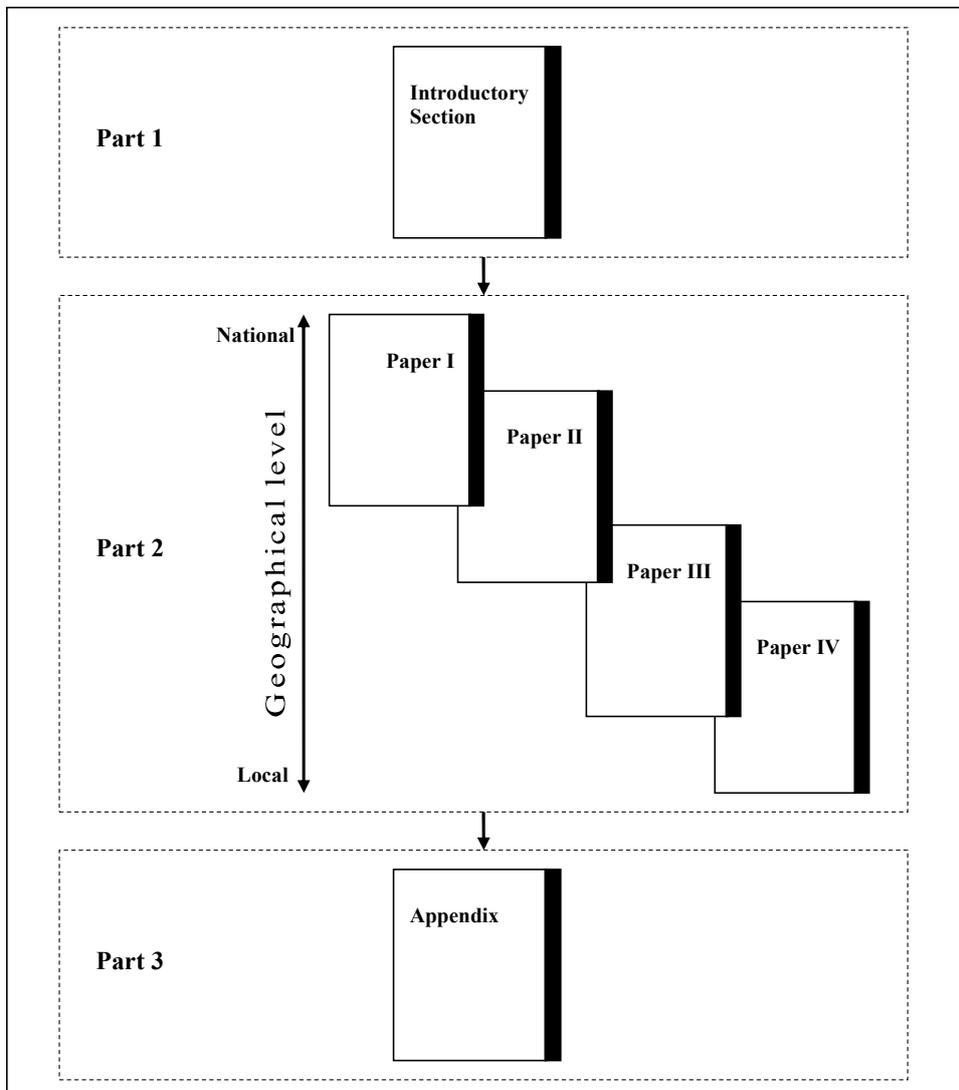


Figure 1. Outline and structure of the thesis.

Paper I: *The Development of Second Homes' Assessed Property Values in Sweden, 1991–2001*. The study aims to identify attractive second home areas in Sweden in order to find potential locations for second home induced displacement. Utilizing data from the comprehensive geo-referenced database ASTRID (generated by Statistics Sweden), covering all second homes in Sweden, attractive second home landscapes are examined and defined.

Paper II: *The Displacement Myth – Second Home Tourism in the Stockholm Archipelago*. The study deals with testing the displacement hypothesis on a regional level, using the most attractive second home region in Sweden, the Stockholm archipelago, as a case study. Here, the development of second homes, permanent homes and change in property values are studied.

Paper III: *Route to destruction? Second home tourism in small island communities*. The paper focuses on the development of population figures and second homes in three case islands in the Stockholm archipelago: Blidö, Ingmarsö and Sandö. The out- and in-migrants to the islands are examined in terms of how their life situation changed after they decided to move to or from the islands.

Paper IV: *An Inquiry into Second Home Induced Displacement*. This paper examines the out-migrants from the island of Sandö and their stated reasons for leaving the island, as well as the extent to which second home development had an impact on their migration decision. The study uses a questionnaire for gathering data.

2. WHAT IS A SECOND HOME?

Internationally, the most widely used term to describe the phenomenon of people owning or utilizing some sort of dwelling for recreational and secondary purposes is a *second home*. As will be argued below, this term is contested, but it is the most widely used term and will therefore be used in this thesis.

According to McIntyre (2006), the concept of a second home is often difficult to tie down. This, he argues, is due to the fact that second homes do not constitute a distinct type of accommodation. The term spans a range of accommodation types with different ownership, function and character. Throughout the world, many different terms are used to describe second home. Examples include *vacation homes, summer homes, recreation homes, cabins, lodges, cottages, huts, flats, apartments, chalets, villas, sports cabins* and *farmhouses*, et cetera. Other types of dwellings that are essentially used in the same way and are sometimes labelled as second homes include *caravans, tents* and *boats*. The wide flora of terms and different definitions used worldwide causes some problems for researchers who aim to make comprehensive international comparisons. However, even if differences in defining the phenomenon do occur, the similarities between the terms and definitions are obvious; a second home is a dwelling used for temporal visits by the owner or someone else, and is not the user's permanent place of residence.

The core of second home definitions is that the owners of a second home must have their primary residence somewhere else, where they spend the majority of their time (Tombaugh, 1970; Ragatz, 1977). This conceptualization tends to become increasingly blurred in today's modern society. As pointed out by Casado-Diaz (1999), many second homes that are defined as being for temporary and secondary use, are today increasingly utilized on a year-round. In a study by Chaplin (1999), it is argued that for many British second home owners in rural France, the permanent home had become merely a dwelling place with no other significance except its function as shelter. The good life was experienced in the second home in France where they could escape all the pressures and competitiveness of modern life. The second home visit was described as a way of escaping. This example points out the importance of the second home for the owner and indicates that the second home is not necessarily located on a lower level in the dwelling hierarchy than the '*first home*'. Further, Kaltenborn (1998) and Quinn (2004) argue that

in a society marked by a hyper-mobile lifestyle, there is a need among people to attach to a 'home' or having a place to return to from time to time. The second home serves this function and can be argued to be more important than the permanent home. This view is supported by the fact that the turnover of second homes tends to be low and their ownership seldom changes outside the family circle, whereas the permanent home is more often sold in relation to, for example, retirement (Jansson and Müller 2003). Furthermore, many of today's modern houses that are built as second homes can very well be used as a permanent home, which is increasingly common in the surroundings of larger metropolitan centres (Lundgren, 1974; Nyström, 2003). In addition, Thissen (1978), Timothy (2004) and Williams *et al.* (2004) state that second homes do not have only one purpose, but rather can have multiple purposes. These purposes can be related to other issues than recreational use and leisure, such as income generation, capital accumulation and speculation. Hence, it is questionable whether the second home is for secondary use or not. For the owner, the second home is important and significant for various reasons, and Kaltenborn (1998) has even suggested that it really should be labelled as our first home. This discussion is important in relation to the displacement debate. The term "second home" is a clear statement; dwellings that are not as important as the permanent home. These houses are for secondary use and for recreational purposes, separating them from the important permanent homes, which are utilized in relation to work and income generation. Leisure is viewed as an activity with no or low economic significance to society, and second homes should not be of higher priority than the permanent homes. Hence, in locations where second homes dominate in numbers this becomes a problem. Not because of the dwellings themselves, but because of their use as second homes; they are of lower value to the destination than they would be if they could be used as permanent homes.

Despite all the obvious limitations and problems associated with the issue of secondary use, this thesis adopts a pragmatic approach in order to define the phenomenon of second homes, using the same definitions as Statistics Sweden (ASTRID, 2002). This is done in order to utilize available data on a nationwide level. Hence, second homes are defined as "*detached and non-mobile, privately owned, single family dwellings for recreational and secondary use*". For a more detailed discussion on the definition used, see the methods and materials section below.

2.1 Second Homes and Tourism

It has been questioned whether second homes really are part of the tourism sector or not (Müller, 2007). In the mid 1970s, Cohen (1974) noted that second home owners did not fully qualify to be labelled as tourists. This was due to the characteristics of recurrence in second home use where the owners frequently returned to the second home destination. Non-recurrence was one of six important elements of tourism, implying that tourism is an activity characterized by the continuous search for 'new' destinations. Reiner Jaakson (1986) reacted against this statement, arguing that "*In fact, a degree of recurrence may characterize all tourism, rather than disqualifying some types of activity as being non-touristic*" (p. 386). Jaakson concludes by stating that second home owners are a form of '*permanent tourists*', characterized by permanent periodic travel between the two dwellings, marked by routine. Other researchers have also commented upon the issue of second home owners as tourists. For example, Aronsson (2004) states that second home owners are neither tourists nor permanent residents, but rather '*in between*'. Furthermore, Müller (2004a) argues that second home owners are '*at the edge*' of tourism. Casado-Diaz (1999) labels the second home tourists as '*new-residents*', because this group usually spends long periods of time in their second homes without being officially registered as residents. This differentiates second home owners from both the tourists and permanent residents. Gill (1998) makes a clear distinction between different stakeholder groups in a tourist destination based on their temporal differences, where permanent residents are the group with the highest temporal presence in the destination. Next come second home owners, followed by seasonal workers and finally tourists, having the least temporal presence at the destination. Even if one might argue that second homes are a part of the tourism sector, it is clear that this is a form of tourism which includes some special features.

One of the most significant differences between ordinary and second home tourism is the ongoing financial commitment to a location made by second home owners (Müller and Hall, 2004). The traditional tourism industry is often associated with the clearly visible parts of tourism; the activities involving hotels, airlines, ferry companies, travel agencies and tour operators. However, the activity associated with second homes is often viewed as having nothing to do with the tourism industry. According to Frost (2004), the reason behind this is that second home tourists are not engaged in commercial processes or

owning tourism businesses. Further, he argues, they do not engage in tourism associations or destination marketing authorities or appear to generate employment and hence, direct economic effects. Additionally, second homes are rarely included in official statistics on tourism and it is therefore difficult to measure how large this form of tourism is, adding further arguments for ignoring the field. Not even the second home owners themselves are likely to regard themselves as tourists. Wolfe (1966, p. 10) argues that *“The cottager is not likely to think of his weekend trips to join his family as tourism. To him it is just ‘going up to the cottage’”*. Hence, second home tourism is easily overlooked when studying the effects of tourism. This implies that second homes do not contribute to the development of rural locations, and hence becomes a problem. Houses that could have been used for permanent purposes are occupied by second home owners, displacing permanent residents and holding back development. Without second homes, the destination would have greater opportunities for developing in a positive way by being populated by permanent residents. Hence, when second homes are not recognised as generating any positive effects, they become a convenient scapegoat for rural decline.

Nonetheless, second home tourism is an important part of mobile consumption in many countries. Girard and Gartner (1993), Hall *et al.* (2001) and Leslie (2007) argue that second home owners cannot be rejected as non-tourists because they comprise an important segment of domestic tourism. If omitting second homes from the tourism sector, about half of the domestic tourism spending in the United States is lost (Waters, 1990). In Canada, it is reported that the number of overnight stays in second homes is the third largest segment of tourism after VFR (visiting friends and relatives) and Hotels (Stevensson, 2004). Mottiar and Quinn (2003) state that there can be little doubt that levels of holiday home ownership have risen in recent times and that holiday home holiday-makers are now a notable feature of tourism. Still, in practise this sector of the tourism industry is often neglected by officials, the industry and planners.

3. SECOND HOME TOURISM IMPACTS

Undoubtedly, second home tourism has different kinds of impacts in the host destination, as well as in the intermediate locations and in the tourism generating area (Bohlin, 1982). However, in this section an overview of different issues concerning second home tourism impacts will be presented, focusing on impacts in the host destination.

Local impacts of second home tourism vary from location to location. This issue has been addressed by Müller *et al.* (2004). They argue that different second home landscapes arise depending on the local setting. Areas dominated by second homes that are converted permanent homes have different conditions in terms of how the local community can respond to the impacts caused, compared to areas dominated by purpose-built second homes in attractive urban hinterlands (see figure 2). The horizontal axis in the figure indicates a continuum of visits frequency, ranging from infrequent (vacation homes) to frequent (weekend homes). On the vertical axis, the type of second home is indicated, based on the original purpose of the dwelling. The extremes on each axis indicate a typical second home landscape based on its relative location to major urban settlements and its local features.

	Weekend homes ←	→ Vacation homes
Converted homes ↑ ↓ Purpose-built homes	Ordinary rural landscape in urban hinterland	Extensively-used peripheral landscapes
	Amenity-rich hinterlands, coast and mountain landscapes	Major vacation areas, coast and mountain landscapes

Figure 2. Second home types and their areas of occurrence. Redrawn from Müller *et al.* (2004).

Local impacts in second home destinations have the highest potential in locations within the weekend recreational zone and in major vacation areas. This is most apparent in areas dominated by purpose-built second homes in attractive coastal and mountain locations, where there is a shortage of land and dwellings. However, this situation may also arise in

the weekend zone dominated by converted second homes in former permanent fishing villages surrounding metropolitan regions, where second home demand competes with demand for permanent homes.

In relation to the weekend zone location, second home tourism impacts are discussed below from three major areas of concern, in a situation where tourism development becomes a driving force in the community. These are *economic*, *environmental* and *socio-cultural* impacts.

3.1 Economic Impacts

Issues concerning the economic impact of second home tourism in host destinations are a topic that has been around basically since the phenomenon was first discovered. As early as the 1930s, Ljungdahl (1938) addressed the issue of the local economic impact of second home tourism in the area surrounding urban Stockholm, Sweden. Here, he demonstrates an early observation of the effects of the restructuring of the rural economy, where he stated that the local population was becoming increasingly dependent on the incomes generated by the summer guests (tourists) rather than the decreasing incomes from traditional sectors such as agriculture and fishing. The local population in the archipelago discovered that providing services and renting out houses to accommodate increasing numbers of city dwellers was one of few options provided when traditional sectors of the economy could no longer provide the income needed. However, this was mainly on a seasonal basis, which did not prevent out-migrations from these areas. This is confirmed by Nordin (1994), arguing that the income generated from second home tourism was much higher than what the locals are used to obtaining from traditional sources of income. Hence, it is recognised that the development of second home tourism can contribute to additional jobs and income generation in rural host communities, which are more likely to be unsuccessful in diversifying their economy (Green *et al.*, 1996). In relation to this development, Newby has labelled the emerging tourism sector as being the '*alternative crop*' for many rural areas of the Western world (Newby, 1988).

In many cases it has been argued that second home tourism helps to preserve services in rural areas that otherwise would be on the brink of economic failure due to decreasing profits, caused by the general trend of rural out-migration. Leppänen (2003) says that in

Finland second home tourism is today probably one of the most important elements in the development of rural areas. For many small communities, second homes and the subsequent seasonal peak in demand imply the maintenance of existing services and even the creation of more job opportunities. This situation arises in areas mainly suffering from the opposite scenario. Müller (1999) noted that in rural southern Sweden, an area characterized by increasing numbers of German second home owners, four German second home households spent as much on groceries as one average Swedish permanent household. This of course, helps to maintain the local grocery store, a central service point for most permanent residents in rural areas. This is especially important in rural areas where the permanent residents are often older and are, in general, more immobile due to a lower rate of car ownership and possession of driving licences. This means that they are more spatially restricted in their choice of shopping outlets. In this respect, second home tourism can, and does, serve as a vital injection for the basic services (Alalammi, 1994). However, the local economic impact of second home tourism depends on the distance between the second home and the permanent home. As proven by Bohlin (1982), increasing distances between the second home and the permanent home reduces the local spending by the second home owners. Longer distances between the permanent home and the second home restrict the opportunity to buy the necessary goods for the weekend visit at the owner's permanent location due to limited transportation capacities. This means that second home destinations with a peripheral location would have a higher positive economic impact from second home tourism than more accessible locations, though during rather short visitations. However, Jerling and Nordin (2007) argue that even if the development of second home tourism in recent years has had positive impacts on employment figures in local communities in the Stockholm archipelago, for the grocery stores, the development has been negative despite the increasing number of second homes. This, they argue, is due to the general restructuring in the retail sector where smaller units are priced out by larger units, often located in urban centres, independent of the development of second home tourism.

The expanding interest in rural recreation by tourists can also create an increased interest in locally-produced products. According to Sannebro (2001), it has been noted that second home owners, boat tourists and restaurants in the Stockholm archipelago have shown great interest in niche products from the local agricultural sector. These products gain a higher price for the producer in this market compared to what they are able to get

if they sell the products to retail chains. This implies that the tourism sector helps maintain small-scale local farming units. However, the higher prices paid by tourists can generate a local price inflation on products (Wall and Mathieson, 2006), which is not beneficial to the permanent residents. This is the case as much for second home tourism (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004) as for many other subgroups of tourism, when the price level is set by more affluent temporal visitors. This also affects the price of land and properties. Firms see that higher margins are offered in areas with more affluent tourists, boosting the land and property value. In the case of second home tourism, the tourists themselves are boosting the prices of dwellings. The second home induced price inflation is documented by Casado-Diaz (1999) in the case of Torrevieja, Spain and by Green *et al.* (1996) in the case of Wisconsin, United States.

Other areas of extensive economic impact are the construction, real estate and finance sectors. Here, second home owners are an important demand source. These sectors are rarely addressed in relation to tourism. In a study by Marcouiller *et al.* (1988), it was concluded that second home tourism showed significant annual spending in these sectors, much more than annual spending in the traditionally-defined tourism spending categories. This was also recognized by Nordin (1994) for the Stockholm archipelago, where large demand for services in construction, electricity, plumbing and other related areas was noted. In a study from northern Sweden by Jansson and Müller (2003), it was noticed that repairs and maintenance of the second home are the most important activity among second homeowners. Hence, the economic effect of second home tourism on these sectors is significant.

An issue rarely addressed in relation to second home tourism impacts is the issue of knowledge transfer. From the literature of economic geography and the agglomeration theory, it has since long been argued that long-term economic growth will be dependent on non-tangible assets such as knowledge, design and innovation capabilities, and not on natural resources (Törnqvist, 2004; Hudson, 2005). This idea suggests that the local creative presence enhances the innovative dynamism of many different sectors in the economy (Glaeser, 2000). In the case of second home tourism, similar arguments have been put forward, namely that the local creative capabilities of remote and rural areas can be enhanced, at least temporarily, through second home owners representing managerial occupations. Leppänen (2003) argues that second home owners potentially create a

'centre of competence' for rural areas, meaning that these individuals often represent firms that can be of use for firms and businesses in the local destination by sharing their knowledge and creating business opportunities. In some municipalities in rural Finland, there have been official meetings between second home owners with their own businesses and representatives for local firms. The exposure of ideas and contacts from outside individuals can be important for the local businesses in order to improve their innovative performance and stay competitive. The key issue in this respect is how to turn the second home owner into a local patriot. According to Flognfeldt (2002), it is important to develop a knowledge infrastructure in the second home destination to enhance entrepreneurial and business skills. This can be done by letting key second home owners to take seats on the board of local firms, acting as a contact person for sales of local products at their permanent home area, acting as a mentor for local youth being educated in urban areas, and buying local handicrafts and equipment for use also in the areas where they are permanently living or for their own businesses.

3.2 Environmental Impacts

The impact on the environment caused by second home tourism is a topic that has attracted more and more interest during the last decades. Of course, this development runs in parallel with the increasing demand for second homes. In some highly attractive areas the environmental impact is obvious, and the environmental impact of second home tourism is increasingly questioned (Leslie, 2007); it is known that high densities of second homes can create tremendous problems and increase the potential for environmental degradation (Halseth, 2004). In general, the increasing number of second homes causes increasing competition between locals and second home owners for shared resources such as fishing, land use and fresh water (Butler and Hall, 1998). The Swedish geographer Thorsten Hägerstrand (1954) expressed some concern regarding the increasing competition for local resources in rural Sweden, and asked how these resources should be utilized so that no unnecessary tension is created between the rural and urban population. However, it is important to remember that the development is highly uneven, and for most locations second home tourism is not a major concern for the environment. As Ashworth (2003) argues, cases chosen for the investigation of tourism induced change are often those where change is most pronounced, which may be exceptional rather than typical.

As for any other types of tourism, second home tourism has impacts on the environment. In Sweden and elsewhere, second homes are often located near the sea, a lake, a river or in attractive mountain locations (Tombaugh, 1970; Coopock, 1977; Nordin, 1993; Jansson and Müller, 2003). Hence, water is an important attraction for second home developments. This implies high utilization of coastal locations, which can cause environmental impacts such as deteriorating water quality, erosion and decreasing public access. According to Jerling and Nordin (2007), increasing utilization of shorelines in the Stockholm archipelago causes negative effects on the local flora and has a disturbing effect on breeding sea birds. As early as the 1940s, Hedenstierna (1948) noted that second homes in the Stockholm archipelago had different localization patterns compared to traditional dwellings, which were located so that they were protected from the windy sea. The second homes were more visually present and located closer to the seashore, and hence dominated the landscape seen from the sea and contributed to a kind of visual pollution. Flognfeldt (2002) reports from Norway that conflicts have arisen between second home owners and sheep farmers for grazing areas. This has happened in the outskirts of larger metropolitan areas, where increased demand for recreational land collides with the demand for other types of development. Sometimes, the second home owners are against any development that would have a negative effect on the recreational recourse of the area (Jaakson, 1986). In this context, it is argued that second home owners have an interest in maintaining environmental quality at high standards and that second home owners act as preservers (Marcouiller *et al.*, 1988). In northern Wisconsin in the United States, Green *et al.* (1996) reports that second home owners and permanent residents had different views upon economic development. In general, the second home owners were opposed to larger economic investments that would affect the recreational quality of the place in a negative way, whereas the permanent residents were more positive towards larger industrial developments in the area, because this would bring much needed work opportunities. Of course, the different strategies and expectations regarding the countryside can cause problems and conflicts. In general, second home owners consume the countryside as a recreational resource while the local population tries to make a living out of the area (Müller, 2002c). However, sometimes the local population is against the development of second homes for reasons of environmental and recreational quality (Nordin, 1997).

In recent years, the growing concern regarding global warming and climate change has generated a debate regarding tourism and to what extent it contributes to this development (cf. Gössling and Hall, 2006). This has also been recognized within the subfield of second home tourism. Leppänen (2003) concludes that in the case of Finland, second home tourism contributes to less than 1% of all local carbon dioxide emissions, and that the total environmental impact of second home tourism must be considered as moderate in terms of the scale of the phenomenon. Alternative ways of spending free time and money on long-haul vacations in distant locations probably have more negative effects on the global environment. In a recent comprehensive study of the environmental impacts of rural second home tourism by Hiltunen (2007), Leppänen's conclusion is confirmed, namely that this form of tourism has some negative impacts on the physical environment, just as any other form of consumption does. However, the impact of second home tourism is regarded as minor compared to several other popular forms of tourism, such as long haul sun, sea and sand-based tourism.

3.3 Socio-cultural Impacts

Probably the most researched of all impact topics of second home tourism at a destination level is the issue of socio-cultural impacts. As early as the 1940s, Ahlberg (1942) made a clear statement that the increasing demand among urban dwellers for rural recreation in Sweden was one of that time's most peculiar phenomenon, but also one of the largest social problems. In 1977 the influential book by Coppock (1977), entitled '*Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?*', raised important socio-cultural impact issues regarding second home tourism and questioned the social benefit this phenomenon has for rural areas.

Socio-cultural impacts are a source of many conflicts at the destination. Second home owners often represent urban lifestyles and urban values that are temporarily re-allocated into an environment with different norms and values that often lead to a collision with local life (Alalammi, 1994). Sometimes it has even been argued that second home owners come with '*alien values*', which undermines the traditional way of living (Skärgårdarnas Riksförbund, 2002). Second home owners have also been blamed for representing a '*fake culture*' (Jordan, 1980), or something that is not '*natural*' in the rural setting. On the islands of Åland in Finland, Blomqvist and Jaatinen (1977) report that the discovery of

the islands by urban recreationists meant that many nature-loving individuals could get their demand satisfied. However, it also meant that the islands were discovered by what they call '*shameless recreationists*', who littered and were engaged in ruthless fishing, harming the locals who lived in the area. Gustavsson (1992) reports that in the mid 1900s, on the Swedish West Coast, second home owners started to build fences around their properties and put up '*private*' signs in places which were previously open for public access, which caused irritation among the permanent residents and was a seed for future conflicts. Jaakson (1986) argues that second home owners often try to prevent any new establishments in the particular destination and that the '*private beach sign*' is a symbol of second home elitism.

Further conflict potential is added when looking at the socio-economic background of second home owners compared to the permanent residents. The gaps in terms of socio-economic status between the two groups were larger in the early days of second home tourism. Löfgren (1999) reports that in many coastal communities in rural Sweden in the decades around 1900, the invasion of urban dwellers into these communities gave rise to occasional confrontations, in which the urban upper class came face to face with marginalized and isolated poverty. Many of these coastal communities were among the poorest in the nation. Today, second home owners are often middle aged or elderly with a relatively high educational level and work mainly in the private sector, whereas the permanent residents are often elderly, poorly educated and work in the public sector (Svensson, 1954; Aronsson, 1997). This socio-economic difference means that the second home owners have more influence on decisions concerning issues such as new developments in the destination. More economic power and knowledge about legal procedures, for example, strengthens the power of this group. However, the local political power is still in most cases in the hands of the permanent residents, where second home owners are excluded. Green *et al.* (1996) reports from the United States that a common concern among second home owners is their lack of influence on local public officials. Mottiar and Quinn (2003) argue that if second home owners are forming an increasingly significant presence in tourist destinations, then they too form part of the local public whose lives are being impacted by tourism development. Hence, second home owners are an important group of actors and must not be ignored as potentially important players in the shaping of leisure/tourism places.

Another issue of socio-cultural concern in second home destinations is the general lack of interaction between second home owners and permanent residents. Finnveden (1960) reports from the Swedish west coast that people tend to buy second homes where their neighbours own second homes. This was also observed by Aldskogius (1968, 1969), who looked at second home owner patterns around Lake Siljan in Sweden, and concluded that personal bonds seemed to explain some of the patterns. This of course strengthens the spatial segregation between second home owners and the permanent residents in the destination. From Canada in the 1950s, Wolfe (1951) reports that there are signs that ethnic groups like the Jewish community that live clustered in their urban permanent place of residence also live segregated in their second home destination. In this way the segregation of the city is extended to the countryside. In Spain, the same phenomenon is observed by Barke and France (1988), where it is noted that foreign second home owners own properties in the attractive seaside destinations, whereas the Spanish own second homes inland, which tend to be based more on *'hobby farming'*. From South Africa, Visser (2004) states that second home tourism also has a racial dimension, whereby second homes are something mainly for the wealthy class, meaning primarily the white population, and racial segregation is maintained in the second home destinations. In South Africa, second home tourism is increasingly becoming an international phenomenon, where tourists from for example Europe are buying second home in the countryside. This means that the socio-economic gap between the second home tourists and the permanent residents is even wider than the situation would have been if this was only a domestic form of tourism. This spatial segregation, and hence lack of communication, further boosts the potential for misunderstanding and conflicts, creating a clear divide, and a sense of *'us and them'* arises.

3.4 Impact Perspectives

The impacts of second home tourism are important in relation to the displacement discussion. The perceived impact and change relating to second home tourism are dependent upon the point of departure, and are hence relative. For example, the environmental impact of second home tourism can be viewed as negative compared to a situation where the area is unexploited. However, compared to a situation where the area is dominated by permanent residents on a constant basis, the seasonal and temporal use of second homes can be viewed as beneficial to the environment. Regarding economic

impacts, second home tourism can be viewed as a contribution to the local economy, generating job opportunities and income, or it can be described as holding back development due to seasonality and hence limited income. The same situation applies for second home induced displacement. Second home owners can be blamed for occupying dwellings that would otherwise be used as permanent homes, and hence holds back local development. On the other hand, second homes owners can be described as giving at least seasonal life to a location that would otherwise be empty. Basically it is a matter of what counterfactual scenario one applies. How would it be if it were not as it is today? What are the alternatives?

There are many different kinds of socio-cultural impacts of second home tourism, and one of the most debated and controversial impacts is whether the demand for second homes causes a displacement of permanent residents in attractive second home destinations. This is the central issue for this thesis and will be dealt with in the next chapter.

4. SECOND HOME TOURISM AND DISPLACEMENT

It is first worth defining the term *displacement* and relating it to the context of second homes. The term *displacement* is mainly used within migration literature to describe the process of involuntary migration or mobility (e.g. Robinson, 2002). Central to the concept is the involuntary movement of individuals. Push factors that induce individuals to move can, for example, include famine, war, political instability, industrial development or infrastructure development (Boyle *et al.*, 1998). At times, the decision to move is made by the heads of the family, forcing the children to accept the decision to migrate, and can hence be defined as displacement (Manning, 2005). Displacement is also used in the context of urban gentrification. Here, revitalized districts that attract individuals from the upper classes of society may force people who already live there to move because they cannot afford to buy the newly-erected dwellings (Hamnet and Williams, 1996). In second home research, displacement is conceptualized in a similar way. The socio-economic differences between individuals who compete for dwellings in the same location are central to the issue. Often the permanent residents occupy an inferior position, which can result in displacement. However, there are some basic differences between the situations of displacement caused by urban gentrification and that caused by second home demand. Urban gentrification deals with permanent migration in an urban context, whereby the displacers move into an area permanently. Displacement caused by second homes is generated by temporal migration whereby the displacers are seasonally attracted to a place, often in rural locations. In this thesis, displacement is defined as the process of *permanent residents who leave their place of residence on an involuntary basis due to increased living costs, caused by external demand for second homes.*

It is argued that the issue of second home induced displacement occurs in especially attractive locations (Coppock, 1977; Rogers, 1977; Shucksmith, 1983; Aronsson, 1993; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). These locations are mainly located within the weekend recreation zone (using the terminology from Müller *et al.* 2004) surrounding larger urban settlements and in areas where the second homes are mainly purpose built (Halseth, 2004). Here, the competition for dwellings is sometimes fierce and there is a

potential for displacement. However, in these locations there is also a sufficient number of second homes that are converted into permanent homes (Nyström, 1989; 2003).

The main argument behind second home induced displacement is the socio-economic gap between permanent residents and second home owners (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000), as discussed above. Often, the socio-economic advantage is on the second home owner's side. Income generation in urban areas is often higher than in rural areas, as is the level of employment. When the interests of these two groups meet in the same place, problems may arise. If there are no substantial differences in living standard or lifestyle between tourists and hosts, the argument of tourist-induced change either collapses or is diminished in significance (Ashworth, 2003). However, as far as second home tourism is concerned, these differences are often there and have been documented throughout the Western world (cf. Clout, 1972; Bielckus, 1977; Wolfe, 1977; Thissen, 1978; Sucksmith, 1983; Jaakson, 1986; Marcouiller *et al.*, 1988; Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995; Hall *et al.*, 2001; Gallent *et al.*, 2003; Aronsson, 2004; Halseth, 2004).

In Sweden, the demand for second homes in attractive locations has been described as one of the most severe present and future threats to sustainable development (Glesbygdsverket, 2001). It is, however, contested whether the demand for second homes is to blame for the negative development in attractive rural second home destinations. In a simplified way, one might describe the public and academic debate as departing from two different theoretical standpoints. On one side it is argued that weak economic and population development in attractive rural second home destinations is due to the displacement of permanent residents, caused by high external demand for second homes. The other side argues that this development is rather due to the general restructuring of the rural economy, which implies a weak local labour market, causing a general out-migration trend. Below, these two different views are described and the core arguments are presented.

4.1 Second home induced displacement

It is argued that the socio-economic advantage often enjoyed by the second home owners causes a situation where second home owners are generating a price rally on all dwellings in a particular area. It is argued that this causes property values to rise, and hence

increases the property tax burden for permanent residents (Jordan, 1980; Fritz, 1982; Öhrling, 1984; Murphy, 1985; Gustavsson, 1992; Fountain and Hall, 2002; Folkesdotter, 2003; Glesbygdsverket, 2003; Moström *et al.*, 2004; Visser, 2004; Gallent *et al.*, 2005). The situation is said to be economically unbearable for many permanent residents, where the increased cost of living forces them to move elsewhere: a displacement. This development is especially difficult for the younger generation and the economically weaker groups of society, who are effectively excluded and are required to buy dwellings in locations other than their native place, further undermining long-term sustainability (Sharpley and Sharpley, 1997; Glesbygdsverket, 2003). The situation is described as being especially severe in areas where the demand for second homes is high, combined with limited supply (Fountain and Hall, 2002). These situations arise in closely-confined villages and small islands, where the possibilities for new developments are limited. According to the Swedish Rural Development Agency, the displacement means that these places increasingly become only seasonally inhabited, causing an undermining of the services such as grocery stores, post offices and schools, further making the places unattractive for permanent residents (Glesbygdsverket, 2001). A negative spiral arises and the second home destinations increasing evolve into elite landscapes or sanctuaries for the wealthy, characterised by a seasonal upswing. This development is said to occur in the United States by Jordan (1980), in Canada by Halseth (2004), in South Africa by Visser (2004), in Great Britain by Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) and Gallent *et al.* (2003), in Spain by Barke (1991) and in Sweden by Guterstam (1984), Öhrling (1984) Gustavsson (1992), Glesbygdsverket (2001), Skärgårdarnas Riksförbund (2002), Folkesdotter (2003) and Moström *et al.* (2004).

The chain of events and necessary preconditions involved in second home induced displacement, as argued in the literature, is compiled in figure 3 below in a simplified way. The necessary means to be able to own a second home, combined with increasing demand for rural recreation among an increasing urban population, as well as low prices for rural dwellings, are considered to be the preconditions behind increasing prices for dwellings in particularly sought-after locations. Increasing prices for dwellings result in increasing property taxes and hence, increasing costs of living for permanent residents. Combined with the generally low economic status among the rural population, this leads to an unbearable situation for the permanent residents, and subsequently a displacement. This situation is most severe when demand for second homes is targeted on the same

property stock as the demand for permanent homes, especially in a situation where the supply is restricted.

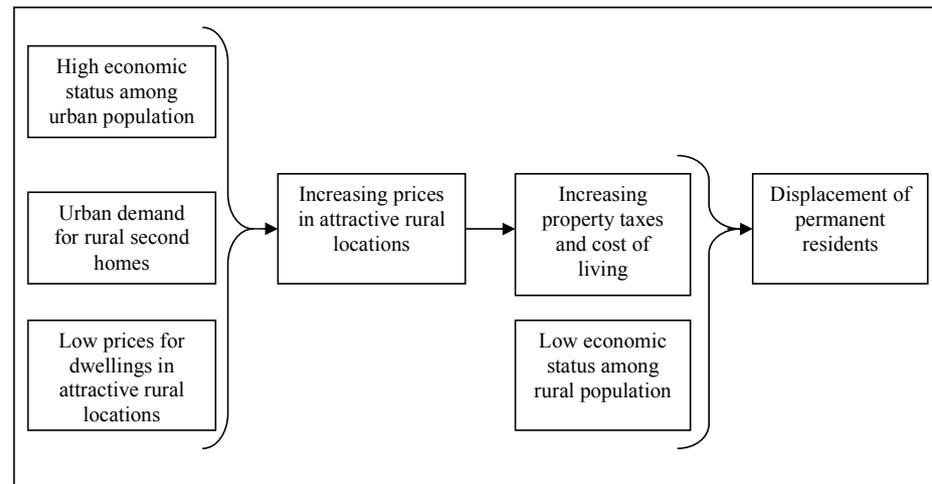


Figure 3. Second home induced displacement.

In the case of Whistler in Canada, Halseth (2004) concludes that conflicts between permanent residents and second homeowners is driven by the increasingly elite status of Whistler, a status that has made it difficult for permanent residents to afford housing or to access basic services, and this situation may destroy the countryside experience which was the original resource that attracted urban recreationists. From rural Wales, Gallent *et al.* (2003) reports that the pressure on attractive second home locations can cause out-migration and drive people from the countryside, and this can take the form of a social exchange where an affluent and skilled population ‘hijacks’ the countryside from a largely unskilled and relatively deprived indigenous population. Visser (2004, p. 212) argues that in South Africa international demand for second homes in attractive rural areas “...creates a domino effect which echoes down in the socio-economic structure, where the emerging black middleclass has to move back to less desirable areas, due to international competition for dwellings”. In the case of the United States, Jordan (1980, p. 53) states that “...the presence of vacation homes is to blame for the depopulation trend, due to the fact that future generations cannot obtain land for dairy farming because this has been developed for vacation homes”. From Sweden, Folkesdotter (2003) argue that especially in the sought after old fishing villages located close to the built-up

centres of Stockholm and Gothenburg, the demand for second homes makes it difficult for people to manage their housing cost. The debate in Sweden has led to harsh statements, which is an indication of the strong feelings associated with these kinds' impacts. For example, the Archipelago Association of Sweden states that this development is a matter of an '*ethnic cleansing*' and the second home owners are titled as the '*occupiers*' (Skärgårdarnas Riksförbund, 2002). Further, Guterstam (1984) and Öhrling (1984) describe permanent resident in the Swedish archipelagos as an '*endangered species*'.

As a reaction to this development in Sweden, there has been a call for a residence obligation in order to buy homes in attractive second home destinations (Glesbygdsverket, 2001). This was argued to be important in order to stabilize the local property market and to ensure a sustainable population development. This implies that the potential buyer of a dwelling in these areas should be obligated to live in the area permanently. This is already implemented in Norway and in Denmark and the islands of Åland, and there are also restrictions on international second home ownership (Skak, 2004).

4.2 Rural restructuring

In many rural and peripheral areas of the Western world, the general trend is towards economic decline and out-migration (Boyle *et al.*, 1998). In Sweden, the population development since the 1930s has meant a clustering in larger urban regions (Håkansson, 2000). This is a result of global, economic, political, social and technological change (Butler *et al.*, 1998), which has resulted in a restructuring of the economy and resulted in job losses and out-migration, predominantly in rural areas. In attractive second home destinations the development is similar. Weak economic development and out-migration are explained by researchers as being caused by the restructuring of the rural economy (Sannebro, 2001; Selwood and Tonts, 2004; Shucksmith, 1983; Müller, 2004; Müller *et al.*, 2004; Keen and Hall, 2004; Hedenstierna, 2000; Ekholm, 1960). Job losses in traditional sectors of the economy, e.g. agriculture, forestry, mining and fishing, lead to out-migration, causing a diminishing of local services. This development frees up dwellings in the countryside, and in some attractive locations these may be converted and sold as second homes. Bielckus (1977) stated that in Sweden in the late 1960s, rural

depopulation freed up some 10,000 farms each year, i.e. around thirty farmhouses a day became available for the second home market. Müller *et al.* (2004) argues that behind every property that is sold and converted into a second home, there is usually a household that decided not to live in the countryside. Hence, he argues that second home owners are only filling the gap caused by rural out-migration (Müller *et al.*, 2004); however, this is only on a seasonal basis. The development according to the restructuring theory is displayed in a simplified way in figure 4 below, where globalization is causing increasing competition especially in the traditional rural sectors of the economy. This in turn leads to job losses in rural areas, fuelling an urbanization trend and causing a situation where there are surplus dwellings in rural areas. In some sought after locations, these dwellings can be utilized as second homes.

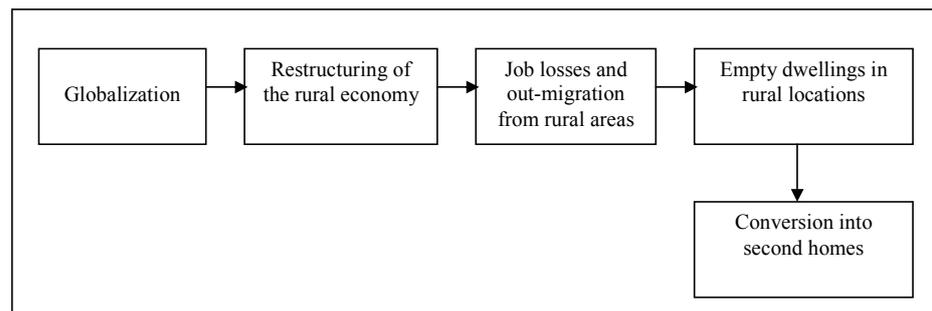


Figure 4. Rural restructuring and second home development.

This development is observed not only in Sweden but also in other parts of the world. Shucksmith (1983) noted that in rural Britain, areas with large numbers of second homes were the very same areas in which there have been large numbers of dwellings recorded as vacant and unfurnished. Dwellings located in areas abandoned by permanent residents can in some cases be utilized as second homes. This situation is confirmed by Keen and Hall (2004) for the case of rural New Zealand. Similar observations are made in Spain by Barke (1991), in Australia by Selwood and Tonts (2004), and in Sweden by Ekholm (1960), Nordin (1994), Hedenstierna (2000) and Sannebro (2001). These areas were targeted by urban recreationists due to large supply of empty dwellings at a reasonable cost combined with rises in urban income and mobility. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) even argue that the abandonment of rural dwellings by the host population has been a key factor in determining the distribution of demand. However, not all areas

suffering from depopulation and out-migration have the potential to become second home destinations. Favourable locations are mainly in close proximity to metropolitan regions and areas with other recreational values (Jenkins *et al.*, 1998).

In rural areas which are fortunate enough to have the features needed in order to attract second home demand, this development is, on the contrary, a positive one for the local community. Ryan (2003, p. 310) argues that external demand for second homes “...*may help to stop declining property prices that slowly undermine the wealth of families, and hence inhibit their capacity to move to other areas that do offer employment in other than a declining agricultural industry*”. This means that people living in these areas have the option to leave, and if they decide to do this they can at least get a substantial amount of money for the house they sell. In other rural and peripheral areas suffering from depopulation, the situation is less fortunate. Here, people who decide to leave do this without the financial strengths they could have obtained if they happened to live in an attractive second home destination. People living in unattractive rural and peripheral locations may not even manage to sell their house, due to weak local demand. This leads to yet another economic burden. Further, Müller (2004) argues that the conversion of permanent homes into second homes in rural areas can be caused by demographic changes in the area. Households living outside the area can inherit a property in the rural countryside, regardless of whether they are interested in having a dwelling in the area or not. Combined with a weak local property market, the dwelling cannot be sold and is converted into a second home.

In rural areas that can attract second home tourism, this development can help to contribute to the maintenance of a local service supply by generating a marginal income that enables local entrepreneurs to continue to run their businesses. Hence, according to Müller *et al.* (2004), planning should aim to maximize the positive impacts of second home tourism instead of trying to prevent development, which may lead to rural depopulation and poverty instead of preservation in its current state.

5. METHODS AND MATERIAL

The four papers in this study are to be seen as a sequence, that in combination answer the question of whether second home induced displacement can be found in Sweden. A quantitative approach is used in the papers in order to identify second home induced displacement. Through the empirical analysis of the Swedish property market and individuals' revealed and stated preference in terms of migration decisions on a national, regional and geographical micro level, the issue of second home induced displacement is studied (see table 1 below).

Table 1. Description of the papers' methodological approach, geographical width, chosen time period and sources of data.

Paper	Methods	Geographical level	Time period	Data source	Evidence
<i>I. The Development of Second Homes' Assessed Property Value in Sweden 1991-2001.</i>	Quantitative - regression model, GIS.	National: Sweden.	1991-2001.	Official register data on second homes.	Revealed
<i>II. The Displacement Myth: Second Home Tourism in the Stockholm Archipelago.</i>	Quantitative - descriptive case study, GIS.	Regional: Stockholm Archipelago.	1991-2002.	Official register data on second homes & permanent homes.	Revealed
<i>III. Route to Destruction? Second Home Tourism in Small Island Communities.</i>	Quantitative - descriptive case study.	Local: The islands of Blidö, Ingmarsö and Sandö.	1991-2002.	Official register data on second homes & individuals.	Revealed
<i>IV. An Inquiry into Second Home Induced Displacement.</i>	Quantitative - questionnaire survey.	Local: The island of Sandö.	1991-2006.	Respondents in the questionnaire survey.	Stated

According to existing literature in the field, claiming that high demand for second homes causes a displacement of permanent residents, some basic preconditions must be present: an increase of assessed property values, a relatively high turnover rate of properties, and in-migrants and second home owners coming from rather affluent groups within society (Müller, 2004). The objective of the first paper is to locate areas in Sweden where these preconditions occur. Using official register data on all second homes in Sweden, possible locations of second home induced displacement are identified during the period 1991-

2001. The second paper builds on the findings from paper one, that the Stockholm archipelago is Sweden's most attractive second home destination, and hence describes the property development in the area by analysing official register data for the time period 1991-2002. The third paper studies the islands in the Stockholm archipelago that have the preconditions needed and are deemed to be especially exposed to this phenomenon, by analysing official register data on all the individuals moving in and out of these islands during the period 1991-2002, combined with property developments. The fourth paper further builds upon the findings in paper three, analysing questionnaire data gathered from all out-migrants from the most attractive second home location in the Stockholm archipelago, the island of Sandö, during 1991-2006. This paper complements the other three in terms of analysing first hand information from individuals that can be considered as possibly displaced.

As pointed out in the section above, there are several empirical studies concerning second home induced displacement throughout the world. However, none of these has taken a complete national perspective, using longitudinal micro data based on individuals' stated and revealed preferences, in a similar way as in this thesis. Other studies in the field are often case-based studies, using questionnaires or interview data as sources of information, having limited time-depth and geographical coverage, which gives limited possibilities for wider generalizations (e.g. Jordan, 1980; Gustavsson, 1992; Halseth, 2004). Having a substantial time depth in the study and a nationwide geographical coverage, the studies included in this thesis allow for monitoring changes that occur and identifying localities which are particularly exposed to this phenomenon.

5.1 Sources of data and definitions

High quality data on second homes is hard to obtain, even in an Orwellian country like Sweden. Hence, in this thesis a pragmatic approach is adopted to define the phenomenon of second homes, namely using the same definitions as Statistics Sweden (ASTRID, 2002). Therefore, second homes are defined as: *detached and non-mobile, privately owned, single family dwellings for recreational and secondary use.*

Of course, being displaced is at its core a subjective matter, and there is no commonly accepted criterion that has to be fulfilled in order to pass the line from not being displaced

to being displaced. This means that individuals decide for themselves whether they are displaced or not. However, applying this approach means that virtually everyone who moves from one place, be it an attractive second home destination or not, could define themselves as being displaced, for any type of reason. This may be related to limited services in terms of the local supply of schools, limited job opportunities or other reasons. Applying this approach to the issue means that the reason to leave is a narrative told by the individual. Therefore, this thesis will use a combination of revealed and stated evidence in order to locate any second home induced displacement in Sweden. Data for the revealed evidence is extracted from the geo-referenced database ASTRID (2002) and the stated evidence is collected through a questionnaire survey.

The official register data used in this thesis is generated from the geo-referenced database ASTRID (2002), produced by Statistics Sweden. The database is part of a project, developing a geographical micro simulation model regarding population, at the Department of Social and Economic Geography at Umeå University, Sweden. The database contains detailed information on all properties in Sweden (second homes, permanent homes, agricultural properties, industrial properties), including location, age, building area, assessed building value, assessed land value and assessed total property value. This information covers the time period 1991-2002. The database also contains annual information on every individual in Sweden regarding such details as income, education, age, occupation and migration history. The individuals also have a geo-reference with a geographical resolution of one hundred meters. All the information on individuals can be linked to individual properties such as permanent homes or second homes, allowing individual mobility patterns to be analysed, together with socio-economic information on every individual stakeholder (permanent residents and second home owners/families) on a micro level in any location in Sweden. Further, the data is based on official records of where each individual states that they have their permanent place of residence and for what purpose the dwelling is used.

Concerning the property value of dwellings (in this thesis both permanent homes and second homes), they are based on the assessed property value, and not the market value itself. In Sweden, the assessed property value shall mirror approximately 75% of properties market value, and it consists of three components. Firstly, the standard of the house itself, secondly, the market value of the land the house is built on, and thirdly, the

price level of other dwellings in the vicinity sold during a pre-defined time period. Transactions with high values will increase the assessed property values for other dwellings in the neighbourhood. Second homes and permanent homes are assessed in the same way by the Swedish National Tax Board. The property tax is based on the assessed property value. This means that the property values used in this thesis are assessed property valuations made by the Swedish National Tax Board, but which in essence mirror the market value for each property.

In the questionnaire survey, the data collected is based on all individuals who lived on the island of Sandö during the time period 1991-2006, and who decided to leave the island. The respondents were over 16 years of age at the time of the out-migration and have not moved back during the period. According to existing theoretical views on the field, any possible displaced individuals are to be found among these individuals.

5.2 Delimitations

There are some obvious limitations in this thesis, and it is important to address them here. First of all the thesis deals with the situation in Sweden, implying that the phenomenon of second home induced displacement is to be contextualized in relation to Swedish institutional factors such as the property tax system, land ownership and the legal framework. Other issues to be taken into consideration include the fact that the phenomenon of second home tourism is not to be regarded as an elite phenomenon in Sweden. This is largely related to the internationally low population density, meaning that scarcity of land is rare. Further, some may argue that the Stockholm archipelago is not the place to find second home induced displacement. For example Jerling and Nordin (2007) argue that the displacement in Sweden is more severe on the Swedish west coast due to the characteristics of smaller villages located on confined islands. However, in relation to the theoretical arguments in existing literature, areas showing high property values and displaying a significant increase in value over a short time should be a breeding ground for second home induced displacement. Therefore, the Stockholm archipelago, showing the highest increase and levels of property values for second homes, must be regarded as a suitable place to study.

It is also apparent that the time period is a limitation. Any displacement could have occurred earlier than the period of study. However, due to the accessible data it is possible to map these processes on a micro level in multiple locations. Even if the displacement situation may have occurred before this period, the debate is still active and claims are still made about the large scale problems associated with displacement (e.g. Glesbygdsverket, 2001).

In this study, the definition used (see above) means that flats, for example, which are becoming popular among Norwegian tourists in northern Sweden and elsewhere (Jansson and Müller, 2003), are not included in the definition. Of course, these flats have the same function for the owner as the traditional form of second homes, and if increasing demand for these types of dwellings in an area rises, so will the prices and subsequently also the property tax, meaning that the same mechanisms causing a displacement could be present. However, flats and apartment buildings are not a common feature of attractive rural second home destinations in Sweden, meaning that the limitations in the definitions play an insignificant role in the search for displacement. Further, the definition does not include rented second homes or the multi-ownership options such as condominiums, which are argued to be more and more common (Go, 1988), a limitation in the thesis. The definition used is based on information from the annual taxation process, where the owners themselves state the purpose of the property, which adds a degree of uncertainty to the data. On the other hand, whether the dwelling is used as a second home or permanent home cannot be stated more correctly by someone else than the owner, and there are no incentives present to state otherwise, such as lower property tax.

The use of official register data on individuals and their place of residence does not necessarily mean that individuals 'live' at that particular spot permanently. For some reasons (e.g. municipal income tax), individuals can state that they live at one place, but in reality live somewhere else. However, conducting a nationwide study on the topic means that accessible data must be used, including its imperfections, and there are no signs that this would be a widespread problem.

Concerning the questionnaire survey, the respondents were restricted to answering the questions by choosing the existing alternatives for their answers (see the questionnaire in the appendix below). This gives limited options for reasoning concerning the

respondent's attitudes towards their reason for leaving, a clear limitation of this study. However, in order to locate and identify any second home induced displacement in Sweden, as detailed data as possible is needed on different kinds of properties and individuals, for a longer period of time with a nation-wide geographical coverage. The data used enables mapping of the processes concerning individuals who move in and out from attractive second home destinations, and linking these events to the development of second home tourism in any particular location.

6. PAPER SUMMARIES

Below, the four papers are summarised. The first three papers are based on data from the database ASTRID, whereas the fourth paper is based on data collected from a questionnaire survey. The first paper is aimed at finding possible locations of second home induced displacement in Sweden. The second paper tests the displacement theory in a regional context in the Stockholm archipelago. Paper three examines in- and out-migration and dwelling development on three case islands in the Stockholm archipelago. The final paper deals with second home related out-migration from the island of Sandö, one of the single most attractive destinations in Sweden.

6.1 The Development of Second Homes' Assessed Property Value in Sweden 1991-2001

The purpose of the first paper is to analyze the geography of second home property value trends in Sweden. Since the central part of the theoretical arguments about second home induced displacement is increased property values and hence high living costs for permanent residents, questions regarding the property value development are important. Although there is evidence for the impact of different factors on second home values, the internal relationship between these is unknown. In this paper, the first question answered is where the demand for second homes is at its greatest, in order to locate the places where a displacement may occur. The second question answered is that of what seems to determine areas with high property values for second homes and how their relative location can be characterized. This is done on a national level for the whole of Sweden by applying two regression models based on official register data for all 469,864 second homes for the year 2001. By using a GIS, new and unique variables for every second home were created for the regression models. In this study, assessed property values are used as an approximation of the market values, which in most cases are available only when the dwelling itself is sold.

Results show that that the attraction of a place can be read in the revealed or effective demand expressed by individuals. The regression models show that areas with already high numbers of second homes with high property values show the highest increase in property values. This indicates that an attractive second home landscape can be read in the existing second home distribution. However, there is increasing segregation in the second home landscapes. Areas which were previously popular tend to become even

more attractive, while backward areas seem to lose even more of their allure. Attractive second home destinations are reproduced over time. However, the ongoing polarization cannot hide the fact that second home patterns are changing slowly. Further, the regression models show that areas with a positive population development experience an increase in property values, indicating that second home tourism is mainly an activity for short-distance tourists within the weekend recreation zone. The lure of the sea is confirmed in this study. Owning a second home on the coast is desirable, which is manifested in the increased property values for second homes located in these surroundings. Areas with a long tradition of recreation and tourism phenomena have an advantage in attracting potential second home owners. It is concluded that people have a desire to be where people already are, despite increased mobility, individualization in the leisure market and new trends.

This study also draws attention to the segregation, widely discussed in the public arena. If segregation is evident in permanent home areas, it can be confirmed that the case is the same in the leisure landscape. The most attractive areas are also the areas with the highest increase in attraction, enhancing the differences between prosperous people in society and the less fortunate. These areas are mainly located along the coast surrounding larger metropolitan centres and traditional tourism centres in Sweden, especially the Stockholm archipelago, the Swedish west coast and ski-resort locations. The Stockholm archipelago in particular seems to have the necessary preconditions for harbouring second home induced displacement, as argued in existing literature.

6.2 The Displacement Myth: Second Home Tourism in the Stockholm Archipelago

The second paper of the thesis analyses the development of the property stock and property values in Sweden's most attractive second home region, the Stockholm archipelago, during the period 1991-2002. The area of study is chosen based on arguments put forward in the second home induced displacement debate, arguing that this phenomenon could be found in areas showing high property value for second homes, substantial increases in property values and high demand for rural recreation. These preconditions are fulfilled in the Stockholm archipelago. This study aim to test the displacement theory in a regional context in Sweden. Linking up to the geographical theories of von Thünen (1826/1966) and Alonso (1964), arguing that the land use will

differ in relation to the distance from urban areas, the geographical pattern of second home development in the Stockholm archipelago is scrutinized. The area is divided into different levels and zoned according to accessibility or relative distance, instead of straight-line distance. The levels and zones comprise the geographical level of study. Theoretically, it is argued that displacement occurs in the area where the number of second homes increases at the expense of the number of permanent homes. In this study, as in the first paper, assessed property values are used as an approximation of the market values.

The results show a clear impact of accessibility. The number of dwellings decreases rapidly from the core towards the periphery, especially for permanent homes. Second homes are more evenly distributed through the research area. The area in close proximity to the urban core is dominated by permanent homes. This dominance is discontinued when moving further out along the distance/accessibility axis. In more peripheral locations, the dominance of second homes is obvious, although the geographical distance in some locations is rather short. Accessibility and distance are of great importance for the composition of the dwelling stock. High accessibility is a requirement for permanent homes. Remoteness and exclusiveness favour second homes. During the period 1991-2002, the composition of the dwelling stock changed. The number of second homes decreased in favour of permanent homes. The most significant decrease in second home numbers occurred in areas with high accessibility and in close proximity to urban Stockholm. However, a similar development was also registered in the most peripheral locations. In terms of property values, the results show that permanent homes' share of the total property values in the area is increasing for all levels and zones. Hence, permanent homes have strengthened their position, even in peripheral and remote areas, implying that dwellings used for permanent purposes have a higher impact on price inflation on dwellings than second homes do.

It is concluded that the Stockholm archipelago is not in a state of depopulation, but rather repopulation, fuelled by a population increase in nearby Stockholm. Abandoned houses are restored and converted into permanent homes, and the second home property stock is targeted by permanent home buyers. This study reveals that permanent homes contribute more to the price inflation than second homes do. Consequently, any displacement of

permanent residents would be caused mainly by an increased demand for permanent homes.

According to the displacement theory, the Stockholm archipelago has all the necessary attributes for being exposed to a displacement of permanent residents. Even so, no convincing evidence of a widespread displacement can be traced at this geographical level of study. Of course, displacement can occur in isolated cases at a smaller geographical scale and, moreover, it cannot be ruled out that singular individuals perceive the situation caused by rural change as threatening and displacing.

6.3 Route to Destruction? Second Home Tourism in Small Island Communities

The third paper of the thesis goes down to a local level in order to find second home induced displacement. The aim of the paper is to evaluate the importance of second home tourism in the process of reshaping local communities. This is done by studying three island communities in the Stockholm archipelago and scrutinizing official micro data on population change and second homes over a 12-year period (1991-2002). Questions answered include whether there is the potential for displacement of permanent residents on these islands, who migrates to and from these islands, and how does the socio-economic status of migrants change following a move.

Based on existing literature dealing with second home induced displacement, the characteristics of the selected case islands were an above average (for the archipelago) share of second homes and second home property values, a minimum population of 100, islands that are said to be particularly exposed to second home induced displacement (by Glesbygdsverket, 2001), islands with a long tradition of tourism, and islands showing negative or weak population growth, an important indicator of displacement. This process resulted in the selection of three case islands: the islands of Blidö, Ingmarsö and Sandö. In the paper, the phenomenon of displacement is discussed and linked to discussion on island localities, arguing that small islands that experience high pressure from second home demand are ideal places for finding second home induced displacement, a perspective rarely addressed in literature.

The results show that the case islands manifest a trend similar to that of many rural and peripheral areas: no population increase (or a limited increase), ageing population, high unemployment rates, low education levels, low income levels and a dwelling stock dominated by second homes. It can be concluded that the preconditions for displacement are present on these islands. Further, results show that second home induced displacement may occur on the islands, and it may well be caused by second home buyers, due to their higher socio-economic status compared to permanent residents and in-migrants. In general, second home buyers have a higher educational level, lower unemployment rate and higher disposable income than both permanent residents and in-migrants. The results also show that the younger generations are leaving the islands more frequently than the elderly. Five years after the out-migration, individuals have significantly improved their employment situation. Further, many of the out-migrants are in a life-cycle stage at which educational opportunities are a major factor in life. The target destinations for the potentially displaced indicate that they leave the islands due to pull factors such as greater opportunities in metropolitan Stockholm, and not to regain their lifestyle on other islands in the archipelago.

The study concludes that these islands have a favourable situation compared to more remote locations due to their relative proximity to urban Stockholm, guaranteeing at least seasonal traffic and commodity flows. Second home tourism is one future option for these islands. The simplified assumption that rural out-migration from attractive second home locations is mainly caused by demand for second homes is questioned, at least in a Swedish context. Individuals leave the islands for reasons associated with major events in life such as studies and job opportunities. However, further studies on the displacement theory are justified, especially on the individuals' own explanations for migrating from islands highly affected by second home tourism.

6.4 An Inquiry into Second Home Induced Displacement

The final paper of the thesis aims to examine the impact which high demand for second homes has on the decision among permanent residents to leave an area. Hypothetically, the displaced population can be found among the out-migrants. However, strangely enough this group of individuals is rarely addressed in relation to the issue of displacement. Therefore, this study focuses on the out-migrating population and the

reasons they give for leaving their former permanent place of residence. This is done by analysing data, collected using a questionnaire sent out to all out-migrants from the island of Sandö in the Stockholm archipelago during the time period 1991-2006. Sandö is chosen as a case island due to its stated vulnerability and for being especially exposed to negative impact from second home tourism (Glesbygdsverket, 2001). Moreover, on the island of Sandö around 85% of the dwelling stock is comprised of second homes and their property value was significantly higher than of those in the archipelago as a whole. Additionally, the property values for second homes had increased by 154% during the time period. The questionnaire method was chosen in order to reveal individuals' opinions regarding the matter of second-home-induced displacement.

The respondents could possibly be targets in a displacement situation. However, when asked, the respondents stated that the main source of their dissatisfaction with life on the island was related to issues of public services and health care, instead of prices or supply of dwellings. Overall, the out-migrants left the islands on a voluntary basis and did not perceive themselves as being displaced. Further, they state that their life improved after they left Sandö and they are in general not willing to return, at least not under the current situation in terms of services and accessibility. The out-migrants' opinions regarding second homes and the tourism sector on the island are positive, and second-home owners are not regarded as the root of all evil. On the contrary, second home tourism is viewed as a basis for a thriving community, even if the general opinion is that no more additional second home development is needed. So where are the displaced populations? In this survey, eight individuals stated that their move was made on an involuntary basis – a precondition for displacement. None of the involuntary movers stated that the move was primarily related to prices or the supply of dwellings. However, two individuals stated, as a secondary reason, that their out-migration decision was due in part to displacement-related factors. However, these two individuals stated that they had improved their life situation after their out-migration, and one of these stated that a move back is not an option.

The paper concludes that people move from the rural periphery to urban areas in order to find a better future. Job opportunities, higher education, suitable elderly care and other services are important factors that are limited in these rural locations. This study, as well as previous studies (Marjavaara, 2007a; 2007b), reveals that these individuals greatly

improve their general life situations after their out-migration, and the move is made on a voluntary base, not associated with force.

7. SECOND HOMES: A CURSE OR BLESSING?

What conclusions can be drawn from the results presented in this thesis? Are there any indications of second home induced displacement in Sweden? The situation is complex and is not easily explained. The decision to move is dependent upon many factors, many of which are not measured or scrutinized in this thesis. However, the core question is whether out-migration is caused by local price inflation and a limited supply of dwellings, in turn caused by external demand for second homes. Results from this thesis give some insights which suggest that population decline and out-migration cannot easily be blamed on second home demand.

In relation to the second home induced displacement debate, it is important to note that property prices within communities can rise because of any influx of outside demand, and not only simply because of tourism (Ryan, 2003). As shown in this thesis, price inflation for dwellings in the Stockholm archipelago is mainly generated by the rise in prices for permanent homes, and not entirely by second homes. It is also important to remember that rising property prices are often the basis of family wealth, implying that rising prices give families an option and the economic strength to move to urban areas that do offer employment. The opposite situation would undermine their wealth and restrict their opportunities for moving to other locations. In many areas of rural Sweden, the local property market is so weak that selling is almost impossible, or the prices paid for dwellings are so low that the seller cannot buy a dwelling in urban locations without financial support. In this respect, permanent residents in attractive second home destinations are to be considered as fortunate. They are in possession of dwellings with high market value, but have not directly contributed to the value increase in other ways than perhaps basic restoration. The majority of the value increase is generated by external demand. Principally, locals have increased their wealth through the circumstance of owning a dwelling in an area attractive to others, although they also contribute to the aggregate level of demand. In a way they can be considered as place monopolists, holding a monopoly on access to desirable locations. However, this is difficult to recognise if one is born in the area and does not see the surroundings as being valuable to others. It may be hard to understand why the dwellings are valued equally to those bought by outsiders for second home purposes. The locals rarely see themselves as privileged (Nilsson, 2003).

To meet rising property prices in attractive rural areas, a residence obligation has been described as the solution (e.g. Glesbygdsverket, 2001), implying that people buying or building houses in these areas must live there permanently. If this were to become a reality in Sweden, it would mean an expropriation of dwellings on an enormous scale, creating collapse in the value of the existing property stock, which would not even benefit the people already living in the area. It would reduce the potential market, having a reduced effect on the price of the properties, and would imply a decline in values for the permanent residents, leading to restrictions for the owners. The opposite view is taken by Skak (2004), who argues that a residence obligation is needed in order to give positive effects on welfare for the permanent residents. However, this scenario does not necessarily imply conservation in its current state, but instead implies rural depopulation and reduced wealth. In countries such as Norway, where the residence obligation has been imposed in particularly attractive second home destinations, this has meant a weakened will to invest and engage in necessary maintenance of the older housing stock (Gullbrandsen, 2003). A residence obligation or some kind of land protection can freeze the supply of new second homes in an area, but as a reaction this can increase prices because of unchanged or even increased demand (Frost, 2004). Another response to the situation in these locations has been to increase the supply of cheap dwellings for rent, often apartments. In the case of Sandö in the Stockholm archipelago, the dwellings built could not be rented out to people living permanently on the island, due to low or non-existing demand (Södergren, 2007). Ironically, they have now been rented out on seasonal basis to tourists, because this is the only stable demand on the island.

As explained above, the root of any displacement is argued to be increased property values and, hence, increasing cost of living. In Sweden, the present government has stated that the national property tax will be abolished. This tax would be replaced by a municipal fee that will, particularly in the most attractive locations, be significantly lower than the present national property tax. This has been welcomed by organisations such as the *Association of Swedish Archipelagos* (Skärgårdarnas Riksförbund), which has lobbied for this in recent years. However, a lowering of the property tax would lead to lower living costs for permanent residents, but would also imply even higher prices for dwellings in these areas. Potential buyers could bid even higher prices for dwellings due to the lower cost of owning a dwelling, especially in attractive locations. This will not

solve the stated problem of limited supply of dwellings in these areas, and will certainly not improve the possibilities for the young generation to stay. However, it will lower the living costs of people already living there, a rational motive for arguing for the abolition of the property tax. It is interesting to note that the debate on second home induced displacement is maintained not by the potentially displaced (the individuals who have left the area), but by the individuals who have managed to resist the increased property taxes and subsequent living costs and remain in the area (e.g. Skärgårdarnas Riksförbund, 2002). These are the individuals who call for a residence obligation, restrictions on the property market and the abolition of the property tax. Rarely are the potentially displaced consulted. However, this is done in this thesis, and it has been proven that other more important factors are at play in explaining the out-migration from attractive second home destinations. One might rightfully question the purpose of reproducing the image of countryside people as victims by these organizations.

Much of the debate concerning second home induced displacement is related to the norm of being immobile, or the idea that people have the right to stay in the area where they are born and raised. It is argued that individuals who live in a place have the right to the place and the right to decide what should be done in that particular location. Locals often represent the picturesque, the old way of life or a link to history (Flognfeldt, 2002). This is manifested in Sweden through, for example, the public voting system. Individuals who are registered as permanent residents are allowed to vote in a particular municipality and it is not possible to be registered as a permanent resident in more than one place. This assumes that people are immobile and do not have any interest in any other location than the one in which they are officially registered. As been proven by for example Kaltenborn (1998) and Quinn (2004), people have multiple place attachments and the place they are mostly attached to is not necessarily the place where they are registered as a permanent resident. Instead, through the phenomenon of second homes, it is a matter of a shared population, where many individuals who stay and live in a particular location are not considered because they are not visible in the official statistics, and they are not represented in the democratic process. This creates a situation where the population is divided into two groups with different legal opportunities, which causes a situation of separateness rather than community. When immobility is the norm, displacement becomes a problem. A true home is a place to be born, married, raise children, make a living and be buried. Moving is viewed as a failure, and the individuals who circulate

between multiple dwellings are viewed as a threat. In today's mobile society, it is rather surprising that the administrative systems and public authorities cannot handle people having multiple place attachments, but rather see this as a nuisance and a problem which is to be restricted.

Can any of the lessons drawn from this thesis be applied to other locations throughout the world, or are the results unique to the Swedish context? In the United Kingdom, France, Spain, the United States, Canada or other Western countries, the situation differs in many ways compared to Sweden and other Scandinavian countries. Firstly, owning a second home is not considered to be an elite phenomenon in Sweden, or in Scandinavia. The numbers of second homes compared to the population volume shows that this is a national movement rather than an elite phenomenon. Of course, this is mainly due to the low population numbers combined with lots of space, making access to rural areas for second home purposes common and affordable. According to Löfgren (1999), the relative abundance of land as well as the late urbanization of Scandinavia made it easier for lower middle-class and working-class families to acquire a second home. Compared, for example, to the United Kingdom, mainland Europe and New Zealand, the competition is greater (Hall and Müller, 2004), causing higher prices and potentially more frequently a displacement situation. In Great Britain, Hoggart and Buller (1995) argue that when the demand for rural homes has risen, so has the price of rural dwellings. Properties in the most desirable locations or of the most favoured building styles have become particularly difficult to obtain. Those who wish to acquire a rural second home will either have to compromise on their demands or look to satisfy their desires outside Great Britain. Gallent *et al.* (2005) argue that in the rural areas of the United Kingdom, the demand for dual residencies cannot be absorbed in the same ways as in the case of Sweden, where this can be achieved with the surplus rural dwelling stock. However, owning a second home in some particularly prestigious locations is on the contrary an elite phenomenon even in Sweden, only accessible to a few. In these locations the pressure on the local property market is comparable to other desirable locations worldwide. According to Löfgren (1999), there are many similarities between second home traditions in Sweden and those of Canada and the United States, and at least some general comparisons can be made.

7.1 Potential for local communities?

If no widespread second home induced displacement can be detected in Sweden, what can then be done in order to make the best out of the situation for the local communities? In fact, rural areas that can attract tourists, and second home tourism in particular, enjoy a favourable situation compared to some other areas. In general, the restructuring of the economy since WWII has led to downsizing, particularly in rural areas, hence making it more difficult to support the population numbers, leading to out-migration. For areas lucky enough to have the amenities to attract tourism, this can to some extent make up for the loss. There are signs that tourism destinations have a better socio-economic situation than the surrounding countryside (Jansson and Müller, 2003), and it is important to remember that far from all areas in the Nordic countries have the same potential to compete on the international tourism market. Those destinations that are located in close proximity to metropolitan regions, allowing for commuting, and those that have succeeded in maintaining the local service supply have the most favourable situation. This implies that the Stockholm archipelago has all the attributes needed to maintain a thriving community, albeit under changing and new circumstances.

The positive consequences of second home tourism include increased employment and income possibilities. For many rural and peripheral communities, tourism is one of few options for sustaining local communities at all (Norris and Winston, 2007). This also implies a clear rationale for the maintenance of local customs and traditions that make up the core tourism product of the place (Fagence, 2003). In some circumstances, tourism has the potential to conserve rather than destroy assets (Hall and Jenkins, 1998). Second home tourism is often blamed for undermining local culture and values, but can in some ways be a reason to maintain the local culture. There is evidence to suggest that self-catering accommodation such as second homes has a lower socio-cultural impact in host communities than based accommodation (Bunt and Courtney, 1999). It has been argued that a solid and stable base of second home tourists reduces the socio-cultural impact compared to a heterogeneous group of temporal visitors (Aschan, 1974). Further, from a destination point of view, a focus on developing the second home tourism segment would be wise. This form of tourism gives stability to the tourism flows due to the investment made by the second homeowners. This segment tends not to be easily moved and is often

loyal to the destination. Costly marketing campaigns to attract circulating tourists who are disloyal to the destination can be avoided.

There are signs that the second home is an important place for the owner, a place that is rarely sold and is instead passed on through generations. This can be of importance for the local destination, since buying a second home can be the first step towards a permanent move to the destination. Müller (2002c) showed that more than 50% of the German second home owners in the Swedish countryside thought that they would migrate to Sweden, many of them after retiring. As shown in this thesis, for some islands in the Stockholm archipelago, the second home owners made up a substantial proportion of the in-migrants. Often, the purchase of a second home became a stepping-stone to a more-or-less permanent transfer of residence upon retirement. This confirms results shown by Price *et al.* (1997) and King (2002), suggesting that amenity migrants often move to an area they previously visited as tourists. However, many of these in-migrants are of rather high age, implying that these individuals do not help to maintain services like pre-schools and schools. On the other hand, they are one group that can help to maintain other services such as post offices, grocery stores and restaurants. Möller and Möller (1994) show that second home owners are an important group in maintaining and investing in local services such as grocery stores. In many ways, second home tourism brings many rural villages to life (Friedmann and Miller, 1965) and this is a rather cheap, attractive and efficient way of moving people and consumption to the countryside, although temporarily (Jansson and Müller, 2003).

On the whole, the phenomenon of second home tourism is visible in many host communities. Houses that are used as second homes are empty and dark during off-season, and it becomes rather clear for the locals where these houses are located. Hence, second home tourism becomes an easy and convenient scapegoat for rural decline and displacement, compared to less tangible and underlying causes, which are less visible and are far more difficult to address (Gallent *et al.*, 2005). Instead of viewing second home tourism as a threat to local communities, planning should aim to maximize the positive impact and allow services to adapt to the changes it causes, instead of preventing development (Müller *at al.*, 2004). Second home tourism is an important part of the future for many rural locations and gives these areas an opportunity for further development. Hence, second homes are viewed by many as a curse for local communities

in attractive locations, but are essentially a potential blessing, however only if the positive impact is recognized. Compared to other rural locations, where the future options are even more limited, second home tourism does offer viable future possibilities.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has shown that second home tourism is not a widespread problem or the main cause of depopulation and economic decline in attractive second home destinations in Sweden. As with many other countries throughout the world, the preconditions for a displacement situation are present in many locations in Sweden. However, other causes such as job opportunities and educational possibilities are more important in explaining the negative population development in these locations, rather than second home induced displacement. Even so, the discourse of a displacement of permanent residents is still active, and the image of the rural countryside as the idyll and the opposition to the ‘evils’ of industrial cities has succeeded in hiding the relative poverty experienced in rural locations (Butler and Hall, 1998). The rural population is often portrayed as weak and the victims when it comes to competing with urban population in the local property market. Still, the core problem is not the high property prices in attractive rural locations as such, but rather the low income among the rural population compared to people living in urban areas (Gallent *et al.*, 2005). The difference implies that the rural population cannot compete for dwellings with the urban population, who are only in search of a secondary home. This is the core problem, but is not prominent in the debate and is a problem which cannot be solved by a residence obligation or other market restrictions. Further, the debate concerning second home induced displacement is maintained by individuals who primarily want to lower their own living costs and restrict the competition for dwellings in their residential haven. In this context the second home owners become a convenient scapegoat and are described as an external threat to the traditional way of life.

Modern societies are today increasingly characterized by mobility and multiple place attachments. Individuals increasingly tend to spend their time in multiple locations, and this is manifested in increasing numbers of second homes, or nodes in the landscape of spaces and flows (Williams *et al.*, 2004). However, this also implies seasonally uninhabited dwellings and becomes a problem when the societal structure assumes that individuals are immobile. Instead of blaming second home development for causing depopulation, planning and future research should aim at studying the positive effects and opportunities related to multiple place attachments, since the ongoing increase in mobility is unlikely to fade.

9. SAMMANFATTNING (SUMMARY IN SWEDISH)

Fenomenet fritidshusturism har under en lång tid betraktats som ett problem för den långsiktiga befolkningsutvecklingen i speciellt attraktiva områden i Sverige. Den externa efterfrågan på fritidshus påstås driva upp priserna på fastigheter, vilket resulterar i ökade taxeringsvärden även på permanentbostäder i området. I förlängningen leder detta till en högre fastighetsskatt för alla fastighetsägare. I kombination med landsbygdsbefolkningens relativt låga socioekonomiska status, anses detta leda till en oundgänglig situation för de permanentboende i området. Resultatet av denna process påstås leda till en undanträngning av permanentboende på grund av för höga boendekostnader. Det argumenteras för att denna process leder till att allt fler platser, attraktiva för fritidsboende, blir omvandlade till paradiset för endast de välbeställda och som karaktäriseras av hus som står tomma och obefolkade under större delen av året. Vidare sägs den stora efterfrågan på fritidshus göra att utbudet av bostäder minskar, vilket i sin tur försvårar möjligheterna att bo kvar för dem som växer upp i dessa områden. Det påstås till och med att detta är ett av de allvarligaste hoten mot dessa landsbygdsområden och olika förslag på lösning har presenterats. Bland annat har en boplikt diskuterats, där idén är att fastigheter till salu i de mest attraktiva områdena bara skulle få säljas till köpare som förbinder sig att bo i fastigheten permanent. En alternativ förklaring till den negativa befolkningsutvecklingen i attraktiva fritidshusområden har presenterats. Denna menar att utvecklingen snarare är ett uttryck för strukturomvandlingen i landsbygdens ekonomi. Människor lämnar landsbygden på grund av en brist på arbetstillfällen och möjligheter till högre utbildning, inte på grund av den höga efterfrågan på fritidshus. De tomma hus som utflyttningen lämnar efter sig fylls av fritidshusägare, snarare än att de tränger undan bofasta. Denna debatt har emellanåt varit livlig och intensiv, men har lidit av en brist på omfattande empiriska studier.

Syftet med denna avhandling är att i en svensk kontext studera om det finns någon grund för påståendet om att en undanträngningseffekt av permanentboende existerar i områden som är attraktiva fritidshusområden. Går det att fastställa att permanentboende i dessa områden är utsatta för en ofrivillig utflyttning på grund av minskat utbud av fastigheter och en ökad fastighetsskatt, genererad av den externa efterfrågan på fritidshus?

Avhandlingens empiriska resultat baseras på två datakällor. Artikel 1, 2 och 3 baseras på registerdata som omfattar samtliga fastigheter (fritidshus och fastigheter för permanentboende) samt alla individer boende i Stockholms skärgård under åren 1991-2002. Artikel 4 utgår från en enkätundersökning riktad till samtliga utflyttare (de potentiellt undanträngda) från Sandö i Stockholms skärgård, ett av Sveriges mest attraktiva fritidshusområde, under tiden 1991-2006.

I Artikel 1 kartläggs utvecklingen av taxeringsvärdena för fritidshus i Sverige under perioden 1991-2001. Mer specifikt behandlas var efterfrågan på fritidshus är som mest extrem och vilka faktorer som är viktiga för att ett område skall betecknas som attraktivt. Detta görs för att kunna lokalisera områden i Sverige där en undanträngning kan tänkas ske. Resultaten visar att områden som redan tidigare var attraktiva också uppvisar den kraftigaste ökningen av taxeringsvärden. Viktigt för attraktiviteten är även befolkningstrycket i omgivningen. Andra viktiga faktorer är närheten till havet och huruvida fritidshuset är lokaliserat i ett område med lång tradition av turism. Slutsatsen är att mönstret för var attraktiva områden för fritidshusturism är lokaliserade i Sverige tenderar att vara relativt stabila över tid trots en ökad mobilitet, individualisering och nya trender. Områden nära större befolkningskoncentrationer uppvisar den största ökningen av taxeringsvärden på fritidshus. Speciellt gäller detta Stockholms skärgård, som är den plats där en eventuell undanträngning bör uppträda.

Den andra artikeln bygger på resultaten i artikel ett, nämligen att om en fritidshusgenererad undanträngning existerar så är det i Stockholms skärgård den bör finnas. Artikeln analyserar utvecklingen av Stockholms skärgårds fastighetsbestånd vad gäller antalet fritidshus och fastigheter för permanentboende, samt dess taxeringsvärdeutveckling under åren 1991-2002. Resultaten visar att antalet fritidshus minskar till förmån för permanentbostäder under perioden. Den största minskningen av antalet fritidshus sker i relativt centrala och tillgängliga lägen, men detta mönster registreras även på de mest isolerade och perifera öarna. Befolkningsutvecklingen är även positiv i hela regionen. Vad gäller prisutvecklingen, uppvisar permanentbostäderna en större påverkan på fastighetsstockens totala värdeutveckling än vad fallet är för fritidshusen. Slutsatsen är att Stockholms skärgård inte är i ett skede av avfolkning. Istället visar utvecklingen att det sker en återbefolkning av området, som genereras av Stockholms generella befolkningsökning. Fritidshus konverteras till permanentbostäder

och det är denna efterfrågan som är motorn i prisutvecklingen. Om en undanträngning skulle ske i området så skulle den primärt vara genererad av den ökade efterfrågan på permanentbostäder och inte av efterfrågan på fritidshus. Det är dock möjligt att en undanträngning kan ske på en lokal nivå.

I artikel 3 studeras huruvida en undanträngning kan tänkas ske på lokal nivå på tre utvalda öar i Stockholms skärgård, som alla uppvisar de grundläggande förutsättningarna för att härbärgera en undanträngning. Dessa öar är Blidö, Ingmarsö och Sandö. Här studeras vilka som flyttar in och ut från dessa öar samt hur deras socioekonomiska status förändras efter flytten. Resultaten visar att de som lämnar dessa öar framförallt är yngre och gör detta i samband med studier och arbete. Slutsatsen av artikeln är att dessa öar trots en utflyttning av yngre människor och en åldrande befolkning, har en fördelaktig situation jämfört med andra perifera platser och att fritidshusturismen är en möjlighet snarare än ett hot mot dessa samhällen. Fritidshuset kan för sina ägare fungera som en möjlig framtida bostad, om än i samband med pensionering. Den förenklade bild om att fritidshuset är orsaken till utflyttning och befolkningsminskning ifrågasätts. Dock krävs fortsatta studier där individer får beskriva sina flyttbeslut och huruvida dessa är relaterade till platsens attraktivitet bland fritidshusägare.

Artikel 4 bygger på en enkätundersökning som skickats ut till samtliga individer som valt att flytta från Sandö (Sandhamn) under åren 1991-2006, där frågor rörande deras flyttbeslut behandlas. Rent hypotetiskt kan denna grupp betecknas som de potentiellt undanträngda. Dock är denna grupp sällan konsulterade i debatten rörande undanträngning. Sandö är valt som undersökningsområde då denna ö uppvisar de högsta taxeringsvärdena för fritidshus i Stockholms skärgård samt även den kraftigaste prisutvecklingen under senare tid, båda viktiga förutsättningar för undanträngning. Resultaten visar att utflyttarnas största källa till missnöje under tiden som fastboende på Sandö var relaterade till den generella servicenivån och utbudet inom hälso- och sjukvård, snarare än priser och utbudet på bostäder. Utflyttarna lämnade Sandö på frivillig basis och uppfattar inte sitt flyttbeslut vara relaterat till en undanträngning orsakad av efterfrågan på fritidshus. Vidare påstår respondenterna att deras livssituation förbättras avsevärt efter deras flytt. De planerar inte heller att återvända till Sandö. Fritidshusägarna betecknas av respondenterna som en viktig förutsättning för ett "levande" Sandö.

Slutsatsen är att undanträngningen inte är en orsak till utflyttning av permanentboende från Sandö.

Denna avhandling visar att det inte finns något empiriskt stöd för påståendet om att fritidshusturismen förorsakar en undanträngning av lokalbefolkningen i attraktiva områden i Sverige. Istället är befolkningsminskningen i dessa områden orsakade av samhällets generella strukturomvandling där möjligheter till arbete, service och utbildning allt mer är lokaliserade i urbana miljöer. Fenomenet fritidshusturism har oförskyllt fått klä skott för denna utveckling. Istället för att beskylla fritidshusboende borde lokala företrädare se detta som en resurs och inse att situationen trots allt är relativt bra i jämförelse med många andra landsbygdsområden, som inte ens är attraktiva för säsongboende. Ökade värden på fastigheter i dessa områden spiller även över på de permanentboende, som på detta sätt ökar sin förmögenhet. Fritidshusturismen ger även dessa områden ökade inkomstmöjligheter genom ökad lokal efterfrågan på varor och tjänster. Fritidshusen fungerar även som potentiella framtida permanentbostäder för sina ägare.

Dagens moderna samhälle karaktäriseras allt mer av en mobil befolkning med multipla platslojaliteter. I en allt ökande utsträckning tenderar människor att spendera sin tid på flera platser, vilket manifesteras i en ökad efterfrågan på fritidshus. Detta betyder dock att hus är obebodda under en viss tid på året. Detta uppfattas som ett problem när samhällsstrukturen är uppbyggd på det normativa antagandet om en immobil befolkning.

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Appendix

UMEÅ UNIVERSITY
Department of Social and
Economic Geography



A STUDY OF PEOPLE'S DECISION TO MOVE

A research project is being carried out at Umeå University's Department of Social and Economic Geography into how people view the place where they once lived – whether they liked or disliked this place – and why they chose to move away. The study aims to create greater awareness of what is important in the place where we live or once lived, and which factors are important when deciding to move. This will provide a better basis for planning residential areas, communications and services.

The survey is aimed at everyone who lived on or was registered on Sandö (Sandhamn) during the period 1991-2006, but who decided to move away. We have obtained your name from Statistics Sweden's register. Today, some people live back on Sandö, while others live in towns or in the countryside.

Statistics Sweden has been commissioned by Umeå University to send out surveys and collate the materials.

Participation is voluntary, but your answers are extremely important and will help to ensure that the survey is reliable and usable. All answers are anonymous and will be dealt with in confidence. All those working with the survey have a duty of confidentiality. The results will only be compiled in tabular form, and it will not be possible to tell how any individual has answered or to link their answers with any other information.

Please answer the questions and return the questionnaire to Statistics Sweden as soon as possible, using the postage-paid envelope.

If you have any questions about the survey, please feel free to call Roger Marjavaara at Umeå University on 090-786 71 59.

Roger Marjavaara
Department of Social and Economic Geography
Umeå University

SECTION 1

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

1. Gender

- Male
 Female

2. Year of birth

1	9		
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3. What is your main job? (Please choose only one alternative)

- Self-employed
 Full-time employed
 Part-time employed
 Student
 Military service
 On leave (including parental leave)
 Unemployed
 Retired (including due to illness)
 Other

4. What is your highest completed level of education?

- Primary-level education or similar
 Vocational/secondary-level education
 Upper-secondary-level education
 University education (less than 3 years)
 University education (3 years or more)

5. Did you live on Sandö at any stage during the period 1991-2006?

- Yes
 No (**GO TO QUESTIONS 19**)

6. Did you spend most of your childhood on Sandö?

- Yes
 No

7. Do you currently own a house or cottage on Sandö?

- Yes
 No

SECTION 2
QUESTIONS ABOUT LIVING ON SANDÖ

(If you lived on Sandö on more than one occasion, this relates to the most recent time)

8. When did you live on (during the period 1991-2002)?

From (year & month): To (year & month):

From (year & month): To (year & month):

From (year & month): To (year & month):

From (year & month): To (year & month):

9. In which type of housing did you normally live? (Please choose only one alternative)

- Farmhouse
- Detached house
- Terraced house
- Apartment with tenant-ownership rights
- Rented apartment
- Lodging
- Second home/cottage
- Other.....

10. Who owned your home?

- Me
- My spouse
- My family (parents, relatives, etc.)
- Other.....

	Agree						Agree
	at all						completely
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e) Contact between second home owners and permanent residents is close	<input type="checkbox"/>						
g) Most second home owners have their roots on Sandö	<input type="checkbox"/>						

SECTION 3

QUESTIONS ABOUT MOVING FROM SANDÖ

(If you have moved from Sandö on more than one occasion, this relates to the most recent time)

13. What was the most important reason why you moved from Sandö? (Give one reason only)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I was unemployed and found work elsewhere | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better communications |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Changed job | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to move closer to friends and family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Started studies or training | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted a change of scene |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Split up with partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better services (shops, kiosks, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moved in with partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Not enough housing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to move house | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to move away from parents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moved with someone else (e.g. partner's job) | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better healthcare (old people's homes, etc.) |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better social services (schools, etc.) |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Housing too expensive |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Other..... |

14. What other reasons did you have for moving from Sandö? (Give as many reasons as you like)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I was unemployed and found work elsewhere | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better communications |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Changed job | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to move closer to friends and family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Started studies or training | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted a change of scene |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Split up with partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better services (shops, kiosks, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moved in with partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Not enough housing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to move house | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to move away from parents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moved with someone else (e.g. partner's job) | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better healthcare (old people's homes, etc.) |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Needed better social services (schools, etc.) |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Housing too expensive |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Other..... |

	Not at all important						Very important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l) Other social services (schools, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
m) Communications	<input type="checkbox"/>						
n) Opportunities for getting/changing job	<input type="checkbox"/>						
o) Career opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/>						
p) Entertainment (restaurants, pubs, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
q) Proximity to your work	<input type="checkbox"/>						
r) Range of housing available	<input type="checkbox"/>						
s) Housing costs	<input type="checkbox"/>						

Thank you for your help!

Please use the postage-paid envelope to return your questionnaire.

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