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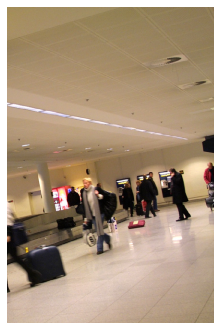
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One morning in April 2009, the author of this paper is having his breakfast aboard a flight from Copenhagen to Amsterdam. The meal is promptly served; flight attendants are nice and polite; service is delivered efficiently and with a smile. Nevertheless, there is a sense of disappointment in the air when the thin coffee is poured and the passengers are presented with a choice of either a package of biscuits or a chocolate bar to accompany the coffee. In most people's minds there is still an association between aviation and a certain level of hospitality. This association comes from the history of aviation and the role of hospitality for the image of aviation during 'the golden age of aviation', the post-war period when civil aviation developed most of its present characteristics and grew to become an industry with global reach. During that period the level of hospitality was set to meet the standards of rather exclusive categories of passengers. Since then, technological progress and increasing competition following the deregulation of aviation have resulted in dramatically reduced fares. In addition, new challenging business models coming from low-cost aviation have been introduced (Doganis, 2006; Nilsson, 2009). As a result, some aspects of hospitality aboard, such as catering, have obviously deteriorated while others, such as the performance of hospitality work, seem to remain more or less the same. There are thus some interesting relations between innovation and path dependency in the field of hospitality in aviation that need to be explored. This is an area where relatively limited research has been conducted; considering the importance of aviation and airline catering as parts of the tourism and hospitality industry (King, 2001), it deserves more attention.

Purpose, method and outline

The purpose of this article is to make a genealogical investigation of hospitality in aviation, aboard passenger airplanes. The main points of interest are how hospitality aboard has developed over time and how it can be understood and interpreted in different temporal contexts, given specific material and organisational circumstances. These circumstances are reflected in how changes of transport technology, business models and institutional conditions have influenced the performance of hospitality in aviation. The relationship between hospitality on the one hand and the development of technology, business models and institutional conditions is a main issue. The cabin is the arena of interest in this article, emphasizing for instance the role of facilities, servicescapes, hospitality work and the practical and symbolic functions of cater-

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ing aboard. It is thus the development of material culture in aviation hospitality that is in focus. Services in the form of technological performance, speed, punctuality or maintenance will not be considered.

This paper has the form of a literature analysis, which is theoretical and historical in character. Accordingly, it is mainly based on secondary material, although some primary material, i.e. from the airline business, has been used. The research based literature in the field of hospitality in aviation is rather limited. This has called for an eclectic approach in the use of literature. Therefore, some biographical material, mostly portraits of pioneering business men in the travel industry, has become an important source of information together with quite a lot of popular science literature mainly written by journalists.

Following an introductory section where the basic concepts are presented, the outline of the article will mainly be chronological. The development of passenger aviation is described and analysed, through its different stages from the 1920´s into the 21st century. In the first half of the paper the development of "traditional" scheduled civil aviation is described; in the second one the development of cheaper forms of aviation such as charters and low-cost aviation that were developed as a result of deregulation.

Commercial hospitality and travel

As a line of business, as part of the service industries, hospitality is most often associated with the hotel and restaurant industry and other related services. Conceptually, hospitality has showed to be difficult to define since it includes aspects related to hospitableness, relations and obligations, as well as to hospitality management (Brotherton, 1999; Hepple et al., 1990; King, 1995) Based on a review of the definitions available at the time, Hepple et al. (1990) came up with the following characteristics of hospitality: Hospitality is conferred on a guest who is away from home by a host; it is interactive, involving a provider and a receiver; it involves a blend of tangible and intangible factors; the host provides for the guest's security, psychological comfort and physiological comfort. In a wider perspective, hospitality is concerned with the general relationship between hosts and guests, in the private, social and commercial domains. In all of these relationships the provision and exchange of food and beverages play an important role (Lashley, 2000). This article will however concentrate on commercial hospitality, i.e. when people are

paying for a bed, a seat, food or drinks in a professional setting.

Trade and travelling were essential reasons behind the need for commercial hospitality, long before aviation. In pre-modern times hospitality at inns and in other peoples´ homes made it possible for people to endure the hardships of travelling. Individual travelling of those days could be thought of as sequences of journeys between places of hospitality. Public transports and the introduction of steam engines for ships and railroads made hospitality aboard possible. In the 19th century, steamships were provided with dining rooms, and restaurant wagons were introduced on trains (Fox, 2003; Nilsson & Eskilsson, 2007; Ohler, 1989; Steinburst, 2004; Walton, 2000). The modern scale of travelling created a demand for new and large hospitality businesses in ports, around railway stations, and with the introduction of motor cars, along roads and highways. Catering for a large number of people in short periods of time makes it necessary to standardize. There has to be a limited number of different meals available; preparation and cooking has to be conducted following strict procedures; waiting, service and payments have to be handled fast and efficiently. Some restaurants at railway stations were the first to develop these new fast forms of hospitality. Fred Harvey's restaurant chain that commenced its operations in the American West during the 1870´s, is probably the most well known example. Fast food restaurants that operate in places that are easily accessible by car are doing business in similar ways. Interestingly, the standardisation of operations has also resulted in standardisation of servicescapes, uniforms, and regulations concerning appearance and conduct of staff (Dittmer & Griffin, 1997; Jakle & Sculle, 1999; Ritzer, 1996; Schlosser, 2003). Aviation, unprecedented in speed and reach, has during the last decades built up a related service landscapes around itself at airports and in the air (Fuller & Harley, 2004; Gottdiener, 2001; Pascoe, 2001). In all these places in motion meals play an important role in the business: for physiological reasons, to make a rest, to kill time and as part of the travelling experience. The eating habits of the travellers and the performance of hospitality have to be adjusted to tight restrictions of time and space; which in turn influences the performance of hospitality aboard.

The development of new and efficient ways of performing hospitality in rail- and road side restaurants as well as at airports and in the air are examples of how technological change and changing conditions for individual mobility have furthered the innovation of business models in hospitality. The term business model became widely spread during the 1990´s following new technological developments. In the 1990´s, firms began to do business in new ways, using new sets of channels and making money from other sources than before. The development of different ways of doing

business made it necessary to discuss them in terms of business models, in order to describe and analyze differences and developments, associated with the new economy (Osterwalder, 2004). Conceptually, business models can be defined in the following way:

> A business model is a conceptual tool that contains a set of elements and their relationships and allows expressing a company's logic of earning money. It is a description of the value a company offers to one or several segments of customers and the architecture of the firm and its network of partners for creating, marketing and delivering this value and relationship capital, in order to generate profitable and sustainable revenue streams (Osterwalder, 2004, p. 15).

As will be shown in the following text, two principal business models have dominated civil aviation during the post-war period. The first one is characterised by national airlines providing high standard service at high costs and for high fares in a highly regulated business environment. The second one builds on the logic of mass transportation with lower costs, low fares, less emphasis on service quality and new ways of making money through new sets of partnerships. The development of the latter business model was made possible due to the deregulation of civil aviation (Nilsson, 2009).

The development of new business models may be driven by technological change, as in the case of the dot.com revolution in the 1990's. In other cases such as aviation, that was (is) a highly regulated business, institutional change may have been even more important. Institutions may be described as the rules of a society, or as the restrictions people put up in order to regulate human interaction. There are both formal and informal institutions at play in society. In this article the formal institutions are in focus. Formal institutions have the form of written rules, laws, treaties and contracts. These regulations are normally supervised by a formal body, i.e. a government. Informal institutions have the form of human conventions and norms, regulating human (business) behaviour and safeguarding social stability (North, 1997). The formal institutions regulating civil aviation function at various geographical levels. There are national laws and regulations and bilateral agreements between nations, but the most important sets of regulations are to be found in the global context. At the end of World War 2, the Chicago convention was introduced to liberalise and regulate international aviation. ICAO was to become the international body responsible for the organisation of international aviation, in the form of traffic rights, safety, security, etc. IATA,

the association of airlines, has had an important role in agreements regarding ticketing and service (Doganis, 2006; Rosenberg, 1970). The content and performance of hospitality in aircraft cabins change with technological progress and institutional change. Hospitality is given a different position depending on the business model in place. To describe the changes of this position over time, and to interpret the meaning of this development will be the theme of the following sections.

The development of service in scheduled aviation

Civil aviation commenced in the wake of the First World War. Hundreds of aircrafts and pilots were laid idle, seeking new peace time opportunities. At first, passengers had to sit behind the pilot in an open-air cabin; they were equipped with a helmet, fur coat, gloves and goggles. Flying was adventurous, some discomfort had to be endured in order to take advantage of the time reductions offered. At this point the pilots had the sole responsibility aboard. In the early 1920´s covered or in-door cabins were introduced. This gave the aviators possibilities to offer better comfort and service in the form of food and beverages aboard. Aviation became part of the tourism and hospitality industry.

Adventurous comfort for the selected few

In the 1920´s, airlines were founded in most European countries; by 1930 the major cities were connected in an international network of scheduled aviation (Hudson, 1972; Kunskapens bok, 1945). At a time much less mobile than our own, and when travel was relatively costly, aviation mainly attracted the more prosperous parts of society. Between the wars, aviation was just like auto mobility regarded as one of the most important signs of modernity (Gert Simonsen, 2005). The rich and the famous, movie stars and politician, Mary Pickford and Adolf Hitler, were photographed arriving at important events by air (Fotosearch, 2009; Riefenstahl & Ruttman, 1935). This brought status to aviation, to fly became a sign of significance. In the mid 1920´s, a British airline even published passenger lists as part of their promotion, although they had to stop for the sake of their passengers´ privacy (Hudson, 1972).

Status and the scent of exclusivity naturally brought demands for suitable service aboard. When cabins gradually grew a bit bigger they were often designed to resemble first class train compartments with facing armchairs or sofas, tables, fine textiles, wallpaper and bar service. Following the Danish historian Dorthe Gert Simonsen it was important for the airlines to decorate the interior of the aircrafts in the style of living rooms. The homely atmosphere was supposed to have

a calming effect on the passengers – it was perfectly safe to fly. In the 1930´s when modern metal aircrafts were introduced, a modernistic future-oriented style of interior became fashionable. The domestic 'feminine' touch was replaced; textiles and flowers gave way for steeled 'masculine' simplicity. The standardised cabins we would recognise today were introduced on the DC3 in 1938 (Gert Simonsen, 2008).

In the beginning, only cold dishes such as sandwiches, biscuits and fruit were served aboard. In 1928, on its Berlin–Vienna connection, Lufthansa became the first major airline to offer full restaurant service aboard, including hot meals and fine wines (Lovegrove, 2000). Hot meals need to be served properly, which demanded the presence of servants, stewards. Lufthansa recruited their stewards from Mitropa, the restaurant company serving the German national railways (Hudson, 1972, cf. Steinburst, 2004). The title steward is just like the uniforms a reminder of marine traditions. In many countries, the first air force was part of the navy; pilots are accordingly called captain and first officer. In this period the aircrafts flew at relatively low altitudes. Therefore the journeys could sometimes be very jumpy, air sickness was a common inconvenience. Stewards did not only serve meals and drinks, they were also responsible for the passengers´ wellbeing and for safety aboard. When the first stewardesses were employed by Boeing Air Transport in 1930 they were all trained nurses, wearing white nurses´ uniforms when serving the drinks (Hudson, 1972). By this time, the three elements that since then have signified service aboard were in place: serving food and beverages; caring for passengers fear, stress and discomfort, and to be responsible for safety in case of an emergency.

Gradually the aircrafts became larger and stronger; they were able to fly longer distances without refuelling and at higher speed. New radio equipment made the journeys safer when visibility was reduced, at night, in bad weather or at high altitudes. In the late 1930´s, this progress in aviation technology allowed aircraft to fly over the clouds at an altitude of 2000 to 4000 meters, thereby avoiding much of the turbulence. In 1938, the Swedish airline ABA even advertised 'sunshine flights' to Helsinki, almost regardless of season (Kindblom, 2000). However, only a year later the less friendly Soviet air force clouded the sky above the Finnish capital.

The golden age of aviation
The Second World War naturally reduced civil aviation to a minimum; the resources were needed for the war effort. The need for military transportation, including bombings, drove the

development of larger aircrafts. At the same time, some very large civil aircrafts were built in the 1930´s and 40´s: the flying boats. They could provide smoking lounges, saloons and bars on two decks. The spacious interior gave the passengers a possibility to move around, and allowed for a service level yet to be equalled. However, the flying boats did not last long. They were not very economical and the standard of land based airfields improved which made landing on water unnecessary (Gert Simonsen, 2008; Hudson, 1972). After the war, the DC 3 (Dakota) came to be the most widely used passenger aircraft. However, it only had 32 seats and a limited reach (Endres, 2000; Rosén, 1971). The real technical breakthrough came with the DC 6, used by the SAS in 1946 for the Copenhagen–New York route. It was equipped with a pressurised cabin, which allowed the planes to fly at a higher altitude. In the thin air, speed increased at the same time as fuel economy and flying distances could be improved. Aviation had become fast, reliable, comfortable, and global in reach. Above the weather turbulence was reduced to a minimum. The pressurised cabins also alleviated the discomfort associated with sudden changes in air pressure; the use of chewing gum and cotton wool was no longer necessary (Cortzen, 2000; Hudson, 1972). Speed and comfort improved even more when jets took over at around 1960. The introduction of larger jets in the late 1960´s, in particular the Boeing 747 (Jumbo Jet), was the latest innovation to have major impact on the passengers´ comfort.

In the late 1940´s and early 1950´s, aviation was still very expensive and flying a possibility for only a small fraction of the population. Or, as a former employee at Copenhagen Airport puts it:

> The passengers on both the domestic and international routes came primarily from the business community and public offices (ministries and institutions) people who did not have to pay out of their own pockets. Flying was hardly something private individuals could undertake (Cortzen, 2000: 125).

On the other hand, the 1950´s was a period of great optimism at the same time as aviation yearly grew at double digit rates. This means that aviation was still very exclusive, but expected to become a realistic option for more people relatively soon. When the aircrafts grew bigger they also became more costly to buy and to operate, and the airlines were tempted to try new options to fill up the seats. As the first rule of yield management is that a sold seat is better than an unsold one, they tried to adjust pricing. The British international airline BOAC introduced tourist fares in 1952, in order to promote its transatlantic routes. The price of a return flight between Lon-

don and New York was reduced from £254 to £173 (Middleton, 2005: 97). At that time this price equalled two years´ wages for an average Swedish engineer (calculation based on data from Sveriges Riksbank and Socialstyrelsen). So, it was far from cheap by most people's standards.

From a service and hospitality perspective post-war aviation took on the traditions from the 1930´s. Compared to today's conditions, seatings were relatively spacious and the interiors had a classy appearance. Cocktail bars were for instance not uncommon in larger aircrafts (Lovegrove, 2000). Although meals had been served aboard since the 1920´s, airport restaurants still took care of the main part of catering. The aircrafts still had to refuel more frequently than today, and stop-over times could be used to refuel the passengers too. This way, airlines could save valuable weight (for food, galleys and extra crew) as well. It was not until around 1950 that more than 50 percent of the meals on long distance flights were served aboard. The larger aircrafts introduced in the 1940´s were able to contain more food and beverages, thus improving the possibilities to serve proper meals. Another reason for serving more meals aboard was that it was making the journey less boring for the passengers; eating and drinking is after all a pleasant way of spending one's time (Hudson, 1972).

In the galleys, the meals were heated and prepared for the guests. Meals were however rarely cooked aboard; the food was brought to the planes from airport restaurant facilities. Under these circumstances it was a challenge to keep the meals fresh and tasty. The taste was less of a problem when it comes to the drink; although some wines like Champagne were known to travel better than others. Drinks could compensate if the food had been kept warm to long. People serving or drinking cocktails seem to appear very frequently in pictures of aviation of the post-war period (cf. Lovegrove, 2000). In spite of the difficulties mentioned, ambitions were generally high at the time, both when it comes to food and drinks. Elaborate dishes based on exclusive ingredients, served with fine wines, were part of the experience. This said, it was probably only on rare occasions that menus like the one shown on figure 1 were served aboard a scheduled flight.

Figure 1: Menu from the pioneer SAS flight over the North Pole to Tokyo 1957. Author´s ownership.
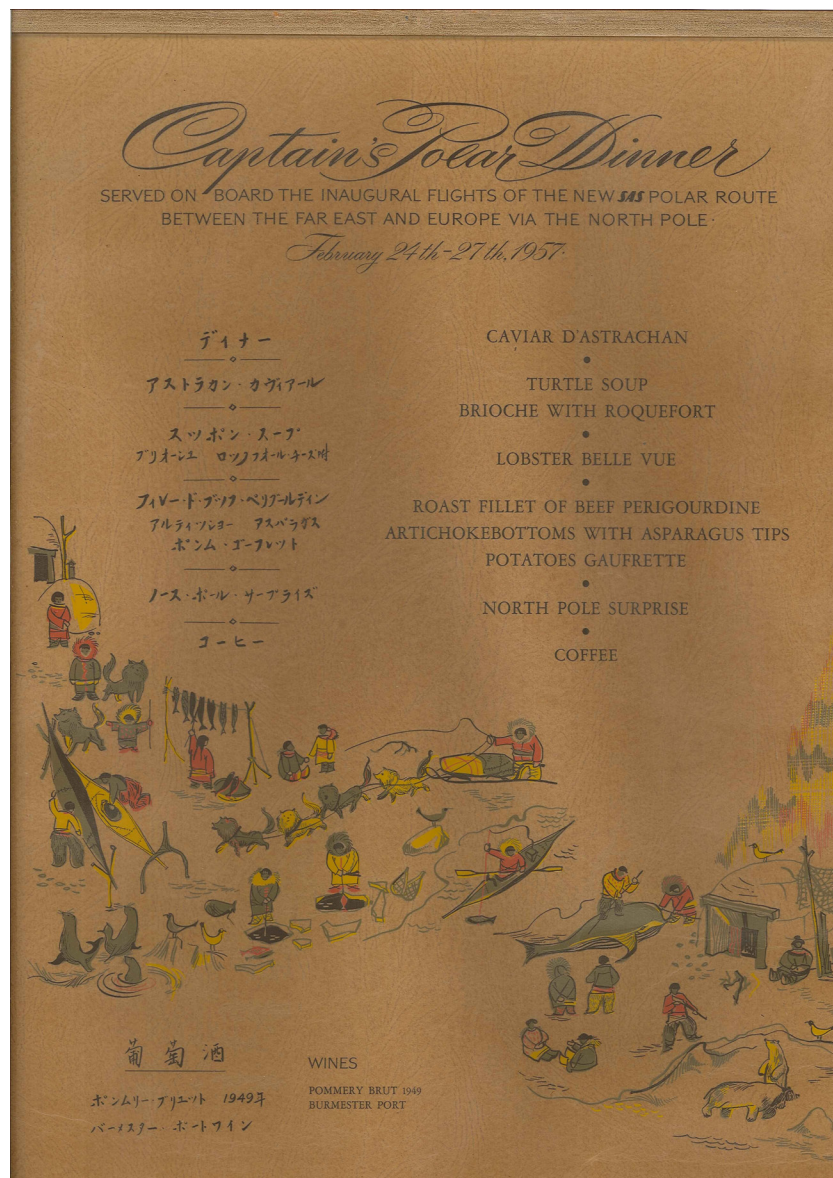
The "Jet set", as the international high society was called in the 1960´s, did not dominate air travel for very long. In the 1950´s tourist class, and later economy class, became widely spread. In 1970 only around ten percent of all tickets were first class (Rosenberg, 1970). Business class is a later innovation that in practice has replaced first class. The introduction of lower fares caused some delicate problems for the airlines. IATA rules forbade airlines to serve proper meals to tourist class passengers. Yet, the SAS became popular for serving traditional Danish smørrebrød, an open sandwich quite rich with cold sliced meat, pâté or fish. This created a rouse among competing, mainly American, airlines. The dispute was settled by the IATA and a compromise was reached. The corners of the of the bread slice were not allowed to be covered with meat – in order not to overfeed the tourist class passengers (Cortzen, 2000).

The "smørrebrød dispute" is an example of the degree of regulation typical for the institutions governing international aviation in the post-war period. With the Chicago Convention of 1944 and the set up of the International Civil Aviation Organisation, ICAO, an international regulatory framework was imposed on aviation in which governments remained the central group of actors. It practice, it meant that scheduled operations were based on bilateral service agreements which regulated international traffic rights. Within the framework of the International Air Transport Association, IATA, agreements among member airlines were established concerning ticketing, tariffs and service levels, for instance on what airlines were allowed to serve to passengers in tourist class; for first class passengers there were no restrictions. At this time most international airlines, the flag carriers, were state owned and often heavily subsidised. Governments thus had an economic interest in retaining artificially high prices and hold competition back. This system remained basically unchanged during most of the post-war period, until 1978. In the following 30 years international aviation has gradually been liberalised (Doganis, 2002; Nilsson, 2009; Rosenberg, 1970). During the post-war decades, scheduled aviation aimed at offering a level of hospitality that was in tune with the majority of their passengers, coming from the upper middle classes. By adjusting their style and services to this segment the airlines developed a profile that would set the standard for what services in aviation are supposed to be. This standard and the glamorous image of flying would survive into the present.

Stewardesses, glamour and social status

This glamorous international environment naturally attracted ambitious young people belonging to a generation who had few other opportunities to make an international career and to see the world. This was especially true for women whose aspirations were held back in societies characterised by large gender inequalities. Stewardess was a dream occupation to many: 'To become a stewardess in a smart uniform and serve international passengers under foreign skies was almost more attractive than any other line of study for a young girl.' (Cortzen, 2000: 126) In the 1950´s, every time the SAS recruited stewardesses they received thousands of applications – in spite of the high levels of qualifications they had to meet. They should be able to speak at least three foreign languages, preferably have a higher education and a certificate as a nurse (Cortzen, 2000). It is interesting to see that nursing skills were still seen as an asset despite the fact that most inconveniences associated with flying was reduced. On top of the formal qualifications they had to apply to "high standards" when it came to age, appearance, manners and marital status, i.e. they had to be young, good looking, gentle and un-married. Accordingly,

Göte Rosén (1971) one of the early entrepreneurs in Swedish charter aviation, mostly discusses appearance when the hiring of stewardesses in the early 1950´s is recorded. However, he recalls that the stewardesses return to their studies during winter, meaning the airline did not have to employ them out of season. Thereby he presumably took their middle class backgrounds for granted.

Hugh Heffner of Playboy Magazine, one of the icons of the 1950´s, presented his models as 'the girl next door'. Following the same line of association, stewardesses were supposed to behave like the girl next door to the business men and civil servants who made up the main part of the passengers. They came to represent a combination of traditional female qualities associated with nursing and hospitableness, and of cosmopolitan glamour. The stewardesses became a vital part of the airlines´ image and reputation; in some cases they still are (Lovegrove, 2000). Despite all later changes in aviation, the image of glamorous stewardesses still embodies the aura of the golden age of aviation.

Being aboard an aircraft involves an element of confinement. The passengers and the crew are inescapably bound to the aircraft from origin to destination; which seems to influence work in the cabin. The crew being confined to the aircraft means that flight attendants are on stage during the whole flight. The glamorous, possibly sexualised, aspects of cabin work have gained attention from feminist researchers. Arlie Hochschild´s The Managed Heart (1983) is the classic work in the field. She introduces the concept emotional labour in order to highlight the degree to which the work of stewardesses demands deep emotional involvement. She discusses how emotional aspects of hospitableness are managed by the airline in training, instructions and in cabin practices. Stewardesses have to perform their duties professionally, behave and move about gently, comply with explicit and implicit rules of dressing, looks and weight; and always keep smiling. While Hochschild discusses the possible damaging and oppressive effects of deep acting in these kinds of work, the Swedish ethnologist Magdalena Petersson (2003) argues that flight attending is to be viewed as acts of performance. As performance, the work is simultaneously involving deep acting, keeping a distance, and even play. Despite their differences, both Hochschield´s and Petersson´s studies clarify how important the performance work of stewardesses is for the quality of hospitality aboard, and thus for the reputation of individual airlines.

There is something special about the culture of stewardesses. Per Gustafsson (2003) rightly argues that it has to do with mobility – with their mobile lifestyle. On the one hand, most of their work is perceived as inheritably female in character, performing acts of hospitable caring (mostly to men). On the other hand, the fact that they are highly mobile individuals and not confined to the traditional feminine home sphere transcends traditional gender stereotypes. To be mobile is to be adventurous, glamorous and independent. Many stewardesses state that they have chosen their work for the freedom to travel and the freedom of travelling (Petersson, 2003). To be mobile is to have high social status (cf. Gössling & Nilsson, 2010). International business travel, using major airlines (flag carriers), has traditionally been the world of prosperous executives. Petersson (2003) accordingly shows that working for flag carriers, despite lower salaries, brings higher professional status than working for charter airlines. The world of business aviation socially constructs places with very high social status, aboard aircrafts and in airports, in which glamorous people perform glamorous work

Towards mass transportation

After the Second World War, the industrialised world entered a long period of unprecedented economic growth. Relative wage levels increased for large parts of the populations. In the 1960´s and 70´s, even parts of the working classes could afford to travel abroad on vacation. A liberalised trade regime on the European and international levels, and reduced formal barriers to travel such as visa requirements and currency regulations were additional driving forces behind increasing international mobility. Passenger air transport has increased at a fast rate: In 2007, the total number of passengers in world was 2260 million, compared to 1471 in 1998, more than 50 percent growth in ten years. Older passenger records are difficult to find. However, total traffic, counted in passenger kilometres has increased from 9 billion in 1945, 132 billion in 1961 to 4201 billion in 2007 (ICAO, 2007; Rosenberg, 1970). This rate of expansion naturally broadened the customer base of aviation. New groups of people, socially and ethnically, began to travel by air in large numbers. These people naturally had other traditions and other expectations when it comes to service and hospitality than the upper middle class people that so far had made up the backbone of passenger lists.

Popular leisure travel used other means of transport such as rail, coaches and later cars and air charter. In the 1990´s, following the deregulation of European aviation, low-cost aviation entered the market. By offering sensationally low fares, low-cost airlines such as Ryanair and easyJet put a lot of pressure on both scheduled aviation and charters (Doganis, 2006). Price competition forced

both scheduled airlines and tour operators to adjust their service levels, and thereby blurring the hitherto strict differences between types of aviation. In the following sections, the development of these cheap forms of aviation and their relation to hospitality will be described and discussed.

Charters

Packaged tours go back to the 19th century and are intimately associated with Thomas Cook, who developed it at a large scale and introduced innovations such as hotel vouchers and traveller's cheques. Air charter is a post-war innovation. In 1950 the first British charter trip was organised by Vladimir Raitz, who took people to Corsica using a chartered aircraft (Bray & Raitz, 2001; Cormack, 1998; von Seth, 2001). The first Swedish charter took place in 1953, heading for Majorca using an second hand DC 3. In 1964 about 200 000 Swedes went on an air charter tour; in 1977 the one million mark was reached (Marjavaara, 1998; Rosén, 1971). Since then the increase has been steady. The number of outgoing charter passengers from Sweden reached 3.2 million in 2007, out of a 9 million population (Luftfartsstyrelsen, 2008). Air charter builds on a business model where a tour operator hires airplanes for a set of journeys, buys a large number of hotel beds at destinations and sells tickets to the public. The regulations were less strict for charters than for scheduled aviation. They operated outside the IATA system but had to conform to a number of specific rules, meals, guides and transfers were incorporated (Rosenberg, 1970). In the 1990´s, charters were deregulated along with the rest of aviation. The scale and scope of operations made it possible for the operators to offer a very competitive price.

In the beginning older generations of aircrafts were used, but service aboard was comparable to tourist class scheduled aviation. However, the set-up resembled scheduled aviation. Stewardesses served proper meals and some drinks were included or sold at a very reasonable price. Passengers were taken care of throughout their vacation. In the beginning, guides sometimes even accompanied the passengers during the flight (von Seth, 2001). The arrangements were an additional attraction to people who had little previous travel experience, and likely an important reason for the immediate success of air charter. For the first time, ordinary people dared to go abroad for holiday. The first air charter entrepreneur in Sweden was the owner of a major bus company from Örebro, Knut Oskar Gustafsson, who collaborated with the Transair airline. Soon other actors joined the business. The early tour operators had very diverse backgrounds. Some were tour operators who earlier had used rail and coaches for their packaged tours; some were travel agents who understood the future possibilities of aviation for leisure; and then there were people from a

wide range of voluntary organisations, for instance churches, boy scouts, temperance societies and working men's sports clubs (Rosén, 1970; von Seth, 2001). Generally speaking, these companies and organisations were spread throughout the country and represented a wide spectrum of Swedish society at the time. Charter has ever since its beginnings had an image as being a "democratic" form of tourism, although it was still relatively expensive compared with today.

In the 1960´s and -70´s the charter business was consolidated. Many small firms closed down, merged or were taken over by larger operators. Two Danish companies, Spies and Tjaereborg, led the way towards a professionalization of the Nordic tour operators. They were led by two charismatic characters that came to personalize charter travel in Scandinavia. Simon Spies was a Copenhagen bohemian with a unique sense of business and publicity; Eilif Krogager of Tjaereborg was a vicar from a countryside Jutland village. Both were very expansive minded as businessmen; having started their tours by rail and coach, they entered air charter around 1960. The large scale of operations made it possible to reduce prices even further and put severe pressure on competitors. They even expanded into the Swedish market; the Swedes could fly out of Copenhagen airport – conveniently situated only 15 kilometres from the Swedish coast. The Danish companies also founded their own airlines, Sterling and Conair, and began to enter the hotel business as well. Vertical integration thus became a factor behind the expansion of charter tourism (Illum Hansen, 2006; von Seth, 2001). The Danish tour operators introduced some measures that resembles today's low-cost operators. They tried to keep supply a bit low in relation to demand. Indirectly, they thus tried to convince the public to buy their tickets before they were sold out. The airplanes were always filled to the last seat, even if the last ones were to be sold at a very low price. Simon Spies is known to have told his managers that it is better to give a seat away than to leave it empty; the guest will be happy and tell the world (Illum Hansen, 2006). Cost consciousness is another similarity to low-cost carriers. For instance, in the 1970´s Spies catalogues were sold for a few crowns in tobacconists´ shops; normally catalogues were given away for free. Costs were always held tight and no opportunity of free publicity was missed.

Charter travel has had huge effects on tourism in general, but also more specifically on the public perception of hospitality, although in a somewhat contradictory way. On the one hand, it brought ordinary people in contact with habits and lifestyles previously unknown to most people. In the airplane they were served meals by glamorous young ladies in uniform. Maybe they even had wine, which was fairly uncommon in Scandinavia some decades ago. Thus, the guests were taught to expect a certain level of hospitality, which also had enormous impact on

the domestic hospitality industry. On the other hand, over time travelling by air became less of an event in itself – as it became more common. This process, which has been re-enforced by the emergence of low-cost aviation, could be thought of as casualisation of aeromobility.

Low-cost carriers

Southwest Airlines is generally considered to be the first low-cost carrier. Deregulation allowed the airline to develop an entirely new business model, radically changing the aviation market (Doganis, 2006). SWA concentrated its business on short distance traffic, using secondary airports and offering very basic services. Its main target group was price sensitive leisure travellers. Thereby, their main competitors were not other airlines in the first place, but ground transports. The low price levels also acted as a stimulus to increased air traffic in general (Calder, 2006). Low-cost operations in Europe commenced in the mid 1990´s with Great Britain and Ireland taking the lead after having deregulated their airline sector (Francis et al, 2006). Since then, easyJet and Ryanair have been leading the development of low-cost aviation in Europe. SWA has clearly been a role model for the European low-cost carriers (Knorr, 2007). Apart from these two carriers, the low-cost market has been highly volatile. Since the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, the most dynamic development of low-cost carriers takes place in East Central Europe (Nilsson, 2009).

One of the most important aspects of low-cost aviation is its impact on the operations of traditional airlines whose operations have come under severe pressure, especially on their short haul routes. The traditional airlines´ strategies to handle the competition include both cost reducing and productivity increasing measures. The low-cost carriers have definitely put a downward pressure on fares, and on service quality. The development described above has been possible because low-cost carriers have significant competitive advantages. Above all, they run some very simple operations compared to those of the traditional network airlines. By only running point-to-point routes they avoid costs associated with network operations, such as transfer of passengers and luggage at hubs, connection management and revenue dilution (Doganis, 2006). However, their competitive advantages are based on measures taken in all fields of airline management, operational and non-operational. The business model of low-cost airlines is well described in the aviation literature (cf. Doganis, 2002 & 2006; Calder, 2006; Gro & Schröder, 2007; Nilsson, 2009). The model below is aimed at summarising the most important aspects

of the low-cost business model. It describes cost and revenues, both internal and external ones. The difference between internal and external factors in the model is based on whether or not the measures in question are managed directly by the carrier or by external actors.

Figure 2.   The business model of low-cost airlines, competitive measures (Nilsson, 2009).

	Costs	Revenues

Internal	-Point to point
	-Homogenous fleet
	-High fleet utilisation
	-Fast turnarounds
	-No frills
	-Lower crew costs
	-Smaller administration
	-No frequent flyers programs
	-Direct sales, web discount
	-Ticketless travel
	-No agent, GDS, costs
		-Dense, single class seating
		-Yield management
		-In-flight sales
		-Inventive price information
		  eg. wheel chair
		-Inventive advertising
		  eg. "marketing in court"

External	-Secondary airports
	-Outsourced handling
	-Lower station costs
		-"Marketing support" by
		  airports and regions
		-Web marketing of
		  connected services

As shown in the model, cost reducing measures are important parts of the low-cost carriers´ efforts to gain advantages. Using a cascade analysis, the aviation analyst Rigas Doganis (2006) concludes that the cost advantages of low-cost carriers in operations, services and distribution, are in the range of 50 percent. In the analysis, Doganis (2006) shows that higher seating densities (shorter distances between seats) used by low-cost carriers is their most important cost reducing effort. This example shows that the business model is just as much about increasing revenues as it is about cutting costs; although some significant cost reductions are seen in operations and distribution as well.

The cost cut policies of low-cost carriers influence most aspects of the travel experience. There are fees and/or restrictions on luggage, check-ins and payments. In most cases, the carriers take no responsibility for changes in the timetable, cancellations, delays or missed connections. As a result, their conditions of carriage often violate national laws and international agreements (Zandke-Schaffhäuser, 2007). For the competitive advantage of low-cost carriers it is very important to be able to advertise low fares to customers; at best it is almost a give-away. Besides cutting costs, they thus have an interest of having passengers to pay taxes and fees instead of fares. An example taken from a Ryanair flight from Gothenburg to Prestwick showed that an extra 178 percent was added to the advertised price (Nilsson, 2009). Ryanair even seems to have made extra fees into a kind of gimmick, Michael O´Leary, the company's CEO, has even suggested introducing a toilette fee aboard (Roijer, 2009).

The no-frills approach also means that catering is not offered for free; instead people have to pay for food and drinks. These revenues are important, some figures suggest that in-flight sales account for between ten and twenty percent of revenues (Calder 2006; Bley & Büermann, 2007). Although these figures seem to be exaggerated, the importance of these sales is stressed by the fact that salaries of stewards and hostesses in some cases are partly based on individual sales records (Bley & Büermann, 2007). The role of flight attendants has changed from being a waiter to becoming a sales person. The degraded working conditions have ultimately had an effect on the status and image of the stewardess profession, and there seems to be a connection with the development of low-cost carriers. An infamous example was set by the pioneering US low-cost carrier South West Airlines. When the SWA started their first low-cost operations in 1971 the stewardesses´ uniforms comprised of a tight top, hotpants and white leather boots. Recruitment mainly focused on appearance. Incidentally, their first chief attendant had previously worked for Hugh Heffner on his private jet (Calder, 2006). Although this style of uniforms did not last long, it indicated a move away from previous airline profiles. The blunt sexualisation of stewardesses was to come back in the 2000´s. Ryanair has made it part of their profile to portray stewardesses as objects for the male gaze. They issue a yearly 'cabin crew strip off' calendar, in which airline stewardesses pose in pinup style. In launching the airline´s new transatlantic connection in 2008, CEO Michael O´Leary said they would introduce a high standard business class which was to include 'beds and blowjobs' (Ryanair, 2010; Youtube, 2010). Moreover, since Ryanair are paying their crew relatively low salaries (Ryanair, 2010) there seems to be a connection between bad service, unglamorous working conditions, low wages and degraded social status for the stewardesses.

In case scheduled aviation is clearly part of the hospitality industry, this connection has been blurred when it comes to low-cost companies. The service aboard a low-cost carrier could the thought of as a case of "inhospitable hospitality", but it is not even that. Low-cost carriers are instead mainly to be regarded as transportation companies, and as such merely suppliers to the tourism and hospitality industry. They offer a transport service, nothing else and nothing more; the passenger is a parcel, not a guest.

From the Orient express to coaches in the air, a concluding discussion

The performance of hospitality aboard has changed significantly during 90 years of commercial aviation. At all times the operators have adjusted to the preferences and paying capacity of their passengers; most of whom were relatively prosperous in the beginning. During the post-war period this adjustment to upper middle class preferences were even institutionalised in the IATA regulations. Deregulations and the following enhanced competition during the last decades have put a lot of pressure on fares levels, and on the level of hospitality. Today, aviation is mostly just a matter of transportation. Another way of looking at this development is that a distinct middle class environment has had to give way to a more mundane way of looking at aviation; which also includes a different perspective on hospitality. There are few spots of luxury aboard an airplane nowadays, it has to be sought elsewhere – at airport lounges or preferable in the hotel. By looking at the history of aviation, an additional perspective on hospitality aboard could be added; we find the roots of today's differences back in time. There are two service concepts and traditions that have worked alongside one another and struggled for dominance in the aviation sector. These service concepts may be represented by flag-carriers and low-cost carriers, and thought of as coming from two different directions: from the Orient express and from the coaching business.

The Orient Express is the archetypal luxury train. Here it represents the bourgeois way of travelling that evolved in modern Europe and North America in the late 19th century. Together with the great North Atlantic steam ships, very high standards of luxury travel developed alongside technological improvements that made it easier to provide comfortable travel. Hospitality aboard first class trains and steamers had to meet the expectations of a very wealthy segment. When this group of people turned to aviation in the 1920´s and 30´s, service in the air was heavily influenced by these previous means of transport. This can be seen in food and beverages, in titles and uniforms and in furniture and decorations. It is also interesting to notice that when modernist design was introduced on aircrafts in the 1930´s, the same change in style was underway in rail-

ways and at see too. As long as air fares were kept at a high level, aviation continued to build its image on cosmopolitan glamour. To be treated with a drink by a beautiful middle class stewardess was a natural part of the experience. This business model depended on the willingness of a fairly restricted segment to pay very high fares. International regulations and national public support reduced competition to a minimum. However, when aviation became a means of mass transportation and fares were reduced following deregulation and fierce competition, margins decreased and it became difficult to retain previous levels of hospitality aboard. Today, most elitist aspects of aviation are placed outside the actual travel experience or confined to long haul business travel.

The early busses and coaches had a rather simple construction, and resembled 3rd class train compartments. When couches were introduced for long distance travel and tourism traffic it was a means of transport available to ordinary people. Such people did not have any expectations of service aboard. They were quite happy to have their tea or beer somewhere along the road. International packaged tours by couch, for instance from Sweden to France or Italy, were the predecessors of air charter. In many cases, tour operators in the couching business were among the first to enter air charter. These operators followed what might be called a mass tourism business model, i.e. they were working with low margins emphasizing high load factors, good co-ordination between transports and hotel capacity, and few possibilities for individual choice. Meals were had simultaneously and were equal for all, except for drinks that were extra. While the upper classes seldom travelled to their vacation in collective ways, this service concept was fundamentally popular in the sense that it attracted guests from a broad spectrum of society. Many entrepreneurs came from humble backgrounds themselves. There is also a tradition of anti-establishment in these businesses. Sometimes the early operators had to fight hard even for a permission to fly. Later, they had to learn to manoeuvre in a jungle of regulations put up by ICAO, IATA and various national authorities. This fostered a breed of colourful entrepreneurs who often caught considerable media attention. Today, Michael O´Reilly of Ryanair is definitely posing as anti-establishment when he bluntly disregards traditional norms of hospitality. He is in one way following traditions when trying to become popular when maltreating the passengers.

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