Multiple Dwelling and Tourism
Negotiating Place, Home and Identity

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Negotiating Place, Home and Identity

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When I first embarked on this project, I was living in a rented cottage on the shores of Lake Superior to the north of Thunder Bay. Today, I have a home in the city and I also own a small camp on leased land on the fringes of the city overlooking 'The Big Lake'. In acquiring and setting up this camp, I dealt first-hand with many of the issues addressed by contributors to this volume, including proximity and access, negotiating my way through lease conditions with the city and the sometimes conflicting images of camp life held by Eleanor and myself. The setting up of this camp is, in many respects, a reflexive amalgam of the tasks of writing for and editing this volume and the practical decisions entailed in deciding the level of development and connectivity that would best fit my imagined 'camp' lifestyle. My adventure in multiple dwelling is very much a 'work in progress', which has both informed and been informed by my involvement in this volume.

As always, there are many people to thank for their support in putting together this volume on multiple dwelling. First, of course, to the many

authors who have endured the numerous e-mails and revision requests, my deepest appreciation for their forbearance and patience. Thanks are due to Dan and Kevin, without whom this work would never have been concluded. I, and the contents of this volume, have benefited immeasurably from Dan's broad vision and insightful commentary, from Kevin's wonderful prose and soaring ideas, their meticulous attention to editing, and their timely and constructive critique. My thanks to Ellen Dawson-Witt, Joe Roggenbuck, Berit Svanqvist, Birgit Trauer, Margaret Johnston, Gerard Gustaffsson, Bjorn Kaltenborn and Joar Vittersø for stimulating discussions and insights, over the years, that have contributed to my experience of and thinking on the topic of tourism, second homes and multiple dwelling. Thanks also to Jeff Moore, graduate student at Lakehead University for his meticulous work on checking, collating and compiling the List of References and to Alex Bujak, research associate at Colorado State University for putting together the Author Index. As a first book, this was a daunting task made much easier by the cooperation and patience of several people including Rebecca Stubbs who helped us through the early stages of publishing, to Nicola Murrell who took over from Rebecca at CABI, to Quentin Scott for sensitive and constructive editing and finally to Sue Saunders and Brian Watts of Columns Design for putting it all together. I would also like to recognize the USDA Forest Service Rocky Mountain Research Station and the North Central Research Station for supporting the research reported in various chapters. Finally, my appreciation goes to Lakehead University and the Centre for Northern Studies for financial contributions to support the original workshop and to the genesis of this volume.

Norman McIntyre
May 3, 2006

I Introduction

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1 Introduction

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As I write this, I look out over the blue, wind-ruffled waters of Amethyst Harbour, a sheltered inlet of Lake Superior in North-western Ontario, towards a ring of pine and birch-clad rocky islets. I am living in what is known in this part of Canada as a 'camp'. This 'camp' has been converted from its original seasonal status to year-round habitation. The only sign of others are a few cottages nestled among the trees around the fringes of the harbour. My community consists of some 65 lots, about one-third of the inhabitants of which, like myself, are year-round residents. The 'campers' join us for the summer during July and August and for weekends in May, June and part of September.

I have lived here for a year and survived the harsh Canadian winter in the comfort of my well-insulated, natural gas-heated home. The rough-hewn logs of the original one-room cabin built in the 1940s are still discernible and form the main living room around which has been added, at various times, a kitchen, a bathroom and two bedrooms. The lean-to, which once adorned the front of the camp overlooking the harbour, is now insulated and fully enclosed, providing a south-facing, sunny and warm haven on a cold spring day. It is May, but winter has been reluctant to leave and the gulls currently basking in the sunshine were barely 10 days ago floating around on the last ice floes in the harbour.

Each day I commute on the Trans-Canada Highway to the University where I work, a distance of about 45 km. On a good day, without snow or ice, it takes me about 25 minutes in my imported Japanese all-wheel-drive vehicle. Born in Scotland, I moved to Canada last year from New Zealand and, prior to that move, I have lived in Australia, Africa and England and, over the years, for periods of up to nine months, I have worked in Japan, the USA and Scandinavia. Earlier today, I talked on the telephone to a friend who is visiting family in Germany, e-mailed a colleague in New Zealand, electronically transferred money to my son's bank account in

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Australia where he is studying at University and checked the local weather forecast on my satellite TV receiver. My laptop computer rests on the same table as a bowl of fruit containing pears from Ontario, apples from British Columbia, kiwi fruit from Chile and avocados from California.

This brief survey of my life at the 'camp' indicates that, despite its relative isolation in nature, it, like most homes in the industrialized world, lies at the intersection of a global network of information, product and people flows. It is, in microcosm, an example of a life-world characterized by mobility. People, products and information circulate freely around the world problematizing concepts of national boundaries, home, dwelling, stasis, structure and social order (Urry, 2000). As a result, every aspect of our lives is enmeshed '… in a global society. It is not a unitary society, nor is it an ideological community … but it is a single power network. Shock waves reverberate around it, casting down empires, transporting massive quantities of people, materials and messages, and finally, threatening the ecosystem and atmosphere of the planet' (Mann, 1993, p. 11). This volume is fundamentally about globalization and its particular consequence, mobility, in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world.

Mobility

Urry (2000) suggested that 'mobility' has always been a 'core business' of sociology but that traditionally it has been rather narrowly defined in a metaphoric sense as 'social' mobility, viewed as the differential rates of upwards and downwards movements of people on the basis of income, occupation and education. In seeking a new agenda for sociology, he argued that it is essential to broaden the concept of mobility beyond this narrow conceptualization to encompass spatial and temporal mobilities. These are arguably of more significance in a globalized world where national boundaries are becoming increasingly porous and traditional social stratification less relevant. A renewed interest in the explanatory power and impact of mobility has arisen in the face of major changes in the economic and social conditions affecting people around the globe. These changes in contemporary society include more frequent job and career changes, increased international labour migration, an increase in the proportion of healthy retirees with both the means and inclination to travel, a shift in fundamental values towards environmentalism and nostalgia for natural landscapes and rustic lifestyles, and technological advances in transport and communication (Williams and Hall, 2000). All these influences have combined to make mobility a reality for all and a necessity for some.

Mobility is viewed as the movement of 'peoples, objects, images, information and wastes' (Urry, 2000, p. 1) within and across the boundaries of national societies. At another level it is the means by which people 'optimize access to their network of activities in various life domains: work, leisure, health, education, family etc.' (Bell and Ward, 2000, p. 104).

Mobility thus creates a world characterized by complex networks and flows of people and objects at various levels of persistence in time. While recognizing the integrated, synergistic nature of these diverse mobilities, this volume will focus generally on the movement of people, termed 'corporeal mobility' (Urry, 2000) or migration.

Migration

Customarily, migration has been rather narrowly conceptualized as 'the "relatively permanent" change of address or abode' (Roseman, 1992, p. 33). This may well be because data on permanent migration are readily available through census questions on place of current and previous residence and sophisticated analytical tools have been developed to test and refine theory using these data. By contrast, data on temporary migration tend to be small-scale and tied to particular groups or locales (e.g. McHugh *et al.*, 1995; Williams *et al.*, 2000). Roseman (1992) has argued that this emphasis has led to a failure to recognize the increasing importance of temporary or cyclical migration.

Examples of temporary migration include commuting, career and life cycle migration, multiple dwelling and retiree migration. This type of migration differs in significant ways from permanent migration in that it varies in duration, is often repetitive and demonstrates large seasonal variation (Bell and Ward, 2000, Table 1). Limited data from the Australian census (Bell and Ward, 2000) indicate that although permanent migration rates have remained relatively stable over the past two decades, temporary migration rates have almost doubled in the same time period. This suggests that changes in Australian society over the last two decades have differentially affected permanent and temporary migration. Notable among these are the growth in popularity and accessibility of sun-belt destinations, long-distance commuting and the expansion of seasonal work opportunities in rural and coastal areas (Bell and Ward, 2000). It is very likely that these observations are not confined to Australia but are similar throughout the developed world.

Traditionally, change of usual residence was seen as the action of rational actors attempting to maximize their economic position. However, the reversal of the age-old rural–urban migration in the late 1960s and early 1970s brought into question the singularity or even the dominance of economic motives and introduced a broader variety of possible reasons, including those related to quality of life concerns (Jobes *et al.*, 1992). More recently, Williams and Hall (2001) suggested that motives for temporary migration might be considered as either 'production' or 'consumption' related, the former being motivated by making some sort of economic contribution at the destination (e.g. migrant work) and the latter for the reason of accessing some form of amenity, good or service (e.g. seasonal-home ownership).

An examination of the 'reasons' for temporary moves from Australian

Census data indicated that more than 70 per cent of all such moves were consumption related. Of these, almost two-thirds (61 per cent) were motivated by pleasure (visits to friends and relatives and holidays in second homes or holiday units) (Bell and Ward, 2000). Similarly, Williams and Hall (2000, p. 19), in summarizing a number of studies on second-home owners, noted that 'a desire … to satisfy lifestyle choices often related to recreation and leisure amenity values, including amenity landscapes' was a major motivation for the migration to rural areas, be it temporary or permanent. Although people move on a temporary basis for a variety of reasons, these data suggest that a search for leisure experiences and amenity values is a major motivator of such moves. This increasingly pervasive type of temporary migration is generally termed 'amenity migration' and may be viewed as mobility in search of leisure, landscape and quality of life. Its most obvious manifestation is, of course, tourism. However, it is important to distinguish tourism as amenity migration from tourism as in the 'passing trade'. The former tourists would be differentiated from the latter by their making some relatively permanent commitment to the destination (e.g. long-term, intermittent use or purchase of a dwelling).

Mobility, amenity migration and multiple dwelling

Frequent moves of short duration between home and one or more destinations for work or pleasure are a fact of life for a significant majority of people today. Both the need and desire for such mobility appear to be on the increase. It is also evident that the various influences that have facilitated and necessitated such movements are becoming more and more pervasive. Amenity migration motivated by the consumption of landscape and leisure opportunities explains an increasing proportion of such movements. This volume explores one aspect of this phenomenon – multiple dwelling – the various ways in which people today are combining mobility and dwelling to create ways of living that strive to maintain a sense of security and tradition in a mobile world.

Home and dwelling: place or places?

Home is a particularly powerful term in the English language, encompassing a multitude of meanings from the concrete to the metaphoric, including 'bricks and mortar, kinship, tradition, contentment, regional loyalty, duty, community, nationalism, return, aspiration' (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994, p. 30; Perkins and Thorns, this volume, Chapter 5). It has also been termed a 'god' word, not unlike 'community', with which it is often equated (Urry, 2000, p. 133). Home is a word uniformly associated with positive feelings:

> Home should be sacred, and when it is not, one should remain silent on the subject. Moms and apple pies come in very variable quality, yet the idea should remain untarnished if it is to have any potency … most people within Western culture, particularly those of Anglo-Saxon origin, cannot easily extricate themselves from the power of this idea which rolls up people, place, belonging and stability so very effectively.
>
> (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994, p. 30)

Shurmer-Smith and Hannam suggest that this mythical view of home is perpetuated within Western societies in TV soap operas and autobiographies. This positive view is also apparent in the writings of humanistic geographers such as Appleton (1975, 1990), who view homes as sites of authenticity and 'key places of experience and identity' (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994, p. 32).

This positive notion of home arises from the concept of dwelling (Heidegger, 1993), which means 'to reside or to stay, to dwell at peace, to be content or at home in a place' (Urry, 2000, p. 131). Inherent in this idea is the notion of 'rootedness' – of 'being' in place (Massey, 1993, p. 63); a sense of 'harmony between the way of living and the land which sustains life' (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994, p. 33). This vision of 'home', 'community' or 'place' is seen to be under threat from commodification, technological advances in communication and other globalizing influences which 'thin out' the meanings of places creating feelings of homelessness, placelessness and alienation (Relph, 1976; Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2). Shurmer-Smith and Hannam (1994) argue that this vision of home or place, 'glorified' by Heidegger (1993, p. 33) as 'the farmhouse in the Black Forest', is essentially utopian and never has, nor ever can, exist as the reality of community living, and peasant life in general is far removed from this ideal. Despite this reality, the view is hard to dissemble that '*dwelling*, which involves a lifestyle of regularity, repetition and cyclicity all grounded in an atmosphere of care for places, things and people' (Seamon, 1985, p. 227) is a preferred human state.

Such perceptions of dwelling, home and place are considered by some to be reactionary, gendered, 'defensive and inward looking' (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994, p. 37), spatially bounded, singular and exclusionary (Massey, 1993). Massey agrees that place attachment, and by implication home, is important to people but disagrees with the static, bounded, parochial nature of *dwelling*; instead she argues: 'think(ing) of places … as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings. And this … allows a sense of place which is extra-verted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local' (p. 66). This 'progressive view of place' constructs a place as unique, vibrant, conflicting, changing, multiple and open to global influences: 'all these … interact with and take a further element of specificity from the accumulated history of a place, with that history itself conceptualized as the product of layer upon layer of different sets of linkages both local and to the wider world' (p. 68). It is not difficult to perceive the modern home in this 'progressive' sense,

with its unique character created at the intersection of global, social and local influences layered upon a storied history of accumulated events and social relations (Perkins and Thorns, this volume, Chapter 5).

Others (Urry, 2000; Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3) argue against the static, bounded, singular perception of place and dwelling on the basis that such views construct mobility in a rather limited sense and fail to contemplate the diversity of contemporary forms of dwelling. Urry (2000, pp. 132–133), for example, argues that 'Contemporary forms of dwelling almost always involve diverse forms of mobility … certain components of such mobilities, such as maps, cars, trains, paths, computers and so on, powerfully reconstruct the relations of belonging and traveling … Contemporary social processes have conjured up some strikingly new kinds of dwellingness.'

The subject of this book is one aspect of this 'new kinds of dwellingness', specifically dwelling in multiple places, a phenomenon 'conjured up', some argue, by the influences of global processes acting to segment the identities and activity sites of individuals (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999). Multiple dwelling in the sense of 'home and away' is an increasingly common phenomenon in modern societies (Hall and Müller, 2004), which is described succinctly by Williams and Kaltenborn (1999, p. 227): 'Modern forms of dwelling, working, and leisure involve circulating through a geographically extended network of social relations and a multiplicity of widely dispersed geographic places. Circulation no longer represents an interruption of ordinary, settled life, but constitutes a normal condition for many people.'

Multiple dwelling and second homes

Traditionally much of the literature on multiple dwelling has focused on the use of second homes, their distribution, environmental impacts and cultural significance. Interest in second-home research goes back a long way (e.g. Wolfe, 1951, 1952, 1962, 1965). In the 1970s, there was great interest in academic second-home research, possibly coincident with the recognition of second-home ownership as a mature social phenomenon in, for example, the UK, Scandinavia and Canada. Research examined the roots of second-home living (e.g. Bjelkus, 1977) and the patterns (e.g. Wolfe, 1977) and spread of second-home development (e.g. Burby III *et al.*, 1972; Clout, 1974), culminating in the publication of Coppock's (1977) classic overview *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?*

While there was still some interest in the 1980s (e.g. Helleiner, 1983; Jaakson, 1986; Godbey and Bevins, 1987), it was not until the 1990s that interest in this area of research rekindled. This is possibly caused by the more widespread development of second homes in many countries throughout the world as a consequence of increased inter-regional and international, seasonal and retirement migration, much of which is centred

on second homes, which has sparked an interest in the economic, environmental and social implications of these forms of temporary migration (Hall and Müller, 2004). From the 1990s onwards, research has continued and extended the legacy of previous research including the functions and meanings of second homes (e.g. Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995; Kaltenborn, 1997a; Jarlöv, 1999; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Williams and McIntyre, 2001; McIntyre and Svanqvist, 2004); second homes in the context of national and international tourism, amenity and consumption (e.g. Buller and Hoggart, 1994a; Chaplin, 1999a; Pettersson, 1999); the economic and environmental impacts of second homes (e.g. Stynes *et al*., 1997; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; Müller *et al*., 2004); and their distribution and cultural significance (e.g. Müller, 1999, 2001; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Flognfeldt, 2002; Visser, 2004).

It is evident that the concept of second home is difficult to tie down because it does not form a discrete class of accommodation, but rather comprises an arbitrarily defined continuum variously differentiated on the basis of occupancy, ownership, function and the character of the dwelling. Key factors, common to most definitions, are the occasional and secondary nature of the residence. Such a definition is exemplified by that of Coppock (1977) who defined a second home as 'a property owned or rented on a long lease as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere' (p. 3, after Downing and Dower, 1973). Recently, Hall and Müller (2004, p. 5) have defined second homes in terms of their structural form and mobility into three broad types: stationary (e.g. solitary cottages and houses); semi-mobile (e.g. trailers and recreational vehicles); and mobile (e.g. sailing boats). However, pragmatism and data availability usually confine definitional and distribution considerations to the first of these types.

The decennial census in the USA identifies second homes as the proportion of the housing stock that is not occupied as a primary residence but rather is maintained for 'seasonal, recreational or occasional use'. Such definitions enable the numbers of second homes, their distribution and their role as part of the changing face of real estate in the USA to be estimated. For example, Census 2000 data indicated that second homes as defined above comprised 3.1 per cent of the total housing stock in the USA, up by 1.2 million homes since 1980, and that they are most numerous in the states of Florida, California, New York and Michigan (Shellito, this volume, Chapter 13). Further, these data also allow international comparisons in second-home ownership. For example, approximately 2 per cent of all households in the UK own second homes (CML Research, 2000). This compares with an estimated 6 per cent in the USA (Home Accents Today, 2002) and 14 per cent in Sweden, claimed to be among the highest per capita ownership in the world (Pettersson, 1999).

At one extreme, second homes are represented by the semi-mobile second home, typical of the snowbird communities of Arizona (McHugh and Mings, 1996) and, at the other, the palatial villas of the Marbella coast of Spain, a playground of the rich and famous. In between are the log

cabins set in the US National Forests (Lux and Rose, this volume, Chapter 19), the camps in the northern Canadian woods, the bach by the beach in New Zealand (McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16) and the garden chalets of European cities.

Second homes are often located in amenity-rich regions such as mountains, lakeshores, coastlines and forests. Climate (e.g. the lure of warmer temperatures or snow for skiing) is also a key attraction. Traditionally, most second homes are situated less than a day's drive from the city or town of their owners and therefore fall within the weekend leisure space of the urban sphere (Aronsson, 1989; Müller, 2002a). However, more and more the main attractions of climate and geography, combined with cheap air travel and available housing stock in depopulated rural areas, are fuelling an extension in the vacation range of second-home acquisition. In Europe, this trend has resulted in an increasing trans-border purchase of second homes in the warmer areas of France, Italy and Spain, and in the less populous, more natural, periphery in Scotland, Ireland, Norway and Sweden.

Contemporary issues in second-home use

Although second-home use had long been seen as a leisure phenomenon, it was not until the seminal work of Jaakson (1986) that it was recognized as a tourism phenomenon. Prior to that 'weekend and summer-house owners' were not seen 'as … fully qualifying tourists' (Jaakson, 1986, p. 368). Despite this early recognition, the importance of second-home use as a tourism phenomenon went largely unrecognized, especially with regard to its economic significance for host communities (Stynes e*t al*., 1997). More recently, second-home tourism's economic, environmental and social impacts on host home communities have become increasingly recognized (Müller *et al*., 2004) and such considerations have become 'an integral part of contemporary tourism and mobility' research (Hall and Müller, 2004, p. 3).

Coppock (1977), in the title of his book *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* appropriately summed up the ambivalence associated with second-home development in host communities. Some have argued (e.g. Stynes *et al*., 1997; Flognfeldt, 2002) that, as with tourist/host relationships in general, second-home development can bring economic benefits to rural communities. Others (e.g. DTLR, 2001) view these same developments as straining infrastructure and negatively impacting the availability and cost of local housing, the environment and local amenity. Opinion differs, however, as to whether second-home development is a symptom or a cause of the stresses that are evident in housing supply in such rural communities. For example, Bollom (1978, p. 121) takes the view that 'It is clearly difficult to isolate second-home ownership as a variable because of the other agents of social change which will be operating, but if we accept the view that, rather than being the cause or the symptom, second-home ownership is more an added complication of social and economic decline.'

A key aspect of this controversy is the observation that the effects of second-home development are variable in both space and time. Müller (2001), in a study on second homes in Sweden, has shown that there is little evidence of second-home buyers displacing residents in either the northern areas of Sweden or in southern Sweden. This is possibly due to the observation that foreign buyers, particularly Germans, lean more towards abandoned homes in the north that are 'located outside the very small villages, and lie secluded in the woods' (Pettersson, 1999. p. 16) and 'remote properties in secluded localities within the forests' in the south (Muller, 2001a, p. 11), both of which are relatively unattractive in the Swedish market. The situation is less clear in the immediate environs of Stockholm, where the Swedish National Development Agency has responded to the perceived threat of displacement of traditional owners by proposing the implementation of residency requirements. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) have suggested that environmental (e.g. visual and pollution) and socio-economic (e.g. housing costs) concerns arise only when the second-home market reaches maturity. At this point, when all the 'surplus housing' is used up, the market turns to mainstream housing or purpose-built developments to satisfy continuing demand. They argue that this situation was reached by the mid-1960s in Sweden and in England by the early 1970s. On the other hand, relatively new markets, such as those in rural France, have not, as yet, reached the stage of maturity.

Notwithstanding the ambivalence evident in the academic debate, there is a persistent and growing controversy evident in the media on the subject of second-home purchase and its negative impacts on affordable housing in rural areas. Governments in some areas have responded with a variety of measures to control or regulate the residence and taxation requirements governing second-home use. For example, a British Government Report *Rural Economies* (1999) has advocated a ban on second-home purchases in popular areas of rural England, fearing that large parts of rural England will become the near-exclusive preserve of the affluent (Hetherington, 1999). In response to these concerns, local authorities in England have been given discretion to reduce the council tax discount on second homes from the 50 per cent that was legislated previously to 10 per cent (CPRE, 2002). A similar move has recently been implemented in Scotland (SEN, 2004). Various advocacy groups promoting affordable housing in rural areas have argued that this does not go far enough and in response the UK government is considering a ban on second homes in certain parts of the country: 'young people are being priced out of their own home towns in destinations such as the fabled Lake District … [the] rural housing commission would begin next month to consider whether or not to impose sweeping controls' (McCandless, 2005).

A similar situation is evident in the USA, particularly exemplified by the increasing shortage of affordable housing for employees in the generally low-paid service sector in amenity towns such as Sedona, Arizona (Gober *et al.*, 1993), where a substantial part of the growth in housing is related to in-migration and second-home development. As reported in *The Arizona*

Republic, second-home development is seen as a key factor in the 10 per cent rise in median house price in 2000 in Flagstaff, Arizona (Shaffer, 2002). Rather than government intervention to address the issue, the response has been the development of a new breed of 'job-rich but housing-poor' rural, long-distance commuters (Gober *et al.*, 1993).

The increasing trend of owners to convert seasonal second homes to all-year occupancy as retirement approaches is stretching infrastructure and causing concern for local councils in many parts of Canada (Halseth, 2004). Marsh and Griffiths (this volume, Chapter 15) also raise the issue of inappropriate second-home development, which may adversely affect the identity, character and setting of small towns, villages or regions in the southern part of this same province (Ontario). The traditional leniency in regard to compliance with building regulations in second homes is also fast disappearing, as real estate values in amenity areas increase. For example, second homes (baches) in coastal communities in New Zealand are increasingly required to comply with local council building codes in regard to construction materials and sanitary facilities, where previously temporary occupation had allowed considerable flexibility in compliance (Keen and Hall, 2004).

Host/second-home owner conflicts are not restricted to planning and taxation issues but spill over into political and resource use issues as well. Involvement in local political issues by highly educated, affluent and politically astute seasonal residents is not uncommon where development (e.g. tourist infrastructure) or use of local resources (e.g. beaches) interferes with notions of countryside preservation or privileged access (Smith and Krannich, 2000; Müller *et al.*, 2004; McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16).

Much of this argument focuses on the many and varied meanings ascribed to places. Traditionally, places have been viewed as bounded and self-contained, static and imbued with common meanings. All this has changed in a world characterized increasingly by global networks of information, product and people flows (Massey, 1993; Urry, 2000). Under these influences, places in the modern world are more and more subject to constant and rapid change, which often results in individuals and/or social groups developing widely differing and even conflicting attitudes about the character and direction of changes to places that are important to them. Host communities for second-home tourism are no exception to these processes, which raise issues associated with identity and character of settlements and landscapes, as well as notions of authenticity and ultimately of sustainability (Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3; Stedman, this volume, Chapter 9). What is the character/identity of the place? What should be sustained? Who should decide?

This brief review of the characteristics and issues associated with second homes barely scratches the surface of the diverse manifestations and worldwide participation in this phenomenon. It is not the purpose of this volume to provide a comprehensive discussion of the second-home phenomenon. This has been addressed elsewhere by Coppock (1977) and

more recently by Hall and Müller (2004). Rather, the emphasis in this volume is to refocus discussion on the broader processes influencing the development of multiple dwelling as a lifestyle choice, the reasons underlying this choice and the broader societal influences which make this a preferable option for an increasing number of people.

Overview

The term *second* attached to a weekend or seasonal home implies a primary residence in a separate locality where one spends the bulk of one's time and creates a hierarchical relationship between the two in which the former is deemed secondary in some way, perhaps even inessential (Wolfe, 1977): a residence in an elite landscape for the privileged in a society (Halseth, 2004). For many owners, however, the second home is hardly secondary in significance.

For modern people, 'the meanings of home, work, leisure and tourism are mutually defining' and it is evident that 'the question of where one lives … is not simply a matter of residential geography. It is also a matter of emotional geography. Where does one's heart, one's identity, reside? Where is one's emotional home?' (Williams and McIntyre, 2001, p. 392). For many, it seems that the second home plays this role, sustaining tradition, stability, and family bonding in a way that the primary home has lost the ability to do.

From another perspective, being at the second home is a process, which combines the need to 'be' or to 'dwell' (Heidegger, 1993) – to develop attachment to a specific place – with the need to 'become' (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994) – to engage in the modern project of self-development (Giddens, 1991). This volume argues that these needs arise as a response to the influences of modernity, which have radically restructured time–space relationships, and in so doing have problematized traditional notions of place, home and identity (e.g. Giddens, 1991; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). Thus the second home is viewed as a retreat; a place in which to escape from the pressing realities of modern life into a play space where one can create or recreate a more authentic self (Cross, 1992; Chaplin, 1999a; McIntyre *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 8). Seen in this way, the process of dwelling in multiple places is a 'modern expression of the need to have an authentic rooted identity *somewhere*' (my italics) (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 227).

This volume explores the process of living in multiple places through a variety of contexts and practices. In their respective studies, the contributors to Part II seek to provide a conceptual overview of the influences involved, and how these influences are impacting our understanding of home, place and identity. Part III elaborates on this conceptual frame through case studies from different parts of the world which explore the meanings underlying the tendency throughout the industrialized world to want to live in a number of places. In Part IV,

contributors explore the social, cultural and economic implications of this aspect of 'dwelling in movement' for host communities and landscapes and in Part V others extend these same considerations to include the political sphere of resident/non-resident interactions. Finally, in Part VI the editors provide an overview and draw out some of the ways that expanding the discussion beyond second homes to multiple dwelling as a process can provide a more focused, yet broader view, of the phenomenon of dwelling through movement.

Multiple dwelling is explored not only through the experiences of the individuals involved but also in the broader contexts of the changing nature of the primary home and place, an increasingly mobile society and issues concerning identity. The sub-themes of leisure and tourism in nature (amenity) and attachment to and identification with place are woven together to create the central theme of multiple dwelling (Fig. 1.1). Fundamentally, we are using multiple dwelling as a lens through which to examine how people are managing the increasing complexity of modern living.

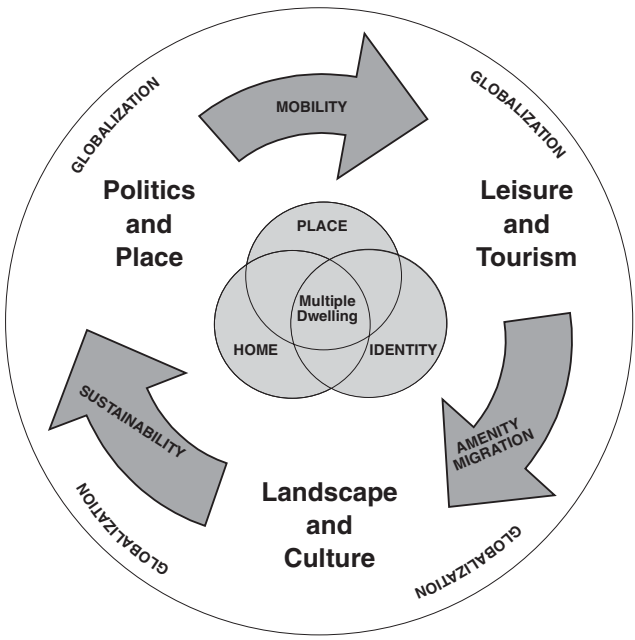

Fig. 1.1. Multiple dwelling and globalization.

II Multiple Dwelling: Mobility, Home, Place and Identity

Introduction

That multiple dwelling reveals and imbricates processes in modernity is the touchstone of this volume. From our initial gathering at a workshop at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario, organized by Norm McIntyre, we sought to situate and explore multiple dwelling in broad context, beyond traditional views and accounts of 'second homes'. The opening section of the book is testimony to this effort. The upturn in mobility and multiple dwelling across variegated geographical settings and landscapes lies at the intersection of verdant and contested concepts – mobility, home, place, identity – that illuminate social and cultural forces of our age. Shifting notions of mobility and dwelling are underlain by advances in transport, communications and building technologies, change in meanings, practices and relations between work and leisure, and spreading tentacles in commodification and mediation of place, local to global in reach.

Per Gustafson kicks off with a chapter titled, modestly, 'Place Attachment and Mobility'. We label Per's title 'modest', as he offers a panoramic tour of key ideas underlying place, mobility, globalization and transnationalism, including discussion of issues in place construction and meaning, freedom of movement, and locals *versus* cosmopolites. Gustafson's treatment of concepts and debates sets the foundation for the volume, reminding us that there is nothing so useful as 'good' theory.

The dialectic home and away underscores multiple dwelling as a fugue in comings and goings. In Chapter 3, Daniel Williams and Susan Van Patten broach this dialectic as an ongoing process in identity formation, adaptive navigations that create meaning in a fluid and fragmented world. They deploy negotiations in multiple dwelling and identity as a springboard in broaching thorny problems in place authenticity, the politics of place,

globalization and sustainability. Rather than viewing the local and global as antithetical, Williams and Van Patten craft an insightful, inspirational argument for sustaining place as a balanced integration of the 'lure of the local' and transformative processes in modernity.

That mobility is deeply rooted in the Western imagination and psyche animates Kevin McHugh's meditation, 'Nomads of Desire'. Drawing on interpretation of literature and film over the past century, he illuminates unconscious desire as propelling force. Ripe with adventure, mystery, ambiguity, exoticism, (post-)colonial sensibilities and commodification, tales in Western mobility and tourism are pivotal in defining and labelling peoples and places and, hence, identities of self, home, place and nation. On a larger plane, McHugh elevates the 'nomad' as metaphor of meandering desire that spans the entire social and cultural field, underpinning repressions, instabilities, uncertainties and existential anxieties of modernity.

In Chapter 5, Harvey Perkins and David Thorns point out that the literatures on primary and second homes have been cast, for the most part, in isolation from each other. They provide a review of ideas, research approaches and findings, and address this lacuna by accentuating the primary/second-home relationship. A signature message is that the primary home has been subject to intensive critique (e.g. relating to social class, race and gender), whereas research on second homes is notable for a conspicuous lack of critique and its positive inclinations of leisure, escape and meaningful experience. Perkins and Thorns call for greater conceptualization and study of primary/secondary homes as linked spaces, and richer accounts of the dialectic across diverse cultures and regions.

2 Place Attachment and Mobility

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Introduction

Research on amenity tourism and multiple dwelling gives rise to a whole range of empirical and theoretical questions about the meaning of mobility, the forging of territorial bonds and the (re)construction of place (Williams and McIntyre, 2001).[1] Such questions, often framed by more general issues of migration and globalization, are the focus of important scholarly as well as political debates today. In this chapter, I examine theoretical discussions within social science about place, place attachment and mobility, and in particular discussions about the relationship between mobility and attachment, in order to provide a background to the studies of multiple dwelling in the subsequent chapters of this volume.

The chapter begins with a brief conceptual discussion about place, place attachment and mobility, and continues with a review of some current debates within social science, in order to locate these conceptualizations within a broader theoretical framework. It then moves on to a more detailed investigation of the relationship between place attachment and mobility, and examines a number of ways in which that relationship has been conceived during the past few decades. In conclusion, I consider some implications of these theoretical discussions for research about amenity tourism and multiple dwelling.

Place, Place Attachment and Mobility

Place

In a comprehensive review article, Gieryn (2000) suggests that most conceptualizations of place involve three components: geographic location,

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material form and investment with meaning and value. Places are located in geographical space, places have 'physicality' (material form) and places are perceived as meaningful by individuals and often also by social groups. With regard to the physicality of place, metaphorical or virtual places may also be said to exist, in cyberspace and elsewhere, but are the subject neither of Gieryn's review nor of this chapter.

The inclusion of geographic location and material form, as well as meaning and value, in conceptualizations of place reflects a movement away from earlier oppositions between positivist and phenomenological understandings of 'place' (Johnston *et al.*, 2000, pp. 582–583). These debates were intense during the 1970s and 1980s (Relph, 1976; Canter, 1977; Sime, 1986), whereas today, there seems to be wide agreement that subjective as well as objective aspects of place need to be considered (Agnew, 1987; Massey, 1995a; Gieryn, 2000).

In more recent discussions, sometimes under the influence of research on globalization, several other important points have been made about the understanding of place. First, previous research has been criticized for regarding places as bounded and self-contained entities while ignoring their connections and exchanges with their surroundings. Interconnectedness with other places may in fact be important for defining and giving meanings to a place (Massey and Jess, 1995). Secondly, common-sense notions of place tend to focus on stability and continuity rather than on change. But places are not static – 'places are processes' (Massey, 1994a, p. 155; Gieryn, 2000, pp. 468–473), and may even be regarded as individual or collective projects (Gustafson, 2001a). Thirdly, a place does not necessarily have one specific meaning or set of meanings, agreed upon by everybody – individuals and/or social groups may have widely differing and even conflicting views of places that are important to them (Keith and Pile, 1993; Jess and Massey, 1995).

Finally, the triad of location, material form and meaning does not say anything about the size of places. Although the term 'place' in everyday language is often used to designate relatively limited physical settings, places may indeed be of very different spatial scale. As Gieryn (2000, p. 464) puts it: 'A place could be your favorite armchair, a room, building, neighborhood, district, village, city, county, metropolitan area, region … , state, province, nation, continent, planet – or a forest glade, the seaside, a mountaintop.' Although the studies presented in this volume mainly concern attachment to, and mobility between, different residences, and thus involve fairly small places, I believe that a pragmatic understanding of place and geographical scale is useful in this context. Thinking of 'places' as meaningful spatial units regardless of territorial scale helps to locate amenity tourism and multiple dwelling within a wider theoretical and conceptual framework (Williams and McIntyre, 2001; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). In particular, it suggests parallels with current debates about the relationship between place attachment and mobility, some of which will be examined later in this chapter.

Place attachment

Places often give their inhabitants or visitors a sense of belonging and meaning. This phenomenon is often discussed in terms of place attachment, or similar concepts such as place identity (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983; Cuba and Hummon, 1993a; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996) or sense of place (Massey, 1994a; Rose, 1995; Hay, 1998). These concepts have primarily been used within human geography and environmental psychology (Altman and Low, 1992; Milligan, 1998). However, explicit or implicit assumptions about people's emotional and other bonds with places at various scales have been important in much other social research, in areas such as community studies, political science, cultural studies and migration research.

In a conceptual discussion, Low and Altman suggest that place attachment 'is an integrating concept comprising interrelated and inseparable aspects' (1992, p. 4). Following their argument, the concept of place attachment refers to bonds between people and place based on affection (emotion, feeling), cognition (thought, knowledge, belief) and practice (action, behaviour). In most research, they point out, primacy is given to the affective component of place attachment. The places that are the objects of such bonds may be of various spatial scales, as discussed above (Cuba and Hummon, 1993a). Place attachment, Low and Altman (1992) argue, may be held or experienced by individuals as well as by social or cultural groups of various kinds. It may refer to place-bound social relations (interpersonal, community and/or cultural relationships) as well as to place as a physical and/or symbolic setting (Jaakson, 1986; Fuhrer *et al.*, 1993; Kaltenborn, 1997b; Milligan, 1998). It is often suggested that place attachment becomes deeper and stronger when it is based on long-term continuity (Hay, 1998), although place attachment may also change over time (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992).

As papers in this volume show, several of these themes are of vital importance for understanding cottagers' attachment to their recreational homes. In addition, studies of amenity tourism highlight one aspect of place attachment that receives little attention in Low's and Altman's text, namely the existence of dual or multiple place attachment(s). Indeed, notions such as 'second home' and 'multiple dwelling' imply that a person's attachment is not necessarily limited to one single home place. In today's world of increasing mobility, people have numerous possibilities for developing such dual or multiple bonds, not only because of amenity tourism but under many different circumstances (McHugh and Mings, 1996; Pries, 1999a; Beck, 2000).

Mobility

The development of attachment to several places requires mobility. Mobility, as I will use the term here, implies the overcoming of spatial distance. This may be achieved in several ways. To begin with, Urry (2000)

distinguishes between corporeal travel (the physical mobility of persons, by walking, running, etc., or by some means of transport), imaginative mobilities (by means of broadcasting media, mainly television), virtual travel (by means of computers) and the mobilities of objects. All these different forms of mobility may indeed contribute to the formation of emotional, cognitive and behavioural bonds between people and place. Amenity tourism, at least in the sense discussed here, primarily involves people's physical mobility (what Urry describes as corporeal travel) between two home places. The other forms of mobility discussed by Urry are not investigated here; neither will I consider metaphorical uses of the concept of mobility, as in writings about social mobility, economic mobility and so on.

It is worth noting, however, that there are not only different forms of mobility, but that mobility may also mean many different things to the persons who move (or who do not move). In a study of seasonal migration (Gustafson, 2001b) the analysis brought out numerous, although sometimes interrelated, meanings of mobility. To most respondents, mobility was associated with life, health and activity. It often meant variation, new experiences and new social contacts, and hence implied seeing things from new perspectives. In some cases, these latter meanings of mobility were associated with curiosity and open-mindedness, and other personal qualities and abilities such as courage, initiative and adventurousness. These findings suggest that mobility may be of significant psychological, social and symbolic importance in contemporary Western society (Leed, 1991; Urry, 2000).

In addition, physical mobility may have many different purposes, be performed under widely differing conditions and differ greatly in its consequences (e.g. Fielding, 1992; Bauman, 1998; Bell and Ward, 2000). Whereas mobility has so far been discussed in positive terms, it is evident that mobility (like place attachment) may have positive as well as negative aspects and implications. Later in this chapter, I suggest that the ability to enjoy positive aspects and avoid negative ones may be related to social positions and individual resources of various kinds (see Freedom of movement, p. 27).

Current Debates

Although questions about place, place attachment and mobility are subject to lively discussions in social science today, it has not always been so. On the contrary, sociology and social science more generally have sometimes been accused of ignoring issues of space and place. Agnew (1989) argues that the concept of place has long been confused with sociological notions of community, and that the perceived decline in community during modernization and industrialization has thus been taken to imply the decline or insignificance of place. Similar arguments, advanced by Soja (1989), Pred (1990) and Massey (1994a), add that social science since the

'classics' of Marx, Weber and Durkheim has privileged time, historical development and social change, while associating space and place with traditionalism and stasis. From that perspective, places were merely passive backgrounds to social structures and processes, or limitations that should – over time – be transcended.

Yet, whereas social scientists have paid little attention to place, they have frequently used place as an important methodological tool. Places of varying scale have often, although with little theoretical consideration, been used to delimit the scope of empirical investigations, and sometimes also served as units of study in such investigations. This is most obvious in the case of nation states (and cross-national comparisons) but other territorial units, usually defined for administrative purposes, have also often been used as taken-for-granted research settings (Agnew, 1989, p. 18; Beck, 2000, pp. 64–68 on 'methodological nationalism'; and Fennell, 1997 on community studies). Such research designs often implicitly assume that nation states (or other places) constitute social, cultural, and political 'containers' and can be treated, in empirical studies, as relatively bounded, stable and homogeneous units (Taylor, 1994, 1996).

During the past two decades, the theoretical neglect of place, as well as its unquestioned methodological use, have been challenged. In the 1980s, theoretical writings by critical human geographers and sociologists problematized the relationship between 'the social' and 'the spatial' in debates ranging from ontological issues to questions about modernity and postmodernity (e.g. Gregory and Urry, 1985; Harvey, 1989; Soja, 1989; Pred, 1990). More recently, discussions about space and place have, to a large extent, revolved around the notion of globalization. This focus has brought issues of place attachment and mobility to the attention of social scientists.

The notion of globalization usually denotes the increasing extensity, intensity, velocity and impact of global processes of various kinds (Held *et al.*, 1999). As several writers have pointed out, time perspectives vary between different kinds of global processes, and globalization contains a great deal of paradox and ambiguity. There is little doubt, however, that economic, political, cultural and technological developments during the past 10 or 15 years have brought about increasing global interconnectedness in many areas, together with a dramatic increase in scientific as well as popular awareness of, interest in, and concern about such interconnectedness (Castells, 1996, 1998; Robertson and Khondker, 1998; Beck, 2000).

With regard to space and place, globalization implies that social and other relations are increasingly stretched out over long spatial distances. Global processes produce localized outcomes that are difficult to foresee, control or even understand by individual and institutional actors at the local, regional or national level (e.g. Giddens, 1990, 1991). At first sight, this may seem to reinforce earlier arguments about the decline of place in modern society (and now place in the sense not only of local communities, but also of nation states). Some writers do indeed claim that global flows and interconnectedness make geographic localization insignificant, and that

specific places tend to lose individuality and meaning. Many social theorists argue that place still matters, although sometimes in ways not previously envisioned. Recent research about globalization has in fact led to a growing interest in questions about place, place attachment and mobility (Williams and McIntyre, 2001). An extensive review of these discussions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but I will note a few important arguments.

One argument suggests that the meaning and importance of places is increasingly determined by their relations with the outside world, and especially by their positions in global networks (Castells, 1996). Current debates about globalization and local/global relationships suggest that places should be understood in terms of interconnectedness and process rather than as bounded and self-contained entities (Massey, 1994a). Another influential argument is that about 'glocalization', which highlights that global processes do indeed take place in numerous local settings, and may involve complex interplays of homogenization and heterogenization (Robertson, 1992, pp. 173–174, 1995).

Several theorists also suggest that globalization brings along feelings of insecurity and lack of control, which in turn give rise to a search for home, roots and community (cf. Massey, 1994a; Robertson, 1995; Cohen, 1997). This development has brought about intensified investment of meaning and value in some places, and the revival of local, regional and national identities (Rose, 1995; Castells, 1997). Such identities are regarded with a certain scepticism by some social theorists who associate them with traditionalism, chauvinism and xenophobia, whereas others celebrate them as a form of resistance against globalizing processes. The latter argument also suggests that experiences of insecurity and lost control are not shared by everybody. Some researchers argue that it is primarily the poor and powerless who seek refuge in place attachment and territorial identities, whereas the rich and powerful in today's world have become increasingly mobile and in important respects independent of specific places (Castells, 1996; Bauman, 1998).

One significant aspect of globalization, especially with regard to the role of place, is indeed that of migration and other forms of human mobility. Over the past few decades many Western countries have experienced new forms of immigration with substantial social and cultural consequences, and mobility for work, studies and tourism has also increased dramatically (Castles and Miller, 1998; Held *et al.*, 1999). Several theorists today claim that mobility and migration in various forms question relationships between people, place and culture that were often taken for granted in previous research. One interesting approach in this regard discusses migration and its consequences in terms of transnationalism. It regards migration and mobility as ongoing processes, which often produce and reproduce transnational social institutions and practices, give individuals emotional and other bonds with several different places, and bring about cultural encounters and experiences of cultural diversity (Basch *et al.*, 1994; Pries, 1999a; Vertovec, 1999). Arguably, this approach is not only relevant for migration that crosses national borders but may improve the understanding of human mobility in other contexts as well.

Relationships Between Place Attachment and Mobility

The debates and arguments reviewed so far give rise to a number of theoretical and empirical questions. One question, which will be investigated in some detail in the remainder of this chapter, concerns the role of place attachment and mobility in contemporary society. I will argue that social science research under conditions of globalization should pay attention to both place attachment and mobility and, importantly, to the relationship between them (Gustafson, 2001c). Place attachment and mobility refer to different sets of norms and ideals about socio-spatial existence, and to some extent different research traditions. In the following, I explore ways in which the relationship between place attachment and mobility has been conceptualized and discussed within social science.

Dialectic experiences of place

To begin, I briefly consider some earlier research by humanistic geographers. Their phenomenological studies as to what places mean to people produced somewhat ambivalent views of place attachment and mobility, yet I believe that their conceptualizations provide a useful starting point for my discussion.

The common ground for geographers such as Relph (1976), Seamon (1979) and Buttimer (1980) was the perceived loss of meaningful places in modern industrial society. In their view commercialism, together with large-scale standardized planning and architecture, was producing 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976), i.e. the destruction of authentic places in favour of physical environments without identity, which were unable to foster a sense of place. They considered place attachment to be a basic human need, described in terms of rootedness, identity, security, warmth, 'restorative powers', intimate social relations, etc. (e.g. Seamon, 1979, Ch. 10), whereas mobility was often associated with uprootedness and loss. As Agnew (1989) would suggest, this line of thought shares important similarities with traditional sociological notions of 'community' (e.g. Redfield, 1955; Tönnies, 1955).

However, their preference for place and place attachment did not entirely exclude mobility. Indeed, Seamon (1979, pp. 132–137) writes about the dialectic relationship between *movement* and *rest*, Buttimer (1980, pp. 170–171) suggests a reciprocity of *home* and *horizons of reach*, and Relph (1976, p. 42) mentions a *dialectic experience of place* 'balancing a need to stay with a desire to escape' (see also Relph, 1976, p. 49 on inside–outside dualism). The status of mobility in these conceptualizations is not altogether clear. Sometimes the writers seem to have a fairly limited mobility in mind – routine movements within familiar spaces, always involving the return 'home' – whereas excessive mobility or too rapidly expanding 'horizons of reach' is associated with placelessness. In other passages, however, mobility may represent travelling, exploration, the

search for new experiences and the escape from 'imprisonment' in a particular place.

Overall, these writings assume that people's experiences of place may involve place attachment as well as mobility, and that these two phenomena are not mutually exclusive. The notions of dialectics and reciprocity acknowledge that both may be important in making places meaningful. The authors also point out that the combination of place attachment and mobility may differ between individuals, and that it may not always be as balanced and harmonious as one would wish it to be. However, the arguments of Relph, Seamon and Buttimer all rest on normative assumptions of place-bound community, continuity and homogeneity. In spite of their notions of dialectics and reciprocity, there is a strong tendency towards making place attachment and local community a taken-for-granted norm, while regarding migration and other forms of mobility as potentially problematic deviations from this norm.

Locals and cosmopolitans

These latter phenomena – migration and other forms of human mobility – are, on the other hand, central to some of the more recent research on the role of place. One influential conceptualization here is that of *locals and cosmopolitans*. Originally coined by Merton (1957), these concepts are currently being used by a number of scholars in order to describe varying relationships between people, place and culture in today's world.

In Hannerz's often-cited paper about 'Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture' (1996, Ch. 9; original version published in 1990), cosmopolitans represent mobility, an openness to cultural diversity and a willingness to engage with 'the Other'. They are highly mobile, constantly travelling around the world in search of new experiences. Cosmopolitanism, Hannerz suggests, also implies 'a sense of mastery' (1996, p. 103); cosmopolitans have the knowledge and competence required to handle cultural diversity, and their mobility is freely chosen, not forced upon them. In this account, cosmopolitans stand out as an elite group, exemplified by transnational intellectuals, bureaucrats, business people, journalists and diplomats. Their mobility may, in some cases at least, be gained at the cost of place attachment. 'Real cosmopolitans', Hannerz suggests, may indeed never be at home (1996, p. 110). Locals receive much less attention in Hannerz's text and are mostly referred to for purposes of contrast, as those who stay in their place and prefer the safe homogeneity of their local culture.

Gesser and Olofsson (1997) also work with the local/cosmopolitan distinction, but with an understanding of these concepts that is closer to Merton's original formulation than to Hannerz's text. Locals, in this conceptualization, have a strong local identity and local 'roots'. Their cultural capital is tied to local or other particularistic cultures, whereas cosmopolitans possess 'mobility capital' – resources, knowledge and abilities that facilitate social as well as geographical mobility (formal

education seems to be of particular importance in this regard). Gesser and Olofsson argue that there is an opposition between these two kinds of cultural capital – more of one necessarily means less of the other. They also suggest that mobility is 'the "natural" tendency in modern society' (1997, p. 44), making cosmopolitanism and reliance on mobility capital the norm. Only those lacking the resources and ability to move seek refuge in the local and develop a strong place attachment.

The same theme is strongly present in Castells' (1996) argument that today's society is based on two conflicting spatial logics – a dominant 'space of flows' and a subordinated 'space of places'. This has brought about a situation where 'elites are cosmopolitan, people are local' (1996, p. 415) and, in Castells' view, the rupture between mobile cosmopolitans and locals defending their specific places reflects 'a structural schizophrenia between two spatial logics that threatens to break down communication channels in society' (1996, p. 428). Similar perspectives have been developed by Albrow (1997, pp. 52–54) in his writings on 'time–space social stratification' and in Bauman's (1998) accounts of locals and 'globals'. In their view, mobility has become a crucial determinant of individual well-being and life chances in today's globalized society, and the polarization between locals and cosmopolitans (or globals) is therefore an important expression of social stratification. Interestingly, this perspective is the very opposite of that implied by Relph, Seamon and Buttimer, who considered place attachment to be a basic human need, while often associating mobility with uprootedness and lacking sense of place.

The focus on cosmopolitan elites *versus* local people has also been criticized for being normative and elitist. For example, Clifford (1997, p. 36) argues that 'the notion that certain classes of people are cosmopolitan travelers while the rest are local natives appears as the ideology of one very powerful traveling culture' (see also Friedman, 1979). This criticism points at some ambivalence in current writings about locals and cosmopolitans. The concepts may be used to describe two ideal typical ways of managing cultural diversity (following Hannerz) and/or to describe holders of two ideal typical kinds of 'capital' (local cultural capital and 'mobility capital', following Merton, Gesser and Olofsson). In both cases, I think the concepts may be analytically useful, in spite of a certain risk of elitism. However, the local/cosmopolitan distinction may become problematic if it is used to categorize people as either locals or cosmopolitans, or to describe a one-dimensional socio-spatial hierarchy in which place attachment and mobility are constructed as necessarily opposite and mutually exclusive phenomena.

Roots and routes

Another recent conceptualization of the relationship between place attachment and mobility is that of '*roots and routes*'. These concepts have been relatively sparsely used in academic writing, and their use differs in some ways between authors. However, I believe that the view of the

relationship between place attachment and mobility that underlies this conceptualization is fruitful, and that the concepts may also be stimulating and suggestive in empirical and analytical work (Gustafson, 2001b, c).

This goes especially for the writings of Gilroy (1993) and Clifford (1997). Gilroy employs the concepts of roots and routes for exploring issues of culture and identity among black populations on both sides of the Atlantic. On the one hand, Gilroy distances himself from essentialist notions of pure, authentic roots; on the other hand, he also criticizes the pluralist anti-essentialism that celebrates routes, mixture and hybridity. This, he argues, is an elitist perspective that completely abandons the 'black vernacular' (1993, p. 101). Understanding the rooted *and* routed character of the black Atlantic diaspora, according to Gilroy, requires '[d]ealing equally with the significance of roots and routes', and studying the relationships between rootedness and movement (1993, pp. 190).

Clifford utilizes the roots/routes conceptualization in a similar way. He criticizes common assumptions about authentic socio-spatial existence, according to which '[d]welling was understood to be the local ground of collective life, travel a supplement; roots always precede routes' (Clifford, 1997, p. 3). Yet his intention is not to simply invert this order, claiming the primacy of routes over roots. Instead, he advocates an approach that is sensitive to everyday life tactics and practices containing dwelling as well as travelling, roots as well as routes.

Thus, rather than positing place attachment and mobility as contradictory or necessarily opposite phenomena, or favouring one at the expense of the other, the approach implied by the writings of Gilroy and Clifford suggests the investigation of both, and of the relationship between them. This, I believe, is a useful way of understanding and analysing questions about place attachment and mobility in today's world (Gustafson, 2001c).

Transnationalism

These arguments are reflected by recent developments within migration research. During the past decade or so, researchers have observed that international migrants often, and seemingly to an increasing extent, retain bonds of various kinds with their countries of origin (Basch *et al.*, 1994; Pries, 1999a; Vertovec, 1999). They produce and reproduce relationships and practices that connect sending and receiving countries. They also develop individual and collective identities that refer to more than one place or nation state. These tendencies are frequently referred to as *transnationalism*.

In the conceptualization suggested by Basch and her colleagues (1994 p. 22), transnationalism represents 'a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries'. Such transnational phenomena are often regarded as an important aspect of contemporary globalizing

processes, and a number of reasons – new information and communication technologies, social and economic conditions, political developments, territorially based identity politics – have been suggested for their increasing significance (e.g. Portes *et al.*, 1999; Pries, 1999a).

A transnational perspective on migration differs in several ways from much traditional migration research (Pries, 1996, 1999b). Traditional scientific approaches understand migration as a unidirectional movement, a one-time permanent change of home place. Receiving and sending countries are usually examined separately, and migration research most often focuses on migration-related social problems in the receiving countries. Traditional migration research also tends strongly towards 'methodological nationalism', as migration is understood as a move from one 'container space' to another. Transnational approaches, on the other hand, regard migration as an ongoing process, characterized by ongoing human mobility and the development (and often institutionalization) of social, political, cultural and economic relationships and exchanges between the two (or more) countries involved. Research with this perspective focuses on interaction and interconnectedness, and often links up with theories about globalization.

Consequently, traditional migration research frequently associates migration with a loss of place attachment in the sending country, followed by settlement, relative immobility, gradual integration and the forging of emotional and other bonds in the receiving country. This view of migration has important similarities with the notion discussed above, of place attachment and mobility as opposite and/or mutually exclusive phenomena. The transnational approach, on the contrary, implies that place attachment and mobility are not mutually exclusive but may combine in various ways. In particular, this approach highlights the association between mobility and the maintenance of multiple place attachment.

This perspective has a great deal in common with the writings of Gilroy (1993) and Clifford (1997) reviewed above. Indeed, the discussions so far suggest that the understanding of mobility and place attachment inherent in the transnationalism literature is not necessarily limited to international (or transnational) migration, but may to a large extent be applied to other forms of human mobility as well.

Freedom of movement

An underlying argument in the previous sections has been that mobility as well as place attachment may be beneficial and contribute to people's perceived quality of life. This argument requires qualification. Neither mobility nor place attachment is something inherently 'good'. Both may have positive as well as negative implications, and in the conceptual discussion above, I briefly suggested that people's views and experiences of place attachment and mobility may, to an important extent, reflect their social positions and their individual resources and abilities. I will develop

this argument, partly drawing on Bauman's (1998) discussion about *freedom of movement*.

Physical mobility involves different kinds of movements, for varied purpose and under different conditions. For example, international migration involves not only the emergence of Hannerz's (1996) global professional elites, but also flows of labour migrants and refugees, often from poorer to richer countries (Castles and Miller, 1998). For some, international mobility is part of a privileged lifestyle; for others it represents necessity and compulsion, and often results in exploitation and/or social marginalization. As Hammar's (1990) discussion about aliens, denizens and citizens demonstrates, people move around in today's globalized world under widely differing conditions. Entry into many Western countries is highly restricted for nationals of Third World countries, whereas nationals of Western countries can travel freely. Similar patterns are evident at the local level, as has been shown for example in recent debates about urban segregation, 'gated communities' and the increasing privatization of public space (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Gieryn, 2000; Franzén, 2001).

To put it more systematically: freedom of movement is about the ability to move and the ability to access desired spaces and places. These abilities require access to means of transport (which is partly dependent on economic means) and to communication infrastructures, and a life situation that permits physical mobility. In addition, physical mobility to some extent depends on physical status (bodily ability), social status (factors such as gender and age may provide differential possibilities to move freely) and legal status (the mobility of, for example, foreign nationals and convicted criminals is often restricted in various ways). Thus, freedom of movement depends on resources, abilities and capacities that are very unequally distributed. Such inequalities often seem to reflect social positions along a number of dimensions, well-known in sociological analysis – gender, class, age, ethnicity, nationality, and so forth.

With reference to examples along these lines, Bauman (1998, p. 9) argues that 'mobility has become the most powerful and most coveted stratifying factor; the stuff of which the new, increasingly world-wide, social, political, economic and cultural hierarchies are daily built and rebuilt'. In a series of sweeping arguments, he first claims that with globalization and new information technologies, power has become 'exterritorial', whereas those subject to the exercise of power usually live highly territorial lives, full of spatial constraints and obligations. Indeed, as society becomes more and more adapted to the exterritorial experience of its elite groups, the spatial boundedness of those less favoured becomes even more pressing than before, psychologically as well as materially. In a second argument, Bauman uses the notions of (wealthy) 'tourists' and (poor) 'vagabonds' to suggest that in a globalized world we are all on the move, in one sense or another. Social stratification then becomes a matter of having control over one's mobility: 'The dimension along which those "high up" and "low down" are plotted … is their *degree of mobility* – their freedom to choose where to be' (Bauman, 1998, p. 86, original italics).

Bauman's arguments are often impressionistic and sometimes quite ambiguous. Yet they are useful here as they make clear that freedom of movement involves not only mobility but also place and place attachment. Freedom of movement implies access to place and the freedom to choose where to go, where to stay and where to develop emotional and other ties to place. Little or no freedom of movement, on the other hand, may involve either forced mobility (having to leave a valued place) or forced immobility (confinement in a place that one would rather want to leave and/or forbidden access to desired places). This, I believe, is an important addition to the discussion about the relationship between place attachment and mobility.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine current conceptual and theoretical discussions within social science about place, place attachment and mobility, in order to provide a background for the chapters to come. Amenity tourism and multiple dwelling involve, almost by necessity, mobility as well as attachment to two or more meaningful places. Previous research suggests that attachment and mobility may be useful analytical dimensions for examining long-distance migration between different home places (McHugh and Mings, 1996; Gustafson, 2001b) and, in conclusion to the chapter, I will briefly outline some possible implications of the theoretical review above with regard to research about amenity tourism more generally.

To begin, theoretical discussion suggests that relationships between place attachment and mobility may be conceived and experienced in many different ways and that scholarly studies need to consider this variation. More specifically, contemporary debates – scientific as well as political ones – often revolve around the possibility and/or desirability of people's combining place attachment and mobility. Amenity tourism most often represents a combination of mobility and place attachment – a combination chosen to increase one's quality of life. Even under these circumstances mobility and attachment may take many different forms, and may also be experienced and understood in different ways.

On the individual level, constructions of 'home' and place-bound identities may differ. Williams and Kaltenborn (1999, p. 223) argue that, in a world where many people feel 'placeless', the recreational cottage often 'provides continuity of identity and sense of place through symbolic, territorial identification with an emotional home'. Williams *et al.* (2000, p. 38), commenting on British retirees who pursue seasonal migration to the Mediterranean, point out that there are 'considerable variations in whether they identify the UK or the destination as their principal home, or whether they possess or experience genuine dual (or in a few instances, multiple) residences'. Jaakson (1986), for his part, suggests that cottages may give a sense of identity on several different levels – identification with a physical

setting, with the nearest town or with the region, but also a social identification based on a sense of community with other cottagers in the area. These arguments point at important research questions about how persons with multiple dwellings experience and make sense of their residences and of their mobility between them, as well as more general questions about how they construct self-identity in an increasingly mobile and interconnected society (McIntyre, this volume, Chapter 1).

The variation in scientific conceptions and norms with regard to attachment and mobility is reflected not only in individual experiences, but also in social understandings of amenity tourism. On the one hand, as the writings of Castells (1996), Hannerz (1996) and Bauman (1998) indicate, mobility today often signifies freedom, prosperity and social status. Indeed, migration between dual or multiple residences is probably often regarded as something desirable, an expression of a high standard of living, perhaps also of energy and initiative on the part of the migrants (Gustafson, 2001b). Thus, the combination of mobility and attachment to two or more selected places may be a means of social distinction (Jaakson, 1986).

On the other hand, conceptions that mobility and attachment are mutually exclusive phenomena, and that people should ideally 'belong' to only one place, are reflected in strongly institutionalized norms and practices. A basic objective of national censuses and citizenship laws is 'to assign every person to a precise geographic location, to give each person a singular place of residence' (Williams and McIntyre, 2001, p. 392). That assignment is fundamental for political representation, tax collection and the legal status of individuals. However, such institutional understandings and practices are sometimes at odds with the experiences of persons with multiple dwellings and may, in some cases, have problematic consequences – especially when it comes to amenity tourism that crosses national borders (O'Reilly, 2000). Thus, the interplay between individual and social understandings of the attachment/mobility dialectic becomes an important issue in research about amenity tourism.

Moreover, mobility and the construction of multiple territorial bonds often means encounters between people of different cultural or social backgrounds. This is evident in the case of long-distance migration (Castles and Miller, 1998) but, as Jaakson (1986, pp. 384–386) points out, even short-distance migration to cottages and other 'second homes' involves encounters between cottagers and 'locals', and thus often encounters between different 'cultures' (in one sense or another). This, too, raises important research questions. What are the sociocultural characteristics of 'local' populations – those who have their permanent residences in areas with many recreational homes? In what ways are they similar to, or different from, temporary residents? What kinds of contact exist between these two groups (Selwood and Tonts, this volume, Chapter 11; McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16)?

Indeed, several theoretical arguments imply that different experiences of, and attitudes towards, mobility and place attachment are in themselves an important form of sociocultural difference – that important cleavages in

today's society exist between local insiders and cosmopolitan or 'global' outsiders (Hannerz, 1996; Bauman, 1998). Arguments along these lines also refer back to issues of identity and identification, as discussed above. Do persons with multiple dwellings display cosmopolitan traits in their attitudes and orientations towards the migration between their different homes, and in their encounters with local populations? Or do they rather identify themselves as locals rooted in two (or more) different places (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Gustafson, 2001b)?

Mobility and place attachment influence the construction of place. Theoretical discussions suggest that places may mean different things to different people, and that meanings of place are continually defined and redefined, sometimes fought over or negotiated. Indeed, the practices, experiences and conceptions of mobility and attachment among the 'users' of a place may have important consequences for the place itself – how the place is designed and physically shaped, how the place is used by its permanent inhabitants as well as by temporary residents or visitors, and how the place is invested with meaning and value. In the case of recreational areas, these aspects of place can be investigated from the perspective of individual users, as well as from more macro-oriented perspectives. The latter may involve the study of conflicting opinions among temporary and permanent residents with regard to the design, use and symbolic meaning of places. Research on tourism and leisure migration suggests that issues of sustainability and authenticity are often central to such conflicts (e.g. Cohen, 1995; Gustafson, 2002a).

Finally, as Williams and Van Patten (this volume, Chapter 3) point out, amenity tourism is part of a current trend in Western societies towards increasingly mobile ways of life. This trend gives rise to questions about resource distribution and sustainability, not only with regard to local environments but also with regard to more general issues of lifestyles and life chances in the world today. The maintenance of dual residences often represents a lifestyle that combines freely chosen mobility with attachment to two or more valued places. This should not make us forget that mobility and migration, as well as place-making and the forging of territorial bonds, may be performed under very different conditions, which reflect differences with regard to power, resources and life chances. The discussion about freedom of movement, drawing on Bauman (1998), reminds us that, in a global perspective, amenity tourism and the maintenance of dual or multiple homes represents a privileged lifestyle, accessible only to a small fraction of the world's population.

Endnote

[1] This chapter is based on Per Gustafson's PhD thesis, *Place, Place Attachment and Mobility: Three Sociological Studies* (Department of Sociology, Göteborg University, Sweden, 2002).

3 Home *and* Away? Creating Identities and Sustaining Places in a Multi-centred World

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Amenities and Mobilities

Imagine being able to 'travel the world without leaving home'. This is not the overblown promise of some high-tech, computer-generated virtual world, but the veritable promise of *The World*. Built and operated by a Norwegian company called ResidenSea and launched on her maiden voyage in early 2002, *The World* is a 191-metre-long 'global village at sea', boasting 200 sumptuous residential and guest suites (smaller units occupy 92 sq m and carry a price tag of a mere US$2 million). In naïve but premonitory tones the company website announces: '"Citizen of the world" takes on new meaning when your address is *The World* of ResidenSea.' Indeed, what would it mean to live in the 'world's first mobile community'? What kind of community would surface in the mobile but ephemeral social relations at sea? And what would become of the territorially bounded, the less mobile majority who lack US$2 million to spend on an ocean-going mobile home? How would the places they reside be affected by the flotilla of the fortunate who periodically grace their shores and streets?

The high seas may be the latest frontier in mobile living, but a more terrestrial and no doubt familiar (and affordable) form of mobilized dwelling can be seen in the throngs of retirees travelling the highways of North America and Europe, in some cases their recreational vehicles serving as permanent travelling homes (McHugh, this volume, Chapter 4). And while the archetype of residential mobility remains the seasonal migrations between multiple, fixed residences, even in this traditional form mobility takes on new patterns in the face of increasing globalization. With modern highways and skyways, the summer cottage is increasingly accessible year-round for short, intermittent stays. Further, recent advances in communications technology blur what remains of the distinction

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between work places and vacation spaces. In sum, second-home ownership (landed, highway or ocean-going) and other amenity-seeking mobilities (e.g. ordinary tourism) are just a sampling of the various ways modern lifestyles may be anchored and mobile at the same time.

At first glance the prospect of travelling the world without leaving the comfort of home may seem like the crowning achievement of globalization, but it also hints at a more troubling psychological tension between the modern appetite for mobility and a nostalgic longing for rootedness. What is the significance of multiple residence, mobility and amenity-seeking migrations of various sorts for contemporary society? Is the apex of globalization the assimilation of home and away into one experience, one condition of existence? Are amenity-seeking migrations and second-home ownership among the adaptations modern people attempt in order to create a coherent identity from the muddle of mobility and globalization? Indeed, what does it mean to be a 'citizen of the world' and what obligations does such citizenship admit?

Beneath these questions lies the paradox of modern mobility and global-scale social relations. 'We are living today on a threshold between a history of alienated displacement from and a longing for home and the possibility of a multicentered society that understands the reciprocal relationship between the two', writes Lippard (1997, p. 20). Much of human history chronicles the struggle – in the form of pilgrimages, crusades and diaspora – for the stability and security of home, community and nation. Yet that same history also reveals a struggle for emancipation from the local hegemonies of ethnicity, religion, class and clan. In its modern guise, this struggle for home is often wrapped in a romantic but regressive pretext of ecological and social sustainability. For Lippard, however, the 'lure of the local' is not born out of wistful nostalgia for the stability and authenticity of place, community or nature. But neither is she eager to surrender control over the local to what is increasingly seen as the equally hegemonic alternative – the distant (state or corporate) power and placeless rationalism that exemplifies globalization. As Mitchell (2001) argues, Lippard holds out hope for a multicentred society in which control over cherished places can be both multicentred *and* democratic.[1]

So much of social theory is predicated on the thesis of authenticity *versus* alienation that it has been hard to imagine a multicentred world in which movement and mobility play as much of a constituting role in society as more traditionally place-based notions of settlement, territory and community identity. This chapter emanates, at least in part, from the need for social theory to take up mobility, migration and amenity-seeking movements as ordinary and widespread adaptations to modernity and globalization. Globalization appears to have given mobility and rootedeness new meaning, paradoxically both by empowering individuals to create multicentred identities and simultaneously imploring them to seek out and protect what remains of the authentic that modernity makes so elusive. But how does this work in actual places? Is amenity-driven development an effective way to protect and

maintain authentic landscapes or just another form of globalization reaching out into the hinterland, commodifying what it finds and wresting control from the locals? Are there perhaps more moderate positions between reactionary localism and placeless globalism? Is there any prospect for a multicentred society that is also democratic at multiple scales?

Starting from the premise that human relationships to places have been profoundly altered by modern mobilities, this chapter explores the dialectics of home and away, mobility and rootedness, from two overlapping vantage points. One perspective concentrates on the more descriptive question of how modern people construct identities in a restless, multicentred world. This perspective suggests that people need not locate their identity in a single place but, in fact, can flexibly invest themselves in a variety of places in a variety of times to suit a particular season, stage or sensibility. The second perspective examines the more prescriptive debate regarding the control over amenity-rich landscapes that are the targets of modern mobilities and identity-making projects. This latter view draws attention to the politics of place, focusing on how places are socially constructed and contested by amenity seekers, as people are lured to local places by an aura of authenticity seemingly lacking in places more conspicuously transformed by globalization. At the same time locals are often complicit in such transformations as they deliberately lure in the amenity migrants and tourists with the hope of restoring or sustaining the social and economic viability of the place. The result may be to widen the politics of place by expanding claims of authenticity or sustainability to a larger constituency.

Constructing Identities in a Multicentred Society

If the lure of the local is, in part, 'finding a place for oneself in a story … composed of mythologies, histories and ideologies – the stuff of identity and representation' (Lippard, 1997, p. 33), then the challenge 'is to see how people weave stories into and out of place so as to construct identities' (Mitchell, 2001, p. 276). To take up this challenge, we describe a case study of the Hayward Lakes district of northern Wisconsin and the stories people tell about their second home or cottage. We begin with a brief historical background of the region.

For people from the American upper Midwest states of Wisconsin and Minnesota, the 'Northwoods', or simply 'Up North', possesses considerable mystique as a land of abundant forests and stunning lakes that contrasts with the more urban and agricultural landscapes to the south (Bawden, 1997). The area contains a diversity of land ownership, including seasonally occupied lakeside homes, resorts, campgrounds and large tracts of county and state lands, national forest lands and native tribal lands. Most communities in the region are tourism-dependent with approximately 50 per cent of housing units used on a part-time, seasonal basis. Most second

homes are owned by residents from the nearby urban centres of Chicago, Illinois (approximately 640 km), Minneapolis, Minnesota (225 km) and Milwaukee, Wisconsin (545 km). The region remains a blend of traditional/rural and modern/urban lifestyles, with a history of German and Scandinavian settlement. These cultural influences are still strong in the Hayward Lakes Region as demonstrated by the American Birkebeiner Ski Race named after a similar race in Norway.

The advent of the railroad and the subsequent logging boom during the 1880s had a major influence on settlement patterns and development of the region. Immense stands of white pine were the major attraction for loggers. Not only did the trees provide good timber, they were also easy to transport through the waterways of the area. By the turn of the century, most of the pine was exhausted and the logging industry faced bankruptcy. As a result, local government and land developers heavily promoted agriculture in the area between 1900 and 1920, even though the land was not suitable for large-scale farming (Nesbit, 1973). Besides poor climate and soil conditions, the massive debris left by the logging industry made clearing the land extremely difficult.

After the dissolution of the logging industry and failed attempts at agriculture, the Hayward Lakes region turned to a new industry based on tourism, resorts and outdoor recreation, especially fishing. The seeds of tourism were sown in some ways by the logging industry, which brought people into the Northwoods where they discovered the beauty and enjoyment of the region. In fact, some of the first second homes were built by logging barons, but it was not until logging and agriculture failed after the 1920s that tourism began to flourish.

Recreation and tourism in the area prior to World War II was essentially restricted to the summer season and traditional activities (i.e. fishing and hunting). Improvements in highways and technological innovations such as the snowmobile had significant impacts on the area and, in conjunction with skiing, expanded the tourism season to the winter. These changes in lifestyles and transportation meant more and more people could afford their own second home and make more frequent, but shorter, trips. The small, rustic family-owned resorts, which had been the driving force behind the tourism industry prior to World War II, began to disappear. Many of the individual cabins that made up these resorts were sold off to become second homes. The result has been an evolution in the types of people with strong ties to this place to include local residents who live and work full-time in the area, tourists who visit the area for limited time periods yet develop lasting relationships through repeat visitations, and second-home owners whose ties to the region exhibit characteristics of both residents and tourists.

Turning to the question of how modern people construct an identity in the modern multicentred world, interviews conducted with second-home owners in the Hayward Lakes area[2] illustrate what Giddens (1991) calls the reflexive project of the self. This identity project involves living in a modern world in which localities are thoroughly penetrated by distant, global

influences. As a consequence, self-identity becomes a reflexive negotiation of several distinctive dilemmas that must be resolved in order to maintain a coherent identity narrative. These dilemmas are illustrated in two themes that emerge from the interviews. One theme involves seeking refuge from modernity in nature and a simpler life. The other entails overcoming modernity's disorienting and fragmenting quality by rooting oneself in the local.

Escaping modernity

A common story people tell involves escaping modernity by seeking refuge in nature, a theme frequently discussed in the second-home literature (Jaakson, 1986; Halseth, 1992). The setting of the cottage affords greater access to nature, in part because of its typically rural location, but also by virtue of the spaciousness of most cottage developments relative to suburban living. Immersion in the rhythms of nature appears to facilitate a mental adjustment and shift in awareness. When asked how his life was different at his second home compared to his primary residence in Minneapolis/St Paul, one interviewee responded:

> It's just a totally different feel. I mean it's the woods, the trees, the lakes, the water, wildlife, birds, seagulls go by, yeah so I … think you see things and feel things differently when you're here versus in the city. It's not that there aren't birds and trees in the city, it's just that you have a different focus. You're into working normally, where up here it's just the opposite. You're into relaxing and getting away from everything.

The second home serves as an oasis from the modern world and the normal, everyday life. While some work may follow the second-home owner to the 'cabin in the woods', many still speak of leaving work behind. Some homeowners describe a kind of 'mental cleansing' that occurs in conjunction with certain places during the trip to the second home. Specific landmarks act as subliminal suggestions to relax and shift the mental focus to another place and way of living:

> There's probably two mental things that occur. [When] I get to a little town about an hour away from Minneapolis, I can pretty much rinse work out and that kind of thing. And then once we get to around Spooner [approximately 50 km from the cabin] it starts looking and feeling different.

Another facet of escape stories is the idea of living a simpler life, or at least a life different from the one at the 'primary' home. As one second-home owner described the second-home experience: 'It's like stepping back in time … There's a sweetness and simplicity to it.' Another respondent who was asked to describe her second home echoes this sentiment: 'It's like the old days … It's like 30 years ago for us, much more relaxed and laid back.'

Not only do schedules and obligations disappear, but leisure moves forward to assume primary significance. One respondent talked about how

leisure activities, even those as innocuous as reading, suddenly became acceptable to do at her second home whereas at her primary residence she feels guilty. Another respondent had a very similar experience:

> I love the idea that I can stop doing all the things that I usually do at home … I hardly know what time it is and doing what I want – spend hours at the piano and stuff like that. I just do things, so it's long-term here, whereas at home I have to live on a tighter schedule.

As mentioned earlier the Northwoods, as a mythic place, is routinely reproduced in the public discourse of what it means to live in Wisconsin and neighbouring states. Among residents of the upper Midwest (northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota) 'Northwoods' and 'Up North' refer to a distinct place that is symbolically 'a part of the ritual retreat from the city' (Bawden, 1997, p. 451). Bawden adds: 'To most, the allure of the northwoods is that it simply is what the city is not: pristine, wild, unspoiled and simple.' This is a pristine myth (the Northwoods were 'cutover' nearly 100 years ago); nevertheless, the area is still 'quite different from the cities, towns or dairyland countryside to the south' (Bawden, 1997, p. 451). Cottagers clearly experience this as they make their trek north. They note changing landscape elements like the composition of the forest ('all of a sudden the white birches become the predominant tree in the forest') and cultural elements like a style of barn. As noted earlier, many cottagers identify specific places en route that mark the transition. In one small Wisconsin town there is a monument on a large rock which proclaims to mark the spot as 'half way north', referring to its location at latitude 45 degrees north of the equator.

Using second homes to escape modernity through greater contact with nature and 'simple living' reflects two of Giddens (1991) identity dilemmas that modern subjects must negotiate to construct coherent identity narratives: efficacy *versus* powerlessness and personalization *versus* commodification. First, second homes give individuals greater power to appropriate various lifestyles and meanings from a wider range of possibilities for building one's identity narrative. At the same time, it also minimizes the need to transfer control of some aspects of life to the abstract or expert systems so prevalent in modern life. The modern home, for example, is the terminus for all manner of expert systems and technologies designed to efficiently deliver warmth, sustenance, rejuvenation, entertainment and information. Second homes are often perceived as more distant and removed from urban technology and expert systems and the ideal of a rustic cottage is, in part, to shun such technologies. Though modern technologies are surely making inroads on this ideal, many cottages still rely less on public utility delivery systems, particularly for water and heat. The remoteness and immersion in nature promotes a sense of escape from these modern systems and restores feelings of self-reliance and control over one's own schedule. Second homes give their owners a greater sense of control to express and restore meanings and sense of identity otherwise undermined, as Giddens (1991) argues, by globalization

and its expanding dependence on abstract systems of expert control and symbolic mediation.

Secondly, the second home offers a way to balance personalization with commodification. For all the choice and freedom in constructing the self, our personal appropriation of life choices and meanings is often influenced by standardized forms of consumption (and leisure), what Mathews (2000) refers to as the cultural supermarket. Modern culture delivers pre-packaged images and storylines. For the Hayward Lakes cottagers, these might include rustic Northwoods decor (e.g. black bears, moose, loons, rustic furniture, canoes, fishing equipment), Famous Dave's Legendary Pit Bar-B-Que, Al Capone's summer home, the Hayward Lakes fishing experience and racing in the American Birkebeiner. Rather than passively consuming these standardized narratives, modern subjects also exercise the capacity to actively discriminate among pre-packaged images and modify pre-fabricated storylines to suit their individual tastes. Certainly, cottaging may be variously experienced as manufactured and commodified or authentic and personalized (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999), but it also affords symbolic expression of 'authentic' identity and allows for considerable personalization in construction and furnishings. For example, second homes are often given names (*Hideaway*, *Forest Home*, *Silver Lining*) that connote escape, pleasure or hobbies. They afford what Stebbins (1982) calls 'serious leisure', the long and practised commitment to certain lifestyle forms that give life a sense of purpose and meaning.

Continuity and sense of rootedness

To the extent that modernity thins the primary home of meaning, alternative mythic places such as second homes or favourite vacation spots may be cultivated to recreate a seemingly thicker place of attachment, identity, continuity and tradition otherwise undermined by modern lifestyles. In a globalized world that many experience as placeless, the cottage may serve as a centre of meaning across the life course even as people relocate their so-called permanent residence. The cottage provides continuity of identity and sense of place through symbolic, territorial identification with an emotional home. In the Hayward Lakes region, territorial identification occurs on multiple scales – from the cottage itself and its immediate surroundings as a sense of home – to the lake as a neighbourhood or community – to the Northwoods as a regional landscape that provides shared cultural values.

Compared to daily life in the modern permanent home, the second home provides for family togetherness that is quite distinct from the often-segmented individual lives and schedules characterizing most households (Jaakson, 1986). At the cottage the daily routines and projects of individual family members are less complex and geographically dispersed and more interwoven with other family members. One second-home owner contrasts his work life with cottage life:

> [At the permanent home] I'm gone in the morning and I'll get back in the early evening [from work]. So, I have just evenings and weekends with everybody, and for me it's real nice just to be more relaxed. [At the cottage] we're all together all day long and doing whatever we feel like, so this is a real good time for all of us to just be together.

Second-home ownership offers the potential for continuity across generations within the family and across the life-course within a given generation. Many respondents verbalize this sense of continuity in contrasting their so-called permanent home to their cottage: 'We moved and owned 8 to 10 different [permanent] homes and so we've never had any sense of ownership that was worthwhile to have, anything that was going to be there.'

As the locus of important family memories, the cottage provides symbolic territorial identification for families across generations:

> My grandfather built it in the 30s. This whole area had been logged and he was the original owner of the Lodge. It's still in my father's name, but my brothers and I come up here and take care of it too. [We are] trying to make sure that it stays in the family … All six of us brothers still use it. And my folks come out here two to two and a half months a year.

When asked about future plans for the place, responses almost always include a reference to passing the place on to the children. Jaakson (1986, p. 381) suggests that this is rarely the case for the primary home, using the example of two college-aged brothers whose parents had died: 'They promptly sold the urban house where they had lived since childhood. But when asked if they would also sell the cottage, they looked aghast and replied: "We'd *never* sell the cottage!" … The cottage was their emotional *home*, the city house a mere residence.'

Shared identification with neighbours or other property owners (particularly with other property owners around the lake) is also important. People seek a cottage with 'community spirit' and 'where everyone knows one another'. Most cottage owners, especially those with longer tenures, discuss neighbours by name and describe social practices such as 'puttsing' around the lake visiting neighbours and hanging out at taverns and restaurants located around the lake. A number of respondents suggested that they have more friends and more social life at the cottage than they do at their work home. Some interview respondents belong to families of the first people to build second homes in the Hayward Lakes area. One such respondent, whose family built their home in the 1930s, takes some pride in his long tenure as a seasonal resident:

> We're old-timers up here for most people. Yeah, we're a little more stable [than] all those people from Illinois, and we're not just the typical tourist that come in and bought a place and come up for a few years and then it's on the market again. We clearly have been here for a long, long time.

The continuity and sense of rootedness made possible by a lifelong accumulation of experiences in a place illustrate how second-home ownership helps modern subjects negotiate two additional identity

dilemmas suggested by Giddens. One is the dilemma that an identity narrative must navigate between authority and uncertainty. As Giddens (1991) suggests, the dilemma arises from greater uncertainty as to what constitutes worthy sources of authority in the modern age. The dilemma may be partly resolved 'through a mixture of routine and commitment to a certain form of lifestyle' (Giddens, 1991, p. 196). The routines and traditions of holidays and family celebrations may similarly offer direction and purpose, but they may also be harder to maintain throughout an increasingly diverse and mobile life course. Thus, a second home offers family members a regular gathering place for maintaining routines and traditions and helps to forge a shared commitment to a place in what for many is otherwise experienced as rootless modern life.

Though cottage life offers a seemingly thicker place of identity, continuity and tradition, there is a contradiction in such efforts as suggested by Giddens' final identity dilemma. The dilemma of fragmentation *versus* unification in the context of owning a second home or cottage has been described thus:

> [The practice of owning a recreation cottage] … is a modern expression of the need to have an authentic, rooted identity somewhere, but also a concrete manifestation of a segmented, isolated self living in more than one place. On the one side, cottaging … is an attempt to thicken the meanings we associate with places in response to the modern tendency for places to become thinned out. [Cottage use] … inverts much that is modern against the modern tendency to separate and segment. It emphasizes continuity of time and place, a return to nature, and convergence of spheres of life such as work and leisure. On the other side, however, cottaging is very much an extension of modernity. Cottage use is motivated by and played out in the modern context of globalized cultural production and accelerated time–space relations. It is not only made possible by modernity, it necessarily re-creates the segmented quality of modern identities in the form of separate places for organizing distinct aspects of a fragmented identity. It narrows and thins out the meaning of each 'home' by focusing the meaning of each on a particular segment of life (i.e. work and subsistence of urban daily life versus recreation and rejuvenation of cottage life). It also segments identity around phases in the life cycle with youth and retirement focused more on cottage life than working adulthood.
>
> (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 227)

Unity *versus* fragmentation thus involves steering a course through and selectively incorporating the numerous contextual events and mediated experiences that modernity presents. According to Giddens (1991), organizing an 'ontologically secure' sense of self must be accomplished amid a seemingly fragmented and puzzling diversity of options and possibilities. The stories people tell about cottage life suggest as well that a diversity of available lifestyles may offer an opportunity to create a distinctive self-identity that positively incorporates elements from different settings into an integrated narrative.

The successful navigation of Giddens identity dilemmas would seem to benefit from a 'cosmopolitan' identity (see Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2). The cosmopolitan person is often constructed as one who possesses the

distinct knowledge and competence to handle cultural diversity and who draws unique strength from being at home in a variety of contexts. While cautioning that the opposition of cosmopolitan *versus* local people is simplistic and carries elitist overtones, Gustafson suggests it can still be analytically useful. Thus, Mathews (2000) argues, for example, that in this globalized age even those who ostensibly belong to a particular (local) culture carry a significant burden to both construct an identity out of the information and identities available from what he describes as the global cultural supermarket and, in turn, present that identity as one that transcends the cultural supermarket.

The constructive acts of locals and amenity migrants, attempting to weave together coherent but multicentred identities, heighten the political challenges that come with trying to accommodate both global (cosmopolitan) and local (indigenous) senses of place. While perhaps sharing a deep attachment to place, locals and cottagers none the less are likely to perpetuate different myths of authenticity and pursue diverging views of how to sustain the place. The cottagers may seek to preserve the 'rustic idyll' (nature, refuge and simple living) against the forces of modernity, at least in their stories if not in their deeds. The cottagers may see it as a place where nothing should change. The locals, in contrast, may need to continuously adapt the landscape and economy to sustain their livelihoods if not lifestyles. In most amenity-rich locales the natives have to make a living, not only from the cottagers but also from the 'passing trade' of tourists.[3] This sets up a politics of place to which we now turn.

Authenticity, Sustainability and the Politics of Place

Along with the idyllic lure as a place to find escape, coherent identity and sense of authentic landscape and culture is the lure of control, of staking and defending a claim on a particular locale (Mitchell, 2001). Amenity migration and second-home tourism involve making and resisting claims about what a place means and what constitutes its *true* character or sense of a place. In other words, the lure of the local involves the politics of place, for example, in the arguments over whether and how to make the place attractive to capital of various sorts (Stokowski, 1996). For amenity and tourist-dependent economies, the capital 'that places need to lure in is often itself highly fragmented, walking around, for example, in the pockets of fickle tourists, whose every whim, it seems … dictates just how local landscapes are to be redeveloped – and who is to be squeezed out' in the process (Mitchell, 2001, p. 272). From this perspective, the lure of the local is not that it averts the transforming force of globalization, but lures it in. Globalization sets up a contest between the need to make a place viable for indigenous locals and the desire to preserve the authentic myth that lures in second-home owners and the passing trade of tourism.

Who then controls decisions about the direction and pace of local change: amenity migrants seeking out the seeming authenticity of a second

home in a rural idyll or the local power brokers (e.g. real estate developers and county commissioners) who put *their* landscape and culture up for sale in order to sustain indigenous ways of life? Or are there potential compromises that manage to celebrate the local and lure in the passing trade, all without sacrificing too much to an outsider's sense of the place?

The challenge of sustaining a sense of place, thus, can be likened to Lippard's goal of finding 'a way to create a *multicentered* society, in which control over the places in which we live our lives is likewise *multicentered* and *democratic*' (Mitchell, 2001, p. 272, original italics). Amenity locales represent a case in point for understanding the difficult challenges of simultaneously sustaining place identities and egalitarian ideals likely to beset 21st century democracies. How do we sustain a sense of place, which is increasingly contested in the everyday practices of place-making by amenity migrants and locals, each hoping to affirm a different sense of the authentic? Is there any prospect for Lippard's multicentred society that manages to sustain local identities and sense of place while advancing the universal egalitarian ideals deemed necessary for democracy?

This question has occupied the attention of political theorists and geographers alike. Among political theorists, Barber (1998) is wary of what is too often portrayed as a stark choice between the liberal–pluralist model, which associates place identities with the thin ties of private markets coordinating individual interests, and the communitarian model, which assumes thick and ineluctable bonds that presumably precede and condition individuality. As an alternative, Barber proposes 'strong democracy' founded on civic identity tied to citizenship. Political ties should build neither on libertarian voluntary private associations nor communitarian shared values and heritage. Rather, the ties of citizenship can come from a plurality of voluntary civic communities with common devotion to arbitrating 'differences by exploring common ground, doing public work, and pursuing common relations' (Barber, 1998, p. 37).

Among geographers, Entrikin (1999) has similarly tried to articulate the basis for a political commons in an increasingly globalized world dominated by plurality and difference. As he sees it the challenge is striking a balance between place as *ethnos* and space as *demos*, a balance requiring 'an uneasy mix of parochial attachments and cosmopolitan ideals' (p. 280). On the one hand, places as *ethnos* are rich and thick with cultural traditions and customs that make common inhabitation possible. On the other hand, stable, democratic political community would appear to require cosmopolitan conceptions of place that are 'rooted in the concreteness of everyday experience and practice', yet open to 'the potentiality of a common humanity striving to make the earth a better home'. Such places 'are dynamic, malleable, open to a world beyond the local, and conducive to practices supportive of the universalistic ideals of a common humanity' (Entrikin, 1999, pp. 279–280).

Models for how to balance the *ethnos* of concrete attachments and thick boundaries impermeable to the outside with the *demos* of plural identities and thin boundaries permeable to a world beyond the local have proved

contentious if not elusive. They range from the romantic and reactionary to the progressive. On the reactionary side, one model likely to resonate with cottagers and amenity migrants seeking to escape modernity is bioregionalism (Aberley, 1999). It represents a strand of environmental thought that locates the prospect for achieving a sustainable society, not in a hypermodern multicentred society, but in a return to a romantic ideal of place thought to have existed in the 19th century (Sagoff, 1992).

Originating within radical environmental thinking during the 1970s, bioregionalism mixes ecological science and environmental ethics to argue that society should be organized around decentralized natural or 'organic' regions. Grumbine (1992), for example, argues that environmental problems are the product of a lost, forgotten, or 'atrophied' sense of place. The aim of bioregionalism is to restore a presumed authentic biocentric (natural) way of acting and dwelling in the world. It emphasizes a 'close linkage between ecological locale and human culture' in which humans 'not only alter environments but also adapt to them' (Flores, 1994, p. 5).

Similarly, a communitarian strand of political theory seeks to strengthen the local solidarities that create difference and boundaries between insiders and outsiders (Sandel, 1996). Just as bioregionalism tends to revere the local on the basis of an essentialist and organic interpretation of regionalism, communitarians tout the virtues of the local on the basis of their presumed thicker ties of tradition and custom as the basis for political unity. Communitarians are suspicious of global, multicentred society and long to recreate Tönnies' classic ideal of *gemeinschaft* or authentic community (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994). As an antidote to the homogenizing tendencies of globalization, and in stark contrast to the once prevailing view that regarded the local as a site of struggle and injustice, Entrikin (1999) notes a growing acceptance of the local as the locus of human fulfilment to be preserved and protected. This view, he writes, 'is prominent in both anti-modernist nostalgia for traditional community and stable identities and the postmodernist valorization of situatedness, context and difference' (Entrikin, 1999, p. 272).

While some environmental and political philosophers are suggesting that a sustainable society lies in cultivating a sense of place or community, others are highly sceptical of linking sustainability too closely to sense of place, and risk perpetuating local cultures and traditions that tend toward intolerance if not outright xenophobia. Marxist geographer Harvey (1996, p. 148) regards the discourse of sustainability as 'a debate about the preservation of a particular social order rather than a debate about the preservation of nature per se'. In expressing his disdain for both bioregional and communitarian thinking Harvey writes:

> [T]here can be no going back, as many ecologists seem to propose, to an *unmediated*, relation to nature (or a world built on face-to-face relations), to a pre-capitalist and communitarian world of nonscientific understandings with limited divisions of labor. The only path is to seek political, cultural, and intellectual means that 'go beyond' the mediations such as scientific knowledge, organizational efficiency, technical rationality, money, and

> commodity exchange, while acknowledging the significance of such mediations. The emancipatory potential of modern society, founded on alienation, must continue to be explored.
>
> (p. 198)

Harvey clearly rejects bioregional and communitarian modes of political thought. In his words, they risk becoming 'inward-looking, exclusionary, and even neo-fascistic' (Harvey, 1996, p. 199). Such thinking builds on essentialist readings of local natural and cultural history with presumptions that 'bioregions are given by nature or by history, rather than that they are *made* by a variety of intersecting (social and ecological) processes operating at quite different temporal and spatial scales' (Harvey, 1993, p. 202). For Harvey it is naïve to believe that bioregional or decentralized communitarian societies will necessarily respect the positive Enlightenment values of human diversity, democracy, freedom and justice.

To avoid Barber's stark choice and balance Entrikin's *ethnos* and *demos*, a number of authors attempt to articulate some middle ground in the idea of sense of place without being reactionary and essentialist. In a way that anticipates Harvey's discomfort with communitarian place, Worster (1993), for example, suggests that what is needed is:

> … a post-materialist view of ourselves and the natural world, a view that summons back some of the lost wisdom of the past but does not depend on a return to old discarded creeds … a view that acknowledges the superiority of science over superstition but also acknowledges that all scientific description is only an imperfect representation of the cosmos.
>
> (p. 218)

A leading proponent of a middle-ground position is Massey (1993, 1994a). She has developed the notion of a 'progressive' sense of place, which tries to give credibility to the human need for authenticity and rootedness, while recognizing that such sentiment need not be construed as a gated community. Massey proposes that a place can have 'a character of its own' without resorting to Heideggerian notions of essentialism and exclusivity that so worry Harvey. According to Massey, places represent unique, but unbounded, constellations of global and local processes. She notes that: 'what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of relations articulated together at a particular locus' (1993, p. 66). This is not to deny the importance of the past in shaping sense of a place but rather to emphasize that it has always been created and contested through interactions of the local with the more distant forces, some that go beyond the destabilizing role of capital. It is even possible to imagine alternative, progressive places in which capital doesn't always rule (Massey 1994a, p. 140). Actual place identities often lack the singular, seamless and coherent qualities frequently attributed to the idea of sense of place. Multiple identities can be, and often are, both a source of richness and conflict.

Others have built on Massey's approach. For example, Raffles' (1999) ethnographic study of one small village in the Amazon emphasizes the

importance of multi-scaled social networks in the process of making the Amazon.[4] Because a place (or locality in Raffles' terms) is shared through social relations across space and time, it can be conceptualized as: '… a set of relations, and ongoing politics, a density, with which places are discursively and imaginatively materialized and enacted through the practices of various positioned people and political economies' (p. 324).

In this the case, multiple identities of a place involve among other things histories of science, exploration and resource extraction; global commodity flows; and local practices of conformity and resistance to these processes. Like Massey, Raffles illustrates how narratives and experiences of locals are negotiated against the narratives and experiences of others who passed through as travellers and explorers such that each narrative 'mediates the constitution of this particular place, its production as a locality, and its insertion in to a geographically and culturally wider world' (p. 324).

A final example of that middle ground (and the lost wisdom that Worster speaks of) comes through in Sagoff's (1992) writing about the importance of a sense of place in environmental ethics. In writing that is sympathetic to bioregional and communitarian arguments, Sagoff nevertheless draws some keen insights about how places navigate the turbulent currents of globalization. Places survive the vagaries of global competition, he notes, not because of greater economic efficiencies, but because people treat their surroundings with affection. Places survive globalization because their cultural and social institutions and community ties are strong. Through strong community bonds, effective institutions, shared memories and commitments that root people to a place, people are able to adapt to changing conditions in ways that respect nature and cultural traditions. Such affection, the theory goes, generates motivation among local residents to seek continuously some fit between nature and culture. 'The task is to regard nature neither as a basis for or refuge from economic activity but as our common dwelling place and earthly home' (Sagoff, 1992, p. 392). For Sagoff, a strong collective commitment to place is the best defence against capricious globalization.

Within such a model, amenity based economies could certainly represent a potentially interesting adaptation or fit. Rather than focusing on the presumed 'culture clash' between newcomers and long-time residents (critiqued by Smith and Krannich, 2000), Sagoff's notion suggests instead a basis for inclusiveness. Amenity migrants, tourists and locals may in some cases actually find common ground in an effort to protect the amenity features of the landscape (Blahna, 1990; Fortmann and Kusel, 1990). Thus an economy suited to a place, based on shared affection for the place, may be one that brings the global into the local to preserve and cherish what is already there, albeit with potentially different meanings attached to that place and different sources and levels of power.

Both Massey and Sagoff offer insights for the Hayward Lakes region. First, the region illustrates Massey's notion of the local being partially constituted from the global, in this case in the form of various urban

migrations associated with tourism and second-home use across the seasons. Secondly, it exhibits the multiple identities of locals (who make their living from logging and tourism), second-home owners (who commute between residences in nearby urban centres) and various summer and winter tourists.

Following Sagoff (1992) the Hayward Lakes region illustrates the problem of sustaining a sense of place while balancing the need for openness and inclusiveness. By noting a place can continuously adapt itself in response to more distant, global forces and long-term shifts in technology, Sagoff (1992) offers two lessons for how to think about sustainability. One lesson is that technological change and innovation often overwhelm well-intended efforts to conserve or manage resources in a particular way, rendering long-term planning for sustainability naïve in retrospect. He notes, for example, how New England agriculture declined through the 19th century when improvements in transportation made it possible to ship agricultural products from the Midwest, where they could be produced in greater quantities and more cheaply than on New England farms. With many of these farms reverting to pine forest, logging became the mainstay in the early 20th century, supplying containers (boxes, barrels and crates) for shipping goods on the railroads and canals. Because 40–60 years are required for trees to reach harvest maturity, the shift to production forestry mandated a long-term commitment of resources. Across such horizons, social and technological changes often negate even the most informed projections. In this case cardboard boxes began to replace wooden crates long before the trees were ready for harvest. By 1950 the county had abandoned forestry and put up summer homes. In more recent decades, the emergence of more mobile industries and tele-commuting practices (e.g. in the computer and telecommunications industries) has further transformed the region into a bedroom community serving nearby cities.

The other lesson Sagoff draws is that the challenge of sustainability is not primarily a problem of relating human beings to nature, as bioregional thinking would have it. Rather, sustainability is a problem of relating human beings to one another: 'We should look first not to economic or ecological but political theory to figure out how a diversity of human communities can survive together – since people must trust and depend upon one another at least as much as upon natural resources and ecological systems' (Sagoff, 1992, p. 365).

Much like New England, the Hayward Lakes region appears to have developed a sustainable amenity or tourism economy from the ruins of cutover forests and failed attempts at agriculture. That this may have been a conscious effort at sustainability is unlikely. Yet, just as Sagoff emphasizes commitment to place as the basis for sustainability, the Hayward Lakes Region appears to be the result of people living in a place they love and continuously striving for an economy suited to the place. The fact that they appear to have succeeded after a century of struggle illustrates their devotion, if not their intentions.

It is hard to know whether this second-home phase in the regional development of the Hayward Lakes region will prove to be sustainable in

the end. Still, the region appears to have achieved a certain level of suitability or fit with the place because it builds on a shared desire to sustain a particular character of the place. Perhaps some second-home developments achieve a level of success in creating more permeable and dynamic relationship to the larger world without sacrificing local sense of place, because the economic input and landscape orientations of the second-home owners produce a culturally sympathetic rural tourism. Cloke and Thrift (1987) makes similar observations about tourism in the English countryside. Rural tourism is frequently built on crafts, farm shows, antiques, etc., which, while attracting the passing trade of holidaymakers, are consistent with the values of locals and the second-home rural residents. Rather than the culture clash notion of conflict between locals and itinerant visitors and part-time residents, conflict arises, ironically, with the industrial farming sector, which increasingly employs technologies that detract from the pastoral myth that attracts the passing trade.

Identity, Sustainability and Globalization

Much of social and political inquiry of the past quarter century has emanated from critiques of modernity and globalization, with debates over the implications for sustaining places and forming identities figuring prominently in these discussions. Globalization surely arouses nostalgia for more stable and authentic places as witnessed by protests of the World Trade Organization and the rise of bioregional and communitarian movements. It is not surprising that ecologically minded critics of modernity would be drawn to a concept of place that seeks to affirm a lost art of dwelling in harmony with nature. But rather than sinking into nostalgia for more stable and authentic place it is important to appreciate the ways in which landscapes, places and regions are relational concepts, socially constructed and dynamic. The world was never as stable as we like to imagine it. Places change and must be prepared to change. The real challenge is how to function and democratically participate in a multicentred world that is simultaneously local and global.

Modernity presents a paradox: by unmooring meaning and identity from place, modernity (along with globalization) dilutes traditional/local sources of identity and amplifies the quest of modern people to actively construct a sense of who they are. The more we seek the authenticity of other places the more we contest and reconstruct the very authenticity that attracts us. Modern life increasingly involves circulating through geographically extended networks of social relations spread across a multiplicity of places and regions. By expanding our networks of social and spatial relations, globalization restructures our experience of home and away and ultimately how we go about constructing our identities and anchoring our sense of who we are and where we belong. The increased mobility and freedom of identity that come with modernity energize amenity migrants' search for thicker meaning and authentic place. In acting

on these expanded mobilities, however, amenity migrants and travellers of various sorts begin to destabilize and disrupt the very places that lure them.

This picture of the modern subject on a quest for identity and a secure sense of place and the image of local places under siege from global forces can be easily overdrawn. Without doubt the vast majority of the people in the world do not have the kind of mobility afforded by a luxury cabin on board *The World*, certainly not the amenity-maximizing kind that is the focus of this volume. Not all meaning has been displaced, not all social relations have been stretched and disembedded, and not all places have been thinned of meaning. None the less, many people in modern Western nations do have exceptionally high mobility compared with 50 years ago. And whatever one makes of Friedman's (2005) 'flat world' thesis, nearly everyone is affected by the global movement of goods and the mass consumption of distant and rapidly moving ideas and images, even if they have relatively little corporeal mobility.

Contrary to the view of mobility and migration as departures from the historical norm in need of explanation, rootedeness and mobility have always been in tension. What has changed is that, where rootedeness was once foreground and mobility background in premodern conditions, mobility has moved more to the foreground in the modern world. Given the modern condition of problematic firmness of place, many people seek to put down roots somewhere and modernity opens up more places and multiple options for doing so. But modernity also increases the individual's burden to accomplish this task with little clear direction from society. For those who have highly mobile lives, the lure of the local motivates them to seek out multicentred ties, to send out rhizomes into multiple places. Others may still find rootedness in modern, but conventional, home-making (Perkins and Thorns, this volume, Chapter 5). For them the traditional primary home can surely function as a central site for grounding what Giddens (1991) calls 'ontological security,' even in the heart of the modern world. But modern conditions make ontological security more problematic and challenging and therefore a more explicit task of modern life. Mobility both heightens the search for ontological security *and* opens up diverse ways of finding it. Tourism, second-home use and amenity migrations are among the diverse responses to these modern conditions.

The lure of the local nevertheless leaves amenity-rich places like Hayward prone to commodification and makes managing for social, economic and ecological sustainability more difficult. If there is any advantage to amenity-oriented adaptations as a basis for sustainable society, it might well be in the kind that draws outsiders more deeply into the place to celebrate common interests. To the extent that moderns reach across space to put down roots, build community and come to know the 'other' (whether that other is a local culture or a natural history), there is the prospect that some people may come to have greater regard for diverse and distant places, people and processes. Amenity-oriented migration in the Hayward Lakes region shows signs of such harmony. The region has not relied so much on manufactured attractions or large-scale resort

development, but on experiencing the Northwoods – something that both locals and itinerant residents and visitors value. Though it is a kind of dwelling which some urbanites find easier to achieve outside of metropolitan centres (implying some disaffection for and disinterest in urban centres), it also connects local peripheral areas to the larger global world. Though it is a very modern form of escape from modernity, amenity migration, in some forms at least, also appears to create beneficial economic and social transactions between the periphery and the centre. If the result is a meaning-filled place that gives locals and visitors identity and at the same time celebrates plurality and difference, then it resembles Massey's (1993) progressive vision for sense of place and may facilitate Sagoff's (1992) economy continuously adapting, yet suited to the place.

In the end, as Mitchell (2001) notes, Lippard's *Lure of the Local* is double-edged. Sustaining place involves not only the dilemma of finding ways to create and live in a multicentred society, it also requires a politics of place that is both multicentred and democratic and, as Entrikin (1999) reminds us, a politics that somehow manages to balance *ethnos* and *demos*. There are two unending moral challenges to finding such a balance. One has to do with the distribution and use of power to influence the course of change in a given place. Does the power reside with the mobile elites (capitalists or amenity seekers) lured to the local, locals trying to lure in amenity-producing capital, or in some negotiation between these various interests? There is much to be said for communitarian politics if it can give locals a stronger voice in shaping their own destiny in the face of indifferent global processes. Yet, even at the local level, power also excludes, as Harvey and Lippard remind us. The second challenge, therefore, involves how to deepen our sense of responsibility to all participants in this multicentred world, especially those lacking power such as future generations, distant neighbours and even strangers and non-human nature. This requires extending moral regard beyond the familiar local and present to the less familiar future and distant, a challenge made increasingly urgent by the globalizing tendencies of modernity.

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Endnotes

[1] We are indebted to Mitchell (2001) for highlighting a number of themes that emerge from Lippard's (1997) book, *The Lure of the Local*.

[2] The particular stories examined here come from interviews conducted by Susan Van Patten (see Van Patten, 1999).
[3] The term *passing trade* was suggested by Norm McIntyre.
[4] The connection between Massey and Raffles was suggested by Robert Snyder.

4 Nomads of Desire

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> In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates.
>
> (Michel Foucault, *Of Other Spaces*)

'Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 115). This chapter is an elaboration of journeys that speak of mobility and desire in modern-cum-postmodern times. My writing is propelled by Jacques Lacan's concept *dérive* – the sense of being adrift, of being dragged along in currents of desire only partially revealed at a conscious level (Benvenuto and Kennedy, 1986, pp. 175–176). We shall glimpse fragments and traces of an ineluctable undertow beneath endlessly forking paths. Phenomena such as travel and tourism, migration, cyclical mobility and multiple dwelling are defined, measured and studied in attempts to order the 'quantum haze' of human movements (McHugh, 2000b; Hall and Williams, 2002).

Human practice and movement is the constant becoming of place (de Certeau, 1984; Pred, 1984), as conceived, perceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Tuan (1978, p. 14) inverts our thinking about place as norm and mobility as departure in the aphorism, 'place is a pause in movement'. Our exploration in meandering desire covers the past century, passing through three 'ports of call': Joseph Conrad's (1899) novella *Heart of Darkness*, Wally Byam's Airstream trailer caravan through Africa in the mid-20th century and, finally, RV nomads today who circumnavigate America camping in Wal*Mart parking lots. I, then, contrast these nomadic identities with longing for home and deep connection with place expressed in Scott Russell Sanders' (1993) evocation, *Staying Put: Making a Home in a Restless World*. I conclude by invoking desire as a potent force in negotiating the dialectical tension of roots and routes (Clifford, 1997).

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Beyond: Heart of Darkness

The ship or boat is the celebrated instrument of colonial expansion and economic development from the 16th century onward, and the 'greatest reserve of the imagination' (Foucault, 1986, p. 14). Nowhere is this more evident than in Joseph Conrad's novella, *Heart of Darkness*. Conrad's story of Marlow's journey up the River Congo in search of the renegade Mr Kurtz has received voluminous literary and cultural criticism and, of course, served as the model for Francis Ford Coppola's heralded film, *Apocalypse Now*.

I draw on this well-known work in Western literature to illustrate the power of the 'image of elsewhere' as propulsive force. At the outset of the story, a narrator relays that the typical seaman has a mind of the 'stay-at-home order,' as 'their home is always with them – the ship – and so is their country – the sea. One ship is very much like another and the sea is always the same' (Conrad 1988, p. 9). Captain Marlow, we are told, is atypical, for he is not only a seaman but a wanderer as well. Charlie Marlow is bitten by wanderlust early in life. As a young boy he had a passion for maps, and would stare at them for hours on end, fascinated by blank spaces on the earth. Central Africa was the *terra incognita* that most intrigued him. It is Marlow as young man who notes this blank white space is being filled in with rivers and lakes and names, yet it still beckons:

> It had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery – a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over. It had become a place of darkness. But there was in it one river especially, a mighty big river that you could see on the map, resembling an immense snake uncoiled … And as I looked at the map of it in the shop window it fascinated me as a snake would a bird – a silly little bird. Then I remembered … a Company for trade on that river. Dash it all, I thought to myself, they can't trade without using some kind of craft on that lot of fresh water – steamboats! Why shouldn't I try to get charge of one. I went along Fleet Street, but could not shake off the idea. The snake had charmed me.
>
> (Conrad, 1988, p. 12)

Much of *Heart of Darkness* is preamble to the actual up-river expedition, creating an atmosphere of foreboding. Once Marlow reaches the African coast on a French steamer, the lure and mystery of the interior intensifies: 'There it is before you – smiling, frowning, inviting, grand, mean, insipid, or savage, and always mute with an air of whispering – Come and find out' (Conrad, 1988, p. 16). In another passage, Marlow concludes a discussion with the downriver station master, steps outside the hut and is lured by the call (Conrad, 1988, p. 28): 'Beyond the fence the forest stood up spectrally in the moonlight and through the dim stir, through the faint sounds of that lamentable courtyard, the silence of the land went home to one's very heart – its mystery, its greatness, the amazing reality of its concealed life.'

We learn in due course that Kurtz, who excels as an extractor of ivory for the Trading Company, succumbs to this whisper in most horrific fashion: 'I think it [the wilderness] had whispered to him things about himself which he did not know, things of which he had no conception till he

took counsel with this great solitude – and the whisper had proved irresistibly fascinating' (Conrad, 1988, p. 57). As fellow wanderer who gains first-hand knowledge of this 'darkest' place, Marlow identifies with Kurtz, an unspoken loyalty that is solidified in the wake of Kurtz's death. The relentless tug of beyond haunts all wanderers, be they real or imagined journeys.

Travels are boundary crossings, political overtures that engender questions of 'other' and, hence, 'self'. *Heart of Darkness* takes us on a circular journey from London, the epitome of civilization, to deepest, darkest Africa, and back again. This tale is exemplar of empire and imperialism, awash in rapacious and racist stereotypes of African peoples, a tale dripping with domination and subjugation at the end of the 19th century (Achebe, 1977). What makes this story deeply unsettling is that *Heart of Darkness* speaks to the radical instability of all peoples and places, the 'darkness' within. The distinction between civilized and uncivilized souls is not a chasm after all, for Marlow discovers it is sharp as a razor's edge. He speaks of 'natives' in racist terms and utters a common humanity:

> It was unearthly and the men were … No, they were not inhuman. Well, you know that was the worst of it – this suspicion of their not being inhuman. It would come slowly to one. They howled and leaped and spun and made horrid faces, but what thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity – like yours – the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar.
> (Conrad, 1988, pp. 37–38)

This fine line is illustrated again in one of Marlow's soliloquies about Kurtz. Though mad and depraved, Marlow regards Kurtz as a remarkable man, a person of belief, candour and conviction. The distinction between Kurtz and himself is reduced to an 'inappreciable moment':

> It is his extremity that I seem to have lived through. True, he had made that last stride, he had stepped over the edge, while I had been permitted to draw back my hesitating foot. And perhaps this is the whole difference; perhaps all the wisdom, all truth, and all sincerity, are just compressed into that inappreciable amount of time in which we step over the threshold of the invisible.
> (Conrad, 1988, p. 69)

Though commenting that he is neither excusing nor trying to explain Mr Kurtz, it is clear that Marlow has sympathies for the man. In imagining the horror of being alone in an 'uncivilized' land, Marlow states, in an apparent nod to Goethe's *Faust*: 'I take it no fool ever made a bargain for his soul with the devil' (p. 50). We have a parallel, or more precisely an inversion, between Faust and Kurtz. Faust is a highly learned man – an esteemed doctor, lawyer, theologian, philosopher and scientist – prone toward study and inward reflection, an inwardness that leads to despondence and despair. At the brink of committing suicide Faust is shaken from his reverie by pealing church bells, the remembrance of youth, a rush of emotions, a revelation that culminates in the infamous bargain with Mephistopheles, taking Faust out into the world. What Faust seeks is not specific (money, sex, power) but, rather, all-encompassing

experience, resulting in what Berman (1982) interprets brilliantly as the tragedy of development.

The journey of Kurtz, a talented musician, painter and writer, is the inverse, from outward exploration – being in the world – to isolation from civilization and the inward march to madness. Conrad suggests through Kurtz that Western civilization is not universal, for *Heart of Darkness* is symptomatic of what happens when high European culture is transplanted into the social space of Central Africa: 'Kurtz runs morally amok' and is horrifically 'lethal when transplanted' (Kort, 2004, p. 58). Faust and Kurtz are tragic figures who speak of what modernity has wrought; both grip the Western imagination.

In *Heart of Darkness* Conrad extends radical instability to the whole of civilization. Unlike the mythical hero who returns with a boon to share with the group (Campbell, 1949), Marlow returns with a grim truth that cannot be known by unenlightened Londoners:

> I found myself back in the sepulchral city resenting the sight of people hurrying through the streets to filch a little money from each other, to devour their infamous cookery, to gulp their unwholesome beer, to dream their insignificant and silly dreams … I felt so sure they could not possibly know the things I knew. Their bearing, which was simply the bearing of commonplace individuals going about their business in the assurance of perfect safety, was offensive to me like the outrageous flauntings of folly in the face of a danger it is unable to comprehend. I had no particular desire to enlighten them, but I had some difficulty restraining myself from laughing in their faces so full of stupid importance.
>
> (Conrad, 1988, p. 70)

Akin to returning soldiers who witness the horrors of war, Marlow's truth cannot be conveyed to the uninitiated. In swimming among Londoners upon his return Marlow might have very well invoked Nietzsche's (1956, p. 149) aphorism: 'The sad truth is that we remain necessarily strangers to ourselves.'

The punctuated disjunction between 'here' and 'there' in the circular journey is illustrated in Conrad's contrasting depiction of two women: the exotic, long-limbed, heavily adorned African woman who mysteriously presides over Kurtz's forced departure from the Inner Station and the young, refined Victorian lady, the fiancée who mourns Kurtz's death, unaware of his tragic plunge into madness. In addition to speaking volumes about gender and sexuality, this duality reinforces a repeating motif in *Heart of Darkness*: all things belong in their place. 'Tragedy begins when things leave their accustomed place' (Achebe, 1977, p. 254), for geographical mobility is an unsettling and destabilizing force in modernity.

Pygmies are People

Fast-forward 60 years from Joseph Conrad's publication, *Heart of Darkness*. Wally Byam, inventor and renowned promoter of the Airstream 'Land

Yacht', leads a caravan of Americans in trailers the length of Africa, Cape Town to Cairo. The 'impossible' journey covers over 21,000 km, taking nearly 8 months to complete, 30 June 1959 to 16 February 1960. The adventure is chronicled in Lillie B. Douglass's (1964) book, *Cape Town to Cairo*, and receives coverage in Bryan Burkhart and David Hunt's (2000) history and pictorial, *Airstream: The History of the Land Yacht*. This second 'moment' in meandering desire reveals how far, and how little, Western imagination progressed in the 20th century.

Folks who pursue the travel trailer or recreational vehicle (RV) lifestyle, then as now, revel in a spirit of 'pioneering optimism coupled with a love of adventure' (Burkhart and Hunt, 2000, p. 19). This spirit is embodied in Wally Byam, the man, and the Wally Byam Caravan Club International (WBCCI), founded in 1955. Byam championed what he termed the four freedoms: (i) freedom from arrangements; (ii) freedom from the problems of age (forerunner to today's anti-ageing ethos); (iii) freedom to know; and (iv) freedom for fun. Byam was 'a man in motion … indefatigable', a legend in his own time who spent 6 months each year on caravans, putting Airstream trailers to the test around the world as he spread the gospel of travel and tourism.

Byam promoted more than a streamline modern aesthetic. The Wally Byam Creed (yes, there is an official creed) includes the desire to 'play some part in promoting international goodwill and understanding among peoples of the world through person-to-person diplomacy' (Burkhart and Hunt, 2000, p. 83). Byam preached that the earth is gradually becoming one world, and he dreamed of building 'Land Yacht Harbors' around the world, a system of way stations for trailers, as the travel trailer is a 'boat adrift in an ever-widening expanse of sea' (Burkhart and Hunt, 2000, p. 113). Byam's nautical analogy and link to the boat as instrument of exploration and discovery is striking. And his view of Airstreamers as person-to-person ambassadors of goodwill is indicative of 20th century tourism as romanticized imperialism. Even as recently as the year 2000, Burkhart and Hunt (2000, p. 116) downplay the political significance of the African caravan in making a naïve claim about tourism: 'The caravan was able to steer clear of trouble in Africa, as well as in future trips, when they realized their role was as tourists, not as United Nations ambassadors on a peace-keeping political mission.'

Lillie Douglass's (1964) detailed 348-page chronicle of the African caravan is descriptive of place, and replete with ethnocentric views and language presented as a factual travel narrative. The book imparts an air of subtle, or not-so-subtle, Western superiority. Douglass's treatment of Africa is more highly romanticized than Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, and it lacks the distanced, critical spirit of the Western soul and psyche displayed by Conrad. Joseph Conrad was indeed critical of European exploitation of Africa, yet he could not, at that time, imagine a different moral order (Achebe, 1977). Douglass, immersed in the Wally Byam creed, is incapable of cogitating on the larger social and political significance of their travels through Africa, as she 'naturalizes' Western racist views. She is not given to

meaningful self-reflection and critique. The book parades Africa as an exotic exhibit to be consumed as aesthetic experience, a powerful motif in modern tourism (Coleman and Crang, 2002).

In visiting Afrikaners in their home outside Cape Town, Douglass reports that the conversation quickly turned to politics. 'Do you not agree with our policy of apartheid?', asked our host. 'Can't you see that we must have complete racial separation or the nine million native peoples will gradually absorb three million European whites?' The American response is to dodge the issue. She writes:

> We insisted that we had not come to Africa on a political mission. We were there merely as tourists, a larger group than usual of Americans, traveling in our own special way. Still we must listen to arguments on the malignant question of the color bar and South African policy for which we had no answer.
> (Douglass, 1964, p. 43)

Douglass then moves with haste to another topic. Is this lack of engagement tantamount to enjoining the *status quo*? That they 'must listen to arguments' of their host suggests a mute response of acquiescence? Ostensibly, they have no views on the matter they wish to express, or at least Douglass reports the encounter in this fashion. Interestingly, the Americans do not mention the issue of race, racial separation and the colour argument in their home country (Farley and Allen, 1989).

As Marlow penetrates further and further into the Congo by riverboat there is an increasingly ominous tone in his feelings and expression, and he speaks of travelling back in time to a prehistoric earth. Though not as powerful, Douglass's tone shifts as she and fellow Airstreamers travel further into the Belgian Congo. This reaches its zenith in a chapter entitled, 'Pygmies are People,' as Douglass serves up some of the most remarkable statements in her narrative:

> The rest of us drove through Pygmy country to Mambasa. Many of the pygmies were so shy that they bolted into the forest at sight of us. Others stayed tentatively at the edge of the road, but if we showed signs of stopping, they sprang away like wild animals. A few had the courage to stand and watch the strange invaders with their noisy trucks and silver shells. … In the evening, pygmies danced not far away. We could hear them sing for a long time.
> (Douglass, 1964, p. 175)

Interactions between the travelling Americans and pygmies pick up as the trip continues, leading to bartering and a memorable photo opportunity in a carnivalesque atmosphere:

> Some pygmy villages had been established right on the road, and we stopped to watch them dance. They would accept money for performing, but were ravenous for cigarettes. Our young Caravan scout, Dale, picked up two pygmy men, holding them one in each arm as we would large children, so that we could all take pictures.
> (Douglass, 1964, p. 176)

This is followed by a description of their appearance:

> The adult pygmies were about four and a half feet in height and weighed perhaps seventy-five to ninety pounds. They were rather squat and solid, with flat, ugly faces. … The walking babies were so tiny as to be almost doll-like while the young mothers seemed scarcely older than children.
>
> (Douglass, 1964, p. 176)

Western superiority and dominance is demonstrated in an encounter between Lillie and Ralph Douglass and a pygmy boy. We are informed that pygmies always seemed willing to sell their possessions. A boy comes by their truck with a horn made of ivory. 'Ralph, I want that horn. Please get it for me', says Lillie. Ralph begins bartering. The boy is hesitant to give up his ivory horn, and backs out of several deals. Lillie tells us the caravan was stopped owing to an emergency up ahead and everyone was becoming restless. The 'Caravan boys were waiting, open envy on their faces, to see whether Ralph would be able to buy the horn' (p. 179). Bartering continues, and the pygmy boy once again reneges on Ralph's offer and begins to walk away. Lillie springs into action:

> Ralph swears I roared out in terrible voice: 'Give me that horn!' The hypnotized youngster did just that and Ralph handed him the money and a whole package of cigarettes. While he stood considering, the Caravan began suddenly to ascend the hill, leaving him gazing woefully after his treasure. It was my treasure now.
>
> (Douglass, 1964, p. 179)

Ralph and Lillie's episode in treasure hunting and 'ivory extraction' parallels, in miniature, the exploitive business of the Trading Company and the agent Mr Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*.

Unlike the commanding and superior air displayed among the pygmy people, Douglass adopts the 'appropriate' deferential posture in their historic meeting with Haile Selassie I, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia. The caravan troupe spent several days in Addis Ababa, resting after an arduous journey from Nairobi, sightseeing and tending to vehicles and trailers courtesy of the Emperor's royal garage. The stay in Addis Ababa is described in golden hues, including a tour of the compound of the Emperor's royal lions. Seeing how the Douglasses and another couple enjoyed holding and caressing lion cubs, the attendant asked if they wished to receive cubs as a gift, as 'all necessary papers … would be forthcoming'. This prompts Lillie to 'spin' a fantasy image suitable for cinema:

> We felt strangely tempted, for how often does one have the opportunity to procure a lion pet from the private kennel of the Lion of Judah, His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I? Visions of the beautiful creature on a leash, following us down the street like a well-trained dog, and of the excitement and admiration he would cause attached to a trailer caravan unfolded before our bemused eyes like a moving picture on the screen.
>
> (Douglass, 1964, p. 257)

At last Byam and his Airstreamers receive word that they are invited to the royal palace and an audience with Haile Selassie. They are 'given a little

coaching as to our conduct in his presence' (p. 263). At the palace Mr Byam is presented to the Emperor who is dressed in full military uniform with medals. Byam introduces each couple who, then, bow three times before His Imperial Majesty. The formal introductions are followed by socializing in a great room, imbibing champagne and enjoying cakes. Douglass describes Selassie, choosing terms befitting an emperor: 'He looked exactly as the pictures we had seen … his face showing a stern gentleness, and he appeared to be really interested in all we said to him' (p. 264). As they leave the palace one of the royal lions is posing on the great steps.

The next day, Haile Selassie visits the compound of Airstreamers, the trailer caravan displaying its signature wagon wheel formation. Each couple bows as Selassie passes their trailer, 'his long black cloak blowing in the wind' (p. 264). Douglass writes, 'When His Imperial Majesty had been driven away in his big black limousine, I sighed with contentment and went into our trailer' (p. 265). She reflects on meeting 'the most inaccessible ruler' in 'the most remote kingdom' in the world, and with pride enters His Imperial Majesty's name in her book entitled 'Important People We have Seen'.

Chock-full of hyperbolic expression and sentiment, *Cape Town to Cairo* concludes with a touch of language reminiscent of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*: 'We were leaving Africa as we approached it, in semidarkness, this magnificent, beautiful, cruel, seething continent whose life we shared for a little while' (p. 337).

Wally World

Travel, as popularized by Wally Byam and Airstream caravans in the United States and abroad, blossomed into the massive recreational vehicle industry we know today, signified by the millions of Americans who own RVs (recreational vehicles). One of the more intriguing subcultures within the RV set are folks who wander about America camping overnight in Wal*Mart parking lots, consuming places and Wal*Mart products en route. This is our third 'moment' in meandering desire.

These peregrinating Americans see the homeland from the comfort of their home on wheels as they travel from Wal*Mart to Wal*Mart. Waiting for them with open arms at the end of a long day's drive is another outpost of the retail giant, referred to affectionately by RVers as 'Wally World'. Is this a double entendre, referring to Sam Walton of Wal*Mart fame and, simultaneously, genuflecting to Wally Byam? Might the vast and expanding network of Wal*Mart stores in America and beyond be the 'Land Yacht Harbors' Wally Byam dreamed about?

Film-maker Gary Hawes-Davis (2002) captures this group of mobile Americans in his strangely twisted documentary film, *This is Nowhere*. Filmed largely at two Wal*Marts and environs in Missoula, Montana, the film highlights the balderdash of RV travellers who speak their minds on a panoply of issues: mobility, freedom, nature, resources, consumption,

homogenization of place, government, community, suburban sprawl, social class, urban poverty and inner city blight. These cogitations are accentuated with innovative filming techniques and a dissonant musical score, creating a theatre of the absurd acted out in surreal Wal*Mart and highway strip landscapes, vehicles and people jiggling in fast motion staccato, going nowhere.

The viewer is struck with a paradox. RV nomads wax readily, if not poetically, about mobility, freedom and the independent American spirit, and they extol nature and the nation's natural bounty, yet they seek the sameness and convenience of 'placeless' Wal*Mart landscapes. *This is Nowhere* is an ironical portrayal of American culture writ large, leading inexorably to the existential question: what have we wrought in America? Here I elaborate a pivotal theme in the documentary: the ballyhooed link between mobility and freedom.

There is no myth more enduring in America than the association between mobility and freedom. What subculture better illustrates Baudrillard's (1988, p. 27) high-velocity 'Astral America' – star-blast vectors of pure circulation – than streams of RVs crisscrossing the country? Travellers in *This is Nowhere* revel in the American mythology of mobility and freedom, spouting historical allusions and clichés such as that offered by Steve Ohms: 'To me it's freedom. That's what America is about. When my grandfather came West in a covered wagon he could go anywhere that he wanted to go. Of course, there weren't any roads – that made it a whole lot more free.'

Bill Atkinson, speaking in 'Brahmin' Boston accent, explains freedom as shopping at Wal*Mart linked obliquely with American Independence and anti-government sentiments:

> The only freedom you need is the freedom to walk in the store's door [Wal*Mart]. It originated in Boston Harbor when we said we're not going to put up with too much government and too much legislation. We're going to have it our way. We know our country, we're going to live this way. That's where your freedom began.

Bill's wife, Rosemary, a woman of Asian background, comments: 'I used to tell my husband, I still do, if we ever move I won't go anywhere without my Wal*Mart.' Bill and Rosemary purchased walkie-talkies because they become separated and lost in Wal*Mart. Using their walkie-talkies (purchased at Wal*Mart) they communicate rendezvous points: 'Meet me at cash number 2', states Bill.

Historical spirit rooted in freedom and adventure is evident in the travels of Garrett and Darlene Covington III . Garrett is reading a book based on the journals of Lewis and Clark as he travels west. A retired aerospace engineer, their motorhome is equipped with multiple computers, GIS software, GPS unit and four satellite dishes, technology that allows Garrett to know where he is at all times and the ability to map and locate all the Wal*Marts in America. With pride, Garrett demonstrates this technology. Commenting on the arduous journey of Lewis and Clark,

Garrett quips that he has difficulty traversing the Wal*Mart parking lot on foot. Garrett is a pioneer of our age.

Like intrepid explorers and adventurers of yesteryear, Wal*Mart campers speak of being bitten by wanderlust or in RV parlance 'hitch itch' (Counts and Counts, 2001). James Hruska is a pleasingly rounded, expressive man who travels solo. We are introduced to Mr Hruska seated comfortably in his motorhome, stroking a cat on his lap. James is a happy man who speaks with affectations and a modulated voice. He describes adopting a gypsy lifestyle:

> This is four years that I have been a gypsy: a full-blooded gypsy without the earrings. Sold everything that I had back in Illinois. My wife had died eight years ago, and I just took off. You know, one day I was just sitting in my house … and all alone. It was like a switch turned on in my head. And I said, what in the world am I doing? This is crazy. At my age, what do I want to do? Just continue to do traditional types of things? I'm just going to take off and live like a gypsy … Everybody says, 'You can't do it alone', and I said, 'Well, I've got the cat.' At the time, I had two cats. In the four years, both of them died. One is buried in Culiacán, Mexico, in a Wal*Mart parking lot, and the other is buried in San Felipe [Mexico] in a campground. For me, every day is like the first day of a vacation.

James adds that while he has 'gypsy blood' he has no intention of living like a hobo with a pack on his back. And he mildly chastises folks who claim they must have their roots and their 'things', referring to life in his amenity-rich motorhome as 'elegant simplicity'.

That Bettsi and Tom Outland are struck with wanderlust is evident in their stated plans. With Romeo, the cockatoo, resting on Bettsi's shoulder, they report adamantly they will be on the road for at least 5 more years, excepting Armageddon and the Second Coming of Christ:

> TOM: We look forward to spending at least the next five years running around the country. We won't even think about settling down for at least five years. Unless there's an emergency of some kind and we have to get off the road. Right now, we have no intention of doing that.
>
> BETTSI: Or maybe the Lord will come back before then, you know. Then we won't care. [She laughs.]

RVers speak about freedom in individualist terms as not being tied to place, the ability to go wherever you like when you like, to move at a whim. Dave Jenkins, a full-time RVer with a massive Cummings diesel rig and fifth-wheel trailer, speaks of not having any roots or ties, and he adds: 'Today we live here. What state are we in? Montana?' The RV lifestyle offers ready mobility. Dave says he and his wife come and go as they please. If, tonight, there happened to be a party going on in the Wal*Mart parking lot and he didn't like it, he would fire up the engine and move on; this is not possible, says Dave, for people in homes whose neighbours become rowdy.

Given this predilection, is it coincidence that one of the largest RV clubs in America is named Escapees? There is, in the words of Counts and Counts

(2001, p. 111), a 'contradiction between the value placed on freedom by RVers and commitment to community that society demands'. Community and home loom large even as we revel in mobility and the image of elsewhere. J.B. Jackson (1994b, p. 189) reveals this tension in posing the rhetorical question: 'Which came first, the house or the road leading to the house?' We praise mobility in the context of individual freedom and collective progress and production. On the other hand, we have a lexicon with decidedly negative connotations for rootless souls: drifters, vagabonds, hobos and homeless. RVers, including those captured in *This is Nowhere*, are quick to distinguish themselves from these lower-caste groups, and they recoil from the stigma associated with people who live in mobile homes and trailers (Jackson, 1994a). Yet, the position of full-time RVers is ambiguous, as they display traces of 'resistance' to settled norms of family, home and community (Packard, 1972; Cresswell, 1993).

Staying Put

Is to be rooted the property of vegetables (Sopher, 1979, p. 134)? Charlie Marlow, Wally Byam, Lillie Douglass and James Hruska might well subscribe to such a view. This panel of peripatetic souls would face stiff debate in the presence of Scott Russell Sanders, a writer from Bloomington, Indiana, who is 'driven by a single desire, that of learning to be at home' (Sanders, 1993, p. xii). This desire is amplified with grace and eloquence in his work, *Staying Put: Making a Home in a Restless World*. What is most striking in this extended meditation is that Sanders forges connections from house and home to community, region, planet Earth and cosmos, invoking nature and spiritual themes. For Sanders, the local is inseparable from the global and loftier realms. Home is geographically elastic, tied inexorably to the heavens and the divine: 'We marry ourselves to the creation by knowing and cherishing a particular place' (p. 13).

Displacement motivates Sanders. He experienced two uprootings in his youth. His initial childhood home, a farmstead outside Memphis, vanished in a wave of residential subdivisions and parking lots known as suburban sprawl, and his Mahoning Valley home in north-east Ohio lies at the bottom of a reservoir, a casualty of frenzied dam building, the paradox of flooding a valley in the name of flood control. Scott returns as an adult one winter day and describes the trauma of obliteration, concluding:

> My worst imaginings had failed to prepare me for this. I stood there dazed. I could not take it in, so much had been taken away. For a long spell I leaned against the guardrail and dredged up everything I could remember of what lay beneath the reservoir. But memory was at last defeated by the blank gray water. No effort of mind could restore the river or drain the valley. I surrendered to what my eyes were telling me.
>
> (Sanders, 1993, p. 11)

Sanders knows that one can never shake free of native landscapes, imprinted for life, as he resolves to 'know and care for the place I have

come to as an adult because I have lost irretrievably the childhood landscapes that gave shape to my love of the earth' (p. 12). He acknowledges that his loss pales in comparison with others, a tiny hint of what others feel when wrenched from place: native peoples in the Americas, slaves torn from Africa, migrant workers, refugees set in motion by tyranny, hunger and war, and homeless wanderers.

In *Staying Put*, Sanders speaks against the romanticism of mobility in America, 'a vagabond wind that has been blowing here for a long time' (p. xv), a nation of immigrants who 'celebrate motion as if humans were dust motes'. In American mythology, the 'Promised Land has always been over the next ridge or at the end of the trail, never under our feet' (p. 104). As a footloose people, argues Sanders, 'we find it difficult to honor the lifelong, bone-deep attachment to place' (p. 14). He decries the diminution of home and being rooted in place. The cultural shift in the meaning of the word 'homely' – from plain, simple, durable, worthy to drab, graceless, ugly – signifies this devaluation (p. 34). And if you stick in one place, you run the risk of being labelled parochial, a stick-in the-mud, narrow, backward and dull (p. 113). Some of Sanders' most ardent criticism is reserved for hypermobile, footloose Americans. He launches a salvo seemingly aimed at 'placeless' Wally World travellers of today (p. 114): '… those who have no parish, those who navigate ceaselessly among postal zones and area codes, those for whom the world is only a smear of highways and bank accounts and stores, are a danger not just to their parish but to the planet.'

This raises a question that is difficult to fathom: what is the 'ecological footprint' of all our comings and goings, including millions of people criss-crossing the highways of America?

Sanders displays an ecological consciousness linked with reverence for nature. This is evident in musings on 'The Force of Moving Water', where he espouses bioregionalism and rivers as resonate with human meaning and mystery. It is the Ohio River and watershed that haunts Sanders – he has lived within its waters nearly all of his life, including visits to the earthworks of the Mound Builders who dwelled here from roughly 1000 BC to 1500 AD. At the Great Serpent Mound in southern Ohio Sanders speaks of the river as a snake, reminiscent of Marlow's description of the River Congo. In many mythologies, the serpent is symbolic of the 'raw intimidating power of nature itself, the pure energy of creation and destruction made visible' (p. 69).

Sanders' discussion of the lure of rivers calls to mind Flannery O'Connor's (1953) powerful short story, *The River*. Harry is a young boy who is chronically ignored by his city-dwelling parents. A baby-sitter takes Harry to the river, where they encounter the evangelical preacher, Bevel Summers, who baptizes Harry in the 'River of Life', the 'River of Faith', 'rich red River of Jesus' blood' (p. 455). The experience leaves its mark; the next morning Harry leaves his hung-over parents in their apartment and makes the journey from city to River on his own. Harry is pulled down by the current and swept away to salvation, as an old man tries in vain to save his life. O'Connor's story displays biblical contours, intimating the city as

Sodom and Gomorrah, and God's country as place of revival and renewal. This urban–rural dichotomy is evident in secular matters down to the present day, wrapped up with the pastoral ideal in American history (Marx, 1964); witness, for example, the rise in urban to rural migration and the rural renaissance in recent decades, including proliferation of second homes in amenity-rich, rural places and small towns (Roseman, 1998; McGranahan, 1999; Jobes, 2000).

Staying Put proffers an interpretation of home place as locus of meaning. Citing Copernicus, Einstein and Zen philosophy, Sanders claims: 'There are no privileged locations … there is no center … any point is as good as any other for observing the world' (p. 115), a view that resonates with an individualist, phenomenological perspective of place. The notion that there are no privileged locations is absurd, of course, in viewing place in terms of social and political processes and relations. Geographers, in particular, have discussed and debated tensions between differing conceptions of place, as meanings of place are contested and spatial inequalities abound (e.g. Entrikin, 1991; Harvey, 1993; Cresswell, 1996; Thrift, 1996; Massey, 1997).

Desiderata

We have a voluminous literature as monument to the patterned and reasoned nature of human migration and mobility, ranging across academic disciplines and theoretical terrains: from human capital models of labour flows to historical–structural and systems theory accounts of international migration to reasons and motivations for amenity migration (e.g. Brettell and Hollifield, 2000; Castles and Miller, 2003). Beneath the surface we know that mobility as experienced and lived is not so neatly defined, ordered and explained (Fielding, 1992).

This lacuna is suggested in Halfacree and Boyle's (1993) call for a biographical approach in migration research. Drawing upon Giddens' (1986) notion of human agency operating at three levels – discursive consciousness, practical consciousness and the unconscious – they argue that migration studies have, by and large, entertained discursive consciousness: that which is actively thought about and articulated. More attention needs to be directed toward excavating practical consciousness: stocks of taken-for-granted knowledge resident as common sense and, thus, rarely thought about and discussed. Migration, say Halfacree and Boyle, should not be studied as a singular event; rather, migration is entangled in the flow of everyday life at the level of practical consciousness. We strive to make 'visible', for example, the play and practice of institutions and organizations in migration (e.g. Goss and Lindquist, 1995), as we seek to understand diverse mobilities of peoples, objects, information and images (Urry, 2000).

Halfacree and Boyle offer no discussion of migration and the unconscious; this is not their mission. Psychoanalytic studies relating to

migration are rare, with some attention directed toward studying alienating effects and adjustments of migrants, immigrants and exiles, most notably the essays of Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) in *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. Mythology looms large in this endeavour, as cultural myths make intelligible inner personality conflicts between unconscious desires and prohibitions. Consider the potent Edenic myth in Western thought: Adam and Eve are beguiled by the snake to enter the forbidden zone of Paradise, where they discover the tree, verdant with symbolism. Adam and Eve partake of the fruit of the tree, a transgression that leads to the discovery of good and evil and banishment from Eden, in psychoanalytic terms loss of the ideal object (Grinberg and Grinberg, 1989). The expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, the first exiles, is symbolic of untold and unimaginable longings to attain a state of perfection, the ultimate 'return migration'.

The wanderlust of Charlie Marlow, Lillie Douglass and James Hruska, and the restlessness Scott Russell Sanders seeks to quell, are illustrative of the power of the Edenic myth (unconscious desire), the search for some 'Thing' that is lost. Julia Kristeva offers a poignant expression of desire as lack in *Black Sun*, her account of melancholia:

> … the depressed person has the impression of having been deprived of an unnameable, supreme good, of something unrepresentable, that perhaps only devouring might represent, or an invocation might point out, but no word could signify. Consequently, for such a person, no erotic object could replace the irreplaceable perception of a place [Eden?] or preobject confirming the libido or severing the bonds of desire. Knowingly disinherited of the Thing, the depressed person wanders in pursuit of continuously disappointing adventures and loves …
>
> (Kristeva, 1989, p. 13)

Should you dismiss Kristeva's description of wandering desire with the retort 'I am not like that, I am not depressed!' you have entered the realm of denial, and subject to the admonition of Queen Gertrude in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: 'Methinks the lady doth protest too much.' At the most fundamental level, desire born of lack – the void between need and demand – is a necessary propulsive force in human life (Lacan, 1977; Benvenuto and Kennedy, 1986; Sullivan, 1991).

In their master work, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Deleuze and Guattari (trans. 1983) catapult desire from the realm of Oedipus (the family) to the entire social field, eviscerating the fiction of a unified self, implanting 'desiring-machines', 'bodies without organs' and the 'nomadic subject' as components of desiring production. With Nietzschean flair, they reject desire as lack, for this is a negation that speaks to repression, regulation and control. In its stead, Delueze and Guattari offer what they view as positive, liberating desire, throwing off the shackles of Freud (neuroses) and Marx (ascetic sobriety). Rather than being internal to the individual, desire is production: unbound, free-floating energy that invests the social field, permeating all relations of production (Bogue, 1989, p. 89). Deleuze and Guattari 'libidinalize' Marx, erasing the binaries of

production *versus* consumption and use value *versus* exchange value. Unconscious desire is thoroughly social, as 'lack is created, planned and organized in and through social production' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, p. 28, cited in Bogue, 1989, p. 90).

In elevating unconscious desire to the social we see the 'nomad' is metaphor *par excellence*, resonant in poststructural and postmodern theory. *Anti-Oedipus* and their follow-on volume, *A Thousand Plateaus* (Deleuze and Guattari, trans. 1987), are transgressive texts intended to counter and interrupt the rationality, fixity and discipline of the state and hierarchical structures. Cresswell (1997, 2002) interprets modes of thought expressed by social and cultural theorists, Deleuze and Guatarri, Ian Chambers and Michel de Certeau, using metaphors of place, mobility and movement. Migration, for example, implies movement in well-defined conduits between origins and destinations, ordered places and pathways of modernity. In contrast, 'the nomad is constituted by lines of flight rather than by [fixed] points and nodes' (Cresswell, 1997, p. 364), calling to the fore social instabilities, radical uncertainties, existential anxieties and fluid identities prevalent in 'the time of the posts' (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 1995; Best and Kellner, 1997). This speaks to the touchstone of the present volume: proliferating forms of corporeal mobility across time and space – including cycling and meandering among multiple places and dwellings – is part and parcel of social and cultural flux.

The dialectic home and away looms large in this volume (McHugh and Mings, 1996; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3; Perkins and Thorns, this volume, Chapter 5). Humanist geographers in the 1970s and early 1980s were drawn to notions of home and movement within a larger embrace, sense of place. Sopher (1979, p. 134), for example, succinctly sounds this dialectic: 'People want to make homes and people want to leave home.' Buttimer (1980, p. 170) presents the dialectic as a universal, telling us that 'most life forms need a home and horizons of reach outward from that home'. T.S. Eliot (1943, p. 59), in *Four Quartets*, provides the iconic expression of home and away in verse:

> We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to arrive where we started
> And know the place for the first time.

Does this ring as cliché today? Why does this sound slightly 'off' to our (post-) modern ears? Is it a tad too comforting, a bit too homespun for our jaded age? Can home truly be a stable, sacred space in a profane, spinning world? Perhaps Scott Russell Sanders' homage to home, *Staying Put*, provides a window on our sense of disquiet and unease. His singular desire is 'learning to be at home' (Sanders, 1993, p. xii). Is this something we learn? Tuan (1980, pp. 5–6) suggests that 'people may not even be aware of home when they are truly at home', as 'rootedness, in its essence means being completely at home – that is, unreflectively secure and comfortable in a particular locality'. Is to be home to be rooted, settled? In reading *Staying*

Put, we see that Scott Sanders is, in fact, not settled. He is a restless soul, consumed by the obsession of learning to be at home, at peace. Scott's beloved abode in Bloomington, Indiana, cannot shield him from enveloping anxiety: 'Seal tight your roof and walls and they will shelter you from weather, but they will not shelter you from fear' (p. 39). Sanders takes trips:

> Surely you know the place I am talking about. You have skidded down the slope toward oblivion, for shorter or longer stays. And so you realize the pit is not a gap in something solid, like a hole in the rock, but the absence of all solidity, the square root of nowhere and nothing. I go there too often, never willingly, usually dragged from my bed by the scruff of my neck.
>
> (Sanders, 1993, p. 40)

Scott quells these 'night anxieties' by seeking solace in nature, subjecting his rushing mind to the senses, his bodily presence in the moment, and in recalling verse, biblical and otherwise. As dawn approaches, he surfaces from 'black water' and returns home to wife and daughter.

Truly rooted people, says Tuan (1980, p. 5), are not anxious and curious 'about what lies beyond the next hill' and not unduly concerned with 'what lies beyond present time', past or future. Time consciousness introduces malaise, as indicated in the origins of the words memory and nostalgia that trace to anxiety and painful longing. Writing in 1980, Tuan mentions three examples of rooted peoples: the !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, Pygmies of the Congo and the Tasaday of Mindanao in the Philippines. Who among us, today, is rooted, truly at home?

By way of closing, a verse from Donald Hall's (1990, p. 9) poem, *The Exile*, intimates inexplicable reaches in desire and mobility, journeys inward and outward:

> In years, and in the numbering of space,
> Moving away from what we grew to know,
> We stray like paper blown from place to place,
> Impelled by every element to go.

5 Home Away from Home: the Primary/Second-home Relationship

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Introduction

Our purpose in this chapter is to interpret the primary/second-home relationship. We do so from the perspective of having studied the meanings ascribed by residents to the primary home in New Zealand over the last decade, but also as social scientists with significant interests in leisure and tourism. Our focus will be on primary and second homes and the contrasts and similarities in the experiences of living in them. We shall also contrast the research approaches taken by primary and second-home researchers, which share some similarities but which are at times strikingly different in emphasis.

In this context, we define the primary home as the house or apartment in which household members reside for much of the time in the course of their daily lives, largely dictated by employment and family commitments. Second homes are those houses, cottages, cabins and condominia (having myriad forms and being known by various names across cultures and between and within countries) that are sited in the countryside (often beside rivers, lakes and beaches) and urban locations, and used more or less sporadically for recreation and other activities, sometimes including work and employment. We acknowledge that these definitions simplify an increasingly complex and diverse set of physical, spatial, social, cultural and symbolic forms and experiences encapsulated in the notion of multiple dwelling. For some people, there is a very clear distinction between their primary and second homes. They spend almost all of their time living in their primary home and go to their isolated 'rustic' self-built second home for brief periods, perhaps long weekends, and for longer periods in the summer or winter, depending on their recreational interests.

Others eschew the experience of rusticity and prefer their second home to have many of the comforts of their primary home, to have been built

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professionally, and sometimes to be located in what amounts to an urban setting, largely composed of other second homes. For still others, the time spent at their second home is much greater and these homes are used for a combination of recreation and work, perhaps aided by telecommunication technologies. How the relationships between residents and their homes are actually worked out is significantly influenced by the circumstances of the individuals and households involved. Life stage, income, social class, family status, occupational status and employment flexibility are all very important factors in this regard.

A discussion of primary and second homes demands at least a passing reference to the differences and interconnections between the house and home. From our perspective the physical characteristics of the house, including its material and site characteristics, are an integral component of home-making. Houses, at their most basic, are spatially organized building materials on particular sites. Any study of house and home, if it is to be comprehensive, must account for the form and influences of these spatial arrangements. In addition, account must be taken of the processes by which houses become the particular types of place we know as homes. We refer here to the mutually constitutive local and global practices and influences within and through which residents and others interact in and around houses and ascribe meaning to them. The spatial nature of housing and the ways in which the meanings of home are constructed vary in myriad ways. Even the most casual observer of the landscapes of several countries will have noted that houses and homes vary significantly from country to country and from region to region within countries. This, in part, is a product of the geographical, historical and contemporary material conditions of life in those places – climate, topography, mortality and morbidity rates, life expectancy, degree of urbanization, economic activity, planning/building regulations, transportation and the availability of building materials. The spatial and symbolic nature of housing is also a product of the variation in what might generally be termed cultural factors – family form, gender relations, social class, consumption patterns, leisure participation, work, employment practices and interpretations of locally appropriate uses of land. To the degree that all of these factors can change, perhaps as a result of the application of new building technology, realigned power relations, changes in consumption tastes or new family forms, our houses and homes, whether primary or secondary, can also change.

Consistent with this, we want first to outline the now extensive social scientific research literature on the meaning of house and home, with its significant empirical focus on the primary home (Perkins *et al.*, 2002b), which includes our own work based on ethnographic research conducted from 1997 to 2002 into the meaning of the primary home in New Zealand (Perkins and Thorns, 1999, 2001, 2003; Winstanley *et al.*, 2002a, b; Leonard *et al.*, 2004). We will then briefly reflect on the pertinent parts of the international second-home literature which give important insights into the nature of second homes, the uses to which they are put and the experiences owners and others seek from them. By comparing these data we can gain

insight into the primary/second-home relationship and contrast the research approaches taken by primary and second-home researchers in a way that extends our understanding of the multiple dwelling phenomenon and presents new research opportunities in this area.

House and Home

The literature on the meaning of house and home includes material drawn from the humanities and social sciences and encompasses theoretical and applied policy research, the latter often conducted by government agencies. Perkins *et al*. (2002b) have reviewed much of this material and this section of the chapter is derived largely from their work. The literature can be categorized into several overlapping themes, illustrated in Fig. 5.1, but only those that are directly relevant to our discussion are outlined below.

A significant proportion of research into house and home has explored the relationships between the occupants of houses, their construction of home and their sense of place. It has been influenced significantly by analyses of everyday life and has centred on debates about whether 'home' is a site of freedom where residents can 'be themselves' and create a sense of self and identity. Home-related research has thus been influenced and underpinned by discussions of place-attachment, domesticity, intimacy,

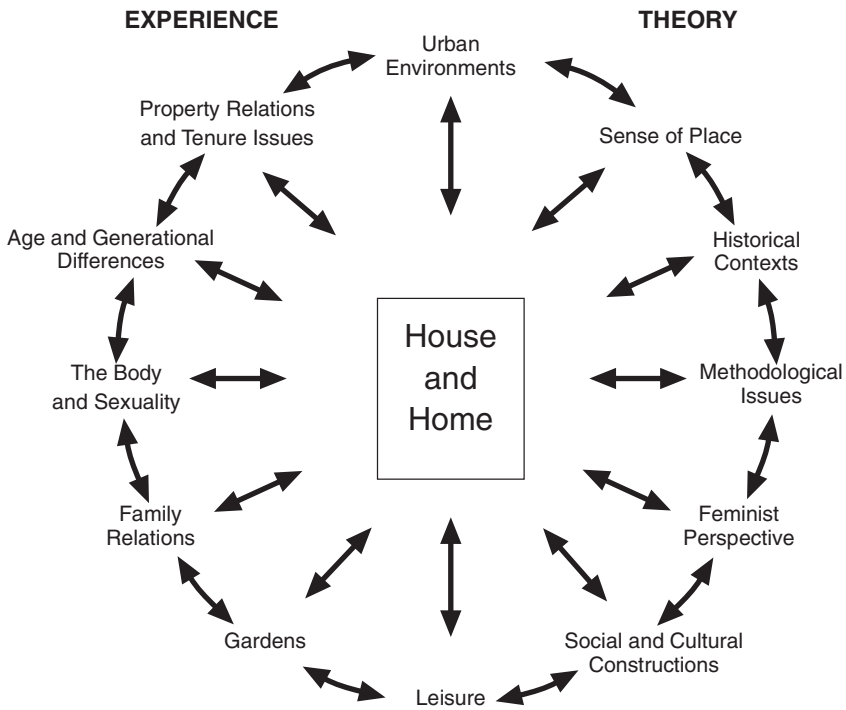

Fig. 5.1. 'Home' in the literature (Perkins *et al*., 2002, p. 4)

dwelling, shelter and ontological security (King, 2004). More recent theoretical writing about the performance of space (Conradson, 2003; Crouch, 2003; Latham, 2003) and the centrality of 'affect' in daily urban life (Thrift, 2004) resonates with this earlier home-related research. Researchers have also stressed the importance of history and the ways in which we incorporate past meanings and spatial practices into present-day meanings and experiences (Cooper, 1976; Tuan, 1980; Hunt, 1989; Dovey, 1992; Finch and Hayes, 1994; Marcus-Cooper, 1995; Massey, 1995b; Leach, 1996; Magat, 1999; Ward, 1999; Greig, 2000; Skinner, 2000; Perkins and Thorns, 2001). Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuniga (1999), for example, document the interrelationships between European families and home, noting the importance of historical contexts and intergenerational experience, and claiming that human agency is both enabled and constrained by physical space. By contrast, Marcus-Cooper (1995) takes a more psychological and existential approach, focusing on the ways in which we bring memories of past homes to the construction and experience of current homes and self.

Consistent with this work above, home is seen by many researchers as the major site of family social relations and kinship interaction, a place to carry out the everyday routines of family life (Ricci, 1980; Cherry, 1984; Werner, 1988; Allan and Crow, 1989; Goldscheider and Waite, 1991; Valentine, 1999; Winstanley, 2001) and as a setting for development and maintenance of a variety of interpersonal relationships (Werner, 1988). The home is also private (Munro and Madigan, 1993; Omata, 1995; Madigan and Munro, 1999; King, 2004) and Young (1997) argues that the right to privacy, at least in the USA, is a key determinant of whether or not a place is a home. The home is additionally a site for work which is distributed by gender (Hochschild, 1989; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Armstrong, 1997). Much feminist writing on the family and home explores constructions of feminine and masculine roles in the home and subsequent gender relations. This work stresses the differing, and often contradictory, experiences of men and women, illustrating the power relations embedded in the dual institutions of home and family (Darke, 1994; Bowlby *et al.*, 1997; Gurney, 1997; Young 1997; Winstanley, 2001).

House and home are important sites for leisure (Mansvelt, 1997a,b; Mansvelt and Perkins, 1998; Perkins *et al.*, 2002a). The relationships between leisure and the primary home are significantly under-researched but it is clear that much negotiation about the use of space, access to recreational opportunities, and identity occurs between family members around home-based leisure and is influenced by issues of class, age and gender. Taking the domestic garden as an example, Bhatti and Church (2000) argue that gardening is closely related to gendered constructions of home, and Francis and Hester (1990) present gardeners' stories to demonstrate how gardens cross trans-generational borders, providing not only a sense of continuity with the past, but also opportunities for creativity, personal expression and achievement.

The home is also vitally important in the nexus between consumption

and identity. The materials, interior furnishing and decor of house and home are important in establishing identity and in the presentation of self (McCracken, 1989; Madigan and Munro, 1996; Jones, 1997; Shaw and Brookes, 1999; Winstanley, 2001; Leonard *et al*., 2004). The ways in which householders interpret, make, and purchase for their homes are directly connected to a vast array of print and electronic advertising and consumption-related popular media. Jones (1997) argues that the advice offered in interior design texts is based on references to particular historical periods, cultures or social classes. In this sense, McCracken (1989), exploring the meanings and creation of 'homeyness', discusses a culturally determined template for a certain kind of home.

Shaw and Brookes (1999), emphasizing gender differences, discuss the ways in which the use of products and household furnishings is linked with female appearance and beauty, reinforcing gender roles where women are also 'supposed' to be responsible for the decoration and cleaning of home. In these discussions, the meanings and uses of home and associated products are never fixed, but open to contest through the ways in which individuals create their own identities (Cross, 1993; Chapman, 1999; Chapman and Hockey, 1999). This is also true of the relationships between objects and people. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), Halle (1993), Swift (1997) and Melchionne (1998) explore the meaning of objects and/or art in the home, drawing attention to different kinds of attachment processes, status and identity formation. Finally, there is an emerging literature on the place and role of technology, especially computers, in the home and the ways in which this is related to carving out new identities and forms of social interaction (Gumpert and Drucker, 1998; Winstanley *et al*., 2002a).

In general, therefore, the research into the meaning of house and home emphasizes home-making as a process that takes place over time and is affected by different ethnic and cultural experiences, and/or consumption activities which are variable across countries and between gender and/or class groups (Hunt, 1989; Shaw and Brookes, 1999). The ways in which individuals and/or occupants interrelate with their houses and the objects in them is not a one-way process but involves the continual evaluation of past meanings and the re-making of new meanings and uses. Most researchers and writers are concerned with the ways in which the social and spatial are inherently interconnected in the creation of strong sense of, and a need for, attachment to home. Globalization discourses orient the work of a significant amount of recent 'home' research. Global processes are considered in terms of shifting identities of private and public places, and of spaces that are decentred and contested (e.g. Christensen *et al*., 2000). The studies assert the connectivity and mutuality of local and global processes, and see places such as homes deriving their hybrid and multiple characters from the intersection and interaction of networked social, economic and political factors and processes (Massey, 1994b, c, 1995b, 1999, 2004; Amin, 2004).

'Home' in the Second-home Literature

The English-language literature on second homes covers a number of themes and is written for popular and scholarly audiences. Most of the work relates to the northern hemisphere experience (Coppock, 1977; Hardy and Ward, 1984; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000), although other writers have covered more ground (Hall and Müller, 2004). Considerable effort has also gone into trying to understand the reasons why people purchase second homes and the ways they use them. Some commentators have suggested that in the USA recent security concerns have become a motive for second-home purchase. Since 9/11 'real estate agents in remote areas … are seeing a stream of potential buyers eager to find a second home where terrorism alerts are a distant threat' (Carroll, 2002, p. 45, but see also Scherreik, 2002). This combines several factors in which one's person, family and finances are secured from harm in a remote location. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000), reviewing a much wider international literature, suggest that there are several reasons for the growth in second-home building and ownership including: (i) increased mobility; (ii) higher disposable incomes; (iii) greater leisure time; (iv) the increased popularity of outdoor recreation, including the harvesting of resources; and (v) associated environmental awareness (see also Kaltenborn, 1997a, b, 1998; Jarlov, 1999; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Hall and Müller, 2004).

The evidence from the literature is that many people who purchase and maintain second homes are pursuing particular affective, cultural and recreational experiences in areas having high amenity values. Research from Canada, the USA, the UK and New Zealand is interesting in this regard. Buller and Hoggart (1994b) studied the social integration of British second-home owners into French rural communities, arguing that the search for a French home is spurred by nostalgic visions of a rural Britain. The most important criteria purchasers used to choose a second home were site (preferences for a degree of isolation), situation (offering scenic views with access to, or location in, a local village) and the character of the house. Suffron (1998), using Canadian data, and Kaltenborn (1997a, b), reflecting on the Norwegian experience and reiterating points made above, noted that many cottages are located in areas beside water where owners can engage in outdoor recreation. Here they are able to pursue (after Rossman and Uleka, 1977): (i) emotional or spiritual experience; (ii) challenge and adventure; (iii) aesthetic enjoyment of natural settings; (iv) escape from urban stress; and (v) escape from the familiar. In addition 'one of the reasons people own cottages is that owning such a dwelling constitutes a status symbol' (Suffron, 1998, p. 29). The cottage owner's expectations of rewards may also include privacy, family time and relaxation.

Jaakson (1986), also reporting Canadian experience based on 300 interviews conducted over 20 years, believes that second-home owners are seeking and/or having a variety of experiences. These include: (i) routine and novelty; (ii) the inversion of everyday life; (iii) the chance to get back to nature; (iv) a diversification of personal identity and extension of

community connections; (v) surety with respect to territorial control and family togetherness; (vi) continuity of ownership and use; (vii) satisfying work of a recreational nature; (viii) elite status; and (ix) feelings of absence and presence created in the time–distance interconnections between primary and secondary homes. In support of Jaakson (1986), Kaltenborn (1997a, b) and Suffron (1998), Chanen (2000), a Chicago attorney and freelance writer, reporting a survey of 2000 readers of the *American Bar Association Journal*, relates a number of stories from US citizens who have second homes. A San Francisco lawyer, Tom Thurmond, for example:

> yearned for the peace and quiet of a weekend retreat … It's truly relaxing to spend a late summer afternoon on the deck of our house [in the Napa Valley purchased 30 years ago before the vineyard boom] with a glass of wine, watching the hawks wheel above the vines and the jackrabbits and quail scurrying along the rows.
>
> (Chanen, 2000, p. 80)

Bruce Dorner, a New Hampshire attorney, found a second home beside a glacial lake in central New Hampshire. He said that:

> 'Best of all, it [his second home] is less than 1 hour from my office.' [His property] was affordable because it was known as a lake …[which] meant the area had no nearby grocery stores or fine restaurants but did offer plenty to families with no apparent interest in keeping up with the Joneses. … Dorner's wife, a teacher, and their children have spent every summer there for the last 17 years and he has faithfully joined them every weekend.
>
> (Chanen, 2000, p. 82)

Location in the country but close to the city is an important factor. Ed Poll, a Los Angeles attorney and Paula, his wife, believe that distance from home should be a consideration. Their tolerance of the six-hour drive to a condominium in the Sierra Mountains has begun to wear thin: 'Optimally I would like to have something that is far enough away that it feels like we are away but close enough that I could get there in a two hour drive' (Chanen, 2000, p. 83). As a way of overcoming the travel time problem they travel less often but now stay away for at least a week at a time. Ed has created a second office so that he can stay for these longer periods. Getting away from urban life is clearly important for all of these second-home owners: 'It is the [cultural and environmental] contrast from the city that makes it so much fun' (Chanen, 2000, p. 83). For older people, Chanen suggests, one of the attractions of a second home … is to get family to come and visit.

The social and back-to-nature aspects of the second home are also represented in a small New Zealand literature (Keen and Hall, 2004). Smith (2003), for example, reports the story of Auckland medical practitioner Alan List, who has been holidaying at Mangawhai Heads, approximately two hours north of the city, since his father bought a holiday home 35 years ago. His own four children have grown up sailing, swimming and playing in the estuary and sandy bar at the entrance to the harbour, and now his two young grandchildren are beginning to share the pleasures of the seaside.

'When they're old enough I can get back into making sandcastles again', List says with relish. 'I'm probably a bit old to be seen doing it on my own' (Smith, 2003 p. 84). In a similar vein Yoffe (2000) reports the sense of community that developed among summer residents of Rangitoto Island in Auckland Harbour. In New Zealand, until recently, second homes (known locally as baches (as in 'bachelor') or cribs) were in the main very modest affairs, built often by owners in beach, lakeside or other amenity areas, out of a combination of new and second-hand materials acquired from a variety of sources over many years (Hardy and Ward, 1984; Keith, 1985; Thompson, 1985; Douglas, 1989; Wood, 2000). Consistent with the experience elsewhere (Kaltenborn, 1997a, b), today 'designer' cribs and baches are being built which are much like primary homes in terms of construction and which meet more demanding and rigorously enforced building codes (Thompson, 1985; Yoffe, 2000; Heeringa, 2001; Perkins and Thorns, 2001; Ansley, 2002; Macdonald, 2002; Schaer, 2003; Smith, 2003; McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16).

A number of theoretical perspectives underlie these interpretations of the second-home experience. Using Turner and Turner's (1982, p. 205) idea of 'communitas', Yoffe (2000, p. 62), for example, discussed the Rangitoto experience mentioned above, and argued that: 'Rangitoto represented "holiday", a period in which generic bonds developed in the context of group unity outside the constraints of social structure' (Turner and Turner, 1982, p. 205). In these terms: 'pure communitas exists briefly where social structure is not. This is necessarily a transient condition because it does not fit into the orderly sequential operation of day-to-day society' (p. 206).

People went to Rangitoto when they were not operating in their 'day-to-day' society. Everything was different at Rangitoto: living conditions, daily activities, the people around them. The dichotomy between work and leisure was emphasized by the change in surroundings, activities and companions. As a result, the Rangitoto holiday communities were reconsitituted each year with the same people and the same activities, which emphasized the separation of year-round life from holiday time. This is consistent with Kaltenborn's (1997a, p. 178) view that second homes are: 'important in facilitating flexible lifestyles because the social norms associated with second-home life are less stringent than those of everyday life.'

These themes are elaborated by others in a variety of ways. Some emphasize the very strong attachments people create with their second homes and the places in which they are situated. This sense of place in part relates to the simple enjoyment of activities, but more importantly it relates to second-home owners' search for stability in a changing world, a chance to create a 'real home' and a sense of community less achievable elsewhere (Green *et al.*, 1996; Kaltenborn, 1997a, b; Chaplin, 1999a; Jarlov, 1999; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Svenson, 2002). Kaltenborn (1997b), for example, suggests that the cabin functions as a reflexive medium in the sense that many use this place to come in contact with themselves and evaluate their role in a larger context. In this situation, meaning is created

because cabin dwelling enables a comfortable and relaxed life, a sense of control without demanding too much effort. Attractive surroundings give a feeling of belonging over time, while at the same time providing a framework for self-reflection and contact with one's emotions. Svenson (2002) notes that, for second-home-owners, belonging and a sense of responsibility to a community and a place go together. He argues that while tourists take a vacation from commitment, travelling to be in a community without being responsible to it, cottagers return to the same place year after year, often with the same people and therefore feel they have a responsibility to that community. Multi-generational ownership and use of these houses mean that they are a place where the family gathers together, where work is meaningful, where there is time for leisure and contact with nature, where community feels present.

These perspectives are discussed further in the leisure research conducted by Jarlov (1999) in an analysis of leisure lots and summer cottages in Sweden as places for people's own creative work. This research notes that the reason urban residents in Sweden have summer cottages in the countryside is to 'have something to do', arguing that 'in this place for leisure and recreation people are working intensively most of the time' (p. 231) while also actively socializing. Jarlov notes that in this context leisure is a means of knowing the self. This knowledge incorporates the leisure spaces of the second home and its environment and is strongly connected to the practices pursued there and the fulfilment of desire.

Jarlov's (1999) work builds on another important theoretical strand in the social scientific analysis of the second home: the desire to escape (Crouch, 1994; Tuan, 1998; Chaplin, 1999a; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Svenson, 2002; though see also Quinn (2004) and McIntyre *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 8, for a critique of the emphasis on escape). In this argument, second-home owners are escaping from stress, compulsive work, routine and alienated employment so that they may engage in, and experience: contrast, new realities, quality, simplicity, inconvenience, authenticity, uncommodified activity, new routines, time for and with others, rootedness, identity and sense of place. In Tuan's (1998) terms, second-home dwellers are rejecting the 'thinness' of the urban landscape where nature is reduced to pretty image and the city is reduced to geometric streets and high-rises. In comparison, the landscape of the second home functions at a human, and therefore accessible, level.

Arguments such as these stem in part from analyses of commodification and consumption in late modern society and the crucial role that the commodification of leisure has had in sustaining capitalist growth (Best, 1989; Chaplin, 1999a; Cloke and Perkins, 2002; Perkins, 2005). Chaplin's (1999a) work on consuming work and productive leisure in the context of English people purchasing second homes in France is particularly instructive. Here, leisure is discussed in association with the work-and-spend cycle where leisure is redefined as consumption time and second homes in France are places of escape. Acknowledging that people struggle against commodified influences, Chaplin's work highlights the

profound irony of relatively wealthy people attempting to escape the 'thinness' of their day-to-day working lives and searching for authenticity by engaging in the now highly commodified process of second-home purchase.

In these terms Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) argue that second-home ownership: 'may be viewed as just one of a host of "social invasions" which include urban gentrification and the creation of commuter or dormitory villages in city-regions' (p. 15). Taking this perspective, the growth in numbers of second homes in rural and natural environments can therefore be interpreted in the context of debates about the diverse forms of mobility, many of which are cyclic, that are said to characterize late modern societies (McHugh *et al.*, 1995; Urry 2000). One such form of mobility is known as amenity migration (Moss, 1987, 1994; Glorioso, 2000) – a term coined by Moss (1987, 1994) – and 'refers to the significant contemporary societal phenomenon of large numbers of people moving to places perceived as having superior natural environment and/or distinct culture – amenity attributes' (Glorioso, 2000, p. 276).

Amenity migration, most often cyclic or recurrent, but sometimes semi-permanent or permanent, is hypothesized as being a product of New Economic times and is based on six key factors (Glorioso, 2000, p. 277). These factors are:

1. Factors increasing motivation for amenity migration: (i) higher valuing of the natural environment; (ii) higher valuing of cultural differentiation; and (iii) higher valuing of leisure, learning and spirituality.
2. Factors leading to greater mobility: (i) increasing discretionary time; (ii) increasing discretionary wealth; and (iii) increasing access through improving and less expensive information and communications and transportation technology.

Leaving aside the issue highlighted in recent US research which shows that increased discretionary time and leisure do not necessarily result from new economic activity – because cell phones, laptop computers and other electronic gadgetry increase time at work for many – this technology does allow people to combine work and play in remote locations. To this extent the electronic aspects of the putative new economy have increased participation levels in amenity migration which, in its earlier forms, was pursued principally by the very wealthy (Glorioso, 2000, p. 280). Amenity migration is therefore said to be involving greater numbers of people than in the past who have relatively modest incomes and is in part identified by such cultural forces and characteristics as 'simplicity movement', 'lifestyle downscaling' and 'cashing out' (Glorioso, 2000, p. 286). It may be thought of in terms of a situation where 'escape becomes an escape for home, not just from home' (Crouch, 1994, p. 96).

One of the most striking features of our discussion so far is the significant contrast in interpretative approach and thematic emphasis between the primary and second-home literature. The second-home literature, with its emphasis on holidays, escape, community, sense of place,

finding oneself and the interaction of leisure and fulfilling work, where 'meaningful form is … to be found in the creative process rather than in the created output' (Conan, 1993, p. 135), largely focuses on the positive aspects of the second-home experience. It also doesn't display the range of critical and multidisciplinary perspectives found in the primary home literature. While, for many second-home owners holidays *are* enjoyable, fulfilling and a break from day-to-day routines, it would be too much to say that the second home is a site of unalloyed harmony and joy, largely free from social conflict. Anecdotal evidence points to tensions and conflict between second-home owners who share the same site over a range of issues including house design, environmental degradation, access to water and appropriate use of recreational areas. Conflict also arises between the permanent residents of popular holiday destinations and second-home owners who share the same spaces, facilities and resources. These conflicts can be material in nature, for example, related to over-use of local resources, or symbolic, where disagreements arise over the meaning and management of landscapes and activities.

Also largely missing from the second-home literature is in-depth analysis of the social interactions that occur in and around second homes. Hardly anywhere is there significant discussion of the second home in the context of family life and associated interpersonal relations. Equally, the experience of children and elderly people also receives limited coverage. The literature also avoids many of the feminist criticisms found in the early debates in the leisure literature (Deem, 1986; Thompson, 1998), which might usefully be applied to current analyses of the second-home experience. The following questions are important in this regard. Do, for example, men and women interpret the second-home experience in the same way? (See Bjerke *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 6.) How is the division of domestic labour and childcare worked out and distributed in second homes? What do men *and* women have to say about escape from stress, compulsive work, routine and alienated employment and the purported second-home experience of new realities, unconstrained experience, quality, simplicity, inconvenience, authenticity, uncommodified activity, new routines, time for and with others, rootedness, identity, self-fulfillment and sense of place? Do women and men engage in the same ways with nature, including harvesting its bounty through such activities as fishing, hunting and foraging, while staying in their second homes? When there is talk of leisure and fulfilling creative work in the second home are spaces and times available for both men and women to have this experience? Empirical work done by feminists in the wider leisure sphere suggests that there is a good deal of gender inequality and constraint to be found and it is likely that this is also the case in the everyday experience of the second home.

Many second-home researchers also gloss over the strong connection between social class and economic privilege inherent in much second-home ownership, whether single or multi-generational in nature (Halseth, 2004). The ability to 'escape for home' in order to engage in an identity project based on participation in community, leisure and meaningful work in

places of high amenity value is expensive, and relatively few can afford to take part. Glorioso's (2000) argument that amenity migration is now involving greater numbers of people than in the past who have modest incomes, taking part in the simplicity movement, lifestyle downscaling and cashing out, by definition, still speaks of people who are financially and culturally well-resourced and who are therefore in a position to make such lifestyle choices.

The second-home literature is also limited by its emphasis on modest vernacular second homes set in wilderness or other remote and physically attractive places. This is perhaps because second-home researchers come from backgrounds associated particularly with resource-based recreation and related aspects of tourism. One of the issues that has come up time and again as we have worked on this chapter is the very great diversity that exists in the types, forms, styles and locations of second homes. Many second homes, for example, are to be found in places which would best be described as urban. We think here of people whose second homes are used to escape the cold of winter. Good examples include US and Canadian residents who have homes in Southern Florida or California, or New Zealanders who own units or who have access to timeshare apartments on the Gold or Sunshine Coasts in Queensland, Australia. Similarly, some people favour winter recreations and own second homes or timeshare apartments in the significant urban areas that are located close to ski resorts and other winter playgrounds.

Some – well-off, rural residents – own second homes in cities which they use as a base to sample urban recreational, cultural and social delights. Also significantly urban are the increasing number of designer second-home communities which effectively amount to 'second-home suburbs on the beach or at the lake', with all the modern conveniences one would expect to find in a primary home. This phenomenon has quite well-established antecedents. Such conveniences have, for example, always been available to the rich as they took part in their weekend or less regular summer/winter pilgrimages to their large and well-appointed second homes, located in urban, peri-urban or wilderness areas.

There are many examples, some current, some of historical interest. Perhaps one of the best in the latter category is the story of the Kaufmann family of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in the USA (Hoffmann, 1993). In the mid-1930s, they used the services of the celebrated architect Frank Lloyd Wright to design a spectacular, reinforced concrete cantilevered weekend house on their 1543 acre (624 hectare) forested property on Bear Run, a tributary of the Youghiogheny River in south-western Pennsylvania. The house, now an architectural icon, and gifted to the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy, boasted space for the Kaufmann family, their visitors *and* their servants. After the Second World War the family commissioned the prominent Los Angeles architect, Richard Neutra, to design another home (a third home?) in Palm Springs, California.

At Home in Town and Country

If we factor such concerns into an analysis of the primary/second-home experience, and reflect on the house and home and second-home literature, it becomes clear that the primary and second home exist in a dialectical relationship in which their meanings of both are created by, and bound up with, each other. Primary and second homes are not therefore polar opposites, but rather they represent a continuum of experience. They are also both important sites for leisure, fulfilment and the development of a sense of place and identity. In many respects the routines of everyday life are much the same in either primary or second home. Households have to cook, clean, do the laundry and complete other domestic tasks and these are often done by the same people, at the same times, whether one is at one's primary or second home.

In the same way, it is not possible to completely escape one's 'primary life', and the activities, worries, concerns and interpersonal relationships of day-to-day experience are carried to the second home and influence life there. For those whose second-home experience is based on a small cottage offering cramped and primitive living conditions, the tensions that exist between family members in their primary homes may be exacerbated. Teenagers may, for example, find the cottage boring and this could be the cause of family arguments. There is also the possibility that such conditions can create a situation where the second home is just another 'kitchen sink but with a better view', particularly for women. Observations of this type have been made by others (Rojek, 1995; Quinn, 2004). Wolfe (1965) commented on the Canadian experience, arguing that the second-home experience is paradoxical (see also Clout, 1974, p. 102, for a similar European perspective). While rural second-home owners seek an escape from their urban primary homes they often find themselves holidaying among hordes of like-minded others. In this sense they are 'not in the country, they are in the city away from city' (Wolfe, 1965, p. 62, quoted in Halseth, 2004). Similarly, Robertson (1977), writing of Australia, discussed how ironic it was that 'the owners of these so-called "places to get away from it all" often encounter a considerable amount of "it" when they arrive' (quoted in Quinn, 2004, p. 116).

In one sense this similarity of experience is reinforced if the second home is a new house in the 'suburbs in the sand or mountains' and is equipped with modern conveniences (e.g. hi-fi, television, computer, 'Playstation' and cellphone) found often in the primary home. These allow a nearly seamless transition between home and away, especially for children, but also for those whose employment and recreation is based on computer and telecommunications technology. In another sense, long-term ownership of a second home, perhaps on a multi-generational basis, creates another form of seamless experience in which the lifeways of the primary and second home are inextricably cemented together in family stories, intra-family relationships, holiday equipment use (including transport and storage) and use of time. In those situations where the second home has

been built and maintained over several generations by the 'sweat of the brow' of family members themselves, stories about this productive and sometimes creative labour become an important element in the second-home experience.

Other economic and cultural similarities between the primary and second home are to be found. For many people the meaning of the primary home is in part tied closely to its role in wealth creation through capital gain. Many second homes are also held for their wealth creation potential either from rental income or capital gain. In this situation, primary and secondary homes both comprise part of an investment portfolio. They are also material manifestations of contemporary consumption patterns, and both are connected in the ways their designers and owners are influenced by local and global dissemination of ideas about style and the appropriate aesthetic use of building materials found in a variety of print and electronic media. Social class considerations are paramount here and given that many second-home owners have significant economic capital, even those with the most rustic of second homes display the markers shared by people who also have control of significant cultural capital. This extends to leisure participation as well, with second-home leisure pursuits being an extension of activities, experiences and desires pursued in the primary home, though perhaps in an environment which provides fewer time and behavioural constraints.

Finally, and turning to the notion of the second home as a haven, a place of escape, it is clear from the house and home literature that many people see the *primary home* in terms of security. It, too, is a place of escape for many people. There, the routines of daily life are connected to, and influenced by, the wider world of economic, political and cultural activity, but they are perceived to be mediated in an environment that is private and largely beyond the control of others. Second-home owners are sufficiently wealthy to be able to extend this feeling of freedom, and their sense of what and where constitutes home, by purchasing a place in the country, at the beach or in another town. Interestingly, most are happy with the idea of having two homes and only a minority turn their second homes into primary homes. Why? Because they wish only to have a temporary escape, knowing, as do those who have only a primary home, that the wider world of work and engagement with family, friends, economy and society is a fundamentally important and necessary part of life. In this situation, escape is therefore a two-way track. Second-home owners escape their primary homes for a simpler life during their holidays and, once satiated, escape their second homes to have a more challenging, complex and stimulating life for the remainder of the time. In this process, primary and second homes become extensions of each other – both in a sense home, and a place of escape.

Conclusions

In our analysis of the primary/second home relationship two issues have become clear. The first is the different ways primary and second homes

have been conceived of, and written about, in the research literature. In many respects they have been seen as separate entities and researchers have not combined an interest in, or engaged with the literature on, both sorts of homes. This has produced a tendency to see the second home as distinct from the primary home, a dichotomy that is increasingly problematic as the remoteness and separations of work, leisure and routine patterns of life become disturbed by wider structural changes in late modern society. Rather than seeing the primary and secondary as separate we need therefore to see them as linked spaces that together constitute a 'home' and a continuum of experience. For some, the distinctions are sharper than for others, but in all cases the 'work' of home has to get done, so the tasks are variously shared and the analysis of the process is likely to show that just as at home in the city, so in the 'alternative' location of the second home, much of life is shaped by gender, work, family, security and concerns about wealth accumulation. This issue is centrally important to the further development of primary and second-home research.

The second issue is that there is a need for more grounded empirical study of the experience of living in the second home. Given the importance of the second-home phenomenon – culturally, economically and environmentally – the level of current social scientific knowledge about it is surprisingly limited. New research needs to be theoretically sophisticated and focus on the increasingly diverse experience of the second home across regions and cultures. It should enable us to engage successfully with the profound changes that appear to be taking place in the ways the primary and second home are being constituted and reconstituted under conditions of economic and social change characteristic of late modernity.

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III Home and Away: Meanings and Experiences of Multiple Dwelling

Modern mobilities have profoundly transformed the meanings of 'home' and 'away' and of mobility and rootedness (Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). In a multicentred world, where individuals claim attachments to multiple places, it is no longer quite so clear on what basis we differentiate 'home' and 'away', decide who is a local and what it means to belong. Various authors take up this theme in their respective chapters and explore how multiple dwelling reconstructs ideas about place attachment, identity and meaning through examining the experiences of second-home living in Scandinavia and North America. In examining the role of multiple dwelling as means of stress release and escape, as a basis to affirm national and local identity, and as a way to reduce the impacts of out-migration and community conflict, each of these chapters raises issues that transcend their local contexts.

In the first chapter, Tore Bjerke, Bjørn P. Kaltenborn and Joar Vittersø focus on the experience of cabin life in Norway. Analysis of a survey examining reasons for owning a cabin and the psychological outcomes for owners reveals that cabin life provides opportunities for recovery from the stress and mental overload of modern city life. They also note that females demonstrate higher scores in positive emotions and fascination with elements of nature when at the cabin, which contrasts with studies in other contexts where women show higher scores on scales measuring negative emotions. While this study adds credence to the positive benefits generally ascribed to second-home life, it also emphasizes the value of studies which focus on gender differences in meanings attached to specific contexts (Chaplin, 1999b; Perkins and Thorns, this volume, Chapter 5).

In contrast, Karoliina Periäinen examines summer cottage life in Finland from a cultural rather than from an individualistic perspective in exploring its contribution to what it means to be a Finn. She estimates that every third household in Finland owns a cottage and many more have

access to one through family kinship. Thus she argues for the pervasive, democratizing role of the summer cottage in the Finnish culture, distinct from the elitist connotations prevalent in the North American context. Finnish identity is strongly bonded to nature, the countryside and rural life, and in this way the summer cottage affirms the strong connection of every Finn to a mythical, romanticized, agrarian past. The mythical proportions of the summer cottage are evident in its origins born of the materials, form and conveniences of modernity, and its celebration of the simple, primitive, yet sensuously rich experiences of cottage life – at odds with the realities of the poor and struggling life in which supposedly the summer cottage finds its origins. Periäinen takes the summer cottage and elevates it beyond the individual experience to view it as a major component in affirming the primacy of landscape, nature and agrarian roots in the identity of modern Finnish people.

Norm McIntyre, Joe Roggenbuck and Dan Williams author one of the two chapters which explore the theme of 'escape' which is persistent in the second-home literature. They base their discussion on an exploration of previously published studies of the meanings of second-home experiences and new data from a study of recreation residence owners in the US National Forests in Colorado. From these data, they argue for a more nuanced perspective on 'home' and 'away', mediated by distance and frequency of use. These authors also use a multi-method approach and expand on the work of Perkins and Thorns (this volume, Chapter 5) in studying activities and experiences in both homes in their study of Colorado recreation residence owners.

Rich Stedman contributes a second paper which centres on the theme of 'escape'. Focusing particularly on the meanings attached to 'home' and 'escape', Stedman compares the 'sense of place' of residents and second-home owners in Vilas County, Wisconsin, USA through survey data. He argues that, while owners view their second homes as places of 'escape' from everyday life, they also exhibit the highest level of place attachment to the place in which their second home is sited. This attachment, however, is based almost entirely on the escape meanings – neither the people they know nor the activities they do contribute significantly to this aspect of 'sense of place'. He argues that such strong attachments can lead to less conflict between residents and non-residents as to the character and nature of development of the host community. This observation may well be linked to the observation by Williams and Van Patten (this volume, Chapter 3) that 'amenity oriented adaptations … might well be … the kind [of development] that draws outsiders more deeply into the place to celebrate common interests'.

Finally, Seija Tuulentie explores how tourism and a growing attachment to place may act to encourage the purchase of a second home or even a permanent move to a tourist destination. Her study, set in Finnish Lappland, focuses on the interpretation of in-depth interviews. In contrast to Periäinen, she focuses on the new breed of seasonal homes: the more modern, fully-equipped second homes and time-shares situated in regions

of high amenity value. Although these make up less than 20 per cent of the total cottages in Finland today, they appear to be increasing in popularity in the north. She concludes that regular visits deepen the attachment to tourist destinations and they become what Relph (1976) has termed 'empathetic insiders'. In this sense they want to become locals, but the meanings of the place are not associated with social relations but rather with feelings of being close to the 'real' wilderness, living in nature and participating in nature activities.

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6 Cabin Life: Restorative and Affective Aspects

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Second-home Culture in Norway

The ownership and use of second homes or recreational homes is a widely shared experience in Norway's popular culture. To most people in Norway today, owning a cabin or knowing someone who has one seldom needs further explanation. Through generations second homes located in a range of environments from coastlands to forests, mountains and even on the fringes of farmland, have facilitated recluse from urban environments, engaging in recreational behaviour and alternative lifestyles. Given the prevalence of second homes in Norway, we must assume they fulfil some important needs or desires, but what are these? It is commonly accepted that second homes allow people to commune with nature, relax, contemplate and participate in recreation. Yet, what are some of the deeper meanings associated with these popular ideas?

The use of second homes, as a movement or culture for recreation and contrast to 'ordinary' life, goes back around 150 years in Norway. To some extent it began with a shift from using shelters in the wildlands for resource-harvesting purposes towards pleasure and recreation (Fig. 6.1). Often this occurred in and around the 'seters' – the summer farms, but it also involved new lodges, resorts and cabins. Clearly, significant social class and economic distinctions were involved (Grimstad and Lyngø, 1993; Kaltenborn, 1998). It is only during the last 40–50 years that the second-home culture has been democratized in the sense that second homes have been economically accessible to the wider public.

We are currently witnessing a rapidly growing interest in acquiring second homes in Norway. Exact figures of second-home numbers and distribution are lacking but, in 2001, second homes numbered approximately 350,000 in Norway, and the annual increase is around 5000. As of 2005, this amounts to approximately one second home per ten

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Fig. 6.1. Traditional mountain summer farming area interspersed with recreation homes.

persons. Second-home units are increasing in technical standard, size and distribution. Without doubt this is the largest capital investment sector in many rural communities at the moment. For example, in two counties alone, more than 20,000 new second homes are already planned (Taugbøl *et al.*, 2000). It is also worth noting that almost all of the present expansion of second homes has occurred in sub-alpine regions, considered to be more ecologically sensitive than lower-lying ground with heavier forest cover.

While this appears to be part of a global pattern of strengthened interest in second homes and leisure, it raises a number of questions as to the antecedents as well as to the effects of this development. For instance, there is reason to be concerned about the land use effects, as a large part of the mountain regions of southern Norway now are 'under construction' with second-home resorts, or included in future plans for development. However, in this chapter we focus on the role second homes can play in terms of positive experiences and emotions. The data and results presented come from a survey we conducted among second-home owners in mountain regions of southern Norway in 2004.

The lure of the cabin: why do people have second homes?

Research on motives for second-home use and ownership has shown a diversity of reasons for engaging in second-home use. In general, it appears that most people who acquire a second home do so in order to achieve some aspects or dimensions of lifestyle that are not offered in their primary home or 'ordinary' life. Motives for second-home use and ownership have been examined by a number of authors, who recognize a wide range of reasons such as: (i) removal or inversion from everyday life (Wolfe, 1951;

Jaakson, 1986; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999); (ii) the experience of informality and relaxed everyday lifestyles (Jansson and Müller, 2003) and related themes – escape (Chaplin, 1999a); (iii) a 'return' to nature (Jaakson, 1986; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999); (iv) as an investment (Clout, 1972) (v) associating with ideas or ideologies about rurality (Jaakson, 1986; Geipel, 1989; Müller, 2002b); and (vi) personal identity (Jaakson, 1986; Kaltenborn, 1997b; Löfgren, 1999). In an attempt to organize the multitude of motives into some broader categories, Kaltenborn (1998) suggested: (i) identity management (contrast to modern, everyday life, status symbol); (ii) recreational and psychological 'maintenance' (contact with nature, social networks); and (iii) pragmatic reasons (capital investment, life phase, child-friendly, relatively inexpensive holidays).

Cabin life: restoring the mind?

As shown above, experiences and activities in natural surroundings, relaxation and experiencing change from daily life are the main reasons people express for owning a second home. These findings lead to the question: why are these experiences in nature so attractive? Our hypothesis is that such experiences and activities are associated with rewarding affective and cognitive mental states. One aim of the research presented in the present chapter has been to characterize the cognitive and affective states that the cabin owners associate with staying in the cabin environment, and to relate such states to motives given for having a cabin, and the use of it.

Attention restoration

The hypothesis of the stress-reducing and restorative effects of natural environments has received considerable empirical support during the last few decades. Ulrich *et al*. (1991) found that physiological stress recovery was faster and more complete when subjects were exposed to natural rather than to urban environments, and similar evidence comes from later research (e.g. Hartig *et al*., 2003; Laumann *et al*., 2003). Natural environments also seem to have a restorative advantage regarding emotional states (e.g. Ulrich, 1979; Hartig *et al*., 1991, 1996).

Two theories are often referred to in attempts to explain the restorative and stress-reducing effects of natural environments. Attention restoration theory (ART: Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Kaplan, 1995) holds that natural environments restore mental processes after fatigue caused by long-lasting directed attention. Such fatigue often accompanies modern urban living or work environments. Restoration occurs with a larger distance from the fatigue-causing factors (*being away*), through interest-driven and effortless attention (*fascination*), in a rich and coherently ordered environment (*extent*), and with high *compatibility* between the environment and one's purposes and inclinations. Natural settings are supposed to be particularly likely to meet each of the four criteria listed above.

An alternative theory about the positive effects of natural environments is based upon the proposition that 'as a remnant of evolution, modern humans might have a biologically prepared readiness to learn and persistently retain certain positive responses to nature …' (Ulrich, 1993, p. 88). Among these positive responses, physiological stress reduction and other positive emotions have been investigated.

Emotional restoration

As a supplement to the stress perspective presented by Ulrich and the attention approach provided by Kaplan, a growing interest in the restorative effects of positive emotions has developed during the recent years. For instance, in her 'Broaden and Build' model of positive emotions, Fredrickson (1998) proposes that positive emotions have an undoing effect on negative psychological states such as stress and mental overload. Her model leans heavily on the idea of basic emotions, particularly on the functional role played by such emotions. These functions are related to areas such as communications and action readiness, which turn out to be important in governing the flexible goal-directed behaviours that characterize the adaptive cognitive control systems of human beings. As an active element of the information processing system, emotions communicate goal priorities and action readiness. The message broadcast into the human behavioural system from an emotion, such as interest, is a feeling of involvement. When interested, a person's mode of experience encourages active investigation, exploration and a push for expanding the self by incorporating new information. However, interest and related affective states (e.g. curiosity, wonder and excitement) require effort and attention. Contrary to Kaplan's concept of fascination, which he considers to be effortless, but otherwise resembles the notion of interestingness as a basic emotional state, the latter is supposed to be both restorative and take some effort. On the basis of this conceptual similarity, we would predict that measures of fascination will correlate with variables tapping into the emotional dimension of interest.

Pleasantness and contentment are, on the other hand, emotions arising in environments appraised as safe and as having a high degree of certainty and a low degree of effort (Ellsworth and Smith, 1988). In terms of communicative message, pleasantness and related emotions prompt individuals to savour the moment or recent experiences, to feel 'oneness' with others or the world around them. Thus pleasantness and contentment are not simply behavioural passivity but rather a reflective broadening of a person's self-views and world views (Fredrickson, 2000). This cluster of emotion is thus close to Kaplan's idea of compatibility, and we would predict that measures of compatibility will correlate with emotions such as pleasantness and contentment.

Satisfaction with life

Whereas emotions are about experiences here and now, the concept of life satisfaction refers to a general evaluation of a person's overall life in terms of goodness or badness (Diener *et al*., 1999). This evaluation is commonly considered to be cognitive, although recent theories of emotions make the distinction between cognitive and affective evaluations more elusive than once thought. We desist from debating this distinction in the current chapter, suffice it to say that life satisfaction relates to a general evaluation of life as a whole, whereas emotions are online experiences arising and disappearing within a short time-frame.

Demographic characteristics such as gender, age and socio-economic status normally explain less than 20 per cent of the variance in measures of satisfaction with life (Diener *et al*., 1999). However, there is a growing body of studies indicating that the environment plays a role in overall life satisfaction (see, for example, Stokols, 2003 for an overview). For example, De Young (2000) found that environmental and pro-social behaviours increased personal well-being, and Sohr (2001) provided data suggesting that well-being can be increased by involvement in environmental activism. In a Canadian study, Richmond *et al*. (2000) found that people with one or more acres of land around their home were more likely to indicate satisfaction with environmental quality. Satisfaction with environment is moreover found to be a moderate predictor of overall life satisfaction, at least in Norway (Vittersø, unpublished data).

In a sample representative of the northern regions of Norway, cross-country skiing – but not snowmobiling – was found to be a predictor of high life satisfaction (Vittersø, unpublished data). Despite these and related studies, there is an obvious need to learn more about the effect of both leisure activities and natural environmental experiences on life satisfaction. One of the goals of the current study is to contribute towards this aim.

Study Objectives

In summary, the first aim of the present analyses was to characterize some cognitive and affective states that cabin owners associate with staying in their cabin environment, and to establish relationships between these states and the motives given for having a mountain cabin. Secondly, we wanted to explore whether some aspects of cabin life are related to satisfaction with overall life. Thirdly, we wanted to test the relations between attentional aspects and emotional aspects of cabin life. More precisely, we speculated that fascination would predict feelings of interest whereas compatibility would predict feelings of pleasantness. To further clarify our point that fascination is not effortless, we included a measure of relaxation as a mediating variable in our regression equation. Our overall model is depicted in Fig. 6.2.

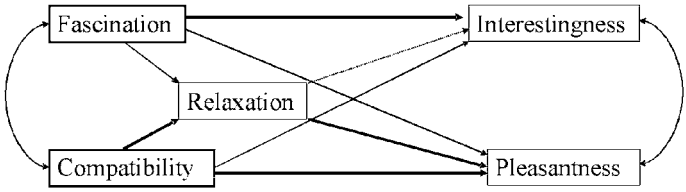

Fig. 6.2. Model of emotions, relaxation and restorative cognitive modes.

Methods

Study area

The data and results presented in this chapter are based on a survey among second-home owners in Norway. We targeted 2000 second-home owners in four different areas in the south-eastern mountain regions: Vang/Vestre Slidre, Geilo and Hafjell/Kvitfjell. We wanted a diversity in the characteristics of cabin areas, including a range in the technical standard of the second homes, and variation in the age and history of the second-home areas themselves and in the type of use associated with them. Our sample encompassed 1000 primitive cabins (i.e. buildings of a good technical standard but with no electricity or running water) and 1000 units with a higher technical standard (i.e. second homes with electricity and running water). In many cases these latter cabins were also larger and better equipped in other ways.

The region with the primitive cabins (Vang/Vestre Slidre, Fig. 6.3) is a mountain area with long traditions of second-home use. Summer farming has taken place here for centuries, and there is still active seasonal farming in this region. Many of the cabins are quite old, and the area has traditionally been used for cross-country skiing, hiking, hunting and fishing. Second homes are expanding in this area. There are many new units being built, but the majority are kept within the tradition of moderate size and technical standard (i.e. water from a well and solar power for light). This is not a resort area, the cabins are scattered over considerable space and there is only one, small and quite old downhill ski slope at the outskirts of the area. Thus the area is not a destination for after-ski parties and restaurant life, but rather a typical second-home area dominated by families and traditional outdoor recreation.

The other three sites were much more intensely developed. Many of the cabins resemble large, modern houses with high-quality facilities and of course easy access. All sites are close to downhill ski slopes and resort facilities such as lodges, restaurants, ski rentals, etc. While there have been second homes in these areas for quite some time, all three sites have experienced a phenomenal expansion during the last 10 years. For the purposes of this chapter, we treat the respondents from the four areas as one sample.

Fig. 6.3. A typical second-home development area.

Data collection and instruments

The sample was constructed by first contacting the administration of the respective municipalities where the second homes were located. Once a list of 2000 second-home owners was compiled based on the registers from the municipalities, respondents were sent a mail questionnaire. After two reminders, we obtained a net sample of 1000 second-home owners (i.e. a 50 per cent response rate). The following instruments were used in the present analyses:

1. *Motives*. Respondents were asked: 'There are many reasons why people own a cabin. How important are the following reasons for you?' This question was followed by a list of the 12 reasons listed in Fig. 6.4.
2. The *Fascination* and *Compatibility* scales were developed by Laumann *et al*. (2001), and the items are shown in Figs 6.5 and 6.6, respectively.
3. The *Satisfaction With Life Scale – SWLS* (Pavot and Diener, 1993) is a five-item inventory measuring global life satisfaction, with questions such as 'In most ways my life is close to my ideal' and 'I am satisfied with my life'. The SWLS was designed as a seven-point Likert-like response format, and the scale showed good reliability (Cronbach's alpha (α) = 0.89).
4. In order to measure emotions, a modified version of the *Basic Emotions State Test (BEST)* was utilized (Vittersø *et al.*, 2005). It asked participants about their emotions in a particular situation, in this case during a typical cabin-life situation. Three items (interested, engaged and inspired) measured Interest as a basic emotion of interest (α = 0.91), and three items

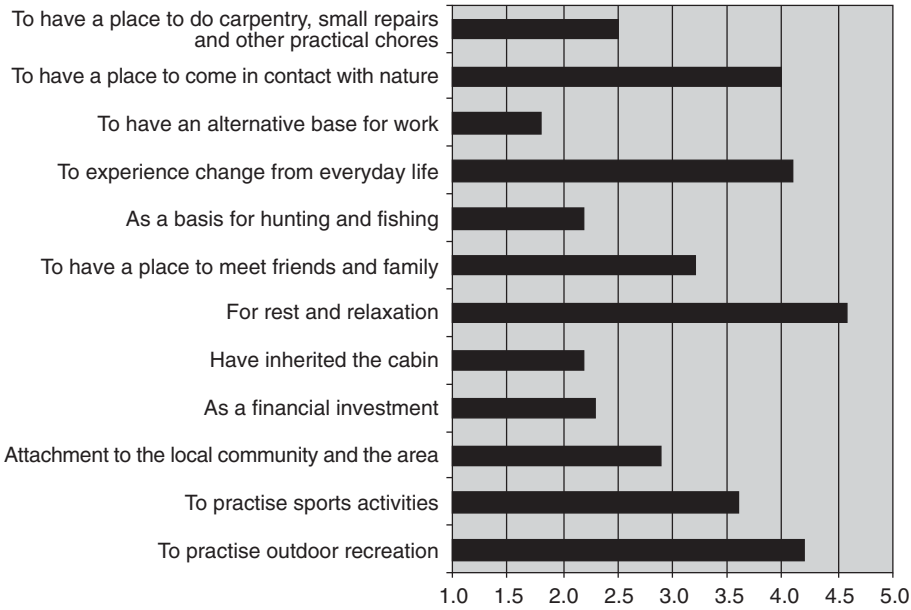

Fig. 6.4. Reasons for owning a second home (*n*, 805–974; 1, absolutely unimportant; 5, very important).

(contented, happy and joyful) measured Pleasure as a basic emotion (α = 0.89). A composite score of all the six positive emotion items was labelled Positive Emotions (α = 0.87). Finally, the three items Afraid, Irritated and Sad were used as indicators of a domain of Negative Emotions (α = 0.55). The emotions scales were designed as a seven-point Likert-like response format.

In addition to the issues covered in this chapter, the survey also covered: (i) the type and level of interaction between second-home owners and the local communities; (ii) contacts with wildlife in the area; (iii) place attachment and nature experiences; (iv) attitudes toward management and development of the area; (v) environmental beliefs; and (vi) evaluations of alternative long-term development scenarios for the areas.

Results

Amount of use

Winter and summer seasons are the most popular times for use of the second home; during spring and autumn, the cabins are used less. This can be related both to weather and snow conditions (cabins and their surroundings are often less accessible during snowmelt, for instance), and to holiday patterns. On average cabins are used for 17 days during the

summer and 18 days during the winter. For the winter and summer seasons we found marked differences in the amount of use across the four areas, while there are only negligible differences in the 'between' seasons. Second homes are used on average for 9 days during the autumn and 8 days during spring.

Motivation

The most important reasons for having a cabin is to engage in outdoor recreation, relax, to experience change from everyday life and to have a place where one can come in contact with nature (Fig. 6.4). For these dominant motives there is very little variation across the four second-home areas. Other reasons such as financial investment, having an alternative place to work, or having a place where one can experience various practical challenges, or a place for hunting and fishing, are substantially less important.

The following motives are significantly more important for women than for men: (i) practise sports activities; (ii) attachment to the local community and area; (iii) have inherited the cabin; (iv) meet friends and relatives; (v) experience change from everyday life; and (vi) have a place to come in contact with nature. Men did not score higher than women on any of the motives.

Fascination

Most of our items tapping fascination elicit a high level of positive agreement. Almost everyone (97%) agreed that 'There are many things here that I find beautiful'. Likewise, for the items 'There are many objects here that attract my attention' (73%), 'I am absorbed in these surroundings' (71%), and 'There is plenty to discover here' (67%). The item that gets the least overall positive support is 'This setting has many things that I wonder about' (29% say this does not fit). However, there are some differences across groups. Women are more fascinated by cabin life than men, and this applies for all six items. Furthermore, those who primarily have a second home for the purpose of getting in contact with nature (i.e. to a greater extent than other respondents indicate this as a salient reason) also express a higher level of agreement with all of the fascination items. We also find that the more oriented people are towards practising sports activities when they are at the cabin, the less they agree that the fascination items fit with their experience of cabin life (especially items: 'There are many things here that I find beautiful', 'This setting has many things that I wonder about', 'There are many objects here that attract my attention' and 'There is plenty that I want to linger on here').

Compatibility

We generally find that people experience time spent at the second home as a situation of relatively high compatibility. The cabin and the surrounding

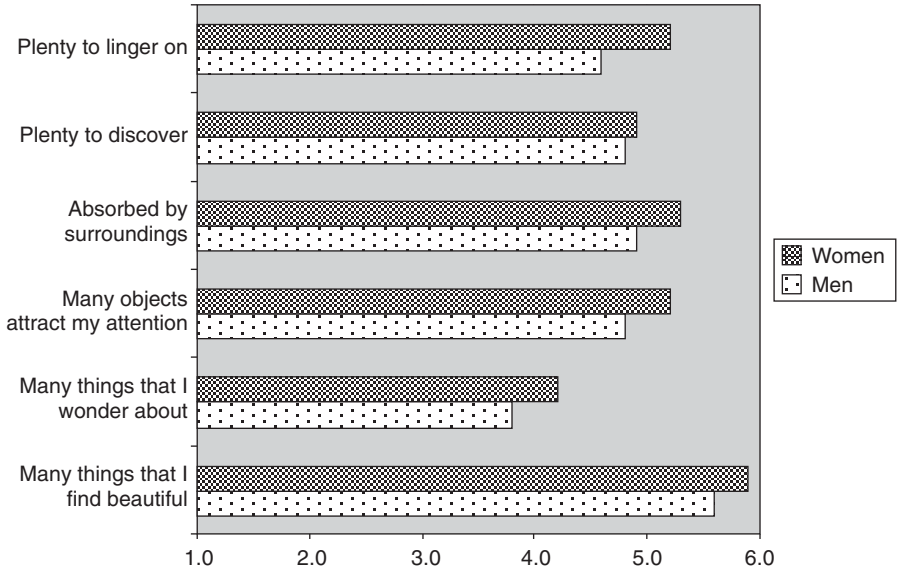

Fig. 6.5. The fascination of cabin life (mean scores: 1, does not fit at all; 6, fits completely).

environment is largely seen as an arena where one is capable of handling the challenges and problems and a place where one can carry out desired activities. Most of the items in the compatibility sub-scale elicit dominantly positive statements (i.e. people rate the item as either fits well, fits very well or fits completely) such as: 'The environment gives me the opportunity to [undertake] activities that I like' (95%), 'I rapidly adapt to this setting' (90%) or 'There is compatibility between what I like to do and these surroundings' (88%). Despite this general agreement, some interesting relationships between the variables are evident.

For instance, the more emphasis one attaches to the cabin as a place to meet friends and family, the more one agrees with the statements tapping coping, conducting desired activities, meeting challenges and adapting to the local setting. The more one is oriented towards the second home as a basis for outdoor recreation, the more one agrees with statements dealing with participation in preferred activities, experiencing accordance between the surroundings and ones preferences and meeting challenges. Those more concerned with the cabin as an object for financial investment agree less with all the compatibility items, except meeting challenges. For those especially interested in hunting and fishing opportunities, there is a positive correlation with coping with problems and meeting challenges. Women to a greater degree than men agree with compatibility between preferences and surroundings, meeting challenges and adapting to the place. There is also a positive correlation between increasing age and coping with problems, that the environment enables things one likes to do, and meeting challenges (Fig. 6.6).

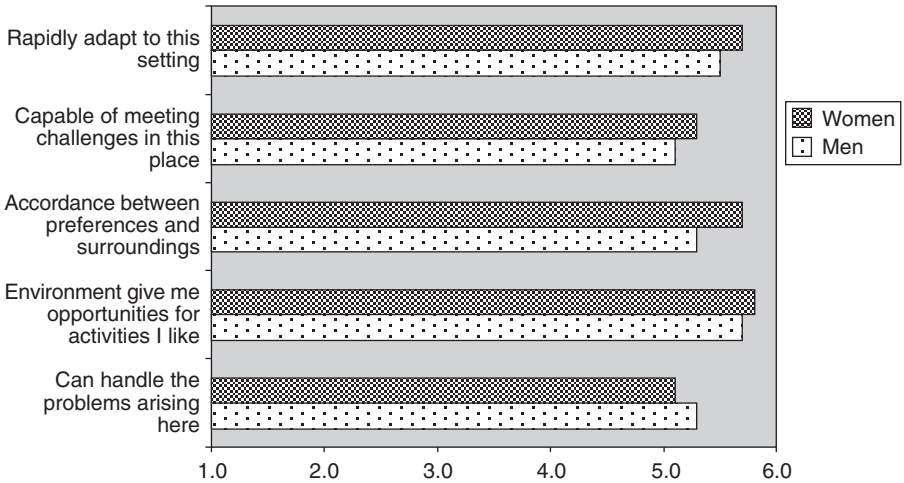

Fig. 6.6. The compatibility of second-home life (mean scores: 1, does not fit at all; 6, fits completely).

Emotions and life satisfaction

To show the relations between affective experiences and several aspects of cabin life, Table 6.1 presents the zero-order correlations between positive emotions (POSEM) and negative emotions (NEGEM) with the key cabin variables. Note that these emotions are affective experiences at the cabin. Additionally, correlations between these key variables and a general measure of life satisfaction scale (SWLS) are shown (column 1). Note that this overall life satisfaction is not related to cabin life in particular.

Table 6.1. Correlations between life satisfaction, positive and negative emotions and some key variables.

Key variables	SWLS	POSEM	NEGEM
Gender	0.03	–0.11[c]	–0.04
Age	–0.02	–0.01	–0.08[a]
Income	0.16[c]	–0.01	–0.01
Winter use	0.15[c]	0.12[c]	–0.06
Other use	0.02	0.17[c]	–0.03
Own cabin for economic reasons	–0.01	–0.03	0.07[a]
Own cabin for nature experience	0.06	0.24[c]	–0.07[a]
Compatibility	0.15[c]	0.38[c]	–0.17[c]
Fascination	0.07[a]	0.39[c]	–0.02

SWLS, Satisfaction with Life Scale (Pavot and Diener, 1993); POSEM (Positive Emotions), Interest (interested, engaged, inspired), Pleasure (contented, happy, joyful); NEGEM (Negative Emotions), Afraid, Irritated, Sad.

[a] $P < 0.05$.

[b] $P < 0.01$

[c] $P < 0.001$.

There is a small, but significant, association between gender and positive emotions, suggesting that women do experience slightly more positive emotions than men. Additionally, a negative correlation was found between age and negative emotions, which means that older individuals have less negative emotions during their cabin experience. Even more interesting are the relations between emotions and reasons for having a cabin. Owning a cabin for economic reasons correlates with negative emotions, whereas owning a cabin to be able to experience nature correlates with positive emotions. Finally, there is a correlation between overall life satisfaction and income, and with winter use of the cabin.

Effort, emotions and restoration

Turning to our hypothesis that fascination is effortful and predicts feeling of interest, whereas compatibility is effortless and predicts pleasantness, we conducted a path analyses as illustrated in Fig. 6.7. As expected, compatibility was directly related to both relaxation and pleasantness, with regression weights (betas) of 0.26 and 0.20, respectively ($P < 0.001$ for both). As further predicted, fascination was negatively related to relaxation ($\beta = -0.10$, $P < 0.01$) and positively related to interestingness ($\beta = 0.27$, $P < 0.001$). Additionally, a direct link was found between relaxation and pleasantness ($\beta = 0.20$, $P < 0.001$), but no significant relations existed between relaxation and interestingness. However against our predictions, smaller, but still significant, paths were found from fascination to pleasantness ($\beta = 0.16$, $P < 0.001$) and from compatibility to interestingness ($\beta = 0.17$, $P < 0.001$).

Discussion

Effects of socio-demographic variables

Although the gender differences regarding positive emotions and fascination are small to moderate, they are in need of an explanation. Given the enormous amount of research on sex differences, gender identity and sex roles, and the resulting multitude of complex and often contradictory results and theories, these differences are far too complex to consider in full detail in the present chapter. For our purposes we focus on gender differences associated with retrospective *versus* real-time assessments of emotions.

Methodologically, self-report measures are probably the best way to measure a person's emotional experience (e.g. Clore, 1994; Diener, 2000). However, we have to remember that reporting one's current emotions (*online*, or *experiential knowledge*) is different from reporting on one's emotions from the past (*episodic memory*) because of a difference between *episodic* and *semantic* memory (Robinson and Clore, 2002). Semantic memory is not connected to one particular event, but rather is influenced by beliefs, and by sex role stereotypes. Thus, when we ask subjects to report on the emotions they habitually experience while staying in their mountain

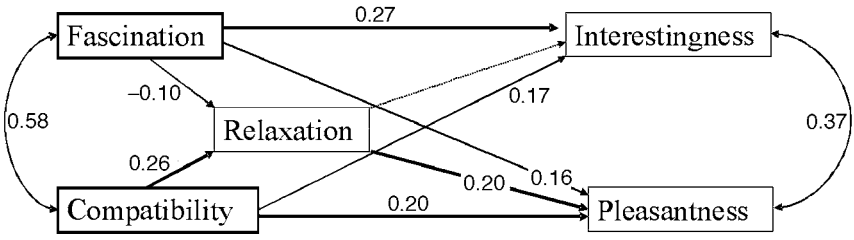

Fig. 6.7. Path model of emotions, relaxation and restorative cognitive modes.

cabin, the answers most likely are influenced both by valid memories and by beliefs about their own global emotional dispositions, and by factors such as socializing processes and sex role stereotypes.

In most cultures instrumental/agentic characteristics are ascribed to males more than to females, and vice versa for communion and emotionality-related characteristics (Williams and Best, 1982). These sex role stereotypes seem to be relatively persistent across long time periods (Bjerke *et al.*, 1989; Lueptow *et al.*, 2001), and self-report scales have often found that sex differences in emotions are congruent with these widespread stereotypes (Robinson and Clore, 2002). However, gender differences in emotionality (intensity as well as with regard to particular emotions) are more frequently reported when retrospective reports (including more semantic memory), and not real-time reports, are used (Shields, 1991). Also, Feldman Barrett *et al.* (1998) found that females described themselves as more anxious, sad and happy than did males when responding to memory-based measures, and Brebner (2003) reported that, in an international sample, females scored marginally, but significantly higher, than males on scales for affection, anger, contentment, fear, joy and sadness. On the other hand, studies revealing no gender differences regarding these emotions also exist (Feldman Barrett *et al.*, 2000).

The relevance of this research for the present study of affective aspects of cabin life is that the gender differences we found could have been considerably smaller if real-time reporting had been the method used. But simultaneously, our results conform to major trends in previous research on sex differences: Women more often than men report on emotions like joy, contentment, happiness, fear, etc. It is more difficult to relate our finding of a gender difference regarding the accumulated positive emotions measure to previous research and theories, since many studies have shown higher scores among females on scales measuring negative emotions (e.g. depression: Piccinelli and Wilkinson, 2000; Kuehner, 2003). This may be due to the specific situation targeted in our study, namely emotions while staying in a mountain cabin. We have not been able to find this situation or context included in previous self-report studies on sex differences in emotions. However, it has been shown previously that gender–emotion stereotypes are specific for interpersonal and achievement-related contexts (Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux, 1999).

Research from other areas, however, may contribute to a better understanding of our findings. First, the motive 'contact with nature' (including observing animals) is associated with both positive emotions reported, and with all six items of the fascination sub-scale of the Attention Restoration Scale (Laumann *et al.*, 2001). Secondly, previous research in Norway has indicated that females are more likely than males to observe and feed animals (Bjerke and Østdahl, 2004). In his theory about the restorative benefits of nature, Kaplan (1995, p. 170) specifically mentioned wildlife as a fascinating and restorative aspect of natural surroundings. Therefore, a female preference (although small) for common components of the Norwegian alpine nature (birds, natural sounds) may explain some of the higher scores of females regarding both positive emotions and fascination. We emphasize, in addition, that the gender differences in fascination scale scores have not been demonstrated previously in attention restoration research.

The small negative association between age of the respondents and negative emotions is similarly in accord with previous human–environment studies in Norway. Bjerke and Østdahl (2004) found a positive correlation between interests in birds and insects, as well as between reading books about nature and age. Such age-related interests, however, are contradicted by some studies showing a lower preference for visually presented natural landscapes among older age groups (e.g. Lyons, 1983; Zube *et al.*, 1983; Tahvanainen *et al.*, 2001).

Attention restoration and basic emotions

Turning to the path model, our hypothesis was partly supported since compatibility was positively related and fascination was negatively related to relaxation. The assumption that fascination is effortless is thus without empirical support in our data. Moreover, fascination was a significant predictor of feelings of interest and compatibility was a significant predictor of pleasantness. However, the paths from fascination to pleasantness and from compatibility to interestingness reached significance as well, although these effect sizes were smaller than for the predicted paths. Hence, our study does not offer conclusive evidence as to the relationship between the attention modes suggested by Kaplan as being restorative and the 'Broaden-and-Build' perspective offered by Fredrickson. Although effortlessness is no prerequisite for restoration in Fredrickson's theory, more research is obviously needed to further our understanding of the relationships between fascination and interestingness and between compatibility and pleasantness.

Conclusions

In an effort to identify affective states that accompany, or perhaps underlie, motives for owning and using a second home, we hypothesized that

attentional restoration and positive emotions are good candidates. Our analyses clearly show that all items used to tap attention restoration subscales 'fascination' and 'compatibilty' (e.g. Laumann *et al.*, 2001) are perceived as highly representative of 'the life when being in my cabin'. This could mean that cabin life provides good opportunities for recovery from the daily use of focused attention, and that the environment around the cabin is in harmony with the owner's inclinations and purposes (Kaplan, 1995). These findings are congruent with previous studies of the mental restorative effects of natural environments, and indicate that cabin life provides a renewal of depleted psychological resources. What has not been shown previously, however, is that women more than men agree to items especially on the fascination subscale. This finding may relate to previous research in Norway, showing a somewhat higher interest in appreciative nature observation among women than among men. We have also demonstrated a positive and direct link between fascination and interest scores.

The motive most strongly and positively associated with fascination is 'to have a place to come in contact with nature', while the motive 'to practise sports activities' is negatively associated with fascination. The motive 'a place to meet friends and family' is most important for the compatibility scale, together with the motive 'to practise outdoor recreation'. Compatibility is meant to indicate a fit between a person's inclinations/purposes and the environment; thus, desired social and nature-related activities seem to be congruent with cabin life. It is also of interest to find that to have a second home 'as a financial investment' is unrelated to fascination and negatively related to compatibility. This motive is also positively related to negative emotions. Economic motives most likely are not the best facilitators for good feelings when staying in one's mountain cabin.

Regarding activities performed while staying at one's cabin, we note that winter use (ski tours in particular) is positively correlated with both general subjective well-being and positive emotions experienced at the mountain cabin. Further research is needed to illuminate this relationship. We speculate, however, that it could at least be partly explained by the physical benefits of cross-country skiing, an activity that involves the total body. In contrast, walking is possibly less physically beneficial in that it involves the upper half of the body to a much lesser degree.

Lastly, we emphasize that the contributions of cabin life to the mental processes described in the present study most likely involve a positive contribution to somatic health as well, given the close connections between positive mental states and healthy somatic processes.

Acknowledgements

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of the fascination and compatibility scales. The study is part of the project 'Second Homes Development – The Interplay Between Social, Economic, and Ecological Effects'. The project is financed by the Norwegian Research Council's programme 'Changing Landscapes'.

7 The Summer Cottage: a Dream in the Finnish Forest

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Introduction

There are approximately 461,000 summer cottages in Finland today (Statistics Finland, 2003). With a total population of 5.1 million, this means that every fourth household owns a cottage and even more have access to one, since cottages are increasingly used by extended families. Consequently, owning a summer cottage in Finland today lacks the elitist connotations sometimes associated with owning a second home (Halseth, 2004).

For many Finns, life and home are divided into two places, the city and the summer cottage. The cottage is an everyday phenomenon, it holds a strong personal significance to its owner and it is a culturally important part of Finnish life. The summer cottage has also played an important role in forming the Finnish national identity; it is a part of Finnish national mythology, a myth in itself. In this article I will describe the summer cottage as an important part of Finnish culture. It is a place of vacation but also a unifying myth with its rituals that belong to today's Finnish way of life. A cottage looks back romantically to tradition, and carries it forward to modernity. My aim is to show how the divided space between the city and the cottage create and affect everyday life.

The Cottage and Nationalistic Image Building

In the cottage philosophy of Finland, summer cottages are considered quintessentially and originally Finnish. The Finnish mentality and self-understanding have, until recent years, been strongly bound to nature, the countryside and agrarian values. Rural landscapes, especially a summertime view of the patchwork of forests and lakes, are almost self-evident

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characteristics of Finland (Klinge, 1984). The Finnish cultural preference for rural over urban landscapes – and in some respect also over urban culture – is born of a myth or modernist utopian ideal based on a long-standing agrarian tradition and Finnish attitudes to nature.

Societies exist and rule in a certain place at a certain time and their history and geography constitute the context from which they are constructed. Concepts of countryside, wilderness and the city are always parts of the national environmental ideology. Concepts help to build national identities and nations as a whole. They are widely used and reproduced; in fact, they are so common that they are not easily noticed (Short, 1991). Identity, whether it is national, ethnic or local, is often derived from certain landscapes and environments. The unique Finnish environment has become the national landscape, which is transmitted as a part of the Finnish master narrative. It also works as a carrier of that story (Vilkuna, 1997).

Life in the midst of Finnish nature has been seen as an essential part of becoming a full citizen, in the manner of the seven brothers immortalized by Aleksis Kivi, the national writer. By owning a villa plot, a piece of one's own country, the Finnish city dweller could claim his or her civil rights. I. K. Inha, cultural persona and writer, wrote at the beginning of the 20th century about his villa plot: 'I had a piece of my own country. A place where I was the master and free to do what I wanted, where nobody else had a say. I had a permanent home and a solid foothold in the soil of my fatherland … I felt as if I had only then received my civil rights' (Krohn, 1991, p. 129).

The Summer Cottage and the Myth

In Finland, the summer cottages became popular among all groups within society only after the Second World War and the subsequent post-war crisis. In the 1950s, Finland turned from a mainly agrarian to a post-industrial society, where most people lived in cities, and urbanization occurred very quickly. Forty per cent of the work-force was employed in primary production but, by 1975, this had reduced to only 15 per cent. The post-war era also meant the creation of the Nordic welfare state in Finland as well as an emphasis on equality among all groups in society, and the summer cottage had a role in this development as well. From the urbanization point of view, it was an opportunity to return to the former homesteads. But simple cottage life was also thought of as an expression of equality, as architect and professor Aulis Blomstedt wrote in 1957:

> In our forest- and lake-rich Finland the contact between humans and Mother Nature is so vital, that city people, officials as well as workers, give their best effort to avoid the city during summertime. The normal Finnish family usually owns a boat, an outboard motor, and a summer cottage. When the time is right, the Finnish scientist-professor may turn into an old-time fisherman, and there is not a touch of the lecture hall atmosphere left. It is rather due to the relationship

> with nature, than circumstances, that a nature-man and a cultural-man are permanently combined in one person. It is fortunate, that spirituality and intellect, and closeness to nature are shaking hands with each other.
>
> (Blomstedt, 1957, p. 48)

This short piece exemplifies what has been said about the Finnish culture. Cities are avoidable, at least during summertime. Owning a cottage is seen as 'normal'. There is a need to hide social differences; one way or another every Finn comes from a tiny cottage. This inevitable situation, with its origins in the simple life, is presented as cherished and desirable. In this way, cottage life is not about self-denying asceticism. On the contrary, cottage life involving fishing, eating, savouring the company of family members, and the sauna, swimming and beer are enjoyable bodily experiences. This has the power to make the simple and primitive a sensuously rich experience.

On the one hand, there was a need to be a part of the achievements of European cultural history and, on the other, there was a need to emphasize the difference and the uniqueness of the Finnish culture (Knuuttila, 1994). Hall (1999) has described the European tradition of banishing nature to the colonies. In this way, representations of the wild, the other, were used to define European culture. In Finnish nationalism these two exist in the same person. According to Romantic ideals, the Finn didn't turn to other cultures or places in search of the primitive. On the contrary, the primeval forest was there on the doorstep and the noble savage was only sleeping during the work period, waiting to be unclothed from his winter fur.[1]

There are certainly parts of tradition present at the cottage, but there are also characteristics that are clearly new and modern. The 'shore-sauna' has its traditional content, but as a building type it is a modern interpretation. Swimming had not been a common practice among the rural people. Likewise, the idea of constructing a cottage in the middle of the forest did not belong to the rural tradition. Constructing a home near the woods is rather a new, romantic, international idea, although a mental connection to the forest has otherwise deep roots in our heritage (Linkola, 1981). Even the architecture expresses the difference: the 'typical Finnish cottage', the model that has been the most popular for many years, has a one-storey log construction, a loft and a saddle roof, directed toward the shore. It has a traditional look but actually very little in common with a traditional Finnish rural house. Its shape and aesthetics have various origins, both international and national.

Characteristics of the Finnish Cottage

Finland's internationally late, but rapid, urbanization after the Second World War, migration from rural to urban areas and the increases in leisure time and standard of living are the sociological factors behind the popularization of the summer cottage from the 1950s onwards (Vuori, 1966). The peak years of cottage building were the 1970s and 1980s, when

more than 100,000 cottages were built each decade, but even today some 5000 new cottages are being constructed every year (Statistics Finland, 2003).

The most obvious motive for having a cottage is the desire to enjoy the short summer in the best possible environment: in the country, in the shade of the trees, by the lake. It also involves nostalgia for former home regions and a wish to be lord of one's manor, away from the oppression of city life and the suburbs. Furthermore, the cherished Finnish sauna tradition is a central part of the cottage experience. The sauna, once a common tradition throughout Europe, has persisted in Finland and Russia after its demise in many other parts of Europe. Its association with summer cottages in Finland makes such cottages a bit different from sauna traditions elsewhere. The Finnish cottage is either a combination 'sauna-cottage', where all the spaces are under the same roof, or has a separate sauna.

Cottages in the lap of nature

The roots of the cottage philosophy may lie in Roman villas, the countryside manors of European gentry, and in the old Finnish tradition of a seasonal change of dwelling. Yet the tradition of urban dwellers' villas and cottages emerged only in the 19th century, when the modern bourgeois worldview was in transition. This meant a new arrangement of time between city and country. For the bourgeoisie, time was divided into 'unnatural' working time in the winter in the city and 'natural, authentic', leisure time in the summer in the country. The latter was emotional and magical. Thus the family, unspoilt nature and the summer cottage provided an intimate contrast to public urban life.

Nature was further divided. On the one hand, there were natural resources with economic value, and on the other there was wild nature and its wildlife providing wonderful leisure experiences. It was thought that in the lap of nature, humans could return to their original, near-primitive stage, to rediscover themselves and consolidate their strength (Löfgren, 1979).

This belief in the search for the original state of humans emerged, of course, from Jean Jacques Rousseau's writings. He focused attention on those qualities that had been oppressed: the child, the primitive and the ordinary people (Rousseau, 2000). These themes also directed the cottage myth, according to which the villa life and later cottage life had been interpreted as a search for the true self, e.g. the return to one's playful childhood, the imitation of the first man in his hut and the urban bourgeoisie's wish to share a common heritage with the ordinary people in rural areas. These romantic ideals also derived their aesthetic shapes from villa and cottage architecture. There were the freshly coloured, playful architectural compositions, the modern, minimalistic interpretations of the hut and the national romantic constructions.

In Finland, the general spread of the villa was a result of economic

development. This spread was, of course, rather a selective phenomenon. Villa owners were affluent city bourgeoisie, often the Swedish-speaking elite of the country, whose interest in the small coastal islands for the sake of their beautiful views represented a new trend among cottage owners. This interest focused on the archipelago and seaside regions. Therefore, choice of areas and villa ownership corresponded to the existing linguistic borders. Ruissalo, off Turku, became the largest island villa community and its Villa Roma, designed by T.P. Chiewitz in the 1850s, served as the prototype of the decorative villa. These villas also had a new type of floor plan which represented the ideals of the bourgeois family (Soiri-Snellman, 1985).

Cottages in the forest

During the era of National Romanticism, Finnish-speaking identity was associated with inland woods and forest-covered areas, and villa construction adopted some of the 'Finnish' features that it still retains today. The bourgeois villa in the middle of the forest created the image of authentic nature through park design, with the villa looking out from on high over the surrounding forest park (Ruoff, 2000). The forest was seen as both heritage and future; it was connected with mental, religious and economic values (Julkunen and Kuusamo, 2003) The Finnish landscape was a base on which patriotic feelings were constructed (Klinge, 1984).

Fine arts, as well as applied arts, were used consciously in constructing the Finnish national identity. It was thought that Finland as a nation should have cultural artefacts that people could feel belonged to them. This also meant a conscious effort to create architecture that could be defined as Finnish (Wäre, 1991). 'Finnishness' was indicated by the villa's location beside a 'wilderness' lake, the lack of neighbours and other people, the preservation of the 'woodsy' appearance of the plot, and the preference for bare log exterior surfaces (Julkunen and Kuusamo, 1983). The ideal of this villa type was exemplified in the wilderness studios of artists, e.g. Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Pekka Halonen and Emil Wikström. It was from houses such as these that the new architecture became popular as villa architecture.

Cottages on the shore

During the first years of Finnish independence, after 1917, summer cottages became simpler and also cheaper, more suitable for the emerging and growing number of Finnish-speaking middle-class. As access improved, cottages were also built inland and for weekend use. Moreover, functionalist requirements were extended to cottages; simplicity and practicality were design principles as well as moral values, and they suited ideas of Finnish architecture very well. The criticism of the 'decadent culture' of the high bourgeoisie led to neo-moralist values emphasizing

hygiene, health and naturalness, which in the form of sports and naturism also influenced life in summer cottages. The new, small and simple holiday or weekend cottage became a base for swimming, sunbathing, exploring nature trails and enjoying the 'ozone-rich' air of the pine forests.

Inspired by National Romantic ideas, the sauna became the domestic equivalent of spa culture. At the turn of the 20th century, water was not only considered healthy, it was also seen as very primitive and houses built on piles above the water were thought to be the most primitive and original form of habitation. This had to do with the romantic ideas of Pacific cultures and also with archaeological findings of the so-called lake dwellings in Switzerland. This Romanticism inspired, for example, architect Le Corbusier in his designs and writings. A house at the shore had come to represent Rousseau-inspired ideas of noble primitiveness in modern architecture (Vogt, 1998).

The swimming booths of villas became obsolete and were replaced by separate sauna buildings during the first decades of the 20th century. As far as is known, the small fishing or hunting cottage presented by Oiva Kallio in the Kotitaide (Domestic Art) magazine in 1916 was the first sauna-cum-living room combination. The more elaborate version, the sauna of Villa Oivala from 1932, which later became familiar as an example of dugout architecture, is considered one of the prototypes of the Finnish cottage (Jeskanen, 1998).

The sauna and its usage, combined with the National Romantic ideas of Finnish heritage, made it seem traditional that the sauna should be situated at the shore. But that was not the case in traditional peasant houses – the sauna was most often situated near the well, not separately at the shore. It was cottage culture that brought the sauna to the shore and formed the generally accepted idea that this was its traditional site.

Today the opportunity to build the sauna near a shoreline is considered important since taking a swim after a sauna constitutes the core of Finnish cottage life and of the Finnish myth in general. Because of that and because of the rising number of summer cottages, proposed restrictions on building near the coastline have become hotly debated issues among environmentalists, landowners and cottage owners.

The foregoing discussion has shown that the summer cottage is a mythical construction that is not based solely on the traditional rural Finnish way of life, which is used in a nostalgic and romantic manner, but also on attitudes and ideals from other parts of Europe and even further afield. In order to understand this better I will take a look at the theory of myth and produced space and will conclude the chapter with some observations on the impact of summer cottages on modern Finnish life.

Myth

The summer cottage is perhaps today so intimate and commonplace that it has been taken for granted to such a degree that there is not much research

on the subject in Finland (Julkunen and Kuusamo, 2003). 'Taken for granted' is exactly what a mythological phenomenon is. According to Barthes (1994), a myth seems so natural and innocently obvious that it hides its historical background and the social and political context to which it belongs. Myth is a value that robs images of their historicity. As Barthes puts it, 'the very principle of myth [is to] transform history into nature' (1994, p. 201). It is a social construction; it is formative and unchallenged (Short, 1991).

Anything can become myth. Within semiotic systems myths are constructed at what is called the second level. First-level signs are constructed by a signifier and a signified. In the case of the summer cottage, the set of construction materials (timber, window glasses, tin roof) constitute the signifier and the concept of the materials together constructing the shape of a summer cottage constitutes the signified. Together they make a sign which, according to Barthes (1994), is a 'language-object'.

The myth of a summer cottage takes this first-level sign, the language-object, and adds to it a new signified, which in the case of the Finnish summer cottage is a set of nationalistic values, such as the belief that to be a Finn is to love nature and long for solitude. As a result, there is a new, second-level sign, known as 'meta-language' (Barthes, 1994). Hence, the myth of the summer cottage is very much about the Finnish need to keep up the traditional rural way of life. That means also having or wanting a closer relationship with nature than to people.

The cottage culture of Finland can be compared to the wine culture of France. Drinking wine has been, according to Barthes (1994), a French myth. Objectively, wine tastes good, but enjoying wine also constitutes a myth that unifies. Wine has clearly been an important symbolic substance to the French representing conviviality, virility and, most importantly, national identity. For a French person, to deconstruct the 'good French wine' has been to distinguish oneself from the proper French people. The love of nature and spending the summer at the cottage, going to the sauna and taking a swim in the lake unifies the Finns. The decision to stay in the city during the summer, if it isn't based on a lack of access to a cottage, has until recently meant at least a slight affront to Finnish culture in general.

Although a myth makes ideological speech, moral values or aesthetic shapes seem like innocent and natural facts, it is important to notice that a myth is not something untrue. The enjoyment that the cottage life brings is not a lie, nor is it based on a lie, but neither is it based on a natural fact arising from the Finnish tradition and heritage (Barthes, 1994).

Although decoding the discursive and mythological content of the Finnish summer cottage is fruitful and interesting, it is not enough. According to Lefebvre (1991), this would lead to diminishing the cottage into a message and the analysis of it to a purely descriptive exercise omitting the spatial significance of the cottage and its productive and social role in Finnish society. In order to reach this socially constructed spatiality of the cottage and the ways in which the cottage itself produces social action, I have to take a short excursion into Lefebvre's (1991) theory about the production of space.

The Summer Cottage and Spatialization

In *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre states that 'space is a [social] product'. He also says that every society produces a space, its own space. Lefebvre names this production spatialization and defines it as a dialectical process between the triad of the following:

- Spatial Practice – space in everyday life.
- Representations of Space – professional, bureaucratic, expertise space, including discursive power.
- Spaces of Representation – 'representational space', space as it might be, fully lived space.

In the case of the Finnish cottage this means that there is interaction between the cottage as a part of everyday life, the legislation and planning that has power over constructing and using the cottage, and the cottage as experience.

The product, the cottage as space, is at the same time a materialization of the socially constructed arrangement and a mediator of these social constructions. This means that those social myths that I have described above have their spatial material form as a cottage. The cottage itself, then, produces social action, when cottage owners arrange their life in the spatial reality of the cottage. As a result spaces are divided 'into significant nodes and points, places' (Shields, 1991, p. 47).

Places and images connected to them, 'place-images' create a mythological system in which different places are set against each other. These images acquire their meaning from difference, being ways of distinguishing one place from all others. There are also specific activities associated with the different spaces, i.e. special places for special activities (Shields, 1991; Urry, 1995). The city and the summer cottage create a pair of places that are spatially separate and distinct in both meaning and function. However, their significance lies not only in their distinctiveness but also in the physical and mental transitions that occur in movement between the two places.

Nature and the search for natural experiences constitute important parts of Finnish culture. According to the modernist ideology of space, every function should have its own space. A direct result of this is the application of zoning principles to city planning. This functional zoning, combined with the dichotomy between city and nature, makes problematic the presence of nature in the city. By this I mean that because of the perceived need for people to be close to nature, there were serious efforts in Finnish town planning to create forest towns, as a combination of modernist architecture and garden city ideology. Some of them, such as the garden city 'Tapiola' at Espoo, near Helsinki, were architecturally successful. But even in those green, relatively sparsely developed suburbs, the nature they provide is not enough. The reason may lie in the perception that nature in the city is simply in the wrong place, an anomaly. According to Douglas (1979), dirt and pollution are things in the wrong place. Wild natural elements in the city

area are just that; things in the wrong place. In the spatial order of the West, they should be tamed in order to really belong to the city. Otherwise, elements of nature will either be considered polluting, like city pigeons and seagulls, or will themselves be polluted by the city in the way that wild animals that intrude into the city are considered disturbed.

The way the environment is experienced is socially constructed (Shields, 1991; Macnaghten and Urry, 1998). One can look at the most beautiful sunset by the sea in Helsinki, and imagine at the same time how much more beautiful it would be at the cottage. The summer cottage is experienced as belonging to nature, whereas the city is not. This leads us not only to doubt the authenticity of nature and nature experiences in the city, but also to make them more authentic at the cottage.

It is crucial to the Finnish cottage myth that being at the cottage is experienced as being alone in the middle of nature. This means also that the cottage should not be situated in a village, at least not in a cottage village. This image of a cottage and its surroundings creates a sense of isolation from other people. In short, you feel alone in the wilderness, and your neighbours feel the same in their cottage only 100 m away.

Summer cottage architecture supports the dichotomy between city and cottage. A city should look like a city (Vilkuna, 1997), whereas a summer cottage should look like a cottage, which is defined as characteristically different from the city architecture (Löfgren, 1999). In Finland, authorities usually do not accept log architecture in urban or suburban houses even though people might like it. Similarly, concrete or tile construction is not at all popular in cottage building, although in principle there are usually no restrictions.

Meanings of the Cottage

The passage between city and the summer cottage

In the previous section I described how nature is constructed in opposition to the city, and vice versa. This dichotomy nurtures different meanings, activities, moods and experiences associated with each of the two places. The work/leisure division between urban home and cottage is one mark of the modernization process reaching and changing the traditional countryside. Although seasonal migration was also a characteristic of the traditional way of life in Finland, time and activities were never differentiated into work and leisure.

The movement from the everyday environment and home to the summer cottage is not only a passage between two different places but also a transformation of the state of mind (Löfgren, 1999). The journey to beautiful places becomes a part of the vacation experience. Travelling prepares a cottager for the cottage mood, which is an emotional state, a precondition for experiencing, for example, the beauty of nature or other facets of cottage life (Shields, 1991).

Travelling to the cottage is experienced as a passage to an original, more primitive way of life. It is a ritual passage to a different experience zone. De Certeau (1984) writes that: 'walking about and travelling substitute for exits, for going away and coming back, which were formerly available by a body of legends … the legends that used to open up space to something different' (pp. 106–107).

He argues that Western cultures today seem to have a limited variety of place-related legends or other transformation rituals that could open up the same place or space to a different experience zone.

In the Finnish national mythology nature is considered sacred (Kalha, 2002). The journey to the cottage is therefore also a ritual passage between the profane and the sacred. The journey, the rest areas, the lunch stops, and gas stations, all these act as transitional places (Julkunen and Kuusamo, 2003). The congestion on the highways before the national holidays, especially before Midsummer Night, adds to the ritual character of the journey. At the cottage, the core of the ritual is the sauna. The passage from the cottage – classically situated on an upper position on the shore slope – down to the sauna is described as going down the last steps of civilization to the primitive state. The sauna itself is considered to be the place of purification, both physically and mentally. The swim afterwards strengthens the alliance with nature, which is considered sacred (Julkunen and Kuusamo, 1983).

According to Baudrillard (1998) the holiday traffic congestion – and the way it is taken up by the news media – belongs to the magical thinking and mythology of the West. In the case of cottages in Finland, the main event is, as mentioned above, the Midsummer Night festivities. Every year, a few people that are travelling to the cottage die in traffic accidents. This is reported accurately in the news. The situation is the same with the number of people drowned in the lakes and the sea during that weekend. The news is based on the need for objective truth but the accurate reporting these numbers provide is part of the mythology. It gives strength to the rituality of cottage life. The victims become sacred. In this way, they are the sacrifice to the rites of cottages and Midsummer Night. Finnish nature takes back it's own.

Conclusion: the Ritual Meaning of the Cottage

Having a summer cottage finds its inspiration in the nostalgic gaze towards tradition. It is a part of the Finnish national, romantic meta-narrative and it also expresses the modern world view. At the same time, it belongs to a production of space that has its own culture, traditions and rituals that characterize modern Finland.

The cottage is an imitation of country life, but it is a version involving a heroic aura of war stories and wilderness settlements, not memories of the poor and struggling life in the rain and the mud and the potato fields. This becomes clear in a 1970s Finnish film *Kahdeksan Surmanluotia* (Eight Deadly Shots). The film is a tragic story, based on reality, in which a small farmer, fighting for survival against insurmountable odds, ends up shooting eight

policemen at the door of his house when he thinks everything is lost. In the film, there is a conversation between the farmer and his wife in which the wife suggests that they should sell the farm and move to the city. The husband answers: 'They wouldn't pay anything; there is no lake near; not even the summer cottage buyers would want this' (Jokinen and Saaristo, 2002, p. 144).

The people in search of a cottage for themselves wouldn't buy the farm because it wasn't at either a lake shore or the sea. This is what has often happened in the countryside: former small farms in the interior are left empty to rot, and new cottages are constructed elsewhere; inland villages may become empty; shores that represent wilderness and primitive nature are desired. For the same reason, a small town or village dweller, or the farmer, builds and uses a summer cottage, although his or her everyday surroundings would be perfect settings for the same. The cottage owners' space is divided between everyday home and a leisure cottage, both of which nurture specific activities, moods and experiences. Travel between them acts as a transition between the different modes of experience.

This process seems necessary. Hayden (1984) has described how 'the settlers didn't cherish the memory of their crude shelters' (p. 102). That can happen only after the memories of the poverty of rural life have vanished. Löfgren (1999) has written about the nostalgia of return in cottage cultures. For many of the Finnish first-generation cottagers, this would have meant going back to a place and time of failure. The cottage myth is a way of dealing with this. It makes cottage life a ritual; it creates the possibility of living the past the way it should have been. This works at both the individual and national levels.

It is also seen as a unifying and equalizing factor. Because of its simplicity, life under primitive conditions, surrounded by natural scenery, creates equality among Finns, even with those whose means are insufficient to afford a cottage. But simplicity and primitive existence close to nature are only symbolic elements, passages to the possibility of enjoyment.

The ritual of the cottage may turn the Durkheimian description of religious ceremonies and profane life on its head. Although the cottage ritual still serves to reaffirm common bonds and to reinforce social solidarity, it doesn't bring Finns physically together, on the contrary, it sends them to practise the cult in isolation. The sacred is found there, away from the crowds; the profane is situated in the city, where people are brought together. There, the cottage memories are shared, at the same time as the return is anticipated.

Endnote

[1] To unclothe one's winter fur means to swim in a lake at the cottage for the first time in the summer season. It is an important topic of discussion after the first summertime weekend in May and June, a moment of anticipation among cottage owners.

8 Home and Away: Revisiting 'Escape' in the Context of Second Homes

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Introduction

Various commentators have recognized the increased influence of modernity on people's lives today. Such influences include globalization, 'time–space compression' (e.g. Harvey, 1989), and 'separation from nature and experience' (e.g. Giddens, 1991). The combination of these influences creates an environment characterized by dynamism, stress, a sense of constant rush and lack of control. While it has been argued that such conditions can lead to disorientation and personal meaninglessness, the possibility of temporary 'escape' (Cohen and Taylor, 1992) and 'resistance' (Ritzer, 1998) provide a variety of mechanisms through which people cope with these increasingly pervasive influences.

A key distinction between pre-modern and modern times is the process of 'differentiation', which Giddens suggested results in: '… the progressive separation of functions, such that modes of activity organized in a diffuse fashion in pre-modern societies become more specialized' (Giddens, 1991, p. 18).

For example, in modern societies, leisure and work are separated, and distinct times and places are allotted to their expression. Playful behaviour at work is discouraged and the opportunities for leisure are confined to paid vacations, holidays and weekends (Mitchell, 1983). In such circumstances, it is easy to see that work can be constructed as instrumental (i.e. to make a living) and leisure as expressive (i.e. to be creative): 'Thus, in segmented society … expressive denial may be role specific, not comprehensive, but limited. It then becomes possible for dissatisfaction in one sphere of life to be compensated in another … the emotional or creative shortcomings of work may be assuaged by fulfilling leisure' (Mitchell, 1983, p. 211).

This dichotomous relationship between work and leisure has been

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challenged, especially in regard to the spheres of professional work (e.g. Moorhouse, 1989; Rojek, 1993; Lewis, 2003). However, the compensatory theory of leisure is persistent, where leisure places and activities are constructed as 'free areas' or 'escape routes' (Cohen and Taylor, 1978, 1992; Rojek, 1993).

Cohen and Taylor (1978, 1992) suggest that individuals react in three different ways to the impositions of 'paramount reality' or to the boredom, habits and routines of daily life. At times and for some, there is the feeling of being *at home*: '… a comfortable acceptance of the arrangements and conventions of everyday life, a sense that the world was made for people like them … reality is embraced, routines are dignified as rituals, conventions are religiously observed, scripts are performed with pleasure and satisfaction' (Cohen and Taylor, 1978, p. 200). At other times, and for others, the responsibilities of daily life are a *burden*, and the routines a *prison*. In such instances, individuals resort to the mental strategies of 'monitoring' and 'self-distancing'. But when those strategies, in turn, fail us: 'we look elsewhere … We want a genuine escape, a flight to an area in which we can temporarily absent ourselves from the paramount reality, find ourselves out of play, and assemble our identity in peace or with new and more powerful symbolic resources' (Cohen and Taylor, 1978, p. 94). 'Elsewhere', they suggest, includes 'activity enclaves' (e.g. hobbies, games, gambling), 'mindscapes' (e.g. drugs, therapy) and 'new landscapes' (e.g. holidays, mass culture). Similarly, in his book *Ways of Escape*, Rojek (1993) recognizes a number of 'escape areas' frequented by tourists and recreationists including the beach, monuments and wilderness areas.

Cohen and Taylor, although recognizing the versatility and inventiveness of humans in their attempts to step out of their daily reality, reluctantly conclude that escape is impossible as paramount reality inevitably re-asserts itself: 'the facticity of the external world cannot be denied … to base a resistance plan against everyday life on the invulnerability of the individual self must fail because of the ways that self is located in time and history and rooted to specific sets of social relations (Cohen and Taylor, 1978, p. 225).

Rojek (1993) is equally pessimistic. He concludes that the valuing of contrast and distraction which characterizes modern life creates a sense of dissatisfaction with any escape attempt or escape area based on leisure or tourism experiences:

> We are always dully aware that our experiences could be better; no sooner do we enter 'escape' activities than we feel nagging urges to escape from them … The ephemeral, the fugitive and the contingent describe our experiences of leisure just as they are at the heart of the phenomenology of Modernity
> (Rojek, 1993, p. 216)

One such 'free area' that is increasingly a characteristic of modern life in industrialized societies is ownership of multiple homes, specifically a 'second home' in a setting separate from the primary home (e.g. Chaplin, 1999a; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Hall and Müller, 2004; Quinn, 2004).

Second Homes and Modern Life

Most research and thinking in the study of second homes tends to focus on life and experiences in that context. However, in the majority of cases this is a relatively small component of the total life of individuals. Life at home and at work and its influence on the second-home experience is largely neglected. This more inclusive contextualization is essential because, increasingly, modern lifestyles that integrate home, work and play often involve circulating through 'a geographically extended network of social relations and across a multiplicity of dispersed places and regions' (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 227).

The thrust of the argument is that to understand second homes within the context of mobility and new forms of place making, we need to understand how people weave together the lifestyle sectors of leisure, work and multiple homes. We need to uncover what people actually do, how they feel about what they are doing and, finally, we need to access their deeper thoughts and feelings about these lifestyle sectors (Williams and McIntyre, 2001).

This chapter details a multi-method approach, which used three different data collection strategies to explore the cabin and home life of a sample of mainly retired second-home owners in the US National Forests in Colorado. Using these data, the persistent theme of 'escape' in the leisure/tourism literature, and specifically in the context of second homes (Jaakson, 1986; Chaplin, 1999a, b; Quinn, 2004), will be explored.

The US Forest Service Recreation Residence Program

A unique programme in second-home development is the Recreation Residence Program in the US National Forests (Lux *et al.*, 2000; Lux and Rose, this volume, Chapter 19). This programme has a long history, having been part of the National Forests for over 80 years. An estimated 15,200 of these Recreational Residences exist throughout the length and breadth of the country (Gildor, 2002). Many of these residences are situated in areas of high recreational use along the shorelines of lakes and on the banks of rivers and streams, and are concentrated in western USA, particularly in Pacific South West region of California (Lux and Rose, this volume, Chapter 19). Despite the long history of use and importance of these residences, very little is known about their owners, types and frequency of use and the benefits that they provide.

Cabins[1] in the Forest

The study area chosen was the eastern section of the Arapaho–Roosevelt and Pike National Forests in Colorado, adjacent to the Front Range settlements of Denver, Boulder, Fort Collins and Colorado Springs (Fig. 8.1).

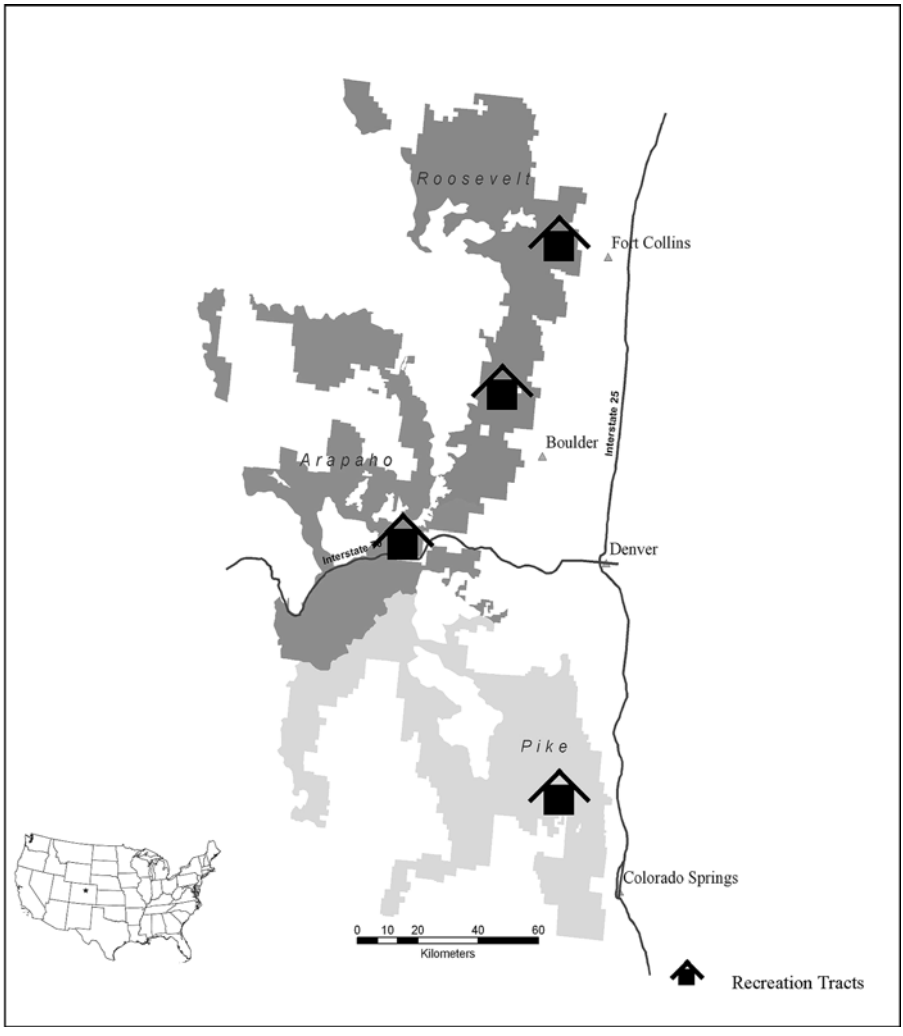

Fig. 8.1. Location of the Colorado study area.

There are an estimated 164 recreational residence leases in the Arapaho–Roosevelt and some 214 in the Pike.

Participants in the study were well-educated professionals (e.g. teachers, lawyers, stockbrokers), relatively affluent and mostly retired (McIntyre and Svanqvist, 2004). The demographics of this sample are broadly similar to those described by Berg (1975) in a more general survey of original cabin owners. All participants held leases in the Arapaho–Roosevelt and Pike National Forests and lived in the Front Range cities of Denver, Boulder, Fort Collins or Colorado Springs (Fig. 8.1). Participants' cabins are all in a forest setting and they have remained relatively primitive, with few of the modern conveniences that are common in cabins on adjacent private lands (Fig. 8.2).

Fig. 8.2. Recreation residence in Arapahoe-Roosevelt National Forest.

A 'sequential mixed method' design (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003) was adopted in this study, involving a quantitative survey on which was based a subsequent qualitative phase (Fig. 8.3).

The first phase involved a postal survey using the modified Dillman Method (Dillman, 2000) of a sample of 37 cabin owners in the Arapaho–Roosevelt and Pike National Forests who volunteered to be involved in the project. This survey comprised a section on the use and characteristics of the cabin (Stynes *et al.*, 1997) and a personal project elicitation form (Little, 1989). The relatively small sample of cabin owners volunteering represents the complexity and commitment required in being involved in this multi-method project. As the project aimed for an in-depth analysis of cabin life rather than a comprehensive survey, the small sample of committed respondents was appropriate.

The second phase comprised a 'concurrent mixed method' design (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003), involving synchronous experiential sampling (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1987; McIntyre and Roggenbuck, 1998) and in-depth interviews focusing on life in both the cottage and at home. The individuals involved in this second phase of the study were persons who volunteered from among the original survey respondents. They were selected initially to provide a broad range of leaseholder characteristics (e.g. place of residence, age, length of ownership). Participant numbers in these more intensive modes of data collection were of necessity smaller, comprising 11 in-depth interviews (mostly with couples) and six experiential sampling administrations, both at the cabin

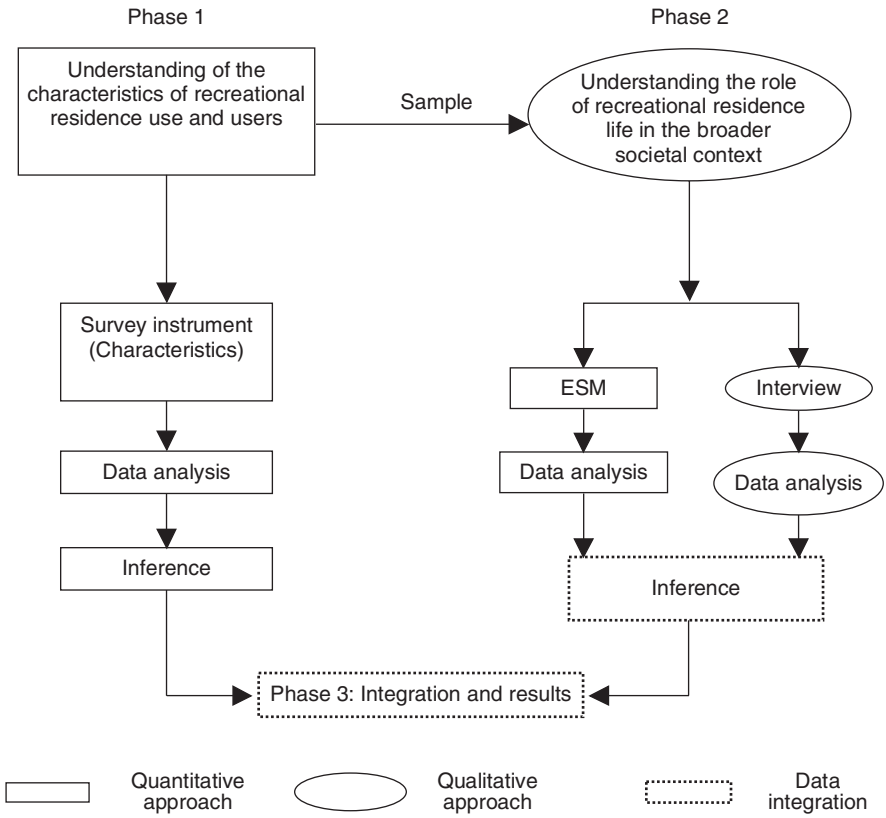

Fig. 8.3. Flow chart of study methods. ESM, experimental sampling method.

and also at home.[2] The results of both these phases were integrated in the final, third phase.

Second Homes as Escape Areas

Although both Cohen and Taylor (1978) and Rojek (1993) query the success of 'escape attempts' through leisure or travel activity, the persistence of 'escape' in the second-home literature (Coppock, 1977; Wolfe, 1977; Jaakson, 1986; Chaplin, 1999a, b; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Quinn, 2004) suggests that this theme is an important construct in explaining the widespread participation in this leisure/travel activity. Although not specifically mentioned by Cohen and Taylor (1978), second homes would fall comfortably into their 'new landscapes' category of 'free areas'. A visit to the second home in this interpretation can be viewed as a ludic or play experience, which 'people … monitor … in such ways as consciously to project themselves into the fantasy, nudge it even further away from reality' (Cohen and Taylor, 1978, p. 118). The playfulness and reflexive appreciation

of the fantasy is exemplified by a quote from one of Chaplin's British second-home owners in France: 'When I am piling up wood, I'm a man of the earth, a man of the soil! It's unreal, I know, but it's nice to pretend' ('Dave', in Chaplin, 1999a, p. 46). In essence, individuals escape from home, from city and from the stresses of 'paramount reality' to feel once again *at home*. In David Crouch's words, 'escape becomes an escape for home, not just from home' (Crouch, 1994, p. 96).

The second home is portrayed variously as an escape from 'the pressures of city life': 'It's terribly difficult coming back. All the pressures are back again, all the competitiveness of modern life … whereas over there (France) its like going back in time … you make the rules of what you want to do each day and you do it' ('Fiona', in Chaplin, 1999a, p. 44); and: 'One of the advantages of owning a bach [second home] is the way it provides a bolthole. This is where we'll come … to lick our wounds, if the sharemarket collapses, if she leaves me, if they drop the bomb, if I go mad. Here I'll be able to survive, I'll live off the land, take my cues from the natural world, and become sane again' (Cox, 1995, p. 43); as 'inversion' or escape to a site where 'life … is lived differently' from that in the city: '[It's] another environment, without all the technical appliances … use candle lights – wood heating, all in all live a simpler life' (cottage owner, Sjodalen, Norway, Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 222); as an 'escape *from* modernity … to seek refuge in nature': 'You become particularly fond of special mountain peaks. You watch those at all hours of the day – in all kinds of weather – it's a gift' (cottage owner, Sjodalen, Norway, Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 221); and as an escape to a different social environment: 'It is just great and the people up here (Hayward Lakes, Wisconsin, USA) are relaxed. They're not high tensioned, high stressed like you find in the city or work. So you forget about all that. You almost forget what day it is' (quoted in Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 221).

The notion of escape expressed in these excerpts suggests the differentiation or segmentation associated with modernity where home, work and leisure are separated in place and time. The second home becomes a place of 'consuming work and productive leisure' (Chaplin, 1999a), different in function and in some ways a replacement for the primary home which has become colonized by technology and akin to a motel or cafeteria. Ownership and use of a second home is very much an adaptation to the differentiated fragmented nature of late modernity which: 'thins out the meaning of each "home" by focusing the meaning of each on a particular segment of life (i.e. work and subsistence of urban daily life versus recreation and rejuvenation of cottage life)' (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 227).

Compensatory or Complementary?

Another, less powerful, more muted discourse, however, is evident in the narratives of some second-home owners, providing an alternative to the

prevalence of 'escape'. For example, the Colorado cabin owners in the US National Forests who live within a relatively short distance of their second homes indicate a significantly more integrated perception of the role of the cabin in their lifestyles. One Denver cabin owner, Jim[3], expressed it in this way: 'I like it up there [cabin] because it's like … going back in time a little bit. But really it's more than that … it's a bridge between living in this urban environment that is … unnatural … [and] nature that, you know, primitive man came out of …'. Jim and his wife Pat discussed the cabin/city relationship in the following terms:

> PAT: We appreciate living here [home in Denver] after having a cabin. It's … I just can't see that other lifestyle. I can't see living in the mountains and driving to Denver everyday … I like the contrast of the two …
>
> JIM: On the other hand, there's a lot of really interesting things to do here [Denver] that we don't do up there [cabin] … Go to art galleries or go downtown …

An examination of the use of the cabins by the owners (Table 8.1) demonstrates that 'occasional use' and 'frequent short stays' in the spring, summer and autumn are the prevalent use of the cabins, attesting to the close proximity of the cabins to the primary homes. 'It's just a really good, quiet getaway place. … well, I don't know how many nights we'd spend up there … and days … a lot of days. We're so close, you know, we'd just run up and spend the whole day, even if we weren't gonna spend the night' ('Peter', cabin owner).

Winter use is usually limited to special holidays such as Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year, and is not always pleasant due to the rather primitive facilities in the cabins: 'We went up once around Thanksgiving. It was just so doggone cold and miserable up there … it's strictly a summer cabin … we started a fire, but it was still cold, we said: "The heck with this", and turned around and … came on back even though it was gettin' late' ('Robert', cabin owner).

Project Analysis data, which involved respondents listing 'personal projects' in which they were involved at home and at the cabin (Little, 1989), reveal a rich mix of activity both at the cabin and at home. Cabin projects are dominated by maintenance, leisure and building projects. On the other hand, leisure – and to a lesser extent maintenance, volunteer work, family support, and personal development projects – characterized the home (Fig. 8.4). The range of projects in the latter context is also broader.

Table 8.1. Cabin use by season.

Season	Not used	Occasional use	Frequent short stays	Vacation > 6 days	Every day
Spring	0	12	10	2	0
Summer	0	5	12	5	3
Autumn	3	8	15	0	2
Winter	8	13	2	0	0
Total use (%)	11	38	39	7	5

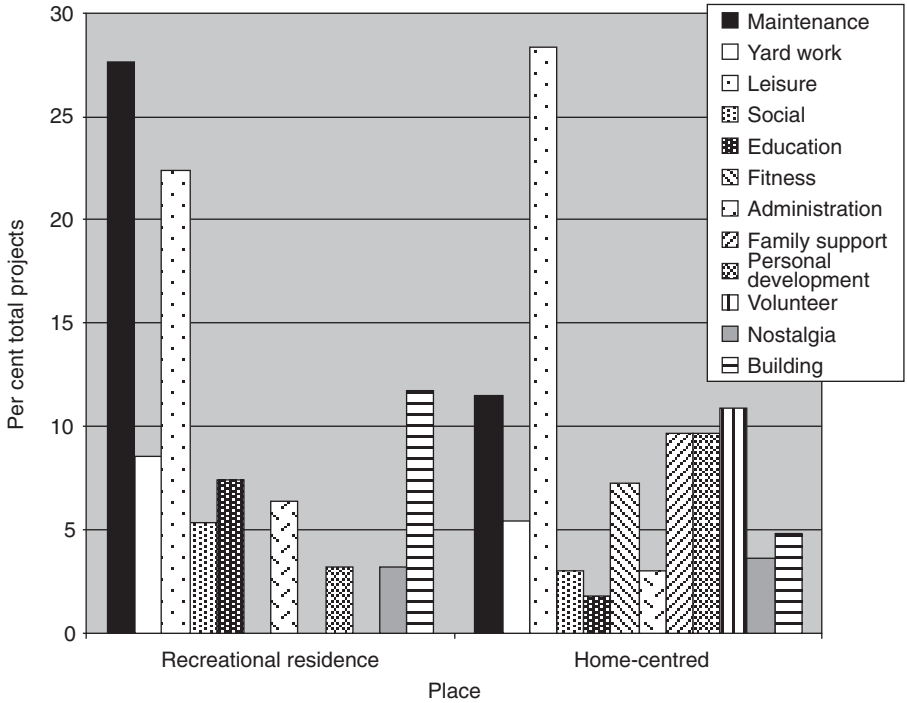

Fig. 8.4. Personal projects at the cabin and at home.

Examination of the specific leisure type projects conducted at the cabin demonstrated an emphasis on walking and enjoying nature, often in the company of family members. 'Haley (daughter) and I walked with the dogs. Beautiful evening, beautiful setting! I felt blessed' ('Jill', cabin owner); and another couple reminisced about special family times near their cabin: 'the aspens had turned. All of us, kids and everybody, we're just … layin' in a big bed of aspen leaves and just looking up and watching them come down on us … It's just unbelievable, through the yellow leaves and then how blue the skies are in Colorado' ('Jim', cabin owner). In the home, artistic projects (painting, music and writing) predominate. These data also suggest that leisure activities are as central to home life as they are to life in the cabin.

The number and variety of projects demonstrate that these, mainly retired, cabin owners lead quite active lives both at home and at the cabin. Overall, the cabin is a place where owners involve themselves in 'fixing up the residence' or enjoying nature through low-key activities. In the home, various leisure projects, particularly of an artistic nature, are the main focus, with volunteer work and caring for children, siblings, spouses and grandchildren also being important.

These observations were generally reinforced by the Experiential Sampling data, which showed 'maintenance' of the cabin as the dominant activity (Fig. 8.5). Cooking, dining and housework take up a significantly

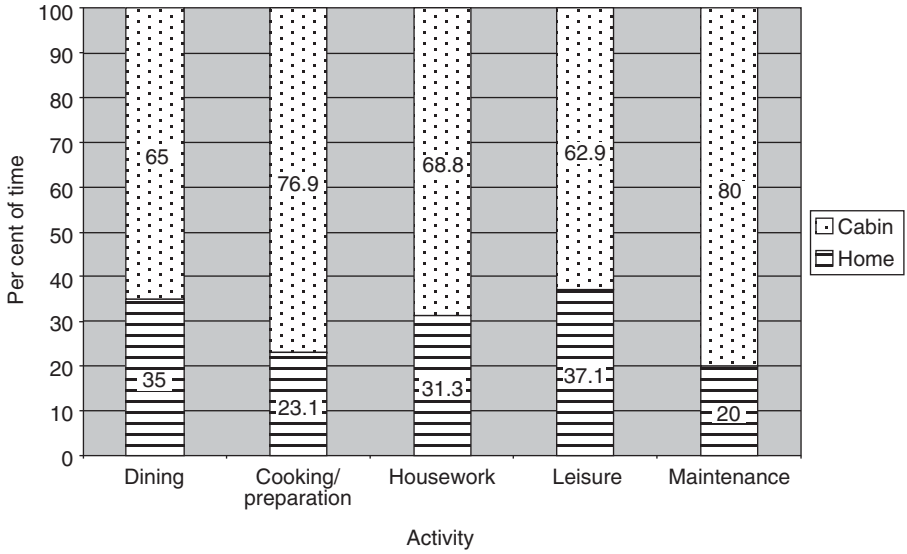

Fig. 8.5. Activities at the cabin and at home.

higher proportion of time at the cabin (65% or more) than at home. However, these activities are often a focus for family social interaction: 'Had a wonderful dinner with my family. I feel so lucky to be here at the cabin with this part of my family. With four children and three families it's a treat to have each branch at separate times'; and 'everyone helps with preparation and clean up. A wild and crazy time but I would not trade this day for anything' ('Jill', cabin owner). Also, it is evident that the enjoyment involved in meal preparation at the cabin is not confined to the females of the family as Jill's husband, Tom, attests: 'Cooking pancakes and bacon for ten people on an old fashioned wood burning stove … Cooking for 10 people keeps you busy, but I have always done it and enjoy it.' Cooking for a large group of people on an 'old-fashioned stove' at the cabin obviously presents an enjoyable and stimulating challenge to Tom, quite unlike the same activity in the kitchen at home.

These data indicate that males and females not only adopt different roles at the cabin but also place different meanings on similar activities (Bjerke *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 6). These observations add weight to previous research that suggests contrasting gender constructions of the second home (Chaplin, 1999b) and the suburban weekend (Cross, 1997) as sites of 'action and self' for males and 'relationship with others', particularly children and family, for females.

Many of the owners have either built the residence themselves or inherited it from parents or grandparents. While owners have moved throughout the USA following career and work opportunities, the cabin has remained as an anchor spanning generations, maintaining strong attachments for individuals:

> LARRY: It's always just been a special kind of place to go and that didn't change … that was … as you move, from place to place … that was always a constant place that you can kind of … knew that would be there.
>
> ALAN: The first room was built in 1928 by my mother and father who camped on the spot … the prime thing in our view is to maintain this as the family historic structure … I'm 71 years old, I have spent a portion of every summer of my life in that cabin starting when I was ten days old and my crib was a dynamite box out on the porch.

This latter theme is echoed and projected into the future by another owner: 'Our dream wasn't just that we would like a place to relax, but it'd be a place where our children and our children's children could … build family relationships as well' ('Robert', cabin owner). There are also strong emotional attachments to places accessible from the cabin: 'There is a 9000 foot peak directly behind the cabin and (my wife's) remains – cremated – are buried there … and there is a plaque put there, a large plaque commemorating the date of her death' ('Alan', cabin owner).

These data suggest that these nearby cabins fulfil a complementary role in the lifestyles of these owners. Visits are frequent and short, with a strong emphasis on extended family bonding through leisure and everyday activities such as dining and meal preparation. Most of these owners live in nature-filled suburbs or in the countryside close to major cities and the cabin acts as a 'bridge' uniting city and nature, tradition and modern lifestyle, and immediate and extended family. So, life in the second and primary home can be viewed as complementary and mutually enriching. In other words, these spatially separated and apparently disparate lifestyle sectors are blended by people into a self-narrative that aims to achieve external and internal coherence, liveability and adequacy (Bruner, 1990).

Others, notably Jaakson (1986) in his study of Canadian cottages indicated that to be a cottager in Canada means having 'two places with two lives, providing inversion but also merging into symbiosis' (p. 387) and, more recently, Quinn (2004) noted that the Irish second-home owners in her study developed: 'multiple associations with places that contribute to a balanced, meaningful existence such that people can feel "at home" in more than one place' (Quinn, 2004, p. 127).

Home and Away

Analysis of the US National Forest cabin owners' narratives and data from the second-home literature suggest that the notion of 'escape' may best be represented as a continuum from 'home' to 'away' (Fig. 8.6). Rather than simply representing the notion of escape as an end point, we propose that it can be characterized along a number of continua anchored by the concepts of 'home' and 'away'. This is further expanded by the recognition of three conceptually distinct but geographically overlapping ranges: the 'home' range, encompassing local travel involving 'hours', 'days' and 'weekends' away from home; and the 'travel' range, involving national and international

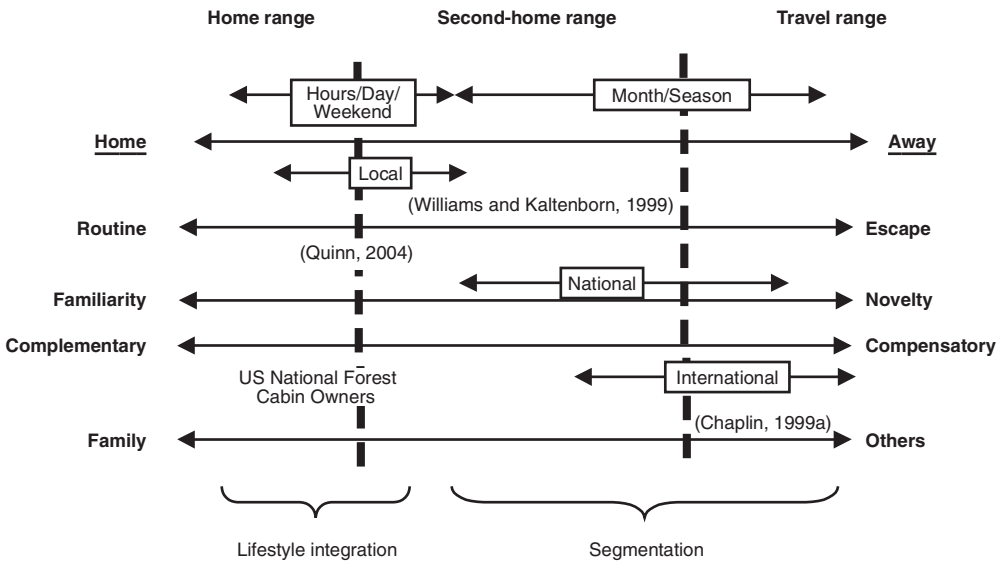

Fig. 8.6. Home and away.

movements, usually for an extended time period beyond the 'home' range. The 'second-home' range extends across both the 'home' and 'travel' ranges from the purely local (e.g. the Irish second-home owners described by Quinn, 2004; US National Forest Cabin Owners), through the national (e.g. Norwegian and Wisconsin cabin owners of Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999) to the international (e.g. the British home owners in France discussed by Chaplin, 1999a, b).

'Home' is defined by Perkins and Thorns (this volume, Chapter 5): 'as the major site of family social relations and kinship interaction, a place to carry out the everyday routines of family life … The home is also private … a site for work … for leisure … for creativity, personal expression and achievement … establishing identity and in the presentation of self.' This further reinforces the overlap of the roles of primary and second home within the home range as indicated from the statements of the cabin owners in the US National Forests. Home and second home (within the home range) are characterized by 'routine', 'familiarity' and 'complementarity' and 'family' social interaction.

The 'away' end of the spectrum is defined by the notion of 'travel' rather than tourist because of the close link between the idea of travel and re-creation of self: 'Travel is seen as pursuing the ageless aristocratic principle of broadening the mind. It is posited as an exclusive confrontation between self and Nature and self and Culture … travel experience … is a resource in the task of self-making' (Rojek, 1993, p. 175). This same notion of identity building is a common theme in the second-home literature (e.g. Jaakson, 1986; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999). Homes in the 'travel' range are characterized by 'escape', 'novelty', a 'compensatory' life role and social interaction with 'others'. The second-home owners in this range use the 'escape' discourse to talk of their experiences. They balance the novelty of

new environments and people with the familiarity of domestic routines and a growing sense of belonging, tempered always by the sense of being 'the other' (e.g. the seasonal, the foreigner). The strong sense of escape and novelty creates a fragmentation of self, wherein the business person in the home becomes the 'French peasant' abroad (Chaplin, 1999a, b), or the Wisconsin city dweller escapes to the 'Northwoods … to the pristine, wild, unspoiled and simple' (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 224). In Norway, the escape becomes a search for what it is to be a 'Norwegian', as the home-owner immerses in typical Norwegian activities such as hunting, fishing and cross-country skiing (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999). Often, the second-home sojourn begins to provide all the 'good' experiences that are missing from life at home or what the city is not.

In Chaplin's (1999a, b) study of British second-home owners in France, all of whom work in England and stay in their second homes from 4–20 weeks a year, the owners 'play' at being French, visiting the village markets, buying local produce, dining in the French style and even adopting the French male 'persona': 'I think some of the French chauvinism gets into me because I go off with Alain a male neighbour, I wouldn't dream of doing that in England with Jane' (Chaplin, 1999b, p. 184).

Although family and friends visit and parents are often accompanied by children, social intercourse is most often with local people and this can be unsettling where both language and culture are different. Here, one of Chaplin's respondents describes the purchase of their second home in France: 'The notaires spoke no English at all, talked in old francs and were horrified, in their chauvinistic way, that a woman should be signing the contract. Once Mike appeared on the scene they insisted on addressing him, even though he couldn't understand a word' (Chaplin, 1999a, p. 48). Similarly, in northern Wisconsin, 'puttsing around the lake visiting neighbors and hanging out at taverns and restaurants' (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999, p. 244) is a common means of developing a shared identity with neighbours in individual lake communities.

While the theorized 'home' and 'away' progression has been illustrated in terms of separate second-home owners, there is also some evidence to indicate that these changes can be represented through a life-stage progression within one family. From initially owning a vacation home in a separate area of the country, to relocating to a city near to the second home: from a 'segmented' to an 'integrated' mode of using the second home over time. The growing attachment and eventual migration by one family to a cabin in the Arapaho–Roosevelt National Forest illustrates this progression:

> Coming out here … from North Dakota on vacations … we would go there [to the cabin] … for two or three weeks at a time … I moved out here in '81 from Minnesota where I was working at the time. Course, it's had the affect of wanting to make us … the family move out here … So I came out here first and then my brother and sister followed, and now my mother's in the area too … the cabin … sort of been pulling … pulling people out here … wanting to live where your vacation has been …
>
> ('Larry', cabin owner)

Following Giddens' (1991) concept of 'lifestyle' as: 'a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfill utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity' (p. 81), multiple dwelling is constructed as a type of lifestyle, one alternative among many that an individual can adopt to deal with the challenges of developing a self-identity under the conditions of modernity. Although Giddens argues that the multiplicity of lifestyle choices and the complexity of modern life tend to result in segmentation or differentiation into 'lifestyle sectors' (e.g. home life as distinct from work or second-home life), it is also possible, as suggested earlier, to envision an 'integrated lifestyle' in which all sectors (home, work and leisure) are merged and the individual feels equally 'at home' in each.

Conclusions

In the course of this chapter, we have shown that there is a difference in the use of, and meanings attached to, second homes depending on factors such as distance and frequency of use. For some, the second home is quite close and accessible, within the day or weekend travel zone and the activities and meanings lean towards the more 'mythical view' of home, redolent with family and tradition. This is also the type of second home that might readily be used for 'teleworking' as individuals try [even more intimately] to mix the functions of the two 'homes'.

Others travel considerable distances to reach their second home, which is generally used less frequently. There is a sense of escape either into 'nature' or 'culture', significantly different from life at home in the city. While activities may be similar to the nearby home, there is a sense of reflexive playfulness, as the individual immerses in the persona of the 'nature man' or the 'French peasant', re-inventing a past age of supposed simple life and closeness to nature, aware, all the time, that s/he is play-acting and that their present cosseted circumstances are far removed from the realities of agrarian life.

Still others start their association with the second home from a considerable distance, and as time and circumstances change they move closer to bringing the second home within the 'home' range or may even move to live there permanently.

This chapter has used the example of a unique type of second home: a cabin set in the forest on public land to raise the possibility that 'home' and 'away' may acquire different meanings for different people or for the same people at different times. The simple notion of second homes or the process of multiple dwelling as a means of escape needs to be re-examined in light of the stories that people tell us about the way they use these homes and the ways that they are the same and different from the primary home.

What the data presented here suggest is that we need to take a more nuanced view of those 'tried and true' assumptions and seek to tease out

the complex variety of meanings that are attached to the practice of multiple dwelling.

Acknowledgements

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Endnotes

[1] In this context a cabin refers to a building on a recreational residence lease.
[2] Home means the dwelling which was viewed as the permanent residence by the contributors to this study.
[3] Names have been changed to preserve anonymity.

9 Places of Escape: Second-home Meanings in Northern Wisconsin, USA

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Introduction

Discussion overheard in a northern Wisconsin tavern:

> The Northwoods sure ain't like it used to be!
> Ah, but it never was.

This chapter uses a sense of place framework to understand the phenomenon of second-home ownership from the perspective of the second-home owner. Although the phrase 'second home' implies a hierarchy, this implication may be challenged, based on what we know about how people search for and create identity, but also by examining what second-home places mean to those who own and use them. I suggest that second homes represent a more foundational grounding for people – individuals, families and even multiple generations – perhaps even more so than a person's 'primary' residence.

Loyalty to the second home may be viewed either as a signature of mobility or it may challenge the notion of mobility. If well-off segments of society are so mobile, why is second-home ownership such a burgeoning phenomenon? Why don't we flit from place to place rather than tying ourselves down with the worries and responsibilities of a second home? If the essence of modernity is the 'today a show in New York City, next weekend diving off Grand Cayman' lifestyle, in comparison, second-home ownership requires investment of time in a place.

Perhaps we still long to be connected to place but through our consumptive, (recreational) rather than productive, behaviours. Our identities may be increasingly formed by our mode of consumption, and how we 'play': in this context, consumption is hardly trivial. Part-and-parcel of the idea of places of consumption is the idea that second-home ownership represents a consumptive type of encounter with landscape and,

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further, that this mode has problematic implications for such places. This notion may be challenged somewhat in well-established second-home places: second-home owners may not so easily be dismissed as landscape consumers. This mode of encounter may not be trivial at all to those engaging in it, nor de facto damaging to local traditions and other land uses.

This chapter is about carving out a conceptual space for the second home and its owner. We need to understand the function of these second homes – what ends are they serving? Second homes – and their owners – are sometimes trivialized or viewed as potentially damaging to the 'real' local community. However, less commonly are perspectives of second-home owners engaged. One way, perhaps the best way, to define this conceptual space is to assess what second homes (and their environs) mean, how these meanings are created and the association between meanings and attachment. This is achieved by using a sense of place framework. In this chapter, I focus especially on two dominant place meanings: 'home' and 'escape' in a second-home intensive landscape, discuss how these meanings are created for primary and secondary homeowners and how they are linked to place attachment.

The Visitor as 'Outsider'

Multiple research traditions have marginalized the experience of transient visitors. For example, within the sense of place tradition, which will be introduced as an analytical tool for examining the meanings of second homes to their owners, Relph (1976) differentiated between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' sense of place, with the latter characterizing the casual visitor. Tuan (1974) notes that:

> The visitor's evaluation of environment is essentially aesthetic. It is an outsider's view. The outsider judges by appearance, by some formal canon of beauty … the outsider's enthusiasm … may be superficial. A tourist to the medieval part of a European city expresses delight over the dark cobbled streets … without pausing to wonder how the people had actually lived.
>
> (Tuan, 1974, pp. 63–65)

Visitor, or tourist, encounters with nature fall short of the authentic by failing to link human activity and nature, as 'the appreciation of landscape is more personal and longer lasting when it is mixed with the memory of human incidents' (Tuan, 1974, p. 95). Tourists emphasize the spectacular, the unique, while residents develop attachment to home places based on the accumulation of everyday experiences (Tuan, 1977) that are more likely to include relationships with other people. More recently Hay (1998) strongly discredits the outsider experience, noting: 'the development of a sense of place is particularly influenced by residential status. Those with more superficial connections to place, such as transients or tourists, do not develop the strong attachment that is found among insiders raised in the place' (p. 5). His developmental approach assumes that people progress from one behavioural stage to another in the development of sense of place,

i.e. even recurring visitors cannot have a strong sense of place unless they choose to make the setting their permanent home. On the other hand, McCool and Martin (1994) note that even in high-amenity places such as Montana, community attachment increases somewhat as a function of length of residence, but that people do have the capacity to quickly develop attachment.

This perspective, which treats visitors as 'outsiders', is often present in tourism, migration and community development literature. For example, Buller and Hoggart (1994b) noted it in their treatment of British vacation home owners in rural France. Also, Allen *et al*. (1988) examined potential tourist impacts on a community by studying resident perceptions of community life using a carrying capacity framework (Getz, 1983), in which communities have a certain capacity to absorb tourists before damage is incurred. This tendency is present also within local communities themselves: for example, natives of Jordan's (1980) Vermont 'host community' lump together tourists and seasonal residents into an undifferentiated 'summer people' category, which they link to cultural value clashes and vanishing community identity. Community change associated with visitors (or newcomers) may challenge the preferred meanings that residents hold for their community (Rothman, 1978; Fitchen, 1991) and may lead to perceived declines in community quality of life and well-being (Wright, 1993; Ringholz, 1996). Some researchers have asserted that managing rapid growth while protecting social, ecological and economic values is the single most important issue facing rapidly growing rural communities today (Beyers and Nelson, 2000). According to Duane (1999), the fundamental question for citizens and planners in high-amenity rural communities is how such places can avoid a development process that will destroy the very features that make the region a desirable place to live.

There are two important assumptions embedded in this line of thought: first, there exists a core of 'real' community values, goals and interactional patterns. Place attachment theorists cited previously might agree that the encounter is shallow, or that the 'wrong' meanings (primarily those based on aesthetic values) have been attributed to the landscape. Secondly, these attributes should be preserved in the face of potential outside threats to them.

Second-home Ownership, Mobility and Modernity

Based on the above, there exists an assumption that mobile people (including those with second homes) do not develop strong attachments (see Cuba and Hummon, 1993b for an articulation of this debate). Mobility is thought to weaken ties to place, leaving mobile people with feelings of rootlessness, while undermining differences between places and decreasing local distinctiveness (Relph, 1976). This position on mobility is by no means a consensus, and is generally criticized by those who argue that the mobility that characterizes the modern age calls into question the

supposedly rigid boundaries between 'home' and 'away'. Mobility may increase the potential for abstraction and reflexivity (Tuan, 1980; Lash and Urry, 1994), allowing greater appreciation of particular places and providing more options. Ultimately, so this logic goes, mobility may foster greater attachment because people can choose places that best suit them.

Some maintain that even if mobility provides visitors with the reflexive capacity to appreciate places and subsequently become attached, this attachment remains problematic because it is based on consumerist interactions and meanings. Central to many sociological definitions of a landscape visitor is the notion of the tourist as a 'landscape consumer' (Marsden *et al.*, 1993; Urry, 1995). This 'consumption' need not be determined by purchases but, rather, may involve an orientation towards the landscape as merely a backdrop to particular experiences: 'mass tourism … is an illusion which destroys the places visited' (Urry, 1995, p. 134), dooming authentic places, creating environments without coherence (Chaplin, 1999a). Much of the perceived threat accompanying tourist uses of landscape is based on attributions of easily caricaturized, consumer-based values and behaviours (Cohen, 1974) contrasted with a richer nexus of behaviours and values held by long-term, year-round residents.

Where do second-home owners fit?

The literature described above tends to conflate second-home owners with visitors. However, many researchers in the migration literature suggest that the distinction between permanent and second homes is unwarranted. McHugh and Mings (1996, p. 530) note the 'geographically elastic' nature of home, suggesting that researchers should relax assumptions about the importance of a single, fixed residence (Sullivan, 1985; McHugh *et al.*, 1995). Although migration analyses have treated first and second homes as dichotomous, the interplay between the two is complex and tied to the life course of the owners (e.g. Rowles, 1986; McHugh, 2000a). This should not imply that second-home ownership is necessarily a developmental stage between visitor and permanent resident, as suggested by Hay (1998). Although many second-home owners may intend to move to their second home on a year-round basis, usually after retirement (Cuba, 1989), this often does not eventuate (Sullivan and Stevens, 1982; Sullivan, 1985; Martin *et al.*, 1987; McHugh, 1990; Hogan and Steinnes, 1993). Equally, there is no basis for assuming that those who relocate permanently are more attached to place than those who do not. McHugh *et al.* (1995, p. 254) noted that type of residence does not necessarily tell us much about place ties, in that some may: 'develop ties in more than one locale through a variety of experience … recurrent mobility between multiple residences is often an expression of established place ties.' These findings question the assumption that those who have only one residence ought to be more attached to that place than people who live there on a recurrent basis (Sullivan, 1985; Hoggart and Buller, 1995a).

Second-home owners from their own perspective

Much research from the second-home owner perspective paints a different picture than that obtained from the perspective of the host community. For example, the significance of the second home is articulated by Jaakson (1986):

> for generations of middle class Canadian families, the 'summer cottage at the lake' was a central part of family life and lore. Childhood memories of summer were rooted there; the rhythm of family life included the regularity of trips to the cottage; opening and closing the summer cottage marked the passage of the seasons more than almost anything else; and the cottage became a sort of family shrine or museum … The cottage has a deep, almost mystical meaning to many Canadians. (p. 371)

Similarly, McHugh and Mings (1996) describe seasonal migrant participation in their winter communities, including volunteerism and part-time work, and note a strong sense of collective identity: 'A casual observer may dismiss RV parks and other retirement settings as "placeless … [but] retirement communities are underlain by values of sociability, activity, and equality that foster a strong sense of belonging and collective identity"' (p. 546).

Although McHugh and Mings acknowledge spatial and interactional segregation between year-round residents and seasonals, Green *et al*. (1996) note that in some locales these social relationships may be much more inclusive.

Sense of place and perspectives of second-home owners

Sense of place, or the meanings and attachments that an individual or a group has for a setting, provides an appropriate framework for understanding place perspectives of second-home owners. A full review of the sense of place literature is beyond the scope of this chapter (readers wishing a broad exposure to sense of place should see Farnum *et al*. (2005) and the numerous sources cited therein). A place is a spatial setting that has been given meaning (Tuan, 1977) based on human experience, social relationships, emotions and thoughts. Common to the rapidly proliferating definitions of sense of place is a three-component view that links the physical environment, human behaviour and social or psychological processes (Relph, 1976; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995).

Previously, I have emphasized the role of place meanings in underpinning attachment (Stedman, 2003, 2005). Meaning and attachment, so often touted as important components of sense of place (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995) are empirically separable, but have been treated as nearly synonymous in research (Farnum *et al*., 2005). Although both are important, meanings and attachment are not equivalent concepts. Place meanings are more or less descriptive belief statements about *what* this place means to me, rather than *how much* it means to me.

These descriptive beliefs are the building blocks for evaluations (Bem, 1972), such as attachment to place. The setting and all it contains (including social relationships) then takes on the role of attitude object or locus of attachment. When applied to sense of place, this approach suggests that our attachment to a setting is partially a function of the kinds of meanings we attribute to it.

Two such meanings: 'home' and 'escape' are especially important to a discussion of place and modernity. Tuan (1977) makes a process-based distinction between attachment to ordinary, or 'home' places, rather than to 'chosen' places (Meinig, 1979). In home places, the accumulation of ordinary experiences produces deep feelings of attachment to places that – to the outsider – lack distinction. In contrast, attachment to a chosen place may develop quickly, as a result of a dramatic experience based in an extraordinary landscape. This latter characterization is the exemplar of the tourist form of attachment. This contrast may be even less useful, however, in contexts where the distinctions between between 'home' and 'escape' are blurred.

Research Questions

How shall we consider the second home or, more precisely, how do second-home owners view their second home and its local environs? Two meaning-based possibilities emerge: first, second homes may serve as 'home places' and act as primary homes, rooting the second-home owner in a setting. Alternatively, second homes may mean something qualitatively different: they represent an 'escape' from everyday life. This latter possibility takes us down two potentially very different paths. One path suggests the importance of escape from everyday life. We may be constrained in work and family roles, for example, but what we do with our free time – how we 'play' – becomes crucially important to identity projects and the place attachments we develop. A second, more traditional view, trivializes the contribution of 'escape' to the development of attachment and identity.

The above literature review assumes differences between second-home owners and year-round residents. Researchers have tended to assume second-home owners do different things (e.g. place more emphasis on recreation and less on community participation), that they attribute different meanings to the local landscape and that these meanings are somehow more shallow or trivial, and they are not as place-attached as people who live there year-round. Rather than accepting these assumptions, I treat them as empirically testable propositions. This chapter thus compares year-round residents and second-home owners on a number of variables that together inform the question of creating place. Accordingly, four questions are addressed in this study: (i) what are the place meanings held by each of the two groups?; (ii) what are the relationships between activities (recreation participation and social network and political involvement) and place meanings, place attachment and residence status?;

(iii) how strong is place attachment for each group?; and (iv) are some meanings more predictive of attachment than others?

Research setting, methods and measures

The research setting

Vilas County, in the north-central region of Wisconsin, provides a good laboratory for exploring the relationship between year-round and seasonal residents. This is a landscape that is rich in surface water resources, which in turn provide a strong draw for second-home owners: Vilas County has 1320 lakes, more than any other county in the state (WDNR, 1991). Lakes provide the raw material for sense of place in Vilas County: they embody the 'northwoods character, identity, and sense of place' of northern Wisconsin (WDNR, 1996, p. 1). In 2000, 56.5 per cent of all Vilas County housing was classified as 'for seasonal, recreational, or occasional use', the highest proportion in the state. A shoreline development boom has been occurring in northern Wisconsin, manifested by increased number of new homes and subdivisions, escalating property values, rising tax rates and overall patterns of sprawl (Stedman and Hammer, 2006). These growth rates and associated development patterns have led to numerous town planning efforts (e.g. Town of St Germain, 1997; Town of Phelps, 1998) that sought to maintain desired community attributes in the face of rapid change. Many of these efforts were articulated in the language of challenges to 'northwoods character' or sense of place (Stedman, 2002).

Methods

A random sample of 1000 Vilas County property owners was drawn from the 1999 County tax records list. The research utilized a three-contact mailing procedure (initial mailing, postcard reminder and follow-up full mailing), resulting in a 72.1 per cent response rate. This method captured both seasonal and year-round residents. Survey respondents were asked about the particular lake on which they owned property (if the property owned did not border a lake, the respondent was asked to select a lake that they visited often, lived near or was in some other way a favourite). Respondents related their experiences with the lake chosen, the symbolic meanings they attributed to it and their levels of place attachment and satisfaction.

Results

Characterizing the Vilas County second-home owner

Vilas County is a stronghold for second-home ownership in that, only 32.8 per cent of survey respondents are year-round residents. This corresponds reasonably well to census figures on housing that report that 57 per cent of

all housing in Vilas County is classified as 'for seasonal, recreational, or occasional use'. Of the non-year-round residents, the majority (42.0%) classify themselves as 'often visiting' their property, 12.9 per cent say they 'live there part of year' – which distinguishes seasonal residence from weekend-type use – and 12.3 per cent say they 'infrequently' visit their property. Property distribution patterns reflect the importance of lakes. Nearly three-quarters (73.6%) of survey respondents' property has lake frontage. As we might expect, this differs somewhat according to residence status: most (82.7%) second-home owners have lake frontage, but so do many year-round residents (46.3%).

As part of their 'outsider' label, second-home owners are often conflated with 'newcomers'. Although this may be the case in other settings that have developed more recently into second-home places, this contention is not supported here. Year-round residents have owned their current property for a mean of 18.4 years, *versus* 19.8 years for second-home owners. In aggregate, despite local concerns about rapid growth, these properties are not turning over rapidly. Another popular conception of second-home owners is that they are primarily out-of-state residents. This, too, proved false. The majority of second-home owners (63.2%) have permanent residences elsewhere in Wisconsin. One-fourth (24.7%) of second-home owners permanently reside in Illinois, and only 12.1 per cent live in other states.

Several popular images of second-home owners are supported. They are more highly educated than Vilas County year-round residents and have higher incomes. Second-home owners are more than twice as likely to have postgraduate degrees (20% *versus* 8.1%) than year-round residents. The differences in annual household income are especially dramatic: in 1999, 70 per cent of second-home owners earned over $60,000 per year, compared to 30 per cent of permanent residents. These differences are greatest at the extreme upper end of the scale, where over one-fourth of second-home owners (28.7%) earn over $100,000 per year, compared to only 6.5 per cent of year-round residents (Table 3.4.1).

Table 9.1. Income and education by residence.

	Second-home Owners	Permanent residents
1999 Household Income		
less than $30,000	35 (12.2%)	56 (36.6%)
$30,000–59,999	51 (17.8%)	49 (32.0%)
$60,000–99,999	118 (41.3%)	38 (24.8%)
over $100,000	82 (28.7%)	10 (6.5%)
Educational attainment		
High school or less	96 (21.8%)	72 (36.5%)
College	143 (32.4%)	75 (38.1%)
4-year degree	114 (25.9%)	34 (17.3%)
Postgraduate degree	88 (20.0%)	16 (8.1%)

Chi-square (income) with 3 d.f. = 68.2, $P < 0.001$.
Chi-square (education) with 3 d.f. = 29.0, $P < 0.001$.

Activities, place attachment and place meanings

This section of the chapter compares second-home owners and year-round residents on their activity participation, place meanings and place attachment. It hardly seemed reasonable to lump together second-home owners who make extensive use of their property with those who scarcely visit it. Accordingly, respondents were grouped into three categories: (i) year-round residents; (ii) second-home owners who are either seasonal residents (i.e. live all summer at their property) or self-identify as frequently visiting their property; and (iii) second-home owners who infrequently visit their property.

Activity involvement

I examined three different types of activities: recreational, social network involvement and political involvement (level of participation in a lake association). Respondents were presented with a list of 15 activities including a variety of property-related and recreational activities. Although these potentially represent different domains, participation in any single activity was positively correlated with every other. Accordingly, the activities did not divide into multiple domains, but represented a single reliable domain (alpha = 0.862), captured simply on a 'low to high' gradient. Social network involvement was measured using a four-item scale (Stryker and Serpe, 1982):

- How many people around your lake do you know on a first-name basis?
- How often do you interact socially with other people from around your lake?
- How many people from around your lake would you miss if you did not see them?
- How many people around your lake do you consider close friends?

These four measures were combined into a single summed scale, with each variable equally weighted. A maximum likelihood factor analysis revealed a single dimension; a strong standardized item alpha (0.801) suggests the utility of considering these items as a single scale for assessing respondents' social network involvement and the degree to which they consider their lakes social places. Finally, property owners have the opportunity to be involved in lake management through participation in 'lake associations' groups, usually, but not exclusively, comprised of property owners. These have both a social and political function. Lake association participation was measured via two dichotomous items: 'I am a member of a lake association' and 'I regularly attend the meetings of my lake association'. Responses to these items were summed, allowing respondents to earn two points for affirmative responses to each.

A ONEWAY analysis of variance is used to explore differences between the three groups for these three scalar variables. Some fairly strong between-group differences emerged (Table 9.2).

Table 9.2. Activity participation by property use.

	Infrequent	Year-round	Seasonal	F	Significance
Recreational activities	0.45[a]	0.48[a]	0.61[b]	33.688	0.001
	$n = 76$	$n = 203$	$n = 344$		
Social networks	0.79[a]	1.42[b]	1.59[b]	18.923	0.001
	$n = 71$	$n = 204$	$n = 336$		
Lake associations	0.17[a]	0.16[a]	0.30[b]	11.619	0.001
	$n = 76$	$n = 198$	$n = 345$		

[a, b] indicates significant difference at $P < 0.05$.

This analysis demonstrates that seasonal residents who make frequent use of their second homes report more involvement with recreational activities than either infrequent users or year-round residents. Interestingly, social network participation appears to be more driven by time spent at the second home rather than residence characteristics, in that second-home owners who make frequent use of their property do not differ from year-round residents in their social network involvement. In essence, lakes are more social places for both these groups than for infrequent property users. Finally, second-home owners who make extensive use of their property have stronger political involvement in these settings than the other two groups. This may possibly be because year-round residents have other political avenues open to them, while seasonal residents are largely limited to this type of participation (i.e. as non-permanent residents they are unable to run for elected office, or even vote). However, the primary message from this analysis is that second-home owners who spend time at their property are more involved with their lake politically and recreationally, and are no less involved socially than year-round residents.

Residence status and place meanings

This analysis compares the place meanings of second-home owners to those of year-round residents (while maintaining the three category division used in the previous analysis). Recall the working hypothesis that second-home owners may adhere more to 'escape' than to home meanings. Some of my previous writings from this research project (Stedman, 2003, 2005) have examined composite scales of place meanings. In contrast, this chapter focuses on two dominant meanings: agreement with the statement 'my lake is a community of neighbours' as a proxy for home meanings, and 'my lake is a place to escape from civilization' to represent escape (Table 9.3).

How do meanings differ by residence status? Consistent with our thinking, year-round residents are less likely than either group of seasonal residents to view their lake as an 'escape' from civilization (and presumably, their everyday lives as well). Clearly, second homes are places to get away, but the question of whether this escape is trivial or even damaging to local environs remains open. However, and in contrast to what we might expect, agreement with the 'community of neighbours' meaning

Table 9.3. Place meanings and attachment by property use.

	Infrequent	Year-round	Seasonal	F	Significance
A family place	4.16[a]	4.12[a]	4.43[b]	9.407	0.001
	n = 74	*n* = 203	*n* = 344		
A place to escape from civilization	4.04[a]	3.44b	4.06[a]	23.259	0.001
	n = 74	*n* = 199	*n* = 343		
A community of neighbours	2.69[a]	3.15[b]	3.07[b]	5.362	0.01
	n = 71	*n* = 200	*n* = 339		
Place attachment	4.50[a]	4.70[a]	5.42[b]	27.303	0.001
	n = 72	*n* = 199	*n* = 334		

[a, b] indicates significant difference at $P < 0.05$.

is more driven by time spent in the second home rather than mode of interaction. Seasonal residents who spend a great deal of time in the setting are equally as likely as year-round residents to see their lake as a community of neighbours, further suggesting that this former group also has significant social interactions that help form a sense of community.

Where do these meanings come from?

The preceding comparisons raise the question of the source of place meanings. Is meaning creation mostly a function of the residence status (year-round *versus* second-home owner), or are there also activity differences associated with these roles that are more influential? Specifically, are differences in home and escape rooted in the residence status (year-round or seasonal) or in activity factors? This question is examined via a multiple regression equation. In the interest of comparing apples to apples (i.e. those who are reasonably committed to their property, but in different ways), second-home owners who do not spend much time in the setting are excluded from this analysis (Tables 9.4 and 9.5).

Very little of the variation (9.0%) in agreement with the 'escape from civilization' variable is explained by this suite of activity and socio-demographic variables. Only second-home ownership predicts 'escape from civilization'. Second-home ownership appears to operate as a lens through which the setting is viewed as an escape. In contrast, the 'community of neighbours' meaning emerges from a much broader suite of variables.

Year-round residence and second-home ownership patterns help us to understand the 'community of neighbours' assessment, but its contribution pales in contrast to that of other variables. Seasonal residence is associated with decreased agreement that one's lake is a community of neighbours, as is participation in more recreational activities. Social network participation is strongly and positively associated with agreement with this meaning. Similarly, females are much more likely to ascribe to community meanings than are males. In thinking about whether dominant meanings are closely tied to residence status, second-home ownership is strongly associated with

Table 9.4. Predicting meanings: escape and community of neighbours.

Variable	Escape			Community of neighbours		
	Beta	t	Significance	Beta	t	Significance
(constant)		7.900	0.000		7.020	0.001
Second home	0.329	5.910	0.000	–0.113	–2.249	0.025
Social network	0.086	1.630	0.104	0.512	10.702	0.001
Number of activities	0.023	0.410	0.682	–0.125	–2.508	0.013
Lake assoc. participation	–0.010	–0.186	0.852	0.008	0.169	0.866
Years owned property	0.070	1.190	0.231	–0.043	–0.821	0.412
Gender	–0.015	–0.316	0.752	0.143	3.258	0.001
Income	–0.090	–1.390	0.165	0.033	0.561	0.575
Education	0.042	0.770	0.441	0.002	0.031	0.975
Age	–0.082	–1.340	0.180	0.048	0.870	0.385

Table 9.5. Model summaries.

Model	Adjusted R^2	F	Significance
Escape	0.090	5.317	0.001
Community of neighbours	0.264	16.66	0.001

escape meanings. The inverse relationship, however, is not as robust. Year-round residents are more likely than second-home owners to attribute community meanings to their lake, but this relationship is not as strong as that between second-home ownership and escape.

Understanding attachment

This section compares attachment between three groups, (year-round residents, second-home owners who frequently use their property [as seasonal residents or as weekenders/vacationers] and second-home owners who use their property infrequently) and examines the relationship between attachment and meanings (net of the influence of behavioural and socio-demographic variables). Place attachment was assessed via a series of nine items, each measured on a seven-point scale, from strongly disagree to strongly agree:

- I feel that I can really be myself there.
- I really miss it when I am away too long.
- I feel happiest when I am there.
- It is the best place to do the things I enjoy.
- It is my favourite place to be.
- It reflects the type of person I am.
- For the things I enjoy most, no other place can compare.
- Everything about it is a reflection of me.
- As far as I am concerned, there are better places to be (reverse coded).

These statements correspond to items used in previous research in the study area (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001), modified from existing studies (Williams *et al.*, 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994). A maximum likelihood factor analysis revealed a single reliable (alpha = 0.937) dimension underlying the scale.

First, ONEWAY analysis of variance demonstrates something not at all consistent with how second-home owners are typified in the literature – they demonstrate the highest level of place attachment of any group. If we return to Table 9.3, we observe that frequent users of second homes exhibit higher, rather than lower, levels of place attachment than both year-round residents and infrequent users. These places are highly valued by second-home owners who spend time there.

Finally, I examine whether one set of meanings better fosters attachment than another, and whether the production of attachment differs between second-home owners and year-round residents. Two separate regression equations are presented: one for second-home owners who make frequent use of their property and one for year-round residents (Tables 9.6 and 9.7).

Attachment among second-home owners is not particularly well-predicted (10 per cent of the variation) by this suite of variables. However, meanings do matter: the only variable that is a significant predictor of attachment for these people is the lake as 'escape' ($P < 0.001$): holding this meaning appears to be a necessary condition for the production of attachment among this group of second-home owners. Other variables, such as length of time in the setting, social relationships and activity

Table 9.6. Predicting attachment for second-home owners and year-round residents.

Variable	Second-home owners			Year-round residents		
	Beta	t	Significance	Beta	t	Significance
(constant)		4.300	0.000		1.964	0.052
Gender	–0.021	–0.329	0.742	0.171	2.517	0.013
Income	0.005	0.065	0.948	–0.179	–2.185	0.031
Education	0.124	2.008	0.056	0.079	1.031	0.305
Years owned property	0.000	0.007	0.995	–0.038	–0.522	0.602
Social network	0.013	0.175	0.862	0.242	2.852	0.005
Number of activities	0.098	1.488	0.138	0.247	3.112	0.002
Lake assoc. participation	0.036	0.553	0.581	0.177	2.408	0.017
Escape	0.278	4.588	0.000	0.108	1.457	0.202
Community of neighbours	0.102	1.396	0.164	0.232	2.419	0.008

Table 9.7. Model summaries.

Model	Adjusted R^2	F	Significance
Second-home owners	0.100	4.097	0.001
Year-round residents	0.372	10.144	0.001

participation, that are so commonly thought to be related to attachment, bear no such relationship. A very different story is observed for year-round residents: attachment is based on community meanings, participation in social networks and recreational activities. Participation in lake associations also fosters attachment for this group. Finally, being female appears to foster attachment, as does having lower income. Again, countering traditional place attachment thinking, length of property ownership has no bearing on attachment.

Discussion

In some ways, Vilas County second-home owners differ dramatically from year-round residents: as so often characterized, the former are surely wealthier and more educated than the latter. In other ways, however, these findings stand in contrast to how second-home owners are typified: they are not newcomers and, at least as measured in this study, they are more involved in the setting: they are more likely to participate in recreational activities, be involved in a lake association, and just as likely to participate in social networks. The meanings-based approach to sense of place as described in Stedman (2005) appears to be helpful in understanding second-home owners, who ascribe very different meanings to their residences than do year-round residents: the former are more likely to label it an escape than are the latter.

At the same time, however, they are no less likely to call it a 'community of neighbours' than are year-round residents. This suggests that second-home owners can, to a degree, 'have it both ways': especially given the finding about social network participation described above, second homes can simultaneously be escapes from civilization, yet peopled with important social relationships and feelings of community. Residence status contributes to meanings: 'escape' is a product of the lens through which one engages the setting (as a second-home owner), rather than personal characteristics or the particular activities one engages in the setting. Most dramatic of the findings is that second-home owners who frequently use their property have the highest level of attachment of any group. However, their attachment is nearly completely predicated on these escape meanings: the people they know, the things they do, do not foster attachment. In contrast, year-round resident attachment (lower overall) is based on a more conventional suite of variables: social relationships, activities, political participation and a different meaning (community of neighbours).

The data do not support the notion of dwelling hierarchy as conventionally considered: second homes hardly appear to be 'second'. Meanings may be a real key to understanding second-home owners from their own perspective. In this sense, second-home owners really do appear to be different from tourists. They share many characteristics with year-round residents – their behaviours and meanings include escape but are

hardly radically consumptive. Second homes are simultaneously 'home' and 'escape' places for the fortunate people who have them, yet apparently it is feelings of escape that drive attachment.

Second-home owners use their second homes as an escape from everyday life, to be sure. However, this hardly trivializes their experience: escape *matters* to attachment. Because we have more choice about what kind of place we want (subject, of course, to budgetary limits), it is quite reasonable to believe that in a period characterized by reflexive modernization, and the capacity – at least in the well-to-do – for a great deal of choice, that second homes are loci for strong attachment. The choice of a second home is less constrained by other factors such as work, family, school quality, etc. but instead is based more on how people want to play.

Of course, the tension between the needs of second-home owners and year-round residents does not magically vanish once we take seriously the perspective of second-home owners. We need to consider the other people in the setting, and how these competing needs may manifest in changes to the local material environment. The conflict, of course, arises when one person's 'playground escape' is another person's home place. This phenomenon is probably at the root of cultural conflict in high-amenity rural places that are transitioning from more traditional uses into recreation/tourism places (e.g. Kemmis, 1990; Smith and Krannich, 2000).

I suggest that Vilas County, despite a great deal of recent concern about overdeveloped lakeshore areas, is not such a place (hence the invocation of the 'northwoods ain't like it used to be' anecdote at the beginning of the chapter). Vilas County has a long history of lake-based tourism (Bawden, 1997). Second-home owners and visitors do not challenge some essential place meaning from which they are alienated. Rather, they are inextricably embedded in these meanings: they have played a strong historical role in the creation of place, including the place that year-round residents are responding to, and now, somewhat ironically, are concerned about losing. Vilas County *is* 'Up North': year-round residents are hardly immune to messages and meanings that cater to visitors. Although year-round residents are less likely than second-home owners to ascribe escape meanings, and more likely than second-home owners to ascribe community meanings, they are still more likely *overall* to adhere to escape meanings than community meanings: they recognize that they are living in an escape place as well.

Conclusions

Somewhat ironically, although the Vilas County research was informed by local concerns about the impacts of rapid social change, it might be argued that Vilas County lakes are hardly systems characterized by incoherence. There has been plenty of change, to be sure, much of it objectionable to many, but the change appears predictable and based on logical trajectories of past patterns of use and meanings derived from these uses. The Vilas

County 'cabin on the lake' may be bigger and fancier than it used to be, it may be used more days throughout the year; the 'water toys' may be louder and faster, the lake may have more people using it, and better roads may have reduced the driving time to get there. But the ways the lake is being used and what it means are fairly consonant with historical uses and meanings. Furthermore, charges that important meanings such as 'northwoods character' or 'escape' are being threatened by outsiders appear somewhat disingenuous; these self-same 'outsiders' have played an important historical role in creating the meanings that are now threatened.

This characterization introduces an important meta-lesson that serves as well as anything for the end of the story: although much of my work on place is driven by my goal of seeking general principles about place, and moving away from particularistic studies of people and settings that do not extend beyond these particulars, every study of place remains to a degree particularistic. My findings and the implications drawn from them are of course rooted in the place-specific attributes that produced these findings. I believe that the continuity found in Vilas County may not, for example, be found in places that are undergoing radical change, with more hotly contested meanings. For example, remote resource-dependent communities that are suddenly 'discovered' may face different challenges than those suggested here. The point is that conclusions drawn from any and all studies of place will remain rooted to some degree in that place, and in the people who live there.

10 Tourists Making Themselves at Home: Second Homes as a Part of Tourist Careers

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Introduction

Being a tourist has been fundamentally connected to the idea of being on the move without deep attachment to any one place. However, it seems that being a tourist can also mean seeking a close relationship with one specific place or region, and the desire to 'go steady' with that place. Thus, visitors may over time transcend their relationship with the place and make the place a regular haunt or even 'home'. In contemporary society a person may have, instead of one home, many locations that are of great importance, and some of these are related to leisure and tourism. As Kohn (1997) has pointed out, tourism introduces future locals to the place and thus, serves as a starting point for a closer relationship to that place. Regular vacation destinations, timeshares or second homes are the kinds of places where a person may feel more at home than in his or her primary, everyday home, despite the fact that less time is spent in those locations. Different forms of attachment affect the way visitors are committed to the places they visit. We cannot assume that tourists are total outsiders in relation to their vacation destinations. Thus, in this chapter, I examine how people become so attached to tourist destinations that they want to buy a second home or even move to that place.

The chapter also discusses the change in second-home traditions involved in the transition from simple summer cottages to more modern, fully-equipped second homes and timeshares situated in regions with beautiful landscapes of high amenity value. These homes are often near wilderness or protected natural areas, or in tourist centres where owners have no social connections, other than those that have been created by previous visits as tourists. This second-home tourism can take place as easily in one's own country as in foreign countries. However, here I concentrate specifically on domestic tourism and new trends in acquiring second homes in Finnish Lapland.

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Tourism studies have been based often on fundamental divisions between hosts and guests, and between tourists and locals. However, this categorical division has been challenged at least in some studies (e.g. Abram and Waldren, 1997; Kohn, 1997; Cheong and Miller, 2000; Stedman, this volume, Chapter 9), and it has been recognized that the division disguises so many further divisions that it is not an adequate basis for studying tourism comprehensively. One reason for examining these distinctions critically is that late-modern society has been characterized mainly in terms of mobility and displacement, and people do not feel as 'rooted' in one place as they may have felt in the past (Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999; Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2).

There are big differences in tourists' orientations, as has been observed in many studies (e.g. Cohen, 1979; Lengkeek, 2001). However, a list of different orientations on different occasions is not enough, since it is obvious that touristic experiences are cumulative and that even the shallowest ones can later lead to a lifelong commitment to a place. Lengkeek (2002), in distinguishing different tourist types, has made a comparison between love affairs and tourists' longing. However, applying this idea in a cumulative manner, I suggest that 'flirtation' with a destination over a number of visits can lead to 'going steady'. Here, I concentrate on tourists who are in the 'going steady' phase. How did this deepening of feeling happen? How important is it to create a steady relationship to a place?

Tourists not only bring change to host communities but are also changed by their experiences in such communities. The categories of tourist and local are extremely pliable, and over time visitors to a particular locale may transcend their relationship to the place as tourists and make the place a regular haunt or even 'home' (e.g. Kohn, 1997; Cheong and Miller, 2000). In a similar manner, the categories of work and leisure are increasingly blurred by such phenomena as teleworking or working holidays (e.g. as a seasonal worker in a skiing resort). All these features have their effects on the relationships between locals and tourists.

This chapter concentrates on the questions of how the tourists' relationship to a place deepens and how tourists become so attached to a place that they want to buy a second home or even move to the place permanently. The aim of this chapter is to show how the course of one's life and past tourist experiences affect those decisions. Personal narratives of individuals play a crucial role in understanding these decisions and providing insights into the various factors which influence them.

The textual material analysed in this chapter consists of seven life story interviews involving 12 individuals. These interviews were conducted in Finnish Lapland with domestic second-home or timeshare owners who had their first contact with the region as tourists. Content of the interviews focused on the tourism histories of the interviewees and explored different dimensions of decision making regarding their holidays and leisure time. The interviewees had their second homes in three types of places in Finnish Lapland: first, in the ski resort with all kinds of services, secondly in a

wilderness region beside a national park and, thirdly, in a 'normal' small town. This latter group is novel, having emerged only recently since out-migration has left houses empty in small towns in Lapland. Such houses have been marketed as cheap second homes to people from southern Finland. I will also use the analysis and interpretation of these interviews to illustrate an approach to narrative analysis and its application in tourism studies.

Theoretically the article discusses the concepts of place attachment and the sense of home. The chapter challenges the views presented by the theorists of postmodern or late-modern society who argue that the importance of place and home are diminishing (e.g. Auge, 1995; Rapport and Dawson, 1998). Instead, I argue that the ideas of home and place are changing, but that their meaning and importance are not disappearing. Also, the conventional conceptualizations of tourism will be critically evaluated in relation to place attachment. I will start my discussion with these theoretical ideas and then proceed to examine the empirical example.

Tourism and Home

Comparisons between the domestic space and the distinctiveness of leisure destinations make up a large component of the tourism studies of 'otherness' (McCabe, 2002). However, an alternative to dichotomizing these ideas is to start from the theoretical idea of a continuum of insideness and outsideness. Relph (1976) distinguishes between the different levels of intensity with which we experience outsideness and insideness. This classification ranges from existential outsideness, which refers to self-conscious and reflective non-involvement with a place, to existential insideness. For Relph, the most fundamental form of insideness is that in which a place is experienced without deliberate and self-conscious reflection, yet is full of significances; it is a matter of knowing implicitly that *this* place is where you belong. This kind of knowledge seems to exclude the tourist experience totally. Existential insideness is what Relph means when he speaks of being 'at home'. Yet, how many people in the contemporary world have one and only place that is *the* place they feel they belong to? It seems that home is no longer just one place. Home can be seen as a complex concept that may include movement. Thus, when conceptualizing the home not as one centre but as something that is created in movements and can appear in several locations, the idea of being at home becomes closer to those modes of tourist experience that are characterized by strong enthusiasm for particular places.

The ideal of home, of existential insideness, may be rare in contemporary society since people's home places change often throughout the course of their life, and family bonds are not tied so closely to concrete places. The level of empathetic insideness, when defined as respect and openness to different places and their significances, comes closer to both the experiences of place-attached tourists and 'modern' locals. This empathetic insideness can be interpreted as part of the quest for deep belonging that

still exists, a wish to fulfil a utopian quest. As Löfgren (1999) puts it, vacations remain one of the few manageable utopias in our lives.

The idea of belonging and home are often ignored in tourism studies since tourism is regarded as an extraordinary realm outside home and everyday life. However, it often happens that a tourist thinks: 'this is the place where I would like to spend more time', or: 'this is the place of my dreams, here I want to live'. Often it is not possible to fulfil the quest for belonging but, what is important, is that this kind of quest exists, and some at least try to fulfil it by inhabiting that place in one way or another. As Haldrup (2003) has noted, what matters is not seeing, gazing at or experiencing but rather inhabiting places. When discussing the sense of home, Douglas (1991, p. 290) states that home is a kind of space where 'the ideas that persons are carrying inside their heads about their lives in space and time' are realized. These ideas can be realized as well – or maybe even better – in tourism places and leisure spaces. As Westman (1995, pp. 69–76) puts it, 'the home is a complex concept dealing with movement'; movements to and from houses and other locations, departures and returns 'contribute to the establishment of the home'; it is to dwell in movement.

Home is not only 'here and now' but, in a contemporary world of movement, it is more and more elsewhere. The 'real' home may be far away from the actual place of residence. This homeliness outside the realm of everyday life is exhibited in second homes, summer cottages and leisure homes. Foucault's (1986) idea of heterotopia suggests that the 'other space' can emotionally even come first. 'Heterotopia' considers different spaces which are related to each other and suggests that 'the other place' that is elsewhere can be even closer than the actual space occupied currently. This means that temporality of home can be discussed in terms of different localities, which are formed in different socio-cultural contexts and in different times. A rural second home may be the territory of rootedness in an era of increasing urban mobility (Löfgren, 1999).

The Changing Nature of Second Homes

The Nordic tradition of having second homes – especially summer cottages – started in the late 19th century. The pioneer generations of summer cottagers were recruited from the urban elite, but during the 1920s and 1930s the social base was broadened. The middle class of civil servants, academics and office clerks built themselves less imposing summer houses – and it was not only a question of money but also the quest for simplicity and for a more natural lifestyle that drove this movement (Löfgren, 1999; Sievänen and Pouta, 2002). What is unique to the Nordic context is the large numbers of second-home owners. According to EU statistics, Finland has the greatest proportion of second-home owners in Europe. Over 26 per cent of Finnish people have a second home available to them. According to these statistics, Greece and Sweden come next with around 18 per cent of households. However, although not considered in these statistics, the

proportion of households in Norway, estimated on the same basis, amounts to about 21 per cent, placing it second in Europe in terms of ownership of second homes for leisure purposes (Reijo, 2002).

In Finland, during the latter half of the 20th century, a typical summer cottage was a simple cabin on the shore of a lake within easy reach (less than 200 km) of home (Sievänen and Pouta, 2002). Often it was built on land that had belonged to the family for generations and thus cottaging had strong connections to family history. From the 1970s onwards, the number of second homes has grown quickly, and this growth has been fastest in the peripheral regions, such as Lapland (Table 10.1). Second homes in Lapland differ from cottages in southern Finland in one important respect: the former are more concentrated in the tourist centres whereas the latter are more scattered on the lakeshores.

In Finnish Lapland the proportion of 'natives' is decreasing due to out-migration and ageing, while that of semi-locals is increasing. In recent years, the number of second homes and holiday cottages has increased much faster in Lapland than in other parts of the country (Table 10.1). Cottages beside national parks, wilderness areas or ski resorts are still in a minority, as second homes that are situated on lakeshores or beside rivers make up 84 per cent of the total of second homes in Finland (Nieminen, 2004). What is remarkable is that different forms of second homes are emerging, and that growth has been greatest in the areas that are characterized by this new type of second home. This can be interpreted as an early indication of something that may become more popular in the future as the 'baby boomers' approach the age of retirement.

Case Study Sites

The textual material analyzed in this paper consists of interviews made in three places (Fig. 10.1). The first case study site is one of the biggest ski resorts in Finland, Levi, with about 17,000 beds – and many private cottages that do not appear in tourism statistics. Levi is currently among the three biggest winter tourism resorts in Finland. In the second study site, the interviewees have their cottages in the surroundings of Pallas Fell, which is part of the Pallas–Ylläs National Park. The third study site is the small town of Kemijärvi, with 10,000 inhabitants. This town is characterized mainly by forest-based and other industries, and also by the large Lake Kemijärvi, which is part of the regulated waterway of Kemijoki. Kemijärvi is situated in an area in eastern

Table 10.1. Numbers of holiday cottages in Finland and Lapland from 1970 to 2001 (from Central Statistical Office of Finland).

	Number of holiday cottages in 1970	Number of holiday cottages in 2001	Increase from 1970 to 2001 (%)
Finland	176,104	456,706	159
Lapland	4,436	25,809	482

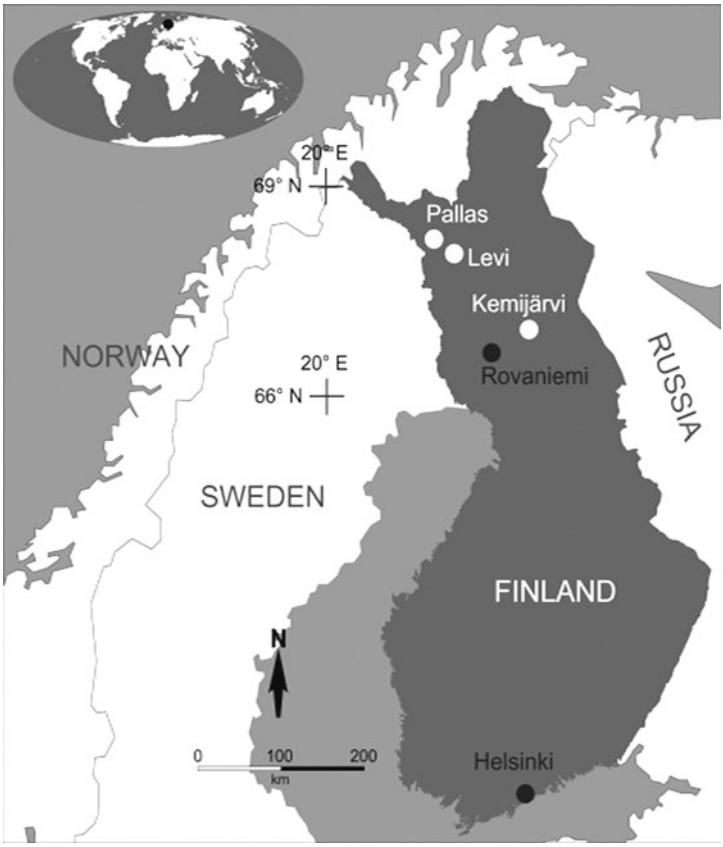

Fig. 10.1. Localities mentioned in the text.

Lapland that is very sparsely populated and is well known for its good hunting and fishing. The town has suffered a decline in population, and in 2004 this problem was exacerbated when an electronic factory closed its doors and moved its production to China. In Kemijärvi, as in many other small peripheral places in Finland, houses that were built in 1960s or 1970s have remained empty. In an attempt to reverse this trend, the town administration made a decision to renovate two apartment buildings in a district that had the worst reputation in town with regard to social problems and crime. The apartments were put on the market at a very low price and people from southern Finland started to buy them as second homes for their stay in Lapland. This happened quite recently, in the summer of 2002.

Narratives from second homes as part of touristic life stories

In the interviews conducted at the three study sites, I asked second-home and timeshare owners, and those newcomers that had moved to the place to live there permanently, to tell their tourism life stories and to elaborate

on the influences involved in their decision to buy the timeshare apartment or cottage in Lapland. This chapter is based mainly on seven interviews (Table 10.2).

The interviews lasted approximately one hour each. They were guided by thematic questions but conducted more in a manner of discussion than a question-and-answer format. People were guided to describe the place their second home occupied in the context of their everyday life and their tourism life story. To tell a story is also to tell who the person is. In telling their stories people also try to make sense of life and create their identity,

Table 10.2. Characteristics of interviewees.

Interviews in Kemijärvi (conducted in April 2004)	K1 A woman from central Finland in her late fifties who is on the threshold of retirement and whose husband has already retired	K2 A retired man who spends a lot time in Kemijärvi and whose wife is still working as a doctor in southern Finland	K3 A couple from Helsinki (the capital of Finland) who are in their fifties and who are still actively working
Interviews in Levi (conducted in December 2002)	L1 A woman in her late forties who has moved to Lapland because of falling in love with the place when still a student of geology. Now she works as a journalist and entrepreneur in Levi and lives in the nearby village of Köngäs	L2 Two couples from southern Finland, one of whom had spent their holidays together for more than 10 years in different destinations in Lapland; and the other who now own the time-share apartment in Levi. Both men and one of the women are farmers and the other woman works at the university as a planner. Until 2003 they had their children with them in Lapland, but at the time of the interview they were without children for the first time.	
Interviews in Pallas (conducted in April 2004)	P1 A retired man from eastern Finland who owns a timeshare at the village of Jerisjärvi near and Pallas Fell.	P2 A couple in their thirties who own a cottage in the village nearby. The wife is at home with two children, aged one three, and she spent the entire spring of 2004 at the cottage with the children. Her husband works in southern Finland, where they have their permanent residence, and he travels every weekend about 900 km to Pallas.	

not only in relation to their present situation but also in the context of past and future experiences (Widdershoven, 1993). Life is also narrated in relation to other stories and narratives, such as those that they have read in books or seen in films or on TV.

What is important both from the narrative perspective and from the point of view of the tourists' experiences is that the presentation of life history cannot be regarded as a series of isolated experiences. Rather, individual experiences are always embedded in a coherent, meaningful context, and they are part of the overall pattern of thematic and temporal relationships that make up the experience of a lifetime (Rosenthal, 1993). In the next sections, I discuss the biographical, spatial and temporal dimensions revealed in the interviews. This division, made for analytical purposes, is somewhat artificial, since the three are inevitably interwoven. They can be seen as forming a *geobiography*, which Karjalainen (2004) defines as being a description of the life story from the viewpoint of the meaning of places. However, remembering is both temporal and spatial; thus, geobiography implies an interpretation of the existential bind of time *and* space.

Second homes from a biographical perspective

A female Lapland enthusiast (L1) decided about 15 years ago that she needed a base, a temporal home in Lapland but, being a single woman, she did not want to buy a cottage. She thought that a timeshare apartment would be suitable for her, so she bought it in Ylläs, a ski resort in western Lapland. She describes how her attachment to the place became stronger and stronger, and how she decided to leave southern Finland totally and move to Lapland:

> It was actually the geological field work that took me to Lapland for the first time. It was the year 1977 and then somehow the landscape made so great impression that I just … It was just a kind of sudden enlightenment … then I came here whenever it was possible … but how I then moved to Lapland is quite a long story. I had been getting used to the idea for about ten years or more, and let it gel, and found more and more that this is my kind of place.
> (Interviewee, L1)

A number of social scientists have drawn attention to the consequential character of particular events within the biographies of individuals. Denzin (1992) approaches this question from a narrative perspective, identifying 'epiphanies' which represent interactional moments and experiences that leave marks on people's lives by altering their fundamental meaning structures. Giddens (1991, p. 113) proposes that individuals embark on a 'project of self' within which they experience 'fateful moments' – crossroads in their existence or where a person learns of information with fateful consequences. In social sciences these epiphanies or fateful moments are often related to issues of social problems such as social exclusion (e.g. Thompson *et al.*, 2002). However, these phenomena can be found also in stories where persons are making quite explicit and free choices in life.

The interviewee L1 now considers that the foundations for her later decision to move to Lapland came suddenly and that decision was a kind of fateful moment. However, when she tells more of her life it becomes clear that her first trip to Lapland was not in 1977, but when she was four years old: 'My mother has always wanted to move to Lapland since she had worked here before she got married. Now when my father has died my mother actually moved here. Also I have got to know that my father's cousins are living here near Levi. In fact, I could say that Lapland is in my genes!' Thus, although she was originally unaware of any kinship ties to the region, she creates strong biographical and biological connection to the place by referring to her family experiences and to the recently discovered kinship ties.

The long-established tourism association with Lapland is common to all the interviewees in Levi, Pallas and Kemijärvi. For example, the group whose members own a timeshare in Levi (L2) bought their share in the apartment from their parents: 'My father bought this about seven years ago. My parents have a long history as tourists in Lapland.'

All the interviewees describe Lapland as 'their place', their mental home. This idea of mental home may be derived as much through their parents' influence as from the literature or other cultural products to which they have been exposed. One Finnish novelist who has moved from southern Finland to Lapland, without any experience of the place as a tourist and without any kinship ties to the region, says that he read all the stories about life in the wilderness – from Jack London to the Finnish classics – and, on that basis, he decided that Lapland had to be his real home. Thus, he moved many years ago to a village in the middle of the wilderness, although his wife still lives in Helsinki.

Among the interviewees, only one couple (K3) in Kemijärvi has their family roots in Lapland. They started the interview by asking where the interviewer came from. This original home place seemed to be very important to them, although they had been living in Helsinki for over 30 years and they had few relatives left in Lapland. The wife, especially, wanted to have a second home in Lapland. 'She is so attached to the place', explained her husband. She herself says that when she moved to Helsinki over 30 years ago, she was surprised that her friends went to Lapland to ski: she thought they were crazy. Their own idea of a holiday started to change slowly when they were in their mid-forties and they began to realize that Lapland could be also a holiday destination. In the meantime, they visited Lapland for many years only because of social contacts with relatives.

All of the interviewees in Kemijärvi have at least some plans or ideas of moving permanently to the north when they retire. However, they emphasize that these are only ideas that they have sometimes talked about but not really considered seriously for a variety of practical reasons. This is expressed, for example, in the following way: 'I have tried to tempt her [wife] to sell the firm [private doctor practice] and to come here to work as a doctor. She has seized on it but it is not so easy. I don't know if it will ever come true' (K3).

These stories show that although these second homes in Kemijärvi are quite unconventional in the Finnish context, they are discussed in relation to both the past life history and future plans of individuals in much the same way as conventional second homes. At the discursive level, these homes play a remarkable part in the tourism life stories of these individuals.

Tourism seems to have an important role in finding meaningful locations in one's life. The activities pursued as a tourist are not only tied to the holiday destination. Since the touristic attractiveness of such peripheral places as Lapland is based mainly on nature and wilderness, some level of skill is often required in order to be able to enjoy such holidays, and these skills have to be practised in advance. The members of the group L2 agree that they ski a lot at home in order to be able to ski in Lapland: 'Once I had not skied at all and I came here and skied some 30 km. After that I was not able to move, not even to sauna. It was so hard. At home we ski a lot so that we are able to do that in Lapland.'

In the same way, a man in Pallas (P2) indicated that involvement in activities at home was important in his decision to buy a timeshare in Pallas. Cross-country skiing is the most important activity for him, but hiking and being in nature generally are also integral parts of his life both at home and on holiday. Often tourism and everyday life are regarded as separate realms in people's lives, but the interviews with the second-home owners show that this is not the case. The activities that are important in the realm of everyday life are important as well in leisure time and at holiday destinations. Second homes or timeshares provide the opportunity to be involved in these activities more and in different landscapes.

The space of second homes

Second homes are also an indication of the increasing spread of activity spaces in contemporary society (Massey, 1995a). Instead of one home, many people have – for different reasons – many locations that are important to them. After having moved to Lapland, to a place where wilderness is close and all nature activities are easily accessible, L1 and her husband needed some space for their leisure time: 'We have built a cottage in the real wilderness. Now we move from one wilderness to the other. But it is again a different kind of place. It is so peaceful, and the landscape is so different that it feels like being abroad – I still hike a lot and spend a lot of time in nature, and I have started hunting here, and I fish a lot.' The above quote shows how L1 has created different spaces to indulge her passion for being active in wilderness. Despite her move to live permanently in Lapland, the 'magic of being there' has not disappeared over the years but rather her activity participation in nature has expanded to encompass not only the sense of being in wilderness by living in Lapland but proximity and the cottage have realized her dream also to 'meet' (experience) wilderness physically as well as in her mind.

King *et al*. (2000, p. 49) noted that the Mediterranean region has seen the creation of *cultural enclaves* with services which cater exclusively to northern Europeans. The same applies partly to tourist centres in Finnish Lapland. On a minor scale these centres already exist, with alpine style huts and all the services that are available in urban centres, and this idea of cultural enclaves is expressed in the interviews with the group L2. The group members are unanimous that during the last decades Levi has 'come closer' to their own small town in Southern Finland. They speak about 'coming closer', not only in the sense of becoming more similar due to development, but also physically, as enhanced mobility has created better access: 'We have friends who have their business here, and then we know people who are working here. Visiting this has become a life style among Finns. It is not so elitist anymore – not even among farmers.'

Nevertheless, different places seem to be needed for different purposes. The old tradition of having a summer cottage beside a lake has not disappeared. As L1 says, they need a cabin in the 'real' wilderness although they are living in a place many would call wilderness. Another interviewee (K1) describes their summer cottage that is less than 40 km from their permanent residence in central Finland very differently from their place in Kemijärvi. The apartment in Kemijärvi is a base that makes outdoor activities and long trips into nature possible: 'This is, however, a different world although this is only an apartment.' Modern conveniences are important in Kemijärvi, while in the summer cottage, where they spend their time in a very small area doing things like gardening and repairing the house, life is more connected to living in nature without any conveniences: 'It would be easy to get electricity to the cottage but we don't want to have it there. It is important to live in a natural way there' (K1). Thus, the 'third home' in Lapland enables the trips to the wilderness but the traditional summer cottage near their permanent residence is viewed as part of nature itself.

The temporal dimensions of second homes

Hetherington (2001) argues that the modern dimension for representing utopia is as a temporal horizon. Utopia is not a place elsewhere but another time – the future. However, I would say that utopia consists of both space and time. On the individual level, a sense of social time is made and remade according to social practices operating within and across such domains as a series of timetables and rhythms, social disciplines and instruments and devices (May and Thrift, 2001). Here I focus on the first of these domains, the timetables and rhythms, by relating the issues of second homes to the rhythms of the seasons and to the variation of the rhythms across the life course.

During the interviews, the cyclical nature of understanding became obvious: annual cycles were clearly distinguished. There are reasons to believe that seasonal variation has extraordinary significance for the people

in the northern periphery: first, because of the geographical location there are four clearly separate seasons (in Lapland they speak of eight seasons); secondly, because of late industrialization and urbanization, the Finnish people are said to have strong relations with nature and natural phenomena; and thirdly, there is this strong tradition of owning summer cottages which maintains the 'nomadic' pattern of change of spaces according to season. Similarly, in tourism more generally, seasonal variations are extremely important, demonstrating that annual rhythms are important also for people of today. Further, it has been noted that the broader patterns of life changes have strong relations to place and that changing place is an important way of altering the pace of one's life (e.g. Shaw, 2001).

The high seasons in Lapland are autumn, Christmas (especially for international tourists) and spring, which has been the most important season over recent decades. Summer is a problem from the tourism industry's point of view, as hotels stay empty and expensive facilities lie unused. When asked about the possibility of spending summer weeks in their timeshare, the group L2 answered:

> It starts to be so much work in the fields in the end of April that it is hard to stay here. One year we had to interrupt our vacation since my husband started to call all our neighbours about the weather at home. And it is also gardening at that time that draws us to the south. When it becomes warmer it is so nice to work at the home garden.

Thus, their cottage life in the north is strongly connected to winter activities, while the place for summer activities is one of their other 'homes', either summer cottage or permanent residence.

The rhythms of life are also connected to age. Life in leisure spaces is often regarded as 'slow' life. However, not everyone in every life phase wants a slower pace of life. Peaceful wilderness destinations are often 'found' later in life. The quest for a slower life seems to grow with the years in one's life course. Thus, it is not surprising that many of my interviewees are on the threshold of retirement. Their future horizon consists of the expectations of getting more leisure time, and since they are still in good physical shape they have many plans. This 'third age' seems to be regarded as the time to make dreamed-of utopias a reality. All the interviewees in Kemijärvi had at least some idea of spending more time or even moving to Kemijärvi when they retired. Interviewee P2 had planned his visit to Pallas for twenty years:

> About twenty years ago I saw the landscape of Pallas from the road and decided that it is the place I want to visit. Nevertheless, I was always in a hurry to go fishing to Norway or to some other places in Lapland that I did not have time to come to Pallas. Finally, in 1997, I came here and now I think that this is the best place in Finland.

One of the members of the Levi group (L2) expressed her wish to visit the fairly remote cross-country skiing resort of Kilpisjärvi: 'When retired my dream is to go to Kilpisjärvi in the beginning of May some year. It is nice that one has still got that kind of dream.' However, she also expressed the

fear that she could not manage in a place that she regards as 'real' wilderness, and she thinks that it will remain a dream – her statement, however, shows once again that tourism has much to do with such utopian quests.

Conclusions

There are many paths that can be followed in tourism life stories. Instead of attachment to Lapland, I could have chosen to analyse the narratives of the journeys to the Mediterranean and most of my interviewees also told me about their trips to different Mediterranean or Far Eastern destinations. Many Finnish people have their second homes in Spain, and the deepening of the feeling towards Spain has also happened through tourism experiences. However, my interviewees, although they had also travelled in the Mediterranean countries, did not express such deep feeling towards those regions. The trips to the Mediterranean were described more in the manner of 'we went there since everybody does'. Lapland was more their kind of place, but their experience only emphasizes that the sense of home, and deep feelings towards a place, can develop anywhere in the realm of tourism. The realization of the utopian quest then depends on the individual's characteristics and also on his/her economic and other circumstances.

The narratives of the second-home and timeshare owners express the contemporary need for different space for different activities. They also reveal the deep attachment to the places with which they have became familiar in the contexts of tourism. The meanings of places have deepened during the years they have visited the places regularly, and they have became empathetic insiders. Some of them have become or want to become locals but, for most, the principal meaning of the place is not in social relationships in the local community but in the feeling that they are so near the 'real' wilderness. Their true home is found in nature and in the activities the specific landscapes make possible.

The sense of home is looked for both in tourist destinations and, also, in other realms of life. The second homes in the tourist resorts have not *displaced* the former, more traditional, summer cottages or the permanent residence, but rather they can be called third homes. The growth in leisure time has led to the quest for different locations for different activities, and many of the persons interviewed are expecting to get even more leisure time in future through retirement.

There are many unresolved and interesting questions in relation to this new phenomenon of second homes in tourist resorts. For example, does this form of place attachment help the regions that are suffering from out-migration to gain new permanent and part-time residents? What will happen to the attachment to these places among the generation that will inherit the cottages? And will this phenomenon help to even out the seasonal changes in tourism?

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IV Landscape, Culture and Multiple Dwelling

Changing notions of mobility and dwelling, renegotiation of home and away, and the expanding reach of modernity and globalization leave their marks on landscapes and local culture. A common feature of the chapters in this section is that they offer case studies in the changing character of tourist and second-home regions. The cases come from coastal Western Australia, the Boreal forests and lakes of Canada and the northern 'lake states' in the USA. As diverse as these chapters are in methodology and data, taken collectively, they highlight two critical forces shaping second-home and amenity regions. The first is the role of changing technologies of mobility, from the emergence of the railroad to high-speed automobile, to virtual mobilities afforded by modern communication technologies. For example, several papers do this by illustrating the historical changes of an amenity landscape brought about through the expansion and evolution of transportation networks into former new world frontiers. Some look more to the spatial patterns and consequences of these changes, documenting changing economic, social and environmental conditions that attracted cottagers and tourists to these landscapes in the first place.

The second force shaping second-home and amenity landscapes is the expanding role of the state in regulating ownership and land use. As transportation systems improved and expanded into these remote second-home communities, the state could expand its power to control, regulate and tax these residents. For example, several chapters illustrate how, as the need for infrastructure and social services has grown with the intensification of use, the state has stepped in to impose building codes, taxation schemes and, in some cases, more formalized systems of ownership. These changes can be positive, for example, by protecting water quality, but also bring new stresses as second homes are subject to increasing commodification.

John Selwood and Matthew Tonts mix historical narrative, survey data

and genealogies of cottage ownership to illustrate the role of extended families in the establishment of three 'holiday settlements' on Australia's western coast. They show how what were once 'squatter' settlements, dominated by more traditional ties of kinship and neighbour-to-neighbour relations, are being replaced by more impersonal and formalized relations in the form of zoning and building codes and planning and taxing authorities of the state that increasingly penetrate these small, coastal communities.

Susan Stewart and Daniel Stynes present three demographic case studies of second homeowners in the American upper Midwest. In summarizing over a decade of research in the region, they nicely illustrate the complex social, economic and political impacts of second-home tourism. For example, they note, on the one hand, how the routine affairs of managing public infrastructure (in this case waterways and boating access) are complicated by seasonally occupied homes. On the other hand, they show how second-home ownership often has a moderating influence on the seasonality and instability of tourist-dependent economies.

Drawing on US Census data for the lake states of Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin, Brad Shellito illustrates the geographic patterns of second-home development over the course of several decades and builds an explanatory model documenting the landscape factors that influence the second-home distribution. Using the basic factors that drive these geographic patterns, Shellito highlights the environmental and social impacts that come with second-home development.

Turning to Canada, John Selwood focuses his attention on the evolution and spatial distribution of cottages in southern Manitoba and the particular importance of the railroads as early promoters of second-home developments in southern Manitoba. Not only did the railways provide access to lakes and rivers for the burgeoning middle class, they activily promoted the resort industry by developing hotels, dance halls and other amenities and entertainments. Selwood again illustrates the importance of kinship in the early history of the region and describes the transformations being wrought by government policies designed to regulate further development.

Finally, John Marsh and Katie Griffiths carefully document the historical emergence of 'cottage country' in southern Ontario. Not unlike the Manitoba case, they show how the railroad companies and other regional boosters actively constructed and promoted the image of 'cottage country' landscapes and the regional identity of the 'Kawartha Lakes'. In addition, they document perceived threats to the amenity values of the region and various efforts being contemplated for protection of the landscape.

11 Seeking Serenity: Homes Away from Home in Western Australia

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Introduction

In recent years Western Australians, like other Australians, have been moving in droves to coastal areas. Indeed, a recent analysis by Salt (2001) suggests that the migration of people to coastal areas is perhaps the most significant change occurring in the population geography of Australia (see also Hugo, 1994; Burnley, 1996; Burnley and Murphy, 2002). While much of the migration to the coast is permanent, a growing number of people are purchasing second or multiple homes that are used primarily for leisure and recreation on weekends and during holiday periods (Murphy, 1977; Burnley and Murphy, 2004).

The variety of coastal settlements and accommodation into which the population has gravitated ranges from the permanent to the temporary, the metropolitan to the remote periphery, the luxurious to the rudimentary and the exciting to the serene. This paper focuses on three small, representative coastal communities in Western Australia's south-western corner that are in the relatively early stages of evolution. These localities, mostly comprising holiday homes, retain many characteristics that reflect the search for a quieter, closer attachment to nature, family and friends. The paper examines the evolution of these holiday settlements, arguing that they are not a new phenomenon, but part of a long-standing tradition that has gathered momentum in recent years. It also considers the motivations, aspirations and characteristics of the people occupying homes in these localities. We argue that the strength of local social and familial linkages within these settlements is often a defining characteristic. This contributes to a strong sense of community and social memory, together with concerns for the future of the settlements themselves.

The settlements examined in this paper are Hopetoun, Peaceful Bay and Windy Harbour (see Fig. 11.1). These localities were selected for a

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Fig. 11.1. Coastal settlements in south-western Western Australia.

number of reasons. First, they have a long history of seasonal-home ownership. Second, local officials and homeowners indicate that all of these towns have experienced an increase in the number of second homes over the past 15 years or so. Third, all of the settlements are more than 450 km from Perth and are not yet fully subsumed into its metropolitan area, as have been other more accessible holiday communities (e.g. Rockingham and Mandurah).

The main data source for this paper was a postal questionnaire survey of seasonal-home owners in the three localities. Drawing on a similar questionnaire used by Stynes *et al.* (1997), it was designed to collect quantitative and qualitative data on, inter alia, the socio-economic characteristics of the owners, property characteristics, usage patterns and planning and development issues. Local government records were used to identify absentee landowners, all 591 of whom were sent a copy of the questionnaire. A total of 200 useable questionnaires, or 33.8 per cent, were returned. While the response rate is comparable with that of other similar studies of rural communities, there is potential bias and no inferential statistics have been used. Nevertheless, the survey provides valuable insights into the characteristics of seasonal-home ownership in coastal settlements. The surveys were supplemented by a number of field visits to Hopetoun, Peaceful Bay and Windy Harbour. These visits included numerous interviews and conversations with seasonal homeowners, permanent residents, local government officials and business owners. Documentary resources, including planning documents, archival material and newspaper articles, also helped to build up insights into the development and characteristics of the case study localities.

Second Homes and Coastal Regions in Australia

Over the past decade or so, there has been increasing interest in the countryside, not simply as a space of primary production, but as a more complex geographic landscape characterized by diverse land uses and development pressures. These pressures are often generated by the countryside's role as a space for recreation (Halfacree, 1997). An important characteristic of this 'rural recreational countryside' is the ownership of second homes. Throughout many parts of the world second homes for the purposes of recreation are an important part of the rural landscape (see Clout, 1974; Coppock, 1977; Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995; Hoggart and Buller, 1995b; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; Hall and Müller, 2004).

In Australia, second homes have long been a component of coastal landscapes (Clarke and Selwood, 1970; Murphy, 1977; Robertson, 1977). Indeed, for more than a century holiday shacks and other forms of dwelling have been established in areas that combine accessibility and landscape amenity. The ownership of these coastal dwellings became increasingly common following World War I, when a buoyant economy and growing population saw a number of localities become popular coastal settlements (Selwood and Tonts, 2004). While the Great Depression and World War II slowed development, the post-war boom contributed to a new wave of growth. The expansion of second-home ownership, particularly in coastal areas, has accelerated over recent years.

Despite the significance of the second-home phenomenon in Australia, it has received relatively little detailed research attention. Nevertheless, those studies that have been undertaken do note the rapid expansion of

second-home ownership in those areas that are relatively accessible to major metropolitan centres (Selwood *et al.*, 1995; Sanders, 2000; Frost, 2004; Selwood and Tonts, 2004). A recent analysis by Burnley and Murphy (2004) suggests a number of reasons for this expansion, including rising levels of affluence and personal mobility, the relative affordability of property in many of Australia's coastal towns and an increasing desire to escape city life, at least for a short period of time (Stimson and Minnery, 1998). This notion of escapism has also been noted by Salt (2001), who suggests that, more than ever, Australians are being drawn to coastal areas, if not permanently, then at least for certain periods during the year. In particular, he points to the ageing and increasingly wealthy, urban-based 'baby boomer' population as a driving force in this trend. Given that many of these people are now approaching retirement, Salt (2001) suggests that Australia will continue to experience significant coastal development, of which second homes are likely to remain an important part.

The ownership of second homes is not simply the preserve of people living in cities; many rural residents are also purchasing homes in coastal areas. As with the ownership of second homes by city residents, geographic accessibility appears to be the key determinant in the location of such homes owned by rural people. Research by Selwood *et al*. (1995) on the south coast of Western Australia showed that the owners of second homes in the region often lived permanently in nearby rural districts. Furthermore, much of the evidence suggests that it was rural people who contributed significantly to the early development of coastal settlements and towns. Indeed, it was often farmers, timber workers, rural labourers and other residents who established unregulated camping grounds and, later, informal holiday shacks in scenic coastal areas in Australia (Selwood and Tonts, 2004). The expansion of these settlements was particularly significant during the prosperous post-World War II economic boom and, in many respects, laid the foundation for the most recent wave of expansion.

While there has been significant expansion in second-home ownership over the last few decades, it is important to recognize that the development trajectories of the coastal settlements in which these homes are located have varied considerably from place to place. In some cases, expanding metropolitan regions have now subsumed localities that were once relatively isolated, underdeveloped and dominated by holiday shacks, camping and relatively passive recreation. These areas now often resemble typical suburban landscapes, or have been transformed into large-scale commercial resorts (Essex and Brown, 1997). Other localities have experienced a more gradual expansion, while some have remained relatively undiscovered. There has also been the widespread removal of illegal squatter settlements from parts of the coast and, in some cases, their replacement by planned coastal towns (Selwood and May, 2001).

The diversity of settlement types and development trajectories in second-home localities is accompanied by considerable complexity in terms of social, cultural and economic characteristics. While Murphy and Burnley (2004) and Salt (2001) tend to focus on the role of middle class urbanites in

driving the expansion of coastal development, there is evidence to suggest that second-home localities tend to be characterized by a broad cross-section of socio-economic and demographic groups (Pollard, 1996; Sanders, 2000; Selwood and Tonts, 2004). A recent study by Frost (2004) also highlights the apparent cultural complexity associated with second-home localities, particularly the sense of place, community and belonging that appears to exist within such settlements. To date, however, the social, economic and cultural complexity of second-home localities has received minimal attention. Indeed, relatively little empirical evidence exists about the types of people who own homes, their usage patterns of dwellings, the motivations for purchasing second homes or the social and familial links within second-home localities. It is to these central questions that this chapter now turns by drawing on a study of three small coastal localities in Western Australia.

Historical Context

The settlements of Peaceful Bay, Windy Harbour and Hopetoun are all illustrative of the typical pattern of development experienced by many small coastal holiday towns in southern Western Australia. Often these settlements emerged as informal camping areas in locations with considerable scenic amenity and natural attributes, such as fishing holes, sheltered bays or beaches. By the mid-20th century, regular campers in these localities began to construct basic permanent accommodation in their favourite campsites. Initially, state and local authorities were generally tolerant of these squatter settlements, and shack owners began to improve the comfort and quality of their accommodation. As a result of the expansion of these settlements, government authorities worked to remove, upgrade or regulate them. This has often involved converting them into campsites or gazetted townsites.

In the case of Peaceful Bay, the area was initially opened up in the early 20th century by pastoralists who ran their cattle down to the surrounding coastal scrub for summer grazing. The camping areas used by these pastoralists were subsequently taken up by local farmers, many of them from the wheat–sheep region to the north of Peaceful Bay, who would trek down to the coast for a holiday, camping and fishing at the relatively protected anchorage. When the local road board upgraded the track into the campsite in 1954, a number of the regular visitors began erecting shacks, and this, in turn, resulted in the creation of a camping reserve and a subdivision plan to regulate the allocation of lots. By 1963, some ninety lots had been released on a 10-year leasehold basis. Additional lots were released through the 1960s. Services and infrastructure were also upgraded during this period, with significant improvements in water supply, drainage works and road construction. These improvements were partly funded by a State Tourism Development Authority grant designed to improve tourist facilities in the district and to exert more control over coastal development.

Since then, the proportion of people from metropolitan Perth who have second homes at Peaceful Bay has risen quite dramatically, especially since the recent addition of another subdivision offering a 25-year lease on the lots. The more extended leases are helping to transform the settlement into a more upmarket community featuring brick and tile homes instead of the less obtrusive, vernacular corrugated iron, fibro-asbestos or timber-clad shacks of the earlier generation (Selwood *et al.*, 1995).

To the west of Peaceful Bay, the district around Windy Harbour was first opened up in the 1920s, based on the timber industry and farming. Windy Harbour became a popular place for camping and fishing soon after the district was settled and this led to a recreation reserve being established there. As happened elsewhere, in the late 1940s a number of locals began to construct squatter shacks on the reserve. Since there was no formal planning of the settlement, shacks were simply constructed on sites that appealed to the builder. This is reflected in the oldest part of the settlement, which is widely referred to as Chinatown because of its haphazard, but appealing, layout and vernacular architecture (Figs 11.2 and 11.3). By the mid-1950s around 80 such shacks had been constructed (Evans, 1992). Government authorities became increasingly concerned about the development of illegal shacks and began to 'regularize' the settlement from about 1953. This included surveying blocks, formalizing streets and establishing a system of annual, 12-month leases for the second-home owners. The settlement continued to expand slowly during the second half of the 20th century and, by 2002, consisted of around 220 second homes.

Hopetoun has a somewhat different settlement history to Peaceful Bay and Windy Harbour. In 1898, gold and copper were discovered on the Phillips River north of the present Hopetoun settlement. The construction of a railway linking the mining areas and the coast led to the development of a legal subdivision in the early 1900s. Deposits of gold and copper eventually dwindled and in the 1930s the port was closed and the townsite

Fig. 11.2. 'Chinatown', central Windy Harbour.

Fig. 11.3. A holiday shack in Windy Harbour.

virtually abandoned. However, the 1960s saw the townsite revived as the State government promoted the expansion of agriculture in the previously undeveloped region. This contributed to increasing demand for holiday homes and the settlement now consists of more than 200 permanent dwellings. New mineral discoveries in the region over the past few years have also increased the demand for both permanent and seasonal homes in Hopetoun.

Characteristics and Usage

Peaceful Bay, Windy Harbour and Hopetoun provide further insights into the importance and dynamic nature of multiple-home ownership and usage. A majority of surveyed homeowners (58%) purchased their properties prior to 1990 (Table 11.1), demonstrating the strong allegiances held by the owners to these localities. Nevertheless, there has been a relatively high turnover and considerable recent investment in the local property markets of the settlements related to increased demand for coastal property and the subsequent expansions of the townsites. In Hopetoun, this is largely the result of an expanding minerals sector and relative stability in the agricultural sector. Increased levels of investment in Peaceful Bay have been stimulated by regional growth, largely explained by amenity migration and tourism. In contrast, Windy Harbour's hinterland has suffered declines in both agriculture and the timber industry, thereby limiting demand for holiday homes in the area.

There are clear geographical linkages between the three settlements and the place of permanent residence of homeowners. In Peaceful Bay and Windy Harbour, more than half of all homeowners lived in an immediately

Table 11.1. Selected property characteristics (from survey of homeowners).

	Characteristics (percentage of sample)			
	Hopetoun	Peaceful Bay	Windy Harbour	Total
Year property was acquired				
Before 1970	7.5	8.6	23.4	14.0
1970–1980	5.7	15.7	22.1	15.5
1981–1990	26.4	24.3	35.1	29.0
After 1990	54.7	45.7	19.5	38.0
No response	5.7	5.7	0.0	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
Permanent home of owner				
Adjacent town/district	22.6	58.8	61.0	50.0
Other rural WA	58.5	15.7	20.8	29.0
Other Australia	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Perth metro region	18.9	25.7	18.2	21.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age of Owner				
25–34	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.5
35–49	47.2	28.6	33.8	36.5
50–64	32.0	47.1	40.3	39.8
65 and over	18.9	21.5	24.7	21.7
No response	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	53	70	77	200

adjacent town or district, whereas Hopetoun's catchment area is somewhat wider. All three settlements drew a significant proportion of owners from Perth. This was highest in Peaceful Bay (25.7%), which is the most accessible of the three towns from Perth, with an approximate travelling time by car of a little over four hours. Slightly lower rates were evident in Hopetoun (18.9%) and Windy Harbour (18.2%), which are also less accessible than Peaceful Bay, with travelling times of approximately 7 and 5 hours, respectively. The ownership of properties in these towns by people from Perth illustrates two important geographic and social characteristics of southern Western Australia. First, Perth, as the only major metropolitan region in the State, has considerable geographic influence, and has an extremely large urban field. Furthermore, the willingness of people to purchase second homes up to seven hours' driving time from their place of permanent residence suggests that the owners regard these properties as a valuable social and economic asset.

In general, those who own second homes are over the age of 35. In Hopetoun, most owners were between 35 and 39 years of age, while in Peaceful Bay and Windy Harbour the 50–64 age cohort were the most common owners. However, the clearest trend in all of the settlements was that an older ownership structure tends to prevail. In Hopetoun 50.9 per cent of owners were over the age of 50, while in Peaceful Bay and Windy

Harbour the figures were 68.6 and 65.0 per cent, respectively. There are a number of likely reasons for this. First, the ownership of a second home generally implies a degree of financial security and reasonable purchasing power which, in terms of the property market, is often a characteristic of those in the over-50 age groups (Badcock and Beer, 2000). Secondly, high levels of second-home ownership tend to be common amongst retiree and pre-retiree populations, who either already have, or are planning for, increased leisure and recreation time (Hall and Müller, 2004).

The factors influencing people's decision to purchase a second home did not differ greatly between the settlements. The most common reason given was the cost of the property (37.8%), followed by scenic landscape (30.8%) and access to the coast (23.4%). Although the cost of property was an important determinant in selecting a location for a second home, the roles of landscape and the environment were also important. Respondents often mentioned tranquillity, closeness to nature, fishing and forests (in the case of Windy Harbour and Peaceful Bay) as important reasons for purchasing. Indeed, much of the advertising by real estate agents recognized these qualities when selling properties in these areas. For example, in the case of Hopetoun, a real estate agent recently promoted the town and region as: 'home to the magnificent Fitzgerald National Park and surrounded by deserted sandy beaches, and while traditionally a farming region, it is now growing in popularity as a retirement, tourist and getaway destination for those seeking a peaceful coastal lifestyle' (Elders Real Estate, 2004).

The importance of environmental and lifestyle factors were also reflected in people's reasons for owning a second home in these coastal settlements (Fig. 11.4). More than 90 per cent of respondents claimed that owning the home as 'a place to get away and relax' was extremely important or very important. Thus, for many people 'seeking serenity' is a central ingredient in motivating the second-home acquisition. There are important push and pull factors at work. Indeed, both interviews and

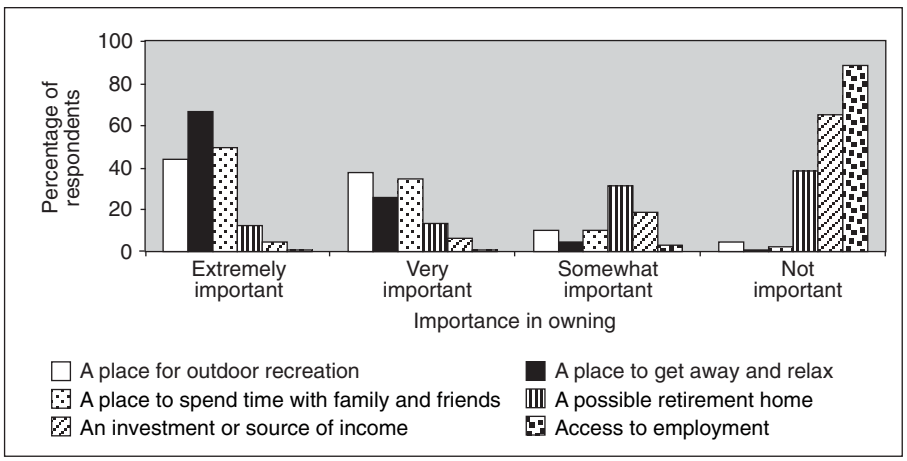

Fig. 11.4. Reasons for owning a seasonal home.

survey responses indicate that pressures associated with work and the routines of city and rural life were important push factors. As one survey respondent who owned a property at Peaceful Bay commented: 'I can't wait to get down to our place each holidays and escape the rat race'. Similarly, a second-home owner from Hopetoun stated: 'It gets us away from the pressures on the farm. I love the peace, the beach, the fishing and spending time with the kids'. These latter comments underline the desire for quietness, the natural environment and spending time with family and friends. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, that more than 80 per cent of respondents claimed that owning a home as a place for outdoor recreation was extremely important or very important. Being with family and friends was either extremely important or very important for 83.6 per cent of respondents.

Much less important to second-home owners was access to employment and the home as an investment or source of income. This tends to underscore the importance of lifestyle factors in the ownership of these homes. Somewhat surprisingly, second homes in these settlements were generally not seen as a future permanent retirement destination. When survey respondents were asked if they intended to move permanently to their second home in the next five years, 83.5 per cent claimed that they did not. Furthermore, the responses did not differ according to age, with retirees no more likely to move into the second home permanently than younger age groups. This tends to be in contrast with other research that suggests second homes might be used as a transitional dwelling between semi-permanent and permanent migration to a particular place (Murphy, 1981; Sherlaimoff, 1986; Williams *et al.*, 2000). It seems that the absence of emergency services and the remoteness of health facilities effectively discourage the people of Windy Harbour, Hopetoun and Peaceful Bay from giving up their permanent home (Selwood *et al.*, 1995). Thus, for second-home owners in these settlements, multiple dwelling is an ongoing arrangement, and not a transitory phase.

Family and Social Linkages

Spending time with family and friends is an important part of owning a second home in Hopetoun, Peaceful Bay and Windy Harbour. This is reflected in the close social and family linkages that tend to occur within these settlements. This section documents these linkages through case studies of a number of second-home owners. The first of these is a family who own a number of shacks at Peaceful Bay. The Smith[1] family acquired a shack in Peaceful Bay in the 1950s, following the survey of the first small subdivision. Three of nine Smith siblings acquired lots and built shacks at Peaceful Bay, two of which remain in the family (see Fig. 11.5). Figure 11.5 indicates that, as the family expanded, it acquired as many as six shacks as other members obtained leases on properties. These were spatially concentrated in the core of the subdivision, reflecting their early acquisition

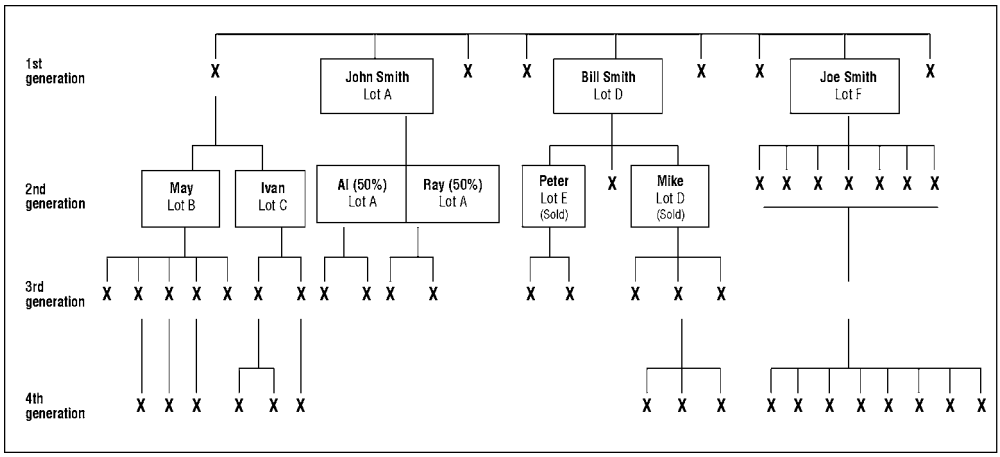

Fig. 11.5. Multi-generation family ties and shack ownership at Peaceful Bay.

and the close-knit nature of the family. Two of the shacks have subsequently been sold, but although several of the family still live in Perth, many members of the family, now spanning four generations, still use the remaining shacks. In all, some forty members of the family still periodically stay at Peaceful Bay.

The data presented in Table 11.1 indicate that the shack owners of Peaceful Bay are dispersed as to place of primary residence. However, there are several inland farming communities that have contributed large groups of leaseholders. For example, several families from the communities of Kojonup, Katanning and Manjimup own shacks in Peaceful Bay. This is not coincidental, as these groups usually constitute friends or relatives who have been persuaded to join their mates at Peaceful Bay. Two of the interviewees suggested that another influence has been work associates. For example, schoolteachers have had an effective network that has encouraged numbers of them to acquire property at Peaceful Bay.

The importance of social, family and geographical linkages is also evident in Windy Harbour. This settlement is particularly popular with farmers, timber workers and other residents of the surrounding region. As a consequence, strong kinship and social ties amongst the residents characterize the settlement. A useful example of the extent, complexity and importance of such family and friendship networks in the structure of these small communities is illustrated in Fig. 11.6. This figure lays out the relationships that have evolved from an early fishing excursion to Windy Harbour taken by two friends from Pemberton, a timber town some 45 km to the north of the coast. The two friends, one a schoolteacher, the other a mill worker, took the trip in the early 1950s. Both of them built themselves shacks in the embryonic settlement and their families subsequently occupied a dozen properties in the community.

In 1954, the schoolteacher (Bill Jones) built and shared the ownership of a shack with his brother-in-law (Wally Edwards). Shortly thereafter, the two

friends acquired shacks of their own, leaving the original shack with the schoolteacher's son. These shacks are still in the family. Additional shacks were brought into the family by three close relatives of Wally Edwards, making a total of six shacks now occupied by the second generation of the family (Fig. 11.6, upper half). The figure also identifies the 17 offspring of the third generation and a single, fourth generation member of the family dynasty who is also a direct descendant of the ownership line. In all, there were six additional siblings of the two original co-owners who, largely because of their leaving the district, did not acquire shacks at Windy Harbour. However, most of them and their offspring make periodic visits to the settlement. The six properties are all located in the original cluster of lots nestled in the wooded dell in the heart of the settlement, colloquially known as 'Chinatown'.

The millworker who first introduced Bill Jones to Windy Harbour also began a family dynasty (Fig. 11.6, lower half). His two sons – John and Peter – each acquired a shack and his daughter became an owner through

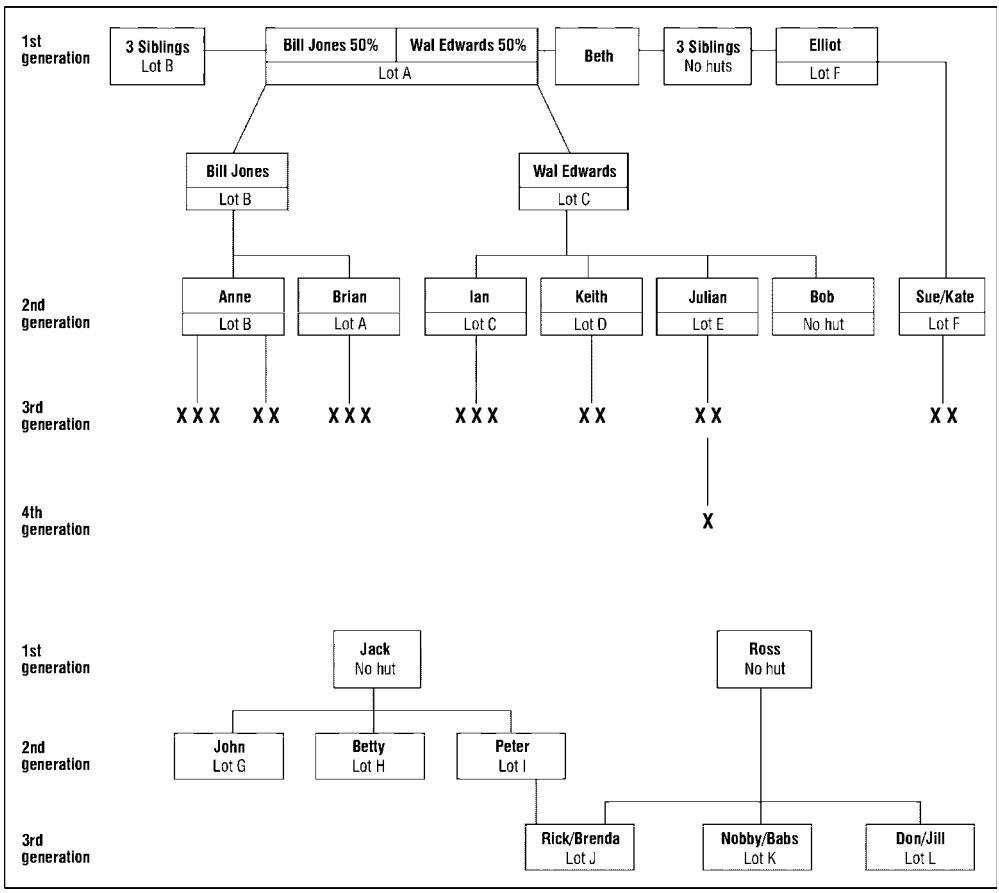

Fig. 11.6. Multi-generation family and friendship ties and shack ownership in Windy Harbour.
[a] In order to preserve anonymity, the names of family members have been changed.

marriage. In addition, one of his grandsons also has a shack and, through marriage, is related to two brothers-in-law who are also shack-owners at Windy harbour. Between them, this extended family thus occupies another six shacks with their offspring contributing in even greater numbers to the community. In all, there are a dozen second homes and their associated families that comprise the extended family network.

Similar linkages also occur in Hopetoun. For example, one of the present authors (Tonts) is a member of an extended family that owned a holiday home in the town. This particular house was owned by a farming family from a nearby district, and used by at least six related families. Often the home would be the site of shared Christmas, New Year and Easter celebrations. Similar 'house sharing' was (and still is) widespread throughout the settlement. Hopetoun is also characterized by strong social ties that are often linked to the places of permanent residence of homeowners. For example, large numbers of homeowners are from the small wheatbelt town of Lake Grace. These residents often 're-form' their geographical communities once in Hopetoun, and spend considerable amounts of time socializing with people from their district of origin. Thus, it is common for people from Lake Grace to meet at various houses of other residents of this community for barbecues, or to go on fishing trips and four-wheel drive expeditions together. However, these linkages are not exclusive, and numerous social networks cross these community boundaries. These social networks often form through communal activities that occur in Hopetoun, such as New Year's Eve celebrations, swimming lessons for children during holiday periods, and at the local pub. Social linkages are also related to the length of time people have been visiting the area. Clearly, the longer families have been visiting a locality, the higher the likelihood of interactions and connections with their neighbours.

The foregoing examples are indicative of the complex linkages that can exist between occupants of second homes in coastal communities. From a theoretical perspective, these settlements might thus be regarded as nodes of interaction for much wider and dispersed family and social networks (Delanty, 2003). While the concept has become unpopular amongst many social scientists, it is also apparent that Tönnies' (1963) notion of traditional community values, or *gemeinschaft*, provides some insights into the social structure of these localities. For Tönnies, *gemeinschaft* indicates a sense of community that incorporates certain elements of associational life within a place. Of particular importance here are kinship ties, social bonds and relationships based on continuity (Wild, 1981). Certainly there is evidence that these smaller communities are a haven for family life, often affording a focal point for the extended family to gather for occasions celebrating important events symbolic of family life. Christmas, New Year's Eve, Easter, wedding anniversaries, birthdays and other traditional occasions are frequently celebrated on an annual basis, making them even more significant events than would have been the case if acknowledged at the primary residence. For example, the matriarch of the schoolteacher's family discussed above tells us that her family has celebrated New Year's Eve at

their Windy Harbour shack every year for the past 30 years, with frequently between 30 and 40 family and friends in attendance. Notable among the latter has been a family group of musicians from their home town who have regularly added to the entertainment and drawn even greater numbers of the community into the celebrations.

These social and family ties link strongly with a local 'sense of place'. Holiday homes provide a sense of continuity, shared history and collective identity for those who use them. According to Jaakson (1986, p. 371), there is a 'culture centred on the cottage … a deep, almost mystical meaning'. For Williams and Kaltenborn (1999) it provides a territorial identification with an emotional home or place. In the case of Peaceful Bay, Hopetoun and Windy Harbour, repeat visits to the same home over generations make these places extremely important in the memory and identity of those who use them. Indeed, a number of respondents to the survey commented enthusiastically on both their length of involvement with a place and the importance of these places across generations of family and friends:

> The property our family have owned [in Peaceful Bay] was bought over 30 years ago for recreation of a growing family. Despite distances from Perth it was a wonderful acquisition, because of our immediate proximity to ocean and inlet, for family and friends during children's school and university education, and the original intention of head of family to eventually retire there. Now youngest member of family intends eventual retirement, probable development of a business venture on the property (related to tourism, recreation).
>
> (Survey Respondent 31, Peaceful Bay)

> Having been born in Pemberton it is great to relax and spend time with family who still live in the country and also have residences at Windy Harbour. We look forward to many holidays with our children [2] and now grandchildren who love it as much as we do.
>
> (Survey Respondent 42, Windy Harbour)

The sense of attachment to holiday homes is therefore partly linked to their role in bringing together networks of family and friends. Indeed, drawing on Massey's (1994a) conception of place, holiday homes and localities might be thought of as nodes in wider sets of social networks. According to Williams and Kaltenborn (1999), increasingly complex and dispersed social networks in late modern society mean that holiday homes and localities often provide residents with a sense of stability and continuity.

An important and closely related element of sense of place is what a number of scholars have referred to as 'social memory' (Burke, 1989; Fentress and Wickham, 1992; Halbwachs and Coser, 1992). In simple terms, social memory is the recollections of groups of individuals. Rather than memories simply resting with individuals, memories are usually constructed by group identities: a person's childhood is remembered as part of a family; one's holidays as part of a holiday community; or one's home as part of an extended network of family and friends. Within groups or social networks, these memories are repeatedly discussed, shared with others, told in stories and can help to form the basis of collective identities.

Importantly, these memories are often a means of identifying with a place or places (Withers, 1996). Thus, as Hague and Mercer (1998) suggest, social memories are often 'geographical memories' in that they are based on associations with place.

These social or geographical memories are particularly evident in the construction of place and community in Peaceful Bay, Hopetoun and Windy Harbour. Numerous interviews and conversations with people who owned or used homes in these settlements involved discussion of memories that were intrinsically linked to place. In Windy Harbour, for example, a number of people recalled large, impromptu gatherings of people in the area known as Chinatown (Fig. 11.2). According to some, the relatively dense, informal layout of this part of the settlement, together with the relaxed holiday atmosphere of the area, resulted in small social gatherings such as barbecues or birthday celebrations, often becoming larger community events. In these memories, Chinatown itself has been an important part of social relations and the construction of identity. Indeed, for some, the area is the 'real' Windy Harbour. Other memories were often linked to time spent at particular beaches, fishing spots or forest areas with family and friends. Evidently, places associated with the cottage contribute to its meaning and significance.

The role of place and memory was also particularly evident in a short-lived 'tradition' in Hopetoun. For a number of New Year's Eve celebrations in the early 1990s, the floor of the local pub was covered in beach sand, beach umbrellas erected, other beach-related adornments set up, and a community 'beach party' held. Patrons wore swimwear and other beach clothing as part of the festivities. Over the following weeks and months (and sometimes years), stories about the evening, the decoration of the pub and the people in attendance became part of collective memories and identities. More than a decade later, it is not uncommon to hear people who were familiar with the town in the early 1990s reminisce about the Hopetoun beach parties.

While the settlements themselves, and some of the areas within them, are important in geographical memories and the construction of a sense of place, perhaps most significant is the home itself. The holiday home for many owners and users of these dwellings was a source of collective memories of time spent with family and friends. In addition to being the place in which memories are anchored, the home is also a place for reminiscing and expressing memories themselves. Celebrations, dinners, barbecues and relaxing with family and friends are often used as an opportunity to discuss and recall time spent in and around the home, further reinforcing a sense of place and attachment. While there is undoubtedly an element of nostalgia and myth associated with sense of place and social memory, they are nevertheless an important part of multiple dwelling and the social construction of home (Jaakson, 1986).

Social Change and Development Pressures

Despite the strong social and family bonds within these small coastal settlements of Western Australia, it is also apparent that a range of social, economic and political changes are impinging upon and transforming these communities. Indeed, it might even be suggested that these places are shifting from social structures based on notions of *gemeinschaft*, to what Tönnies (1963) described as *gesellschaft*, or 'modern society', in which social relationships were increasingly impersonal and governed by legislation, regulation and capitalist exchanges. Notwithstanding the widespread criticism of this type of dichotomy, and in particular Tönnies' evolutionary view of society (Delanty, 2003), it is clear that there is a social transformation affecting many of these small coastal communities as urban influences begin to penetrate their social, economic and political structures.

Perhaps one of the most important elements of this transformation is the increasing pressure for further subdivision and development. Increasing demand for properties by urban residents looking to purchase a 'coastal getaway' has created much of this pressure. This demand has been coupled with improving transport technologies and has contributed to an expanding urban field around Perth that incorporates large parts of the State's southern coast. Indeed, a recent strategic plan prepared by the Western Australian Planning Commission (1997) incorporated the entire coast between Perth and east of Albany (a distance of more than 500 km) in Perth's 'South West Urban System'. The result for places like Windy Harbour, Peaceful Bay and Hopetoun has been an influx of newcomers, increasing calls for new land to be made available, and growing demand for new services, infrastructure and commercial activities. In many respects, the process is similar to Blumenfeld's 'tidal wave of metropolitan expansion' and typical of the peripheral expansion of tourism destinations as inner zones reach capacity or are priced out of the reach of most holidaymakers (Blumenfeld, 1954; Lundgren, 1989; Selwood *et al.*, 1995).

The growing demand for second homes by urban residents is starting to affect both the physical and socio-cultural characteristics of many second-home settlements in rural Western Australia (Sanders, 2000; Curry *et al.*, 2001; Tonts and Greive, 2002). The findings of these studies mirror those from other parts of the world, where the growth of second-home ownership by urban residents and elites has often contributed to development conflicts and radical changes in social relations. One of the most commonly discussed issues is the way in which an influx of new homeowners can ultimately destroy the very characteristics of a place that first attracted visitors (Mitchell, 1998; Dahms and McComb, 1999; Halseth, 2004).

Until recently, the relative geographic isolation of Peaceful Bay, Hopetoun and Windy Harbour has meant that they had escaped the same development pressures that have affected other coastal towns, such as Dunsborough, Margaret River and Busselton. However, increasing demand and prices for properties in these towns has made more distant locations increasingly attractive for those looking for an affordable getaway. One of

the most significant changes associated with this rising demand has been in the built environment. Settlements that had traditionally been comprised of owner-built wooden dwellings now have an increasing diversity of housing types as newcomers construct more sophisticated, professionally designed houses. This is often a source of tension with longer-established residents who value the more traditional character of the settlements:

> A lot of wealthy people built 'holiday' homes in Hopetoun that are a statement of the wealth and consequently stick out like dog's balls; mansions next to old fibro dwellings. It's people's right to do so, but I think town planning should have been more sympathetic to a more aesthetic and less contrasting number of new dwellings that don't fit in.
>
> (Survey Respondent 26, Hopetoun)

> Do not want urbanization for holiday regions like our Peaceful Bay.
>
> (Survey Respondent 13, Peaceful Bay)

> Over recent years there has been too much emphasis on progress, which is aimed at tourism that in turn puts much pressure on the fragile environment, when more attention should be given to retain the real atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.
>
> (Survey Respondent 57, Peaceful Bay)

> Holiday homes, second homes are now of a very high standard. Gone are the days of a holiday shack/cottage which was synonymous with Hopetoun. Upgrading of roads and building standards have improved the quality of homes being built and increased the real estate values. Unfortunately, as these standards improve, so do many other restrictions and rules and regulations and the uniqueness of the 'quiet little holiday haven' is rapidly disappearing.
>
> (Survey Respondent 3, Hopetoun)

The concern about the changing nature of these coastal settlements is in part linked to the sense of place and social memory. There is a view on the part of some long-term owners that the place they remember and identify with no longer exists, or is at the very least under threat. Newcomers with a different set of sensibilities and 'memories' are often not concerned with maintaining those characteristics of a place that may be of some importance to long-standing residents. This has the potential to cause some tension between 'newcomers' and 'old timers':

> A large portion of houses in Hopetoun are second homes and the old timers can be a bit touchy when all the outsiders come to town. However, when they see you making an effort to fit in and are happy to contribute to the township they are very welcoming. You need to re-establish friendships every time you return to Hopetoun.
>
> (Survey Respondent 11, Hopetoun)

The source of this tension is often associated with different views on the character and development of the settlements. For example, one relatively new arrival in Hopetoun, commenting on the low quality of housing and the practice of people transporting in older wooden houses from elsewhere as a means of establishing holiday homes, opined: '[Houses] should be built

new, don't cart in second-hand relics, should not be left unattended and unmaintained for long periods of time as the homes start to look shabby' (Survey Respondent 23, Hopetoun).

However, it is important to recognize that the tensions emerging within these settlements as a result of development do not simply exist between newcomers and more established residents. A number of established residents, for example, noted the potential appreciation of house values in some areas, as well as new business and employment opportunities that might be created as a result of a growing investment in the settlements. The provision of infrastructure and other services was also a common source of local tension. In Windy Harbour, for example, the provision of electricity, water and sewerage services contributed to considerable local debate between long-standing residents, with some arguing that such services would see the settlement become another larger town and lose its holiday town character, while others suggested that it would improve the quality of the settlement. The growing demand for property within Windy Harbour has also led the local authority, the Shire of Manjimup, to examine a number of future scenarios for the settlement, ranging from maintaining its present character to expanding it to a regional tourist node.

The development pressure experienced by Peaceful Bay, Hopetoun and Windy Harbour presents a significant dilemma for planners and regulatory agencies. The strong sense of place and place attachment of many residents to both their holiday homes and settlements has the potential to be a source of conflict in those areas where pressure for further development and modernization occur. The social memories and sense of place bound up in second homes and holiday settlements often reflect a desire to maintain the aesthetic and socio-cultural status quo. It is important that these views are not dismissed as simple nostalgia and resistance to change. For many residents, these places are importance sources of identity and locales of social and family interaction. However, this clearly needs to be balanced against the growing demand for further development and the improvement of services.

Conclusions

Over recent years, a growing number of Western Australians have sought to purchase, or at least utilize, holiday homes in coastal areas. In many cases, these holiday homes form an important part of the lifestyle and identity of those who use or own them. However, it is important to recognize that this is not a new phenomenon. For more than a century, people have either owned or had access to dwellings in small settlements by the coast. While many holiday home localities have gradually developed to a point where they are now large, commercially oriented coastal towns, there remain numerous smaller, low-key settlements, often in relatively remote areas. Settlements such as Peaceful Bay, Hopetoun and Windy Harbour are places where people continue to visit to relax and spend time with family and

friends. Significantly, these places have often performed these functions for generations, and they remain important spaces of social and family interaction. This interaction contributes to a strong sense of place through shared experiences, memories and traditions. However, increasing demand for coastal homes has seen even these places begin to change. Pressure for development, particularly new housing, services and infrastructure, is often a source of local social conflict and upheaval. In the longer term, the challenge facing planners and regulatory authorities will be to balance development with the aspirations of those seeking serenity in these small coastal settlements.

12 Second Homes in the Upper Midwest

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Introduction

Second homes have been part of the landscapes of the upper Midwestern US for over a century. The states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota have large numbers of seasonal and vacation homes, clustered along lakes and scattered through forests. For Midwesterners, recreation and tourism activity often centres on visits to the second home, for deer hunting and mushrooming in the autumn, skiing and snowmobiling in the winter, boating and swimming in the summer. Second homes have enormous social significance in the region. Neither the host community nor the second-home community can be understood without reference to the other, and the complex relationship between the two communities permeates civic life all year long. Property taxation, provision of local government services, growth and development and resource management are all issues that engage both permanent and seasonal residents. In many towns, there are also festivals and special events throughout the year that the two communities jointly organize, staff and fund.

Second homes are also economically important. Spending to own and maintain second homes and to travel between houses generates economic activity. In this manner, second homes facilitate redistribution of economic activity across the upper Midwest, often from urban areas, where many owners make their living, to rural areas where money is spent on the second home. The amenities and recreational opportunities afforded by the region's natural resources are integral to what people seek in a second home (Stewart, 1994, unpublished). Second-home developments are typically centred on natural resources like lakes and forests, including many that are publicly owned and managed, which is why understanding second homes and their use is so important for resource management agencies.

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Over the past 10 years, we have studied second-home ownership and use in an effort to understand what second homes mean to their owners, and what their use means to the local community and economy. When we began this line of research, second homes were an obvious part of the tourism and recreation culture of the Midwest, but were only rarely mentioned in connection with recreation and tourism management and research. There were a few early studies, some of second homes and homeowners, such as Wolfe (1951), Tombaugh (1970) and Ragatz (1980), and others where second-home owners emerged as a unique subgroup, such as Marans and Wellman's *Quality of Nonmetropolitan Living* (1978). But, more often, second-home owners or seasonal residents were not acknowledged as part of the recreation and tourism systems or as a distinct group of residents. Recreation demand, supply and impacts were understood as a function of what residents did, what they wanted, what facilities they used. Tourists were the people who stayed in commercial lodgings, ate out every night, rented recreational equipment and were not familiar with the area. In this simplified view of the world, the people using a Lake Michigan beach in the summer were either tourists or residents. The second-home owner who kept a boat at the cottage she inherited from her grandfather was not acknowledged, and the impacts of her visits to the area were ignored.

What follows is a discussion of the trends and research findings that shaped our perspective on second homes. Initially this included studies that were not intended to focus on second homes, but which generated both insights and questions about them. We then summarize three particular studies of second-home ownership and use the information to illustrate the similarities and differences we have found among the settings, people and activities associated with second homes across the region.

Trends in Second-home Research

Retirement migration

The urban-to-rural or 'turnaround' migration that began in the USA during the 1970s affected many small Michigan communities (Price and Clay, 1980). The migration out of cities and into rural areas caught the attention of state and local officials, in part because the population changes were significant and unexpected and in part because natural resources were clearly a magnet for migrants. Retirees were well represented among the people relocating to small communities (Graff and Wiseman, 1978; Glasgow, 1980). Retirement migration is driven by many factors, including people's desire to live in small towns and near amenity resources or an interest in returning to the place where they grew up (Dillman, 1979; McHugh and Mings, 1996) – which, for many in the Midwest, could have been a small town they moved away from as a young adult.

Policymakers and academics also recognize the social and fiscal

impacts retirement migration can have for communities experiencing an influx of older residents (Price and Clay, 1980; Bryant and El-Attar, 1984; Johnson *et al*., 1995). Michigan had many communities, particularly on the Great Lakes, where, by the late 1970s, retirement migration was becoming an important policy issue. The implications of retirement migration for population and housing growth pressures along the ecologically sensitive coastline led to a federally-funded 'Sea Grant' research project designed to project future migration to coastal areas. Population projections were developed to predict migration, and the projections showed that the potential for migration was greatest in the same areas where second homes were concentrated (Stynes and Olivo, 1990). This research gave rise to questions about the role of second homes in retirement migration; specifically, were second homes and retirement homes merely located in the same area, or were second homes being converted to retirement homes?

Public recreation resources

The Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) manages public boating access and builds and manages harbours of refuge, such as public marina basins sheltered from the weather, spaced at regular intervals along the Great Lakes shoreline, to support safe recreational boating in the state. The Great Lakes are both a recreational resource and an attraction for tourists. Public boating facilities are valuable assets for Great Lakes communities, forming an important part of their tourism infrastructure. For this reason, the DNR has a long-standing interest in assessing boating activity, typically focusing on 'boating trips' (see Stynes and Holecek, 1982). Because boating studies sought to clarify the role of boating facilities in the tourism economy, surveys asked about the entire recreational outing, where a boating trip began at the person's home (often in the cities in southern Michigan or neighbouring states) and included travel to where the boat was stored (often in the northern part of the state), use of the boat and travel home. In a summary of several boating studies, Stynes and Holecek (1982) point out that many boats are stored and used at a second home. Other recreation studies showed similar patterns. Downhill skiers (Stynes and Mahoney, 1980), snowmobilers (Szcodronski, 1978, unpublished) and cross-country skiers (Nelson and Spotts, 1991) also reported use of a second home in conjunction with these recreation activities. Together, these studies highlighted the potential role of second homes in generating both recreation and tourism activity.

Community impacts of tourism

The rural growth of the 1970s created concern among residents of small communities faced with major, rapid change. The growth of tourism, together with a rural housing development boom and rising real estate

prices, prompted more careful consideration by residents of the long-term effects of encouraging tourism development in their communities. By the early 1990s, some communities in northern Michigan had well-developed, highly visible tourist attractions and facilities, while others were still debating what kind of development and level of activity they wanted in their community. In 1990, we were commissioned to study the impacts of the Grand Traverse Resort on the Traverse City, Michigan, community (Stynes and Stewart, 1991) to help the Petoskey-Harbor Springs, Michigan, community decide whether to allow development of a similar mega-resort in their area (Stewart and Stynes, 1991, unpublished). Part of this study was a survey of local residents regarding their attitudes toward growth. The survey showed that attitudes toward tourism, and toward growth in general, varied between long-term residents (those who had lived in the area for over 10 years) and shorter-term residents of the area.

The Traverse City area experienced a major influx of migrants during the 1970s and 1980s, and the newer residents had distinct perceptions of the changes in their community and different opinions about the desirability of further growth and change. What we learned from this study raised our awareness of the differences and similarities between long-term and newer residents, and led us to wonder about second-home owners, many of whom have very long tenure – as second-home owners and seasonal residents – in small rural communities. We also suspected many seasonal residents had become, or would eventually become, permanent residents. Taken together these ideas raised an important question: when seasonal residents become permanent residents, are they more similar to other new residents, or to long-term residents? This question became part of our research regarding second-home owners and permanent residents of second-home communities.

Seasonality and peak loading

In the upper Midwest, the summer tourism season is strong, but very short, typically just June, July and August. Some communities and resources attract smaller numbers of tourists for deer hunting in the autumn, and for winter activities. Seasonal variations in the number of people 'in town' – tourists plus residents – are thus quite pronounced in some areas (Stynes, 1986). Large seasonal variations such as these make it difficult to provide adequate services efficiently. From sewage treatment to health care to roads, additional capacity in local infrastructure is needed but cannot be easily added to handle seasonal peak loads.

Recreation is among the services affected by peak loading (Stynes, 1978). The supply of recreation can be stretched to some extent and, for some activities for example, through longer hours and more staffing, but as we found in the Grand Traverse Resort study, an influx of tourists or seasonal residents means increased crowding at recreation sites. Displacement is the potential result during peak seasons, where visitors

crowd residents out of recreational settings (Stynes and Stewart, 1993). Although peak loading and displacement are often overlooked in tourism studies, interviews with residents and community leaders indicated they were major, noticeable effects in the Traverse City area, so we asked about these issues in later second-home studies.

Tourism spending cycles

Another feature of the seasonality in tourism activity in the upper Midwest is that the economic activity associated with tourism and second homes is unevenly distributed across the year (Stynes, 1991). The regional economic perspective on tourism spending as an engine of regional growth, where new money creates secondary (or indirect) and tertiary (or induced) impacts in a region's economy, focuses attention on the overall size of tourism's impact, but does not address the effects of fluctuations in tourism spending over time. The fluctuations in spending are of concern because they create seasonal rather than permanent jobs. Stynes analysed the cyclical nature of tourism spending to determine how seasonal spending fluctuations might affect regional economies (Stynes and Chen, 1985), and found that second-home activity in a community tended to lessen the seasonal highs and lows of tourism spending, spreading it more evenly across the seasons. This research drew attention to second-home use as a form of tourism that shared many characteristics of tourism in general, but that differed in meaningful ways as well.

Second-home purchases

Typically, tourism spending is dominated by small- to medium-sized purchases people make for a specific trip: the hotel, food, lodging, transportation and incidentals. But for a comprehensive accounting of the impacts of recreation on local economic activity, bigger purchases such as boats and snowmobiles may also be important, and are often made in the vicinity of the recreation area. Through studies of durable goods purchases associated with government-owned reservoirs managed for recreational boating, Stynes and his colleagues extended their analysis of the spending impacts of tourism to include this special class of goods (Stynes and Propst, 1992). The purchase of durable goods differs both in the magnitude of their spending impacts and in what they portend for future recreation patterns. For instance, once a major purchase such as a boat or snowmobile is made, one can reasonably expect its owner to favour boating or snowmobiling trips over other recreational outings. Whether the purchase drives subsequent choice, or merely facilitates the choices a person would have made anyway, it is reasonable to view the purchase of a durable good as an indication of future behaviour. In similar fashion, the choice of a second home portends many trips over many years to the second-home com-

munity. This is just one of the complexities and unique features of a second-home purchase, and it became the subject of Stewart's dissertation on second-home choice (Stewart, 1994, unpublished).

Three Second-home Research Studies

Research methods

In 1994, we summarized the special challenges of sampling and surveying second-home owners (Stewart and Stynes, 1994). Our research still relies primarily on surveys of second-home owners, but has also expanded to include putting questions about second homes on multi-purpose surveys, using in-depth interviews (including decision protocols) and conducting some focus groups. An important trend affecting second-home research since our 1994 paper is the growing availability of property records in geographic information system (GIS) format, where spatial records are cross-linked more systematically with other computerized records. Automation of local property records is far from complete, but where available can facilitate refined sampling techniques and expanded non-response analyses.

Summary of early research

Our research on second homes actually began with studies of other recreation and tourism topics, including retirement migration, the use of public boating facilities, peak loading of recreational facilities, the seasonality of tourism spending and the role of community tenure in attitudes toward growth and change. Second-home ownership and use appeared to be a significant component of each of these topics, featuring either as a group whose activities had a major impact, such as in the use of public boating facilities and seasonal spending, or as part of a larger phenomenon, such as retirement migration and the relationship between tenure and attitudes toward community change. Because the research pointed to so many different ways in which the use of second homes is important in the region, we initiated a series of second-home owner surveys to investigate these issues in more depth.

A summary of the three studies

Seasonal-home ownership and use across different settings in the upper Midwestern USA has many commonalities, as well as some differences. These similarities and differences are summarized for three locations where we administered surveys to a broad group of seasonal-home owners (Fig. 12.1).

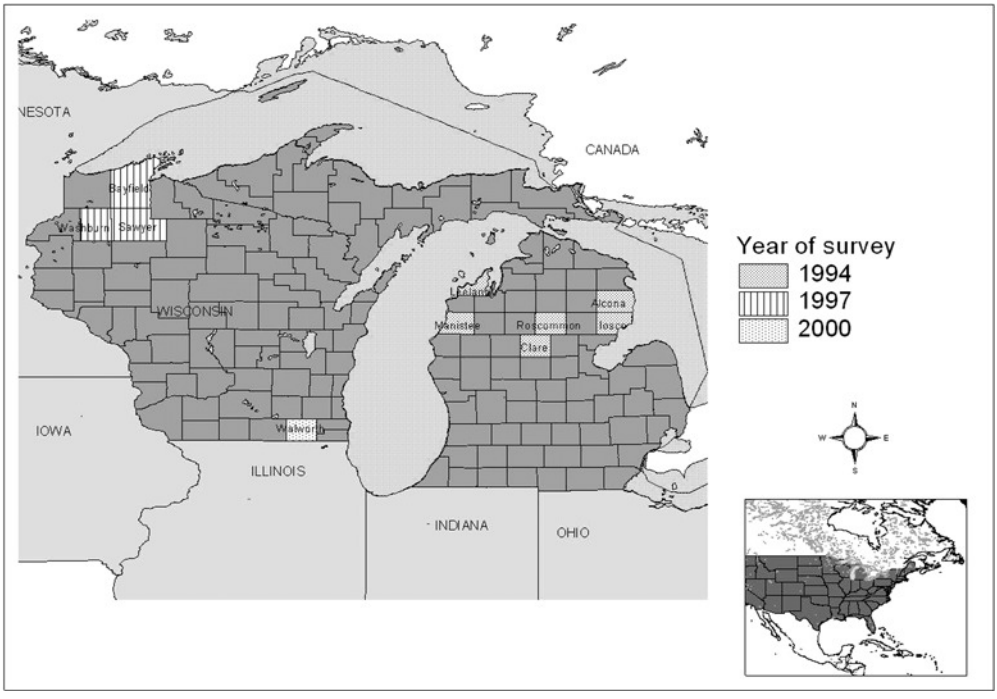

Fig. 12.1. Location of study areas.

Northern Lower Michigan

This study described the characteristics of Michigan second homes and second-home owners, measured patterns of use of second homes and recreation activity associated with second homes, and estimated spending by second-home owners and economic impacts of second homes on the local area (Stynes *et al.*, 1997). We sampled from a six-county region in northern lower Michigan which encompasses a variety of social and physical settings. The sampling plan was designed to capture use and spending patterns typical of second-home owners in three different settings: on inland lakes and streams; on the Great Lakes; and in the forest. The majority of second homes in the upper Great Lakes are found in one of these settings. The sample was stratified by the three settings because boating surveys indicated differences across the settings in the likelihood of boat ownership – and size of the boat – which in turn were linked to different spending patterns (Stynes and Holecek, 1982). The survey confirmed spending differences relating to boat ownership and other factors, especially property values, with Great Lakes property owners spending considerably more money to insure, maintain and pay taxes on their properties. Great Lakes homeowners tended to use their homes more in the summer, and less in the autumn and spring than did owners with homes on inland lakes and streams, or in forested settings.

The design of the northern lower Michigan study provided a detailed

portrayal of second-home use and spending patterns. As expected, occupancy was highest at weekends. Weekdays saw much lower occupancy in June, but dropped off less during July and August. The July 4 holiday weekend had the highest occupancy rates of the entire year, with nearly 90 per cent of those surveyed reporting use of the second home that weekend. While the occupancy data were not surprising, the detailed information about use patterns provided a necessary component of economic impact estimation. Spending data provided the other essential piece, and together with government data on business activity were used to estimate the economic impacts of second-home use on the entire, six-county, northern lower Michigan region. The impacts created by second-home use are, in many regards, typical of travel and tourism spending, with money spent travelling to and from the destination on petrol and food, though second-home owners buy more groceries and fewer restaurant meals. Second homes also have some important additional impacts associated with home maintenance, taxes and insurance. While second-home owners do not spend money on lodging, analysts have recently begun imputing rents to capture the impacts of their lodging expenses (Okubo *et al.,* 2001). The impacts of second home spending in northern lower Michigan as a percentage of total industrial output were considerable, ranging from 10 to 40 per cent in most counties, and well over 50 per cent in a few (Stynes *et al.*, 1997). Second homes were the major industry in some of these rural, amenity-rich counties.

Hayward Lakes, Wisconsin

The survey of second-home owners in the Hayward Lakes area of northern Wisconsin repeated most questions from the northern lower Michigan study, and addressed community involvement, sense of place and attitudes toward resource management. It also explored how permanent and seasonal residents and those with urban or rural residence history differed in their land management attitudes. In addition to using postal questionnaires, we interviewed community leaders and second-home owners to better develop and enrich understanding of community and place attachment.

Hayward Lakes is an area in northern Wisconsin where second homes have been part of the landscape and culture for decades (Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). It is also an area where resource management is complex due to a diversity of interests such as Native American tribes, local tourism providers and resource managers. Resource management decisions can have significant impacts on these groups, and on the local economy as a whole, and thus controversy over natural resources is not uncommon. Because second-home owners may differ from permanent residents in their attitudes to resource management (Green *et al.*, 1996), the survey sampled both groups. We found as many similarities in their views as differences across a range of resource management and community planning issues. There were only a few issues – relating to

wilderness, endangered species protection and second-home development – where the groups differed significantly. This study also explored sense of place and found that residents and second-home owners shared a strong sense of attachment to the area. The shared attachment to the community and the northwoods appeared to be the common influence that shaped the land management attitudes the two groups held.

Walworth County, Wisconsin

This study combined features from a number of previous studies, and new questions specific to urban-proximate second-home ownership and use were added, including a section regarding work from the second home. While the second homes in the upper Great Lakes are concentrated in the northern, more rural, areas, there are also areas closer to the region's cities where second homes are found.

Earlier interviews with second-home owners about their purchase decisions suggested that, for some, there were trade-offs between amenity resources, distance of travel and property prices (Stewart, 1994, unpublished). If they could find a property with all the recreational and scenic characteristics they wanted near their primary home, for a price they could afford, they would choose that. More often, either prices were higher or resources more limited than they wished, so they accepted a longer drive north. In Walworth County there is a mix of settings: some homes are on Lake Geneva, a deep, clean, natural lake where property is quite expensive and homes are elaborate; and other, more modest, homes front on smaller artificial lakes with varying degrees of suitability for boating and fishing, but where property values are lower. Walworth County is only a short drive from the urban centres of Chicago and Milwaukee. The surrounding communities are rural, but based on dairy and mixed agriculture, not exclusively relying on tourism. On the whole, the county is in a different setting from those we had studied previously.

Informal discussions with second-home owners in Walworth County suggested that its proximity to home was important to them, and many talked about being able to fit second-home visits into a high-pressure career life because it was nearby. There was less risk of being too far from home in the event they were needed in the office, and some indicated they worked from their second home. In light of the research that, for example, Jaakson (1986), Chaplin (1999a), Williams and Kaltenborn (1999) and McIntyre *et al*. (this volume, Chapter 8) have done suggesting second-home owners saw their cabin as a retreat or escape from work and the modern world, the notion that these Walworth County homes might be serving to facilitate continued involvement and engagement with work was an intriguing one.

The survey found a mix of attitudes and behaviours toward work from the second home. The common response to a straightforward question regarding work from the second home was denial – the second home was a retreat, a place to get away from work and relax with family. But specific questions about the technology used from the second home, and about

specific work-related behaviours such as returning phone calls and reading work-related materials, found that many people were engaged in work-related activity during second home visits. Furthermore, responses to questions about possible motives for and attitudes toward working from home indicate that monitoring office activity, catching up and doing certain kinds of work from the second home were not uncommon. The overall portrait of Walworth County second-home use is quite distinct from the bucolic image emerging from Williams and Kaltenborn's study of Norwegian cabin use (Bjerke *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 6).

Comparison of Results Between Studies

The common set of questions used across the three studies offers a rare look at the similarities and differences between second-home owners and the ways in which they use their homes.

Response rates for all the studies are in the moderate range (Table 12.1). Adjusted response rates are reported because sampling second-home owners from property tax records typically nets a number of properties that are not seasonal, or that do not have a home on the property. Sampling remains a difficult aspect of surveying second-home owners, but ad hoc solutions based on the information available in each community have proved to be reasonably successful.

Property characteristics are mixed across the studies, with remarkable similarity in means of acquisition and in the proportion of the owners who are somewhat or very likely to convert the second home to a primary home within 5 years (Table 12.2). In the two studies where we asked about acquisition of the property, northern Michigan and Walworth County, patterns were quite similar, with nearly one-fifth of owners acquiring their second home through family. This is a significant finding because it is different from the way most Americans acquire primary homes; as Jaakson

Table 12.1. Sampling and response characteristics.

Year:	1994	1997	2000
State	Michigan	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Counties	Alcona, Iosco, Clare, Roscommon, Leelanau, Manistee	Sawyer, Washburn, Bayfield	Walworth
Sampling frame	Township property list	Township tax records	Lake district property list[a]
Surveys mailed	1300	450	984
Adjusted response rate (%)	44	51	54
n	543	203	519

[a] Because Lake Geneva does not have a lake district, an alternative method of sampling residences around that lake was used. See Johnson and Stewart (2001) for details.

Table 12.2. Characteristics of second homes and properties.

Property characteristics	Northern Michigan	Hayward Lakes	Walworth County
Property size (ha, av.)	1.6	8.7	0.5
Shoreline access (%)	84	92	80
Fully winterized (%)	55	64	86
Convert to primary home within 5 years (%)	20	–	21
Property acquired from family (%)	18	–	18
Property purchased through estate agent (%)	41	–	59
Property size less than 0.5 ha	75	7	81
Built on vacant land (%)	17	26	8
Remodelled home (%)	–	39	42

(1986) noted, the practice of staying in or returning to an extended family home is uncommon in modern America.

Among owners surveyed, the age profiles are quite similar, as is the proportion of second-home owners already retired (Table 12.3). In income, even allowing for inflation over the period 1994–2000, there are clear differences, with Walworth County – the urban-proximate site – hosting a wealthier group of second-home owners. The percentage of owners who grew up in major urban areas was something we asked about for its possible relation to attitudes regarding land management. Responses uncovered another major difference between the northern and southern Wisconsin second-home regions: Walworth County second-home owners were much more likely than Hayward Lakes area seasonal residents to have grown up in a major city or its suburbs. The consistently long tenure in the second-home community reported by all three samples is noteworthy, in that it highlights how different tourists and second-home owners can be, particularly with regard to their relationship with the host community.

Table 12.3. Characteristics of second-home owners.

Owner characteristics	Northern Michigan	Hayward Lakes	Walworth County
50 years old or younger (%)	28	32	24
51–60 years old (%)	24	31	30
Over 60 years old (%)	48	37	45
Retired (%)	34	31	31
Years of tenure (av.)	16.6	16	13.4
Lived most of life in large city (%)	–	31	63
Income over $100,000 (%)	25	41	64
Permanent home in different state (%)	17	70	92
Predominant state of residence	MI	MN	IL

MI, Michigan; MN, Minnesota; IL, Illinois.

Second-home use in the Hayward Lakes region in northern Wisconsin appears less evenly distributed over the year than that in either southern Wisconsin or northern lower Michigan (Table 12.4); the driving time owners face to reach their cottages may be a partial explanation. Many of those who faced a drive of over 3 hours reported driving 5–7 hours between homes. The importance of outdoor recreation at second homes is demonstrated by the proportion of people who reported engaging in each recreation activity. Each of the studies asked this question in a 'check all that apply' format, and each also asked about a wider range of activities than is shown here. The differences in recreation activities may be due to the mix of recreation opportunities in each locale. Walworth County has a well-known, popular hiking trail and this is reflected in the popularity of hiking among that sample. In both Wisconsin studies, most of those we surveyed owned homes near lakes, either because the sampling plan targeted these owners (Walworth County) or because most land in the area suitable for development is also lakefront property, the majority of non-lakefront property being publicly-owned (Hayward Lakes area). By contrast, the northern Michigan sampling design intentionally sought owners from a mix of settings, including non-waterfront properties. For that reason, the difference in boating participation across the samples is not surprising. The other factor that complicates comparison of recreation activities across the studies is that we tailored recreation questions to capture what resource managers and other key informants told us was important in each area – which varied across these settings.

Table 12.4. Characteristics of second-home use.

Use characteristics	Northern Michigan	Hayward Lakes	Walworth County
Drive time over 3 hours (%)	–	61	6
Days of use (av.)			
Spring	15.5	10.3	13.2
Summer	50.0	37.4	44.6
Autumn	20.2	16.6	21.4
Winter	9.6	7.7	19.6
Total	95.3	71.9	98.7
Recreation[a]			
Boating (%)	62	85	70
Fishing (%)	45	70	44
Hiking (%)	35	43	73
Cycling (%)	31	22	29
ORV (%)	6	11	4
Golfing (%)	26	48	48
Hunting (%)	0	26	5
Nature study, ornithology	14	70	25
Sightseeing, driving	44	65	48

[a] Respondents were asked to check all activities in which they had participated over the previous year at their second home.

Some of the differences between the three studies are very informative. Seasonal patterns of use and total amount of use vary across the three studies, even though all have roughly the same climate and draw people from the same region and culture. It appears that the variations reflect, in general, how easy or difficult it is to reach each area. For nearly everyone sampled in the Walworth County study, the second home was within a 2-hour drive. For northern Michigan, 4-hour drives are more typical and, for northern Wisconsin, 5–7 hours is required for many owners. The number of days the second home was used indicates there may be an inverse relationship between the amount of use a home receives and the length of time the owner must spend driving to reach it. Additionally, winter use drops off to a greater degree in northern Wisconsin and northern Michigan compared with Walworth County, where the frequency of bad winter driving conditions is lower.

Conclusions

The opportunities we had to replicate a common set of survey questions gave us a robust understanding of the characteristics, behaviours and attitudes of second-home owners. Working from this set of research projects, we have a fairly clear picture of the age, income and family stage of this group: they are often middle-aged to retirement age, married and without young children at home, and one-third are retired; but we also see many other kinds of people in the mix of second-home owners across the three sites. We know that many have a long history with the area in which their home is located. Recreation is an important part of second-home use, and so is spending time with family. Locations and settings would seem to be behind most differences we see. Areas have different recreation opportunities and, as a consequence, the mix of activities people engage in differs. Driving distance to the second-home areas also varies depending on the proximity of major cities.

Newer questions that emerged from the research regarding community tenure and its interaction with attitudes toward growth and change, and the mix of work and leisure activities that characterize second-home use, are not conclusively answered. To date, what we know is that they warrant further study. Further research would also be useful to verify the impact of settings on patterns of second-home use, especially the effect of distance from metro areas; and the role of second homes in amenity, return and retirement migration. New issues and questions continue to emerge. The 2000 Census confirms that rural housing development during the 1990s resembled the pace of growth in the 1970s (Johnson, 2002). The urban to rural migration of the 1970s, once treated as an anomaly by demographers, appears to be significant. The ongoing growth of housing in rural amenity areas could have lasting ecological consequences (Hammer *et al.*, 2004; Radeloff *et al.*, 2005). In addition, second homes are becoming larger and more elaborate. To the extent that they are used during the working week

as well as at the weekend, or become permanent homes, their impacts on the environment are likely to increase as well. Taken together, these trends suggest that future second-home research should revisit the issue of environmental impacts (Gamble *et al.*, 1975).

Endnote

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13 Second-home Distributions in the USA's Upper Great Lakes States: Analysis and Implications

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Introduction

Maintaining one home as a permanent residence and a second home as a vacation destination is one aspect of a trend which is becoming increasingly popular in the USA. Development of second-home areas brings a number of impacts, changes and implications for host communities and landscapes. The notion of owning a cottage or part-time residence in another location away from home (whether purpose-built or converted) represents a driving force in new development (Hall and Müller, 2004; Müller *et al.*, 2004). Beyond the individual's decisions, choices made by the elderly or retired or changing notions of identity, the landscape plays an integral part in the second-home distribution process. Factors such as natural settings, water bodies, public lands, outdoor recreation opportunities or a rural or ex-urban location all contribute to the patterns of second-home development in a region.

This chapter will examine the patterns of second-home distributions within the USA, focusing specifically on the Upper Great Lakes States (UGLS) comprising Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin. The purpose of this study will be to explore the landscape characteristics that are integral to the location of second homes. After examination of patterns of second-home distribution and the geographic and landscape factors that influence that distribution, spatial modelling is used to determine the principal predictors of second-home location in the UGLS. With these predictors identified, attention is turned to the impacts on and implications for host communities and landscapes of such developments.

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Second-home Patterns in the USA and the Upper Great Lakes States

There have been minor variations in the US Census definitions over time (US Census Bureau, 2004) of what constitutes a 'vacation home' (or, for purposes of this chapter, a second home). In the 1990 USA census, second homes are labelled as homes kept for 'seasonal, recreational, or occasional use'. This is defined as:

> Vacant units used or intended for use only in certain seasons or for weekend or other occasional use throughout the year. Seasonal units include those used for summer or winter sports recreation, such as beach cottages or lodges. Seasonal units may also include quarters for herders or loggers. Internal ownership units, sometimes called shared ownership or timeshare condominiums, are also included here.
>
> (US Bureau of the Census, 1990)

In the 2000 USA census, the definition had been modified to label second homes as seasonal vacant units, defined as 'seasonal housing units', intended for occupancy only during certain seasons of the year and found primarily in resort areas (US Bureau of the Census, undated). Housing units held for occupancy by migratory labour employed in farm work during the crop season are also tabulated as 'seasonal'. As of the first quarter of 1986, vacant seasonal mobile homes were counted as a part of the 'seasonal housing inventory' (US Census Bureau, 2005). In addition, the census classification of seasonal 'Units Occupied by Persons With Usual Residence Elsewhere' are also classified as part of the seasonally vacant units (US Census Bureau, 2005).

The USA has seen a steady increase in second-home purchases in recent years. A combination of factors – including increased mobility, larger numbers of dual-income families, tax incentives, greater discretionary time at weekends and a growing interest in owning recreation-based properties – are all part of the underlying reasons for the growing trend in second-home purchases in the USA (Timothy, 2004). In 2001, there were 359,000 second-home units purchased or built, with a median price of US$162,000 (NAR, 2002). By 2003, an estimated 445,000 second homes were purchased at a median price of between US$190,000 and 200,000 (NAR, 2004). Nationally, in 2001, approximately 5.5 per cent of all homes sold each year were second homes (NAR, 2002). Table 13.1 shows the total number of second homes nationally in the USA from 1950 to 2000.

The geographic distribution of second homes in the United States for the same time period is shown in Fig. 13.1. By 2000, second homes accounted for roughly 3.1 per cent of the total housing stock in the United States. Areas in the south, including Florida (which leads the country in the number of second homes) and the mid-Atlantic, continue to see increases in second-home units, as well as sections of the northern USA including parts of New England and the Upper Great Lakes States. Other regions of the country have seen localized booms in second-home development. For

Table 13.1. US housing and second homes by year (from US Census Bureau, 2004).

Year:	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Second homes	1,050,466	2,024,381	2,020,087	2,794,054	3,116,867	3,604,216
All homes	45,983,398	58,326,357	68,679,030	88,411,263	102,263,678	115,904,641
Second home (%)	2.28	3.47	2.94	3.16	3.05	3.11

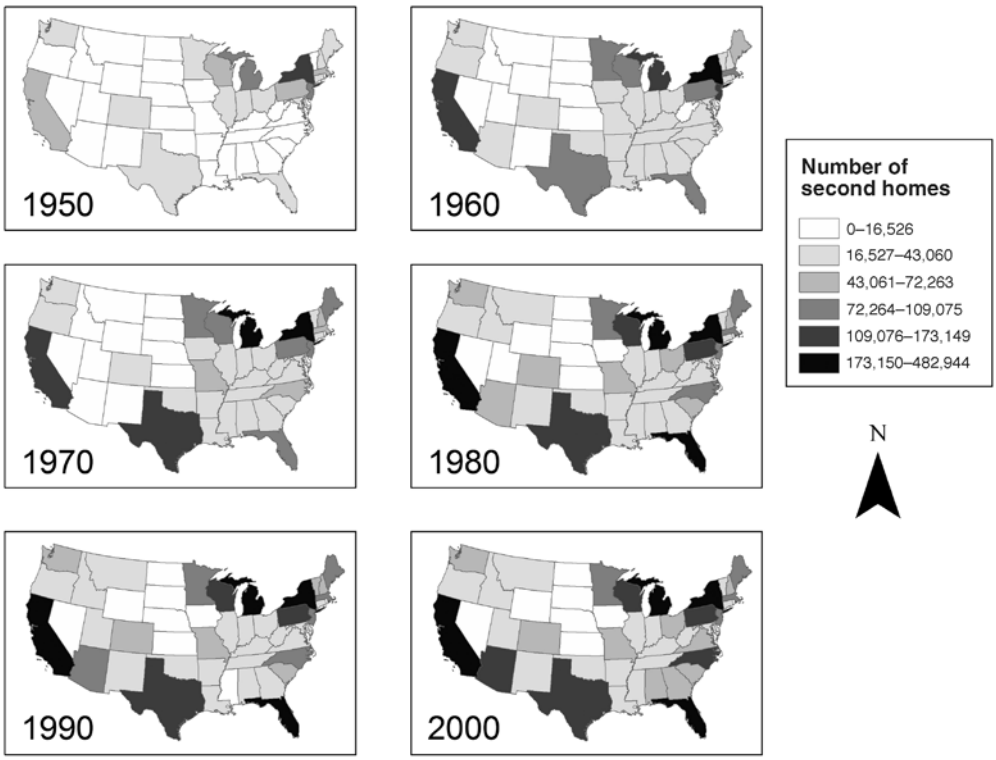

Fig. 13.1. Numbers of US second homes, 1950–2000 (data from US Census Bureau).

example, in Sugarloaf, California, nearly 93.3 per cent of all housing sales in the area during 1999 were second homes (Fogarty, 2000). This growing market is being further fuelled by purchases made by 'baby boomers' (Dewald, 2002), perhaps thinking of converting a second home to a retirement home (Fogarty, 2002). Also, Timothy (2004) noted that large tracts of land which had been developed into 'recreational subdivisions' in the 1950s and 1960s comprised second-home developments, mobile second homes and timeshares.

The Upper Great Lakes States feature a large number of inland lakes with opportunities for waterfront property development. Michigan contains more than 11,000 lakes, Wisconsin more than 15,000 and Minnesota over 10,000. The region also contains an abundance of natural areas, many of which are public lands under state or federal jurisdiction. There are over

112,000 ha of national parks and lakeshores in Michigan, of which over 55,500 ha are designated as national wildlife refuges and over 1.4 million ha as national forests (Spotts, 1991). Another 130,365 ha are set aside as state parks, 14,463 ha as state boating and fishing areas, nearly 150,000 ha as state game and wildlife reserves and over 1.9 million ha as state forests. Wisconsin boasts over 59 state parks or forests (WDNR, 2000), totalling 30,285 ha of state parks and 235,665 ha of state forests (Wisconsin.com, 2000). There are 70 state parks in Minnesota, encompassing more than 120,000 ha of land (MDNR, 2000).

With these types of natural features and the number of outdoor recreation opportunities they represent, it is not surprising that second-home development has been steadily increasing in the Lake States over the last few decades. In 1940, second homes were originally concentrated near major cities such as Detroit and Milwaukee (Hart, 1984). However, over time, rural areas in the UGLS region steadily began to gain more second homes, while those seasonal areas around major cities were overtaken by the growth of more permanent residences (Hart, 1984). Development of second homes in the UGLS region may be traced back to the construction of primitive hunting cabins or lodges (Hart, 1998) that were places for hunting, fishing and isolation from the busy lifestyle of civilization (Timothy, 2004). As owners aged, these seasonal retreats were often winterized and turned into permanent residences for retirement (Hart, 1998). The second-home population of the UGLS has grown to the point where, in 1995, one in six persons in a section of north-eastern Michigan were not considered part of the permanent population, and 40 per cent of these were staying in second homes (cited in Thorp *et al*., 1997). Many of these second homes in this region are located within rural communities (Timothy, 2004).

Figure 13.2 shows the number of second homes by county for three decades within the UGLS region, according to US Census records. Areas with large numbers of inland lakes and near large tracts of public land, such as Roscommon County in Michigan, Villas County in Wisconsin and Crow Wing County in Minnesota, contain some of the of the region's greatest number of second homes. According to 1990 Census records, Michigan had 3,847,926 housing units with 224,030 being classified as seasonal; Minnesota had 1,848,445 housing units with 104,838 being classified as seasonal; and, finally, Wisconsin had 2,055,774 housing units with 150,280 being classified as seasonal. Thus, there were an estimated 479,148 second homes in 1990, accounting for more than 6 per cent of the total housing stock in the three states. By the time of the 2000 Census, this number had grown to 481,844.

Figure 13.3 shows the percentage of the total housing stock in 1990 that is considered seasonal in the UGLS region at the township or Minor Civil Division (MCD) level. There are 6112 MCDs across the three states represented in this study. The greatest concentrations of second home are in the northern portions of the three states and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, with numerous small patches scattered around within each of the states. The highest concentrations are at some distance from the metropolitan centers of Detroit, Lansing, Milwaukee and Minneapolis-St Paul.

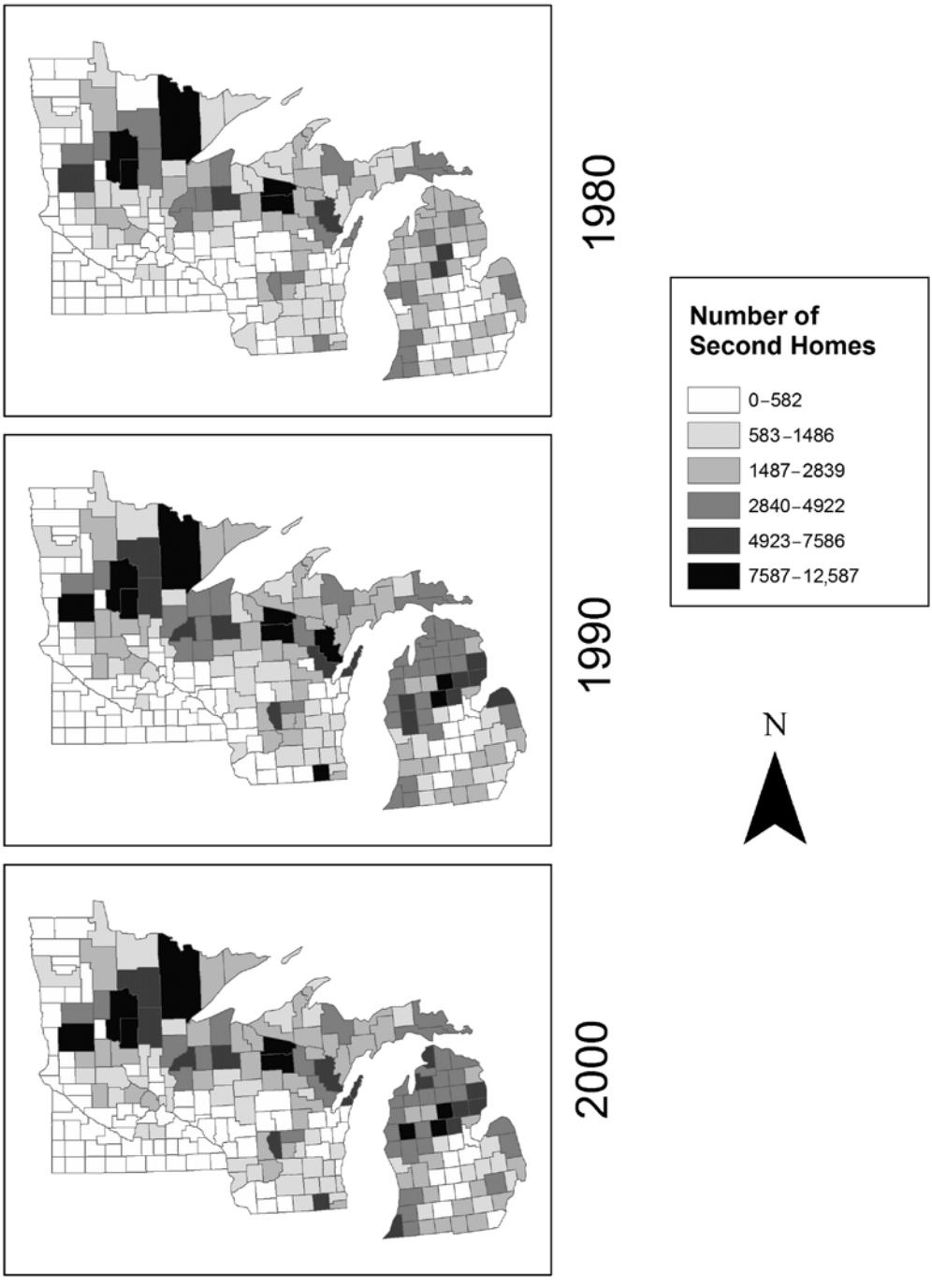

Fig. 13.2. Numbers of second homes in the UGLS, by county, 1980–2000.

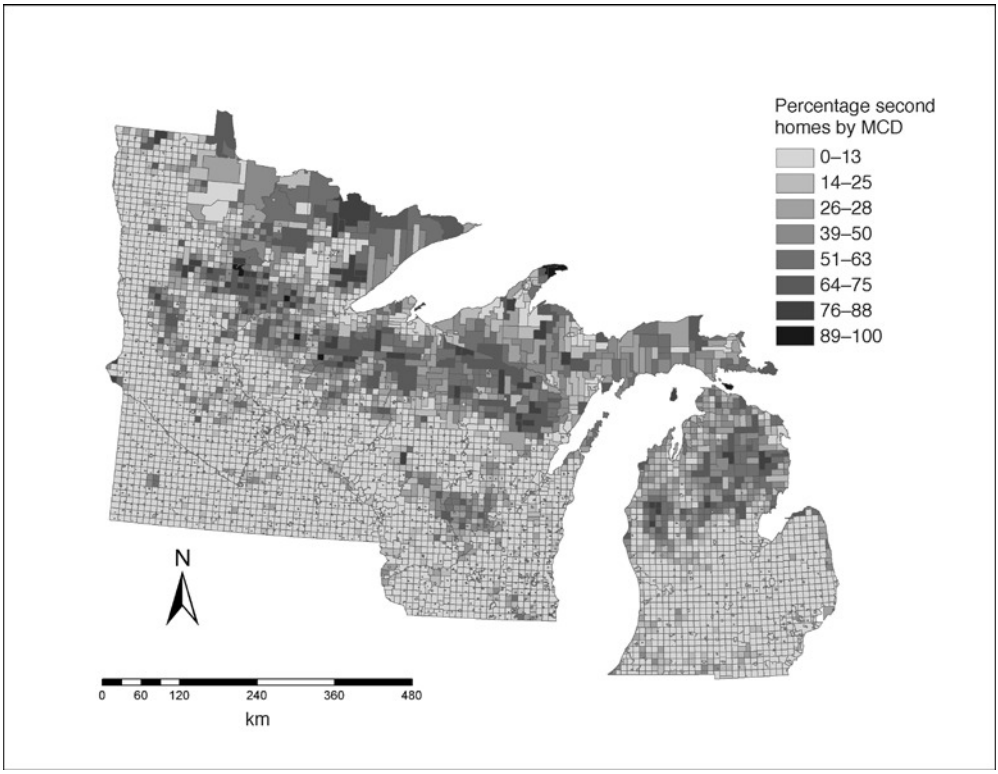

Fig. 13.3. Percentage of housing stock that are second homes, by Minor Civil Division.

Examination of Fig. 13.3 shows clusters of high proportions of second homes in areas away from major cities and closer to the lakeshore of the Great Lakes. High proportions of second homes can also be found in areas within public land boundaries or near waterfront property. Table 13.2 shows the average proportion of seasonal homes by type of MCD. For areas

Table 13.2. Average percentage of second homes types by Minor Civil Division (MCD).

Type of MCD	Average % second homes
Contains waterfront	18.0
Contains Great Lakes lakeshore	24.0
Distance of 25 miles from GL lakeshore	15.9
Distance of 25 miles from large cities	2.0
Distance of 100 miles from large cities	8.1
Distance of 200 miles from large cities	12.1
Population > 5,000 persons	1.0
Population > 10,000 persons	0.0
Population < 1,000 persons	16.0
Within public land boundaries	37.0

fronting on major water bodies, a minimum of 1 ha of waterfront property was assumed. If the MCD's centroid was contained within the public land boundaries, it was considered part of the analysis. 'Large cities' are defined as those places with a population of more than 100,000 persons.

Higher proportions of second homes can be found in MCDs with more natural features, such as water and Great Lakes shoreline, or within relatively close proximity to the Great Lakes. The higher percentages of second homes found within public lands may be attributed to the sale of selected areas of public lands, which has focused concentrations of second homes and permits issued for recreational residences. There is an inverse relationship between population size in MCDs and proportions of second homes. These figures are largely descriptive and do not reflect which, among these factors, represent the principal predictors of second-home distribution in the UGLS region.

Using Geographic Information Systems to Examine the Distribution of Second Homes

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) were used to develop a model to examine the relationship between destination-based land use and landscape factors, and the distribution of second homes in the UGLS. Output from the model will indicate which among these factors are the principal predictors of, or have the strongest influence on, second-home distribution. Twenty-three destination and landscape factors were identified from a variety of sources and used within the GIS as independent variables:

- Distance from major water bodies.
- Density of major water bodies.
- Amount of waterfront.
- Distance from lakeshore.
- Amount of lakeshore.
- Distance from designated tourist attractions.
- Distance from places of: (i) < 500 persons; (ii) 500–1000 persons; (iii) 1000–10,000 persons; (iv) 10,000–100,000 persons; and (v) > 100,000 persons.
- Distance from public lands.
- Density of public lands.
- Amount of forests.
- Density of agriculture.
- Density of natural lands.
- Population density.
- Landscape variability.
- Distance from local roads.
- Distance from highways.
- Distance from inter-state highways.
- Distance from vehicular trails.
- Distance from hospitals.

Note that these variables reflect broad factors that can be identified at a three-state region rather than local variables (e.g. land price or real estate costs) or origin-based data of second-home owners (e.g. the age or income level). Within the GIS, each of these factors was constructed at the MCD level, so that each MCD within the three states would contain a single value for each. Some of the factors that cover a wide spatial area (such as the distance and density functions) will have numerous values associated with them. In cases such as these, an average of the values within the MCD was taken and a single value assigned to the MCD as a whole. For most factors, the mean value was used to equate all observations for MCDs, regardless of size.

While each of these variables affects the patterns of second-home distribution in the UGLS in some way, the variables may be highly correlated with each other. Using a similar dataset and technique as used by Shellito and Pijanowski (2003), Principal Components Analysis (PCA) was used to reduce the 23 variables into a new set of uncorrelated components. The Kaiser rule (Guttman, 1954) was applied to the components and only those components with eigenvalues greater than one were included. These components were:

- Distance from large cities.
- Presence of natural areas (including public lands).
- Distance from small towns.
- Distance from local roads/accessibility.
- Presence of water bodies.
- Landscape variability.

Each of these components can be considered a new independent variable in the model. In this case, the dependent variable is the percentage of the total housing stock within each MCD that is second homes (Fig. 13.3). Thus, in the GIS model, each MCD contains a value for each component (the new independent variables) and the percentage of the housing stock that is second homes (the dependent variable). The GIS model examines the relationship between these independent and dependent variables to identify which of them are the most important predictors of second-home distribution within the UGLS.

The modelling process utilizes a logit model calibrated through maximum likelihood estimation (Statsoft, 2000) to assign coefficients to each of the components. The magnitude of the standardized coefficients enables the model to predict the relative importance of each component in predicting the distribution of second homes. Table 13.3 shows the magnitude of the coefficients for each component.

The highest coefficient value (1.05) is attached to the 'presence of natural areas'. This indicates that this component has a very strong positive effect on the distribution of second homes in the UGLS. The variable with the next highest coefficient is the 'presence of water' (0.41). The next three principal predictors have a similar ranking: distance from large cities (0.29), distance from small towns (0.28) and distance from local roads/accessibility

Table 13.3. Coefficients for each component (in order of magnitude).

Components	Coefficient value
Presence of natural areas	1.05
Presence of water	0.41
Distance from large cities	0.29
Distance from small towns	0.28
Accessibility by local roads	0.26
Landscape variability	0.07

(0.26). These results indicate that second-home locations are positively related to distance from large and small urban centres, and easy road access. Lastly, 'landscape variability' plays the least significant role in second-home distribution within the UGLS. Some research (Chubb and Chubb, 1981) indicates that higher elevations and presumably good views play a part in second-home site choice. The 'landscape variability' component, however, is unlikely to be that specific.

Implications for Host Communities and Landscapes of Second-home Distributions

The identification of principal predictors of second-home distribution and their influence on patterns of second-home development in the UGLS suggests a number of social and environmental implications for host communities. These are most likely to be evident in those communities with significant proportions of second homes or those which are experiencing rapid growth in this type of development. This section examines these implications and their potential impacts within the UGLS and similar regions. Studies such as this, which examine one point in time, can be applied in forecasting future developments, but Tombaugh (1970) noted that a degree of caution should be exercised in making such forecasts.

Natural areas

The modelling results indicate that the presence of natural areas is the predominant factor in the distribution of second homes in the UGLS. This is consistent with previous research (Coppock, 1977; Jaakson, 1986; Spotts, 1991) which indicated that natural areas play an important role in second-home distribution. Many people look to nature and outdoor recreation for peace of mind and health (McHarg, 1969) or for an escape from regular activity (Cohen and Taylor, 1992). Forested areas, in particular, provide an abundance of outdoor recreation opportunities (Chubb and Chubb, 1981), and proximity to them has been shown to be a significant factor in the choice of second-home location (Stynes *et al.*, 1997).

Most accessible natural areas in the USA lie within public lands, including National Parks, National Forests, National Lakeshores, State Parks, State Wildlife areas and County Parks. These areas provide natural outdoor recreation amenities such as hunting, fishing, hiking, camping and boating and, as this study has shown, proximity and access to such lands is a strong factor in second-home location. Private development is not generally allowed within public lands. However, there are some exceptions which have created second-home communities within US National Forests. For example, the National Forests Ownership Adjustment Program (USDA, 1986) was created to exchange areas suitable for wilderness, recreation and wildlife habitat – which at that time were in private ownership – for public lands that were of lower priority in those regards (USDA, 1986). One of the programme's goals was acquisition of private lands of 1250 ha or more which were contiguous with National Forests (USDA, 1986). These low-priority lands were then available for community expansion, and for commercial, industrial and residential purposes, including second homes (USDA, 1975).

Regulations and permits also exist for the development and control of recreational residences within the US National Forests. While the Forest Service has issued permits for recreational use of forests since its inception, official recognition of recreational homes within US Forests can be traced back to the Occupancy Permits Act (1915), which legitimized existing homes and structures inside Forest Service-maintained boundaries (Lux and Rose, this volume, Chapter 19). Although recreational residences are today recognized as a 'valid use of National Forest lands' (Gildor, 2002), current policy focuses on management of existing residences and prohibits expansion of this use. Despite ongoing issues regarding enforcement and administration of regulations (Gildor, 2002), the US National Forests nationwide are home to a multitude of second homes in recreational residence tracts.

Within the public lands, it is possible for agencies to manage and control development. Outside these areas, the situation is quite different and issues concerning the environmental and social impacts of second-home development in rural areas are prominent among the concerns of local authorities in many parts of the globe (Müller *et al*., 2004).

As less developed and low-population rural areas attract second-home owners in increasing numbers, the natural, rural landscape is lost to development of facilities and amenities, forest land is consumed by second-home construction and road extensions, and the resulting second-home subdivisions cause strains on water supply and waste disposal (Stroud, 1983; Vasievich, 1999; Müller *et al*., 2004). In this regard, it is noteworthy that New Zealand's local government authorities ranked inadequate waste disposal in second-home areas as their most pressing environmental concern (Müller *et al*., 2004). Hoogendoorn and Visser (2004) commented similarly on development occurring in Clarens, South Africa, where a relatively remote, rural area has been gradually transformed into a second-home tourist destination. As early as 1952, in Wasaga Beach, Ontario,

Canada, Wolfe (1952) observed that the natural setting of the beach had been drastically altered or 'perverted' by the onslaught of development and the once quiet rural area was now beset by cottages and tourist cabins, traffic jams and urban developments.

Presence of water

The presence of water is the second most influential variable in the model, with water bodies providing access for a wide variety of outdoor recreational activities such as fishing, boating and swimming. Lakes are strongly attractive features in second-home development (Coppock, 1977; Stynes *et al*., 1997) and second homes can often be found built along any available waterfront land (Halseth, 2002). In fact, Jaakson (1986) noted that in Canada, the terms 'lake' and 'cottage' were almost synonymous, while Frost (2004) found that certain water-based recreational opportunities were sufficiently attractive to influence travel outside the traditional second-home range. Chubb and Chubb (1981) noted that in the USA and Canada the availability of sites on lakeshores, riverbanks and the Great Lakes shoreline had attracted significant second-home development. More specifically, within the UGLS, Tombaugh (1970) found that 55 per cent of second-home owners in Michigan owned a property on an inland lake, 24 per cent on the Great Lakes, and 10 per cent on a river or stream. Similarly, in a study of three counties in the northern Lower Peninsula of Michigan, Gartner (1987) found that 57 per cent of second-home owners had their homes located next to a water body. The Great Lakes also provide a wide range of home sites and recreational opportunities (Chubb, 1989). Many second homes on the Great Lakes, and on inland lakes with houses built around them, have private boat docks or public launching facilities. In this regard, Stynes and Safronoff (1982) found that 30 per cent of Michigan boat owners and 80 per cent of those from outside the state owned second homes within Michigan (Stewart and Stynes, this volume, Chapter 12).

The proximity of second-home developments to water bodies contributes to problems, including pollution due to erosion, nutrient run-off from septic fields and leaking septic tanks (Müller, *et al*., 2004), and destruction of shoreline vegetation and loss of wildlife habitat (Gartner, 1987). Halseth (2002) noted that since cottages often occur in clusters, developments along lakefronts were comparable with those typical of North American suburbs. Such concerns have led to increasing restrictions on second-home developments along coastlines in, for example, Sweden (Müller, 2002b).

Distance and accessibility

Distance from large cities and from small towns, and accessibility by local roads, are of similar importance in predicting the locations of second

homes. In the UGLS, second homes are found primarily in areas at some distance from 'big cities'. Other research has noted a similar preference for rural areas (Jaakson, 1986; Keller, 2000) For example, in Michigan, Tombaugh (1970) found that 70 per cent of second homes were within 200 miles of the owner's first home. Similar patterns of second homes' 'distance decay' effects have been found in areas such as Venus Bay, Australia (Frost, 2004). Hall and Müller (2004) describe a 'weekend leisure zone', within which second-home ownership is more attractive than in areas beyond. This 'zone of overnight stay' enhances the likelihood of repeat visits, and travel outside this zone will be much less frequent, perhaps only a few times per year. Especially attractive areas such as mountains somewhat distort this simple relationship (Hall and Müller, 2004, Fig. 1.2, p. 10) and the Great Lakes shoreline evidently has just such an effect in the UGLS. Other factors, such as the quality and density of the road networks and highway congestion, make this time/distance relationship quite elastic (Wolfe, 1966), while 'easy travel' was rated by buyers as the most important choice variable in the second-home purchase process (Coppock, 1977).

Petrol stations, restaurants and shopping facilities are increasingly demanded by the second-home owner and travel to and from the second homes to access such facilities can generate frequent trips (Page and Getz, 1997). Thus, areas of high concentrations of second homes see development of ancillary services and infrastructure, and conversion of second homes to permanent homes (Halseth, 2002). As second homes spread into more distant and remote areas, and more people invest in second homes, so new transportation routes are constructed, old routes updated and system maintenance increased, resulting in rising taxes and loss of land.

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated a process for identifying the principal destination-based characteristics of the UGLS that affect second-home distribution in the region. The popularity of second homes continues to grow within the USA and has been a steadily increasing phenomenon specifically within the UGLS region. The use of a second home located away from a primary residence constitutes an important form of development, often in a natural, rural location. Factors such as public lands, water bodies and out-migration from heavily populated urban areas into more rural lands are of significant and continuing importance to receiving communities. Rural areas gradually become less natural and remote with increased development, easier access and expanded recreational use. These areas are in danger of losing the very characteristics that initially attracted seasonal residents, and increased numbers of second homes carry several implications for these areas. With natural areas, public lands, water bodies, distance from urban areas and ease of access all important components in predicting the distribution of second-home locations, it is unlikely that current pressures of second-home development on the lakes, forests and

coastlines – and on host communities of the Upper Great Lakes System – will diminish.

Second-home development is a growing concern that has no easy answers. Community involvement and public participation in planning efforts can be beneficial in guiding an area toward a controlled or sustainable mode of development. Restoration or upkeep of existing homes can provide a source of second homes which will minimally impact and perhaps improve the appearance of host communities. Müller (2002b) noted this type of second-home development in areas of Sweden, where the depopulation of rural areas provided structures available for use as second homes. Second-home development like this can help sustain local communities by providing revenue to local businesses and work opportunities for local tradespeople and builders. Careful environmental management of developing rural or natural areas and increased oversight and administration of public lands can aid in reducing environmental and social problems associated with such developments.

This chapter has demonstrated that second-home development is not random, but rather is related to preferences for easily accessible natural areas, especially public lands that provide abundant recreational opportunities, and sites close to or on water. Such sites are becoming increasingly rare within easy reach of large urban centres and command high prices. This implies that host communities must be proactive in instituting appropriate controls on development if the positive economic and social benefits for rural communities are to be maximized and the all-too-common environmental impacts are to be minimized.

14 The Evolution, Characteristics and Spatial Organization of Cottages and Cottagers in Manitoba, Canada

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Introduction

Second homes, or cottages as they are generally known in Manitoba, have most of the characteristics common to their counterparts in other parts of the world. They are widely popular, used on a highly seasonal basis and are heavily frequented by both townsfolk and country dwellers during the summer months. To a lesser extent they are located in remote areas, but for the most part they cluster in communities that are relatively accessible to major conurbations. Broadly speaking, in Manitoba, cottage development has followed similar evolutionary processes and conforms to the same models that have been created from empirical research carried out in other areas (Clout, 1974; Coppock, 1977; Lundgren, 1989). Furthermore, contemporary cottage developments in western Canada or, more specifically, Manitoba, are equally reflective of current economic, demographic, postmodern and post-industrial trends. They appeal to a wide range of the population, but because they may be termed a luxury good, they are generally owned and used by the more affluent members of society. However, this is not universally the case.

Canadians have been escaping to the countryside, generally the lake, for well over a century (Wolfe, 1951), so it is not surprising that the second home has been a widely popular, common phenomenon in western Canada virtually since the beginning of permanent European settlement. Patterns of cottage development in Manitoba are now well established. They are widely distributed through the province, with a few even located in the most northerly districts, not far from the Arctic Circle (Selwood and Lehr, 1999). However, the more popular localities are relatively well defined, being focused around the province's lakes and river systems, and concentrated in and around Riding Mountain National Park and the provincial park system more generally. The cottage communities are also

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regionally based, with clusters being found in areas of higher amenity within relatively easy driving distance of urban centres and more densely populated farming districts (Fig. 14.1).

As with most of Manitoba's provincial parks, ownership of second homes became a feature of Riding Mountain decades before it became a National Park. The area opened up to campers as early as 1908, and the first cottages were built less than ten years afterwards. By 1926 there were 65 cabins in place in a surveyed townsite adjacent to Clear Lake, the park's major water body. At that time, the area was designated as a Forest Reserve and it was not until 1930 that the National Park was established (Stadel, 1992). The park now contains almost 270 permanent cottages and 525 'transportable' cabins, although the latter are no longer required to be moved out of the park each winter as they once were. However, both the cottages and cabins remain on leasehold land and their use is still limited to the summer months only.

In 1964, National Parks policymakers sought the elimination of all cottage development in the parks over the long term, despite many of them being held under perpetual leases. The proposal to remove the cottages was unsuccessful and more recent management plans for Riding Mountain now acknowledge their permanence and encourage their enlargement and upgrading (Environment Canada, 1988; Stadel, 1992; Parks Canada, 2001,

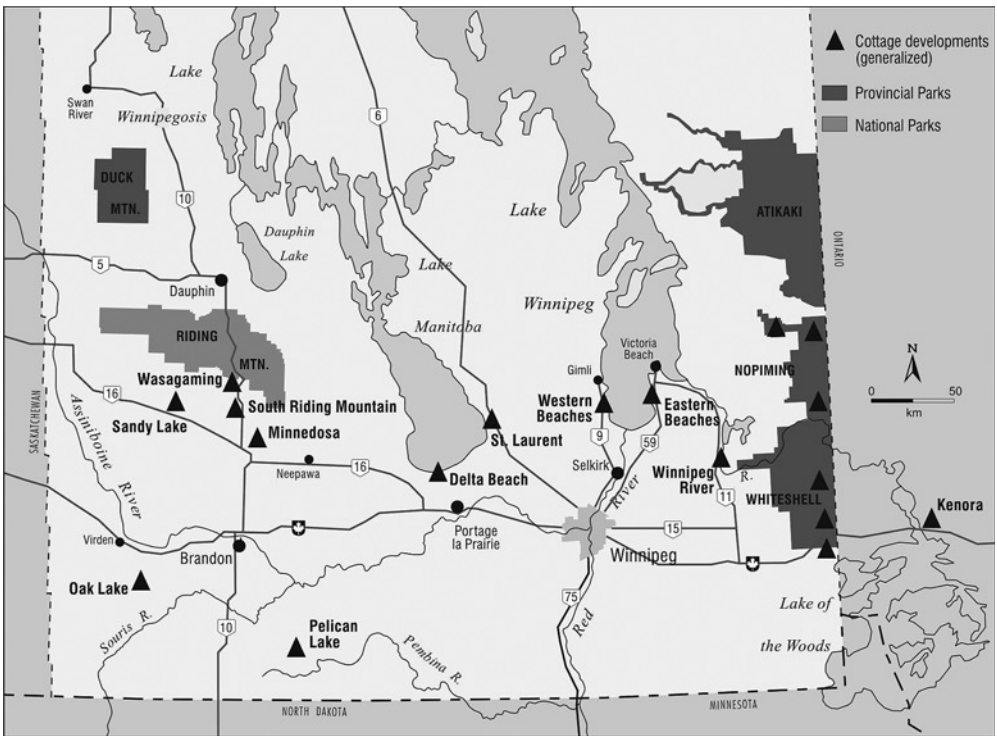

Fig. 14.1. Principal concentrations of Manitoba cottages.

unpublished). New cottage subdivisions are not planned within the park boundaries, but there has been significant expansion of cottages on private properties immediately adjacent to the park (Figs 14.2 and 14.3) (Stadel and Selwood, 1996). The cottage community at Clear Lake was something of an anomaly in that it became firmly established without benefit of railway service.

Fig. 14.2. Luxury cottage just outside Riding Mountain National Park.

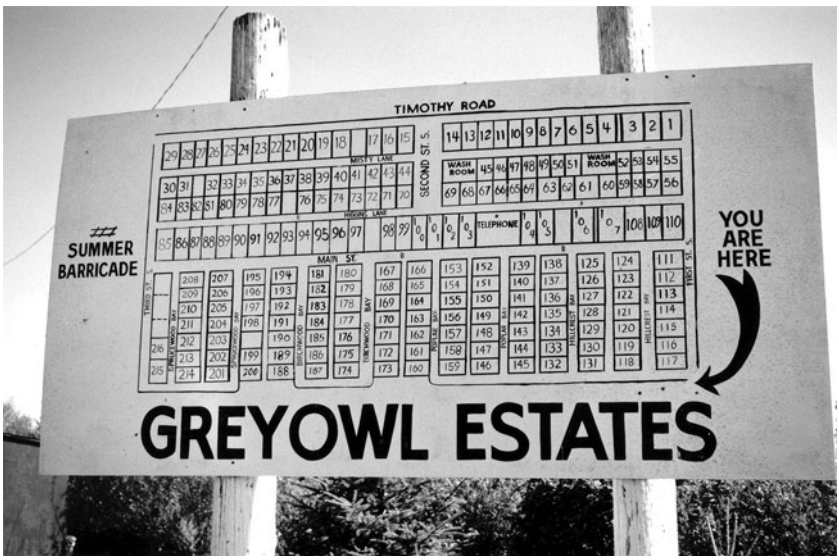

Fig. 14.3. Grey Owl Estate, a recent cottage subdivision just outside Riding Mountain National Park.

Most of the province's other cottage communities did not become popular until railway development made lakeshores relatively accessible to the rapidly growing middle classes. The railways, ever hopeful of generating traffic and making money from their investments in land accumulated in the process of line extensions, were extremely active in the promotion and development of recreation and resort destinations. Even now, the legacy of cottage development built in conjunction with railway construction continues to be of great importance, despite the removal of the railways. The remainder of this chapter will focus on some of the more significant cottage country in Manitoba, that is, the cottage communities bordering the southern basin of Lake Winnipeg, where the railways and their officers were responsible for laying out a very extensive area of cottage subdivisions stretching back some way from the prime lakeshore sites. In general, they were also laid out with little regard to aesthetics, usually according to a standard grid-iron plan, leading us to dub them as 'suburbias in the wilderness' (Lehr *et al.*, 1984).

Lake Winnipeg Cottages

Historical background

Although there are other significant areas of cottage development in Manitoba and just over the border in Ontario's 'Sunset Country', largely because of its proximity and ready access to Winnipeg, the southern basin of Lake Winnipeg boasts by far the heaviest concentration of cottage communities. Several of them pre-date the railway, but most of them became firmly established when railways made them accessible to the mass of Winnipeg's burgeoning population (Fig. 14.4). Railways first opened up the Lake of the Woods in the late 1880s, bringing the lake within five hours of Winnipeg. The Northern Pacific Railway put a line up to Lake Manitoba in 1901, at Delta, where there was already a growing holiday settlement. However, it was a couple of years later, in 1903, that the Canadian Pacific Railway's (CPR) 'Selkirk Extension' had the most dramatic impact.

This line ran up the west side of Lake Winnipeg as far as Riverton, providing easy lake access for Winnipeg's rapidly growing middle and working classes. The CPR deliberately laid out townsites (as did some of its senior officers), built a hotel and provided a range of entertainments, including a dance hall, roller coaster and carousel. These, and the beach itself, were aggressively marketed. Winnipeg Beach became an extremely popular resort for daily, weekend and evening excursion traffic. But, at the same time, lakefront subdivisions were laid out to give longer-term, permanent cottage owners a landed stake in the resort communities. Lots at Winnipeg Beach, in others such as Matlock, Ponema and at the much older Icelandic settlement at Gimli, were also heavily promoted and sold by land developers and speculators (Lehr *et al.*, 1991).

Not to be outdone, the Canadian Northern Railway (CNR) followed

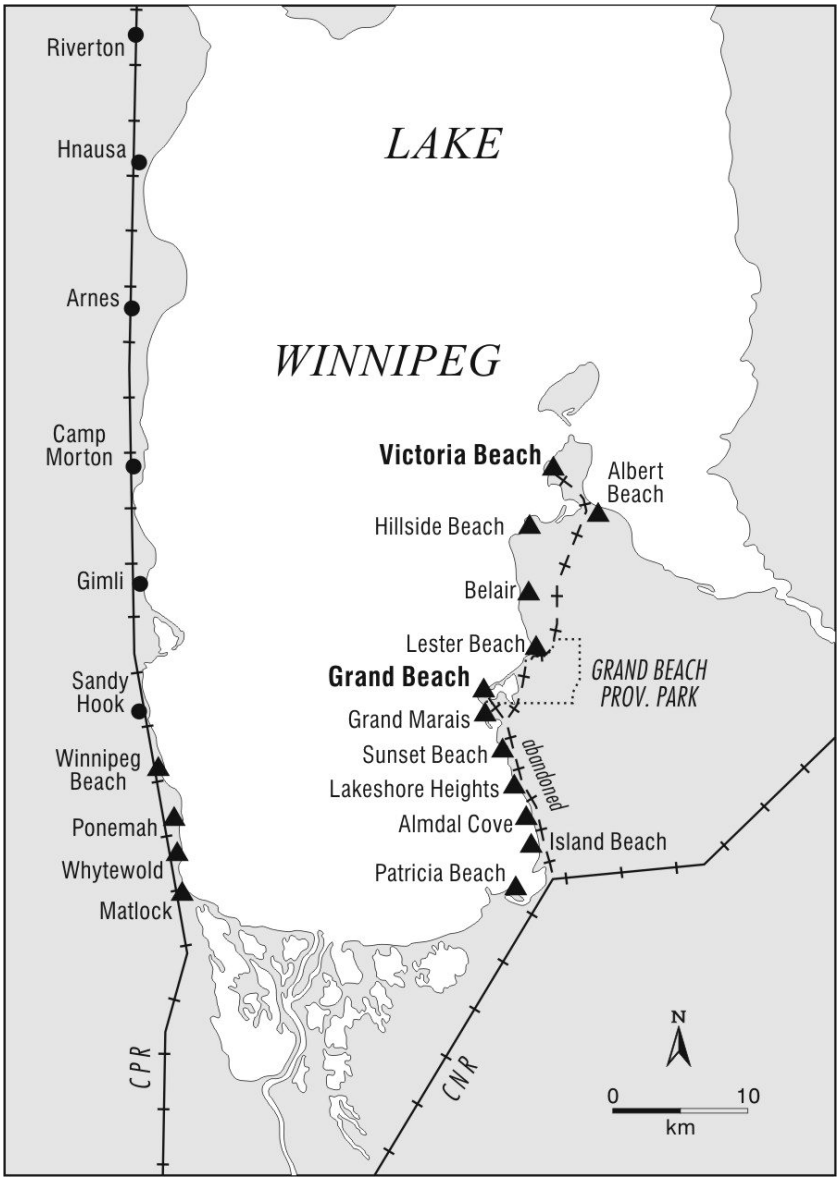

Fig. 14.4. Cottage community locations surrounding southern Lake Winnipeg.

suit a few years later by extending a line up the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg as far as Victoria Beach. It also serviced other localities closer to Winnipeg. However, for much of its distance, the line was further from the lakeshore, did not afford the same degree of access to the lake, and therefore did not spawn as many cottage communities as did the CPR. In direct competition with Winnipeg Beach, the CNR established its own popular resort at Grand Beach in 1913. This locality, with its renowned

white, sandy beach, had already been identified and reserved by the Province as a recreation site, but in return for building the railway, the CNR obtained a lease to manage land in the immediate vicinity of the beach, and progressively made improvements to the area. These included a hotel, dance hall, boardwalk and other popular entertainments. Like the CPR, the CNR put on its own excursions which, in their heyday, attracted tens of thousands to the beach.

The CNR also soon made provision for longer-term holidaymakers. Initially, this took the form of overnight accommodation in railway carriages and food concessions in restaurant cars. Shortly after the delays in development caused by WWI, the railway built a small hotel, a much more modest affair than had first been envisaged. Camping sites were also established to contain the numerous campers who had previously pitched their 'tents' among the sand dunes. The 'Campsite', as it became known, still exists as a distinctive element of the cottage community. The petite lots, originally designed for seasonal camping, were allocated renewable leases, which encouraged their occupants to build more permanent structures on them. At first, these were seasonal canvas tents, built on a wooden floor, but they evolved into the more stable 'Donalda,' a half-timbered, canvas affair (Fig. 14.5), and eventually to the small, now permanent, cottages that prevail today (Fig. 14.6). The 500 or so cottages are still located on leasehold land, once owned and managed by the railway, but with railway line abandonment, the Grand Beach cottage lots are now leased and managed by the Provincial Parks and Conservation Branch. Lots in the 'Campsite' are now in the process of being converted to 21-year leases, a more stable arrangement than the former annual leases. However, the new system brings with it the requirement that leaseholders upgrade their cottages to conform to more demanding development codes, a move that is accelerat-

Fig. 14.5. A first-generation timber and canvas Donalda at Grand Beach (from Public Archives of Canada).

Fig. 14.6. A pre-war cottage and 'tear down' replacement at Grand Beach.

ing the pace of replacing 'teardowns' with new cottages (Fig. 14.6) (Selwood and Tonts, 2003).

In promoting cottage development on private property in conjunction with the Grand Beach resort, the CNR used a similar strategy to that of the CPR across the lake. Immediately south of Grand Beach, R.W. Mackenzie, son of the CNR railway magnate, laid out Grand Marais, a cottage subdivision touted as:

> your opportunity to purchase a site for the summer home in the highest class summer resort in Western Canada. Family men cannot afford to deprive the wife and kiddies of this opportunity to enjoy the finest and most healthful summer outings, both now and for the years to come. Give the home folks a chance to regain health and strength in the great outdoors. Let them meet nature face to face, and the returns will be far greater than money can buy. It is not only profitable, but fashionable, these days to have a summer home, where you can entertain your friends with a minimum expense for upkeep and where all the necessary amusements are provided ready to hand, with no additional expense to you.
>
> (*Manitoba Free Press*, 14 August 1920, p. 20)

The Vassar subdivisions as they became known, were effectively developed by a hidden arm of the Mackenzie family estate. Cottage owners at Grand Marais could, with a short walk, enjoy the amenities at Grand Beach, but they could not boast a very attractive beach of their own. As will be seen, the cottage communities at Grand Beach and Grand Marais catered to a relatively modest-income clientele, with many of them originally railway workers for the CNR.

The story at Victoria Beach was, and is, very different. Victoria Beach was developed by a private syndicate of well-to-do Winnipeg businessmen

with inside connections to the Provincial Lands and Surveys Department and the grain trade. This syndicate, in 1910, formed the Victoria Beach Company, which for many years shared a strong, controlling interest over the cottage resort. The syndicate was the brainchild of C.W.N. Kennedy, a registrar of the Provincial Land Titles Office. Kennedy, who had discovered the potential of Victoria Beach while on hunting and fishing expeditions at the lake, began acquiring property at the beach as early as 1897 and, within 15 years, controlled almost the entire peninsula on which the beach was located. His vision was to recreate the environment of a traditional English country village that would become an exclusive, rustic, summer haven for his friends and others of similar social standing. The first subdivision of lakeshore lots at Victoria Beach was laid out in 1911, with most being sold to friends and acquaintances. However, at that time, the only access was by water and longer-term plans for the development had to wait until Kennedy and the Victoria Beach Company had successfully negotiated with the CNR for an extension of their Grand Beach line to Victoria Beach. This eventually transpired in 1916 and a much larger subdivision was then laid out to the rear of the lakeshore lots. Apart from a limited number of properties occupied by early settlers and people servicing the cottagers, the Victoria Beach settlement maintained its air of exclusivity for many years (Selwood *et al.*, 1983).

Modern times

The railway continued to be the only reasonable means of access until after WWII when, as elsewhere, the automobile and road improvements broke the railway's stranglehold on transportation. By 1959 the railway extension on the eastern side of the lake was no longer financially viable, and was abandoned. Until then, the railway, although often at odds with the Victoria Beach Company, had nevertheless supported its policy of discouraging access by mass tourism and excursionists to the resort. Even today, during the peak holiday season, automobiles are not permitted in the old townsite: both cottage owners and casual visitors are required to park their vehicles in a compound outside the cottage area. However, property owners are at least able to store their belongings in their cottages, with the beaches and other facilities being more readily at hand.

Although the Victoria Beach Company no longer controls the peninsula, its effective successor, the Rural Municipality of Victoria Beach, continues to encourage a relatively high quality of development in the area. Recent subdivisions are upmarket in design, with larger lots and more expensive improvements being the rule. An analysis of the current property tax rolls for the two localities clearly demonstrates the contrast in values between the more modest properties at Grand Marais and the relatively upmarket development at Victoria Beach. Unfortunately, the equivalent information is not available for the 'Campsite' at Grand Beach. However, casual field observation and limited data obtained from real estate agencies

indicate that the cottages in this area are distinctly less costly than those at Grand Marais.

Further analysis of the assessment rolls provides additional insights into the different characteristics of the two communities. By and large, cottage owners at Victoria Beach live in the more affluent suburbs of Winnipeg, particularly the areas of River Heights, Crescentwood and Tuxedo (Table 14.1). On the other hand, cottage owners at Grand Marais come from the lower-income, more ethnically diverse suburbs of the metropolitan area such as St Vital, St James and the northern suburbs (Kliewer, 2001, unpublished). The statistics also demonstrate the stability of these relationships, as they correspond very closely with results of a similar study undertaken several years ago which indicated that religious ties and ethnicity were additional factors in lending distinctiveness to the cottage communities surrounding Lake Winnipeg (Lehr *et al.*, 1991). Although significant numbers of people with cottages at Victoria Beach and Grand Marais come from rural districts, the great majority identify with Winnipeg as their place of primary residence.

A surprising number of cottage owners are listed as living out of the Province. Ironically, this suggests that the maintenance of ties with the cottage can be stronger than the place of 'permanent' residence. Limited anecdotal evidence indicates that there is a tendency for cottage owners to retain their cottage for a variety of reasons. These include a wish to return to their roots, a place with symbolic value, a desire to maintain contact with friends and relatives, to hold on to ownership before passing the cottage on

Table 14.1. Source areas of cottagers at Victoria Beach and Grand Marais.

Ranking	Winnipeg neighbourhood	Residents		Neighbourhood average income (Can $)
		n	%	
	Victoria Beach			
1	River Heights/Wellington Crescent	119	10.5	65,000
2	Fort Richmond/Richmond West/Crescent Park	108	9.5	65,000
3	Tuxedo	98	8.7	103,000
4	North Kildonan	96	8.5	56,000
5	Wolseley	95	8.4	47,000
6	River Heights	95	8.4	65,000
Totals		611		
Grand Marais				
1	St Vital	24	7.1	55,000
2	Mynarski	20	5.9	45,000
3	Munroe/Rossmere/Valley Gardens	19	5.6	45,000
4	North Kildonan	18	5.3	56,000
5	Silver Heights	14	5.0	50,000
6	Point Douglas/St Johns	13	3.9	35,000
Totals		108		

to offspring, or as an investment. Other evidence suggests that cottages can remain with the same family for several generations, with the intensity of use varying according to each generation's stage in the family life cycle.

The following case study reveals just how strong the links can be between a cottage community and family ties. The extended family in question now owns six cottages on Grand Beach campsite and the adjoining subdivision at Grand Marais (Fig. 14.7). Links with the area span five generations dating back to when the original couple first went to the beach as employees of the railway company. Although they never acquired a cottage at Grand Beach, one of their children did. That child had three offspring. One of these, we'll call her Diana, married and she and her spouse bought a cottage that they still occupy. Another of the children, although not obtaining a cottage, produced a child who has recently purchased a place at Grand Marais. For their part, Diana and spouse have had five children, three of whom have cottages either at Grand Beach or Grand Marais. One of those children married a friend she met at the lake and her brother-in-law also has a cottage at Grand Marais, making up the sixth cottage in the extended family. Between them the current generation of cottage owners have nearly twenty children who spend time at the lake, bringing the total number of family members to nearly thirty people. At least one of the owners now intends to make the cottage their primary place of residence upon retirement (Selwood and Tonts, 2003).

Evidence from other studies indicates that this example of a family dynasty associating with a cottage community is not an isolated phenomenon (Boholm, 1983; Selwood *et al.*, 1995; Selwood and Tonts, this volume, Chapter 11). Furthermore, a relatively recent survey of cottage owners in Nopiming Provincial Park in Eastern Manitoba revealed that only a very small proportion of them had any plans to divest themselves of their vacation cottage until they were no longer healthy enough to travel to

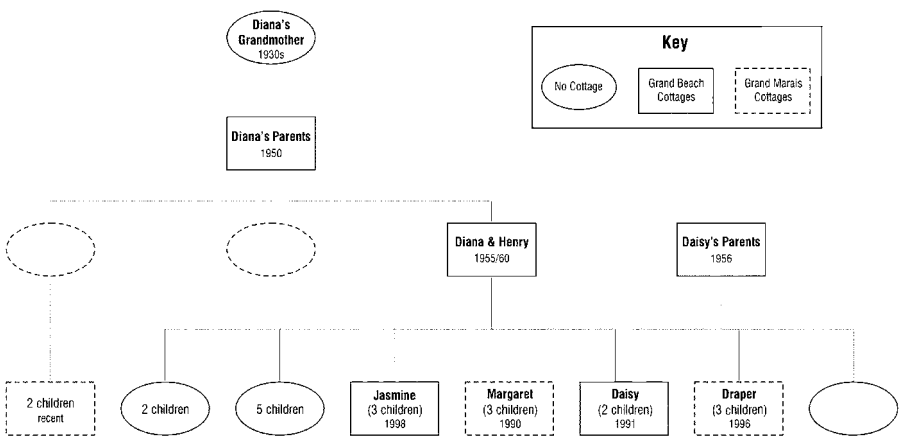

Fig. 14.7. Multi-generation, multi-cottage ownership links at Grand Beach (dates given are of property acquisition on lease).

the park. What is more, a significant proportion of them were planning to reassign their leases to their offspring (Maconachie, 1994, unpublished).

Currently, cottage communities are continuing to expand as new subdivisions are created on the peripheries of existing settlements and as new localities are opened up. Nowadays, however, expansion is much more restricted due to government regulation of the release of Crown Land and because complex planning approvals are required before subdivision and development can proceed. These have somewhat inhibited growth but, by and large, Manitoba is well served by existing development relative to the almost stagnant population growth in the Province and ever-widening options for vacations and travel further afield. Second homes have also taken on a new form to some degree as lower-maintenance options are coming on-stream through developers' efforts to tap the market. Thus, 'marina/canal'-like subdivisions have appeared; condominiums and timeshares are being touted; and other innovative schemes (for Manitoba) have come on-stream. The extent of these kinds of developments is not known, although they are definitely limited in number. Manitoba has a reputation for conservatism and a reluctance to adopt new fashions and behaviour.

Field research also suggests that although many cottages are now being adapted to year-round use, there being only a limited trend towards their conversion into permanent, primary residences. However, cottage winterization is becoming commonplace, partially due to a growing appreciation of outdoor, winter-based recreational activities such as cross-country skiing, skidooing, ice fishing and the like. Year-round or extended seasonal use has also been encouraged by improved access, the installation of essential services and by more stringent building regulations requiring that cottages meet higher sanitation and power standards (Selwood and Tonts, 2003). Nevertheless, only a small number of cottages outside of long-established year-round lakeshore towns like Gimli appear to be undergoing conversion to primary residences. Maconachie's study of cottagers in Nopiming Provincial Park supports this observation, in that only five per cent of her sample intended to use their cottage for retirement or full-time use (Maconachie, 1994, unpublished). This would be for a number of reasons. In part, it is because year-round occupation has been restricted or prohibited by national, provincial or local administrations. Another major reason is probably that many of Manitoba's more affluent retirees prefer to escape entirely from the province so as to avoid its long, harsh winters, returning in the summer to enjoy their cottage and be with family and friends.

Conclusions

It is very evident that amenity landscapes have been strong elements in the creation of cottaging country in Manitoba, and multiple-use water bodies have been particularly effective in attracting cottagers and cottage

communities. Cottage developments have also been widely encouraged and heavily promoted by both the private and public sectors, virtually since the beginning of European settlement in Manitoba. Railway expansion, giving access to the province's lakes and rivers, together with the provision of supporting recreation infrastructure and cottage subdivisions, made the acquisition of a summer vacation home a desirable objective for a very large number of people. The railways' efforts were furthered by private real estate interests and initially by governments that endorsed the exploitation of the Province's natural landscape attractions, originally conceived of as places for public use and enjoyment. More recently, the legislative framework within which cottage developments have occurred has become relatively restrictive, limiting the expansion of cottages in both the Provincial and National parks. Rising development standards have also pushed up prices and made cottage owning a more expensive proposition. Nevertheless, to a great many Manitobans, the cottage vacation is an extremely important part of their lifestyle, an elemental expression of their roots and a valuable means of maintaining kinship ties.

15 Cottage Country Landscapes: The Case of the Kawartha Lakes Region, Ontario

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Introduction

There is increasing interest from the local level to the international level in the concept, designation and protection of valued cultural landscapes (Fram and Weiler, 1984; Buggey, 1998). Many agricultural and industrial landscapes are now being recognized, but scant attention has been paid to the often attractive and highly valued cultural landscapes of tourism. In Canada, one landscape of tourism, known as 'cottage country', has long been appreciated but few studies have been undertaken to describe such valued landscapes or suggest methods for designating and protecting them. This paper will describe research with this goal, undertaken in the Kawartha Lakes region of central Ontario, Canada.

The objectives of the research were to: (i) describe the landscape of the Kawartha Lakes cottage country; (ii) identify the values of this landscape and threats to them; (iii) determine how these values are being protected; and (iv) recommend additional means to protect this landscape.

The Landscape of the Kawartha Lakes Cottage Country

Origin of the term *Kawartha*

As European explorers and settlers moved into the Kawarthas in the 1800s, they gave various names to the collection of lakes in the area. These included: Trent Lakes, the Midland Lakes, the Newcastle Lakes, the Peterborough Lakes and, more commonly, the 'back lakes.' A distinct region was being identified with lakes as its key characteristic.

According to Rayburn (1997), an authority on place names in Canada, the word 'Kawatha' was first coined in 1885 in response to a request by

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tourism promoters to the Mississauga people of Curve Lake for a name to describe the region. The word was said to mean 'land of reflections' or 'land of shining waters' (Rayburn, 1997, p. 176). However, according to Tatley (1978), the name was derived in a manner similar to this, but its modern form came later:

> Around 1898 … a pair of Bobcaygeon gentlemen, Reeve W.H. Bottum [son of Captain Elijah Bottum, who was by then deceased] and Charles Stewart of the *Independent*, came up with the splendid idea that the central lakes of the Trent should have a collective new name … Messrs Bottum and Stewart felt that a distinctive new name should be coined and decided to go to the Curve Lake Indian reserve for suggestions. The Indians proposed the Mississauga word *Kawatha*, meaning 'bright waters and happy lands'. To Bottum and Stewart the translation seemed auspicious enough, and they began to campaign to get the word accepted. One by one, the local councils of Bobcaygeon, Fenelon Falls, Lindsay, Peterborough and Lakefield agreed to adopt it; the newspapers and the Grand Trunk Railway also started to use it, but in the process an 'R' sound – which does not exist in Ojibwa – managed to work its way in, and the word became *Kawartha*. By 1900 the new name was firmly established.
>
> (Tatley, 1978, p. 137)

It is not clear whether the native people already used this word to identify this area, or whether it simply originated in response to the request. Nevertheless, the name, albeit after about 1900 spelled *Kawartha*, has been used to refer to this region ever since.

Boundaries of the Kawarthas

But what are the boundaries of the region named Kawartha or the Kawarthas? A cartographic analysis was conducted to answer this question. Any descriptions, for example in tourism brochures, of the spatial extent and features within the Kawarthas were used to produce maps delimiting the region. These were combined with existing maps of the region that had *Kawartha* in the title to give a total of 22 maps, indicating the spatial extent of the region labelled *Kawartha* from 1901 to 2002 (Griffiths, 2002).

What is probably the first brochure referring to, and delimiting, the Kawartha Lakes was published in 1901 by the Grand Trunk Railway. It stated that:

> The Kawartha Lakes District is, comparatively speaking, little known to the summer tourist, and is at present patronized by a limited number of travelers who, when they have found a good thing, know how to enjoy it. The chain of lakes which comprise this region lies north of Peterborough and Lindsay, and is composed of Lakes Katchewanooka, Clear, Stony, Buckhorn, Chemong, Pigeon, Bald, Sturgeon, Cameron and Balsam.

In 1909, a brochure entitled *Fenelon Falls: The Prettiest Summer Resort on Kawartha Lakes* stated that there were 11 Kawartha lakes, namely: Balsam, Cameron, Sturgeon, Pigeon, Chemong, Buckhorn, Deer Bay, Lovesick, Stony, Clear and Katchewanooka. On the other hand, the *Reference and*

Guide Book to the Trent Canal, published in 1911, stated that the Kawartha Lakes comprised the following 14 lakes: Scugog, Sturgeon, Cameron, Balsam, Pigeon, Bald, Sandy, Buckhorn, Chemong, Deer, Lovesick, Stony, Clear and Katchewanooka, 'to which might be added Rice Lake, twenty-one miles down the Otonabee River below Peterborough' (The Department of Railways and Canals of Canada, 1911, p. 27). Subsequent descriptions and maps have included a larger region. For example, Mallory (1992) states that 'other lakes, like Sandy, Big Cedar, Catchacoma, Mississauga, Anstruther and Four Mile Lake are considered part of the Kawartha region' (pp. 34–35). In recent years, all the territory from Lake Ontario north to the northern boundary of Peterborough County, including the lakes in the above 1901 description, has been labelled the Kawarthas.

By examining all of these maps and descriptions, a core area included in all of them can be identified. It comprises: Cameron Lake, Sturgeon Lake, Buckhorn Lake, part of Pigeon Lake, part of Chemong Lake and Clear Lake. However, various relatively new administrative units have complicated the identification of a boundary for the region. For example, North Kawartha Township extends up to 35 km north of Stony Lake and includes lakes such as Anstruther and Chandos. Most recently, the naming of an area north of Peterborough as the 'Kawartha Highlands Signature Site Park' has not only confirmed this area as part of the Kawarthas, but suggested the region has 'highlands' (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR), 2003). The controversial amalgamation of local governments in Victoria County as the City of Kawartha Lakes has also extended the region to the east. Another aspect of this amalgamation is that the naming of this area has the potential to confuse traditional geographic concepts, such as city and urban area. The 2001 census, for example, indicates that the urban population of the Kawartha Lakes Census Division was 34.4 per cent of the total, with the rural population composing the other 65.6 per cent (Statistics Canada, 2005). This implies that the area known as the City of Kawartha Lakes is generally more rural than urban, although the name assigned to the area implies a more urban landscape.

In 2003, a majority of city voters in a referendum voted for de-amalgamation, but this has been rejected by the new Ontario government, supposedly because of the cost. The Mayor of Lindsay expects 'the city's name to become an issue again since there is general distaste for the Kawartha Lakes moniker in this municipality' (Hammond, 2004). For the purposes of this paper, however, the study area was defined as shown in Fig. 15.1.

The physical geography of the Kawarthas

The Kawarthas form a part of the Great Lakes Basin. The northern part of the region is underlain by Precambrian granitic Canadian Shield rocks, whereas the southern part is underlain by much younger limestones and shales. The region was covered by an ice sheet in the Pleistocene glaciation

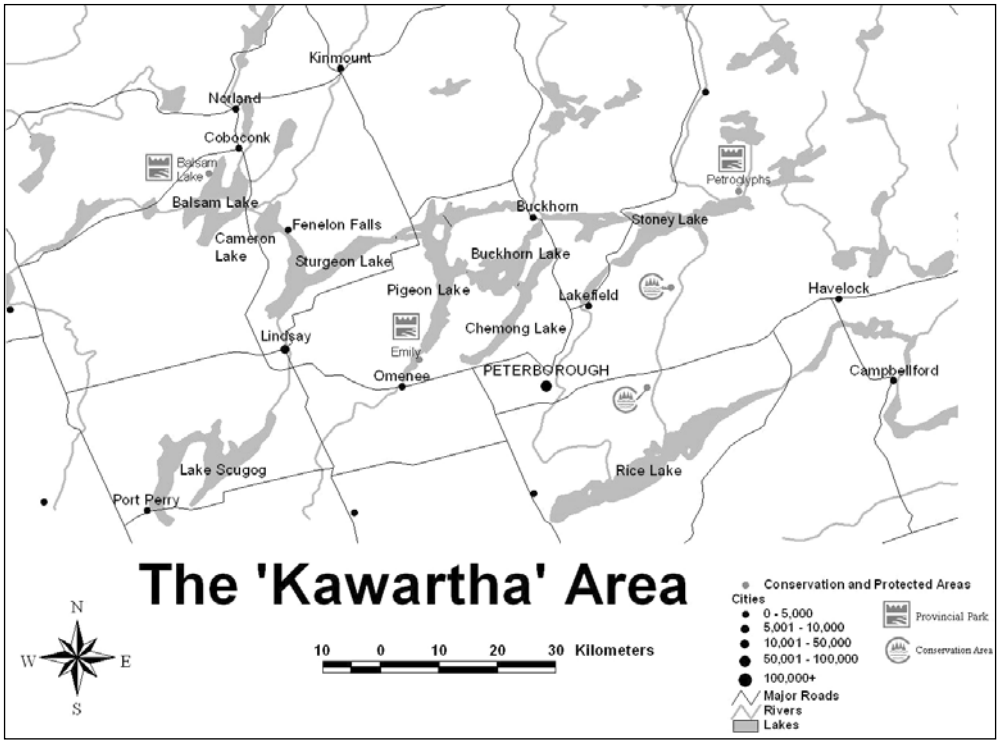

Fig. 15.1. Kawartha Lakes locality map

up to about 10,000 years ago, which eroded and rounded the Shield rocks and left the northern part of the region with thin, poor soils and swamps. This ice sheet also deposited tills, sometimes as drumlins and eskers, on the southern part of the region, which therefore has better soils. The drainage system was modified to leave a legacy of a chain of lakes fed by small streams, with the complete watershed draining via the Otonabee and Trent Rivers south into Lake Ontario (Ecclestone, 1992). The largest lake is Rice Lake, which covers 100 km^2. The lakes and parts of the rivers are frozen in winter, but suitable for swimming in summer. The levels of most lakes are controlled by adjustable dams and a sophisticated water management system that tries to balance the need for flood protection, hydroelectricity, navigation, water supply, recreation and pollution control.

Chapman and Putnam (1951) have divided southern Ontario into 52 physiographic regions. Five of these regions are found in the study area. To the north of Sturgeon Lake and south of Stony Lake is the Dummer Moraines region. South of most of the lakes is the Peterborough Drumlin Field and north and west of Lake Scugog is the Schomberg Clay Plains. North of these regions and Stony Lake is the Shield. Though the two overlap, the northern part of the region is in the boreal and the southern part in the deciduous forest zone. Historically the region was vegetated with maple, beech, basswood and oak and smaller amounts of pine, elm,

ash and white cedar. Much of the forest, especially in the south, was cleared for lumber, farming and settlement in the 19th century. The region has a diverse fauna including large mammals such as black bear, wolf and deer and some 160 species of birds, many being migratory, and has long been famous for fishing and hunting.

The region has a mean winter temperature of 7 degrees Celsius, and a mean summer temperature of 20 degrees. On average, there are 800 mm of precipitation, 20 per cent being snow.

Population

Native people have occupied the region for thousands of years, practising hunting and fishing as well as small-scale agriculture. Currently, there are several native reserves in the region, and some sacred sites (e.g. Petroglyphs Provincial Park). European settlement began in the early 1800s, there being about 500 immigrant settlers in 1825. Most of the region was logged for lumber, especially pine, or to clear land for farms, mainly to the south of the Shield where the soils are better. Some mining has occurred, principally in the Shield area, as well as limestone quarrying and gravel extraction, the latter from drumlins and eskers in the south. Accordingly, the landscape has been modified considerably, especially in the south, though some of it is reverting to its former character, and many areas – especially the lakes – have long been regarded as scenic.

The population of Peterborough County in the east of the region was estimated to be 130,000 in 2000, and that of The City of Kawartha Lakes (formerly Victoria County) in the west to be 67,926, in 1996. Peterborough is the largest city, with 74,000 residents in 2000, and Lindsay the next most important urban area, in terms of population . There are also many villages and hamlets with rural, suburban-style housing, and isolated farms scattered throughout the region.

Early tourism and cottage ownership

Even the earliest settlers enjoyed recreating in the area, and it was soon discovered by tourists, especially as access was improved and facilities developed (Marsh, 1981). By the 1860s, the Kawartha Lakes had become a recreational hinterland for the surrounding settled area. Most of the visitors were urban dwellers from Peterborough, which by 1850 had a population of 1800. Residents were beginning to build cottages on the lakes to the north, and Pammett (1964) noted that a number of summer residences were built on Stoney Lake soon after 1860.

In 1857, the Port Hope and Lindsay railway was extended from Millbrook to Peterborough, and to Lakefield in 1868. By 1888, fifty trains per day were passing through Peterborough. Steamer lines were operating from Peterborough, Young's Point and Bobcaygeon. The Trent Valley

Navigation Company, founded in 1883, ran steamers between Lindsay and Bobcaygeon and that same year the Stoney Lake Navigation Company initiated a steamship services on Stoney Lake. Over time, locks at Burleigh Falls, Lovesick, Buckhorn and Fenelon Falls improved navigation between lakes. These transportation improvements were complemented by the opening of hotels, such as the Viamede Hotel on Stoney Lake, which was constructed in the 1860s by Samuel Strickland, and the nearby Mt Julian Hotel, originally built to accommodate lumbermen, which was converted for tourist use in the 1870s (Peterborough Atlas, 1975). Hotels also appeared in Young's Point, Burleigh Falls, Bobcaygeon and Fenelon Falls about the same time.

Improved access and accommodation, along with advertising of the region, encouraged tourists to come from further afield, in particular Toronto and some northern US states. In 1883, The American Canoe Association held its first regatta outside the United States on Stoney Lake. Berry and Wootton (2002) note that 'primarily as a result of this canoe regatta, many Americans became aware of the lake and Americans were amongst the first cottagers to settle on the islands' (p. 30).

In 1888, some land on the south shore of Chemong Lake at the end of the road from Peterborough was bought and subdivided into 66 cottage lots. It was named Chemong Park, and was 'one of the first planned recreational areas in Ontario' (Willcox, 1986, p. 9). Around Stony Lake, many people bought land on a lakeshore and camped there for years before building a cottage. According to Hooke (1992, p. 12), 'By 1885 substantial cottages were being built'. By 1896, there were sufficient cottagers on Stony Lake wishing to safeguard their interests that a Stony Lake Cottagers Association Limited was formed, the second such association in Ontario. Subsequently, cottagers on most other lakes formed associations. For example, the Upper Stoney Lake Campers' and Cottagers' Association was formed in 1902, and the Clear Lake Cottagers Association in 1911 (Huffman, 1987).

A history of Upper Stoney Lake explains that around 1900:

> Cottage expansion was due at least in part to the new accessibility to the lake, first by stagecoach and then by the railway that linked Toronto and the Ontario lakeshore residents with Peterborough and Lakefield. The steamer system that carried these passengers up into the Kawartha Lakes before roads were built around its margin made islands more accessible than shoreline properties. Thus the islands were purchased and used by cottagers before the north and south shores of Stoney Lake were developed.
>
> (Berry and Wootton, 2002, p. 30)

Accordingly, at this time cottagers were often referred to as 'Islanders'.

By 1911, it was noted that: 'there is not one available point or island on the lakes and rivers throughout the entire system, that is not dotted with pretty summer homes and comfortable hotels, maintained almost exclusively for the tourist traffic' (The Department of Railways and Canals of Canada, 1911, p. 27).

The 1920s, according to Hooke (1992): 'saw many changes at Stoney Lake as elsewhere. Better roads, faster automobiles, and the invention of the relatively cheap Evinrude engine caused shifts in old values and altered the pace of summer living' (p. 31). The gradual spread of roads around the lakes, and later the provision of electricity, encouraged further cottage construction and year-round use.

Modern tourism and cottage ownership

The lake shoreline

All the lakes in the region now have cottages on their shores, the larger ones having resorts and, over the years, services around lakes, especially roads, have been increased and 'improved'. A minor part of the shoreline – usually the swampy parts – of most lakes is in a relatively natural condition and some small sections of shoreline have been designated as parks or conservation areas or are publicly owned to allow access to the lake. Many cottages built on the shorelines of lakes near Peterborough, such as Chemung, have now been converted to permanent homes. Elsewhere, many cottages have been winterized to allow year-round use.

The 'Backcountry'

The north, or Shields, part of the region has a 'Backcountry', characterized by a mixture of Crown land with second-growth forest and swamp, and some private land comprised of small or abandoned farms and tourism businesses. The south or limestone/till part of the region away from the lakes is characterized by farmland and settlements with some industry and tourism.

The 'Cottage Country'

The term cottage country is sometimes loosely applied to the Kawarthas region, which seems appropriate as most lakes and rivers throughout both its northern and southern parts have, or have had, cottages along their shores. However, the quintessential image of cottage country seems to be of Shield rocks, pine trees and lakes fringed with cottages, as found in the northern but not in the southern part of the region. Despite the fact that there are not many cottages in the Backcountry of the northern part, it may also be perceived as Cottage country, given that it is also characterized by Shield rocks, pine trees and swamps.

Threats to the Values of the Kawartha Region

Natural values

The Kawartha region landscape, a product of natural evolution and human intervention, has natural, historic, scenic and associative values. The natural values are associated with the geology, geomorphology, hydrology, vegetation, and wildlife (Peterborough Field Naturalists, 1992).

The region has diverse geological and geomorphological features, including Precambrian granitic rocks, Ordovician limestone and glaciated terrain. Features of interest in the limestone include karst phenomena such as caves and kettles, as seen at Warsaw Caves, as well as alvars – flat, creviced, soil-less, limestone plains. Within the Precambrian Shield area are some remnant 'outliers' of limestone, such as the one near Flynn's Turn on Highway 36 in Harvey Township, and that near Woodview on Highway 28 in Burleigh Township. The region also has a variety of glacial erosion and depositional features, of which the intensively studied Peterborough drumlin field is especially noteworthy. Brunger (1992) states, with reference to Peterborough County, that 'The county has one of the best drumlin fields in Canada' (p. 15). Other glacial features well exemplified in the region include moraines, such as the Dummer Moraine, eskers, such as that west of Lakefield and spillways, such as the valleys of the Indian River and the Otonabee River.

The hydrology of the region is valued for a variety of reasons. The rivers, lakes and wetlands help sustain the ecosystem, provide water for consumption, power generation, transportation, recreation and tourism, and are critical to the scenic appeal of the region. It is, after all, known and marketed as the Kawartha Lakes region.

The vegetation is valued for its ecological functions, for its resource value, for recreational benefits and for associative values. It serves to retain the soils and in slowing run-off, thus reducing flood hazards through the Kawartha Lakes and Trent watershed. It also helps sustain the wildlife and fisheries of the region. While the old-growth forest of the region, especially pines, was largely logged in the 1800s, there is now a second-growth forest that continues to sustain a small logging industry in the north of the region. There are also small-scale maple syrup operations, Christmas tree plantations and sources of firewood. Furthermore, the vegetation sustains the wildlife and contributes to the scenic appeal of the region. Also, some rare species are found in the area, including several varieties of orchids found in wetlands, and the walking fern, in the Warsaw Caves conservation area. Even individual trees may be valued. For example, Nan Nathaway (1975) of Young's Point recalls a large pine tree on the family property: 'Like Dad, my brother and I were happy to see it still standing, and as the years went by, it seemed to us to grow ever stronger and lovelier than before. My own children learned to love it too, as they played 'neath its shade on the soft carpet of pine needles it made' (p. 60).

The wildlife, like the vegetation, has ecological, resource, recreational

and associative values. The Kawarthas are the southern or northern limits of several species, such as moose and timber wolf, and the southern flying squirrel and grey fox. Traplines are still used to catch marketable furbearers and hunting of deer, moose and waterfowl provides local recreation, food and income from tourism. Fishing has always been important, originally for food and now, also, for sport. Naturalists value the more charismatic species such as the wolf and moose, but bird life is also important, with an estimated 157 species having been identified as breeding in the Kawarthas (Carpentier, 1992). It has been said that: 'Butterfly-watchers in the Kawarthas may, with luck, timing and diligence, encounter about one-half of the butterflies which occur in Ontario' (Schappert, 1992, p. 69).

In summary, the natural features are valuable as components of a healthy ecosystem, are of scientific interest and educational value, and provide the basis for a landscape with aesthetic appeal, recreational potential and tourism.

Historic and scenic values

The Kawartha landscape has many historical values, both in the region at large and also at specific sites, providing testimony to a succession of human occupancy and impacts over many years. There is evidence of past and continuing native occupation, of resource use, transport development, settlement, pioneer agriculture, power development, early tourism, early cottage ownership and conservation.

The Kawartha's scenic values have been appreciated and recorded since pioneer times. Catherine Parr Traill, whose family came from England and settled near Lakefield in the 1832, became famous for her paintings of local wild flowers, and wrote of such scenic features as 'a pretty little wooded islet on our lake,' 'the beauty of appearance' of wild cranberries, 'pretty-sapling beech trees', and her delight in watching 'torch-lighted canoes so quietly gliding over the calm waters' (Traill, 1971, pp. 61, 66, 72). Over the years, newspapers of the region have commented frequently on its scenic appeal. For example, in 1875, *The Peterborough Examiner* described Stoney Lake as 'rugged, varied, picturesque and grand'. In 1900, *The Bobcaygeon Independent* considered that 'the natural beauty of the scenery speaks well for the future of our lakes as the leading resort of the Highlands of Canada'.

The scenic values of the region were quickly recognized and interpreted by the early tourism promoters. The first brochure to promote the Kawartha Lakes, distributed by the Grand Trunk Railway System in 1901, said they:

> combine the wildest primeval granite mountain and forest scenery with lovely grassy, shrub and vine-clad shores. Many of the lakes are dotted with islands, on which pretty and comfortable homes have been erected for their summer tenants. Many from the United States and Canada have purchased retired, secluded sites along these waters, where neat cottages peep from the shrubbery. In summer months these are occupied by those who wish to escape the din and turmoil of the city and recuperate health and enjoy life to the utmost.

This area of 'picturesque beauty' was also extolled as an 'extensive field for lovers of geological science', with 'berries of various kinds [that] have their attractions for amateur photographers and botanists' (Grand Trunk Railway, 1901). A 'Souvenir of Fenelon Falls, Kawartha Lakes, Ontario, Canada', published in 1904, went so far as to claim that the Kawartha Lakes 'cannot be surpassed on the American continent for delightful air and scenic beauty'.

Tourism promoters, to this day, continue to emphasize the scenic values of the area. For example, the 2004 edition of the official guide to Peterborough and the Kawarthas describes the region using phrases such as: 'bright waters and happy lands', 'outstanding natural beauty' and 'the star-studded Kawarthas sky'. Cottagers are said to 'watch the mist rise on pristine lakes, enjoy lazy afternoons and spectacular sunsets'. (Peterborough and the Kawarthas, 2004, p. 2). Advertisements in the guide mention: 'The Ardagh Cottage Resort … a truly beautiful setting on scenic Lovesick Lake', 'beautiful Pigeon Lake' and 'spectacular Stoney Lake'.

There are various places in the Kawarthas that also have, what UNESCO terms, 'associative values'. For example, the Peterborough Petroglyphs just north of Stoney Lake comprise about 1000 glyphs carved centuries ago into white, crystalline limestone 'making it one of the largest such sites in North America' (Whetung, 1992, p. 26). These carvings are said to be testimony to 'the special powers of the Anishnabe. Those who sought knowledge and enlightenment would come to the rock to seek its strength and power, and to be tutored and have the stories of the rock explained to them' (Whetung, 1992, p. 27). The site remains of spiritual significance to First Nations, and also of historical, artistic and educational value to other visitors.

Polly Cow Island, below Young's Point, gets its name from a legend. According to one of many versions, Polly Cow was:

> the daughter of a powerful Indian Chief named Handsome Jack Cow who once claimed all the lakes and streams in this part of the Kawarthas as his own hunting and fishing grounds. Polly fell in love with the son of the chief of an unfriendly tribe, but Handsome Jack strove to keep them apart. Overcome by her frustrated love, Polly sickened and died at the age of sixteen. Her distraught father brought her body down the lake with a flotilla of birchbark canoes to a beautiful green island below Young's Point, which is now known as Polly Cow Island.
>
> (Nathaway, 1975, p. 36)

Many cottagers place associative value on their cottages, particularly if they are old ones that have been in the possession of a family for a long time. They are regarded as repositories of family history, as settings for traditional family events – such as Thanksgiving and as places cherished by individuals for the peace and inspiration they provided. This is evident in cottage diaries, in personal reminiscences and even in obituaries.

Residents, cottagers and visitors in Kawartha cottage country place value on the many historical buildings throughout the region. These range from barns, to houses, hotels, churches and stores. As Nathaway points out:

'every old building in Young's Point evokes some kind of pleasant memory in my mind' (Nathway, 1975, p. 9). Other buildings with heritage value include: the store at Juniper Island, the Church on the Rock and the Mt Julian Hotel. Many old cottages also contain historic artifacts that are highly valued. Thus, Mallory notes: 'our grandparents' mahogany runabouts and cedar-strip canoes are rare collector items now' (1992, p. 35). They have personal sentimental value, antique value and when out on the water add to the scenic appeal of, and recreation experiences in, the Kawarthas.

In particular the Kawarthas are associated with the canoe. Even though motor boats, houseboats and seadoos are now the dominant craft on the lakes, Mallory declares: 'the quintessential Kawartha craft is not a motor boat, it's a canoe!' (1992, p. 35). This is partly because early visitors and cottagers had to use canoes to get to their properties, but also because of the strong tradition of canoe making in places such as Peterborough, Lakefield and Rice Lake. Canoeing some of the rivers of the Kawarthas, especially in the spring run-off, is an annual ritual for some avid outdoors people and summer regattas, usually organized by cottage associations, have been held on some lakes for over 100 years.

Landscape values

Mallory, in 1992, raised the question: 'Can we continue to improve the Kawarthas or will we destroy them by overuse?' (p. 35). While the question may be relatively recent, the threats to the Kawartha landscape are not, since arguably they have existed for many years. For example, in the 19th century increasing concern was expressed about the destruction of the forests by logging or fire, about the depletion of game species and declining water quality. Later, in the 1960s, tourism development began to cause concern necessitating the Upper Stoney Lake Cottagers' Association to address a variety of issues, including: accessibility of land for picnicking at Eels Creek; garbage collection and disposal on Indian islands; weed and insect control; land development of a Provincial Park; golf clubs and trailer parks; and environmental encroachments and water quality (Berry and Wootton, 2002, p. 120).

Threats to the landscape values of the Kawarthas continue at an ever-expanding rate to the present day, including tourism and recreation (e.g. resorts, condominia, marinas and golf courses); cottages (e.g. development, year-round occupation, conversion, modernization and expansion); urbanization with its attendant issues (e.g. population growth, roads, garbage disposal, eutrophication, pollution and water supply); resource extraction (e.g. unsustainable logging); and impacts on flora, wildlife (e.g. introduction of exotic species) and cultural heritage (e.g. deterioration and loss of historic structures).

Ironically, many of these threats result from the fact that the region still retains many values. For example, it remains attractive enough to encourage further cottage development, yet such development may render

it less attractive. Decades of increasing concern about landscape degradation and a belief since the 1960s that the carrying capacity of the environment has been – or soon will be – exceeded have led to initiatives to protect the region's values. In modern parlance, there is a desire to ensure the sustainability of the landscape of the Kawarthas, and the values it affords.

The Protection of the Values of the Kawarthas Region

As in many parts of southern Canada, the first initiatives to address threats to the Kawartha landscape and to protect it were initiated over 100 years ago. Legal and planning initiatives have been gradually introduced and strengthened, especially since the upsurge of environmentalism in the 1960s. Beginning in the 1950s, many cottage associations in the Kawarthas have advocated and assisted with environmental protection. For example, Bentham and Hooke (2000) noted that the Stony Lake Cottagers' Association 'has been in the forefront of many cottage groups in preserving our fragile habitats, and expects to continue as such' (p. 29).

Today, a wide variety of means are being employed to protect the values of the Kawartha, cottage country, landscape.

Protection of natural values

A total of 47 protected natural areas have been identified in the study area. including the Trent–Severn Waterway, Provincial Parks, Conservation Areas, Game Preserves, Township Parks and First Nation Parks.

The latest and most substantial part of the region to be designated for protection is the Kawartha Highlands Signature Site Park (OMNR, 2003). This site, which comprises some 36,000 ha of Crown Land north of the main Kawartha Lakes, will soon be planned and managed as a natural environment-class Provincial Park. In its 'Signature Site Charter', the OMNR (2003) described the area as: 'large, scenic …undisturbed, with high quality natural and recreational values. The rugged bedrock landscape contains numerous small lakes and wetlands, the shorelines of which contain uncommon eastern and southern plant species' (p. 3). The Charter continues: 'Many of the lakes within the Kawartha Highlands area have a long-established community of cottages and year-around residences on private lands. The members of this community have played a major role in the stewardship of the area and have been instrumental in encouraging its formal protection' (p. 3).

Recognition and incorporation of the rights of traditional users have been necessary to accommodate the broad range of natural and ecological values attributed to the site:

> The protection of the ecological integrity of the area is of paramount importance. Long-term protection of both natural and cultural heritage values is required for the preservation of this unique area. Careful management is

> required to protect the environmentally sensitive aspects of the area, and to maintain it for the benefit of future generations. Traditional activities including cottaging will continue to be an integral component of the area, and diverse low-density recreational opportunities will continue to be available.
>
> (OMNR, 2003, p. 5)

Despite this recognition, some cottagers have been persistent opponents of the park, believing it will constrain access to their cottages, lead to excessive recreational use and result in more traffic and increased degradation.

Protection of archaeological and historic values

Various buildings have been designated as historic sites, and additional sites have been recognized for their historical significance by interpretive plaques (Bowley, 1998). Furthermore, the designation of the Trent–Severn Waterway has served to protect various features such as historic locks, lock houses and bridges. However, some features have been modernized for convenience, efficiency and cost saving, and this has on occasion proved contentious. The petroglyphs at Petroglyphs Provincial Park were protected for many years by chain-link fencing but are now enclosed in an impressive structure that prevents further weathering and vandalism and facilitates interpretation of the site. However, some concern was expressed that the building itself degrades the site, and that until recently there was insufficient First Nations' involvement in the management and interpretation of the site.

Some cottages are being described as 'heritage cottages' but, to date, no cottages or resorts have been designated as historic sites by any level of government. However, an historic cottage on the waterfront at Young's Point has been offered to the Otonabee Region Conservation Authority and, if accepted it could be the first of its kind to be designated, protected and interpreted.

This increasing awareness of heritage in the region has resulted in a number of initiatives to restore and protect heritage sites. For example, the pavilion and the pagoda on Juniper Island in Stoney Lake – which is the only remaining steamer pier on the waterway – have both been restored recently, and the Stony Lake Cottagers' Association created a charitable foundation in the mid-1990s to receive funds for such restoration and historic operations. Also, the recognition that historic features may encourage tourism has led to protection and restoration of various historic sites, such as the former Mt Julian hotel, now a restaurant.

Planning

Ontario's planning legislation and the local municipal planning policy that result from it provide a measure of protection for all aspects of the environment. However, it appears that these policies for natural and

historical attributes of the landscape are most effective when applied in conjunction with other measures of protection, such as specific designations as described above. Obtaining compete inventories of natural and historic landscape features is often a challenge, and these inventories are key in informing local policy. Achieving a balance of the protection of landscape values, which reflect competing stakeholder interests, also proves to be a planning challenge. Hence, preserving landscape values is sometimes contentious, and compromise is an essential part of achieving successful outcomes.

Despite growing appreciation of the values of the cottage country landscape and some initiatives to protect it, a variety of weaknesses are confounding better protection. Protected natural areas often lack money and staff to guarantee a high level of protection, optimum public use and interpretation. As a consequence, historic sites are inadequately protected. Lands not designated as protected natural areas or historic sites are not covered by adequate legislation to protect all natural and historic values, nor is protection of features on private land (e.g. cottage sites) always guaranteed by existing laws and practices.

From time to time regional planning initiatives have been taken. For example, in the 1960s the Canada, Ontario, Rideau, Trent, Severn (CORTS) was introduced and, in the 1990s, studies and public meetings were held to have the Trent–Severn Waterway section designated as a Canadian Heritage River. Unfortunately, due to some local opposition, the nomination and designation did not proceed at that time. The forthcoming planning and management of the Kawartha Highlands Signature Site Park will cover a big area, with many cottages near, and some inside it, and may provide examples of how landscape protection can be achieved that will be useful in the broader community outside the Park (OMNR, 2003).

Additional means for protection of the landscape

Various additional measures should be considered and implemented to improve landscape protection. Some of these could be applied to many such landscapes, while others are specific to the Kawarthas.

The region might be designated as a significant cultural landscape of provincial, if not national, significance and the desirability and the feasibility of designating the Trent–Severn Waterway as a Canadian Heritage River could be reconsidered. Additionally, natural areas worthy of enhanced protection, such as the Kawartha Barrens, could be identified, and non-operational provincial parks, like Wolfe Island, could be made operational. The planning commitments of Kawartha Highlands Signature Site Park should be fulfilled as soon as possible.

More historic sites could be identified and designated by several levels of government to afford them more protection. In particular, an inventory of historic cottages and resorts in the area should be conducted so that some of them can be designated as historic sites, or at least recognized with

historic plaques. The stewardship of natural and historic heritage on private lands, such as cottage properties, should be promoted and Cottage Associations which have monitored environmental conditions and lobbied for environmental protection could be encouraged to do likewise for historical heritage.

County and township planning needs to be strengthened and environmental impact assessments broadened to consider a wider array of landscape characteristics and values. The need for 'heritage impact assessments' when considering development and land use change could also be examined. Additionally, enhanced funding is required by conservation agencies such as the Trent–Severn Waterway, Ontario Parks and Conservation Authorities, and tax incentives for cottage associations and stewardship NGOs, so that they can be involved effectively in landscape and heritage protection and interpretation. Finally, more education of local residents, cottagers and tourists is needed regarding the natural and historic heritage of the area and there is a need for more effective stewardship and protection.

Conclusions

The Kawarthas are a landscape resulting from an interaction between the biophysical characteristics of the area, human impacts from resource extraction, farming, and tourism development, and natural and cultural heritage protection. Much of the landscape, especially the lakes and shorelines, is valued because of its relatively natural and historic characteristics and potential for recreation and tourism. However, these values and uses are threatened by a variety of activities, including the expansion of tourism. A variety of measures have been taken, especially in recent decades, to protect the landscape, but further measures seem desirable. These might include: expansion and improved management of protected natural areas and historic sites; better stewardship of private lands; more protection through planning of Provincial Parks and other protected areas; designation of all or part of the landscape as either heritage river or cultural landscape; and public education regarding the landscape's values and the means to protect them.

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V Power and the Politics of Place

Notions of place are often structured by oppositions: inside–outside, home–away, belonging–escape, authentic–inauthentic, significant–superficial. That the former are privileged *vis-à-vis* the latter speaks to an enduring home- or community-centred view of society and culture. The ideal of place inhabited by an involved, engaged and committed citizenry haunts the Western imagination, dating to Plato's *Republic*. This ideal bridges liberal–pluralist and communitarian impulses that dominate modern political thought and discourse (Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3).

Within this frame, there is a tendency to contrast inauthentic tourists with genuine residents, compare upstart newcomers with long-term dwellers and juxtapose part-time or seasonal residents with committed, full-time inhabitants. Swirling around these binaries is an air of tension, as this literature springs from a politics of difference that accentuates possibilities for contestation and conflict. Tourists, migrants, and various resident groups – assumed to hold different values, perceptions, and identities – come into contact, if not collide, in spaces and places.

This volume interrupts binaries and questions the spectral ideal of dwelling in the singular. Why is tourism likened to a superficial performance of place whereas residents are cast as genuine and sincere? Might part-time and seasonal residents display attachment and commitment to place as deep, or deeper, than full-time residents? Might newcomers and recent migrants engage place as robustly as long-term inhabitants? Who is 'local' and who is 'cosmopolitan' in a highly mediated social and cultural field? Note that these questions begin with *a priori* categories: tourists, part-time residents, seasonal residents, newcomers, recent migrants, long-term inhabitants, locals, cosmopolites. Questioning and eroding categories and oppositions is one thing, eradicating them quite another.

Dwelling as commitment to, and caring for, place(s) endures expressly because it is an ideal. Pluralizing place raises thorny issues about depth of involvement and caring, including difficulties in creating institutional and political arrangements that foster allegiance and civic engagement in multiple places. In the USA, for example, people are ascribed by the Census Bureau to one fixed place of 'usual' residence and people vote in a singular locale. These 'singularities' are symptomatic of a prevailing domicentric view of place, seemingly out of step with the contemporary scene and the prevalence of multiple dwelling and cyclical movements.

Norm McIntyre and Kathryn Pavlovich open this section with a case study of place-based values in the Ohope area in coastal New Zealand, an amenity locale with a long history of traditional 'baches' and a recent upsurge in second homes. The authors reveal values on five dimensions – natural, economic, recreational, cultural, community – comparing residents with seasonal homeowners, and three groups defined by length of residence. McIntyre and Pavlovich discover much common ground in place values across these groups, with similarities outweighing differences. The diverse mix of residents in Ohope today is a 'story' of the shift from resource-dependency to seasonal-home development, a scenario being played out in amenity locales throughout the developed world.

Kevin McHugh argues that seniors who migrate to planned retirement communities in Phoenix, Arizona – who lived elsewhere most of their lives – display an insular sense of place circumscribed by community walls. Interviews with residents of Sun City reveal a strong sense of belonging and collective identity, wildly enthusiastic endorsements of their own community and a fortress mentality that separates 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. A conspicuous outcome of the latter is a history of heated political conflicts with surrounding working-class communities regarding school taxes and control of local school boards. McHugh suggests that retiree migrants inhabit a kind of liminal space, in terms of position in the life course and also 'residentially', between tourists or seasonal residents and longer-term dwellers.

Klass Sandell's chapter illuminates tensions in the traditional right of public access to private lands in Sweden. He offers an insightful and eminently useful conceptualization of cultural landscape, defined along two axes: active–passive use and adaptation–domination of place. The resulting quadrants point up four contrasting views of landscape: as utilized home, as passively admired home, as museum for consumption and as factory for production. Sandell's chapter, ultimately, raises fundamental questions about defining and controlling space, and complexities in creating, modifying and 'reading' cultural landscapes on the moving sands of social and technological change.

That history and aesthetics loom large in 'reading' and controlling landscapes is brought to the fore in Lux and Rose's exposition of privately owned recreation residences in the National Forest lands of California. They accentuate the import of the back-to-nature movement in the latter part of the 19th century, and the subsequent evolution of agency guidelines in

tandem with homeowner vernacular in shaping what we see today as 'tasteful' rustic cabins and recreation residences in the forests, though not all cases meet this ideal. In broader terms, this serves as an illustration of the 'making' of amenity landscape as dialectic of regulation and practice through time.

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16 Changing Places: Amenity Coastal Communities in Transition

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Introduction

Coastal areas around the world, especially those in close proximity to large urban centres, are increasingly the focus of tourism and residential development. As a result of city-dwellers seeking their little piece of paradise in the sun beside the sea and sand, sleepy, once remote, hamlets are now the focus of beach-home construction and beach-hut conversion. Much of this expansion in accommodation services a market for seasonal homes, which are occupied only part of the year, usually in the summer. While growth can provide communities with enhanced employment and business opportunities, escalating housing costs, overused facilities, loss of privacy and reduced amenity are also a common part of such development scenarios.

Government agencies and local authorities charged with planning and management of these rapidly developing areas are drawn into complex and often acrimonious debates over the future of particular regions. The multiplicity of jurisdictions involved in the planning of such areas further complicates the prospects of finding solutions. To be judged appropriate, such solutions must not only minimize the impacts of development on the environment but must also meet the often conflicting demands among local interests and between them and seasonal-home owners.

A key challenge for decision makers in coastal areas is to develop a decision-making process that takes into account the relative importance placed on various uses of the same area by different stakeholders (Resource Assessment Commission, 1992). Identifying the values that are assigned to different uses and their relative importance to various stakeholders within the community provides one way of approaching the issue of competing uses. Hence, in issues involving land-use planning, a value-based perspective is being introduced as a central part of the community consultation process (Wight, 1998; Cheng *et al.*, 2003).

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This chapter details a case study of a coastal area in New Zealand which is experiencing rapid growth through in-migration. The study explores the differing values attached to the region over time by local residents and seasonal-home owners and comments on the implications of the observed differences for the political and social climate of similar-amenity communities elsewhere.

Managing Places

Public participation

In many parts of the world, collaboration with local communities is a required feature of the planning process for natural resource areas and more broadly within a region. Positive advantages of such involvement include the opportunity to capitalize on local knowledge, encourage support for management decisions and improve the quality of decision making (Shindler and Neburka, 1997). Despite the obvious advantages and, indeed, the necessity in this modern world to involve stakeholders in planning situations, such involvement is a complex and often contentious process.

Professional planners trained to rely on science and technical expertise as a basis for decision making (Lachapelle *et al*., 2003) are often frustrated by the decreased public acceptance of management decisions and lack confidence in the outcomes of collaborative processes. One major outcome of public involvement has been that it has demonstrated that professionals and lay persons, more often than not, express quite different views as to the values of those places, which are important to the public's work and leisure lives (e.g. Wagner *et al*., 1998). Hence the challenge for the professionals is to develop more effective and theoretically sound methods for incorporating public value positions into the planning process.

Place-based, value-centred approaches to planning

Place-based approaches to planning are attracting increased attention in many parts of the world, especially in the context of ecosystem management (Mitchell *et al*., 1993; Williams and Patterson, 1996; Williams and Stewart, 1998; Galliano and Loeffler, 1999) and in the adoption of community-based collaborative partnerships in forest management (Oglethorpe, 2002). This renewed interest in place and increased emphasis on collaborative processes indicate a move away from 'one-suit-fit-all' planning models that have historically dominated planning. It recognizes the strong bonds that people develop with places and the need that they have to be involved in influencing the future direction of change in places they value.

Central to the understanding of a place-based approach to planning is

the realization that: 'natural resource politics is as much about contest over place meanings as it is competition over the allocation and distribution of scarce resources among interest groups' (Cheng *et al.*, 2003, p. 98). 'Place meanings' encompass values attached to natural and built places (e.g. utilitarian, belonging, beauty, spirituality, etc.). Specific sites are seen as socially constructed 'landscapes that are multi-faceted, complex and saturated with meaning' (Cheng *et al.*, 2003, p. 90). Planning therefore becomes a social process of negotiating consensus among the variety of place meanings that are assigned by planning professionals, individuals and groups to particular places.

Place meanings are bound up with individual and group identity. The values expressed by individuals with regard to specific places may represent strongly held individual attachments or reflect shifting group allegiances. Thus, stereotypical labelling of people conventionally applied in resource planning situations (e.g. 'environmentalist' or 'developer') may not necessarily be reliable indicators of the value positions adopted by them. For example, Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) found that in the public planning of a watershed 'it was the experience of place instead of common group values that appeared to shape their environmental values' (p. 391).

The contingent, negotiated and shifting nature of place meanings makes elicitation of values difficult and suggests the need to employ interpretive, rather than, or as well as, survey approaches in data collection. For example, Satterfield (2001), in the context of environmental values, has suggested that personal, place-based narratives may be a particularly useful data source: 'values may be more commonly embedded, in … our everyday impassioned and storied talk about nature and meaning. Perhaps … it is only through such talk that we can elicit values that belong to this philosophic-spiritual-affective realm' (p. 335).

Following Satterfield (2001) and Cheng *et al.* (2003), this chapter presents an approach which attempts to recognize the socially constructed nature of values through revealing values ascribed to a specific coastal environment using a series of focus groups involving residents. Subsequently, a survey comprising verbatim value statements expressed in these focus groups was developed for more general distribution in the same area. The focus groups allowed for a discursive clarification and expression of values by various groups of residents with an interest in and knowledge of a specific area. The more general survey recognized the practical necessity faced by planners to canvass a much broader community preference for the values expressed by the smaller groups of residents involved directly in the focus group process.

In-migration to Amenity-rich Rural and Coastal Areas

Rural out-migration in many parts of the world has characterized much of the 20th century (Johnson, 2002). The reasons for this are many, but include the increased efficiency and centralization of production in resource

extraction industries and agriculture resulting in a decline in rural employment opportunities. While this trend continues today, the early 1990s saw a turnaround in rural population growth, fuelled by an increased interest in scenic and recreational amenity and facilitated by the emergence of new technologies, which have enhanced communication and access to these formerly remote areas (Williams and Hall, 2000).

Rural in-migration has been focused particularly on 'recreational counties' (Johnson, 2002) and coastal areas (Selwood and Tonts, this volume, Chapter 11) and has not been without its problems, notably the so-called 'Green Migration' (Jones *et al*., 2003), which has challenged the pro-commodity values of long-term residents and led to an increased emphasis on natural amenity values. Permanent migrants seeking escape from urban areas often bring with them the entrepreneurial, leadership and organizational skills needed to gain influence in communities and create new political and power alliances. Similarly, seasonal migrants or second-home owners are drawn by the same scenic and recreation amenity that, in turn, attract increasing volumes of tourists. Thus, rural communities-in-transition from extractive commodity-based to non-consumptive, amenity-based service industries are faced not only by increased diversity in values among community members but also have to struggle to accommodate the changing political, social, ecological and cultural impacts of amenity-based tourism development.

A positive net movement of people from urban areas to amenity-rich rural and coastal regions was noted in the USA in the 1990s and shows little sign of abating (Levitt and Pitkin, 2002). In the USA (Johnson, 2002) and elsewhere, this migration was fuelled by improvements in communication technology, better roads and airports, that have revolutionized the transmission of information and brought amenity-seeking urbanites within easy commuting distance of desirable rural locations.

Lowe *et al*. (1993), in noting the demise of state-supported agricultural development in the UK, pointed to the movement of new social groups into rural areas, in particular the more affluent, professional 'middle' or 'service classes'. Phillips (1993) suggested that a significant motivation for rural gentrification is the desire for a certain kind of lifestyle. As such, the countryside has become a 'positional good', defined as 'something which is fixed in supply and whose consumption is dependent upon one's position in society' (Phillips, 1993, p. 126). The consumption of rural commodities (e.g. seasonal homes, local rural crafts, countryside leisure, rural tourism and village institutions) is central to the rural lifestyles adopted by the service classes and plays a vital role in identification with such lifestyles (Cloke and Thrift, 1987).

These consumption patterns have significant implications for existing agricultural activity, especially where such activity conflicts with idyllic visions of rurality or restricts access to rural commodities (Williams and Hall, 2000). This situation is exacerbated in many rural areas where in-migration is significant because members of the service classes: 'have moved into positions of social and political leadership … and have asserted

amenity and environmental considerations to great effect' (Lowe *et al*., 1993, p. 207).

The overall effect of the influx of the service classes into rural areas is to create a widening range of interests and values among rural residents, which makes rural planning much more contentious. Three broad protagonists in this conflict over the construction of rural places have been recognized in the UK: a well-entrenched middle or service class; debt-laden farmers; and various industrial and development groups (Lowe *et al*., 1993). The relative ability of each of these to dominate the political scene through the planning process will influence the way in which particular areas develop, resulting in a much more diversified countryside and the replacement of national with more local and regional planning systems.

In recent times, considerable research interest has focused on changes in environmental values and attitudes with time, specifically in the context of the US National Forests (Bengston *et al*., 1999; Manning *et al*., 1999; Brown and Reed, 2000) and under the influence of new migrants to amenity-rich, resource-based communities (Rudzitis and Johansen, 1989; Jones *et al*., 2003). The early study by Rudzitis and Johansen (1989) noted that recent in-migrants to counties with wilderness areas in the Rocky Mountains of the USA wanted more wilderness protection, placed more importance on natural landscapes and pristine views and disliked activities such as logging and mining more than long-term residents.

More recently, Jones *et al*. (2003) provided evidence to suggest that in-migrants to southern Appalachia are more concerned about the environment, have a higher level of participation in pro-environmental behaviours and are more politically active in promoting environmental values than non-migrants. They suggest that environmental values may be gaining ground in amenity-rich rural areas due to a 'green migration' of more politically active and environmentally better informed and educated in-migrants. These authors argue that this 'green migration' is diluting the traditional urban–rural divide in environmental values where long-term residents are more in favour of extractive commodity values than more recent migrants. The 'green migration' hypothesis is based on the 'cultural infusion' (Blahna, 1990) and the 'new voices' (Fortmann and Kusel, 1990) theories, which propose that the more politically active, experienced, technically competent and better-educated newcomers bring leadership and organizational skills to rural communities, which might well challenge pre-existing pro-commodity and development values and facilitate the formation of new political coalitions between in-migrants and residents. However, Jones *et al*. (2003) also noted that long-term residents and in-migrants share much in common and that both 'place a high priority on protecting and preserving the environment in their overall values structure, but in-migrants place these values relatively higher' (p. 227).

Rural In-migration in New Zealand

Census figures for the period 1991–2001 in New Zealand have demonstrated a consistent net in-migration of people from urban to rural areas. Important aspects of this population movement are the growth in lifestyle blocks close to urban centres and the migration of families and older people to coastal regions of the North Island. A case in point is that the largest inter-regional net flow was from the major urban centre Auckland to the coastal region of the Bay of Plenty (Statistics New Zealand, 2000). This latter region is typical of what, in the USA, has been termed a 'recreational' or 'amenity-rich' region: 'Newcomers are attracted to the scenic and leisure-time activities … while fewer residents leave, because of the economic opportunities that growth fosters … natural amenities, temperate climate, and scenic advantages attract vacationers, and seasonal residents as well as retirees' (Johnson, 2002, p. 73).

More detailed analysis at the territorial level emphasizes the amenity-based motivations of this rural migration. For example, significant out-migrations were recorded, based on information from the 1991 and 2001 censuses, from Auckland to the rural and coastal region of Rodney to the north of the city, from the capital Wellington to the Kapiti Coast and from Hamilton City to rural and coastal Waikato.

In New Zealand, as in other parts of the world, migration is not consistent across the demographic spectrum as young adults are more likely to move from rural to urban areas and families and retirees to migrate to rural and coastal areas, principally for lifestyle reasons (Statistics New Zealand, 2000). Historically, non-metropolitan areas have attracted older migrants but more recently there is evidence to suggest that they are becoming a magnet for a broader cross-section of the population (Johnson, 2002). Combine this with the rapidly approaching retirement of the 'baby boomer' generation and this phenomenon has significant implications for policy and planning in these amenity regions.

Many small rural communities, especially those in coastal areas in close proximity to major urban centres such as Auckland, Christchurch and Wellington (Fig. 16.1), are experiencing rapid growth. This growth is a mix of 'lifestyle' blocks, new second-home development and/or redevelopment of existing properties for seasonal use (Keen and Hall, 2004). Much of this development is relatively recent, and although services (e.g. water supply) are sometimes strained at peak periods, the major effect is manifested presently in escalating property values.

In summary, this review suggests that amenity-rich rural areas – including those on the coast – are being subjected to in-migration of relatively affluent, professional and service employees from nearby urban areas (McGranahan, 1999). This in-migration results in a complex mix of long-term residents, seasonal-home owners and new migrants differing in life experiences, motivations and value preferences with regard to their adopted place of residence. In many countries, including New Zealand, seasonal residents can vote in local elections and thus can become intimately

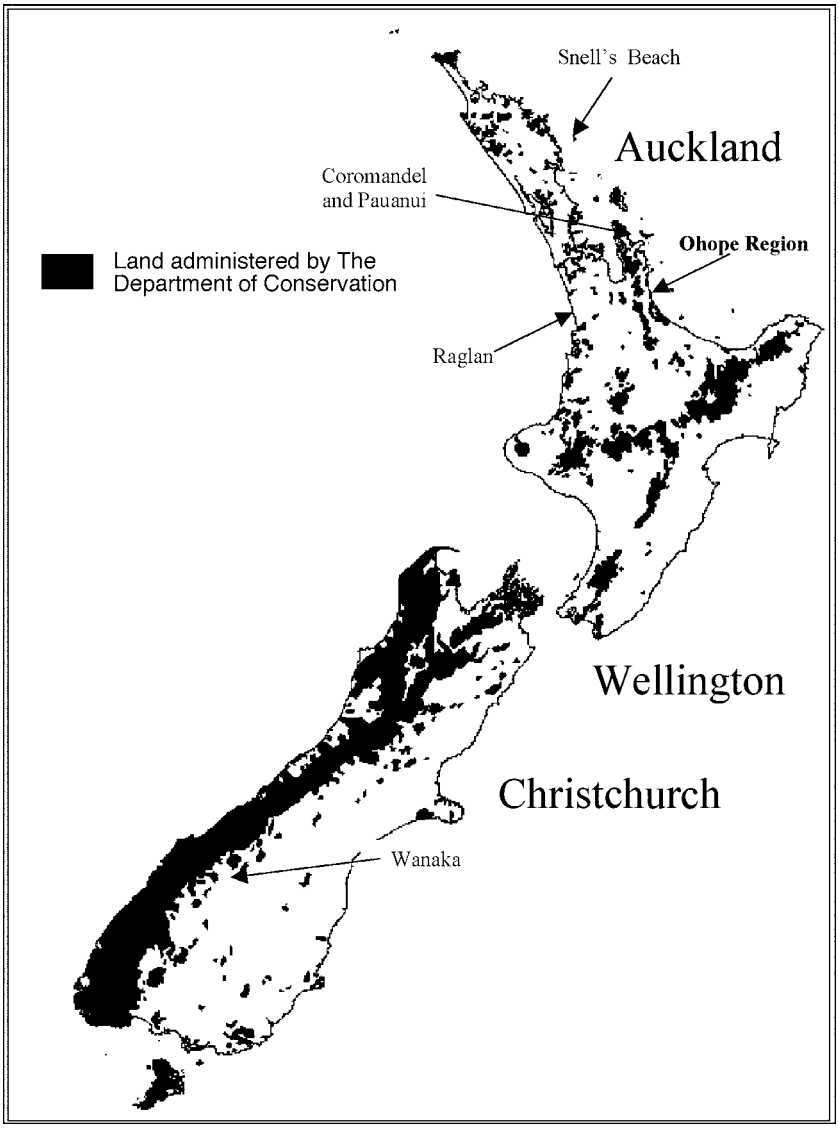

Fig. 16.1. Map of New Zealand: localities mentioned in the text.

involved in local politics (see also McHugh, this volume, Chapter 17). Available evidence suggests that value differences are likely to exist between this new wave of 'lifestyle' residents and locals, especially in relation to development and its impact on the environment, and that these differences and their potential for mobilizing pre-existing dissent are likely to result in local planning being more contentious, extended and adversarial.

While a number of studies have addressed differences in demographic characteristics between new migrants and residents, and the effects of in-migration to rural areas on environmental values, few have directly

addressed the full diversity of environmental, economic, cultural and community values that potentially underlie the conflicts evident within rural communities. Also, the value similarities and differences among seasonal-home owners, new migrants and long-term residents remain largely unexplored.

Seasonal Homes in New Zealand

Seasonal-home development in rural areas is interpreted as just one of a host of 'social invasions', which include urban and rural gentrification and the development of commuter or dormitory villages surrounding major cities (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). These invasions are, in effect, the 'ebb tide' of the flow which brought rural residents into the cities and towns over the last two centuries (Downing and Dower, 1973). An early publication (Coppock, 1977) and a more recent review (Hall and Müller, 2004) have demonstrated that seasonal-home ownership is a world-wide phenomenon. As with the new wave of migration to rural areas discussed earlier, seasonal-home development can, on the one hand, bring economic revitalization, new employment, a more vigorous and involved community, and on the other lead to overstretched infrastructure, more contentious planning, increased property values, shortage of affordable housing and displacement of local people.

The number of seasonal homes, or 'baches', in New Zealand is difficult to estimate as census data do not distinguish seasonal from permanent residential homes. Keen and Hall (2004), using a combination of 'empty dwellings' and 'residents away' (i.e. total unoccupied dwellings) from the 2001 New Zealand census, estimated the total number of seasonal homes in New Zealand as 15.8 per cent of the total housing stock, although this could be much higher in some coastal urban areas where seasonal homes can vary from more than a quarter to over half the housing stock (Keen and Hall, 2004, Table 12.3). In extreme cases, seasonal homes can form the majority, as in Pauanui, a purpose-built community on the Coromandel Peninsula where only 20 per cent of the residents are full-time. Comparable proportions are encountered in other countries. For example, in Canada, studies indicated that cottages comprised 41 per cent (Rideau Lakes, Ontario), 76 per cent (Cultus Lake, British Columbia) and 53 per cent (Beaubassin, New Brunswick), respectively, of the total housing stock (Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995).

The seasonal home or traditional bach is a central feature of New Zealand culture, epitomizing the best in leisure pursuits and nature interaction: 'we're on holiday … the main attraction is that there isn't much to do … we'll potter with this and that … spend hours lying on a sandspit … an hour spent over a single page of a newspaper and a steaming cup … eyes drifting from the print to survey the long line of the horizon, where nothing moves' (Cox, 1995, p. 42); and what it is to be a New Zealander: 'building your own bach was a … subtle union between New Zealand the

place and a new population of edge-dwellers. The do-it-yourselfers out on the coastline were famous for it, amidst salt air, and summer sun, wearing nothing but Dimp [New Zealand insect repellent] and a leather nail pouch' (Chapple, 1988, p. 14).

Baches occur in three broad types (Keen and Hall, 2004): (i) the endangered vernacular bach generally built prior to the 1960s: 'A Bach … lacked any social pretension. The roof was usually flat … and sloped to a water tank at the back. The windows were wide at the front of the bach to take in the view, and bunks stowed the children narrowly at the back of it, with the dunny [toilet] always a separate building lagging about 30 paces further back' (Chapple, 1998, p. 14); (ii) re-used second homes, comprising old farmhouses, historic mining cottages and even old tramcars (Thompson, 1985); and (iii) the purpose-built contemporary homes that are frequently the focus of features in glossy magazines:

> … as you slip quietly into the bach … you become fully aware of the drama of the curved building form … the dining/kitchen … living space … and master bedroom … take full advantage of the ocean views … natural timber finishes dominate … specially commissioned furniture and curved rugs … two further bedrooms … a private deck … an exterior fireplace … the essential spirit of the Kiwi bach remains intact … feet are still firmly in the sand.
>
> (Forsyth and Klever, 1998, p. 84)

Not only is the character of the bach changing but so also are the people who use them. The typical bach family was described by Cox (1995) in this way:

> … families who didn't necessarily have a great deal to come and go on. A bach, especially one by the sea, offered the promise of food for free along with the pleasure to be had from catching it. And there were no summer fashions to be keeping up with, and few expensive diversions to spend your money on. Here the ethos could be utilitarian, daggy even, and none could object.
>
> (p. 39)

More recent comment emphasizes the increased affluence necessary to acquire a bach in the most popular areas and characterizes the new 'breed' of bach owners who are not only different from the traditional 'bach' people: 'In the once sleepy backwater of Raglan … the All Black Forward and all round nice guy … has had a bach built … the keen surfer's designer home has panoramic views over the Tasman Sea … it's worth between $400,000 and $500,000' (Barber, 2000), but who are also affecting significant change in the character of the receiving communities: 'the biggest change [in Raglan] is that you can get a really good cup of coffee and a really good meal … when I first came, you got fish and chips' (Barber, 2000).

As in many other countries, New Zealand's seasonal homes have a special place in the culture and architecture (see also Lux and Rose, this volume, Chapter 19). However, seasonal-home ownership is becoming increasingly expensive (Halseth, 1993, 2004; Keen and Hall, 2004; Visser, 2004) and is, as a consequence, attracting a different demographic of affluent professionals, who are inflating property values and changing the

character of receiving communities. The end result is a complex mix of long-term residents, new migrants, generally well educated, affluent professionals, retirees and seasonal-home owners from all of these types. While they may all share many values in common (Jones *et al.*, 2003), if research in other similar communities is a guide, it is also likely that long-term residents, 'new migrants' and seasonal-home owners will differ in their values and attitudes to, for example, tourism or resource development (e.g. Blahna, 1990; Williams and Hall, 2000) and in their commitment to their adopted community (Halseth, 1993).

A Coastal Community in Transition

The study reported in this chapter was conducted as part of the input into a regional planning of the Ohope area, including Port Ohope and Ohiwa Harbour (Fig. 16.2). A review of the local media (Sandford, 2001, unpublished) indicated a long and continuing controversy within the community, particularly with regard to property and tourism development which was threatening the shores of Ohiwa Bay. On the one hand there was a sense that the natural and aesthetic values of the Bay were being compromised and, on the other, that increased tourism activity would bring prosperity and much-needed employment to the area.

Ohope is a coastal area in the Bay of Plenty on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand (Figs 16.1 and 16.2). It contains within its boundaries the large estuary of Ohiwa Bay, which has several small settle-

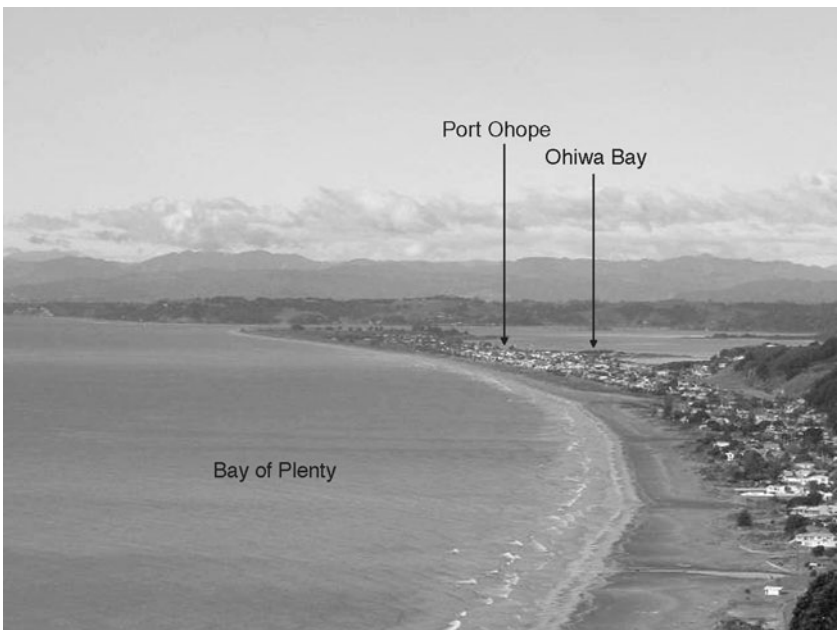

Fig. 16.2. Ohope region.

ments around its edges, the largest of which is Port Ohope. Although still dominated by older-style beach cottages (Fig. 16.3), development of modern condominia (Fig. 16.4) is on the increase and the once sleepy little hamlet of Port Ohope now boasts a modern development on the site of the old shipping wharf, and a number of controversial residential developments are proposed. Most of the landscape surrounding Ohiwa Bay is dominated by dairy farms and forestry operations, but there are an increasing number of 'alternative lifestyle' inhabitants moving into this area as agricultural activity declines. The larger township of Whakatane (population 6200) is a major summer tourist destination and lies approximately 7 km away to the north of a prominent ridge which separates the Whakatane River and Ohiwa Bay catchments.

The statistical unit of Ohope has a resident population of 2760 (Statistics New Zealand, 2001a) and lies within the statistical district of Whakatane on the east coast of New Zealand in the Bay of Plenty region. Ohope has demonstrated the most rapid population growth of all statistical units in the Whakatane Region over the last 10 years (21.5%). This compares with 2.2 per cent for the district as a whole. The next most rapid growth is evident in the coastal units of Otakiri (15.3%) and Coastlands (8.6%) to the north of Whakatane. In contrast, inland rural centres such as Murapura have demonstrated steep declines (–19.5%) in population. Such high growth rates are typical of small, high-amenity coastal rural settlements in New Zealand which are experiencing significant volumes of amenity-motivated in-migration (Hall and Williams, 2002).

The 2001 New Zealand Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2001a) shows

Fig. 16.3. Traditional-style 'bach' in Port Ohope.

Fig. 16.4. Modern 'bach' in Port Ohope.

that Ohope residents are generally better educated and have higher incomes than residents in either the district of Whakatane or New Zealand as a whole. Retirees (65+ yrs) comprise a higher proportion of residents than overall New Zealand. The most common employment category is professional, which contrasts with the dominance of workers in agriculture and fishery in Whakatane District, and service and sales in New Zealand overall. Only 2 per cent of houses did not have access to a telephone (Whakatane, 8%; New Zealand, 6%) and 41 per cent of households had internet access in comparison to 29 per cent in Whakatane and 37 per cent in New Zealand. Vehicle access (97%) and transportation expenditure (NZ$8,784) in Ohope are higher than the average in New Zealand (vehicle access, 90%; transportation, NZ$7,358).

Ohope, in its demography, property ownership and employment, characterizes a growing number of amenity-rich coastal and rural communities in New Zealand and elsewhere that are influenced by 'rural rebound' patterns of development. In such situations, the traditional dominance of agriculture, forestry and other resource extraction workers is being replaced by service sector employees (e.g. tourism, property and retail) and professionals, who either commute by private motor vehicle to nearby urban centres or work from home (Levitt and Pitkin, 2002; Jones, *et al.*, 2003), and by increasing numbers of retirees and seasonal-home owners.

Using a similar methodology to Keen and Hall (2004), the number of seasonal homes in Ohope was estimated at 309, or 21 per cent of the housing stock (Statistics New Zealand, 2001b). This estimate places Ohope in the same range as coastal communities of comparable size and distance from Auckland (e.g. Raglan, 26.3%; Snells Beach, 22.7%; Keen and Hall, 2004, Table 12.3).

Examination of the change in 'occupied' (permanent resident homes) and 'unoccupied' (seasonal homes) dwellings for the census periods 1991 to 2001 in Ohope (Fig. 16.5) demonstrates that the total growth in both types over the 10-year period is of the same order. However, the nature of the growth patterns is quite different between 1991–1996 and 1996–2001. During the first 5-year census period, the proportion of occupied dwellings increased (15.1%), while the estimated proportion of seasonal homes decreased by 16.5 per cent. In contrast, resident homes showed a modest increase (5.7%) between 1996 and 2001, whereas seasonal homes increased dramatically (43.7%) over the same time period. In other words, the most recent growth in Ohope has not been in resident population but rather in seasonal-home owners.

This characteristic is shared by other coastal towns in identifiable amenity areas in the North Island (e.g. Raglan, Snells Beach, Whitianga and Coromandel), indicating a significant shift in the patterns of development from full-time to seasonal residence. In New Zealand, as in the USA, the rate of rural in-migration has slackened in the late 1990s (Statistics New Zealand, 2000). While the reasons for this are unknown (Johnson, 2002), the pattern of development noted in these coastal communities may provide a partial explanation for this reduction.

Exploring the Values Attached to Ohope

Place-based, value-centred planning using a mix of interpretive and survey approaches was found to be a particularly fruitful approach in this particular study for at least three reasons: (i) it brought together key

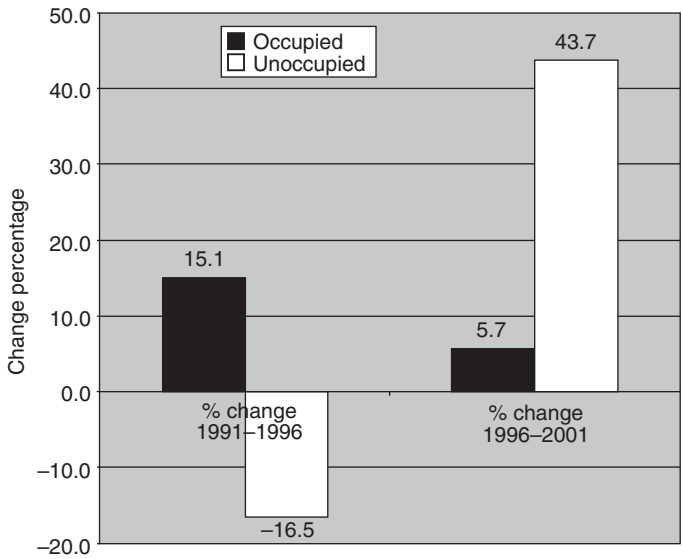

Fig. 16.5. Changes in dwelling type in Ohope, 1991–2001.

members of the community who had never before sat down together and explored those aspects of their community that they valued; (ii) it emphasized the large areas of common ground shared by different-interest groups and focused the community on those areas where diversity of opinion existed; and (iii) it allowed the sampling of the value preferences of a broad cross-section of the community.

Data collection involved an initial values elicitation process using a series of focus groups, followed by a more general survey of Ohope property owners. Participants in the focus groups were nominated by the regional office of the New Zealand Department of Conservation, one of the government organizations involved in regional planning. In total, four relatively homogeneous focus groups were instigated, involving both spatially distinct and special-interest groups:

- Conservation interests.
- Port Ohope residents.
- Catchment and Ohiwa Harbour (not Port Ohope) residents.
- Local Maori with affiliations to Whakatohea, Tuhoe and Ngati Awa.

All focus group discussions were tape-recorded and transcribed. The two authors conducted open and axial coding of the transcripts independently. This process resulted in the development of a series of value themes and value statements, which defined various quality of life attributes of the Ohope district and formed the basis of the value items used in the survey instrument.

Value themes and statements

Five broad value themes were derived from the analysis of the focus groups. Each of the themes is listed below with an example of a value statement.

- Natural values, e.g. 'The variety, the wetlands, the coastlines, the pohutakawa, the sandy shores …'.
- Economic values, e.g. 'The ability to make a living'.
- Recreational values, e.g. 'The diversity of recreation, kayaking, fishing, jet-skiing, picnicking, boating …'.
- Cultural values, e.g. 'The spiritual connection with the land that restores and sustains you'.
- Community values, e.g. 'The size of the community … its relatively low population'.

Thirty verbatim value statements encompassing all aspects of the themes were derived from the analysis of the focus group transcripts and used to create survey items. They included statements of Natural (13), Economic (4), Recreational (6), Cultural (2) and Community Values (5).

Respondents were asked to rate the importance to them of these 30 value statements. Each item was rated on a five-point Likert scale (5, very

important to 1, very unimportant). Additionally, respondents provided demographic information including: years of residence in the Ohiwa Bay District; age; gender; place of residence; education level and ethnicity.

The survey was mailed out to a randomly selected sample of 1000 residents in the Ohope Statistical Unit using the District Council Rolls. The modified Dillman Method (Dillman, 1983) was used to design and distribute the surveys. A total of 404 useable responses were returned (40 per cent response rate).

Defining the value clusters

The 30 value statements were reduced to six principle factors (Table 16.1) using Principal Component Factor Analysis with varimax rotation (SPSS 12.0). This statistical procedure allows a large number of related items to be grouped into similar conceptual categories. This procedure is similar to the thematic analysis used to derive the initial items for the survey. However, rather than being based on researcher judgments, the factors are derived mathematically from the level of correlation between the individual items in the data set. Only 25 items are shown in Table 16.1, as four items did not attain loadings in excess of 0.50 and one item loaded equally on more than one factor.

Value clusters

The first value cluster was named Development/Tourism because it was made up of value statements which referred to aspects of development and amenities associated with tourism (Table 16.1). In essence, it comprised those value statements which were classified as 'Economic' in the original thematic analysis.

The value statements classified as 'Natural' in the original thematic analysis split up into three distinct value clusters, namely: (i) Place attachment, which combined value statements on place belonging, aesthetics and culture; (ii) Nature amenity, which combined those statements referring to the relatively uncrowded and high natural amenity of the district; and (iii) Resource development, which combined value statements that referred to the human alteration of the landscape.

A fifth value cluster named Community comprised value statements about the Ohiwa community, including its perceived difference from the 'city', its 'cultural diversity' and supportiveness. The final value cluster combined value statements about the Recreational values of the Ohiwa District including the 'harbour', diversity of recreational opportunities and recreational harvesting of 'seafood'. One value statement, 'The native bush and the abundance of wildlife', loaded equally (0.510) on the Place attachment and Nature amenity, attesting to the contribution made by the 'bush' and 'wildlife' to both the natural amenity and sense of place for people in the area.

Table 16.1. Factor analysis value importance.

	Development/ Tourism	Place attachment	Nature amenity	Community	Recreation	Resource development
Development	0.867					
Tourism	0.845					
Capital gains	0.780					
More people attracted	0.731					
Sophisticated society	0.591					
Amenities at the wharf	0.585					
Being where I belong		0.764				
Spiritual connection		0.748				
Timelessness		0.683				
Maori history		0.639				
Sounds of nature		0.609				
Natural variety		0.496				
Huge, unimpacted coastline			0.725			
Low population			0.579			
Combination of harbour/sea/bush			0.578			
National Park/Ohiwa harbour			0.548			
Community/city different				0.753		
Community caring/sharing				0.751		
Diverse range of cultures				0.721		
Harbour place of relaxation/recreation					0.686	
Diversity of recreation					0.667	
People use/enjoy harbour					0.593	
Catch seafood					0.491	
Mix of forestry and farmland						0.698
Non-native species						0.623
Percentage explained	21.3	16.72	7.07	4.79	4.71	4.03
Eigenvalues	5.75	4.51	1.91	1.29	1.27	1.09
Mean Score	3.09	3.96	4.19	3.79	4.25	3.00

Sample characteristics

There were more male respondents (56.5%) than female in the study sample. The average age of respondents was 45–55 and on average they had lived in the Ohope unit for about 18 years. Half of the respondents lived in Port Ohope, another third (31.3%) on the shores of Ohiwa Bay – but not in the township of Port Ohope, and the remainder (18%) resided in the catchment (Fig. 16.2). Most of the respondents had college/university education (53.6%) and 11 per cent identified themselves as Maori or mixed Maori–pakeha. Approximately a quarter (26%) of the sample were non-resident property owners and would therefore fall into the category of

seasonal home-owners. About the same proportion (25.8%) of over-65-year-olds or nominally retired individuals responded to the survey.

In comparison to the Ohope Community Profile (Statistics New Zealand, 2001a), the sample is over-represented by males (48.9%), under-represented by Maori (13.6%) but similar in educational qualifications (majority post-school qualifications) and age distribution.

Values of Residents, Seasonal-home Owners and New Migrants

The importance of value ratings was explored for: (i) residents and seasonal-home owners; and (ii) new migrants (last 10 years) and longer-term residents (1971–1990 and before 1970).

Residents and seasonal-home owners

For the purposes of this discussion, people who responded to the survey were divided into two groups. One group consisted of people who owned seasonal homes in the district (seasonal-home owners) and typically occupied these homes during the summer, on holidays and at weekends (*n*, 103). The other was comprised of those who indicated that their place of permanent residence was in the Ohope district (*n*, 270). These two groups did not differ significantly in their age distribution, gender and education characteristics or place of residence within the area.

Overall, the relative importance of the various values (Table 16.2) indicated that seasonal-home owners differed little from residents in regard to the majority of value positions. Both rated the importance of nature (Nature amenity and Place attachment) and Recreation and Resource development values as important to very important. Mean scores of importance for the value variables indicated that seasonal-home owners rated both Development/Tourism and Community lower than residents.

Bivariate Correlation Analysis (SPSS 12.0) for the various value importance ratings confirmed that significant differences existed between residents and seasonal-home owners in relation to the importance they

Table 16.2. Resident and seasonal-home owners mean importance ratings of values (*n*, 373).

Value category	Residents (Mean scores)	Seasonal-home owners (Mean scores)	Significance
Development/Tourism	3.37	3.12	0.047[a]
Place attachment	4.00	3.97	0.586
Nature amenity	4.20	4.24	0.562
Community	3.87	3.57	0.020[a]
Recreation	4.38	4.37	0.939
Resource development	3.00	3.14	0.194

[a] Significant difference ($P < 0.05$).

ascribed to Development/Tourism and Community (Table 16.3). Partial correlation analysis controlling for the effects of education and length of residence measurably improved the correlations, indicating that the observed differences are independent of differences in education or length of residence in Ohope.

Overall, although residents and seasonal-home owners differ little in demographic and value ratings, there are significant differences between the two groups in attitudes towards tourism development and valuing of community attributes that are directly attributable to residence status.

New migrants and longer-term residents

A key factor likely to influence the values attached to a particular locality is the longevity of residence in the area. Respondents were divided into three cohorts on the basis of the length of time they had lived in Ohope: those that had lived for 10 years or less in the area (the period of the last two censuses), the 'new voices' of Fortmann and Kusel (1990); and two groups of longer-term residents (i.e. 11–30 years and 30+ years). Approximately half (49.6%) of the current permanent residents had lived in Ohope for between 11 and 30 years, just over one-third had come in the previous 10 years and only 16 per cent had been there for more than 30 years (Table 16.4). By contrast, there are two distinct groups of seasonal-home owners:

Table 16.3. Correlation coefficients for residence status[a] with value importance ratings.

Value category	Bivariate			Partial[b]		
	Correlation	*n*	Significance	Correlation	*n*	Significance
Development/Tourism	–0.103	373	0.047[c]	–0.121	329	0.028[c]
Place attachment	–0.002	373	0.966	–0.015	329	0.780
Nature amenity	–0.045	373	0.385	0.056	329	0.309
Community	–0.122	373	0.019[c]	–0.148	329	0.007[d]
Recreation	–0.021	373	0.680	–0.030	329	0.591
Resource development	0.087	373	0.094	0.063	329	0.255

[a] Length of residence for permanent residents and length of seasonal-home ownership for seasonal residents.
[b] Controlling for 'education' and 'length of residence'.
[c] Significant, $P < 0.05$.
[d] Significant, $P < 0.01$.

Table 16.4. Resident and seasonal-home owners by length of residence (*n*, 373).

	Length of residence in Ohope		
	≤ 10 years	11–30 years	> 30 years
Resident (%)	34.4	49.6	16.0
Seasonal-home owner (%)	33.3	26.3	40.4

Chi-square, 27.7; $P < 0.001$.

the majority (40.4%), which had been in the area for upwards of 30 years, and a more recent cohort (33.3%), who had arrived in the 1990s. Only about one-quarter of the seasonal-home owners first arrived in the 1970s and 1980s.

These data suggest that a significant number of seasonal residents are long-standing owners who first came to the area during the boom period in bach construction in the 1950s and 1960s, who may even have constructed the original dwelling and who currently live in those older-style vernacular baches which still dominate the Ohope region.

Comparisons in education levels between the different residence cohorts for permanent residents indicated that there are progressively more tertiary qualified and fewer High School/Trade-qualified persons with length of residence in the more recent cohorts (Table 16.5). This marked reversal in education status with length of residence, combined with above average number of 'professionals' in the current workforce (Statistics New Zealand, 2001a), the recent rapid rise in resident population (21.5%) and the observation that 80 per cent of the resident population had arrived in the previous 30 years may reflect the relative reduction in resource extraction industry importance over this period and the increased dominance of the 'green migration' phenomenon (Johnson, 2002; Jones *et al.*, 2003). Continuing this line of reasoning, it appears that these trade-qualified, long-term residents (30+ years ago) may be remnants of the original resource-based migration phase that have stayed on and eventually retired in Ohope. No such variation is evident in the seasonal-home owners who consistently demonstrate upwards of 60 per cent tertiary educated individuals, perhaps suggestive of the relative affluence that has been consistently necessary for entry into the seasonal-home market, combined with difficulty of access in the early years.

Overall, examination of the mean scores for value importance for those who nominated Ohope as their permanent residence demonstrated no consistent or significant variation with length of residence in the importance ratings for Place attachment and Recreation (Table 16.6). A consistent increase in the importance rating for Development/Tourism with length of residence is evident, however, but it does not attain the designated level of significance.

The bivariate correlation of importance rating by length of residence confirmed significant and consistent differences between the residence cohorts in the importance ratings for Nature amenity, Community and

Table 16.5. Education level by length of residence (*n*, 256).

	Length of residence in Ohope		
	≤ 10 years	11–30 years	> 30 years
High school/trade (%)	37.3	50.4	64.9
Tertiary educated (%)	62.7	49.6	35.1

Chi-square, 8.27; $P < 0.02$.

Table 16.6. Mean rating of value importance by length of residence (*n*, 256).

Value category	Length of residence in Ohope		
	≤ 10 years	11–30 years	> 30 years
Development/Tourism	3.27[b]	3.47	3.51
Place attachment	3.96	4.03	3.98
Nature amenity[a]	4.31	4.22	4.12
Community[a]	3.68	3.95	4.07
Recreation	4.42	4.44	4.34
Resource development[a]	2.85	2.98	3.30

[a] Significant at $P < 0.05$.
[b] Mean Importance Rating.

Resource development (Table 16.7). Examination of the mean scores indicates that residents for '10 years or less' are higher on Nature amenity and lower on Community and Resource development than both the '11–30 years' or '30+ years' cohorts. Partial correlation controlling for 'education' (Table 16.6) suggests that the apparent group differences for Nature amenity and Development/Tourism are largely due to the higher education status of the more recent arrivals (College/University-educated, as distinct from Trade/High school). The same cannot be said for Resource development or Community, which remain significant. These data suggest that both new migrants and longer-term residents rate the importance of the majority of values similarly. However, it is also evident that there is a progressive and significant increase in the importance rating among residents of Resource development landscape modification and the sense of community, with length of residence in Ohope.

Although similar to longer-term residents in many ways, new migrants were, as a group, more highly educated, viewed evidence of alteration of the landscape through forestry and agriculture less favourably and indicated a lower preference for community attributes.

Table 16.7. Correlation coefficients for residence cohorts with value importance ratings.

Value category	Bivariate			Partial[a]		
	Correlation	*n*	Significance	Correlation	*n*	Significance
Development/Tourism	0.116	256	0.065	0.057	236	0.382
Place attachment	0.026	256	0.677	0.075	236	0.247
Nature amenity	–0.140	256	0.025[b]	–0.124	236	0.057
Community	0.209	256	0.001[c]	0.206	236	0.001[c]
Recreation	–0.045	256	0.476	–0.043	236	0.511
Resource development	0.157	256	0.012[b]	0.158	236	0.015[b]

[a] Controlling for 'education'.
[b] Significant, $P < 0.05$.
[c] Significant, $P < 0.01$.

Changing Places

New Zealand, like many other developed nations, has experienced an urban to rural migration, particularly to areas on or near coastlines. Earlier, similar migrations were mainly resource driven as workers moved to rural areas to work in mining, forestry or agriculture. The more recent migrants are of quite a different type, being comprised largely of service and professional people. Some, indeed, seek employment in new industries such as tourism but the majority are drawn by amenity / quality of life considerations or a combination of the two (Hall and Williams, 2002). This migration is not uniform across the demographic spectrum. Census data indicate that there is a net out-migration of younger people seeking employment, education or a livelier lifestyle in the urban areas and that new in-migrants are mostly mid-life families or retirees, both categories relatively affluent, well-educated professionals (Statistics New Zealand, 2000).

Ohope is fairly typical of these new-growth rural coastal communities that are a focus for the new migrants. Pleasantly situated on the east coast of the North Island, it provides an equable climate, access to long, sandy beaches and sheltered bays and a variety of rural landscapes, a broad range of recreational activities, good services and relatively easy access to major urban centres. The current demographic characteristics of the resident population indicate that the population of Ohope are better educated, more affluent, with higher access to communication technology and include more retired persons than the average for New Zealand. This profile is fairly typical of new-growth rural areas in, for example, the USA (Levitt and Pitkin, 2002). The end result of this migration is the creation of a mix of residents comprising long-term residents who arrived in the area during the resource boom – or who acquired seasonal homes early, and later cohorts of residents and seasonal-home owners, many of whom are better educated and more affluent than those who have been in the area longer.

Although Ohope has shown continuous growth in population over the last 10 years, census data suggest that in the last 5 years this growth has mainly been in the seasonal-home sector. This characteristic is shared by other coastal towns, perhaps indicating a significant shift from resident to seasonal-home development in the late 1990s. Deconcentration of population such as rural in-migration is likely to be particularly sensitive to 'temporal and cyclical factors, such as the economy' (Johnson, 2002, p. 79).

Over the last 15–20 years New Zealand has experienced a particularly turbulent social and economic climate, initiated by the internationalization of the economy in the 1980s and early 1990s (Kelsey, 1999). This was followed in the late 1990s by increased instability marked by higher inflation, less job security, bull markets and falling standards of living (Hazledine, 1998). Among those with financial assets, this economic environment may have created a tendency to capitalize on the urban primary home and to shelter financial resources in speculative property in the form of seasonal homes in amenity-rich natural areas such as the coastline.

The results of this study indicate that a complex mix of long-term residents, more recent migrants and seasonal-home owners of both these cohorts inhabit the amenity-rich coastal environment of Ohope. Data collected in this study also indicate that there was considerable common ground in the relative importance of value positions between seasonal-home owners and residents who had lived in the area for different lengths of time, especially with regard to nature and recreation-based values. This latter result provides support for previous research (Blahna, 1990; Jones *et al.*, 2003) that showed generally high levels of commonality in demographics and environmental values among new migrants and long-term residents in rural areas. However, despite this common ground, key differences were evident among the different groups in attitudes towards tourism and resource development, and in the importance rating of community values.

Although sharing most environmental values in common with seasonal and long-term residents, new migrants differ from the latter in their significantly lower rating of the values of the 'managed' landscape. This is similar to the findings of US studies where new residents were generally less supportive than longer-term residents of resource development (Rudzitis and Johansen, 1989; Blahna, 1990; Shands, 1991).

In the case of the lower valuation of Development/Tourism by seasonal-home owners, similar findings have been noted in new migrants to rural areas (Voss, 1980; Blahna, 1990; Lowe *et al.*, 1993). Jones *et al.* (2003) have argued that: ' … [green migrants] … have unrealistic expectations about what their new environment and life should be like, and their unfulfilled dreams can quickly turn into nightmares that can impact their own quality of life and the lives of other rural residents' (p. 222).

This 'unrealistic' view can lead to opposition to developments that are perceived as contradicting mythical notions of 'rurality', whether these are associated with resource exploitation or with newer service industries such as tourism (Williams and Hall, 2000). The ironic aspect of this current phase of migration is the observation that many of the new seasonal homes are little different from suburban dwellings, with all the comforts, media and communication links of home, a far cry from the original concept of the New Zealand bach. A principal motivation underlying the 'rural rebound' phenomenon – including the purchase of second homes – is the desire to 'escape' the stresses of urban living (Kaltenborn, 1998). However, this increased popularity and growth in these coastal communities will result almost inevitably in their being little difference from the urban areas from which the migrants are seeking to escape in terms of crowding, noise and amenities.

That the importance rating for Community values is higher for residents overall than for seasonal-home owners should not surprising, given the seasonal nature of the residence and the high emphasis on amenity and recreation of the latter. What perhaps is unexpected is that this lower importance rating does not vary with length of residence in Ohope. This observation contrasts with permanent residents whom, the data

suggest, develop a higher valuation for community attributes with time. There is some support for this finding in Halseth (1993), who noted that long-term second-home owners who had become permanent residents did not integrate well with the broader community in terms of friendship relationships. Whether this relative separation results in the creation of seasonal-home owners, 'friendship groups' – as in Halseth's (1993) 'convertors' or McHugh's (this volume, Chapter, 17) 'Sun Citians' – was not explored in this particular study.

In essence, the data suggest that seasonal-home owners – in terms of education level and value orientations – are more similar to 'new migrants' than to longer-term residents. It also seems that seasonal-home owners, like new migrants, tend to be less involved in the local community, except perhaps when proposed developments threaten valued aspects of the region, when there is the potential to create alliances with local opposition groups (Blahna, 1990; Fortmann and Kusel, 1990; Jones *et al*., 2003).

Conclusions

This study has focused on elucidating the diversity of value positions in a coastal community in New Zealand that is growing rapidly as a result of in-migration. An approach involving both interpretive and survey methods was considered important in revealing the diversity and assessing the relative importance of value positions within the community. A key finding was that, while value positions among new migrants, seasonal-home owners and longer-term residents were broadly similar, attitudes to tourism and resource development in particular varied across the groups. These value differences have been and are likely to continue to be a source of conflict in this and other similar communities. Seasonal-home owners, independent of the length of time that they had lived in Ohope, were more similar in their demographics and values to the 'new migrants' than to longer-term residents. Few studies have viewed seasonal-home owners as a different segment of the rural migration phenomenon. However, the evidence in this paper suggests that they may be an increasing proportion of these migrants and that, in common with the new 'green migrants', they have the potential to be a growing political force for change in rural communities.

17 Citadels in the Sun

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Introduction

In prophesizing in 1630, 'We shall be as a City upon a Hill', the Puritan John Winthrop sounded the keystone of American history. America was to be defined neither by book nor by theory but, rather, by community itself, how we live (Boorstin, 1958). Nearly four centuries have passed since the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and community remains at the centre of the American utopian impulse. Myriad forms of community living have marked American history, accelerated during periods of social change and upheaval, such as the great flourishing of religious and secular utopian communities during the mid-19th century (Berry, 1992; Pitzer, 1997).

Fitzgerald (1986) refers to this historical tradition in her scrutiny of contemporary American culture through the emergence of four novel communities in the latter part of the 20th century: (i) the gay Castro district of San Francisco; (ii) Jerry Falwell's Liberty Baptist Church, College and Ministries of Lynchburg, Virginia; (iii) the short-lived Rajneeshpuram in Eastern Oregon; and (iv) Sun City Center Florida, a retirement enclave located south of Tampa. That Fitzgerald includes a typical Florida retirement community in the mix is illuminating. Populated by Anglo, middle-class seniors one might regard retirement havens as mainstream; yet, we are the first society in history to promote and legally sanction the residential separation of elders into so-called 'active adult' communities. Blossoming initially in selected Sunbelt locales, retirement communities are now proliferating across America (Reagor, 2000). What might appear to be simply another lifestyle choice – congregations of seniors pursuing leisure en masse – is nothing short of a grand social experiment in community.

Over the past 15 years I have been exploring the meaning and social significance of elderly migration and retirement communities via case studies in Phoenix, Arizona, birthplace of 'active adult' living in Del Webb's

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Sun City, and now one of the most popular destinations for empty nesters and retirees in America (Longino, 1995, 2003). This chapter traces the social and political implications of amassing large numbers of amenity migrants in age-segregated communities, drawing on my studies as well as the work of others, including a series of in-depth interviews with residents of Sun City, Arizona, conducted by Elizabeth Larson (1995) as part of a project sponsored by the Arizona Humanities Council entitled 'Voices from Communities in Transition'.[1] I begin by placing this research in the context of geographical mobility and second homes. The main body of the chapter elaborates retirement communities as idyllic islands situated in the metropolitan sea, accentuating underpinnings and implications of this social separation. I conclude with thoughts about amenity-driven mobilities and communities as liminal spaces.

Retirement Communities as 'Second' Homes

In *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?*, Coppock (1977, p. 2) comments that the study of second homes is a 'field in which definition is difficult and facts scarce'. Twenty-nine years hence Coppock's assessment rings true. Definitions invariably simplify complex notions of residence and home and variegated patterns in human mobility that characterize our age. Here I do not limit second homes to residences held for occasional use, a standard definition that presupposes two or more residences and recurrent movement between them (Coppock, 1977; Roseman, 1985, 1998). In its stead, I advance the argument that retirement homes in Phoenix – whether inhabited part- or full-time – can be regarded as 'secondary' in that the vast majority of seniors have lived elsewhere most of their lives. This form of amenity migration has profound implications for place identity, sense of community and attendant social and political issues.

As a point of clarification, this chapter focuses on master-planned, leisure-based retirement communities of Sun City ilk, not gaggles of snowbirds who congregate in mobile home parks and recreational vehicle (RV) resorts, on public lands and, less conspicuously, in apartments, condominia, townhouses and single-family homes in the Valley of the Sun, the popular moniker for the Phoenix metropolis (McHugh and Mings, 1991; Hogan *et al.*, 2003).[2] I focus primarily on amenity migrants in planned retirement communities because they constitute a formidable voting bloc in Phoenix and exert significant political power whereas snowbirds, by and large, are not registered to vote in Arizona and, thus, represent a less potent social and political force.

Retirement communities tend to be located near the periphery of the Phoenix metropolis, as developers promote idyllic havens removed from city crime, congestion and other real and imagined urban ills, yet with ready access to urban amenities (Fig. 17.1). The most notable concentrations of retirement communities are in the Northwest Valley portion of the Phoenix metropolis and in the eastern suburban communities of Mesa and

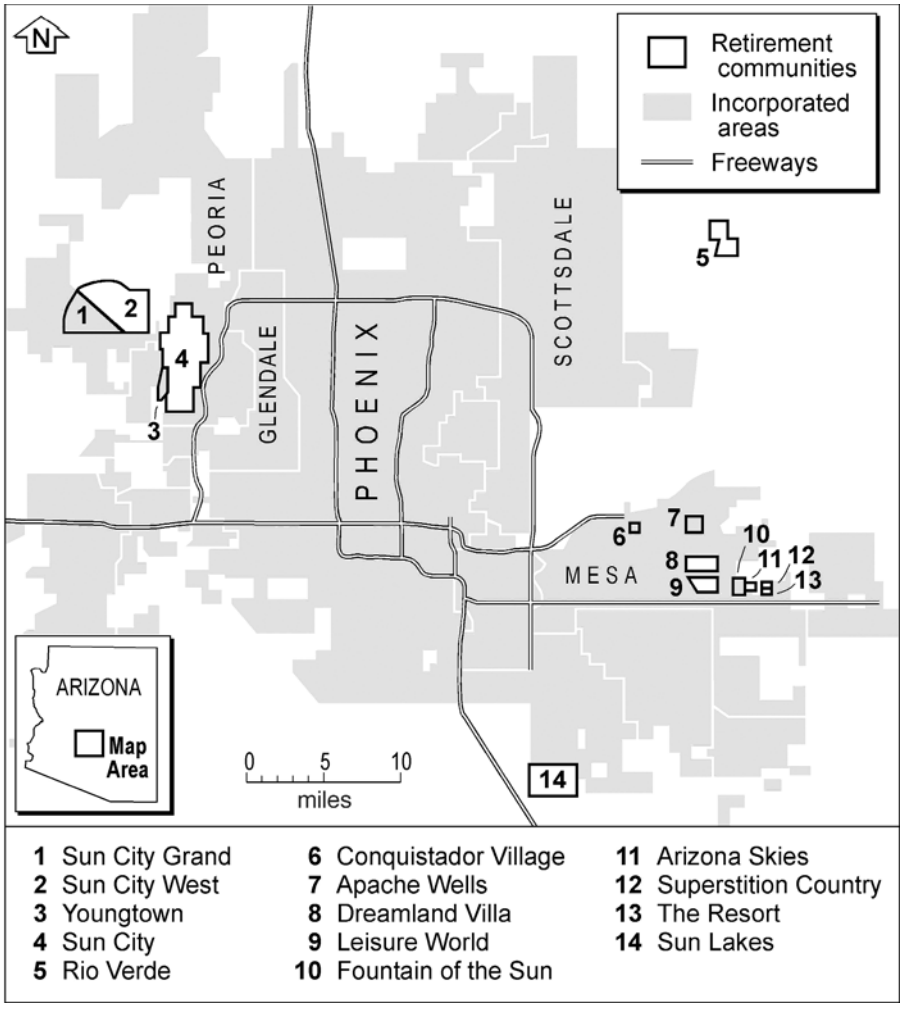

Fig. 17.1. Major retirement communities in the Phoenix Metropolitan Area, 2003.

Apache Junction. The Sun City trio located in the Northwest Valley – Sun City (38,000), Sun City West (26,000) and Sun City Grand (11,000 and growing) – are critical because these communities constitute very large blocs of organized, like-minded voters who wield considerable political power. Retirement communities developed originally on the outskirts of Phoenix are now being fully enveloped in suburban sprawl. As we will see below, this has serious repercussions in terms of engendering community conflicts.

Figure 17.1 shows the location of 14 retirement communities, but there are dozens and dozens of smaller retirement villages in Phoenix. Also, there are many master-planned communities in the Valley of the Sun that are not legally age-restricted yet cater primarily to empty nesters and retirees, thus,

serving as de facto retirement settings; the community of Terravita is a quintessential example of the latter. Located on the northern periphery of Phoenix, near chic North Scottsdale and the quaint town of Carefree, Terravita is an upscale master-planned, gated community of 1380 handsome homes, golf club and abundant amenities, offering residents one variant of the so-called Upper Sonoran Lifestyle (Romig, 2004). It is not age-restricted, yet three-quarters of Terravita residents are 50 years of age and older, with half in the 50–65 age range. Forty percent of Terravita homeowners are snowbirds who flee the scorching summer heat of Phoenix (Scott, 2003, personal communication). Overall, then, there is a variegated landscape in age concentration in Phoenix that is only partially revealed in large, conspicuous retirement communities such as the trio of Sun Cities, Sun Lakes and Leisure World.

Phoenix is a land of migrants. The 2000 census revealed that two-thirds of the Phoenix metropolitan population were born outside Arizona (US Bureau of the Census, undated). This pales in comparison with retirement enclaves where nearly all residents are imports from elsewhere, as exemplified by place of birth information for the three large-scale retirement centres of Sun City, Sun City West and Sun Lakes (Table 17.1). A miniscule one or two per cent of retirees in these communities are Arizona natives, as nearly all moved to Phoenix at or near the age of retirement. An especially large contingent of retirees hale from the Midwest, reflecting not only colder climes but also long-standing ties between Arizona and mid-America, reinforced by the Del Webb Corporation and other developers who, in earlier times, targeted the Midwest in their marketing and promotional efforts (Sturgeon, 1992).

It is common for people to establish ties to Phoenix through repeated visits, ranging from short-term vacations to longer stays in second homes. Some who relocate to Arizona maintain ties back in their 'home' state via cyclical mobility. Sullivan (1985), for example, discovered that 48 per cent of Sun Citians spent at least one month away from Sun City annually, with 21 per cent departing for three months or more each year, typically the hot summer months. Though Sullivan did not ascertain destinations of Sun

Table 17.1. Place of birth of residents in three Phoenix retirement communities, 2000 (from US Bureau of the Census, 2000).

	Sun City *n* (%)	Sun City West *n* (%)	Sun Lakes *n* (%)
All residents	38,155 (100.0)	26,264 (100.0)	11,946 (100.0)
Born in Arizona	927 (2.4)	186 (0.7)	179 (1.5)
Born outside Arizona	37,228 (97.6)	26,078 (99.3)	11,767 (98.5)
North-east	6,335 (16.7)	5,224 (20.0)	2,188 (18.3)
Midwest	22,242 (58.3)	14,433 (55.0)	5,711 (47.8)
South	3,367 (8.8)	2,194 (8.3)	1,289 (10.8)
West	3,319 (8.7)	2,679 (10.2)	1,769 (14.8)
Abroad	1,945 (5.1)	1,528 (5.8)	810 (6.8)

Citians it is highly likely that much of this recurrent out-movement is back to home states. Sullivan's study, as well as evidence from communities such as Terravita, illustrate that there are not neat and tidy distinctions between migrants, snowbirds and sunbirds, as even ostensibly year-round communities have substantial numbers of retirees coming and going.

Further evidence of substantial senior mobility is provided by a systematic study conducted by McHugh *et al.* (1995). Results from their statewide household telephone survey conducted over a 13-month period revealed that about one-fourth of *all* senior inhabitants of Arizona (60+ years of age) were engaged in one of three forms of recurrent mobility: cyclical in-movement (snowbird), cyclical out-movement (sunbird) or circulation between dual residences within Arizona. The latter phenomenon is dominated by urbanites in Phoenix and Tucson who maintain homes and cabins in the cooler, forested, mountainous belts of central and south-eastern Arizona, or along the Colorado River. That there is substantial peregrination among older folks is unquestionable, though Arizona has no ongoing, comprehensive system for tracking and enumerating such comings and goings.

Birds of a Feather …

One cannot spend time in Phoenix retirement communities without being struck by the apparent homogeneity of seniors pursuing lives of active leisure. This style of living has been embraced, in large measure, by middle- to upper-middle-class Anglo couples, and demographic statistics back this up. Less than two per cent of residents in Sun City, Sun City West and Sun Lakes are non-white, and less than one per cent are Hispanic, in comparison with the Phoenix metropolitan area overall which is one-quarter Latino (Table 17.2). Per capita income figures, home ownership rates and home values are indicative of middle-class standing.

One of the most attractive features of this lifestyle is the co-mingling with others of similar outlook. In writing about Sun City Center – located near Tampa, Florida, Fitzgerald (1986, p. 217) observed that 'Sun Citians have so much in common in the realm of appearance that age seems the least of it'. Fitzgerald goes on to describe uniformity in the dress and appearance of men and women in Sun City Center – according to social function – and the narrow band of American society they represent in terms of occupations, religion, race, political party affiliation and membership of fraternal organizations. This narrow banding has been subject to criticism. Laws (1995), for example, labels the Sun Cities' 'imagineered' landscapes of consumption, marked by compulsively tidy lawns and populated by tanned golfers who audaciously separate themselves from other generations. For Laws, Sun City is a 'plasticized' place, a dreary world devoid of youth and spontaneity, an excessively planned and immaculate community where inhabitants are 'free to follow the rules' (Laws, 1995).

I argue that we should not restrict critique to seniors themselves, for the

Table 17.2. Selected demographic and housing characteristics: three retirement communities and the Phoenix Metropolitan Area overall, 2000 (from US Bureau of the Census, 2000).

	Sun City	Sun City West	Sun Lakes	Phoenix Metro. Area
Race (%)				
White	98.1	98.5	98.1	76.9
African American	0.7	0.5	0.8	3.6
American Indian	0.1	0.1	0.2	2.1
Asian and Pacific Islander	0.4	0.3	0.4	2.3
Other race	0.1	0.1	0.3	12.1
Two or more races	0.6	0.5	0.2	3.1
Hispanic or Latino (%)				
No	99.3	99.6	99.2	74.9
Yes	0.7	0.4	0.8	25.1
Income (1999)				
Median household ($)	32,508	43,347	43,634	44,752
Per capita ($)	25,935	32,049	33,394	21,907
Below poverty line (%)	4.6	1.8	2.8	12.0
Housing				
Owner-occupied (%)	88.9	95.4	96.0	68.0
Median value ($)	92,300	141,900	144,200	119,600
Without a mortgage (%)	66.9	71.3	53.5	20.8

flocking of elders to retirement settings speaks to, and derives from, deeply ingrained ageism in our society and culture (McHugh, 2003). Active adult communities arose as antidote to pervasive negative stereotypes of older age as a period of decline in physical and social competencies. Given the depth of ageist thought and practice in America, is it any wonder that elders should escape to retirement enclaves where everyone is old so nobody is old? Age-segregated preserves have been codified by law and upheld in the courts under the argument that they meet special needs of the elderly population. On a deeper level, their very creation and popularity bears witness to a powerful social compact: the mutual separation of generations. Ironically, in parading age-segregated living retirement communities perpetuate ageism and reverse ageism in America (Laws, 1993; McHugh, 2000a).

It is not surprising that seniors in retirement communities express sensitivities to issues of age and ageism. This is evident, for example, in the interviews of Sun City residents conducted by Elizabeth Larson (1995) for the Arizona project 'Voices from Communities in Transition'. The following statements by Sun Citians are typical:

> I celebrate Sun City. It's a great community. … In most cities, the elderly are not accepted as full card-carrying citizens. They're looked down upon or they're shuffled aside. They have gifts, you know.

> An awful lot of people are here [Sun City] because they got turned off in their former communities. … I mean, it was as though people were being pushed away because now they were retired, and the assumption was they had nothing

> to contribute. … We really need communities like this to prove to the average communities what older adults, retired – whatever you want to call them – can do for a community which they're not being permitted now.

The following woman explains away criticism of Sun City as envy or youthful ignorance, as she accentuates the importance of being with one's own kind. And note the subtle instance of ageism as she amends her statement by substituting the dreaded 'O' word with the more palatable descriptor, 'not young':

> And, you know, there are many people who criticize Sun City. … I think it's part envy and part is the fact they can't envision living without children and schools and all of those things. But when you get old enough to retire, then you begin to see how good that kind of life will be. You're among your kind. Everybody is old. Everybody is not young, let's say.

Interacting with others who have similar life experiences is often cited as a benefit of retirement communities, including momentous events for members of the 'Greatest Generation' (Brokaw, 1998). One Sun City gentleman, for example, relates a story to Larson that speaks to collective identity defined by age:

> For this generation of people, the two most important things in our lives were the Depression and the Second World War. You can't function here without knowing those are the two most important things. One of our associate pastors has always been a woman, and the youngest one came six or seven years ago straight out of the seminary. She bought a Honda [auto]. And I jokingly said to her: 'Don't ever drop by to see a guy [who had been] in the Bataan Death March in that car.' And her response to me was: 'What's the Bataan Death March?' That's a symbol of very poor public education these days. Anybody in my age [cohort] cannot imagine not knowing what that was.

In addition to age sensitivity, ethnicity enters the story in this 'joking' expression of lingering anti-Japanese sentiments. A strong sense of collective identity or 'we-ness' at times breeds stereotypical and negative attitudes toward those outside the flock, those who are different. Echoes of racism can be heard in retirement communities. Kastenbaum (1993) explores strains of racism in the context of heated controversy surrounding establishment of a Martin Luther King, Jr Holiday in Arizona, to honour the well-known leader of the civil rights movement. The events swirling around the MLK Holiday maelstrom were convoluted, drawn out and highly politicized. In one of the critical ballot elections in 1990 two separate propositions for a MLK Holiday (301 and 302) were shot down at the polls, with Proposition 302 – the more popular – losing by a mere 17,000 votes among more than one million votes cast statewide. Senior citizens in Phoenix retirement communities were instrumental in the defeat of 302, as they voted overwhelmingly against the measure, by margins ranging from 2 to 1 to 4 to 1.

Most germane to the present discussion, Kastenbaum scoured letters to the editors in local newspapers (including Sun City), television news coverage, radio talk shows and opinion polls in providing a reading of

elderly reaction to the MLK referendum. He argued that the senior response does not display raw racism of the proactive strain, meaning aggressive attempts to humiliate or do harm to others of different ethnic or racial background. Rather, traces of racism are embedded in expressions of pragmatic self-interest, such as 'I have nothing against civil rights but I have worked hard and I object to another paid state holiday' and 'I give some of them credit for what they have accomplished, but nobody's given me a good reason for why I keep paying the bills for all of them on welfare' (Kastenbaum, 1993, p. 166). Kastenbaum argues that racist views of this ilk are commonly accepted and 'naturalized' in various segments of society, including sectors of seniors from middle America who congregate in Arizona retirement communities, folks who have had little or no contact with African Americans in everyday life.

Idyllic Havens

That 'active adult' communities are idyllic havens is repeated *ad infinitum* among seniors, sounding like a mantra. This view emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in concert with the promotion of 'active retirement' as a period of delayed gratification. Retirees who flocked to Sunbelt retirement communities thought themselves to be pioneers forging a new way of life, disproving stereotypes of older age as decline and decrepitude. Delbert Eugene Webb, the single greatest force in promoting this movement, was heralded as a legend in his own time (Freeman and Sanberg 1984). A 1961 full-page magazine advertisement promoting Sun City reads: 'Active retirement is a proven success in Del Webb's Sun City … reserved *exclusively* for America's Modern Retirees. … Together, we can realize a Way-of-Life unprecedented in America' (Fig. 17.2). Though a corporate empire, Sun Citians actually believed that Del Webb, the man, would personally care for them, testimony to the genius of the Del Webb marketing machine (Sturgeon, 1992).

The invention and popularization of retirement as a stage in life is a striking social phenomenon made possible by rising prosperity in America and concomitant expansion in social security benefits and private pensions (Freedman, 1999). The conspicuous drop in the elderly poverty rate is indicative of the improved economic position of senior citizens. In 1959, 35.2 per cent of the elderly population lived in poverty; by 1974, the poverty rate had dropped to 14.6 per cent and by 2000 to 9.9 per cent, lower than the 12.4 per cent overall poverty rate for the nation (Sturgeon, 1992; US Bureau of the Census, undated). In short, a new consumer class was born, as retirement was identified and marketed as a desired commodity (Graebner, 1980).

Glowing views of retirement havens persist to the present day. Sun Citians interviewed by Larson (1995) extol the virtues of their community unabashedly. Consider three appraisals: 'People love the community. I have never been in a community where people are prouder. In fact, you hear

Fig. 17.2. Del Webb advertisement for the original Sun City, Arizona, 1961.

phrases like "halfway to heaven" and this is very nice.' 'And we definitely have pride in Sun City. … Well, it's the greatest place that's ever been put together anywhere in the United States.' 'I have some apprehension about dying, because to go to heaven won't be as good as this.'

My favourite endorsement of Sun City links meteorological conditions with miraculous healing powers:

> We also have a high number of people from Florida who either did not like the bugs or they could not take the barometric pressure changes. We have one guy who literally could not walk. He was so crippled and living in Florida. Came here to visit some friends. After three days he could walk. And after the week, he said: 'My golly, we got to buy a house here'.

This story speaks to healthy competition between Florida and Arizona for the hearts and pocket books of retirees, and calls to mind the long and storied history of pilgrimages for the purpose of restoring body and soul.

These hyperbolic assessments can be interpreted on three levels. First, the lifestyle truly appeals to many seniors and inculcates a sense of well-being in older age. Seniors cite a litany of positive attributes and outcomes associated with retirement living in Arizona: salubrious climate, active lifestyle, abundant amenities, safety and low crime rates, relatively low cost of living, civility and friendliness, formal and informal social support, and an immaculately maintained landscape. Like Larson, I heard these positive attributes described over and over again in studying retirement communities occupied by snowbirds (McHugh and Mings, 1991, 1996).

Secondly, we are listening to the voices of those who 'bought into' this lifestyle and stuck; ringing endorsements affirm the wisdom of the decision to relocate to Arizona, whether full- or part-time. Boosterism (strong promotion of a cause or theme) fosters pride in community and the maintenance of property values (Ross, 1999). Sun Citians express tremendous pride, symbolized by the largest volunteer group in the community, appropriately named *Sun City Prides*, is an acronym for Proud Residents Independently Donating Essential Services (http://www.visitsuncity.org). Working under the motto, Keep Sun City Beautiful, hundreds of men and women, clad in orange safety vests, go about the business of sweeping, raking and disposing of tons of debris that accumulate on streets, parkways and medians (central reservations). They water, feed and trim trees and shrubs, and maintain miles of watering system and drainage ditches. *Prides* volunteerism contributes to the betterment of the community while contributing to lower county taxes, a non-trivial fact in a staunchly anti-tax environment. Sun Citians universally applaud the *Prides* and revel in the clean, tidy condition of their community, at times appearing to be anal-obsessive, as expressed to Elizabeth Larson (1995):

> When you live in Sun City for a while and you are going along and you see a weed, you want to pull it out, or you see a piece of paper on the ground … and, you know. Even the birds fly upside down in Sun City so they don't mess anything up here. … You see, there are rules and regulations. … You know I am very picky now.

Thirdly, glowing accounts of retirement enclaves such as the Sun Cities can be painted on a larger canvas as refractions of American utopian light viewed through a modernist prism. These are middle- to upper-middle-class, socially conservative Americans, stalwart citizens, dedicated to making their slice of the planet, their community, an ordered and predictable place amidst accelerated change, instability and uncertainty. These are successful Americans who have worked hard all their lives, raised families, invested and saved, earning the right to 'escape' to sanctuaries that preserve their foundational values and virtues, their way of life. In this vein, Kastenbaum (1993) depicts the Sun Cities as museum-like preserves where elders are their own masterpieces. Establishing legal and symbolic barriers to residence – the hallmark of age-restricted enclaves – is an effort to protect space from the 'dissolving acid of postmodern time' (Kastenbaum, 1993, p. 181). That the Sun Cities are viewed as idyllic havens is defined as much by the wildlands beyond as paradise within.

Fortress Mentality

Community is a value-laden term, difficult to discipline and harness. Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 33) offer a useful organizing frame that highlights five elements: shared territory, shared values, shared public realm, shared support structures and shared destiny. Retirement enclaves are in many ways an exemplar of community, as each of these interrelated elements is present, though in varying degrees. Perhaps most conspicuous are the clearly demarcated community walls, a physical delimitation symbolic of age, class, ethnicity and lifestyle as social borders.

The power of this circumscription of shared territory is potent in the voices of seniors. Consider the racist overtones and defensive posture-cum-territorial imperative of this woman who relays to Larson (1995) what she believes is the overarching view of Sun Citians:

> Most Sun Citians accept other people for what they are … race, whatever difference. However, there is a feeling that you don't infringe on my territory. I am here and I am this person who is enjoying this community. Don't intrude. But I love everybody. It's okay if you're black or green or whatever, whatever you believe. And if you don't have enough money, I'll even try to help you. But not here.

One of the most fascinating interviews conducted by Elizabeth Larson was with a former editor of the Sun City newspaper, *The Daily News Sun*. Madeline[3] lived in Sun City for many years and was active in the community before stepping down as editor and moving away. In talking with Larson she displays a revealing insider/outsider perspective, including trenchant comments about place identity and meaning among Sun Citians. In one passage, Larson asks Madeline if folks from outside attend fairs, festivals and celebrations in Sun City. This stimulates the following response:

> Well, they're mostly Sun Citians … but there are events where people come in, sure. Although there is a certain kind of isolation in Sun City which is – well, I guess as a group they feel as though they're aligned against the outside, and those white walls, those white walls around the community mean a great deal to them. It keeps out crime and it keeps out people they don't want. It keeps out young people and it keeps out children and it keeps out all the things that were attendant on their lives when they lived in other places. And so there is a concerted feeling of splendid isolation.

Madeline speaks poignantly about retirement as 'escape' from earlier lives, imparting a rich sense of place and collective identity within the 'white walls' of Sun City. The revealing phrase 'splendid isolation' connotes security – warm feelings of community as 'sacred' space in a profane world.

Madeline also speaks about 'white walls' from a perspective of apprehension, fears that the sanctity of their community will be taken away owing to outside forces:

> … as I mentioned before there are these white walls that define Sun City in more ways than one. It keeps Sun Citians in. It keeps outsiders out. And the one fear, one great fear that many Sun Citians have is that those outside will intrude in one way or another by taking them over. For instance, there was a big worry that Peoria would add Sun City to its community [via incorporation], which will not ever happen. Or that somewhere on the perimeter, somebody might threaten to take them over. That's largely disappeared, but there remains the fear that outside influence will affect Sun City.

Such fears explain why many seniors are adamant that age restrictions must be strictly enforced, even in hardship cases when residents apply for a variance. It is feared that granting exceptions to the rule and allowing young persons to live in Sun City – as in the case of a grandchild helping care for an elder – will lead down a slippery slope to the dilution and eventual elimination of age restrictions altogether. Consider the paranoia of this Sun City woman (reported in Kastenbaum, 1993, p. 67):

> We came out here for the weather but not just for the weather. We needed a little sanity, too. [Did you find it?] Up to a point. But our days might be numbered, from what we keep hearing about. [What do you mean?] Oh my. Don't you read the newspapers? They want to open the doors for just anybody to live here. Anybody and everybody. First, it will be young families with children. Then, anybody and everybody.

There is little factual basis for such fears, as age variances are rarely granted and court rulings have repeatedly upheld the legality of age-restricted settings under a special needs argument (Pollack, 1991; Edmonds and Merriam, 1995). Moreover, their favoured legal status is wrapped up in the endorsement and promotion of retirement communities as engines of the train of economic development in Arizona (Vest, 1999; McHugh, 2000a).

The fortress mentality that is palpable in retirement havens encapsulates a dualism: a 'retiring' posture of seniors seeking refuge in communities rich in collective identity and meaning, and an aggressive posture invoked in response to real and perceived threats. Like all

fortresses, retirement communities must be defended against those who threaten the values and virtues within the citadel. The aggressive posture of seniors is most evident in the history of social and political conflict with surrounding communities over school taxes and the control of local school boards.[4] Retirees in Sun City and Sun City West, in particular, have been successful in thwarting school bond and budget elections, gaining seats on local school boards and manoeuvring to de-annex themselves from financially strapped school districts in order to avoid paying school taxes. Seniors display extraordinary levels of leadership, organization, political acumen and voting efficacy in these efforts, often overwhelming surrounding working-class and Latino communities marked by a sense of powerlessness and voter apathy (see McHugh *et al*., 2002, for an account and interpretation of these conflicts).[5] This history of conflict in the Sun Cities relates to larger, thorny questions about social fragmentation in metropolitan America, the nature and scale of community identity, political representation and power, and fostering the public good in the face of what Robert Reich has termed 'secession of the successful' from the larger polity (Reich, 1991; Bell, 1998).

Liminal Spaces

Many seniors in retirement communities visited Arizona as tourists over a period of years before relocating. Some continue to circulate to and from Phoenix as snowbirds or sunbirds while others settle more permanently. Still others, probably a minority, discovered Arizona and migrated to amenity communities as pre-retirees or retirees with little or no previous experience of the state. While experiences and degree of attachment in Arizona undoubtedly vary, the vast majority of seniors have lived elsewhere most of their lives. I argue that this form of 'second' residence has profound implications in terms of place perceptions, social interactions and community identity. Sense of place among folks in retirement enclaves is underscored by two elements: an emphasis on active leisure pursued in amenity-rich environments and an insular quality accentuating collective identity, belonging and meaning. Perhaps in general terms, retirement havens reflect the American utopian impulse to escape and create idyllic communities of like-minded souls. This engenders social separation and mutual mistrust between those inside and outside community walls, symptomatic of the rise of common-interest developments (CIDs) and 'privatopias' across America (Davis, 1992; McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003).

I conclude by suggesting that the concept of liminal spaces can be helpful in addressing and understanding the panoply of mobilities and communities that define our age. Retirement enclaves, for example, are liminal in two respects. First, 'active retirement' as a constructed stage in life is a sort of limbo, situated between productive adulthood – the apogee of the modern life course – and deep old age as a period of decline

presaging death, the final transmigration (Blaikie, 1999). That seniors so readily express the mantra of remaining active – exemplar of Ekerdt's (1986) busy ethic – and identify so avidly with their active retiree brethren, is testimony to their liminal position or sense of between-ness. The mission is to keep deep old age at bay for as long as possible through active engagement, translated as the indefinite prolongation of midlife (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1991; Kastenbaum, 1995; Andrews, 1999). In this quest, retirement communities represent the quintessential model of 'successful anti-ageing' (McHugh, 2000a, 2003).

Secondly, retirement communities are liminal in that inhabitants lie between tourists and 'full-fledged' residents, being neither one nor the other. Seniors themselves make fine distinctions based on all manner of attributes about themselves, their residence, community, and mobility patterns and habits whereas other Arizonans tend to lump tourists, snowbirds, sunbirds and senior migrants of all types together and subject them to considerable bashing. This reflects ageist attitudes (especially revolving around driving habits and road congestion), questions about taxes and paying a fair share in support of public goods and services, and resentment toward older folks who appear to be on perpetual vacation, a type of unreal existence.

Steve Benson, political cartoonist for the *Arizona Republic* newspaper, is renowned for unsavoury depictions of snowbirds and leisure-driven, anti-tax seniors (e.g. Fig. 17.3). In talking with seniors in a variety of retirement communities I have been asked repeatedly: 'What do you think of Benson?' (one better have a response at the ready). Discussions with students at Arizona State University relating to snowbirds, elderly migrants and retirement communities invariably unleash a barrage of complaints, criticisms and ageist remarks and jokes, with begrudging acknowledgment that seniors probably have a sizeable economic impact. This spirited and vociferous response among college-age youth is striking. Such disdain is surely related to stereotypical portrayals of elders in the media and, perhaps most pointedly, an unconscious projection of their own fear of ageing and old age.

The notion of liminality may find useful extension to other locales and places populated by second-home owners and amenity migrants. Gustafson (2002b), for example, documents the ambivalent social space of Swedes who seasonally migrate and spend winters in Spain. They disassociate themselves from tourists and the concomitant negative connotations of 'inauthentic' mass tourism, yet, despite being more integrated than tourists in terms of pursuing a 'normal, ordinary life' in Spain, these Swedes are neither permanent residents nor fully integrated in terms of Spanish-ness. Gustafson points out that the lack of consensus regarding a term to describe this group of Swedes attests to their ambivalent position.

Notions of between-ness, liminality and ambivalent identities relate to a crucial issue: in studying spatial mobility we have relied unduly on simple definitions, classifications and categorizations. Expedient definitions and measures of concepts such as home, place, residence, commuter, visitor, tourist, migrant and immigrant are codified and perpetuated in scholarly and

Fig. 17.3. *Arizona Republic* newspaper cartoon lampooning snowbirds.

popular literatures and by institutions responsible for gathering, processing and disseminating data, funding research and establishing policy. On the one hand, this is understandable given the necessity to impose order on the 'quantum haze' of our comings and goings in space and time (McHugh, 2000b). On the other hand, clinging to simple definitions and classifications is unsatisfactory, given complex interdependencies across movements in time and space. One example is the problematic separation of literatures, concepts and institutional arrangements and support pertaining to tourism and migration, a divide that is now beginning to receive rapprochement (e.g. Gustafson, 2002b; Hall and Williams, 2002; Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2).

Beyond this particular lacuna, we should be sobered by a claim issued by Wilbur Zelinsky in 1983: 'There are no absolutely clean "breaks", natural or man-made, in the spatio-temporal spectrum of mobility' (p. 36). The implications of Zelinsky's charge in terms of advancing our understanding of peoples, places and movements are staggering, a daunting challenge for coming to grips with 'mobilities for the twenty-first century' (Urry, 2000).

Endnotes

[1] Thanks to Elizabeth Larson for speaking with me about the Sun City interviews. And thanks to Dan Shilling, Executive Director of the Arizona Humanities Council, for making the interview materials available (audiotapes and transcripts).

[2] Though estimates are rather crude there are more than 300,000 snowbirds (stays of one month or longer) in Arizona at the height of the winter season in February (Hogan *et al.*, 2003). The 300,000+ figure is probably a low estimate.

[3] Madeline is a pseudonym.

[4] Streib and Metsch (2002, p. 67) report that most residents in retirement communities stay out of community conflicts unless 'their economic interests or style of life are severely threatened'. This is the case for the history of heated political conflict between the Sun Cities and surrounding communities over issues of school taxes and control of local school district governing boards.

[5] Unified and like-minded seniors display bloc voting patterns on state, metropolitan and city referenda as well, such as public transportation initiatives (oppose), stadia and sports authorities (oppose), regional economic development referenda (oppose), initiatives relating to the arts (oppose) and law enforcement and prisons (support). On these broader geographic scales, the direct impact of retirement communities on election outcomes is less marked than in the case of local school district elections. In several instances, for example, seniors in retirement concentrations in the Phoenix area reinforced rather than countered the prevailing metropolitan-wide vote on referenda (see Borough, 2002).

18 Access under Stress: the Right of Public Access Tradition in Sweden

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Introduction

The Swedish right of public access to the countryside finds itself today at the crossroads between the path of a pre-industrial society tradition and the highway of late modern globalization. Rooted in the old rural agricultural villages, transformed into a major element of the recreation politics of the 20th century welfare society, it will be used here as a frame of reference in a discussion of mobility, leisure and second homes in Sweden today. The right of public access needs to be understood as a multi-purpose use perspective of landscape that – parallel to the evolution of modern society – has been broadly regarded as a vital basis for leisure and outdoor recreation in Sweden. But it is a landscape perspective based upon experienced knowledge – what is reasonable behaviour has to be learnt and 'read' in the landscape. Therefore, in today's fast-changing globalized society (e.g. Massey, 1997; Williams and McIntyre, 2001) such a tradition is under stress, especially as its legal status is not at all clear-cut.

This chapter will start with a presentation of the Nordic outdoor tradition and the right of public access in Sweden, followed by the introduction of a conceptual framework concerning different landscape perspectives which will be used to describe the right of public access in relation to leisure and second homes, and it will also be used to underpin the discussion at the end of the chapter. To further illustrate the current position of the right of public access in Sweden, a recent national survey will be used and the chapter will conclude with reflections concerning future challenges, paying special attention to: (i) the further specialization of recreational landscapes; (ii) rural residents in relation to second-home owners; and (iii) the tendency of traditional landscape-related outdoor activities to be de-contextualized in terms of 'nature' and 'place'.

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Outdoor Recreation and Public Access in Scandinavia

During the 20th century in Sweden, and paralleling the rise of the welfare state, the idea of outdoor recreation and contact with nature was emphasized as fostering different kinds of goals. 'The Swedish nature' and 'the nature-loving Swedes' became important rhetorical clichés in the shaping of the modern Swedish nation. Around the turn of the last century the rapid industrialization and urbanization processes formed the background for an upsurge of interest in outdoor leisure activities. With a higher material standard of living, a gradual reduction in working hours and the Compulsory Holidays Act (1938), it became possible for many people to make use of increased leisure time. Nature-based tourism and outdoor recreation, therefore, became established as important economic, regional and professional fields of interest.

The 'Swedishness' of this form of interpretation of nature must not be over-emphasized however, as many examples of international influence can be found with regard to perspectives and activities. But, there is still good reason to talk about important aspects of a Nordic outdoor life tradition of *friluftsliv* (literally, free-air life), characterized by simplicity and popularity – and the right of public access. As an example of the differences in Nordic and North American outdoor traditions, I suggest that a notice, such as that found at the entrance to a nature reserve just outside the residential districts of Vancouver in Canada, would probably not be found in Sweden. For most Swedes it would probably be inconceivable. The notice read:

> Warning: This is a Wilderness Area; Weather and visibility can deteriorate rapidly. Be prepared: Wear protective clothing and footwear; Do not hike alone; Register at the information kiosk; Allow adequate time to return before dark. If lost, stay calm and remain in one place until help arrives.

Of course, many other aspects could be taken into account with regard to this suggested difference (e.g. the insurance/summons situation in Canada; the cultural landscape of Sweden, etc.), but it could nevertheless be argued that this message indicates a different tradition with regard to leisure participation in rural landscapes.

The *allemansrätt* (the right of public access to the countryside), which means that everyone has the right – with certain restrictions – to move freely across private land holdings, pick mushrooms, flowers and berries, etc., is a basic element of Nordic outdoor tradition. To link back to the statements above concerning the importance of the nation as a conceptual framework for the establishment of outdoor activities in the early 1900s, it could be argued that it was at that time that the *allemansrätt* became a question of living in and having access to the amenity landscapes of Sweden. Traceable to the county laws of the Middle Ages, aspects of this right can be regarded as a 'tradition' deriving from pre-industrial society, namely the tradition of being able to move about the countryside undisturbed, provided that one did not disturb or damage the property of the local inhabitants. Generally, one was not allowed to take away or

damage anything of economic value, such as trees, crops, birch-bark or acorns (used to feed the animals). This also means that hunting and fishing are not included in the right of public access, even though fishing with hand-line has subsequently been permitted in some areas. The survival of this right up to the present day is probably largely attributable to the fact that Sweden is sparsely populated. Also, the tradition of freedom for the farmers and the Germanic tradition of legislation, as opposed to the Roman tradition, are conditions referred to in support of the existence of public right of access in the Nordic countries to this day (Wiklund, 1995; Tordsson, 2000).

Preservation and conservation ideas, including inspiration from Germany and North America, were added to the limitations of the right of public access in the early 1900s – even though these were often motivated by recreational interests. The rights that were 'left over' – picking flowers, berries and mushrooms, or making a campfire and staying overnight, etc. – became part of a 'free space' (Colby, 1988) that is now referred to as the right of public access (Fig. 18.1). It was mainly during the 1930s, paralleling the development of modern recreation politics, that the term and the approach of *allemansrätt* became an important element in mass recreation in Sweden. Today, as in other similar countries, a wide range of management methods are used to support outdoor recreation, although the right of public access still holds a strong position in Sweden, both culturally and in practice. From the point of view of public access and outdoor recreation similar situations are to be found in both Norway and Finland. Norway has a special law regarding the right of public access that centres on the difference between the earlier village commons – where public access was the basic rule – and the fields and meadows that, in pre-modern society, were privately owned (*utmark vs inmark*). In Denmark, or further south in Europe or in the USA, it is difficult to find any right of public access similar to the Swedish model. For further information concerning access, the right of public access and the Nordic outdoor tradition refer to Colby, 1988; Millward, 1991, 1992, 1993; Watkins, 1996; Mortazavi, 1997; Sandell, 1998; Cordell and Betz, 2000; Højring, 2002; and Kaltenborn *et al.*, 2001. Other sources in Swedish and Norwegian are Sandell and Sörlin, 2000; Brox, 2001; Sandell, 2001; and Tordsson, 2003.

In modern times, the tradition of the right of public access has, to some extent, been bolstered by related legislation. Examples include the obligation of the landowner in specific circumstances to make arrangements to let people pass through his/her fences; the prohibition of new constructions along shorelines; the inclusion of matters of conservancy and responsible use in legislation concerning agriculture and forestry; and a special law prohibiting the driving of motor vehicles off-road for recreational purposes if there is no snow on the ground: an important consideration from the point of view of non-mechanized outdoor recreation.

To summarize (Fig. 18.1), the right of public access in Sweden is part of common law and can be seen as the 'free space' between various restric-

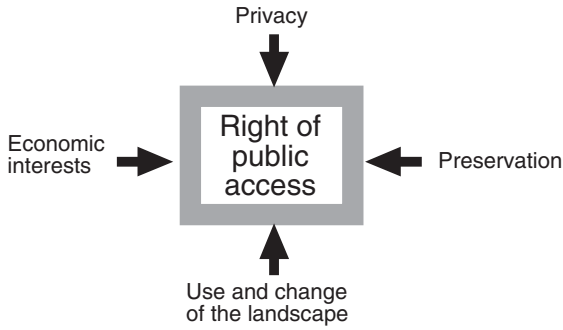

Fig. 18.1. The right of public access as 'leftover' space.

tions, mainly: (i) economic interests; (ii) people's privacy; (iii) preservation; and (iv) the ongoing utilization of the landscape for agriculture, forestry and construction. For example, camping for not more than 24 hours is generally allowed, and traversing any ground, lake or river, swimming, lighting a fire, etc., are permitted wherever the restrictions mentioned above are not violated. It should also be noted that as long as participants do not threaten the boundaries of the 'free space' outlined in Fig. 18.1, both organized and commercial activities can make use of the right of public access. This applies to everyone, as there are no legal differences between local inhabitants, people from other parts of Sweden and foreign tourists. However, especially since the environmental legislation of the late 1990s, organized activities have been subject to stricter regulation with regard to the need for consideration for nature, a suitable selection of sites and, in some situations, the requirement to submit plans to the authorities and consequently to be regulated by them.

Access, Landscapes, Mindscapes and a Conceptual Framework

Various landscape perspectives – mental landscapes or 'mindscapes' (Hägerstrand, 1991; Löfgren, 1999; Sandell, 2000; Ryan, 2002) – are to be found with regard to specific physical landscapes. This could, for example, be the difference between the perspectives of local residents and tourists; between preservationists and foresters; or between cross-country skiers and snowmobilers. In addition, these different landscape perspectives change over time due to, among other things, external influences and technical innovation. To some extent the mindscapes could also be different for the same person or group in different contexts. This means that, in discussing access, we have to remember that a wide range of different perspectives meet in the physical landscape. These perspectives cannot be limited to an understanding of legal regulations, but must be seen as richly nuanced social phenomena with at least mental, legal, social, physical and economic dimensions. In order to become an access issue, there has to be an intention from an interested party to utilize the

landscape in some way or another (e.g. a source of firewood, scenic view, etc.) and this interest has to be controversial. Both these aspects – aspects of the landscape that could be of interest and whether or not this interest is controversial – are obviously deeply rooted in the cultural context. It is therefore essential not only to look at the type of access issues traditionally discussed by planning authorities and the like (e.g. conflicts, regulations), but also to look at the underlying pattern of landscape perspectives involved in the debate.

One approach is to make use of the conceptual framework of different eco-strategies. When seeking a general conceptual framework for discussing perspectives of nature, place and landscape, we commonly identify a tension of domination *vs* adaptation (e.g. Sandell, 1988). A similar division with regard to regional development has been suggested by Friedmann and Weaver (1979), using the concepts 'functional' and 'territorial' development. A major effect of this approach – in many ways a parallel to centralized and decentralized systems – is that various aspects of social integration (politics, economy and culture) are brought into focus, together with human–ecological issues. Even though the illustrations below focus on the spatial dimension, it seems reasonable to assume that the content of, and potential for, a more territorial development is, to a large extent, a question of permanence. The conceptual framework of eco-strategies (view and use of landscape) presented here has evolved out of previous work (using three out of four main eco-strategies). It was originally developed within a context of human ecology and development strategies (Sandell, 1988), but has later been used by the author mainly for discussions of access, conservation and the outdoors (e.g. Sandell, 2000, 2005; Kaltenborn *et al.*, 2001).

The framework comprises two axes (Fig. 18.2): the horizontal axis represents the aforementioned tension between 'functional specialization' *vs* 'territorial adaptation' as points of departure for landscape perspectives – a basic choice between a functional dependence on exchange with other areas *vs* territorial dependence as to the best use of local resources. The vertical axis represents the tension between the strategies of 'active' use *vs* 'passive' contemplation of the landscape – in short a choice between utilization of resources *vs* conservation of an amenity landscape (e.g. the appreciation of biodiversity or scenery). It should be noted that the prefix eco- indicates only that the mankind–nature relationship is in focus and does not involve any normative aspects of what relation is to be preferred. But, of course, the different eco-strategies have various and crucial consequences in terms of democracy, environmental issues, views of nature, local development, etc. Even though the different strategies illustrated in the diagram may appear to be clear-cut categories, in reality it is a question of tendencies and blends involving a greater or lesser degree of functional *vs* territorial strategies, and of passive *vs* active use of landscape.

From a second-homes perspective, we can summarize the four eco-strategies as follows (Fig. 18.3), starting in the lower left corner and moving clockwise).

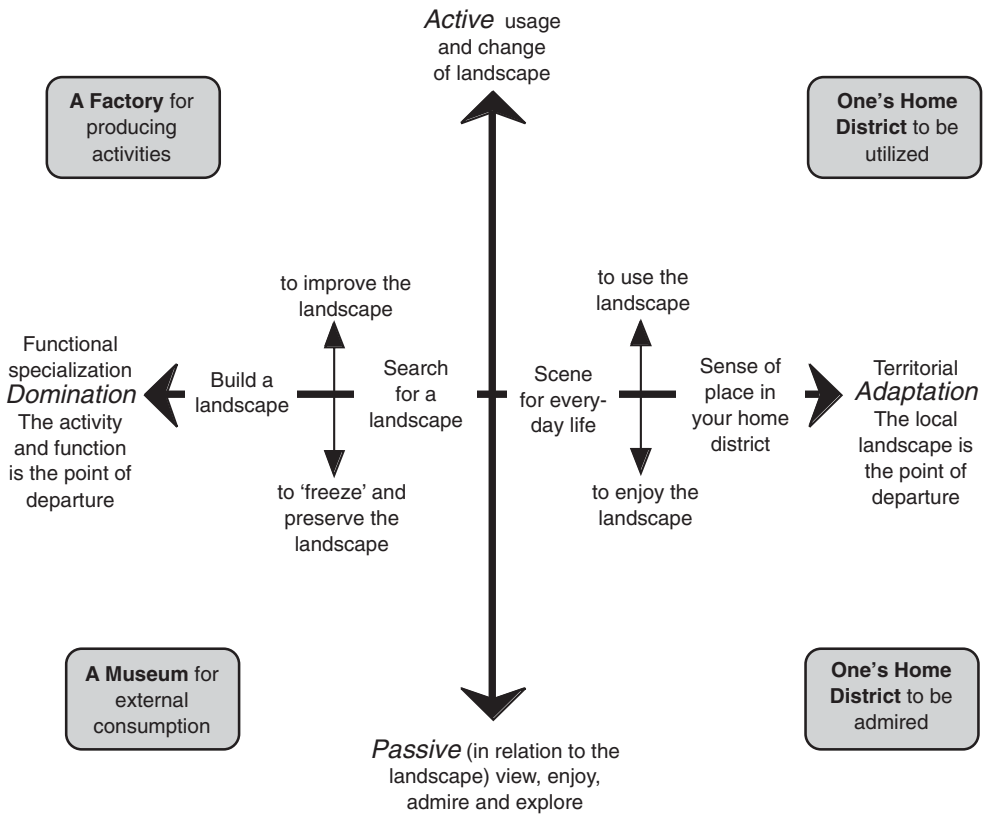

Fig. 18.2. The conceptual framework of four eco-strategies.

The first eco-strategy is 'freezing' ('conserving') a specific landscape (and maintaining that 'frozen' landscape) to be 'set aside' as a *museum* for external consumption (e.g. National Parks or Conservation Areas). In the case of second-home owners, a common preference is that landscape qualities will be 'frozen' for the future, which in Sweden often means that the landscape has to be maintained in traditional ways by local farmers.

The second eco-strategy is in line with active functional domination of the landscape. The point of departure being the activities sought. Special areas, equipment and organizations are established for these specialized outdoor activities. Long-distance travel and heavy use of material resources are often involved. It could be argued that the landscape is viewed as a *factory* for the production of activities (e.g. bathing, snowboarding or playing golf), and where, in its more extreme forms, the activities are reproduced indoors (e.g. climbing walls and Olympic swimming pools, computer games etc.; see further below). For a second-home owner, the 'factory' perspective could be seen in seeking a home close to golf courses or in a ski resort.

The third eco-strategy is one of active adaptation. Here, as in the strategy of passive adaptation below, interest is directed towards the features of a specific natural and cultural landscape. But the eco-strategy of

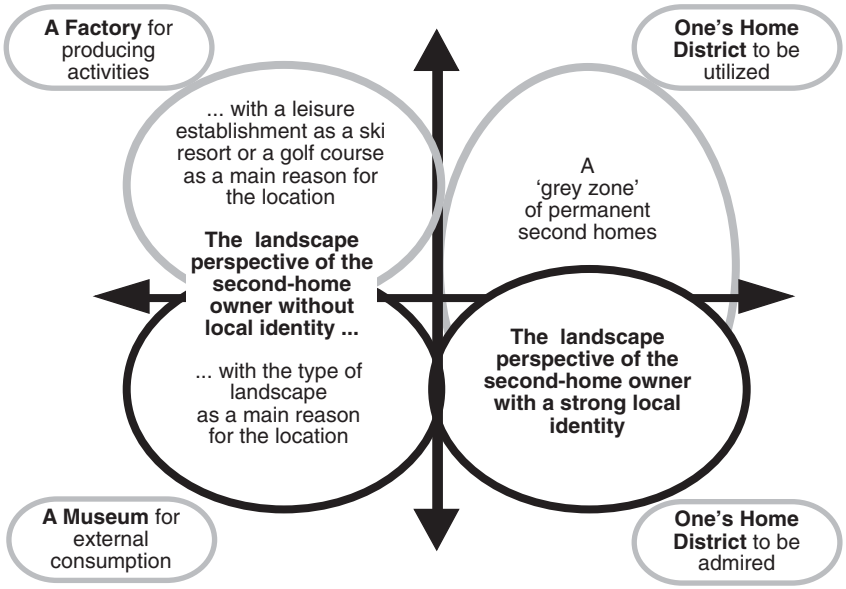

Fig. 18.3. The landscape perspectives of second-home owners analysed in the framework of different eco-strategies.

active adaptation also involves direct utilization of the landscape (e.g. firewood, fishing, hunting). Outdoor recreation is one of many locally integrated aspects of *one's home district to be utilized*. The area that constitutes 'one's home district' (upper and lower positions to the right in Figs 18.2 and 18.3) is basically a question of identity – to dwell, to feel at home (cf. 'topophilia', Tuan, 1990). An illustration of this, in the case of second homes in Sweden, is that people who have grown up in a specific rural setting often try to acquire a second home in that same *place*. But now, although being removed from personal involvement in resource extraction (e.g. agriculture, fishing), they will still hunt, fish, and gather berries and mushrooms, but as recreational activities. In addition, their landscape perspective will also encompass passive adaptation according to the next and last eco-strategy.

The fourth and final eco-strategy is one of passive adaptation: to *be* in this landscape is the point of departure. Appreciative leisure activities like hiking, cross-country skiing, bird watching, looking for flowers, etc. are carried out in *one's home district to be admired*. These activities are characterized by passive amusements which, on a superficial level (e.g. activity, equipment), are very similar to the museum eco-strategy. But it could be argued that the latter is carried out without any deep integration and identification with the local natural and cultural landscape, apart from the special feature visited. As mentioned above, the eco-strategy of one's home district to be admired characterizes second-home owners who identify with a landscape through family connections or childhood memories.

Differences between the landscape perspectives of second-home owners with or without local identity are likely, and it could be argued that a central

difference rests on whether the place itself (Cresswell, 2004) or its functional value is the point of departure for the mental landscape. In other words, is it nostalgia and social bounds, or the type of view and potential for specific activities that underpin the choice of location for the second home?

The mental landscape of second-home owners represents but one perspective and, even within this, there is a broad variation in 'mindscapes'. It should also be noted that we are discussing this perspective on a scale far beyond the second-home owners' immediate properties where most use is concentrated. In this broader view, the second-home owners' landscape perspectives interact with neighbours, tourists, local government officials and conservationists and include the contested arena of the right of public access.

The *allemansrätt* has a long historical legacy and is deeply embedded within the Swedish culture. Although it has served the recreational and management needs of the Swedes for many generations, new stresses – including entry into the EU (European Union), international tourism and second-home development – have created widely differing ideas of how rural landscapes should be appreciated, managed and used. These differing perspectives have served to politicize the meaning and practical implementation of the right of public access tradition. Figure 18.4 suggests that the current content of the right of public access in Sweden can be divided into two main regions using the eco-strategy framework (Fig. 18.2).

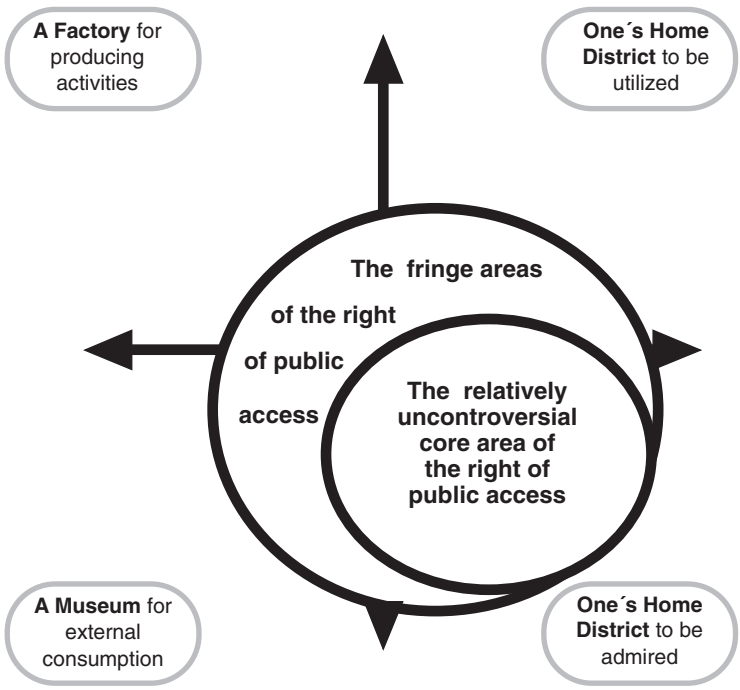

Fig. 18.4. The conceptual framework used to illustrate the current right of public access.

First, we can identify its uncontroversial core area associated with passive/appreciative recreation typical of much traditional Swedish recreation activity. The much larger and increasingly divisive fringe areas of commercial recreation and tourism, National Park designation and various resource-based uses represent a much larger area of contestation within the Swedish community today. The following section details a recent study on attitudes towards the right of public access tradition among Swedish people.

The Current Position of the Right of Public Access in Sweden

The chapter thus far has provided a general picture of the evolution and basic content of the tradition of the right of public access and indicated some of the modern stresses that surround its implementation in contemporary Sweden. The question arises, however, as current public attitudes, especially with regard to its weak legal status and its basis as a cultural tradition. In order to investigate this, questions were included in a broad mail survey carried out in 2004 as a part of the large, multidisciplinary 'Mountain Mistra' research programme (http://www._fjallmistra.slu.se). As this programme focused on various aspects of the high mountain region in the north of Sweden, this region was oversampled relative to the rest of the country. In all, there were four contacts with potential survey respondents, resulting in 5291 completed surveys. This was a response rate of 65 per cent in the four northernmost counties of Sweden (incorporating about one-tenth of the Swedish population) and 57 per cent in the rest of Sweden. The results for the counties we oversampled were added to the sample from the rest of the country and the sample discussed in this chapter was weighted proportionally to reflect a random sample of the total adult Swedish population between 16 and 65 years (corresponding to an ordinary national sample of 1067 individuals).

The results of the survey (see Table 18.1) indicate that the support for the current right of public access is very strong and that this attitude attracts general agreement (mean score, 4.80; standard deviation, 0.56). From this it could be argued that the right of public access holds a very strong public position in Sweden today, which means that any discussion concerning changes – especially with regard to limitations – has to take this into account. There was also support for a need for a clearer statement of the right of public access in legislation (mean score, 3.97; standard deviation, 1.02). More ambivalence was evident with regard to the use of the rights by tourism businesses (mean score, 3.16; standard deviation, 1.43), whether landowners should have more rights to restrict its use (mean score, 2.71; standard deviation, 1.27) and if the rights should be more restrictive for tourists compared to local residents (mean score, 2.48; standard deviation, 1.48). There was less support for restricting the rights of public access to Swedish residents only (mean score, 2.32; standard deviation, 1.50), and even less for excluding non-profit organizations (mean score, 2.11; standard deviation, 1.28). It is also evident that the right of

public access is perceived as being of little threat to animals and vegetation (mean score, 2.19; standard deviation, 1.21).

In total, the survey clearly showed that the right of public access is a well-accepted concept in Sweden today and that it has enormous support. Despite this, there seems to be some support for further clarification of the concept through legislation. It is clear that if the right of public access is to be restricted, it should mainly be in connection with commercial activities and not for non-profit organizations. Also, there appears to be very limited support for restrictions according to residency.

Mobility, Identity and Multiple Dwelling in Sweden Today

In Sweden, today, outdoor recreation maintains its strong position as a leisure activity. In a recent overview of living conditions between 1976 and 2002, with regard to leisure activities Statistics Sweden (SCB, 2004) noted that as many as 79 per cent of women and 77 per cent of men between 16 and 84 years of age take a walk in the forest at least once a year in order to pick berries or mushrooms or just to enjoy nature. The results also indicated that 14 per cent of women and 12 per cent of men take part in these activities more than 60 times a year (SCB, 2004, p. 70). SCB statistics show that, in general, participation in outdoor activities is increasing, but that this is mainly the case with older adults. In younger groups, traditional outdoor activities seem to be either static or, in some cases, even decreasing in participation. It is also worth noting that, except for hunting and fishing, generally more females than males are involved in these leisure activities (SCB, 2004, pp. 69–89).

Table 18.1. Attitudes towards the current right of public access.[a]

Survey question	Mean score	Standard deviation
It is important to defend the right of public access?	4.804	0.5566
The basic content of the right of public access should be clearer in the legislation	3.973	1.0165
The right of public access should not be available to commercially organized groups, e.g. tourism business	3.158	1.4312
Landowners should have increased possibilities to curtail the right of public access	2.714	1.2713
The right of public access should be more restrictive for tourists compared with the situation for local residents	2.477	1.4785
The right of public access should only be available to people living in Sweden	2.318	1.4975
The right of public access is a threat to animals and vegetation	2.192	1.2136
The right of public access should not be available to non-profit organizations, e.g. scouts and guides	2.111	1.2782

[a] A survey among a random sample of the Swedish population asked to what extent they agree with various proposals concerning the need to defend and change the access tradition (total rejection, 1 to total agreement, 5).

Examination of aspects of mobility and dwelling in contemporary Sweden, using the same source and study period, from the mid-1970s to the present day (SCB, 2004, pp. 181–200), reveals that vacation trips have increased but that this increase took place mainly during the times of prosperity in the 1980s. In the year 2002, 69 per cent of women and 67 per cent of men aged 16–74 years said that they had taken a vacation trip of at least one week during the previous 12-month period. Younger people seem to travel more than the elderly, although the latter group's travel is on the increase. Considering the fact that the population generally is ageing in the industrial countries these figures showing increases in outdoor activities and vacation trips among elderly people in Sweden are naturally of great importance for leisure activities, identity and sustainability in the future (see also Gartner and Lime, 2000; Gustafson, 2002a).

With regard to second-home use in Sweden, it is evident from the recent national 'Mountain Mistra' survey that only one third of the respondents had not used a second home, and that half of the respondents had used one at least once a year (Table 18.2). Information from Statistics Sweden (SCB, 2004, pp. 201–209) verifies this general pattern. Since the mid-1980s, a stable figure of about 51–57 per cent of the population reported that they had had access to a second home during the previous year. With regard to the ageing population it is evident that, among people between 65 and 74 years of age, almost 33 per cent had spent between 9 and 52 weeks in a second home during the previous year (SCB, 2004, p. 208); the corresponding figure for younger people is about 3 per cent. In other words, the second home is more of a first home for many senior citizens.

It is important to note that the term 'second home' involves many different variants and that the rural population is a dynamic phenomenon (Stenbacka, 2002; Müller, 2004). Müller makes the important distinction between 'hot spots' and 'disappearing regions' with regard to second homes in Sweden, saying that:

> Second home development has to be seen in terms of economic restructuring and changing geographical patterns of production and consumption, but also in changes in working life allowing for more flexible use of space and time. The areas in the functional hinterlands of the metropolitan areas have thus become important zones for recreation and part-time living. Hence, second homes are essential elements of this at least partly new function.
>
> (Müller, 2004, p. 258)

Table 18.2. Visits to a second home[a] (percentage of interviewees).

Never	34.3
Less than once a year	14.5
Once, or a few times, a year	22.3
Several times a year	28.9
Total	100.0

[a] Owned or rented by him/herself or family member, a survey among a random sample of the Swedish population.

To explore the interest in defending the right of public access among rural and urban people, we identified a variable 'time spent in the country' in the 'Mountain Mistra' research programme (Table 18.3). First, some reluctance to defend the right of public access among those respondents who never went into the countryside was evident in the relatively higher 'don't know' response – which is reasonable. But it is evident that, although the people living in the countryside are somewhat less in favour of the right of public access, 98.5 per cent still agreed that there was a need to defend it. The highest levels of agreement exist for those visitors who visit the countryside 'very little' or 'a little'. This could be interpreted as an urban group that depends largely upon the right of public access for their visits to rural areas. A similar pattern is evident if the support for the right of public access is compared with second-home use (Table 18.4). In this situation, the highest score is in the group who use their second homes 'less than once a year'. That is, a group of people with an interest in the countryside but who access it infrequently.

A somewhat clearer indication of a frustration among rural people with regard to the right of public access can be seen in the response to the interest expressed in defending it among those who were working or had previously worked in agriculture, forestry, fishing, reindeer herding or

Table 18.3. Interest in defending the right of public access by time spent in the countryside each year[a] (percentage of interviewees).

Interest in defending the right of public access	No time at all in countryside	Very little or a little of my time	A lot, or most, of my time	I live in the countryside
Total rejection	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1
Partial rejection	7.0	1.0	1.4	1.1
Don't know	20.9	1.9	3.0	0.3
Partial agreement	0.8	8.6	8.7	15.3
Total agreement	71.3	88.5	86.5	83.2
Overall total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] Survey among a random sample of the Swedish population.

Table 18.4. Interest in defending the right of public access by amount of time spent in a second home[a] (percentage of interviewees).

Interest in defending the right of public access	Never live in a second home	Less than once a year	Once, or a couple of times, a year	Live in a second home several times a year
Total rejection	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7
Partial rejection	1.1	2.4	1.6	0.8
Don't know	4.1	0.1	1.7	1.3
Partial agreement	10.0	7.7	11.1	11.0
Total agreement	84.7	89.8	85.6	86.2
Overall total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] Survey among a random sample of the Swedish population.

mining. In this group, only 77.6 per cent totally agreed with the statement of defending the right of public access compared with 87.4 per cent among those who were not engaged in these traditional, resource-based industries.

An even more obvious picture was evident when comparing the interest in defending the right of public access with the extent to which a family was engaged in keeping domestic animals. In the numerically small group of respondents partly or totally relying economically on domestic animals, only 57.1 per cent totally agreed with the statement of the importance of defending the right of public access. This could be compared with the figures of 86.4 per cent and 87.1 per cent total agreement among those respondents either having no domesticated animals at all or only keeping them as household pets, respectively.

Mobility and Access: Some Reflections on the Future

There are, of course, a large number of issues concerning mobility, second homes, access in general and the tradition of the right of public access in Sweden that could be discussed with regard to the future. But this concluding section will focus on only three main themes:

- the general tendency towards further functional specialization of recreational landscapes;
- who is local in a mobile society? The composition of the rural population and the role of second-home owners; and
- the increasing tendency for various traditionally landscape-related outdoor activities to be de-contextualized with regard to 'nature' and 'place'.

The chapter will conclude with some reflections on the linkages between these themes and the need for further studies with regard to the rights of public access.

Functional specialization of recreation landscapes

This phenomenon could be described as a significant move to the left in the conceptual framework of eco-strategies (Fig. 18.2). It concerns the increased mobility involved in current recreation participation for people who can afford it (e.g. frequent flights to distant amenity landscapes worldwide). This represents what has been called the 'factory' and the 'museum' eco-strategies. As an illustration, Frändberg and Vilhelmsson (2003) stated in an investigation of long-distance travel from Sweden between 1994–2000: ' … that it is international travel related to free-time activities that is increasing most rapidly. This is also the segment that constitutes the large majority of the longest (>1000 km) international journeys, where holidays alone represent more than half of all such trips' (p. 1765).

Given this trend, it is important to consider the likely effects the

increased exposure to international tourist destinations will have on the character of mental landscapes likely to be operating in public access landscapes in Sweden. If, indeed, attitudes and expectations about the use of landscapes are being extensively modified as a result of international travel, the effects on the traditional core of the right of public access (passive use and place attachment: Fig. 18.4) could be significant. These effects are likely to be manifested in a movement towards the left in Fig. 18.4; towards more 'museum'- and 'factory'-oriented perspectives. This also raises the question as to whether place attachment is a necessary mental prerequisite for environmental engagement within this traditional core and to what extent the basic elements of a landscape perspective – in line with the right of public access – are likely to survive under these changing circumstances. In a democracy, both motivation and also inspiration must be seen as crucial for long-term acceptance of effective environmental policy (Sandell *et al.*, 2005).

Who is local in a mobile society?

Are the second-home owners to be seen as a part of the local population or should they be regarded as 'external'? In Fig. 18.3, it was argued that second-home owners could be found both in the left and right lower quadrants ('museum' or 'one's home district to be admired'). If the emphasis is on activities and amenity values, then the movement is to a more 'functional' view of the landscape. If the reverse is true, and interest is focused on one specific landscape – a 'place' identified with – then the movement is more towards 'territorial adaptation'.

The potential to move in the direction of 'one's home district to be utilized' was also indicated. This vertical tension in the right half of Fig. 18.3 can be illustrated by an advertisement in a Swedish newspaper where a particular house was presented as a 'permanent second home'. This apparent contradiction represents a significant shift in the contemporary use of second homes. The broad and well-established tradition of second homes has evolved in parallel with the welfare society of the 20th century and the simultaneous depopulation of the countryside, in tandem with the deterioration of traditional primary sources of income like farming, forestry and fishing. More recently, a grey zone of rural residence types has developed in which locals commute to jobs far away, second-home owners use technology to merge recreation and work, and senior citizens live more or less permanently in their second home. This group of 'locals' who spend more time in their second homes than do traditional second-home owners are generally not personally involved in resource-based industries like farming or forestry, even though their residence status alone might indicate such involvement.

In sum, we have at least two main tensions to consider with regard to the landscape perspectives of second-home owners. First, horizontally in Figure 18.3 to what extent the landscape is perceived as substitutable; and

secondly, vertically to what extent it involves a more permanent commitment, including more involvement in the local economy, and thereby influencing change and development in the broader landscape.

Remembering that the origin of the right of public access lies in the traditional agricultural village, and the need in such a context to reach a plot of land or a fresh water spring beyond your neighbour's land, it is interesting to note current examples of locals having problems with second-home owners who want to restrict such traditional public access. Even though extensive empirical evidence is not available, indications are that these occurrences are becoming increasingly common. In this context, Löfgren's (2004) observations that second-home owners in small coastal villages along the Swedish west coast block old paths and privatize the shores, are relevant (see also, Löfgren, 1999). Also, Gustavsson and Widell (2005) discussed a conflict concerning the establishment of a fishing camp in a rural area where it was obvious that the second-home owners generally gave little heed to development priorities among local inhabitants. Instead, their emphasis was on 'passive admiration' of the landscape (the two lower quadrants in Fig. 18.2).

The same influence was evident in a public meeting in a coastal area visited by the author. Here, many local inhabitants perceived that among second-home owners there was a lack of identification with the rural development needs – 'they [the second-home owners] should know more about the local history and the traditional way of living here'. This region is very important and well known for recreation and conservation, and the local inhabitants feel an historical shift of power over the landscape towards the leisure groups, especially the second-home owners. This is largely as a result of the decrease in the number of local inhabitants working in fishing and agriculture over time and the simultaneous increase in the number of second-home owners. The local inhabitants want to have more power over the local development and are seeking development more in line with the eco-strategy of 'one's home district to be utilized'. This approach is to some extent supported by the more permanent second-home owners, many of whom have very old and strong ties to the region and a deep understanding of the local situation, in contrast to the mostly absentee owners of large leisure estates.

Who is local in highly mobile, late-modern society and which access practices will survive and develop in this new grey zone of permanent second-home dwellers, commuting ex-farmers, other second-home owners and recreationists? The extent to which the various types of second-home owners have an affiliation to a specific landscape and how much they engage in the local economy seems to be of utmost importance in determining who are and what it means to be 'local'.

The increased de-contextualization of leisure activities

The tendency for various traditional, landscape-related, outdoor activities to become more and more de-contextualized in terms of 'local landscape',

'nature' and 'place' is evident in the move to swimming and climbing indoors and in activities, such as skiing, in specially designed and controlled milieux. These tendencies must be seen as extreme examples of the 'factory' eco-strategy (Fig. 18.2), where the rebuilding of the landscape to suit recreation purposes – such as creating downhill ski slopes or constructing sunbathing and swimming areas on the seashore – is taken to extremes such that it loses any connection to the original physical setting of the activity. A further extension of this de-contextualization is also evident in computer simulations of fishing, hunting and skiing, although these examples may seem somewhat remote from the point of view of the Swedish right of public access. The argument, however, is based on the belief that the survival of a right of public access is rooted in and dependent upon its continuing practice, the authenticity of the types of experiences sought and the landscapes used for nature-related leisure activities. In this context, it matters a great deal whether these landscapes are of the local outdoor type, foreign adventure places or specially designed indoor milieux or cyberspace. Put another way: to what extent does this theme of de-contextualization combined with increased mobility and functional specialization accentuate the tensions evident in the question of 'who is local'? And to what extent does such a development make the current right of public access obsolete?

In this context, it is important to stress that a prerequisite for the right of public access is that you can 'read' the landscape. It is 'the landscape' that tells you what is, and what is not allowed. For example, the way the land is being used may indicate how sensitive it is to people walking on it, and the weather tells you how safe it is to make a camp fire. In other words, a basic feature of the right of public access is that there are no signs provided in the landscape that tell you what is reasonable. Also it is important to note that, although the current right of public access in Sweden is mentioned in the constitution, it is basically not defined in the law besides the 'left-over' perspective presented above. As a consequence, the position, content and role of the right of public access are clearly linked to habits, training, experiences and education. This is an aspect that is much more complex in a multicultural society with increasing mobility and tourism provision. As a consequence, more diverse mindscapes will meet each other in the physical landscape, and they will often carry very different perspectives of what can be seen as reasonable to include in the 'left over' space of the right of public access.

If we try to look for some sort of all-embracing perspective in the three themes discussed at the end of this chapter, it could perhaps be described as the power of centrifugal forces emphasizing the diverse contents of the extreme corners in the diagram of the conceptual framework of eco-strategies. Moving clockwise in Fig. 18.2 and starting in the lower left quadrant:

- Quadrant 1: the increased mobility of tourists and second-home owners looking for substitutable amenity landscapes on a more or less global scale.

- Quadrant 2: some of these are especially attracted to leisure establishments, including large-scale multipurpose vacation-scapes (Gunn, 1997).
- Quadrant 3: the decreasing numbers of local inhabitants utilizing their 'home district', trying to fight for local identity, traditional and new types of income and with an ambivalent view of tourists and second-home owners.
- Quadrant 4: the passive amenity perspective of second-home owners influenced by an increasing 'grey zone' of permanent second-home owners, but still with their salaries and pensions from outside the local economy.

All these different mindscapes will interact in the physical landscape, for example, in interpreting and using the right of public access.

Finally, since cultural training and reading the landscape are vital aspects of the right of public access, since strong public support for the tradition exists, and since the dynamic and postmodern tendencies affecting recreation places of the future are unlikely to disappear, it is necessary to discuss the need for further research and legislative change with regard to the implementation of the access tradition (Sandell, 2001). Perhaps we need to:

- legally define the core of the right of public access;
- exclude organized commercial use from the right of public access;
- make it easier to contact and negotiate with landowners for access for organized leisure activities;
- use modern information technology (e.g. with the help of Global Position Systems and cellphones) to make it easier to 'read' the landscape; and
- make the right of public access a dominant feature of environmental education in schools.

An improved international cross-cultural exchange of access perspectives concerning recreation, tourism and democracy could be of great value with regard to our use of common landscape resources in the future. Here, the Swedish and Nordic tradition of the right of public access as a specific meaning of landscape and a landscape management tool could be one source of inspiration.

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19 No Gingerbread or Doodads Allowed: Recreation Residence Tracts in the National Forests of California

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Introduction

Privately owned recreation residences (sometimes called summer homes, vacation homes or second homes) are permitted on federally owned National Forest System lands in the United States. They have existed, under United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), Forest Service policies, since the turn of the 20th century – since the very beginnings of the agency. Over the years, more than 19,000 recreation residences have been constructed, on 116 National Forests, in 27 states and in the territory of Puerto Rico. As of 2006, there are 14,285 cabin permits with 20-year terms; most are located in the Far West.

Permitted recreation residences are a public lands phenomenon specific to the Forest Service. Few other federal agencies have established recreation residence programmes. Those that have, manage them on much smaller scales (Lux *et al.*, 2000). Second homes are also found on some state lands, and, of course, on many areas of private land. However, these are not governed by United States federal regulations, and are not considered here.

The Pacific Southwest Region (California and the Pacific Islands) of the Forest Service has more recreation residences than any other Forest Service region in the country. Recreation residence communities or tracts, as they are called, are found in all but one of the region's 18 National Forests. This region has 270 tracts with over 6131 individual recreation residences permitted, 43 per cent of the total in the National Forests nationwide.

The earliest recreation residences documented in the Pacific Southwest Region date from 1906. Most of these early, scattered, residences were later incorporated into tracts. Recreation residence tracts in the region were first surveyed in 1915, following implementation of the Occupancy Permits Act. Over the succeeding years, tracts were added and changed until 1959, when the last tract was developed.

© CAB International 2006. *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home and Identity* (eds N. McIntyre, D.R. Williams and K.E. McHugh)

Other chapters in this volume focus on today's increasingly popular movement of acquiring second homes to access the amenities of rural areas and to renew connection with nature. The following essay examines some of the roots of these trends. Nostalgia for rustic, natural experiences is derivative of the industrial societies of the turn of the 20th century. Romantic notions of nature, the automobile and improved forest access, plus available National Forest recreation opportunities provided the cultural framework that inspired early design and building of recreation residence tracts and the setting for continued development over the following decades. This chapter describes how recreation residence tracts began and how the larger cultural context influenced their development. It defines the role of the public land managers of the Forest Service that guided development of the tracts and that of the people that built the homes. It defines how the values of these two entities and culture at large were made manifest in the cultural landscape and architectural characteristics of recreation residences. Finally, it defines recreation residences on National Forests as a unique class of migration: their 'second home' hierarchical relationship to the primary, permanent home is retained. Because they are built as tracts, they exhibit communal characteristics; yet they differ from primary homes in their focus on recreation rather than on other aspects of living such as work. These characteristics are the result of their public–private nature.

The Larger Cultural Context: the Back-to-Nature Movement

The development of recreation residences was, in part, a response to what has been called the Back-to-Nature Movement (Berg, 1975). Through much of the early 19th century a romantic view of nature, based on European traditions, was not yet a major part of the American psyche. To the romantic, humans held a prominent place in the natural landscape. The mid-19th century transcendentalist movement then expanded this romantic outlook, and American authors such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau popularized the notion that nature should be preserved both for its own sake and for people needing relief from an increasingly urban and industrial society (Gray, 1983; Cox, 1985). This trend brought about an increased appreciation of natural settings, and California became a primary focus of this interest (Berg, 1975).

The Back-to-Nature Movement became extremely popular in southern California. During the 1890s, hiking clubs were formed to take advantage of the rugged trails that crisscrossed the San Gabriel Mountains and Mount Wilson east of Los Angeles. Pasadena became the centre of this outdoor recreation movement (Headley, 1991). This pervasive interest in the natural environment in turn influenced the art and architecture of the area. Artists expressed their philosophies of nature in sculpture and paintings. In architecture, natural, organic building materials, such as wood and stone, were preferred over materials such as stucco and concrete. These ideals of

simplicity and the creative use of natural materials were consequently expressed in architecture of the foothills communities, including recreation residence tracts.

Camping and outdoor activities were increasingly popular; yet, most people were disinclined to give up completely the comforts of urban life (Fig. 19.1). A sturdy cabin in the woods with a roaring fire was still the limit of most people's idea of a wilderness experience (Cox, 1985, p. 158). In a discussion of the Back-to-Nature Movement, Thomas Cox (1985, p. 167) stated that 'A new kind of crusade for nature emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. It was an attempt to have the best of both worlds: living in the city but feeding spiritual needs through occasional returns to outdoor life by vacations and outings or, vicariously, through literature.'

According to historian Donn Headley (1991, pp. 111–116), the '… conservationists of Southern California, for all their mountain activities and their woodcraft, never lost their urban orientation'.

This desire by the average person to experience nature was facilitated by social and technological advances. People were earning more and working fewer hours; they had more time and could afford to take vacations. The 'age of the automobile', beginning in 1914 with the mass production of the Model T Ford, saw the development of more and better road systems, and forested areas became accessible for recreation. Hotels and resorts sprang up throughout rural California. Pressure to develop the summer home programme increased. Thus, the phenomenon of recreation residences fulfilled the need of an increasingly mobile society to migrate temporarily and routinely to leisure living in relaxing and familiar environments.

Fig. 19.1. Woman reading outside her recreation residence in the Eldorado National Forest (from USDA, Forest Service, Pacific Southwest Regional Office).

Permit History and Administration: The Role of the Forest Service

In California during the latter half of the 19th century, the practice of establishing summer homes on lands in the public domain evolved from local miners, loggers and ranchers taking their families to the mountains, while wealthier families and sports enthusiasts built cabins in the mountains as private recreational or hunting lodges. As cities developed, families sometimes moved to the mountains temporarily to escape urban life and summer heat (Ayres and Hutchinson, 1927; Berg, 1975; Dodd, 1995). The Forest Reserves Act of 1891 authorized the President to set aside forest reserves under the jurisdiction of the General Land Office of the US Department of the Interior. When the forest reserves were created out of public domain lands, many of the early summer cabins within them fell under reserve jurisdiction.

In 1897, a process began to formalize this prior and on-going practice of establishing summer cabins on what had become federal forest reserves. The first authority for doing this was found in the Organic Administration Act of 1897, which defined the purposes of the forest reserves – to conserve timber and water. It also established the principal of 'occupancy and use', regulated by permit on reserve lands. Thus, this act allowed for privately owned hotels, stores, mills and other developments to be established and permitted for use in federal forest reserves.

The legal framework

With the Organic Act, the issuance of annual permits expanded rapidly and early, albeit simple, policy and guidelines for administering permits were established. In 1905, administration of the forest reserves was transferred to the USDA (Transfer Act of 1 February 1905). Later that year, the first published Forest Service *Use Book* (USDA, Forest Service, 1905, p. 49) stated, in regulation 42, that 'Hotels, stores, mills, summer residences, and similar establishments will be allowed upon reserve lands wherever the demand is legitimate and consistent with the best interests of the reserve'. Permits were specifically addressed in the 1906 version of the Forest Service's *Use Book* (USDA, Forest Service, 1906, p. 64), which stipulated that 'Forest Supervisors issuing permits should always make them "terminable at the discretion of the Forester" and not for any definite period'. Recreation residence permits could be reviewed annually and terminated. Because of this, the system was criticized for its lack of long-term security. Permittees argued that they needed longer tenure to justify their construction investments (Berg, 1975; Supernowicz and Richford, 1987; Dodd, 1995).

In the first decade of the 20th century, summer homeowners lobbied for new legislation aimed at establishing more secure ownership. In part, as a result of the permittee lobbying (Berg, 1975; Supernowicz and Richford, 1987; Conners, 1993; Dodd, 1995), and with strong support from the Forest

Service (Tweed, 1980), Congress passed the Occupancy Permits Act on 4 March 1915. It authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to permit hotels, resorts, summer homes, stores and other buildings for commercial and public purposes. Henry S. Graves, Forester in the Washington Office, in his agency *Instructions Regarding Term Occupancy Permits* (Graves, 1915, p. 1), stated that 'The purpose of the act is to make the National Forests more available than hitherto for recreation uses'. Immediately following this initial establishment of the programme, recreation residence tracts began to be laid out in California's forests.

Evolution of guidance for tract development

For the first years of the Forest Service (1898–1915), recreation on public lands experienced an uneven and poorly coordinated development of facilities, such as hotels and other tourist sites. In the process, little was done to protect scenic views or blend buildings with their environment. There was no consistency of building styles or guidance at the national level (Tweed, 1980), but this soon changed and forest guidance became more and more explicit. The increased specificity in the permits and guidelines was generally aimed at ensuring that forest resources were protected, that health and safety precautions were taken, that improvements harmonized with the environment and that needs for general public recreation uses were considered. The following details that portion of the guidance that addresses the way tracts were to be laid out and residences built and the terms of their use.

A 1916 report by the California District Forester provided some of the earliest guidelines for the summer homes in tracts. They included requirements that building plans be approved by forest officers and that unsightly buildings not be allowed to disfigure the landscape (DuBois, 1916).

In 1918, Frank A. Waugh, a landscape architect from the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, consulting for the Forest Service, looked at the design needs for forest developments, including recreation residence tracts. He cited, as one of landscape engineering's primary objectives, the need to preserve the native landscape in its pristine beauty. Waugh cautioned Forest Supervisors to anticipate the demand for summer home colonies, and to ensure that ' … the building of disreputable, unsightly structures which disfigure the natural landscape surroundings' be prevented by rigorous means. He went on to describe various summer home tract designs that blended with the environment, and identified lot spacing needs (Waugh, 1918a). The Forest Service cited Waugh's report as the primary guideline for summer home tract design (USDA, Forest Service, California District, 1924). In another publication, Waugh cited tract development as a fascinating study in town planning; he noted that 'Streets must be laid out, lots surveyed, water supply protected, sanitary precautions insured, and provisions made for … a full-fledged and active community' (Waugh, 1918b, p. 23).

During the 1920s, recreation residence policy was starting to exhibit more explicit direction. On 1 March 1924, the California District issued a *Recreation and Special Use Administrative Guide* (USDA, Forest Service, California District, 1924). The guide dealt with how to lay out and survey tracts. It required all buildings to be permanent in nature and of a neat appearance, and their locations approved by forest officers. On 26 January 1927, the guide was amended with two additional pages of summer home requirements.

These guides were then implemented in the forests. As an example, in the San Bernardino National Forest recreation atlas and plan, the simple stipulations from the early *Use Books* were giving way to requirements for careful planning of developments. 'No special use recreational surveys will be undertaken until after a careful plan of the area has been made … ' and, 'it will be the policy not to continually add lots to existing tracts to accommodate some applicant and lots will not be divided for the same reason after being regularly surveyed and mapped …' (USDA, Forest Service, San Bernardino National Forest, 1928). More specific requirements were now being put on permittees: all frame buildings had to be painted or stained, and no 'loud' colours were permitted; fireproof roofing materials and chemical toilets were required (USDA, Forest Service, San Bernardino National Forest, 1928). Similar stipulations were also found in the Eldorado recreation plan from the same era (USDA, Forest Service, Eldorado National Forest, 1926). Building plans and sites had to be approved by the Forest Supervisor prior to construction.

In the 1940s and 1950s, specificity increased in response to homeowners pushing the guidance envelope. The agency was compelled to limit development and maintain the rustic character of the environment. The California Region issued another *Administrative Guide for Special Uses* in 1946 (USDA, Forest Service, California Region, 1946). The standards for design, construction and maintenance of recreation residences continued to reference Frank Waugh's landscape engineering principles. Emphasis was placed on adapting buildings to the site: minimizing foundations; using building materials suitable to the forest setting – preferably native materials; requiring integrated, substantial construction; utilizing the existing landscape and prohibiting use of exotic species and 'man-made' yard decorations. The building materials section was quite specific, citing such suitable materials as natural, peeled, hewed or sawed logs; unplaned better than planed sawed lumber; stained rather than painted finish; and local stone. Brick, cement, stucco, tin and similar materials were cited as unsuitable. Building design emphasized inconspicuousness, integration and uniformity. Simplicity was touted as the keynote for good design: "Gingerbread work" and "Dodads [*sic*]" of every sort are highly unsuited to forest camps … ' and 'Everything ornate, elaborate, pretentious, showy, tricky, fussy or peculiar is necessarily bad' (USDA, Forest Service, California Region, 1946).

By the late 1960s, guidelines were explicitly and repeatedly emphasizing harmony with the surrounding environment (USDA, Forest

Service, California Region, 1969). Outbuildings were not allowed. Even small structures, such as fences, mailboxes and television antennae, common elements of residential developments, were not allowed or required approval. The exterior appearance of improvements had to harmonize with the environment, with colours duplicating the natural setting, in soft browns, weathered greys, greens or light tans. Wood, stone and roughly textured materials were preferred in order to blend with forest surroundings. Regional environmental differences were accommodated, however, and in desert areas, frame and adobe stucco that blended with the environment were allowed. Large wall surfaces had to be visually partitioned. Trim had to blend with the background and not present strong contrasts. Bright colours and smooth materials, sheet and corrugated metal, and tar paper were not allowed (USDA, Forest Service, California Region, 1969).

In 1981, Region 5, as the California Region became known, issued a Forest Service Manual supplement with recreation residence guidelines (USDA, Forest Service, Region 5, 1981, s.2721.23b). Much of the wording in these guidelines followed that of the earlier 1969 guidelines. Size restrictions were added, limiting the habitable floor space to 1400 square feet (*c*. 427 sq m) (USDA, Forest Service, Region 5, 1986, s.2709.11(21)). However, by this time, some homes exceeded this limitation. Finally, in the year 2000, Region 5 updated the supplement to the Forest Service Manual, and again drew heavily on the historic guidelines which had evolved over the years (USDA, Forest Service, Region 5, 2000). While guidelines have gained specificity with time, consistent core values provided a unifying force that resulted in a rustic historic character blending with the environment that is readily identifiable with Forest Service management.

The Homebuilders and Owners: The Role of the Permittees

The other major players in the development of recreation residences were the homebuilders and owners themselves. One characteristic that these people held in common was an appreciation of outdoor living and the rural setting. Another was the continuity of family ownership through time. As one historian put it: 'The stability of the first permittees is remarkable and is indicative of the personal values each placed on the privililige [*sic*] of living in such an environment' (Guillou, 1976, p. 4).

In some ways, the rural, temporary communities they comprised were like neighbourhoods in which people permanently lived. There were frequently strong communal relationships and activities; there were often close family or professional ties, with homeowners assisting people they knew in obtaining or selling cabins (Berg, 1975; McIntyre, undated). One early *Sunset* magazine article, promoting the idea of summer homes, states: 'Families and friends are encouraged to rent series of sites forming summer colonies' (Singer, 1917). Some homes have been owned by generations of the same family while others have passed through sale to numerous

owners. New generations or owners added their personal touches, and the residences and lots, on the whole, have undergone constant change (Conners, 1993).

Yet cabin use itself was of a temporary nature. The length of time homeowners spent at their cabins reveals some interesting migration patterns through time. Data from the Stanislaus National Forest show that, in earlier years, the average length of stay was over 20 days. Analysing lists of early summer home permittees in the Stanislaus National Forest, it is apparent that women represented over 15 per cent of the original permit holders. For the primary childcare providers, a summer residence in the mountains, near the safety of other permittees and usually close to Forest Service administrative outposts, was undoubtedly an attractive concept. Here, children could have the advantage of a protected outdoor experience throughout the summer (Conners, 1993).

By the 1960s, the average visit had dwindled to 7 days. Many tracts became accessible and desirable throughout the year, such that rather than make one or two long visits, permittees came more often for shorter stays. Factors that contributed to this pattern were increasing ease of travel, growth of winter sports and an increase in the number of women working outside the home (Conners, 1993). As this more year-round use became prevalent, the term summer home gave way to recreation residence.

The homebuilders and owners, in meeting their own needs and desires, shaped the look and feel of the residences. Their more improvised role usually reinforced the rustic vernacular character, yet at times the homebuilders pre-empted policy and created elements incompatible with the rural setting, even so far as to creating urban-like buildings or settings. Outbuildings, such as garages, sheds and outhouses, and small features such as barbeques, fire pits, and retaining walls, were to be approved by forest officers, but were frequently simply added by permittees unofficially, and not originally part of the overall planned construction.

Families and neighbours often recreated together or engaged in joint efforts to improve an entire tract. Early on, the Forest Service encouraged summer home permittees to organize into associations. At first, these associations helped relieve forest officers of recreation residence administrative burdens, particularly those related to tract improvement needs such as road construction or water development. They worked closely, under agreements with the Forest Service; and, the Forest Service often supplied goods or services needed to help complete association tasks (USDA, Forest Service, San Bernardino National Forest, 1928; Berg 1975). The association at Pinecrest Lake in the Stanislaus National Forest was influential in organizing the National Forest Permittees Association (a subdivision of the National Forest Recreation Association). This national organization became a strong voice in setting recreation residence policy after World War II (Conners, 1993) and, in more recent years, it has lobbied strongly to limit Forest Service oversight and to protect homeowner investments (Gildor, 2002).

Recreation Residence Tracts, Rural Historic Landscapes and Rustic Vernacular Architecture

Convergence of these two participants, the Forest Service and the homeowners, influenced the creation and evolution of recreation residence tracts. Agency policies allowed for and guided the look of recreation residences on national forests. They dealt with aesthetic and design issues and with guidelines for the rustic vernacular architecture. The homeowners were the other major player in this effort with their more personal contributions. The cultural landscape was shaped by a partnership that Paul Starrs describes as '… the influential establishment forces and the vernacular "doers"' (Starrs, 1996). So, how do these cultural forces manifest themselves in the actual tracts and residences – how does the interaction between the agency and the homeowners – and their ideals – play out on the ground? How does the necessary temporary nature of these tracts affect their design and layout?

Rural historic landscapes

Recreation residence tracts in National Forests are best described as rural historic communities on public land, focused on outdoor recreation. While they were usually laid out according to a plan guided by the Forest Service, their spatial organization depended, in large part, on predominant landforms and natural features, and orientation to views and microclimates in an area. Tracts were comprised of standard elements: (i) circulation networks, e.g. roads, trails and footpaths; (ii) water systems; (iii) natural and exotic vegetation; (iv) open spaces; (v) the residences themselves and their related outbuildings; and (vi) a variety of smaller-scale elements, such as fire pits, rock retaining walls and benches.

Frank A. Waugh specifically addressed design needs for recreation residence tracts early in the programme. He established goals of preserving natural features and harmonizing with the landscape. In his writings, he talked about not laying out rows of summer home lots in stiff, unnatural, straight lines but, instead, following a stream or lakeshore at a distance. He discussed the need to conform to the slope of the topography and to consider features on the land. He suggested that spatial organization was important to the character of a tract – lots should not be overcrowded and layout should provide for open spaces. At one point he says (Waugh, 1918a, p. 9) that 'One of the most serious and fundamental purposes of recreation in the Forest is to escape from … city crowding and to give each person the feeling that for once he has room to expand'.

Waugh's writings clearly demonstrate a keen respect for the environment and the natural setting – values that are rooted in the cultural framework of the first few decades of the 20th century. Not all recreation residence tracts on all forests followed these landscape design principles; local forest administrators had varying abilities and training in landscape

architecture, but many tracts where Waugh's principles were successfully applied reflect the Forest Service aesthetic values of the time.

Rustic vernacular architecture and popular architectural trends

Recreation residences have been identified as rustic, vernacular architecture by several sources (Supernowicz and McNiel, 1992; Conners, 1993; Dodd, 1995; Palmer and Cole, 1998; Carr and McNiel, 1999). Rustic architecture emphasizes: (i) the use of native materials; (ii) simple, small-scale massing; (iii) avoidance of rigid, straight lines and over-sophistication; and (iv) the feeling of having been executed by a craftsman or perhaps an owner, but not by a professional architect (Tweed *et al.*, 1977). 'A key feature of vernacular buildings is their affinity for and adaptation to landscape, climate, and cultural patterns' (Wyatt, 1987, p. 4). Thus, this architectural genre is again a logical outgrowth of the ideals and values of the Back-to-Nature Movement. Rustic architecture was popular from roughly the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, and the latter half of that time spans the vernacular construction of most recreation residences.

While the general guiding ideals for the appearance of recreation residences were derived from the rustic tradition, a mix of popular architectural styles also played a role. American architecture of the first decades of the 20th century was eclectic and often blended styles. The Eclectic Movement (1880–1940) in architecture drew on wide-ranging styles and building materials, many of which also made their way into the modest architecture of summer homes. According to Koval (1990), a contractor for the Forest Service, this movement, perhaps more than any architectural trend, best reflects the varied styles found in post-1900 rustic architecture in the Sierra Nevada of California, in particular the Lake Tahoe area.

Of the Eclectic Movement architectural trends, the Craftsman Bungalow played a prominent role in California's mountain communities (Koval, 1990). Craftsman architecture (1905–1930) was the first phase of the Arts and Crafts Movement in America (McAlester and McAlester, 1988). The term bungalow was used from about 1880 to the 1930s to describe simple, informal, unpretentious dwellings (Lancaster, 1986).

Elements of Craftsman architecture and the bungalow concept worked their way into the leisure-based architecture of summer homes through household magazines such as *House Beautiful*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Country Life in America*, *Ladies Home Journal* and *Sunset*. Entrepreneurs like Jud Yoho, who began the Craftsman Bungalow Company in 1911, marketed plans with specifications for customers of modest means (Ore, 1997). Building companies supplied the burgeoning market of second homebuilders with the materials. Among the more notable firms in California were Mastercraft Cabin Company, California Redwood Association, the Aladdin Company and the Diamond Match Company. The national department store chain Sears, Roebuck included several models in its catalogues and provided the materials for local builders (Poppeliers *et al.*, 1983; Supernowicz and

Richford, 1987). There were many more companies that advertised inexpensive versions of second homes.

A myriad of cultural values and architectural trends influenced the building of summer homes (Lux *et al*., 2000). However, the residences also reflect the individuals who built them and the families who have lived in them and modified them over the decades. Many of the early permittees designed and built their own cabins, or at least directed their construction (Fig. 19.2). Thus, summer home cabin construction also exhibited unconventional design and materials. Some homeowners were carpenters and constructed well-built cabins, while others lacked skill (Guillou, 1976). For example, the centrepiece of many cabins was the fireplace, often built of

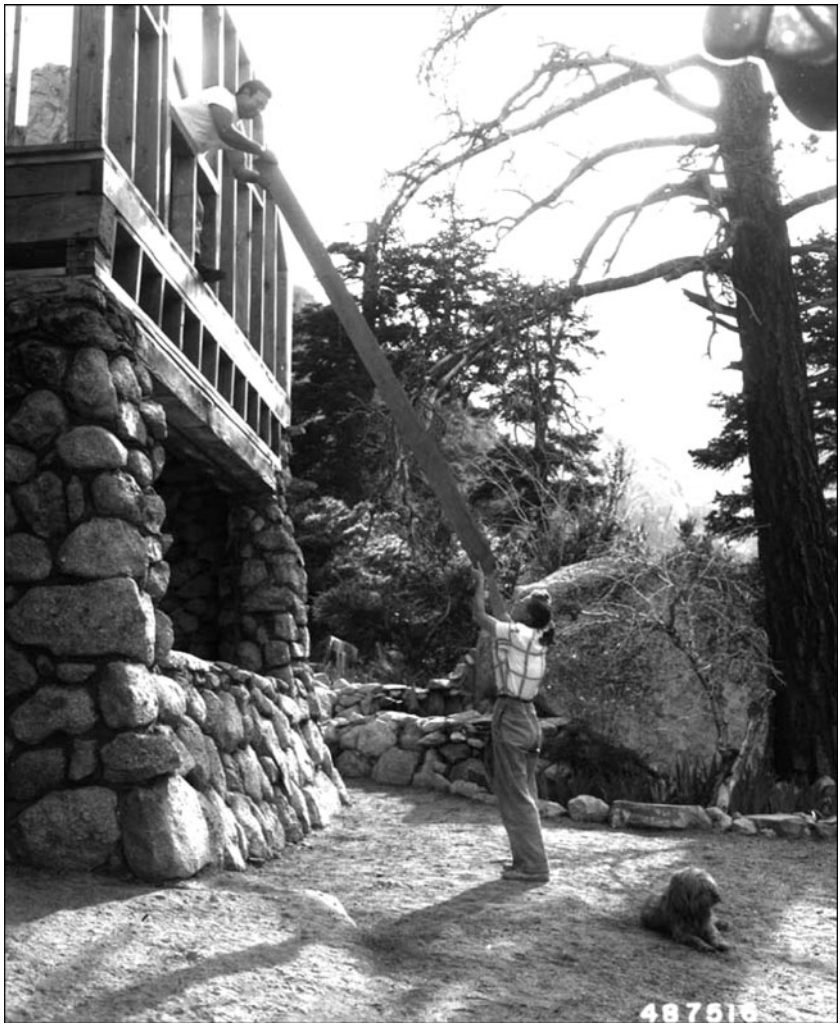

Fig. 19.2. Permittees building a summer home (from USDA, Forest Service, Pacific Southwest Regional Office).

massive rocks, acquired on site or locally. In some cases, entire tracts used skilled masons for fireplace construction. On the other hand, a 1949 special use memorandum (USDA, Forest Service, Eldorado National Forest, 1949) cited some of the problems: '… collapse of most structures was due to lack of diagonal wall bracing, inadequate foundations, lack of trussing joists and rafters, and skimping on nails or bolts.' Some residences were built almost overnight, while others took years or were never finished, despite the two-year limit on construction.

Many cabins were built to take advantage of panoramic views of lakes and rivers; others were designed for densely forested areas with only restricted views (Fig. 19.3). Obstacles such as massive rock outcrops, steep slopes and poor access called for creativity and adaptability. Each site had its own character and its own unique adaptation to that environment. Lumber and materials were often purchased from local manufacturers, whereas fixtures and appliances were brought in from all parts of the state. Thus, recreation residences also reflect individualism, emanating from the personality of the builder, the character of the local environment and the availability of building materials.

Fig. 19.3. Lakefront recreation residence (from USDA, Forest Service, Pacific Southwest Regional Office).

The Ideal and Reality

As part of its responsibilities under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and because most of these tracts are over 50 years old, the Forest Service in California is required to evaluate its recreation tracts for their historic values. This project began with the development of a database, documenting in detail the properties' characteristics. This database enables the agency to identify the character-defining features of the tracts and their residences and then determine which characteristics represent historic values and which represent incongruous modern modifications. This effort, which began in 2000, will take several years to complete. However, an analysis of a portion of the tracts has already yielded useful information about the way recreation residences were sited, designed, and constructed, and the way they blend with their environment (McNiel, 2000a, b).

Proximity to water is desirable for recreation, leisure and development and this is reflected in the observation that 88 per cent of the tracts in the sample are directly sited adjacent to lakes (25%) and rivers (63%). Such tracts are often linear, following the river bank or along the lakeshore. Tracts that were built on ridges or in canyon bottoms often have dendritic or branching arrangements with building lots following the road systems. Others on flatter sites are organized around road systems and often resemble traditional grid layouts of suburban neighbourhoods.

The overall density of lots in tracts is related to the topography and occurrence of features such as rock outcrops or wetlands. Individual lots or clusters of lots are often located between these features and lower the overall cabin density of tracts. Thousands of irregular lots exist, as most were laid out in relation to some local site feature or condition that required the usual suburban rectangular shape to be modified – an example of the emphasis on blending with and adapting to the environment. In summary, the shapes of tract arrangements vary as widely as the topography and site features to which they respond. However, most seem to reflect adjacent natural features.

Individual cabins are often sited on hillsides, cliffs, rock outcroppings and knolls which offer scenic views and create difficult building sites. Large rocks and trees are common on sites and buildings are often designed around them, as where L-shaped residences were built around existing trees. Forested northern Californian tracts have fewer cabins oriented to particular trees but, where trees are less common in the southern deserts, they are emphasized. As elevation increases, so do rocks as elements of the natural setting and their incorporation into buildings at higher elevations provides another example of how recreational residences are blended with their natural setting.

Despite the fact that the use of exotic vegetation was not approved in policy (USDA, Forest Service, California Region, 1946; Lux *et al.*, 2000), the reality is that a high proportion of owners modify their lots with exotic vegetation to provide a 'homey' atmosphere. The desire to enhance the area immediately adjacent to cabins is clear, and ranges from planting a few shrubs or annuals to full landscaping with planters, walks, water features and a variety of vegetation. Similarly, the proportion of lots with multiple

forms of developed circulation is high. Such improvements range from simple dirt paths to elaborate walks, ramps, bridges, parking areas or pedestrian paths. These form a network that provides access to lots, community features and to landscape attractions. In many cases, these circulation networks enhance the community character of the tracts.

Observations of the individual cabins indicate that most are one-and-a-half storeys in height and incorporate lofts or other, similar partial-storey construction, especially where slope dictates a small footprint. Two- and more-than-two-storey structures also exist, despite the fact that the Forest Service encouraged single-storey residences or low, inconspicuous buildings that 'fit the ground' (USDA, Forest Service, California Region, 1946, p. 30). Many of the residences are rectangular or L-shaped in plan, but there is obviously quite a bit of variability, including square, T-shaped, cruciform, U-shaped and irregular ground plans. The variability frequently results from additions and modifications and changing ground plans over time. The more complex they are, however, the more they stray from the desired simple, rustic character.

Wood frame-constructed cabins with board and batten and shiplap siding are most prevalent, followed by those covered with plywood (a non-rustic material) and shingle. Stone is a common construction material at all elevations but log is rare. A wide variety of roofing materials occur, including wood and asphalt shingles, slate, asphalt, gravel, asbestos, galvanized metal and, in the more modern cabins, tinted, anodized metal roofs. Some of these, such as asphalt and wood shingles and galvanized metal, are more in keeping with the historic character of the residences but anodized metal, while less so, is important as a deterrent to fires. Roofs are most frequently gabled and hipped, while flat and more complex roof forms are uncommon.

Asymmetrical window patterns prevail and are in keeping with the rustic, less formal character of the residences. Casement and sliding windows are common, and wood windows are highly characteristic of these residences. Many of the windows have shutters, although most do not. Shutters are simple, practical ornamentations that fit the rustic look of the cabins and provide for easy winterizing. On the other hand, many cabins have aluminium windows which are clearly not historic.

A fireplace is a centrepiece of many cabins. Often built of native rocks or river stone, this fireplace is essential to the ideal of a simple, homey, comfortable leisure cabin in the woods. Chimneys are made of metal or stone; brick was not allowed, although it exists. Decks and porches are extremely common. Decks are in the majority, probably because of the need to extend the living space over uneven terrain and elevation changes. Most occur on the fronts of buildings, but they can occur on any side, taking advantage of the outdoor environment to extend the living space and provide the opportunity to enjoy the scenery.

Outbuildings, such as well, pump and generator houses and, historically, outhouses, have been built on the lots. Fifty to seventy per cent of the lots contain one or more outbuildings, which specifically goes against the

principles that Waugh established to counter urbanization (Waugh, 1918a, p. 9). In this regard, the application of subsequent Forest Service policy (USDA, Forest Service, California Region, 1959, 1969 and most recently, the USDA, Forest Service, Region 5 2000) appears to have been largely disregarded.

Data from this sample have also defined what makes these tracts different from other types of communities. While they embody some of the physical characteristics of urban communities such as planned lot arrangements, water systems, roads and developed circulation routes and single-family homes, recreation residence tracts are not simply urban or suburban communities placed in rural settings. Urban or suburban subdivisions exhibit generally larger, more densely designed, rectilinear layout designs. They are more homogenous and are less tied to natural features on sites, and often their development involves removal of those natural features that inhibit a more practical use of the areas (Ames, 1998). On the other hand, recreation residence tracts are also unlike single cabins or small ranch groupings of buildings in the woods. Instead, they are informal communities of homes, with loose clusters of buildings and common areas and structural features spread around and among natural features and vegetation, creating an entirely different open and recreational community ambiance. Thus, recreation residence tracts lie somewhere between suburban and rural living, and are unique in this respect. They take advantage of quality scenery for leisure pleasure, while providing for domestic needs and the comfort of a home away from home.

What is also becoming clear is that not all recreation residences tracts in all forests followed the landscape and design principles that were promulgated throughout the agency's history of permitting recreation residences. Again, this is the result of actions on the part of the Forest Service and the permittees. Recreation was not one of the reasons for which forest reserves were originally set aside; Congress only appropriated minimal funding for managing recreation use (Lux *et al.*, 2000, pp. 23–24). Also, early in its history, the Forest Service decided not to invest in landscape architectural expertise; instead, this work fell to foresters (Lux *et al.*, 2000, p. 55), and local forest administrators had varying abilities and training in landscape architecture. Over the years, administration of the programme has suffered from an inability to pursue a consistent approach to dealing with permit non-compliance and illegal activities (USDA, Forest Service, Pacific Southwest Region, 2000; Gildor, 2002). Similarly, homeowners have sometimes modified their homes and the surroundings in ways that do not blend with the environment and detract from the rustic vernacular character of the residences (Gildor, 2002).

Conclusions

At the turn of the 20th century, the Forest Service and recreation residence homeowners were both influenced by the larger cultural trend of the

romantic notion of nature. For both, rustic architectural character and a tie to the natural environment were important. Where these ideals were successfully implemented in developing recreation residence tracts, the two players created a distinctive rural landscape of rustic vernacular architecture in harmony with the environment. Where either or both partners failed to maintain these ideals, a discordant hodgepodge of unblended and non-rustic architectural styles and intrusive landscaping resulted. The successful relationship between the Forest Service 'establishment' and the 'vernacular, common folk' (Starrs, 1996, p. 127) resulted in the historic character that reflects significant contributions of the Back-to-Nature Movement in California.

VI Conclusions

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20 Multiple Dwelling: Prospect and Retrospect

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Introduction

In this conclusion, we want to revisit the themes that guided our writing and editing of this volume. Like many writing projects, however, the book we ended up writing and editing is a bit different to – and hopefully better than – the one we might have envisioned at the outset. For example, we set out to discuss multiple dwelling as it relates to tourism and migration in this late-modern age, to contrast the modern experience of home and away and to discuss the impact of globalization on micro- and macro-politics of identity and place making. But in the process we arrived at what we think is a more nuanced understanding of the interplay of place and mobility in modern life than we imagined at the beginning.

At this juncture we find ourselves reasserting the importance of dwelling as a kind of 'pause' in a world increasingly dominated by global movements. Similarly, one of our goals was to examine how moderns negotiate among home, place and identity in this age of hyper-mobility, movement and multiple dwelling. We didn't find 'escape' to be as central in the discourse of home and away as it is often portrayed in the literature. Instead, we found that being away is often just a different way of being at home. Finally, in examining the impact of multiple dwelling on the politics of place, we wanted to highlight the ways in which globalization and mobility intensify the politics of place. And whereas some have proposed that heightened spatial mobilities may attenuate traditional forms of social stratification by making social boundaries less relevant, we none the less conclude by raising questions about the social stratifications and power differentials that accompany mobility.

Multiple Dwelling

The triad of 'home', 'place' and 'identity' are inextricably linked through the notion of dwelling as a privileged form of existence – a desirable state of

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being in which a person over time develops a deeply rooted sense of place and identity, a feeling of being 'at home' and 'in place'. This mythical state of being is contested by the realities of living in late modernity. The necessities of employment and desires for leisure and recreation, combined with increased access to a variety of rapid and convenient modes of personal transportation, shorter working weeks, extended holiday periods and active retirement create a need to negotiate meanings of what it is to 'dwell' at both personal and collective levels. The reality for many is a multi-centred lifestyle where work, home and play are separated in time and place, and meanings and identity are structured around not one but several places and the associated circulations among them. In essence, this book argues that multiple dwelling, where a person develops a sense of being 'at home' in two or more places, is one way in which people attempt to negotiate meaningful links with family and national traditions, and with nature in an increasingly complex world (Periäinen, this volume, Chapter 7; Tuulentie, this volume, Chapter 10; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3).

Multiple dwelling encompasses what Jaakson (1986) and others have termed 'cottaging'. In other words, it is about a process rather than an object. Also, it dispenses with the hierarchical notion of primary and secondary usually attached to second homes, allowing for shades of interpretation in relationships between multiple homes. Multiple dwelling is characterized by a multiplicity of expression. Weekend cottages, often used throughout the year, are essentially integrated with life in the city home (McIntyre *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 8). Seasonal homes vary appreciably by setting and use, such as those used in summer as an escape to nature and a simpler form of living, others set in the mountains where access to winter sports looms large, and still others in warmer climes where folks seek refuge from winter cold (McHugh, this volume, Chapter 17). These latter homes are generally more distant from alternate dwellings and increasingly involve travel to remote natural locations, sometimes crossing international borders (Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2). In contrast, there are peripatetic forms of dwelling such as recreational vehicles, caravans, and cruising yachts, which tour from place to place, resting and moving as their owners' temper or convenience dictates.

Changed agricultural practices and rural depopulation have created a stock of excess housing which is available for use as weekend and seasonal homes as, for example, the 'setter' and 'hytte' of the Scandinavian mountains (Bjerke *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 6). In Australia and New Zealand, purpose-built shacks and baches have sprouted along the coastlines, using rudimentary and recycled building materials. These simple structures democratized access to multiple dwelling, as local authorities, landowners and government agencies turned a blind eye to the squatters seeking relief on the coast from oppressive city summers (McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16; Selwood and Tonts, this volume, Chapter 11). The Great Lakes states in the USA have attracted many generations of city dwellers and, more recently, telecommuters and

retirees who enjoy the multiplicity of inland lakes and varied forested landscapes of the region. Although this increased influx of seasonal and permanent residents has economically revitalized many communities, it has also brought with it problems of escalating property values, overcrowded facilities, and political controversy (Shellito, this volume, Chapter 13; Stewart and Stynes, this volume, Chapter 12). In Finland, rural depopulation accompanying the demise or centralization of resource-based industries, and the growth of tourism, created both a supply of affordable second homes in former industrial centres and new resorts, respectively. These developments attracted tourists and seasonal-home owners, some of whom became permanent migrants (Tuulentie, this volume, Chapter 10).

Multiple dwelling: mobility and pause

Much emphasis has been placed recently on the importance of diverse forms of mobility in society in general (Urry, 2000) and in tourism in particular (Hall and Williams, 2002). Various contributors to this volume argue that mobility in its various forms provides a lens through which to view the changing nature of place, home and identity in contemporary society (Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). While the intellectual trend has been to elevate mobility over dwelling, to dwell can be viewed as a pause in mobility (Tuan, 1978), as multiple dwelling combines both mobility and pause.

Where movement or travel once defined tourism, today the dominance of destination tourism suggests that both 'movement' *and* 'pause' more adequately encompass its complexity. Dwelling in movement, the recreational vehicle owner halts at one destination, a pause in the journey to the next. The weekend cottager or seasonal-home owner, on the other hand, inverts this relationship by privileging 'pause' over 'movement'. Hence, rather than perpetuating the primacy of 'roots' over 'routes' or viewing 'dwelling' and 'mobility' as contradictory, the concept of multiple dwelling argues for a more nuanced and complex consideration of what it means to dwell, both in place and through movement.

Multiple dwelling and modernity

Pre-modern, agrarian societies generally did not perceive clear distinctions between work and leisure, privileged 'home' over 'away' and lived more in 'dwelling' than in 'mobility'. Pre-moderns were 'rooted' in small communities and embedded in tradition. Industrialization changed these relationships, creating a spatial separation of home and work, expelling leisure from the workplace and physically separating 'productive' or work activity from 'family' life. This separation and the need for continuous periods of free time contributed to progressive demands for a shorter working day, longer periods of free time at weekends and eventually to

legalized holidays (Cross, 1997): 'The quest for reduced working hours in part can be seen as the only practical means of recovering "blocks" of family or leisure time – the "bits" of time lost to industrialization' (p. 113).

Spatial and temporal separation of 'work' and 'home' is only one of many oppositions created by modernity and industrialization. The structures and institutions of modernity tend to exacerbate differences and solidify distinctions. Knowledge is 'lay' or 'expert', with clear privilege given to the latter. 'Work' is obligated and 'leisure' is free time: each separated from the other in time and space. Technological advances in transport and communication have intensified and democratized mobility. People acquire 'primary' and 'secondary' homes, separating work from DIY (do-it-yourself) projects, family leisure obligations from nature-focused activity, comfort and technology from the simple life. Tourism, in particular, creates an exotic 'away' in nature, culture and space, distinct from 'home', redolent of escapism.

Late modernity has eroded these oppositions, shifting the meanings of 'home' and 'away', 'primary' and 'second' home (Perkins and Thorns, this volume, Chapter 5; McIntyre *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 8). Once clearly distinguishable, 'temporal and spatial boundaries between paid work and personal life have become increasingly blurred' (Lewis, 2003, p. 343): leisure is a state of mind rather than prescribed activities in a particular context. Mobilities (corporeal, technological, material) are pervasive such that 'to dwell' is but 'to pause' in movement, whether ephemeral, to gaze upon a sunset or, more enduringly, to take up a new job. Late-moderns can be 'at home' in multiple places, as 'rhizomes' replace 'roots' (Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3) and 'cosmopolitanism' replaces 'residence' (Gustafson, this volume, Chapter 2). Today, such relationships are worked through in a context of multiple choices, without the small community support and traditional structures that, in the past, guided and affirmed the individual (Giddens, 1991).

Multiple dwelling is not a phenomenon born of late-modernity. One need only consider the lifestyles of nomadic indigenous peoples in Australia and Asia and the seasonal migration of pastoral peoples in Europe to appreciate the antiquity of this mode of dwelling. These persist into modern times, such as the Wal-Mart nomads described by McHugh (this volume, Chapter 4). What is new is that influences of globalization have made multiple dwelling much more prevalent today, whether as tourist, second-home owner, footloose retiree or sun seeker. From the suburban commute to the trans-continental flight, most late-moderns are involved in 'movement' and 'pause'. Globalization has made nomads of us all (McHugh, this volume, Chapter 4).

Negotiating Home, Place and Identity

Globalization, mobilities and modern technologies permeate every facet of life, affecting the stability and cohesion of the 'lifeworld' of the individual,

forcing upon each the necessity to negotiate traditional notions of what it means to be 'at home' or 'in place': in short, to ask 'who am I?'. The lens of multiple dwelling brings essential dilemmas into focus, introducing the possibility of separate 'lifeworlds' or multiple places and settings, where people redefine or recreate worlds of lived experiences and shared meanings. This, in turn, raises a number of questions. What does it mean to be 'at home' when one lives in multiple places? How can one create feelings of being 'in place' when multiple locales demand allegiance? Where does one's identity lie when concepts of being 'at home' and 'in place' rest not in one place, but in two or more?

Various contributors provide insights into how people today resolve these dilemmas. Some, it appears, privilege one dwelling place over another in choosing the cabin in the woods, the cottage in the mountains or the shack by the shore as the 'home of the heart', where contact with nature, rootedness, simple living, routine and family traditions provide a welcome respite from life in the family home (Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). Such places provide the restorative effects of natural environments, and allow for the renewal of depleted psychological resources (Bjerke *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 6). Others integrate the lifeworlds of home and second home through family tradition and shared experiences and meanings (McIntyre *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 8) in, for example, the backwoods cabin in the US National Forests where pioneer tradition and rustic simplicity provide a complement to city life (Lux and Rose, this volume, Chapter 19). Here, the distinctions of 'home' and 'away' have little meaning as one feels equally 'at home' in either locale. Still others cast off the shackles of 'home' and take to the highways and byways, chasing the enduring American myth of freedom in mobility (McHugh, this volume, Chapter 4). As Gustafson (this volume, Chapter 2) points out, mobile people create variable relationships with places: some express distinct preferences, others exhibit multiple attachments and still others weave them without distinction into the fabric of their lives.

'Identity projects' are a necessary concern for people trying to make sense of the fragmented and puzzling diversity of options and possibilities presented to them in modern living (Giddens, 1991). Bruner (1990) talks of identity as a self-narrative that provides a sense of internal coherence, adequacy and liveability; the creation of such a narrative provides a way of navigating a confused world. Relph (1976), and many others, emphasize the importance of place in influencing the nature and development of identity in mobile societies. Self-narrative implies the opportunity to create a story that is constructed not from one, but from multiple places. Contributions to this volume examine the role of multiple dwelling in contributing to a sense of identity at national, regional and local levels (Periäinnen, this volume, Chapter 7; Stedman, this volume, Chapter 9; Tuulentie, this volume, Chapter 10; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3).

Both 'residents' and 'non-residents' can demonstrate high levels of attachment to place, as length of residence seems more important than legal or census status as resident in influencing degree of place identification.

However, attachment among non-residents and residents may be based on different meanings and aspects of place. In the former, attachment may reflect place as an 'escape' from city and 'home' (Stedman, this volume, Chapter 9) or it may involve a focus on wilderness and nature (Tuulentie, this volume, Chapter 10) or traditional rural life. On the other hand, while sharing some of these same meanings, residents may focus more strongly on social and community aspects of place (McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16). The consensus suggests that distinctions between residents and non-residents in terms of place identification may be becoming harder to tie down, especially among those 'non-residents' who have a long tenure of seasonal residence.

Multiple-place attachments developed through the mix of movement and pause provide not only the freedom to construct and inhabit many worlds, but also the necessity to create a narrative that integrates varied and conflicting meanings, activities and cultures into a coherent identity. The contributors to this volume demonstrate that an increasingly popular, diverse and often successful way of dealing with thorny issues presented by modernity is the practice of multiple dwelling.

Multiple Dwelling and the Politics of Place

The phenomenon of multiple dwelling is not limited to micro-social processes of negotiating individual identities in a turbulent sea of global social relations. Globalization, mobilities and multiple dwelling have opened up places to contestation and transformation as never before. This presents the challenge of crafting personal and collective identities from the complexity and conflicts of competing visions of place (Massey, 1993; Williams and Van Patten, this volume, Chapter 3). Amenity-rich communities – where the visions of tourists, part-time and seasonal residents, newcomers, long-term inhabitants, locals and cosmopolites meet – are particularly prone to contestation.

Individuals and society exist in a recursive relationship linked through the practice of social action (Giddens, 1984). In any particular place, a key aspect of this link is the idea of 'praxis': theory manifest in action. Praxis is situated locally, since this is where people are located and where social interaction takes place. Knowledgeable people who interact socially in particular places use the skilled application of 'lay theory' or understanding of a place to produce and reproduce the social systems and structures that form the rules, resources and social relationships of that place. In essence, it is through social practices in place that the systems and structures of society are negotiated. However, local praxis is not divorced from global influences but, rather, is connected both locally and over broader geographic regions via economies, technologies and mobilities. These connections operate in both directions – global systems and structures affect the local and vice versa.

Multiple dwelling opens the local to the influence of the global as urban residents migrate to amenity regions bringing with them money and power,

values and ideas of rurality, nature and privacy – often at odds with the realities of rural living as perceived and practised by locals. The structure of local communities may be changed, as prevailing social systems are contested through increased political action of seasonal residents.

Giddens (1984, 1991) places emphasis on enduring practices, routines and habits as providing the 'ontological security' that individuals seek. Changes in these practices are initiated when individuals reassess their situation, motivated either by external circumstances or as a result of reflexive engagement. Such 'fateful moments', as Giddens (1984) calls them, require reflection and imagination in order to cope with and adjust to new circumstances. Such fateful moments, in the aggregate, are catalyst for social change.

This volume presents many examples of such fateful moments, as communities formally resource-dependent or simply off the beaten track become attractive to suburbanites seeking, for a variety of reasons, a place to pause in a world of movement. Worldwide in developed countries there has been an in-migration to rural areas, especially to those that are recognized as amenity-rich on coastlines, lakes or rivers, or in mountain or forest settings. In-migration of relatively affluent professional people, who move permanently to amenity regions in close proximity to major urban centres or who purchase second homes in more remote localities, has a major effect on the political character of such communities. Although there is much common ground expressed by various protagonists, especially with regard to environmental and cultural values, they often disagree as to the nature and extent of development which the place can sustain without seriously impacting what they variously take to be the 'essential character' of the place (McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16). While eschewing the essentialism and parochialism of bioregional and communitarian philosophies, Williams and Van Patten (this volume, Chapter 3) argue that dwelling in a shared place constitutes a modicum of common ground upon which the diverse values and visions of locals, migrants and tourists can come together in protecting amenity values of the landscape.

A contrary tendency is evident in the contribution of some authors. McHugh (this volume, Chapter 17), for example, discusses the development of exclusionary enclaves of age-segregated amenity migrants in the sunbelt of Arizona. In his aptly titled contribution, *Citadels in the Sun*, he elaborates the insular, exclusionary, fortress mentality of residents and their impact in wielding political power *vis-à-vis* surrounding working-class communities. The growing popularity of such common interest and 'gated' communities in amenity areas and elsewhere, and their potential effects on political dynamics in host communities, represents one of the less pleasant impacts of amenity migration. Although not the central focus of his contribution, Sandell (this volume, Chapter 18) raises similar concerns in observing effects that urban second-home owners have in restricting traditional rights of access in rural areas of Sweden by applying a similar 'fortress' mentality in their individual rural enclaves.

The well-worn adage that the 'only constant in the modern world is change' is borne out by the discussions centred on the impacts of technological and structural changes on landscapes and cultures. These changes operate at local, regional and national levels, affecting the character of homes and the financial security of individuals, networks and social relationships which underpin local and national cultures, and the regulatory environment which governs interactions between individuals, communities and authorities.

A major impact on landscapes is evident in the increased popularity of second-home developments and the transport networks which service them. Selwood (this volume, Chapter 14) and Marsh and Griffiths (this volume, Chapter 15) discuss the role of technological advances in transport, particularly railways and steamships, and their influence on the spread of second homes in Canada. Railways, especially, have been influential in underpinning the early development of second-home communities, pre-dating the development of widespread car ownership and extensive highway systems which have fuelled the current resurgence.

Early second homes in many parts of the world were relatively simple dwellings, often constructed of 'hand-me-down' materials scavenged from primary homes, built in the main by the owners themselves (McIntyre and Pavlovich, this volume, Chapter 16; Selwood, this volume, Chapter 14; Selwood and Tonts, this volume, Chapter 11). More recently, with increased popularity and escalation of property values, regional and local councils have become much less tolerant of such 'do-it-yourself' constructions and have moved to regulate both the character of the homes and the types of materials used. Many owners have responded by upgrading and modernizing their homes. In rapidly growing amenity areas well-connected to urban areas, there has been an influx of affluent newcomers who similarly upgrade or build new, modern homes. Selwood and Tonts describe small communities on the coast of Western Australia which demonstrate the traditional community values of extended family ties, kinship bonds and relationships based on continuity typical of Tönnies and Loomis' (1963) concept of *gemeinschaft*. Under the influence of improved access, new development and increased government regulation these communities are moving towards *gesellschaft*, or 'modern society', in which 'social relationships are increasingly impersonal and governed by legislation, regulation, and capitalist exchanges' (Selwood and Tonts, this volume, Chapter 11). A unique example of a situation in which government regulation has persistently attempted to move owners in quite the opposite direction is provided by the example discussed by Lux and Rose (this volume, Chapter 19): cabins on recreational residence leases in the US National Forests. These authors document the historical foundations and results of an ongoing struggle between authorities and lessees over regulation of the character of buildings; these regulations involve such matters as: harmony with the natural environment, using colours which duplicate the setting and incorporating wood, stone and rough-hewn timber to blend with surrounding forests.

At a national level, Sandell (this volume, Chapter 18) discusses the tradition of right of access in Sweden. He contrasts this tradition, where reading the landscape and acting appropriately is an individual responsibility based on cultural understanding, with the regulatory nature of management in North America, where, in a sense, managers 'read' the landscape for visitors through signs and regulation. Increased use of the Swedish countryside for a wider range of non-traditional recreation and leisure activities by international tourists and urban-based cottage owners creates conflicts between them and locals. Sandell suggests that this may be due to the possibility that such visitors bring 'mindscapes' or landscape perceptions which are uninformed by culture or practice in the tradition-defined use of a dominantly privately owned landscape. This conflict is evident in the decreased support for the freedom of access tradition demonstrated by rural inhabitants and resource-dependent workers in agriculture, forestry, reindeer herding and mining. On a broader canvas, the 'museum mindscape' concept implies the development of a sense of place narrative informed and sustained through repeated, relatively brief (hours/days) pauses in special places (e.g. national parks or other iconic sites). Such recurrent tourism experiences, which are typical of the 'passing trade', may not only lead to mental frameworks that influence behaviours in particular landscapes but may also result in attachment to, and identification with, such preferred places.

In this volume, dwelling in travel is scripted as life enhancing and life enriching, lying within the purview of the privileged, at least in relative terms. Globalization and attendant mobilities, in essence, have encouraged and facilitated multiple dwelling for those who have the means, knowledge and competence to participate: the 'cosmopolitans' of Gustafson (this volume, Chapter 2). On the other hand, a substantial segment of the world's population views the spread of globalization as a major threat to their job security and lifestyle (Friedman, 2000) and, for them and many others, migration is not a 'choice' but necessitated through political instability, civil war, famine, natural disasters or lack of economic opportunity.

The dwelling in travel trope is invoked at the international scale as 're-imagining belonging within globalization' (Pratt, 2004, p. 124). Here, the post-national metaphor signifies, among other things, liberation from nationalistic impulses that engender violence and racism. Yet, delight in fluid, de-territorialized identities rests upon material comforts of home that enable dwelling in travel. Being well situated, in other words, is dependent upon the labour of others, including disadvantaged immigrants and contract migrants for whom migration and mobility take on much different meanings and resonances. Pratt (2004) draws upon her studies of Filipina domestic workers in Vancouver, Canada, as a case in point: the cosmopolite and the domestic worker are coupled in a 'global dance' of enormous disparity.

Conclusions

In embracing multiple dwelling as a focus, we lift 'living in multiple places' out of the discourse of second home as 'elitism' and 'object' into a broader frame of complex responses to globalization and enhanced mobility. Individuals selectively appropriate preferred technologies, identities, goods and practices from the wide array of options presented in the modern world. Through individual and social action people move reflexively to alter their circumstances and, in concert with others, act to change social systems and structures which define place.

In adopting a second-home life that eschews cable TV and the Internet, for example, people embrace what they deem simple living, creating a sense of 'ontological security' through routines, habits and traditions. At the same time, they maintain openness to the benefits of mobility, including rapid transportation and ready access to goods, modern heating and insulation, and the safety and comfort provided by sophisticated outdoor equipment. Strategies such as these represent attempts to create 'pause' in life, however brief, in the flurry of movement – both physical and virtual – that may threaten to overwhelm. This entails building a 'self-narrative' they can live with, one that provides a sense of adequacy and, at least for them, coherence and commitment to multiple places.

In focusing on multiple dwelling, we are suggesting a need to reset the pendulum swing initiated by Urry (2000) and others which privileges 'movement' over 'pause' or 'dwelling'. People continue to feel a desire for connecting with place, a need to dwell in more reflexive fashion, a lifeworld of multiple places. Across the developed world, the traditional view of dwelling as lifelong or long-term commitment to place in the singular is being worn away by the reality of mobility as part and parcel of sweeping social and technological change. Dwelling as attachment to, and caring for, place in the multiple is becoming increasingly common. Yet, this begs the thorny question: what level of engagement and care is necessary to create sustainable democratic places? We need to re-think the reciprocity of dwelling and movement, moving beyond the dialectic home and away, toward a more nuanced understanding of place and mobility in modern life. Attending to pressing dilemmas of our age requires no less.

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