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University of Wales
Prifysgol Cymru

Holiday Home, Sweet Home:
A Phenomenological Approach to Second Home Living in Ireland

BY

DEIRDRE QUINN, B.Sc., MBA

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

UWIC

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This thesis is offered in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
University of Wales for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I declare this work has not previously accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any other degree. I further declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent work and investigation, except where otherwise stated (a bibliography is appended). Finally, I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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Professor Annette Pritchard (Supervisor)

ABSTRACT

Holiday Home, Sweet Home: A Phenomenological Approach to Second Home Living in Ireland

This study constructs a phenomenological account of the second home living experience in Ireland, exploring the interactions between the everyday home life and the holiday home life of the second home owner. It is contextualized by a critical review of the relevant literatures on post-modernism, cosmopolitanism, home and second home living. The thesis utilises a package of participant-centred qualitative methodologies (including in-depth interviews, audio diaries and participants' photographs) in order to produce a fine-grained insight into their experiences of second home living.

The fieldwork consists of two phases, the first based on in-depth interviews with second home owners and the second based on a further series of in-depth interviews driven by the participants' audio diaries and photographs. The key themes to emerge from the first phase of this study are: everyday life; family life; friends and neighbours; frequency of use, access, mobility and transcendence; other holidays; activities in the second home; acquisition of home; primary home; attachment and rituals. The second phase of the study was developed to explore these in greater detail and it emerges that there is considerable overlap between the 'everyday' or primary home lives and the 'holiday' or second home lives of the participants of the study. It is suggested that holiday home life constitutes a 'stripped down' version of home that allows for more 'living'.

The study thus examines the very essence of what we understand tourism to be; tourism cannot be understood except in relation to 'home', it is our point of departure into a place and space that is different. The study reveals that in the case of second home living home remains an integral part of the tourism experience. It concludes that while there are similarities between everyday home life and everyday holiday home life, the everyday and the touristic, there are significant differences. It is also clear, however, that the holiday home owners do not find this ambiguity uncomfortable and indeed they flit between homes with practised ease.

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CONTENTS

Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.0 Chapter Introduction	.....	1
1.1 Why Explore the Second Home Experience?	.....	1
1.2 Locating Myself in the Study	.....	3
1.3 Study Aims	.....	5
1.4 The Peculiarities of Researching the Tourist	.....	5
1.5 Thesis Chapter Outlines	.....	7
Chapter Two: Study Approach	.....	8
2.0 Chapter Introduction	.....	8
2.1 The Study Philosophy	.....	8
2.2 Locating the Researcher	.....	15
2.3 Reflexivity or looking in on the self	.....	19
2.4 Methodology	.....	22

2.5	Research Methods	23
2.5.1	The Story of the Fieldwork	23
2.5.2	The Depth Interviews	28
2.5.3	The Diaries	32
2.5.3.1	Diary operation in this study	35
2.5.3.2	The Recording Device.....	36
2.5.3.3	The Instructions	37
2.5.3.4	Participant Experience	38
2.5.3.5	Conclusion on Diaries	40
2.5.4	The Self Directed Photography Portfolios	41
2.5.5	Research Methods Reflections and Conclusions	42
2.6	Analysis and Interpretation.....	43
2.6.1	Diary Analysis.....	45
2.6.2	Photograph Analysis	46
2.7	Ethical considerations	47
2.8	The Process of Writing Up	50
2.9	Chapter Conclusion	51
	Chapter Three: Philosophical and Cultural Context.....	53
3.0	Chapter Introduction	53

3.1	Before the Post-modern: Modernity.....	53
3.2	Post-modernism.....	56
3.2.1	Distinctive Features of Post-modernity.....	57
3.2.2	Post-modernism and Tourism	60
3.2.3	The metaphors: The tourist, the traveller, the vagabond and the nomad	62
3.2.4	The Post tourist – The new context for tourism?	63
3.2.5	The importance of mobility.....	64
3.2.6	Perspectives on Time	66
3.2.7	De-differentiation	67
3.2.8	The authentic, the real and the hyperreal	69
3.2.9	Self	74
3.2.10	Considering Post-modern Consumption and Tourism.....	75
3.3	Cosmopolitanism	76
3.3.1	What is Cosmopolitanism?.....	76
3.3.2	The Cosmopolitanism of the Second Home Living experience.....	78
3.3.3	Cosmopolitanism and Mobility.....	80
3.3.4	Cosmopolitanism, Reflexivity and Identity	80
3.4	Chapter Conclusion	82

Chapter Four: Home and Holiday Home.....	84
4.0 Chapter Introduction	84
4.1 Home and Space	84
4.1.1 Homesickness	89
4.1.2 Diaspora	90
4.1.3 Home and Identity.....	92
4.1.4 Home and Tourism.....	94
4.2 The Holiday (Second) Home.....	95
4.2.1 Understanding the Second Home Owner	98
4.2.2 Defining the Second Home Owner	99
4.2.3 Profiling the Second Home Owner	101
4.2.4 The Motivation of Second Home Owners.....	102
4.3 Chapter Conclusion	104
Chapter Five: Holiday Home Themes	106
5.0 Chapter Introduction	106
5.1 Everyday Life	106
5.2 Family Life	110
5.3 Friends and Neighbours	114

5.4	Perception of Frequency of Use, Access, Mobility and Transcendence	116
5.5	Other Holidays.....	119
5.6	Activities in the Second Home	121
5.7	Acquisition of Home	124
5.8	Primary Home	125
5.9	Attachment	126
5.10	Ritual	128
5.11	Chapter Conclusion	129

Chapter Six: Collaborator Stories.....131

6.0	Chapter Introduction	131
6.1	<i>Paul's Story</i>	131
6.2	<i>Yvette's Story</i>	146
6.3	<i>Jacinta and James' Story</i>	160
6.4	<i>Freda's Story</i>	170
6.5	<i>Joanne's Story</i>	181
6.6	<i>Pippa and Angus' Story</i>	191
6.7	<i>Tom's Story</i>	200
6.8	Chapter Conclusion	207

Chapter Seven: Interpretive Reflection210

7.0 Chapter Introduction210

7.1 Distilling the Essence of the Holiday Home Experience

7.1.1 Everyday Home Life and Second Home Life211

7.1.2 Mobility213

7.1.3 Activities214

7.1.4 Family, Memories and Rituals214

7.2 Key Findings and Contributions.....215

7.3 The Study’s Contribution217

7.4 Study Constraints and Reflections.....220

7.5 Future Research221

7.6 Personal Closing Reflections.....222

Bibliographyi-xxiii

Appendices

Appendix One Phase One Interview Themes

Appendix Two Phase Two Final Interview

Appendix Three Photo and Diary Instructions

Tables

2-1	Phase One Participant Profile.....	25
2-2	Phase Two Collaborator Profile	27

Figure

2.1	Instructions to Participants on Completion of Audio-diary	38
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Photographic Plates

1	The Lady Belle Pub, Dungarvan	135
2	The Moorings Restaurant and Pub, Dungarvan	136
3	Chez Frere John, Dungarvan.....	136
4	Páirc Uí Fhearchair, Dungarvan.....	138
5	Abbeyside Strand 2006, Dungarvan.....	139
6	Tony's Takeaway 2006, Dungarvan	141
7	9, Upper King St. Upper, Dungarvan.....	143
8	Yvette and David, Hook Head	147
9	Bird Watching, County Wexford	148
10	Sightseeing, County Wexford	150
11	Hook Head, County Wexford.....	159
12a	Family Activities	175
12b	Family Activities	175
13	Beach Towels, County Wexford	176
14	Barbecuing in the rain, County Wexford	177
15	The "Good-bye" Ritual, County Wexford	178
16	The Wind Farm, County Wexford	180
17	Work Area, Rosslare	185

18	Outdoor Entertaining, Rosslare	189
19a	Interior Décor, Rosslare	189
19b	Interior Décor, Rosslare	190
20	Heading to the Beach, Rosslare.....	190
21	Rosslare Beach	190
22	Children enjoying the beach, Hook Head	194
23	Watching for rabbits at evening-time, Hook Head	195
24	Beach, Hook Head.....	197
25	‘Not Watching the Clock’, Hook Head.....	199
26	Tom’s Car, Rosslare	205
27	Tom’s Local Pub, Rosslare	205

Attachment

DVD containing transcripts of interviews and diaries. List of contents provided.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Chapter Introduction

This first chapter presents the study rationale, sets its parameters and outlines the study context. The background to the study is discussed and I locate myself firmly in the study, contextualising myself as a researcher and briefly describing how and why I embarked on this study (more detail on this is provided in the next chapter in section 2.2). The study aims are set out and the particular challenges and issues presented by researching second home owners are discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief overview of each of the subsequent thesis chapters.

1.1 Why Explore the Second Home Experience?

Tourism as a sphere of human activity is of increasing interest to a variety of researchers across a wide range of disciplines including: sociology, anthropology, psychology, behavioural geography, economics and marketing (see Botterill *et al* 2003, Przeclawski, 1993). Interestingly, however, a typical definition of tourism enquiry which describes it as ‘the study of man away from his usual habitat’ (Jafari 1977, p.7) makes no specific mention of home, or of the need to understand tourism in the context of relationships between home and away or between home and tourism. This reflects the fact that how tourism interacts with, impinges upon and is consistent with everyday ‘home’ life has so far received little significant or sustained scrutiny. This, I will argue in this thesis is a major omission, suggesting that such explorations present a major opportunity to further our understandings of tourism, of ourselves, of the major issues in our lives, and of our complex relationships with tourism. In the following chapters I hope to shed light on these connections by my investigation of a relatively mundane tourist experience, that of ‘domestic’ second home-owning.

We live at home, we leave if we want to engage in tourism activities and we return. If those activities involve us going to another home, then examination of this experience should provide some insight into the meanings we ascribe both to everyday home life and to tourism life. Such a study is important because it focuses on the enjoyment of a tourist experience - second home living - that is as close as possible to everyday life. This juxtaposition of the everyday and the touristic helps to highlight the singular elements of both the everyday and

tourist life. Second home-owning is a rapidly growing activity and it has become very prominent across a range of media, including television, magazines and newspaper supplements; it is a phenomenon of our time. At the same time, however, it remains significantly under-researched (McIntyre *et al*, 2006) and in particular, there is a need to explore and understand the activity in a deeper, more insightful and meaningful way which gives an opportunity to the second home owner to voice their experience of second home living. Tribe and Airey (2007 p. 13) argue in their review of the general state of tourism research that ‘Despite our interesting conference titles and research papers – many significant truths remain under-and untold’ and I would suggest that examination of individuals’ experiences of second home living and owning holds just such potential for uncovering an untold truth about tourism.

The wider importance of tourism as an area of study has been widely discussed, reflecting the fact that the ‘phenomenal growth of the travel and tourism industries in the past five decades has dramatically changed global lifestyles (Pritchard and Morgan, 2007, p.11). Certainly, it is well established that the ‘field of travel and leisure, as economic and social activities, influences the quality of life of substantial shares of the populations of many...nations’ (Woodside *et al*, 2000) and that tourism is an all pervasive, globally influential activity. Hall (2005, p. 2) contends that tourism probably has a higher degree of visibility than ever before and has now come ‘to be recognized as a significant economic and social force throughout contemporary society’. We are all more aware of tourism, it is more a part of more of our lives than ever before, so that ‘tourism is the metaphor for post-modernity as pilgrim is a metaphor for modernity’ (Abram *et al*, 1997). Others claim that tourism ‘is simply a contemporary way of living’ (Przeclawski, 1993), evidenced by the way it spills over into popular culture – for example, where tourism has become a focus for television and magazine coverage. Ryan (1997a) adds that holidays are important times in people’s lives because of their potential for cathartic experience – to sustain or change people’s lives; they are looked forward to, they are enjoyed, there is life before and after the holiday and so the holiday impacts on non-holiday life.

However, despite this agreement amongst scholars that tourism is part of everyday life, it is difficult to find descriptions of the experience told from the perspective of the tourist, indeed Wickens (1999) is of the view ‘existing accounts tell us very little about the meanings

attached to a holiday by the key participants, i.e. the tourists'. This view is supported by Ryan (1997b), whose comment that 'emotional discourse is almost entirely missing from the tourism literature on behaviour' remains as relevant today. This omission may be partly explained by tourism studies' continued adherence to a positivist tradition (see, e.g. Jamal and Hollinshead 2001 and Pritchard and Morgan 2007). However, whilst tourism '...has only become the subject of a coherent field of research in the second half of this century' (Faulkner and Russell 2001, p.328), there is much optimism in what appears to be an emerging consensus among researchers that the field is beginning to mature (Tribe and Airey, 2007). In particular there is an opportunity to examine not only *why* tourists behave as they do, but more importantly from an experience perspective, the *meanings and significance* they attach to those behaviours. This study will contribute to this developing area of work in tourism studies through its focus on the under-explored site of the holiday home in a study which is firmly rooted in the interpretive approach to research.

1.2 Locating Myself in the Study

This study grew out of my desire to explore tourism, what it is, how it affects our human lives and in particular, to try to understand how we move from everyday life to tourist life and back again. It seemed to me that there must be some kind of transcendence, or 'moving through' from one sphere of life to the other. The tourism consumer behaviour literature offered me little by way of enlightenment and copious amounts of positivist studies on decision-making contributed no real insight into the phenomenon. With the exception of the work of Selaniemi (2000, 1996), the concept of transcendence has not been applied to the tourist experience and it seemed to me that a different approach was called for.

I started by examining the literature of 'home', primarily in the sociology and anthropology fields in the hope that it would provide some insight into those places which are not home. I then moved on to examine the literature on second home owning only to discover that there was a huge volume of survey-based research that for instance measured variables such as how far away people lived from their holiday home, but little that attempted to describe the experience of holiday home living and nothing which did so in a way which allowed the voices of the second home-owners to be heard. My study therefore began to take shape

around my desire to understand how we move from everyday life to tourist life and back again and to understand how this transition impacts upon the everyday life of the tourist.

I have always had a huge curiosity about the fundamental questions of tourism and during the past twelve years, since taking up an academic post in the Dublin Institute of Technology, I have been privileged to be able to explore these issues with both undergraduate and postgraduate students. But more than simply the issues themselves, what I became interested in was the approach to understanding the issues. I had always been somewhat uncomfortable with the perspective on the consumer held by positivist-oriented research, the type of research we are all first trained to do. I never felt that I was getting the consumer's – in this case the tourist's - deeply held views. Perhaps more worryingly, I had no confidence that the questions being asked by researchers were actually the relevant ones.

My academic training in marketing, gained in Ireland and the USA since 1980, certainly equipped me to undertake traditional marketing research studies with a consumer focus. The commercial experience I gained from the mid 1980s to late 1990s gave me the opportunity to apply my academic knowledge in the retailing, tourism and travel businesses. My first professional job in 1986 was as Marketing Research Officer with Ryanair, which had just started operations on the Dublin-London route. Our advertising agency, rather unusually at the time, organised a number of focus group discussions to test advertising concepts and I found sitting in on these groups a real eye-opener. For the first time I witnessed the voice of the consumer having an impact on the way in which the company thought about its business. This way of doing research 'felt' right. In the years since then I have had the opportunity to undertake considerable focus group work, to moderate groups myself and also to use depth interviews; all the time striving to explore more effective ways of eliciting the beliefs and feelings of the participants.

While I was first scoping out my PhD topic, I was lucky to engage with scholars who preferred to work from a more interpretivist paradigm. In 2002 I attended the 'Cultural Dimension in Marketing, Consumer and Organisational Research' course in the University of Southern Denmark in Odense. This afforded me the opportunity to benefit from interaction with scholars such as Professors Russell Belk and Fuat Firat. Then in 2005 I was fortunate to attend the first Critical Tourism Studies Conference in Croatia; this group have been very influential in helping me progress this study. I came to the specific study of the holiday

home experience through an interest in everyday life and tourist life and in how they might overlap and influence each other. This particular subject (as is often the case in pursuit of the award of a PhD) emerged while I was initially focusing on another area of research – transcendence. Originally I planned to include second home owners as merely one of several tourist groups which I would study, however, as I came to know the holiday home owner group more intimately I realised that they had their own particular story to tell and they became the only focus of the study.

1.3 Study Aims

In today's post-modern world (at least in so-called more developed societies), we are free to travel and explore new experiences and we are less constrained or regulated by rigid overarching thought or philosophical systems than in previous eras. In a cultural sense the voice of the ordinary person - be it through television reality shows, confessional magazines, and online blogs or interpretivist research data collection techniques - is heard in a way it has never been heard before. The culture of the individual and the individual's right to pursue their individuality, or identity, has become a central tenet of contemporary society. My main aim for this study is to gain an understanding of what 'in essence' is the lived experience of second home owning. The study sets out to foreground the experience of second home living as told in the 'voice' of individual second home owners in its investigation of the world of the holiday home life in all its aspects. I see my work as located within the 'new' tourism research (Tribe 2006, Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan 2007) which is united by common epistemological and methodological concerns, and its specific aims are to:

- Produce a phenomenology of the second home living experience;
- Foreground the voice of the holiday home owner in the telling of their holiday home stories;
- Contribute to interpretive practice.

1.4 The Peculiarities of Researching the Tourist

This study embodies an interpretivist philosophy to research. Specifically it is phenomenological in approach. It foregrounds the voice of the participant through the use of

a range of qualitative data collection tools. Depth interviews, diary completion and photo elicitation were all used to gather information from second home owners both in their primary and holiday homes. The voice of the holiday home owner provides the essence of the experience of second home living.

Support for the approach to the development of this study is clear in Ryan's (2002) explanation of his focus on experience '...because of an appreciation that the study of tourism has, until very recently, been fairly conventional in its adherence to a generally positivist tradition' (xiii). This resonates with Cohen's (1979) view a quarter of a century earlier that 'contrary to other areas in the study of tourism, the in-depth study of tourism experience is not yet much developed, though an endless number of surveys of tourism 'motivations' have been conducted' (p.198). There has traditionally been a reliance on the quantitative measures of tourism (number of bed nights, number of passengers, number of visitors). This focus has ignored the experiential nature of tourism. Most particularly, the individual's experience of a visited place, as seen from his or her point of view, remains a relatively unexplored topic (Cohen, 1979).

Tourism is a relatively young, and still developing, discipline. Many universities still do not offer students the opportunity to study tourism except in a very limited way as part of a geography or services marketing course. Cooper *et al* (2008) contend, 'There is no doubt in our minds that tourism is a subject area or domain of study, but at the moment it lacks the level of theoretical underpinning that would allow it to become a discipline' (p. 5). Tourism is only now starting to gather around it a depth of scholarly endeavor that would permit it entry to the hallowed halls of rigorous academic pursuit. Examining the analysis of the Annals of Tourism index over a 30 year period, Xiao and Smith (2006), conclude that 'the growth of knowledge around methodology and theoretical constructs is indicative of efforts of a young field to achieve rigor' (p.502). Research in tourism continues to strive to establish a solid foundation of knowledge, there is an opportunity to contribute to the nature of this knowledge and the ways in which it is constructed.

1.5 Thesis Chapter Outlines

Chapter one has provided an introduction to the study and its context. In it I have presented some background information relating to the study of tourism and located myself in the research project. The chapter has concluded by presenting the study's four aims. The next chapter (two) is entitled Study Approach and it details the philosophical and research approaches to the study. It relates the story of how the research was undertaken, which in turn enables the reader to better comprehend the unfolding of the phenomenology, before critically discussing the research methodology. Chapter three follows and explores the literature pertaining to the philosophical and cultural context of the study. This exploration of these literatures provides a basis from which I investigate the phenomenon of the holiday home living experience in chapter four and therein provide a critical analysis of two related literatures: home and second home owning. The chapter begins with an exploration of the concept of home and how we make home, before examining how home and tourism are related, and concluding with a critical review of the second home literature. Taken together, the discussions in chapters three and four serve to contextualise the primary data and its discussion.

Chapter five, entitled Holiday Home Themes, presents the themes generated from phase one of the study which consisted of 15 depth interviews. These themes are: everyday life; family life; frequency of use, access, mobility and transcendence; and activities in the second home. Chapter six, entitled Collaborator Stories, presents and discusses seven individual portraits and experiences of holiday home owners who I term research collaborators to reflect their intimate involvement in my study as co-researchers. Each of the seven collaborators is presented within the context of their own circumstances as the objective is to bring the reader into the world of the collaborator so as to gain a comprehensive insight into the experience of second home living. The thesis concludes with chapter seven, entitled Interpretive Reflection. This presents and discusses the most significant insights gained from the study, confirms its key contributions and limitations, looks ahead to further research opportunities and presents my personal reflections on the research study and its conduct.

Chapter Two: Study Approach

2.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter explains and defends the philosophical, epistemological and methodological stance of the study (section 2.1). It then discusses the researcher's context (section 2.2), and considers the importance of both researcher and participant reflexivity (section 2.3) and involvement and research (section 2.4). The chapter then moves on to a discussion of methodology (section 2.5), a description of the study's field work undertaken (section 2.6) including a description of the data collection methods and tools used, and an elaboration of the analysis of the fieldwork materials (section 2.7). It concludes with consideration of research ethics (section 2.8) so that in essence therefore, the chapter describes 'the how' of this study.

2.1 The Study Philosophy

As detailed in the previous chapter, tourism has become of increasing significance as an area of study over recent years. Despite the ongoing disputes over whether it is a field or a discipline (Tribe and Airey, 2007), there is widespread recognition that tourism, as an area of academic interest, is growing and maturing. However, there remain a number of significant omissions, including attempts to understand tourism from the voice of the tourist and studies which examine the interaction of tourism with everyday life. This study attempts to begin to address these omissions through its examination of the second home-owning experience, an experience it is thought that may be nearer to home life than other forms of tourism (McIntyre, 2006). Understanding the essence of the second home living experience will provide us with a more holistic understanding of tourism in the current cultural and philosophic context. As we will see, examination of the second home literature confirms that the lived story of the second home owner has not yet been told.

All research activity is founded, to at least some extent, upon the philosophical beliefs and values of the researcher. Depending upon the intensity, duration and consequences of the research activity, the philosophy of the researcher is more or less in evidence. The production of a PhD demands a particularly rigorous analysis and articulation of the chosen philosophy of research; often it seems that the philosophy pursued is the *raison d'être* of the study. Consideration of the research philosophy of any study includes discussion of matters such as ontology, epistemology and methodology (Cockburn-Wootten, 2002); matters which all

inform each other. The ontological basis of a study has to do with 'the nature of reality' as perceived by the researcher. In terms of this study that reality is seen to be subjective, multiple, holistic, dynamic and socially constructed (see Westwood, 2004; Cockburn-Wooten, 2002). The experience of second home-owning is very personal and very individual to the second home owners involved. This is clear from the stories they told me particularly in the second phase of the study where there was an opportunity for the holiday home owner to use a variety of means of 'data offering' to tell their different stories. The construction of their holiday home lives takes place largely in the social world; this morphs into their overall holistic experience of second home living. This is a dynamic experience, it changes over time. Clearly, there is a necessity to be as flexible as possible in the approach to the collection and synthesis of knowledge about this phenomenon, in order 'to capture the essence' of the experience, to understand the 'how' of the experience. Relativist multiple realities are thus more appropriate than one closely specified insight. In contrast to ontology, epistemology speaks to the relationship between the researcher and reality being researched; essentially, ontology is reality, and epistemology is the relationship between that reality and the researcher (Carson *et al*, 2001). There are four major research paradigms, or epistemologies: positivist, post-positivist, critical and interpretive (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Other authors add or combine paradigms, for example Guba and Lincoln (2005) add participatory. However, a broad sweep of the literature confirms that the four Phillimore and Goodson categories are comprehensive and inclusive and thus each will be reviewed here in turn.

Positivism purports that the only real knowledge is that which can be observed, touched and broken down into atoms. It measures variables and comes to conclusions. Chapter three, section 3.1, discusses modernity, the historical period during which positivism, as an approach to understanding the nature of society, developed. Post-positivism, while continuing to seek 'a singular reality' does recognise that 'flawed intellectual mechanisms made reality only imperfectly comprehensible' (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004, p.12) and it accepts that the ultimate truth may never be known (Pernecky, 2007).

My instinctive view from very early on in this study was that neither of these paradigms allowed me to address the more intangible, less quantifiable, issues in which I am interested. In order to get the best possible insight, it was most important that I study the experience of second home-owning in context, where it was taking place, its natural setting. The third

paradigm, critical, places emphasis on achieving emancipation for the study participants; it foregrounds research issues of ideology and hegemony (Tribe, 2004) and addresses issues of feminist theory, ethnic studies, Marxist theory, cultural studies and queer theory. To some extent, specifically that it empowers the participants to tell their own story, my study encompasses elements of the critical research paradigm. However, clearly it is difficult to regard the subject matter of this study - second home living - as being fundamentally emancipatory in the way that issues such as freedom to express sexual orientation or to have access to education, are crucial to living a free life. That said, the behaviour is clearly at least 'freeing' for most second home owners and is 'critical' in an academic study sense because it gives central voice to their views.

However, none of these previous three paradigms comprehensively describe the nature of my study especially vis-à-vis the position of the researcher and the researched. From a fundamental epistemological perspective the aim of interpretive social science research has been for the researcher to gain an insight into the behaviour, indeed into the very lives, of the study participants; 'it is an attempt to uncover or capture the essence and ambience' of an event (Berg, 2009,p.3). The interpretivist paradigm offers the view that '...the thick description of high-in-context interpretive/constructivist work is the anthesis of the sorts of orthodox thin description which is customarily favoured by low-in-context conventional linear styles of research' (Hollingshead, 2004, p.92). Thus the aim is to yield an understanding of what is happening in a given context (Carson *et al*, 2001) and to refer to the way we as humans attempt to make sense of the world around us (Saunders *et al*, 2009). Adam and Healy (2000) also argue the need for context-dependent research and they recommend getting to know the context and rejecting prior commitment to theoretical constructs.

In a related discussion, which focuses on the discipline of marketing, Gummesson (2005) remarks that 'True scholarship is engendered by a committed entrepreneurial researcher spirit' (p.325); it is only by being innovative that the researcher becomes a scholar. I speculate that there is almost a requirement to be naively curious, to go wherever the curiosity takes you as a researcher, to keep the most open of minds, to answer the curiosity rather than adhere to a set of rules about a particular research paradigm. Tribe goes further to argue that 'The post-modern truth free-for-all has disabled the paradigm' (2007, p.32) the interpretive is as near to the non-paradigm as is possible and post-modernism gives us the freedom to customise our

research paradigm to the context in which we are interested. Interpretive research allows for freedom of method as well as freedom of interpretation. The phrase 'Innovative Interpretivism' describes my view of the most fruitful approach to the research area in which I am interested. It is necessary in such an enquiry to develop approaches and to devise tools to satisfy the relentless striving to 'dig deeper', to 'mine' the situation for deeper, richer, insights. The relationship between 'the inquirer and the unknown' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.22) is at the heart of this discussion of epistemology; it is what 'permits' the researcher to avail herself of a wide range of tools to uncover the insights so desperately sought. Findings then are the creation of a process of interaction between 'the inquirer and the inquired'; (Hollingshead, 2004, p.76). I return to these issues in chapter three, section 3.2, where I discuss post-modernity, and the era during which interpretivism has developed.

Within an interpretive epistemology there are a number of research approaches, perspectives or frameworks that need to be considered: Realism theory, Critical theory, Constructivism, Phenomenology, Hermeneutics, Naturalistic inquiry, and Humanism (Carson *et al*, 2001). These perspectives singly predominate, or overlap with varying emphases, in individual studies. Carson *et al* (2001) prefer to use the loosest framework, recognising that there are many different approaches to carrying out research under the broad interpretivist umbrella 'that can be adapted to suit the context of the research' (p.9). Phenomenology, Hermeneutics and Naturalistic inquiry are the three research perspectives that have most bearing on this study. These perspectives were not selected and imposed on the study but rather emerged from it as it developed (see Westwood, 2004) and the study is best understood by reference primarily to the phenomenological approach.

Phenomenology is dedicated to understanding social phenomena from the participant's own perspective (Creswell, 1998); it is the experience that is examined. Phenomenology sees social phenomena as socially constructed, and is particularly concerned with generating meanings and gaining insights into those phenomena (Saunders *et al*, 2007); it encompasses the view that objective or 'pure' understanding is possible (Delanty, 2005, p.54). Historically, from a modern perspective, we need to turn to Husserl, a German philosopher during the late 1800s, who whilst lecturing about epistemology 'I myself have nothing to say' (1900). The failure of traditional epistemology to illuminate the issues he was addressing led him to embark on new investigations of logic and epistemology. He wanted to return to a careful

description of things themselves; originally phenomenology was a kind of conceptual analysis (Moran, 2000). In Husserl's work the experience itself becomes the point of departure. The 'intentional objects' of interest here are neither subjective nor objective, but have the status of a third alternative – the 'lived'; the goal is to leave the individual phenomenon behind, and to reach the so called 'essence'. Husserl introduced a new technique, 'the intuition of the essences', which refers to a kind of comparative analysis of our thought processes (ibid). Schutz (1970) turns Husserl's philosophical project towards the ways in which ordinary members of society live their everyday lives. Schutz cautions that 'the safeguarding of this subjective point of view is the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer' (p.73).

Phenomenology is critical of modern natural science for having distanced itself too far from its basis in everyday life (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). Phenomenology suggests that, if we lay aside as best we can, the prevailing understandings of those phenomena and revisit our immediate experience of them, possibilities for new meaning emerge for us or we witness at least an authentication and enhancement of former meaning (Crotty, 1996). We are beings-in-the-world, because of this we cannot be described apart from our world (Crotty, 1998)- there is a need to focus on what we directly experience, the objects of our experience, before we start thinking about them, interpreting them or attributing any meaning to them (ibid). Researchers are thus searching for the essential invariant structure (or essence) (Creswell, 1998). On a grand scale, Crotty (1998) declares 'What phenomenology offers social inquiry is not only a beginning rooted in immediate social experience but also a methodology that requires a return to that experience at many points along the way. It is both starting point and touchstone' (p.85). Phenomenology guides us in philosophical terms and instructs us in methodology; understanding the 'lived experiences' marks phenomenology as a philosophy as well as a method (Creswell, 2003, p.15).

An important part of the operation of a phenomenological approach to a study is that the researcher 'brackets' his or her own experiences in order to understand those of the participants in the study (ibid). The researcher clearly and openly articulates their own experience, as it, as broadly as possible, relates to the phenomenon under study, and puts it to one side. I detail my own experience in section 2.2 (Locating the Researcher) below to allow the reader to be clear with regard to the possible biases and tendencies that I, as the researcher,

bring to this study. Another understanding of the term bracketing is that it is an attempt to place the commonsense and scientific foreknowledge about the phenomena within parentheses in order to arrive at an unprejudiced description of the essence of the phenomena (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008). My main aim for this study is to gain an understanding of what 'in essence' is the lived experience of second home owning and phenomenology as a guiding philosophy focuses me precisely on this aim. Using the lenses of post-modernism and cosmopolitanism, I hope to portray the essential experiences of the variety of home owners with whom I interacted and I want the reader to come away feeling 'I understand better what it is to experience that' (Creswell, 1998, p.55). The phenomenological approach embodies an exploration of individual consciousness to uncover knowledge and this is very much what I will seek to achieve in this study. The knowledge generated about the second home-owning experience comes directly from the second homeowners and it is very definitely 'experience' in that it encompasses a variety of practices over a period of time. Crotty (1996) encourages us to lay aside prevailing understanding of phenomena and revisit our immediate experience of them, then 'possibilities of new meaning emerge for us'. Of the range of research perspectives provided by Carson *et al* (2001), both Hermeneutics and Naturalistic inquiry go some way towards explaining the philosophical underpinnings of this study.

Interpretation involves the ability to understand the intentions of another human being; it is the ability to penetrate to the hidden meanings, to understand the utterances, the whole must be related to the parts (Crotty, 1998); hermeneutic interpretation must also be intuitive (Delanty, 2005). This very much describes the experience of working with the text produced by the participants in this study. Interpretation is necessary because social reality is so complex, to get to ever deeper levels of society 'the scientist must interpret...' (ibid, p.42). Sociological hermeneutics is mostly concerned with the micro-analysis of everyday life; Geertz is a main proponent of 'thick interpretation' in this genre (Delanty, 2005, p.56). This type of interpretation does not involve a critique but mere understanding (ibid,p.59). This study aims to produce the 'thick descriptions' championed by Geertz and regards 'mere understanding' as a laudable goal. Odman (1985) differentiates phenomenology and hermeneutics by explaining that the latter tries to 'go beyond the observable in order to read between the lines'. I do engage in this level of analysis as I do want to see across the phenomenon as it is generated from different sources (e.g. from diaries, photographs). Crotty (1998) states that hermeneutics

allows us to ‘understand the whole through grasping its parts, and to comprehend the meaning of parts thorough divining its whole (p.92).

Naturalistic inquiry is discussed at length by Lincoln and Guba (1985). It holds that there are multiple constructed realities (ontology) that can only be studied holistically; knower and known are inseparable (epistemology), naturalists believe that inquiry is value-bound (axiology), naturalists believe that time- and context-free generalisations are not possible (generalizations), it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects. I believe that the holistic view of the second home-owning experience is paramount, however, examination of individual phenomena does contribute to the discussion of the overall experience. The work of Belk (1991) in the furtherance of naturalistic inquiry has been a fundamental inspiration to this work. Belk *et al* (1988) define naturalistic inquiry as a set of methods that are used in a natural occurring context, which are typically qualitative and represent a systematic set of procedures for assessing the credibility of the findings. The idea that the inquirer and the ‘object’ of the inquiry interact to influence one another is part of my research experience (specifically discussed later in section 2.2), the participant and the researcher co-construct the interpretation of the situation. Discussing the rigor of naturalist inquiry, Hollingshead (2004) contends that ‘the call for confirmability is parallel to, and replaces, the objectivity of positivism, just as credibility replaces internal validity, transferability replaces external validity, and dependability replaces reliability’ (p.88). The challenge to this naturalistic study is to allow a credible, dependable and ‘true according to the participant’ account of the experience to emerge. Naturalistic research often starts with a hunch or an anecdote (Carson et al, 2001); my intuition was that second home owners had a particular touristic story to tell. At the beginning of the study I did not know where this hunch would lead me.

So in conclusion, I contend that this study rests on a number of philosophical approaches but primarily draws on the approaches of Phenomenology and Naturalistic inquiry, and to a lesser extent on the approach of Hermeneutics. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) state that ‘This hybridisation of research approach appears to be increasingly common’ (p.20) and is indicative of the interdisciplinary nature of tourism. The ability of the interpretive researcher to mix and match research approaches and methods is exemplified by Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005) researcher-as-bricoleur who employs ‘a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, always hoping to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand’ (ibid, p.4).

They contend that the researcher-as-bricoleur must possess a new level of research self-consciousness and awareness of the numerous contexts in which they are operating; it is a complex, all encompassing mode of operation. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) explain that the bricolage, the output of the bricoleur, highlights the relationship between the researcher's ways of seeing and the social location of his or her personal history. Here again, there is an inherent complexity and multi-layered aspect to this research process, which is free to borrow from many different disciplines (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Crotty (2003) describes the bricoleur as a Jack (or Jill) of all trades, or a do-it-yourself person requiring the possession of multiple skills and lots of resourcefulness. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) use the metaphors of the quilt maker and the jazz improviser to explain how the bricoleur works, 'the quilter stitches, edits and puts slices of reality together' (p.5). They go on to explain that the tasks involved include interviewing, intensive self reflection and introspection. The bricoleur 'is knowledgeable about many interpretive paradigms' (ibid, p.6); in order to be able to create a bricolage of each varied reality, the bricoleur must feel free to draw upon any, and several, of the available research paradigms. The researcher becomes a bricoleur both methodologically and epistemologically.

I very much see myself as a research bricoleur in that I know the area I am interested in understanding and am very open about the approaches and methods I have employed to gain this understanding. In my self reflection I like to think I have been resourceful and imaginative in my research process. However, Crotty (2003, p.50) does concur with Lévi-Strauss (1966) in maintaining that sustained focus on the objects of the research is much more important than resourcefulness; the bricoleur looks at the materials and asks the question, 'What can be made of this?', '...there is an invitation to reinterpretation'. This approach does not result in any one right answer, it produces non-symmetrical, messy 'data'. The area of interest in this study is, to a large degree, of an intangible nature and understanding comes about through meticulous and deepening bricolage, the end result being thick descriptions. This next section details where I, as a researcher 'come from' in the making of this bricolage.

2.2 Locating the Researcher

The researcher needs to achieve clarity as to what '*personal paradigm*' is brought to the research situation (Collis and Hussey, 2003, p.47). In my work under discussion here a basic

respect for, and curiosity about, the emic, the voice of the participant, is what drives the exploration. The material produced by the participant is given central importance in the quest to achieve insight into the 'multiple realities' held by the participant. In a complementary fashion 'the researcher is responding as a whole person, the researcher is an instrument' in the interpretive research project (Sherry 1990). This personal paradigm has developed in the context of what I believe to be an opportunity in tourism research to go beyond pursuit of belief in a particular, singular way of looking at tourism; there are different realities. In a wider context than my PhD study I am very broadly interested in how the practice of tourism impacts our everyday lives. This interest led to the study of second homeowners. Looking to tourism theory to inform this exploration it is clear that tourism is a relatively new body of knowledge, it is founded on a multi-disciplinary basis, and 'tourism research sits rather uncomfortably in the social sciences' (Botterill, 2001, p.209).

I had come to the study of tourism from a family business involvement with tourism over a number of years. It could be said that I have an emotional attachment to tourism as a business as travel and tourism have been a presence in my life since childhood. My father worked for many years for Aer Lingus, the Irish state-owned airline, and very much a flag carrier in the tradition of the 'grand old airlines' of the 1950s and 1960s. He was involved with IATA (the International Air Traffic Association) which essentially regulated air fares and laid down the specifications for everything from the size of sandwich the passenger was served to the design of the paper ticket. This was a different world, but one that brought me an appreciation of the possibilities of a world beyond Ireland. In the late sixties my family set up a tour operation and coach company specialising in the UK, French and German markets. The idea was to offer customised tours of Ireland to groups of tourists ranging from four to forty in size. The business was initially successful but unfortunately was ultimately damaged by what came to be known as 'The Troubles', prospective tourists were not comfortable with the idea of visiting somewhere (Ireland) that was portrayed on their television screens as a war zone. However, this venture made me aware of interest in Ireland as a tourist destination.

As a child during the late 1960s and early 1970s, foreign package holidays 'for the masses' were just coming into vogue. Nonetheless, my parents were firm believers in 'getting to know your own country'. We spent many summer holidays in the car travelling from one beautiful area of Ireland to another, exploring every nook and cranny and wayside boreen. Apart from

the ubiquitous school tour to London (stopping off in Swansea on the way) foreign travel did not become an established part of my life until, as a student, I started to spend my summers working in the tourist resort of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. This experience in the US was quite simply life changing. Despite being 'adopted' by a large Irish-American family, my friends and I easily assimilated into the world of the college student working in a busy tourist resort for the summer. I was fascinated by how Cape Cod, often locally derided as 'a sandbar held together by package stores (off-licences)', could attract the numbers and variety of tourists that it did. The topography of the area was remarkably similar to coastal areas of Ireland. I kept questioning why we, in Ireland, could not develop our tourist facilities more productively as had been done in this area of the USA. A staple feature of Cape Cod tourism has been the second home tourist. Every year from July 4th (the American Independence holiday) until Labor Day (the first Monday in September) significant numbers of families, mainly from Boston and New York, decamp to 'the Cape' for summer vacation and the populations of small villages and towns would grow by multiples of three and four. There are entire businesses that open up just to service the second home owner. At the time it seemed to me to be a wonderful way to organise life, I did not realise then that in the future it would be a subject of academic interest to me.

As I commenced my college career in the early 1980s, there was no opportunity to study tourism in its own right. None of today's Tourism or Tourism and Business courses existed in Ireland. I worked towards a B.Sc. in Management with a specialism in Marketing and of particular interest to me was the subspecialty of Consumer Behaviour. At this time no significant body of knowledge relating to the consumer behaviour of the tourist existed. My intention throughout my studies was to find some way of using a Marketing degree in the broad area of my tourism interest. However, in the recession stricken mid-1980s, this appeared to be somewhat difficult to achieve until by sheer chance I had an opportunity to work for Ryanair. My undergraduate degree had required the completion of a dissertation, the fledgling airline needed someone to undertake ad hoc market research studies and I had my first professional job in the travel and tourism industry. My time with Ryanair involved me in the first instance in undertaking and commissioning market research studies. I then took over responsibility for all non-seat revenues (e.g. in-flight sales, car hire) on charter and scheduled flights. Both these positions allowed me to acquire a deep knowledge and appreciation of the travel and tourism markets into and out of Ireland. Ryanair has become something of a travel

(and tourism) colossus; arguably no brand better represents the mobility of today's European (soon to be transatlantic) tourist and traveller. After a three year period working in Detroit, Michigan as a research analyst for a retail chain, during which time I gained a solid perspective on tourism as part of the larger service sector, I returned to travel, working briefly for an Irish charter airline and a hospitality company before entering the world of tourism academe in my role as Lecturer in Tourism.

My family and industry experience helped me to build a personal paradigm from which to understand tourism and travel. Despite the relative paucity of my personal travel experience (confined as it has been to Europe and the US) I have been immersed in tourism all my life. Plummer (2005) contends that the human values of the researcher are present in many ways in the text. My belief that tourism and travel are overwhelmingly forces for good in contributing to understanding among people around the world is central to my work in tourism. My belief that our everyday lives benefit from diversion into our tourist lives is borne out not only by my own experience but also that of family, friends and a wider society. The awe and wonder of something novel, something different to the everyday, is good for the soul. The capacity for tourism activity to support the economic viability of communities in a sustainable manner is a challenge to all those interested in tourism. I remain fascinated by the place of tourism in our lives and in a professional academic sense I feel this study allows me the opportunity to gain further insight into the location of tourism in our every day lives.

Academically, I brought to this study of tourism knowledge of consumer behaviour gleaned in a classical marketing context. An examination of tourism consumer behaviour 'theory' yielded little insight into the behaviour of the tourist because it is more focussed on the mere extension to tourism, of traditional consumer behaviour models than on any significant attempt to develop new theory. In summary, there was little help from within traditional marketing, consumer behaviour and tourism theory for developing the content and methodological approach to study the experience of second home living. Theoretically, I have been heavily influenced by sociological work on the home, transcendence and mobility and by my contact with a group which offered me hope of a new way of looking at tourist behaviour research. They form what is informally known as the Heretical Consumer Research (HCR) group that operates somewhat as an irritant on the fringes of the Association for Consumer Research (ACR). As a group they pursue an agenda that places the consumer at the very

centre of the research activity and the voice of the consumer is given prominence over all other concerns. Their work, showcased in the collection *Highways and Buyways; Naturalistic Research from the Consumer Behaviour Odyssey* (Belk, 1991, ed.), looks outward to consumers rather than inward towards the literature (Wells in Belk, 1991) so that the consumer is no longer peripheral to the discussion. With regard to my study, I have resisted the temptation to live among the second home owners, purely for logistical reasons however, I have spent considerable time with them in both their primary and second homes. Owning a second home is not something I have ever aspired to do but I have come to fully appreciate how much pleasure it provides to those who practice second home living. I have actually very much enjoyed holidays in other peoples' second homes in places as diverse as Vermont, Florida and Finland. At the root of my decision not to own a second home is a fear that if I did I may not 'get out and see the rest of the world'. Also, I have certain underlying philosophy of keeping life simple. All the effort (although my collaborators would disagree with me) I perceive to be involved in funding, maintaining, and travelling to and from a holiday home would be just too self indulgent and energy sapping. However, I am confident that I have overcome my own antipathy to the personal idea of second home-owning to allow myself to become immersed in the research context.

2.3 Reflexivity or looking in on the self

Tribe (2006, p.379) has suggested that 'A sign of increasing maturity is the emergence of more reflexivity, (which) encourages researchers to follow innovative and radical lines of inquiry'. Reflexivity can refer to both the researcher and the participant (Swain and Hall, 2007; Feighery, 2006; Creswell, 2003; Rojek and Urry, 1997) and reflective research has two basic characteristics: careful interpretation and reflection (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000). The end result is interpretation which leads to further reflection. The reflexive bricoleur goes back and forth, back and forth, between the interpretation and the objects of the research; the reflexive researcher can take the perspective of the participant (Delanty, 2005). The reflexive ethnographer does not simply report findings 'but actively constructs interpretations of experiences in the field and then questions how these interpretations actually arose' (Van Maanen, 1988). A key aspect of this is 'self-awareness' (Delanty, 2005, p.122) and the researcher engages in an internal dialogue that constantly examines 'what the researcher knows and how the researcher came to know this' (Berg, 2004). I was very conscious

throughout the research process of how I was impacting on, and was being impacted by, the knowledge that was emerging. There is a proactivity in the approach to the work and reflexivity strives to avoid 'empiricism, narcissism and different varieties of social and linguistic reductionism'. It tries to avoid consistency, getting into ruts of thinking (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000) and the 'output' of this reflexivity is interpretation (Harris *et al* 2007, p.42) 'which is the most public testament to reflexive practice'. I tried at every juncture to stop and take stock and ask myself what was the meaning of what my participants and collaborators were telling me. These personal reflections served to further immerse me in the experience of the second home owner

From another perspective, and looking specifically at research in tourism, Ateljevic *et al* (2005) discuss what they term 'the entanglements of reflexivity'. They determine these to be dominant ideologies and legitimacies (which govern and guide tourism research output), research accountability environment (which decides what is 'acceptable' as tourism research, positionality as embodied researchers whose lives, experiences and worldviews impact on their studies, and intersectionality with the researched as they carry out their research with the people they profess to study. They contend that to enter a reflexive dialogue, the researcher must go through a process of getting entangled. Specifically, and perhaps most importantly, the idea of intersectionality forces the researcher to ask how do they relate to, and voice the experiences of, those they study? How do the researched view the researcher? The objective then, is a collaborative production of knowledge. Willis (2007) concludes that whatever form the reflection takes, 'it represents the effort to reduce reliance on pure data in research and to increase the use of reason'. Once an open and holistic perspective is taken on the meaning of 'reason', reflexivity significantly improves the richness and participant-ownership of the research output.

All of this theoretical discussion does apply in a very practical way to this study. At all times my personal reflections on my work with my participants and collaborators served to ensure that they retained ownership of the output. I did, as Michael Hall (2004) suggests, start with myself and ask the difficult question of how I should situate the research with myself and others before involving myself with those others. It has always been an aim of the study to place the voice of the participant right at the centre of the discussion, and even more than that to work with the participant in the construction of the interpretation of their experience. The

practical application of this discussion is explored in more detail in sections 2.5.1 to 2.5.4 of this chapter.

More directly in consideration of reflexivity, there are ‘embodied factors’ that both I and my study participants, consciously or unconsciously, bring to the research interaction. Consideration needs to be given to my/their cultural ethnicity, age, gender, class, sexuality, my power, my personal biography (see Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Overall, there are many similarities between myself and my participants. Despite these shared ‘variables’ the biggest single difference between them and myself is that I do not wish to engage in the behaviour that is of interest i.e. second home living. As discussed in the last section, I do not think the behaviour is ‘wrong’ or ‘undesirable’, I just simply do not want to engage in it myself at this point in my life. Again, this attitude is more of a reflection of my beliefs rather than any reflection on the behaviour in question. I think it has been useful for me to acknowledge this to myself and thereby heighten my sensitivity to any ‘passing of judgement’. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) would contend that knowing these ‘embodied factors’ allows the reader to make a more informed judgement about the quality of the interpretation. Another test of the level of self-knowledge of participants (as well as efficacy of the research tools), applied particularly in the second phase of this study, was to investigate whether or not the participants could ‘see themselves in the research’. This was achieved through confronting participants with their musings from the first interview and the discussion of the diary and photo materials they supplied. This is very much the view of Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p.40) who state that ‘Research should also focus on the individual’s role in the active construction and reconstruction of reality through interactions with others and the meanings they attach to various aspects of tourism’.

The issue of involvement with participants is worthy of consideration; it is thought that involvement gives better access to data than detached research endeavour (Gummesson, 2005). How well the story is articulated is dependent on ‘the success of the participation by the researcher in the “collective contract”...of the everyday life being studied’ (Evans, 1988) My involvement with participants would start when I made telephone contact, usually on the recommendation of a third party. My approach was always that of the interested visitor. In some cases it developed to encompass the role of confidante. My open and friendly approach and genuine interest in the lives of my study participants opened up insights that would not

have been accessible to me had I used a more detached, 'professional' approach. The rapport that I was successful in building was essential to actually gain access to the knowledge I wished to attain; I wanted to establish credibility and trust (Pitts and Miller-Day, 2007). Post-modernism, phenomenology and reflexivity allow for the ultimate in flexibility, in looseness, in terms of how the research process is designed and implemented. With these 'big issues' in mind I go on now to describe the practical detail of how participant research material was gathered.

2.4 Methodology

Methodology refers to the collection of techniques used by the researcher to discover the realities of interest; the techniques chosen are reflective of the epistemological stance of the researcher. The methodology chosen is based on the aims and objectives of the study, it focuses on putting the participant, and in later stages of the study, the collaborator, centre stage to provide their own story. Methodology is '...an approach to how the research should proceed (Pernecky, 2007, p.212); more practically, methodology is 'the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes' (Crotty, 2003,p.3). Hollingshead (2004a, p.64) is insistent that 'the choice of qualitative research instrument ought to be seen not simply as a methods-level matter of technical accuracy, but as a critical skill of applied philosophical awareness and applied critical literacy'. Silverman (1993,p.12) advises that 'methodologies cannot be true or false, only more or less useful'; depending upon the context, the chosen methodology must excavate the reality. The methodology must determine the methods used to gather the information. While the methodology provides a plan, it is to a large extent created as the study proceeds. For example, initially I had felt a pure ethnographic approach would be appropriate but have come to realise that this study is a phenomenology which seeks to capture the essence of the experience of second home living. It is more focussed on that central experience rather than on the extreme detail of the ongoing everyday life of the second home owner.

As each study proceeds it develops its own unique methodology, I have established in the preceding philosophy of research discussion that this study will require the application of more interpretivist methodologies. Carson et al (2001) list these as in-depth/convergent

interviews and focus groups, action research and learning, ethnographic studies and grounded theory, these last three being generally termed emergent case studies. Crotty (2003) provides a list of what at first examination appear to be a somewhat different set of methodologies including Experimental Research, Survey Research, Ethnography, Phenomenological Research, Grounded Theory, Heuristic Inquiry, Action Research, Discourse Analysis, Feminist Standpoint Research. However, on reflection, it is clear that I have taken a phenomenological approach, employing depth interviews and the engagement of the participants in self-generated diaries and photographic portfolios in following an interpretivist epistemology. The next section of the chapter will now discuss and explain in detail the research methods employed in the study.

2.5 Research Methods

...there are no methods without deficiencies and every method causes certain methodological difficulties for the researcher....A razorblade as well as an axe are equally precise instruments but when it comes to deforestation the axe is much better. The axe is a powerful tool just as the razorblade but it is much better to use a razorblade rather than an axe for shaving (Bauman, 1966, p.45).

The challenge in choosing methods best suited to implementing the chosen methodology and supporting the evolved epistemological position of the study is in keeping an open, constantly seeking, mind about how best to match the data collection desires with the study participants' capabilities and willingness to provide information. From early in the study I was convinced that a range of tools was needed in order to capture the rich insights I desired. These tools, the depth interview, the audio diary and the photography portfolio, are detailed below in separate sections of this chapter. Because so little has been written about, and experienced with regard to the use of, diaries in tourism research, I give particular attention to this tool. However, before discussing individual tools, and in order to give as full an account as possible of the fieldwork and to bring the reader into the field with me, the next section provides a detailed 'walk through' the fieldwork experience and essentially describes 'What I did'.

2.5.1 The Story of the Fieldwork

This study of second home living commenced with a review of the assorted relevant literatures and a number of exploratory discussions with second home owners. It soon became clear that

little study had been made of the experience of second home living from the perspective of the second home owner. It was evident that it was most important to devise an overall methodology and a collection of methods that would get to the very core of the experience. In terms of the findings it will be important to recognise that it is very significant that none of the properties in this study are rental properties.

On reviewing the literature on second homes, I felt I needed to 'go back, before going forward', and so undertook a review of the literature on home. This material afforded me a much richer understanding of the possibilities for experience in the second home. Additionally, the literature on the cultural and philosophical context within which the experience of second home living takes place provided a more encompassing, holistic, overview of 'what was going on' while the second home living experience is underway. This literature review is presented in Chapters Three and Four.

The fieldwork for this study took place in two distinct phases. Phase One consisted of 15 individual depth interviews and Phase Two involved seven participants or couples (if the partner of an individual I went to interview took part in the interview, I included them), whom I interviewed extensively and who completed diaries and photographic studies for me. I completed each phase when I felt I had reached saturation point meaning 'that more interviews would not add any new insights or perspectives' (Flick, 2007, p.81); (more) precise guidelines for determining saturation are almost nonexistent in the literature on qualitative methodologies (Bowen, 2008). In actual fact during Phase One I may well have completed two or three more interviews than were necessary, however, I would find it difficult to decide which interviews to 'discard', they all contributed something at least slightly new. With regard to Phase Two, I may well have reached saturation point after five 'stories' but again even those one or two relationships that did not seem so fruitful did offer at least different perspectives.

Phase One took place over the summer months of 2004 and 2005 when participants were moving between primary and secondary homes. The following table details the participant profiles for this part of the study.

Table 2.1 Phase One Participant Profile

Name	Location of Second Home	Type of Second Home	Age	Interview Date
Bridget	Bettystown, Co. Meath	Mobile	82	July 2004
Caroline	Nice, France.	Apartment	33	June 2004
*Francis	Tara Cove, Co. Wexford	House	75	June 2004 August 2004
Gerard	Roundwood, Co. Wicklow	Caravan	74	August 2004
Helen	Carlingford, Co. Louth	Mobile	45	August 2004
Joan	Tara Glen, Co. Wexford	Mobile	44	August 2004
*Marie	Ballymoney, Co. Wexford	House	42	June 2004 August 2005
Marese	Brittas Bay, Co. Wicklow France	i) Mobile ii) Apartment	45	June 2005
Pauline	Tara Cove, Co. Wexford	House	74	June 2004
Peter	Kilkee, Co. Clare	House	55	August 2005
Robert	Alicante, Spain	House	43	July 2005
Sandy	Courtown, Co. Wexford	Mobile	40	July 2004
Seamus	Enniscrone, Co. Sligo	House	65	August 2005

* Engaged in two interviews

I 'recruited' participants by asking family and friends if they knew of people who had some type of holiday home, and who might be willing to talk to me; this was essentially 'snowballing'. I also personally knew a number of second home owners who were happy to refer me to other possible interviewees. All but one of the participants had their primary home in the Greater Dublin area. Nine have their second/holiday homes on the east coast of Ireland, forty minutes to two hours drive from home. Of the four remaining participants, one has a holiday home on the north west coast of Ireland, one has a second/holiday home in the south of France, one has a second/holiday home near Alicante, and one has two second/holiday homes: one the east coast of Ireland and another in France. At this stage I did not discriminate among types of home (caravan, mobile, wood or stone house or cottage) or location of second home (Ireland or abroad). I simply wanted to understand what the issues were in this broad experience of second home-owning.

I explained to potential interviewees that I was undertaking academic research on the area of second homes and that I was interested in their experience. I interviewed them wherever was most convenient for them. Two participants were interviewed twice, once in each home. Of the remaining 11 participants, four were interviewed in their second home, three were interviewed in their primary home, one participant was interviewed in the home of a mutual friend, one participant was interviewed in her work place, another met me in a hotel near his second home, and the final participant was interviewed in my workplace. The most important issue to me at that stage was the comfort of the participant, I did not think it was absolutely essential that I met them in either home. However, on reflection, I was certainly always aware of the lack of 'cues' in those places that were not either primary or secondary home locations. I did use a prepared protocol for each interview (Appendix One) but as I became more knowledgeable about the phenomenon of the second home-owning experience I became increasingly relaxed about 'letting things go their own way' during the interviews; there was an iterative effect as the series of interviews progressed. Meeting two of the participants twice made it very clear to me that sustained, repeated interaction paid dividends. By the time these interviews were completed I really felt I had formed a special bond with these people, they were very open to me, they were beginning to confide in me.

Phase One came to an end when I felt I had reached saturation point in terms of getting 'new' information, and when I realised that there was a much richer story to be told if I took a different and deeper approach. The findings of Phase One of the study are detailed in Chapter Five. Phase Two was designed to allow participants to, as fully as possible, describe their experience of second home living and in keeping with my epistemological stance, I was particularly keen that they 'author' their own stories. I needed to find a comprehensive range of tools that would encourage this. I was aware that participants would differ in terms of capacity and willingness to open up. I hoped that a range of data collection tools would give every collaborator a chance to tell their own particular story. My experience with the chosen methods and data collection tools: depth interview, diary completion and photography are detailed in the following sections.

On the basis of the findings from Phase One I made the decision for Phase Two to recruit only those Irish holiday home owners who owned built homes within two hours drive of their primary home. While the group is somewhat homogenous across these criteria, along with a

significant reliance on those whose occupations are in the education sector, they did differ in terms of their demographics (see Table 2.2 Phase Two Collaborator Profile below) and in elements of their experience, as borne out by the Phase Two findings detailed in Chapter Six. There is no ‘evidence’ that the essence of the experience of those second home owners who are employed in education is ‘determined’ by this fact more than by any other aspect of their profile. Again, I found my collaborators through requests to family and friends for people who would be open to talking to me. This personal network sampling approach could have resulted in more homogeneity in the final sample than would be desirable in the pursuit of a varied group of insights into the essence of second home living. However, I was constantly aware of this during the sampling process and I ensured that I achieved a good mix of ages, family structures, gender and experiences by declining several collaborator opportunities.

Table 2.2 Phase Two Collaborator Profile

Name	Location of Second Home	Type of Property	Age	Interview Dates
Paul	Dungarvan, Co. Waterford	Terraced cottage	58	August 2006 July 2007
Yvette (and David)	Hook Head, Co. Wexford	Detached, two story dwelling in development	47	August 2006 August 2007
Jacinta and James	Hook Head, Co. Wexford	Detached, two story dwelling in development	55 and 57	August 2006 September 2007
Freda	Kilmuckridge, Co. Wexford	Country cottage in own grounds	62	August 2006 September 2007
Joanne	Rosslare, Co. Wexford	Two story terraced dwelling in development	52	August 2006 July 2007
Pippa and Angus	Hook Head, Co. Waterford	Country cottage in own grounds	38 and 39	September 2006 July 2007
Tom	Rosslare, Co. Wexford	Two story terraced dwelling in development	47	August, 2006 August 2007

I had eight initial interviews in this second phase, which resulted in seven second interviews; one couple were unable to continue in the process due to serious illness. I did not start this phase of the research with a definite number of interviews in mind; I made the decision to stop at seven individuals or couples because I felt I had gathered a good range of experiences. It was only at the end of the first meeting that I mentioned the requirements for diary completion and photography. Had I done so during the initial contact I felt that I might put some people off involving themselves in the project; experience with the diary and photography, as detailed in the following sections, bore out this intuition. The entire second phase of the study was undertaken between July 2006 and September 2007.

During the time of this study, through Phase One and into Phase Two, I found myself using different terms to refer to the second home owners with whom I worked. Phase One required generally less involvement between the second home owners and myself and so the terms interviewee and participant were used. As I worked through the second phase of the study and became more involved with the second home owners the terms participant and collaborator were employed.

The output of Phases One and Two of this study, as presented in Chapters Five and Six is essentially the second home owners' narratives of their experience of second home living. Narrative is the participants' story of their experience, more specifically 'narrative is not an objective reconstruction of life, it is a rendition of how life is perceived' by the participant (Webster and Mertova, 2007, p.3). Narrative helps us to structure, to organise, and eventually to even interpret experience (Bruner, 1986). In writing narrative what we want to achieve is verisimilitude, to get to 'a level of detail where the work comes alive, where the writing seems real and alive, where the reader is brought into the story' (Creswell, 1998, p.170). Fittingly in the context of this study, post-modern philosophy (see Chapter Three) is regarded as the context from which narrative arose (Webster and Mertova, 2007).

2.5.2 The Depth Interviews

The Interviewer is a traveller, wanders through the landscape and enters into conversations with the people encountered. The traveller explores the many domains

of the country, as unknown territory or with maps, roaming freely around the territory...the interviewer wanders along with the local inhabitants, asks questions that lead the subjects to tell their own stories of their lived world (Kvale, 1996, p.4)

The present era of interviewing has taken on board post-modern sensibilities (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002); interviews can be viewed as having diverse purposes. What is communicated comes as much from within the interview as from pre-designated research interests (ibid). I would go further and stress the importance of the dynamic within the interview as being predominant in the construction of the meaning of the interview. Mishler (1999) suggests that rather than conceiving of the interview as a form of stimulus and response, we might better view it as an interactional accomplishment; the interviewer and interviewee are co-dependent, they are collaborators in the interview. Phenomenological interviews focus on what is experienced, the knowledge that is gained through the experience, as opposed to causal effect; it is akin to riding a bicycle through another culture, gathering experiences and sensations as you go. Phenomenology includes a focus on consciousness and the life world, an openness to the experiences of the subjects, a primacy of precise descriptions, attempts to bracket foreknowledge, and a search for invariant essential meanings in the descriptions (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008).

The initial interviews of this second phase of the research all took place in the holiday homes of the participants. This allowed me to assess the general nature and extent of their holiday home experience. Given the subject matter, it was also a more 'natural' starting point in my relationship with my collaborators. Generally, I would have travelled two or three hours for the meeting and participants were always very generous with their hospitality. Interviews were of an hour to two hours in duration. My approach was to behave as much like a 'regular' visitor as possible. I engaged in 'small talk', commenting on views from, or aspects of, the house; I tried at all times to mirror the behaviour of the participant. I wanted them to accept me as 'being like them', to feel at ease with me, to build a rapport. I was very conscious of letting the interaction flow freely; however, most participants wanted some 'explanation' of what I was about. In most cases I simply explained that I was undertaking PhD research and that I was interested in a very general sense in how they as second home, or, holiday home owners experienced living in the second home. This explanation proved entirely satisfactory and enough to get most participants started in describing the experience. On the basis of the Phase One findings and informed by the literature review, I constructed a protocol that would

help me work with participants to articulate the second home living experience (Appendix Two). This protocol was revised as I moved from collaborator to collaborator, however, the conversations moved according to their own dynamic and as the process of interviewing progressed, and rapport built between myself and my collaborators, the protocols really just became an aide memoire for my own use. The participants' experiences accumulated to form 'an essence' of the experience and in an interesting way the participants were collaborating together through me to build this insight into the essence of their second home living experience; all of the accounts were interpreted by myself as the researcher and were then analysed.

An interview has been described as a 'conversation with a purpose'. A qualitative interview is a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent (Babbie, 2007). In particular, 'Qualitative interview design is qualitative, iterative and continuous, rather than prepared in advance and locked in stone' (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, p.35). The purpose of the initial interviews was to form a sufficiently strong rapport with the participants so that they would 'bring me into their world' and allow me to appreciate this phenomenon of second home living. Because participants differ in terms of their openness to engage and their actual second home living experience, each interaction was a unique experience (see transcripts in Appendix Four) and flexibility in responding to each participant was key here. It was necessary for me to learn how to take notes, think, listen and observe all at once. At times I had to assume the role of the 'socially acceptable incompetent' (Lofland *et al* 2006, p.47); I had to feign lack of understanding in order to encourage participants to articulate their experiences in their own words. These skills improved as the series of interviews progressed and then proceeded to second interviews. Having first sought the acquiescence of the participants, I discreetly used a Dictaphone to record all interviews. While this allowed me to interact in an 'unfettered' manner with the participants, and all participants appeared to become comfortable, I do still wonder a little about possible additional, or different, insights that I might have uncovered if the recording device was not used (see Saunders *et al*, 2007, p.334). There has been little sustained attempt to develop a reflexive awareness of how recording methods affect the research process (Lee, 2004). There were a small number of occasions when participants shyly glanced toward the concealed Dictaphone as they started to share a particular part of their experience. While trying to be thorough in my consideration of means of recording the

sessions I had briefly considered wearing a concealed device; the ethical implications and essential abuse of trust involved, dissuaded me from this action. I felt continuous industrious note taking might place me in the position of 'missing something' so the compromise, which I adjudge to have worked well, was the approved concealed Dictaphone. The important thing was to seek to have the participant tell their own story, as such they can be viewed as narrative interviews (Flick, 2007).

Towards the conclusion of each interview, I explained to the participant that I wished to involve them further in the project and would very much appreciate it if they would take some photos of things and people that told the story of their second home living experience using a disposable camera I provided (see section 2.5.4 below). I also provided them with individual Dictaphone machines and asked that they record experiences in the second home as they occurred (see section 2.5.3 below). I was trying to reconcile two seemingly opposing concerns. On the one hand I did not want to trouble participants or in any way jeopardise their continued participation in the study, on the other hand I desperately wanted to grasp the essence of their experience. Additionally my almost neurotic reluctance to ask for help, for favours, in reaching my aim made this an 'uncomfortable' part of the interview for me. However, participants could not have been kinder or more willing to help. The only difficulties arose in terms of their own perceived ability to 'give me what I needed'. I engaged in considerable reassurance that what I simply wanted was their story. Their experiences with the Dictaphone and the camera are detailed in sections 2.5.3 and 2.5.4 below. I closed the initial interviews by agreeing a date that the photographic and diary materials would be returned to me and agreeing that we would meet at some mutually convenient time in the next year at their primary home.

Preparation of the transcripts of these first interviews was facilitated by electronic transfer software that very conveniently allowed the recordings to be worked with on a regular PC or laptop computer. The recordings and transcripts were used as an input to preparation for the second interviews; this was the first step in the analysis of fieldwork data.

All of the second interviews took place in the participants' primary homes. In discussing second interviews Pitts and Miller-Day (2007, p.190) comment 'A growing post-modern trend in interviewing deliberately blurs the line between the interviewer and the respondent, moving

beyond symmetry to a considerable overlap of roles'. This very well represents my experience of the second interviews. The participant was more than a participant, they had become a proactive collaborator; they had had time to reflect on the first interview and were more involved; as rapport grew, there was an increasing desire among the holiday home owners 'to help' me. An indication of the level of trust that had built between myself and participants in both phases of the study related to their general indifference as to whether or not I would use their own names in the written thesis; they were quite happy that I would treat them sensitively. One or two picked names, which I have used, but mostly I employed the 'who do I think s/he looks like' device to attach 'a study name' to a particular participant.

While the interviews provided much rich information and allowed for the building of a collaborative relationship between myself and the holiday home owners, difficulty can arise with relying only on interviews:

How interviewees appear or represent reality in specific interview situations has less to do with how they, or reality, really are (or how they perceive a reality out there); rather it is about the way they temporarily develop a form of subjectivity, and how they represent reality in relation to, the local discursive context created by the interview...the important methodological implication of this is that it would be wise to avoid relying entirely on interviews (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000,p.193).

It was imperative that I employed other tools in my endeavours to obtain self-generated accounts of their experience from my collaborators. The diary and photographic materials produced by the participants are discussed in the next two sections of this chapter.

2.5.3 The Diaries

As part of my ongoing efforts to increase the role of the holiday home owners in the production of this phenomenology, to 'dig deeper', to 'mine' the situation for deeper, richer, insights, I decided to ask my collaborators to keep an audio diary. Before going on to discuss the particulars of this study, I will set the discussion in context by briefly reviewing the literature on diaries and their use in research.

Researchers who use diaries want to capture 'what was happening as it was happening' to provide 'rich real time accounts' (Wyness et al 2004). This has been a challenge in research in tourism and in the social sciences in general. Pratt (2000), writing of research methods in human geography says 'our talk may be that of poststructuralists, or social constructivists, but

our practice continues to be that of colonising humanists'. There is an opportunity to create and develop new methodologies that are not only participant centred but also participant generated.

Diaries have been used as a means of recording information since at least the 9th century but the widespread use of the diary as a tool for personal growth and for realising creative potential is a phenomenon of the twentieth century (Rainer, 1978, p17). The literature on contemporary diaries broadly divides into three main areas: the learning journal, personal development journals and research journals. The personal journal has been used for hundreds of years to articulate the human drama of living and to explore new knowledge (Wolf, 1989) in varied contexts. Diaries of the type that are of most interest to this study have been defined by Alaszewski (2006b, p.44) as '*documents of life* - personal documents created by an individual to record events, experiences or feelings'. Bolger, Davis & Rafaeli (2003) stress the usefulness of the diary in examining psychological, social and physiological processes, within everyday situations; the ordinary, the mundane are ideally suited to diary recording.

In a research context Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) contend that 'when carefully managed, and with suitable co-operation from informants, the diary can be used to record data that might not be forthcoming in face-to-face interviews or other data collection encounters'. Qualitative diary research is a useful way of capturing genuine 'thick description' (Patterson, 2005); diaries are written in the vernacular; the language goes to the very spirit of the diarist. Diaries are good at recording events that are easily forgotten. These include incidents that tend to happen frequently or are seen as insignificant to the research participants (Butcher and Eldridge, 1990). The diary has proven to be an excellent means of gathering data on what is done rather than what is said (Bytheway and Johnson, 2002). Further, there are things that are sometimes hard to articulate simply because we take them for granted; keeping a diary helps make sense of the situation (Alaszewski, 2006a, p.37). The importance of reflexivity in a research study is addressed by the diary design. The research diary 'creates the space within which to be reflexive' (Nadin and Cassell, 2006), though they caution 'whilst the use of a diary may aid reflexive processes, adopting a research diary does not turn a non-reflexive researcher into a reflexive one'. The principal weaknesses of the diary design relates to respondent bias and attrition (Butcher and Eldridge, 1990). An additional criticism of diaries as information sources would be that they are characterized by their authors' attempts not to

represent themselves negatively (Poria, 2006). These concerns relate somewhat more to a positivist stance than the clear interpretivist stance adopted in this study and within which the subjective focus is an innate requirement.

Recently, the diary as a source of data has been adapted for use by psychologists, sociologists, health care researchers, market researchers and information scientists (Toms and Duff, 2002). Up until then the (reflective) diary had been little used in consumer research. This may be because there is a perception that there can be some difficulty in getting research participants to engage in a consumer study diary, particularly consumers that are not ordinarily diary keepers. In considering the reassurance of the participant regarding privacy and their part in the research, Alaszewski (2006a) reminds us that 'diarists control the recording of information' (p.42); the diarist becomes a surrogate researcher in recording the data (ibid, p.43).

The use of diaries in tourism research is very limited. A search of the literature has revealed few situations (Muzaini, 2005; Carr, 2002; Markwell and Basche, 1998; Thornton, Shaw and Williams, 1997; Boorstin, 1961) where the use of a diary was central to the data collection phase of the study. The most recently publicised tourism study involving the use of diaries is that produced by Bente Heimtun (2007). Heimtun's focus on the experiences of Norwegian mid-life single women's holidaymaking and identity related issues endeavours to embody feminist principles in the practical gathering of data; she concludes that 'diary writing is then an excellent feminist research technique in the sense that it is empowering, reflexive, inclusive and potentially an instrument for change' (p.255).

Given the very limited amount of material discussed here it must be concluded, that despite its obvious advantages, diary keeping as a data collection method has barely made an impact in tourism research. In fact this can be said to be true of research in general where the more positivist perspective of 'the researcher and the researched' has prevailed. However, as tourism research develops there is more of an interest in alternative epistemological orientations and a consequent need to explore the subjective and the experiential aspects of tourism.

2.5.3.1 Diary operation in this study

From an epistemological stance having participants complete a diary put them in the driving seat in the attempt to understand second home living experiences, they, rather than myself as researcher, took charge of the articulation of the experience. The diary-interview method as employed here involves an initial interview, the construction of a research diary by the participant and a follow up interview. The method was developed by Zimmerman and Wieder, (1977) 'as an alternative to participant observation to access settings and activities which they could not directly observe'. Without living with the second home owners it would be impossible to understand how they experience living in the second home; the self generated diary and interview discussions recreate a quasi observation account. Baron, Patterson and Harris (2006) refer to the 'methodological potential of employing consumers as practical authors'. They are of the opinion that providing consumers with 'blank page' diaries and a requirement of reflection 'shows great promise in directing the consumers to attempt, through reflection, to make sense of their living reality through becoming consumer practical authors' (ibid, p.15).

Where couples were involved in the initial interviews, subsequently it was the women who tended to take most responsibility for the maintenance of the diary. This situation has arisen in other diary studies involving couples where women were found to be more reflective and open to the idea of keeping a diary (e.g. Cockburn-Wootten, 2002; Rainer, 1978). Several authors (Alaszewski, 2006a, p.52; Meth 2003; Toms and Duff, 2002) have addressed the issue of diarist competence. Overall, my second home diarists provided a wide range of diary material. However, one or two were clearly uncomfortable with the exercise and had very carefully planned their diary entries before recording them. This is to be expected given that 'most people do not keep diaries' (Alaszewski, 2006a, p.78). Others were very comfortable and appeared to be relaxed in the situation. All participants were competent and possessed the necessary skills to complete the diary; motivation and as previously mentioned, level of comfort, varied. No incentive was provided for diary completion, I relied entirely on the rapport I had built with the second home owners during the quite extensive initial interviews. I maintained intermittent contact with respondents while they were completing the diary, '...this personal contact retains participants more than do monetary incentives or dependence upon goodwill towards science' (Bolger *et al* 2003, p.594).

2.5.3.2 The Recording Device

The electronic diary has been extensively applied to various health and social psychology questions (Bolger *et al*, 2003, p.596). A primary advantage of the electronic diary is that it involves direct data entry, so making transcribing and double checking of data unnecessary. In this study I chose to use an audio diary, using a dictaphone, as the best approach to gathering diary data from the second home owners. From a cost perspective it represents a reasonable compromise between the paper and pencil approach and the very expensive video diary apparatus. The technical expertise, both perceived and real, required by the diarist is substantially less with a dictaphone than with a video camera. However, my overwhelming concern as stated earlier, was to facilitate the second home owners in telling their stories without interference from myself, anyone else, or even a piece of equipment. The dictaphone is personal and intimate to the user, it is easily portable. It is easy to use and is fairly discreet; the ability to 'write at any time is liberating' (Moon, 2006, p.99). The particular model employed in this instance was an Olympus VN-240PC, which very conveniently allowed for the electronic transfer of recordings for transcription. There are suggestions that the audio diary 'tends to consist more of descriptive rather than reflective work' (Ficher, 1990) however, in terms of gaining insight into the experiences of the second homeowner this is entirely a good thing. The unstructured format allowed by the audio and the minimal interface from the researcher, facilitated the diarist in providing their story in as much of their own language as possible. In their study of sleep, Hislop, Arber, Meadows and Venn (2005) discuss the use of audio diaries as a method 'designed to help bridge the gap between events in real time and retrospective accounts'. They conclude that used in conjunction with other methods, audio diaries are an effective method of data collection, 'particularly for understanding experiences of intimate aspects of everyday life...methods which capture subjective experiences of the sleep period [their study area of interest] may be equally applicable to researching other areas of everyday life and intimate behaviour'. This data collection tool was ideally suited to gathering data on the intimate, subjective experiences of the second home owner, practices which are embedded in the second home and, of which the participants may not be consciously aware.

2.5.3.3 The Instructions

The challenge in providing instructions on diary completion was to provide just enough instruction to allow the participants to freely record their feelings and observations but to avoid ‘structuring’ their contributions. Alaszewski *et al* (2000) recommend an initial briefing interview to explain the purpose of the study. They then arrange a meeting after the first entry during which they review the entry and offer guidance and answer questions. Later Alaszewski, (2006b) stresses the provision of written guidance but emphasises ensuring that it is not too prescriptive. He also suggests providing diarists with examples of the work of other diarists.

Bearing in mind the experience of Hislop *et al* (2005), who concluded that ‘a more unstructured approach (*to the provision of guidelines*) may have provided valuable insights’, my strongest concern with having the second homeowners keep diaries was that they would be able to tell their story without any interference. However, I also was aware that some individuals might find the task difficult. People have varying degrees of experience in writing diaries, and particularly in writing in the first person (Moon, 2006). As Baron *et al* (2006) experienced, I had to place faith in my own judgement ‘as to the balance to be struck between encouraging creativity and providing guidelines’. I had to balance the desire to help them with the desire to allow them ‘free rein’. As a result I provided them with very little by way of instruction or structure. I gave them one page of guidelines on the use of both the dictaphone and the disposable camera with regard to the audio diary (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Instructions to Participants on Completion of the Audio-diary

Most people find it easier to ‘speak their thoughts’ than to write them down. This audio diary will let you record your thoughts about your experience of your holiday home.

You can record for a few minutes everyday or for longer periods every few days, it is up to you! You can talk about anything that occurs to you, your holiday home, your primary home, your life, all as they occur to you while enjoying your holiday home. Talk about what you feel, what you think, what you remember, whatever occurs to your imagination. You can talk about what you have done each day, who you have spent time with, what motivated you to do these things.

Only one rule: TRY NOT TO LISTEN TO WHAT YOU HAVE RECORDED!
Most of us actually hate the sound of our own voices, there is a temptation to analyse and change.

I wanted them, as Rainer (1978) suggests, to ‘Write spontaneously, write honestly, write deeply’ (p.28). Initially as the diaries were returned to me I was disappointed with their length and wondered if I had erred in providing such sparse instruction. However, as I began to examine the diaries I was delighted by the richness of the insightful narrative of the experience of the second home owner (see Chapter Six). I really had very little idea of what I could expect upon the return of the audio diaries. There is little literature describing the use of unstructured diaries in social science research. Initially, it occurred to me that ‘length’ or some other quantitative measure would be meaningful. Seven diaries were returned, they ranged in length from four minutes to nearly fifteen minutes of recorded time, they contained from two individual entries to twelve individual entries. The range of time over which the diaries were recorded was between one week and four months. Two diaries were recorded by two people and the remaining five diaries were recorded by one person. There is no evidence that women participating in this study spoke more, and more fluidly, than men (as suggested by Milligan *et al* (2005)). The exception to this was when women kept a diary with a male partner, a situation in which they (the women) tended to take control of the process. Neither was age found to impact on the amount or quality of material recorded in this study. This latter contradicts the findings of the written diary studies of Markwell and Basche (1998) and Hislop *et al* (2005). To sum up, perhaps it is worth noting Moon’s (2006) conclusion about learning diaries ‘Length is not a measure of the quality of the learning that might result from writing a journal’ (p.98); the content rather than the length should be the focus of the researcher. Generally speaking, and as in the work of Jacelon and Imperio (2005), it is evident that as time went on and the participants became more comfortable with the exercise of keeping a diary, they became more reflective in their recordings (see section 2.8 for analysis of diary materials).

2.5.3.4 Participant experience

Of particular interest in this study is how the participant experiences, and then contributes to, the research process and thereby enriches the quality of the information gathered. I wanted to foreground the participant as the generator of the information and to empower them to tell their own story. The ability of the participant to be reflective, to reflect on the experience under examination was crucial. I needed to find a device that would facilitate this process and,

as previously discussed the audio diary was chosen because it allowed the participant to 'drive' the production of the information about their experience as a second home owner. It was hoped that the use of the diary would put them in reflexive mode; it would push the reflexive button. Analysis of this phase of the study leads me to conclude that overall the use of the diary certainly produced significant and interesting findings. However, the format, quantity and richness of the data varied noticeably among respondents; the diary will not make a participant who is unreflective about their experience become reflective if it is not in their usual behaviour to be reflective about such matters as their second home living experience.

During the final interviews there was discussion about the idea of keeping a diary in a general sense. The attitude of the participant to this is reflected in the manner of their diary keeping for this project, i.e. those who have engaged in diary keeping in the past have a generally favourable attitude towards it for the purposes of this study and tend to produce, at least superficially, 'more reflexive' material. Home owners did not find the diary keeping exercise difficult, remarks such as 'I wasn't too sure what you wanted me to do but I just went ahead and did what I thought' provided reassurance that the material I was getting was from the perspective of the diarist and the unstructured approach employed here was appropriate. Discussions would indicate that the biggest obstacle to reflection within the diaries was the diarists' perceptions that they 'hadn't done very much', that much of what they were recording was 'mundane'; this is consistent with the findings of Lewis *et al* (2005) from their work with farmers in New Zealand.

In an effort to make the exercise easier, my instructions to the diarists included the quite deliberate command not to analyse what had been recorded. I later wondered had this in fact been 'taking the easy way out'? Could I have 'taught them to reflect'? At this stage, with all the diaries analysed, and all of the final interviews complete, I do not think that this would have been possible within the confines of this study. However, I do believe that there is an opportunity for further study of how effective 'diarist reflexivity training' might be in the production of unstructured diaries. Another concern, voiced also by Hislop *et al* (2005) in their study of sleep patterns, was that 'the methods used may encourage an unnatural focus' on the experience of the second home owner. Again, on the basis of the final interviews done, diarists reported that while they had not participated in a study of this type before, they had found it interesting rather than 'unnatural in focus'.

The great advantage of diary research is that there is no one standing between the provider of the information and the information and that the diarist perceives themselves to be a full collaborator in the research (Lewis *et al*, 2005). However, the question does arise as to whether or not the keeping of a diary impacts on the type of behaviour reported, and perhaps even the type of behaviour in which the diarist indulges. The interview diary approach used in this study has allowed for exploration of activities reported in the diaries and I am confident that the diaries provide a fairly complete, and varied, insight into the second home living experience. Again, I can conclude that the 'less reflective' diarist generally provides a less complete account of activities; the same 'guardedness' that does not allow for reflection may also act as a filter for activities chosen for reporting. Other than this, there is evidence that meanings have emerged that would not have had the study been 'dependent on interviews alone' (Markwell and Basche 1998, p.230). The diarists in this study report that once they overcame initial difficulties concerning 'Am I doing the right thing? Am I doing this the way she wants me to do it?' and began 'to rely on myself', they enjoyed the experience. None of those interviewed for the final time reported the experience of keeping a diary to be intrusive and in fact diary keeping contributed towards their feeling that 'I have told my story'.

2.5.3.5 Conclusion on Diaries

Bolger *et al* (2003) confirm that 'Diary research offers a unique window on human phenomenology' (p.610). Diaries provide context which leads to better understanding of experience as it unfolds, 'psychology needs to concern itself with life as it is lived, with significant total processes of the sort revealed in consecutive and complete life documents' (Allport, 1942, p.56). There is no doubt then that the participant diary is a dynamic life document but not all participants are equally motivated and equally proficient in diary keeping. The very significant advantage of diary keeping is that nothing stands between the participant and the knowledge but this does not ensure that a previously unreflective participant will change behaviour, although in the course of this study participants have remarked that the act of keeping the diary has made them 'think more' about their experience. The researcher's tacit knowledge and ability to analyse, interpret and re-present the raw diary data into some sort of understandable framework are essential to the success of a diary study but also essential is the ability of the researcher to employ varied data collection techniques to appeal to participants with differing information generating skills. From a methodological

tool perspective what this study highlights is the importance of matching the tool not just to the purpose but also to the participant. Additionally, the impact of the nature of the rapport between diarist and researcher on the resultant diary should not be underestimated.

The hope was that I would uncover information from the second homeowners that would not have been revealed without the diary and my analysis indicates that this is in fact what has happened. At a minimum what has been achieved is an account of the second home owning experience 'spoken in the vernacular' (Patterson, 2005). Alaszewski (2006a) declares that 'diaries are intrinsically fascinating documents that have a recognised role and value in contemporary society' (p.122). More practically Heimtun (2007) asserts that diary keeping is a practice that takes place during the course of everyday life and thus it captures everyday life. Consistent with this view, analysis in this study reveals that the keeping of the audio diary was not an imposition on the participant and indeed most reported enjoying the exercise, for this reason alone there thus seems a considerable opportunity to further explore the use of diaries in tourist-based research.

2.5.4 The Self Directed Photography Portfolios

My ongoing efforts to help my study participants express their stories required that I present them with the opportunity to 'self-generate' material. I felt photography, as a visual medium, would provide a contrasting approach to the oral presentation of both the audio diary and the depth interview. It would allow those more comfortable with the visual than the oral or the written to have a particular outlet for their thoughts without requiring them to be able to draw or paint. Within the second interview scenario a certain degree of autodiving - a photo elicitation technique (Heisley and Levy, 1991) - was permitted which prompted the participant to describe their own thoughts and feelings pertaining to the situation portrayed in the photograph they had taken. In writing of the phenomenological perspective she took on her work, Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani (2005) took the view that '...an entity (a photograph) that emotionally calls attention to itself as an object outside the world pictured can reveal the way in which the everyday and often unnoticed thing (or detail) pictured is an inherent and vital part of the way we experience the world' (p.461). Hall (1982) contends that photography is not the unmediated representation of reality, but rather, the 'more active labor of making things mean'. In my study then, the photographs assist in bringing meaning to the discussions of second home living. The advantages of using visual texts have been detailed by Westwood

(2007, 2004), Pink (2001) and Botterill and Crompton (1987) among others. What attracted me most to the use of the visual text was Westwood's (2007) remark that, 'In having something they can see and relate to in some way, they tend to relax and find it easier to talk which results in a more prolonged and fluid flow of information' (p.300). This was indeed borne out in my second round of interviews and this device, along with the diaries, was a means of getting the collaborator to fully participate in the research process. As Westwood continues (2007, p.300) the 'Key advantages of using participants' own materials are that they have been selected by them specifically because of some personal significance...as you begin to look at them, already you are entering their lives'.

As I concluded each initial interview, I presented the participant with a disposable Fuji camera. These cameras were chosen for their ease of use and the instructions were deliberately kept simple and as non-directive as possible (see Appendix three Photo and Audio Diary Instructions). All participants (except one couple, Jacinta and James) used the cameras as provided to more fully tell the story of their second home living. One participant, Paul, was so enthusiastic about this exercise that he insisted on using his own very sophisticated camera to take his photographs. As I will discuss in Chapter Six, my collaborators generally took photographs of scenery, family, and the actual second home and they all reported enjoying the photography exercise. These photographs provided another perspective from which to examine the essence of second home living and facilitated discussion during the second interview. When, after an agreed period of time, the second homeowner had taken all of the photos they wished, they mailed their cameras to me in the stamped addressed envelope I provided. I then had the cameras processed so that the photographs were ready to take to the second interview. In one respect the richness of this approach to data production and collection was limited by my own lack of experience in interpreting such material (Markwell 1997 provides a good example of just how detailed this analysis can be). However, this turned out to be advantageous in that I had to rely almost entirely on the collaborating second home owner to interpret the materials for me during the second interview.

2.5.5 Research Methods Reflections and Conclusions

The methods employed in this study, as detailed in the preceding sections were eminently suited to their purpose; they achieved the construction of a phenomenology that provides an excellent insight into the lived experience of the second home owner. As thinking about

research has developed and as research has come to be viewed more as a process than an activity, qualitative research has become increasingly valued (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p.4). Arguably, there is a desire to use qualitative methods in a more sophisticated way (ibid, p.5) and this has been achieved in this study. The selected tools empowered the holiday home owners in the telling of their own stories, they reported enjoying the experience of the interviews and took delight in the diaries and photographs they produced.

As with most studies, the initial hesitation in confidently confronting the field was quickly addressed through immersion in the activities of recruiting and meeting participants. It was as if the field work took on a life of its own and my confidence as a researcher grew as I shared the enjoyment of the second home owner in their recounting of their experiences for me. The frustrations encountered in the field work, particularly during the second phase, were very much to do with the fact that I was dependent on the participants to produce the diary and photographic materials. Other than facilitating the production of these items through the provision of the dictaphone and the camera, I had no input at all until the discussion which took place during the second interview; it was a lack of control which I wanted in terms of the type of self-generated insight I wanted to achieve, but with which I was extremely uncomfortable, at least until the second interviews.

The travelling to various parts of Ireland to meet with participants was very enjoyable; everyone had their own story to tell and again, while holiday home owning is still not something that I wish to involve myself in, I came away from the fieldwork experience with a rich appreciation of its benefits. The aim of this discussion of methods has been to bring the reader into the field with me, to let them become comfortable with the methods used both in how they relate to ontological, epistemological and methodological issues and, in how they successfully assist in the gathering of insights fundamental to the construction of this phenomenology. The following section considers the analysis of all of the interview, diary and photographic materials harvested from the fieldwork experience.

2.6 Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis of qualitative data is difficult, tedious and illuminating; sometimes all of these at once. It begins during the first tentative discussions in the field and takes place at each step in

what is usually an iterative process. The interpretation of material co-produced by the respondent and the researcher, and material self-generated by the participant, demands an open, questioning attitude and tenacity. I had investigated the use of a software package, in particular NVivo, to assist me in the analysis of the field data. However, I quickly came to the conclusion, that with regard to this particular study, if I employed a package to any great extent, I was in danger of compromising my desire to produce an account as close as possible to the actual lived experience of the holiday home owner (see Wickens, 1999, p.49); I continued with the perhaps slower, but for me, surer route of the manual method of analysis.

An early step in the analysis of data in this study was to understand the post-modern, the home and second home literatures in order to gain an idea of who I would talk to and what I would talk about. Once in the field I was able to relate what I was seeing and hearing to the literatures with which I had become familiar. At the end of each interview in the first phase of the study I wrote up my field notes and reflected on what I had learnt, all of which fed into my preparation for the next interview, and so on.

The interviews were all fully transcribed, a process greatly helped by the use of software that allowed for the transfer of voice data from the dictaphone to the PC ready for typing. I had considered the use of the emerging voice recognition technology for this task but due to the variety of voices and accents with which I needed to work, I came to the reluctant conclusion that it would not be an efficient approach. As each transcript was completed it was read through and initial themes were noted. The transcript was then read for a second time and themes were again noted. Once all the Phase One interviews had been completed, a matrix was constructed which contained 36 themes with quotes by interviewee across 15 interviews. This grid was then used to write up the individual themes and where possible the discussion of each theme was extended by reference to material from the literature review to provide as full a picture as possible of the theme in question. On further analysis this group of individual themes was reduced to ten composite themes as presented in Chapter Five. A similar approach was used in the Phase Two interviews except that the analysis of findings resulted in the presentation of individual participant stories in Chapter Six. This second phase of interviews produced rich narrative accounts of the lived experience of the holiday home owner. The challenge in the analysis of this material was to break down the accounts into manageable pieces without losing 'the essence' of the account of the experience.

Throughout the analysis of interview and diary transcripts I constantly referred back to the original voice record to ensure the written account was as accurate and complete as possible; it was through complete familiarity with the transcribed and audio materials from both phases of the study that this was achieved. ‘A major concern in writing is how to make the research credible - how to demonstrate that the conclusions drawn from the interviews are grounded in the material and that they are more appropriate than other conclusions’ says Flick (2007, p.82). My use of direct quotes from the interviews ensured that this would be achieved in this study. The specific analysis of the diary and photographic materials are dealt with in the following sub-sections.

2.6.1 Diary Analysis

The analysis of diary materials presented challenges. Considering the kind of unstructured diary used in this study it is impossible to reveal meaning without significant reliance on text as provided directly by participants, i.e. the transcripts of the audio diaries are central to the analysis. Alaszewski (2006a) describes two approaches to handling the transcripts: (i) content analysis which involves taking several written texts, breaking them into their constituent parts and reassembling these parts into ‘a new scientific text – a meta account’ and (ii) treating the text as an end in itself, ‘as a form of social reality that is a product of and provides information on the social processes which underpin its creation and form’. The choice of approach will depend on the methodological and epistemological presumptions favoured by the researcher. In this study both approaches were used to maximise the insights gained into the experience of the second homeowner. In examination of the latter approach Alaszewski (2006b, p.46) reminds us that Bourdieu *et al* present transcripts of their interviews verbatim so that ‘texts are allowed to speak for themselves thus avoiding the difficulties of interpretation’.

The format of the diary in terms of its level of structure or template presence will result in differing depths of insight. Patterson (2005) tells of being disappointed by the ‘“thin description’ inherent in our qualitative analysis of texting behaviour’. At first the study used a tightly controlled diary design, which ‘resulted in diarists losing interest’. The second part of the study employed ‘a diary without template...an event contingent design’. Patterson concludes that these latter diaries contained ‘kernels of insight’ that would have remained

hidden to traditional qualitative designs. Analysis confirms that the unstructured approach to diary format in this study of second home owners yielded information that would not be accessible using traditional qualitative designs. Writing specifically about audio diaries, Hislop *et al* (2005) found that the data they generated were much more detailed and were presented in the form of a narrative relative to written accounts listing facts in log form.

The issue of bias in diary research is addressed by several authors (Thornton *et al*, 1997; Alaszewski, 2006a and b). The very exercise of asking people to keep diaries may change their behaviour as ‘most people do not keep diaries’ (Alaszewski, 2006a, p.78). The occupational or socio-economic backgrounds of diarists can cause bias but this is no more a problem with diary research than it is with other data gathering tools. Zimmerman and Weider, (1977) and Alaszewski (2006b) conclude that the validity of interpretations can be enhanced by using multiple texts, for example in this study interview texts, diaries and photos have been employed. Specifically, ‘Parallel narratives of diary and diary-interview, present the researcher with an interrelated mosaic of interpretive snapshots and vignettes’ (Latham, 2003, p.2005). Latham continues to explain that one of the central purposes of the diary-interview is to test the plausibility and robustness of the account provided within individual diaries. Careful parallel analysis of all sources of data can result in minimising bias and confirming validity; analysis of these materials enable the researcher ‘to some extent to enter the participant’s subjective realm of experience’ (Lewis *et al* 2005). The analysis of diary material requires an immersion in their resultant texts, and a patient, open minded approach to balancing ‘the essence of the whole’ with ‘the richness of the individual parts’.

2.6.2 Photograph Analysis

As previously mentioned, I have had no experience as a researcher in the analysis of visual material. As such, the analysis of the photographs relied almost entirely on discussion of them with participants during the second interview. On receipt of the photographs I examined each photograph individually and as part of the portfolio provided by my collaborators, I made notes of my questions and impressions. During the second interviews, I let the participant ‘explore’ the full portfolio of photographs they had provided and then asked any unanswered questions emanating from my earlier examination of them. These discussions were included as part of the individual participant stories presented in Chapter Six. The photographs which were chosen for inclusion in the thesis were those that best illustrate the experience as

described in discussion with the second home owners and are those that are most meaningful to my collaborators. I was very much influenced in this approach of involving the participants in the interpretation and analysis of the text and photographic materials by the work of Westwood (2004).

In considering interpretation and analysis Spiggle (1994) writes of the 'immersion/crystallization style' of interpretation in which researchers alternately immerse themselves and 'reflect on the text until they intuitively grasp its meaning'; this is what has happened here. In conclusion then, the analysis of the qualitative data in this study was at times arduous, tedious and exciting and it has resulted in the construction of a meaningful phenomenology of the living experience of the second home owner.

2.7 Ethical considerations

'The standard discourse on ethics is abstracted from the actual doing' says Calvey, (2008, p.905) and this section of the chapter takes a practical look at the ethics issues embedded in this study. All research work should involve a discussion of ethics, however, interpretivist research, involving as it does extensive interaction between the researcher and the situations and people being studied, presents more opportunity to consider the ethical perspective. Ethics, in a research sense, has been said to refer to the appropriateness of your behaviour in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of your work, or are affected by it (Saunders *et al*, 2007). More sustained exposure to the field and to those being studied demands an inherent awareness of, and proactivity towards, behaving in an ethical manner.

In a positivist-oriented study the issues of validity and reliability are of central importance; in an interpretivist study these issues are not relevant and indeed are subverted by the issues of trustworthiness and transparency. Therefore, instead of inappropriately discussing reliability, I will focus on the notions of trustworthiness and transparency since it is necessary for qualitative research to demonstrate transparency of findings so that they can be trusted (Carson *et al* 2001). In recent years there has been more progress towards transparency of findings (Gilmore, 2001); the researcher needs to be totally transparent about why they have chosen the way they have to examine the phenomena of interest.

Decrop (2004, p.159) refers to four criteria for the trustworthiness of research: credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability. Credibility requires that the research is relevant to the informants; I achieved this by spending considerable time with participants through two phases of this study, it is the voice of the second home owner that is heard. Transferability has to do with the possibility of 'the analytical transfer of theoretical propositions to other objects (people, settings, phenomena)'; several of the constructs unearthed as part of the phenomenon of second home living can be applied in other settings such as the study of the home, tourism and the behaviour of the tourist. Dependability refers to the consistency between what I as a researcher record and what actually occurs in a particular situation; the constant use of the direct quote from the participant throughout this study, the constant striving to ensure that the participant is driving the telling of their story are at the centre of this study. Confirmability focuses on the 'objectivity' of the researcher. My acceptance of the multiple realities inherent in this study and, my efforts to ensure that the participant is 'in charge' of the articulation of the phenomenon serve to further confirmability.

Among the possible practical ethical issues of concern in this study were: the perceived power relationship between the holiday home owner and myself as researcher, the second home owners' lack of understanding of the output of the work we had undertaken together (involving informed consent), my personal integrity in terms of the guarantees of confidentiality (anonymity) and a non-judgemental attitude towards what I learnt. Towards the end of each interview in Phase One and at the end of the second interview in Phase Two, I asked participants to reflect on the experience of their involvement in this research project, it was at this time that some of the aforementioned issues arose in discussion but not as problems from the perspective of the participant, i.e. the participant may have been aware of these possible issues but was not unduly concerned by them. On reflection, I feel my straightforward approach and the quick rapport that generally arose between me and my study participants obviated concerns about ethical issues on the part of the interviewees. I always explained that I needed their help, that they were 'in the driving seat' in terms of what information they gave me, they held the power. A PhD study is work undertaken by a relatively small percentage of the general population, nonetheless all of my participants were at least aware of, and to varying degrees were interested in, the academic nature of the work. They did not appear in any way worried, that I, rather than they, would benefit from the exercise in anything other than an academic sense. As the rapport between us built, and this

was understandably stronger in Phase Two of the study, they began to trust me more and more as evidenced by the very personal confidences they shared with me (none of this material will be dealt with in any detail within the confines of the study, suffice to say that it was indicative of the strong rapport and level of trust that built between us); I treated these confidences with the level of care that I have led my participants to expect from me.

However, there were times during which I was 'ethically' at least a little uncomfortable. In some of the situations mentioned above where an individual participant shared personal information I was afraid that they would regret this later and that this would have repercussions for the research relationship, however, my fears were unfounded. While I did bring first interview issues and the self-generated materials back to Phase Two participants I would have felt that I had more informed approval from participants if there had been the opportunity to bring some of the later interpretations of their contributions to their attention. I was always conscious that I was working with people in their homes, that there was a sanctity about these places of work for me and home for them and I like to think I strove at all times to be respectful of this privilege. The most tempting ethical issue that arose was my brief flirtation with the idea of using a concealed listening device. I was desperate to get participants to relax while I recorded as much of the interaction as possible, I wanted to create a cosy, friendly atmosphere where we could 'chat' through the issues without a reminder of the 'ulterior motive' (data collection). As it happened the ambience came about through the rapport that built between us, and the recording device was much less of an issue than I had anticipated.

I have alluded earlier in this chapter (see Section 2.3) to the major difference between myself and my study participants, namely that I do not currently, or intend in the near future to, own a holiday home. This did not create any ethical issues for us during progress of the study. My previous research experiences, both commercial and academic, had honed my skills in maintaining a professional distance, this study was new territory for me in that it challenged me to become close to my study participants in a mutually satisfying relationship while achieving my research goal. In conclusion, I believe the ethical quality of this work rests on the idea that I am responsible not to a professional body or an abstract discipline but to those studied.

2.8 The Process of Writing Up

The writing of a thesis such as this is an activity that begins early in the research process; ideas emerge through the ‘thinking process’ of writing as the thesis develops. Of course little of this early writing may survive to the final draft of the thesis. Similar to the experience of most other researchers there were significant amounts of writing completed on the methodology and literature review during the early part of this research process that are not included in the final draft.

Very early on I felt that my theoretical frame would be found within the discipline of consumer behaviour and I undertook a significant review of the literature most particularly as it applied to tourism. While this material led me to the discovery of an alternative approach to the study of consumer behaviour and so directly informed my thinking about methodology, it did not inform me about the experience of second home living. Similarly I produced copious amounts of material on the subject of transcendence because I was, and remain, fascinated by the act of moving from non-tourist life to tourist life and back again. Consideration of this area led me to second home living which I had viewed as an activity on the more mundane end of the tourism continuum. It quickly became apparent that second home living was worthy of doctoral study in its own right. Ethnography as a methodological approach was something that I explored in my writing at an early stage and indeed right up until commencing on the second phase of this study I pondered whether I would produce an ethnographic or a phenomenological study. While I did not in the end choose ethnography (see section 2.4) delving into the literature and writing about it did substantially inform my later development of phenomenology.

In the more traditional sense, the ‘writing up’ of this thesis took place during the last year before submission. The decision to foreground the study approach as chapter two reflects the fundamental importance of the research approach taken in this study and confirms how it is one of the major contributions of the study. The aim of the chapter was not only to defend the methodology but to explore the research process with the reader. The painstakingly descriptive approach of the writing helped to achieve this. The sections on Locating the

Researcher (section 2.2) and Reflexivity (section 2.3) are deliberately written in a ‘conversational’ tone which makes their subject matter especially accessible to readers.

Chapter three provides the study’s philosophical and cultural context and chapter four a review of the specific literature relevant to the thesis. These two chapters were positioned in this way to guide the reader through the thesis so that they would facilitate ‘the telling of the story’ of the thesis. The decision to present chapter five, ‘Holiday Home Themes’, as a series of individually discussed themes was an attempt to present a coherent account of the copious material developed from the first phase of the fieldwork. The findings based on the in-depth interviews with participants were extremely detailed and writing them up by theme whilst including extended direct quotes was the most appropriate method of presenting this material. In addition, interweaving references to the literature with these findings served to illustrate the key findings whilst foregrounding the participants’ voices. The decision to present each individual as a separate story in chapter six ‘Collaborator Stories’, allowed for the very essence of the experience of second home living to be appreciated. Each story stands alone as an intimate account of the experience of second home living; there is a ‘completeness’ to the writing of each account that cumulatively allows for an immersion in the experience.

The final chapter ‘Interpretive Reflection’ invites the reader to reflect on their immersion in a phenomenology of the second home living experience; it confirms the contribution of the study, its constraints and future research directions. The chapter concludes with some personal reflections on the research process and my development as a researcher. Certainly my writing up benefited substantially from the opportunity to spend the last year working full time on the project as it was possible to become immersed in the task of writing and to become more practiced in its art.

2.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has explained and defended the philosophical, epistemological and methodological stance of this study. It has provided a detailed account of the field work undertaken and has described the data collection methods and tools. Essentially, it has brought the reader into the process of the research thus enabling them to better appreciate the lived experience of second home living as provided by the second home owners, and as detailed in the following chapters. The chapter has described an innovative research process

that contributes to the literature on an interpretivist approach in tourism research. Diffused throughout this process, and detailed in this chapter, is my reflexivity on my position as a tourism researcher.

The next two chapters explore a number of the literatures relevant to this study. They clarify the linkages between these literatures and present new composite perspectives from which to view the experience of second home living. The objective is to construct a comprehensive review of the literatures that contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon of holiday home living while bringing together literatures that have not previously been connected e.g. home and second home, second home and post-modernism.

Chapter Three: Philosophical and Cultural Context

3.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a detailed examination of the various cultural and philosophical lenses through which everyday life, tourism, and the second home living experience can be viewed and expands the discussion on epistemology in section 2.1 of chapter two. I embrace a looser, freer approach to the study of the second home owner that is entirely consistent with the discussion of the themes of post-modernism. The chapter continues with a consideration of cosmopolitanism, a further lens through which the experience of the holiday home owner is considered. Post-modernism and cosmopolitanism merit the attention they are given here because they are more than underlying contexts for tourism, and specifically in terms of this study, second home tourism, indeed they are intimately entwined with the concerns of the tourist. All of this serves to orient the reader to the study and will be returned to in Chapters Five and Six when I present my interpretation of findings.

The theoretical perspective of the study was somewhat determined before the fieldwork was undertaken but due to the emergent nature of the study the theoretical perspective was constantly evolving and being constructed in tandem with the emerging findings; this chapter evidences this evolution.

3.1 Before the Post-modern: Modernity

Sharpley (2000, p.381) has said that there is a need to consider ‘the wider cultural framework within which it (tourism) occurs’. In the context of this study, this involves consideration of the modern versus post-modern culture perspectives. The tourist has been presented as key to the representation of the post modern. Just as the pilgrim is a metaphor for modern times, he or she follows a well planned, prescribed route towards a defined goal, the tourist is a metaphor for the post-modern, he or she is mobile, free and spontaneous in search of a variety of experiences.

Historically modernity is said to have developed from the 18th century Age of Enlightenment and to have dominated western culture and thinking until the mid 1980s. Modernity

incorporates both modernisation and modernism; modernism grows out of modernisation. Berman (1991) describes three phases of modernity, the third of which encompasses our modern times when 'the pace of development is so rapid, and achievements of modernism are so spectacular, that they surpass individual psychological and intellectual abilities to make sense of what is taking place around them'. It is from this time that the search for an alternative to modernity begins as 'modernity (has failed) to give meaning to people's lives' (ibid, p.54).

Modernity is characterised by the belief that human beings can build their own future; it is above all a future-oriented philosophy (Firat, 2001). The belief is that all the problems of human kind can be solved by rational thought and behaviour in the future can be informed by a 'grand plan'. Modernity held out the promise, the dream, 'of an attainable order'. It saw reason as 'uniquely capable of removing the dead weight of tradition' (Clarke, 2003, p.43) it permitted human beings to doubt and reconsider as they worked towards the achievement of the grand plan. Modernity is a progressive force promising to liberate humankind from ignorance and irrationality (Cova, 1996). It is evidenced by scientific thought, 'Science is what will enable us to reach the grand future; art will not be allowed to contaminate it' (Firat, 2001, p.110). In an apparent critique, Bauman (1992) describes the progress of modernity as 'war against mystery and magic ...the war of liberation leading to the declaration of reason's independence...the world had to be de-spiritualised, de-animated: denied the capacity of the subject'; all was to be reasoned. There is a clear resonance in this discussion of the tenets of positivism as discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.2; the rigidity associated with positivism screams out for an antidote, interpretivism is to positivism what post-modernity is to modernity.

A feature of modernity is the separation between fantasy and reality, '...because in modernity for the grand future to be achieved, there has to be a discrimination made between actual material possibilities and the relatively unrealizable dreams' (Firat, 2001, p.112). Modernity, it seems, strives to keep closely focussed on the tangible reality, it originated firmly from the belief that ambivalence is not inevitable and was founded on a belief of the reality of the world (Bauman, 1991). Here Bauman stresses the danger of 'buying into' unproven, unchallenged rigid appearances as opposed to challenged realities. Motion and flow predominate in modern society because there is a constant striving towards the reality of the desired future. Another

theme that is prevalent in consideration of modernity is the classification of dualities (e.g. order as opposed to chaos, good as opposed to evil, male as opposed to female, reason as opposed to unreason, tourist versus non-tourist), there is a determination of 'what things are' by defining what they are not' (Clarke, 2003, p.46). Modernity stresses structural differentiation, and according to Urry (1990a) there is '...the separate development of a number of institutional and normative spheres (family, the state, science)'; a lack of a holistic view is evident.

Differentiation is one of the best terms to describe modernism, again, here there are the parallels with a positivist philosophy of research, more particularly a functionalist view of the social sciences which explains social structures in terms of the differentiated functions they perform. In modernity, time and space are differentiated. Giddens (1990) discusses modernity as involving:

...a disembedding process that removed social relations from 'the immediacies of context': the separation 'of time and space and their formation into standardised 'empty' dimensions cut through the connections between 'social activity' and its 'embedding' in the particularities of contexts of presence, providing 'the basis for their recombination in relation to social activity' and thus permitting a complex co-ordination across large tracts of time-space (p.15).

What Giddens is saying here is that the 'progression' of society from the feudal, where the focus was on the immediate satisfaction of individual basic survival needs, to the modern, where the focus was on the 'collective' progression towards the 'grand future', involved a new emphasis on the social relationships between the elements in modern society.

Of particular interest to this present study is Ritzer and Liska's (1997) discussion of a modern approach to tourism. Ritzer's concept of the McDonaldisation of society was developed on the basis of Weber's theory of rationalisation. This views the world as increasingly efficient and calculated with 'the emphasis on increasing the irrationality of rationality'; given the current, largely unanticipated chaos in the world financial markets, it is hard to accept this as a 'trustworthy' approach to understanding the concept of society. Ritzer and Liska state that this approach to tourism, like everything else, leads to a McDonaldisation of tourism. They present Disney as an example. Disney workers work hard to make sure there are no surprises, however this experience can become dehumanising for the tourist, including for instance long queues, incalculable costs on food and gifts and a marshalling into groups to partake in

prescribed activities. McDonalds and Disney are presented as manifesting many of the same principles; 'if McDonalds is the model for rationality of a society as a whole, Disney is the paradigm for tourism, the McDisneyisation of the tourist industry' (ibid).

So this then is the modern perspective on tourism, a rational, routinised, controlled collective experience and modernity's impact on tourism has been to leave a sense of dissatisfaction, a lack of fulfilment. On first examination it may appear that second home holidays are essentially modern. After all they are a familiar return to routine activities in the same place, time after time. However, this conclusion does not answer the complex needs of those leading complex lives in an ever more demanding world, and who continue to enjoy the second home living experience. How does the post-modern perspective differ? It will be helpful to examine the themes found in the literature on post-modernism and to then seek to apply them in a tourism context.

3.2 Post-modernism

From a tourist behaviour perspective post-modernism grew out of dissatisfaction with the capability of modernism to explain the behaviour of tourists. However, the very notion of post-modernity is a contested concept (Clarke, 2003). 'We are not at the end of history; we are rather at the beginning of a rethinking of modernity, a rethinking of the world under the sign of post-modernism' (Docherty 1992, preface). Clarke (2003) further elaborates that we are at the end of history in so far as history itself was part and parcel of the modern way of viewing the world. Adding further complexity is the opinion that 'in the midst of post-modernity, modernity is very much around us' Bauman (1993). The somewhat unclear usage of the word modern by, for example, Giddens, MacCannell and occasionally Urry, further confuses the situation.

Post-modernism has been used to describe almost any phenomenon that is odd or new (Drolet, 2003), it has been ascribed a bewildering array of meanings and definitions vary by discipline, often using jargon and prose that is difficult to understand. Terms used can provoke strong reactions including deep suspicion and hostility particularly as post-modernism emerged from the politics of the left. Foucault, Irigaray, Baudrillard and Lyotard concluded that 'Western societies now functioned and were organised in such a way as to make individual and human

liberation impossible' (Drolet, 2003, p.4). The capitalist proponents of modernity had reduced the lives of the majority of society to simply serving the apparatus of capitalism; with the exception of the role of the entrepreneur, there no longer existed the possibility of individual fulfilment.

Post-modernism is posed as 'an intelligent alternative to the two rival ideologies that dominated the western world in the 1920s: liberalism and totalitarianism' (Bell,1926). Bell explains that these ideologies place faith in man's ability to discover the underlying principles that govern nature and societies through the right use of reason. Post-modernism then emerged due to the 'incredulity towards meta-narratives which proceeds from the impossibility of finding anything solid enough into which to bite' (Clarke, 2003, p.177). None of the grand narratives offered by modernity provided sufficient explanation for, or even adequate insight into, present day human behaviour. Another factor in the 'evolution' of postmodernism was Toynbee's (1954) view that technological change was taking place at a pace beyond which the individual could adapt, 'this resulted in a crisis of human affairs' (p.448); this opinion is consistent with Berman's (1991) third phase of modernity as presented above. Toynbee was also of the view that western civilisation had become obsessive and relentless in intellectualising all human experience and that this intellectualisation resulted in an incomplete picture of current culture.

3.2.1 Distinctive Features of Post-modernity

The main difference between post-modern and modern perspectives is the rejection by post-modernism of any all encompassing ideology to guide human behaviour. This is evidenced by Geertz's (1983) challenge to Kroeber's (in Gregory, 1996) view of culture as a coherent totality...a 'superorganic' collectivity. Geertz (1983, p.97) states that, 'The force of our interpretations cannot rest as they are now so often made to do, on the tightness with which they hold together...cultural analysis up to this has been discredited by adherence to structures that nobody quite believes in'. There was a perceived need for new ways of analysing culture. The modern linear quantitative approach to understanding culture is substituted for one which values all behaviour as being equally interesting and important, a more qualitative approach. Something similar has happened with the approach to research, the rigidities inherent in positivism while not being supplanted have been challenged by the looseness of interpretivism. Modern and post-modern life are further contrasted by Giddens (1994) when

he comments that 'the notion of lifestyle has no meaning when applied to traditional contexts, whereas in modern (meaning post-modern) societies lifestyle choices are...constitutive of daily life...one in which we have no choice but to choose'. Post-modern culture, as evidenced by consumer culture, is one of constant choosing.

Another differentiating feature of post-modernism is its focus on the individual as consumer, as Bauman (2000, p.76) argues 'post-modern society engages its members primarily in their capacity as consumers rather than producers. That difference is seminal'. Similarly, Sharpley (2000, p.387) comments '...people consume goods and services in particular as a means of compensating for the loss, through the process of de-differentiation, of traditional (modernist) social markers'. In post-modern society all the old structures have been 'deconstructed' and consumption behaviour builds new social markers. In modernity work roles were defined as being central for identity, 'this is in contrast with consumption patterns of action being posited as being central to post-modern identity construction'(Bocock,1993,p.79). It is their consumption, the fact that they are consumers rather than producers that provides post-modern beings with identity. Consumption in post-modern capitalist societies 'must not be understood as the consumption of use-values, a material utility, but primarily as the consumption of signs' (Featherstone,1991, p.15). Jean Baudrillard explored the possibility that consumption had become the chief basis of the social order. His theorisation of simulacrum, simulations, hyper-reality and extreme phenomena had a significant impact on sociological and cultural accounts of post-modernism (Drolet, 2004 p.30).

However, despite this discussion there is currently a debate as to whether we are in fact currently experiencing the post-modern era. Even among those who accept that significant cultural change is evidenced in a comparison of modern and post-modern, there is an apparent scepticism about the scale of that change:

Others have embraced a mystique of postmodernism, which strives to cultivate ignorance of modern history and culture, and speaks as if all human feeling, expressiveness, play, sexuality and community had only just been invented – by the postmodernists- and were unknown, even inconceivable before last week
(Berman,1983, p.33)

Others share this scepticism, including Bauman (1998a, p.101) who argues that 'Post-modernism (is) one of many possible accounts of post-modern reality'. Explaining further, and elaborating on the new sociological conditions that gave rise to post-modernism, Urry (1990b, p.83) concludes that it (post-modernism) 'refers not to the whole of society (or to one

sphere of it) but to a system of signs or symbols which is specific in both time and space'. However, a bundling together of disparate critiques of previously dearly held theories does not in itself make for a new philosophy of culture, 'if there is no alternative but to pluck different elements from different systems for different purposes this is not a license for uncritical eclecticism' Gregory (1996, p.224).

Specific elements of post-modernism are also questioned. Giddens (1991, p.34) addresses the predicament of the consumer in post-modern times. He states that because some factors that determine lifestyle are outside the consumer's control, he (the consumer) 'must place his trust in some kind of mechanism purposely designed to provide reassurance'; this mechanism is trust which is itself a meta-narrative (Clarke, 2003). Continuing the discussion, Ritzer and Liska (1997, p.96) question whether the change from modern to post-modern is dramatic enough to constitute a whole new social form. Huge dramatic periodic change is what post-modernists are against, they see no grand narratives. Rather than viewing post-modernity as a new grand narrative it is suggested that modernity and post-modernity be viewed as 'alternative perspectives to be brought to bear on changing social phenomena'.

The continuing pre-dominance of the market place is singled out by Firat's (2001) view that so long as we do not transcend it we are still in the market place. He comments further that we sometimes use constructs of modernity to discuss post-modernity and states that 'the post-modern approach is a show me approach not a tell me approach' (p.115). From another perspective, McNamee and Gergen (1998) while focussing on psychology, state that 'the more we remain locked in conversation about *what* post-modern psychology *should* look like and why, the more we remain within the discourse of modernism itself'(p.136). This particular discussion has been over taken in a very practical sense in most recent times by the near collapse of world financial markets (systems) and cries that we are at the end of capitalism. Again, we seem to be searching for a new grand narrative, which will have implications for tourism. Following this review of some of the major issues surrounding the subject of post-modernism, the next section of the chapter focuses specifically on post-modernism as a cultural context for tourism, an interest of this study.

3.2.2 Post-modernism and Tourism

In declaring that ‘The tourist is a metaphor for post-modernism as the pilgrim was a metaphor for the modern’, Bauman (1993, p.57) firmly focuses the exploration of post-modernism in the realm of tourism. The tourist appears everywhere in the discussion of the modern/post-modern condition. Tourism as ‘the world’s fastest growing’ or ‘largest’ industry has attained a central position in today’s society, most particularly in current consumption society. It is argued that ‘tourism has become the indicative industry of post-modern lifestyles and post-capitalist economies’, even that ‘tourism has replaced religion as the source and quest for meaning’ (Craik,1997, p.114) – it is even posited as the very definition of freedom (Urry,1990a). The issues exemplified by post-modernism, as outlined in the previous subsection of this chapter, are embedded in the consideration of tourism as a current human practice.

What then is the post-modern tourist experience? Bauman (1993) argues that the pilgrim depicts modernity, and that the stroller, vagabond, player (these last two generally perceived to be male), and tourist, jointly offer a metaphor for the post modern era. These inhabitants of post-modernity live in horror of being bound and fixed. They want to keep their options open, to perceive just fragments of other people’s lives, to be constantly open to new experiences. Another perspective is that provided by Urry (1994) who focuses on the concept of *flâneuring* as ‘a current prime-time practice in a prime time place’ (p.235); strolling, observing, gathering new sensations is the behaviour of choice of the post-modern consumer. In fact Bauman (1993) states that this way of living works against the construction of lasting networks of mutual duties and obligations. Jokinen and Veijola (1997) say Bauman is overstating the case when he positions the majority of people in this ‘prime time prime activity scenario’. They reflect that the tourist symbolises the need for safety, pleasure, the homely, the cosy ‘...s/he needs to have a home to come home to’. However conversely, Bauman (2001, p.26) is of the view that ‘tourists want not only their holidays to be escapes from daily routine – but also to be escapes from the hazards, confusions and uncertainties endemic to their daily life’. He says that the tourist is willing to pay for holidays that are ‘predictable, calculable, efficient and controlled’. They are attracted to these holidays because ‘someone, somewhere, is fully aware of what is going on and how it is going to end. And so no shock will be ‘for real’, being an ‘experience of’ rather than the thing itself’. There is the view that ‘Tourism is not an escape from everyday life it is a plane of cultural difference in which everyday life routines are

contrasted and developed' Rojek (1997, p.70). Tourism then provides the contrast with everyday post-modern life to which the tourist is happy to return, indeed without everyday life the experience of tourism cannot be enjoyed but in this moving away from ordinary life the tourist hopes for an experience that while different 'in texture' may actually be at least as 'safe' as ordinary life. MacCannell (1976) doubts that a 'utopia of difference exists anywhere' meaning that there is nowhere so different so as to be perfectly different. This is a particularly interesting observation in consideration of the second home holiday experience.

Later, MacCannell (2001) develops his thinking on reaching perfection, experiencing utopia, by writing of the second gaze (which he presents as a contrast to Urry's first gaze) and comments that the 'the human subject knows that it is a work in progress; knows that it can never fulfil the ego's demands for wholeness, completeness and self-sufficiency'. The implication here is that the post-modern consumer understands that he will never reach 'completion' through consumption, his progress towards perfection is never ending and will never be reached. This view is consistent with the post-modern view that there is no great perfection towards which to strive.

Yet another perspective might be that everyday post-modern experience is a fragment of post-modern life as is tourist post-modern experience. This latter view would be supported by Urry's (1994) contention that tourism has merged with all other activities such as watching TV; all post-modern activities are about gathering glimpses, fragmented insights, into other lives, a practice facilitated by the constant use of the remote control unit; the development of the three minute culture. Again, it has been interesting to explore these concepts with second homeowners. The fragmentation characteristic of post-modernity has been described as our exposure to 'the fleeting fragments of other persons' lives' Bauman (1993, p.77). The chief characteristic of the post-modern condition according to Lyotard (1984, p.120) is 'knowledge splintered into a plethora of incommensurate discourses'. The term de-composition is used to describe 'the provoking of a state of rootlessness, (which) rendered powerless the concepts and categories of Western rationality (and) restored conscious selfhood' (Spanos in Drolet, 2003, p.9). Indeed Holzman and Morss (2000) comment that the phrase 'post-modern deconstruction' has become ubiquitous. Further support is provided by Nyström (2000, p.111) who argues that 'Deconstruction is one of the most used and least precise terms in the literature on post modernism'. It is the process of fragmentation that allows us to analyse, to

retain or discard, the elements of culture. However, as is the case with post-modernism in a general sense, there is no attempt to interpret during the process of deconstruction. The underlying aim of post-modernism can be said to be to deconstruct, to fragment, the grand narratives of modernity.

3.2.3 The metaphors: The tourist, the traveller, the vagabond and the nomad

The vagabond and the tourist are presented as the two principal metaphors, or representatives, of post-modernism (Bauman, 1998a). Vagabonds are travellers who are refused the right to turn into tourists; in essence the vagabond is the alter ego of the tourist. Bauman (1997, p.93) centrally places freedom of choice as 'the most seminal' of the stratifying factors in post-modern society. The vagabond has no choices, but the tourist can flit from tourism experience to tourism experience and can control this wandering at will. The tourist has the freedom to seek sensation; the vagabond is destined never to have this freedom. This view reflects Bauman's strongly held view that post-modern culture enslaves a significant section of society while allowing all of the freedoms to be held by the economically privileged consumer. As with the contemplation of everyday life and holiday life, 'the presence of the vagabond is a posing of an alternative...the worse the plight of the vagabonds, the better it feels to be a tourist' (Bauman 2001, p.10). Further, 'tourists move because they find the world within their reach irresistibly attractive; vagabonds move because they find the world within their reach unbearably inhospitable' (Bauman 1998b, p.47). The term 'nomadism' is introduced by Braidotti (1994) and explained by her as a resistance to assuming socially coded thoughts and behaviour. The nomad is free to wander at will but '...it is the subversion of set conventions that defines the nomadic state, not the literal act of travelling'. The nomad rejects the idea of a centre, or a central purpose, 'and consequently (the notion) of original sites or authentic identities of any kind'. The nomad while engaged in seemingly endless travel is a far more privileged character than the vagabond. The nomad makes choices, decides when to move on and when to stop. Another perspective is Rojek's (1993, p.176) presentation of the traveller and the tourist. In modernity the traveller represented 'high culture' and the tourist 'low culture'. In post-modernity, high and low culture are de-differentiated as are the traveller and the tourist; their experiences are of equal value.

3.2.4 The Post tourist – The new context for tourism?

The post tourist is described as 'finding pleasure in the multitude of games'; the post tourist is not fixated on the authentic but rather the tourist experience is 'another pastiche surface feature of post-modern experience' Urry (1990a, p.35). Urry further contends that 'the post tourist is profoundly aware of change and delights in the multitude of choice' and that he or she realises that they are a tourist (Urry, 1988, p.38). Rojek (1993, p.177) discusses a number of features which he posits as representing the post tourist: they are aware of the commodification of the tourist experience, they accept that what they are experiencing is not authentic but welcome the experience with a playful demeanour. In fact post tourists are 'content to be 'post-tourists' and enjoy both the reproduction of the effect of the real...and the examination of the backstage areas on which it draws'(Fieffer, 1985, p.120). The post tourist is realistic in regarding him or herself as being an outsider in the tourist environment; they understand that they do not 'blend in'. They are 'interested in the experience as an end in itself' and are not looking for self-realisation or the authentic experience. They can accept that the experience may not 'add up to much'. They have what Rojek (1993, p.38) describes as 'a positive identification with intertextuality'. What this means is that the post tourist is bombarded with stimuli in the form of representations of the tourist sight, often things that are peripheral to the actual sight (gift shops, eating, coaches, other tourists), which are celebrated (given equal standing with) in the experience of the tourist. The staged simulations with which the post tourist is presented vary and, 'include cartoon-style parodies, small scale 'walk-in, see and touch simulations, to the whole heritage industry efforts to preserve and restore the past' (Featherstone, 1995, p.121).

A critique of the notion of the post tourist is that 'many of the current post-modern tourism studies concern the tourist as an object instead of a subject'; there needs to be more emphasis on the process through which the individual becomes a tourist and on how a tourist becomes a subject (Hom Cary, 2004). The current tourism literature largely fails to provide an insight into how the tourist subjectively experiences tourism. It is intended that this study will make a significant contribution to 'a subjective literature' of the tourist. It is difficult to conclude that the post tourist is part of some evolutionary chain; at best what can be said is that both consciousness of what it is to be post tourist, and a knowledge of the cultural themes that

impact this production of the post tourist, are evident and growing. The following sections discuss these themes.

3.2.5 The importance of mobility

There is a post tourist sensitivity to irony, playfulness and anomaly; tourism for post-modernists is a game and has less to do with the creation of collective memories than with the provision of immediate pleasure (Urry,1990b). This focus on immediacy of pleasure is particularly evidenced by what is said to be the post-modernist implosion of time and space; space is annihilated by the immediacy, in a time sense, with which the tourist can find himself in a 'different destination', in an 'other' place. The railways are regarded by many commentators as the initial facilitators of time-space compression. Harvey (1989,p.92) comments that 'we have to learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds'; if we get to where we want to get to faster than our senses can accommodate the change from one location to another this may have implications for how we perceive our new surroundings. There is an emphasis on travel rather than tourism in the post tourist world, there is what Urry (2001) describes as a general 'mobile culture' stemming from a 'compulsion to mobility' (p.6). Linked to this is Rojek's (1997, p.70) comment that 'tourism should be treated as if it is heading towards a condition of pure mobility', and he further emphasises this view in his discussion of theme parks (1993, p.162) in which he notes a preoccupation with 'endless motion'. He wonders 'is there not in the desire to invert the body, to defy gravity, a parallel to be drawn with the inversion and sliding of signs which is at the heart of postmodernist vision?' The post-modern perspective is that we are all motion, we are all in travel. There is a desire for difference, to move from the ordinary everyday activity to the non-ordinary activity; the question must be asked as to whether or not the second home provides enough of a difference, is there enough mobility involved in the alternation between home and holiday home? In discussing why the 'touristic' is still relevant in a world where all places are simply fragments of other places, MacCannell (1976) writes that the only way to make home distinct from other places is to leave home. He terms this 'a kind of imbecilic literalization of "mobility"', in which he infers that everyone (at least in the 'western world') is involved (ibid, p.200). This is supported by Urry's (2001, p.6) comment that 'Cultures become so mobile that contemporary citizens...are thought to possess the rights to pass over and into other places and other cultures'.

However Bauman (1998a, p.86) qualifies these views somewhat by asserting that post-modern society is stratified, 'the determining criteria (of stratum) occupied is the degree of mobility (freedom to choose where to be)'. He describes the top of the stratified society as 'extraterritorial', the lower ranges being hemmed in 'by varying degrees of space constraints', while those at the bottom level are essentially fixed in place, immobile. That said, it is clear that currently more accessible, physically faster modes of travel, including virtual travel, enable the tourist, at least the privileged tourist, to move timelessly between 'different cultures', to annihilate space between cultures. Increased disposable income has led to more people travelling further, and travelling more often. The pilgrimage of modern times, perhaps a once in a lifetime experience, has been replaced by a series of once in a life time trips. Similar to Rojek's discussion of theme parks, the mobility of the tourist consumer within the context of an individual trip is discussed in Firat's (2001) account of Las Vegas. He observes that 'In the Las Vegas strip, motion itself becomes the goal –as movement, not arrival at any point, and speed become the ends in the late modern and post modern culture' (p.108). Tourist consumers in Las Vegas experience the sights in a fleeting fashion; they are momentarily immersed in the individual sights and experiences of the strip as they move along. It is the constant motion through a fragmented collage of experiences that is symbolic of the post-modern tourist experience. This motion, constantly keeping the crowd moving, is also reflected in other post-modern spaces: Disney World, Universal studios, the Louvre to visit the Mona Lisa, the tour of government buildings in Dublin. Firat (2001, p.108) concludes that 'the idea is to move the crowds rather than allow congregation'. This points perhaps to a fear that the individual sites may be found wanting if tourists spend too much time examining them. More likely this conclusion refers to a post-modern perspective that does not differentiate between experiences (for example individual sights) and requires that a similarly fleeting moment be spent with them all; building a quantity rather than a quality of experience is what is important in post-modern society.

While taking the aforementioned into consideration, this discussion of continuous mobility needs to be tempered by the recognition that activities such as taking photographs, purchasing souvenirs, and sending postcards do allow the tourist to reflect, however briefly, on their mobility; these things allow them to 'stop'. Also, as emphasized particularly by Bauman, it has really only been the wealthy western world that enjoys the freedoms of mobility as discussed here. Moreover, in recent times issues such as surveillance under the guise of

terrorism prevention and ever stricter immigration have impeded the mobility of even this population.

3.2.6 Perspectives on Time

It could be argued that ‘mobilities are all about temporality’ Urry (2000a, p.105) and that new metaphors of time, such as timeless, virtual, and instantaneous, have become important. These metaphors appear frequently in the discourse of tourism. For example, in consideration of time Bauman (1998a, p.87) uses his vagabond and tourist to make the point that in the post-modern world time does not have the same meaning for all people. There are two perspectives on time. The tourist is so busy, has so many choices and therefore has very little time in the context of all he or she might wish to do; so many places to go, so many experiences to have (this is analogous to the time versus money conundrum; working so hard to make the money that there is no time to spend it). On the other hand the vagabond has no choices, no mobility to go anywhere, and he or she has lots of time to spare. The vagabond has been excluded, virtually disenfranchised. He or she is not part of this post-modern world, and possibly not part of any consumer world at all; his or her presence in the post-modern tourist world is questionable. He or she has been excluded. Again, this is analogous to the employed/unemployed situation; the unemployed have the time but not means to do things.

‘Fascination’ with difference for its own sake is evident in the time-space compression of attractions featured in contemporary theme parks (Rojek, 1993). Again, multi-media tools dictate that ‘impact and sensation rather than nature or history’ drive the creation of the signs that allow the post-modern consumer to disregard, or at least minimise, issues of authenticity. The contention is that ‘from the standpoint of post-modernism, the development of time-space compression attractions does not anticipate a fundamental change in everyday life, it reflects it’ (ibid, p.164). Post-modern living involves a rapid spanning of time, an ingestion of fast moving images and stimuli across what may have previously been perceived as distance (geographical, psychological or other); the question arises as to whether or not holiday home living is an exemplar of post-modern living?

It is ‘the mix of instantaneous and evolutionary time that characterises contemporary disorganised ‘Western’ societies’ (or what we term post-modern society) according to Lash

and Urry (1994). Evolutionary time they explain is time that changes so slowly that the change is imperceptible; instantaneous time is time that is 'so brief, it cannot be experienced or observed' (ibid, p.242). A consequence of instantaneous time is that 'the future dissolves', there is no trust in the future and delayed gratification is no longer appropriate...the opportunity then exists for the tourist consumer to involve himself in the present sensation and spectacle of the tourist experience. Glacial or evolutionary time is manifest in the attempts of redundant miners groups to maintain old mines or in the National Trust in the UK to maintain 'unchanging Englishness' (ibid, p.250).

Another exploration of time is presented by Rojek (2000, p.43) in his discussion of the concept of 'Self-Managed Time'. He feels the concept of leisure will be obsolete in a society where 'the self management of time and enlargement of personal participation in community life are recognised as generalised principles'. This will herald the era of the whole individual whereby individuals will be free to determine what is and what is not leisure time activities. This situation has already materialised for a significant proportion of the privileged western world who enjoy 'flexi-time' to 'work' at their leisure activities. As will be discussed later second home owners are among those who enjoy the freedom to determine which are and which are not leisure times and places.

3.2.7 De-differentiation

Lash (1990) argues that the fundamental structuring trait of post-modernism is de-differentiation and it is a theme of post-modernity that is particularly interesting to discuss in the context of tourism and leisure (Rojek, 1993). Post-modernists deny that the aesthetic world is separated from the social world; they contend that art is not of a different order than life but is another means of representing life. Post-modernism is anti hierarchical, so for instance there is a breakdown of difference between cultural object and audience and there is an encouragement of audience participation. Frederic Jameson (1934-) has a cultural interest in post-modernism. He contends that the commodification of art, during post-modernism, has resulted in its rapid and accelerated reproduction, '...art and other cultural expressions have become increasingly superficial...there is increasing depthlessness...there is a compression of object or subject, and image'. This has resulted in simulacrum where image and reality are the same; a situation directly opposed to the earlier discussion of the place of reality and experience in modernity. Culturally, and specifically in terms of architecture,

Jameson is of the opinion that we have ended up with a variety of unrelated styles that we have 'combined them into over stimulating ensembles'. De-differentiation is said to lead to an increase in ambiguity as where there are no boundaries it is difficult to 'differentiate' where one meaning begins and where another ends (Nyström, 2000). Ritzer and Stillman (2001) have written of a superficial, or simulated, De-McDonaldisation in consumption and leisure which they contend is evident in consideration of the new USA ballparks.

Following on from the earlier discussion of post-modern time, and looking specifically at tourism, Urry (1994, p.234) explains that the late twentieth century structural differentiation of tourism (and leisure) has been reversed. Consumers' lives are no longer neatly structured into work time and leisure time. He asks when is leisure work, and when is work leisure and attributes this de-differentiation to three major social trends: the interminglings of commerce and culture, the increased pervasion of culture, and globalisation. Many of our current leisure time pursuits, for example amateur sports or activity holidays demand that we engage in practices of the world of work such as training, planning, preparation and aiming for professional standards; there is work involved in being at leisure. Likewise, Rojek (1993, p.169) states that 'the distinctions between work and leisure, the distinction between the world of duty and the world of freedom, have lost much of their force experientially'. This is further evidenced by the number of former work places (e.g mines, docklands, old mills and distilleries) that are now presented as spectacles for tourist consumption. Similarly, the tours offered by Encounter Overland are marketed as the opportunity for the consumer to 'learn the difference and enjoy the similarities' between your life and the lives of those whose home space you are visiting. The de-differentiation of space and culture is almost tangible. The colonial view of confronting other cultures, teaching them and not learning from them is replaced by one where there is an interaction of equals, each learning about and from the other culture (ibid, p.185). Perhaps the classic example of de-differentiation is rail travel. Increased speed, leads to 'a diminution in the quality and range of perceptions; details in the exterior become blurred and indistinct; smells become neutralised and sounds become muffled', rail travel takes place in a dreamlike state (ibid). In discussing the experience of going from airport to airport, from hotel to hotel, from commodified sight to commodified sight, Rojek (1993, p.199), echoing Jameson above, concludes that 'Post-modernism bathes everything in the same depthless, indifferent light...travel experience matches the depthlessness and transparency of surrounding culture'. Pittsburgh, Glasgow, and Belfast (apparently the

Hibernian Rio) are seen as exemplifying how far de-differentiation is accepted as a normal and ordinary part of popular culture. These previously 'heavy industry' cities are now established mini break centres, providing respite from the world of work. Many of the sights on the tourist trail in these cities are related to their industrial heritage, and in some cases to their current industrial profile.

It can be argued that de-differentiation has weakened the contrast between home and abroad and that the facilitator of this has been television culture; 'through TV and other media the post tourist can realise the ultimate experience of de-differentiation in travel; they can calmly go travelling without leaving the home' (Rojek, 1993, p.202). Leisure activity (including tourist activity), which began 'as an attempt to deny social boundaries' has itself been imprisoned in boundaries; it has been commodified (Rojek, 2000, p.95). This view is evidenced in the proliferation of radio and television travel programmes and newspaper supplements. Rojek lays particular emphasis on the idea that a sure sign of the de-differentiation between work and leisure is 'self consciousness' (1993, p.4). He questions whether we are really free if we are aware of the significance of the leisure time activity in which we are involved; are we really at leisure? If we are continually aware of grasping leisure in the midst of non-leisure, or of 'working' at leisure, when are we really at leisure? This is an issue I return to later in Chapters Five and Six.

3.2.8 The authentic, the real and the hyperreal

The hyperreal is that which has already been reproduced; it is a model of 'a real' without origin or reality (Cova, 1996), it is made up of representations. The term hyperreality is used to describe a society which is '...saturated with ever increasing forms of representation' (film, photograph, electronic, etc.). These forms of representation have significant impact on 'the cultural narratives that shape our identities'. The dramas played out on TV become part of the underlying story, the narrative, of our lives, '...we become pastiches (imitative conglomerations) of one another' (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000, p.282). In fact, images in post-modern theory can tend to be viewed as more real than the reality they are supposed to mirror, post-modern consumers 'have a tendency and a willingness to prefer the hype or the simulation to the 'real' itself' (Baudrillard, 1983). The centrality of popular culture, most particularly of television, in post-modern society has been said to 'have shaken our personal sense of place' (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000, p.284). It is claimed that these electronic

representations 'generate new formations of cultural space and restructure experiences of time' (ibid, p.292). The implosion of time and space creates a series of spectacles, of events, which can be difficult to differentiate, one from the other. The questions of authenticity, which is the real event (experience), which is the simulated event (experience), are obviated by the realisation that it is the spectacle, the event of the present that matters. Ritzer and Stillman (2001, p.108) wonder: 'Is it correct to ask such a question given that post modern theory disallows any distinction between real and unreal?'

In considering these issues in the field of tourism MacCannell (2001, p.31) sums up his view of authenticity by proclaiming 'The tourists...knew that for everything that is said or seen, there is the unsaid and the not seen'; they can appreciate what is authentic and complete and what is not. Interestingly, and in contrast to Urry's views, MacCannell (2001, p.36) claims that the tourist looks for 'the unexpected not the extraordinary'. He contends that tourists are looking for difference, but difference within the realm of their continuing experiences. Rojek and Urry's discussion of the 'hybridisation of societies' (1997, p.4) elaborates on the view that the post-modern tourist is less serious, less structured and less focussed on 'the authentic' than is the modern tourist (pilgrim). A good example of this is Firat's (2001, p.104) recounting of his experiences in Las Vegas; the enjoyment of the spectacle of the volcano outside the Mirage Hotel by tourists to the city was not dimmed by the lack of authenticity, they perceived it to be 'realer than real'. Similarly, Rojek (1993, p.2) discusses the doubts about the 'authenticity' of some of the exhibits at Greenfield Village, the Henry Ford museum situated in the suburbs of Detroit. The underlying theme here is 'matchless progress' and he questions this attempt to unify various historical events into one theme. The removal of the exhibits '...from their geographical and historical contexts' makes it more difficult to understand their individual meanings. However, the contention is that it is not the 'individual meanings' that are of importance but the overall hybrid recreation or leisure experience.

MacCannell's assertion that 'every destination is a random cannibalisation of styles of the past, a pastiche of tokens and reminders of domesticated 'cultural otherness'' (1976, p.199) supports the view that every destination increasingly represents every other destination, that home is no different to any place visited. An additional perspective worthy of consideration is that the multicultural societies, in which the post-modern tourist lives in 'ordinary life', provide him or her with access to representations of culture that he or she would previously

have had to travel to experience. Somewhat related is Ger and Belk's (1996) discussion of 'creolization – mixing what is at hand, the old and the new' and facilitated by tourism. Elements of what were previously 'other' cultures are now part of the 'hybrid cultures' in which we, to a greater or lesser extent, live in post-modern times. Urry (2000, p.151) considers the question of national heritage and how it has been impacted upon by three interconnected sets of transformations: 1. the development of a global public stage on which all nations have to mobilise themselves as spectacle (for example through the staging of mega-events such as the Olympics) 2. The emergence of disputes, often localised, centring on the interpretations of nationality (an example would be the Aborigine view of Australia Day as Invasion Day), and 3. The impact of diasporas, the literature on which concludes that 'a single exhaustive national heritage has become less sustainable', providing further evidence of the creolisation/hybridisation of cultures. The overriding implication of this discussion is that the representation is sufficient and that the search for authenticity in the tourist experience is no longer an imperative; and in some locales, it is actually an impossibility. All places to which we can now travel contain a variety, a collage, of cultural representations so that all places are simply (in the literal, non-judgemental sense of the word) hybrids of all other places. Ritzer and Liska (1997, p.99) state further that 'people increasingly travel to other locales to experience more of what is in their everyday lives', to pursue the hybrid. We could consider if the holiday home is a hybrid of the first home and so is in fact not that different to it; this is an issue that is addressed in Chapters Five and Six.

Hyperreality has been defined as the situation where 'the virtual and the real are no longer separable' (Baudrillard, 1983), it is explained that this is so because in the post-modern there is no longer any judgement of which is better - the virtual or the real. Another term Baudrillard employs in this regard is Simulation and he describes how stimuli are presented which require a response but that 'the response...is already predetermined by the form of the question'. Rojek (1993) chooses a tourism example to illustrate this point. He contends that we are presented with images of sun soaked beaches, palm trees, sun-tanned bodies and, effectively in the tradition of the leading question, 'we are asked would we not like to go there'. Monuments, Rojek (1993, p.194) writes, 'merely represent'. However, there is power in the reproduction, it is more accessible than the original, more mobile and more available. In critical mode MacCannell (1992, p.183) states 'overvaluation of the reproduction is aggressively promoted throughout the post-modern world'. These sights have been

commodified (we have seen the Eiffel Tower before in postcards etc.); there is 'an inevitable diminution of subtlety and complexity' (Rojek, 2000, p.194). Urry (2000, p.92) criticises the focus of the hyper-real on one sense, that of sight; 'the sense of sight is seduced by the most immediate and visible aspects of the scene'. In essence, we have become more and more familiar with a sight in terms of its representations, so that when we actually encounter it the experience can be somewhat anti-climatic. The image, or representation, with which we are presented, is the reality from the perspective of the marketer. Urry (1995, p.149) concludes:

Postmodernism problematises the relationship between representations and reality, since what we increasingly consume are signs or images: so there is no simple 'reality' separate from such modes of representation. What is consumed in tourism are visual signs and sometimes simulacrum...'

MacCannell's (1976) analysis of the semiotics of tourism argues that a tourism sight can consist of both a sight and a marker. The marker is a piece of information that confirms the sight as a sight (for example a plaque giving information about what is purported to have occurred at a particular sight). He gives the example of a couple visiting the zoo in Washington DC in mid-winter, going from empty cage to empty cage reading the information. Without the marker the tourist may not actually be aware that the sight is worthy of consideration. He explains that the tourist becomes involved with the marker rather than with the sight. The marker represents the sight and transforms it into a commodity, into something that can be gazed upon, packaged, purchased and reproduced. It is the marker not the sight that is consumed. In order to become the object of consumption, the object must become the sign (Baudrillard, 1988). The authenticity of the marker lies in its representational connection to the idea of the sight; Pretes (1995) gives the example of the Artic Circle sign indicating where the Artic Circle actually lies.

There is a 'blurring, in terms of the experiential value of the encounters, of the real and the virtual' to tourists (Firat, 2001, p.111). Firat maintains that there is a 'diminishing discrimination between the real and the fantasy in contemporary consumer culture in terms of the significance or quality of the experience they provide', what is more important is the ability of the experience, real or fantasy, to evoke meaning for the tourist consumer. This view is consistent with the post-modern view of all experience being of equal value, of not passing judgement as to which, or what kind of experience is better. The post-modern tourist seeks to find meaning in varied experiences. He further explains that 'this is because he has lost faith in, or commitment to, the possibility of a singular, best life alternative' (ibid, p.113).

The Las Vegas experience includes a variety of themes that are of current interest to the consumer, for example the rain forest. This interest in the particular theme apparently increases the sensation of immersion in the experience for the tourist consumer. Multimedia simulation devices, the technologies of simulation, are employed to engage as many of the senses as possible; 'The post-modern tourist prefers the immersed experience that allows the utilization of the senses as well as reason' (ibid, p.117). However, the question must be asked as to whether or not there is a sufficient immersion of the senses in this gaze oriented experience? It would seem that there is an over-reliance on sight.

Pretes (1995, p.8) contends that 'contemporary society is dominated by spectacle'. His work examines the case of Finland promoting itself as the home of Santa Claus; among the spectacles of the tourist world it is claiming to be unique. The impact of such a spectacle is evident in the anecdote of a twelve year old child, who has just commenced secondary school, refusing to believe that there is no Santa Claus, 'because I've been to Lapland and I saw him'. Tourists seem to have a natural capacity to seize the spectacle as if it was specially made for them (this is consistent with MacCannell's definition of the spectacle as something we do for others); the tourist can watch native dance and performance without any interest in its ritual significance, or specific authenticity, just believing that it has been created for them (MacCannell, 1992). 'Meaning has been replaced with spectacle and sensation dominates value' declares Rojek (1993, p.136). In explaining what he means by this he offers four examples from contemporary leisure: black spots (a marker of a death site, or a disaster site), heritage sites, literary landscapes and theme parks. He describes a situation of 'escape from the crisis of representation', the real is repeated and repeated again in the form of representations, 'the real is locked up in pure repetition' (ibid, p.144) therefore there is an acceptance that the representation is the reality.

In discussing MacCannell's staged authenticity as it has been applied to tableaux and tourist sites, in particular his example of tours to society's back regions (real life), Rojek (1993) rejects McCannell's contention that in a society where space is commodified, literary landscapes are presented as areas that cannot be tampered with, areas that we can escape into. He holds tight to the post-modernist view that 'preserving the past in order to escape into it is impossible', he explains that 'literary landscapes and ...heritage sites do not preserve the past, they represent it' (ibid, p.160). Related to this is nostalgia, which is a key characteristic of

post-modernism. Pretes (1995) claims that post-modernism, has a tendency to idealise and purify the past and juxtapose it with the 'anonymous anomic conditions of modernity'; nostalgia can be comforting in the context of everyday life demands but it is not real. There is also the view that 'leisure is not the antithesis of daily life but the continuation of it in dramatized or spectacular form' (Rojek 1993, p.213). It can be concluded that authenticity and originality are 'mere' techniques, the reality depends upon context. The view is that post-modern tourist experience is packed with spectacle. It is this profusion of representations that engages the tourist, not the inherent 'meaning'.

3.2.9 Self

This next section focuses specifically on the concept of self in post-modernism following Rojek (1993, p.6) who examines the issue of 'self making' or the building of self identity. In modernity leisure and travel were seen as ways in which the individual could pursue self realization. This self realisation would be achieved through 'engagement of the faculties', through 'self conscious activity'. The responsibility for the building of the self was seen to lie with the individual. The individual as a tourist could build a self identity through interaction with 'the other' as experienced through travel (ibid p.114); 'to be there oneself is what (was) crucial in most tourism' (Urry, 2001). However, Rojek's (1993, p.121) contention is that as modernity gathered pace, the tourist experience was reduced to a series of 'appointments' and prescribed activities. The evidence of this is the package tour, and the 'domestication of foreign travel' through making the experience 'more familiar'. Rojek (1993, p.122) refers to this as the 'disordering of the tourist experience'. Tellingly, he concludes: 'Leisure ceases to have any connection with self-actualisation. Instead it reflects the aleatory (chance), decentred and restless conditions which obtain everywhere'. This experience is unsatisfactory, and fails to help us achieve self realisation in that 'we are never fully convinced that we have experienced things in our 'free' time fully enough'; leisure time has demands that we 'should' meet.

In these conditions it seems foolish to see leisure experience as paving the way towards self-realisation (ibid p.216). It is argued that the rapid speeding up of time and space in the post-modern period dissolves any sense of identity at all (Urry 1995, p.21). Diametrically opposed to this view is MacCannell's (2002) contention that 'attractions precisely mirror the structure of the ego, reflecting back on the tourists their ego ideals and confirming them in their ego

satisfaction'. Another perspective presented by Bauman (1996) contends that identity building, the building of the self, has always been a problem but, in post-modernity, it is specifically a problem of 'how to avoid fixation and keep the options open'. The modernist 'quest for authenticity and self realisation has come to an end' (Rojek, 1993, p.132) and has been replaced, with equal fervour, by a post-modernist wish to imbue all experience, real or represented, with value. This is consistent with Urry's (1995, p.216) earlier argument that 'post modern selves are without depth or substance...there is no self beyond appearances...beyond the playful adopting and discarding of lifestyles'. He presents what he describes as a model of aesthetic cosmopolitanism. The elements included in this model are: mobility, the individual has the right to travel; curiosity; openness to other cultures; willingness to take risk; ability to locate one's own society vis à vis that visited; and a semiotic skill, the ability to interpret signs (ibid, p.167). It would seem that operationalisation of these elements indicates an involvement in aesthetic reflexivity. Cosmopolitanism is further considered in section 3.3. of this chapter.

3.2.10 Considering Post-modern Consumption and Tourism

To expand on the earlier discussion of the central, and differentiating, position of consumption in post-modernity, the relationship between tourism and other forms of current consumption (for example the fast food restaurant, the mega mall and the credit card) has been commented upon (Ger and Belk 1996, Firat 2001, Ritzer and Liska 1997 (p.105), Urry, 1990a (p.34)). The credit card has made travel and tourism more accessible and safer. The mega mall in a tourist destination provides a continuing opportunity to engage in a hybrid of that most post-modern of post-modern activities, shopping. The fast food restaurant provides a familiar safe means of feeding oneself in what might be an unfamiliar (although just made more familiar) destination. Ritzer and Liska (1997, p.106) are of the view that McDonalds, Disney and Las Vegas are highly structured experiences. They agree that consumers are 'consuming signs', or symbols or representations, or social expressions which 'unify subject and object, or things and their meanings' (MacCannell and MacCannell, 1982), as is the post-modern way. However they stipulate that people are consuming signs 'at least in part as a result of the fact that they are coerced ...by these new structures'. The commodification of the tourist experience by these corporations, or groups of corporations, functionally structures the experience so that tourists consume the same signs and may then have identical experiences. It can be concluded that the 'typical' post-modern tourist consumes a succession of essentially 'modern structured'

touristic experiences within a post-modern world. One of the issues I will return to in my later chapters is whether the second home provides something different.

In this section the themes inherent in post-modernity have been discussed in general, and then applied in a tourism setting. Tourism and leisure have been confirmed as post-modern consumption activities. The norm has become generalised de-differentiation; between work and leisure, between the aesthetic and the social; there are no boundaries. The prevailing view is that post-modern society is filled with uncertainty and stress. Escape, as operationalised by involvement in tourism activity, has become a mechanism for coping. The themes of post-modernity are evident in the description of the tourist experience. Moreover, the absence of a significant amount of published empirical research on the experience of the post-modern tourist indicates opportunity for further study; of specific interest in this study is the experience of second home living. Indeed, in my efforts to progress my search for a better understanding of the philosophical and cultural experience of the tourist, specifically the experience of second home living, my consideration of Urry's thinking as outlined above has led me towards an exploration of the concept of Cosmopolitanism which the next section now discusses.

3.3 Cosmopolitanism

In 'digging deeper' and striving to better understand the experience of the second homeowner, the concept of Cosmopolitanism (imbued as it is with visions of mobility, of movement) appears to potentially offer illumination on the subject of the second home living experience. Cosmopolitanism as we discuss it is firmly settled in the post-modern era, sharing several features with it including mobility and reflexivity. This next section of the chapter will start by defining Cosmopolitanism; it will progress to explore the importance of Cosmopolitanism in understanding the second home living experience. The discussion will then move on to detail elements of Cosmopolitanism.

3.3.1 What is Cosmopolitanism?

The vernacular use of the word 'Cosmopolitan' implies variety, ease, movement, openness, sophistication and confidence. A Cosmopolite is an individual who can negotiate and traverse, cultures and ways of life different to their own. There is something of a 'practised

air' and a certain sophistication, about their behaviour (The New Penguin English Dictionary, 2000, p.313). Cosmopolitanism implies a knowledge of, and respect for, that which is different. It welcomes, in fact positively demands, interaction with 'the Other' (Delanty and He (2008); Urry (2000b); Hannerz (1990)) and emphasizes '...a search for contrast rather than for uniformity' (Hannerz, 1996, p.103). There is open-mindedness inherent in the thinking of cosmopolitan people; there is a lack of judgement of others and their ideas, there is 'a shedding of particularistic loyalties' (Ferrara, 2007, p.54). This openness results from the idea of 'the right to hospitality' which is based on Kant's concept of the universal community and shared humanity (Fine and Boon, 2007, p.6) and the notion that something that happens in one part of the world is felt everywhere. Everyone belongs to the global community and everyone must be open to welcoming others and their views.

The emergence of the 'new cosmopolitanism', a new political and intellectual movement, is positioned at the breaking down of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Fine 2007, p.1). This movement is international and places human rights, international law, global governance and peaceful relationships between states at the centre of its vision of the world. From another vantage point, Szerszinski and Urry (2002, p.468) contend that aesthetic cosmopolitanism is located at the individual level, as a 'cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards people, places and experiences from different cultures'. Beck (2006, p.3) states clearly that cosmopolitanism 'reveals the possibility of shaping one's life under conditions of cultural mixture'.

From a consumption perspective, the cosmopolite is a consumer 'who regards the world as their marketplace, consciously seeking to consume products, places and experiences originating from cultures other than their own' (Cannon and Yaprak, 2002). Urry's (2000b) discussion of visual images available on British television over a 24-hour period provides confirmation of globalisation and the consequent ability of people to become cosmopolitan citizens through their ability to purchase goods. Cosmopolitanism is characterised by 'a capacity to consume' (ibid), both the global and the local. A 'consumerist cosmopolitanism' exists which allows the consumer to 'pick and mix' in areas such as food, literature and fashion (Calhoun, 2002).

However, cosmopolitanism is a complex multidimensional concept (Hopper, 2007). It is above all a normative concept (Ferrara, 2007, p.55); norms of behaviour are established and, rather than force or threat of force, these norms are used to regulate behaviour and relations between countries. On an individual level cosmopolitanism elevates the person's perspective 'above a provincial and nationalist view on world affairs' (Papastergiadis, 2007, p.141). There is a clear distinction between 'critical cosmopolitanism' and 'superficial or pseudo cosmopolitanism' which focuses only on the lifestyle of other cultures to enrich one's material life without normative engagement; the ubiquitous adoption of the cappuccino perhaps? 'Real' cosmopolitanism involves less of the adoption of the 'trappings' of the 'other' and more of an acquisition of a fundamental understanding of, and reflection upon, the world view of the 'other'.

Commentators are of the opinion that cosmopolitanism is not equally available to all people, '...the ability to live simultaneously in the global and the local does not yet seem accessible to the majority of people' Urry (2003, p.137); similarly we have noted that 'post-modern flitting' is not easily accessible to all. Hannerz (1996, p.178) explains that 'the cosmopolitanism I describe centers on an aesthetic stance...such a stance is a bit of a luxury, in which one can most readily indulge from a privileged position'; despite appearances to the contrary, cosmopolitanism remains un-experienced by large numbers of people. Contrary to this view is that expressed by Beck (2006,p.41), who speaks of a 'banal cosmopolitanisation' which is present in all forms of consumption, '...it is exhibited by restaurants, meals and menus and found in cities throughout the world', it pervades other spheres of everyday culture, for example, music, or the ability to switch between different television channels. This is explained as evidence of a new reflexivity, a new awareness of self, among consumers in general. In Chapter Seven I discuss the holiday home owner as a cosmopolite and address the issue of whether they are cosmopolitan because they are among the economically privileged for whom mobility and time to reflect are easy, or, that the second home owner is more like 'the general population' and exhibits signs of Beck's 'banal cosmopolitanism'.

3.3.2 The Cosmopolitanism of the Second Home Living experience

With particular concern for tourism, Ryan (2004) remarks '...it has been suggested that cultural tourism is not a process of seeking of alternative cultures, but of a process of cosmopolitanism, of acquiring veneers of difference while sustaining a mainstream lifestyle'

(p.63). The mainstream lifestyle is part of the consideration of the touristic experience. Underlying the aims of this study is the desire to understand the cultural, philosophical and main home contexts within which second home living is experienced. Cosmopolitanism is once again part of the current cultural context. 'The values of cosmopolitanism as a vision of how to negotiate and deal with difference in society have never been more pertinent than today' (Binnie, Holloway, Millington and Young, 2006, p.232). Cosmopolitanism is clearly of interest to us and indeed, Delanty and He (2008, p.324) proclaim that 'it would not be inaccurate to speak of a cosmopolitan turn in social science'. The entanglement of tourism activity and cosmopolitanism lends further importance to the discussion; the activity of the tourist could be said to be inherently cosmopolitan, moving with ease between worlds. This idea provides an interesting issue in relation to the second home owner where the tourist always returns to a familiar place.

Cosmopolitan tourism includes the search for varied experiences, a delight in understanding the contrasts between societies rather than a longing for uniformity or superiority, and the development of some skills at interpreting cultural meanings (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). In this context, '...the desire for the other place always involves the opposite of the everyday' (Urry, 2003). Does this then mean that second homeowners cannot be considered to be cosmopolitan? Are their activities (dividing their time between two homes) too uniform, too banal, too everyday, to be considered as cosmopolitan behaviour? The answer to this lies in the perspectives the second homeowners themselves have of their behaviour and is addressed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The notion of 'discrepant cosmopolitanisms' is proposed by Clifford (1992). He tries to understand 'the diverse forms in which relations of travelling and dwelling are combined, all of which are at odds with a fixed opposition between either fixed or mobile cultures'. Second home dwelling includes elements of both the fixed and the mobile. Paul Theroux (1986), who is continuously occupied with themes of journeys and the cosmopolitan experience, comments that many people travel for the purpose of 'home plus' – Spain is a home plus sunshine, India is a home plus servants, Africa is home plus elephants and lions. He is of the opinion that there is '...no general openness here to a somewhat unpredictable variety of experiences'. Again, the question arises, is this what the second homeowners experience simply, home plus home? And, can this be considered a cosmopolitan experience? In order to better understand

the nature of cosmopolitanism and how it may or may not provide a context for the second home experience, the next subsections in this chapter focus on several themes which are intrinsic to the concept of cosmopolitanism.

3.3.3 Cosmopolitanism and Mobility

Mobility includes both the ability and predisposition towards movement. Lerner (1958) speaks of 'the mobile personality', the type of person eager to move, to change, to invent. This individual is capable of empathy; Lerner remarks that empathy is 'the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation'. Movement, travel, arriving and departing are all part of our everyday lives. People have the right to 'travel corporeally, imaginatively and virtually, significant numbers have the means to travel' (Urry, 2000b, p.7). Bauman's (1998a) discussion of mobility in the context of post-modernism does challenge this thinking by stating that he believes that mobility is a basis for stratifying society (the implication being that it makes society more unequal); the resources divide in general and the digital divide in particular make it difficult to make cosmopolitanism equally available. There has been an historical framing of travel as a path to cultural enrichment, as being a prominent feature of discussion of cosmopolitanism; the cosmopolite is one who travels (Thompson and Tambyah,1999) and travel is inextricably bound up in the same discussion as cosmopolitanism.

The local/cosmopolitan distinction may become problematic if it is used to categorize people as either locals or cosmopolitans, or to describe a situation where mobility and place attachment are constructed as necessarily opposite and mutually exclusive phenomena (Gustafson, 2006). It is possible to experience both the local and the cosmopolitan in the same tourist experience, to be both local and cosmopolitan. For example, the second home owner in Wexford may appear to the local inhabitants to be an exotic cosmopolite 'down from Dublin for the weekend or for the summer'. At the same time the second homeowner takes delight in being considered a local in terms of local knowledge and behavior by 'tourists from other countries'.

3.3.4 Cosmopolitanism, Reflexivity and Identity

The ability of the individual to reflect on the actions, circumstances and location of the self is termed reflexivity. Cosmopolitanism is said to involve '...the adoption of a self-reflexive

mode of being in the world...’ (Smith, 2007, p.37); it includes the ability to distance oneself from those that surround us, giving us more sensitivity towards, and perspective on the world in which we live. Cosmopolitanism ‘... cultivates dimensions of reflexivity, entailing a commitment to developing the “capacity for constant scrutiny and revision of one’s own perspectives”’ (Featherstone, 2002, p.5).

Travel allows us the opportunity to reflect on our own culture. It has been said that in travelling we are ‘carrying our culture in our luggage’ - while moving between our own and foreign cultures, own home culture is ‘so profoundly embedded’ that it cannot be left behind Geoffroy (2007, p.283). Beck (2000, p.180) provides the example of an elderly woman whom he describes as ‘place poligamous’; she spends half of her time in Germany and the remainder in Kenya. He confirms her as German-centric and concludes that this exhibits a lack of self-reflexivity. From another perspective, more widespread education and the emergence of the reflexive self may help to lessen our nationalistic ties. Indeed Hopper (2007) concludes ‘...reflexive modernisation and the individuation it entails are necessary prerequisites for cosmopolitanism’ (p.168). Turner (2000, p. 29) associates cosmopolitanism with an ironic attitude which people adopt in order to be able to cope with the demands of modern life, saying that ‘indifference and distance may be useful personal strategies in a risk society where ambiguity and uncertainty reign’. This echoes Böröcz’s (1996) earlier comment about it involving ‘a blasé attitude as a key ideological element of ‘travel capitalism’. Together, they suggest that the cosmopolitan consumption of travel requires an urbane, confident, maybe slightly distant approach; perhaps the flâneur in different clothing.

To speak of cosmopolitanism is to refer to a transformation in self-understanding as a result of engagement with others over issues of global significance (Delanty and He, 2008). Being open, being cosmopolitan, allows us to hear the views of others to absorb them into our thinking and so to change who we are. Cosmopolitanism should be considered a cumulative process, marked by the gathering of cultural influences, allegiances and experiences, which accords with our ability as human beings to possess more than one identity (Hopper, 2007). We constantly negotiate and renegotiate the dual forces that shape our identities, ‘the slow paced temporalities of our enduring self versus the instantaneous temporalities of our situated self’ (Geoffroy, 2007, p.288). Cultural cosmopolitanism emphasizes the possible fluidity of individual identity-‘people’s remarkable capacity to forge new identities using materials from

diverse cultural sources, and to flourish while doing so' (Scheffler, 1999) - and their cultural adaptability (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999). Hannerz explains our human ability to construct identity in the following terms - 'One constructs a model of one's identity by dipping freely into the Lego set of globally available identities and building a progressively inclusive self image' (1996, p.103). He concludes that cosmopolitanism can be cultivated (Hannerz, 1990) and there are clear echoes here of the discussion of self in the previous exploration of post-modernism. The existence of 'different' selves in the experience of second home living is explored in Chapters Five and Six.

This section has sought to explore the meaning of cosmopolitanism today and to understand its relevance in the consideration of the current context of tourism, specifically the second home living experience. Fine (2007) argues that 'Contemporary cosmopolitanism can be regarded as the new humanism...an argument for the essential humanity we all share (p.6) although he stresses that '...it should not be a doctrinal mindset' (ibid p.7). The essential humanity of tourist activity, the inherent difficulty in developing 'tourism doctrine' is complimented by consideration of 'cosmopolitan theory'. However, practically speaking, perhaps the most potential for understanding lies in the Thompson and Tambyah (1999) discussion of the '...unique set of cultural dynamics that lie at the intersection of postmodernism and the increasingly ambiguous distinction between touristic experiences and the practices of everyday life' (p.236). Urry (1995) and Bauman (1996) had both previously commented that there is a de-differentiation between tourism and everyday life; that this is a feature of post-modernity. Bauman contends that tourism is no longer something one practises on holiday, 'Normal life, if it is to be a good life, ought to be and had better be a continuous holiday. Ideally one should be a tourist everyday and everywhere'. This current flitting between the everyday and the touristic is cosmopolitan behaviour and Fine (2007) goes so far as to say that from a research perspective we are currently enjoying '... cosmopolitanism's interpretive moment' (p.134). In Chapter Seven we will return to discuss just how much the experience of holiday home living is symbolic of cosmopolitanism.

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has critically reviewed literatures on post-modernism and cosmopolitanism in order to contextualize the subject matter of this study, namely the experience of holiday

(second) home living. The literatures concerned provide the current cultural and philosophical contexts within which holiday home living takes place. Firstly I examined the literature on post-modern which then led me to consider what might provide more specific knowledge of this particular group, second homeowners. This is Cosmopolitanism which offers valuable, thought provoking, insights into the most current cultural context of the second homeowner. It should be emphasized however, that both post-modernism and cosmopolitanism share a number of common ideas, notably mobility, reflexivity and self and I have discussed these in turn. These literatures of the post-modern and cosmopolitan have had a direct input into the philosophical underpinnings of the approach to the research. The post-modern perspective of rejecting a single overarching meta-narrative is evident in the open, looser approach to my methodology and methods and the notion of reflexivity as discussed in section 2.3, is an integral part of the post-modern character. Finally, mobility is a further link between the philosophical and cultural issues and the practical experience of holiday home living. Having discussed these complex issues in some detail here, the next chapter critically reviews the extant literatures on home and second home and draws parallels between this more 'practical' literature and the more 'philosophical' literature presented here.

Chapter Four: Home and Holiday Home

4.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter aims to bring together and explore the literatures on the home and second home that are relevant to this study. It clarifies the linkages between these literatures and presents new composite perspectives from which to view the experience of second home living. It aims to further our understanding of 'home' and 'away', and specifically to explore that 'away from home space', the second home. The first part of the chapter examines and critiques the literature on home and the space of home, whilst the second part of the chapter comprehensively reviews the specific literature on holiday, or second, homes. Overall this chapter provides a less heavily theoretical context for the study than that provided in Chapter Three and completes the literature review chapters before Chapters Five and Six develop an interpretation of findings.

4.1 Home and Space

*I remember, I remember,
the house where I was born,
the little window where the sun
came shining in at morn
(Thomas Hood, 1799-1845)*

Home is a simple little word that carries an awful a lot of meaning. For most of us it starts as the place in which we form our first memories and develop our first relationships (with family). It is a place of nurture, and of protection; it is the base from which we launch ourselves on a wider world. For some, home is a place of danger, a place of disregard for the needs of those dependent on it. Regardless of its nature, as we grow older there is a tendency to distance ourselves from the birth home and to establish homes of our own but home, as a concept, remains a constant in our lives. Due perhaps to the tendency to view all mobility as being progressive, home as a concept has remained relatively unexamined (Morley, 2000). Indeed the literature review presented here is selective in that it is somewhat couched in this context of the post modern. Mobility is the motif for our times, to be in motion is progressive and to an extent we have neglected consideration of the home because of our focus on movement. In this sense I would argue that my study is particularly timely. Tourism too has always been considered to be contingent on movement, it is interesting then to take some time

to reflect on movement from where and to consider how much movement is necessary so that an activity is considered touristic?

As discussed in chapter three, tourism is now part of our everyday lives, exploring beyond our homes, and even our home countries, is an integral part of life in the 'Western World'. Our increased mobility makes new worlds more accessible and understandable to us; 'everyday mobility becomes a performance that adds deeper meaning to everyday life' (Pooley, Turnbull and Adams, 2005). Tourism is exciting and dynamic, it broadens our world; this mobility, this tourism, relieves the mundane reality of everyday life. The home is seen to be static, confining and narrowing; the lack of information on movement from home to home in tourism is symptomatic of this view that home life is mundane.

The interface of home and tourism has not been extensively examined in either the home or tourism literatures. Given that tourism is only tourism in relation to home (McCabe, 2002) and that '...home is unavoidably a constituent of tourist experiences...every tourist carries an inherent pursuit of a sense of home/self when travelling' (Wang, 2007, p.797), as the definition of home changes so does the definition of tourism. It is interesting to focus on the second home in this context as the combination of home and tourism in the second home provides an opportunity to understand which aspects of home are brought into, and experienced in tourism. A fundamental question is how can one be understood without reference to the other? The tourist does not compartmentalise, in any kind of sterile fashion, his or her experiences of home and away, so studying them then we must keep an open mind as to how they may interact. It is helpful to start with a broad look at how the home has been defined.

In a way similar to the tourism literature, the literature on home is somewhat chaotic because of its multi-disciplinary nature (Gurney, 1990) and it includes sociology, anthropology, psychology, human geography, history, architecture and philosophy (Mallett, 2004). What is this thing we call home? The nest that we construct, the refuge that we run to, the comfort for which we yearn; or the prison we wish to escape, the horror we are desperate to flee? Home can be thought of as 'a place in which as a human, one does one's living and being' (Waters, 1995); we can simply be there, 'it is a place we are' (Wise, 2000). Home can be sensed as something longed for, remembered but perhaps irrevocably lost or unattainable (Dunne, 2001).

Porteous and Smith (2001) highlight the centrality of home in their discussion of domicide, literally the killing of home for corporate, bureaucratic, political or strategic projects; compulsory purchase awards are not much recompense when your family home, your nest, your haven, is being viciously bulldozed to the ground. A comprehensive theory of home must present it as being complex, many faceted and multi-dimensional (Somerville, 1997). Tuan provides perspective on place when he states, 'Human lives are a dialectical movement between shelter and venture, attachment and freedom; the boundedness of place and the exposure of place' (1977, p.54). The home is a place where space and time are controlled and structured in terms of function, economics, aesthetics and morals (Mallett, 2004); home is seen to be free of much of the surveillance that is part of the present-day world (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998). The home confines us and yet it provides us with the skills to break out of that confinement; it is a place/source of much contradiction; on the one hand it provides security and on the other it can seem confining (Jackson 1995, p.122). The importance of home is further evidenced by both traditional and alternative medical practitioners '...(who) are beginning to recognize that health and well-being are substantially contextual, and that a substantial part of that contextuality involves belongingness and feelings of 'being at home'' (Porteous and Smith, 2001, p.199).

However, Somerville's (1997) survey of both the sociological and non-sociological literature on home reveals a broad similarity of meanings: 'the centre of family life; a place of retreat, safety and relaxation; freedom and independence; self-expression and social status; a place of privacy, continuity and permanence; a financial asset; and a support for work and leisure activities'. Therefore the home is perceived as a temporal, social, cultural, personal and emotional construct with aesthetic and moral dimensions (Lynch, 2005). In his discussion of intimate places, Tuan (1977) writes homes as, '... places of nurture where our fundamental needs are heeded and cared for without fuss' (p.137). He emphasises the importance of the home in winter when it provides shelter to the vulnerable. Also, the home is unique to human beings in the sense that it is a place where 'the sick and the injured can recover under solicitous care' (ibid). The Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) study among home dwellers in contemporary urbanized America found that the single most frequently mentioned characteristic of the home was 'comfortable', 'cosy', 'relaxing'. They speak of an ambiguous territory between physical and psychological dimensions of home; it is difficult to separate one from the other. They conclude that the home is 'a shelter that allows a person to live a

distinctly individual life in comfort' (p.127). This individual nature of 'the meaning of home' is further emphasized by Heywood (2005), and Imrie (2004) who place a particular focus on corporeality.

In historical terms the word home is filled with emotional meaning though it has often been found to refer to physical structures rather than emotional spaces; in Latin family and house mean the same thing (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton,1981). We do tend to equate home and family, we picture the family in the home as we know it to be. A different perspective is provided by Jackson (1995) who highlights the meaning of home for nomadic peoples, for whom dwelling does not mean being housed and settled; he concludes that home to them is not necessarily private and clearly differentiated from the outside world. In similar vein, Mallett (2003) provides the example of the Nuakata Islanders of Papua, New Guinea for whom home is described as matrilinear village(s), or the island itself, and is not a private dwelling.

In current times setting up one's own home is a major event in a person's life. There is the separation from the familial home, the perhaps various episodes of establishment in an interim type of accommodation (e.g. student apartments, a succession of increasingly, as the career develops, salubrious rented accommodations) where 'home' still largely refers to the birth home. In fact, in some Western locations, despite low interest rates, the exorbitant price of homes results in a return to the birth home in order to save for the eventual move to a purchase home; what Kaufman (1998) refers to as the gradual long drawn out process of leaving home, the going back and forth until finally separation is achieved. The purchase of the first home and the subsequent upgrading to a larger or more desirable residence signal the most significant period of 'home building'. The establishment of a second home, complementing the primary home, may also take place at this time. Then, often due to stage in family life cycle reasons, down sizing to a smaller, more manageable home occurs, or, a move to a sheltered, assisted living or group type home is instituted.

Essentially the meaning of home is unstable (not primarily in a negative sense) and transitory (Imrie, 2004), ever changing over the family life cycle. It is as well here to also consider the changing place of the home as the centre of social life over time. MacCabe (2002) refers to Goffman (1959) in discussing the change of the home from 'its conventional modern use as a back-stage place where formal display rituals could be relaxed, to the most potent symbol of

post modernity, the most front stage of places for displaying social identity and cultural worth'. The home has become a place where we can show off our possessions, it is the space in which we entertain, '...a stylish cocoon for the tasteful consumer' (Attwood, 2005, p.90). This development has been accentuated and given impetus by popular media offerings highlighting the centrality of the home. The home facilitates us in developing our identities and in accumulating social cultural capital. However, the question must be asked, is the home in danger of losing its 'cosiness', its 'comforting role' as it becomes more stylish, as it is susceptible to the immediacy of the current fashion of the television makeover? The answer would appear to be no; there is a current perspective, most evident in Europe and the US, that 'staying in, is the new going out' (note the new Marks and Spencer's advertisements for its dine in for two promotion in its British and Irish stores). More particularly our homes allow us to 'cocoon' (Benson, 2002). There are however, differences in the way individuals relate to the home; gender has been found to be one of the most salient dimensions in differentiating how people view the home but variables such as age, life history, income and personality are also significant (Darke, 1996). The feminisation of the home, the increasing connection of the home to the domestic roles of women, took place over time (Ryan, 2005). Nowadays there is some ambivalence in this connection to the 'out of home' work and the domestic work of women; 'the home offers delight and oppression, privacy and isolation, pleasure in nurturing and the burden of obligation' (Darke, 1996, p.69).

Moran (2004) claims that 'the home is a place surrounded by nonplaces'. Outside of the home we are 'unowned, in transit', perhaps unknown. The home provides 'a counterweight to public life'. There is a sense that home is always there, you can always come home; it is perceived to be a place of permanence, '...a place where everyday is multiplied by all the days before it' (Tuan, 1977, p.140); it is what we come back to. More emphatically, not to say dramatically, 'In America (by way of example), a home is more than a shelter, an investment, or a piece of property. It is who we are. It is our highest aspiration, the bedrock of our country' (New York Times, 1988, p.14-15). Tuan declares that 'Contentment is a warm positive feeling, but it is most easily described as incuriosity toward the outside world and as absence of desire for a change of scene' (1977, p.159). However, this notion, that home dwellers are home bodies uninterested in tourist activities, is challenged by reference to the pervasive nature of tourist practice and most particularly in consideration of second home

owners who pursue the comforts of home in a place different to home, precisely because they wish for ‘a change of scene’.

Finally in ‘this defining of home’, we would do well to consider the entirely contrary position of Massey (1995) who advises against an ‘introverted’ approach and argues instead for an ‘extroverted’ sense of place (*home*) ‘where it is the sum of its linkages to elsewhere which constitutes a place’s (*home*’s) identity’; the outside defines the inside. Noble’s (2004) study among residents of Sydney, of the meaning and value of material objects in the home, concludes that ‘home functions as a place where we secure our being such that we can participate in other domains’ (p.252). The home is the place from which we look out on the rest of the world while securely anchored, and connect with other places; it is the context from which we engage in tourism. Souvenirs and holiday photographs are often displayed in the home, and serve as a link between home and tourism, between home and away (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005). Given how much home means to us, it is interesting then to consider the effect of the lack of home.

4.1.1 Homesickness

Absence from the home can lead to an experience of ‘Homesickness’; literally sick physically and/or mentally for want of home. A child’s first venture away with, for example scouts, or to boarding school, may be the occasion of the first attack of homesickness. The parents who up until now appeared to be the obstacle to all fun are suddenly dreadfully missed, the siblings who once were irritations now assume the status of most desirable playmates, the home cooking previously rudely declined as ‘boring’ is longed for. Later when starting ‘the first career job’, experience of the anonymity, noise and confusion of a major city while living in a damp ‘bedsit’ contrasts sharply with the home comforts of the previously perceived provincial home town. Further career development or voluntary ex-patriate travel leading to the crossing of oceans and mountains presents a significantly stronger cultural and physical contrast with home. It is an environment in which any similarity to home (bars, food, music, accents, newspapers) is often greedily consumed. The internet and world communications in general have made the world smaller and more immediate and have made us all more aware of, more comfortable with, other cultures. We are thus likely to suffer from ‘culture shock’, however this does not mean that we have eradicated homesickness. Rather, it seems that, like animals, we know when we are out of our natural habitat and exist somewhat in a state of

tension until the home has been restored. It is a mistake to assume that we can make a home 'wherever market conditions demand where the work is, where the services are best or where lots of other people have chosen to live' (Waters, 1995). Considering 'the return home', we enjoy feelings of excitement (three more weeks to go, five more dinners to eat...), anticipation (What will it/they look like? How good things will feel), fear (Will anything have changed? Will some obstacle to return appear? Will they recognise me?). On return to home, many people report home to be smaller (Banville, 1996) and shabbier, whilst there are also feelings of great joy, of total comfort in surroundings, of a dread of returning 'to the other world'.

Home also carries deep issues regarding attachment to homeland, ethnic home or nation; in times past exile was considered to be the worst of fates. This deep attachment is evidenced by immigrants worldwide who crave some simulation of home in social clubs established and neighbourhoods sequestered in their host country. Tuan (1977) describes how attachment '...may come simply with familiarity and ease, with the assurance of nurture and security, with the memory of sounds and smells of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time' (p.165). It is the everyday things that become familiar and practiced and which allow deep attachment to home to 'creep up'. What has been less written about is the fact that people can develop a deep attachment to a place without ever having been there (cf Tuan, 1977, p.184). For instance, first and second generation immigrants talk about 'the old country' and a couple dream of their honeymoon (yet to be taken) in the Caribbean. This place called home is important, it affects people deeply, what happens within it is often fundamental to their happiness; '...place is meaningful to people, and the place called home is the most meaningful of all (Porteous and Smith, 2001, p.6). There are times when people are obliged to leave the home (homelands) to which they are much attached; they become a diaspora.

4.1.2 Diaspora

The term diaspora refers to the dispersion of people away from their home country; they forfeit their homes and identities and have to fight to recreate themselves elsewhere (Waters, 1995). As individual diaspora form throughout the world their perceptions of their home countries develop as they physically and psychologically traverse the distance between adopted home and homeland. This previously unexamined relationship between tourism and diaspora is extensively explored in Coles and Timothy's (2004) volume *Tourism Diasporas*

and Space. It is clear that diaspora are not homogenous groups (Theobald, 2005, p.471), their motivations for travel and relations with their homeland can differ significantly. Two studies in particular dominate this discussion, Duval's (2004) work among Caribbean immigrants to Canada and Nguyen and King's (2004) study among the Vietnamese community in Australia. Nguyen and King found that most participants were happy with their lifestyle in Australia, 75% believed they would have a 'somewhat' better lifestyle in Vietnam were they to return; 'they were convinced sentimentally that a better life awaited them back home'. Maintenance of Vietnamese identity while in Australia was most important to the participants in this study. It has been suggested that this strong desire '...has emerged from a position of 'in-betweenness' where the relations between 'here' and 'there' need to be negotiated and redefined' (Nguyen and King, 2004). They are not fully integrated into Australian society, are not living in Vietnam, they are in a no man's land, an in-between, and clutching to their Vietnamese culture lessens this 'in-betweenness'. There is a sense that in-betweenness is uncomfortable, and that home is comfortable; this is problematised in the post-modern context where, in theory, we are all comfortable flitting back and forth and in between. However as Basu (2004) comments, loss of identity is a consequence of 'absence from homeland' which is further emphasised 'by the depersonalisation and competition of a consumerist society, leading to an increasingly 'atomised' or 'individualised' existence – an implicit demand for self-reliance, an absence of a place to come home to' (p.36.)

Another view on the relationship of the diaspora with the 'home' country is that 'occasionally two homes are internalised differing only in space and time' (Duval, 2004, p.89); the concept, the feeling of home, is transferable, it is mobile. This perspective is supported by the assertion that the traditional ideas of home and homeland need to be reviewed because of the substantial growth in mobility worldwide, 'transnational connections through repeat visits must surely reinforce some degree of place belonging between two localities' (Morley, 2000, p.3). Duval (2004) found that home could be described as Canada or it could be described as the Caribbean, or both. He explains that it is the practice of trying to sustain ties with the homeland that encourages migrants to consider where home is, and concludes that 'Home is a relative concept' and that migrants often try to have the best of both worlds (p.93). Migrants, or their descendents, returning home to visit remark on the impact of the physicality of the home place; 'the feeling that this is where it all began' (Basu, 2004). Basu's study participants, a group of Canadians returning to Orkney in Scotland, feel there is something

very personal in the ritual of ‘making the pilgrimage home’. Home and homeland, are experienced by the individual in a unique, sometimes difficult to articulate, way.

4.1.3 Home and Identity

Home is inextricably linked to the person. The question of where we are from, which country, which city, town, village or rural area defines us both in the eyes of others and ourselves. It is arguably more important than that other frequently asked question, what do you do? In psychoanalysis the house represents the self (Attfield, 2000). The importance of home to the self, to the identity is highlighted in the comments of a variety of writers: ‘Home can be one of the very few places to truly be oneself and affirm one’s identity’ (Lynch, 2005, p.41); the home provides a grounded space for people in which they can persevere in being who they are (Noble, 2004) and, home can simply be seen as the secure base around which identities are formed (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998). The wider role of the home is evident in the assertion that ‘the home plays a crucial role in people’s definition of their self identity, acting as a dialogue between them and the larger community’ (Deprés, 1991, p.103); we define ourselves to others out of the context of our homes. The matter is complex though; we can live in identical houses but create different homes; ‘Our residence is where we live, but our home is how we live’ says Ginsberg (1999, p.31). We all interpret the home individually, it is an expression of that individual interpretation, it almost becomes a second shell to protect the person, the identity. More fundamentally perhaps is what Bollnow (1960, p.35) refers to as ‘an anthropological function of the house’ in which the feeling of security provided (*by the home*) is essential for self identification; we need to feel secure and safe before we can reveal our true identities. This explains somewhat the agony of homelessness, it involves a loss of identity; the place with which the person identifies has been lost, taken away, destroyed, made inaccessible.

So how then does involvement in tourism maintain, or develop, this identity formed at home? Tourism and leisure have become more important in people’s lives due primarily to changing work practices; tourism practice is deeply embedded in everyday life (Hall and Page, 2002) so that ‘...travellers may be searching for the feeling of being “at home” both in the external environment, and at a more fundamental level, with themselves (White and White, 2004). Earlier Williams and Hall (2000) have argued that it is the movement to tourism and leisure spaces that adds meaning (to life), by allowing people to establish an identity and to connect

with place. It is as if the identity formed in the home space is brought out into the 'space in between' and is then deposited in the 'tourist space', there is opportunity for confirmation and development of the identity throughout the process. Being away from home throws the identity into sharp perspective, allows reflection, and perhaps change. Tuan explains, 'Only untoward events cause us to reflect on experience' (1977 p.130); we need to be thrown out of our home comfort zone in order to question our everyday lives. This echoes Tuan's earlier expressed view that home allows us to 'sightsee' as unanchored beings, home provides the stability, the consistency necessary to wander and return. Additionally, places that are spatially distant '...are removed from the burdens of time' (ibid, p.122); there is more time to attend to the self. More specifically Wearing and Wearing (1996, p.230) say that it 'is the experience of the interaction in this (tourist) space that affects the socially constructed self that comes with and goes home with the tourist'. This 'persistence' of identity is noted by White and White (2007, p.96) in their study of how tourists maintained communications with those at home, 'The diminished significance of the distinction between the sites of home and away is experienced by both tourists and those with whom they are communicating'; the electronic communication device of email allowing those communicating to maintain their 'home' identities despite their distance one from the other.

Looking particularly at second homes, Williams and Kaltenborn (1999, p.227) declare that 'Cottage use...necessarily re-creates the segmented quality of modern identities. It does so in the form of separate places for organising distinct aspects of a fragmented identity'; while still considering the one identity, there is recognition that each home nurtures different components of the tourist's identity. The world has become a more complex place, identity is perceived as 'involving living in a modern world in which localities are thoroughly penetrated by distant global difference', one way of dealing with this complexity is to seek refuge from modernity in nature and a simpler life, another approach is to 'root oneself in the local' and the second home provides for this (Williams and Van Patten, 2006, p.35). The identity of the individual is said to be 'no longer given through work but tends to be constructed, and constructed more through leisure than work' (Nielsen, 1999, p.278) so that identity is related to doing tourism and to home.

4.1.4 Home and Tourism

Without home there would be no tourism as without home there would be no getting away. If we are to better understand tourism then we need to become familiar with the home, to comprehend why the tourist must leave and then return. 'Journeys away from home, for no matter how trivial or routine a purpose, are thought to constitute both home and traveller...people's experience of home influences the meaning and significance of their journeys beyond it' (Mallett, 2004, p.78). Home anchors us and we become different when we leave. Tuan (1977) is of the opinion that we leave something of ourselves behind, 'we become specialized and unanchored beings, sightseers who sample life effortlessly' (p.146), once again echoing here notions of the flâneur, flitting from place to place. Earlier Tuan (1971) pointed out the complexity of the concept of home in terms of its etymological roots, the antinomic relationship of "home" and "journey", the sense of rest and the nostalgia associated with home. Of course this mobility, and what of ourselves we take with us and what we leave behind, is all the more complex in a situation where the tourist is moving on a regular basis from one home to another (see section 4.2 below). For most people home, as we have discussed, is somewhere towards which we gravitate, for which we yearn. However, for those for whom home is a place of confinement due to physical impairment it is somewhere from which tourism allows us to escape. Alternatively, van den Abbeele (1980) suggests that rather than considering home as an opposition between a fixed place and travel, it is necessary to employ a metaphor of nomadism that does not privilege motion; 'The nomad can no more be said to be moving than not moving, since there is no stable points of reference from which to perceive or measure movement' (p.103).

MacCannell (1976, p.56) has suggested that tourists are '...searching for authenticity no longer available in their own homes and everyday life' and more recently Jamal and Hill (2002) argued that when the tourist leaves home s/he is looking for more than an authentic experience, s/he is involved in an existentialist quest for home, or alternatively, freedom from home. This concurs with Heidegger's (1996) assertion that 'The existential tourist is at-home-in-the-world, as much as s(he) is also a 'being-in-the-world''. The tourist is a practiced traveller who has the skills to bring with them the comforts, or the aspects, of home which they desire, or to manufacture these from the environment in which they find themselves. They are able to 'make home' wherever they go. Jacobsen (2003) positions this situation very

firmly in the current consumer context: 'Tourism amenities and tourism-like experiences are thus increasingly becoming parts of everyday life for Europeans, and such de-differentiation may, to some degree be interpreted as an expression of postmodernity' (p.83). We are post-modern, we are well practiced, and very comfortable in the arts of tourism and home-making.

The material 'ingredients' of the touristic experience provide the opportunity for the tourist to 'feel at home'. Lynch (2005) examines the way in which hotels and guest houses have become 'domesticated'; the guest experiences 'a home away from home'. Hotel bedrooms are replete with home comforts such as tea and coffee making facilities, irons, trouser presses, perhaps even reading material. However, it seems that we may not want to stay away from home for too long. Recent figures relating to the Irish market show that the mini break remains the favourite type of holiday; stays of just over four nights were most popular (Cunningham, 2006). Home remains where we are most comfortable and it is where we identify with ourselves.

This first part of this chapter has focussed on the concept of home, largely from a historical and a sociological perspective. Issues of home and space, homesickness, diaspora and identity have been examined. The subsection on home and tourism posits home against tourism so as to force our consideration of both concepts singly and together. Knowledge of the primary home provides an insight into how participants understand and experience the concept of home in a broad sense and that subsequently translates into more understanding of how they experience the holiday home. In the next section the literature on the holiday (second) home is critiqued in an effort to understand how the holiday home, as a tourism site and as a home, supports the everyday life and the identity of the individual.

4.2 The Holiday (Second) Home

The focus of this part of the chapter is the experience of the tourist as s/he moves between ordinary everyday non-tourist life and tourist life in the current post-modern consumption context. The specific task undertaken is a review of the literature on second home living. Overall, second home owners are a group that is affluent, growing and heterogenous and remains significantly under-researched in consumer behaviour or tourism contexts (Mottiar

and Quinn, 2003). As outlined in chapter one, this study is endeavouring to begin to address this imbalance and lack of research in the area of holiday home living.

The vacation home is a complex issue within tourism. Being viewed as 'a space between the ordinary and the extraordinary' (Aronsson, 2004, p.76) it has links to both home and away. In this sense it seems clear that study of second home owners 'would assist in the search of a more universal understanding of what it means to the tourist to be a tourist' (Jaakson, 1986, p.389) and the themes generated in the study of second home owners are useful in the study of tourist consumers in a general sense. Historically vacation homes have been the preserve of the wealthier groups within society, however in more recent times the demand for 'alternative homes' appears to be growing considerably in a number of countries worldwide (Kaltenborn, 1998). For example in Norway, it was estimated in 2002 that every second family in the country has access to at least one home (Flognfeldt 2004). This echoes Clout's (1977, p.50) earlier finding among French second home users that 'many more have access to second homes than own them'. Their recent growth in numbers and use of second homes is simply symptomatic of broader social trends including modern working patterns, preferences in leisure consumption, improvement in personal mobility and higher wages (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Consistent with these findings, Jackson (2002) has also commented that '...the second home is becoming a more obligatory piece of the American dream' (p.4).

There has long been a tradition of second home, or holiday home, ownership in Europe; the Scandinavian tradition of cottaging and the Balearic practice of seasonal dual residence are examples. A recent European trend is the purchase of city apartments in large cities other than one's primary home. These apartments function as second homes and have become more attractive because they are more affordable; no-frills airlines are unlikely to drop flights to big cities; and, from a rental income perspective, there is a shift towards staying in homely flats rather than soulless hotel rooms (Hall, 2008). To date the Irish experience has been different to that of mainland Europe where second home owners live in city apartments and spend leisure time in summer houses. Ireland has traditionally had one of the lowest population density figures of any European country (CSO, 2008) and relative to the general European situation significant levels of second home ownership are a recent phenomenon in Ireland (Quinn, 2004). Indicative of this development is the finding in the August 2005 Amarach

Consulting Survey which showed that in just the previous 12 months the percentage of Irish people who own a second home has doubled (McEnaney, 2005).

Whilst it is known that the number of Irish travelling to their own holiday homes in Europe has trebled since 2000 (CSO, 2004) and that there are approximately 50,000 holiday homes in Ireland (CSO, 2007), there is little reliable numerical data available. During 2009 the Irish Government's Department of the Environment imposed the Non-Principal Primary Residence Tax, €200 per property on all homes, be they investment, vacant or holiday homes. However, these tax yield figures are not broken down by category and it is impossible to gauge the number of holiday homes included. Discussions with Department officials have confirmed the logic of using the 2006 census figure for holiday homes vacant on the night of April 23rd (49,789, as reported CSO, 2007 above) with the addition of an estimated 10-20% occupancy rate for late April to produce a guesstimate of 55,000-60,000 domestic holiday homes. That Irish consumption of the second home, both domestic and foreign, has shown a marked increase has been evidenced, at least until 2008, by a number of factors including the number of foreign property exhibitors in the market, the increase in domestic building activity in traditional country and coastline holiday areas and the increased professionalism of estate agents in their approach to this business (noted also in Norway by Flognfeldt, 2004). Additionally, the significant increase in primary home equity which has had a positive impact on the second home market (also reported by Hobson (2002) with regard to the US), the recent interest by the Revenue Commissioners in those purchasing second properties, and the anecdotal belief that 'having a second home in the sun has become almost de rigueur these days' (Foley, 2005) supported, until very recently, significant activity in the holiday home market. However, there is a distinct lack of solid numerical data on multiple residences across most countries, and as McHugh et al (1995, p.263) comment, 'we do not think about and routinely collect information on multiple residences'. What numerical information is available concerning the Irish market comes mainly from the estate agents who estimate that around 60,000 Irish people have bought properties abroad, 40,000 of these in Spain (Keena, 2004), spending in the range of €75,000 - €259,000 plus each (Khan, 2005). There is substantial potential for researching the experience of the second home owner.

4.2.1 Understanding the Second Home Owner

Despite a long history of research on second homes (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004), which includes contributions from Aldskogius (1969), Ragatz (1970), Bielckus (1977), Clout (1977), Coppock (1977), Wolfe (1977); Rothman (1978), Shucksmith (1983) and Jaakson's (1986) seminal article, there was relatively little written on the subject of second home ownership until the late 1990s. Then there came a spurt of interest in the subject 'due to growth in interregional and international retirement migration, increased recognition of tourism (economic, environment, social), and deliberate use of second homes as an economic development tool' (Hall and Müller, 2004). However, it is fair to say that most of this literature has focussed on the economic, environmental, social and demographic impacts of second, or holiday, homes on the local community (Casado-Diaz, 1999). Additionally, many studies (for example Bourrat (2000), Williams and Hall (2000), Mottiar and Quinn (2001)) have primarily presented the perspective of the local community rather than that of the second home owner. Some exceptions to this are Buller and Hoggart's (1994) account of the interaction between British second home owners and British permanent migrants to France, and Mottiar and Quinn's (2003) study of the role second home owners played in the controversy that arose in regard to planned tourism development in Courtown, Co. Wexford, Ireland. Thus, a major critique of this more recent work is that their 'focus on the local has somewhat delayed significant broader conceptualisation regarding second homes' (Müller, 2004), whilst they have also been fairly insular and have not considered parallels with other second home owning groups.

However, there have been a few studies in the second home literature that examine the actual consumption of the second home. Writing of Norwegian cottage owners, Kaltenborn (1998) states:

We have scant empirical evidence of which role(s) 'cabin life' plays in people's lives; what motivates the use of recreation homes; what makes them attractive; or what is it about our time and development of society that seems to increase the demand for alternative homes (p.121).

Reiner Jaakson has completed the most comprehensive examination of second home living to date. His 1986 study of Canadian second home owners was based primarily on survey data gathered from 300 second home owners over twenty years and generated ten 'broad themes of meaning' (routine and novelty, inversion, back-to-nature, identity, surety, continuity, work,

elitism, aspiration, and time and distance) which he used 'to explore what the second home means to the second home tourist'. Jaakson concluded that second home owning is unique but that it 'exhibits similarities common to most if not all tourism'. His assertion that 'the second home owner is a form of permanent tourist' has implications for the consumption of tourism in a post-modern context and raises the question of what now distinguishes ordinary life and extra-ordinary tourist life?

Chaplin's (2000) investigation of British owners of second homes in France draws upon Jaakson's work. Specifically, the aim of the study was to explore consumption criteria and practices, the patterns of owners' lives, and the constructions they form of their identities as property owners in France. This study revealed lack of commodification and time out from 'paramount identities' as important elements of the second home consumption experience and Chaplin also presented a typology of second homeowners: The Creative Homemaker, The Regular Migrants, The Enthusiasts, The Exclusivists, and The Relaxers. In contrast to Jaakson, Chaplin concludes that second home consumption is not a form of tourism.

These last two authors in particular offering as they do differing views on where the second home fits in the tourism discussion, provide a solid basis from which to examine the phenomenon of the second home living experience.

4.2.2 Defining the second home owner

Definition of second home ownership is difficult. Second homes are not a discrete type, clearly distinguished from other kinds of accommodation and they 'form a somewhat arbitrarily identified group within a continuum' (Coppock, 1977, p.2). They are 'seen as an urban rural continuum, a housing tourism continuum, a work/leisure continuum or a work retirement continuum' (ibid, p.211). Additionally, and in a broad sense, this difficulty in defining what owning a second home is about is based on 'a persistent confusion of categories between leisure and tourism' (Crouch, 1999, p.1), or a view of tourism and recreation as part of a wider conceptualisation of leisure, all of which make categorising second home living problematic. Indeed the very term second home seems itself to be inadequate given current changes in 'the nature of place affiliation' and in view of 'the emergence of more peripatetic lifestyles' where significant numbers of consumers are involved in multiple residential options. Specifically '...the term second homes is becoming misleading [so that], alternative

or multiple homes may be a more appropriate' (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004, p.112), or perhaps 'residential tourist' (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000). Use of these terms would help cope with the 'chaotic conceptualisation' that surrounds the literature on second home owning (Williams *et al*, 2004, p.98). The wide variety of European consumers makes it impossible to sketch a composite profile of the second home owner in Europe (Go, 1988, p.25). Restrictive migration definitions in the geography literature have not been of help and 'little attention is given to the notion that significant populations are involved in trips between two or more places and that many people have established multiple residences in Western societies' (Roseman, 1992). Salletmaier's (1993) conception of the second home is of a space for recreation and communication that may be essential to the users' personal identities. Second-home tourism has been defined as the recreational use of second homes by their owners, friends or relatives of the owners, or vacationers who rent them (Tress, 2002). These last definitions are clearly problematic and no more comprehensive than the definitions already outlined here; they entirely neglect the possibility that the second home may be exclusively used for commercial purposes and that therefore the owner-home relationship and attachment described may actually completely disappear. Precisely defining the concept of the second home is difficult, however my interest is in those second home owners who enjoy the second home living experience and whom I profile and define in chapter two, section 2.5.1.

There has been much discussion of whether or not second home use should be defined as tourism. Dower (1977) maintained that the critical point about second homes is that they are at the point of overlap between housing and tourism – 'neither squarely one nor the other, but having the nature and implications of both'. Cohen (1974) identified second home tourists as 'marginal', due to lack of novelty in their travel behaviour; however, he does not elaborate greatly on the nature and degree of novelty he attaches to travel and tourist behaviour. Chaplin (2000) does not agree that second homeowners are tourists but does acknowledge that they share 'the need to escape' with 'regular' tourists. Additionally, she writes that 'holidays are consumed as experiences of novelty, or breaks from routine but are often also enjoyed through familiarity and continuity' of the second home (p.62). O'Reilly's (2003) study of British migrants in Spain's Costa del Sol claims that these migrants are not tourists but does acknowledge that Cohen and Taylor's (1992) idea of archetypal free area, 'the institutionalized setting for temporary excursions from the domain of paramount reality' does apply, so that 'they live in a holiday space'. Despite 'living' in Spain on a permanent basis,

these people are not engaged in 'everyday life' in the way they would be at home (in Britain). They live in 'a free space' away from reality; they live in a holiday world. Jaakson (1986) firmly places second home consumption on the touristic continuum by specifying that 'the frequency and periodicity of trips differentiate second home tourism from other types of domestic and international tourism' (p.389) and concludes that 'second home owners are a significant part of domestic tourism'. With such disagreement it is helpful to remember Ryan's (2002, p.24) view that 'the harder we look at the nature of tourism, the more it slides uneasily into ambiguity' (p.24). At times it is difficult to determine what is a tourism experiences and how to distinguish tourism and home experiences.

4.2.3 Profiling the second home owner

Holiday home owners are a heterogeneous group (Mottiar and Quinn 2003, p.123), and therefore it is difficult to ascribe them a particular profile. However, it can be concluded that in general they are higher than average income earners (ibid, p.124) and that traditionally the greatest usage of second homes is by families headed by persons in the 45-65 age range, the pre-retirement life cycle stage, with higher education (Jansson and Müller, 2004; Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995; McHugh *et al* 1995). However, Jackson (2002) maintains that current interest in second homes in the US is highest among adults younger than thirty-five. While researching vacation home residents in Smögen, Aronsson (2004, p.84) found they were '...mainly middle-aged and elderly people, highly educated and employed in the (private) service industry...Members of the group have an urban career lifestyle'. Godbey and Bevins (1987) maintain that interest in second homes should follow the life course, as does tourism in general. They pinpoint households that are well established in the labour and housing markets, and whose children are independent in terms of leisure pursuits, as having both the financial resources and the time to enjoy the 'family project' of the second home. In terms of the acquisition of the second home, the choice is described as a 'moderate' rather than a 'life changing' lifestyle choice (Quinn, 2004). With regard to spatial distance the majority of second home owners live relatively close to their property, even in an international context (Müller, 2004, p.391).

There is little literature which discusses about what distinguishes second homeowners (from other tourists). Buller and Hoggart's (1994) British second home owners in France exhibited 'an aversion to compatriot fraternity' (p.203) in that they did not want to dilute their

experience of France by overly socialising with other British home owners. Later Chaplin (2000, p.79) remarked about this group that they have the ‘cultural capital’ to appreciate the simple things in life; this would certainly be consistent with the desire for an uncommodified and ‘unpackaged’ experience. The heterogeneous nature of the second home owner group is further emphasised when they discuss their motives and future plans for the use of their second homes (Müller, 2002, p.443).

4.2.4 The Motivation of Second Home Owners

There has been relatively little empirical data gathered about the motives for second home ownership (Kaltenborn,1998; Coppock,1977). Certainly investment issues, stock market fears and the perception that owning a second home is an accessible practice play their part. The factors that facilitate second home ownership are having enough income to devote money from the household budget to a non-essential item, and having sufficient time away from employment to spend this income on leisure (Ragatz, 1977). Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000, p.17) are of the opinion that in order to understand the growth of second home ownership, it is necessary to understand aspects of personal (consumer) motivation alongside demand (or structural) issues. In a broader sense Kaltenborn (1998) writes of viewing home use as an aspect of modernity, as part of a larger process of societal evolution. He goes on to detail the multiple and more personal reasons for second home ownership, namely identity management, contrast to modern everyday life and status. A common motivation for the purchase of a second home is ‘a certain notion of rurality’ that originates from a traditional understanding of the urban-rural dichotomy (Müller, 2004). Moreover, that second homes represent emotional links to places of childhood or ancestry and that they provide continuity is also commented upon by Müller (2004) and Coppock (1977). Increased *communitas* with family and ‘the opportunity for intergenerational gathering’ are often mentioned as reasons for investing in a second home (Kaltenborn,1998; Nordin,1993; Jaakson,1986). Jansson and Müller’s (2003) Kvarken study revealed the three most important reasons for having a cottage as being: access to nature (31%), having a place just to relax (25%), and maintaining contacts with the native district, the landscape of childhood (10%). Further, in the context of the Europeanization of Britain and Ireland (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000), it is easy to understand that a perception of ‘desirability’ of owning a second home abroad would be current. A second home owner who is also a parent verbalises this particularly clearly ‘Our main purpose of investing in France is for us and our children to become ‘European’’ (Buller

and Hoggart, 2004, p.205). Interestingly, Müller (1999) suggests second home ownership mirrors a form of internationalisation.

Very often in this second home, in this place of leisure and recreation people are working intensively; the second home as a project is taken on 'to have something to do' (Jarlov, 1999, p.231). This finding is echoed in the Kvarken study where relaxation is often seen to be the 'equivalent' of doing house maintenance (Jansson and Müller, 2004). There is a desire to use the second home as a place to relax and gather strength to face 'ordinary' life; in fact life revolving around the recreation home can gradually become the ordinary life that provides the desired meaning, while the modern urban life represents the extraordinary existence (Kaltenborn 1998, p.131); second home ownership can thus be said to constitute a turn to the local as a response to globalisation. The importance of 'individualisation', where individuals are decreasingly constrained by social structures and are able to focus on their individual desires, is 'a decisive criterion for the quality of life', and so is part of the second home ownership decision (Huber and O'Reilly, 2004).

The second home has provided people with the ability to experience something that is no longer present in their 'normal' lives (Hall and Müller, 2004; Buller and Hoggart, 1994). This situation is posited as being a different kind of inversion to that which commercial tourism tries to create, 'where tourism places and nature represent a sort of constructed authenticity that is distinctly separated from the tourist's ordinary life' (Kaltenborn, 1998). This finding is further supported by Chaplin's (2000) comment that the required behaviour in the second home is 'profoundly different from conventional experiences of holiday places' (p.108) and that second home owners are looking for a different holiday experience (c.f. Chaplin, 2000). King *et al* (2000, p.104) present a schematic model of the decision to acquire and utilise a transnational second home that subsequently becomes a retirement home, a model which illustrates the complexity of the decision. Interestingly it resonates with Coppock's earlier (1977) Schema of the Second Home Decision Process - the world has changed dramatically and yet the decision to acquire a second home has remained largely the same. In summary, while a large number of motives have been advanced, it seems that there is a broad consensus that escape from modernity, inversion of everyday life, and return to nature seem to underpin people's involvement in second home ownership (Quinn, 2004). The second homeowner is

availing of the opportunity to live in two worlds, 'the world of their everyday...and the world of their elective centre (to which they will depart periodically)' (Cohen, 1979).

This discussion of the literature on the second home living experience leads to the conclusion that the second home is a significant social phenomenon; however despite the reality of a growing popular culture interest (seen in television programmes, magazines and newspaper supplements) there has been relatively little academic work completed on the topic. Yet here lies an opportunity to study the second home for the knowledge we can glean about home and away, about tourism and extra/ordinary life; in fact it is possible that a whole new way of looking at home and away may emerge from this study.

4.3 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has explored in detail two of the literatures relevant to this study, namely home and holiday or second home. It clarified the linkages between these literatures and presented new composite perspectives from which to view the experience of second home living. The first part of the chapter examined and critiqued the literature on home and the space within which we make it. The second part of the chapter comprehensively reviewed the global literature on holiday, or second homes. Overall this chapter provides a somewhat more grounded, or more practical, backdrop to chapter three's detailed examination of the various current cultural and philosophical lens through which everyday life, tourism, and the second home living experience can be viewed. All of this serves to contextualise the study and will serve as the basis for my interpretation of findings in chapters five and six.

This literature review has critically examined literatures (post-modernism, cosmopolitanism, home, and second home) which inform our thinking about the subject matter of this study, the experience of holiday (second) home living. It began with a review of the post-modern, followed by a discussion of cosmopolitanism which offers valuable, thought provoking, insights into the most current cultural context of the second home owner. My reviews here also pointed out that there are shared issues of concern between post-modernism and cosmopolitanism, namely mobility, reflexivity and self, transformation/identity and self. My consideration of the post-modernism and home literatures led me to the conclusions that post-modern life experiences are facilitated by the existence of home and that home is the

launching pad for post-modern adventure, and further, that the post-modern context allows the post-modern tourist to flit easily between home and second home. On the basis of the respective literatures, I have argued that the post tourist and the second home owner have much in common, they are both mobile, they are self reflexive, they appreciate de-differentiation, and they are adaptable to change. The next chapter moves the study to present and discuss the findings of the different phases of fieldwork.

Chapter Five: Holiday Home Themes

5.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the analysis of the interviews undertaken in phase one of the study. Ten composite themes have emerged from the analysis, and speak directly to the aims of the study as detailed in chapter one, section 1.3. Among the themes to be discussed are everyday life; family life; friends and neighbours; perception of frequency of use, access, mobility and transcendence; other holidays; activities in the second home; primary home; acquisition of home; attachment; and ritual. Each will be discussed in turn. It will be helpful to refer to Table 2.1 Phase One Participant Profile while reading this chapter.

5.1 Everyday Life

Woodside *et al* (2000, p.3) comment that ‘The field of travel and leisure, as economic and social activities, influences the quality of life of substantial shares of the populations of many...nations’ and the issue of ‘everyday life’ is central to the interest of this study. Specifically in question is how ‘tourist life’ differs from ‘everyday life’. The rationale for studying how people behave as tourists and in particular how this is similar or different, to how they behave when they are not tourists, is important if we are to truly gain understanding of the nature of tourism. In this study second home owners are the particular group of tourists in question.

The second home living experience was reported by the study participants to be different to everyday life because it provided freedom from routine. The second home does not impose the obligations of first home, particularly in relation to maintenance and adherence to routine activities. Even if the same routine activities are engaged in, (e.g. gardening or cooking) they are not considered to be work. There is no obligation to engage in these activities in the second home but they are enjoyed in a way that they may not be in everyday first home life (cf. Jaakson, 1986) since activities are considered leisure or work depending on the context in which they are experienced. The second home is considered ‘*a haven from (the routine of) everyday life*’ (Joan), ‘*away from the torment and suburbia*’ (Francis). The benefit is in ‘*being away from the normal*’. Life in the second home ‘*is not normal living*’, it does not have ‘*all the clutter*’ of everyday life; ‘*it is a break away from the norm...the usual*’ (Marie). There

is simplicity inherent in living in the second home; life is 'pared down', there is some nostalgia regarding the 'simpler' past and a desire to re-engage with it.

This second home produces routines of its own that are different to those of the everyday first home. These routines focus on activities such as entertaining (*'always in a state of readiness to receive visitors'*- Pauline), exercise ('an ease' in getting involved in activities such as golf), and use of family time. The second home allows the tourist to transcend the routine, the monotony of everyday life (cf. Huxley1959); it has the capacity to be transformative. The first and second homes (everyday and non-everyday life) are seen *'as two separate parts of our lives'* (Pauline), *'Brittas is a different way of life'* (Marese). That said there is a recognition that the second home experience is part of the overall life experience of the individual second home owner *'...it's a kind of another life, it's your life and it's another life in a different place...it is just a place I really like...it's a kind of place that's part of your life'* (Peter). The first and second homes are each seen to provide a different kind of happiness.

In effect the second home is perceived as offering the opportunity to 'live more' than is possible in the everyday life of the primary home, there is more time for life. The basic safety and security in the primary home is taken for granted by most people when in the second home and is particularly welcome to those from cities or troubled areas; speaking of visitors from Northern Ireland to Enniscrone, Co. Sligo, Seamus remarks *'The Northerners love it here, they used to be crying having to go home'*. There is the opportunity to spend more, and better quality, time with family and friends, to take more time to cook a meal, to notice changes in nature, and to get into a book – *'reading is actually more enjoyable (in the second home)'* (Marie). In the second home living experience there is a desire for novelty vis-à-vis the everyday life of the first home. There is an enjoyment of different local produce and different, wilder, walking routes. Some participants commented on how they had more of an opportunity to organise the second home, which *'can be set up as you want it'* (Peter), than is the case with their primary home. This was attributed to a different kind of living being done in the second home and also experience in 'home-building' gained in the primary home.

Similarities with the first home were acknowledged, particularly with regard to the duplication in the second home of comforts and conveniences enjoyed in the primary home; *'We have everything down here that we have up there except for the washing machine'* (Bridget); *'Don't*

want the holiday home to be too different, I like my conveniences' (Marie). However, overall, there is a 'simpler' approach taken to home furnishing; *'Happy with hand-me-downs'* (Francis). There is evidence of a de-differentiation between the first and second home everyday life, between home and touristic life. MacCannell (2001, p.36) contends that the tourist is 'looking for the unexpected, not the extraordinary'; tourists are looking for difference but difference within the realm of their continuing experiences. The second home tourist is fortunate in achieving a close match between their expectation and experience. People increasingly travel to other locales to experience more of what is in their everyday lives; they are in search of home plus home (Theroux, 1986), some difference but not extraordinary difference, some escape but not dramatically different escape.

Tourist time is more their [tourists'] own than the time lived in everyday life (Selanniemi, 2000). Time has a different meaning, a different momentum, a different flow, in second home life; everyday life makes time a precious commodity that must be measured and weighed, but in second home life there is a tendency 'to get lost in time'. In everyday life *'you wake up with a structure for the day'* (Francis). There is *'always something else to do at [the primary] home, there is no let up in it'* (Helen), *'a hundred jobs I need to do there, a very busy schedule'* (Marie); *there is 'a need to be busy' in the primary home* (Pauline). Yet time is so unstructured in the second home that several participants report feeling comfortable enough not to wear a watch. The lack of structure in second home life is perceived to be a special luxury. One participant spoke about the second home providing *'some of what the first home used to have'* (Gerard), a more easy going ambience. Another participant remarked that the second home allows *'time for nostalgia'* (Peter).

This difference in the concept of time leads to friendship and social relations being experienced differently in the second home; there are less structures and it is easier to meet a wider variety of people; *'you could meet anyone down here'* (Francis). There is a perception that they *'have a better social life down here'*, that there are lots of things going on and that there is more mixing of different age groups (Seamus). In the second home, a cosmopolitan openness in terms of friendship and social intercourse seems to prevail. Here children *'rely more on their own imagination' and spend a lot of time outdoors, there is less access to electronic toys and less emphasis on the indoors in general, '[you] can relax away from nagging children about music practice'*, both children and adults can be more relaxed.

Children are different in the holiday home, *'there is an innocence about them'* (Marie, 42). This child-like innocence is evident among adult second home owners in their embrace of the difference in life in the second home, which differs from everyday life because of the holiday atmosphere (especially in summertime) - there is a sense of playfulness in this post-tourist idyll (cf. Urry, 1990a). Some second homeowners bring work from their everyday life to do while enjoying their second home, *'Sometimes bring work to do on the deck, totally different to sitting at [primary] home doing the work'* (Helen). The same work activity is experienced differently in each home while at the same time linking the second home to the primary home.

Differences between the minutiae of everyday life and the minutiae of second home life are commented upon, *'Food tastes better here [in the second home]; even the carrots would have a bit of clay on them...'*, and *'...all the dogs are loose. They have a great life!'* (Seamus). Talking about routine kitchen equipment (e.g. full oven, microwave, fridge) I found there to be similarities between the homes; there is a determination to duplication rather than *'hauling things back and forth'* (Gerard, 74). There is an ease with which items of furniture may be handed down from the first home to the second home; the second home does not require the same investment (in terms of money and time) in furniture as does the primary home. Additionally, furniture and household items which have been of good use in the primary home are often seen to offer potential to help 'make home' in the second home.

In considering activities very mundane everyday activities are reported as being invested with 'something different' in the second home, *'I love doing the washing [in the second home] because it is out on the line, because the wind...I don't know what it is, it is just the whole thing I suppose of the open space and the freedom...'* (Helen). Clothing too is different in the second home, *'Nobody cares what you wear here [in the second home]... I wouldn't wear a little top and shorts in Dublin, I would here'* (Sandy). As with other issues, there are less rules and fewer structures surrounding the wearing of clothes, *'the hanging up of clothes'* (Marie), in the second home. Overall, there seems to be a relaxation of the rigidities of the primary home where there is often a compulsion to fit in or to conform.

Another perspective that is helpful in understanding 'everyday life' is the study of the concept of 'Home' and how it works in both tourist and non-tourist contexts; much of the activity of everyday life takes place in the home. The home is the place from which we engage in

tourism (cf. Noble, 2004; Massey, 1995) and elements of home are brought into the touristic experience. Indeed MacCannell (1976) contends that tourists are reacting against the lack of authenticity in everyday home life and that they are seeking authenticity in their tourist activities (this is supported by Hall and Müller (2004), Buller and Hoggart (1994)). However, the interface of home and tourism has not been extensively examined in either the home or tourism literatures. It is notably absent from Hall and Müller's (2004) text but does appear in the introduction to Lynch, McIntosh and Tucker's (2009) *Commercial Homes in Tourism* volume. The second home owners in this study then, make a significant contribution to the considered integration of these areas. They explored the issue of 'Everyday life' from both macro (the big overall questions of difference e.g. different locations, work/non-work time) and micro (the differing minutiae e.g. eating habits, clothing) perspectives.

We can draw some interesting conclusions about everyday life and the second homeowner from this first phase of the study. Ryan (2002, p.24) states that the difference between tourist and everyday non-tourist roles is what creates an experience that may be termed 'a tourism experience'. He contends that 'the harder we look at the nature of tourism the more it slides uneasily into ambiguity' (ibid). Can we then take this to mean that there are significant similarities between everyday non-tourist life and (everyday) tourist life? The comments of the participants in this phase of this study would certainly support that view. There is a de-differentiation in the experience of the two homes; in the experience of the everyday non-tourist life and everyday tourist life. Hall and Müller (2004) remark that 'when the norm in society is mobility, it is hard to decide which place is the ordinary and which is the extraordinary'. 'Ordinary' activities are undertaken by second home owners in both the primary and secondary homes; what may differ, depending on which home they are in, is the intensity of involvement, their experience of the activity and their attitude towards the task. In these post-modern times, there is, as Thompson and Tambyah (1999) put it 'an increasingly ambiguous distinction between touristic experiences and the practices of everyday life' (p.236); there is a desire for difference but yet a longing to be secure.

5.2 Family Life

In a general sense the tourism literature has provided little insight into how we experience holidays in our family roles. The limited literature that is available largely addresses the role

of women, and some contributors have focussed mainly on the decision-making process (Kinnaird and Hall, 2000; Zalatan, 1998; Pahl, 1995; Blood and Wolfe, 1960), while others examine broader issues (Pritchard, 2001; Kay, 2000; Davidson, 1996; Deem, 1996).

In consideration of gender roles within the home we know that the feminisation of the home and the increasing connection of the home to the domestic roles of women, took place over time (Ryan, 2005). This situation is confirmed within the second home where established roles within families tend to be maintained. For example, women are almost exclusively responsible for the provision of food, the exception being the barbeque. Bjerke, Kaltenborn & Vittersø (2006) found that not only do males and females adopt different roles at the cabin (as they do in the primary home) but that they also place different meanings on similar activities (e.g. cooking for a large number of people on an old fashioned wood burning stove can be seen by male participants as fun but as unwanted hassle by female participants).

In his survey of the literature on home, Somerville (1997) reveals home as 'the centre of family life...'. If as previously discussed, the second home is 'more home', it is not surprising then that the second homeowners in this study speak glowingly about how they experience their holiday home with their immediate family, and extended family. Indeed time spent at the second home is often the time they get to 'be a real family' in a way that is no longer possible in the primary home (this comment echoes those made in relation to everyday life versus second home life in a general sense); '*we see more of the extended family than we do in Dublin*' (Marese), '*the children see more of their father*' (Jean). There is 'a continuity' (Jaakson, 1982, p.380) to the family's interaction in the holiday home; it is '*a different interaction*' to that in the main home (Caroline). Indeed the 'childlike' anticipation with which the entire family look forward to going to their second home, is remarked upon by several home owners; it is somewhere special for everyone.

The view was expressed that '*second home living is a habit that is learned in the family*', and that activities such as '*years of camping on the continent for extended periods of time*' (Marese), help the family in the socialisation towards second home living. There is a feeling that the holiday home is for the enjoyment of all the family across the generations; '*it is for everyone*' (Sandy), despite perhaps parents owning it; '*they all bring something to add to the place*' (Bridget); there is a feeling of common, if not legal, ownership, of wanting to '*make*

home'. There are accounts of different members of the family using it at different times; of people flitting in and out somewhat in the style of the more extended family networks which were more common in a previous generation. Having interviewed one family in both homes, it was observable that the children were as comfortable in one home as the other; their activities and their friends may be different but they were equally at ease. One grandmother gleefully described how her grandchildren refer to her home as their '*happy holiday home*' (Pauline) and she takes huge pleasure in their enjoyment of her second home. All age groups within the family enjoy the second home. There is an 'across the generations' involvement in activities in the second home; '*we all eat out and we brought them to the circus. All of us went to the beach yesterday*' (Seamus); '*we like all of us to meet up together here in the lead up to Christmas and spend an afternoon walking on the beach as a family*' (Bridget); there is more of an opportunity for family *communitas*, for togetherness, in the second home.

The participants also recognised that their families use the homes in different ways across the course of the family life cycle. Mothers with small children decamp for the summer, with husbands visiting at weekends. Through the pre to post teen years children have their own 'gangs' of friends in the locality; some of these friends will live locally year round, others they will also meet during their time in the primary home. Parents talk of '*taking children off the street*' (Pauline) in the primary home area and bringing them to the perceived safety of the second home neighbourhood, or at least to a different set of friends. There is an acknowledgement that as children grow older they are interested in different activities around the second home. In his holiday home living room one participant proudly showed me a virtual shrine of photographs, trophies and rosettes celebrating the activities and achievements of his four sons during their summers in the second home. From late teens through their twenties children will enjoy the second home in groups or couples without parental presence and parents will begin to enjoy the second home without the company of children. As retirement beckons older people may find that they spend more time in the second home than they have in the past; '*All year round I come down here on Thursday and return to Dublin on Monday morning*' (Pauline). Whilst only one of my participants was seriously thinking of relocating his primary home to the secondary home upon retirement, several others did remark on knowing, or knowing of, second home owners who had relocated to their second home on their retirement. During the course of this study two of the participants in this first phase sold their second homes. Both are widows in their mid 70s and early 80s and regretfully ascribed

their decisions to *'too much difficulty getting someone to maintain the property'* and to no longer being able to drive or otherwise transport themselves to their second home (Bridget; Pauline). They were filled with happy memories of their second homes and the times that they and their families had spent there; however they were happy that *'the time [to sell] had come'*. One participant described herself as being happy to sell her home at a price that was considered by others as being relatively low because, it meant *'that another family could afford to have it and have the good times there that my family had'* (Pauline). Nostalgia for the past and memories, are part of the second home living experience. Current experiences with their own children or grandchildren bring back memories of the past; *'I can remember my father telling us stories about the harvest moon, I now tell my daughters the same stories'*; *'I can remember the boys out running on the beach when they were small, now their own children are out there'* (Marese); and memories of *'my own parents transporting seven children to Bettystown for the summer'* (Bridget). Again, there is a perception of *'the continuity of family life'*, of various rites of passage, in these experiences.

A couple of homeowners had grown up in the areas in which they now own their second homes; generally, they had moved away for economic or career development reasons (cf. Hall, 2005, p.240). They spoke of the affinity they felt with the land and with family who had remained there. They would have spent some years coming back and staying with elderly parents or others and now having their own place meant *'it is nice to have a place to come to, to throw in our own stuff'* (Seamus). One participant, whose husband's family are from the area commented that *'[We] go to see family nearly every day; family obligations are part of second home life'* (Mary); there are similarities here with primary home life. Looking forward several homeowners spoke of the future and their wish that their children and grandchildren would see fit to keep the home in the family; *'we might be able to put in place some kind of intergenerational transfer'* (Peter). Some felt that they would use the house more as the children, and grandchildren got older.

Family, in all its shapes and forms, is a theme central to life in the second home as it is to life in the first home. Duval's (2004) comment about the relation of the diaspora to the primary home, *'occasionally two homes can be internalised differing only in space and time'*(p.89) could, in the context of the family, also be applied to the relation between the primary and holiday homes; they can both be of importance to the development and maintenance of family

life. Indeed the very central importance of the second home to family life is emphasized by several contributors to the literature on second homes (Selwood and Tonts (2006); Tress (2002); Nordin (1993); Kaltenborn (1998); Godbey and Bevins (1987); and Jaakson (1986)).

5.3 Friends and Neighbours

The opportunity to share their second home with friends is an activity enjoyed by home owners. Several mention having friends from the primary home come to visit, or talk about their friends from home having their holiday home in the same location; *'[I] have some of the same friends from Dublin down here'* said Sandy, *'[I] bought in same place as [my] friends'* (Joan). There is an enjoyable routine to the meetings with friends; Seamus remarks *'Liam will arrive on Friday and will come over for a chat about football'*; and Pauline comments *'Every Saturday morning I go to meet the girls at the coffee shop in Gorey'*. The experience of friendship in the second home can be an alternative experience to the enjoyment of the home with family; *'Three older friends come down, 'the girls'; different experience to being with family'* (Bridget). In particular, children's friends whether they are from home, have their holiday home in the same area or are year round residents of the holiday home location, are a very important part of the family holiday home experience, all participants with children remarked upon this; *'Children would be allowed to bring a friend down'* (Seamus). In fact in some instances it seems as if a substantial group from the primary home community decamps to the holiday home location; *'[The] whole community has moved from Limerick to here [Kilkee]'* says Peter. South County Dublin and North Wexford also evidence this phenomenon of community transplantation particularly during summertime. Friends are an integral and important part of the second home experience and time with them can be enjoyed in an open and easy atmosphere.

Another kind of friend is the neighbour. The concept of 'neighbour' is one which second home owners bring with them from their primary home to their holiday home. Participants describe varying levels of interaction with their neighbours in the second home location. Relationships were built over time as the new holiday home owner *'fitted in'* (Caroline). Neighbours are either year round residents or other second home owners. Interaction with other second home owner neighbours generally involves a certain casualness; impromptu barbeques and drinks in each others homes are usual; there is a lack of the barriers that are

associated with 'real life'. *'Everybody looks out for everyone else, most particularly where children are concerned'* (Joan). *'My neighbour here knows that she can rely on me...people here have more time'* (Pauline); *'...if you are lonely or anything else all you have to do is walk a very short distance, someone would be sitting out on their deck'* (Helen). There is also an opportunity to meet people from abroad; *'We interact with people from lots of different countries; my grandchild helps break the ice. People that are here all the time would be similar in age and income; I know some men, and my wife knows some women'* (Gerard). Sometimes other second home owners are friends from the primary home; *'[I] do see friends from home more here than at home. There is a whole social life in Kilkee that is not there during the winter'* says Peter. The second home owners in this situation create their own social life which they bring away with them when they leave the second home.

However, some participants prefer not to become *'too involved'* with their neighbours; *'[We] are friendly, but not too friendly, with neighbours'* (Bridget); *'[We] are friendly with them but do not socialise'* (Marie). The rationale for this was the desire to have a total break from having to deal with people, a significant part of primary home work life, or, a desire to focus on family and friends from home; the second home is a retreat, a protected space away from the social obligations of the primary home. Another perspective on neighbours is that the formation of neighbourly relations with year round residents appears to be dependent upon the second home owners' willingness to engage in local settings such as the pub, the golf club and the church. Again, there is an opportunity to meet a different group of people than might be possible in the primary home; *'People here are different to people in Dublin, there is more of a cross section of people here'* (Francis); *'I would know a good few locals, used to play football and athletics with them; see them after Mass'*, (Seamus). Some second home owners perceive it to be very difficult to integrate with the year round community, *'I feel we are not part of it (the local community)...being a kind of an outsider'* (Peter). The 'host community' may also have issues that impact the likelihood of them interacting with second home owners, *'Locals used not like to see strangers coming in and buying things up'* (Seamus).

In conclusion then, the concept of neighbourliness generally appears to be encouraged in the second home; there is more time, more opportunity, and more willingness to maintain friendships and to build new ones.

5.4 Perception of Frequency of Use, Access, Mobility and Transcendence

Jaakson (1986) uses the idea of 'recurrence' to very firmly position second home users as tourists. He argues that the contribution these people make to domestic tourism is very significant; it is their very frequency of use of their second homes that makes them valuable to local communities. How frequently, or at what times of the year, second home owners use their properties is interesting. Use of the second home must of necessity '*fit in with every day life commitments*' (Joan); second home living has become part of everyday living. All participants used their homes for full weeks or weekends during the summer months of June, July and August, most started the season at Easter time or at the St. Patrick's Weekend (mid March) and finished no later than the October Bank Holiday (last Monday in October). Several participants spoke of taking occasional day trips to their properties during the winter, especially around Christmas time. Speaking about holidays in general, several participants remarked that they worked their foreign holidays around their time in the second home; '*fitted in the other holidays around the holiday home*' (Pauline), '*Think in terms of our 'abroad holiday' and our 'other holiday'*' (Marie).

The frequency and timing of use of the holiday home varies with stage of the family lifecycle. Young parenthood and retirement both facilitate extended stays. Family members in their late teens and twenties were particularly interested in using the property for weekends with their peers and in the absence of parents. One widow describes how she and her husband worked their year round weekly stays in the summer house around her husband's part time work responsibilities. Since his death she has found great enjoyment in spending Friday to Monday in her second home and the remainder of the week in her Dublin home.

None of the participants in this study rented their homes out to strangers but all were happy to invite relatives and friends to enjoy the properties with or without them being there themselves. The idea of 'renting to strangers' was not seen as attractive at all except by Joanne in phase two; she views all her properties, including her primary home as potential rentals. As indicated in the discussion on family, the holiday home is perceived to provide an excellent opportunity for extended family *communitas*; quality time with family members is a very important part of second home living, renting out the home could be perceived as a

violation of this 'sacred' place. The fact that all the properties in the sample are non-rentals is significant in term of the findings. This would appear to be consistent with the extant literature but at variance with the purchase for rental income practises much promoted by the television shows devoted to second home owning. This insight may be explained by the fact that this study focussed exclusively on those owning domestic second homes (i.e. second homes not too far from their primary homes in Ireland) which may not be as attractive a rental proposition as a property in the sun. The general conclusion is that participants would like to make more use of their holiday homes; there is a dislike of '*leaving it empty*'. There was some discussion of '*an obligation to use it*' (Joan) but this was always in the context of recognising that they are very fortunate to be able to enjoy such a wonderful experience.

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 (McIntyre, Williams and McHugh, 2006, p.6); cosmopolitan, post-modern people are accustomed to movement. Convenient and easy are the words most used by second home owners in describing their perception of access to their second homes. They all travel by road to their second homes in Ireland and by air to their homes abroad. They are very familiar with different routes and any possible traffic or other issues. The extensive development of the road network south of Dublin towards Wexford was much commented upon; it is perceived that this will significantly improve journey times. The ease with which they can move between their holiday homes and primary homes, an almost inherent mobility, is important to second home owners; '*It is very important to be able to keep in contact with aging parents [back in Dublin]*' (Marese), '*It's convenient, easy for kids to go up and down on their own*' (Sandy). Being physically close to work (a primary home responsibility) is seen as an advantage; '*It is convenient, I can flit back and forth to work or to pick things up...if there is a problem I can just go down the road...comfort in that*' (Helen). As Joan says, there is a '*constant motion in everyday life...we are always on the move*'. Second homeowners are mobile people and they are predisposed to consider accessibility as a fundamental issue, really 'a given', in their relationship with their second home. In this regard Gustafson (2006) has commented, 'The development of an attachment to several places requires mobility' (p.19). The term flitting can be used to refer to the ability of the second homeowner to move at will, and apparently effortlessly, between their first and second homes. This activity takes place within the context of their overall consumption of place(s); they live in a world where they and their families

travel frequently to a variety of locations, for both business and pleasure. Löfgren (1999) observes that it is the break between the two settings, primary home and second home, that provides ‘a well integrated alterity’; there is a de-differentiation, ‘a blurring of distinctions’ (Uriely, 2005) between the two homes. The concept of flitting occurs throughout the discussion of how the second home owner enjoys moving between his or her primary and secondary homes. It is as if second home owners almost have a need for this movement. There is an ease with which this flitting takes place; ‘*[I] can just go, [which] can bring about a change of mood*’ said Joan, whilst Marie remarked that it is ‘*Nice to be able to go when you want*’. Mary displayed a casualness about her return date to Dublin ‘*Don’t really know yet, it might be Tuesday, it might be Wednesday*’; she can move around with ease. They can ‘*...flit back and forth to work or just to pick things up*’ (Helen). All of these revelations are consistent with what Urry (1994) refers to as the post-modern practice of flâneuring: strolling, observing, gathering new sensations. It also resonates with Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999) discussion of the cosmopolitan theme of mobility. A variety of sensations are casually gathered by the second home owner as they live between their homes. The overall observation is that the movement between homes is easy and almost unconscious. These second home owners do not see accessibility as a problem; it is their very mobility and the accessibility of the second home that facilitates enjoyment of it.

Another perspective is that second homeowners transcend the world of the primary home to enter the world of the second home. Conceptually the word ‘transcendence’, meaning a ‘travelling through’, a ‘transforming’, a ‘crossing over’ is imbued with the idea of movement (Heidegger, 1975, p.299). Second homeowners move between the worlds of the primary home and the secondary home; they transcend the boundaries, perceived or real, between the two worlds. Transcendence between ‘everyday home life’ and ‘everyday holiday life’ is of central interest to this study. It starts in the pre-travel phase of the experience, there is much anticipation of the time spent in the holiday home, ‘*Always looking forward to it*’ (Gerard). Participants generally report being aware of a point when they cross over from ‘everyday life’ to ‘holiday home life’; ‘*As soon as you leave. When you get over the bridge...Just past Arklow – know we are home (second home)*’ (Francis); ‘*Bray dual carriageway*’ (Marie); ‘*The minute that you would turn in at the gate above. We would always say ‘oh we are here’ always when you get to that point*’ (Helen). Rituals of arriving and departing facilitate transcendence and make it easy. Gerard says ‘*very little packing has to be done, you just almost go out and*

get into the car and drive down'. For him the transition is seamless, as it is for Pauline who said: *'Easy, can just walk into second home'* and Robert who remarked *'[It is an] immediate chill out'*. The primary home has been left behind and the holiday home has been entered, a transcendence has taken place. On the preparation for return to the primary home there are also rituals and practices, *'[I] always feel a bit of despair'* (Francis) and equally there is the feeling that they can always come back to the holiday home; there is an awareness that the 'other' home is within easy reach no matter where they are. Cohen and Taylor (1992) speak of a 'total dissociation from paramount reality and the construction of another reality' when engaging in tourism, so it is with the move from one home to the other.

5.5 Other Holidays

The discussion of holidays in general, and specifically as the topic relates to the second home, is of much interest to second home owners. This is evident in the way in which they largely refer to their second home as their holiday home. The second home is somewhere to take a break from everyday life in the primary home; it is a different world, a retreat, a haven, a holiday. In the context of holidaying in general, there was much discussion, but no real consensus across the interviews, as to whether or not the second home was simply a break or, a holiday in a way similar to holidays abroad. *'Members of family would differ in regarding it as a break or holiday depending on their work status'* (Marese). Stage in the family life cycle colours opinion, for example, Gerard said: *'...we feel that we've had a holiday every week, really, it's great, it's brilliant really'*. The second home provides an ongoing holiday opportunity and holidaying in the second home is different to holidaying abroad, *'with regard to our second home, we think in terms of our abroad holiday and our 'other' holiday'* (Marese). There is an appreciation that people not owning second homes may experience it differently; talking about Kilkee, Co. Clare, Peter said: *'...some Limerick people wouldn't be caught dead in it, [they think you are] not really on your holidays at all'*. While agreeing that it provides a holiday or a break, none of the second homeowners regard themselves as tourists in the second home. This may be more of a reflection of how they define tourists, how they define holidays, and how they define themselves rather than any denial of tourist activity while in the second home.

Holidays to foreign destinations are taken by all second home owners; some travel very extensively both in terms of distance and of frequency. Spain is most usually mentioned as a sun destination. Short breaks to European cities are the norm and participants also speak of going to the US to visit family or for novelty. The three participants in this phase whose second properties are abroad or who own additional properties both in Ireland and abroad all reported taking regular short breaks or week long trips in Ireland. Holiday home owners conclude that holidays abroad are 'fitted in around' the second home. Travelling on holiday for novelty, to see something different is a usual motivation for second home owners. Sunshine is a frequently given reason for travel abroad; '*Weather is important*' (Robert). Holiday home owners often travel abroad to their own second homes or to those of friends and family; '*there is a security in knowing where you are going*' (Robert). Previous holiday experience, a holiday history, informs and predates the owning and enjoyment of the second home. Owners often speak of themselves as having progressed from owning a caravan or mobile home in the area where they now have their second home; '*we were looking for permanence...we used to take holidays in a south Wexford farmhouse*' (Francis). There are parallels here with the establishment of the primary home, with its inherent search for rootedness, and with the succession of different accommodation types in which home owners typically engage.

Holidays in general then are a part of the everyday lives of second homeowners. They regard their second home experience as pure holiday, whilst not necessarily regarding themselves as tourists, or a break from routine with varying degrees of belief. They use travel abroad as a means of pursuing novelty away from their second home and they use the travel to the second home as a means of pursuing novelty, having a holiday, away from the primary home. There is an ease with which these second home owners discuss their general holiday making behaviour; taking holidays is a usual, everyday, part of their lives. They are open to new experiences, they like the juxtaposition of the primary versus the secondary home and, enjoy the familiarity of the second home – all of which gives them a cosmopolitan perspective. Urry (2001, p.8) has spoken of the post-modern 'compulsion to mobility'; these second homeowners seem almost compelled to be mobile, between the two homes and between either of their homes and a holiday elsewhere. On the basis of this fieldwork there is no indication that second homeowners are any different to others, they provide a wide variety of reasons for their travel. This is consistent with the findings of Harrill and Potts (2002) who comment that

'...there is little consensus among researchers about what motivates people to travel' (p.105). In a broader sense, 'tourism has become the indicative industry of post-modern lifestyles and post-capitalist economies' (Craik, 1997, p.114); second home owners embrace a cosmopolitan, post-modern lifestyle of which tourism and travelling are an integral part.

5.6 Activities in the Second Home

The activities engaged in by second home owners are very much those you might expect of people enjoying summer living, particularly by the sea. There is much talk of days on the beach, swimming, fishing, sailing, cycling, golf, tennis tournaments and barbeques. As such they can be activities that are *'different to home'* (Caroline). However, many activities in which home owners are engaged in the primary home are also enjoyed in the second home; pottering about, *'house maintenance and gardening'* (Francis) -tasks often regarded as chores in the primary home are enjoyed more in the second home. The same was remarked about cooking; in the second home it is less about getting everyone fed and more about taking time and enjoying the process together; there can be more of a social aspect to mundane activities than is the case in the primary home.

With regard to some activities, second home owners talk about engaging more in these activities while in the second home than in the primary home, *'I read a lot more'* (Gerard), *'I really get into a book here'* (Marie). *'We do a lot more walking'* says Francis and indeed walking at the second home location is discussed as being a lot more enjoyable because of the scenery and peacefulness - *'we get all dressed up and go walking in the rain here, something we would not do at home'* says Marese. Interacting with other people, socialising with neighbours is an enjoyable activity in the second home; *'people calling in'*, *'people are a lot more sociable here than at home'* (Pauline). It seems that in the second home there is an opportunity to reflect, *'to just look out at the water'*, *'to sit in the sun'*, *'we sat out for a bit and there was a bird out there, he fought for ten minutes on the water to catch this thing. He'd drop it back into the water and he was struggling to get it and eventually he got it. That was a whole ten minutes; you just slowed down and watched as I do say. And it's fascinating'* (Helen). Relaxation, in and of itself, was seen as a second home activity, *'the luxury of doing nothing...I crave doing nothing time'* (Marie); *'being restful'* (Pauline); *'just getting the*

children to chill out rather than always having to nag them about music practice etc.' (Marie). For those with children, or grandchildren, activities in the second home are very much child-centred; there was talk of mini-disco, fancy dress, soccer and tennis tournaments. More time with the children and grandchildren was discussed as a feature of second home life. Jigsaws were spoken about as an intergenerational activity; perhaps a reflection of the wet Irish summer. Overall, in terms of activities in the second home, it can be observed that there is a relaxation of time, rather than a compression of time as experienced in everyday post-modern life.

In the holiday home there is a feeling that people are more open to 'wilder', 'freer', behaviour. Several homeowners spoke of enjoying a few drinks more often than they might at home. One participant had *'drinks optics'* installed in his home, creating a bar-like atmosphere and was quickly followed by his neighbours, so that now there was *'a series of home bars to visit'*; this was not an activity that would arise *'at home'* (Helen). Women discussed having a different experience of entertainment in the second home, particularly during the week when their partners were staying in the primary home in order to work; *'What the women tend to do on the Thursday night is stage a hen night in all the local pubs in Carlingford, which is renowned for hen nights...we get dressed up and all the rest of it, and all the hen night gear and go round all the pubs, that does be the craic'* (Helen). As well as the adults, the children are free to become involved in *'more imaginative play'*, to just amuse themselves (Marie). There is a freedom to transcend everyday life restrictions and the second home provides a context for transcendence.

The local area around the second home provides opportunities for the second home owner to become involved in activities. Discussions with second home owners reveal that they are interested, in varied ways, in the local area within which their holiday home is situated. Several home owners enjoy using their second homes as a base from which to explore the surrounding countryside, *'it is a great base for touring'* (Helen), *'lots of different day trips we can take from here'* (Gerard). The opportunity to walk and hike in beautiful countryside is highlighted by several home owners. The local culture and food is interesting to them; *'we love to eat out in local towns'* (Francis). The proximity of historical sites was mentioned as an attractive feature of second home local areas. Holiday home owners are generally interested in local news and several of them report reading the local newspaper. They have a keen

interest in local building developments. Sandy talked of ‘*A lot of change [house building] in the local area*’ whilst Peter discussed the ‘*Profusion of holiday homes around the town*’. There was some negative comment about ‘*Inappropriately large houses*’ (Francis) being built and there is a perception that this is against the spirit of the ‘traditional’ holiday home. Interestingly, there was very little comment among second home owners in this study about the possible negative perceptions that local people may have of second home owners and no particular perception that they, as individuals, were contributing to any unease! (cf. Caldwell, 2008). Locals and second homeowners do interact; ‘*you could meet anyone down here*’ said Francis echoing Jaakson’s (1986, p.384) finding that ‘...even short distance migration to cottages and other ‘second homes’ involves encounters between cottagers and locals’. It is then a mix of local aspects (people, scenery and way of life) that along with the actual second home that make a particular location attractive to second homeowners.

This particular group of phase one participants did not engage in ‘work’ in the second home, only one participant spoke of regularly bringing work to do to the second home, ‘*Sometimes [I] bring work to do on the deck...[it’s] totally different to sitting at home doing the work*’ (Helen). However, there was evidence of what Jarlöv (1999) describes as ‘intensive work in this place of leisure and recreation’; ‘working’ on the house itself becomes an intense activity. Urry (1994) has explained that the late twentieth century structural differentiation of tourism (and leisure) has been reversed. This de-differentiation between work and leisure is clearly indicative of the post-modern context within which the second home is experienced.

Overall whilst activities in the second home can be the same as in the primary home; the time in the second home to reflect is a principal difference. Cosmopolitanism involves ‘the adoption of a self-reflexive mode of being in the world’ (Smith, 2007, p.37). Second home living allows the second home owner to have the time to be reflexive, to be conscious of the self, in the pursuance of enjoyable activities. The second home owner is a cosmopolite. The sheer intensity of involvement in activities in the second home, be they physical (e.g. home maintenance) or cerebral (reading) allows the second home tourist to transcend the everyday and enjoy the second home tourist experience. Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson’s (1990) discussion of ‘the flow experience’, including the concept of mindlessness or losing oneself in the moment (e.g. Helen’s bird watching moment mentioned earlier), could be applied to second home owners’ descriptions of their activities while in the second home.

5.7 Acquisition of Home

While the second home living themes heretofore discussed are perhaps 'weightier', the acquisition of the home is the necessary prerequisite to its enjoyment. The most striking feature of the acquisition phase of the second home owning experience among this group is the apparent lack of planning and 'rational' decision making involved; the terms 'spur of the moment' and 'spontaneity' are frequently used by participants. The *'house was acquired by accident...inquired not thinking it would be affordable'* (Seamus); *'we had no previous connection with the area'* (Pauline); there was a certain serendipity involved in many of the home purchases. Often the particular opportunity came along and other locations or properties were not investigated; *'We did not consider a second home anywhere else'* (Robert). A particular property would captivate a buyer who would buy *'this or nothing'*; *'Biggest thing here was the site...wanted this particular spot, would not have been interested unless I could have one of two sites, there is a Manhattan view across the water because of the way the lights twinkle at night'* (Helen; John).

Another notable feature of second home acquisition is the influence of family and friends on both the decision to buy a second home and to acquire a specific property. Bridget comments *'there were several trips up and down to show family members'*, and Francis remarks that *'[We] bought from wife's friend'*. Experience of family holiday home owning as a child appears to have made it *'a more usual'* and therefore perhaps an easier to actualise situation; *'my own parents rented every summer in Bettystown'* (Bridget); *'I can remember my father commuting from (the holiday home in) Bettystown when we were children'* (Helen; John). In several cases having a builder or an architect in the family was of great assistance in the acquisition or building of a summer home.

In financial terms the timing of the acquisition was of significant importance; several home owners remarked that they were in a position to take out a second mortgage on their primary home to finance the holiday home or *'financially things had just settled down with regard to the first house'* (Marese). The financial value of their homes was mentioned by almost all participants, however, only one participant claimed they had made the purchase primarily for investment reasons. Overall, participants did not report any unexpected difficulties in the

acquisition of their second homes. This may be reflective of the fact that all participants had owned their homes for a minimum of seven years and very often for considerably longer. Current financial, planning and demand conditions are considered much more difficult and acquisition may have been less serendipitous than in the past. However, in view of the level of emotion very often present in such purchases, as discussed above, those made for primarily non-investment purposes may continue to be made in a 'by chance or co-incidence' manner.

5.8 Primary Home

Examining the subject of second homes inevitably brings into discussion the primary or first home. The primary homes of all participants in this phase of the study are in the suburbs of cities or large towns. The holiday home is located in a rural or small village or town context. These differences engender discussion of the primary home based on comparison with the second home; both differences and similarities are recognised. As discussed in chapter two, all the participants were interviewed in their primary homes and this provided me with the opportunity to observe their surroundings. As mentioned earlier (see chapter two, section 2.5.1), with regard to the two participants whom I interviewed in both their primary and secondary homes, I was struck by the similarity in décor, style and ambience between the two homes.

Perkins and Thorns (2006) define the primary home as 'the house or apartment in which household members reside most for much of the time in the course of their daily lives, largely dictated by work and family commitments'(p.67). For my participants, the primary home is generally regarded as 'home'; '*Home is in Glasnevin*' (Bridget). They view it as a place that is familiar, within which they can escape. '*My own bed is here*' (Caroline) is a sentiment expressed by some participants. '*I love going away [to Wexford] but I love going home*' (Sandy). However, Robert remarks, '*we are moving house for the summer, so we are going to our other home*'.

Several people point to the comparative disadvantages of the primary home, '*The area is becoming ever more crowded with traffic, especially at weekends. Now there is nobody around at weekends; several people have died...On return I feel surrounded by houses, crowded city and traffic*' (Francis). The possibility of permanent relocation from the primary home to the holiday home is considered; '*If I could have what is there [second home], here*

[primary home]. *We did think about relocating to Wexford* [the second home location], the second home is idealised in comparison to the first home especially regarding space available to children. On the other hand the advantages of primary home include proximity to theatres etc. (Marie). The practicalities of living in the primary home are recognised, *'The real world is here [the primary home]'* (Robert). The busyness of life in the primary home is much commented upon; it makes for a different kind of home to the holiday home; *'A hundred jobs I need to do here, very busy schedule'* (Marie); *'Always feel a need (here) to be busy'* (Pauline); *'Always on a deadline, thinking about getting up the next morning'* (Helen). Again, as remarked earlier, there appears to be a compression of time in the primary home which is in contrast with how time is experienced in the second home; the holiday home is almost timeless.

Moving between the two homes is an ability cultivated by second home owners; *'I can flit in and out; there is a similarity in this way between the first and second homes'* (Joan). This ability to be attached to one home while being mobile in relation to the other is a central theme in the second home literature (Aronsson, 2004; Gustafson, 2001). The fundamental capacity of the second home owner to seamlessly move between homes while remaining attached to both homes is germane to the experience of second home living. Perkins and Thorns (2006, p.78) conclude that a review of the literature *'...makes it clear that primary and secondary homes exist in a dialectical relationship in which their meanings of both are created by, and bound up with, each other'*. Knowledge of the primary home provides an insight into how participants understand and experience the concept of home in a broad sense and that subsequently translates into more understanding of how they experience the holiday home.

5.9 Attachment

In explorations of 'the home' the word attachment is often used and Wise (2000) has remarked that home *'is a place we are'*; home allows us to be ourselves and thus it is no surprise that we become attached to home. Earlier, Tuan (1977) had described how attachment *'...may come simply with familiarity and ease, with the assurance of nurture and security, with the memory of sounds and smells of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time'*. It was interesting to explore the level of attachment that second homeowners have with regard to their holiday homes. All used the word *'attached'* in describing how they and their families

felt about the second home. Participants reported being reluctant, even in difficult financial circumstances, to part with the holiday home; *'Wouldn't give it up for a US holiday home...In financial difficulties it would not enter my head to sell [the holiday home]...[I] Love it!'* (Joan). One participant who had actually sold her original holiday home and then experienced a year before buying another was clear that she had missed it very much. Thinking ahead, Peter exclaimed, *'I would hate it to be sold. Maybe we could set up a trust or something to ensure that the children do not!'* Peter also told a story about holding up a 'picture window' for hours during a storm and how he became determined to *'protect his house'*; this was a mark of his attachment to the house, he felt protective of it. He concluded by remarking that he is so attached that he *'would be hurt if one of the children said they hated it'* even though he appreciates that this is irrational.

At times it is a little difficult to discern whether the discussion reflects real attachment to the second home or dread of return to the first home and first home everyday life. Several participants spoke in terms of *'hating going back'*, Francis even spoke of *'feeling a bit of despair going back'* to the primary home. However, all acknowledged the ease of return to the holiday home made the departure more bearable; *'Don't mind coming home, know that you can always go back, it is not like the holiday is over – the option is there for whenever you want it'* (Sandy). Attachment to the area or town in which their holiday home was situated was mentioned by several participants; *'At work my PC password is Kilkee!'* (Peter). Seamus was emphatic regarding his attachment to the area in which he has his holiday home: *'I swam in the inlet; I can remember my own children swimming in the inlet, now I see my grandchildren'*. Familiarity is a facilitator of the building of attachment to an area, in building traditions among family and friends. A significant level of local knowledge regarding shopping, local tradespeople and local characters was reported by many participants. There are inherent issues here of nostalgia, bonds to place, rootedness, continuity and remembrance.

In consideration of the second homeowner Gustafson (2006, p.25) suggests that place attachment and mobility are not necessarily opposite and mutually exclusive phenomena; they could be seen instead as being mutually constituted. Dual or multiple attachment cannot occur without mobility between dual or multiple residences; mobility between, or among, residences facilitates attachment. Attachment is a difficult concept to isolate, particularly in a post-

modern context where there is 'a horror of being bound and fixed' (Bauman, 1993), but it does appear throughout discussion of the enjoyment of second home living.

5.10 Ritual

Rook (1985) firmly positions ritual, in all its complexity, within the discussion of human experience: 'The term ritual refers to a type of expressive, symbolic activity constructed of multiple behaviours that occur in a fixed, episodic sequence, and that tend to be repeated over time' (p.256). The experience of second home living involves second home owners in various rituals and routines. These rituals substantially centre on arriving at and departing from the holiday home. Participants discuss their ritual preparations to leave the primary home; '*Well you know that somebody is going to call in, your mother or your brother, so you want to have it tidy, and also do you know what I want to do, when I go, when I come back I like to walk into a tidy house*' (Caroline). The 'opening of the holiday house' ritual begins in the primary home; '*We would come down Patrick's weekend short break and open up again. And you'd start washing all your bed linen and everything*' (Joan). Each time they travel to the holiday home second home owners engage in ritual activities; '*...all she'll [his wife] do on the way down, when she gets nearer there somewhere, she'll do a week's shopping, or a weekend's shopping*' (Francis); '*Set up the awning, bring my grandchild for a walk, make things operational so to speak*' (Gerard); '*Unpack, the kids start running around like lunatics, then we take them for a walk, check the beach*' (Marese); there is a feeling of 'catching up' with the holiday home.

Holiday home owners fall easily into familiar ritual behaviour; '*...there is an old pub at the top of the road which has now been totally refurbished and there is a nice dining room...and I can go up on Friday night and Sunday night to have my dinner...And what is really lovely in the summer time, because it is a bit breezy down there sometimes, but the wind always dies around six o'clock, and Arthur and I would sit out around six o'clock with our glass of wine and they would all be going home and we would be waving bye, bye*' (Pauline). Talking about closing up their homes at the end of 'the season' participants describe their various rituals: '*I mean you have to close up, you'd put your crystals in the winter for the moisture, and things like that, the furniture and that, you know...I would often come down on my own in October, defrost the fridges and freezers and all that sort of thing*' (Joan). The end of the summer is not

something the second homeowner looks forward to, *'Return last week in August, start beginning to dread it from the middle of August'* (Marie). Participants discuss timing their departure from both the primary and the secondary homes to avoid traffic, they know all the best routes between the homes; *'I always leave at the same time because I kinda gauge when I miss the boats [at Dublin Port] coming in'* (Pauline). Participants were very easily able to articulate the rituals surrounding the use of their second home; they are familiar to them, they enjoy them. Mead's (1956) comment that 'ritual events function as mnemonic devices that illicit specific thoughts and sentiments for the individual' is clearly articulated in participants' recollections of their second home rituals.

5.11 Chapter Conclusion

The purpose of phase one of this study has been to gain an understanding of the broad issues pertaining to the experience of second home living. Having reworked the transcript data several times (as described in chapter two, section 2.6) this collection of themes has emerged as being the most complete account of the concerns of the participants in this first phase of this study; it succeeds in telling the story of their second home living experience in an informative manner. The themes are presented broadly in order of their seeming importance to the participants as I was keen that it is the voice of the participant that is fore-grounded.

However, although I gained some considerable insight into the experience of second home living, the first phase of the study did not sufficiently address the aims of the study as detailed in chapter one and therefore it was necessary for me to continue to engage with participants in a second phase of the study. As previously discussed, the interaction of tourism with everyday life has been largely ignored. There is a good prospect of better understanding this interaction through examination of the second home living experience, an experience it is thought that may be nearer to home life than other forms of tourism. A more immersed field experience was necessary in order to capture this experience and phase two of the study provided this immersion. This study sets out to produce a phenomenology which captures the essence of the second home living experience and the second phase of the study enabled me to give prominence to the minutiae of everyday second home living experience as it allowed the participants and myself to produce a phenomenology, rather than just an account.

In particular, I believed that ‘the balance of power’ within this research relationship needed to reside more firmly with the participants, the people who are experiencing second home living. I wanted to give them the opportunity to ‘self-generate’ their own narratives with a minimum of ‘interference’ from me. I felt that significant further insight would be achieved by focussing in-depth on individual experiences, by allowing the participants greater control of their own knowledge generation (chapter two, section 2.5 describes how this was achieved). I was interested in applying research tools to facilitate the participants in fully collaborating in the production of their own stories. Thus phase two of this study demanded more imaginative, more rigorously ‘searching’ tools to uncover the experience of second home living and the results of the participant involvement in photography and audio diary construction are detailed in the following chapter six, entitled Collaborator Stories.

Chapter Six: Collaborator Stories

6.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the participant materials generated in phase two of this study. As previously described (see section 2.6), the stories presented are the result of a thorough analysis of interview transcripts, field notes, participant-generated diaries and photographs from the seven people who participated in phase two. Each participant is presented in the context of their own particular set of circumstances. The objective is to bring the reader into the world of the participant, to understand their story and so gain a comprehensive insight into the experience of second home living. This second phase of fieldwork was necessary so as to produce a rich phenomenology of the practice of second home owning as a deeper more invasive approach to interaction with the participant was called for. Within this chapter each participant's story is told using their own words. The specific themes important to each individual story are highlighted and discussed in great detail so that collectively the stories comprise a significant phenomenology of the experience of second home living. As discussed in section 2.5.1, the participants in the second phase of the fieldwork effectively became my collaborators in the construction of this phenomenology of second home living, and I deliberately use this term to refer to them as such, as well as using pseudonyms to respect their confidentiality.

6.1 Paul's Story

Paul is a Senior Lecturer, a geographer by discipline, at an Irish provincial university. He is 58 years of age and lives with his partner in a suburb of the town where the university is located, he does not have children. He is involved in the sporting and cultural activities of the town. His second home is located in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford in the south-east of Ireland, just over two and a half hours drive away from his primary home and is in fact the place where he was born and grew up. The majority of his family continue to live in the town. Dungarvan is a thriving seaside market town nestled beneath the Comeragh mountains of County Waterford, and strategically located overlooking Dungarvan Bay. The town has a population of more than 8,000 people and

recent years have seen a significant increase in retirement and second homes (www.dungarvan.com accessed 4/10/2008; conversation with participant).

I would consider Paul to be possibly the most articulate and reflective of my participants; he was genuinely interested in the project as evidenced by both the quality and quantity of the material with which he provided me. On a personal level I found it very easy to build a rapport with him. His ability to describe, with clear enjoyment, his second home living experience provides an insight into an experience that is somewhat different to that of the other phase two participants in that his 'second home' is in the place of his 'birth home'. Paul grew up and lived in Dungarvan until he left at the age of 18 to go to college in Dublin. He then completed post-graduate work at a North American University before returning to Ireland and taking up a position at an Irish provincial university.

House Acquisition

In 1994, after the death of his father, Paul purchased his first property in Dungarvan 'for a song' before the property boom. Up until this time he stayed with his father when visiting the town. It was actually his partner who initiated the purchase of the house, suggesting at his father's funeral that 'this house (his father's) is going to go'. When viewing the property, it was she who was decisive in the purchase, 'we're gonna take this'. The property needed considerable work completed, including the addition of a kitchen, to make it habitable. During our final meeting, Paul revealed that in recent months they had purchased a bigger property backing onto this first holiday home and had in fact sold the first property to somebody originally from the area that now lived in Clare and wanted a holiday home in Dungarvan. During our initial discussions he reported that he and his partner had been debating whether or not to extend the current property, 'But I am actually thinking of doing a big extension to this. It's ah, OK for a while but it's a bit small, you know, a bit dark in the front as well so, I am just asking an architect to have a look at it'. Talking during our second meeting he explained '...but really what brought it home to us the night of one of the hurling matches, Waterford were playing and a gang of people came in to watch it, big men, my brother and his friend. And K (partner) said, "the place you couldn't swing a mouse, never mind a cat, in

it'''. As with many of my phase one participants, there was a certain chance element to the acquisition of the second property, '*...one night I was Googling on the thing here (pointing to PC) and there was a property right beside, exactly behind us, sharing our back wall...which had actually been in the market a couple of months and I hadn't even noticed it, very strange, bigger house, big garden and so on, so we went down and had a look at it and said we'll go for this and bought it there in May*'. This acquisition was somewhat serendipitous; a characteristic of the acquisition stage that was experienced by several of the phase one participants.

Mobility and Frequency of Use of Second Home

Paul visits his holiday home as often as possible, at least once a month during winter time and at least twice a month during the summer. He generally spends 2-4 days at a time at the house, sometimes a week at a time during the summer. He laments that he does not make enough time for himself, '*I must really go down there for a week and just hang out, just chill out and just sit on the Poor Man's Seat...you can actually sit there and meet everybody you know and just have a chat or just let the time drift by*'. Paul uses the house more frequently alone than with his partner, though she does use it as an over night stop when travelling between Dublin, Waterford and Cork. In discussion as to whether or not he considers himself to be a tourist when he is in Dungarvan, Paul says '*Well by official definition I am a tourist...*'. He goes on to discuss his relative level of integration into the community and concludes, '*...I am a kind of a tourist*' and then declares, '*...I arrived here for a week's holiday last Saturday*'. Holiday and tourist are part of Paul's view of his time in his second home.

The journey between Paul's primary home and Dungarvan is not in any way arduous, '****** is actually accessible to here as well. Well if I was on the north side of Dublin or something like that, it would be an extra hour, more, but I can get down here in two and a half hours, on a good day, which isn't bad, actually faster now because they are building a new road from Dublin to Waterford, a completely new road, they started it, I noticed it coming down on Saturday...*'. Because he holds an academic post Paul is theoretically free to travel up and down to Dungarvan as suits his timetable but a Friday

afternoon departure is precluded, *'We have a seminar in the geography department every Friday evening, four o'clock, which is really a good piss up and then, yeah, and then you wouldn't be hitting the road you know'*. As discussed in the following section, Paul's activities in his primary home location, while in some ways similar to those in his holiday home location, can determine the timing of his travel to his second home. Socialising in either home is important to him. He has achieved Löfgren's (1999) well integrated alterity between primary home and holiday home. In consideration of mobility it is interesting to learn that he and his partner spent eight years travelling to the same village in Co. Kerry, in the south-west of Ireland for Easter and Halloween breaks. They discontinued the practise when the journey, generally about 5 hours, became too much of an ordeal in the face of the demands of everyday life; the convenience of the journey to Dungarvan is key to their enjoyment of it. Discussing the idea of buying a holiday home abroad, Paul remarks that *'I would hate to be tied down'*. It is clear that while he understands the investment potential of such purchases, he places no particular importance on this aspect of owning a second home. Paul travels extensively and regularly for work purposes and very much enjoys this. When we first met he had just completed five months on sabbatical leave in Australia, and when we last met he had just returned from an academic conference in China.

Activities while in the Second Home

Paul is very active in his second home, *'there is always something on'*. His principal preoccupations revolve around *'chat, sport and drink; the craic'*. He contends that Dungarvan is famous for drinking (there are 30 pubs in the town) and its interest in sport, most particularly hurling (a type of wild Irish field hockey). He often finds himself brought along by a stream of seemingly serendipitous events that involve bumping into people in the street, exchanging news and proceeding on to a pub with them for more chat:

'Today as I was walking across the Causeway which links Abbeyside and Dungarvan a car pulled up beside me, an old friend of mine SF, we had a chat and we ended up going out to the golf course and played 11 holes of golf. Then back, came back into town and

went to the Lady Belle pub to watch the soccer match between Ireland and Holland. Not a very good performance by Ireland. And then on the way back to, walking back to Abbeyside I met another old friend of mine RF and we went into the local pub, The Village Inn, and met another old friend of mine, MG. RF is an officer in the army, MG is a bank manager in the west of Ireland, both down for a few days. So we had a nice chat about the way things had changed in Abbeyside and we were lamenting the lack of green spaces, the way the, the fields we used to play in have been built up and also what we thought was very poor planning in the way the town has been developed. So this was all over a few pints of Guinness, so it was all a very pleasant evening’.

The complexity of his local networks and connections to the local community is evident. There are four particular pubs that he frequents: The Lady Belle, Minnies, The Anchor and The Village Inn. Each has its attractions, for example, the Lady Belle ‘...has one of the best big screens for watching games in the town’



Plate 1: The Lady Belle Pub, Dungarvan

The importance of particular pubs is further emphasised by his inclusion in his photographic portfolio of a photograph of ‘The Moorings’ pub; ‘this old pub at the end of the quay backing onto the castle is an important landmark in my experience of Dungarvan, as I regularly meet my brother John and his wife here for a drink on Friday nights, prior to having dinner in one of the local restaurants’.



Plate 2: The Moorings Restaurant and Pub, Dungarvan

Much of his time is spent socialising with family members, especially two of his brothers who live in Dungarvan; he has a routine of meeting one on a Friday and the other on a Saturday. In fact all of his siblings, with the exception of one brother who lives in the US, live in, or in the environs of, Dungarvan. The importance of family is fore-grounded by the inclusion in his photographic portfolio of a photograph of his brother John's house, *'Chez Frere John –This unusual house is my older brother John's home, and is an important social centre for me (and lots of other people) as they are great entertainers, and frequently have Saturday night parties where many a song is sung and many a bottle of wine is polished off'* .



Plate 3: Chez Frere John, Dungarvan

Paul likes to catch up with family and extended family gossip; again 'the chat' is very important to him in helping feel connected to the family and the wider community. Paul's experience in returning to his home town is echoed in the literature on second home life in the Scandinavian countries. Speaking specifically about Finland, Periäinen (2006) remarks on the role of the second cottage as a means for people recently urbanised to return to the homestead. Paul is not returning to the precise homestead as the family home that he grew up in has been sold on, but he is returning to the environment that formed him.

While his second home site is also his birth home, Paul is not ready to ascribe 'Family' as being one of his primary motivations for visiting his holiday home. He acknowledges that he always sees two brothers of the six of his siblings that live in the town but that he would see his sisters much less frequently; one of his diary entries states, '*Just a pleasant day interacting. This is I suppose, this ease of interaction with family, that is an important part of being here...*'; '*the family is very easy going, there is no pressure*', again consistent with a generally relaxed feel to Dungarvan. Between friends and family there is a conviviality about Paul's activities while in Dungarvan. As explained by phase one participants Seamus and Marie, he does like having his own home in the town of his birth. Again, there are echoes here in the literature on second homes, most particularly in the literature on Scandinavian second homes.

Paul appears to know everyone, particularly of his own generation in the town, '*another interesting thing is that most of my school friends, it's unusual around here, they are still living here*'. Along with family, school friends are part of much of Paul's social interaction in his holiday home. He describes his ties, his attachment, to Dungarvan as follows '*Yeah, I wouldn't necessarily say family, it's just, yeah, I always liked it here you know. A lot of people left here and never came back you know...*'. Later he remarks '*...this place captures people you know...nostalgic about the place*'. Jaakson (1986) discusses the notion of continuity with regard to second home owners; 'the cottage seems to provide a unique sense of the passage of time, of continuity' (p.380). Paul's second

home is his connection with his family and childhood history; it allows him to trace a continuous line between then and his life today.

While he will watch and discuss almost any sport, Paul's greatest interest is in hurling. He will make the effort to attend or watch a hurling game at any level from parish up to GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) All Ireland final level. This is consistent with the observation that for Waterford hurlers and supporters, 'hurling is in the blood'. He remarks *'Some people are amazed at how one can spend hours and hours discussing a single hurling game but I guess that is just part of the way we are'*. By way of illustration of what he means, Paul includes a photograph of his local GAA ground in his photographic portfolio. He explains, *'Páirc Uí Fhearchair (Fraher Field) is the GAA ground in Dungarvan and has been a key part of my life as long as I remember. When I was a kid I used to attend here every Sunday, no matter who was playing, and of course I played many hurling (and even football) games here. I would still attend here maybe ten times a year'*.



Plate 4: Páirc Uí Fhearchair, Dungarvan

His love of, and involvement with, the GAA games is rooted in childhood and 'practiced' again in his second home; it is part of his cultural heritage, his cultural connection to home. Considering other sporting activities, golf is an enduring interest and Paul is a member of one of the three golf clubs in Dungarvan. His diary provides details of *'one of my happiest moments'*, when he shot a hole in one. The golf club is also another site for entertainment, chatting, drinking and dancing.

Dungarvan provides the opportunity to walk and Paul describes walking a mile or two here and there in search of entertainment. His photographs and diary detail walks in the environs of the town; talking about his photograph of Abbeyside strand, he says, *'It is still part of my standard route when I go for a walk around the place (usually on a Sunday morning)'* .



Plate 5: Abbeyside Strand 2006, Dungarvan

The cultural life of Dungarvan is often included in Paul's meanderings around town, *'...I mean it's the little things, there's a, there's an art centre in town, there's a couple of art galleries and, I like to have a wander there with the museums if they have an exhibition, see what's going on you know...'*; this is in contrast to his home town of ***** where there is more limited cultural activity except where it is associated with his workplace, the university. It could be said that Paul's leisurely perusal of the streets and pubs of Dungarvan resonates with a sense of the post-modern stroller or the devotee of flânuering (Urry, 1994); he is utterly comfortable in his existence.

On a more practical note Paul discusses his routines when arriving at his holiday home, *'Turn on the immersion...In the winter I also turn up, I heat the house with storage heaters and they are turned at a very low level during the winter, and then I just turn them up to warm up the house you know. The house is never cold, its the walls are so thick'*; settling back into the house after an absence is relatively easy. House

maintenance is not a significant issue '*...you know I mean it keeps itself really you know. The only thing is, once a year I have to attack the hedges in the back there you know, but I like, I find that's therapeutic, and I am out there hacking away you know, and cursing the ants and so forth you know...*'. Paul, like most academics, can travel anywhere with his laptop and a broadband connection. He explains that sometimes he uses the time in Dungarvan '*to get away for a few days to focus on writing a paper or something like that*'...but then '*there is always a distraction of one sort or another you know...*'. He also uses the town on an annual basis as an assessment site for his geography students.

Contrast and similarities of Holiday Home Life with Everyday Home Life

Paul is fortunate as an academic in being able to move between a college office and a home office. His experience of working, when he sometimes does, in his holiday home is very similar to that of working in his home office; everything is easy, except maybe occasionally needing to go to the college library to pick up a book. However, the most significant contrast between Dungarvan and his first home is that relatively little work is done in Dungarvan. Actually, he is never asked about his work when visiting his holiday home, despite the fact that he would sometimes be seen on TV and be known for his work. '*In Dungarvan at the weekend nobody will ever ask me what I am doing. And that's great...it's very therapeutic*'.

Both of Paul's homes are within towns, '*I wouldn't live in the country for any money you know*'; he is a 'townie'. '*Yeah, and I like to walk down in the morning and get the fresh bread and the paper. Go to the pub at night and stagger home and so forth you know. I do that in ***** as well you know*'. He easily assumes the role of relaxed bon vivant at ease in his familiar second home environment, undertaking many of the same leisure activities as he would in the primary home. Drinking is also part of his leisure time in the first home; despite there being only four pubs in his home town as opposed to 30 in Dungarvan. He has a Friday afternoon drinking session at the office, he is a member of the local GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) and sometimes frequents the club house.

Paul eats similar foods in both homes, although he does acknowledge eating out more in Dungarvan than in his primary home and he appreciates the availability of local delicacies. His diary includes the following entry, *'Then I cooked my dinner, had some lovely local potatoes. One of the side attractions of living here in Dungarvan is there is an area outside the town called Ballinacorkey which is famous for its early potatoes'*. His photographic collection includes a photo of his local takeaway and provides an insight into his convenient everyday life while in the second home, *'This very popular takeaway is also just around the corner and is the default option when hunger can't wait'*.

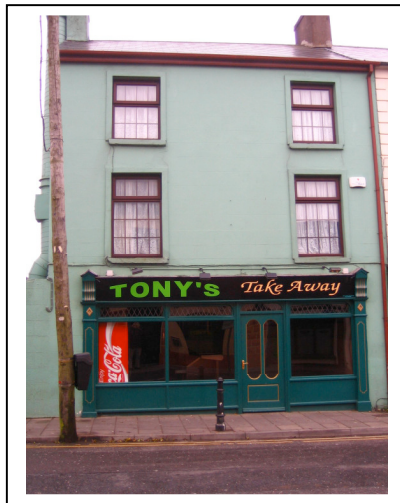


Plate 6: Tony's Takeaway 2006, Dungarvan

He appreciates the little differences between his two homes.

Another point of similarity is that Paul speaks of wearing much the same clothing in both homes; again, this points to the flexibility of his everyday academic life. At his second home Paul likes to walk and feels that the easy access to beaches and the lack of car traffic, something he does not have in his primary home, is a very enjoyable feature of life at his holiday home; it points to a different pace of life in comparison to the primary home.

Overall, he appears to be equally relaxed in both homes though he does talk of the increasing burden of academic administration in his everyday work life, '*...but it's still very, very therapeutic to get out of it, especially get out of the college. The college is, that job is, starting to get worse and worse*'. The second home is an escape for home (Crouch, 1994), an escape for a simpler way of life; in Paul's case he enjoys reconnecting with family and friends in his old home. He gets to do more of this in his second home than he does in his primary home. His holiday home allows him to escape from the difficult parts of his everyday life such as university administration.

The relative importance of his Dungarvan home is apparent when he declares '*Even though I am living in ***** for the past 30 years, this is home...*' and later he remarks '*...I'm heading back to my other home in ******'. It is interesting that he comments, '*My father-in-law said like I go native when I come down here. He says that when he meets people in the pub he doesn't know what I am saying because of my accent. People speak a different idiom. If they are down here they speak with a different accent, they speak very quickly, they speak using all sorts of slang words and so on you know...so I speak a different language here than I would speak in ******'. Paul is very much at home in his holiday home; he easily assimilates back into the environment. This marks Paul out as an 'insider' something probably not easily achievable by other second home owners.

He is struck by the beauty of Dungarvan, and his place in it, as he goes about his daily wanderings, '*That's one thing, if I was sitting over there in the Moorings bar, say on a Saturday afternoon or this evening and the sun is shining and it is warm and you are seeing out across the mountains or the river, that's nice you know. Although I am not a sea person, I don't swim in the sea and I don't sail or anything like that*'. His pride in the town is evident in his photography commentary '*...the fact is Dungarvan is a good-looking town in a beautiful setting*'. A photograph of his holiday home is accompanied by the following commentary '*The yellow and green house is my current country seat, purchased in 1994 just before the Celtic Tiger blew prices sky high. It is an old terraced cottage in a charming winding street very close to the harbour*' .



Plate 7: 9, King St Upper, Dungarvan

He is conscious of other people's perspectives on Dungarvan, *'I know a friend of mine, he was in college with me, and he came down from the middle of Limerick, a long way from the city, he had a few days down here, he said "People here I'd say are much more liberal because they have so many horizons. You can look out to sea there and you can see a million miles"',* he is reflective of how others view his place of second home.

Exploring further this issue of the differences between primary and secondary homes and talking about the differences between the friendship groups in each location, it becomes apparent that he mixes in different circles within each of the two locations; this ease with which he moves between groups facilitates movement from the first home to the second home. *'I suppose I move in a lot of different circles because I'm a community man'*; he has a chameleon-like ability to effortlessly assimilate into different groups. Mottiar and

Quinn (2003) discuss the role that holiday home owners played in a controversy that arose with regard to developing tourism accommodation in an area of woodlands in Wexford in Ireland's south-east. The study found that the holiday home owners as an identifiable group should not be ignored as potentially important players in the shaping of local development plans, however, a key factor underpinning their ability to play their part was the extent to which they had kinship and social connections with the local area; among the group they found that several people were not really outsiders but effectively acted as 'insider-outsiders'. Paul's interest in his holiday home community coupled with his family connections and professional status as a geographer with an interest in community matters would certainly be said to accord him the status of 'insider-outsider'.

The Future

Paul will officially retire in seven years time, but he does intend to 'remain academically active'. The literature tells us that 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 (Stewart and Stynes, 2006). While he does not plan on moving to his hometown of Dungarvan on a full time basis, consistent with the views of other study participants, Paul does hope to spend more time there in retirement. He looks ahead to retirement and getting the new holiday home ready, '*That will be a big project, we've plans to do a big extension to it*'. However, he reveals that his partner will actually be taking charge of the project because '*...for me it is the location rather than the aesthetic environment*'.

He himself concludes: '*Yeah, so, I, I live in two parallel worlds. I live in ***** and I am well integrated into the community there and then I step through a kind of a, a dimension and then I come down here and I fit in here very easily you know*'; being a chameleon allows him to do this, as a true post-modern he flits easily from one life to the other.

He transcends one world and enters the other very easily as he is practiced in this transcendence. Even getting him to articulate this 'dimension' is difficult because from

his own perspective, while he acknowledges the different zones, he proceeds seamlessly through the stages of this transcendence from primary home to holiday home. Urry (1995, p.29) talks about how play leads to a 'decentring of identity leading to a crossing of boundaries and a subsequent casting on and off of identities'. Paul appears to 'lose himself in Dungarvan' and transcend his everyday life restrictions and become 'more himself'. In consideration of his two homes he elaborates:

'Yes it is like going through a time warp, or whatever dimension you know. From one to the other, there is very little interaction between the two. I mean I am always offering it to friends of mine to go down for the weekend or whatever but they very rarely take you up you know, the odd person does. You could go down there for a weekend or a week or whatever. So people in this zone here (primary home) don't interact a whole lot with that zone there you know'.

The photographs taken by Paul tell the story of his life in Dungarvan from childhood to the present day. They are nostalgic but relate the more and less pleasant sides, the childhood and the adult perspectives, of that life. Jackson (2002) has written that society is now reinventing itself as in nomad times to one based on focus rather than boundaries but he contends that the search for second homes shows we are not entirely happy in this boundary-less world. However, it appears that Paul is using his focus on the second home in contrast with his focus on the primary home and is perfectly happy doing so. From another perspective, the fact that Paul is returning to home may indicate a search for the 'boundaries' as represented by the childhood and family home; he enjoys the security of his two separate bounded lives, ***** and Dungarvan.

6.2 Yvette's Story

Yvette is a newly qualified lawyer getting ready to start her first professional job with Dublin Corporation. She is 47 years of age and lives in a near-suburb of Dublin with her husband David (49), a self employed retailer in the health food sector. She has an interest in healthy living and a 'generally spiritual' approach to life. Despite the fact that their four grown up children are still living with them, the youngest has just turned 18, Yvette and David very much view themselves as new 'empty nesters' with lots of choices and opportunities.

Her second home, which she has owned for five years now, is located on Hook Head Peninsula in Co. Wexford in the south-east of Ireland and is co-owned with her sister and brother-in law. The house is located in a small development of five holiday homes built around a semi-circle backing onto the sea, all homes are detached and painted white as is the local custom. The group of homes was constructed by a farmer who owned the field in which they are built. Hook Head Peninsula is an area of spectacular natural beauty. The lighthouse at the end of the peninsula is an example of an almost intact medieval lighthouse which is thought to be one of the oldest operational lighthouses in the world (www.waterford-dunmore.com, accessed 09/10/2008). As I finished my interaction with the couple, they have also just completed the construction of an architecturally designed holiday home near Tralee in Co. Kerry, in the south-west of Ireland.

Yvette struck me as a thoughtful, reflective individual and was happy to help by undertaking the tasks requested. Probably given that she had just completed an academic course of study, she was curious about the overall project and how it would unfold. David her husband was present for both interviews but was supportive and added insight rather than in anyway dominating the interviews.

Activities while in the Second Home

In talking to Yvette I was immediately struck by the level and range of activity in which she is involved while enjoying her second home; she is always doing something. As is evident from the following discussion, Yvette takes an almost professional, and cosmopolitan (in the sense of openness to learning), approach to her leisure activities. All of her activity in the second home is undertaken in the company of her husband, and sometimes family or friends will join

them. However, the main context within which she enjoys her second home is in the company of her husband David; their ability to happily co-exist is central to their enjoyment of their second home.



Plate 8: Yvette and David, Hook Head

Their activities are primarily based outdoors and include walking, cycling, bird watching, kayaking, photography and visiting interesting historical and cultural sites. The weather is not an issue, they would be careful to have all necessary rain gear. They take a professional approach to their activities completing courses on photography and kayaking and engaging the services of a professional birdwatcher to help them learn more about this pastime:

D: 'Yeah, so we've bicycles there, so we cycle around like down to the lighthouse, walk along the rocks. Yvette's a bit of an amateur twitcher, so she is always looking for birds yeah, that's why we are going out with this guy tomorrow, so he gives us the kind of full shin-dig, and then I'm into some photography so I try and photograph them, yeah

Y: He has started playing golf now.



Plate 9: Bird Watching, County Wexford

They alternate between more and less strenuous activities, *'Generally we are out and about, so we go down to the beach, we walk along the rocks and we just mooch about the place. We'd sit in and read, but even if we are in reading for a couple of hours, then it's up and back out again'*.

A typical day was outlined by David:

'Got up mooched around, got the bikes organised, cycled down, stopped half a dozen times or three or four times along the way taking photographs of bits and pieces and got down, had a coffee, walked around out on the rocks, more photographs, looking at the birds, seals, all that kind of stuff...cycled back and then we had lunch there...Had lunch, that was about, that must have been around one when we were back...we had lunch and we sat around reading for a bit...and then we went to the beach around four wasn't it? We stayed at the beach until about half six...yeah, I was swimming for ages and you got in for two minutes...Five!(laughing)...And then came back and I cooked dinner...And then we went down to see the sunset...Oh yeah, we went over to the other side, because you got both sides, it's absolutely amazing, yeah...So you get sunrise on that side, then you go over to Booley Bay and then you got the sunset, so we went over and just watched the sunset...Took photos again, then came back across, Y fell asleep, opened a bottle of wine, read a bit, watched some telly, went to bed'.

Generally the components of a holiday as described by Yvette and David are '*...just to unwind...to go somewhere that's a little bit different that you got the outside*' and have been complemented over the years by having friends join them or holiday nearby. The focus on outdoor activities would be in contrast with their everyday life in the primary home; this is consistent with the reported activities of the phase one participants.

They lead a very healthy life when on holiday, something that carries over from their everyday work and home life in Dublin, '*cooked a lovely vegetarian meal...bottle of beer*'. There are signs of some de-differentiation between the tourist second home and the primary home; the tourism practices of the second home are increasingly becoming part of everyday life (Jacobsen, 2003), and vice versa. This is very much in keeping with MacCannell's (2001, p.36) view that 'the tourist looks for the unexpected, not the extraordinary'; the second homeowner finds difference in the second home but not jarring difference; Yvette and David are comfortable in being somewhere different but engaging in some familiar practises. There is a certain permeability between the first home and the holiday home (cf. Attwood, 2005) and an easy transference of routines and activities, for example dietary habits, between the first home and the second home.

Yvette and David are very open to trying new activities and even bring some of what they have experienced in their holiday home back to life in their primary home. For example talking about a bird watching day out down in Wexford, '*Definitely do it again, we are going to join his group which is one Thursday every month and they meet in Glasnevin in Dublin in the Botanical Gardens*'. Their eco awareness as evident in discussion of their activities on Hook Head, is also visible in discussion of their new holiday home in Kerry: '*The whole idea was to build an eco house, not completely eco but the geo thermal is in and the reed bed system for the sewage. So it is connected with the farm so we make sure that everything is organic and there's no chemical sprays around or that*'.

The sense of the relaxation and contentment that Yvette enjoys when in her holiday home is illustrated by the following excerpts from her diary: '*As I said it's five o'clock in the evening, I'm sitting on the doorstep in the back garden. The sun is shining, sky is blue. I can hear the birds singing in the distance. Very enjoyable, very pleasant, had a good pleasant day*'; '*So yesterday, it's a glorious morning, the dew is all over the grass and the patio and the table*

and chairs. It's fresh and the sun is coming up and it's promising to be a wonderful day'; the sensuousness of her surroundings is palpable and is in direct contrast to more distant and disengaged tourism experiences as often described in the tourism literature.

The integration of two or more activities is evident from the photographs taken by Yvette.



Plate 10: Sightseeing, County Wexford

The physical is combined with the cultural and even the more intellectual pursuits such as photography. Considering whether they would be involved in many of these activities in Dublin they reflect *'No, you can do it, but it just wouldn't occur to me to do it in Dublin...probably just not in that mode or something...whereas when you escape it's just completely...but that was really good. I don't know why we don't get into that kind of thing in Dublin, it's more, I don't know, I kind of think it is nice to put your back on the city'*. The opportunity to live more the way they want to, to do the things they want to do, to be individuals, is something that the holiday home offers Yvette and David; the importance of 'individualisation', where individuals are increasingly constrained by social structures and are able to focus on their individual desires, is 'a decisive criterion for the quality of life', and so is part of the second home ownership decision (Huber and O'Reilly, 2004). Another perspective is that the second home owner is a sort of 'permanent tourist' (Jaakson, 1986); there are few differences between their ordinary everyday life and their tourist everyday life; these people are interested in similar activities in the primary home but do not have the opportunity to engage in them there. Yvette and David also discern a difference between activities in the Kerry holiday home and the Hook Head holiday home *'It's a bit different from Kerry in that we were just talking about this at the weekend, it's a bit different that it's kind of,*

we don't go, we don't travel a lot when we are down there [Wexford]...No, we just get out of the house and walk and we either just walk down the road and go down to the small little beach or else we'll go down to Slade and walk around the coastline to the lighthouse and back around again. There is relatively little maintenance involved in the Hook Head home, primarily because it is co-owned. However, the Kerry home demands more time '...and David possibly staying down for a day or two and me going back to work. We've got a good bit of work in the garden to do, landscaping and stone walls to build, he is into tackling that'.

House Acquisition, Frequency of Use of Second Home and Mobility

Yvette and David purchased their Hook Head holiday home with Yvette's sister and her husband. They had been away on holidays several times with this family and were happy that they would get along well together. They had owned a site in Kerry for some time and had always wanted a house in Kerry '*Having a house in Kerry was something we talked about a lot*'. However, the other couple regarded Kerry as being too far away from Dublin and wanted a home that would be no more than two to three hours drive away. The second couple also had three young children, so one of their criteria was that the house should be away from traffic but close to where there might be other children. As a result of an internet search, David found the development in which they eventually bought, '*it just ticked all the boxes for that particular arrangement*'. He said of it:

'...the house wasn't built...the top 10 houses were built...and he (the builder) was sort of in the place over, another development that he built that we didn't like, because it was right beside the road. We said, "we don't like that but if you have anything like that. And then he himmed and hawed, and he himmed and hawed and he said "Actually I think we are going to be building one down there, another five down there. But don't tell anyone because the neighbours will go mad", so he was building another five, so we put our name down for one of these five, when it was built because it's away from the road and it's quiet'.

Location, both within a place and encompassing a place is very important; Müller (2006) observes that 'it can be argued that certain second home regions in the vicinity of metropolitan areas are not necessary intrinsically attractive, but that their attractiveness is actually dependent on their location only' (p.338) - they are attractive because of their proximity to the

city. Yvette and David acknowledged that the other couple's criteria were determinant in the purchase:

'Yeah, that we can get to it for the weekend, one, and then they wanted, they're quite fussy, my sister, they didn't want to come until it was very well finished and nicely finished, and then enough to accommodate two families as well. Whereas if we were buying on our own we probably would have bought a much smaller house, so it is to accommodate two families, so that two families could sort of come at the same time and these are great sizes for that. There's three bathrooms and there's four bedrooms'.

Yvette feels that to a certain extent she and David found themselves in the situation of *'needing to buy a holiday home and this would do'*. They are happy that sharing the costs, even though it may have meant some compromise, has been a good idea. Given her antipathy over the years towards purchasing a second home, *'largely being reluctant to take the financial hit'*, it would seem that this opportunity to *'share the risk'* helped propel Yvette into second home ownership. At this stage she feels sorry that they did not purchase a mobile or a built home earlier. Unlike the participants in the first phase of this study, the acquisition of this property by Yvette and David was a long planned and well researched purchase.

Yvette likes being at home in her house in Dublin but: *'...slowly, slowly, slowly that kind of little bit of relationship is being built here [in the holiday home] as well...I am really very attached to here...I like the area, I like the feel of the place down here, I like the, the feelings it brings and the enjoyments you have down here'*. These sentiments are consistent with the experience of phase one participants and also echo Perkins and Thorn's (2006) contention that:

Home-making is a process that takes place over time...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 a continual evaluation of past meanings and the re-making of new meanings and uses (p.71).

Some of Yvette's initial reluctance to purchase a second home can also be explained by her remarks that: *'David copes far better, I don't like now, David pushes the boundaries all the time. And wants to do more stuff than I would be comfortable of doing or going away. I like, too many weekends away now, I'm like; 'oh, you know me, spend some time at home', you*

know. *Like I wouldn't go away every weekend, and one weekend a month is fine, pushing out the boundaries would be two weekends a month, that's kind of a bit too much you know*. It is almost as if Yvette's psychological mobility is more restricted than her husband's. She goes on to say, *'But it is very easy to come here though, it's not like going away because we have made it kind of home, so it's much easier to come here than it is to go to Prague for a weekend. It's very easy to come here, I don't think about it too much you know. I don't do too much planning and, so it's like, and you can also decide in the last minute to go as well, which is great*'. Yvette and David use the holiday home for weekends all through the year, *'We were down more last year than we were any other year: we just ended up going down a lot of weekends*'. Again, the stage at which they are at in the family life cycle is evident when they discuss that this is the first time that they have stayed at the holiday home for a whole week as it was the first time that they felt that the children could be left for that long - *'we are free*'. However, despite purchasing a home that is large enough in which to entertain lots of visitors, Yvette remarks *'Our kids are grown up so when we bought here we kind of had a five year plan on it, OK if it doesn't work out for us we'll either sell out to you or we sell the house or whatever, because our kids, my youngest is 18 now. So we were buying at a very bad time, because our kids literally didn't want to come down here*'. This is something that has been remarked upon by other participants in the study; teenage children very often 'go cold' on the second home with interest renewing in their late teens or early twenties when they can enjoy the house without their parents. While agreeing that when they first bought the holiday home their children had no interest in it, Yvette can see a little bit of interest now, especially from the older children:

'Occasionally my kids have used it, not very much. Sarah has been down once or twice with her boyfriend or with her friends, and Oliver has been down a couple of times with his girl friend...You know the eldest fellow he's 24 so he's been down a few times, and you can see that where they will start using it a little bit more as well'.

The acquisition of their holiday home in Kerry has been a very different experience and *'ended up being a complete mess*'; specifically with regard to their dealings with the builder. The impetus for building now was that the planning permission would expire and in the current climate might be difficult to renew. They very much enjoyed their involvement with the architect and feel *'we helped design all that*'. The original motivation for buying the site

in Kerry was enjoyable family holidays that had been spent in the area, Yvette's family connections to the county and the availability of a site to purchase on the farm of a couple with whom they have been friends for the last fifteen years; *'...we always wanted to, with Kerry, have a house down there so when the opportunity came up then to buy that particular piece of land, it was just, we couldn't say no to it'*.

In a general holiday sense, while Yvette and David have travelled abroad on a regular basis they have always particularly valued travel 'down the country' in Ireland. The first time I visited with them they were just starting their two weeks annual holiday in Ireland. One week would be spent together as a couple in their holiday home on the Hook peninsula, and the second week with their extended family in Kerry. During the past year they, along with their youngest child, have been on a skiing holiday to Austria. They found this very enjoyable and, viewing it as a way of getting their son to continue coming on holiday with them, say they will definitely do it again in the future. They have also been on short breaks to England and Spain during the period of this study. Talking about her sister and brother-in-law who co-own the Wexford holiday home with them David remarks *'...like he is insistent every year that he gets his two weeks abroad as well'*. Most participants do travel abroad as well as enjoying vacation time in their second homes and this is particularly true of Irish second homeowners in search of the sun elsewhere.

There is an ease with which Yvette and David can move between Dublin and Wexford. Speaking of her son's school leaving results which are due out during the week they will be in the holiday home in Wexford, Yvette records in her diary *'And I think the two of us are going to pop up to Dublin today to see him and say congratulations etc. and then we are planning to leave first thing tomorrow morning quite early and be back down early just in case we can go kayaking tomorrow'*. They move seamlessly between the two locations and as the phase one participants reported, moving from home to home is easy, it is convenient, and they become practised in it.

Contrast and Similarities of Holiday Home Life with Everyday Home Life

David describes the holiday home as *'...it is a little bit like somewhere you escape I suppose from work in the city and all that kind of crack...end up inviting different friends...it is quite unique for them too'*. That said, Yvette has used the Wexford home to study *'I've done a lot*

of studying down here...first couple of years I was down I would bring my books and get up at six in the morning and do two hours and then everyone would get up and I would put the books away; she could be part of the escape but keep to her other commitments. David would like to be able to keep in touch, at least a little bit, with work through email and wishes broadband was available; *'There are so many occasions when we just say oh if only we had the internet, for checking the weather, for checking what's going on in the area, getting phone numbers etc. It could be quite useful'*. In fact, due to the pressures of owning their own business, this is the first time in many years that they have been away for more than a week. They are busy people in both locations but they are busy with work in the primary home and busy with leisure in the holiday home. Apart from obvious issues of work and leisure, David describes the difference between primary home and holiday home as follows: *'Well it's a different pace, it's a bit, it's a bit, you're being from Dublin and living in Dublin and working in Dublin all the time, it's always once you get back into the city and you're, yeah, you're heading out the, down the N11 or out the Naas Road, well then it seems to kind of drop off you know, the pressure and the stress of, depending on how the traffic is [laughter]'*. There is a recognition that everyday life is lived at a different pace down here, *'It's a slower pace isn't it? I think for everyone, even the people that live down here, it's a slower pace'*; it seems that time expands in the second home relative to the time compression of the primary home.

Discussing the concept of home, Yvette and David highlight the differences between the primary home and the holiday home *'Home is where the heart is...Home is where we brought up the kids you know, that's really it to me you know...So it's like base station, yeah, and then you have a holiday from there to other places, be it to here (the holiday home), whatever you know, so it's always like that to your base, yeah, so that's where you would always return'*. In a quite profound way, and on the basis of her experience with primary and holiday homes, Yvette remarks, *'Lately, I've been feeling you make your home wherever you are. When you go into a hotel room, you kind of you know, make your thing there'*. These people are adept at 'making home' regardless of where they are, this facilitates their transition from primary home to holiday home. This is very much in keeping with what Lynch (2005) described as the domestication of guest experiences; hotels and guest houses strive to make the guest 'feel at home', it is therefore not surprising that the second home owner should easily, or instinctively, 'make home' in the second home. There are echoes here of the cosmopolitan experience, the easy flitting between locations and the easy and practised 'making of home'.

The biggest difference between their primary home in Dublin and their second home in Wexford is the amount of time spent outdoors at the holiday home, *'I think we spend a lot more time outdoors down here as well which is brilliant, I love that'*. As mentioned by other participants in this study, everyday home activities take on a different aspect in the holiday home, *'...I really enjoy cooking when I am down here, like you know you do your reading, you do all the stuff you really like doing, don't you?'*; there is more time in the second home to enjoy the everyday activities. David ponders the way in which time differs between the two homes: *'Like it's different you know, it's different maybe activities, the amount of time you dedicate to different activities. And it's quite different as well, it depends [on] your perspective on the time value of it. So if you are looking at the things you do down here, like are you, like if you are actually living down here, as against being like a holiday home, you know, well then how would it all change and what colour glasses would you be looking through then?'*. He suspects that things may be different again if they were to live in the holiday home year round; a difference between everyday non-holiday living and everyday holiday living.

There is an element of the unplanned, something serendipitous, about life in the holiday home: *' So we drove down anyway yesterday morning and we drove straight into Wexford, had a couple of things to do, posting and go to the bank etc. And we met a friend of David's , an old business colleague for lunch, had a very nice lunch in Wexford with him. Then came back out to the Hook for the afternoon. Spent a nice quiet afternoon, decided to relax and chill. Took a little walk down to the beach at six o'clock and then it started bucketing raining and we got quite wet on the way back. Made a really nice vegetarian dinner. Sat down then and watched a movie on the television. Had a bottle of beer. So today I think we are going to spend a nice quiet day, maybe do a bit of cycling and wait and see what the day brings'*. There is promise in the day, there is the possibility of the unexpected; this resonates with Paul's discussion of his activities in his second home in Dungarvan. In terms of activities, the tenor of their lives in the past as against their current situation is described by Yvette: *'And also because we are not entertaining kids anymore, we're just entertaining ourselves, you know, with kids it's different activities you get into you know'*. In contrast to this, the second home literature that comments on family activities stresses the intergenerational activities of the family at various stages of the family life cycle rather than the intragenerational focus of this couple and others

in this study. In agreement with other participants, Yvette remarks that some everyday activities are more fun, with regard to food she says: *'...we probably take more care of it, or a bit more time with it...cooking is more fun definitely when you're not rushing and it's not, you know, you have to do it every evening and I hate that, every evening, but I would enjoy putting something together if there's somebody out there to help you, somebody else's input or whatever, but it's more or less the same as we eat at home...It's the same food but as you said, I think it's a different pace, and we would agree with that, you know it is a slower pace'*. There are products that are peculiar to Wexford, items that they would not have available to them at home in Dublin: *'...there's lots of Wexford produce. There's a nice range of granola and muesli bars and they're Wexford and there's jams and honeys and the Ryan's bread loaf, there's a white bread they do down here, I don't eat white bread at home but I buy that, and that's really nice, crusty white bread...their meat and their produce and vegetables are good, they're Hook vegetables*. The desire for a simpler, slower, truer, more down-to-earth, lifestyle is evident here in this discussion.

Yvette would contend that the holiday home is different in décor terms to their primary home because *'...there is a clash of styles in this house, you have Elizabeth's taste and my taste and you know, we sort of compromised with our clash. They like one thing and we like another...'*. The physical surroundings of the second home that they so enjoy are dramatically different from their day to day landscape in Dublin. Additionally, the ordinary surroundings in the area of the second home seem almost culturally different: *'...and they really keep the hedgerows really well, and they keep the roads really well and even you'll notice in people's gardens, they keep them really good, lots of flowers out and plantings, very English... that's a point of view, there's quite a bit of Church of Ireland or Protestant or whatever that influences...'*

There is an ease with which they access their holiday home from their primary home: *'We leave a lot of stuff here, so we used to leave food here but we don't anymore now, we just bring down what you want to bring or go to the local shop and get it because we try to clear everything out of the fridge when going back, and things go off and, so we won't even, even Dairygold, just literally teabags and salt and pepper and oil, sort of non perishables here, that's all. But we have a whole stash of clothes and you know, we have everything really we want, we can get into the car and just drive down without packing at all, it's great'*. They feel that they have made the transition from Dublin *'When we get to Ferns 'cos we always stop in*

that garage in Ferns and get milk and bread for the next morning...we get our loaf of Ryan's bread and a couple of little bits'. The transition from primary home to holiday home is surrounded by little rituals and habits that smooth the distance, psychological and physical, between homes; there is novelty, the change from home, but it is familiar (Jaakson, 1986, p.374). This is consistent with the phase one participants' descriptions of their arrival and departure rituals.

The Future

With regard to the possible long term future use of the holiday home, Yvette and David say they talk about it all the time. They describe how they will probably use the house to '*do a down the country experiment*' before making any kind of permanent move. This is in contrast to the findings of other studies of second home owners (Müller, 2004; Mottiar and Quinn, 2003; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999) which suggest that their participants had no intention to move in retirement from the current primary home to the second home. There is however ample support from retired second homeowners for the idea that they use their properties differently in retirement (see chapter five, sections 5.1, 5.4). They feel that when their youngest son finishes college in three years time '*...we would probably try out living, be it down in Kerry or be it down here or something you know and see if it works*'. It is clear that they are trying to 'work out' the practicalities, '*You know, to live in, either here or down there [Kerry], like a house and then we can keep Dublin, for the connection for the kids, so the family and all of that you know, parents and that, so it's madness*'.

Currently owning two holiday homes appears to be something of an issue for the couple, speaking about the Kerry home Yvette explains '*We took over the house about a month ago. It was a very incongruous situation of owning two holiday homes...it's kind of weird...So I'll take next year to decide what to do with it*'. The two holiday homes are clearly quite different: '*Hook, now we tend to be out all the time when we are down there, we use the house as a base. Kerry, we would, the house is architecturally designed and it's a gorgeous house and it's sort of all glass in the front and all glass in the side so you can be in the house but also feel like you are outside*'. They are conscious that they need to make a decision with regard to Kerry versus Wexford as they '*cannot afford both*'.

Yvette and David have greatly enjoyed their Hook Head holiday home and now have also built their house in Kerry. They are very clear on the type of activities they enjoy pursuing

together, and these are different to the activities that consume their time in their home in Dublin. They have expressed an intention to at least ‘experiment’ with the idea of living ‘down the country’ on a more permanent basis. They need to make a decision as to which of their holiday homes will be best suited to this venture.



Plate 11: Hook Head, County Wexford

6.3 Jacinta and James' Story

Jacinta (55) and James (57), a married couple, are both lecturers at a regional institute of technology on Ireland's south east. They have three children all of whom are now grown up and living away from home. They live in the countryside four miles outside a bustling market town within easy reach of the college. They are both heavily involved in the sporting and cultural activities of the town. Their holiday home, which they have had now for seven years, is located in the coastal village of Fethard-on-Sea on the Hook Head Peninsula, approximately one and a quarter hours drive from their primary home. The detached house is newly built and is part of a small development on the edge of the village situated in beautiful countryside. Despite us being introduced by a mutual work colleague, Jacinta and James were initially sceptical about taking part in the study but once the first interview got underway they proved to be enthusiastic participants. They are clearly very comfortable in their own company and, as is evident from their diary, are almost able to finish each others' sentences, they often speak as one.

House Acquisition

When visiting Jacinta and James in their primary home set in the lush countryside outside ***** I was immediately struck by the question of why they felt the need to own a holiday home. They already lived in a very comfortable house in a beautiful peaceful setting. Despite the fact that their holiday home is only 50 miles away from their primary home they felt that it afforded them the opportunity to experience a different lifestyle. The coastal location of their holiday home is also a comparatively attractive feature: *'The wildlife is something fabulous. Like I don't think now I would buy a holiday home in a mountainy area, or in a very rural area, because we have that here. It was the sea that attracted us really'*. Initially it had been Jacinta who was most interested in owning a holiday home *'This was Jacinta's idea!'* said James, although they both recounted tales of knowing people who owned mobile homes and commented that during the 1980s very few people they knew owned holiday homes. They had been interested to hear French college lecturers, with whom they interacted in a professional sphere, glibly refer to going to their summer homes and they were intrigued as to how college lecturers could afford such a luxury.

Jacinta ponders the germination of her interest in having a holiday home: *'I had friends, years ago, I suppose, who had, they weren't called holiday homes then, I would be talking going back 20 years, I'd say, when the children were small, and they would have these chalets at the beach, and I often thought, you know, wouldn't it be lovely to have a place to go to, and not. And then I suppose later on then, I began to think about it again, you know, a holiday home. And we used to come for a drive down around here, and I thought it would be, you know, it would be nice, and I liked this area, because it's not just the beach, the coast, but it's the whole area, there is not much going on, and when, with the environment and the heritage and all of that and nature, and I'm very interested in that...and we worked with Alice then, and she was talking about her house, remember?'* Jacinta's interest in nature echoes that found in Jaakson's (1996) Canadian study and in Jansson and Müller's (2004) study where almost a third of respondents reported that 'access to nature' was a reason for having a summer cottage. Other participants in this study, most notably Yvette, also expressed much interest in nature.

Jacinta describes how they had reached the stage of paying off the mortgage on their primary home and the bank invited them in to talk about investments. Several home owners, in both phases of the study, mentioned financially opportune moments (receiving a legacy, paying off the mortgage on the first house, or being able to release equity in the primary home) as being the spur to holiday home acquisition. Jacinta and James weren't interested in investing or improving their pensions but Jacinta said to the bank official *'... I would really like a holiday home...and she said "why don't you go for it?" She was from this area and suggested that I ring the auctioneers...she said "no, it's not just a dream, why don't you go for it?"'*

They did consider purchasing a holiday home in Cork, West Cork or Kerry: *'we thought about that, but we felt if you have a holiday home, it's lovely to be able to go away for a weekend. Now if you are talking about going down to Dingle, you're talking about six hours in the car, you'd be over to New York'*. They knew the area they were interested in and, wanting to have a minimum of maintenance work to do, chose a newly built house. In discussion of the difficulty some people were reporting in finding a holiday home on the Hook Peninsula, Jacinta was quite practical, if not a little dismissive, *'you could keep going looking for the ideal... you are going to see other houses that are nicer'*. During the building process, they had the opportunity to add a conservatory to their holiday home but instead chose the more practical optional extra of *'a little back entrance and shower room and toilet...if our children*

were to arrive you know'. It seems family is never far out of consideration in terms of the second home.

Their holiday home is very accessible, *'it's exactly 50 miles from here to our house...and yet there is a sense of being away from it...There is that sense of, I think once you leave New Ross, there is that sense of being away, you know'*. They easily transcend the space, physical and psychological, between primary and secondary home. There is an ease with which they move between their primary and holiday homes. With regard to spatial distance, the majority of second home owners live relatively close to their properties (Müller, 2006, p.336). However, there is a need for 'a minimum psychological distance' between first and second home in order that there is sufficient contrast between the two (Jaakson, 1986, p.388). These views resonate with those of the participants in phase one of this study.

Jacinta and James remark that they would never think of buying a holiday home abroad: *'A lot of people seem to buy a house in Spain or that, for the very reason that we would stop and say "well how often would you use it?" Like I think people get carried away, and I suppose we were more practical in that sense. That first of all, all the rigmarole of going through airports now, and when you get there, and then the thing about this is that you could decide in the morning to come down, and be down here.* As with the participants in Phase One, they want difference but not so much difference and they claim this preference is more of a lifestyle issue, perhaps indicating that their two homes are relatively well integrated parts of their overall lives.

Activities while in the Second Home

Jacinta describes how she wants to *'minimise'* housework in the holiday home, how she is looking for something different to the everyday. She has been able to achieve this by minimising clutter in the second home. Keeping things simple seems to be an objective, *'Now we don't have down there, we don't have a washing machine or a dishwasher, those sort of things...So I feel at the moment, I don't see any need for a washing machine, because I feel that sense of being away from home, I don't want to get involved in the laundry and all that. So, I mean we don't even have a clothes line, we just have a portable one, so I just tend to bring home, which I wouldn't, you know at home I would keep on top of things, but I like to just turn away from the housework when I get down here'*. By not having the labour saving

devices the labour, or perception of it, is minimised and she is quite definite in this saying: *'I don't want to have a house, that you have to come down and start, into cleaning you know...we always said "we're not going down to Fethard to work", you do what has to be done'*. This echoes some of the feelings of the Phase One participants who do not want the obligations of the primary home imposed on the holiday home but stands in contrast to other study participants who make a work project of the second home. Comparing her two homes Jacinta remarks, *'It's fairly, it's a fairly biggish house at home, big enough for our needs, and like down here I find, it's open plan idea, three bedrooms and the shower room upstairs, and it's very easy to keep...we have no maintenance really, everything is done, it's easy to keep'*. Specifically comparing the furnishing of the primary and secondary homes she says: *'Yes, it is furnished, I suppose, different, well it's a different layout of a house. Here it's sort of functional, it's tiled, I suppose it's more a summer house, in its tiles and they can be cold in the winter. I suppose what's at home is, it's carpeted, it's bigger furniture, soft leather, you know, and here, and it's a smaller place here, you know, so, we've gone for, well this sort of thing, and I didn't want clutter either'*. Overall, there is an effort to minimise complexity in the second home and to 'root oneself in the local' (Williams and Van Patten 2006, p.35; Jaakson, 1986, p.376). Chaplin (2000) found that lack of commodification and time out from 'paramount identities' were found to be important elements of the second home experience. However, Jacinta and James comment on being active in the Resident's Association in Fethard and becoming involved in the Keep Wexford Beautiful campaign. This association membership and community involvement mirrors their activity in their primary home.

Jacinta and James recognise the importance of their home fitting in with the natural environment, saying *'they're based on the houses that you would come across out in the rural parts of the Hook, do you know, they're that traditional sort of home'*. Other activities include walking, cycling and reading *'...so we tend to go out, in the sense that we walk a lot, and we cycle, so we tend not to sit inside, unless it's raining or something...you like looking at things, just going out looking at the sea...go out and see the seals swimming in the sea, and all that, it's lovely'*. Their enjoyment of the local surroundings is evident from the following diary interaction:

James: Yeah it's lovely now here at the moment, we are out here on the Hook and we can see the boat coming out there from Waterford Harbour. Lovely view of Dunmore East just across the bay there.

Jacinta: I think the tide is in fully this morning isn't it?

James: I think it might just be turning.

Jacinta: It's lovely, the waves are lovely, you could watch them all day.

James: And there are people out here now who have those camper vans, they obviously slept here during the night and they are sitting outside their camper van now having had their breakfast and reading their book and it's a lovely scene, nice and peaceful.

Jacinta: Yeah, I must say I always feel refreshed after being out here.

The opportunity to reflect in the second home is in marked contrast to the lack of opportunity to reflect in the primary home where it seems the compression of time makes it difficult to take the time to stop and allow reflection to take place. Their primary home is located in the countryside and does have nice views but it seems that they particularly enjoy the coastal perspective of their holiday home.

Jacinta and James go on day trips from the holiday home and Wexford Town, Dunmore East and the Saltee Islands are favourites. They also tend to eat out more than they would in the primary home - *'We tend too, I suppose, we would go out to eat, again it's just, put it down because '...we've a sense of, we're away...it is all part of just making life easy'.* In essence life is easier 'away in the holiday home' than in the primary home. Thus for instance in Fethard they are able to enjoy going out for a drink in the evening without having to worry about driving *'Sometimes at night, we might ramble up for a drink, which we don't do at home, sure we don't? And that is something now, if it was the middle of the summer now, we might just walk up to the village, and maybe have a glass of wine sitting out...'*. Their reading habits are different when at the holiday home: *'But what we do is, you know, sort of during the year, books pile up on you, that you can't get around to, and you say "right now, I'll read those down in Fethard" and that's great, because you do a lot more reading here, than at home, and maybe not geared to work so much, you know, but there are always books you just don't get around to'.* In the holiday home there is simply more time to do the things they really enjoy.

Rarely is work brought to their holiday home, they '*want to leave all that behind*'. Occasionally Jacinta has brought some correcting work with her, on one occasion she specifically went to Fethard alone so that she could complete some work. However, both Jacinta and James want an escape '*from all of that*' when they leave *****. They experience what Jaakson (1986, p.375) describes as inversion, '*life at the cottage is lived differently...there is a strong contrast to what is normally done in the daily life back home*'. There is always some work to be done in the primary home, it is always busy. Despite having their primary home in a relatively rural area, it is the peace and quiet of Fethard-on-Sea that really impresses them. Again, these activities are very much in keeping with those indulged in by other participants in their holiday homes.

The concept of time is experienced differently in the holiday home, '*...sometimes if I go for a walk, I don't bother with the watch, it doesn't matter...if you are home at 10 o'clock, you'd have the radio set (on), we don't do that here*'. The tourist in the second home is in charge of their own time, what Rojek (2000, p.43) refers to as 'Self-Managed time'; the individual is free to determine what is and what is not leisure time to them. Ryan (1997a, p.201) describes it as 'time for our lives'. It is the lack of time structure that participants in both phases of this study remark upon. The subtle differences in the routines between primary and holiday home are what distinguish the homes from each other.

There are rituals in which Jacinta and James are involved in arriving and leaving. On each trip they bring clothes for themselves and bedclothes and towels from their primary home. They leave clothing such as shorts and swim suits behind them in the holiday home; again recognition that different activities take place there. Jacinta explains more: '*...But I mean I have several pairs of shorts, which I bought, and now I normally, I wouldn't wear them at home, but down here I would, because people live in those sort of, casual wear, and it gives that sense too, of something different, and a different lifestyle to what we would normally live, like the fact that we wear very casual clothes...it's a different lifestyle*'. What is appropriate in the holiday home is not appropriate in the primary home.

Other participants describe similar rituals in which they engage particularly as they arrive at and depart from, the holiday home. A way of coping with this difference and lessening the effort involved in preparing is duplication of many items, '*...we tend to have two slippers, two*

this and two that'. That said there is some overlap between primary home living and second home life. The holiday home is on their minds even when they are away from it: *'...maybe I would have done some shopping, maybe saw some little thing and said "maybe that would be nice in the house" ... I still buy some things for here, because well it is a home away from home as well*'. They need to give some thought to food: *'...we would tend to bring down some food to keep us going for a day or two. But they have a shop here and it stocks everything, and then over in Wellington Bridge there's a bigger supermarket...We don't specifically shop coming down here, we bring down what we had in the fridge, you know, and say that will do for now for the next day and for tomorrow*'. The routines associated with leaving to go to the second home are acknowledged as maybe having something to do with the personality of the second homeowner, *'... There is a sense alright of getting ready, I find, but that might be just the way that I do things*'. Departing from the holiday can bring about feelings of longing to stay and anticipation of the next visit: *'Sometimes I don't like going home in the sense of...oh the season is over now, back to work, here we go again...then you'd be saying "oh I'd love to be coming back down"'*.

Discussing holidays and travel in a general sense, Jacinta remarks, *'Well we still take our holiday, I mean we were abroad at Easter, we were in Korea and Japan at Easter, and we were there last August because our daughter is out there*'. They tend to avoid long haul travel during the summer holiday, preferring instead to spend their time in Fethard. They do regard their time in their holiday home as a holiday, *'I do, oh yeah, I think the psychological switch-off, when you come down here. Then you're at home you say, "Oh I've this to do and I've that to do" and that's where you do all your work, sort of, all the time*'. They can distinguish between the two types of holiday, *'...there is a different way of thinking of coming down here, and planning, lets say, if we were getting ready to go abroad...This is really a relaxation holiday. Like if you go to Korea and China and Japan like we did, where the weather is very hot, the country is totally different, there is a certain element of hassle in, not just foreign airports, language problems, food totally different, so it's a different type of holiday, that's right*'. These views and practices are very similar to those of the other participants in this study.

They go further in the examination of where the holiday home sits in their lives in general, and Jacinta muses: *'I don't know whether, I'm just teasing out, I don't know about the holiday*

aspect, whether I would call it a holiday. I think it has become part of our lives, rather than say “we are going on our holidays”, I think this is all new, and there is a new way of thinking of things...I don’t necessarily think of it as a holiday, “I’m on my holidays””. James interposes, ‘It is our place of relaxation I suppose’. Jacinta continues, *I think it is part of my life now, my lifestyle, in that I have my walk, and we have our life at home, and we have, we have here, and it is part of our lifestyle*. Second home purchase affirms what could be termed a longer term lifestyle choice (Buller and Hoggart, 1994) and McIntyre *et al* (2006) elaborate, commenting ‘...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’ (p.127). There is certainly some overlapping of everyday lifestyle and holiday lifestyle worlds, with perhaps relaxation being the commonality between the two. Jacinta and James are still trying to position their homes and their holidays in some meaningful way. It is as if since they acquired their holiday home they need to reorganise their thinking about what is holiday and what is everyday; the notion of lifestyle is instrumental here.

Attachment to Holiday Home

Jacinta and James are very attached to their primary home, as illustrated here: *‘And we’re very involved in the community at home, so you know we might, James is involved in the GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association), I’m involved in the Arts, and the Festival there, and in other things, so there might be a meeting, or there might be something, or the children might be coming home...Or, generally sometimes, maybe, “I’m ready to go home”, it might be as simple as that, I’m ready to go home now’...* *‘it is where we brought the kids up, we are rooted in the community’* but they have also formed an attachment to their holiday home. They know people to say hello to in the village, they buy the local newsletter to keep up with current events, they know the local characters; they do regard the holiday home as a home. That said, they do acknowledge the difference between primary and holiday homes, *‘We wouldn’t really be part of the community’* in Fethard. They say they would never rent it out, *‘...because I just like it, that sense of being ours...it is an extension of our home...that’s how we see it...we really have a relationship with it...our spirit is in the place’*. This echoes the views of phase one participants .

The longest continuous period of time that they have spent in their holiday home is ten days: *'I mean we wouldn't spend any longer, we haven't been spending any longer than say ten days, would be the longest and then we would head back home, and in another week or ten days, and then maybe come back down again'*. The very wet weather during the past two summers has influenced the length of time they have spent on individual visits to the holiday home, *'We wouldn't have gone for a protracted length of time'*. However, they are currently installing central heating with the specific idea of spending more time in the Fethard home during the winter months.

Talking specifically about what they like about Fethard-on-Sea the couple provide some interesting insight: *'What I like about this place, it's very quiet, and its not honky tonky...it's underdeveloped...I'd say it's what West Cork was like, you know, 30 years ago...I mean it has that feeling, that you don't get too many places, it's quiet, yet you are aware that life is going on in there, somewhere, with people...But you've got the little hotel there, and you've got the couple of pubs, and I notice a sort of coffee shop. So it is enough too, to fulfil your needs, but now this has quietened down, I noticed it even this morning, the busiest time of the year would be the last week of July, the first two weeks in August'*.

In describing how they have passed time during a particular visit to their holiday home Jacinta and James exhibit proprietary feelings and an ability to significantly reflect on their experiences:

Jacinta: I wonder how our pigeon is, the pigeon who was sitting there. Remember yesterday that pigeon, he or she was sitting there on the fence, just under the hedge.

James: Yes sat there for ages.

Jacinta: For about half an hour it reminded me of an old woman looking out over a half door.

James: Yes it was just sitting there and thinking.

On a more fundamental level they feel that they are enjoying something very special because of the location of Hook Head on the periphery of a country, of a continent: *'... down here and its lovely and the people are extremely nice, but I think it is even different from other parts of Wexford. You must remember that it is out on the periphery, it's west Wexford, cut off!... It is*

nearly in America you know'. There is a feeling, as with other participants, that attachment grows the longer they experience the holiday home.

The Future

Thinking towards the future, both Jacinta and James are definite that they would not retire to their holiday home; *'Because of, we know where we stand at home, well first of all I am a local at home, so even, I think when you're local, you don't even feel you need to go out, do you know what I mean?...if there was anything on you just got up and went to it, because that is where I lived all of my life, and I am at home'*. These views are consistent with those of other holiday home owners both in this study and in the literature (cf Chaplin, 2000), they wish to maintain connection with the primary home and to enjoy the alterity of places. They talk of the possible future use of the home by their children, and perhaps even grandchildren, *'And like Edward will use it more, he's married now, so maybe they'll go down there...I imagine if they had children it would be great for a week or two, you know'*. There is a family continuity here in the second home; *'The second home provides for family togetherness of a different kind from that available in the city'* (Jaakson, 1986, p.379). Jacinta and James enjoy time together with their family that is different to their interaction in their primary home in their home town. Selwood and Tonts (2006, p.175) found that the holiday home was *'a source of collective memories of time spent with family and friends'*, for many home owners, they are an integral part of the second home experience.

In conclusion then, the holiday home experience is encapsulated by James and Jacinta as offering a welcome lifestyle difference, *'It's a different lifestyle really down here, its totally different really, that sense of, out in the air, and it's more casual'*. A diary entry very clearly describes their enjoyment:

Jacinta: It's a lovely morning this morning, the last day of the holiday really. What did you like best now about the holiday this time?

James: Well I though it was very, very relaxing. We had some lovely walks on the beach and I think enjoyed it immensely just watching the waves like last night when we went for our walk at around I suppose it was 7 o'clock, The tide was in and the sea was very, very gentle. All very, very peaceful. There was hardly a sound out. You could just hear the waves coming in

there to the beach and we were watching the birds, I guess the gannets diving for fish. It was the most tranquil scene, very uplifting and lovely for recharging the batteries.

They are very happy with their purchase and remind themselves of their good fortune on every trip to the holiday home, *'...so it is just lovely just that sense of arriving down there, and walking, the first walk on the beach, and you just feel, we always say "oh God, we've done the right thing"'*.

6.4 Freda's Story

Freda (62) is a housewife with three grown up children who live away from home, and several grandchildren. Her husband, a sociologist with a major state body, is preparing to retire during the next few years. Her second home, which she and her husband have jointly owned with her daughter and son-in-law for the last seven years is located in Kilmuckridge, Co. Wexford and is a converted, now three bedroom, farm labourer's cottage. The house is located approximately one hour and 40 minutes drive away from her and her daughter's primary homes in south county Dublin. The holiday home has the aspect of a country cottage situated in rolling fields not far from the coast. Freda was introduced to me by her daughter, a personal friend of mine. She was somewhat reserved to begin with but we soon built a rapport. She was quite confident in her views and her specific perspective was most helpful in gaining an insight into the lived experience of the second homeowner.

House Acquisition

Freda had a childhood history of camping in the Irish countryside and enjoying a family holiday home on the north Antrim coast. During the early years of bringing up her family she and her husband acquired a mobile home on the south east coast less than an hour from their Dublin home. This is a similar second home history to that reported by Francis and Peter in phase one. Freda and her husband have always wanted to own something more substantial, *'...and then we kind of felt, when the children got grown up, that we wanted something a bit more solid'*. Through the years of owning the mobile home, she and her husband kept an eye on properties, *'...we never actually went to see properties, we'd look at properties...or you'd look in estate agent's windows'*. Then her daughter said that she and her husband would be interested in joint ownership of a property and this gave the project an expanded budget. They

started looking around, '*...but very often properties would go too high, or else be sold before we actually got around to looking*'. One day she came down with a friend of hers to view three properties. This particular property was in a very dilapidated state but '*...we felt the location was good, and had good potential...you could see the structure of what you could do with it*'. The rest of the family agreed, it was this potential for development that was the deciding factor in the purchase of the house and confident that they could realise this potential, the family went ahead and acquired the house without involving surveyors; '*...we knew what we wanted it for, so we weren't into surveyors and all that, we didn't bother, we decided to take it as it was*'. She remarks that nowadays many people want 'holiday houses like their homes' but her family were hoping for '*something rather better than a shack*'. Basic living, or simpler living, was expected by the family, a view consistent with that described by Williams and Van Patten (2006), Halseth and Rosenberg (1995), Jaakson (1986), among others. This ability to move between the complex primary home and the simpler holiday home 'affirms their cosmopolitan flexibility' (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999, p.227) and their status as part of a cosmopolitan elite (Gustafson, 2006,p.24).

The two couples involved in this purchase (Freda and her husband and her daughter and son-in-law) were able to agree their criteria for purchase, they then found themselves in the position of being able to enjoy extended family communitas similar to that in Western Australian resorts as described by Selwood and Tonts (2006). Also important to all parties was privacy, '*what I like about it was the fact that it had a site, which meant that you didn't have neighbours, which, I wanted to get away from...I mean certainly I didn't want to live in a housing estate, even if it was a holiday housing estate*'. Another important criterion easily satisfied by the location of the house was its easy access from the primary home so that 'working husbands' could join the family at weekends. The proximity to the beach and the country views from the back of the house were also very attractive features in helping to make the decision to purchase. Freda does note that '*...a lot of people will say, "why did you buy a house in Ireland?"*' For her, like Jacinta, 'access for use' is a major issue and she can appreciate the advantage of a more reliable climate but not having to deal with the hassle of airports more than compensates for this.

Maintenance and Development of the Holiday Home

Freda's holiday home does require some maintenance and they have a local man who comes in to cut the grass, '*...before we got him, it used to take all weekend really to cut the grass, the site is fairly big*'. This same person has also undertaken some of the heavier work such as laying floor underlay but most of the other work, including painting, has been carried out by the family themselves. They have become quite expert DIY enthusiasts; '*So every year we would have a little project*'. This has helped them undertake larger development projects such as installing a new kitchen. Additionally, they have purchased a 'Seomra' or wooden frame room that was added onto the house and provides them with a third bedroom. Jaakson (1986), Jarlöv (1999) and Jansson and Müller (2004) all concur with the view that for many homeowners, the holiday home becomes a project, something with which they can busy themselves.

Freda reflects on the fact that when purchased the cottage had been a farm labourer's home for a family of five children, so she is somewhat bemused that her family require a significantly extended property just as a holiday home, '*It's amazing, really. So it makes us think about what we need in order to have holidays in!*' Freda does recognize that her family are privileged and part of what Jaakson (1986, p.383) terms 'an elite' who are privilege aware. Chaplin (2000, p.206) found that her study participants who had second homes in France had an 'embarrassed awareness' of the privilege of having a second home. The only disadvantage Freda perceives in the second home owning experience is the maintenance of two homes. However, 'maintenance of the second home also acquires recreation-like attributes' (Jaakson, 1986, p.381) and, as we saw earlier, several participants in phase one remarked that activities that are 'work at home' are more enjoyable in the second home.

Family Life in the Holiday Home

Freda feels the central purpose of having the holiday home is that it affords the three generations of the family the opportunity to spend time together in a relaxed environment; '*...I wanted to have it so that I could have the grandchildren. And be able to be part of their lives, in a relaxed way...And we're all, Omar as well, is big into the grandchildren, so we're all very relaxed around them, and our days here would be really more, very child oriented, what the kids like to do, mostly, is what we do*'. She is particularly taken with the idea that everyone is equal in the holiday home; '*...everyone is equal and it doesn't make any difference what age*

you are', nobody has to entertain anyone else. Her son, grandson and other daughter come to spend time in the second home, *'...and I really just treasure those moments, when all of us are together, and, at home like, life is busy'*. Selwood and Tonts (2006, p.174) present interesting accounts of 'the importance of these places across generations of family and friends'; increased *communitas* with family and the opportunity for 'intergenerational gathering' are often mentioned as reasons for investing in a second home (Kaltenborn (1998), Nordin (1993), Jaakson (1986)). Freda acknowledges the influence that the mobile home experience has had on her daughter's feelings about having a holiday home, *'...Alice was very keen, now probably more so than he, than Rob would have been, because she'd experienced all her childhood, and both of them had the idea that if they had family they would like to have a similar 'get away' as what Alice had growing up'*. Talking about her own extended family holiday home and camping experience, Freda says, *'I had internal experience of it as a child'* echoing Marese and Bridget in phase one of this study who both remarked upon their own childhood second home experience influencing their current adult experience of second home living.

Freda goes on to discuss developing roles: *'And the other thing that I think, I have found, was that when we started off in the beginning, I still would have been, probably in a way, the main home-maker, still, within the house, but now as Alice has children, and whatever, now I can feel it all changing, and now I would probably be the person who would do most of the cleaning, and Omar and myself would do most of the maintenance...And Alice would do most of the organising about food, and stuff like that, and then Rob would help with the maintenance'*. In the holiday home Freda is able to relax a little from her main homemaking role as played out in the primary home, *'...so I think, I would probably, of the group of us that are mostly in the house, I would be the one who would be the most fussy, wanting to have, to clean up, and that sort of thing, so in that sense...but I would be way more fussier at home...I am more relaxed here [in the second home]'*. Freda can reflect on how she plays a different role, or at least has a different attitude, in the second home.

Contrast and Similarities of Holiday Home Life with Everyday Home Life

Family is the central feature of Freda's everyday home life and holiday home life. Her schedule revolves around family activities, and in the holiday home, particularly around the children's activities. She contends that life is different in the holiday home, *'...it is more relaxed and we take every day as it comes, and although we do make plans, they're not too*

rigid'. Jansson and Müller's (2004) study found that 20% of participants gave 'having a place just to relax' as a reason for acquiring a second home, as Jaakson summed up, it, 'seems that the cottage permits a simpler life' (1986, p.376). The lack of structure in the second home is something commented upon by other participants in both phases one and two. Activities are approached in a different way and they are different than those pursued in the primary home '*...I mean the last few days when Richard was down with his son, it was just lovely to be able to all relax, and not worry too much about food, have a barbeque, throw it on, went down to the beach and swim, and then the girls, we'd take them, they all go pony riding locally, and we try to keep those things, that aren't Dublin things, they're things that we do when we're here*'.



Plate 12a: Family Activities



Plate 12b: Family Activities



Plate 13: Beach Towels, County Wexford

At home she is a keen gardener and did have extensive plans for her second home garden, *'...but all those plans have gone now, because I found it was too much work...but we have planted a tree for every child when it was born, so now they have their own tree'*. She keeps window boxes, and sometimes grows lettuce and tomatoes, *'But we're not pressurised about it, some years we do it and some years we don't'*. Life is different in the second home and yet it is often an escape for the home, allowing more time for engaging in activities such as home-making and home-building in which the participant is particularly interested (Chaplin, 2000). Chaplin actually identified a group in her study she termed 'the relaxers' who 'are primarily motivated by peace and quiet' (p.216).

Freda does consider herself to be on holiday in the holiday home; there is more time in the holiday home to do the things she enjoys, for example reading, walking, swimming or just sitting in the sun; *'...we try not to use the telly so much, so we would tend to read, and we'd go out into the garden now, and just take up a book, and read'*. Currently the house is used in spring, summer and autumn and perhaps for a day trip from November to February, *'...once we are back home it is hard to make time to come down...it just depends on what is happening in our lives really'*. Again, weather does interfere with use of the holiday home, *'...the weather wasn't very good, and so that kind of deterred us from spending as much time as we normally would, but I mean I had a full fortnight in one go, and then sort of backwards and forwards for another probably week or two, yeah'*. However, once they are at the holiday home, as was the case with Yvette, the weather does not stop them doing the things they want

to do, *'Yeah. But this is where we show now, that, it doesn't matter what the weather is like, if we decide on a barbeque, we're going to have the barbeque anyway'*.



Plate 14: Barbecuing in the rain, County Wexford

She is happy for other 'non-owner' members of the family to use the property, she was really happy just to see it being used, *' Oh yeah, yeah, well I think it's a shame to have it, and for it not to be used, I mean...Well it isn't practical, exactly, and as well as that too, it's nice for everyone to have the chance of a little place where you can go to, that doesn't require any organisation, or any money, you know'*.

As they arrive at the holiday home, she reports, *'Everything in the house looks good and we were all so excited, once again we are here nice and relaxed'*; it is something that has been anticipated. Other participants have spoken of this anticipation factor. While the transition between primary home and secondary home is easy, it does require some effort:

'It isn't no, no it's definitely not a difficult transition. I'll tell you what the hardest possibly is, a little bit of sort of getting home, you get yourself unpacked, and whatever, and then if you're, particularly if you are doing it a lot, then you get home, and you're saying to yourself, "oh flip, like, I've to pack up again to come". But once you're in the routine of doing it. We tend to keep all the bedware and everything here, so we don't really have to get too involved in all that. But still there is a little bit of that...'

When contemplating life in the primary home while in the secondary home, Freda remarks, ‘...yes, sometimes when I’m here, I just don’t want it to end, because I know when I go home, like, it’s a different type of life, so yeah, I think a lot of the time I would say, and I would usually be here saying to myself “oh I’ll be back down next weekend”’. Cohen and Taylor (1992) conclude that holidays are excursions from the domain of ‘paramount reality’. Freda is practiced in the transcendence from primary home life (paramount reality) to holiday home life and she finds devices for making the transition less daunting. On a more basic note, while discussing differences between the primary and secondary homes Freda muses:

‘...we don’t have a washing machine there (in the holiday home), and that might be, but then on the other hand sometimes I think, well that could be a hassle as well. And often we laugh actually because at any one time there are probably more people eating there, and we often say, “ this is where we really need a dishwasher”, ‘...so those are the little, little things or big things, but then there are more hands to do the work as well’.

Freda echoes Jacinta’s thoughts that having labour saving devices in the holiday home may actually create work, or even foster the routines of the primary home. Some little rituals have been developed by the family, for example ‘*the tradition*’ of the little girls clambering up on the gate pillars to wave goodbye to visitors.



Plate 15: The “Good-bye” Ritual, County Wexford

The second home has thrown up some issues of self concept for Freda. She has found that she likes ‘...my own little space...And I’m quite, I’m surprised really, like I’ve learned about

myself as well, I like the idea to leave it the way I leave it, and to come back and find it like that...And I wouldn't have thought I'd be like that, but I am a bit like that'. The second home has highlighted an aspect of her personality that she really had not considered before. Others in the family remark that Freda has become more relaxed in the second home than she was when they first acquired it: *'...I think in the beginning I kept feeling that I should all the time tidy up, in a way that now I wouldn't, because, now I'd say it's a vicious circle...there's no point in tidying up so I'd be inclined not to...probably by nature I'm a bit of a fusser really*'. She concludes, *'yeah, I would say that things that would maybe annoy me, in my own home, or in our permanent home, in the holiday home go over me, I don't really care about that, that much, you know...in a nutshell, I wouldn't be as fussy there, as I might be at home*'. Williams and Van Patten (2006) posit that *'...the stories people tell about cottage life suggest 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*'. Certainly, Freda has a perception of herself as being different but not so different in her holiday home.

Other Activities while in the Second Home

While most of her time is spent with her daughter and grandchildren in the holiday home, there are occasions where she and her husband enjoy it on their own for up to a week at a time *'just totally on our own*'. They use the holiday home as a base for touring and enjoying local restaurants, *'...we went over to Kilkenny, and then we'd go down to Hook Head, and walk a lot*'. Looking towards the future, *'Oh my hope would be that we would use it, as much, or more, and as a couple, myself and my husband, as I look forward and I think too, when he's going to retire, possibly in the next three or four years, then I would view that we would use it, a good bit off-season...'*. These activities are very similar to those enjoyed by other participants.

Freda has little interaction with her neighbours at the holiday home, *'we don't go to church and we are not pubby people*'. She did interact with the community a little when a new wind power development was being considered which is visible from her home but even then she felt that because they were second home owners, and conservationists (who would be in favour of alternative power), *'we really didn't have much say*'. There is some evidence that she has formed an attachment to the local community in the remark *'...we would try to shop*

*locally, just I think it's nice to support the local shop'. Caretaking during the family's absence is provided by the person who cuts the grass and by a neighbouring farmer, '...in an emergency or that, they would sort of sort it out for you, until you got there'. She really appreciates being able to rely on them and always makes the effort to get in touch with them at Christmas. The handyman also provides access to a group of specialists such as plumbers. In the future Freda would like to be a little more part of the community. McIntyre *et al* (2006) provide discussion of second home owner interaction with local communities in both Australia and the US and Chaplin (2000) contends that desire to interact varies by participant. This seems to be the case in my study where there is some evidence of interaction with locals although the overwhelming focus for most appears to be on trying to escape and make time for family.*



Plate 16: The Wind Farm, County Wexford

In common with other study participants, Freda does take regular holidays abroad with her husband. Generally they go to the sun, which is in short supply in Ireland, or to a city to view the art galleries. She likes to be close to the sea on these trips, something in common with her second home. In the context of the second home she considers *'we're in the happy position, this actually is a real luxury, because it is an extra place to be'*; other than being in the primary home or being abroad on holiday. There is an appreciation that she is privileged and

Freda concludes, *'It has proved a great bonus to all our lives and after a lot of work it is now very comfortable if basic...I just love my holiday house. I love it because I can spend time there relaxing with my children, my grandchildren and have friends there. Wow it's just great!'*

6.5 Joanne's Story

Joanne is a lecturer in hospitality related subjects at a university level institution in Dublin, she is also currently pursuing PhD studies. She is in her early fifties, lives alone and has a wide social circle of family and friends. Originally she comes from a farming background, growing up close to a provincial town.

She enjoys several homes, both in Ireland and in continental Europe, all of which she has acquired as investments. Most of the houses are rented out on a regular basis, though she does use all of them to some degree. The exception is the property that she refers to as her second home, in Rosslare, Co. Wexford, and which she uses on a relatively frequent basis. This three bedroom town house is located in a new development of approximately 60 homes which range in size from two bedroom apartments to five bedroom detached houses. The development is located on the outskirts of the holiday resort village of Rosslare and seven kilometres from the Europort linking Ireland to France and to southwest Wales. Rosslare is famous for its long Blue Flag beach and its spa hotel and offers a full range of holiday and, given its proximity to Wexford town, cultural activities. Her primary home is a two bedroom town house located in a rapidly growing suburb of Dublin less than ten kilometres from the city.

I would consider Joanne to be one of my 'less reflective' participants. She is ill at ease in discussion of her reflections of her experiences as a second homeowner. As she says herself 'I am not sure why you are asking me these things'. At times she appears to be unable, or unwilling, to reflect very deeply on the experience, 'Yeah, like I'd probably be the type that likes fairly clear cut structured questions, I'd probably find this thought process or idea thing, I'm, it's not me'. Despite being on friendly terms with her, I would wonder if my pre-existing relationship was detrimental to the process of gathering information from her. She may have been more comfortable supplying information to someone she does not know.

Mobility and Travel Experience

Joanne is a well travelled individual. She has managed to combine work projects abroad with significant travel. In latter years she has acquired properties abroad and while these are primarily investments, she does use them for holidays. This makes her somewhat different to other participants who would view 'the investment factor' as being secondary to the opportunity to enjoy an alternative way of life. Her purchase of properties abroad is very much in keeping with the growth in the number of Irish people owning properties abroad (known to have increased three-fold since 2000 (CSO, 2004)). As Jaakson (1986) concludes, the investment attraction of a second home property can vary according to the tax regime in place in a particular country.

Joanne is very mobile, flitting up and down with ease between her 'primary' second home in Rosslare and her primary home on the outskirts of Dublin. She enjoys travel and likes going to new places to learn new things, she believes this is essential to her work as a lecturer: *'I do think it is an education and I do think it's, you know I think it is important to see other parts of the world and I suppose the sector that I am in, the hospitality sector, I have done a lot of travel because you'd be going to check out other operations...'*. She is conscious of the close link between travel and the re-creation of self (McIntyre *et al*, 2006, p.125). She goes on annual skiing holidays and has built up some expertise in this activity. She looks for some novelty in her skiing vacations, speaking of her most recent skiing holiday she says: *'It was new, it was back to Austria. I ski a lot in Austria but it was a different resort, it was a resort I hadn't been in Austria before. But I would, I would, I'd say I've probably done most of the resorts now in Austria, it was one I hadn't done, so that's why I went to that one'*. Her vacations are centred on spending time with family and friends. For instance describing a day at her holiday home, *'Spent some quality time with the family yesterday, had BBQ, walks, beach, that sort of thing. So I've just had a nice day and again something that can be done in Wexford that probably isn't done as much in Dublin'*. While much of her travelling is planned in advance around the college year, there is some spontaneity in her travelling behaviour as evidenced by her discussion of a recent trip to a wedding on the Amalfi Coast, *'...so the opportunity to go to the Amalfi Coast was there and I hadn't been there before so I said hey, might as well...'*.

She attributes her flexibility to travel to not having children: *'And it is easy when you don't have a family to traipse behind you and you don't have to worry about that, in fairness it is. I mean someone with family and kids they'd have to, you know they'd have to be much more regimented. They can't go as many places I'm sure, and they can't just take off and say "ah sure, I'll be down tomorrow, you can't really do that when you have other commitments, and I suppose I'm probably lucky in the sense that I don't have that and I can just take off when I like, within reason of course'*. She has the financial resources, the family circumstances and the perspective to be cosmopolitan in her travel habits; she is eager for novelty and does not especially seek the authentic, she believes that 'to be there is what (was) crucial in most tourism' (Urry, 2001), she is the post-tourist.

Her Rosslare holiday home is very accessible. She talks of minimising the journey by planning her travel: *'Like I've come out a few times from work at about eight o'clock and I've had the bags packed and I've headed straight down at eight...You're down by ten, you're in bed by half ten, so hey, you know it's no big deal'*. Joanne seems to be part of a situation in which 'There appears to be a more general 'mobile culture' stemming from 'a compulsion to mobility' (Urry, 2001,p.6) and her mobility makes her home more accessible. This is also the experience of other participants in this study.

House Acquisition

Joanne is 'practised' in the acquisition of holiday properties for investment purposes. She appears to have a good overview of trends and issues in various Eastern and Western European countries. She purchased her holiday home in Rosslare off the plans: *'We were just looking around and just driving around and saw a sign for sale and looked and it was nearly, the development was nearly complete when we got it and went from the plans and said yeah...'*. While she would appear to have a clearly thought out investment purpose to her acquisition, in common with other participants, there does seem to be some aleatory element to the purchase. Her satisfaction with her purchase had resulted in her encouraging her brother and two sets of friends to acquire properties in the same development. This has led to her adding to her own network of friends in the area. This echoes Selwood and Tonts' (2006) discussion of how a community of related and friendship based second homeowners evolved in the Peaceful Bay area of Western Australia.

Contrast and Similarities of Holiday Home Life with Everyday Home Life

Joanne works in both her primary and secondary homes. Her Dublin home is the base from which she undertakes her lecturing job and her Rosslare home is used exclusively to work on her PhD. She feels that her holiday home affords her the peace and quiet and absence of distractions she needs for her research work, something that is not available in her primary home. In Rosslare, she has set up a nice routine of working, exercising and meeting with friends and family. Her Dublin primary home experience is more rushed and in Wexford: *I am working to my own schedule...And I'm working at my own pace which is different to being on deadlines and being work, work. It is different in that point of view. You are working to a schedule and if something comes up or the sun shines or someone rings and says "do you want to go for a walk", you can say "yeah", whereas here [Dublin] you can't do that. You are work, work. So there is that little bit of flexibility in lifestyle down there, that's the way I'd look at it'*. She goes so far as to say that she believes that owning her home in Wexford has had a significant impact on her life, *'I just feel more relaxed in everything I'm doing maybe'...It just feels like it's getting away from living and working in Dublin'*. Joanne finds herself in a similar situation to other participants who have remarked that, activities that seem like work in the primary home, are enjoyed more in the holiday home. Additionally, the proximity of her second home to her primary home facilitates her working life (Stewart and Stynes, 2006, p.188). It appears then that Joanne uses her holiday home in a way that is different to that of many second home owners for whom the second home is an escape from work.



Plate 17: Work Area, Rosslare

She acknowledges that once she has finished the PhD she may start to become involved in other activities in Rosslare, to perhaps use the house for different purposes:

'And I suppose then I'll probably invite more friends down, I'm reluctant to do it at the minute because I'm trying to get work done, and I probably would have more barbeques and more people in and maybe use it as a more social activity. I've noticed my brother and his wife have one down here as well and they're coming down much more often now, but they're doing a lot of family stuff, and that's where I would see family and friends then, now I could have family and friends down and maybe do the walking, more golf, get fit, those are the things I need to do anyway'.

She is fully aware of the range of activities available, *'Well again there's things for people to do, you can join the sailing club, you can join the aqua clubs, you can join what do you call it? Canoeing, all that sort of stuff...'*. At present because of her focus on her studies she really cannot perceive any disadvantages to holiday home life in Rosslare. In terms of entertaining she currently finds that friends tend to stay over: *'Yeah, well they'd be travelling down, people come from Dublin or around the rest of the country there's no point in them, you know, they*

come down for dinner and a few glasses of wine they stay. Whereas in Dublin people drop in or I go out more'. There is a difference in the way she entertains depending upon whether she is in Dublin or in Rosslare. This experience is consistent with that of some of my other participants (e.g. Freda).

She enjoys the 'casualness' of life in Rosslare: *'...just walking down the village, popped into the coffee shop and met the hairdresser and made an appointment for that afternoon. It is those types of things that make life easy down here, just pop in and pop out and get things organised'. She explains further: 'Well people know each other, that's good, probably for me living in a suburb of Dublin where nobody knows anyone or nobody really cares, what's more. To be able to walk down the village and people say hello to you and to be able to do that. Now maybe I came from somewhere like that, maybe I'd get fed up of that, everyone knowing my business. However, I can flit in and flit out which suits me. But yeah it is nice to be able to do that and it is nice to be able to walk down and say hello to people and that kind of thing'. Even work, while productive, is more relaxed: 'Just spent the afternoon working outside in the sun and trying to get a bit of my studies done, I think I would say I probably got more sun than studies but then that's sort of the life down here, you just take it as it comes and enjoy it when it's there'. There is a casualness here and a lack of structure about life in the second home. As remarked by other participants, 'you wake up without a plan' so that 'anything can happen'. There are signs here of a kind of cosmopolitan casualness about life in the holiday home and there are echoes of 'Dominant cosmopolitan ideals of nomadic mobility and cultural adaptability' (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, p.214).*

Another difference between her primary and holiday homes is Joanne's perception of her personal security. She explains that in Dublin she goes everywhere by car, that she would not feel safe walking around her suburban town after dark. In contrast to this is her experience in her Rosslare holiday home where she would not put on the house alarm when going for a walk and feels perfectly safe walking around after dark. *'Well I do, I definitely feel safer here. I would leave my windows open here and not worry, now touch wood that will continue. I do have friends who say "look, no matter where you are you lock up everything", but I do feel safer here, I've no problem walking up and down to the village here'.*

In addition to personal security, traffic is different between the primary and second homes and the amount of traffic in Dublin does not encourage walking, it also means that it takes longer to get everywhere, *'It's just to get from A to B is just trauma'*. The ease with which she can travel around Rosslare and its environs is much appreciated by Joanne: *'Spent some time with friends for dinner, just went up took a drive to Enniscorthy to a new restaurant that I haven't tried before and I had a nice evening there. Interesting that, you know, even though it was half an hour's drive, it was an easy drive, there were no major hassles, no traffic hassles, which made it very nice and just something that probably is noticeable down here, people will drive more to places and they don't mind drives if they are hassle free or if there's no traffic jams...'*. These feelings are very similar to those of other participants in this study who mention both traffic and security as being less problematic in the second home.

Both of Joanne's homes are similar in terms of décor. Many of the items in the holiday home have come from the primary home and reflect Joanne's practical inclinations: *'Well I suppose why they look the same is probably I've gone for the cheap and cheerful paint and then it's furniture and fittings that maybe I've finished in one house but weren't fit to be thrown out but they were good enough to be used again, got moved to the next one so that's why they generally end up looking pretty much the same because everything is matching from one to the other...the holiday home gets the cast offs'*. Her use of neutral colours in wall and floor coverings facilitates moving the items between homes and this again echoes other participants remarks on the use of hand-me-downs from the primary to the second home.

Examination of Joanne's primary home life and holiday home life reveal similarities in terms of social life. In both locations she is less than five minutes walk away from shops, restaurants and pubs. She enjoys going out to restaurants and indulging her interest in wine in both locations. Again, her work interests encourage this. She likes the flexibility of staying in one of her properties rather than in a hotel: *'...whereas if you go to what's your own home, you can come and go as you please. You don't make as many plans to do things...You know you take each day as it comes and if the weather's good, well then you'll sit out in the sun'*. Both her primary and secondary homes are easy to maintain; her primary home requires no garden maintenance and has one common area that is maintained by a landscaping company. Talking about her holiday home, *'...the yard is compact, it's got slabbing so there's no grass garden, it's got very little, very low maintenance, now that again is part and parcel of choice*

because I'm not down all the time you don't want a garden growing wild'. Gardening and intensive maintenance are not of interest to her in either home. Joanne also confirmed that she uses the services of a professional cleaner in both homes; cleanliness, heat and comfortable beds are very important regardless of which home she is in, additionally the space available in both homes allows her to compartmentalise her activities and keep everything neat, she declares, *'I am not a clutter person'*.

It is notable also that Joanne does not have any interest in taking part in community activities in either Dublin or Rosslare. She is involved with a residents association in Dublin because she sees it as necessary to protect her property investment. It appears that this type of involvement, or interaction, is not perceived by her to be part of her self concept, *'...probably it's not something I've ever done...Mrs Busy trying to change the community, no, it's not me'*. Despite this, as her earlier comments indicated, Joanne is appreciative of being able to 'flit in and out' of the community without attracting invasive attention.

Trying to discuss the meaning of home with Joanne was difficult, it involved perhaps explaining emotions and attachments, perhaps things she was unwilling to explore. She regards her Dublin house as home insofar as she needs a place to live while in Dublin. She considers her holiday home in Rosslare home because *'...well it's my house'*. It is interesting that she would consider renting either her Dublin or Rosslare homes, *'You see behind it all I would be looking very much at the investment side of things, and something has to bring in money'*; her property acquisitions are driven primarily by investment potential. During our second interview she reiterates this view, *'But it's a good investment, definitely it has gone up in price which was the main purpose of it'*. She views her homes as providing future financial security, *'And it is definitely, it gives me collateral and gives me bargaining power with the banks...'*. She can flit between homes with ease, *'...the house in France or Spain I treat it like my home as well'*. It is hard to discern attachment or emotion with regard to either home. When considering whether or not she thinks about her holiday home when she is away from it, she remarks, *'No, not really, I don't sort of think about and say I wish I was down there, no not at all'*. With regard to nostalgia for the holiday home, she responds, *'No, not at all, not at all...No I'm too busy'*. The only note of slight sentimentality, or attachment, she exhibits is in a diary note, *'OK, this is what Wexford means to me, walking on the beach just to the sound of the waves'* [recorded sound of waves in the background]. However, she does greatly

appreciate her holiday home: *'But you know to have a holiday home I think is a luxury. I think it's a luxury and I think I'm very lucky. I don't see it as a, you know a necessity like a television or a car. I feel very, very lucky and to me it's an investment in my pension.* She echoes the feelings of other participants who appreciate the 'privilege' of owning a second home.

In conclusion, while it has been difficult to get Joanne to reflect, cognisance must be taken of her final diary entry: *'Just back from a lovely walk on the beach and just been listening to the news and hearing about the traffic snarl-ups in Dublin and around the country, and it's if down here is sort of isolated from all that, it is as if it's not part of the real world and I think that's what I like about Wexford'*. Despite her proclaimed lack of nostalgia for her holiday home she does feel it is a place apart from her normal workaday world. However, this 'feeling' towards her holiday home appears to be at least as much of a reflection of what she wishes to avoid in her primary home (traffic, security issues) as it does of the advantages of being in the holiday home (peace, walks, time with family). There is the possibility of escape in the second home (Williams and Van Patten, 2006; Chaplin, 2000).



Plate 18: Outdoor Entertaining, Rosslare



Plate 19a: Interior Décor, Rosslare



Plate 19b: Interior Décor, Rosslare



Plate 20: Heading to the Beach, Rosslare



Plate 21: Rosslare Beach

6.6 Pippa and Angus' Story

Pippa is a 38 year old full time homemaker and mother to three children aged seven and under who worked in advertising until the birth of her third child two years ago. She and her husband Angus (39), who is self employed in the design sector, live in a semi detached four bedroomed home in suburban south Dublin. Their lives in Dublin are busy and full of child centred activity. Prior to having children they travelled extensively throughout the world, 'we absolutely adore travelling'. However, after a particularly fraught flight with three young children during the last year they are happy to confine their mobility to journeys up and down to their second home.

Their holiday home, for which they searched for several years, is located on a country road approach to the Hook Head Lighthouse in Co. Wexford, about two hours drive from their primary home. When I first met with them they were just three short months in ownership of their country property. Again, their focus in the second home is very much their children's activities. Pippa provided most of the diary and the photographs and was a willing contributor to this study, in fact, she seemed to welcome the project as an opportunity to reflect on her life. Angus contributed to all parts of the project except for the final interview.

House Acquisition

Pippa and Angus spent a long time, almost ten years, looking for the property that they were eventually successful in acquiring. They had numerous disappointments along the way, losing properties for a variety of reasons including too high a price, planning difficulties, and probate issues. They found the process 'extremely frustrating': *'All the way through, yes, there seemed to be hiccups. They were in a really big hurry to sign, and get everything sorted, and we kind of said "well, we're ready" and they were going "oh, you know" and they started stalling a bit, and they weren't ready, and we were going on holidays, and anyway it all happened in the last minute'*. Their acquisition experience was substantially more fraught, and longer, than that of the other participants in this study, only Philip in phase one and Freda in phase two had an extended acquisition phase but neither of these was comparable to the experience of Pippa and Angus.

Their tenacity in pursuing a property in their desired area, a mark of their commitment, was substantially influenced by Angus' childhood and family experience of owning a second home in the nearby countryside. He 'simply loved it' and wanted his children to have the same lifestyle experience: *'Oh fantastic, and that's the reason we wanted to buy down here, because the best days of my life, were spent down here, and it's just superb'*. Freda in phase two and several participants from phase one remark on their historical (family) experiences of second home owning. These social and family ties link strongly with a local 'sense of place' (Selwood and Tonts, 2006, p.174) and there is a family continuity in the second home that is not available in primary home (Jaakson, 1986, p.380). While his mother still owns the holiday house in the area that Angus lived in as a child and he and his family have enjoyed visiting there over the years, they are very happy now to have their 'own space', *'...it's always been my parents' house, and then my sister and her family would come down, my brother he'd come down with his, and it would just be too crowded, so we wanted a place of our own'*, this was a major motivation in pursuing the purchase of a holiday home. Pippa confirms this and shows her attachment to her new holiday home, *'...and it's just nice to have our own space now, and this is now ours, you know for ever'*. Paul in phase two and several of the phase one participants discuss the pleasure of the privacy of having their own home in their holiday home location. Additionally, escape from suburbia to a place of greater privacy is a draw towards the second home. Again perhaps indicative of their attachment to their holiday home, Angus and Pippa say it is not their intention to rent it out, they are very definite that this property is a home. They explain that *'...this place is bought as they say, with the heart and not with the head'* and that the primary purpose was never the financial investment. In the end, their purchase of Poppy Cottage, a 40 year old three bed roomed labourer's cottage, went ahead relatively quickly with some delays but eventual success.

Discussing how often they are likely to use the holiday home they talk about coming down for a few days after Christmas and over New Year, the middle of February for a weekend, St. Patrick's Weekend or school mid-term, Easter and every weekend from then on until the school holidays when Pippa would move down with the children and Angus would come for long weekends working in the holiday home a day either side of the weekend. They do have a routine in terms of when they leave from, and return to, the primary home. They like to leave Dublin as soon as possible after lunch on Friday and be back home no later than eight o'clock on Sunday evenings so as to have time to prepare children for the school week ahead. They

are able to move with ease from home to home, *'Ah it's great, yeah, I mean you can leave some of your stuff down here, hop in the car, and in two hours you're down here, door to door'*. Even with three young children they appear to have worked out a way to avoid dragging a lot of belongings up and down between homes:

'Now, I mean, obviously that box of toys stays, most of the kitchen stuff stays, I can leave bits and pieces in the fridge that aren't going to go off. And after doing it, because I'm doing it for years, going up and down to Angus' Mum's place, that I don't know, if you get a handle on what you need, and then if you forget something, you can get most things or you can manage without it...And you know we brought rain jackets down, and welly boots, and all the bits and pieces you might need down here, so its there, and I kind of have it down to a fairly defined art now, I know exactly what to bring for the weekend, and what to pack in the cool box'.

'Second home travel is highly specific and routinised' (Jaakson, 1986, p.373); it is practically ritual. As evidenced throughout this study, second home owners are practised in mobility and in the transcendence from home life to holiday home life and back again.

Family Life in the Holiday Home

The real value in the experience of second home-owning for Pippa and Angus is the experience that their children can have in the second home, and which is substantially different to life in their primary home. In the second home they 'spend more time with the children', they are able to focus on the children without feeling obliged to undertake household tasks or other primary home responsibilities: *'...but I also think down here, the children get an awful lot more from us, because in Dublin there is always something to do, there's always some other entertainment or diversion that's artificial as they call it, but here, we will spend more time with the kids...if we are doing something, we do it with them'*. There is no television in the holiday home and the children *'never miss it'*.

The opportunity for the children to engage with nature is unparalleled in the holiday home, *'...it's a big garden and it's really quite wild, and it has very mature trees in it and things, so, from the kids point of view, that's superb, there's rabbits out in it...and butterflies galore, it's amazing, a little wildlife sanctuary, and the birdlife down here is super as well'*; the children

play with the butterflies and lady birds and even bring some of the latter back to their Dublin home.



Plate 22: Children enjoying the beach, Hook Head

In the Jansson and Müller (2004) study around a third of participants mention ‘access to nature’ as a reason for having a cottage. Jaakson (1986) maintains that ‘The urban infrastructure, which serves as a protective cocoon from the elements is absent in the second home’; nature is more accessible in the second home (p.376). Several of the other participants in this study are also intrigued by the flora and fauna that are part of their second home living experience.

An insight into how Pippa and Angus and their family spend their days in the holiday home is provided by the following diary entry which is worth quoting at length:

‘...weekend here at Hook Head, it’s Sunday afternoon, it’s about four o’clock. Two of the kids are in the bath, one of them is out running around the garden doing a treasure hunt and just exploring. Found lots of fantastic things this weekend like broken bird shells which they want to take back to school. We found the skeleton of a mouse which is lovely and charming. And we’ve done loads of little jobs around the house, we’ve hung curtains, we’ve hung blinds, finished tiling, finished laying floors. So in between walks on the beach and sitting out and relaxing and doing our best to get some of the September sunshine, we’ve worked quite hard, so we are pleased with that. And it’s just a shame that the weekends are so short, by the time we get down on Friday evening and by four o’clock on a Sunday you are seriously thinking about heading home and really to be home by eight o’clock so the kids can be in bed in time for school the next morning. So the weekends we are feeling are really very short now that

September has come around, because we used to spend either a Friday or a Monday here on top of the regular weekend. But pleased with what we've done, we've had some fantastic weather recently, it's been a glorious weekend. Nearly warm enough to be tempted to get into the water, but there is always such a breeze down at Hook Head but it's a good excuse not to. But we've been paddling and having great fun running around the beaches this weekend.

The sunshine has been great as well for all of the blackberries down here. The last couple of weekends we've managed to pick bags of blackberries so some of them are frozen, some of them were cooked last night with some of the apples from the garden and some are back in the freezer in Dublin. That's again something the kids really love doing, that and watching out for rabbits which seem to be everywhere at the moment. Particularly once we get to about five o'clock and the evening sun comes they can be seen in every field around us. So that always causes great excitement'.



Plate 23: Watching for rabbits at evening-time, Hook Head

As their audio diary progressed over a number of months their increasing attachment to, and enjoyment of, their holiday home is evident:

'In fact last bank holiday weekend when the weather was super again we discovered something new about our garden and that is that it seems to be a bit of a mecca for bird watchers. So there must be some fairly interesting bird life that we haven't quite appreciated yet on our door step...So things are going really well and we are more delighted than ever with our purchase which is great. And I just hope the next 20 years we feel exactly the

same...I know if we got half a chance Angus would stay down there. I think every time he goes down there he almost pinches himself to say 'God this is great, it's so fabulous'.

During our final meeting, Pippa confesses that she thinks Angus may in fact have become addicted to Poppy Cottage! This attachment to the second home is found in the literature on second homes (Gustafson, 2006; Chaplin, 2000) but is particularly widely referred to by the participants in both phases of this study. It may present a paradox in consideration of the otherwise cosmopolitan nature of Pippa and Angus' lives.

Socialising in the Hook Head home is very much family focussed with visits to and from extended family and friends from the primary home, some of whom have holiday homes close by. This is repeating Angus' experience of socialising with his parents' friends, *'...friends of my parents bought shortly after my own parents bought, and they've been coming down here for the same length of time, so we would spend Christmases with them'*. Again, this family socialising 'in a different way' resonates with the experiences of other participants in this study.

Activities while in the Second Home

Prior to their purchase of it, the house had been well fitted out with new bathrooms and kitchen, and had been entirely re-wired. Pippa and Angus are happy that they really only have cosmetic work to complete. However, Angus relates how his parents *'eventually bought four walls of a house...it was old clay floors, an old fellow had been living in it, and it was like, the remains of his tins of dinner'*. He describes how all the family lived in a caravan on the site while they helped build the house, they all had great fun. In my final meeting with her, Pippa discusses how Angus already has plans for an extension and a patio, it seems that history is repeating itself; the second home is a site for enjoyable DIY. Reflecting further, Angus remarks, *'I would hate it if this house was perfect!'* Their primary home is complete and the holiday home offers an opportunity to indulge their interest in DIY. The second home has become a DIY project as evidenced in the literature; 'Cabin projects are dominated by maintenance, leisure and building projects' (McIntyre *et al*, 2006, p.121). Indeed, Chaplin (2000, p.191) concludes *'...that the raison d'être of this group of consumers (her British French holiday home owning participants) is activity and participation within consumption'*.

Pippa reveals her appreciation of activities and the scenery in the local area: *'Yeah, because there is so much, there's the most beautiful beaches, to walk on in the winter, to swim on during the summer, you know just to get away from it and get some air'*. She continues, *'So it's just fantastic, and you know, there's not a huge amount of, there's no nightlife or anything like that down here...But we just don't want it'*.



Plate 24: Beach, Hook Head

Contrast and Similarities of Holiday Home Life with Everyday Home Life

Taking account of how life in the holiday home differs from everyday life in their primary home Pippa and Angus agree that it is the ability to focus on the children in a relaxed manner that is most noticeable: *'...it's just less hectic here, it really does feel less hectic. Yeah, I find in Dublin there's always something waiting to be done...and then there's always then somebody wanting a bit of you, in Dublin, you know'*. Angus observes: *'I always feel you know, to bring the kids out to the cinema, or, down to the local parks and all that stuff, it's not the same as going to the beach here, or up around, or down at the harbour, or things like that. They discuss bringing the children with them when they go to the pub for a pint before dinner, 'We'd never bring the kids into the pub in Dublin...never'*. Echoing Freda's comments about her grandchildren, Pippa and Andrew mention that they bring the children horse riding *'down here'*, something they would never do, *'at home'*. A good contrast between everyday home life and holiday home life is provided by a diary entry made by Angus:

'So its Saturday 7th, arrived back from a very busy trip to Poland yesterday on Friday and got back to the family and straight down to Wexford, down to Poppy Cottage where we are now. It's fantastic to be here having been to a country that is still developing. It's nice to come back to a bit of peace and quiet and normality and spend some time with the family in a nice environment. Weather is changing a bit but still no rain and we are relaxing this weekend, not doing too much work'.

They enjoy the relative privacy of their holiday home: *'you don't look out here and see your neighbours'*. The peace and quiet are a welcome respite from the increasing busyness of suburban Dublin; the hassle of getting things done, everywhere is so crowded, so much traffic.

Angus does intend bringing work to his holiday home. As a self employed person he has the flexibility to work at home to his own schedule and actually has an office set up in the house. However, the demands of modern life and the realities of country living are apparent when he discusses the difficulty he is having in getting broadband installed; the physical location of the house makes it difficult to hook up to a network despite the necessity of overcoming the physical distance from the workplace in the city. A similar paradox is evident when talking about everyday events. Pippa relates how she brings fresh vegetables and meat with her from the primary home because: *'...fresh food down here wouldn't be as good as what you'd get, say in Tesco, just the variety, so I would tend to shop before I came down, and bring a lot of fresh food with me. The exception would be fresh fish, '...the fresh fish is just fantastic, and you wouldn't get that up in Dublin. Even in places that pretend to do fresh fish, they don't do it as fresh as down here'*. They mention a local fresh food market that takes place every Saturday during the summer, *'...but it's very limited and it's a queue at the door, and run to get whatever you can'*. Mealtimes are more casual in the holiday home, *'...dinner at home would tend to be six o'clock and that's it. Whereas down here, it can be anything from half five till eight o'clock'*.

They maintain that 'time' is different in the holiday home: *'Yes, you're not watching the clock. In Dublin, when you have small kids, and particularly during the week, you're watching the clock. You've got to be in the car at eight-thirty, you've got to be in the car again at one o'clock, again at two o'clock...but, yes you're right, time just, as we were saying about like dinnertime, and all that sort of thing, it can drift, it runs free, but at home it tends to be more*

regimented or whatever'. Several participants commented on the business and structure of life in the primary home being in direct contrast to life as it is lived in the holiday home. House security at the holiday home is not so much an issue for Pippa and Angus (their view is consistent with Joanne's), *'I mean in a holiday house, it's all second hand furniture, it's not that you are worried about anyone robbing it...[With regard to furniture] That's the difference between a house for us, and a holiday home, is that the holiday home is just a place where it is functional'*. This view contrasts sharply with the comments of both Joanne and Tom for whom 'home comforts' are important in the holiday home while echoing the views of almost all of my other study participants.



Plate 25: 'Not Watching the Clock', Hook Head

They have had some limited success in starting their integration into the local community. Pippa relates how when out for a walk the other day she encountered a local man, *'...and he said to me "oh you're new here" and I introduced myself, and he knew [who I was]. And he said he knew Angus' father, and then he said to me "it's lovely to have you here among us, you're very welcome"'*. Angus tells a similar story, *'What I find really funny is, we came down here for years as I say, and I would have sailed and fished from the harbour down here, and knew all the characters. They'd never say hello to you, and never talk to you, and now*

I've talked to a few of them since we've bought down here, and they're going "oh yeah, you used to sail with your father"...and they know your name, and you're "oh right"'. Clearly, the longer families have been visiting a locality, the higher the likelihood of interactions and connections with their neighbours (Selwood and Tonts, 2006, p.173). However, often 'a divide', usually based on socio-economic status is evident (Quinn, 2004; Jaakson, 1986). Other study participants report mixed experiences and desires in terms of integration with locals.

Pippa and Angus remark how easy it is to get local tradesmen to complete even small jobs to a high standard, something that is difficult to achieve in Dublin: *'That's the other thing down here that we've found, and I've seen over the years, is that when you want to get little things like that done, there's always the guy on the corner who's the electrician, the tiler, and they'll come in, and they'll do it, and there's never a bother, and it's always done right'.* They note that life in their Dublin suburb has changed since they were growing up: *'For me, I mean, Dublin, since I was a child, is you know, totally changed, I mean around Cabinteely is just so different. And every time you turn your back, there's another building site around the corner, with either a house going in or 30 apartments, or something, and its just, it's not nice at the weekend, as nice as it used to be'.* The holiday home makes up for some of what has been lost in the primary home.

They conclude that there is a lifestyle difference in how they live their lives in the primary home and in the holiday home; a general air of relaxation (in the holiday home) is the differentiating factor. The relative sense of obligation and confinement experienced in the primary home is made clear in Pippa's remarks *'Yeah, we live in what I call, when we drive back onto our road in Dublin, I always say, "we're back in the rabbit hutch"'*.

6.7 Tom's Story

Tom (47) is originally from Dublin's southside and is a lecturer in Information Technology at a college of Further Education in Dublin. He is single and lives alone in an apartment complex in a northern suburb of Dublin. In addition to his Dublin home he co- owns two holiday properties, an aparthotel unit in Torreviaja on Spain's Costa Blanca which he owns with one other party, and a three bed roomed town house in Rosslare, Co. Wexford which he

owns with some friends and his parents. Additionally, he has just purchased, with his sister and brother-in-law, an apartment in a southern provincial town in Ireland.

He is a shy individual whom I had previously met through a work colleague several times previous to him becoming a study participant. Particularly on the first occasion, it took a little time to get him to relax and feel at his ease. That said he proved to be a very willing contributor and provides his own unique perspective on the experience of second home owning.

House Acquisition

Tom acquired both his holiday properties somewhat by chance and both times on the recommendation of a friend. The purchase of the Spanish property which he bought five years ago was motivated by the rental income potential and longer term investment issues. At this time purchase of second homes in Spain was very popular among Irish purchasers. The first time an opportunity came up three years ago to purchase the Rosslare property he did not actually have the financial means to get involved. However, within six months circumstances had changed and he was able to make an offer for the property and feels lucky that the price had not increased during the intervening period. Other participants have remarked about how lucky financial circumstances facilitated their purchase of a holiday home. Investment would have been Tom's primary motivation for purchase in both instances.

The Meaning of Home

His everyday life in Dublin revolves around work, commuting and relaxing in his suburban apartment. He does not have much contact with his neighbours, many of whom are Eastern European: *'I think in any apartment complex anyway people don't get to know their neighbours, it's just difficult, high turnover and all the units, like, the apartment beside you, and you wouldn't even see anyone going in and out like you know.* He can relax very easily in his well furnished and comfortable apartment. However, with deeper discussion it is clear that he does not regard it as home, it is simply somewhere that he lives while he works (this echoes Joanne's comments). Home is still where his family live on the other side of the city, in his mother's house: *'Yeah, we always called my mother's house home...home is kind of the old*

house...I suppose when I go home after work I wouldn't really consider the apartment as being a..., it's more just a place you live in'. Tom does feel very much 'at home' in Rosslare; 'I probably know more neighbours here than I do at home'; Tom has left home for home (Jaakson, 1986; Theroux, 1986).

This holiday home provides him with the opportunity to spend more time with his family: *'It's not because, I probably, we never go away on holidays, with my parents or we probably never stay in the same house like, very occasionally, so it's a nice opportunity to spend some time with them as well, that wouldn't happen if this place wouldn't exist'. He describes how sometimes three generations of the family, parents, siblings, and young nephews enjoy the town house at the same time:*

'Well the last couple of days have been absolutely hectic, my sister is here with her two kids and they are both under four. And my parents have arrived as well so the house is absolutely packed. So basically the whole day revolves around entertaining the boys and looking after them and feeding them and cleaning up after them. So it's not much of a holiday for my sister anyway, because she has got to do all the work, although my mother does obviously help her but its, its obviously very different going to a holiday home where you bring your kids with you than it is going as a single person like myself, it's a very different kind of thing. It's been doing more, or helping out I suppose. Helping them out is more or less what I have been doing. Going out for a lot less walks because the whole day, the structure of the day is kind of changed. We've been going out in the afternoons, going to Wexford and driving around and things like that, you know, to Kilmore Quay. So that's it, today I'm going home. And I'm leaving them behind to clean up'.

It is a very different experience to when he is there on his own. Many second home owners describe how their holiday home allows them to spend more and better quality, time with their families than they do in the primary home. Tom has become quite attached to the Rosslare property, *'I wouldn't want to sell it now, I wouldn't like to sell'*; he is finding home away from home.

Contrasts and Similarities of Holiday Home Life with Everyday Home Life

Tom's life in Dublin has a routine quality to it and is generally structured around his work schedule, commuting is a major irritant to him. He has travelled around Europe, the US, Africa and Asia and he visits his Spanish holiday apartment at least once a year. Here he describes his growing familiarity with the local facilities:

'Yes, yes, I suppose you get into a pattern, you go to the same pubs or the same restaurants, you get to the liked places and when you go back there you can go back to those and...I suppose it's not much of a cultural experience down in Torreviaja because you can go, you can spend three weeks out there and not meet a Spanish fellow. When you do that like you know, you go to the Irish pub, the Irish have English staff, you go down to the Chinese restaurant and they're Chinese or you know. Whatever restaurant, they have English, it's like a little import of Britain or Ireland...The beer's the same, the TV's the same, Sky TV or Sky Sport is all over'.

There is an increasing familiarity with, and a routine developing in, his second homes, while at the same time there is an inversion of his life in the primary home (Jaakson, 1986). MacCannell's (1976) comments to the effect that tourists are seeking authenticity unavailable in their home lives do have resonance here.

Tom would have one other holiday abroad and city break during the year. After our first interaction he was heading off on an annual trip to Kerry to spend some time with an elderly relative: *'I go there each August actually to see my aunt; my Mum is from Kerry so I have lots of relations there...but I got a lot of relations there, and people call for you and things like, you go back, we do the same trips, we go to Killarney this year, sometimes we go to Dingle'.* As was found to be the case with other holiday home owners, Tom is very mobile and travels with ease between primary and holiday homes in Ireland and Spain.

Because being there coincides with his time off work, Tom does view his time in Rosslare as 'being on holiday'. His working year is extremely flexible and this has allowed him to work with his co-owners to ensure that they all get to use the Rosslare property in the way that best suits them. He finds there is beginning to be a bit of a pattern as to how he uses the property;

there is recurrence and routine in how he uses the second home (Jaakson, 1986). He likes to come down to the property immediately the school year ends and make the break properly into summer: *'I like to come down in June as well actually, when we finish at school which is what, the first or second of June. I think it's nice to get a complete break away from the M50, like that, just to come here for three weeks and have a spell of, it's like going to a completely different country'*. He intends spending the mid-term in Rosslare: *'I come down here in the first mid-term break, that's Halloween in Dublin, you know that's a nasty old time up there...it's nice to get sort of, for that particular week so last year, for the two years I have kind of started to come down here for that'*. Because of his flexible summer schedule he can be somewhat unplanned about his use of the property: *'Yeah, I don't really plan it because I got all the summer, I don't really plan it that much. If it's free next week I might come. It's booked this week, they're taking the bank holiday weekend, and it's free after that for about two or three weeks, the last two or three weeks in August. So I probably take one of those weeks, or maybe two weekends, but as I said, I don't really, have completely figured out which ones yet'*. Tom really enjoys the peace and quiet his Rosslare home affords him, *'The peace and quiet I think is the best'*; it is in direct contrast to the high-density living circumstances of his Dublin home. In this regard Tom is very similar to Scandinavian second home owners who leave the relatively cramped conditions of their city apartments to enjoy the freedom of their summer cottages in the country (McIntyre *et al*, 2006).

It is notable that his leisure time activities in Dublin, walking, going to the pub for a few drinks and watching TV, are also what he enjoys doing in his holiday home. In fact his location in Dublin does allow him the convenience of walking to shops and pubs but he enjoys this even more in his holiday home:

'Oh absolutely, I think it's something, you know, it's a very nice, I mean the drink and driving thing is not on you know so, it's great to have that facility that you can actually just stroll down to your local pub or the shops now, get the paper and you don't have to get the car out. That car now is parked there seven days without having to get into it you know. I mean if you go to the supermarket and you get your stuff in the harbour, at the Supervalu, you have no other reason, you don't need to drive any place after that really, that's nice as well not having to drive'.



Plate 26: Tom's Car, Rosslare

Tom's diary provides some contrasting insights into his experience of his holiday home:

'Arrived in Rosslare yesterday Monday, got down fairly easily, wasn't too much traffic on the road. The weather was absolutely beautiful here, went for a walk on the beach, it was just fabulous it was like the south of France, had a beer on the way back in the local, Brady's. Today Tuesday is in total contrast, it's been torrential rain all day. There's hardly anybody around, feels more like winter, it's pretty depressing really, there's not a lot you can do in places like this when the weather is as bad as this. Even if you went into Wexford you'd just be walking around n the rain. So it's pretty boring.'



Plate 27: Tom's local Pub, Rosslare

During our final meeting at his Dublin home Tom comments with regard to Brady's pub: *'Ah yeah, the bar men, like I would know the bar men, I'd know the bar men in there probably better than I would know them here (Dublin pub)...there's a good atmosphere there, kind of country atmosphere as opposed to the city atmosphere'*. Walking is an activity that is central to Tom's life, and self-identity, in both his Dublin home and his holiday home, *'I don't know what I would do if I didn't go out on walks'*. In his holiday home there is evidence of both differentiation and de-differentiation from, his everyday life.

Tom's relationship with his co-owners is excellent and is facilitated by some basic courtesies and rituals: *'I mean I leave the apartment in perfect condition but I leave it so I can come back just like that, we all try to leave this place...Because I mean, they're coming for the weekend now they, she wants to, Olivia will want to, the place to be spic and span, and she leaves it that way so, that helps as well, so we don't have any hassles like that'*. While he is happy to use second hand furniture and hand-me-downs in the holiday home, he does express concern (as did Joanne) that he would have all of the home comforts of home in the holiday home:

'I think the television would be important, because when we came here first we had a little, small postage stamp size television and it doesn't feel like you know, you don't want to be compromised you want to see the World Cup exactly as you would see it at home so, you have to have the same TV set, you know...I think I mean all the things we have at home we have here. I have a dish washer, a fridge freezer, washing machine, spin dryer, so there's no, nothing, there's nothing lesser here. There's nothing that you have to do here, manually actually, you know it's an automatic washing machine, and I think having a dishwasher is important as well'.

The possession of the labour saving devices mentioned here is in contrast to the situation of other second home owners. Considering décor, the ability to compromise and accommodate co-owners tastes is important: *'We did buy some new things, the mirror was bought new, that painting was in my mother's garage or something, thrown out ready for the skip and just fits in so nicely with the sea, the seascape in it. And things like that and this was set up by Olivia, again I'm not that mad about it. Actually I probably wouldn't have it if it was my choice, but you have to have a bit of compromise on these things'*.

6.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed the stories of the collaborators in the second phase of this research. The stories are woven from interview materials and most importantly from photographic and diary material constructed directly by the collaborators. These stories are contextualised by reference to the relevant literature discussed in chapters three and four and by reference to the themes identified from phase one of the study in chapter five. The first phase of this study was exploratory in nature, it provided a rich understanding of the main themes underlying the experience of holiday home living as voiced by the second home owner. However, this work did not comprehensively address the aims of the study and a second phase of field work was undertaken. This second phase, while again exploring themes underlying the phenomenon of second home living, did so within the rich context of individual experiences. Phase two also ensured that the insight that was achieved was based very firmly on the self-voiced thoughts of the second home owner. The seven stories told here present a unique and fine-grained insight into the world of the second home owner. The individuals portrayed have some similar aspects to their experiences but each provides a unique perspective on the tourist experience of second home owning. Their own voices and thoughts pervade the accounts of their experiences. Acquiring the home, mobility, relaxation, outdoor activities, and comparisons with everyday non-tourist life are among the 'collective' themes discussed by the second home owners but each in addition presents their own strongly nuanced aspects of the phenomenon of second home living.

The acquisition of the home was a talking point for all of my collaborators. It was a good starting point for their discussion of their experience with their holiday homes and provided a chronological marker for the development of the discussion. As with the experience of phase one participants, the actual acquisition of the holiday home by the second phase collaborators often involved an element of serendipity, perhaps a chance encounter or a lucky financial break. However, a couple of holiday home owners did recount stories of long, well planned, and sometimes tortuous, search and purchase experiences. A degree of satisfaction, coupled with a great deal of excitement and planning for the future accompany the conclusion of the acquisition phase of holiday home owning. Most collaborators could articulate clearly defined

criteria for the purchase of a particular property while allowing for the satisfaction of more subconsciously held needs.

The contrast of holiday home life with everyday primary home life is a central theme of this exploration of second home living. Collaborators make constant reference to the differences and similarities between their lives in their primary homes and in their holiday homes. Of particular interest are the differences and similarities relating to the more ordinary aspects of living such as cooking, housework, family life and interaction; it is within this discussion that the true essence of the holiday home living experience can be discerned. The minutiae of the lived experience of the second home are highlighted when compared with everyday home life. Collaborators talk about a different pace of life, and particularly of living more outdoors. For some the biggest difference between primary home and holiday home is the lack of work; there is a type of inversion of activity, in the second home, they spend more time doing the things they like doing. In fact much is made of enjoying activities in the holiday home as leisure pursuits which are regarded as chores in the primary home. Holiday home owners speak of experiencing less structure, less planning and generally less hassle than in the primary home. Overall the biggest difference between homes is perceived to be the possibility of escape to a simpler way of life made possible in the holiday home. The ability of the holiday home owner to adapt, to move seamlessly between the two homes is key to the enjoyment of the differences and the similarities inherent in the lived experience of the two homes.

It is clear that activities engaged in while in the second home are generally more of a leisure nature than those engaged in while in the primary home; that is to say the activity may be the same (e.g. cooking) but in the second home it takes on more of an air of enjoyment than the routine chore it may be in the primary home. Activities undertaken in the second home are often enjoyed in the company of family and friends in a way for which there is no time in the primary home. Holiday home owners describe doing more of the things they enjoy doing while in the second home than they do in the primary home, their time is more their own. Having unstructured time and not needing to plan their days or their activities is much valued by holiday home owners. There are activities that become routines and rituals within the rich fabric of holiday home living, in fact some activities mirror those engaged in within the primary home but then due to the time and environment of the second home they take on more

of a patina of leisure. A significant number of holiday home owners centre much of their activity on the actual holiday home property; DIY becomes an enjoyable leisure focus.

Second home owners are clearly highly mobile and perceive access to their holiday homes to be easy. They are cosmopolitan in their practised flitting between homes and other holiday locations. It is their very mobility, both physical and psychological, that allows them to transcend everyday life and embrace holiday home life. The convenience of the second home to the primary home is central to its enjoyment.

The main aim of this study was ‘to bring the reader into the world of the participant, the second home owner, to understand their story and so gain a comprehensive insight into the experience of second home living’. This chapter has fulfilled this aim and the individual stories told here provide a unique and fine-grained knowledge of the experience of holiday home living; collectively the stories present the essence of the experience of second home living. The next, and final, chapter in this study, Chapter Seven Interpretive Reflection, takes this insight and presents a synthesis of how it advances our knowledge of the tourism phenomenon of second home living.

Chapter Seven: Interpretive Reflection

7.0 Chapter Introduction

The current importance of second home living within tourism is highlighted by Müller's (2004, p.390) contention that 'Second home tourism goes beyond tourism' because it contemporaneously represents the global and the mobile, and the maintenance of tradition; it is 'a way of tourism' that requires mobility and involves recurrence. It requires the second home tourist to behave in a seemingly complex way: to contemporaneously practice mobility and the desire to return to the second home. This study, a phenomenology of the second home living experience, articulates the essence of the experience of the holiday home owner and presents a fine-grained exploration of the practice. This final chapter in the thesis aims to foreground the most significant insights obtained during the course of the study. It will discuss each of these themes, then the chapter will confirm the contribution of the study to the literature and clarify areas for further research that arise directly from this study. Finally, the chapter will conclude with some personal reflection on the findings of the study and on the overall research process.

7.1 Distilling the Essence of the Holiday Home Experience

The key themes which emerged from phase one of this study were: everyday life; family life; friends and neighbours; frequency of use, access, mobility and transcendence; other holidays; activities in the second home; acquisition of home; primary home; attachment and ritual. Each one of these themes illuminates a particular aspect of the experience of holiday home living and each is presented in a detailed discussion in chapter five. Chapter six presented these themes as they are woven into the essence of the holiday home owning experience for each of my seven collaborators and the additional research tools employed in phase two encouraged a more in-depth examination of the themes. This section (7.1) draws together the rich, comprehensive discussion of chapters three, four, five and six to consider some of the over-arching themes that emerge from this study. Due to the interpretivist nature of this work, these themes are not neat and singular but rather messy and multi-faceted. The purpose here is to, as far as is possible, encapsulate, or make more manageable, the insight achieved in this study. While the following subsections present an overview of the most

substantially discussed themes, it should be remembered that the ‘essence’ of the experience was presented in the in-depth and extensive material presented in chapters five and six.

7.1.1 Everyday Home Life and Second Home Life

Perhaps the single most significant theme to have emerged in this study is the relationship between second homes and everyday living. There is a clear overlap in the everyday primary home lives and the second or holiday home lives of the participants in this study; many of the activities and functions of the primary home are undertaken in the holiday home. However, it is apparent that the holiday home adds something significant to ‘the quotidian existence’ of everyday life. Second home owners in this study, and throughout the extant literature, talk of the re-creation of self, of an escape (Williams and Van Patten, 2006), and of the finding of more home than is available in the primary home and the transport to a world that is different, the departure from their ‘domain of paramount reality’ (Cohen and Taylor, 1992). All of these are functions of the touristic and in fact it is clear that this study gets to the very heart of what is tourism. As discussed in section 4.2.1, there has been disagreement in the literature as to whether or not the practice of holiday home living is tourism. This study quite definitely suggests that while participants and collaborators do not necessarily use the words tourism and tourist, they do regard themselves as experiencing what they regard as tourism, as something quite apart from everyday life.

This is not to say that the two aspects of the home owners’ lives are not well integrated. In this study all the holiday home owners have worked out a way of living both aspects of their lives, that spent in the primary home and that lived in the holiday home. Moreover, the concept of home is central to both aspects of their lives: home is the place from which we engage in tourism, and to which we then return; it is a complex multi-layered concept which people leave, go to, and bring with them. In the case of second home living, home remains an integral part of the tourism experience, and is in fact sought after. The holiday home is viewed as somewhere to ‘live more’, and yet ‘more simply’, to ‘make more of a home’ more than is possible in the first home. Indeed, several home owners speak in comparatively negative terms about these aspects of life in their primary home. In this way, this study has highlighted the complex interrelationship between home and tourism which has previously been ignored in the tourism literature. The literatures on home and tourism are brought together in this study in an innovative way, in a way in which they have not previously been

considered. Without home there would not be tourism and this is something that has not been sufficiently addressed in the literature, here in this study they are discussed as being mutually dependent one upon the other.

This study has brought focus to the macro issues of everyday life in both homes (e.g. different locations, work/non-work time) and micro issues or minutiae of everyday life (e.g. different eating and reading habits). It is the break from routine, the lack of structure and serendipitous possibilities that are experienced in the holiday home that are most remarked upon. However, great enjoyment is gleaned from routine activities, such as laundry and cooking, that are undertaken in the holiday home, 'they feel different'. The holiday home allows its owner to be 'wilder and freer', but not necessarily a different personality than is possible in the primary home; second home living allows the home owner the opportunity to access parts of their personality that are neglected, either because of lack of time or of emphasis, in the primary home. Time in the primary home is more structured, in the holiday home it is 'the lack of a plan' that is enjoyed, the 'time to reflect'. It is notable that priorities are often different in the second home, for instance there is more of an emphasis on relaxation, on family and on casual entertaining. The holiday home is almost a 'stripped down' version of home that allows for more 'living'. There is a particular focus on children's needs, and also the childlike needs of adults, in the holiday home. I also found that use of the second home by the family differs over the family life cycle so that those with young children use it differently to those with teenagers or those who are retired.

Overall, it can be concluded that while there are differences between everyday home life and everyday holiday home life, the everyday and the touristic, there is some ambiguity. The second home owner does not find this ambiguity uncomfortable but rather embraces it as part of the experience (Ryan, 2002); they want difference but not so much difference, there is a longing for security. Examination of the contributions of several of the participants (for example Paul, Yvette and David, and James and Jacinta) indicates that similar behaviour in both homes may be evidence of consistency in personality i.e. the personality remains essentially the same regardless of which home they are in. In the post-modern tradition of de-differentiation, the post-modern, cosmopolitan holiday home owner becomes attached to their second home while remaining mobile between homes and out in the world in general.

7.1.2 Mobility

Mobility may be considered a defining characteristic of current times. Personal mobility, as well as the mobility of society as a whole, has facilitated the accessing of touristic experiences by many more people. Second home owners are mobile people; they are mobile between homes, within each home location and to other tourist and non-tourist locations. It is this inherent ease with being mobile that allows the holiday home owner to move with apparent effortlessness from everyday life home to holiday life home; the transcendence from one world to the next, while having markers, is seemingly painless. Accessibility plays a significant part in the enactment of this transcendence from one world to the next, from primary home to holiday home.

Second home owners are enabled in their mobility because they ensure that their second home life fits in with the obligations of their everyday lives. Several participants remarked that they then fit in holidays abroad around their commitment to their holidays in their second homes. Ability to be mobile between homes and other holiday locations was found to vary according to position in the family life cycle. Involvement in 'other holidays' was regarded as being essential to provide novelty; mobility addresses the post-modern call for the novel, the different.

The post-modern, cosmopolitan holiday home owner is mobile and finds this mobility convenient and easy; their attachment to several places requires mobility (Gustafson, 2006), the ability to flit without effort among these places. The second home is a home and as such the tourist becomes significantly attached to it, over time it becomes their alternative reality. Second home owners are well practised in what Cohen and Taylor (1992) describe as 'total dissociation from paramount reality and the construction of another reality'; they exhibit Urry's (2001) 'compulsion to mobility', and although second home owners were not his focus, they clearly exhibit the characteristics of what Urry (1995) refers to as the aesthetic cosmopolitanism of the present day tourist. They flit from place to place, moving effortlessly, seamlessly, between homes.

7.1.3 Activities

Holiday home owners are involved in a myriad of activities in the holiday home, some similar to those in which they engage in their principal home, others are peculiar to the second home. However, what is striking about the discussion of activities is not what the activities themselves actually are but the way in which they are experienced, the level of involvement, the different kind of time in which they are undertaken depending on which home the participant is in. Everyday activities such as cooking, housecleaning, gardening and childcare are imbued with a different spirit in the second home; these activities are usually simplified, more time can be taken with them, there is more time to enjoy them and they are undertaken as a group of family or friends.

There are also activities that are spoken about as being only undertaken in the second home, particularly water sports, country walking, and day trips to surrounding areas as generally the holiday home is associated more with outdoor activities. Activities such as reading, cooking and DIY are enjoyed more in the holiday home than in the primary home as they can be undertaken in a more relaxed frame of mind and there is time to become more involved, escape is possible. There is time in the holiday home to reflect on life and on activities, in a way that is not possible in the primary home; several participants describe moments of reflection that they have enjoyed in their holiday homes. The holiday home allows for a more relaxed approach to activities. Nothing, be it children's music practice or weeding the garden is as important as simply 'chilling' out and enjoying the holiday home. Holiday home owners tend to 'get lost' in their holiday home, there are signs of them enjoying 'the flow', of becoming immersed to the extent of 'mindlessness' (Csikzentmihalyi and Robinson, 1990), in their activities in the second home. Serendipity plays a part in what types of activities are indulged in at the second home as there is the freedom to go with the flow in a way that is not possible in the primary home.

7.1.4 Family, Memories and Rituals

The family unit is very much at the centre of the primary home and so it is with regard to the holiday home. The holiday home allows the family to spend more and better quality time together. It allows for established roles to be relaxed and for everyone, adults and children alike, to engage in more playful behaviour. Freed from rigid routines family members can

relax in each others company when in the holiday home. Several holiday home owners in this study remarked that they felt that second home living was 'learned' in the context of family and that successive generations experience the holiday home together. For many it was the happy memories of childhood family summers in the holiday home that prompted their acquisition of their particular homes. These memories of good times in the holiday home with their parents, siblings and extended family were strong enough for them to want to recreate the same experience for their children. The little rituals and traditions enjoyed by them with their families as children that are now re-enacted by them with their own children during the patterns of coming and going from home to home, of opening up and closing up houses, and the effortless transcendence from one home to the other. Family continuity is assured through intergenerational gathering in the holiday home.

7.2 Key Findings and Contributions

The overall aim of this study was to capture the essence of the experience of the holiday home owner and this has been achieved. I began the study with the very clear vision of what I wanted to accomplish: an accessible and engaging account of the lived tourism experience of the second home owner. I felt it was essential to bring the reader into the experience with me and my participants so that they would come away feeling that they have an enlightened insight into the experience of second home living. The essence of the experience of second home living is in the freedom to move easily from one home to another, from the world of the everyday to the world of the tourist; there is almost an integration of everyday life and tourist life so seamless is the movement from home to holiday home. Yet the holiday home owner can describe an experience that is different to the everyday, that is an alternative to it and which complements it. The second home becomes the desired alternative to the primary home. A central element is the ease of the transition between primary home and secondary home which is reliant on the practised air of the holiday home owner. Two lives, or two parts of a life, are accommodated with consummate ease in the arrangement between primary home and holiday home.

Within the current post-modern cultural context second home living allows for a flitting between worlds; it permits a constant sampling of what is on offer in each home, a constant dipping in and out of alternative communications networks and social groups. It is this

variety, this inherent novelty, which marks out the second home living experience as touristic. From another perspective, the certain level of de-differentiation between the primary and holiday worlds facilitates the movement between them; there is enough similarity to allow for an easy transition. Rojek's (1997) contention that 'Tourism is not an escape from everyday life, it is a plane of cultural difference in which everyday life routines are contrasted and developed' (p.70) is, I think, accommodated very neatly in the discussion of second home living. Several of the participants in this study (for example Yvette and David) say they '*...are looking for something that is just a little bit different*' echoing MacCannell's (2001) view that tourists 'are looking for the unexpected, not the extraordinary'. I have found that the holiday home provides just the right amount of contrast to everyday life in the primary home and this makes it easy to traverse the physical and psychological distances between primary home and holiday home, between the touristic and the non-touristic. Everyday lives blur into non-everyday lives in the holiday home.

The cosmopolitan approach is 'to search for contrast rather than uniformity' (Hannerz, 1996, p.1) and my collaborating second homeowners are looking for varying degrees of contrast. Thompson and Tambyah (1999) have written of 'the unique set of cultural dynamics that lie at the intersection of post-modernism and the increasingly ambiguous distinction between touristic experiences and the practices of everyday life' (p.236). This home away from home provides just enough difference to provide contrast to the primary home. Considering particularly urban post-modern life with its many perceived trials and tribulations including noise and traffic, the second homeowner is very often in search of what they feel is missing from the primary home, perhaps what they felt was once present in it in the past and is now lost. Following Theroux (1986), I have found second home dwelling is a search for 'the home plus home'. The cosmopolitan holiday home owner 'is often constructed as one who possesses the distinct competence and knowledge to handle cultural diversity and who draws unique strength from being at home in a variety of contexts' (Williams and Van Patten, 2006, p.41). The second home owner has the capability to transcend the boundaries of the primary home, to enter the holiday home and be at home and away at the same time, and then to return to the primary home.

7.3 The Study's Contribution

This study has presented a multi-faceted ethnography into the second home living experience and its focus has been on what Husserl terms the 'lived'. The study has explored the interaction of the everyday home life and the holiday home life of the second home owner; the lived-in second home owning experience. In considering tourism in the broadest sense, this study has found a great deal of truth in Ryan's (2002) comment that 'the harder we look at the nature of tourism, the more it slides into ambiguity' as in the holiday home we find elements of both the home experience and the tourism experience. Jaakson (1986) asserts that 'the second home owner is a sort of permanent tourist' and it is this very ambiguity between everyday home life and the holiday home life of the second home owner that allows the second home to be so easily accessed and enjoyed. The participants in this study were not at all concerned with any difficulty surrounding their transit from one world to the next; it is accomplished with ease. They are cosmopolitan in their orientation towards novelty and diversity, their second home living is part of the rich variety of their post-modern tourism and everyday living experience. In fact, very often it is life at the holiday home that becomes 'the ordinary' existence that provides meaning and identity in life, while the modern urban home comes to represent the extraordinary existence (Kaltenborn, 1998). The post-modern also allows for the 'fragmentation' of people's lives between everyday home and holiday home; they live their lives in enjoyable parts or fragments. There is a de-differentiation between the parts of their lives, their lived experience; there is a practised ease in their cosmopolitan mobility. The fragmented, rootless nature of the post-modern encourages the tourist in a search for home away from home. The informality of the post-modern parallels the informality of the second home; there is a strolling, a flâneuring, through life in the second home but in contrast also a deep emotional and sensory engagement to what is regarded as home. The bringing of home into the touristic, the melding of the everyday and the non-everyday, emphasises the transferability of the concept of home. Following Theroux's (1986) line of thought and considering the contributions of the participants in this study, it can be surmised that the second home owner is looking for home plus home in the second home. This study contributes to the generic home literature by juxtaposing elements of the holiday home and primary home. This exercise in contrast focuses primarily on time, rituals and routines. This represents a unique contribution to the generic home literature.

Another objective of the study was to give prominence to the minutiae of the everyday second home living experience. The participants described, in substantial detail, the everyday aspects of their second home living experience. The first phase of the study generated ten broad themes of meaning in relation to the second home living experience: everyday life; family life; friends and neighbours; frequency of use, access, mobility and transcendence; other holidays; activities in the second home; acquisition of home; primary home; attachment and ritual. All of these themes contain rich detail of the living experience of the second home owner in the holiday home and they were presented and explored through the voices of the second home owners themselves.

The second phase of the study produced knowledge of the everyday living experience of second homeowners in the holiday home through the production of seven individual, highly personalised, stories in which their voices were even more clearly heard. The collaborators in this part of the study used photographs and audio diaries to bring the minutiae of their everyday lives to life for the reader and to bring the reader into their holiday home lives. What was produced were detailed individual reflections on the experience of second home living and a collective phenomenology of the experience of holiday home living.

Tribe and Airey (2007) in reviewing the general state of tourism research wrote, 'Despite our interesting conference titles and research papers – many significant truths remain under-and untold' (p.13). I would suggest that the area of interest for this study has uncovered an untold truth about tourism in that it has provided a series of detailed self-generated insights into the lived experience of the holiday home owner. This study grew out of an initial desire to understand how we move from everyday life to tourist life and back again within the context of the second home living experience. It was difficult to find descriptions of the experience told from the perspective of the tourist and as I discussed above, existing accounts tell us very little about the meanings attached to a holiday by its key participants, i.e. the tourists' (Wickens, 1999). This omission is also exacerbated by the fact that emotional discourse is almost entirely missing from the tourism literature on behaviour (Ryan,1997a). I wanted to begin to address both these omissions by undertaking a study of second home owners in which their stories are told by them in their own language and using their own audio diary and photographic ideas to illustrate their experience and behaviour. I would further argue that this

study is also an addition to the interpretivist literature on tourism and to the development of research tools in tourism.

Most of the extant literature, emanating primarily from Australia, the US, Canada and Scandinavia, results from numerically significant positivist approach studies (McIntyre *et al*, 2006; Jansson and Müller, 2004; Mottiar and Quinn, 2003; Jaakson,1986) and this study begins to balance this approach and address the need for studies rooted in the interpretivist tradition. Undertaking this study has provided an opportunity to examine not only *why* the tourist behaves and experiences as they do, but more importantly from an experience perspective, *how* they behave and experience as they do. What is at the centre of interest is the experience, a complex, multi-layered, vari-sensory, personally encountered by the participant, phenomenon. In exploring this experience I have positioned the practice of holiday home living within the practice of tourism and placed the practice of holiday home living within the context of post-modernism and in particular cosmopolitanism. In doing so, the study augments the existing literatures on home and holiday home through its innovative interpretive approach. The holiday home consumer is the beginning and end of the story, the richness of their narrative pervades the telling of this story. To summarise, therefore, this study has presented a phenomenology of second home living. The homeowners who collaborated in this project have enjoyed a variety of experiences of second home holiday, and while no deliberate attempt has been made to construct a consensus among them, the study has produced 'an essence' of the experience of second home living in which the themes of (i) the contrast of everyday home life and holiday home life; (ii) mobility and (iii) family and activities have emerged as central.

In conclusion, the methodology, phenomenology, which guided the undertaking of this study, resulted in the production of a series of rich narratives which collectively provided an intricate insight into the lived experience of the holiday home; it focussed on the central experience. In the true spirit of phenomenology this study has illuminated the essence of the experience of second home living. My willingness to play the role of researcher- as- bricoleur has resulted in the production of a multifaceted, complex account of the experience of second home living. The issues of 'cosmopolitanism', 'transcendence' and 'home' have been woven together to construct a theoretical underpinning for the exploration of the experience of second home living. Consideration of 'home' and how we have evolved to our current understanding of it

was a logical and essential way to ground the discussion and was instructive in terms of themes to be examined. My initial examination of ‘transcendence’ was within the context of trying to understand the passage from home life to tourist life and it was while attempting to apply this knowledge in ‘a relatively mundane’ tourist setting that I came upon the opportunity to study the experience of second home owning. ‘Cosmopolitanism’ provided further understanding of the most current cultural context within which the practice of second home living flourishes. The collective theoretical contribution of these issues pervades the entire discussion of the thesis.

7.4 Study Constraints and Reflections

Despite constructing a rich phenomenology of the second home experience I remain somewhat frustrated by not having ‘lived the experience’. As discussed in chapter two, section 2.4, at an earlier stage of this research I read extensively about ethnography and I was convinced that an immersed ethnographic approach would be the best way of achieving the aims of this study. Due to the time and resource constraints of the PhD process, including the part-time nature of the work, my fear was that what I would produce would be a less rigorous, ‘lazy ethnography’. Therefore, after much consideration, I committed myself to producing a significant phenomenology of the area of interest that focused on the central experience rather than on the extreme detail of the ongoing everyday life of the second homeowner. This study has taken place on a part-time basis over six years and on a full time basis for the last year. Without meaning to fall into the trap of believing ‘the grass is always greener’ I do think my research process would have been different, not necessary better, if I had pursued the project on a full time basis over perhaps four years.

Getting people to talk is an essential concern of a more interpretivist approach to research. How can you foreground the views of your study participants if you cannot get them to articulate their views, by for example speaking, writing, drawing, taking photographs etc? I am satisfied that the methodological tools employed in this study provided several means by which the participant/collaborator could engage with the research. However, there were alternative tools such as storytelling or role playing which may have generated different contributions to the research. Related to this issue is the ability and willingness of individual participants/collaborators to involve themselves in the study and reflect on their experience

as holiday home owners. As detailed in chapter two, section 2.5.1, and more particularly in section 2.5.3.4, collaborators did differ in terms of how involved they became with the research process. With regard to one collaborator in particular –Joanne- I reflected long and hard during the period between the first and second interviews about how I could get her to open up, become more involved, to engage more in the process and concluded that there was no ethical means to do so. As discussed in chapter two, section 2.6 my own lack of experience in both administering and analysing the material produced by projective tools may also have restricted the realisation of the true potential of these materials. However, from another perspective, by keeping an open mind and employing a problem solving approach, I was able adapt to circumstances presented by each participant, and so facilitate them as much as possible in ‘telling their story’.

7.5 Future Research

As I discussed above, a continual source of frustration during the conduct of the study was that I felt there was more to learn, more of a story to be told, if I could only ‘dig deeper’. I was excited by reading the work of authors such as Jack Douglas (*Sociologies of Everyday life*, 1980), Howard Garfinkel (*Studies in Ethnomethodology*, 1967), and more currently the work of Russell Belk, Maurice Holbrook and Arnould and Price. A full ethnography of second home living would provide further understanding of the phenomenon.

A number of subgroups within the second home owner grouping would also be very interesting to engage with further, two groups worthy of particular attention being children and mobile home owners. Children, apart from simply the richness of their experiences, would be of interest because of the implications of holiday home experience on later involvement in second home and other tourism pursuits. In addition, a number of my phase one participants were mobile home owners and each of the locations that I visited resembled a mini society with intricate rules and regulations for the conduct of life in the mobile home. Especially intriguing was the limited insight into the lives of the women left alone with children during the week while husbands and partners returned to the city to work. It would be interesting to give them a forum in which to tell their story.

As discussed previously, most of the work completed elsewhere on holiday home living has been of a quantitative design. I think it would be fruitful to take more of an interpretivist

approach to some of the issues this work has examined, to delve deeper, to ensure that it is the voice of the holiday home owner that is fore-grounded and made responsible for the ‘telling of the story’. In the broadest sense the holiday home owner presents a microcosm of the larger society and as such the opportunity exists to examine the holiday home owning experience of different ethnic groups, of differing geographic locations and differing family and social structures, over longer periods of time. This study has illuminated the possibilities for further contributions to tourism knowledge that would emerge from the study of the holiday home owning experience.

7.6 Personal Closing Reflections

When I commenced this study in 2002, almost seven years ago, most Western economies were firmly positioned in the boom part of the economic cycle. Emerging touristic behaviours mirrored the confidence of the economic markets: more luxurious, more exotic and further afield locations beckoned and more experience heightened encounters seemed to be the order to the day. Many colleagues and friends were unsure as to what domestic second home owners could tell us about tourism; I was not at all clear myself. However, since I began my study, indeed, since the beginning of this century, the tourism industry has been hit by a succession of human-made and natural disasters. At the time of writing most economies are facing their worst financial crises in over sixty years and these recent economic developments, globally and nationally, have significantly impacted the holiday planning habits of tourists. Today there is substantial insecurity among many millions of people regarding their likely near future employment and the financial well-being of their families.

Whether it is a lakeside cottage in Finland, a fishing shack in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula or a seaside cottage in Co. Wexford, Ireland, we cannot help but envy those who will be able to enjoy, that safe home from home, that familiar vacation retreat from the cares of the world while continuing to enjoy the security of home, the holiday home. As I sit here in September 2009 and bring this document to a close I am conscious that I have been engaged in this study for seven years, six of them part-time while engaged in a lecturing career, and this last year on a full time basis during a career break. Initially I pursued PhD studies because it was a requirement of my job as a college lecturer. However, it very quickly became a far more

personal endeavour. The demands of the process were of not only of an intellectual nature but also of a psychological and physical kind; this apprenticeship has tested all my faculties.

I learnt a lot about myself as a person but most importantly in this context I learnt what kind of an academic and most particularly what kind of researcher I want to be. Key to this has been my interaction with supervisors and their universities. I have learnt that it is important to find an academic home, that is just that, a home. Somewhere, as we have learnt in this study, where people can be themselves, where they feel secure enough to explore, and to engage with their enthusiasms. Through the process I have learnt the importance of the role of academic research supervisor and the importance of encouragement lightly tempered with realism; for myself, and I suspect most others, the carrot has proven infinitely more productive than the stick. The responsibility of the PhD research supervisor is not just for their current candidate, it is for all the students that that candidate will in turn supervise; from my own good experience in these recent years, I am now confident that I can learn to supervise academic research. Additionally, this process has brought me through considerable consideration of matters such as reflexivity and the nature of my involvement in the research process (see sections 2.2 and 2.3); I will be a reflexive, involved researcher.

Perhaps most important of all for a researcher, my innate curiosity about people and tourism has not been sated through this process but has rather been further ignited, broadened and informed. I now feel excited and in possession of the tools that will help me to pursue areas of research that enthuse me; the importance of reaching beyond my comfort zone has been highlighted. In trying to find my way through the myriad of possibilities as I develop my research career I am reminded of a quote that was meaningful to me as I started my business career more than twenty years ago:

Whatever you can do, or dream you can, begin it. Boldness has genius, power and magic in it (Goethe 1749-1832).

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Appendix One: Phase One Interview Themes

Second Home Owner Initial Interview themes (prompt list)

(Draft June 4th, 2004)

WARM UP

- Introduce self and broad research purpose of interview
- Confirm confidentiality
- Permission to record, take notes

TIME

- Explore lifestyle: division of time over year, Ireland vs. Abroad, Work vs. Leisure
- Fragmentation of lives

TRAVEL HISTORY AND CURRENT BEHAVIOUR

- What is the nature of travel experience: time spent living in Ireland, time spent living abroad (during which Ireland was not main residence); types of holiday experience; future interests

SECOND HOME ADOPTION

- Circumstances surrounding the decision (or simply arriving at the situation) to have two homes: Personal, family career, financial, social
- Circumstances particular to the property; generational transfer

CONCEPT OF HOME

- Home vs. away; what makes a place a home; evolution over time; parity between two homes

TRANSITION

- Is there a 'transition' between one home and the other; how is the transition made: process, ritual; real or perceived
- Anticipation
- Signifiers; markers

MOBILITY

- Ease of transition: physical, psychological

EVERYDAY LIFE

- Living routines; contrast home and abroad
- Impact of one life on the other
- Blurring of home and work
- Familiarity, Authenticity
- Social Interaction (resident, visitor, tourist)
- Role playing; signifiers, markers

CONSUMPTION

- First home property, Second home property, transition

CONCEPT OF SELF

- What provides identity
- First home state; second home state
- Others perspectives of the second home owner

ESCAPE

- From what, to what?

WRAP UP

- Reiterate/Clarify
- Referral
- Thanks

Appendix Two: Phase Two Final Interview Themes

Final Interview (Paul)

Date: July 19th, 2007

*Location: ******

INTRO: Few questions from last time, diary and photos, tape conversation

HOME:

Suburban vs. town?

Live in two parallel worlds

CURRENT 2nd home behaviour:

Since I saw you...

Any further with extension plans? Is it looking likely that you spend more time there?

More in need of a bolt hole from work?

If I told you had to sell it tomorrow morning?

Two sets of friends...

Would you buy a holiday home anywhere else?

(Read out bits and get him to spontaneously elaborate.

WHO, WHAT WHERE WHEN, HOW: Get to the essence of their experience, feelings)

DIARY:

-a few things that are particularly interesting...

PHOTOS:

-great work, few questions...

REFLECTION ON THE PROCESS:

-Have you talked to anyone else in this 'focussed' way about your second home?

-How did you find it? Easy, difficult, annoying, unusual?

-Tell me about filling in the **diary**?

Do you keep, or have you ever kept a diary? Did you find it difficult to start; how did

you decide where to start? Why did you keep it the way you kept it?
How do you feel about it? Were you self-conscious? Was it easier to write the diary?
than talk to me? Did you feel under pressure?
Does writing in your diary help you clarify your thoughts?
Did it feel like homework? Did you feel you had to be very correct in your use of
language?
Does it help you to say what you want to say? Did you feel free to say whatever you
wanted?
Should I have given you more instructions?
When and where did you record the diary?
Did you find the dicta phone easy to use?
What would have made the task of keeping a diary easier for you?
Did you feel that you were giving private information?
Did you become aware of things of which you were not previously aware?
Do they become more confident in 'making' the diary as time moves on?
Are there good things and bad things in the diary?
Did they change their behaviour in any way because they were keeping the diary; is the
focus unnatural?
Did they enjoy keeping the diary?
Is there an autobiographic element to the diary?

-Tell me about taking the **photographs**?

Fair to say that you enjoyed it?

Commentary is excellent

-The purpose of this approach was to get you to tell your story, do you feel like you have
had that opportunity?

-Do you think about your holiday home differently now? Do you better understand the
experience of second home owning?

-Do you feel you have been a **collaborator** in this research?

Did you wonder why I asked you to do the things I asked you to do? Was the process
time consuming? Could I have been more helpful to you?

-Any **concerns** about how I will use the data? Any interest in my agenda?

-Any gaps to fill in? Does it seem like an odd thing to talk about? Anything further you
wish to say about your holiday home?

Appendix Three: Photo and Diary Instructions

PHOTOS

You should have fun using this disposable camera! Use as many photos as you like, the more the better.

The idea is that you have the opportunity to photograph people and things in, and around, your holiday home that are interesting to you.

You could simply take photos on an ad hoc basis as it occurs to you or you could take a planned approach and purposely set out to take a particular set of photos. It is up to you!

AUDIO DIARY

Most people find it easier to 'speak their thoughts' than to write them down. This audio diary will let you record your thoughts about your experience of your holiday home.

You can record for a few minutes everyday or for longer periods every few days, it is up to you!

You can talk about anything that occurs to you, your holiday home, your primary home, your life, all as they occur to you while enjoying your holiday home. Talk about what you feel, what you think, what you remember, whatever occurs to your imagination. You can talk about what you have done each day, who you have spent time with, what motivated you to do these things.

Only one rule: **TRY NOT TO LISTEN TO WHAT YOU HAVE RECORDED!**
Most of us actually hate the sound of our own voices, there is a temptation to analyse and change.

As discussed, when you have finished with both the camera and diary please mail them to me in the envelope provided. Should you want you want to discuss any element of the activities please call me on Dublin 843 5519 or 085 141 6172.

I very much appreciate your help.