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Simon J. Birch

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"A Survey of Second Homes: their  
number, character, owners and use"

SIMON J. BIRCH B.A.  
(Graduate Society)

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of Master of Arts  
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A B S T R A C T.

Second home ownership is increasing in importance in this country as underlying motivating forces are coupled to expanding opportunities for ownership, principally in terms of the availability of time, money and suitable property (Chapter 1). The study of this phenomenon is hampered by problems of definition and by difficulties of gathering information (Chapter 2), although much work has been undertaken abroad, particularly in France, Scandinavia and North America (Chapter 3.1).

In Britain, knowledge is relatively limited in scope and is fragmentary in coverage (Chapter 3.11), and the writer's investigation into second homes in Weardale was made as a contribution from a region not previously studied but one where second homes have spread rapidly in recent years (Chapter 3.111).

Second homes in general are characterised by a wide variety of type (Chapter 4.1), and are often purchased or rented through private, rather than through commercial, channels (Chapter 4.11). Their popularity may tend to increase property prices (Chapter 4.111), while the common use of much old property often necessitates its extensive improvement and renovation (Chapter 4.1v).

The owners of second homes are correspondingly diverse, although they tend to be above average in income and in education (Chapter 5.1). Their average use of the

second home varies considerably as does the range of their activities while at the second home (Chapter 5.ii), but less diversity is discernible in the location of the first home which is often within two hours driving time of the second home (Chapter 5.iii).

Increasing numbers of second homes in Britain cause effects at both national and local levels. Nationally, these involve the use of resources that could possibly be used for other purposes while, locally, there are complex economic, social and environmental implications which are, however, little understood at present (Chapter 6). As growth continues, controls seem to be necessary so that the impact of second home construction on the landscape is minimised, and so that social and economic effects in second home localities are more beneficial than detrimental for the local inhabitants (Chapter 7).

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ABBREVIATIONS

For convenience, and to avoid repetition,  
the following abbreviated reference have been employed  
wherever necessary:-

|                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| DART                             | = | Downing, P. and Dower, M. (1973)                              |
| Wye                              | = | Bielckus, C.L.; Rogers A.W.;<br>Wibberly, G.P. (1972)         |
| Denbigh or<br>Denbighshire       | = | Denbighshire County Council (1972.b)                          |
| Caernarvon or<br>Caernarvonshire | = | Caernarvonshire County Planning<br>Dept. (1973).              |
| Carmarthen or<br>Carmarthenshire | = | Carmarthenshire County Planning<br>Dept. (1973).              |
| Monmouth or<br>Monmouthshire     | = | Carr, J.P. and Morrison, W.I. (1972).                         |
| A.G.B.                           | = | Audits of Great Britain Ltd.,                                 |
| B.T.A.                           | = | British Travel Association.                                   |
| Weardale                         | = | material collected in the Weardale<br>Survey (Chapter 3 iii). |

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S .

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CHAPTER 1.

Introduction

The most enduring demographic trend in Western countries in recent decades has been that of rural-urban migration. The urban areas now contain a majority of the populations of these countries but are often characterized by environments of poor quality, beset by congestion, pollution and crime. An early, but unsuccessful, attempt to escape from the very worst of the 'city' led to the evolution of the 'suburb' but even these gave rise to further problems, epitomized by the wearisome institution of commuting to and from work.

However, since the second world war a new attempt has been made to leave the urban environment and a counter migration to the countryside and to the coast, at weekends and during vacations, has spread rapidly. In an increasing number of cases, the target of this counter migration has been the second home, the country residence that has its roots in the Scandinavian systems of transhumance, involving summer and winter homes (Palme 1966), and in the true country house, which began to be constructed in England from about 1500 and which gave its owner an opportunity to savour rural life after the rigours of business in town (Hoskins 1973). These second homes are a matter of much concern and publicity, not least because of the questions they raise concerning fundamental principles of our way of life. In terms of planning, it has been anxiously asked, "surely most people would much prefer to have one good dwelling in garden surroundings

within reach both of work and of the open country? It seems simply crazy to go on building cities in such a form that their inhabitants want to escape from them for a third of the year's days" (Town and Country Planning 1965).

Nevertheless, the second home trend has continued to spread and is expected to increase still faster in the future as it rapidly becomes a major feature of the spatial distribution of populations, characterised by seasonal suburbanization of rural areas and by seasonal flows of population. It is dependent upon two main factors: the motivation of the people involved, and the opportunity which they need to possess such homes, and it is these that will now be considered in detail:

(a) The motivation behind second home ownership is a vital, and little understood force although it lies behind the fundamental desire for such property. It may include several related impulses, as the following passage illustrates: "I have a dream, a muddled dream, that I live in a city again. I dream that I live in a featureless room above a car-filled street tied to a job I do not enjoy, enduring the day instead of living it. I press buttons on a cunning machine which I do not understand; and I am confused because at one moment I am obeying the orders of my company, the next of my union." The dreamer then sees the countryside as it used to be, full of lush vegetation and wholly unpolluted and finds that "this paradise is beckoning me, trying to seduce me away from my featureless room or my conventional success" (Tangye 1972).

This lengthy quotation has been included because it indicates several strands of the second home owner's potential motivating force:

firstly, there is the desire for "self expression and individuality" (DART 1973) for the dreamer evidently feels repressed in the urban milieu where he is confronted with uniformity, conformity, and a feeling of insignificance and even boredom. He needs to be able to express himself more fully and one way in which to attempt to do this is perhaps by owning a second home where an individual and unpressurised way of life may evolve (Street-Porter 1973).

secondly, a corollary from this first point might be the necessity to escape periodically from the dreary dull commonplace happenings of everyday life, or merely to have

a change from the normal routine, from the 'conventional success.' "It is increasingly recognized that the mental health of urban man needs the refreshment and stimulus of the countryside and the joy of its wildlife" (Arvill 1970), and this may also apply to the necessity of restoring health and energy (Glikson 1956) so that outdoor recreation is an essential element of current second home activities (see Chapter 5 ii).

thirdly, there is evidently a desire to get away from human values and to re-assert man's "instinctive sense of being an animal, part of nature, and of being one generation in a long human continuum " (DART 1973), which involves direct contact with nature. This desire seems to be a fundamental human impulse and is epitomized by Henry David Thoreau when he writes "we need to witness our own limits transgressed, and some life pasturing freely where we never wander" (Porter 1962). Often, it involves the need for space and solitude, found typically on the upland areas (Sayer 1970), but which are steadily threatened by encroaching civilization so that "we shall be progressively denied mental relaxation and ultimately unable to find spaciousness in our natural surroundings on a scale greater than a municipal park" (Nairn 1958). Hence the vital necessity to control future developments of second homes (Chapter 7) so that they do not destroy those qualities that their owners may be subconsciously seeking.

In addition, this re-assertion of links with nature is partly a desire of man's to return to his elemental roots, a mystical impulse perhaps, but one

frequently perceived by poets such as in this description of a farming accident in which "out of the wound the blood seeps home, to the warm soil from which it came" (Thomas 1956).

finally, a motivating strand not mentioned in Tangye's dream, but one which has considerable influence, is the desire to keep up with the neighbours. It is the opposite to the factor of self expression that was initially put forward and has been succinctly described in Northern France, where many second home owners apparently become owners because they are "tres sensibles a la notion de standing" (Cribier 1965). However, it is possible that the more noble and enduring motivations do in fact initiate such desires and that these second home owners are not entirely social conformists.

In total, such motivations go a long way towards explaining the immense amounts of time, money and effort that are expended upon second homes by their owners, and help to explain why so many people see "rural England as home, the countryside as the essential nation" (Lowenthal and Pince 1964).

(b) In order for urbanfolk to translate their motivations into practical actions, there is a need for opportunity. Essentially, this is a need to have both time and money with which to purchase or rent and to use a second home. In addition, there are several other factors, such as road improvements and increased publicity, that are aids to this opportunity (Ragatz 1970 (b)).

Average income per head in Britain has been rising steadily since the war (Table 1) and, although many groups have not participated fully in this growth, it is nevertheless evident generally that affluent sectors of the society, well able to afford the potentially substantial expense of owning two homes are increasing in number.

As average income has risen, then has the length of the average working week correspondingly been reduced (Table 1). Leisure is now a most important part of a majority of lives for, while income may be distributed unequally, "leisure is spread remarkably evenly throughout the various social strata" (Roberts 1970). Indeed, it is possible that leisure has permitted people to develop their own interests while still being employed in largely meaningless jobs so that their lives literally become centred upon their leisure hours rather than upon their work.

Second homes may play a central role in such leisure activities and their growth has been particularly encouraged by certain subsidiary factors. In particular, the rapid spread of car ownership (Table 1) has brought, inter alia, "incomparably greater freedom to recreational travel, freedom in the choice of destination, freedom in the timing of journeys, freedom to pause at a moment's whim" (Patmore 1972),

and extensive road improvements, recently involving motorway construction, have significantly reduced journey times and increased the accessibility of many areas. The motor car has brought the coast and the countryside within the convenient range of the average urbanite and from it "few places are isolated, and rural areas which for centuries were cut-off societies now make an easy day's outing on fine summer Sundays" (Fairbrother 1972).

The growth of the practice of taking holidays (Table 1) also favours second home ownership and this is linked with the increased length of the average annual holiday, permitting longer stays away from the first home. A further basic influence has been the rise of total population numbers, leading to increases in those groups able to afford both the time and the money to own second homes (Table 1).

Education undoubtedly contributes to the phenomenon of second homes, partly by helping to produce suitably affluent potential owners, and partly by making people aware of the opportunities that are available in their expanding leisure time. Research in America has shown that "too much education produces too many social isolates. In many ways we are producing the type of person who will use the countryside to try to get away more and more from other people" (Barr 1967). Allied to education is the dramatic impact of changes in communication, and notably the influence of television, which has disseminated information about possible leisure activities, including the usage of second homes, to a majority of British households (Dower 1969).

It would seem, therefore, that the opportunity for second home ownership is available to an increasing number of households in Britain, and is likely to spread still further if the following general forecast is at all valid, for a study in Staffordshire has predicted that, in the near future, "the average family will have a £3,000 per annum income, two or three cars, more than one house, a 25 hour working week and vastly more leisure time" (Staffordshire County Council Planning Office 1968). If this is accurate, then the "two home democracy" suggested by Barr (1967) may not be too distant after all, and particularly as it has recently been proposed that work will eventually become a spare time activity in a leisure society (Roberts 1970).

INDICES OF CHANGE IN RECREATION - RELATED FACTORS,  
Britain 1950-60 (1960 = 100 with projections to 1985)

TABLE : 1.

| Year | No. of cars<br>in use | Total<br>Population | Length of av.<br>working week. | Av. length of<br>Annual Holiday | Income<br>per head | No. students<br>in full-time<br>education. | No.holds<br>in U.K. |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--|---------------------|
| 1950 | 40                    | 93                  | 105                            | -                               | -                  | -  | 73                  |
| 1955 | 65                    | 97                  | 102                            | 90                              | 87                 | 75   | 75                  |
| 1960 | 100                   | 100                 | 100                            | 100                             | 100                | 100  | 100                 |
| 1965 | 165                   | 103                 | 95                             | 110                             | 115                | 165  | 106                 |
| 1970 | 220                   | 106                 | 90                             | 125                             | 135                | 195  | 120                 |
| 1975 | 280                   | 110                 | 85                             | 150                             | 160                | 240  | 130                 |
| 1980 | 330                   | 113                 | 80                             | 180                             | 185                | 315  | 140                 |
| 1985 | 380                   | 117                 | 75                             | 200                             | 200                | 395  | 150                 |

Source: Burton (1967)

With both the motivation and the opportunity to possess a second home, increasing numbers of townsmen are indeed purchasing homes in the countryside or on the coast (Chapter 3 ii). The local environment may vary considerably between, for example, "the rolling hills, deep valleys and honey coloured, honeysuckle-draped towns and villages" of the Cotswolds (West Midlands Tourist Board 1972), and the "mouldering quarries and mines; and an impotent people, sick with inbreeding," that characterise parts of Wales (Thomas 1956). Despite these environmental variations, and despite variations in the type, use and cost of second homes, and in the characteristics of their owners, there are several unifying themes which justify their detailed investigation:

firstly, there is a great dearth of information available at the present on the subject of second homes, even to the extent of their lacking an accurate definition (Chapter 2 i), that research solely for the pursuit of additional knowledge may be justifiable.

secondly, second homes form a distinctive element in the landscape and one which requires study because it may lead to conflict with other uses or to pollution of the environment. For example, second homes may alienate land that could have been used alternatively for agriculture or for public recreation, while they may also cause health problems, road congestion or general environmental decline, perhaps through insufficient planning.

thirdly, second homes become part of a rural system in which urban and rural ways of life are brought together, and give rise to socio-economic implications that are

"at best, little understood at present" (Clout 1971).

Communication may be essential between local people and the second home owners to minimize mutual friction and to enable some degree of social integration between the two groups.

In the economic sphere it is apparent that "the restoration of land values, the possibilities of recapturing sunken capital and vanishing wealth, the creation of a new economic base, and the revitalization of construction and some service industries" (Ragatz 1970.b) are all related to the second home phenomenon.

fourthly, data concerning second homes and their owners is essential for purposes of planning the local service infrastructure so that it is able to cope with temporary and seasonal influxes of population precipitated by second home ownership.

finally, the entire spatial pattern that has resulted from second home growth requires examination as it is basically a missing sector of contemporary urban and regional theory and is of rapidly increasing significance (Ragatz 1970. b), while it is also interesting at a local scale where townsfolk often choose to live during their leisure time in environmental conditions that have been rejected by the local people and "are being abandoned by them as rural-urban migration intensifies" (Clout 1971).

For all these reasons, there is an urgent necessity for second home study to intensify and to expand so that the present scarcity of data may be alleviated. In this particular thesis, chapter two is concerned with the basic difficulty of evolving a suitable definition and with some

possible approaches to research while the remaining chapters comprise a wide ranging survey of the entire second home 'question'. This begins with the national and international spread of the phenomenon, together with details of a small original survey undertaken in Weardale (Chapter 3) and then continues logically by looking first at the second home itself (Chapter 4) and then at the second home owner (Chapter 5). The implications that such ownership can bring at a local and national level are thoroughly analyzed in chapter six, and the concluding chapter is a look into the prospects of future development where the benefits of controlled growth may be adopted. Thus, an attempt has been made to study all aspects of second home ownership in rural areas and it is to be hoped that the complexities and extremely wide variations present in the subject have been fully indicated and explained, and that the large gaps in contemporary knowledge are revealed.

CHAPTER 2.

Methods and problems of studying second homes.

In this section a study is made of the problems that face investigations into second homes and of the methods employed to obtain information and is intended to give the necessary background for the critical appreciation of the remainder of the study. Part one deals with the fundamental need to evolve a standard definition of what exactly constitutes a second home, illustrates the drawbacks of existing definitions, and attempts to produce a possible solution to the dilemma. In part two the difficulties of gathering data in this country are reviewed and the situation is compared with that in selected European countries where more favourable conditions prevail. The methods in use in Britain at present are discussed and certain recommendations are made for the future.

(1) The Need for a Definition.

The fundamental difficulty that must be faced at the outset of any serious study of second homes is that of definition. In paragraph 1 : 2 of the DART appraisal the authors state that "there is, in this country, no agreed definition of 'second home'. Some authors state no definition others vary in significant ways." Despite the problems, a definition is necessary before data can be collected, and a generally accepted definition is preferable so that valid comparisons may be made between the various local studies. The French census provides the broadest approach in describing second homes as "tout ce qui n'est pas résidence principale" (Barbier 1965) and any more detailed definition is really dependent upon the purposes for which it is required.

The Wye study was concerned with the impact of second homes on the countryside and coastal areas and evolved the formula that a second home is "a property which is the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere and which is primarily used for recreational purposes." A very similar definition was produced by Barbier: "à notre sens, une résidence secondaire est ... un logement appartenant à une personne qui a déjà une habitation principale, qui réside le plus souvent dans une ville ou, du moins, assez loin de sa maison de campagne, et qui s'y rend pour les fins de semaine ou des vacances" (Barbier 1965). While both these definitions sound very convincing, they are nevertheless extremely difficult to

put into practice. For example, both mention that the second home should be used less than the first home as it is the "occasional" residence of someone who lives "le plus souvent" in a town. However, the Wye studies showed that 12% of their sample of second homes are used for more than 150 days a year, which can hardly be described as occasional use, while, at the other extreme, only 8.5% of the sample were used for less than twenty days a year.

In many cases, therefore, the designation of the terms "first home" and "second home" is very dependent on the subjective views of the owner who may, for example, regard the town house that he uses for only two weeks a year as his first home simply because he was brought up there but has since moved to a country residence. As the second home is subject to capital gains tax in Britain while the first home is exempt, it is interesting to note that the Commissioners Of Inland Revenue do in fact leave it to the owner to decide which home is his first home.

A second major difficulty arises over the ownership of the second home. A great number of people have access to second homes which they may borrow from friends or relatives, or may rent from the owners who may themselves use the home or who may own it purely for commercial leasing. There are obvious and wide differences between the family who have owned their second home for many years and who use it solely themselves, and the family who rent a home for a few days from a commercial enterprise and who never return to that area again. Brier arbitrarily solves this by stating that "on appelle résidence secondaire

tout logement donc l'occupant, propriétaire ou locataire a plus d'un an, et ayant déjà une habitation principale, peut disposer à tout moment de l'an née" (Brier 1970).

Once again, the definition is really dependent upon the purposes of the study. In Denbighshire the use of rating registers as the principal data source meant implicitly that the report was looking at second homes owned by people living outside the county. It did not consider rented accommodation although information about multiple use of these second homes was obtained in response to questions dealing with overall use and with lending of them. On a national scale, "any definition that excluded renters of second homes could be misleading" (Wye), particularly if the study is intended to show the social and economic impact of these homes.

The third problem of definition results from the proviso made by Wye that the second home should be used primarily "for recreational purposes," which has the effect of excluding city 'pied - à - terres' which may be used occasionally by businessmen. As the Wye study was aimed at the countryside and coast, this proviso is admissible, but for any general definition there seems no reason for the use of the second home to come under consideration at all. And, indeed, there is really no necessity for rural or coastal second homes to be used mainly for recreation and in Weardale, for example, some 17% of respondents to the survey stated that 'study' was one of their principal activities at their second home.

At the end of the DART appraisal is a recommendation that the "Government should evolve a workable standard

definition of a second home," that would preferably be applicable throughout Europe so that accurate and comparable data can be collected in the future. As the preceding discussion has shown, the problems of obtaining such a definition lie in three main directions: the amount of use; the type of occupation; and the character of the use of the second home. The amount of use is not of great significance and the distinction between a first and a second home on this ground is probably best left to the owner. As a distinction has to be made for purposes of capital gains tax in Britain this is presumably a feasible approach although there is no answer to the owner who frequently changes his mind over which home is his first home. In any case, the whole situation is relatively fluid as a second home may legitimately change into a first home almost overnight if the owner disposes of the former first home and the second home becomes the sole residence.

The character of use of the second home is also relatively inapplicable to a standard definition although it may be vital in more specific cases. It is usually very difficult to discover exactly how people use their second home, and, in any case, the use is probably not too different from that of the first home. Thus leading to needless confusion in an investigation.

It is, therefore, the type of occupation that presents the main avenue, and the main obstacle, to the search for a general definition. On the one hand, there is property that is rented out commercially to people wanting

a 'second home' for a relatively short period, particularly for annual vacations, while, on the other hand, there are second homes owned by individuals for their own exclusive use. Between these two extremes lies a continuum of astonishing diversity, an approach to which was made by Marsden in Australia (Marsden 1969). He evolved a four fold classification of 'holiday homes' which is nevertheless of use when looking at the entire spectrum of second homes (Chapter 3 (i)). The four groupings may be summarized as: private homes; intermittently commercial homes; intermittently private homes; and wholly commercial homes, although Marsden makes no attempt to draw the inevitably arbitrary line in between each group. Hence, such an approach gives only an idea of how a standard definition might be produced.

Leading on from Marsden's scheme, it appears feasible to make a valid distinction between 'private' and 'commercial' second homes. A 'private' second home would be defined as a home owned by an individual or family who already owns a first home (as designated for purposes of capital gains tax) and which might be let semi-permanently, occasionally, or used solely by the owner. If it is let permanently then it is never the 'private' home of the owner and is therefore excluded from this classification. The crux of this definition is that the second home must be used by the owner at some time, however short, for it to be included as a 'home'. Thus, 'commercial' second homes are ones that are owned by individuals or by companies who never use them themselves but who let them out for other people to use as their second homes. This excludes property

that is let out as first homes for people, and emphasizes the 'second home' character of the property regardless of the length of the lease.

Using such a dual definition it should be possible to obtain data concerning numbers and distribution of second homes which could then be broken down to discover details of the various sub-groups that are possible within the two categories. For instance, the incidence of exclusive use and the degree of lending and renting could be obtained for private second homes, while the numbers involved in renting commercial homes could be ascertained. In this way the rather haphazard collection of data prevalent at the moment would be eliminated and regularized figures could be produced.

Nevertheless, several problems immediately beset the new definition with the perennial difficulty of dealing with caravans providing an immediate test for the practical applicability of such a definition. The Wye study noted that "large numbers of both stationary and mobile caravans are known to be used as second homes" and that the size and complexity of a study of these caravans would be too great to be included in their report. Despite this initial intention, some caravans were included in the Wye data, illustrating the present impossibility of collecting reasonable and accurate information on second homes in this country.

Caravans are either static or mobile, with a considerable variation in the degree of mobility. Static caravans are really more analogous to a prefabricated home, since they are assembled at a factory and brought by road

transport to their permanent sites, than to the 'movable home' which most people understand by a caravan. Some mobile caravans may be used as tourers and do a great deal of travelling while others might move only once or twice in an entire year. For purposes of definition, static caravans i.e. those which do not move after they have been brought to a site, are second homes if the owner already has a first home, and they thus fit readily into the definition previously put forward. Mobile caravans are probably best eliminated from the category of second homes and studied separately. They include such a variety of styles and patterns of use including, for example, the 17,000 motor caravans that are now used in Britain, that only unnecessary confusion would result from any attempt to classify them as regular second homes. They therefore require specialist study and specialist data.

Having dealt with the caravan problem, it is possible to state a possible standard definition of a second home which has emerged from the discussion: "A second home is a static home which may be private or commercial. A private second home is a home owned and used, however infrequently, by an individual who already owns a first home, while a commercial second home is one that is not used by the owner but which is let to other people for use as their second home."

However, as most of this study relies on data from published sources, a less perfect and more specific definition is used, namely that of the Wye Report. Unhappily, the Wye definition is not very practical although it does give a good idea of the general subject matter

that is investigated. For example, caravans are sometimes included in the data that was collected, and sometimes not. In the Wye national survey they amount to 2.8% of the sample while in the four local studies they comprise 16% of the second homes, rising to a maximum of 30% in West Wales (see Table 7). As Wye explain, "It should be remembered that caravans have generally not been covered in the overall national survey of second homes. At the local level, however, they were included in the sampling to provide a more complete picture." Unfortunately, this more complete picture is also extremely difficult to compare with results from other studies, which have generally entirely excluded caravans, and it would have been better if the Wye Report had either (a) excluded caravans, or (b) included them within a sensible definition that could be adopted for future research work.

Nevertheless, the Wye data is invaluable simply because so little alternative information is available. Most of the other published reports in this country are concerned primarily with country cottages as they are the principal type of second home in those regions where controversy has led to detailed research. The Weardale survey deliberately followed this pattern, and omitted caravans, so that the results would be comparable with other areas. The financial impact of caravan ownership on an area is so different from that of more permanent dwellings, since they are often purchased in other regions and do not require many improvements and alterations, that the Denbighshire Planning Department has produced a separate

study of caravans (Denbighshire County Council 1972a).  
The ensuing study is thus primarily one on the country  
cottage type of second homes and it must therefore be  
remembered that these form only one sector of the entire  
second home category.

(ii) Methods of Research.

The information on second homes that is available in Britain is both small in quantity and variable in quality, a situation attributable to the factors discussed further in Chapter 3 (ii). The principal factors are the recent emergence of second homes as an important phenomenon in this country; the natural reticence of their owners to giving away information (The Times 1973c); the fundamental difficulty of deciding upon a workable definition; and the cost and complexity of any large scale second home study. In addition, the actual data sources are difficult to use, partly as a result of the problems of definition and partly because of the relatively small numbers involved.

A contrasted situation occurs in France where second homes are a recognized part of the way of life, being found in great numbers, and where several sources of data are available. Some five main sources may be identified:

(a) The researcher can make direct enquiries and contact various knowledgeable people in the study area, such as postmen, policemen, estate agents and publicans. This is an accurate but very time consuming and detailed approach and is not therefore viable for use over a wide region.

In the Basses Alpes, for example, over 800 separate communes were examined, a survey that would be clearly impossible using direct enquiries (Barbier 1965 ).

(b) The French census (INSEE) is valuable for providing basic information concerning the numbers of second homes in each commune, their distribution, their size and the

provision of services. It is not exceptionally accurate as there is no clear cut definition of a second home and as many people probably do not reveal the second home character of their property in order to avoid taxes. It does, however, provide a good general background, one that is lacking in Britain, and may be used in conjunction with local enquiries to build up a more accurate set of data (Clout 1971).

(c) Many French second homes are purpose-built and every commune has very full and detailed statistics as a result of the construction permits that are necessary for new building. These give the name and address of the owner, the type of building and even if it is to be used as a second home. Despite the seemingly great advantages of this source, it has limited value for research since: (1) it does not include the large number of converted residences; (2) it is common for the mayor or other officials to obtain permits, build the homes, and then sell at a profit to second home owners; (3) Second homes may frequently be built without permits or may be described as first homes for taxation and grant purposes.

(d) Cadastral maps contain very precise information about each parcel of property, including the name and address of the owner, but tend to underestimate the numbers of second homes as their owners are often shown to be permanently living at the second home if they are owners of longstanding (David 1966). The extraction of the relevant data is a particularly boring and longwinded task and can only be pursued for a tiny area or with the

use of careful sampling over a wider area.

(e) The French départements compile "matrices générales", which are similar to British rate books, and which show the name and address of every property owner and the amount of property tax that he is due to pay. Despite the difficulty of defining a second home from such a source, it is nevertheless invaluable as large areas can be covered rapidly and information obtained for different years. Accuracy can be improved by using a correcting co-efficient since "s'il y a une erreur par défaut, celle-ci est connue, systématique, toujours dans le même sens" (Barbier 1965).

With the choice of all these approaches, French researchers are able to choose those which are most suitable for their particular work. For a regional study, the census and tax books provide an adequate coverage, while direct enquiries, cadastral maps and construction permits may be invaluable for very detailed study. An additional technique was used in a study of Lille where over 3000 questionnaires were sent out to a random sample of the entire population, of which 1367 were returned, representing approximately 1% of the city's inhabitants, and of which 224 were from second home owners (Dacquin 1965). Using this unique data base, it was possible to look at the effect of one industrial city upon the surrounding countryside through the medium of second homes, whereas usually the information is collected from the countryside rather than from the town.

In Sweden too there are several sources of information, with the tax returns providing by far the most complete and most accurate statistics. Nevertheless

extensive field checking is usually also necessary and an elaborate system of delimiting second home types has been evolved based, for example, on the intra - or extra - regional origins of the owner (Aldskogius 1969 ). With initial information relatively easy to obtain, research has tended to become more advanced than in other countries where problems of numbers and distributions are still paramount (Aldskogius 1967).

In Britain the situation is very different to that in Sweden or in France, and any information is correspondingly more difficult to obtain. At a national level, the census does not include second homes as they have hitherto been relatively insignificant in this country, and figures have therefore come from a variety of sources (Chapter 3 (ii)). Of these sources, the A.G.B. annual survey, using a stratified random sample of 35,000 households, may give erroneous regional figures but is likely to be accurate with the overall total. (Audits of Great Britain Ltd.,) The B.T.A/Keele survey used a national sample of only 3,167 and should therefore be treated with caution, despite the fact that its final figures resemble those produced by A.G.B. (British Travel Association/University of Keele 1967). It is in any case now somewhat outdated and the only recent and detailed national investigation has been that undertaken by Wye College for the Countryside Commission.

The Wye survey covered England and Wales using a stratified sample of 242 local authorities from which lists of approximately 20,000 second homes were extracted. Questionnaires were then posted to about 10,000 of these homes

and some 2,500 usable returns were eventually collected. In addition, four chosen areas were subjected to very detailed investigation to provide insight into specific characteristics of second homes. The overwhelming problems facing the Wye study were dispiritedly summarized: "it is probable that the numbers, distribution and even the types of second properties owned by private families are all changing fast. Yet our study has to be essentially a static one because of the absence of data on trends. Even the picture at a point in time has been extremely difficult to obtain" (Wye). Nevertheless, the Wye study is the only detailed national coverage that is currently available and is therefore valuable, despite inherent disadvantages which arise from its being a sample investigation and thus being unable to discover the complete and accurate spatial distribution of second homes in this country (Clout 1973).

The actual sources of information used in Britain differ from those used in France in a number of ways. There are, of course, no cadastral maps or national census statistics obtainable in this country and only data based on local authorities is available: firstly, there are permits for new construction and applications for improvement grants to help with conversions. As local authorities differ significantly in their policies towards second homes and in the quality of their records, these provide a very fragmentary source, particularly as many second homes attract neither permits nor grants. Such information is nevertheless useful for providing a background to a detailed local study.

secondly, every parish has an electoral list which distinguishes as "L" voters those people who own property and who are registered to vote in the parish but who live permanently elsewhere. There is, however, no obligation for the second home owner to register as a voter and it is unlikely that he will do so unless he uses the home very frequently and is perhaps planning to retire there. Hence a very biased picture results which is exacerbated by the fact that lists are often out of date and unreliable and are useful only as a cross check for information obtained elsewhere.

thirdly, rate books provide the British equivalent of the French "matrices generales" and are the principal data source in this country. They contain the name and address of each ratepayer and the rateable value of every property so that rate demands to second home owners will usually be sent to the owner's permanent address. By analysing those addresses outside the local authority area, it is possible to obtain a reasonable indication of the numbers of second homes in that area. Unfortunately, some rate demands are sent to the second home, especially if it is used for long periods, or are sent to the ratepayer through agents, banks or post offices, making it impossible to distinguish between a first and a second home.

Additional problems occur when a landlord living outside the district is paying rates for property occupied by permanent tenants and only detailed local knowledge can distinguish such instances. In the survey undertaken by Denbighshire County Council, for example, a postal

questionnaire was sent out to all the potential second homes identified from the rating registers. The results are interesting for the ensuing report suggested that 12% of these potential second homes were permanently occupied, either by sitting tenants or by people who had moved there permanently after the compilation of the registers. The report also found that the registers under-estimated the probable total of second homes by about 30%, a total that was reached by questioning local shopkeepers, ministers and police. Hence, an accurate total of approximately 18% above the initial potential second home total was achieved after accounting for the various possible sources of error. finally, the fourth method of obtaining data is by direct enquiry which is invaluable for providing an accurate local picture as the Denbighshire report clearly illustrates.

In general, rating registers provide the basis of most of the second home studies so far undertaken. A map produced from a survey of second homes in the Lley Peninsula "must be regarded as tentative only for it is based on the evidence of rate books alone" (Patmore 1972), and the Wye national survey utilised a "combination of rate records, electoral registers, and the supplementary help and knowledge of the local authority officers." (Wye). Electoral registers are not, however, normally of much practical use and they have been tried but rejected in several studies (Northumberland County Council 1971; Rutgers 1972; Weardale). In the Lake District the rating records were supplemented by data from the parish councils and also from the G.P.O. when other sources became

unavailable (Rutgers 1972). The Post Office is a particularly useful source of information in Ontario where it keeps accurate lists of second home owners to facilitate postal deliveries (Wolfe 1951) and, incidentally facilitates research.

Most studies in Britain rely upon a balance of using rating registers augmented by direct enquiries, with other methods used wherever they are relevant and obtainable. In this careful fashion an accurate picture may be produced despite the various difficulties of dealing with rating registers although it is, of course a somewhat lengthy and tedious approach. The real need, therefore, is for the census to include questions concerning second homes which would then provide a detailed, accurate national picture upon which to base more complex local investigations (Clout 1973).

CHAPTER 3.

The National and International Incidence of Second Homes.

Much of the published material on second homes has originated from abroad where such homes are commonly more widespread than in Britain (Table 2). Thus, the first section of this chapter consists of a wide ranging review of second home development in several countries and some general conclusions are drawn. In part two, the situation in Britain is studied and, while it seems that a rapid increase in the numbers of second homes is generally accepted, only tentative information is currently available concerning the overall spatial pattern. Several local reports do however exist, and the third section describes the scope of, and the background to, the writer's own investigation in Weardale. From a world wide scale the chapter therefore logically narrows its limits to the very localised extent of a North Pennine Dale and the second home characteristics described at the international level can be seen to apply with great pertinence to the situation in Weardale.

(i) The International Picture.

Material from six countries is utilised in this review, these being Sweden, Norway, Australia, U.S.A. Canada and France, and, although a study from a Communist state would be invaluable for comparative purposes, only tantalising references have been discovered (Neuberg 1973). Despite great differences between these countries the second home experience shows several broad similarities which are described below:-

TABLE 2      Ownership of Second Homes in Europe 1970.

| <u>Country</u> | <u>% of all Households</u> | <u>% of households with second homes in social groups (1)</u> |             |             |
|----------------|----------------------------|---|-------------|-------------|
|                |                            | <u>SG 1 + 2</u>   | <u>SG 3</u> | <u>SG 4</u> |
| Sweden         | 22                         | 25  | 21          | 19          |
| Norway         | 17                         | 24  | 13          | 12          |
| Spain          | 17                         | 22  | 8           | 17          |
| France         | 16                         | 25  | 12          | 10          |
| Portugal       | 10                         | 12  | 8           | 7           |
| Denmark        | 10                         | 16  | 10          | 4           |
| Austria        | 8                          | 9   | 4           | 9           |
| Switzerland    | 8                          | 11  | 3           | 4           |
| Belgium        | 7                          | 9   | 3           | 4           |
| Finland        | 7                          | 12  | 6           | +           |
| Luxembourg     | 6                          | 7   | 1           | 5           |
| Italy          | 5                          | 9   | 4           | 4           |
| West Germany   | 3                          | 6   | 1           | +           |
| Netherlands    | 3                          | 5   | 2           | 1           |
| Ireland        | 2                          | 1   | 5           | 2           |
| U.K.           | 3                          | 3   | +           | 2           |
| Europe         | 8                          | 12  | 5           | 4           |

- (1) Social groups = SG 1 Professional and executive.  
SG 2 White collar workers  
SG 3 Skilled manual workers  
SG 4 Others

(2) + indicates less than 1%

Source: DART

1. Sweden (see Table 2) In Sweden second homes are very much an integral part of the national way of life and they are demonstrably a direct development from the ancient and deep seated traditions of semi-nomadism and transhumance. As Palme comments, "double residence, with a summer and a winter dwelling, was prevalent even in the old Swedish farming society." (Palme 1966). There are probably well over 700,000 second homes in Sweden (Jenkins 1969) catering for perhaps one in five of all families (Austin 1970) and approximately 25% of all holidaymakers spend their vacations in summer cottages which they may own, rent or borrow (Burton 1966 b). The cottages are usually referred to as 'sommarstuga' (summer houses), despite their often all year round usage, and are found principally in coastal and lakeside situations, their relatively large numbers reflecting the presence of very favourable conditions for their continued growth (Town and Country Planning 1965). x

In Swedish towns over 55% of the inhabitants are flat dwellers and this, combined with a general feeling that the cities are "overplanned" tends to encourage people to leave the towns for the countryside as much as possible (Jenkins 1969). This is facilitated by the increasing leisure time, decreasing amount of working hours and by the expansion of the legal annual holiday since 1945. In addition, the widespread use of time saving foods and household appliances has had a considerable impact (Palme 1966). Rural property has been made available through Government policy to re-organize the agricultural industry and to concentrate it into the more fertile and

productive regions, thus releasing a steady surplus of small farm buildings in the less favoured regions. This supply is, however, inadequate to meet the large demand for second homes and therefore purpose built homes account for well over 80% of the total stock. Most are built for individual ownership but many firms, realising the urban dis-satisfactions of their employees, have built their own summer houses for the employees' exclusive use, a practice that is apparently very popular and is expanding in scope (Austin 1970).

The Swedish countryside is physically very favourable for second home construction as the plentiful forests can absorb large numbers of homes and people without destroying the scenery for others. The countless lakes and small islands, together with the attractive coastline, provide easily accessible sites and Aldskogius has found that there is a "strong association between vacation house settlement and coastlines and lakeshores on the one hand, and the concentration of vacation house settlement in the vicinity of the larger urban agglomerations on the other." (Aldskogius 1969). The attraction of second homes is also a function of the prevailing climate which enables them to be used as centres for summer vacations and also for the very popular winter sports. Finally, the fact that Sweden is one of the most affluent nations in the world has made it possible for second homes to become so widespread under equally favourable physical conditions.

Rural idylls do, however, bring their attendant problems which are becoming particularly severe in Sweden. Initially summer houses were concentrated around the main population centres and were therefore assured of the

necessary utilities, primarily water and electricity. As sites close at hand became scarce, and as car ownership spread, sites further away began to be exploited and problems arose for example over local expansion of refuse collection, road maintenance, and the provision of sewers (Palme 1966). Until recently the planning legislation has been inadequate to prevent the indiscriminate spread of summer houses into such poorly serviced areas, and into areas where there was a need to preserve the land for nature conservation or for public outdoor recreation. However, long term appraisal of national policy on these conflicting land uses is under consideration and legislation will soon be tightened (Wye). Indeed, planning controls already operate to maintain public access to shorelines and to conceal construction of new homes in forested areas as far as possible, a policy that ensures both maximum amenity for the public and also maximum isolation and privacy for the home-owner. It is further proposed to prohibit any future second home construction around Stockholm within a distance accessible by one hour's driving, and by lesser distances around the smaller towns. In this way it is hoped to preserve a belt of land for day trips from the towns which will be predominantly publicly owned for public recreational use. Planning controls are especially strict with private summer house site developments, where up to two hundred houses may be built, and it is likely that legislation will continue to come into force to regulate the spread of private second homes into regions which many people feel should

be retained for public recreational purposes. The pattern described by Aldskogius is already being significantly altered and channelled and this will undoubtedly be a continuing situation in Sweden as public and private interests compete for the increasingly accessible and consequently diminishing countryside.

2. Norway: The Norwegian second home literature yields some interesting details to an overall picture which is, as might be expected, very similar to that in Sweden (see table 2). Over 40% of the population has a cabin or "hytte" which is usually situated beside the sea or a lake or is in the mountains. There is even a growing trend for families to have two cabins, one for winter occupation in the mountains, and the second for summer vacations on the coast (Hope 1973). In general, the cabins are small and extremely simple and, although they are not usually connected to public utilities, the furnishings are invariably highly functional and make the cabins very comfortable. Their timber construction lends itself to prefabrication and it is now common for owners to buy and to erect their own home at a considerable saving in cost.

The popularity of second homes in Norway is so marked that Somme has been moved to comment that the towns are "virtually dead from Saturday lunchtime onwards, people being at their weekend cottages or out on a ramble." (Somme 1966). Somme has also noted problems arising when wealthy townspeople buy up considerable tracts of countryside, preventing public access and objecting to any form of development, but who then make very high profits on the construction and sale of 'cabins' on this land. The relatively small population and large expanse of countryside is presumably a major factor behind the absence of more serious problems.

3. Australia: From Scandinavia the review now moves to the highly contrasted environment of Australia where, although comparatively little research has been undertaken, there can be little doubt that second homes do form an important sector of vacation accommodation. With the spread of car ownership, the construction of improved roads, and with increases in population and in leisure time, Australia has generated a distinctive type of landscape which Marsden has termed the "holiday homescape" (Marsden 1969). In coastal Queensland this is characterised by the number, proportion and density of holiday homes, and a very useful four fold classification may be developed:

- (a) private homescape with homes used at weekends and during vacations by the owners and their friends. The actual location of these homes is controlled primarily by the necessity for them to be within easy commuting distance of the first home.
- (b) intermittently commercial where the predominantly family homes are rented in the season to offset overheads such as rates and electricity bills.
- (c) intermittently private where the home is rented out most of the year and is only occasionally used by the owner who has often acquired it for retirement.
- (d) commercial homes are owned as an investment and are let continuously usually through an agent.

Such homescapes often have minimal service infrastructure, despite their 'neo-urban' character and despite the homes being purpose built, but legislation is gradually improving the situation. Nearly all second

homes are purpose built in Australia and conversions are, understandably, infrequent. The rapid growth rate of these homes causes conflict through the wasteful combination of lowgrade, private, recreational plant and high grade, potentially public, recreational resource. It is already evident that "finite accessible recreational resources, only initially free, are being mined at an alarming rate" (Marsden 1969), and that planning controls are urgently required to prevent further alienation of the coastline. Analogies with the Swedish experience are thus easily made:

4. U.S.A: In the U.S.A. it is estimated that well over 5% of families have second homes (Ragatz 1970a) and that the total stock, numbering approximately 2 - 5 million in 1973, is increasing at a rate of between 100,000 and 200,000 homes each year (Urban Land Institute 1970). The reasons for this enormous growth are numerous and varied: We mention the hot dry summers, the rapid expansion of private car ownership, the vast improvements in the road network (notably the Inter State highways), and the focus of the August summer holiday, while Ragatz (1970a) has demonstrated that the growth is dependent upon commensurate increases both in population and in per capita income. Gottman suggests that urbanites, with their increased leisure and car ownership, leave the cities as often as possible "to escape from their usual environment of concrete, steel and stone, and from the noise and polluted atmosphere. (Gottman 1961). This view is supported by Borrelli who describes an even more depressing urban environment prevalent in the U.S.A. at present.

As a result of these factors, America is now experiencing a "vacation house" boom which is on a par with the memorable land rushes that occurred in Florida in the 1920's and in Southern California in the 1930's (Borrelli 1972). The main regions affected by the boom are the northern states of New England, the Catskills, Adirondacks, Shenandoahs, Blue Ridge Mountains and Smokies, together with the undeveloped stretches of the Atlantic coast. They combine the attractions of water or mountain with close proximity to the large urban populations of Megalopolis and the Great Lakes region. A noticeable

characteristic of the distribution of second homes has been this concentration close to the major centres of population so that, in 1960, four states contained 34% of the national total of second homes while ten states contained 60% of the total (Ragatz 1970a). Dispersal has taken place since 1960 as suitable sites become locally scarce and as communications to more distant regions improve ease of access.

The boom has greatly affected American rural life: within two hours driving distance of any major city the prices of country properties have risen at least 20% p.a. over the last five years. For example, in Shelbourne, Vermont, land was selling at \$100 an acre in 1957 while, by 1973, similar land was easily reaching \$15,000 an acre (Borelli 1972). In neighbouring New Hampshire, the vacation home population has reached 287,000 and is equal to one third of the State's resident population, bringing with it problems of preserving the landscape, of maintaining public access, and of retaining the character of many previously isolated communities. There is also growing concern over the service infrastructure which is often inadequate to cope with the unexpected urban influx (David 1969). Local authorities that have encouraged the development of second homes for the additional tax income have discovered too late that the additional income is insufficient to cover the necessary outlay on services. In particular, there is a widespread necessity for proper provision for sewage which is rapidly becoming a "major environmental and health problem" (Borelli 1972).

Escalating prices have attracted big business, including such corporations as Boise Cascade and ITT, who buy land cheaply, promote it for vacation home development, and then sell at a large profit. Wolff speaks of "the unreality that pervades the \$6 billion-a-year industry that is hustling America's scenic open spaces from coast to coast" (Wolff 1973) and in Florida, for example, ITT has plans to develop Flagler County into a vacation home sprawl for over 750,000 while, for future development, the corporation also owns six miles of coastline and seventeen miles along the Intercoastal Waterway (Urban Land Institute 1970). Such rapid and uncontrolled exploitation of attractive landscape is being increasingly opposed by conservationists, and notably by the California based Sierra Club, who view with disquiet the steady erosion of the open countryside by private enterprise, and who feel that more land should be reserved for public access and recreational use. In addition, they object to the effects of State property taxes which are at present generally biased towards encouraging speculative deals and which therefore encourage poor planning and work to the disadvantage of both the small farmer and the eventual customer.

Already, "vast parcels of the American earth have been carved up and sold to thousands of consumers in fragrant abuse of the most common principles of sound land-use planning" (Wolff 1973) and there is an all too evident need for stricter planning controls and for taxation reform to remove the incentives for speculation. In 1971 an act was passed in California requiring planning permission

for all rural developments of over fifty units with the object of rejecting plans that would be likely"to cause environmental damage or substantially and unavoidably injure fish or wildlife or their habitats" (Borrelli 1972). More controls are likely in the future as an increasingly environmentally conscious America begins to look beyond the possibility of a quick profit to the maintenance of more enduring values, and develops a 'land ethic' to replace the present potentially disastrous land rush.

5. Canada: Canadian statistics on second homes are not plentiful although it is evident that second homes do form an integral part of the national vacation scene and nearly all the research has taken place in the one province of Ontario. It has been noted, for example, that the county of Terrebonne, in the Laurentians, is steadily becoming almost a residential suburb for the wealthier residents of Montreal and Quebec who tend to build their homes either on the outskirts of the small villages or on isolated plots (Warkentin 1967). Research in Ontario is greatly facilitated by the Post Office practice of maintaining lists of second home owners to help in its summer deliveries and, despite the provision of lavish public rural and recreational facilities in the state, the second home has become the most popular and most characteristic recreational centre leading to the total alienation of certain lakeshores from public use (Ontario Historical Society 1968). Within Ontario, some 20% of the second home owners come from the U.S.A. and these appear to exhibit a 'momentum' effect so that those travelling from a long distance tend to move further into the wilder Shield areas in order to find complete isolation than do the people living relatively close at hand (Cosgrove and Jackson 1972). However, well over 50% of the owners originate from Toronto and this led Wolfe to develop an Index of Recreational Land use Intensity whereby an index value of one indicates that a particular city contains, for example, 10% of the population of a province and also supplies 10% of the second home owners in that province. An index value of two would

mean that, while this city had 10% of the provincial population, it supplied 20% of the second home owners. (Wolfe 1951).

A second contribution by Wolfe is his theory of invasion succession, in which he suggests that areas close to a city were fashionable second home sites when only the wealthy could possibly afford two homes. As more people obtained the wealth and the leisure time necessary to invest in a country home, then the very wealthy were forced to move further afield and so the cycle would eventually repeat itself. The applicability of this idea elsewhere is questionable as it would seem likely that the later arrivals would 'leap frog' the earlier wealthier second home belt and build on less accessible and possibly less favoured sites. However, the ability of an area to lose its attraction for second home owners has been noted in Canada where the influx of a Jewish minority in certain areas has led to earlier owners moving elsewhere, and thus the invasion theory may be more useful than initially seems likely.

As second homes proliferate, planning controls will probably follow in order to prevent the undue alienation of scenically attractive land. For example, there is already a statute in Ontario which ensures that at least 25% of Crown Land is retained for public use and it is now proposed to raise the proportion to 40% or even 50% in order to maintain sufficient recreational space for the predominantly urban population. Such measures will undoubtedly follow in the other States as second homes spread into increasingly remote areas in search of the elusive antithesis of urban life.

6. France: The study of second homes in France is facilitated by the inclusion of relevant questions in the national census and a great deal of research has, in fact, been carried out, both by French and by English workers. In 1954 there were only 447,000 second homes but this total has risen steadily to 960,000 in 1962 at a rate of about 60,000 new homes every year. Between 1962 and 1972 the rate of growth accelerated to 75,000 homes p.a. and the total rose to 1,097,000 in 1964 and to 1,650,000 in 1972 (Clout 1969.b). This final figure, while thought by many to be an under estimate, does represent 11% of the total French housing stock, giving a fair indication of the very great importance of "les residences secondaires" in France.

This importance stems from the highly favourable conditions for second home development which include the generally high urban densities, with many people living in multi-storey flats and with new construction proceeding very slowly indeed (Clout 1969(b); Barbier 1965 ), giving rise to a situation where a second home becomes a substitute for a good first home. Urbanization in France has taken place comparatively recently and links are still strong between town and country so that inheritance of rural property by townspeople is not uncommon and so that many townspeople have relatives living in the country. Rural depopulation and farm re-organisation release up to 50,000 dwellings each year, particularly in the scenically attractive regions of the South, Centre and East. The Dordogne, for example, has even become popular with English buyers, as they are able to purchase fine old stone

farmhouses that are suitable for modernisation (Troop 1973). \*

Less specifically, the congestion and high prices of established resorts, taken together with the spread of car ownership, has led to a desire for a second home for relatively cheap and quiet vacations (Thompson 1970). The French traditionally spend their holidays in France, encouraged by the hot, dry summer, and increased leisure time since the war together with the introduction of a month's holiday with pay, has led to these holidays being naturally centred around a second home. The expanding motorway network and lax rural planning controls contribute to this development. \*

Second homes are therefore especially suited to French demands and their growth is such that four main zones may be distinguished within France:

(a) The Paris Basin has, depending upon its exact definition, between 230,000 and 300,000 second homes. Although the very rich have owned country homes for many years around the main cities of Paris, Rheims, Rouens and Orleans, there have been fundamental changes in the countryside in recent times as increasing numbers of townspeople are able to afford their own country houses. Most of the homes are within 80 kms. of the principal towns in the more picturesque areas and in areas of declining population where property is available. However, the availability of such property is not a certain indication that an influx of second home owners will take place, as other factors, such as accessibility, are also important.

The great number of second homes has had a

considerable impact on both rural communities and rural landscape. As many of the properties bought by city folk are empty as a result of depopulation, the vendor is often an urbanite himself and therefore the local commune has no part at all in a transaction which nevertheless affects its daily life. Property prices tend to rise, thus outpricing local people and encouraging further depopulation so that more property comes on the market. In addition, rural overcrowding may occur as, for example, in the canton of Houdan where, between 1954 and 1962, the local population remained stable while the number of locally owned dwellings decreased. By 1962 the 1,500 local homes contained 7,400 local people while 1,300 second homes were used by less than 3,000 Parisians (Cribier 1966).

Further problems arise over locally provided services and, while second home owners usually purchase their provisions in Paris before leaving for a country weekend, they leave their rubbish at the second home to be cleared away by the rural commune on the Monday. The communes also have the head-ache of providing sufficient water in the summer months, the period when water is most scarce but when the second homes are in most constant use. As Cribier notes, "l'infrastructure doit correspondre non plus à la consommation moyenne mais à la consommation de quelques dizaines de jours de l'année" (Cribier 1966). Local people may benefit from jobs as gardeners, watchmen and personal servants but shopkeepers thrive only if they stock the special goods required by the Parisian tastes and seldom demanded locally. At election time the second home owners may vote at their country home and thus greatly

influence local politics, perhaps by putting new vigour into a lethargic rural council, and this is particularly likely to occur if the owner retires to his second home where he will also swell the steadily ageing local population, a population bereft of the young people who have left in search of employment and cheap property.

(b) The Channel and Atlantic coasts where approximately 20% of French second homes are situated (Brier 1970).

On the Ile de Re, for example, some 45% of the dwellings are second homes which comprise a mixture of converted houses in the traditional style, with one low storey, a whitewashed exterior, and an interior yard, and of modern pre-fabricated designs which are themselves giving way to modern purpose built homes constructed in the old style (Bordarier 1966). There is a pressing need for controls to prevent further indiscriminate development as, apart from a fall in amenity standards, the local farming is suffering from the loss of land which is sold at extremely high prices for second home construction but the loss of which leaves the farmer's future in jeopardy.

However, the second home owners do at least provide a regular and stable influx of holidaymakers each year, and this is very noticeable at coastal resorts such as Le Touquet where changeable weather may cause considerable fluctuations in local trade. Before the second world war Le Touquet itself was an exclusive second home centre for the very wealthy from Paris and from England but, after 1945, this rich clientele did not return, owing to wartime destruction and to frequent loss of wealth, and

the local people, mainly from the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, moved into the area and built homes in "le style pseudo-rustique" among the dunes (Cribier 1965). Less than 25% of the second home owners now come from Paris while over 70% originate from the Nord and a survey undertaken in Lille showed that 50% of the inhabitants who owned second homes sited them in coastal locations. Such coastal homes were mainly conversions, although over 30% were purpose-built, and this contrasted sharply with the situation inland where only a negligible proportion were purpose-built (Dacquin 1965).

(c) Mediterranean Coast and Corsica. This has always been a favoured region for vacations owing to both physical and climatic conditions and it is now connected by motorway to the population centres of Paris and the industrial north. It is not therefore too surprising to find that second homes are widespread throughout the region. Indeed, owing to the national and international reputation of this area, it is possible to distinguish between 'weekend' homes which are usually within about ninety minutes driving time of the towns, and 'holiday' homes which may be sited almost anywhere and whose owners may live anywhere in France, or even throughout the world.

Nevertheless, some 65% of the second home owners live in the urban agglomerations of Marseille, Toulon and Nice, and, while coastal sites were favoured initially, the trend is now for homes to be sited a little inland where they pose the usual problems of service provision. On the whole, however, the local influence of second homes is

thought to be beneficial, as they help to maintain rural life, they bring cash into poor economies, and they ensure that local services are improved and expanded (Barbier 1966). In Corsica the construction of new homes is causing controversy both through the destruction of attractive scenery and also through the loss of ancestral land in return for quick profits. Sale of land was opposed at first but gradually the local people saw the opportunity of obtaining cash returns "en échange de sols rocailleux, abandonnés à la friche ou au pacage épisodique des troupeaux" (Renucci 1961).

In Languedoc the French government is attempting to utilise tourism to revivify a dying rural region through the construction of six large resorts which may eventually cater for up to two million tourists. Part of the accommodation is in the form of flats and cottages and, at La Grande Motte, the first resort to be completed, about 50% of the holidaymakers stay in their own 'second home' (MacNaghten 1970). It is of interest to note that, despite the fundamental aim of attracting foreign tourists, about 35% of the units at La Grande Motte are already owned by the inhabitants of the neighbouring départements (Kilmartin 1972).

(d) The Alps and The Central Massif, which together have approximately 15% of their overall property stock classified as second homes (Clout 1969.a). The importance of second homes to these regions has resulted in comparatively large research programmes: In the Auvergne, for example, second homes were originally found fairly close to the towns but

saturation, coupled with rising car ownership, has led to a much wider dispersal which is channelled in many instances by the fact that townspeople still retain links with their birthplaces or family homes and are therefore likely to obtain second homes in such areas. In addition, some local communities strongly encourage second homes and may build lakes or ski-runs to provide recreational facilities (Clout 1972).

The SOMIVAL organisation (La Societe pour la Mise en Valeur de la Region Auvergne-Limousin) has also recognised that second homes are of benefit and has built holiday villages, utilising communal services, and with the object of providing restful, inexpensive holidays while, simultaneously, contributing to rural development by absorbing some of the produce of a re-adjusted agriculture and by employing a proportion of the labour displaced by agricultural improvement schemes (Thompson 1970). Clout has found that communities which deliberately welcome townspeople obtain far greater financial and social benefits than do "closed" communities which, while making no efforts to acquire second homes, do so anyway (Clout 1970). Clout also forecasts the virtual disappearance of the Auvergnat peasant population within thirty years, thus removing all local opposition to second homes and he speculates "whether a feedback reaction will develop from frustrated urbanites seeking rural solitude" (Clout 1970).

In the Val du Bourget the second home is seen as an important agent of change in the socio-economic structure as it is virtually the only form of tourism to reach many communes. It is thought, for example, to precipitate and

to accelerate rural depopulation and agricultural decline although these are due initially to older and more deep rooted causes. Hence, "peu a peu la zone agricole doit se restreindre avec le transfert du sol du paysan au citadin" (David 1966). Agriculture expands only in certain specialised sectors, such as quality wine, vegetables and milk, but it is difficult to discover just how much of its troubles stem from the second home influx or indeed if the influx is not of general local benefit and has only minor localized disadvantageous effects.

Similarly mixed feelings are found in Isere but in this instance second homes have the overwhelming advantage of bringing stability to a tourist income which is dependent upon many factors, including, for example, the vagaries of the weather (Marie 1966). This stability stems, in part, from the fact that many of the second home owners live relatively locally and therefore use their second home as a regular and integral part of their way of life. Approximately 35% of the owners come from the Grenoble conurbation, with another 15% from Lyons, and it is thought that many of these city folk are the products of rural out-migration and therefore have no great tradition of city life. Finally, studies in the Basses-Alpes have revealed a generally similar situation, with 35% of the owners originating in Marseilles, a phenomenon explicable since "l'avantage va aux très grandes villes dont les habitants, plus riches et plus nombreux, mais aussi davantage privées de nature, éprouvent un besoin plus pressant de repos" (Barbier 1965).

Certain conclusions may be drawn from the preceding review and, in particular, it is possible to isolate several factors that influence the differential spatial distribution of second homes in the various countries and these may be usefully summarized:

firstly, the national distribution and density of population is important. For example, highly urbanized nations seem likely to foster second home growth while adequate physical space for such growth is also necessary so that it is noticeable that the countries studied are characterised by relatively large urban populations and by relatively low overall rural population densities.

secondly, the socio-economic level of the population of a country is also relevant and the average income level, the amount of available leisure time and its traditional use, and existing housing styles are three representative influences on second home development. Thus, some countries have deep seated traditions of two-home families or have cramped urban housing conditions that are made bearable only by the possession of a country residence.

thirdly, planning legislation may act to inhibit second home development in some countries while, conversely, characteristic rural depopulation may yield a steady supply of potential second homes. Increasingly, countries with large numbers of second homes are realising that controls are essential, particularly when such homes are predominantly purpose built types, in order to minimise environmental damage and to avoid harmful speculation.

finally, the relative accessibility of scenically attractive landscape, especially if it is associated with water, has a vital bearing upon second home ownership and thus motorways are now emerging as a factor of far reaching importance as they 'open up' new regions to potential second home development by making them more easily accessible.

(ii) The National Picture.

While second homes have thus been investigated in great detail in both Western Europe and North America, the situation in Britain has been very different. Prior to the pioneering attempt by Wye College to obtain a national picture of their numbers, distribution and characteristics, published information on second homes has tended to be either journalistic in approach or limited in scope. There are several reasons for this, with perhaps the primary one being that the numbers of second homes in Britain have, until fairly recently, been so small as to be relatively insignificant on a national scale. This is illustrated very clearly in table 1, which demonstrates the wide variations of households owning second homes between Britain and, for example, the Scandinavian countries.

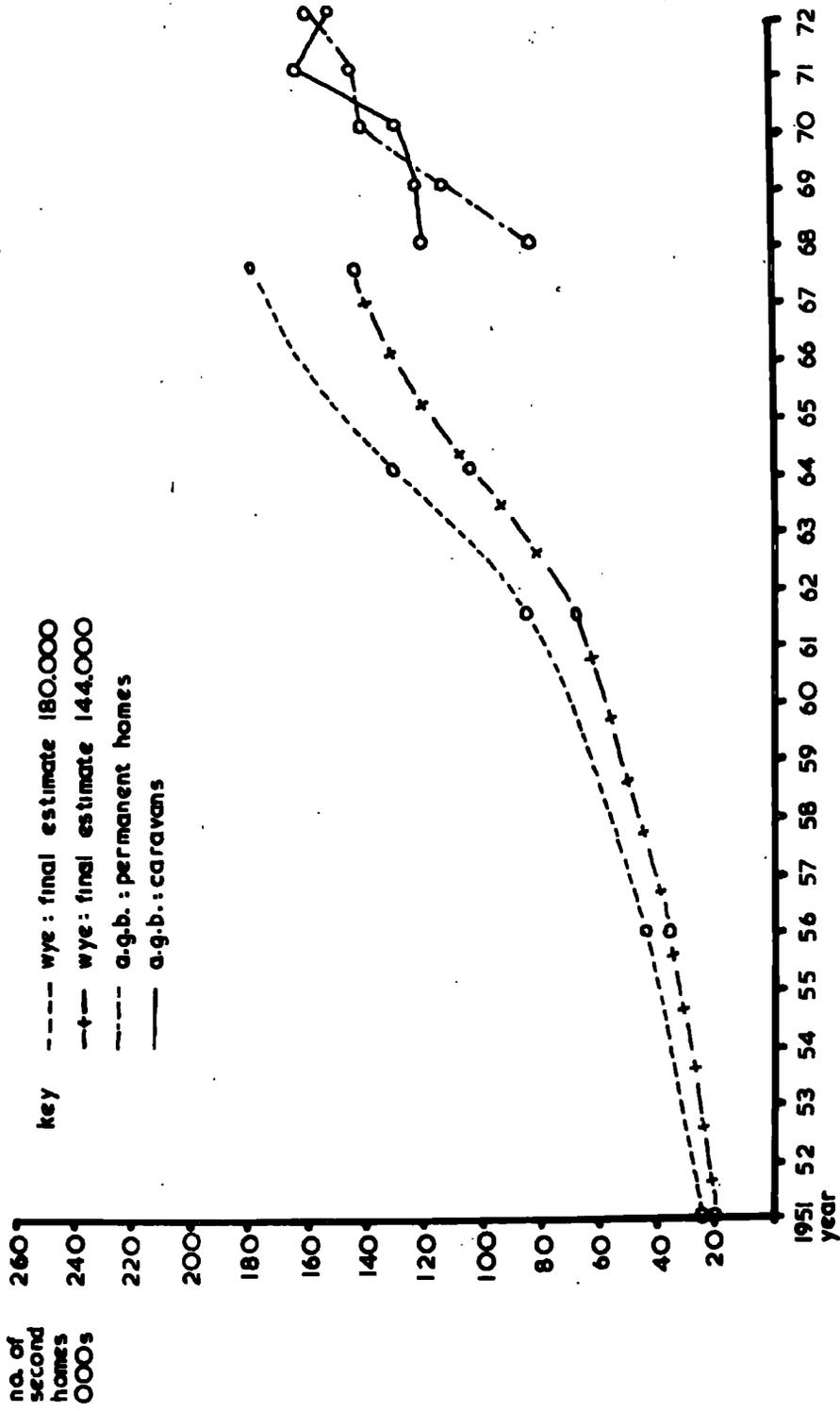
In a European context, therefore, the adoption of second homes in Britain does appear to be "curiously under-developed" (Wye), hence the paucity of available data. A second obstacle to the study of second homes is the great difficulty of obtaining information on a subject which is necessarily concerned with property that people have bought to obtain both privacy and peace and quiet. It is therefore understandable that second home owners are frequently reluctant to reveal information to investigators. Coupled with this are the problems arising from research techniques, beginning with the initial head-ache of deciding upon a workable definition of a second home (Chapter 2 (i)). And, finally, the complexities and cost of

conducting national investigation have meant that the Countryside Commission was forced to sponsor the Wye report and that many of the local studies have been produced under the aegis of local authorities.

It is for these reasons that there is considerable doubt concerning even the numbers of second homes in Britain. In contrast, the French census includes several questions on this subject and reliable statistics are obtainable, whereas in Britain estimates, often unsubstantiated by real evidence, have unfortunately been commonplace. Although generally accepted that "we know only too well that there is a growing demand for second homes throughout Britain" (Mordey 1972), the figures for this demand and for the total stock of second homes have been little more than conjectures.

For example, a housing survey by the Town and Country Planning Association in 1964 thought that second home demand in future would be about 10,000 units p.a., and could be met through conversion of existing property (Town and Country Planning Association 1964). However, by 1967, Barr was already writing of an annual demand for 25,000 units and was forecasting the need for purpose built homes in the near future. (Barr 1967). In terms of an overall total, a figure of 50,000 for Britain was put forward in 1960 (Grays and Russell 1962), and immediately criticised as being a gross underestimate by the Planning Association survey. The first estimates to be supplied by statistical means, albeit from a very small sample, came from the Pilot National Recreation Survey (BTA/University of Keele 1967) which concluded that 2% of households

**FIGURE:1 ESTIMATED GROWTH IN NO. OF SECOND HOMES**



probably owned second homes in 1967. This supported the contention that Barr's estimate of 1% of households owning two homes was indeed an under-estimate and, in numerical terms, it gave a total of 331,000 second homes, a figure to be treated with obvious caution owing to the small size and nature of the survey.

The Wye College survey, designed to produce an accurate picture of the situation in England and Wales, used assessments of the likely number of second homes in each BTA region and reached a total of 144,000 homes (excluding most caravans) through a method of calculating the density of second homes from their sample data, and a total of 180,000 homes through the method of estimating the "mean provision of homes per '000 population" (Wye). They concluded that the probable number of second homes in England and Wales in 1970 was somewhere between 180,000 and 200,000, a range arrived at by a refinement of the original calculations (figure 1).

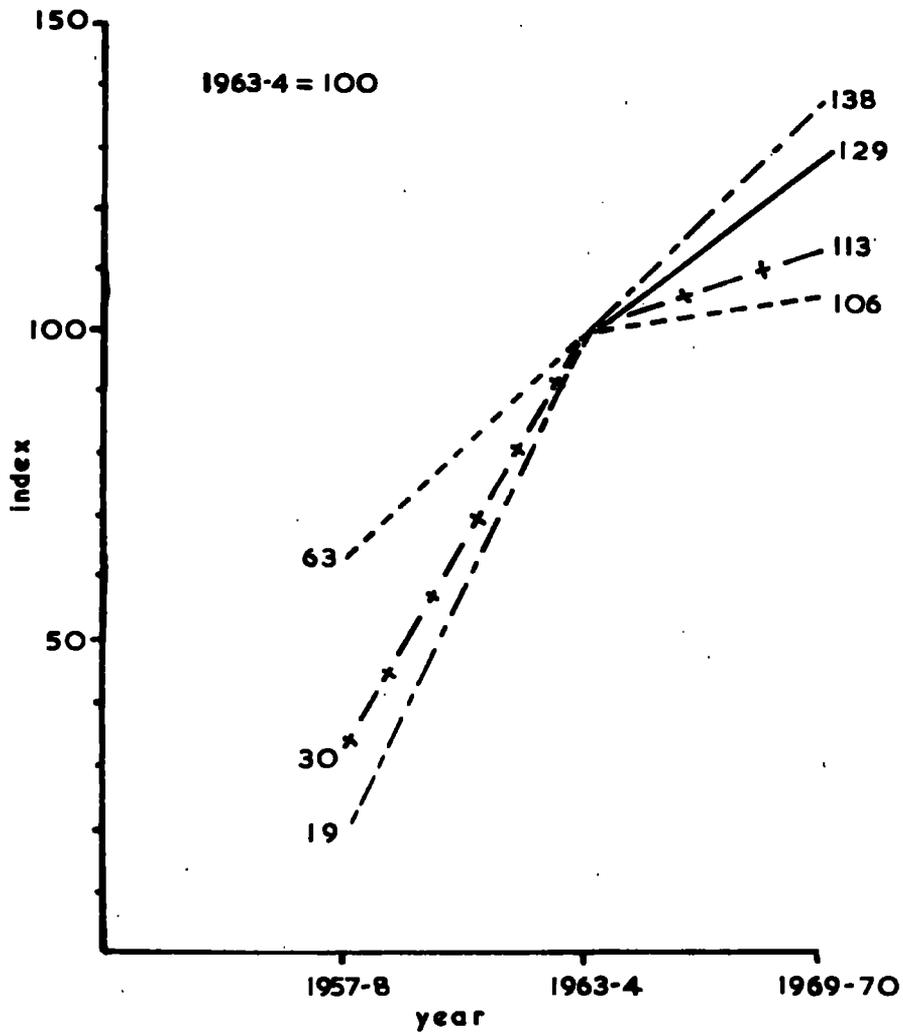
The third source of statistically backed data is from Audits of Great Britain Ltd., who give a total number of 161,000 second homes in 1972. (Audits of Great Britain Ltd). The sample used by this survey is seemingly the most reliable of the three and it is reasonable to conclude that this total may not be too far from the truth. By combining the suggested growth rates of both Wye and AGB the DART appraisal produces an annual growth of between 15,000 and 18,000 second homes which, although somewhat tentative, is the most accurate estimate at the present time. Thus, if caravans are excluded, "there are approximately 160,000 to 180,000 second homes in use and that this stock is

increasing at a rate of between 15,000 and 18,000 pa" (DART). If caravans were included, then the total would probably be over 300,000 and increasing at about 25,000 units p.a., so that the great size of the second home market in Britain is immediately apparent, if little understood.

The growth of second homes in this country is similarly rather a matter for conjecture. Wye constructed a growth curve from the results of their questions in which owners were asked how long they had owned their second homes (figures 1 and 3). This gives a useful indication of past growth but is open to error as the present characteristics of second home owners may in no way reflect earlier characteristics. In addition, second homes are often purchased from other owners so that the graph is biased to accentuate recent growth which may really be merely turnover of old stock rather than the addition of any new second homes.

In Denbighshire growth was plotted from 1957 onwards (fig. 2) but unfortunately no rating records showing the addresses of second home owners were available before this period. Similar difficulties have been reported from the Lake District (Rutgers 1972) and from Weardale. In 1967 Barr, in an early approach to the problems of second home data suggested that "an indication of what may come is the tremendous post war growth of caravan ownership : they are, in effect, second homes" (Barr 1967). In 1951 caravans were few in number but, by 1968, 16% of all main holidays were taken in caravans and they numbered between 150,000 and 200,000 (Patmore 1972).

**FIGURE:2 GROWTH IN NOS. OF SECOND HOMES IN DENBIGHSHIRE**



key ——— aled r.d. no data prior to 1963-4  
 - - - - - ceiriog r.d.  
 - + - - - hiraethog r.d.  
 - - - - - ruthin r.d.

source: denbighshire 1972 b

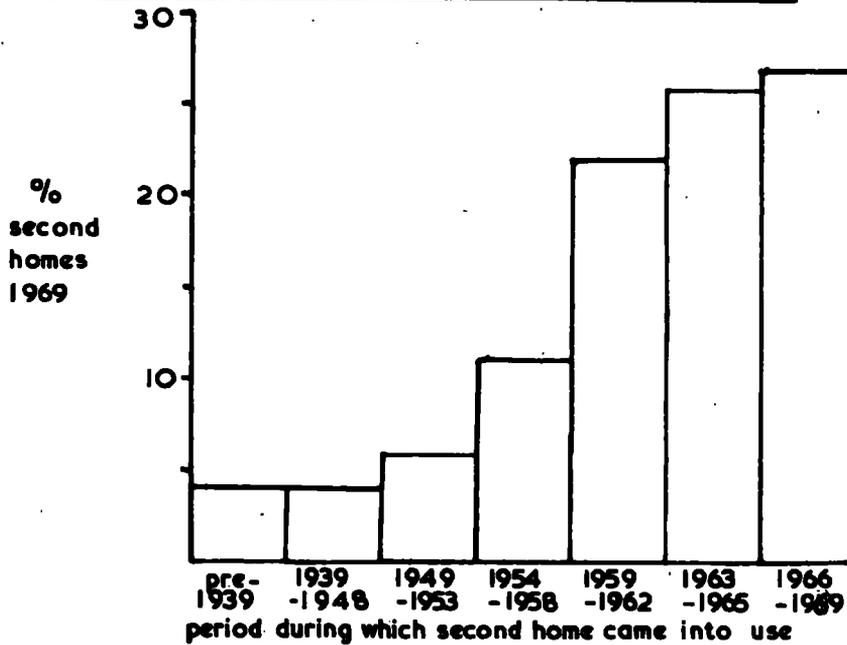
All of these three approaches agree that a very rapid post war growth has taken place in second home ownership. In the Wye study and in Weardale more than 75% of the homes have come into use since 1959, which makes the growth a phenomenon of the 1960's and 1970's rather than of the entire post war period (figure 3). Before 1939 there might have been up to 15,000 second homes, a number that was undoubtedly swelled in the war years as town families sought refuge in the countryside. In Weardale 5½% of the present second homes were obtained in this way and there is no reason to suppose that this was not common elsewhere, particularly in those regions easily accessible to large cities.

Wye think that by 1955 there were approximately 50,000 second homes and that this number increased gradually until the real "boom" occurred after 1960. Between 1950 and 1960 comparisons of estimates by the TCPA and Wye give a growth rate of about 5,500 homes p.a. which then rose to 12,000 p.a. in the 1960's. However, these are very approximate figures useful only in that they convey an impression of growth which has proceeded steadily until 1960 and which has then accelerated dramatically so that the present rate of increase is probably nearly 18,000 homes p.a., over 300% more than in the 1950's and an indication of the nature of the second home "boom".

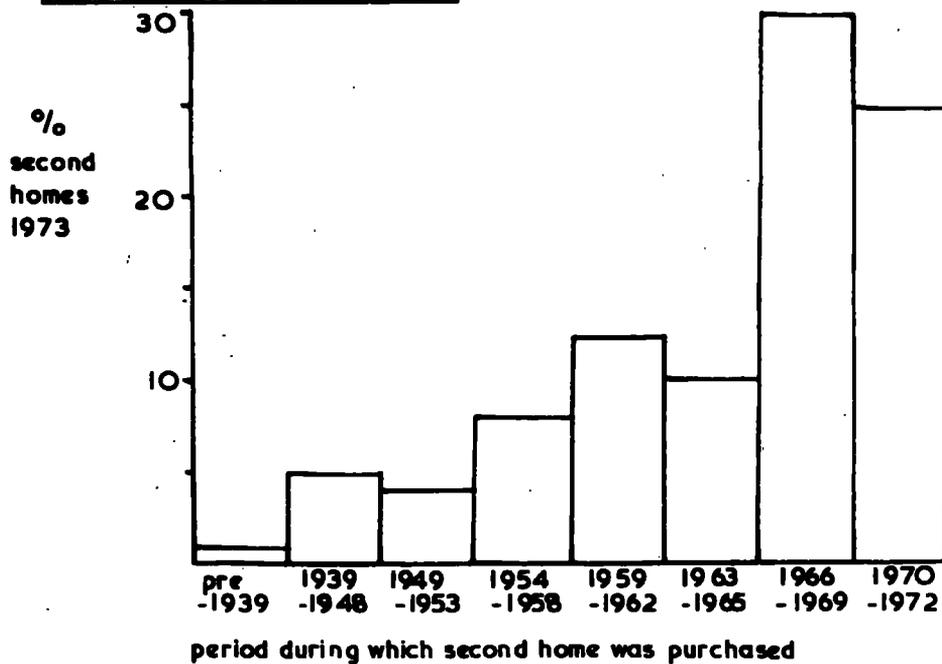
With the uncertainty of information concerning second homes, their distribution is of necessity not known in great detail and is therefore impossible to map clearly. Several local studies give a good small scale picture while the Wye survey provides a generalised national view,

**FIGURE: 3 THE GROWTH OF THE SECOND HOME SAMPLES**

**A. NATIONAL SAMPLE : WYE**



**B. WEARDALE**



sources : wye 1972  
weardale survey 1973

so that it is evident that most second homes are either coastal or in rural areas, and that the greatest concentrations are in fact coastal. This conclusion comes partly from the Wye survey and partly from the BTA survey which found that 75% of British holidays were spent near to the sea.

Inland rural areas have second home concentrations in those upland regions where depopulation has made property available in scenically attractive countryside, such as in the Penine Dales or in North Wales, and about 30% of second homes are probably in inland situations while up to 70% are thought to be coastal. Favourite locations occur up to fifteen or twenty miles inland where property is available and where both coast and countryside are within reach. This is particularly evident around Whitby where the inland parishes contain a surprisingly large number of second homes.

On the coast chalet's are the principal second home type and they are not usually found inland. In 1969 a survey by Lindsey County Council found 2,157 coastal chalets, of which 91% were concentrated into the most beautiful stretch of coast between Skegness and Mablethorpe (Lincolnshire County Planning Department 1970). The growth of such a concentration, together with the presence of 20,000 caravans in the county every summer, clearly produces acute planning problems for the local authority. Other extreme concentrations are also found on the North Wales coast around Prestatyn and Rhyl, and on the Pembrokshire coast of South Wales. In the coastal resorts bungalows and flats available for renting are tending to replace boarding houses as inexpensive and convenient holiday accommodation.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SECOND HOMES BY  
TYPE 1972.

TABLE 3.

|                         | % of total second homes in region. |                             |           |            |  |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|--|
|                         | Houses and<br>cottages.            | Bungalows<br>and<br>chalets | Flats     | Total      | Regions<br>share of<br>national<br>total % |
|                         | _____                              | _____                       | _____     | _____      | _____                                      |
| <b>AGB</b>              |                                    |                             |           |            |  |
| <b>Standard Regions</b> |                                    |                             |           |            |  |
| South East              | 66                                 | 20                          | 14        | 100        | 23.3                                       |
| South West              | 72                                 | 22                          | 6         | 100        | 20.4                                       |
| Wales                   | 70                                 | 23                          | 7         | 100        | 15.9                                       |
| Yorks/Humber            | 68                                 | 16                          | 16        | 100        | 7.3  |
| Northern                | 53                                 | 37                          | 10        | 100        | 5.8  |
| North West              | 73                                 | 5                           | 22        | 100        | 9.2  |
| West Midlands           | 91                                 | 6                           | 3         | 100        | 7.4  |
| East Anglia             | 36                                 | 64                          | -         | 100        | 6.1  |
| East Midlands           | 82                                 | 9                           | 9         | 100        | 4.6  |
| <b>National Total</b>   | <b>68</b>                          | <b>22</b>                   | <b>10</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>                                 |
| <b>WYE</b>              |                                    |                             |           |            |  |
| <b>National</b>         | <b>58</b>                          | <b>35</b>                   | <b>7</b>  | <b>100</b> |  |
| Essex                   | 17                                 | 78                          | 5         | 100        |  |
| Devon                   | 67                                 | 25                          | 8         | 100        |  |
| Lakes                   | 77                                 | 22                          | 1         | 100        |  |
| Wales                   | 61                                 | 38                          | 1         | 100        |  |

N.B. The definition of second home used here excludes caravans and the Wye figures have therefore been adjusted.

Source : DART.

The inland second homes tend to be converted property and are more dispersed than those at the coast. Regions around the cities and with nationally known scenic attractions are particularly important resulting in a diminishing supply of property that can be converted, and leading to the construction of purpose built homes.

The three principal regions for second homes are Wales, the South East and the South West (AGB). The South-East has an estimated 23.3% of non caravan second homes (Table 3) which results from its ready accessibility to the great population centres of London and the surrounding towns, while the South West owes its importance to the fact that it is nationally renowned for its beauty and is fairly accessible to owners from the South East, from the Bristol area, and from the South Midlands. Similarly, Wales is within reach of the Midlands and the Liverpool and Manchester conurbations and has suitable property available through long continued rural depopulation. The east coast is another important region which does not stand out in the statistics as it comprises a thin concentrated strip along several regions due to the lure of the sea for city dwellers on holiday.

Despite the existing importance of the South West, the construction of the M.5 will certainly increase its attraction and Wye suggest that "many bargains are still available" so that the region is likely to be the major second home concentration for a very long time. The motorway network has become an important factor in the second home market as it opens up hitherto inaccessible

areas and enables demand to move from saturated regions to ones where property is still available. A second vital factor is the existence of planning regulations which govern the spread of new constructions so that "prices being paid for rural properties are really governed by planners following policies under which, in general, no new houses can be built on individual sites in country areas" (Bowers 1973). The existence of these controls has prevented the chaotic situation that developed in Sweden where no controls were previously used and they have the great advantage of preserving scenically attractive countryside for everyone's enjoyment.

Hence, second homes are found within an easy driving distance of population centres, particularly on the coast, or in more distant regions of specific attraction which justify the longer journey. Some second homes are even situated, and used regularly, in Southern Ireland, Northern Scotland or on the Continent but these are exceptions to the general pattern.

Although the overall numbers and distribution of second homes in Britain are uncertain, it is possible to study these regions where detailed investigations have been undertaken and there are three major approaches to measuring local spatial patterns which have been commonly adopted:-

firstly, the absolute numbers of second homes in a specific area, usually a local authority division, may be investigated. This method is not very rewarding as no indication is given of the impact of the homes on the area, in terms, for example, of their relative share of

the total housing stock.

secondly, the density of second homes per unit area may be calculated very easily for a local authority district although this density is not a very precise measure due to the fact that the area may contain large expanses of unsuitable terrain so that the second homes may be concentrated, at a relatively high density, in one small part. It is not therefore possible to gain accurate information from density figures except perhaps for small areas where the general distribution is already known.

thirdly, the most useful method of analysing the spatial distribution of second homes, under present conditions of limited knowledge, is undoubtedly that of calculating the proportion of the total housing stock in an area which is comprised of second homes. For example, in the Basses-Alpes a "second home index" has been utilised to show the local effects of tourists using second homes within the region (Barbier 1965): The index derived thus:

$$\frac{\text{No. of second homes}}{\text{No. of first homes}} \times 100$$

In the Basses-Alpes a wide range of results from several communes was categorized into three principal groups:-

1. Communes with an index of over 90% were considered to be very dependent upon second home based tourism, and extreme values were reported of 200% at Colmars, and of 490% at Villars - Colmars.

2. Indices of between 40% and 90% indicated that the region still had potential for expanding such tourism and was only fairly dependent upon second homes.

3. An index of below 40% meant that, either such regions were unfavourable for second home growth, or that they had not yet been exploited.

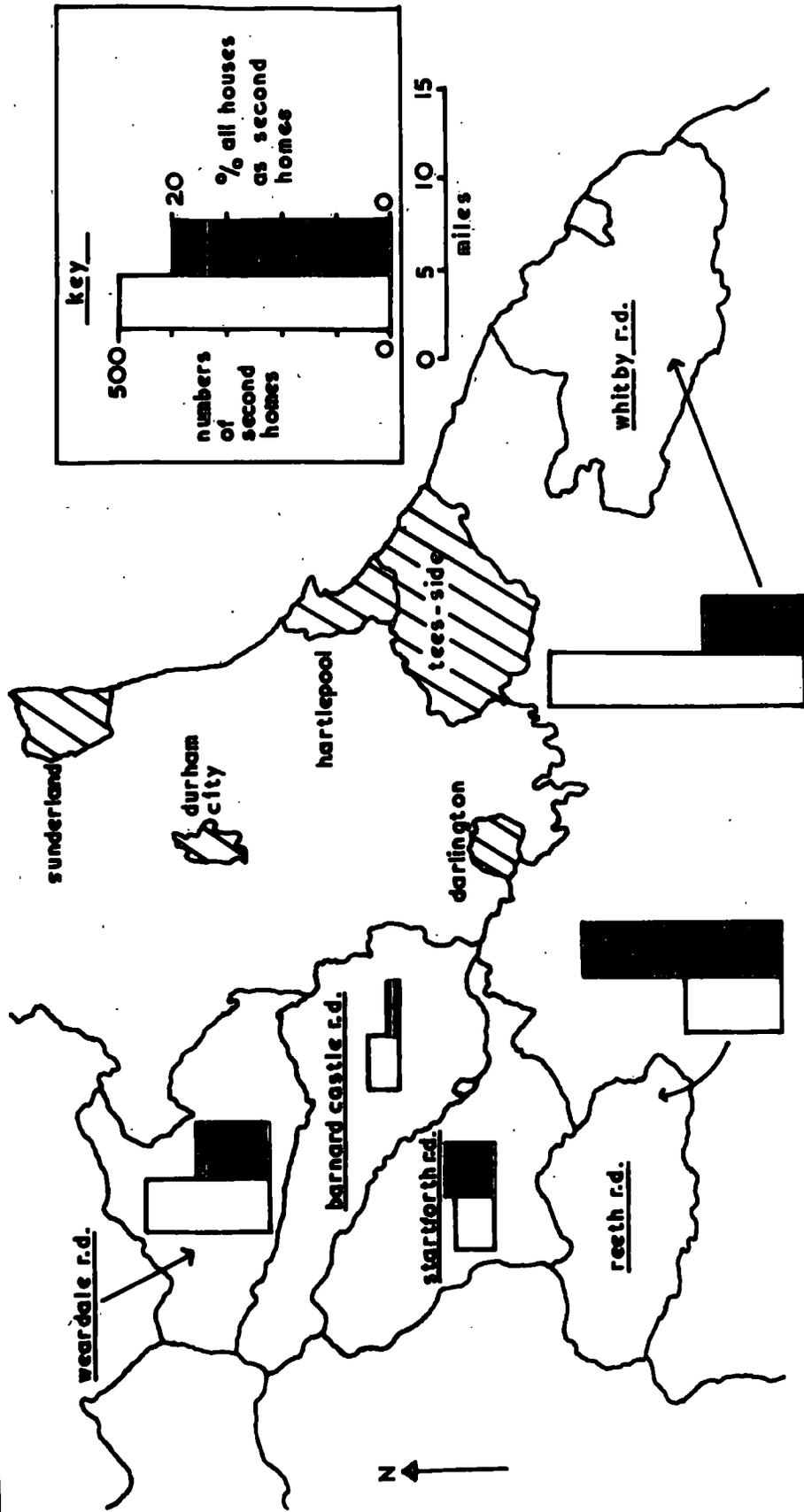
Larger areas tend to have lower index figures as extreme figures are averaged out, and no French planning region has an index of above 15% (Clout 1969a), despite the presence of very high, but also localised, values in the most favoured communes.

In Britain nearly all reported indices fall into the third category, with the notable exception of Llanengan parish, in Caenarvonshire, where an index of above 50% is attributable to the popularity of the yachting and holiday centre of Abersoch (Caenarvonshire County Planning Department 1973). From Denbighshire an index of 6.9% for the whole county was reported, with the individual parish value ranging from nil to 16.3%.

In the five rural districts that were studied in the North East, the proportion of second homes ranged from 1.03% (Barnard Castle) to 18.3% (Reeth) (see figure 4). The low value in Barnard Castle R.D. is attributable to the inclusion of a former coal mining region within the district; to the presence of large estates which are not willing to sell estate property to outsiders; and to the relatively small stock of potential rural second homes in the Tees valley. In Reeth R.D., which covers Swaledale, this latter situation is reversed, and a predominantly rural-agricultural orientated housing stock has yielded a considerable number of second homes through population outmigration.

Many factors are involved in helping to determine

**FIGURE:4 THE NUMBERS OF SECOND HOMES AND THEIR SHARE OF THE TOTAL HOUSING STOCK IN SELECTED RURAL DISTRICTS OF N.E. ENGLAND 1973**



'the second home index', and these will differ from region to region. However, the Denbighshire study does isolate six factors which, when suitably modified, could be applicable in other regions and these comprise: the price level for residential property; the degree of urbanization; the extent of depopulation; the quality of the agricultural land; and the ease of access to the Merseyside conurbation. In Southern France, the economic strength of the local agriculture, the amenity value of an area, and its ease of access are all mentioned as being prime determining factors (Clout 1969a).

Although local factors may assume local importance in certain areas, the Denbigh suggestions do seem to be relevant elsewhere, and both the Caenarvon and the Weardale (chapter 3 iii) investigations reveal similar results. The relative dominance of the influencing factors may frequently change and a good example of such a change might be the construction of motorways, thereby opening up new areas for exploitation (Jackson 1970). In addition, a "saturation level" was discovered in Denbighshire which operated when the index reached 12%, resulting in demand moving to another part of the county where second homes were less popular. It is possible that this saturation is a fairly temporary phenomenon and that, when the whole county has been thoroughly prospected and exploited, demand will return to the most favoured areas and will then cause the index to rise well above the 12% level.

In conclusion, the preceding discussion gives an

indication of the problems that must be faced in studying the regional and local distribution of second homes and of the prime solution that has been evolved. The second home index is invaluable for illustrating an important part of the local impact of second homes, by indicating their share of the total local housing stock (Clout 1973), and by making it possible for comparisons and categorizations to be made between the numerous second home regions, both in Britain and abroad.

(iii) Second Homes in Weardale.

The several reports on second homes in various regions of the country that have already been produced have been mostly in response to situations where conflicts have arisen between the second home owners and the local population. This is particularly true in Wales where severe rural outmigration and considerable second home influx has led to a great deal of largely uninformed comments and to the production of surveys and reports by the local councils. Only the national Wye survey has looked at less controversial second home regions, such as N.E. Essex or S.W. Devon, and even then only in a very limited approach. The object of the writer's investigation in Weardale, conducted principally by means of a postal questionnaire, was therefore to produce information about second homes and their owners in a region which was not nationally known but where such homes comprised a sizeable proportion of the local housing stock. It is also a region where the second home growth has not been met by overt opposition and demonstration although population migration is a dominant feature of the local demography (Table 4).

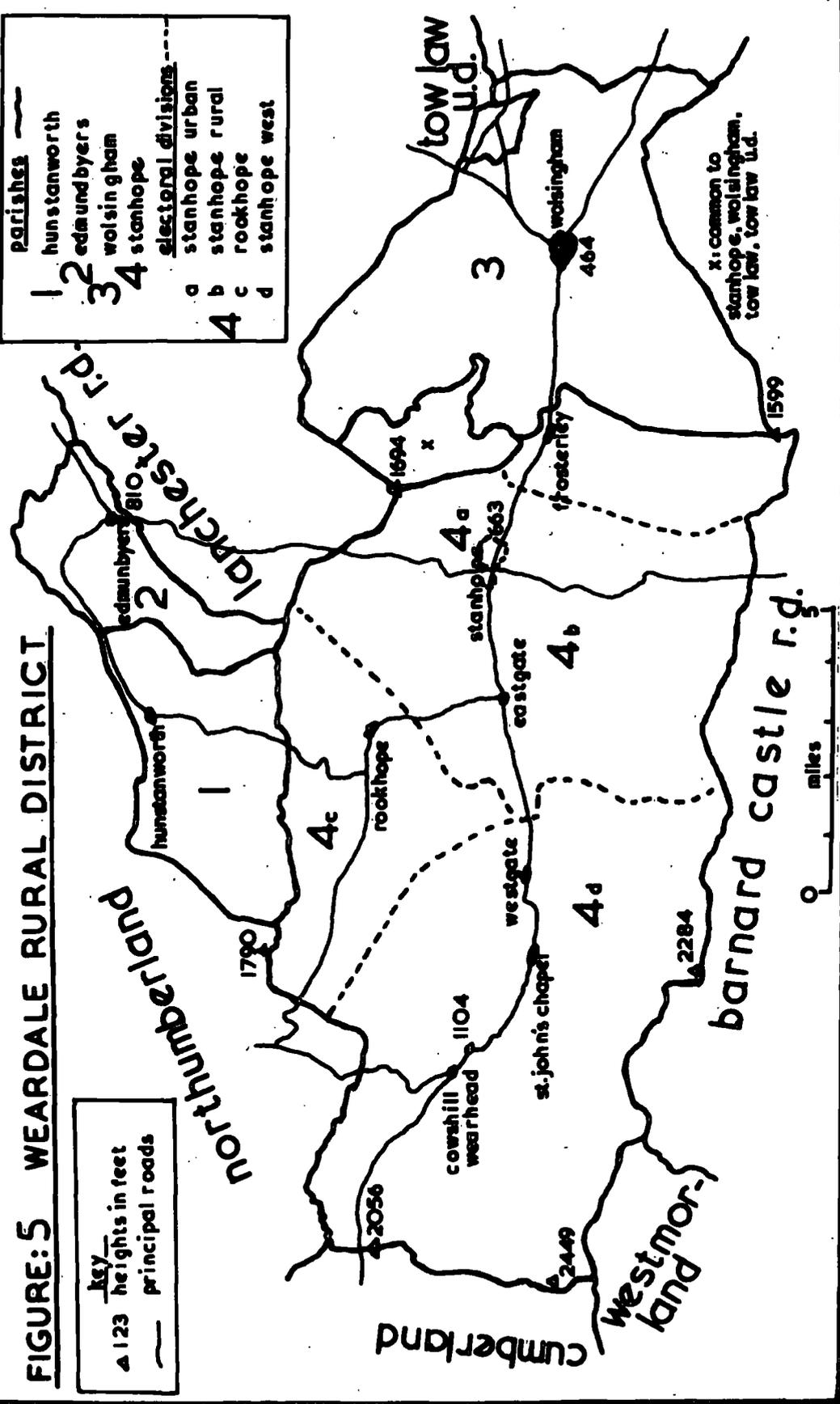
Weardale Rural District comprises the four parishes of Stanhope, Wolsingham, Edmundbyers and Hunstanworth, and covers approximately 99,000 acres of Pennine dale and moorland (Fig. 5). The dale is essentially a working dale with an intensive pastoral agriculture, widespread quarrying for limestone and whinstone, and mining for lead and fluorspar. Lead mining was once the main source

**FIGURE: 5 WEARDALE RURAL DISTRICT**

▲ 123 heights in feet  
 — principal roads

**Parishes**  
 1 hunstanworth  
 2 edmundbyers  
 3 walsingham  
 4 stanhope

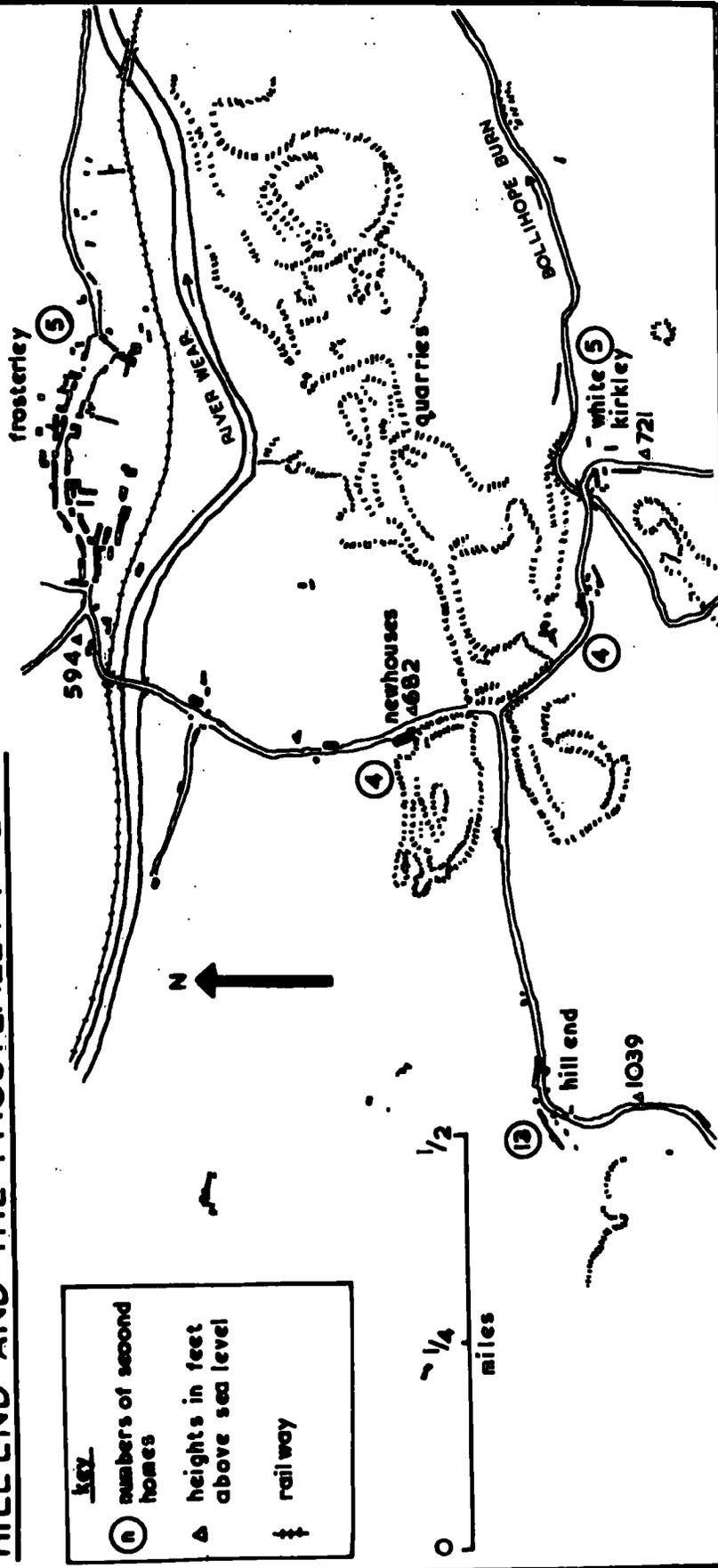
**electoral divisions**  
 a stanhope urban  
 b stanhope rural  
 c rookhope  
 d stanhope west



of employment but a general decline set in after 1832 although this was less marked than in the other "lead dales" (Smailes 1936 and 1968) and was "particularly offset by the development of quarrying and ironstone mining in the Stanhope area" (Raistrick and Jennings 1965). Nevertheless, the region has experienced a steady decline in population brought about by the contraction and mechanization of the extractive industries and by the poor prospects of agricultural employment. A survey in 1962 showed that well over 70% of emigrants went in search of jobs, away from "the stagnant economy of Weardale" (House 1965).

Since 1945 the council has built 622 houses, mostly in Stanhope and Wolsingham, to meet the demand for reasonable housing conditions by workers in the quarries, the cement works and the steel plant. (Table 5). Hence, the dwindling population has tended to concentrate into the villages where improved facilities are available so that the smaller or remote centres have tended to decay. A feature of the upper dale is the large number of smallholdings, once owned by leadminers, but which are now usually amalgamated into sizeable farms, rendering the old buildings surplus to present requirements. With the concentration of the population and with the presence of such property, it is not surprising that the upper dale was characterised in 1950 by the "great number of empty, derelict or partly demolished houses from Killhope to Eastgate" (Lee 1950), and, even in 1966, nearly "three hundred vacant or under-occupied dwellings" were evident (Davies 1967). A survey in 1973, however, revealed only

**FIGURE:6 WEARDALE RURAL DISTRICT:  
HILLEND AND THE FROSTERLEY AREA**



about seventy such buildings and this rapid change may be attributable to several causes:-

firstly, it is probable that the dale has enjoyed a position of full employment since the mid-1960's which is due, inter alia, to the opening of the APCM cement works at Eastgate in 1965, employing about 380 men, which led to a demand for local housing partly met by the construction of thirty four council houses in Stanhope specifically for key workers in the cement plant (Table 5).

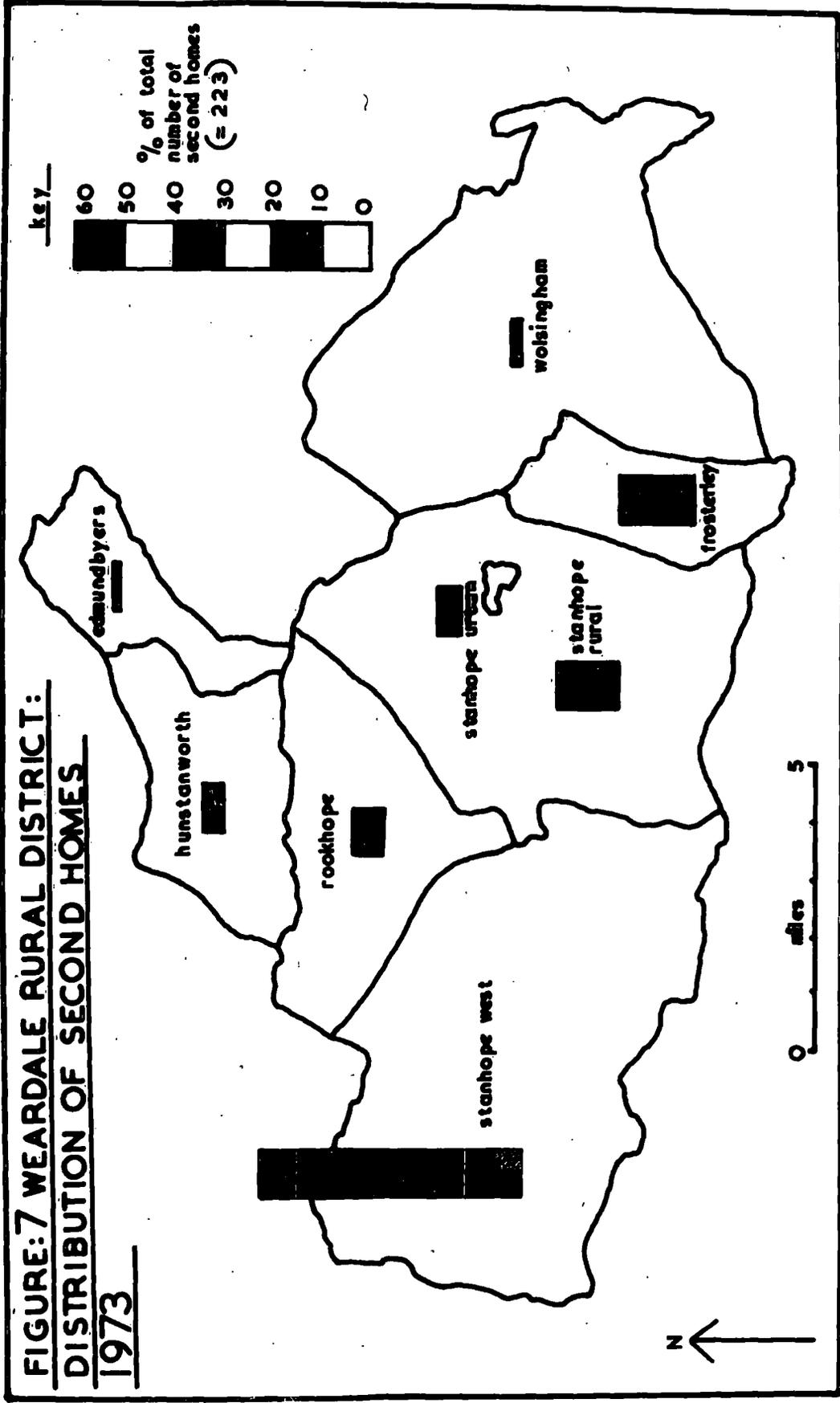
secondly, a certain number of people have bought houses in the area who work elsewhere, a development made possible by the use of the motor car on the rapidly improving roads. Hitherto, Weardale has always been thought rather inaccessible and Stanhope W.I., for example, suggested that a good title for their history of the town would be "the influence of isolation" (Stanhope W.I. 1960).

thirdly, second homes have been purchased in the region, mostly above Stanhope (figure 7), taking advantage of the large unwanted and unused housing stock.

In 1967 it was found that there were already 150 second homes in the Rural District which were situated in "remote one time quarrying and lead mining hamlets" (Barr 1967). At Hill End, for instance, Barr discovered that 14 of the 27 houses were second homes and that this influx had saved the hamlet, a quarrying settlement perched at over 1,000 feet above sea level (fig. 6.). In the 1951 County Development Plan it was designated a category 'D' settlement as the houses were in poor condition and isolated from shops, schools and other services (Durham

**FIGURE: 7 WEARDALE RURAL DISTRICT:  
DISTRIBUTION OF SECOND HOMES**

**1973**



County Council 1951). However, second home owners bought the empty houses and renovated and modernised them so that at present all 27 houses are in good condition and 13 are second homes while the remainder belong to retired people or to those employed locally. The presence of the second homes has thus led to the re-birth of the entire community although the County Development Plan Amendment in 1964 stated that "it still remains .... that people living here must seek education, shopping, entertainment and, perhaps most important, employment, elsewhere, and for this reason no new development should take place here but should be concentrated in the centre of Frosterley and aimed at maintaining this as a convenient and compact village" (Durham County Council 1964).

Study of the rating registers revealed that some 223 rate demands were sent outside the district in 1973, an increase from a figure of 172 in 1965. It would be interesting to discover the source of Barr's estimate (150 in 1966), for the survey in Denbighshire concludes that raw rating register material is likely to underestimate the actual total by some 18% (see chapter 2 (ii)). Using this figure, the totals rise to 263 in 1973 and to 203 in 1965. In 1973 second homes made up approximately 6.7% of the total housing stock (7.8% using corrected total) and were clearly of major importance in the dale (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, attitudes towards the homes by local people remain equivocal with local shopkeepers enjoying increased weekend and holiday trade although at the same time, many people feel that second homes

should not receive improvement grants. Indeed, the Rural District Council did not give discretionary grants to obvious second homes until specifically ordered to by Whitehall in 1972 and it is, even now, reluctant to help second home owners financially.

In general the Council welcomes second home owners as they (a) bring old properties up to modern standards (preferably without Council assistance), (b) raise the rateable value of the properties, (c) save buildings with closing orders and thus help to retain the district's housing stock, and (d) retain the character of the property in most cases. A County planning document, published in 1967, gives clear guidelines on ways in which to retain the traditional character of houses in the Pennines and warns, in particular, against installing large windows to replace the former rather small ones (Durham County Council 1967).

SELECTED RURAL DISTRICTS IN N.E. ENGLAND:  
POPULATION CHANGE 1951 - 1969.

TABLE : 4

|                     | <u>1951</u> | <u>1960</u> | <u>1969</u> | <u>% Change</u><br><u>1951 - 69</u> |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| Weardale R.D.       | 9,095       | 8,790       | 7,990       | - 12.2                              |
| Reeth R.D.          | 2,039       | 1,960       | 1,990       | - 2.5                               |
| Barnard Castle R.D. | 17,860      | 18,880      | 17,380      | - 2.6                               |
| Startforth R.D.     | 4,292       | 4,930       | 3,980       | - 7.5                               |
| Whitby R.D.         | 11,660      | 11,520      | 11,660      | no change                           |

Source : HMSO (1951 - 1972)

CONSTRUCTION OF COUNCIL HOUSES IN WEARDALE R.D.  
THE SITUATION IN 1973.

TABLE : 5.

|                   | <u>Pre-War</u> | <u>1946-56</u> | <u>1957-73</u>  | <u>Renovated</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| Wolsingham        | 10             | 165            | 49              | 2                | 226          |
| Frosterley        | +              | 68             | 10              | 6                | 84           |
| Stanhope          | 24             | 86             | 85 <sup>2</sup> | 26               | 221          |
| Eastgate          | +              | 4              | +               | +                | 4            |
| Westgate          | +              | 14             | +               | +                | 14           |
| Rookhope          | 10             | 26             | +               | 2                | 38           |
| St. John's Chapel | +              | 18             | +               | 5                | 23           |
| Wearhead          | +              | 8              | +               | 4                | 12           |
|                   | <hr/>          | <hr/>          | <hr/>           | <hr/>            | <hr/>        |
| TOTAL             | 44             | 389            | 144             | 45               | 622          |

Source: Weardale R.D.C.

- Notes ;
1. Renovated houses all post war.
  2. 1957-75 total for Stanhope includes 34 houses built in conjunction with the Eastgate APCM works in 1966.
  3. + indicates that no houses were built or renovated in that period.

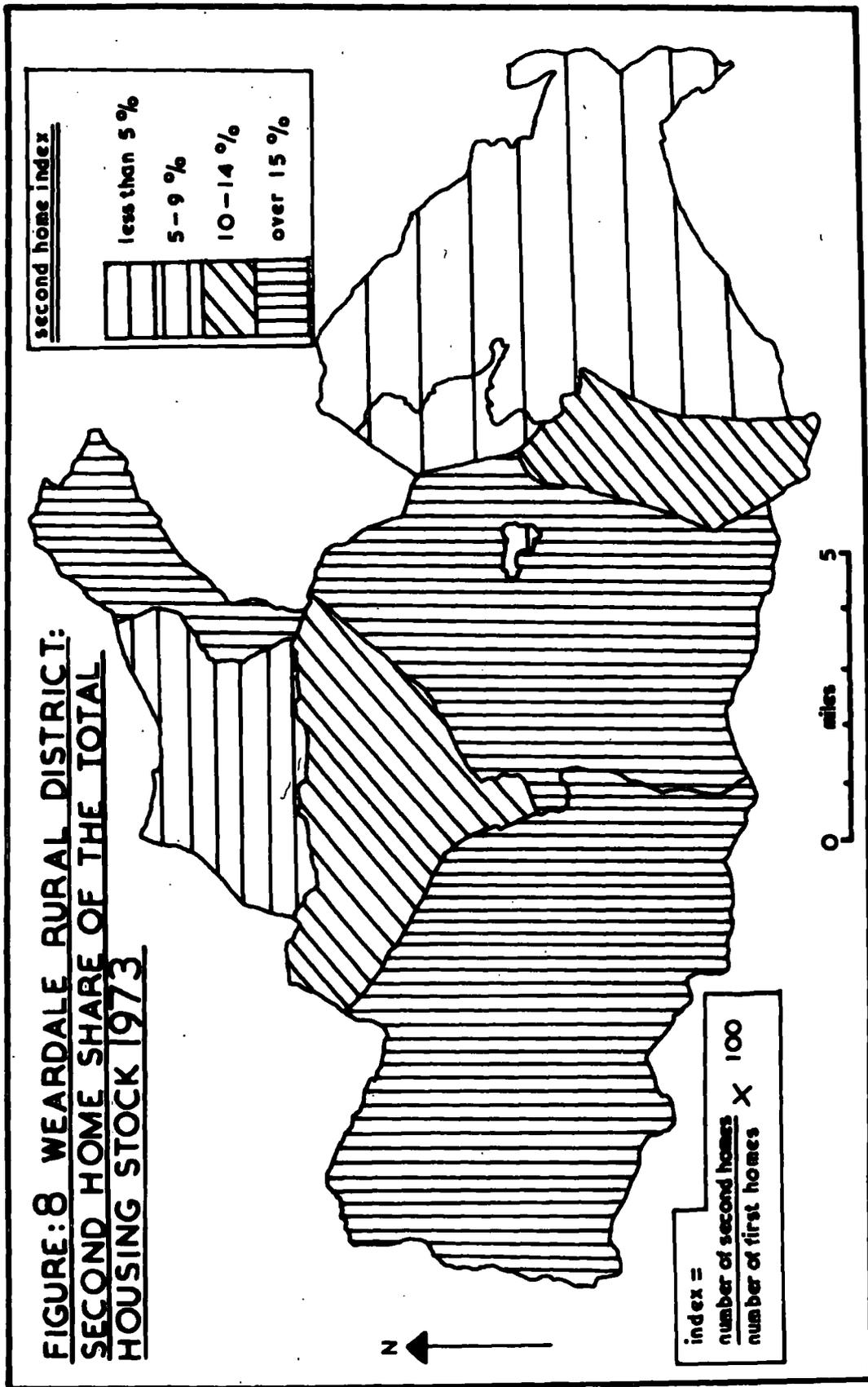
Second homes are not a burning issue in the dale and are accepted, rather than being actively welcomed or opposed. At present prices are still relatively low (Table 12) as the dale is not widely known and as there is a considerable supply of suitable property abandoned by the local people. In addition, a survey in 1972 found that 1,335 caravans were situated on 72 sites in Weardale (Durham County Council 1973) and, as these are a type of second

home, it is clear that many people prefer to own a caravan, sited close to a village and in the valley bottom, than to have a remote hillside cottage which may require considerable expenditure on repairs and maintenance. The caravan may represent a stepping stone to eventual cottage ownership, and some 16% of respondents to the cottage survey had previously owned a caravan.

The distribution of cottage second homes is shown in Figure 7 where their concentration above Frosterley is marked. The large district of Stanhope West contains over 50% of the second homes while, in contrast, Stanhope village itself has only 5% demonstrating the fact that it is the local people who live in the main villages while second home owners are found in the hamlets and isolated settlements. This trend is also brought out in figure 8 where the proportion of second homes to first homes is illustrated. This figure increases towards the head of the dale so that, while only 0.3% of the homes in Wolsingham are second homes, this rises to 10.3% in Frosterley and to 17.2% in Stanhope West.

Although the statistics derived from the rating registers are undoubtedly inaccurate, they nevertheless provide an invaluable indication of trends in the region and give a basis for further research. In order to derive more information about the second homes and their owners in Weardale, it was decided to conduct a postal questionnaire which could provide data that would be comparable with that produced in other surveys, principally those in Denbighshire, Carmarthenshire, Caenarvonshire,

**FIGURE 8 WEARDALE RURAL DISTRICT:  
SECOND HOME SHARE OF THE TOTAL  
HOUSING STOCK 1973**



and the Wye report (see appendix for details). With limited resources, the survey population that was chosen was defined as the owners of property in Weardale R.D. who lived outside the district and who thus had their rate demands sent to their home address. The inaccuracies of this method are many (see chapter 2 (ii) but it was felt that the benefits of obtaining some data in a hitherto untouched region would outweigh these disadvantages.

As Weardale RD is relatively small, the entire supposed second home population was included in the survey and names and addresses of the relevant ratepayers were obtained from the current Rating Registers. In all, 49% of the questionnaires were returned, yielding some 33% (75) usable questionnaires. This response rate compares unfavourably with the Denbighshire survey where 51% (271) of questionnaires were usable and over 64% were returned altogether, but is similar to that in Caernarvonshire where 43% of questionnaires were returned and 34% (302) were usable. The relatively small scale of the Weardale survey is evident from these figures and, in this context, it is interesting to note the surprising large proportion of unusable replies. Approximately 40% of these replies indicated that the property was rented to local people or used for business, while a further 40% were refusals to complete the questionnaire although local investigation suggested that most of these were, in fact, second home owners. The remaining replies consisted of a miscellany, ranging from owners who were abroad to those who had already sold their cottages.

With the survey being essentially a self-completed

postal questionnaire, there was no problem of interviewer bias and coding checks were kept to a minimum by frequent and exhaustive checking. The factor of non-response was perhaps the main source of bias although the questions were designed to ask the minimum of personal data and were relatively short and easily comprehensible. The possible effects of non-response were investigated by comparing the distributions of the respondents and of the survey population and, as these did not differ significantly, it was decided to utilize the data without attempting to correct it for any form of bias. The questionnaire itself is in the appendix, together with the explanatory letter, and with further notes.

As the questionnaire used in Weardale was derived from those used elsewhere and was intended to produce comparable information, the results obtained are not set out in a separate study but are included with data from these other surveys so that comparisons may be easily made between the various regions. In addition, it was felt that the small size of the survey might lead to erroneous conclusions if data was used in isolation whereas its use in conjunction with similar material enables it to be seen in perspective. Hence, the Weardale survey is included as an integral part of the whole report and material from it is utilized when relevant. In addition, a small amount of information was obtained in a preliminary survey of the rating registers in four other Rural Districts (Barnard Castle, Startforth, Reeth, Whitby) and this too is drawn upon where it is of use in the particular discussion.

CHAPTER 4.

The Nature of the Second Home.

The second home is frequently a misunderstood and much maligned phenomenon and this chapter corrects certain common misconceptions. In part one, the many different types of second home are outlined, with the country cottage shown to be a less dominant sector of the overall market than many people would imagine, and with the uncertain role of the caravan also explained. The growing commercial share of second home transactions is described in part two although private channels of communication and of purchase or renting are shown to be still very important, while part three discusses the generally rising trend of second home prices together with some of the implications that this holds for rural localities. Finally, the hotly debated matter of improving property comprises part four where surprisingly few second homes are shown to have actually undergone improvement and fewer still with the use of improvement grants which the ensuing argument concludes should possibly be withdrawn from use on second homes.

(i) Second Home Types.

Second homes in Britain may be classified in various ways, the principal distinction being that between "purpose built" dwellings and property that has been "converted" to use as a second home. The conversion may be merely from use as a full time residence or it may be a complete conversion from an entirely different function. An alternative distinction might be between "permanently structured" homes and caravans (DART), or between the various types of property that are used as second homes, ranging from wooden chalets to castles, and from railway stations to country mansions. The first classification is the most useful here as it helps in the interpretation of the growth of second homes as well as being relatively straightforward and practical to apply. At present, a majority of second homes in Britain are conversions (excluding caravans) but, as supplies of suitable property begin to become scarce, purpose built homes are increasing rapidly in importance and will inevitably become the main sector of the national second home market. For convenience, the following types of second home may be distinguished (Tables 6 and 7).

(a) Houses and cottages. These include a wide range of property which may be purpose built, as in some seaside resorts, but is much more likely to be converted. Rural depopulation has created a major source of potential second homes, with up to 10,000 cottages a year being made available as a result of farm amalgamations and of mechanisation; of afforestation; and of the mechanisation or closure of extractive industries. Indeed, as early

as the first decade of the century, abandoned miner's cottages in Wharfedale were being rented for weekends at 6d to 1/- a time by city people (Raistrick 1968). In Weardale today, many second homes are former lead miner's cottages while, at Blaenau Ffestiniog, over two hundred slate worker's homes have been converted (Kendall 1973). Most of the second homes in Denbighshire are redundant agricultural worker's cottages and are characteristically isolated as the previous inhabitants have moved to employment in the villages and towns. Similar situations occur throughout inland Britain, with the Midlands having the highest proportion of second homes categorized as cottages, the figures being 91% in the West Midlands and 82% in the East Midlands.

Apart from rural cottages, which are probably the most easily obtainable second homes, there is a tremendous variety of property in use, including farmhouses, public houses, rectories, and ordinary estate houses in very favourable situations. Powell remarks, however, that cottages are "the most discussed of the various types of holiday homes" (Powell 1972), partly because English people seem to have a perpetual dream for an idyllic country cottage, and partly because such cottages have been available fairly cheaply and readily. In addition, cottages have something of a prestige rating, particularly in those affluent city suburbs where a great many people have some sort of a second home. Finally, cottages have the added advantage of being frequently isolated, since that is often why they have been abandoned, which provides a complete contrast to life in the suburbs. For these reasons,

some 58% (Wye) to 68% (Audits of Great Britain Ltd.,) of second homes are houses and cottages, of which a very large majority are converted rural cottages (see Table 3).

(b) Bungalows and chalets. These comprise about 25% of second homes in England and Wales and are usually purpose built. They are also usually coastal although may be found infrequently inland as, for example, at Hexham in Northumberland, but the data for Essex is more typical with 72% of the second homes being chalets and with 97% of all the second homes being coastal (Table 7).

Bungalows and chalets are correspondingly less important in the Lakes, the Pennines or in Wales, areas where cottages are also more readily available as second homes.

Chalets may be privately owned but are often found in commercial developments such as at Penstowe Park and Carbis Bay in Cornwall and this is thought likely to become more widespread in the future. Chalets are closely related to static caravans in terms of function and are now beginning to increase in numbers at a rate commensurate with the postwar caravan boom (DART). In essence, they are simple and relatively cheap units with their own cooking, washing and sanitation facilities, and, as chalets are defined as small bungalows and as bungalow is a term more readily applied to a first home, the term chalet will be used here to cover all relevant "detached, one storied" purpose built residences.

Chalets are preferable to caravans in that they depreciate at a slower rate and have longer leases, being accepted as 'permanent'. In addition, local authorities often welcome chalet-parks more than caravans as they

have lower densities and are much less obtrusive in the landscape. The variety of chalet types is tremendous and ranges from "overgrown beach huts" on the Northumberland coast to the sophisticated "deck houses" at Emsworth Yacht Harbour at Chichester, and they form the fastest growing sector of second homes in Britain at present.

In Scandinavia most second homes are of the chalet type and prefabricated wooden cabins with simple furnishings and with two or three rooms are very popular (Hope 1973). In France too, an increasing proportion of second homes are chalets as converted property becomes scarce and a similar situation is evolving in Britain. The chalet is the natural successor to the country cottage and is the purpose-built equivalent of a simple converted residential property. It is for this reason that "growth in the (chalet construction) trade has been enormous" (Powell 1972) and that the distribution of chalets is tending to spread inland to sites where planning permission can be obtained. At present such permission is often given only for six to nine months use each year but attitudes are changing and it is inevitable that all year occupation will soon be generally acceptable. In addition, permission is rarely given for isolated chalets and, unless a chalet is built on the ruined site of a former cottage, chalet parks are the only available sites.

Thus, although the second home of the future is more likely to be a timber, aluminium, block or brick chalet rather than a converted stone cottage, it is also more likely to be situated on a site than by itself.

TABLE 6.      TYPES OF SECOND HOME : REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

| <u>Standard Region</u> | <u>"Permanent"<br/>%</u> | <u>Caravans<br/>%</u> | <u>% of housing<br/>stock.</u> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| South East             | 23.3                     | 24.6                  | 23.4                           |
| South West             | 20.4                     | 16                    | 9.4                            |
| Wales                  | 15.9                     | 19.5                  | 6.6                            |
| Yorks/Humber           | 7.3                      | 12                    | 12                             |
| Northern               | 5.8                      | 9.2                   | 8                              |
| North West             | 9.2                      | 5.9                   | 16.2                           |
| West Midlands          | 7.4                      | 6.4                   | 11.9                           |
| East Anglia            | 6.1                      | 3.7                   | 4.2                            |
| East Midlands          | 4.6                      | 2.8                   | 8.3                            |

- (1) Wye figures are unfortunately not comparable as they refer to the BTA regions.
- (2) 'Permanent' second homes are all those which are not classified as caravans.
- (3) All figures exclude Greater London Council.
- (4) Data from mean of AGB 1971 and 1972 statistics.

Source: DART.

TABLE 7.      TYPES OF SECOND HOME BY STUDY AREA (WYE)

|                    | %                  |                  |                                       |                                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|                    | <u>N.E. Essex.</u> | <u>S.W.Devon</u> | <u>Southern<br/>Lake<br/>District</u> | <u>West<br/>Central<br/>Wales.</u> |
| Bungalow or chalet | 72                 | 24               | 19                                    | 26                                 |
| House or cottage   | 16                 | 65               | 66                                    | 43                                 |
| Caravan            | 8                  | 3                | 14                                    | 30                                 |
| Flat or maisonette | 4                  | 8                | 1                                     | 1                                  |
| TOTAL              | 100                | 100              | 100                                   | 100                                |

Source: WYE (1972)

Even converted cottages are now being purchased in villages as isolated property is unobtainable and owners are "willing to compromise on their ideals simply to possess a country retreat" (Denbighshire) and similar trends are noticeable in France, the U.S.A. and Scandinavia. The present time is therefore something of a watershed period where converted rural property is gradually giving way to purpose built homes situated in communities and this is a changeover that will accelerate in a manner that may be observed in all the major second home nations, notably in Scandinavia and France.

(c) Flats. Flats form a small but important category of second homes (10% Audits of Great Britain Ltd.,) and are usually found in resorts where they may be purchased with retirement in mind (Table 3). Some are conversions of old property, principally houses, but including such oddities as Bamburgh Castle, but most are purpose built. Although many flats are situated in towns like Torquay, Worthing, and Blackpool, the greatest developments have occurred in the Mediterranean countries with Spain and the Balearic Islands having the largest numbers. In France the Languedoc / Rousillon project is providing many 'apartments' in holiday cities such as La Grande Motte.

There is clearly a very great difference between the average flat, situated in a holiday resort with no isolation and with relatively little privacy, and the archetype second home, the isolated rural cottage with its private garden, and these two contrasting types probably form the extreme variations that are commonly found as second homes although of course the consideration

of urban second homes would extend the contrasts even further.

(d) Many second homes do not truly fit into the three preceding groups. They include, for example, oasthouses, railway stations, windmills, watermills, follies and houseboats and, while not being of great numerical importance, they do show something of the trouble and ingenuity that the second home owner will exhibit in order to obtain his second home. In Cornwall a second home was even converted from a pigsty and cowshed while the use of barns is fairly common (Powell 1972). Oasthouses are predominantly Kentish and are very sought after as prestigious, and very expensive, country homes and martelle towers are also frequently converted while, in Northern France, the extensive concrete fortifications of the last war have become popular, notwithstanding severe problems of chill and damp (Wolokowitsch 1963). Small rural schools are often relatively inexpensive and solidly built, and, where not used by schools or universities as field centres, make excellent second homes. Finally, houseboats may be numbered in their hundreds in Britain and, while idyllic enough to look at, have intrinsic problems of damp and of finding moorings. They are not likely to increase much in numbers nor, on the whole, is this entire group of unusual and bizarre second homes. They will remain as local oddities rather than as important national sources of future second homes but are fascinating because of their unique and unusual characters.

(e) Caravans are a problematic feature of any discussion

on second homes but they do account, under the widest definition, for approximately 50% of second homes in England and Wales although it is difficult to discover their exact numbers. In 1972 the National Caravan Council estimated that there were 212,000 static caravans (National Caravan Council Ltd., 1972) of which an unknown number would be permanently owner occupied and hence not second homes, although certain local surveys have found that about 35% are normally owner occupied, figures that may not be representative of the country as a whole (DART 33%; Lindsey 33% (Lincolnshire County Planning Dept. 1970); Denbighshire 40% (Denbighshire County Council 1972a)). This would mean that between 125,000 and 140,000 caravans could be second homes, a range which is not too different to the figure of 154,000 estimated by A.G.B.

The tentative distribution of second home caravans by regions (Table 6) suggests that there is not a significant difference between the distribution of 'permanent' and caravan second homes at a national level. Local differences are, however, very noticeable and the Wye local studies illustrated this, with the proportion of caravans ranging from 3% of all second homes in S.W. Devon to 30% in West Wales (Table 7).

Caravans are largely a post war phenomenon and numbers "were insufficient to merit separate attention in 1951" (Patmore 1972). But in 1959 caravans had expanded sufficiently in numbers to make them the subject of a special government report (Wilson 1959), and by 1968 16% of all main holidays in Britain were taken in caravans. The static caravan holiday appears to be a

peculiarly British idea but one that has gained immense popularity as the "poor man's second home" (Wales Tourist Board 1969). However, after the frenetic growth rate of the past twenty years, it is thought that demand is now levelling off for a number of reasons:-

firstly, caravans, although cheap to buy and easy to maintain, depreciate very quickly and are not therefore a good investment.

secondly, caravans are not very aesthetically pleasing in scenic areas and planning authorities tend to restrict sites so that they are becoming very difficult to find in popular regions.

thirdly, the chalet offers a suitable alternative to the caravan, with much slower depreciation and with more chance of finding satisfactory sites.

Nevertheless, caravans are, and will continue to be, very important as inexpensive, if currently unfashionable, second homes and "it appears likely that caravan camps will remain as elements within the settlement pattern for the foreseeable future" (Pryce 1967). Prices range from £600 to £3,000, with the higher prices being paid for 'holiday homes' or 'Big boxes' which travel by low loader and are seldom moved again once on site (Powell 1972). In effect they are prefabricated second homes and can never be used as caravans in the traditional sense.

At present there are over 5,000 caravan sites in this country, with 50% being within three miles of the sea and housing 75% of the caravans (Burton 1966a).

It would seem that caravans are gradually increasing in size so that whereas caravans were formerly less than 22ft. in length it is not now uncommon to find 30ft. units or even 40ft "monsters" (Powell 1972). As static caravans become larger and correspondingly more complex, the differentiation between them and chalets dims. Indeed, a prefabricated chalet differs little from a prefabricated static caravan, and the fact that a caravan is "in effect a second home" (Barr 1967) was recognised as long ago as 1967. That static caravans should be included in any professedly complete study of second homes is also axiomatic, despite their large numbers, the difficulties of distinguishing them from mobile caravans and the general absence of relevant detailed information.

(ii) Methods of Purchasing and Renting Second Homes.

Notwithstanding the wide variety of second home type that is revealed in the previous section, it is nevertheless possible to make detailed observations on the methods that owners employ to obtain such homes. To begin with, it has been found that less than 6% of second homes in England and Wales are inherited (Wye) (Weardale 5.4%) so that in the other 94% of cases the potential second home owner has to decide on a location and discover a suitable property. It has been observed, in a somewhat different context, that "the destination of most moves seems to be governed by the interplay of distance and information" (Morrill and Pitts 1967) and the evidence from the Weardale survey suggests that this is true for second homes.

In Weardale, three sets of criteria emerged to influence the choice of the second home: firstly, 76% of respondents (table 8) mentioned the need for the home to be fairly close to the first home and this is probably the single most important factor, although noted by only 32% of the Denbighshire sample. secondly, there are those factors which combine to make an accessible area more attractive than other accessible areas and these include the scenery (36% replies); previous knowledge of the area (34%); family connections (28%); and perhaps even whether or not an area is "touristy" or "chichi" (Weardale survey). thirdly, within the chosen area there is a necessity for suitable property, and the availability of property (21%)

and particularly of reasonably priced property (5%), was mentioned frequently as being of great importance, and this is likely to increase as demand for second homes rises.

Nevertheless, despite these specific criteria, 16% of respondents in Weardale owned second homes in that particular dale by "chance", or, as one respondent said, "it had to be somewhere!"

In Sweden considerable research has been undertaken on the individual's choice of an area for his second home and the decision making process is neatly summarised as "the evaluation of the recreational landscape in terms of the relative recreational place utility that (the second home owner) expects to derive from recreational living in any alternative location, and finally, a choice between these alternative locations based upon a desire to maximise recreational place utility" (Aldskogius 1967). In other words, the second home owner will, under perfect conditions, have his home where he can obtain most benefit from it although, in reality, he lacks sufficient knowledge to assess all the various possible locations and is also guided by factors such as the availability of property.

The actual discovery of the second home is most often done through personal contact (Table 9) producing the "friends and relatives effect" (Wolpert 1965) and it is very noticeable that normal channels for home-finding, such as estate agents, are rarely used. Newspapers are used in about 25% of cases while "driving around" is also surprisingly common although it must surely be guided

by previously obtained information. Powell gives extensive advice on which papers and journals produce the best results while an agency has recently begun in Harrogate which will search for a second home in the Dales at a fee of £20 per month (Powell 1973). Aldskogius suggests that second home owners tend to follow one another to a specific region as a result of these "private information fields", so that clustering occurs in regions where second homes are already common (Aldskogius 1969). A few second homes may therefore have a "multiplier" effect, both through increased information to potential owners, and through increased local willingness to sell property as the possibilities are unfolded.

Private co-operation amongst second home owners is reflected in the fact that about 35% of homes were bought from other owners in Weardale (Table 10) while only 42% were bought from local people who were not friends or relatives. In the Wye local studies a very high proportion of owners in Essex, Devon, and Wales did not know who the previous occupant was, indicating that links with these areas were not very close. The fact that 55% of Essex owners obtained their second homes through "personal contact" and yet 56% knew nothing of the previous owner is perhaps illustrative of the second home owner's reputed reticence about giving unnecessary information (Tables 9 and 10)

The renting of second homes is also carried out through informal and efficient channels. It is an arrangement that benefits both parties, as the owner is helped in the payment of overheads, such as rates and repairs,

and probably also makes a profit, while the renter gets the use of a second home without the year round worries and burdens of ownership. Powell discusses this subject extensively and recommends finding suitable arrangements through magazines like *The Lady* or *Self Catering Holidays* (Powell 1972).

There are at least two agencies that handle second homes, *Taylings Holiday Cottages* advertise over 700 cottages, bungalows, chalets and flats in Britain annually, all owned privately by people who wish to rent their property; and *West Country Cottages*, who tend to specialise in private cottages but who also include commercial developments, such as the holiday bungalows of *Penstowe Park* and *Carbis Bay* in Cornwall. Besides these organised channels, many second homes are let through friends and associates, or through cards in local shop windows. It is, however, likely that in contrast to the actual purchase of a second channel, organised channels are more important than personal contact in letting as friends and relatives are probably lent the home free of charge.

Both the operations of purchasing and letting second homes are apparently well organised and have attracted commercial participation. Although personal contacts are so vital in the purchasing operation, the great demand for property coupled with a decreasing supply of readily available property has led to commercial involvement, illustrated by the *Harrogate* agency (Powell 1973) and the *Welsh Cottage Property Advertiser*

which began in February 1972. The latter is available on subscription and gives details of property available through estate agents. Such commercialisation of second home transactions is certain to increase as conversions are overtaken by purpose built property, so that remote bargain cottages will soon disappear as second homes become an integral part of the established housing organisation.

TABLE 8.      SECOND HOME OWNERS : REASONS FOR CHOICE OF SECOND HOME REGION (MULTI-RESPONSE QUESTIONNAIRES)

| <u>Reason</u>            | <u>% of respondents</u> |                     |                 |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
|                          | <u>Weardale</u>         | <u>Denbighshire</u> | <u>Auvergne</u> |
| Easily accessible        | 76.1                    | 32                  | 56              |
| Attractive scenery       | 35.8                    | 40                  | 86              |
| Know area well           | 34.3                    | 18                  | -               |
| Friends/relatives nearby | 28.4                    | 9                   | -               |
| Availability of property | 20.9                    | -                   | 43              |
| Cheapness of property    | 4.5                     | -                   | 22              |
| Peace and quiet          | -                       | 15                  | 72              |
| Chance factors           | 16.4                    | -                   | -               |
| Clean and unpolluted     | 9                       | -                   | -               |
| Others                   | 11.9                    | 31                  | -               |

N.B. Varying questionnaire format accounts for much greater detail in the Weardale data.

Sources: Weardale Survey  
Denbighshire (1972b)  
Clout (1970)



TABLE 10.

PREVIOUS OWNERS OF SECOND HOMES.

|                              | %        |            |            |                         |                       |                   |
|------------------------------|----------|------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
|                              | Weardale | N.E. Essex | S.W. Devon | Southern<br>Lake Distr. | West Central<br>Wales | All four<br>areas |
| Another second<br>home owner | 34.2     | 36         | 25         | 24                      | 38                    | 33                |
| A local person               | 42.5     | 8          | 32         | 64                      | 22                    | 24                |
| A relative                   | 6.8      | -          | -          | -                       | -                     | -                 |
| A friend                     | 4.1      | -          | -          | -                       | -                     | -                 |
| Other/unknown                | 12.3     | 56         | 43         | 12                      | 40                    | 43                |

Sources: Weardale survey

Wye (1972)

(iii) The Cost of Second Homes.

Despite the increasing commercialisation of second home transactions in Britain it is nevertheless extremely difficult to obtain a clear picture of the trends in the cost of second homes. Generally, such homes are small, a fact borne out by the situation where the majority of second homes have rateable values of less than £30 (Denbighshire) and, indeed, a surprisingly large proportion of second homes in the Pennine Dales are rated below £20, or even £15 (see Table 11). In spite of these low rateable values, the average cost of a second home in Denbighshire in 1971 was estimated to be well over £2,500 and homes in the Yorkshire Dales are now rarely obtainable for under £5,000 (Powell 1973). In Wales the lowest current price is around £3,000 and this may be purely for "what often amounts to a mere shell" (Bowers 1973) but which has the necessary planning permission for rebuilding as a home.

In Weardale property prices have been generally low (Table 12), with over 50% of respondents paying less than £500, and with 5% paying under £100. Weardale has not been a popular second home area for people outside the North East (see Chapter 5 iii) and this lack of popularity, coupled with the presence of a relatively large housing stock due to the earlier mining industry (see Chapter 3 iii), has acted to keep prices down. However, it is probable that increasing competition for second homes in the Dale is forcing prices to rise although this was not revealed by the questionnaire. Local people and estate agents speak of an accelerating rise in house

prices but it is almost impossible to distinguish between the effects caused specifically by second home owners and those that occur as part of national trends.

For example, one house at Hill End (figure 6) fetched £80 in 1958, increasing to £370 when next sold in 1961, and to £3,500 in 1972. Interviews with local people found that the tremendous increase was generally attributable to national trends of rising house prices, rather than to second homes. However, nearly 19% of the survey respondents thought that by purchasing second homes they were forcing property prices up and were helping to prevent local people from buying homes (Table 29).

Indeed, soaring property prices as a result of second home demand are often cited as a major factor affecting rural depopulation as local young couples are unable to pay the inflated prices for property (see Chapter 6). In the Lake District it has been suggested that such depopulation "is to some degree speeded up by the rapid arrival of 'off-comers'. By virtue of the excess demand, homes prices have risen beyond the means of many a local" (Rutgers 1972). However, potential second homes are very often those that have been abandoned by local people and therefore competition occurs only between second home owners with the resultant high price benefiting the vendor of the property. In Weardale, many of the second homes are too remote and isolated for local people although, in the more popular regions, there is competition between local people and outsiders for houses, and this takes place particularly in the larger villages.

TABLE 11. SECOND HOMES IN WEARDALE R.D.  
RATABLE VALUES 1973.

|                      | <u>Rateable Values.</u> |               |               |               |               |             |
|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
|                      | <u>£10</u>              | <u>£10-14</u> | <u>£15-19</u> | <u>£20-24</u> | <u>£25-29</u> | <u>£30+</u> |
| Weardale R.D. %      | 18                      | 28            | 33            | 11            | 5             | 5           |
| Reeth R.D. %         | 28                      | 21            | 14            | 14            | 12            | 11          |
| Barnard Castle R.D.% | 7                       | 25            | 25            | 23            | 10            | 10          |
| Startforth R.D. %    | 5                       | 32            | 13            | 9             | 12            | 29          |

Sources: Weardale R.D.C.  
Startforth R.D.C.  
Reeth R.D.C.  
Barnard Castle R.D.C.

TABLE 12. COST OF SECOND HOMES PURCHASED  
IN WEARDALE.

| <u>Cost</u>  | <u>% of Respondents.</u> |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| £100         | 5.3                      |
| £100 - 500   | 45.3                     |
| £500 - 1,000 | 24                       |
| £1,000+      | 13.3                     |
| N.A. '       | 12                       |
| TOTAL ...    | 99.9                     |

Source: Weardale Second Home  
Questionnaire 1973.

(') Indicates that respondent  
failed to complete this section  
or completed it unsatisfactorily.

When considering this much publicized problem, care must be taken "to avoid confusing symptom - the inability of local people to compete in the housing market - and cause - the lack of employment opportunities."

(Caernarvonshire County Planning Department 1973). In response to the situation where relatively affluent townspeople are able to outbid local people for houses, a number of housing societies have been established which purchase property and then rent or sell it to local people in order to prevent a further influx of second home owners. In addition, dual pricing is found in certain areas of Wales with low prices for locals and higher ones for outsiders and, although "it takes a very high-minded Welshman to accept the lower price for his cottage ... he is, apparently, to be found" (Mordey 1972).

The housing societies are found in regions of great second home demand:- in the Lake District, the North Westmorland Housing Society was formed in April 1973 as townspeople were "pricing local young couples out of their villages" (The Guardian 1973); in Norfolk the Blakeney Neighbourhood Housing Society was set up in 1966 as the area had 20% of its property as second homes and local pensioners were unable to afford homes (Barr 1967); in Wales there are at least two such groups: firstly, Adfer, established in 1971, owns thirteen houses which it lets only to local people. These houses were purchased by the group and extensively renovated so that their value is now well over £50,000 (News of the World 1973); secondly, Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd was founded in 1972 by

prominent Welsh Nationalists who state that "our general aims are to safeguard local housing for local people. To do this we have to compete in an increasingly difficult market for people who can't be expected to compete" (Keenan 1973).

Certain local authorities have also adopted similar tactics:- in Eskdale, Millom R.D.C. recently purchased houses that would have become second homes and now rents them to local people; in North Wales, Maentwrog R.D.C. bought 23 cottages that were up for auction as holiday homes, modernised them, and now lets them to local people, while in nearby Abergynolwyn the council has similarly obtained 30 houses (Clwyd 1973).

The recent spread of this idea suggests that local people are indeed being forced to outmigrate as a result of second home owners forcing up house prices, and this has led to proposals that house sales in very popular regions should be restricted to local people unless an outsider can present special extenuating circumstances. Such a system is successfully used in Jersey and could perhaps be operated in the most severely competitive regions of Wales and England. However, it is necessary to remember that, in many areas, there is effectively no competition between locals and second home owners as they are in separate property markets. In addition, even where outsiders do outbid local people for homes, this is often due to limited local employment opportunities and hence the second homes are exacerbating, rather than causing, the problem.

Nevertheless, the fact that some local people are being 'pushed out' by wealthy townsfolk means that local councils wish to take action of some kind. The various possibilities for action are summarised in Chapter Seven, but, at least at present, the continuation of rural outmigration seems inevitable despite the increasing activities of housing societies and local councils.

(iv) Improvements to Second Homes.

Apart from the controversial issue of rising rural home prices, second home owners also attract publicity through the use of improvement grants for modernising their homes. However, although second home owners are often thought of as being incessant improvers of their property, it is really only a very small proportion who actually carry out significant alterations. Of the many different types of second home, only houses and cottages are likely to need such work, a view supported by the Wye local surveys which found that 87% of all second homes were in good condition when they were acquired. In N.E. Essex this even rises to 93% as most of the homes are post-war purpose built chalets but falls to only 77% in the Lake District where many of the second homes are converted country cottages.

The low number of second homes that have undergone major improvements is evident although the nature of these improvements and of their financial impact on the locality is very important and has been the subject of several enquiries. Apart from the Wye study (Table 13) detailed work has been undertaken in Denbighshire, Carmarthenshire, Monmouthshire (Carr and Morrison 1972) and Weardale. Second homes in these areas are often abandoned or substandard rural cottages in regions where population is declining in the rural areas and where the cottages tend to be in poor condition, badly equipped and needing extensive improvement (Table 14). Hence there is a great similarity between these four regions in the sort of work that has been tackled and in the proportion of homes that have been improved.

In addition, there is a contrast between these figures where, for example, only 15% of second homes in Weardale had not been altered significantly, and the Wye results, which found that 70% of its respondents had made no major alterations. This contrast stems from the fact that the Wye survey was biased towards purpose built coastal dwellings while the other surveys were concerned with the inland converted cottages.

The financial outlay on such work may be considerable and was estimated to be an average of £614 for each second home in Denbighshire and of £804 in Carmarthenshire, and, as up to 95% of this money may be spent in the locality, the cash injection into the local economy can be very important (see Chapter 6). An extremely wide range of improvements are masked in these figures and very large sums are sometimes spent on converting such unlikely property as barns and pig-sties into attractive homes which are prone to receive much journalistic comment and thus create a false impression of the second home world to the uninformed outsider. Of the small proportion of second homes requiring improvements, most are country cottages, many of which were in a decaying condition when acquired by the owner.

In Weardale, for example, 55% of the respondents to the survey thought that one of the principal advantages of second homes in the countryside was that derelict buildings were tidied up, thus improving the whole area (Table 29). Similar results have taken place in France where "les maisons amenees des citadins se remarquent par leur entretien et leur aspect coquet au milieu

d'habitations restees rustiques ou frappees d'abandon" (Wolokowitsch 1963). Indeed, many people buy old property because they enjoy the challenge and opportunities afforded by the necessity for improvement. In France people deliberately "recherchent avec avidité les anciennes maisons rurales, souvent en mauvais état" (Brier 1970) and there are several current publications that give extensive advice on how to improve a second home with good taste, to blend in with the countryside and to get a good price for re-sale (Beedell 1972, Edmunds 1972, Lowrie 1972, Powell 1972).

This need for good taste may seem insignificant but second home owners are sometimes seen as a real threat to the countryside since "they so often over-restore cottages and houses, slashing them with cottage-style cottages, garnishing them with every kind of Walt Disney bric - à - brac ...." (The Guardian 1972). Perhaps it is just as well that National Park legislation restricts owners in these regions to those who can "afford the special paints, local stones and tiles, and architectural advice" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1972).

Cottages in England and Wales requiring improvements to bring them into reasonable condition are eligible for home improvement grants and it is these which have led to a great deal of controversy. These grants began under the 1949 Housing Act, and are given by the local authority which contributes only 10% of the actual money, the other 90% coming from the central government. They were intended originally to improve slum property but their use has widened and, at present, following several

amendments to the 1949 Act there are two main types of grant:

(a) firstly, standard grants are for providing basic amenities i.e. bath, basin, sink, w.c. hot and cold water, and these were for a maximum of £450 in mid 1973.

(b) secondly, there are discretionary grants "for improvement to a high standard and for providing dwellings by conversion" (Dept. of the Environment 1971) which rise to a maximum of £1,000.

However, the value of the grants is increased in development and intermediate areas to £675 and £1,500 respectively which is important for second homes as they are characteristically located in these economically backward regions of the country. The local authority is legally obliged to provide the standard grant for the relevant work, although the discretionary grant is, as its name suggests, at the authorities' discretion but there are very few conditions attached to the grants following the 1969 Housing Act which removed the previously very strict conditions.

In Caenarvonshire some 18% of the second home owners have received grants, while in Weardale 24% have received standard grants and 20% received discretionary grants. Second homes in Denbighshire account for 5% of all rural dwellings but claimed 10% of the grants between 1963 and 1970, and enquiry showed that second home owners were "1.7 times more likely to apply for improvement grants than people who are permanently resident in the county" (Denbighshire). That such rural second homes are likely to be old and neglected and hence in need of improvement is illustrated from a study of their rateable

values. In Denbighshire 62% of the second homes had rateable values of under £30 while only 36% of other rural residences were in this category, and in Weardale approximately 96% of the second homes were rated at under £30, which gives a general indication of the low value of second home property (Table 11).

Despite the fact that improving second homes is probably beneficial to the countryside and really affects only a small proportion of homes, there has been much opposition to the giving of such grants, particularly in the Welsh counties. In these counties rural depopulation has been a feature for many years and there are a large number of cottages suitable for conversion. Unfortunately, the influx of non-Welsh people leads inter alia to a decline in the Welsh culture and to erosion of the Calvinist Sunday. At a more practical level, the smaller authorities find it difficult to raise even the required 10% of the grants as they have to provide increased services when the property is in use.

In Caernarvonshire, Lleyn R.D.C. has defied the Housing Act and refused to give any grants to second home owners. In some parishes of this district over 40% of the property is second homes and the council feel that the relatively poor local people should not be forced to subsidise the holidays of rich outsiders. In Weardale the council formerly insisted that applicants for grants should provide a certificate stating that they would live permanently in the improved house but this practice was discontinued in 1972 following a government directive and as the system was very difficult to work. Both Lleyn

and Weardale councils have noted the danger of speculation, whereby old property is bought cheaply, modernised with improvement grants and then sold at a profit. To counteract this Lleyrn suggest that homeowners should have grants providing that they keep the property for at least fifteen years. Such speculation has also been observed in the Paris Basin (Cribier 1966) although, on the positive side, speculation does have the effect of renovating property "which otherwise may have become ruins and so added to total housing stocks" (Bowers 1973).

The local council's 10% share of the grant is probably repaid through increased rates within three to four years according to the Denbighshire study, but the repayment to the central government would take up to 37 years. Thus, the local economy is benefited within four years and economic objections to second home grants would appear illfounded although it is always necessary to remember that these increased rates have to pay for commensurately increased services, often to remote and isolated homes, which may more than offset the additional rate income in certain areas.

However, many people feel that it is grossly unfair to expect a rural council, which is relatively poor, to give even 10% of a grant to outsiders who are relatively rich. Such outsiders will probably make the improvements with or without grant assistance even if they have to wait a little longer to do so, and the locality will benefit just the same. Certainly, in Weardale where it is thought that no more than five discretionary grants have been given to second home owners between 1949 and 1972, the amount of

TABLE 13. IMPROVEMENTS TO SECOND HOMES (a)

| <u>Improvement.</u>  | <u>%</u> |
|----------------------|----------|
| Electricity added    | 8.9      |
| Telephone added      | 6.7      |
| Mains drainage added | 3.2      |
| Mains water added    | 3.0      |
| Mains gas added      | 0.6      |

Source: Wye (1972).

TABLE 14. IMPROVEMENTS TO SECOND HOMES (b)

| <u>Improvements.</u>       | <u>% of respondents who had made improvements shown.</u> |                |                   |                 |
|----------------------------|--|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
|                            | <u>Weardale</u>  | <u>Denbigh</u> | <u>Carmarthen</u> | <u>Monmouth</u> |
| Renew roof                 | 29   | 29             | 26                | 40              |
| Renew/replaster walls      | 50   | 53             | 61                | 53              |
| Renew windows or doors     | 59   | 55             | 64                | 56              |
| Renew floor                | 49   | 44             | 47                | 44              |
| New toilet                 | 53   | 35             | 51                | 38              |
| New bath                   | 41   | 29             | 43                | 29              |
| Hot water system           | 48   | 32             | 49                | 32              |
| Septic tank                | 11   | 25             | 40                | 25              |
| Connect/rewire electricity | 29   | 46             | 31                | 46              |
| Central Heating            | +  | 15             | 18                | 15              |
| Extra rooms                | 5  | 9              | 14                | 16              |
| Connecting water           | 8  | +              | +                 | +               |

Sources: Weardale Survey

Denbighshire (1972b) Carmarthenshire (1973)  
Carr & Morrison (1972)

improvements shown in Table 14 illustrates that substantial work can be done without the help of grants. In addition, many owners feel that the time and effort expended upon a grant application is not justified and therefore they prefer to put the work in hand immediately.

As increased rates will result from improvements, however financed, there can be little support for helping second home owners, especially when such large sums are being spent on purchasing and renovating property that the grants will often make only a marginal impact on whether or not the operation is viable. To pursue a policy of neutrality towards second homes and to avoid assisting speculation, a Times editorial suggests that "withdrawal of help (to second home owners) should apply to improvement grants" (The Times 1973.b), and this idea has been taken up by the Government in a White Paper which attacks the "unjustifiably high profits" being made on some grant improved property (Bowers 1973).

When, and if, second homes are made ineligible for grants this is not thought to be likely to have any great effect on their spread. The local authority will benefit from increased rates without payment of the grants while most second home owners may barely notice the difference for, as Bowers notes, "most buyers of cottages as second homes for weekends and holidays appear to have unlimited funds, within reason, to obtain what they want" (Bowers 1973). If this is the case, and it certainly appears to be a valid point, then there is really no justifiable reason for continuance of the grants and therefore they should be terminated and retained for their original objectives of improving sub-standard permanent residences.

CHAPTER 5.

The Second Home Owner.

Chapter five opens with a detailed investigation of the principal known characteristics of the second home owner and discusses the possible gradual spread of ownership to all classes as income and education levels rise. In part two the motivation behind the need for second homes is described briefly and the great range of amount and type of use is surveyed. (see Chapter 1). Finally, the relationship between use and journey time occupies a central place in part three where examples from both France and the North-East shows the marked local origins of most second home owners and the very localized domination of certain cities as sources of second home owners.

(i) Characteristics of Second Home Owners.

The owners of second homes are generally thought to be "cultured and moneyed people" (Griffin 1968) and it is usually true that they are above the national average in income, occupation and educational level, a hardly surprising fact considering the expense involved in purchasing, equipping and running two homes. Indeed, "a second home is primarily a high income investment" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1972) and this is supported by the Wye study which found that 42% of second home owners had incomes of over £2,000 p.a. (national average is 3.3%), while only 1.3% earned less than £500 p.a. (national average 18.9%). In France, 47% of second home owners were found to be earning over 24,000F p.a. (nat. av. 25%) while only 9% earned less than 10,000F p.a. (nat. av. 25%). Of the families earning over 100,000F p.a. no less than 60% had second homes indicating that second home ownership clearly increases with income (Brier 1970). Thus, a social survey in Kensington incidentally discovered that 25% of the households owned second homes (Willmott 1969).

The occupations of second home owners have been studied by Wye and by Carmarthenshire County Council (Table 15). Results indicate that the majority of owners are middle class and this is echoed from Sweden where 60% of owners are "white collar" (Larsson 1969), and from France, where a coastal survey found that 70% of the owners were "upper middle class" (Commissariat Général au Tourisme 1967 and see Table 2). However, this is by no means a static situation and there is evidence from Canada (Wolfe 1951) and France (Cribier 1965) that areas may be fashionable with the very

wealthy for a period but later they may move elsewhere as less wealthy owners replace them.

A type of spatial class differentiation is also noted in France where "commerçants, membres des professions libérales, cadres supérieures accèdent à la propriété dans les stations, les plus modestes recherchent à la campagne la maison individuelle et le petit coin de terre de leur rêves" (Marie 1966). This pattern is partly explained by the fact that many rural second homes in France are inherited by townspeople who are not necessarily rich but who have retained connections with relatives in the countryside. Such a development is included in the usual three fold classification of second home owners suggested by Brier (1970):-

firstly, there are the rich classes who easily have sufficient money and expertise to own a second home.

secondly, there are people who may have great difficulty in raising enough money to purchase and run a second home but who require one in their life style and are, perhaps "très sensibles à la notion de standing" (Cribier 1965).

finally, there are the poorer folk who have characteristically inherited their second homes and who may find them such a burden that they are under continual pressure to sell out to richer compatriots.

Such an interesting distinction may be applicable in certain regions but does not accord very well with Clout's assertion that second home ownership is rapidly spreading amongst the lower income groups in France (Clout 1969.b). Similar developments are reported from

Scandinavia (Norrbohm 1966) and from Britain (Saville 1966) where it is suggested that, although second home ownership is still predominantly limited to families of above average income, the lower classes may regard living in the commuter belt as an acceptable alternative. Conversely, Saville sees the rising second home ownership amongst the lower classes as "an alternative to not being allowed to move into a distant semi-rural suburb and commuting daily to work" (Saville 1966).

This same phenomenon has been studied in Lille, in Northern France, where it was found that second home owners come from both the wealthiest and the poorer sectors of the city, substantiating the claim that "cependant, cette deuxieme habitation n'est pas toujours un signe de richesse" (Dacquin 1965). Thus, owners of two homes found by a questionnaire came from three separate areas: the city itself, characterised by urban blight and relatively poor housing; the north western suburbs, the richest and most fashionable in Lille; and, finally, the other suburbs which were much less important. It is perhaps ironic that the inhabitants of the "beaux quartiers, aux maisons espacées, entourées de verdure" (Dacquin 1965), are categorized as second home owners together with those people from the much poorer and more squalid areas of the city although there are obvious differences between their various second homes, between "une maison au grand air" and "les constructions modeste préfabriquées" (Dacquin 1965).

Nevertheless, it is clear that the second home owner cannot simply be dismissed as being of above

average income and predominantly middle class. Even in the local studies undertaken by Wye in England and Wales, an unexpectedly large proportion of owners were found to be manual workers. In the Wye national survey only 10% of owners were manually employed while, in N.E. Essex, 47% of the owners were manual workers and the overall figure for the four local studies was 33%. The unique quality of every second home region in terms of physical environment, accessibility and property types helps to provide an explanation for although "the white collar bias is maintained, nowhere do the study area figures match the manual /non-manual division suggested for the country as a whole" (Wye). Rapidly increasing wage rates and decreasing work hours for manual workers are certainly a major influence behind these discrepancies and are helping to upset the traditional view of second home owners as being white collar and with high incomes.

Similar confusion occurs in the field of education where observers have normally considered the second home owner to be of above average education as this would fit well with his supposed middle class and above average income. In the Wye local studies (Table 16) there is clearly a bias towards higher education as 26% of the respondents have completed degrees or have other higher education qualifications. However, there is considerable regional variation and N.E. Essex in particular shows a very high number of owners who have left school at fifteen and this is supported by the high proportion of manual workers owning second homes in the region.

TABLE 15. OCCUPATIONS OF SECOND HOME OWNERS.

| OCCUPATIONAL CLASS            | SECOND HOME OWNERS |      | ALL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALES IN G.B. (1966 Census) |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------|---|
|                               | WYE                | C(1) |   |
|                               | %                  | %    | %   |
| Professional                  | 41                 | 59   | 4.6   |
| Employers and Managers        | 33                 | 13   | 10.7  |
| Non-Manual                    | 16                 | 9    | 17.2  |
| Skilled Manual                | }                  | 5    | 39.5  |
| Semi-skilled and agricultural |                    | 7    | 17.7  |
| Unskilled Manual              |                    | 10   | 8.1   |
| Unclassified                  |                    | 7    | 2.0   |
| TOTAL                         | 100                | 100  | 99.8  |

(1) C refers to data from Carmarthenshire.

Source: DART (adapted)

TABLE 16. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF SECOND HOME OWNERS

|   | N.E.<br>Essex | S.W.<br>Devon | Southern<br>Lake Distr. | West<br>Central<br>Wales | All<br>four<br>areas |
|---|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Left school at 15 years or less                           | 54            | 9             | 24                      | 31                       | 35                   |
| Left school between 15 and 20 years.                      | 35            | 51            | 37                      | 39                       | 39                   |
| Completed degree or other higher education qualification. | 11            | 40            | 39                      | 30                       | 26                   |

(1) All figures expressed in percentages.

Source: WYE.

In contrast, S.W. Devon has only 9% of its second home owners in this category whilst showing an above average share of the better educated groups.

The differences between these two regions may be partly due to the individual's perception of the countryside which is undoubtedly influenced a great deal by education. High education levels lead "not so much to increased opportunity as to increased awareness and desire" (Patmore 1972) and may therefore influence some London people to seek second homes as far away as Devon whilst less well educated people are satisfied with Essex. A further point may be that "too much education is producing too many social isolates. In many ways we are producing the type of person who will use the countryside and try to get away more and more from other people" (Wibberley 1972). Hence longer distances may be travelled by the more educated owners in order to obtain the necessary isolation and remoteness for their second homes.

In addition to characteristics of income, class and education, the second home owner is also likely to be married and to have young children (Wye). The model Wye family comprises a couple in their 30's with two children under fourteen for which the attractions of a second home are numerous:- firstly, it is an excellent venue for a relatively simple and inexpensive holiday, both important considerations with young children, secondly in a second home "you can live exactly as you wish, when you wish, without having to comply with other people's plans. There are no restrictions, no strangers under the same roof, no lurking porters, no complaints

from the next room, no fixed meals ... " (West Country Cottages 1973). With such advantages it is hardly surprising that second homes are particularly utilised by young families who need to be as free of restrictions as possible and often prefer to be in an environment not too dissimilar to that of home.

Finally, the second home owner often has family links with the region of his second home. Inheritance is discussed elsewhere and accounts for less than 5% of British second homes whilst general ties are important in Carmarthenshire and Denbighshire where they were mentioned by 69% and 57% of respondents respectively. Such ties include birth (49% in Carmarthenshire and 18% in Denbighshire) and close relatives (57% Carmarthen, 37% Denbigh) and are responsible for a large proportion of the owners who wish to retire to their second home eventually. The second home owner is not therefore merely an urbanite in search of rural peace and quiet but may be a rural migrant who is returning nostalgically to his original home and who may eventually return there permanently on retirement.

The second home owner can never be categorized accurately for he is usually far too diverse and individual to rank as one of a crowd. The following description of a typical owner and his family is of some use in indicating a major type of second home owner but there are so many variations on this ideal that it is rarely found in practice: "the head of the household is almost certainly engaged in a non-manual occupation, probably in a professional or

managerial capacity. He may well be under fifty years old and will probably have continued at school after the required age, subsequently obtaining a university degree or some other form of higher qualification. As well as his wife, he has two or perhaps three children, of whom at least one is probably under fourteen years old" (Wye).

(ii) The Owner's use of the Second Home.

The characteristic individuality of the second home owner is reflected both in the motivation behind second home ownership and in the amount and nature of second home usage. In Chapter One the need for a break from urban life is discussed, "although it is a moot point whether the design of cities should be such that the desire to escape to a country home should be so deeprooted as to require satisfaction in this way" (Patmore 1972). Another important factor is that "the ability to own and maintain an inessential home is an index of having arrived" (Wolfe 1965). Longer holidays, increased wages and more cars have made it possible for people to visit the country at weekends and vacations and thus "the demand for second homes reflects the need for a different environment in which to spend leisure time" (Wye).

In the survey of second home owners in Weardale (Table 17) over 60% of the respondents wanted their home for "peace and quiet" while a similar proportion also wanted it for recreation, the two evidently being prime objectives of the typical second home owner. In the Wye survey the desire for weekend and holiday accommodation was paramount followed a long way behind by the need for a retirement home (the different results being primarily a function of the form of the questions) (Table 18). However, 38% of the Weardale respondents wished to retire to the second home and this rises to 45% in Denbighshire, and to 65% in Carmarthenshire, with the situation changing

rapidly as owners change their minds on getting to know the locality around the second home. Hence, 10% of the Wye national respondents and up to 27% in the Devon local study admitted to changing their minds on retirement after a few years of ownership.

Other reasons for owning a second home include: investment, which accounts for only 1.4% of Weardale homes, and which is overshadowed by the common practice of letting the home in order to make a small profit; inheritance, which is important in France where town and country links are strong so that a study in the Pyrenees, for example, has shown that the distribution of second homes is closely related to the pattern of outmigration (Brunet 1963). Over 12% of French second homes are inherited but this falls to less than 5% in England and Wales, with Weardale reporting a figure of 5½%. A third reason is the desire to be close to relatives and friends and, while this may be masked by other explanations, it is mentioned by 9% of owners in Denbighshire, 7% in S.W. Devon and 4% in Weardale.

Underlying the need for recreation is the desire of many parents for their children to experience the joys of life in the country or at the seaside, while another underlying desire may be the advantages afforded by a retreat for mental and physical health undermined by a busy city life. Overall, it seems that this need to escape from the first home environment, either for vacations and weekends alone or eventually for retirement, is the principal theme behind second home ownership despite the fact that "those people able to afford second homes are those

whose urban surroundings are the least objectionable" (Wye).

Whatever the reasons given for ownership, second homes are generally used very frequently. It seems that second home owners who answer questionnaires use their homes both for weekends and vacations and that 50% of them regularly lend their homes to friends and relatives. Although Wye found that only 27% of second homes were lent, this figure rose to 44% in Carmarthenshire, 46% in Weardale, and to 57% in Denbighshire, illustrating that the use of second homes is considerably more widespread than figures of ownership alone would indicate.

The use of second homes varies in detail regionally so that, for example, only in the Midlands and the South-East are there more people using their homes solely for weekends than for holidays and this may be explained by the proximity of extensive conurbations enabling rapid access to the second homes. Wye found that 79% of homes were used for both weekends and vacations, while in Denbighshire 96% are used for weekends and 84% for vacations and similar findings come from Weardale with 96% used for weekends and 87% for vacations. Elsewhere, some second homes are used solely for vacations, particularly in Devon (79%) and Essex (63%), although the corresponding figure for Weardale is only 2%.

These different degrees of use are partly explicable by the distance between first and second homes. (see Chapter 5 (iii)). In Denbighshire, owners living within about 90 minutes driving distance of their second homes use them noticeably more often than do owners living further away. Around Lille, in Northern France, the second

homes within easy reach are intensively used and only one was found to be used for less than fifteen weekends a year while, at the more distant coast, 35% of the homes are never used at weekends (Dacquin 1965). Similarly, in Southern France, it is clear that weekend homes are usually within two hours driving time while holiday homes can theoretically be anywhere (Clout 1969a and Barbier 1965), and this pattern is repeated in Britain so that, whereas second homes in Devon receive an average of 1.7 visits p.a., those in the Southern Lakes receive an average of 16.3 visits p.a., clearly illustrating the differentiation between holiday and weekend use.

The intensity of use is high for the more accessible second homes. In Weardale (Tables 19 and 20) 48% of the cottages are occupied for more than 20 weekends a year (Denbighshire 43%) while only 20% are used for less than 5 weekends (Denbighshire 14%). In the holidays, 31% (Denbs. 38%) are in use for over four weeks with 20% used for more than eight weeks. In addition, it seems that the more an owner uses his second home then the more likely it is that he will lend it to relatives and friends. Hence, although in Weardale the average number of weeks spent at a second home is four a year, this rises to 4.7 weeks for the 46% of owners who lend their homes, and falls to 3.7 weeks for those who do not lend. Similarly, it is significant that nearly 60% of the "lenders" use their second homes for over eleven weekends a year and that 45% use them for over twenty weekends.

A further pattern visible in home lending is that second homes are more often loaned for weeks than for weekends.

TABLE 17.      REASONS FOR OWNING A SECOND HOME (A)  
(multi response survey)

| <u>Reason</u>                      | <u>% of respondents</u> |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| For recreation                     | 62                      |
| For peace and quiet                | 61                      |
| For retirement                     | 38                      |
| Inherited                          | 5.5                     |
| To be near relatives               | 4                       |
| Others                             | 13.5                    |
| incl. for children's benefit       | 5.4                     |
| for country life                   | 2.7                     |
| for health reasons                 | 2.7                     |
| obtained for wartime<br>evacuation | 1.4                     |
| for an investment                  | 1.4                     |

(1) Format derived from questionnaire (see appendix)

Source:      Weardale survey (1973).

TABLE 18.      REASONS FOR OWNING A SECOND HOME (B)

| <u>REASON</u>                | <u>N.E.<br/>Essex</u> | <u>S.W.<br/>Devon</u> | <u>S.Lake<br/>Distr.</u> | <u>West C.<br/>Wales</u> | <u>All 4<br/>areas</u> | <u>National<br/>Sample</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| For weekend/<br>Holiday use. | 87.4                  | 79.3                  | 76.4                     | 89.4                     | 85.9                   | 76.4                       |
| For eventual<br>retirement   | 5.5                   | 6.9                   | 14.5                     | 8.1                      | 8.5                    | 9.8                        |
| To sublet as<br>investment   | 3.1                   | 6.9                   | 1.3                      | 1.5                      | 2.2                    | 2.1                        |
| To be near<br>friends        | 1.6                   | 6.9                   | 3.9                      | 1.0                      | 2.0                    | 1.1                        |
| Other                        | 2.4                   | -                     | 3.9                      | -                        | 1.4                    | 10.5                       |

(1) All figures expressed as percentages.

Source:      Wye

TABLE 19.      ANNUAL USE OF SECOND HOME :  
NUMBER OF WEEKENDS.

| <u>No. of weekends</u> | %               |                      |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
|                        | <u>Weardale</u> | <u>Denbighshire.</u> |
| None                   | 4.2             | 4                    |
| 1 - 4                  | 15.5            | 10                   |
| 5 - 9                  | 8.5             | 18                   |
| 10 - 19                | 23.9            | 24                   |
| 20 +                   | 47.9            | 43                   |
|                        | 100             | 99                   |

Sources:      Weardale survey  
                  Denbighshire (1972b).

TABLE 20.      ANNUAL USE OF SECOND HOME :  
NUMBER OF WEEKS.

| <u>No. of weeks.</u> | %               |                      |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
|                      | <u>Weardale</u> | <u>Denbighshire.</u> |
| None                 | 13.4            | 16                   |
| 1                    | 10.4            | } 55.2    45         |
| 2                    | 20.9            |                      |
| 3                    | 16.4            |                      |
| 4                    | 7.5             |                      |
| 5                    | 4.5             | } 31.4    38         |
| 6                    | 4.5             |                      |
| 7                    | 3               |                      |
| 8 +                  | 19.4            |                      |

Sources:      Weardale Survey  
                  Denbighshire (1972b)

TABLE 21.      THE LOANING OF SECOND HOMES :  
ANNUAL USAGE.

| <u>No. of weekends</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>No. of weeks.</u> | <u>%</u> |
|------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|
| None                   | 72.6     | None                 | 62.9     |
| 1 - 4                  | 21       | 1 - 4                | 28.6     |
| 5 - 9                  | 3        | 5 +                  | 8.5      |
| 10 - 19                | 1.7      |                      |          |
| 20 +                   | 1.7      |                      |          |

Source:      Weardale Survey (1973).

TABLE 22.      THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SECOND HOME  
OWNER AT THE SECOND HOME.

| <u>Activity</u>       | <u>% of respondents.</u> |                      |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
|                       | <u>Weardale</u>          | <u>Denbighshire.</u> |
| Walking               | 79                       | 68                   |
| Do - it - yourself    | 33                       | +                    |
| Gardening             | 31                       | 25                   |
| Relaxing              | 28                       | 11                   |
| Visiting local people | 18                       | 3                    |
| Studying              | 17                       | +                    |
| Hobbies               | 15                       | } 23                 |
| Sports                | 15                       |                      |
| Exploring locality    | 14                       | +                    |
| Touring by car        | 11                       | 26                   |
| Visiting pub.         | 8                        | +                    |
| Other                 | 12                       | 22                   |

Source:      Weardale Survey (1973)  
Denbighshire (1972b).

In Weardale, while 50% of the loans are both weekends and weeks, over 40% are for weeks alone and this can be explained in part by the fact that the owners lend the house to friends during the week in the summer and then come themselves at the weekends (Table 21).

Throughout the year, Wye found that second homes were used for an average of 90 days which, while hiding considerable variations, agrees with the 87 days of Denbighshire and the 92 days of Carmarthenshire. The study in Weardale discovered a range of use from practically none at all (2%) to almost full time occupation (52 weekends and ten weeks) illustrating the difficulties of defining a 'second home' which is clearly being used much more than the 'first home'. In general, people intending to use their second homes for retirement use them considerably more than those who do not so that the major step of retiring to the home is probably not so difficult as it otherwise might be.

The second homes that are infrequently used are partly an indication that not all owners find them to be their ideal of recreational delight. One drawback of a second home is that "if you are to make full use of it you will spend all your vacations in the same place" (Powell 1972). Many people do not realise the implications of owning a second home and, while it may be "*vraiment la maison ou l'on se sent plus libre; et pourtant la vie n'yest pas depourvue, tant senfant, diennuis et de soucis*" (Brier 1970), it may also be a place that is full of problems and never really liked so that Powell gives a stern warning of the dangers of a "double life".

Very little has been written on the problems of second home ownership and it is all too easily assumed that it is the local people who suffer from second homes. Brier has outlined some of these problems and notes the tedium of long, repetitive journeys between first and second home; the boredom at the second home where local people are often reluctant to accept outsiders; the ease of making an error over the choice of site; the relative poor quality of rural services with unmade roads, few shops etc., and the "quelques défauts personnels: faible capacité de s'adapter à un second genre de vie ou absence d'imagination." (Brier 1970).

The novelty of primitive cottage life can soon wear thin and the use of the second home is also conditioned by personal circumstances so that in Weardale, for example, it was noticeable that cottages acquired for the children's benefit were not used so much as the children grew older although the cottage was often retained, perhaps for the grandchildren. Hence, it is not possible to ascribe the different extent of second home use to the function of accessibility alone as it is clear that people's attitudes and motivations are always important, regardless of the physical factors involved.

Despite the several disadvantages of second home life, many people spend their entire holidays and most of their weekends at their country retreat. 45% of the respondents in the Weardale survey spent all their holidays at their second home, while 32% also vacationed elsewhere in Britain and 23% went abroad, mostly to the Continent. Second homes thus tend to replace other

forms of recreation and tourism and Wye found that 71% of respondents used hotels less often, 33% went abroad less often and 68% spent more time away from their permanent home after they had acquired a second home. Second home ownership is a time and energy consuming activity, particularly if a conversion is undertaken, and several owners in Weardale have spoken of the tremendous amount of work that they have expended in restoring derelict cottages and barns. Such people are doubtless in a small minority for "it is obvious that the commonly held image of second home owners embarking on wholesale restorations of derelict properties is exaggerated" (Wye).

Many second homes are, however, used as a base for recreational activities, particularly if they are located at the coast or in mountainous regions. Cottages in the Lley Peninsula and Anglesey are thus used by Merseysiders wishing to sail and to swim but who find that the distance is really too much for a day trip (Patmore 1972). Generally, most second home owners seem to prefer to relax at their country homes. Perhaps the necessity of "having to dust, air beds and deal with the encroaching jungle of the garden" (Powell 1972) is sufficient to occupy most visits as the Wye survey found that 63% of respondents stated their major leisure activity as "relaxing around the house", a proportion that did not vary significantly with intensity of use or with situation.

In other studies, no emphasis was placed on major activity and hence a much wider range of replies was received. Walking became the most popular activity,

undertaken by 68% of owners in Denbighshire, 79% in Weardale and 81% in Carmarthenshire, while mentioned by only 13% in the Wye survey. In Weardale (Table 22) gardening is very important, followed by sports and hobbies, which included bird watching, fishing, shooting and riding. Studying is mentioned by an unexpectedly large number (17%) and other activities include eating out, church going and touring around the locality by car.

Certainly, many owners are heavily involved locally in sports teams, church life or other organisations, but most seem to be content with peace and quiet, and to potter around and go for walks. Owners rarely move far away from their second home since "once he gets to his cottage, the owner seems disinclined to leave it, especially for the fast diminishing pleasures of touring around the countryside by car" (Denbighshire) and hence relaxation is probably by far the most popular, but least publicised, form of activity.

(iii) Origins of Second Home Owners.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the use of the second home is very closely related to the distance between the first and the second home and, in general, the second home is usually situated within easy reach of the owner's first home. Thus, Wye found that 36% of second homes were actually in the same BTA region as the first homes and that a further 48% were in adjacent regions. This was reinforced by the A.G.B. finding that 68% of second homes were in the same regions as the first homes (Audits of Great Britain). Generally, second homes are located within a reasonable driving distance of the main towns, a distance which is incidentally being dramatically extended by the construction of motorways which tend to open up previously inaccessible regions.

Location is dependent to a large degree, therefore, upon the proposed use of the second home and homes for weekend use are likely to be much nearer than those used solely for long vacations. Indeed, "most people seem to think three hours is enough to spend in travelling to a weekend lair; certainly, the nearer it is, the more you are likely to use it" (Powell 1972). If the home is to be used for longer periods then more distant sites will be acceptable and many second homes belonging to British people can be found throughout the Continent and particularly around the Mediterranean.

Since most journeys to and from the second home are made by car (96% Wye and 90% Weardale) the state of the roads are clearly very important and may influence

the spread of second homes to a great extent. (Table 23). For example, the construction of the M.5. into the South West is thought likely to lead to a significant influx of second home owners. Most journeys are of not more than about two hours driving time, just sufficient for the second home owner to be completely free from the environment of his first home and for the second home to be a real "retreat".

Detailed study in Denbighshire shows that 62% of the owners live within 40 miles (including 58% from Merseyside) and that the number of owners falls significantly as distance from Denbighshire increases. Comparison of the origins of second home owners in 1957/8 and 1969/70 indicates very little difference, despite a large increase in numbers, and this results from the force of the "distance-decay" effect. A second interesting finding in Denbighshire is that second home owners from close at hand choose cottages in areas of the County closest to their home, while those owners from further away tend to go further within the County to their particular second home. This phenomenon has also been noticed in Canada and termed the "momentum effect" (Wolfe 1951), whereby momentum picked up on long journeys enables owners to travel further within the second home region in search of a good site. In Weardale it is not easy to distinguish the effects that might be ascribed to "momentum" from those due to such other factors as house availability and property prices. With the small sample available, only eight owners lived outside the region and, although six of these had second homes above

Stanhope, no conclusions can be drawn from this small number (fig. 7.)

TABLE 23. MODE OF TRAVEL TO SECOND HOMES.

|                 | <u>N.E.<br/>Essex</u> | <u>S.W.<br/>Devon</u> | <u>S. Lake<br/>District</u> | <u>West C<br/>Wales</u> | <u>All 4<br/>areas</u> | <u>Nat.<br/>Sample</u> | <u>Weardale.</u>  |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Car             | 89.7                  | 94.4                  | 97.4                        | 97.5                    | 94.3                   | 96                     | 82.7              |
| Bus or<br>coach | 3.0                   | -                     | 1.3                         | 1.4                     | 1.8                    | 2                      | 9.3               |
| Train           | 7.3                   | 4.6                   | -                           | 1.1                     | 3.7                    | 2                      | 2.7 <sup>1</sup>  |
| Other<br>means  | -                     | 1.0                   | 1.3                         | -                       | 0.2                    | -                      | 4                 |
| <b>TOTAL</b>    | 100                   | 100                   | 100                         | 100                     | 100                    | 100                    | 98.7 <sup>2</sup> |

Notes (1) Including a combination of bus and train journeys

(2) Excluding 1.3% respondents who failed to complete this section.

Source: Wye (1972)

Weardale Second Home

Survey (1973)

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In France, much research has been carried out on the origins of second home owners and a study on the Ile de Ré, for example, shows that 47% of owners come from the central Paris départements while a further 20% come from neighbouring Charente and Charente-Maritime (Bordarier 1966). Brier notes that, while owners will usually choose accessible locations, they will also prefer active rural areas to "des campagnes vides et sous-équipées, pays morts et tristes solitudes." (Brier 1970).

Unfortunately, due to the large numbers of second homes in France, many of the more favoured regions have now become saturated, particularly around Paris and Marseilles, and people now have to move further afield in search of good sites (Clout 1969a). This spread of homes is accentuated as "personal transportation becomes more speedy and the working week is shortened" (Clout 1969a).

The overwhelming importance of Paris as a source of second home owners is illustrated by the fact that it had 35% of all owners in 1967 whereas London, in comparison, had only 18% of British second home owners. The influence of Paris thus stretches throughout the country although it is especially strong in the region up to about 120 kms. from the city. This region of second home development is continually being extended by road improvements and the new motorway from Paris to beyond Rouen will, for instance, bring Western Normandy more securely within "the capital's recreational hinterland" (Clout 1972).

Nevertheless, at Le Touquet only 26% of the owners are Parisian while over 70% come from neighbouring departements with 60% from Nord and Pas-de-Calais (Cribier 1965). In Isere also only 16% of the second home owners are from Paris while 33% come from nearby Grenoble and 15% from Lyons (Marie 1966). The predominance of local centres is such that within 100 kms. of every large town there are numerous second homes with the proportion of Parisian owners being a function of both distance and time from the capital (Wolokowitsch 1963).

A crude distance-decay effect is also cited in

the Auvergne although it is severely limited by second homes that have been inherited and by cultural, recreational and sentimental attachments to specific areas (Clout 1971). In the South East too, which has a national and international reputation, over 55% of the second homes are locally owned, principally by the inhabitants of the Marseille, Toulon and Nice conurbations (Barbier 1965). Weekend homes in this region are typically found up to 120 kms. from the cities which would be about 1 to 1½ hours driving time while holiday homes are found in no regular pattern. In the Basses-Alpes it was found that second home owners came from Marseilles and the south east coast for a number of reasons:

firstly, there are family links and "il ne faut pas oublier non plus que l'exode rural a tissé des liens étroits entre le grand port phocéén et la campagne bas-alpine" (Barbier 1965).

secondly, the proximity of the mountain scenery for townspeople to enjoy.

thirdly, the communications within the mountains run naturally and most easily towards the coast.

finally, the region is relatively isolated and is not nationally known and "pour des raisons de distance et de transport, à encore une vocation regionale affirmée" (Barbier 1965).

These reasons have been quoted at some length because they are ones that apply equally well elsewhere and it is true, for example, that the situation in North Wales and in many of the lesser known Pennine Dales is very similar to that in the Basses-Alpes.

The spatial pattern of the origins of second home owners in France has therefore two principal themes: firstly, there is the national influence of Paris, a city with 18% of the French population (Thompson 1970), and secondly, in the local regions most second home owners are from neighbouring towns with the local proportion decreasing in the more accessible and nationally known areas and increasing in the more remote and little known regions. This normal proximity of first and second homes has been noted in Scandinavia where 85% of Swedish second homes are within 90 miles of the first home, (Lantmateristyrelsen 1968) and where there are always "concentrations of vacation house settlement in the vicinity of the larger urban agglomerations" (Aldskogius 1967).

Hence, the situation in Britain may be viewed with reference to the considerable body of research that has been produced abroad and similar patterns are evident in this country to those already discovered on the Continent. Within Britain, major flows of second home owners occur, for example, from the North West and the Midlands into Wales, with those from the North West tending to move into the counties of Denbighshire and Caenarvonshire while the Midland owners prefer Merioneth, Montgomeryshire and Cardiganshire. Wales is unique in Britain in that only 10% of its second homes are Welsh owned which results from the relatively small population, the presence of large urban conurbations in neighbouring regions, and the poor North South communications contrasting with the relatively easy penetration from the East. Much of the agitation against second homes originates in

Wales and this description of the conditions there helps to explain why this is so.

Other flows of second home owners tend to be more balanced so that the East has 50% of its owners living permanently in the region with a further 35% coming from London, while the South East has 56% of its owners from London and 30% from the South East itself. These two regions are the target of well over 60% of London's second home owners, an indication of the local character of the demand for second homes even from the capital. In the whole country, the Midlands prove to be the main source region for second home owners, presumably because of their large urban population, and over 50% have homes in Wales while only 35% remain within the region, utilising such contrasted sites as the Lincolnshire coast and the remote countryside of Hereford and Shropshire.

Actual journey times may vary enormously and are correlated with the accessibility of the second home and with the type of use to which it is put. Thus, those homes in the more remote regions of Devon and Central Wales are used more for holidays than for weekends since average journey times are relatively long. In S.W. Devon, for example, 69% of the second home owners spent journeys of between five and ten hours, while a further 16.5% travelled for more than ten hours (Table 24). In Central Wales the corresponding figures were 61% and 11% which contrast sharply with the situation in N.E. Essex where weekend use predominates and where 88% of the journeys take less than four hours, or in the

Southern Lake District where 74% of journeys are under four hours. Accessibility is therefore the determinant of journey time and hence an influence upon the average sort of use of the second home.

The North and North East Regions:

These regions display an opposite situation to that found in Wales and over 75% of the second home owners live permanently within the area. In the Yorkshire Dales National Park, for example, 80% of the owners live within three hours driving distance and it has been suggested that "this may be merely a reflection of present work patterns, but it may also indicate that, although the second home is primarily a high income investment, its likely pattern of future distribution will be similar to those of other activities" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1972). For weekend use, this does seem to be valid but, as saturation takes place as it surely will, accelerated by the growth of motorways, then potential owners increasingly have to look much further afield than they would do normally (Jackson 1970).

The intra-regional aspect of second home flows in the North and North East owes much to the juxtaposition of several large, industrial conurbations with substantial areas of scenically attractive, but thinly populated, countryside and coastline. In addition, the region still appears remote to many Southerners, despite the ease of communication by motorway, and the Pennines present both a physical and psychological barrier to the West, while the Midlands tend to look towards Wales or to their own countryside. In short, the North/N.E. is naturally rather

a self contained region and this is well brought out in the flow figures produced by Wye (Table 27).

In Northumberland surveys have found that 84% of the second home owners were living within two hours of their second home (Northumberland County Council 1971, and Davidson 1970) and in 1973 a survey was made of homes in five rural districts in Durham and Yorkshire.

Information was obtained solely from rating registers, with the inevitable limitations of this method, but some very useful results were obtained (see Table 26). In Startforth and Barnard Castle, which together cover Tees-dale, and in Weardale, the proportion of owners from within the region ranges from 90% to 96% with only the Midlands providing a significant alternative source. In Whitby and Reeth (Swaledale) these figures fall to 86% and 75% respectively and this is caused by the wider reputation of these two areas leading to people coming from much further away than is the case in the less well known dales of the Tees and Wear.

In Swaledale the extra-regional owners come from well scattered origins, although the South East, Midlands and East are particularly well represented, while in Whitby the Midlands and London are most popular. More distant regions, notably Wales and the extreme South West, contribute negligible numbers as distance decay exerts considerable influence at such distances. Teesdale has the strongest regional bias whereas Weardale, with a much larger number of second homes, has a slightly more catholic range of origins, including London, the South East, and East, together with the Midlands (table 26).

TABLE 24.                    JOURNEY TIMES TO SECOND HOMES (A)

| <u>Length of journey</u> | <u>% of second home owners</u> |                       |                         |                           |                         |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
|                          | <u>N.E.<br/>Essex</u>          | <u>S.W.<br/>Devon</u> | <u>S.Lake<br/>Dist.</u> | <u>West C.<br/>Wales.</u> | <u>All 4<br/>areas.</u> |
| Under 2 hours            | 10.2                           | 5.8                   | 22.8                    | 2.1                       | 7.7                     |
| 3 - 4 hours              | 77.4                           | 9.1                   | 50.6                    | 26.4                      | 44                      |
| 5 - 7 hours              | 10.2                           | 28.9                  | 11.4                    | 47.6                      | 27.7                    |
| 8 - 10 hours             | 1.1                            | 39.7                  | 10.1                    | 13.3                      | 12.9                    |
| Over 10 hours            | 1.1                            | 16.5                  | 5.1                     | 10.6                      | 7.7                     |
|                          | 100                            | 100                   | 100                     | 100                       | 100                     |

Source: Wye (1972)

TABLE 25.                    JOURNEY TIMES TO SECOND HOMES (B)

| <u>Length of journey</u> | <u>% of second home owners.</u> |                       |                                    |                            |                        |                            |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
|                          | <u>Weardale<br/>R.D.</u>        | <u>Reeth<br/>R.D.</u> | <u>Barnard<br/>Castle<br/>R.D.</u> | <u>Startforth<br/>R.D.</u> | <u>Whitby<br/>R.D.</u> | <u>All<br/>5<br/>areas</u> |
| Under 1 hour             | 6.8                             | 30                    | 35                                 | 18                         | 1.5                    | 21.1                       |
| 1 - 1½ hours             | 68.5                            | 20                    | 58                                 | 74                         | 38                     | 51.6                       |
| 1½ - 2 hours             | 6.8                             | 22                    | 2                                  | -                          | 13.5                   | 7.5                        |
| Over 2 hours             | 17.8                            | 28                    | 5                                  | 8                          | 47                     | 19.8                       |
|                          | 99.9                            | 100                   | 100                                | 100                        | 100                    | 100                        |

Sources: Weardale Survey (1973)  
 Reeth R.D.C.  
 Barnard Castle R.D.C.  
 Startforth R.D.C.  
 Whitby R.D.C.

TABLE 26. THE MOVEMENT TO SECOND HOMES IN SELECTED RURAL DISTRICTS OF N.E. ENGLAND.

| From:                    | To: Second Home Areas (Rural Districts) |            |                |        |          | All 5 areas. |
|--------------------------|---|------------|----------------|--------|----------|--------------|
|                          | Reeth                                   | Startforth | Barnard Castle | Whitby | Weardale |              |
| South East               | 3                                       | -          | -              | 1.5    | 2        | 1.3          |
| South West               | 0.5                                     | -          | -              | 0.5    | 1        | 0.4          |
| South                    | 3                                       | 1.5        | -              | 1      | -        | 1.1          |
| Devon/Cornwall           | -                                       | -          | -              | -      | -        | -            |
| Wales                    | 0.5                                     | 1.5        | -              | -      | 0.5      | 0.5          |
| Midlands                 | 6                                       | 2          | 2              | 4.5    | 2        | 3.3          |
| East                     | 4                                       | 1.5        | -              | 1      | 2        | 1.7          |
| Greater London           | 4                                       | -          | 2              | 3      | 1        | 2            |
| North West               | 2                                       | -          | -              | 1      | 1        | 0.8          |
| Scotland                 | 2                                       | 1.5        | -              | 0.5    | 0.5      | 0.9          |
| Intra-Regional flows (1) | 75                                      | 92         | 96             | 87     | 90       | 88           |
| TOTAL                    | 100.0                                   | 100.0      | 100.0          | 100.0  | 100.0    | 100.0        |

All journey flows are expressed as a percentage of the total flow to the individual rural district.

(1) Intra-regional flows are those entirely within the North/North-East region (B.T.A. region)

Sources: Rural District Rating Registers (1973).

First Home Areas (B, F.A. Regions)

TABLE 27.

## THE MOVEMENT TO SECOND HOMES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

## SECOND HOME AREAS.

| From:                    | To: | South<br>West | South      | South<br>West | South      | Devon<br>Cornwall | Wales      | Midlands   | East        | North-<br>East | North<br>West | Total<br>Regional<br>Outflow |
|--------------------------|-----|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| South East               |     | <u>3.7</u>    | 0.2        | 1.9           | 1.4        | 1.0               | 0.1        | 0.8        | 0.1         | 0.1            | 0.2           | 9.4                          |
| South West               |     | -             | <u>1.1</u> | 0.4           | 0.7        | 0.7               | 0.1        | 0.1        | 0.1         | 0.1            | -             | 3.2                          |
| South                    |     | 0.4           | 0.3        | <u>2.3</u>    | 1.1        | 1.1               | -          | 0.3        | 0.2         | 0.2            | 0.1           | 5.8                          |
| Devon/Cornwall           |     | -             | 0.1        | 0.1           | <u>0.7</u> | 0.2               | -          | -          | 0.1         | 0.1            | -             | 1.2                          |
| Wales                    |     | 0.1           | 0.2        | 0.1           | 0.1        | <u>2.6</u>        | -          | -          | 0.1         | 0.1            | -             | 3.2                          |
| Midlands                 |     | 0.1           | 0.8        | 0.3           | 1.1        | 10.3              | <u>6.3</u> | 1.1        | 0.5         | 0.3            | 0.3           | 20.8                         |
| East                     |     | 0.8           | 0.1        | 0.6           | 1.0        | 1.2               | 0.1        | <u>6.1</u> | 0.1         | 0.1            | 0.1           | 10.1                         |
| North/North East         |     | 0.1           | 0.1        | 0.1           | 0.1        | 0.9               | 1.3        | 0.2        | <u>12.0</u> | 1.0            | 1.0           | 15.8                         |
| North West               |     | 0.1           | -          | -             | 0.1        | 10.6              | 0.1        | -          | 0.2         | <u>1.5</u>     | 1.5           | 12.8                         |
| Greater London           |     | 6.7           | 0.5        | 2.6           | 1.2        | 1.4               | 0.5        | 4.3        | 0.1         | 0.4            | 0.4           | 17.7                         |
| Total Regional<br>Inflow |     | 12.0          | 3.4        | 8.5           | 7.5        | 30.0              | 8.5        | 13.0       | 13.5        | 3.6            | 3.6           | 100.0                        |

(1) Journey flows are expressed as a proportion of the total national flow.(2) Intra - regional flows are shown in underlined figures.

Source: Wye (1972)

The large proportion of owners in Weardale who nevertheless come from within the region is not so surprising when it is realised that "the dale is only twenty five miles from the centre of Tyneside and it has more than one million people living within one hour's driving time" (Durham County Planning Dept. 1967). While the one hour's driving time is certainly optimistic, the general situation is echoed by the figures in Table 25 showing that 89% of the respondents in the survey had journeys of less than 90 minutes and that 21% were under one hour.

Similar results have been discovered in Teesdale (Table 25) where 93% of trips to homes in Barnard Castle R.D. and 92% of the trips to Startforth R.D. take less than 90 minutes. As expected, this proportion falls to 50% in Reeth R.D. and to 40% in Whitby R.D. where journeys of more than two hours are recorded for nearly half of the owners, giving an indication of the relative isolation of the area, its poor road connections, and its widespread reputation. In general, however, the journey times in these five districts reflect the high incidence of local second home ownership and of their predominant use for weekends as well as for holidays.

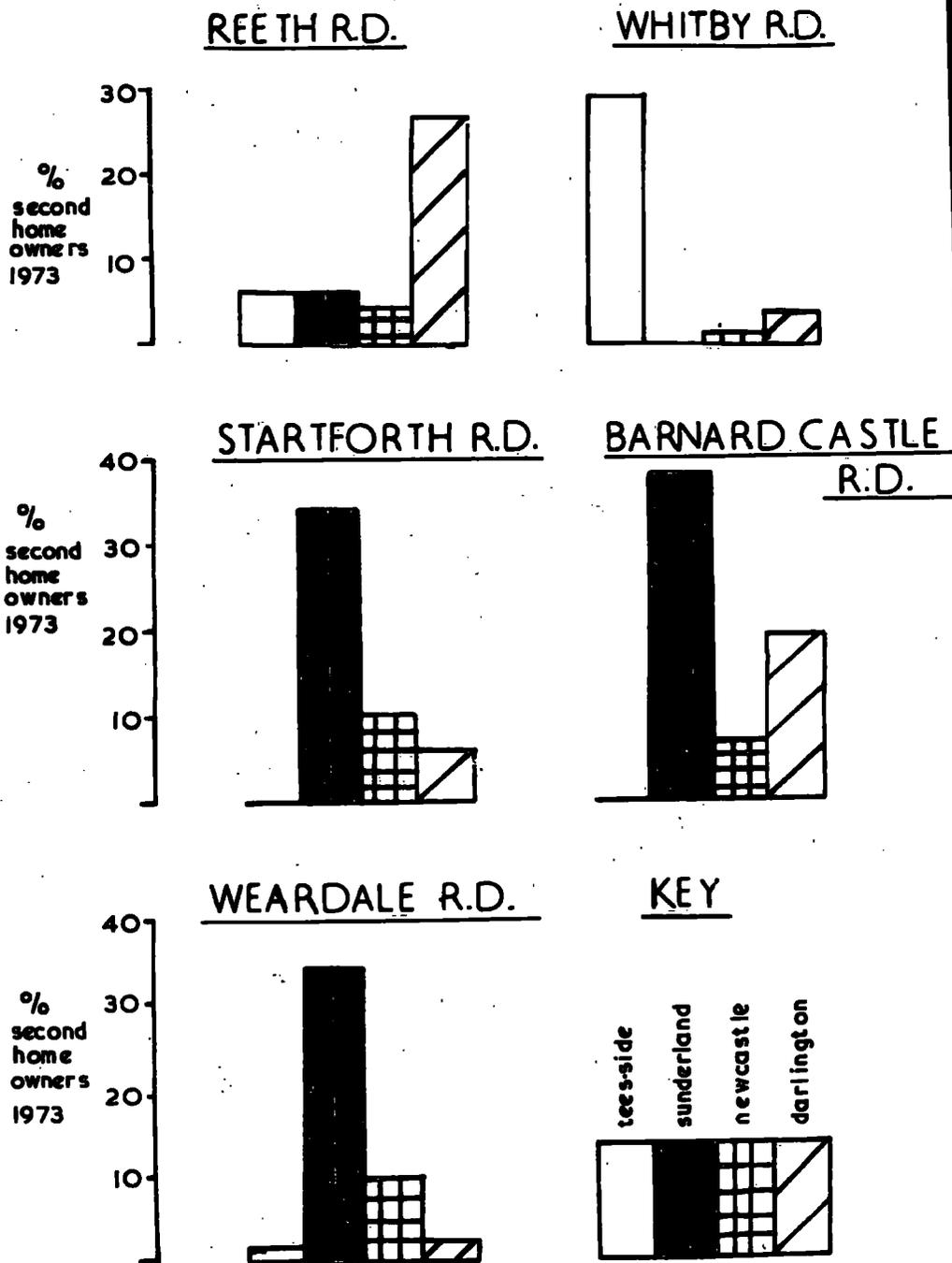
The directions of relatively local flows of second home owners have been studied in America (Wolfe 1970) and in France where it was shown in Isere that "bienque la propriété grenobloise soit partout majoritaire, quelques régions manifestent cependant une preference marquée pour certaines stations : leur

situation géographique conditionne généralement ces tendances" (Marie 1966). Such a 'préférence marquée' is particularly well evident in the North/N.E. and may be illustrated from the five districts quoted (Fig. 9). In Whitby, for example, 30% of the owners are from Tees-side which is, of course, the nearest conurbation. Teesside is, however, also within easy reach of the dales but in Reeth it contributes only 6% of the second home owners and  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  in Weardale (2.7% from the survey), and falls to zero in Tees-dale.

A similar analysis for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (figure 9) gives it 10% of the owners in Startforth, 9% in Weardale (6.8%), 7% in Barnard Castle, 4% in Reeth, and a mere 1% at Whitby. Such low figures for this large population centre result from the attractions of Northumberland, with its unspoilt coastline and peaceful countryside, which may be used with little competition from the other cities in the region. This competition comes particularly from Sunderland which is the predominant source of second home owners in both Weardale and Teesdale, with 34% of the homes in Weardale (40%), 38% in Barnard Castle and 34% in Startforth. However, such dominance is very localised and Sunderland has only 6% of the owners in Reeth and none in Whitby.

Darlington also has a local domination, despite its relatively small population, and is the origin for 27% of the owners in Reeth and for 19% in Barnard Castle although this share falls rapidly to below 6% in the remaining three districts. One of the explanations for these local flows, apart from the idea of "distance-decay",

**FIGURE: 9 THE LOCAL URBAN ORIGINS OF SECOND HOME OWNERS IN SELECTED RURAL DISTRICTS OF N.E. ENGLAND 1973**



source: rating registers

is that many people purchase their second homes through information obtained from friends and relatives so that a local communication network may be established. In Weardale, for example, over 55% of the respondents to the survey had bought their homes in this fashion while Wye also pointed out the importance of "personal contact" in the acquisition of 50% of their sample. The Weardale survey also revealed that most second home owners knew other owners, with 30% knowing more than five two home families and only 16% knowing none (Table 28). Such knowledge may be very important in the actual acquisition of the second home and may result in city suburbs being 'duplicated' in the countryside.

In addition, newspapers were used by 32% of the Wye sample and by 25% in Weardale and, as these were mostly local papers, the local aspect is reinforced. (Table 9). Thus, once initial contacts have been made between a town and a recipient second home area, perhaps through migration, marriage or evacuation, then these are likely to be strengthened as they serve to aid potential second home owners and hence become self perpetuating. Research on urban mobility has shown a similar reliance on personal contacts, resulting in a very limited search and minimal information base (Herbert 1973), and this explains to some extent why certain urban areas build up a "preference marquee" for particular second home areas.

TABLE 28.      NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS OWNING SECOND HOMES KNOWN BY SECOND HOME OWNER.

| <u>No. of Households known.</u> | <u>% of second home owners.</u> |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| None                            | 16                              |
| 1 - 4                           | 50.7                            |
| 5 - 9                           | 12                              |
| 10 +                            | 17.3                            |
| n.a.                            | 4                               |
|                                 | <hr/>                           |
|                                 | 100                             |

Source:      Weardale Second Home Survey  
(1973)

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Several conclusions may be drawn from this analysis of the origins of second-home owners:

firstly, it is obvious that every region containing concentrations of second homes is unique and that the subsequent generalisations must be treated with caution.

Secondly, despite the relatively small size of Britain and despite the rapidity of modern communications, second homes are usually owned by people living within a maximum of two to three hours driving distance and a large number are a great deal nearer. This pattern, which applies especially well in the North/N.E. and less well in more remote or better known regions, is likely to be greatly influenced in future by the spread of motorways.

Thirdly, the accessibility of the second home is clearly closely related to the journey time so that their interaction is largely responsible for the second home being

used primarily for holidays or for weekends.

Finally, short journey times and the method of acquiring ' second homes by personal contacts has led to towns having strong connections with specific areas of countryside or coast where second homes are situated. In the North/N.E. this phenomenon is so well developed that certain regions have almost become rural suburbs of particular towns.

CHAPTER 6.

The National and Regional Implications  
of Second Home Ownership.

The spread of second homes in recent years has not taken place within a vacuum and section one reviews the national issues that have arisen from this phenomenon. In section two a detailed investigation is made of the myriad implications, in economic, social, cultural and environmental fields, that second home ownership has brought at the regional level, and of the analytical problems that are involved in studying them.

The Background.

It is generally accepted that the number of second homes in England and Wales is likely to increase in the future and extrapolation of past rates of growth together with comparison of foreign experience has enabled certain estimates of this increase to be made. By 1985, for example, a trebling of present numbers is suggested by Wye who also take into account the projected evolution of related variables, such as income per head and the length of the working week. If conditions are particularly favourable then the total of second homes by 1985 could be 750,000. Looking further ahead, which brings attendant problems of accurate forecasting, it is thought that there might be two million second homes by the year 2,000 (Stone 1970 and Wye 1972), which would involve the construction of well over one million purpose built homes to meet this projected demand.

As a corollary of these figures, it would seem that "there is a watershed between two periods of second home growth in this country" (Wye). As demand has risen, the supply of suitable rural property has steadily diminished and potential second home owners are now looking to purpose built developments in increasing numbers. Hence, the future growth pattern will involve two threads:- firstly, existing buildings will continue to be converted to second home use as long as suitable property is available and, secondly, there will be a growing demand for purpose built homes, in coastal and rural areas, which will bring a new dimension to the second home market in Britain.

With second homes thus increasing both in numbers and in importance, it is necessary to consider the several implications that such a growth entails, both at a national and at a local level:

I. The National Implications of Second Home Ownership  
in Britain.

At present, second homes probably comprise only about 1% of the total housing stock in England and Wales and are predominantly homes previously abandoned as first homes, often due to isolation or to their small size. Although this is a small proportion, and includes property usually unwanted by anyone else, concern is expressed by many people that households should have two homes while at least 1.8 million first homes are considered "unfit for human habitation" and another 4.7 million are more or less unsatisfactory (Marshall 1971). "Translated into human terms, this means that three million families live in slums, often in conditions of gross overcrowding" (Marshall 1971).

Until recently this view has had little force as second homes have not utilised great resources of finance and materials and are not sited in regions where such slums are common. However, if purpose built second homes are built at a minimum future rate of 10,000 p.a. (DART), this would amount to 3% of the total house building effort throughout the country. It has been proposed, therefore, that the resources involved in this construction should, morally, be utilised in the re-housing of slum populations and this is a viewpoint that is likely to attract adherents as purpose built second homes begin to proliferate.

In addition to the inherent "unfairness" of second home possession, it is also argued that such homes represent an excessively rapid consumption of increasingly scarce resources, ranging from building

materials and petrol to the amenity impact. In the past, the conversion of old property has at least often improved the local environment in certain aspects, but in the future, the construction of large numbers of new homes will bring much greater questioning of this form of resource consumption and its environmental impact.

Economically, second homes utilise capital and cash that could arguably have been 'better' used elsewhere, perhaps in the first home region. On the other hand, cash is brought into regions which are characteristically rather depressed and second homes are often locally preferred to other forms of tourism as they provide a very stable source of income. A further point is that second homes undoubtedly benefit their owners' mental and physical health and help to satisfy certain fundamental impulses. This could, however, be achieved in other ways and presumably the non-second home owners in this country do not find themselves disadvantaged too greatly by their status.

At the national level, therefore, second homes produce a rather confused impact and no obvious conclusions may be drawn although it would seem that public resources should be used to provide adequate first homes for everyone before attention is given to the provision of second homes. The majority of the money and resources invested in the second home stock does, however, come from private rather than from public sources, and only improvement grants are a significant public contribution in this field, and their role is investigated more fully at the local level.

II. The Local and Regional implications of Second Home Ownership in Britain:

Second homes make their principal impact at the local and regional levels where they may be relatively numerous and where they are frequently very conspicuous. Much that is emotional and subjective has been written and said concerning this impact although there are several studies which have attempted to view the situation from a more objective standpoint. In particular, there are reports for the counties of Carmarthen, Caenarvon, Monmouth and Denbigh, together with the wider ranging Wye and DART studies, which have all been drawn upon for this investigation, supplemented by the original material collected from Weardale and from the many foreign reports.

The second home impact may be divided into three closely related sections: the economic impact, the social and cultural impact, and the environmental impact. None of these may realistically be studied in isolation as they are essentially three aspects of a single system, but are divided merely for convenience in this report.

A. The economic implications:

The economic effects are considered first as they have a very significant underlying influence upon the social and environmental effects of second homes and have received much detailed investigation:

(1) The price of property in a locality tends to rise as townsfolk buy second homes. This has two main effects: firstly, if local people sell property at these inflated prices then they benefit financially

although it is increasingly evident that many transactions take place solely between townsmen, either second home owners or absentee property owners, and there is no local participation (Cribier 1965). In Weardale, for example, some 33% of the respondents had purchased their homes from other second home owners (Table 10). With increased demand, local people may be able to sell property or land which would otherwise be unused and they thus release capital for other purposes (Ragatz 1970a and Caenarvon). On the other hand, the temptation of obtaining high prices may lead some farmers to sell land to the detriment of the local agriculture (Bordarier 1966 and David 1966), or even to dispose of ancestral land which they may later regret (Renucci 1961). secondly, although second home owners tend to compete in different property markets to the local people, preferring rather isolated dwellings to those in villages, it is nevertheless evident that competition between outsiders and locals does take place, particularly in highly attractive tourist regions. In Wales, for example, young couples are characteristically unable to buy homes at the high price level that prevails and are being helped by local authorities and by private housing societies to obtain homes (see Chapter 4 iii).

Such outbidding of local people for property constitutes a major argument against second homes and it is reported from France (Clout 1969b and Cribier 1966); from the Lake District (Rutgers 1972); from the Yorkshire Dales (Cosgrove and Jackson 1972); and from several areas of Wales (Barr 1967 and Mordey 1972). In Denbighshire

it was found that competition did not occur as the locals and second home owners were in separate property markets, (Denbighshire 1972), and in Weardale, where nearly 19% of the respondents noted that second homes caused house prices to rise and over 20% thought that second home owners took property that local people wished to purchase (Table 29), no examples could be found of locals being outbid by outsiders and many local farmers even expressed satisfaction at being able to dispose of near-ruins at unexpectedly high prices. It is probable that 'home-taking' takes place mainly in the larger villages in tourist areas (Caenarvonshire 1973) where the local people can obtain employment and require accommodation but must compete against outsiders who desire even a house in the village in order to be in that particular region. Elsewhere, the lack of employment opportunities in rural areas undoubtedly forces more young people to migrate than does the influx of second home owners who benefit from, rather than cause, much rural depopulation.

(2) Second homes may encourage speculation in suitable property markets which has been widely reported from abroad (see Chapter 31). In Britain, houses are bought cheaply, renovated and modernised with the assistance of local authority improvement grants, and then sold at a considerable profit for use as second homes. Such action tends to push up prices and clearly involves a mis-use of the improvement grants for private gain although it constitutes a relatively minor sector of the total market. Speculation could be easily curtailed by the re-imposition of the three year limit

on selling grant improved property that was, incidentally, removed only in 1969.

TABLE 29.      POSSIBLE LOCAL EFFECTS OF SECOND HOME OWNERSHIP AS PERCEIVED BY SECOND HOME OWNERS IN WEARDALE (1973).

|       |   |      |   |
|-------|---|------|---|
| (a)   | Effects seen as advantageous to the locality:     |      |   |
|       | 1. Cash brought into locality                     | 41.3 |   |
|       | 2. Property renovated and restored                | 54.7 | % |
|       | 3. Social life increased                          | 34.7 |   |
|       | 4. Generally advantageous to locality             | 54.7 |   |
| <hr/> |   |      |   |
| (b)   | Effects seen as disadvantageous to the locality:  |      |   |
|       | 1. Take homes from local people                   | 20   |   |
|       | 2. Cause house prices to rise                     | 18.7 |   |
|       | 3. Lead to vandalism and damage                   | 8    | % |
|       | 4. Generally disadvantageous to locality          | 12   |   |
| <hr/> |   |      |   |
| (c)   | Effects neither advantageous nor disadvantageous: |      |   |
|       | 1. Owners oppose economic development             | 2.7  |   |
|       | 2. Equally advantageous/disadvantageous           | 5.3  | % |
|       | 3. Other effects mentioned                        | 29.3 |   |

Note (1) Multiresponse questions so % figures represent % of owners mentioning particular effect.

Source: Weardale Second Home Survey (1973).

TABLE 30. COSTS OF MAJOR REPAIRS AND ALTERATIONS  
TO SECOND HOMES IN DENBIGHSHIRE 1972.

|                | Total Cost<br><u>% of second homes</u> | Spent in Wales<br><u>% of second homes.</u> |
|----------------|--|---|
| No money spent | 14.3                                   | 18.9  |
| £50            | 9.2                                    | 11.2  |
| £51 - £200     | 25.5                                   | 25.3  |
| £201 - £500    | 18.8                                   | 16.0  |
| £501 - £900    | 10.4                                   | 10.0  |
| £901 - £1500   | 10.4                                   | 8.4   |
| £1501 +        | 11.4                                   | 10.2  |
|                | <hr/> 100.0                            | <hr/> 100.0                                 |

Source: Denbighshire (1972b)

(Adapted)

TABLE 31. LABOUR USED FOR BUILDING WORK ON  
SECOND HOMES

| <u>Labour utilised.</u>           | <u>N.E.<br/>Essex</u> | <u>S.W.<br/>Devon</u> | <u>S.Lake<br/>Distr.</u> | <u>W.Central<br/>Wales</u> | <u>All 4<br/>areas</u> |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|                                   | %                     |                       |                          |                            |                        |
| Second home user<br>and/or family | 43                    | 0                     | 27                       | 54                         | 38                     |
| Landlord (of leased<br>homes)     | 0                     | 0                     | 2                        | 6                          | 3                      |
| Local labour                      | 17                    | 88                    | 63                       | 24                         | 40                     |
| Specialists<br>(decorators etc)   | 40                    | 12                    | 8                        | 16                         | 19                     |
|                                   | <hr/> 100             | <hr/> 100             | <hr/> 100                | <hr/> 100                  | <hr/> 100              |

Source: Wye (1972)

(3) Many second homes in England and Wales are conversions of relatively old property and therefore require alterations and improvements for their new use (see Chapter 4 iv) which lead to substantial financial implications. In Denbighshire, for example, over 50% of respondents to the second home survey had spent over £200 on improvements to their second homes, and nearly 12% had spent over £1,500, giving an average expenditure of £614 on each home (Table 30). Since approximately 87% of this cash was spent within the county this meant that the county received, on average, £536 for improvements to each second home and, as each home was owned for an average of 7.3 years, it was calculated that the annual expenditure was approximately £76. (Table 33). However, since much of the work is presumably of a 'one-off' nature including, for example, the installation of a bathroom or central heating, it seems doubtful that such calculations can be made with any great degree of accuracy. It is evident nevertheless that local builders derive considerable benefits from such improvement work and local councils frequently have difficulty in obtaining their services.

Work in Carmarthenshire has revealed similar results, with an average expenditure on improvements of £804 of which 95% was spent locally, with this proportion increasing with the magnitude of the work although small items, such as paint and screws, may be purchased in the locality of the first home (Carmarthen 1973). The Wye local studies, while not considering the financial aspects of improvements, did note the extent to which local

labour was employed (Table 31). This varied considerably between S.W. Devon, where 88% of the improvements were undertaken by locals, and N.E. Essex, where the proportion fell to 17%. In N.E. Essex, however, some 40% of the work was carried out by "specialists", some of whom were undoubtedly locally based, and the overall figures for the four studies show that 38% of the work was done by the second home owner and his family, 20% by "specialists", and over 40% by local labour. It is likely that the owner will undertake the smaller, straight forward and relatively inexpensive jobs himself, whilst employing specialists or local labour for the more complex and expensive operations.

In France, (Brier (1970) notes the very important role played by purpose-built second homes in the rural building industry. Between 1949 and 1953 some fifteen second homes were built for every one hundred first homes in French rural communes. Between 1962 and 1968 this ratio had risen to thirty second homes, and a situation where one second home is built for every two first homes is not expected to be far away (Brier 1970). Apart from the need for labour to build these new second homes, there is also a great demand for skilled workmen to restore and to improve those already in existence. Thus, while specialised firms have emerged to produce factory built pre-fabricated second homes, both in France and in Norway (Hope 1973), there is still a considerable need for craftsmen, such as stonemasons and carpenters, to work on existing property.

TABLE 32. DENBIGHSHIRE AND CARMARTHENSHIRE :  
Average expenditure per second home  
on goods and services for weekends  
and week visits.

|                 | <u>DENBIGHSHIRE</u>   |                                 | <u>CARMARTHENSHIRE.</u> |                                 |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
|                 | <u>Weekend visits</u> | <u>Longer Visits (per week)</u> | <u>Weekend visits</u>   | <u>Longer Visits (per week)</u> |
| Expenditure on: |                       |                                 |                         |                                 |
| Food            | 3.46                  | 10.14                           | 4.68                    | 13.51                           |
| Recreation      | 4.34                  | 11.64                           | 3.71                    | 10.53                           |
| Other           | 2.30                  | 5.00(2)                         | + (1)                   | +                               |
| <b>TOTAL</b>    | <b>10.10</b>          | <b>26.78</b>                    | <b>8.39</b>             | <b>24.04</b>                    |

1. Carmarthenshire survey had no questions on "other goods and services" spending.
2. No precise figures are available.
3. All figures in £

Source: DART (1973)

TABLE 33. DENBIGHSHIRE: Average annual  
expenditure per second home.

1. Weekend spending x No. of weekend trips p.a. = £10 x 17.6 = £176
2. Spending per week x No. of weeks p.a. = £27 x 7.5 = £202.5
3. Amount spent on house improvements ÷ yrs of ownership = £536 ÷ 7 = £ 76.5
4. Rateable value x rate per £ = £32 x 0.80 = £ 25.6

Total annual expenditure per second home = £480.6

- (1) All figures are annual averages.

Source: Denbighshire (1972b).

In the period 1945 - 1968 approximately 11% of all French expenditure on residential property was on second homes and this overall figure masks the fact that the proportion is thought to have actually been over 15% between 1962 and 1968 (Brier 1970). It is not surprising, therefore, that a study in the Paris Basin revealed that many workmen rely entirely on second homes for their survival, despite the fact that many second home owners like to work on their homes themselves as part of their rural relaxation. The situation is less accentuated in England and Wales, where only 1.5% of all homes are second homes (DART 1973 and Central Statistical Office 1972), whereas some 7% of French homes fall into this category. In local areas, where the proportion of second homes may be significant, similar effects to those found in France may appear in Britain. Thus, in Denbighshire and Caenarvonshire, studies have shown that second homes do have a great influence upon local employment (see Tables 33 and 34) and this will be considered in greater detail at the end of this section.

(4) Second home owners pay rates on their property in return for certain services, such as waste removal and road maintenance, provided by the local authority. Two implications may arise: firstly, since second home owners do not use up to 70% of the services that are provided, notably those dealing with education and health, their rates may be regarded as a hidden subsidy to the district since "increases in the tax base which are not offset by increasing demands for public

services are a net gain to the governmental unit" (David 1969). secondly, although the second home owner may not use many of the locally provided services, those that are needed may prove to be unexpectedly costly, particularly if the second home is at all isolated, and so his rates may not actually cover the cost of the services and therefore the local authority may be, in effect, subsidising the second home owner. In the U.S.A. "blinded by prospects of an expanded tax base, local and county governments have given blanket approval to many second-home subdivisions, only to discover later that the added taxes scarcely cover the cost of services to the new communities" (Bonelli 1972). In the Paris Basin water shortages occur as the second homes are used most frequently at the driest period of the year and the local authorities are forced to provide a service infrastructure which is in full use for only part of the year (Cribier 1966). In Britain, Lleyn R.D.C. have been forced to construct a new sewerage network for the spreading second homes and feel that the costs of such homes far outweigh any benefits (Caenarvon 1973), while Weardale R.D.C, faced with problems of providing services to frequently isolated property, suggests that additional rates should be levied to cover this extra cost.

A second source of costs to the locality may arise if the second home owner retires to his second home and henceforth requires the local social and health services which are often geared to be used in certain key population centres, and incur great expense by dealing

with remote and lonely homes. This will undoubtedly place a considerable strain on local authority resources in the future for a great many present second home owners have expressed their intention of eventually retiring to their second home. In Caernarvonshire nearly 60% of respondents intended to retire there, while the proportion in Denbighshire was 45%, and fell to 37% in Weardale, illustrating the potential size of this future problem.

(5) Second home owners may spend large amounts of cash in the second home locality on food, entertainment and services and 41% of Weardale respondents thought that this was significantly beneficial (Table 29). The extent of this spending was measured in Denbighshire and Carmarthenshire and several pertinent observations made (Table 32). In Denbighshire 80% of the second home owners purchased milk, bread and groceries within the county while nearly 70% also purchased meat and vegetables locally. This was unexpected as previous studies had indicated that townsfolk tended to buy their provisions in their home town where a wider, and cheaper, range of goods would be available than in the country. In the Paris Basin, for example, local shopkeepers rarely benefit from the second homes except in isolated instances where an imaginative shopkeeper deliberately stocks a range of goods to attract the townspeople rather than to satisfy purely local demands and it is very noticeable that "seuls les commerces bien équipés des bourgs profitent vraiment de ce mouvement d'achat" (Cribier 1966).

TABLE 34. CAERNARVONSHIRE ; Summary of  
Economic Benefits from Second  
Homes.

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|  |  |               |                 |
|--|--|---------------|-----------------|
| 1.   | New Building   | approximately | £550,000 p.a.   |
| 2.   | Improvements   | "             | £120,000 p.a.   |
| 3.   | Rates  | "             | £ 90,000 p.a.   |
| 4.   | Food and non-food expenditure<br>plus an allowance for leisure<br>spending approximately |               | £2,000,000 p.a. |
|  |  |               | <hr/>           |
| Total annual average financial<br>outlay (2980 second homes) : |  |               | £2,760,000      |
|  |  |               | <hr/>           |

Source: Caernarvonshire County  
Planning Department  
(1973)

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It is necessary to make a distinction between the use of the second home for weekends and its use for more prolonged visits. In the latter case, there is more likelihood of local shops being patronised as few people are likely to bring sufficient supplies for a long period from their home. Thus, the Denbighshire study found that on longer visits, while the proportion of households purchasing local milk, bread and groceries did not increase significantly, the proportion purchasing local meat, fish and vegetables did rise steeply. This was reflected in the average amount spent on food which totalled £3.46 for a family on a weekend visit, and rose to £10.14 per week on longer visits (Table 32).

Money is also spent locally on recreational activities which may include, for example, riding, shooting,

eating out and visiting the pub, all of which may benefit the locality and the amount spent in such ways is comparable to that spent on food (Table 32). In total, the second home owner may spend an average of over £10 in a weekend and over £26 in a week so that the local economy receives a tremendous injection of cash.

Certainly, the effect must be felt in Caernarvonshire where an estimated £2 million is spent each year (Table 34) or in Denbighshire where the total is around £220,000 (Table 33) and, in the stagnant economy of Auvergne-Limousin in France, the construction of ten second home villages resulted in an expenditure of 9 million francs in 1968 which helped provide local employment and raise the standard of living (Pearce 1973).

However, the expenditure by second home owners may not be as great as that by the permanent residents which they may follow and local shops may thus have to close as the mobile second home owners often prefer to shop in the larger villages of their area. Thus, in Weardale, the shopkeepers of Stanhope welcome the second home trade while more isolated shops, such as that at Cornriggs, tend to continue to decline. It is also by no means certain that second home owners will spend large amounts in every locality and the Wye investigation concluded that "the second home trade may provide a major part of the livelihood of some local tradesmen in some rural areas but this is either rare or linked with the presence of a strong general holiday industry in the area" (Wye 1973). Nevertheless, it is certain

that the expenditure of the second home owner is more beneficial financially to a locality than the presence of unoccupied or derelict houses and that regions differ only in the extent to which they benefit. Exceptions to this might occur where a second home owner outbids a potentially permanent resident for a home, in which case the overall expenditure would probably be less than for the permanent resident, but such instances are rare and insignificant even at the village level.

(6) As a corollary of their expenditure and as they tend to use their second homes regularly and regardless of the weather, second home owners are thought to bring financial stability to tourist regions (Cribier 1966). Conversely, by using his second home the owner may be curtailing his use of other tourist facilities and Wye, for example, found that 71% of their local respondents used hotels less since they had acquired second homes. However, this reduction in expenditure could be offset at a national level by the fact that 34% of owners were found to go abroad less often after they had purchased their second homes, thus benefiting the overall balance of payments.

(7) Some second home owners directly engage local labour although the Wye study suggested that this was usually of minor importance. Only 7½% of their sample families actually employed local cleaners and 9.1% employed gardeners periodically. However, this proportion rose to about 20% in the Lake District where "the limited economic value" of such work is still apparently evident (Wye 1973). Similar findings are

reported from Denbighshire, where even caretaking jobs are uncommon, and from Weardale, where caretaking assumes local importance as a minor source of income (Barr 1967).

In France the situation is very different and the definite value of such employment has been noted in the Auvergne, where many gardeners and housekeepers are needed (Clout 1970), and in the Paris Basin, where the second homes create jobs for gardeners, watchmen and personal servants. The effect is so marked that "dans bon nombre de homeaux des proches environs de Paris, a l'ouest surtout, la population active est tout entière occupée dans les emplois domestiques" (Criber 1966). Differing life styles between the two countries account largely for these contrasts in employment and it is unlikely that a future second home boom in this country will lead to any significant increases in this type of employment.

(8) The total expenditure of second home owners in a locality may clearly be very substantial and may have a vital effect upon an economy which relies heavily upon the contribution of the "services" sector (Ragatz 1970 b). On the Ile de Re, in western France, the characteristic rural depopulation has been significantly checked by the influx of second homes, particularly as local workmen are now sought after to construct new homes in the traditional styles (Bordarier 1966). A parallel situation has been studied in the Auvergne where the second home owners are evidently responsible for "re-animating dying villages ..... creating additional seasonal and all year jobs, and establishing potential

markets for local shops and farm produce" (Clout 1969 a).

In Denbighshire a careful analysis was made of the actual impact of second home owner expenditure upon the local employment situation, and the total annual expenditure was calculated (Table 33). There are 586 second homes in the county, each spending an average of £480.6 p.a., giving an annual total of £281,600 for expenditure in Denbighshire. This money clearly generates some local employment and the extent of this 'multiplier' effect was found by using an employment multiplier of 0.00036 for each £1 of spending. This was derived from tourist studies made at the Department of Economics, University College of North Wales, and, when applied to the £281,600 annual expenditure total, gave an estimated 101 extra jobs, principally in the construction and service trades, dependent upon second homes in Denbighshire.

This investigation has great importance for many rural areas as it gives proof that second homes are capable of improving local employment opportunities and, at least in Denbighshire, the second home owner "tends to retard migration by providing more jobs in rural areas, roughly one extra job for every six homes" (Denbighshire 1972). A similar calculation has also been carried out in Caernarvonshire, differing only in that the contribution of new construction has been included (Table 34), and a total annual expenditure of £2,760,000 was estimated. There are approximately 2,980 second homes in the county so that the same multiplier shows that some 990 jobs are provided as a

direct result of second homes, which is a ratio of one job for every three second homes.

These two studies show the potential benefits that may accrue from second homes in certain regions whereas the Wye report concludes that such homes probably only make marginal contributions to their locality although it does qualify this by stating that more research is necessary on the subject. Wye also makes the very valid observation that this research "might well show important contrasts of economic impact between second home developments in, for example, coastal, lowland rural, metropolitan and upland areas" (Wye 1973). At present there is insufficient data available and, apart from the two Welsh counties that have been studied in detail, it is not possible to gauge the economic impact of second homes in most regions with little more than constructive guesswork although it is probable that not all regions will receive commensurate benefits from their second homes as do Denbighshire and Caernarvonshire.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note the view put forward by the Welsh Language Society which states that, even if unemployment in a rural area is leading to depopulation and to the availability of houses for use as second homes, such sales should be prevented since, in a potential future era of employment opportunities and prosperity no homes would be available for the workers (The Times 1973a). The possibility of such an era is obviously a matter for conjecture whereas the second homes will support at least some jobs immediately and ensure that some local people remain in the region.

However, a possible consequence of this might be that articulate and relatively wealthy second home owners would provide effective and vociferous opposition to any future developments which might provide employment but which would also disrupt the scenic attractions of the region.

B. The Social and Cultural implications:

(1) The influx of second home owners into an area as a replacement for permanent residents is sometimes accused of destroying community life, leading to a displacement of neighbours, to a fall in the numbers attending chapel and other local functions, and to contributing significantly to a falling demand for such services as buses and schools, causing their eventual cessation. Additionally, in Wales the second homes are held responsible for the declining Welsh culture and for the erosion of the Calvinist Sunday.

While it is natural for country folk who have lived in the same area for many years to resent the intrusion of often wealthy and independent townfolk, it is nevertheless doubtful whether the second homes can accurately be accused of causing trends that are probably much more deep seated in origin. The second home owner takes advantage of, and may accelerate, such trends but is rarely, if ever, one of their fundamental causes.

The major underlying problem in most rural areas is that of population migration as young people move away in search of employment, a higher standard of living, and the wider social facilities that are available in the towns. As well as these "pull" factors there are numerous "push" factors, such as the mechanisation of agriculture and of quarrying, and the amalgamation of small farms so that fewer rural jobs are available. The resulting age selective migration has serious social consequences and tends to produce a surplus housing stock which is being taken up by the second home owner who is

then blamed for causing conditions that he is actually taking advantage of.

Nevertheless, it is possible that rural depopulation is accelerated to some extent by the pressures of second home demand and a study in the Val du Bourget, in the French Alps, suggests that this has indeed taken place (David 1966). In the majority of regions, however, second homes may prove beneficial to community life and it is, "still valid to consider whether empty and derelict houses would add any more to community life than second homes" (Caenarvonshire 1973). An illustration of typical, fallacious journalistic comment on the situation may be found in an article entitled "The Weekend Villages" (Clwyd 1973). In an interview with the writer, one of the last remaining residents in the small Welsh village of Rhyd, now predominantly filled with second homes, comments that "most of the houses here were empty for a long time before anyone bought them," as the local people had migrated to neighbouring towns and beyond in search of jobs and better conditions. In spite of this, the Welsh Language Society organised a march into Rhyd, accusing the second home owners of "killing the community and its Welshness," and threatening to occupy the cottages. The logic behind this is unacceptable yet is widely accepted, even by some of the second home owners, although it gives a clearly biased explanation of the true situation which is itself sufficiently serious.

(2) The cultural consequences of second

home growth may be more serious and they are more easily attributable to that source. In Wales, where they are most noticeable, they include "the dilution of Welsh culture, the impact on the Welsh language, and the lack of appreciation of Welsh country ways" (Caernarvonshire 1975). However, the situation is improved somewhat by the fact that many second home owners have ties with their second home locality. In Denbighshire, for example, over half the owners claimed to have one or more close links with Wales and over a quarter claimed to have someone in their families who spoke, or who was studying, Welsh. Very similar figures were also found in Caernarvonshire and it is very possible that some second home owners are making a great effort to conform with Welsh customs and way of life. However, even where second home owners are considerate, problems will still arise over the non-observance of the Welsh Sunday or over the misunderstanding of property rights, problems which are inevitable because of language and cultural differences and which occur, in different forms, between differing groups of people all over Britain. Thus, the cultural difficulties are really inevitable and are not unique to the second home owners who may nevertheless be the most permanent reminder to the local populace that their culture is threatened. Once again, it is difficult to distinguish between the effects of rural depopulation and of the influx of the second homes.

(3) Contact between the second home owner and the local people will clearly depend to a large

extent upon the type and situation of the second home and upon its use. A home situated in a village, used frequently, and intended for retirement will undoubtedly lead to much closer links with the village folk than, for example, would a small seaside chalet used infrequently as a base for sailing in the summer months. It is for this reason that, in spite of the widespread publicity accorded to the second home spread, no less than 27% of the local people interviewed by Wye in its four detailed studies were unaware of any second homes being in their area.

In an attempt to discover the degree of social contact between second home owners and local people, various lines of investigation have been pursued. Wye found that 23% of owners belonged to local clubs and organisations (Table 35) and concluded that "there is evidence that participation in local affairs by second home users is greater than with the indigenuous population. Understandably, perhaps, this situation may cause resentment amongst local people, who may dislike the intervention of outsiders in affairs that have traditionally been of purely local concern" (Wye 1973). In France, where family links between owner and second home locality are much stronger than in Britain, it is thought that Paris contains about four hundred mayors of rural communes and several thousand rural councillors (Brier 1970), illustrating the possible effects of second home owners on local politics.

In Denbighshire, it was found that nearly 50% of the respondents to the second home survey had

entertained more than seven local people in their homes during the past year while only 11% of respondents had done no such entertaining, and an investigation in Carmarthenshire revealed that over 90% of survey respondents regularly entertained local people although 2% thought that they were not accepted locally and thus did no entertaining. It seems, therefore, that the average second home owner will make an effort to be sociable and to be accepted by the local community and is probably typically not a social 'isolate' as he is sometimes portrayed. It is true, however, that many owners have friends or relations already resident in the second home locality and so the picture may be somewhat incorrect in emphasising the deliberate sociability of the second home owners.

The survey in Weardale found, nevertheless, that 11% of respondents knew more than forty local people while only 4% claimed to know none (Table 36). They also knew a significant number of second home owners in the locality, although only 8% knew more than fifteen such households (Table 37). These figures are unfortunately difficult to interpret clearly as the fact that owners "know" locals or other second home owners may encompass a wide range of meaning, from merely knowing names to even being their sons-in-law. However, at least 18% of respondents regularly visit local people and this gives a more readily comprehended indication of the situation (Table 22).

In certain regions second homes have brought new life to backward or isolated communities and many

owners feel that they bring substantial social benefits to the neighbourhood. Some 35% of Weardale respondents thought that they introduced new faces and fresh life and vigour to the dale and this feeling is shown in quotations from two of them: respondent A refers to the owners' "association with locals bringing subsequent mutual understanding and respect", while respondent B states that second home owners have "provided new interests and ideas for a relatively isolated hamlet." These consequences are also noted by Smailes who comments that, under developments such as the influx of second home owners, "the inbreeding and clannishness that sprang in the past from isolation are passing as the dalesfolk are becoming integrated into a much larger community" (Smailes 1968).

The attitudes of local people to such opinions is hard to determine although, at least in Denbighshire, the locals seem to be fairly evenly divided for and against the spread of second homes (Denbighshire 1972). In their local studies, Wye report that 45% of local people welcomed second homes, while 37% generally opposed them, and 18% were indifferent (Wye 1973). Much depends on the particular locality, its history and its salient characteristics, and upon its leadership. Studies in France have suggested that, where the local community leaders set out to welcome second homes, i.e. an 'open' community, then the benefits to that community, both social and financial, will be much greater than in a 'closed' community where no such efforts were made (Clout 1970).

TABLE 36. LOCAL PEOPLE KNOWN SOCIALLY BY SECOND HOME OWNERS IN WEARDALE 1973.

| <u>No. of Locals known.</u> | <u>% of second home owners.</u> |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| None                        | 4                               |
| 1 - 4                       | 13.3                            |
| 5 - 9                       | 29.3                            |
| 10 - 19                     | 18.7                            |
| 20 - 39                     | 18.7                            |
| 40 +                        | 10.7                            |
| n.a.                        | 5.3                             |
|                             | 100.0                           |

Source: Weardale Second Home Survey  
(1973)

TABLE 35. MEMBERSHIP BY SECOND HOME USERS OF CLUBS AND LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

|                           | <u>N.E.</u>   | <u>S.W.</u>  | <u>S.Lake</u> | <u>West C.</u> | <u>All 4</u>  |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| Percentage of Second      | <u>Essex.</u> | <u>Devon</u> | <u>Dist.</u>  | <u>Wales.</u>  | <u>areas.</u> |
| home users <u>with</u>    |               |              |               |                |               |
| membership.               | 25            | 20           | 35            | 19             | 23            |
| Percentage of second      |               |              |               |                |               |
| home users <u>without</u> |               |              |               |                |               |
| membership.               | 75            | 80           | 65            | 81             | 77            |
|                           | 100           | 100          | 100           | 100            | 100           |

Source: Wye (1972).



that there is a vital need for communication between local people and second home owners in order to minimise mutual disturbance and to ensure that distrust and suspicion do not characterise their relationship (Ragatz 1970b).

(4) Finally, a little publicised consequence of the growth of second home ownership is its effect upon the life of the first home locality. In Norway, towns are "virtually dead from Saturday lunchtime onwards" (Somme 1966), and a similar development is increasingly recognisable in certain suburbs of British cities and towns. For example, in the Cheshire suburbs of Manchester it is evident that a number of potential local churchmen are also second home owners and that they therefore are tending to become churchwardens, sidesmen and congregation in the churches of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, where they can also enjoy the weekend at their second home. At present the situation is not too deleterious but potentially there is a danger that first home localities will develop into dormitory areas for use during the working week while the second home regions will benefit from the activities of increasing leisure time and will evolve a more full and active social life than that of the emptying town.

C. The Environmental Implications:

The impact of second homes on a rural environment can be considerable and may lead to both detrimental and advantageous effects. The possible loss of agricultural land and the problems of providing adequate services, and especially that of sewage provision, are considered in the financial section but second homes may also lead to serious traffic congestion on small country roads and may thus disrupt local life and also involve the local community in large expenditure on road improvements. In addition, it is possible for the whole amenity value of an area to be ruined by poorly planned (purpose-built second home developments and this has already taken place in Sweden (Palme 1966), and in the U.S.A, where badly finished and unfinished second homes have created "rural slums" (Ragatz 1970a).

In the U.S.A. the second home boom has attracted 'big business' (see Chapter 3 i) and has had a very large scale influence upon certain rural environments. In particular, the attraction of water based sports has caused a "lemming-like rush to the seashore (which) has resulted in the dredging and filling of wetlands, from an ecological point of view the single most destructive act of the whole second home industry" (Borrelli 1972). However, comparable development in marginal or derelict regions could make use of, and reclaim, hitherto irredeemable land such as in the former industrial sections of the Pennine Dales, in parts of the Welsh hills, and in the small woodlands of South Devon (DART 1973).

In Weardale some 41% of respondents (Table 29) mentioned the role of second home owners in 'improving' the scenic beauty of the region by restoring derelict property which may well stand out by its eventual exceptional state of preservation and maintenance, and may even provide an impetus for a general 'face-lift' of the area. Certainly, in America, second home owners have been known to lobby successfully for local developments, such as better upkeep of lakeshores, improved water supplies, and more efficient land use zoning (David 1969).

Many second home owners are not conversant with country life and may, unwittingly, cause damage to crops or property, thus leading to social friction with local people. It is essential that owners are educated to understand the economy and life of their locality so that they do not view an area as being "recreational space" (Clout 1970) when it is predominantly an agricultural region. This difficulty is echoed from Weardale (Table 29) where more than 8% of the respondents complained about the increased damage and vandalism introduced by other second home owners.

Indeed, second home owners can often destroy the very qualities of life that they seek in rural areas, or may destroy them for other visitors. In the dales, for example, the evocative atmosphere produced by decaying relics of lead mining is well appreciated by many people who will consequently resent the conversion

of such property into second homes and, in the U.S.A. the prime problem posed by second home growth is that of "vanishing open space" (Borrelli 1972). It is essential that certain regions are preserved for public access and use for, already in Sweden, the alienation of lakeshores has led to legislation to prevent further construction and to preserve some public access. (see Chapter 3 i).

Finally, second home owners may try to protect the environment around their home from modern developments of mining or tourism and may thus act as 'guardians' of the landscape to some extent, although this may lead to severe conflict with the local people who require opportunities for increased employment (Table 29) and who do not appreciate the landscape in the same way as the second home owners.

D. The overall implications:

The local impact of second homes is evidently potentially very far reaching and is characteristically very heterogeneous in type. It requires separate investigation in each second home region due to the fundamental influence of local factors and even then is a problematical impact to gauge objectively. Hence, "a thorough cost benefit analysis of the second homes phenomenon would be extremely difficult and would be rendered meaningless by the arbitrary assumptions needed to overcome the intangible nature of many of the costs and benefits" (Caernarvonshire 1973), and the preceding section gives an indication of their wide variety and of their often very subjective character.

Different scales of investigation will yield correspondingly different conclusions so that, for example, the overall county report on second homes for Caernarvonshire considered that, although second homes clearly brought localised social problems, they were probably beneficial in social and economic fields when looked at from the county level. At the rural district scale, however, the second home impact appears more pressing and clear cut, and Lleyrn R.D.C. for instance, take the view that "the demerits to the community (of second home ownership) far outweigh any merits that could be obtained" (Caernarvonshire 1973).

The status of the investigator will also affect any analysis of second homes and it is interesting to note in this context the diversity of opinion that

exists even amongst the owners themselves. In Weardale (Table 29) it was found that 55% of respondents considered that second homes definitely brought advantages to their locality, although a further 12% thought that such homes were generally disadvantageous and 5% considered their effect to be negligible.

Although the implications of second home ownership will differ from area to area and will be perceived in various ways by observers, there are two general comments that may be relevant to a majority of localities:

firstly, the concept of 'open' and 'closed' communities is probably one that is widely applicable and the hypothesis that the 'open' communities gain "far greater financial and social benefit" from second homes than do the 'closed' communities (Clout 1970) is one that requires detailed research due to its immense potential importance for many rural localities.

secondly, a valid distinction may also be drawn between those regions where the second homes are predominantly composed of conversions from abandoned first homes and those regions where the majority of homes are purpose-built. Such a distinction is vital because "while second homes consist merely of properties no longer wanted as second homes, they cause relatively few problems; but when they grow beyond this, political, social, economic and environmental problems arise" (DART 1973).

CHAPTER 7.

CONCLUSION: Future Growth of Second Homes.

This concluding chapter examines the way in which the projected future growth of second homes can possibly be harnessed so that any benefits arising from the growth can be obtained with the minimum of adverse effects on "potential home purchasers or on the community at large." (Caernarvonshire 1973). In essence, this constitutes the rationale behind the majority of studies on second homes and also summarises the basis of the second home 'problem' as it is beginning to be known.

If the experience of countries who have significant numbers of second homes is considered (see Chapter 3.i), then the fundamental necessity for the careful planning and control of second home growth will be appreciated. In addition, the extensive regional implications of second home ownership (see Chapter 6) indicate that there can be very great beneficial consequences or that, conversely, grave detrimental effects may arise. At present in Britain second home numbers are relatively small (see Chapter 3), but a rapid increase is confidently forecast for the future and there are three main options open to local and national authorities in their relevant policy decisions:

(1) It is conceivable that second home development could be deliberately encouraged with the minimum of controls and hindrances in the belief that the desires and needs

of urban man must be met (see Chapter 1) whereas rural areas command much less attention, having small and relatively powerless populations. Such encouragement could include reductions of rates and other taxation together with expansion of loan and grant facilities and of second home construction programmes. In the second home locality this might benefit local people by reducing demand for permanent homes but in other respects it is a largely unjustifiable policy, particularly as second homes will certainly spread with or without any planned encouragement.

(2) In complete contrast to the first option, second homes could be actively discouraged, even to the extent of making their possession an offence in law. Already, many people feel that such homes are immoral when so many first homes are in slum condition (Chapter 6.1) and when rural communities are being destroyed by outmigration. An immediate obstacle to such action is the problem of definition (see Chapter 2.1) together with the extremely authoritarian, and therefore normally unacceptable, nature of the policy. However, less extreme measures might include efforts to raise second home prices, such as by restricting bank loans, withholding improvement grants and increasing rates and other relevant taxes. The supply of such property might be restricted by applying stricter controls on building permission, by limiting sales to outsiders, and by requiring planning permission for converting a home from a first to a second home.

At the present, many second home critics support the withdrawal of improvement grants (see Chapter 4 iv)

and the levying of additional rates on second homes. In North Wales, for example, the perceived situation is such that Lleyn R.D.C. consider that "it is immoral for the Government to continue to make grants available towards second homes when such action tends to harm the economy and create depopulation" (Caernarvonshire 1973), while, even the largely sympathetic report on Denbighshire concludes that "only in terms of jobs created, the employment objective, can grants to second home owners be justified" (Denbighshire 1972b) but it would seem that the improvement work is probably carried out, even without a grant (Chapter 4.iv).

Hence, it is doubtful whether measures utilising grants or even rates would have any appreciable overall influence although they might make very significant local differences, particularly where second homes have become a burden through the above average expense of providing them with services. In general, a policy of discouragement is not therefore likely to be more popular, except with extremist groups, than one of encouragement and it is to the third proposed option that most attention is given.

(3) An approach in which both local people and second home owners would be considered would be one where second home demand was both steered and controlled while aid was simultaneously given to local people to obtain first homes. It is essential from an objective viewpoint that a system of rural priorities should be established with first homes for local people being more important than second homes for urbanites (Wye 1973). Hence a comprehensive

programme could be evolved to cater for these dual aims and, initially, help could be given to potential local home buyers through three measures: firstly, local councils could buy up houses and rent or sell them only to local people, as many councils and private societies already do. (see Chapter 4.iii).

Secondly, councils could purchase building land and sell it solely for the construction of first homes for local people.

Thirdly, councils could purchase the building land, build houses themselves, and then rent or sell them locally.

In Caernarvonshire, the council has determined that such measures are most necessary in large villages in popular tourist areas where both local people and incomers compete for homes, whereas they are less necessary in larger centres unattractive to second home owners, or in those small communities where first home demand has irrevocably dwindled and where second homes are the only use for the property. (Caernarvonshire 1973).

If the needs of the local communities are thus safeguarded, it is then possible to consider those of the second home owner. In the future, as the number of potential 'conversions' declines, second homes will increasingly be purpose-built (see Chapter 4.i) and, to avoid the unsightly sprawls that have appeared without the imposition of planning controls in France, Sweden and the U.S.A. it would seem that such homes should be constructed either in existing population centres or in

'holiday villages' where services could readily be supplied, loss of land minimised, and the impact upon the landscape controlled. Such developments might not satisfy the second home owner desiring solitude and quiet but there is evidence that already many second homes are sited in villages due to the scarcity of isolated property and to the reluctance of authorities to give permission for new construction away from existing centres and it is, in any case, not possible to satisfy all demands and desires in the relatively limited area of Britain.

Holiday villages may be incorporated within a planned "rural system" (Denbighshire 1972b), together with developments of agriculture, forestry and service industries, and may help 'underdeveloped' rural economies by injecting cash and by providing employment opportunities (Dower 1973). Currently popular second home areas are very often located in scenically attractive but economically weak regions and an indication of the possible effects of holiday villages in such regions is given by an example from the Central Massif region in France.

The Auvergne region of the Central Massif is the "most extensive rural problem area in France" (Clout 1972) characterised by poor communications, unproductive farmland and pronounced rural depopulation. Since 1962 the SOMIVAL joint stock company (Societe pour La Mise en Valeur de la region Auvergne-Limousin) has attempted to develop the area by means of forestry, agricultural and tourism programmes and, in particular, has constructed fifteen holiday villages (Thompson 1970)

which create both jobs and a market for local produce. As a SOMIVAL report states, "if there is need for a justification for the creation of holiday villages, the new breath that they inspire into the economy of the rural areas would be enough in itself to make them be considered with good will"(SOMIVAL).

The numerous advantages afforded by such villages have prompted planners in Denbighshire to conclude that "the only feasible alternative to the present second home is the holiday village" (Denbighshire 1972.b) although they qualify this by outlining the care necessary in developing what are potentially obtrusive features in the landscape. In the U.S.A. unplanned construction has created "rural slums" (Ragatz 1970a) while local character also needs retention, perhaps by utilising local building materials. The adoption of a high standard for the facilities diminishes the prospect of the creation of an 'eyesore' and may also make it possible for the houses to be potential first homes on their owner's retirement, thereby adding to the nation's permanent housing stock (DART 1973).

In certain regions, holiday villages could usefully reclaim derelict land (see Chapter 6) and should in any case not occupy good class agricultural land. The Auvergne holiday village of Vendes de Bassignac, for example, is based upon a former mining settlement (Pearce 1973) and in North Wales this 'rehabilitation' has taken place at Port Dinorwic, where 490 second homes will eventually be built, and at Nantlle, where the

Dorethea Slate Quarries are providing sites for up to 240 homes (Lewis 1973).

The trend towards holiday village type developments in Britain seems inevitable and already Caernarvonshire has plans for nearly 3,000 homes to be built in the next few years at five such centres (Caernarvonshire 1973). If the lesson of foreign experience is to be learnt, extreme care will be necessary to avoid future growth being "a rape of the countryside or coast rather than a healthy development" (Wye 1973). Controls should ensure, through land-use planning, high standards of design, and the adaptation of tax structures and local infrastructures, that not only does the second home owner obtain pleasure from his second home but also that "he or she gives income and community strength" (Wye 1973) to the locality. Thus, it is imperative that controlled second home growth occurs in the future and that the underlying motivation of this policy is to look "beyond the quick buck to more enduring values that so far we have only begun to assess" (Borrelli 1972). Only in such a fashion can the ownership of two homes be at all justified with its inherent inequitable quality.

# UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

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DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY,

SOUTH ROAD,

DURHAM CITY.

TELEPHONE: DURHAM 4971-8

April 1973

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am undertaking research in the Department of Geography at Durham University on the subject of weekend cottages in the North-East. Your name has been obtained from the Rural District rating registers, and I wonder if you would be kind enough to fill in the accompanying questionnaire to help me in my research. When completed, the questionnaire should be returned to me as soon as possible in the envelope provided. All replies will, of course, be treated as strictly confidential.

Your help is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

SJ Birch

Simon J. Birch

Enc

## WEEKEND COTTAGE QUESTIONNAIRE

Please tick one or more of the alternatives or write in your reply, where appropriate.

1. Why did you initially want to have a weekend cottage?

For retirement \_\_\_\_\_ For recreation \_\_\_\_\_ It was inherited \_\_\_\_\_  
To be near relatives \_\_\_\_\_ For peace & quiet \_\_\_\_\_ Any other reasons \_\_\_\_\_  
(please specify)

2. What were your principal reasons for choosing to have your weekend cottage in Weardale?  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. How did you discover that the cottage was for sale?

Friends \_\_\_\_\_ Estate agents \_\_\_\_\_ Local newspaper \_\_\_\_\_  
Relatives \_\_\_\_\_ 'Driving around' \_\_\_\_\_ Others \_\_\_\_\_  
(please specify)

4. How many families do you know (even distantly) who own weekend cottages?

none \_\_\_\_\_ 1-4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5-9 \_\_\_\_\_ over 10 \_\_\_\_\_

5. How long have you owned your cottage? \_\_\_\_\_ years

6. Who did you buy it from?

Another weekender \_\_\_\_\_ A relative \_\_\_\_\_ A local 'dalesman' \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

7. How much did you pay for it?

Less than £100 \_\_\_\_\_ £100-£500 \_\_\_\_\_ £500-£1,000 \_\_\_\_\_ Over £1,000 \_\_\_\_\_

8. Did you obtain an improvement grant from the District council?

A standard grant \_\_\_\_\_ A discretionary grant \_\_\_\_\_

9. What major alterations and repairs have been carried out since you bought the cottage?

New Bath \_\_\_\_\_ Renew Roof \_\_\_\_\_ Electricity \_\_\_\_\_  
Flush Toilet \_\_\_\_\_ Renew/plaster Walls \_\_\_\_\_ Renew Flooring \_\_\_\_\_  
Hot Water \_\_\_\_\_ Windows/doors \_\_\_\_\_ Septic Tank \_\_\_\_\_  
Others (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

10. How long does the journey take from your home to your weekend cottage? \_\_\_\_\_ hours

11. Do you own a car? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, have you always had a car while owning your cottage? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If no, how do you travel to your cottage? \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY DETAILS

Objectives.

1. To discover reasons for the purchase of second homes and for the selection of particular second home localities.
2. To investigate the processes involved in the purchase of second homes.
3. To identify certain characteristics of second homes, such as their cost, age and their use of improvement grants.
4. To identify certain characteristics of the use of second homes and of the journey between first and second home.
5. To discover some of the attitudes held by second home owners towards second home impact on rural areas.

The Questionnaire.

The questionnaire was designed to provide data comparable to that produced by the Denbighshire (1972b) and by the Wye (1972) surveys so that Weardale could be examined with reference to these earlier studies, and to the objectives of the questionnaire.

Survey Population.

The survey population was obtained from the Weardale Rural District Rating Registers with the basic assumption that properties which had their rating demands sent outside the district would be second homes.

The inaccuracies of this approach are evident (Chapter 2.ii), but limited resources made it impossible to develop a superior sampling frame for the district. As there were 223 potential second homes derived from the Rating Registers, it was decided to distribute questionnaires to the total number and not to use a sample population.

Response.

Of the 223 questionnaires that were distributed, 49% (109) were returned, and 33% (75) yielded usable responses. The other 16% (34) gave various replies, of which about half indicated that their properties were not second homes, but were permanently occupied by tenants.

Bias.

It is evident that the use of a survey population selected from rating registers creates an inherent bias as second homes to which rate demands are sent are excluded from the outset of the study. In addition, the survey response creates bias as the results give information only from those owners returning the questionnaire and no data is available from the remaining 51% of the survey population.

Interviewer bias was, however, not a problem as the survey used a self-completed postal questionnaire and coding errors were reduced to a minimum by extensive checks. Non-response was therefore the major cause of bias but, by comparing the distributions of first and

second homes for the survey population and for the respondents, it seemed that the completed sample was a reasonable sample of the total second home owner population, based upon the only two characteristics of this population that were known, and thus the ensuing data was analysed without any correction for non-response.

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