AN ANALYSIS OF MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LUXURY IN AND OF SECOND HOME OWNERSHIP IN NEW ZEALAND 1936-2012

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For my grandparents

Little did you know that the building of the bach would have such a profound influence on my life and spark a quest for knowledge some forty years later.

And for my husband

Without you the quest for knowledge would doubtless have remained unfulfilled.
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COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

This thesis benefits greatly from the ability to include numerous images in order to illustrate the points being made in the body text. To that end, a separate copyright statement is warranted as obtaining copyright was a complex task and some explanation is required. With regards to images sourced from *Home New Zealand* magazine and its predecessors, copyright was shared jointly between Bauer Media (current publishers of *Home New Zealand*) and the photographer, meaning that permission was required from both parties in order to be able to include the images in this thesis. Jeremy Hansen of Bauer Media was extremely helpful and promptly granted copyright permission on behalf of the publisher to use all images.

I also wish to thank the following photographers and other sources for kindly granting me copyright permission to use their images: Alexander Turnbull Library, Christchurch City Council Libraries, James Hardie New Zealand, Paul McCredie, Patrick Reynolds, Kieran Scott, Mark Smith, David and Clare Walters and Matthew Williams. Two photographers, who were responsible for some of the earliest images used in the thesis, were companies that have ceased trading in the interim and were unable to be located: Studio One and Sparrow Industrial Pictures. Two of the photographers were individuals who were unable to be traced: Michael Brett and Barry McKay. One photographer (John Pettit) had passed away. Jackie Meiring did not reply to repeated email requests. The images attributed to these latter six photographers, where no permission was able to be established, have been removed from the final version of this thesis to ensure no breach of copyright occurs.

The caption for each image in this thesis contains not only the source of the image (this includes the name of the photographer and acknowledges Bauer Media as the publisher), it also references the title of the magazine, issue date or number, and page number where appropriate. Whilst slightly unconventional, it allows the reader of the thesis to locate the image should they wish to.
Sections of this thesis have been published during my PhD candidature, in revised and expanded form. The suggestions from the anonymous reviewers have helped to improve both my writing and clarified my conceptualisation of the thesis, and I am very grateful for their input.

**Peer reviewed publications:**

Walters, T 2014, ‘‘Cultural icons’: media representations of second homes in New Zealand’, *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, vol 6, no. 1, pp.81-103.


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During the last twenty years, the mainstream popular media in New Zealand has conceptualised and portrayed a supposedly new phenomenon; the so-called ‘luxury second home’. Such second homes are generally architecturally designed, on prime sites in high amenity areas, and are expensive and expansive, particularly in relation to the homes of the permanent residents. During this time there has been a corresponding rise in the representation of older, traditional second homes as symbols of an egalitarian society and as such lacking in luxury. It seems that in the past anyone could own a second home in New Zealand, and did – unlike most other Western countries where only the wealthy could afford to participate in second home ownership. The New Zealand second home context therefore provides a useful case study for a critical longitudinal analysis of media representations of luxury.

This thesis is premised on the existence of an alternative discourse of luxury that has until now been largely ignored or gone unrecognised in both the popular media and the academic literature, both in New Zealand and overseas. As such, the research centres on a thematic analysis of second home articles in Home New Zealand magazine since its inception in 1936 and covers a period of 76 years. This magazine was the first architecture and lifestyle magazine to be produced in New Zealand for a New Zealand audience that was/is highly educated and affluent and is thus differentiated from the general readership of mainstream media.

This thesis provides important insights into representations of luxury in the context of second home culture in New Zealand. It highlights not only the contested understanding of luxury but also the temporal nature of luxury, and significantly finds that there was (and still is) luxury both in and of second homes in New Zealand. The ownership of a second home has always been a luxury not only due to the cost (both the initial outlay and ongoing costs of ownership) but also for what it affords the owner (a place of sanctuary and restoration) and for what it represents (a place built with the purpose of leisure in mind). The physical location of second homes featured in the magazine suggests that the site and the view function as symbols of the luxury of the second home. Furthermore, this thesis claims that the
‘luxury’ second home is not in fact a new phenomenon. The architect designed second home with its markers of luxury has existed since at least the late 1930s and has merely been unrepresented in the popular media and academic literature alike until recently. By critically examining these various elements of the luxury in and of the second home as identified in the magazine discourse, this thesis challenges widely-held popular mythologies of second home culture in New Zealand.

This thesis focuses on media representations of luxury in New Zealand, but importantly it has wider relevance beyond geographical borders. Studying how luxury is represented provides an avenue into the inner workings and values of a society, as the media is both a reflection and an influencer of socio-cultural norms. As such, the implications of this research are transferrable to other societies and cultures. Additionally, this thesis raises questions about the representation of luxury in other contexts, for example leisure and tourism, which have until now been largely ignored in the academic literature, and contributes a means to address such questions.
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION
1.1 Introducing the research

Through a qualitative thematic analysis of second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine since its inception in 1936, this thesis reveals and critiques the evolving nature of media representations of luxury within the context of second homes in New Zealand. This introductory chapter presents the background and rationale for the study. It achieves this by providing the reader with an appreciation of three interwoven yet distinct contexts in which the resulting thesis is situated:

**Personal** – a researcher generally comes to a research project with an underlying interest, which then frames the research question and methodology (Creswell 2013). Without a personal context, there would be no thesis and so I believe it is first necessary to locate myself firmly within the research. Through a personal narrative this section, rather than merely being self-indulgent, is strongly ontological and gives the reader a deeper insight into my research philosophy.

**Definitional** – luxury is a slippery concept, fluid and dynamic in nature and temporally, socially and culturally specific (Berry 1994). It may thus be viewed in multiple ways. Nevertheless, providing a definition for the purpose of this thesis is vital, as the interpretation of media representations of luxury is central to the research objective. Second homes, too, may be viewed in a number of ways, dependent upon the field of enquiry or upon cultural norms. For example, depending on the context, factors such as the underlying motivation for purchase, tenure, locality and/or physical form may play a part in determining whether a second home is considered as such (Coppock 1977c; C. M. Hall & Müller 2004). It is therefore useful to provide a definition of second homes as understood in the New Zealand cultural context and to which this thesis refers.

**Research** – the research context builds upon the personal context, and provides the theoretical framework for the thesis, identifying the gaps in the academic literature that the thesis will address. At this juncture the research questions that flow from the research objective are also introduced.

The chapter concludes with a roadmap of the remainder of the thesis, providing a brief overview of each of the chapters which follow.
1.2 From baches to mansions

The inspiration for this study is found in the changes I witnessed over 40 years of experience with second homes in New Zealand (colloquially known as ‘baches’ throughout much of the country), and more recent media commentary relating to such changes. My grandparents built a bach (Figure 1.1) at Whangamata\(^1\) on the Coromandel Peninsula, a popular summer coastal holiday destination in New Zealand’s North Island (Figure 1.2) and within easy driving distance of our farm.

![Figure 1.1 Our family bach at Whangamata, Coromandel Peninsula, 1975 (Source: David and Clare Walters)](image)

I holidayed at the bach most summers of my childhood and have many happy memories associated with that time. If farm duties at home permitted, we also managed a few long weekends there through the year. I never questioned owning a second home; in fact I took it for granted and thought it quite normal despite only a few of my classmates’ families having one. It was smaller than our family home (two bedrooms rather than three, a combined bathroom/laundry space and no garage), furnished with second hand items and no garden (Figure 1.3). It changed little over the years.

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\(^1\) Whangamata is a small coastal town with a resident population of approximately 3500 according to the 2013 national census. Just over 60 per cent of dwellings in the town were unoccupied on census night – unoccupied dwellings are considered a fair proxy for second homes (Statistics New Zealand 2013b; Keen & Hall 2004).
Figure 1.2 Location of Whangamata in relation to major New Zealand cities (Blank map outline from About.com retrieved 7 February 2014 from http://geography.about.com/library/blank/blxnew.htm)

Figure 1.3 Breakfast time - the interior of our family bach, 2004 (Source: Trudie Walters)
Many second homes in the small coastal town were of a similar quality and remain in use today. In the 40 years since my remembered experience with second homes began, the second homes of my childhood have remained a central point of reference for me; when I dream of owning a second home, these are the images and experiences I see in my head. The dream has never become a reality and I remain a non-second home owner. For despite the yearning (a deep, heartfelt, ingrained and almost inexplicable longing) to own a second home, my pragmatic self tells me that second home ownership does not make sense – either financially or in terms of our holiday practices. It is difficult for my husband and I to rationalise paying interest on a home loan, as well as the accompanying property taxes, insurance and maintenance costs to own a property that would be used infrequently. Furthermore, we have seldom holidayed in the same location more than once, preferring instead to have flexibility in our holiday options and the sense of freedom that brings.

In 2005 I returned to the Coromandel Peninsula with my husband to live, a generation later than my childhood bach experiences and to a different town. It was impossible not to notice the new subdivisions that had appeared and the new second homes that had been built - identifiable as such by the lack of signs of habitation and closed curtains in the winter off-season. Some of the subdivisions included canal developments where home owners have private jetties on which to moor their launches and yachts. A change of career direction saw me selling real estate, where I was in a unique and privileged position to observe the diversification from the earlier baches to what the media had begun to label the ‘luxury baches’ as in this extract:

*Fabulous million dollar holiday homes have hit Auckland’s Hauraki Gulf like a tidal wave. Ageing weekend [baches] with [outside toilets] have been swept away by swank architect-designed mansions with Italian porcelain toilets...The days of the bach are numbered...It is not unusual to see $1 million holiday homes being built in these areas,...That would be almost unheard of 10 years ago. The luxury New Zealand bach now is commonplace. ('Bach gives way to seaside opulence' 1999, p.8)*

At first these luxurious second homes were something of a novelty for me, a source of fascination and repulsion at the same time. At the same time as I marvelled at the

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2 A relatively sheltered body of water off the east coast of New Zealand’s largest city, bordered by the popular holiday destinations of Omaha and Mangawhai to the northwest, the Coromandel Peninsula to the east, and Waiheke Island and Great Barrier Island to the north.
views and the beauty of the architecture, I struggled to comprehend the expenditure of over a million dollars on something used so seldom, particularly when compared to the modest permanent homes of the majority of the local residents. Gradually however, I became accustomed to them. Their nature and prices began to seem somehow normal; some sort of acclimatisation had occurred. My initial moralising stance against the luxuriousness on display was tempered by conversations with the architects, builders and owners of these second homes, and the dawning realisation that luxury was both subjective and relative.

In addition to my personal experience with second homes, I have been an avid reader of home and lifestyle magazines over a period of more than twenty years. I have particularly enjoyed articles about second homes, relishing a type of vicarious second home ownership through them. Many of the second homes featured in the magazines could be considered ‘luxury second homes’ as represented in the popular press extract given above. These multi-layered observations of the changing nature of second homes piqued my interest. I became increasingly curious about the concept of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand and how it is represented in the media, something that has received little attention in the academic literature to date. It is this gap in the academic understanding of luxury and second homes that this thesis addresses.

1.3 Defining luxury

As mentioned briefly in the introductory paragraphs, luxury is a slippery concept and one which is very difficult to define (Berry 1994). This point notwithstanding, this section outlines definitions of luxury and in particular, the meaning of luxury utilised in this thesis. This is followed by a more in-depth investigation into the multiple ways of seeing luxury in Chapter Two. As a starting point, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines luxury in the following ways:

- Lasciviousness or lust;
- The habitual use of, or indulgence in what is choice or costly, whether food, dress, furniture, or appliances of any kind;
- Refined and intense enjoyment;
Means of luxurious enjoyment; sumptuous and exquisite food or surroundings;

In particularized sense: Something which conduces to enjoyment or comfort in addition to what are accounted the necessaries of life. Hence, in recent use, something which is desirable but not indispensable; and


This definition recognises that there are tangible (material) aspects to the definition of luxury, implied through the mention of cost, abundance and physical comfort. Luxury may be present in one’s food, dress, appliances and other surroundings. There are also more intangible (immaterial) aspects associated with luxury such as exclusivity (through the reference to what is “choice”), desire (lust), pleasure and enjoyment. Other markers of luxury include refinement, sumptuousness and exquisiteness. Luxury is therefore constituted of both physical and sensual elements (Berry 1994).

The OED definition alludes to the problematic and subjective nature of luxury - what may be costly to one person may not be to another, and what one person may deem desirable but not indispensable, another may not. The relationship between luxury and necessity is therefore important in defining luxury, and has been the subject of debate for over two thousand years (Barbon 1690; Csaba 2008; Plato 1930). Furthermore, these subjectivities are temporally and culturally fluid, and the definition of luxury reflects the time and society in which it is found (Berry 1994; Twitchell 2002). The OED definition therefore includes the physical and sensual (material and immaterial) aspects of luxury and the ideas of desire and exclusivity, but also draws attention to the subjective, socially constructed nature of luxury.

In this thesis, it is how the media represents (and hence defines) luxury in the context of second homes that is of interest; the perceptions rather than the ‘reality’, as it were. Interpretations of physical and sensual forms of luxury are of equal interest - the luxury and the luxurious, the refined and the exclusive - and how they are represented in the second home articles. As such, luxury in this thesis is represented by the material, sensual, emotive and socio-cultural. It changes over and through time and space, and is seen as subjective in nature. Chapter Two expands this understanding of luxury by examining who and what has influenced our ways of
perceiving luxury, and in doing so provides the reader with a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of the meaning of luxury for the remainder of the thesis.

1.4 Defining second homes

It is also necessary define what is meant by the term ‘second home’. The study of second homes crosses many disciplines, and the resulting ambiguity and differences in terminology have made consensus on a definition for second homes problematic over the years (Paris 2009; Pitkänen & Vepsäläinen 2008). In his influential work more than 35 years ago, Coppock (1977c, p.2) stated that “second homes do not constitute a discrete type” and “the dynamic character of the second home, in particular the changing relationship between the first and second home…makes identification and measurement difficult”. Indeed, a reflection on the variety of second homes across eras and cultures adds weight to his argument, as second homes may be:

- Static, mobile or semi-mobile;
- Permanent or temporary;
- Purchased or used for leisure, investment/capital gain, work, seasonal migration connected to agriculture or pastoral lifestyles or a combination of these reasons;
- Urban, suburban or rural;
- Owned by individuals, couples, businesses, families, friends or strangers;
- Purpose-built or existing dwelling, old or new;
- Owned outright, owned with a mortgage, or leased or rented on a long-term or short-term basis;
- Apartments, timeshares, cabins, cottages, holiday homes, beach huts, recreational vehicles (RVs), caravans or boats;
- Bought or built with future retirement living in mind (This list is adapted from Chase 2005; Coppock 1977c; Davies & O'Farrell 1981; C. M. Hall &
Nevertheless, most second home definitions within tourism studies seem to recognise the importance of leisure as the main driver of ownership, and emphasise that the majority of the owners’ time is spent at their primary place of residence in another location (Davies & O’Farrell 1981; Keen 2003; Paris 2006, 2009; Shucksmith 1983; Tombaugh 1970). Occasionally, the term ‘recreational second home’ is used in the literature in order to distinguish second homes used for the purpose of leisure from second homes used for other purposes such as investment (see for example Selwood & Tonts 2004; Timothy 2004). However, throughout this thesis the term ‘second home’ is preferred, and refers to ‘non-mobile, detached, privately-owned dwellings which are not the permanent residence of the owner, used primarily for leisure’. With their links to temporary mobility and leisure, second homes so defined are considered an “integral part of contemporary tourism” (Hall & Müller 2004, p.3) thus this thesis sits within tourism studies. In making explicit this alignment, it must be noted that tourism is often considered interdisciplinary, or even post-disciplinary and, as such, this thesis was freed from the “intellectual shackles” that plague some disciplines (Coles, Hall & Duval 2009, p.87). It therefore contributes to the interdisciplinary body of work on second homes.

Defining second homes in the above manner reflects the generally accepted nature and characteristics of second homes in New Zealand, as portrayed through both the academic literature and the popular media (see for example Kearns & Collins 2006; Thompson 1985). Furthermore this definition is expansive enough to encompass the inclusion of third (and fourth, fifth) second homes, as ownership of multiple second homes has become an emerging trend in New Zealand in recent years (Peart 2009). In order to be able to compare like with like, and to keep the study to manageable levels, the definition excludes mobile second homes (such as boats, caravans and mobile homes).

It is important to note here that the discussions of both second homes and luxury in this thesis have been deliberately confined to a Western world context, particularly Europe, Scandinavia and the UK and to a lesser extent North America. These are the regions that were historically the most influential in New Zealand’s early
European settlement and development (M. King 2003; Steven 1989). It was where the majority of New Zealand’s early settlers came from - in the 1870s, for example, approximately 90 per cent of the 100,000 assisted immigrants to New Zealand came from the UK, with the remainder coming predominantly from Germany, Scandinavia and Poland (M. King 2003). This is not to suggest that no second homes exist in the East, as most certainly they do (see for example Coppock 1977c; Hui & Yu 2009; Sato 2014), nor to suggest that there is no research into notions of luxury in the East, as there most certainly is (see for example Heinemann 2008; Wiedmann, Hennigs & Siebels 2007; Wong & Ahuvia 1998) but merely to acknowledge that in the context of this thesis they seem to have had little influence.

There have been three main second home building periods in New Zealand, each with its own distinctive style of second home architecture and these will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. Here, it is useful to provide the reader with a short lesson in the etymology of the New Zealand second home. As briefly mentioned earlier, second homes in New Zealand are frequently referred to throughout much of the country as ‘baches’. In the southern part of the South Island they are known as ‘cribs’. The origins of both terms are uncertain (Thompson 1985; Wood 2000). Some consider the word ‘bach’ to be a contraction of ‘bachelor’ and the related phrase ‘baching it’, a reflection of how the original working class men’s second homes of the late 1880s were used (J. Clark & Walker 2000; Skinner 2008). The word ‘crib’ is possibly of Scottish origin as many Scots settled in the southern parts of New Zealand where the term is commonly used (Thompson 1985; Wood 2000). Likewise there is no consensus on what constitutes the distinction between a bach or a crib in either the academic or popular literature; it seems the distinction is somewhat fuzzy and based on instinct rather than any specific physical characteristics (Grigor 2008; Thompson 1985). Both the words ‘bach’ and ‘crib’ are found throughout this thesis, in excerpts taken from the popular media and the academic literature.

1.5 The research context

In 1899 Thorstein Veblen made the first observations about the reasons or motivations for the general frenzy of consumption, with the publication of his
seminal work *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Veblen 2007). He was an astute social critic with an academic background in philosophy and economics, and his influence on consumption theory over the last 100 years has been profound. His writing, although controversial at the time, has provided the basis and theory behind much of the academic literature on luxury consumption since then, particularly in the fields of economics and marketing; despite very few references to luxury itself in his treatise (Csaba 2008).

Veblen postulated that the main motivation behind consumption (not just the consumption of luxury) was simply to flaunt one’s wealth and invite the invidious comparison of others, and he coined the phrase ‘conspicuous consumption’ to describe the phenomenon (Veblen 2007). He observed the belief of the *nouveau riche* that their extravagant consumption accorded them the same status in society as the old-money families, which Veblen defined as pecuniary emulation. Therefore, the only way the established moneyed families could distinguish themselves from these inferior newcomers was through showing better taste in their consumption, meaning they had greater levels of cultural and intellectual capital (Veblen 2007).

Since Veblen’s time, the majority of academic work on luxury has centred on consumer motivation and behaviour, and there is now a large body of research concerning luxury consumption. Much of this research has come from the fields of economics and marketing. Researchers have carried out quantitative surveys and developed models identifying consumer preferences for specific luxury brands that have been positioned by marketers as exclusive. They associate such preferences with the signalling of high social status, thereby confirming various elements of Veblen’s conspicuous consumption theory (see for example Corneo & Jeanne 1997; O’Cass & McEwen 2004; Phau & Prendergast 2000; Vigneron & Johnson 2004).

Sociologists and psychologists have also been involved in luxury research. They argue that consumer behaviour is nuanced and extremely complex, and thus cannot be explained by models (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011; Mortelmans 2005). Findings from their largely qualitative studies suggest that the consumption of luxury is a tool in identity creation, self-fulfilment and lifestyle (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011; Orr et al. 2008). Membership of a particular social group may be gained or enhanced by the consumption of specific luxury goods and
services; displaying who we are and how we live is one way of achieving a sense of identity and belonging (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011; Orr et al. 2008; Thurlow & Jaworski 2006, 2012). The media has been found to be a significant influencer of how luxury is perceived, particularly through marketing and advertising (Abram 2012; Borsay 1977). However, although there has been much research into how consumers perceive luxury (see for example Christodoulides, Michaelidou & Li 2009; Vigneron & Johnson 2004), there are few studies that have investigated how the media has represented luxury (see for example Osgerby 2005).

Luxury (and representations of luxury) in the fields of leisure and tourism have received scant attention, usually only being mentioned in passing or implicitly associated with ideas of privilege, power and inequality (see for example Blackshaw 2010; Graburn, 1989; Rojek 2006). Notable exceptions are Koch (2011) and Thurlow and Jaworski (2006, 2012). The former analysed recent trends in luxury tourism market segments, finding that immaterial (sensual, intangible) luxury had risen in importance over material luxury for many tourists. The latter examined frequent-flyer programmes for their representations of elites (Thurlow & Jaworski 2006), and more recently conducted a semiotic analysis of landscapes of luxury and privilege related to elite mobilities (Thurlow & Jaworski 2012).

Housing literature also provides some insight into representations of luxury, although the focus is largely on how homes and lifestyles are represented/sold through marketing material and notions of luxury are implicit rather than explicitly addressed in their findings (Cheng 2001; Collins and Kearns 2008; Kenna 2007). With regards to luxury in the context of second homes, academia has largely remained silent, except to note the historical luxury of second home ownership. It has been said that, traditionally, the ownership of a second home was the epitome of luxury and placed the owner amongst the elite (Coppock 1977b; Wolfe 1977). Whereas this may have been the case in some places (see for example C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Halseth 2004), the popular history of second home ownership in New Zealand constructs quite a different proposition. Vernacular second homes (a term generally used to refer to those built in the 1950s, see Section 4.3.3) have been portrayed as a symbol of national identity; an integral element of the New Zealand lifestyle and owned by New Zealanders across a broad socio-economic spectrum
This portrayal is also seen in the popular media:

*The classic Kiwi*³ bach experience, says Grimshaw, with its basic living and languid afternoons is an experience embedded deep in the New Zealand psyche...It’s the life of barbecues and freshly caught fish, of touch rugby on the beach... *(Heeringa 2001, p.72)*

However, at no point from 1926 to 1981 when official records of the number of second homes were kept, did they make up any more than 5 per cent of New Zealand households *(Keen & Hall 2004)*. While there are no longer official counts of second homes ⁴, or the percentage of the New Zealand population who own or have access to one, anecdotal evidence from the national census suggests that this figure is still not likely to be higher than 10 per cent *(Peart 2009)*. Nevertheless, the inherent luxury of ownership of any second home in New Zealand, not just the more recent luxurious iteration, is seldom referred to in the literature.

Despite their reported significance as a cultural icon, there has been little research carried out on second homes in New Zealand *(Keen & Hall 2004)*. The first studies were geography and tourism theses that examined second home development in Blueskin Bay, Twizel and the Maniototo (all in the South Island) and the Coromandel Peninsula (in the North Island) *(Lister 1977; McMillan 1982; Montgomery 1991; Shearer 1980)*. Only within the last decade has research on New Zealand second homes has become more prominent. Much of this recent academic discourse has echoed that of the media in noting the change from traditional vernacular second home to luxury second home *(Keen & Hall 2004; McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006)*. Strongly linked to this discourse are references in the environment and planning literature to rising coastal property prices and the gentrification of New Zealand’s small coastal communities where the majority of second homes are located *(Cheyne & Freeman 2006; Collins & Kearns 2008; Freeman & Cheyne 2008)*.

Vernacular second homes in New Zealand have more recently been represented in the literature as “modest, low-cost” *(Collins & Kearns 2008, p.2916)*, “authentic”

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³ A kiwi is a flightless New Zealand bird, and the term is also commonly colloquially used by New Zealanders to describe themselves.

⁴ Official counts of second homes as part of the national census ceased in 1986 due to the increasing inability of census enumerators to distinguish between a second home and a permanent dwelling *(Keen 2003)*.
(Collins & Kearns 2010a, p.443) and “the preserve of average New Zealanders” (Freeman & Cheyne 2008, p.44). There is little in such comments to suggest any form of luxury. This mirrors the valorisation of the vernacular second home as a (mythical) symbol of egalitarianism that has been occurring in the popular media in recent years:

[she] doesn’t like the fact that it now takes serious money to allow families ownership of a city escape...”It was originally working people; anyone could have a bach. One-income families could have a bach.”  (Barber 2005, p.56)

The new luxury second home that is large and architecturally designed is seen as a personal affront by many. In the popular and academic discourse it is frequently portrayed as an attack on the traditional New Zealand culture and values that the vernacular second home is claimed to represent (Collins & Kearns 2008; Keen & Hall 2004). More significantly for this thesis, over the last decade the notion of luxury in the context of the New Zealand second home has been constructed in the academic literature as a new phenomenon, especially associated with architect designed second homes:

"...it is only in the last few years (at the very moment that the bach is disappearing) that architects have had any affection for the type. Over this time it has been subjected to academic speculation and it is proposed that the bach is characterised by deprivation and lack. This has been somewhat contradicted by its recent [architect designed] manifestations.” (Austin 2006, p.5)

In fact Freeman and Cheyne (2008, p.34) have called this change “arguably one of the most significant social and economic shifts in New Zealand’s coastal landscape” yet at the same time, academia in New Zealand has generally remained silent on the issue.

Some of the more recent international academic literature has also begun to note, if only in passing, the increasing degree of luxury (in the form of physical comfort) that second homes are taking (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Paris 2011; Paris, Jorgenson & Martin 2009) and the increasing prevalence of (or perhaps return to) an elite second home landscape (C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Halseth 2004). To date however, there has been little research directed specifically at luxury in the context of second homes, with the notable exception of Paris (2011, 2013a) who has focused on the second homes of the super-rich.
Where luxury is discussed in the literature in regard to second homes, it is only the physical, tangible form of luxury that is referred to; specifically the increasing size and grandeur of the second homes. Despite the acknowledgement of an emerging media discourse surrounding the increasing luxury in second homes, there has been no research into these representations of luxury (Abram 2012). In addition, there has been scant recognition of other aspects and forms of luxury that may exist in the context of second homes used for the purpose of leisure - for example, the more intangible aspects of luxury such as enjoyment and pleasure, given in the OED definition of luxury given earlier in the chapter.

That research into representations of luxury in second homes is lacking is somewhat surprising, given the debates problematizing representation and the construction of meaning in tourism and cultural studies over the past two decades (S. Hall 1997; Kobayashi 2009; Morgan & Pritchard 1998). Certainly much research has been carried out on representations of culture and the creation of meaning in tourism advertising and destination/place marketing (see for example Ateljevic & Doorne 2002; Morgan & Pritchard 1998) Yet representations of tourism reach beyond tourism advertising; in fact many of the messages absorbed by the public about tourism come from the popular print media (Francesconi 2014). Despite the significance of popular media as a reflection and influencer of societal views it is a largely underutilised form of empirical material in tourism research.

As a cultural product, media representations of aspects of second homes and second home practices therefore provide a rich vein of research material to be mined. They too are a form of tourism representation (where second homes are considered to be part of contemporary tourism, as previously discussed) and as such construct meaning and reveal information about the dynamics of society (Morgan & Pritchard 1998). For example, through her analysis of media representations of second homes Pitkänen (2011) found that cottage landscapes were considered an iconic part of Finnish society. Furthermore, she identified that foreign ownership was perceived as a threat not only to the second home landscape, but more significantly to the Finnish way of life and sense of national identity. The media used cottage landscapes as representations of fundamental Finnish culture and symbols of collective values, whether illusory or real (Pitkänen 2011). However, studies such
as these are few in number. There are thus significant gaps in the literature surrounding luxury and second homes, and it is the purpose of this thesis to address these gaps and contribute to the body of knowledge.

1.6 The research objective

This thesis is premised upon the notion that there exists an alternative representation of second homes, one of luxury, that has until now been largely unrecognised in the academic literature. While, as stated earlier, the very nature of luxury itself is slippery, subjective and dynamic (Berry 1994), it is argued that it is (in)visible in media representations of second homes in New Zealand. It is important to recognise that the media discourses surrounding luxury and the New Zealand second home and its associated lifestyle are by their very nature representations and social constructions rather than an objective ‘reality’. Through acknowledging this distinction, it becomes even more valuable to reveal and critique such representations, as the media is both a reflection of, and an influence on, socio-cultural norms.

This research is important for three reasons: first, by making visible the invisible, this thesis enables a fuller and more nuanced picture of luxury in the context of New Zealand culture (specifically, through the lens of second homes) to be appreciated; second, by identifying changes in representations of luxury over time, changes in societal values and cultural norms may be mapped; and third, it is important to question the hegemonic construction and understanding of social and cultural phenomena as it is only through such challenges that mythologies may be identified and dispelled, or at the very least problematized and opened for discussion. The overarching research objective is therefore:

- to reveal and critique media representations of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand over time.

Specific research questions that address the research objective include:

- How is the notion of luxury represented and constructed through both the written and visual text of second home articles?
• How do the forms and representations of luxury change through time?

• In what ways do the representations of luxury differ between articles about vernacular and contemporary second homes?

In order to answer these research questions, this thesis utilises a qualitative thematic analysis of second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine since its inception in 1936, a period of 76 years. This magazine was the first architecture and lifestyle magazine to be produced in New Zealand for a New Zealand audience, and is a highly valued record of material culture (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004; Shaw & Brookes 1999). It was published under the auspices of the New Zealand Institute of Architects, and was aimed at those who could afford the services of an architect – along with those that aspired to being able to. Its target audience was/is highly educated and affluent, with a penchant for luxury goods and services (Bauer Media 2013). It is thus differentiated from the general readership of mainstream media and provides an appropriate vehicle through which to examine representations of luxury. Its longevity means that the magazine spans the second home building boom after World War II and the more recent period of diversification of second homes in New Zealand, making it suitable for longitudinal analysis. Advertising material and other articles from the magazine provide a broader context in which to situate the analysis of representations of luxury. Interviews with editors, writers and photographers add further richness and depth to the analysis of luxury and second home articles in the magazine.

This thesis focuses on media representations of luxury in New Zealand. However, its contributions and relevance reach beyond geographical and disciplinary borders. It contributes to the academic discussion about the changing nature of both luxury and second homes in an international context, and by examining media representations of luxury provides a new lens through which to observe broader societal changes. This is applicable not only to New Zealand but is transferrable further afield. In addition, it problematizes the representation of luxury in other contexts, such as leisure and tourism, previously generally overlooked by academia, and offers an instrument through which to address these issues. Furthermore, by adapting the thematic analysis method for use with visual text (as well as the more traditional written text) and thereby allowing a more holistic analysis to be carried
out, this thesis provides a useful methodological contribution to the wider academic literature.

1.7 Mapping the thesis

The remainder of this thesis is divided into eight chapters as follows:

Chapters Two to Four provide the reader with the conceptual framing for the thesis through a critical examination of the academic literature related to luxury and to second homes (internationally and within New Zealand):

- Chapter Two illustrates the socially constructed nature of luxury. It identifies who and what has shaped and determined society’s perceptions of luxury over the last two thousand years. From Plato to the Protestant church, from Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* to the modern *New Zealand House and Garden* magazine, this chapter explores how luxury has been represented across social classes, cultures and eras. By examining and discussing the different ways of seeing luxury, this chapter assists the reader to understand how the findings have been interpreted and constructed.

- Chapter Three examines the historical development of second homes and the modern practices surrounding second home ownership through a critical evaluation of the existing literature. It identifies six key aspects of second home ownership that point to luxury which have largely remained unaddressed yet are implicit in the academic literature. It also argues that despite the supposed democratisation of second home ownership in many parts of the Western world after World War II, there is evidence to support claims that the phenomenon remains a luxury. Furthermore, it provides a platform against which the New Zealand situation can be compared and contrasted.

- Chapter Four then narrows the focus to the New Zealand context and presents the three main periods of second home development in New Zealand from the late 1800s onwards. It details the prevailing social, cultural, political and economic conditions of New Zealand society during
each period, and provides information about the travel and leisure pursuits of New Zealanders. This gives the reader an understanding of the context in which the second home in New Zealand developed, how a diversified second home landscape has evolved and how this differs from the overseas context discussed in the previous chapter.

**Chapter Five** explains the ‘how’ of the thesis. It builds upon the personal narrative given in the first section of this chapter to discuss my research philosophy – the ontological, epistemological and methodological beliefs which influenced how I approached the research and selected the most appropriate methods. It introduces the approach used, thematic analysis, and the richness of empirical material that is able to be gathered using such a research approach. Transparent accounts of the specific research methods and design, and the collection and analysis of the material are also detailed in this chapter.

**Chapters Six to Eight** present the detailed analysis of the empirical material gathered to meet the aims/objectives of the thesis:

- Chapter Six is the first findings chapter and tells the story of *Home New Zealand* magazine from its inception; in doing so it provides a sound basis for understanding the interpretations communicated in the two further findings chapters which follow. It details not only the content of the magazine but also how it reflected trends and thinking both in New Zealand and overseas over its history and as such is divided into the same time periods as Chapter Four for ease of comparison. It draws upon material from editorials, articles and advertising material within the magazine, and upon interviews with editors and writers, to give a comprehensive picture of the context from which the empirical material was drawn. It gives a quantitative breakdown of second home articles over time to identify patterns which are then linked to the changing socio-economic and political situation in New Zealand.

- Chapters Seven and Eight present the two global themes resulting from the thematic analysis of the second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine. The first of these is the luxury *of* the second home (Chapter
Seven) which focuses on the recurring themes of sanctuary and restoration, leisure and pleasure, the luxury of ownership and the luxury of the site. The second is the luxury in the second home (Chapter Eight) which focuses on the themes of physical and metaphysical luxury in the second home. The findings of both global themes are analysed in detail using text extracts and images from the magazine to illustrate key points and provide a clear argument. The analysis and interpretation is also related back to the conceptual framing presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

**Chapter Nine** addresses the ‘so what’ of the study. It draws together key conclusions from the three findings chapters and discusses how the research objective has been met. The significance of this research and its contributions to the wider body of knowledge on second homes is highlighted. It also points to future avenues of research suggested by this study.
CHAPTER 2. WAYS OF SEEING LUXURY
2.1 Introducing Chapter Two

In order to study media representations of luxury in the context of second homes, and having introduced the notion of the ‘luxury’ second home, it is important to now examine the nature of luxury itself. The purpose of this chapter is not to attempt an explanation for the motivations behind the consumption of luxury. Rather, it is to illustrate the socially constructed nature of luxury, and to identify the wide variety of ways of seeing luxury. This will be accomplished through an examination of who and what has shaped and determined society’s perceptions of luxury in different places at different times. By doing so, this chapter helps the reader understand the research approach detailed in the methodology chapter, and informs and contextualises the findings chapters.

The chapter opens by outlining the centuries-old debate surrounding the relationship between luxury and necessity, and the seemingly paradoxical notion of the necessity of luxury. Following this is an exploration of the influences, and indeed the influencers, that have shaped our perceptions of luxury. First, the writings of the early Greek and Roman philosophers are discussed, and from these the foundations of the moralisation of luxury can be detected. The Christian church (and the Protestant religion in particular) has had a significant and continuing influence on societal values around luxury. From around the fifteenth century, luxury was used as a tool by the wealthy and elite of society, with the introduction of sumptuary laws designed to maintain the social hierarchy and keep the lower classes in their place.

In the eighteenth century the so-called de-moralisation of luxury began, in a time when intense debate amongst mercantilists and political economists centred on the national economy and how best to protect it. The overarching themes in their arguments are examined for how they addressed the paradox of luxury and the intellectual wrangling that took place in order to transform a private vice into a public benefit. The final section examines luxury as seen through the eyes of the consumer. This spans the time from the eighteenth century until the present day and encompasses the rise of modern consumerism and the attendant role of the media, along with a discussion about the democratisation of luxury.
2.2 Luxury and its relationship with necessity

There has been little consensus as to what luxury is and, indeed, the slippery nature of luxury has often led to heated debate about how to define it (Baldwin 1899; Berry 1994; Brewer 1998; Cautela, Sammicheli & Zurlo 2007; Dubois, Czellar & Laurent 2005; J. Jennings 2007; Orr et al. 2008; Wiedmann, Hennigs & Siebels 2009). Nevertheless there are some commonalities in the conceptualisation of luxury. First, that luxury is fluid in nature and it can and does change over time (Baldwin 1899; Berry 1994; Goody 2006). Second, that luxury is highly subjective and what one person or society views as luxury, another may view as necessity (Baldwin 1899; Christodoulides, Michaelidou & Li 2009; Csaba 2008; Mortelmans 2005). For example, less than one hundred years ago telephones, televisions and washing machines were luxuries but nowadays most people, in the Western world at least, might well consider them necessities (Berry 1994; Rybczynski 1986). Conversely, lobster and caviar may be considered a luxury food item today by many, and yet 150 years ago in the UK and the USA respectively they were so plentiful as to be standard fare (Bryson 2010). Third, luxury is generally associated with pleasure and enjoyment, be it physical or sensory (Berry 1994). Finally, luxury goods are usually exclusive objects of desire that are rich in meaning (Berry 1994; Orr et al. 2008; Twitchell 2002).

These commonalities highlight not only that the concept of luxury is socially constructed, but also that luxury has an association with necessity; indeed, it is difficult to discuss what luxury means without reference to necessity. Luxury has often been defined, somewhat glibly, as anything that is not necessary for life (Berry 1994; Christodoulides, Michaelidou & Li 2009; Csaba 2008; Dubois & Czellar 2002; Mortelmans 2005; Twitchell 2002). While on the surface this may seem a reasonable supposition, a deeper examination reveals that it is problematic due to the dynamic nature of both luxury and necessity (Berry 1994).

2.2.1 The luxury-necessity dichotomy

Few would disagree that humans have basic, universal utilitarian needs which must be satisfied (Berry 1994). In around 380BC the Greek philosopher Plato stated that these needs were food, shelter and clothing (Plato 1930). However, while he argued
that these were basic needs, he nevertheless acknowledged that people would not be content to meet their needs in a subsistence manner. He recognised a natural human desire to fulfil these utilitarian needs in different, non-utilitarian ways that exceeded what he considered the minimum for what was necessary (Plato 1930). For example, people wanted their clothing not just to be practical (utilitarian and thus a necessity) but also to be embroidered (non-utilitarian and thus a luxury). Similarly they wanted their houses to be painted and decorated, and desired food including “relishes...and cakes – all sorts of them” (Plato 1930, p.161). It was in this desire that he believed the root of luxury was to be found. Plato equated the thirst for luxury with a search for pleasure. Likewise Nicholas Barbon, in the seventeenth century, linked ‘the wants of the mind’ with the desire for pleasure. Yet he also recognised that such desires were infinite and unable to be sated, so that once satisfied, new desires arise to take their place:

*The Wants of the Mind are infinite, Man naturally Aspires, and as his Mind is elevated, his Senses grow more refined, and more capable of Delight; his Desires are inlarged, and his Wants increase with his Wishes, which is for everything that is rare, can gratifie his Senses, adorn his Body and promote the Ease, Pleasure and Pomp of Life.* (Barbon 1690, p.15)

Political economist Bernard Mandeville, writing his infamous *Fable of the Bees* in the UK in the early eighteenth century, also implicated the role of wants (desires) as he grappled with how to define luxury:

*...if once we depart from calling every thing luxury that is not absolutely necessary to keep a Man alive, that then there is no Luxury at all; for if the wants of Man are innumerable, then what ought to supply them has no bounds; what is call’d superfluous to some degree of People, will be thought requisite to those of higher Quality...* (Mandeville 1724, p.109-110)

Plato, Barbon and Mandeville gave no explanation for the existence of this desire yet all seemed to believe that the desire for sensual pleasures and luxury was a natural part of the human condition. It was Abraham Maslow (1970) who addressed the psychological needs of humans in his well-known treatise; *Motivation and Personality*. He stated that, having satisfied the biological need for food, people were motivated by the psychological need for (in order of relative prepotency): safety, belongingness and love, esteem, self-actualisation, cognition and aestheticism (Maslow 1970). It could be argued that it is the aesthetic need that is responsible for
the desire for such pleasurable improvements to the basic standard of utilitarian material needs satisfaction, although Maslow himself did not address this potential connection. Indeed, he believed the aesthetic need to be an “uncomfortable” concept for scientists such as himself (Maslow 1970, p.51).

Adam Smith, a Scottish political economist writing in 1776, also tackled the luxury-necessity dichotomy in his Wealth of Nations, again revealing the problematic, subjective nature of both concepts:

_Consumable commodities are either necessaries or luxuries. By necessaries I understand, not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without...[Custom] has rendered leather shoes a necessary of life in England. The poorest creditable person of either sex would be ashamed to appear in public without them. In Scotland, custom has rendered them a necessary of life to the lowest order of men; but not to the same order of women, who may, without any discredit, walk about barefooted. In France, they are necessaries neither to men nor to women; the lowest rank of both sexes appearing there publicly, without any discredit, sometimes in wooden shoes, and sometimes barefooted. Under necessaries therefore, I comprehend, not only those things which nature, but those things which the established rules of decency have rendered necessary to the lowest rank of people. All other things I call luxuries..._(A. Smith n.d., p.283)

Notice that he takes the reader’s knowledge and understanding of what is “indispensably necessary” for the support of life for granted, with no explanation of what he means. It is important to note that in his definition he includes reference to “the custom of the country” and “established rules of decency”, thereby acknowledging the role of cultural norms in determining the minimum standard of living (and thus the minimum standard for luxury).

2.2.2 The necessity of luxury

While many have struggled with the luxury-necessity dichotomy over the last two thousand years, others have argued for the necessity of luxury. For example, the early Roman statesman and censor Cato the Elder acknowledged that one’s social standing was closely linked with the quality and decoration of one’s home, and that in fact it was social death to ignore such ‘rules’ in a competitive society (Wallace-Hadrill 1988). In the twelfth century, the nobility in England also used the
consumption of luxury as a mark of their social standing. It became an important part of their way of life, even a duty, to be extravagant (often to the point of financial ruin) in order to prove one’s good taste and manners (Hunt 1995, 1996; Mortelmans 2005). In Renaissance Italy, it was considered an obligation for the nobility to consume material goods in order to preserve one’s dignity, honour and visible social distinction (Hohti 2010). The notion of the necessity of luxury continues to the present day. While the head of a modern company almost certainly does not require a large, expensive and luxuriously decorated home to survive physically, it is argued that it is as much of a necessity as in early Roman times in order to survive socially (Frank 2010).

While luxury has a relationship with necessity, a definitive statement regarding what constitutes a luxury and what is a necessity remains problematic despite over two thousand years of philosophising and intellectual wrangling with the subject. It remains a fuzzy concept (Csaba 2008). As this discussion has shown, luxury is fluid and highly subjective, specific to a particular economy, culture, society and time. Our way of seeing luxury is coloured by our way of seeing necessity, and both are coloured by our ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds, our gender, level of education, our social standing and the era in which we live (Berry 1994; A. Smith, n.d.; Twitchell 2002; Wallace-Hadrill 1988).

2.3 Luxury through the eyes of moral philosophers

The first writings on luxury came from the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle over two thousand years ago, and were followed by those of Roman philosophers and moralists during the Roman Republic and Roman Empire eras (Berry 1994). These early moral philosophers have had a lingering influence on our way of seeing luxury for two thousand years, linking it as they did to the moral decline of society.

2.3.1 Early Greek moralists

As discussed in the preceding section, Plato recognised three basic human needs; food, clothing and shelter. Furthermore, he reasoned that people would live together in order to meet these basic needs as no individual could provide them all for
themselves. The cooperative polis (city-state) must therefore consist of at least three types of people; those who could provide food, those who could provide clothing, and those who could provide shelter. Each would cooperate with the others with the best interests of the polis at heart, and this would naturally result in harmonious living as all basic bodily needs were able to be met (Plato 1930). Food, clothing and shelter and indeed the way of life in the polis would be simple, and there would be no poverty, wealth or war (Plato 1930). The common goal of the satisfaction of basic needs would thus be the catalyst for the formation of the polis and provide the structure of a healthy society. However, Plato observed that once the three basic needs were satisfied, members of the polis exhibited a desire for luxury goods and services. He believed that this would have a number of negative consequences.

First, according to Plato, the population increase brought about by the immigration of artisans and others to satisfy the demand for luxury would require more land for housing and commercial activity. Second, the increased consumption of meat (a luxury item) by this larger population meant that the polis would need to expand its boundaries further in order to have sufficient farmland on which to raise cattle. Plato believed that the only way to acquire land from neighbouring communities would be by force, thereby leading the polis to war. Third, the citizens would become increasingly competitive and, fuelled by comparison and envy, they would begin to focus on individual acquisition of wealth to fund the purchase of luxury, rather than on the collective health of the polis (Plato 1930). Plato was thus opposed to the desire for luxury, as he believed it upset the harmony and balance in the polis.

Aristotle echoed Plato’s moralising tone and opposition to luxury, although he also linked luxury with self-indulgence and notions of taste. He considered it a vice to spend money on luxury items for private self-indulgence in a tasteless manner and beyond what was appropriate (Aristotle 1992). Like Plato, he also believed that the extension of ‘need’ and the desire for luxurious living would lead the polis to war in order to obtain the luxuries by force (Aristotle 1992; Plato 1930). Both philosophers assumed that the logical conclusion of privileging desire over need was competition and therefore war. Both, however, believed that the polis was weakened and effeminised by the pursuit of luxury as its warriors became ‘soft’ and lost their aggressive war-like nature through luxurious living. As a further consequence of
their luxurious living, these warriors were also incapable of submitting to authority or obeying orders and were thus unfit to defend the *polis* (Aristotle 1992; Plato 1930). It is evident through the writings of Plato and Aristotle that luxury was moralised as a negative concept in early Greek thought. The Greeks were not alone in their moralising; there is also evidence of this in Roman writings around 200 years after Plato.

### 2.3.2 Roman moralists

From its very beginning, the consumption of luxury has attracted moral condemnation (Csaba 2008; Hilton 2004; Hunt 1995). Like Plato and Aristotle before them, the Romans Cato the Elder (234BC-149BC) and Pliny the Elder (23-79AD) were vociferous about the perils of luxury, which they believed included avarice, audacity, moral bankruptcy, social disorder, corruption and crime (Kragelund 2000; Sekora 1977). For example, they considered that expenditure on the building and decorating of large houses was a luxury, a waste of money on promoting egotism, and therefore a moral outrage. They held that this private indulgence provoked envy and emulation, and that the vice of luxury would spread down through the lower classes with the ultimate consequence being the moral decline of society (Wallace-Hadrill 1988). Roman philosopher and statesman Cicero, writing in the last years of the Roman Republic around 30BC, and cited in Wallace-Hadrill (1990 p.145), is quoted as saying:

> Our friend, Lucius Lucullus, that great man, made what passed as a very neat reply to criticisms of the magnificence of his Tusculan villa: he had two neighbours, uphill an eques Romanus, downhill a freedman; considering that they had magnificent villas, he ought to be allowed what others of lower rank got away with. Don’t you realise, Lucullus, that even their aspirations are your responsibility? . . .The abuses of the leading men (principes) are bad enough; but what is worse is the way they have so many imitators. History shows that the leading men in society have always dictated its character. Whenever there has been a transformation of morals and manners (mutatio morum) among the social leaders, the same transformation has followed among the people (populous).

Such a moralising line of thought was by no means unusual in Roman times. The higher echelons of Roman society were considered by many to be morally bankrupt for setting such luxurious standards of living which the lower classes then attempted
to emulate, and who were then condemned for it (Bach & Glancy 2003; Berry 1994; Dunbabin 2003; Wallace-Hadrill 1988). The Roman emperors were also seen as important exemplars, but for the opposite reason, in that they were praised for their public displays of personal frugality and denunciation of luxury (Wallace-Hadrill 1990).

While expenditure on splendour for consumption by the public was deemed acceptable, expenditure on private luxury (for personal use) was scorned (Berry 1994). In addition to the criticism of luxurious housing, condemnation was directed at the luxurious private banquets using rich and imported foodstuffs that were commonplace amongst the elite of Roman society. Plutarch, for example, called for a return to inexpensive, simple and more traditional fare, which he considered to be more in keeping with the natural, moderate (and therefore moral) appetite (Bach & Glancy 2003). Luxury was also evident in the number of waiting staff who served at the extravagant banquets of the Roman elite; it was important that they were numerous, young, and richly attired, in order to communicate the prestige and status of the hosts (Dunbabin 2003). Philosophers Pliny, Seneca and Philo of Alexandria, and satirist Juvenal, all wrote scathingly about this practice (Dunbabin 2003; Sekora 1977).

The early Roman moralists and historians, including Cato, Cicero, Sallust and Livy, linked the vice of private luxury with those of avarice and ambition (Berry 1994; Kragelund 2000; Scott 2008; Sekora 1977). They considered that Rome had been superior (and virtuous) because its citizens lacked the desire for money, pleasure, luxury and wantonness which were prevalent in other, lesser societies; the Romans were more self-controlled (Berry 1994; Mommsen 1951). It was only when the citizens of Rome began to indulge in the selfish pleasures of private luxury that society was weakened, through its resultant decrease in commitment to the public good (Berry 1994; Kragelund 2000). Private luxury thus held strong negative connotations. Indulgence would result in destructive consequences not only for the individual but importantly also for the city, state and nation. Rightly or wrongly the decline of Rome was seen by Livy and Sallust as evidence of the deleterious effects of luxury (Berry 1994; Levick 1982). The moralising of luxury (private, or personal, luxury at least) was underway.
2.3.3 Early Roman sumptuary laws

So opposed to private luxury were the early Romans that they legislated against it, instituting the first sumptuary laws in around 200BC. These laws were designed to regulate the private consumption of luxury in various spheres, such as the increasing extravagance in women’s clothing and the profligate expense shown in the hosting of feasts, and were written in great detail (Berry 1994; Brundage 1987; Hunt 1996). With regard to feasts and banquets, for example, the maximum quantities and cost of various food and drink items that could be served, the maximum number of guests, the value of the silverware used, and even who could be invited, were all regulated (Berry 1994; Brundage 1987; Hunt 1996). It had previously been observed that affluent benefactors often paid exorbitant sums to host public feasts, seeking social prestige or political office (Berry 1994; Levick 1982; Silver 2007). It was not uncommon for such feasts to be so rich and bountiful that guests would vomit during the course of the meal in order to empty the stomach, so they could continue enjoying the luxurious excesses of food and drink (Berry 1994).

The purpose of the Roman sumptuary laws was reportedly to prevent bribery and corruption in the political arena and to reinforce the high societal morals that the Romans prided themselves on (Berry 1994; Levick 1982). Luxury thus continued to be portrayed and constructed as a negative phenomenon, related to the exceeding of proper limits. These sumptuary laws required ongoing revisions, indicating their ineffectiveness - and possibly contradicting the reported rationale of reducing corruption, as the corrupt kept finding new means to circumvent the laws (Berry 1994; Muzzarelli 2009). Their ineffectiveness, however, also attests to the fluid and dynamic nature of luxury; it was constantly changing as society changed. It is reminiscent of Barbon’s (1690) comment about the infinite nature of man’s desire discussed earlier; once a desire has been met another rises to take its place, thereby making it very difficult for lawmakers to keep abreast of social change.

2.4 Luxury through the eyes of the Church

The moralising of luxury by the early Greeks and Romans was further intensified in around 400AD when the early Christian church elevated luxury from a vice to a sin. These original Catholic and Protestant ways of seeing luxury have been particularly
influential in the European/Western context and continue to shape perceptions of luxury in today’s society.

2.4.1 Luxury as a sin

The Latin *luxuria* meant lust or desire and connoted a vicious indulgence, and even today, as seen in Chapter One, the first meaning given for luxury in the *OED* is lasciviousness, lust ('Oxford English Dictionary' 2012). Whilst lust in modern times may relate to sexual desire, this was not the case two thousand years ago when it referred to any intense and uncontrollable desire, and lust and luxury were used interchangeably (Berry 1994; Sekora 1977). Similarly, in the Bible the Greek and Hebrew words for lust were used in the story of Adam and Eve in relation to desiring the fruit from the tree of knowledge (*Genesis* 3:6), and in the Ten Commandments (*Exodus* 20:17) where it relates to desiring (or coveting) one’s neighbours possessions. It is here that the foundations of the church’s ‘luxury as sin’ discourse can be seen.

In the story of Adam and Eve, while luxury *per se* is not mentioned, it is implicit in the notion of lust (or desire, as above). God provided everything that Adam and Eve needed, yet they desired more. It was not merely a lust for material things, however; it was also more significantly a lust for knowledge and as a result for being like God. By succumbing to lust they sinned and thus were responsible for the fall of man (Augustine 1998). St Augustine linked this lust with the sin of pride as Adam and Eve put their own self-love before their love of God in their disobedience of Him (Augustine 1998, p.608):

> And what is pride but an appetite for a perverse kind of elevation? For it is a perverse kind of elevation indeed to forsake the foundation upon which the mind should rest, and to become and remain, as it were, one’s own foundation.

In a complex argument in *City of God*, written after the sack of Rome in 410AD, Augustine then went on to link these twin sins of lust and pride with the fall of the Roman Empire (Augustine 1998). The common view of the Roman pagans was that it was Christianity that had weakened the Empire and hence caused the fall. However, Augustine refuted this and, like Livy and Sallust, argued that it was the immorality and corruption of the Romans themselves that had weakened the city.
(Augustine 1998; Berry 1994; Mommsen 1951). Unlike Livy and Sallust though, he believed that uncontrolled lust and the worship of luxury resulted in the Romans being distanced from God, and that the love of self over God and the inability to control their lusts and desires were at the root of the fall (Augustine 1998). Luxury in this context was seen as a polar opposite to the Christian virtues of moderation and chastity (Augustine 1998; Berry 1994; Sekora 1977). The early Christian church therefore compounded the Greek and Roman moralising about luxury, condemning it not only as a vice but elevating it to the level of a sin. In addition, luxury could readily be linked to other sins (de Vries 2003). For example, luxury in dress (particularly with respect to women’s dress) was constructed by the church as an attempt to make oneself more attractive to members of the opposite sex. Luxury could thus be implicated not only in the sin of pride but also in sexual immorality (Brundage 1987; de Vries 2003).

This leads us to the seven deadly (or cardinal) sins which had their roots in Augustine’s time and have had an even more significant influence on our Western ways of viewing luxury. While there is some debate as to the origins of the deadly sins, it seems that credit is given to the ascetic Egyptian monk Evagrius of Pontus for introducing them to the early Christian church in around 400AD (Bloomfield 1941; Capps 1989; Linge 2000). He originally listed eight sins: gluttony, greed, sadness (tristitia), apathy (acedia), rage, vainglory, sexual immorality (a loose translation of porneia) and pride (Bloomfield 1941; Capps 1989; Linge 2000; Stewart 1994). Over time the eight sins became seven, and luxuria appeared in Gregory the Great’s version in the sixth century: gluttony, greed, sloth (a combination of tristitia and acedia), anger, envy, lust (luxuria) and pride (Capps 1989; Stewart 1994). Here though, in addition to lust in terms of desire, luxuria more broadly encompassed Augustine’s notion of self-love, along with moral blindness and a hatred of God (Berry 1994). The notion of luxury as a sin thus became deeply ingrained in Christian religious doctrine (especially in Catholicism where it became linked to guilt, confession and penance). The church fathers became useful allies of the governing authorities in the rhetoric of sumptuary laws in the Middle Ages (Widmayer 2006), as will be discussed in the later section on maintaining the social hierarchy (Section 2.5.2).
From the Reformation in the sixteenth century, Protestantism (or more specifically the branch of Protestantism known as Puritanism) also played an important role in shaping our perceptions of luxury. Although the Protestants did not view luxury as a sin in the same penitential manner as the Catholics, they nevertheless viewed it as wasteful and profligate (Csaba 2008; de Vries 2003; Freudenberger 1963; Hunt 1996; Weber 2001). Any money spent on frivolities and luxuries was money not then available to be spent on charitable works, reminiscent of the distinction of private/public expenditure on luxury in Roman times discussed earlier (Hunt 1996; Muzzarelli 2009; Weber 2001). Life was to be lived simply and without adornment, and expenditure on luxury was sinful (Weber 2001).

Whether luxury today is considered to be a sin or not, the association still lingers in contemporary representations of luxury. A Factiva database search of newspaper headlines from 2002-2012 using keywords ‘luxury and guilt or sin’ reveals the evidence:

“Driving, gluttony and sin tax” – an article discussing the luxury tax on cars in the USA (Jensen 2002)

“A garden of Eden where luxury is no sin” – an article about how to appoint a dining table well (Trebay 2003)

“Luxury without the guilt” – article about spa pools (Luby 2011)

However, Protestantism had a second, arguably more significant (and perhaps unexpected, in light of the preceding discussion) influence on twenty-first century life, for out of it has come the contemporary notion of luxury as a reward for hard work.

2.4.2 Luxury as a reward

In order to grasp how luxury can be seen as a reward, it is necessary to look back in time and examine the concept that became known as the Protestant work ethic (also sometimes called the Puritan work ethic) that emerged within Western Europe after the Reformation. Protestants believed that every person was called to a particular type of labour by God, and that they should work at their calling to the best of their ability (Breen 1966; Hunnicutt 2006; Juniu 2009; Weber 2001). As a result,
working hard was constructed as a religious ideal and assigned moral value (Blackshaw 2010; Breen 1966; Juniu 2009). Even the wealthy were not exempt from work, as the driving force behind work was glorifying God rather than accumulating wealth. Accordingly, wealth in itself was not considered evil, indeed it was seen as the fruits of one’s labours in one’s calling and a sign of God’s blessing (Breen 1966; Weber 2001).

Many Protestants, then, became very wealthy as a result of their religious beliefs. However, Protestantism dictated that the wealth derived through one’s work was not to be spent on luxury, idleness or enjoyment in living, but was to be used in the service of God (Breen 1966; Weber 2001). Wasting time through idleness, getting more sleep than necessary and indulging in petty talk were all deemed reprehensible forms of luxury as they did not glorify God in any way (Hunnicutt 2006; Weber 2001). Leisure time was to be spent productively in prayer, raising a family and other such sober pursuits. Any type of activity which was indulged in for the sake of pleasure such as sport or gambling were abhorred, as was the theatre as it represented luxury, debauchery and ostentation in manner and dress (C. Campbell 1987; Gidlow et al. 1994; Weber 2001).

Five centuries of the Protestant work ethic have left a lasting influence that reaches through to the twenty-first century, and even if the religious aspect of the notion has largely been erased the sentiment still remains. It could be said that the Protestant work ethic, initially built on working in one’s calling to the best of one’s ability with the sole reward sought being the glory of God, has trapped us, whether we are Protestant ourselves or not (Giorgi & Marsh 1990; Weber 2001). This is due to its implication in the development of the modern capitalist ethos; work is central to our lives and we must work hard to buy the things we desire in a society fuelled by consumerism (Hunnicutt 2006; Juniu 2009; Wang 2000). Indeed, Weber (2001, p.123) argued that “the Puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so.” While Weber was writing one hundred years ago, perhaps his notion that we are ‘forced’ to work has lingered on – many people seem to justify and rationalise the consumption of luxury goods on the basis that they are rewards for hard work (Twitchell 2002). For example:
"The feeling is that if you can afford it, you deserve it. And that’s new, because what’s happened is that today’s luxury customer did not grow up rich, but middle class. They’re buying luxury products to reward themselves for working hard, and as investments.” (Mui 2000, p.30)

Academic research on the purchase of luxury goods has also found a sense of reward and even entitlement amongst consumers, who believe that if they have met certain obligations (to their employer, their spouse, their family) then they are justified in rewarding themselves with a luxury purchase or living a luxurious lifestyle (Michman & Mazze 2006; Orr et al. 2008; Silverstein & Fiske 2003). However while the modern consumer may feel there is an aspect of deserved reward for hard work, there is often some guilt associated with such a luxury purchase which could be construed as evidence of the continued but subtle moralisation of luxury (Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Wurgaft 2008). This guilt may manifest itself through the need to justify one’s purchases – either to oneself or to others, or both (Wurgaft 2008; Zukin & Maguire 2004). Consumer guilt may also be exacerbated through media commentary that suggests there is a need to justify luxury purchases, to be able to show or prove the basis for reward – particularly during times of economic hardship (Roberts 2008).

2.5 Luxury through the eyes of the aristocracy and elite

As we have seen from the earlier discussion of luxury in early Greek and Roman times (Section 2.3), the consumption of luxury goods and services has a long history of being strongly linked to social class, as only the wealthy aristocracy and elite of society could purchase luxury items (de Vries 2003; Sombart 1967). The wealthy viewed luxury goods and services as markers of exclusivity, as tools to differentiate themselves from others and signal their place in the social hierarchy - particularly in the Middle Ages in European feudal societies where the hierarchical structure was very rigid (Berg & Eger 2003; de Vries 2003; Sombart 1967). Luxury consumption was constructed as necessary and appropriate by (and for) the upper echelons of society but as unnecessary and morally reprehensible for all others (Hunt 1996; Shovlin 2000; Sombart 1967). The most overt method of denying luxury consumption to the lower classes was through the implementation of regulations,
ordinances and sumptuary laws, which naturally also afforded the powerful elite the authority to decide and define what luxury meant (de Vries 2003).

2.5.1 The need for sumptuary laws

The perceived need for sumptuary laws to keep the social hierarchy in place reveals much about the complex changes that were occurring in society across Europe during the early modern era, and also about the changing nature of the role of luxury in society. Society was becoming increasingly urbanised, manufacturing was growing, and both commercialism and consumerism were rising (Borsay 1977; Breckman 1991; Brewer 1998; Freudenberger 1963; Hunt 1996; Maza 1997; Sombart 1967; Widmayer 2006). These changes had three major consequences. First, the traditional, rigid social hierarchy was under threat with the transition from a feudal society where the nobility owned the land and thus held power, to a society where merchant capital held increasing economic and political power (Hohti 2010; Hunt 1996; Sombart 1967; Widmayer 2006). Second, and related, social mobility was becoming possible through increasing wealth among the merchant class who, somewhat ironically perhaps, were responsible for supplying the luxury goods and services to the nobility. It was through consumption of luxury clothing in particular that wealth was displayed and social mobility potentially achieved, and to which sumptuary laws became directed (Berry 1994; Freudenberger 1963; Heller 2004; Hohti 2010; Hunt 1996; Muzzarelli 2009; Widmayer 2006). Third, increasing urbanisation led to a situation where recognition of one’s status was problematic in a society of strangers. These perceived threats to the traditional power structures in society led to the introduction of an increased number of sumptuary laws.

2.5.2 Maintaining the social hierarchy

The argument of those in power (the aristocracy) was that if those of lower class were allowed to emulate the fashion of those of higher class, it would become impossible to judge a person’s social status merely by observing their attire (Hunt 1996; Maza 1997; Widmayer 2006). The mercantile classes, with their newly acquired wealth, were more able to purchase the luxury items that were traditionally the domain of the nobility, and the polemic against their wearing of luxury clothing was fervent. The possibility of a merchant’s wife being confused for a noblewoman...
in the city streets was a source of outrage to the latter (Hohti 2010; Hunt 1996; Maza 1997; Stearns 2006; Widmayer 2006). Further, the upper echelons of society were adamant that it was a ‘slippery slope’ of moral contagion that would trickle down to the lower classes and thus be responsible for the ruin of society:

[Luxury] reaches the very Dregs of the People, who aspiring still to a Degree beyond that which belongs to them, and not being able by the Fruits of honest Labour to support the State which they affect, they disdain the Wages to which their Industry would intitle them; and abandoning themselves to Idleness, the more simple and poor spirited betake themselves to a Stage of Starving and Beggary, while those of more Art and Courage become Thieves, Sharpers and Robbers. (Fielding 1751, p.3)

It has been suggested that the detailed nature of sumptuary laws in European countries such as the UK, France, Spain Italy and Germany shows both what was most desired by the people and what was most feared by those in power (Heller 2004; Sekora 1977; Widmayer 2006). It points to the tensions that existed in late medieval and early modern Europe between the nobility and the rising non-nobility, and the anxiety of the former that they would lose the struggle to maintain power and control (both figurative and economic) of their country (Berry 1994; Heller 2004; Maza 1997; Muzzarelli 2009; Sekora 1977; Widmayer 2006). The implementation of strict sumptuary legislation surrounding luxury in apparel was one way in which they could maintain and assert their power and control over the lower classes in a time of social upheaval and uncertainty (Brundage 1987; Freudenberger 1963; Muzzarelli 2009).

The church aided the implementation of sumptuary laws by providing support for restricting the consumption of luxury through their own religious arguments. As discussed earlier, luxury had been elevated from a vice to a sin in around the sixth century and the notion endured (Berry 1994; Bloomfield 1941; Capps 189). The sin of luxury was therefore a useful rhetoric in the quest for social domination by the wealthy and elite through sumptuary law. Luxury could easily be associated with other sins or moral failings such as avarice, pride, envy and sloth, and was invoked in bringing down the wrath of God on both the individual and society (Brundage 1987; de Vries 2003; Freudenberger 1963; Hunt 1996; Muzzarelli 2009; Widmayer 2006). Ironically however, it was often the clergy that were the beneficiaries of such sumptuary laws as they were part of the privileged classes of society and so were in
a position to consume luxury goods and services (de Vries 2003). From the seventeenth century though, the rhetoric surrounding luxury began to change, reflecting social, political and economic change throughout much of European society and rendering sumptuary laws largely ineffective (Berry 1994).

2.6 Luxury through the eyes of political economists

Political economists viewed luxury quite differently to the clergy and the nobility and strongly influenced others’ perceptions from the late 1600s to the late 1700s when the luxury debate in Europe was at its peak. The focus of the debate changed during this time, largely due to contributions from political economists, from whether luxury was a societal evil to whether it was something to be embraced for the greater good of the nation (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994). At the time, the UK in particular faced a perceived threat to the national economy from the importing of luxury products from countries such as Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, France and India (Berry 1994; Bryson 2010; Hunt 1995; Mortelmans 2005; Mun 1664). The debate was hotly contested by many, as evidenced by the hundreds of works devoted to the subject (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994; H. C. Clark 1998; J. Jennings 2007). Here, two main themes evident in the arguments of key contributors of the time will be examined in order to show the evolution in the social construction and representation of luxury in the UK. Even though the state of the economy was the primary focus of their writings, these key authors nevertheless influenced the luxury discourse. In addition, their views were used by French writers to overcome the moralising polemic against luxury in France (Berry 1994; H. C. Clark 1998; J. Jennings 2007; Maza 1997; Saglia 1999).

2.6.1 Expenditure on luxury as beneficial for all

The first arguments signalling the winds of change for the luxury discourse were found in the ‘balance of trade’ logic and the association of luxury with a drain on the national economy - it was held that expenditure on foreign luxury imports resulted in an outflow of gold and silver bullion to pay for it (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994; de Vries 2003). Thomas Mun, a director of the East India Company, writing in England in 1664, considered the consumption of foreign food items and clothing to
be a vice – and one that was “more notorious amongst us than in former ages” (Mun 1664 p.16). Despite not mentioning luxury explicitly, the language of luxury was implicit in his discussions. For example, he termed foreign goods such as silk, sugar, spices and fruits as “unnecessary wants” (Mun 1664 p.178). He went on to state that the trend towards excessive consumption of foods, fashion, idleness and the pursuit of pleasure was not only “contrary to the Law of God” but that it was a

“general leprosie...[that] hath made us effeminate in our bodies, weak in our knowledge, poor in our Treasure, declined in our Valour, unfortunate in our Enterprises, and contemned by our Enemies” (Mun 1664 p.180).

However, while he moralised against luxury on the one hand, he then contradicted himself by stating that frugality was also not the answer, and that encouraging consumption was important for the health of the national economy.

In response to the threat from foreign imports, which Mun equated with luxury, he suggested sumptuary laws be enacted that restrict consumption to locally produced products. Mun then went on to suggest that, where local manufacture was not possible, the importation of luxury goods was acceptable as long as the value of England’s exports was higher than its imports, thereby subverting the traditional bullionist argument. In what could be seen as a case of vested self-interest, he raised the (somewhat controversial) point that such importation of foreign luxuries would be beneficial not only to the national economy, but also to the local shipping industry which would benefit by transporting both England’s exports and the luxury imports. Moreover, he believed it would increase local employment and provide merchants with increased profits which they would then spend on luxuries themselves (Mun 1664). So from an initial admission that foreign luxury was a scourge on society, Mun had wrestled luxury trade into a benefit for the nation.

In the UK, political economist Bernard Mandeville was arguably the most infamous writer of the time of his argument on luxury as a positive phenomenon, which was in a similar vein to Mun’s but was more forcefully and explicitly stated. In The Fable of the Bees, first published in 1714, he proposed that an individual’s expenditure on locally produced luxury items could benefit the national economy by providing a means of employment for the poor and stimulating economic growth (Mandeville 1724). Further, like Mun, he argued that while luxury was a vice, it was one that
could be exploited by people with virtue for the betterment of all. Speaking of the vice of luxury, he stated:

> It may be said, that Virtue is made Friends with Vice, when industrious good People, who maintain their Families and bring up their Children handsomely, pay Taxes, and are several ways useful Members of the Society, get a livelihood by something that chiefly depends on, or is very much influenc’d by the Vices of others...Thus the Merchant, that sends Corn or Cloth into Foreign Parts to purchase Wines or Brandies, encourages the Growth or Manufactury of his own Country; he is a Benefactor to Navigation, encreases the Customs, and is many ways beneficial to the Publick (Mandeville 1724, p.80-81)

Even though Mandeville admitted that luxury was a private (personal) vice, the notion that it could be used for public benefit and should thus be encouraged was a view that was highly controversial and initially met with outrage and indignation (Berry 1994; Csaba 2008; Freudenberger 1963; Hunt 1995, 1996; Mortelmans 2005). His argument centred on the paradox that it was only the pursuit of luxury by the wealthy that could provide employment for the poor. A flourishing trade in locally produced luxury goods would ensure that both productivity and national economic prosperity could be achieved, and thus a private vice could be turned into a public benefit (Mandeville 1724). The so-called ‘de-moralisation’ of luxury was underway (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994; Mortelmans 2005).

### 2.6.2 Luxury as a mark of civilised society

Scottish economists David Hume and Adam Smith, writing in the 1760s and 1770s respectively, also contributed to the shift in thinking about luxury. They advocated luxury as the mark of a civilised society and believed that aspirations to luxury were natural and desirable in economically and socially superior nations (Hume 1987; A. Smith n.d.). However, they differed somewhat in their approach. In short, Hume believed that the key to economic development was to increase production, and the only way to achieve this was to provide incentives (Brewer 1998; Hume 1987). He reasoned that humans were inherently lazy and would only produce as much as was needed to survive. He argued that the most effective incentives were luxury goods and services, and that farmers would only produce a surplus to trade if there were luxury items available for purchase with their newfound disposable income (Brewer 1998; Hume 1987).
Smith, on the other hand, believed that societies naturally progress from hunting (in early ‘barbarous’ societies) to pasturage, to agriculture and finally, to trade and commerce (a mark of modern, civilised societies) (Berry 1994; Brewer 1998; A. Smith n.d.). Unlike Hume, he put more emphasis on the productivity of agriculture as the foundation for economic growth, reasoning that as the consumption of luxury became more fashionable, the agricultural landlords would maximise the rents of their tenants in order to provide income to satisfy their growing taste for luxury (Brewer 1998; A. Smith n.d.). He concluded that this increased income would flow down from the agricultural landlords to the merchants, and then to the labouring poor, all of whom would naturally spend it on luxury items, further benefitting the whole of society and aiding the growth of urban manufacturing and commerce (Berry 1994; Brewer 1998; A. Smith n.d.).

French attitudes were also influenced by the writings of Mun, Mandeville, Hume and Smith, and parts of their arguments can be seen reflected in the later writings of Montesquieu, Morellet, Pluquet, Rousseau and Melon (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994; H. C. Clark 1998; J. Jennings 2007; Maza 1997; Saglia 1999; Sombart 1967). Until the late 1700s, the French were vehemently anti-luxury as they viewed luxury and its corrupting influence as at least partially responsible for France’s economic problems and worsening social inequalities (J. Jennings 2007; Maza 1997). Their ire was particularly directed at the extravagant expenditure of the court at Versailles (Berg & Eger 2003; H. C. Clark 1998; J. Jennings 2007). The amount of money spent on luxury goods and services for a privileged few instead of on necessary goods and services for the masses was blamed for the lack of food, physical impotence and the moral decay of society. It was also held responsible for social chaos, as the emulation of the manners and fashions of the elite by the lower classes blurred the traditionally rigid social distinctions (Berg & Eger 2003; Maza 1997). However, it appears that the luxury argument eventually evolved as it did in the UK, from a debate about the moral failings of the individual to an economic protectionist stance advocating the consumption of luxury for the wider public good; money hoarded was money wasted (H. C. Clark 1998; J. Jennings 2007; Maza 1997). In France, like the UK, it was argued that the consumption of luxury was a necessity due to its ability to create markets and grow the economy – although it was
ostensibly portrayed to the general public as the wealthy buying luxury items so the poor would not starve (Sombart 1967).

Essentially, the key UK political economists were advocating for a change in the manner of thinking about foreign trade to protect the national interest (or in Mun’s case, his own interest, as director of the East India Company dealing in foreign trade) and the consumption of luxury proved to be a useful theme in their arguments. The rhetoric of the eighteenth century political economists resulted in the transmogrification of luxury from private (personal) vice to public benefit, from a moral to an economic and social concern.

2.7 Luxury through the eyes of the consumer

Despite the use of terms such as manufacturing, industry and wealth in the eighteenth century luxury debates in Europe, what political economists were referring to was the notion of economic progress that would become known as capitalism. It has been argued that capitalism was an important catalyst for the intensification of consumerism across much of Europe (Mansvelt 2005; Sombart 1967; Stearns 2006). In a newly evolving form of society, economic capital, in conjunction with the acquisition of cultural capital, became the measure of social worth (Hunt 1996). Further, the concomitant rise of capitalism and modern consumerism has also coloured how luxury is perceived and constructed today. This final section therefore examines the evolution of the nature of luxury through the eyes of the consumer since the eighteenth century.

2.7.1 The rise of consumerism

Whilst there were signs of consumerism from ancient Greek and Roman times through to the Middle Ages, it was the preserve of the wealthiest citizens. Even then it was limited in scope by society’s devotion to collective and religious goals over consumerist goals, in tandem with the lack of novelty in the goods available (Mansvelt 2005). The consumerism of ‘ordinary’ people was constrained by their poverty, but even where surplus money was available, the same traditional values of community and religion prevailed and it is held that they simply did not possess a
consumerist mentality. Modern consumerism is commonly associated with the Industrial Revolution and the establishment of a capitalist system, although such a simplistic link masks what was an extremely complex situation (Mansvelt 2005). In reality, many factors contributed to the rise of modern consumerism in the UK and Europe in the eighteenth century:

- increasing urbanisation;
- increasing levels of disposable income amongst the lower classes;
- new forms of technology that enabled mass production;
- a new attitude towards consumption;
- a desire for new and novel goods (and the capacity to provide them);
- the introduction of the notion of comfort (as an intermediary between luxury and necessity), and;
- an increasing focus on the Romantic values of the individual and personal identity (Appleby 1993; Edwards 2000; Mansvelt 2005; Rybczynski 1986).

Thus it was not only economic changes that were early drivers of modern consumerism, but also political, social and cultural changes. It can be argued that the origins of modern consumerism were bound up with the emergence of self-awareness and individuality, and that the consumption of luxury goods and services became a way for consumers to express their personal identity – as distinct from their collective or class identity as in the past (Mansvelt 2005). Style and taste became important markers of cultural capital and thereby social distinction; what you bought and how you used, wore or displayed it became almost more important than the ability to buy it (Bourdieu 1984; Cross 2013). The media was a significant influence in educating consumers on matters of style and taste, and will be examined in a separate section (Section 2.7.3), but there were also other sources of information. By the late nineteenth century, for example, new forms of commercial space such as department stores had become important public spaces for consumption in most cities in the Western world, open to all - or at least not limited to the wealthy and elite (Breckman 1991; Mansvelt 2005). Through their elaborate
displays of beautiful consumer goods, department stores educated consumers on aesthetics and taste (Breckman 1991). Consumption had become associated with pleasure, leisure and indulgence and increasingly, for middle class women, the purchase of goods for the home (Mansvelt 2005).

2.7.2 Luxury and the home

The home is one of the basic necessities of human life; however, it may also be the one with the greatest enduring capacity for luxury refinement, in terms of interior and exterior decoration, number and size of rooms, building materials and technology. Two thousand years ago, wealthy Romans indulged in luxurious soft-furnishings and drapery in their houses, as well as in spacious rooms (Berry 1994; Wallace-Hadrill 1990). In the seventeenth century, both Louis XIV and later his son Louis XV were legendary for their ostentatious lifestyle, including the size and opulent furnishings of their family home, the Palace of Versailles (Rybczynski 1986). Yet for most of the European populace a home was comprised of a single room until the Middle Ages and the notion of comfort in the home was such an unfamiliar concept that they had no word for it until the eighteenth century (Bryson 2010; Rybczynski 1986). Even the wealthiest (non-royal) citizens seldom owned more than one chair in the Middle Ages (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981).

Soft furnishings were introduced to the UK in the eighteenth century, but being expensive were considered a luxury and confined to the drawing room. As this was the room where guests to the home were received, it could be construed that this show of luxury was designed to impress them. Other luxury goods of the period included wallpaper (to paper one room cost nearly four times the annual rent of a good house in London) and the use of paint (the richer and deeper the colour, the more expensive the pigment that had been used) (Bryson 2010). A historical examination of the bathroom provides evidence of the temporal nature of luxury. Even in the late 1950s baths were a luxury in the UK, and a writer for Woman’s Own magazine recalls that they were “not allowed to do features on bathrooms, as not enough British homes had them, and such articles would only promote envy”
(Bryson 2010, p.372). Today, bathrooms are generally considered a necessity in the Western world and many homes have more than one (Berry 1994; Frank 2010).

It is over the last sixty years in particular that the home has become a central site for the display of consumerism, and with it the consumption of luxury (Shaw & Brookes 1999). For example, Twitchell (2002) notes that the American magazine *House and Garden* published a special issue in September 1998 with the title “A Time for Luxury” – the issue’s success was measured by the increase in the number of pages of advertising which, given the genre of the magazine, were naturally focussed on luxury accessories for the home. This magazine is not unique however. Open any magazine dedicated to the home and one finds a plethora of evidence to support the contention that luxury has been commoditised in the home. For example, an advertisement for a silk duvet inner states that “To sleep under a Silk Sensation 100% silk duvet inner is to sleep in the utmost luxury, a luxury once reserved exclusively for Asian and European royalty” (Sunseeker Trading Limited 2007). Note the association of the luxury product with the nobility in the past, an association that can now imbue the modern day purchaser with social and cultural capital. Again, in the August 2012 issue of *New Zealand House and Garden* magazine, the word “luxury” was used to describe a wide variety of goods in advertisements. These included: luxury lamps and side tables (with the subheading “objects of desire”), luxury sofas, a luxury weekend escape, luxurious cotton placemats for the dining table, luxurious merino wool clothing, and luxury bed linen. Note how many of these luxury items are associated with comfort and softness; the silk duvet inner, the sofas, the clothing and the bed linen. These examples also serve to illustrate the importance of media representations in disseminating information that shapes our ways of seeing and consuming luxury.

### 2.7.3 Luxury, taste and the role of the media

Goodale and Godbey (1988) note the power of the press was established as early as the 1500s when Martin Luther published his works for the Protestant Reformation and distributed them to his devoted followers. Since this time, print media such as newspapers, journals and magazines have been increasingly responsible for the transfer of ideas, fashion, taste and social and cultural capital across both social and
national boundaries (Borsay 1977; Bourdieu 1984). For example, the press in provincial urban England in the late seventeenth century dispensed the knowledge and culture of the gentry, and provided instruction in the social value of luxury objects to readers who aspired to upper class standing (Borsay 1977). Likewise, the fashions of the French royalty influenced fashion throughout Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the publication and distribution of French fashion journals (Freudenberger 1963).

Here though, we focus our attention on the twentieth century, for that is perhaps the most significant period for the pervasion and influence of media representations of luxury and taste on consumers through the advent of advertising (Cross 2013; Edwards 2000; Zukin & Maguire 2004). Not only were there many more goods and services available to purchase, especially after World War II, but there were changes in the way they were marketed as the focus shifted from product features to product benefits and links with taste and lifestyle (Cross 2013; Friedman 2010; Shaw & Brookes 1999). Magazines frequently carried advertisements and articles fostering the notion that what you bought (or did not buy) revealed who you were (or were not) (Cross 2013). For example, in the USA Life magazine published a chart in 1949 that detailed consumer choices in various categories that signalled “Highbrow, Lowbrow and Middlebrow” tastes (Friedman 2010, p.46). The influence of the media and their messages about luxury, taste and identity is captured well in this extract from an interview with an American woman reflecting on her life as a housewife in the 1950s:

"You were trying to live out this ideal of life in the suburbs, in a way, that you saw in Life magazine. But you always considered yourself just a little above it. You know, you had the Eames chair. (Harvey 1993, p.127)"

The luxury of the Eames chair⁶ is implicitly linked with the concept of [good] taste. Additionally, this extract speaks to the notion that “taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier” (Bourdieu 1984, p.6). The recognition (or lack thereof) of an object, in this case an Eames chair, and its social value not only identifies the social and cultural capital of the person who owns it, but also of the person making the statement. The media thus not only reflects the consumption practices and tastes of

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⁶ The Eames chair was designed by Charles and Ray Eames in 1956 and has become one of the most widely recognised and reproduced furniture designs, considered an icon by the Museum of Modern Art in New York (The Museum of Modern Art Store 2014).
specific segments of society, but perhaps more importantly is a source of social and cultural capital (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). Through articles and advertising, magazines and newspapers portray the appropriate consumption and display of luxury to those who aspire to be ‘just a little above it’ as in the above extract (Giddens 1991; Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). In doing so, the beliefs and social standing of those who consider themselves to be already ‘above it’ may be reinforced, as they have been deemed worthy of emulation (Giddens 1991).

The media functions as a cultural intermediary, a source of information about luxury, style and taste, in the eyes of the consumer (Bourdieu 1984; Woodward 2003). Print articles, television and advertisements define what luxury may be, and the accompanying images evoke exclusivity and desire, pleasure and comfort (Berry 1994). If the advertising slogans are to be believed, in our modern consumer society luxury is found in a wider array of goods and services than at any previous time in history (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994; Twitchell 2002; Yeoman 2011). This has resulted in more people having more access to luxury goods and services than ever before (Frank 2010; Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Yeoman 2011). The exclusivity of luxury may have become a mirage.

2.7.4  Luxury for the masses?

The title of James Twitchell’s book Living it up: Our love affair with luxury, published in 2002, neatly encapsulates what the notion of luxury has come to mean in Western society at the turn of the twenty-first century. Luxury surrounds us and as such is no longer an unrealistic dream but has become an expectation - in the Western world at least (Berg & Eger 2003; Berry 1994; Twitchell 2002). While it may seem to be paradoxical, in contemporary Western society there seems to be a perception that everyone is able to own a luxury item (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011). This development has been variously termed ‘luxury for the masses’, the ‘democratisation’ of luxury and ‘affordable luxury’ (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011; Berry 1994).

Traditional luxury brands are positioning new products that appeal to (and are affordable for) a broader customer base of aspirational middle class consumers (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011; Silverstein & Fiske 2003). For
example, Tiffany & Co in the USA is well known for expensive diamond jewellery. However it also produces a range of less expensive items such as key-rings which are within reach of the average consumer but are still packaged in the recognisable blue Tiffany’s box. Similarly, traditional luxury car makers such as Mercedes and BMW have introduced down-market models (Bauer, von Wallpach & Hemetsberger 2011; Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Twitchell 2002). Silverstein and Fiske (2003) and Yeoman (2011) both note the phenomenon of middle class consumers who are prepared to pay a little more for a luxury item that is of a higher quality and level of taste, in every sector from sandwiches to home furnishings.

A number of factors have contributed to the democratisation of luxury since World War II and although much of the research and commentary has come from the USA it is also held to be applicable to wider Western society (Frank 2010; Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie 2006). Higher real incomes, especially for the upper quartile, have been a strong driving force as they have led to higher discretionary incomes (Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie 2006). Rising home equity coupled with low home loan interest rates have freed up substantial amounts of cash, at least for those able to afford their own home, which has been used for luxury purchases such as cars, boats, travel and second homes (Michman & Mazze 2006; Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Twitchell 2002; Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie 2006). For others, easy access to consumer debt such as credit cards and hire purchase, has allowed them to obtain luxury goods and experiences (Vickers & Renand 2003). Finally, higher numbers of women in the workforce has boosted their spending power which has been channelled into the new luxury markets of well-being (which includes the home), clothing and travel (Frank 2010; Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Yeoman 2011).

The democratisation of luxury is further evidenced by a new growth industry where consumers are able to rent luxury items such as cars, designer handbags or personal chefs, thereby allowing them a short experience of a luxury lifestyle more often associated with celebrities – and in the process encouraging future ownership (Yeoman 2011). The purchase of second hand luxury goods is rising, with a proliferation of websites dedicated to such sales, and there is evidence also that middle market consumers are happy to ‘mix and match’ their purchases depending
on the situation. For example, a consumer may choose to pay less for a cut price airfare with a budget airline but stay in a five star hotel while on holiday (Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Yeoman 2011; Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie 2006). It has also been observed that, rather than simply accumulating a larger quantity of goods consumers are seeking luxury activities and experiences, particularly those that afford a sense of pleasure, authenticity and personal transformation (Michman & Mazze 2006; Yeoman 2011). This has become known as the ‘new-luxury’ (Silverstein & Fiske 2003; Twitchell 2002; Yeoman 2011). Related to this is the concept of ‘humble luxury’ which Mitchell and Hebecker (2008) argue is a form of luxury based on simplicity and an understated way of life that is envied and desired yet elusive.

Luxury may be perceived as being accessible to a wider range of consumers than previously, yet class distinctions in and through luxury consumption remain. Luxury continues to be associated with the concept of exclusiveness and good taste; the level of exclusivity determines the level of prestige bestowed upon its owner (Vickers & Renand 2003; Vigneron & Johnson 2004; Wiedmann, Hennigs & Siebels 2007). For example, Vickers and Renand (2003, p.463) argue that “inaccessible luxury” is marked by the absolute distinctiveness of the product, its extremely high price and quality, and is affordable only by the elite of society. These features distinguish it as highly exclusive and afford the owner extremely high social prestige. “Accessible luxury” (or luxury for the masses as discussed above) is reserved for the middle classes with its less distinctive and lower priced products, and, they believe, marks its owners as aspirational social climbers.

Luxury as seen through the eyes of the consumer continues to be a fluid and dynamic reflection of the society and culture in which it is found. The rise of modern consumerism over the last two hundred years has coloured our definitions of luxury, and luxury goods and services have become more widely accessible. The home as a site for the consumption of luxury has become increasingly evident over the last sixty years. In addition, the media has been instrumental in the dissemination of ideas about luxury, and the education of consumers about luxury’s relationship to good taste and style. However, despite perceptions of the democratisation of luxury, it remains linked to exclusivity, taste and expense and as such is used as a marker of class distinctions.
2.8 Summarising Chapter Two

This chapter has discussed the multitude of ways of seeing luxury – identifying the key influences and influencers on societal perceptions of luxury at different locations and periods in time. Over the centuries, luxury has been linked to moral bankruptcy (of both individuals and societies) and sin, associated with social class and good taste, and wielded as a tool by those in power. More recently, luxury has been at the heart of consumer society. It has been invoked as a reward for hard work and has become something of a lifestyle choice in Western society. The media has played a crucial role in the representation of ideas about luxury and what constitutes it. Luxury is now reportedly available in more guises and to more people than ever before; and yet it must retain its exclusivity in order to remain luxurious.

Luxury is a subjective notion, specific to the period, society and culture to which it belongs. An understanding of this complexity and subjectivity, and the multiple ways of seeing and representing luxury, is vital for this thesis. Here then, as synthesised from the preceding discussions, representations of luxury in the context of second homes can be conceptualised as follows:

*The physical or material nature of luxury:* may be represented as expensive, rare, unique, exclusive, foreign (imported), large, ornate, modern, up-to-date and/or excessive;

*The metaphysical or immaterial nature of luxury:* may be represented as sumptuous, comfortable, soft, opulent, tasteful, pleasurable, rich, warm, desirable and/or indulgent.

Due to the dynamic nature of luxury, these cannot and should not be considered an exhaustive list nor viewed in isolation, but rather as part of a whole and as determined through a holistic reading of the written and visual text (this will be discussed in depth in Chapter Five). The following chapter now draws upon this understanding to examine the largely overlooked aspects of luxury implicit in second home ownership, using examples from the international second home literature. Chapter Four then foregrounds the New Zealand second home context, as the lens through which media representations of luxury will be investigated.
CHAPTER 3. LUXURY AND SECOND HOME OWNERSHIP
3.1 Introducing Chapter Three

Having gained the necessary understanding of the nature of possible representations of luxury in the previous chapter, a critical eye is now cast over six major aspects of the historical and modern practices of second home ownership that may be interpreted as carrying markers of luxury. It focuses on academic literature and examples from overseas; the New Zealand context will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. There has been a significant amount of research conducted into various aspects of second home ownership internationally, such as spatial distribution (Aldskogius 1967; Bidwell 2004), demographics of owners (Halseth 2004; Luka 2007), motivations for ownership (Kaltenborn 1998; D. R. Williams & Kaltenborn 1999), and meanings of second homes (Halfacree 2011; Pitkänen, Puhakka & Sawatzky 2011). However the underlying raison d’être of second homes, succinctly captured by Wolfe (1977, p.31), that they are “purpose built for an inessential purpose”, is seldom critiqued, challenged or even acknowledged in the academic literature. This chapter ‘unpacks’ aspects of the unspoken luxury inherent in second homes and provides substantiation from the international literature to argue that second home ownership was, and still is, a luxury.

3.2 The luxury of leisure

The primary purpose of the second homes under consideration here is leisure, which may itself be considered a luxury. In ancient Greek society, leisure was a privilege reserved for wealthy native born males, allowing them the freedom to undertake intellectual and civic activities in order to realise their human potential; a luxury not afforded to those of lower birth (Blackshaw 2010; Goodale & Godbey 1988; Hunnicutt 2006; Juniu 2009; J. R. Kelly 1996). Implicit in this notion of leisure were the notions of work, power and control – slaves and women were required to serve the needs of the leisured males, who by virtue of their standing had the luxury of being exempt from work. Furthermore the leisured also had power and control over the places to which their slaves and women had access (Hunnicutt 2006; J. R. Kelly 1996). It is noteworthy that leisure was considered to be very different from idleness. Leisure was productive activity and a virtue of the wealthy, whereas
Idleness was worthless inactivity centred on pleasure and indulged in by the underclass (Blackshaw 2010; Goodale & Godbey 1988; Hunnicutt 2006; Veblen 2007). As was discussed in more depth in Chapter Two, this distinction and the moralisation against idleness were further reinforced by the Puritans in the Middle Ages and have continued in various forms since that time (Blackshaw 2010; Hunnicutt 2006).

Over time, work became the driving force of an industrialised capitalist society and access to leisure began to change (Blackshaw 2010; Goodale & Godbey 1988; Hunnicutt 2006). In the mid- to late-1800s the advent of the ‘week-end’, a period of up to two days with no work for some workers, made blocks of leisure time accessible to those outside the elite of society (A. D. King 1980). This, along with the small disposable income from their labours, afforded the middle class the means to emulate (in a modest fashion) the consumption of material goods during their leisure hours that had previously only been the domain of the elite (Blackshaw 2010; Goodale & Godbey 1988). Leisure for them began to take on meaning as a time of pleasurable action rather than a time of rest. As the wealthy strived to assert their superiority and continue to have leisure associated with class, what one did with one’s free time (rather than simply the amount of free time) began to assume importance (Blackshaw 2010; Goodale & Godbey 1988).

As an economist and astute social commentator writing in the United States on the cusp of the twentieth century Thorstein Veblen (2007) was scathing in his observations of what he called the ‘leisure class’. In addition to showing contempt for their conspicuous consumption of material goods, for which he is perhaps most well-known (see Chapter One, Section 1.5), he documented their conspicuous consumption of leisure. Only those who were sufficiently wealthy could afford not to work at all, and Veblen observed their desire (or need) to be seen in public conspicuously wasting their time, in order to assert and maintain their high class status. If it were not possible to be seen in public, it was important to be able to provide evidence that one’s private leisure time was still being wasted appropriately; for example, knowledge of foreign languages or the complexities of etiquette were commonly used indicators of the quality of one’s private leisure time (Veblen 2007).
The home (whether first, second or fifteenth) became an important site for the consumption of leisure; people visited with each other, gossiped, held dances, indulged in amateur theatre, billiards and embroidery at home. Accordingly, this type of leisure was only available to those of the higher classes who owned their own home (or multiple homes) until at least the late nineteenth century. Those who did not have homes with sufficient space for entertaining in this manner were thus marked as having lower social standing (Rybczynski 1986). Consequently a life of leisure was a symbol of pecuniary strength, and the way in which one spent one’s leisure time denoted one’s class and societal status (Veblen 2007). The ownership of a second (or more) home for the purposes of leisure was one symbol that placed the owner amongst the elite, and as such, was a marker of luxury (Coppock 1977b; Wolfe 1977).

A century later, the term ‘leisure class’ has disappeared from our vocabulary. Nevertheless, our ability to consume leisure experiences and activities remains unequal and thus continues to carry connotations of luxury (Cook 2006; Critcher 2006; Rojek 2006). This is despite the common perception that consumers are able to exercise freedom of choice and despite the right to leisure being enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Juniu 2009; Sager 2013). In a commoditised leisure environment, there are differences in what people read, eat and do in their leisure time, where they go and who with, as well as how much leisure time they have available to them and how much they are able to spend on it (Cook 2006; Critcher 2006; Featherstone 1987). These differences may be related to gender, age, ethnicity, class, family status or employment (Cook 2006). Women, especially those with families, often have unequal access to leisure both at home and while on holiday (Davidson 1996; Glyptis & Chambers 1982; Rojek 2006). The retired or unemployed may have more ‘free time’ yet generally lack the financial resources to participate in leisure activities (Blackshaw 2010).

These inequalities are the result of different levels of economic, cultural and intellectual capital which themselves are linked to issues of power and control (Cook 2006; Critcher 2006; Featherstone 1987). However, access to power and control comes not only through money or income, but also more subversively through the possession of cultural and symbolic capital which is manifested through notions of
taste (Featherstone 1987). For example, Bourdieu (1984) notes that while economic capital is required to own a grand second home, cultural capital is required to appropriate it – the knowledge of how to stock the wine cellar, how to entertain, how to landscape, how to appreciate art and gastronomy. Those who possess the economic and cultural capital to do this have power and control over those who do not, in determining the nature of taste (Featherstone 1987). In these ways, the luxury of leisure is perpetuated in contemporary consumer society (Cook 2006). It is argued here that the ownership of a second home for the purpose of leisure is a physical manifestation of that luxury.

3.3 The historical luxury of ownership

Ownership of a home has been implicit in the social hierarchy in many societies throughout history – in the UK, Europe and the USA, those who were propertied had a higher standing than those who rented (Gurney 1999; Saunders & Williams 1988; Veblen 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 1988). The ownership of a second home for the purpose of leisure was a luxury that further enhanced and cemented one’s position in society (Wolfe 1977). Throughout Western history second home ownership has traditionally been viewed as the privilege of the wealthy and the practice has spanned the centuries (Coppock 1977c; C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Jaakson 1986; Rybczynski 1986). For example, the Roman elite decamped to various of their multiple properties according to season and whim; Henry VIII of England owned 42 palaces when he died in 1547; and in the USA the extremely wealthy Vanderbilt family owned multiple enormous second homes by the late 1890s, which they ironically called ‘cottages’ and filled with luxury items (Bryson 2010; Coppock 1977c; Frank 2010; Michman & Mazze 2006). The amount of luxury and ostentation in the Vanderbilt homes drew such hearty disapproval that the US government considered implementing a law restricting the amount a person could spend when building a home, reminiscent of the sumptuary laws of the past discussed in the previous chapter (Bryson 2010).

In Scandinavia, the earliest second homes were owned by the nobility and landed gentry in the 1700s, and were found predominantly in the countryside or along the coast (Clout 1974; Pitkänen & Vepsäläinen 2008; Tress 2002). In the Caribbean, it
was initially the local elite who owned second homes in the hills and spent the summers there in order to escape the oppressive heat of the coastal cities (Henshall 1977). However, after World War I, the elite from mainland USA took advantage of the advent of faster and easier long-distance travel to build second homes in the Caribbean and thus escape the colder winters (Henshall 1977). In mid to late nineteenth century Australia, the wealthy built coastal mansions on the outskirts of the cities of Melbourne and Perth, or in the mountainous hinterland; the Prime Minister and the State Governor of Victoria amongst them (Frost 2004; Selwood & Tonts 2004).

These early second homes were purpose-built for leisure, and were generally large and luxuriously appointed. They were places to escape the polluted, crowded, disease-ridden cities as the pace of urbanisation increased, or to avoid seasonal inconveniences such as stifling summer heat or bitterly cold winter temperatures. Second homes located on the fringes of urban centres were accessible for weekend visitation, while those in the mountains or along the coast further afield were used for longer sojourns (Clout 1974; Coppock 1977c; C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Timothy 2004). It is argued here that these second homes located further from the primary home were a mark of luxury; the owners had the luxury of leisure time to both travel to, and enjoy longer periods at, the second home.

The location of second home areas within weekend travelling distance expanded further from the city as improvements in road, rail, water transport and vehicle capabilities occurred and transport routes were extended (Clout 1974; Flognfeldt 2004; Frost 2004; C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Selwood & Tonts 2004). For example in the 1920s, some second homes near Perth, Western Australia, were only 20km from the city centre but the journey took hours due to the conditions of the road and the capabilities of the cars at the time (Selwood & Tonts 2004). Not all early second homes were located in rural or outlying areas near urban centres however; some were in the urban centres themselves and served as second homes for wealthy rural landowners, particularly in the UK and USA (Coppock 1977c; Timothy 2004). Nevertheless, the practice of second home ownership was a luxury reserved for a privileged few of society and one which has only been challenged in more recent times (see for example Halseth 2004).
3.4 No longer a luxury? Post-World War II second home ownership

Until about the late 1800s, second homes remained the domain of Western society’s wealthy and elite, at which time an emerging middle class with disposable income began to emulate the lifestyle of the affluent, including ownership of second homes (Clout 1974; C. M. Hall & Müller 2004). In Copenhagen, for example, the beauty of the coastal landscape attracted artists to small coastal fishing villages, where they rented second homes in the form of small cabins, and city-dwellers seeking an unspoilt place to escape soon followed (Clout 1974; Tress 2002). In Australia, the working- and middle-classes built basic second homes, colloquially called ‘shacks’, on publicly-owned coastal lands from the 1880s onwards (Atkinson, Picken & Tranter 2009; Frost 2004). While such second homes on public land were illegal, they were tolerated by the Australian government authorities, due largely to a lack of resources to deal with them but also as many of the shacks were in remote locations (Selwood & Tonts 2004). In Canada, the so-called democratisation of leisure and second home ownership led to second home zones close to Toronto falling out of fashion with the wealthy who then sought locations further away to maintain their social standing and distance themselves from the middle class who were beginning to colonise the area (Wolfe 1951). However it was after World War II that favourable economic and social conditions for many in the Western world led to a proliferation of second home ownership amongst the middle class (C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Pitkänen & Vepsäläinen 2008).

3.4.1 The ‘democratisation’ of second home ownership

A complex interconnected network of factors contributed to the so-called democratisation of second home ownership in the West after World War II. First, shorter working weeks were coupled with new legislation giving workers two weeks (at least, depending on the country) annual paid holidays. Second, dual income families became more common and resulted in greater personal wealth. This, combined with improving affordability of motor vehicles, resulted in higher levels of car ownership, which in turn facilitated increased mobility during leisure time. Third, road infrastructure was improving which allowed people to travel further in the same amount of time, bringing new (and often cheaper) second home locations
within weekend commuting distance (Clout 1977; Coppock 1977c; Frost 2004; C. M. Hall & Müller 2004; Timothy 2004; Wolfe 1977). These factors are widely credited with the rapid rise in second home ownership amongst the middle classes in countries such as the UK, USA, France, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the USA, a further factor was the increasing affordability of land, resulting from federal government encouragement of development of land in regions it deemed “useless” (such as Alaska), which brought second home ownership within reach of the middle classes (Timothy 2004, p.137).

In many European countries, the 1960s saw a period of social, political and economic change, leading to rural depopulation as rural workers moved to urban areas in search of employment. This outmigration in countries such as the UK, France and Spain resulted in a surplus of vacant housing which was subsequently purchased for use as second homes, mainly by middle-class urban dwellers looking to ‘escape to the country’ (Barke 2007; Bielckus 1977; Clout 1974; Gallent 1997; Shucksmith 1983). Likewise, in Sweden traditional farm houses in peripheral regions and rural areas were vacated and converted to second homes, as people moved to urban areas in search of work (Müller 2004). In addition, the Swedish government contributed to the growth in the number of second homes in the 1960s, with the introduction of new social policies. The rural to urban shift had resulted in increasing numbers of urbanites living in apartments. The state, recognising the importance of healthy lifestyles, supported purpose-built second home developments so its urban citizens could readily enjoy access to the countryside and experience the mountains and coast (Müller 2002b; Müller & Hall 2003). Some fifty years later, apartment living is commonplace for much of Sweden’s urban populace and second homes remain a normal, natural and indeed desirable part of life for a large proportion of the population (Bielckus 1977; Coppock 1977c; Marjavaara & Müller 2007).

Despite the supposed proliferation of second home ownership amongst the middle class after World War II, the estimated percentage of the population who own second homes generally remains low; less than 3% in the UK (Paris 2011), 6% in Canada (Halseth 2004), 10% in Switzerland and 16% in France (B. Quinn 2004). This would appear to contradict popular claims of the democratisation of second
home ownership in the Western world. However in Norway, Sweden and Finland, it is held that the majority of the population has access to a second home (through ownership or familial connections) (Ellingsen & Hiddle 2013; Jansson & Müller 2004; Periäinen 2006; Vittersø 2007). This may largely be due to the origins of second home ownership in Nordic countries - for many it can be traced back to traditional summer farms in the mountains which have been passed down through the family, generating a strong attachment to place (Kaltenborn 1997; Lagerqvist 2013; Müller 2013). Nevertheless, it has been remarked that in Sweden, while the phenomenon of second home ownership is widespread across social classes, owning a second home in some of the more desirable destinations is associated with luxury and issues of elite consumption are beginning to surface (Lagerqvist 2013; Marjavaara 2007).

3.4.2 Second home owner demographics

The wider spread of second home ownership than in the past has been taken by some as evidence of a progressively more egalitarian society, yet this ideology (or mythology) is increasingly being questioned (see for example Abram 2012; Paris 2011; Pitkänen 2008). If true democratisation of second home ownership had occurred, we could expect to see a wide range of occupations, ages and income levels represented amongst the owners of second homes. However, research has found that second home owners (in a Western world context at least) exhibit strikingly similar demographic characteristics across nationalities. In studies where comparable owner demographics are provided, the research consistently shows that second home owners are likely to have a high level of education, a higher than average household income and are generally in their late-middle life stage (Table 3.1).

This is even the case in Sweden (Table 3.1), where access to a second home is high, which seems to indicate that ownership of a non-inherited second home still pre-empts certain demographic characteristics (Müller 2013). The only exception to this is the Republic of Ireland where 40% of second home owners have a mid-range household income (B. Quinn 2004). This result must be interpreted with some caution given the smaller sample size - in a larger study using European Union
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study country/sample size</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Children at home</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada (n = 817)</td>
<td>Over 50% aged &gt;55 years</td>
<td>Less than half of the sample</td>
<td>More than half university educated</td>
<td>Retired or in professional occupations</td>
<td>Higher average than local residents</td>
<td>Halseth and Rosenberg (1995)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (n = 200)</td>
<td>Over 75% aged &gt;41 years</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Over half have ≥ 1 university degree</td>
<td>Dominated by professional middle &amp; upper class</td>
<td>Higher average than national average</td>
<td>Luka (2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa (n = 158)</td>
<td>Middle-aged or approaching it</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Over 40% have postgrad training</td>
<td>Some retired, most professionals</td>
<td>Majority upper-level income earners</td>
<td>Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia (n = 911)</td>
<td>62% aged &gt;51 years</td>
<td>Fewer dependent children than locals</td>
<td>“More educated” than locals</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Higher average than local residents</td>
<td>G. Kelly and Hosking (2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia (n = 200)</td>
<td>36.5% aged 35-49 years 61.5% aged &gt;50 years</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Selwood and Tonts (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland (Republic) (n = 76)</td>
<td>67% aged 35-54 years</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>40% earned mid-range incomes</td>
<td>B. Quinn (2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA (n = 347)</td>
<td>Average 58.3 years</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Average 14.8 years education (locals 12.9 years)</td>
<td>59% in management occupations</td>
<td>Higher average than local residents</td>
<td>Marcouiller et al. (1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA (n = 721)</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>45.9% have 4 year degree or higher (locals 25.4%)</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>70% earn &gt;USD$60,000 (locals 31.3%)</td>
<td>Stedman (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden (n = 4700)</td>
<td>Older on average</td>
<td>Less likely</td>
<td>More likely to be higher educated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>More likely to have higher incomes</td>
<td>Müller (2013)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 Demographics of second home owners from studies that contain a readily comparable set of variables (age, number of children at home, level of education, occupation and/or income).
Survey on Income and Living Conditions data, Norris and Winston (2010) found affluence to be a strong determinant of second home ownership in the Republic of Ireland.

The demographic characteristics of higher than average income, education and age may be expected, as a certain level of financial capital is required to own and maintain a second home (Halseth 2004; Halseth & Rosenberg 1995). Such financial standing is likely to be related to age or life stage, whereby disposable income has increased due to children having become financially independent, career advancement having occurred, or a debt-free status being achieved (Selwood & Tonts 2006). Thus, while compared to centuries past, second home ownership has become a more widespread phenomenon across social classes, it seems it has not changed significantly in more recent times. These findings reinforce that a certain level of disposable income is still a prerequisite for ownership and use and, when combined with the relatively low ownership percentages discussed above, implies a degree of exclusivity amongst second home owners (Atkinson, Picken & Tranter 2009; Mottiar & Quinn 2003). While this exclusivity in and of itself is not irrefutable evidence for the claim that second home ownership remains a luxury, it is nevertheless difficult to reconcile it with the discourse of democratisation and is considered an indicator of elite consumption (Halseth 2004).

3.5 The luxury of transnational second home ownership

Cross-border second home ownership by the wealthy and elite from neighbouring countries is not a new occurrence. For example, the Russian occupation of Finland in the early 1800s resulted in many wealthy Russians establishing second homes there until Finland gained independence in 1917 (Pitkänen 2008, 2011). For over a century, Americans have owned second homes in Ontario, Canada (Wolfe 1962) and they also have a long history of ownership in Mexico and the Caribbean (Henshall 1977; Timothy 2004). In the last 50 years though, there has been substantial growth in transnational second home ownership (Paris 2011).

The staggered formation of the European Union from the 1970s broke down many legislative barriers to freedom of movement and second home ownership across
borders (Müller 2002a, 2007; Paris 2011; A. M. Williams, King & Warnes 2004). Other factors have also contributed to the rise in transnational second homes; the rise of the internet and other improved telecommunication systems encouraging working from a distance (although whether the owners actually work while at their second homes is a moot point); upgraded infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water and sewage in the destination country; cheaper property prices compared with the generating country; looser governmental planning policies; more tourism and real estate agents specifically targeting the international tourist market; and an ageing population wanting to retire to warmer climates (Casado-Diaz 2004; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Müller 2002a; Opacic 2009; Paris 2006, 2009; 2011; A. M. Williams, King & Warnes 2004). The deregulation of the airline industry and the subsequent rise in the number of low cost carriers has been another significant contributor to this growth in recent times, facilitating access to new and cheaper property markets (particularly in Central and Eastern Europe) as they have opened up (R. Barnett 2007; Paris 2006).

The trend of transnational second home ownership is especially evident in France and Spain which have long been popular holiday spots for the British and Swedish (Barke 2007; Casado-Diaz 1999, 2004; Chaplin 1999; Gustafson 2002; Hoggart & Buller 1995; Rodriguez 2001; A. M. Williams, King & Warnes 2004). In Torrevieja for example, a coastal municipality in Spain, over 50% of the population is comprised of foreign second home owners (Mazón, Delgado Laguna & Hurtado 2013). Many of these second home owners are elderly, wealthy, highly educated British and Swedish citizens with no dependent children (Barke 2007; Casado-Diaz 1999, 2004). In France, Chaplin (1999) notes that even though some of the British second home owners are not in professional occupations, they are nevertheless still relatively affluent. Sweden, Denmark and Finland have also become popular destinations for transnational second home ownership with wealthy Germans and Russians searching for cheaper property and less restrictive planning regulations (Müller 2002a, 2007; Paris 2006; Pitkänen 2011). It therefore appears that despite the statements that cheap airfares and relatively cheap property are drivers of transnational second home ownership, the academic literature goes on to suggest that those who participate in the practice of second home ownership across national
borders are still comparatively wealthy (Casado-Diaz 1999, 2004; Chaplin 1999; Pitkänen 2011).

At a higher level of luxury and disposable income, the global super-rich (including entertainment and sporting celebrities, oil and mineral magnates, royalty and international financiers) are increasingly purchasing multiple transnational second homes in some of the world’s most expensive cities, such as London, Paris and New York (Paris 2011). While this may reflect a different scale to the other transnational examples mentioned above, it is reminiscent of the centuries-old luxury of second home ownership amongst the wealthy and elite; in this, as Paris (2013a, p.106) states “there is continuity with centuries if not millennia of self-indulgent luxurious display.” Some of these second homes are seldom if ever used, instead purchased as a bolt-hole in the event of political or personal problems arising, and could therefore be viewed as necessities rather than luxuries (Paris 2011).

3.6 The moral backlash against second homes

Recent housing literature suggests that while (first) home ownership is still seen as highly desirable by the majority of the population in countries such as the UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand, it has steadily become less affordable and even a luxury in some areas (Forrest 2008; Monbiot 2006; Paris 2006, 2009). Homes have become larger and property prices have increased dramatically in relation to average incomes in the last fifty years in these countries (Collins & Kearns 2008; Forrest 2008; Frank 2010; Paris 2011). This situation has two important consequences that are of relevance to this thesis. First, for those who already own a home, increasing property values are an important driver of consumption as the level of equity increases accordingly and may be borrowed against. In recent years especially, a combination of low interest rates and an easing of bank lending conditions has made borrowing against housing assets an easy and cost-effective way of funding the purchase of a second home or other big-ticket consumer items such as cars, boats or overseas holidays (Forrest 2008; Freeman & Cheyne 2008; Paris 2011). Second, those who cannot afford to purchase a home are therefore also unable to benefit from increasing equity and may feel doubly disadvantaged - particularly when living in areas that have been subject to rapidly increasing property prices.
Second home ownership has been blamed for rising property prices in many areas, particularly in the UK, and for some commentators second homes symbolise inequality and provoke moral outrage (Gallent 2007, Monbiot 1999, Shucksmith 1983). Indeed, one of the most vociferous commentators in the UK, political activist George Monbiot, writes of the “grotesque replacement of poor people's necessities with rich people's luxuries” (Monbiot 1999, p.9). Even where increasing numbers of second homes are the result of deeper economic, political and societal changes, such as restructuring of rural industries and the subsequent outmigration of primary workers and closure of local services such as schools (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones 2004; Paris 2013b), they nevertheless may be moralised against as symbols of luxury.

A useful example of the moral backlash against second homes, ostensibly on the basis of their status as luxury items, comes from Wales. Threats were made by local Welsh residents towards second home owners from England in the 1970s, and in some cases damage was done to properties (Clout 1974; Coppock 1977a; Gallent 1997; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Rogers 1977; Shucksmith 1983). There were a number of factors that contributed to this situation, including a strong underlying fear of the loss of the Welsh language due to an influx of non-Welsh speaking second home owners. Many of the non-Welsh speaking second home owners were from England, and anti-English sentiment was running high during this time (Coppock 1977a; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2001). Culture was thus a significant underlying issue in the backlash against second homes, but the more overt moral argument running alongside it was that second homes were a luxury that deprived others of a necessity (Coppock 1977a).

The main catalyst for the increase in second home ownership in Wales was the change in government housing policy that made it an attractive financial proposition. Urbanites, with higher incomes and the desire to indulge in the “cult of nostalgia” for the rural lifestyle, began to purchase vacant or rundown properties in the countryside as second homes (Gallent 1997, p.402). While the local Welsh residents did not consider these derelict properties as suitable for habitation for themselves, the use of government improvement grants (under the 1969 Housing Improvement Act) by the second home owners to renovate their properties nevertheless angered them (Coppock 1977a; Shucksmith 1983). They believed that second home owners
should not be eligible for such financial assistance. The moral argument was that second home owners were greedy and the situation unfair, as they owned two homes when many local residents were unable to afford one (Coppock 1977a; Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones 2004).

The policy was amended in 1974 to restrict government grants to primary residences only; however, this did little to alleviate the situation. When the purchase of a derelict second home with a view to renovating it using government funds was no longer possible, second home buyers switched their attention to purchasing mainstream housing stock that was in good, liveable condition instead (Gallent 1997; Paris 2006; Shucksmith 1983). Compounding the issue was the tight government planning policy, which restricted the building of new second homes in many of these areas, leading to increasing competition for the mainstream housing stock and a corresponding increase in property prices (Clout 1974; Gallent 1997; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Paris 2006; Shucksmith 1983). The result was that many local Welsh residents, especially the younger first home buyers on lower incomes, could not afford to purchase homes and the blame was placed squarely on the shoulders of the more affluent English second home owners (Coppock 1977a; Monbiot 1999; Shucksmith 1983).

Forty years on from the Welsh conflict, confirmation of the view that second homes are luxuries that deprive others (usually the young local residents) of a first home in the wider UK can still be found in the media. Monbiot again recently highlighted the inequality and social injustice that he believes second home ownership perpetuates in the UK:

> What greater source of injustice could there be, that while some people have no home, others have two? Yet the vampire trade in second homes keeps growing - by 3% a year - uninhibited by government or by the conscience of the buyers. Every purchase of a second house deprives someone else of a first one (Monbiot 2006)

Second home ownership in some areas of the UK thus continues to provoke a strong emotional response, and is still often seen as a social affront, as a flagrant driver of inequality, and as evidence of conspicuous consumption and luxury (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones 2004; Paris 2011; Shucksmith 1983). While responses such as this may appear, on the surface at least, to be related to money, it is argued here that the
The underlying issue is one of luxury and necessity, with a home being considered a necessity – but only a first home. A second home, one purchased for the purpose of leisure, is most certainly judged to be a luxury.

3.7 The luxury of the second home landscape

The inequality and social injustice issues mentioned above, particularly with regards to local residents in rural and peripheral areas, highlights a further aspect of the luxury of second home ownership, that of the second home landscape. Here, the term second home landscape is used in two ways: first, to denote the physical landscape in which the second home is located; and second, to refer to the built landscape of the second homes themselves.

3.7.1 The luxury of the physical landscape

For the majority of the population living and working in the rural areas at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the notion of the countryside as a site for the consumption of leisure was a foreign concept. It only had significance and meaning as a recreation resource for the elite, as the preferred setting for their leisure activities while they were resident at their rural second homes (Clout 1974; Coppock 1977c; A. D. King 1980; Peart 2009; Tress 2002). Furthermore, the use of the rural environment as a recreational resource by the elite assumed social meaning as a symbol of power and privilege (Wolfe 1977). In nineteenth century France and the UK, for example, second homes were often located in areas where the owners could participate in hunting with hounds, a prestigious recreational activity that was the domain of the aristocracy (Claval 2013; Coppock 1977c). In rural Ontario, Canada, in the mid-1800s it was the rising privileged class who first began to use the forest and lakes for recreational purposes (Wolfe 1962).

It was not only rural areas that provided evidence for the notion of the luxury of the physical second home landscape in the nineteenth century however. The West End of London was the site for the annual ‘Season’, as it was known, a three month period of large-scale social networking of some of the world’s wealthiest and most influential people (Wilkins 2013). Balls, dances, dinners and concerts were hosted along with other social activities, and many of the attendees resided at their second
homes for the duration of this period, turning the West End into an urban second home landscape (Wilkins 2013). The wealthy and elite exerted their power not only by controlling the access to various streets through the use of physical barriers and gates, but also through monopolising public spaces such as Hyde Park for their own use as meeting places where thousands of them gathered (Wilkins 2013). In this way the urban second home environment in London illustrates the luxury of a different type of physical second home landscape, which nevertheless parallels the luxury of the rural in the appropriation of the landscape for use by society’s elite.

The appropriation of the physical landscape, be it rural or urban, by the wealthy and elite, is not confined to the past; it has continued through the twentieth century and into the contemporary practice of second homes in many parts of the world (Whitson 2006; Woods 2013). High amenity areas such as rural, coastal, lake and mountain regions remain in high demand as sites for the consumption of leisure (Cheyne & Freeman 2006; Collins & Kearns 2008; Deller, Marcouiller & Green 1997; Wolfe 1977). High quality natural environments with clean lakes and beautiful mountain or coastal scenery are increasingly viewed as “luxury goods”, commodities that the affluent value and are willing and able to pay for (Whitson 2006, p.490).

Nearly forty years ago Wolfe (1977) noted that for Canadian cottagers, to dwell at the lake was good but to own the lake was better. In the 1990s, in some run-down but high amenity rural areas of the USA and Canada where the mining, agriculture and forestry industries had declined, the scenery and natural resources were appropriated by the wealthy who built second homes in order to be able to enjoy recreation activities such as skiing and mountain biking (Whitson 2006). In this way, the commoditisation of space results in a “landscape of desire” (Freeman & Cheyne 2008, p.36), that exacerbates the power imbalance that exists between the second home owners and the local residents.

Halseth (2004) remarks on a popular paperback in Canada that humorously depicts the divide between the second home and rural landscapes. In it, the second home leisure landscape is perceived as separate from the rural working/living landscape, and the local small town is seen by the cottagers as an “anonymous supply depot” (Halseth 2004, p.41). In some instances, access to parts of high amenity rural areas is controlled by the elite; for example restricted access to boat launching facilities, or
lake foreshores which may be designated as private property by second home owners (Jaakson 1986; Luka 2007; Paris 2011). The power lies with those who are able to afford to appropriate the landscape for the consumption of leisure, which are seldom the local residents.

Tensions may exist where the physical landscape is valued in different ways by different stakeholders. For example, the aesthetic value of the rural landscape as viewed through the eyes of second home owners may conflict with the utilitarian value of the same landscape as viewed through the eyes of local residents and businesses. In Courtown in the Republic of Ireland, second home owners were part of a self-funded, well organised group that successfully opposed the development of a local woodland area into tourism accommodation. The proposed development would have significantly impacted upon the scenic and amenity quality of their second homes, but would have provided local businesses with an opportunity for economic gain. The controversy and tension was a consequence of the different values attached to the space by different actors, and highlights the power that second home owners may hold through their broader social networks and financial and educational capital (Mottiar & Quinn 2003).

3.7.2 The luxury of the built landscape

In some places the built landscape of the second home itself has changed, particularly over the past decade, drawing comment from the media and academia alike for its new luxurious nature (Paris 2011; Vittersø 2007). For example in both Western Australia and Tasmania, Australia, the number of vernacular ‘shacks’, as the traditional second homes are called, is declining, replaced by luxurious second homes that “make ‘permanent homes’ look shabby” (Atkinson, Picken & Tranter 2009, p.13; Selwood & May 2001). In Norway and Finland, many small traditional cabins with outside bathrooms and no electricity are making way for larger well-equipped cabins with electricity, indoor bathrooms and modern technology such as televisions and dishwashers – all deemed to be luxuries both by other second home owners who lack such facilities and even in some cases by the second home owners themselves (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Flognfeldt 2004; Pitkänen 2008).
In some cases these increasingly luxurious built landscapes may be a source of tension between the owners of older, traditional second homes and those who own the newer, more luxurious second homes (Selwood & Tonts 2004, 2006). For example, in parts of Western Australia tensions exist between owners of older second homes and the owners of newer, luxurious second homes, as this quote from an ‘older second home’ owner illustrates:

*A lot of wealthy people built ‘holiday’ homes in Hopetoun that are a statement of the wealth and consequently stick out like dog’s balls; mansions next to old fibro dwellings. It’s people’s right to do so, but I think town planning should have been more sympathetic to a more aesthetic and less contrasting number of new dwellings that don’t fit in.* (Selwood & Tonts 2006, p.177)

In this case, the owners of older second homes value the traditional character of the area, and resent the destruction of the aesthetics of the built landscape (Selwood & Tonts 2004, 2006). Occasionally there is evidence in the literature of tensions within the second home owner themselves. The luxury second home referred to in this quote from a Norwegian study has four bedrooms, two bathrooms, dishwasher and washing machine:

*You could say that I’m not that pleased about the standard we have there. I’m not. Obviously, I’m comfortable there, but for me, a real cabin is when you are up in the mountains and arrive at a DNT (Norwegian Trekking Association) lodge, which isn’t at its tidiest and smells of smoke. The kind of standard we have here, it’s more like being in the city.* (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013, p.257)

The second home owner admits that the luxury of his built second home landscape troubles him, but that it reflects the changing nature of second homes in Norway and the expectations of his grandchildren who visit the second home with him (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013).

Somewhat ironically perhaps, Paris (2011) notes that a luxurious second home development, the Lower Mill Estate in the Cotswolds, UK, was fashioned on the site of a disused former gravel pit. He goes on to state that “the idea of spending £395,000 on a second home, let alone £1.5 million, is beyond the dreams of most people!” (Paris 2011, p.75). The exclusivity of the development was an important marketing point, and the pricing further enhanced this perception (Margolis 2008). The luxury of the built landscape may be both physically and socially constructed,
even in cases where the physical landscape was not initially a high amenity value area.

The luxury of the physical landscape is therefore evident in both past and present appropriation of the rural, natural and urban landscapes as recreation and leisure resources by affluent second home owners, and in the resultant power imbalances between second home owners, non-second home owners, and local residents. It is also increasingly evident in the changing built landscape in some areas where the more traditional style of second home is making way for a more luxurious version. This may result not only in conflict between the owners of older second homes and newer second homes, but also internal conflict for the owners of luxury second homes themselves.

3.8 Summarising Chapter Three

Together with the previous chapter which discussed the various ways of seeing and representing luxury, this chapter has sought to provide the context within which to situate this thesis, the focus of which is media representations of luxury in second homes in New Zealand. This chapter has identified six markers of luxury present in second home ownership through a critical examination of the international second home literature. Although the notion of luxury is seldom if ever mentioned in the context of second homes, there is much implicit evidence in the literature to suggest that second home ownership is a luxury in many Western countries. The conclusions about the luxury of second home ownership developed in this chapter stand in sharp contrast to second home development in New Zealand, which will be examined in the following chapter. Second home ownership in New Zealand, at least until the mid-1990s, was normalised as a widespread phenomenon that had its roots in the working class, and definitely not a luxury. The so-called ‘luxury’ second homes that have emerged since the mid-1990s are portrayed as a new spectacle.
CHAPTER 4. HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF SECOND HOMES IN NEW ZEALAND
4.1 Introducing Chapter Four

Having examined the elements of luxury evident in the context of second homes in the Western world in Chapter Three, it is now time to focus attention on the New Zealand situation. This chapter builds a picture of New Zealand society from the 1880s to the present day, and in doing so provides the context for the analysis and understanding of representations of luxury in the media discourse presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. It does this by examining three aspects of life over three time periods chosen to mirror the three phases of second home development in New Zealand, as identified by Keen and Hall (2004) and Collins and Kearns (2008). The first facet, the economic, political and social environment, forms the backdrop of New Zealand society and is both responsible for, and a response to, the ideology of the time. The second aspect is a discussion of New Zealanders’ travel, leisure and recreation habits, which is followed by an overview of the development of second homes pieced together predominantly from the academic literature but also from representations in non-academic special interest publications. The three time periods used here have been termed the ‘settled years’ of the 1880s to 1935 (after the times of turmoil and the struggle for land and governance between the settlers and the indigenous Maori population), the ‘coming-of-age years’ from 1935 to the late 1960s (when New Zealand began to assert itself as a nation distinct from Britain (M. King 2003)), and the ‘contemporary years’ from the late 1960s to the present day.

4.2 New Zealand in the settled years (1880s to 1935)

4.2.1 The great New Zealand dream

During the late 1800s and early 1900s the beginnings of the ‘great New Zealand dream’ of a family home on a quarter acre section in the suburbs emerged, increasingly fostered and supported by government policy (Ferguson 1994). The majority of immigrants in the nineteenth century came from urban Britain. They brought with them a Romantic backlash against the crowded and dirty nature of industrial cities and towns, along with a vision of a rural utopia fostered by the imagery used by promoters of New Zealand settlement schemes (Bell 1996; M. King 2003).
The early settlers were promised the ability to tame their own piece of nature, to build a home and garden, raise a family and live a life of material contentment – something that may have been more difficult for them in British society (Bell 1996). Towns and cities were initially viewed as transition points on the way to one’s piece of land, but they gradually assumed more importance as centres of commerce and merchant activity (Moon 2011). As the urban population increased, town and city centres became more congested and unpleasant places to live, at least by New Zealand standards (M. King 2003). As in Britain and the USA, by the 1880s developers and speculators in New Zealand were promoting the benefits of suburban living. They used imagery of a “semi-rural bliss” and the suburban family home as a middle class haven from urban life, which quickly became a popular option for those who could afford it (Ferguson 1994, p.34; Madanipour 2003; Madigan, Munro & Smith 1990).

In the early years of the twentieth century, the government introduced two pieces of legislation aimed at assisting low and modest income earners into their own home. First, government intervention in the form of the Workers Dwellings Act passed in 1905, provided state housing in the suburbs for ‘respectable’ urban workers on a rent-to-buy basis, taking control from private landlords who were deemed to be greedy and allowing a higher standard of living for lower income earners (Dupuis & Thorns 1996; Housing New Zealand Corporation 2013). This was followed in 1906 by the Government Advances to Workers Act, which provided state lending to regularly employed urban workers in order for them to purchase their own home. It was seen as a means of providing urban workers with an opportunity for individual advancement and self-improvement which had previously only been extended to rural settlers and small farmers (Dupuis & Thorns 1996; Ferguson 1994).

By the end of World War I, the growing emphasis on the family home in the suburbs had led to a physical separation of work and home for those who could afford it, and of public and private space (Madanipour 2003). The California bungalow in the suburbs, with its spacious section and illusions of Hollywood glamour, was more alluring than the cramped inner city villa with its lack of modern facilities (Moon 2011). The importance of the family was officially enshrined in government legislation, with the introduction of the Family Allowances Act in 1926, but previous to this there had been a ‘male breadwinner wage’ policy and financial
incentives for women to stay at home and out of the paid workforce (R. M. Campbell 1927; Nolan 2003). By the late 1920s, a family home and garden had become equally the goal and the reward for hard work, a symbol of success and the attainment of respectable life irrespective of whether all subscribed to the notion (Ferguson 1994). The seeds had thus been sown for the great New Zealand dream, centred upon the family and home ownership, promulgated through government ideology.

**4.2.2 Travel and leisure time in the settled years**

During the settled years, practical constraints meant that both domestic and international travel was restricted for most New Zealanders. A journey by sea from New Zealand to Europe was not only prohibitively expensive for all but the most wealthy, it also took three months and a return voyage therefore constituted a minimum six month leave of absence from work (Holland & Kelly 2012; M. King 2003; Watson 1998). While this time was halved with the introduction of faster steamships in the late nineteenth century, the cost remained high and still only a small minority of New Zealanders could afford such trips (Ateljevic & Doorne 2002; Holland & Kelly 2012). Nevertheless, those who were more affluent were able to travel further afield within New Zealand, and improvements in train and steamship transport meant one could travel in relative comfort up and down the length of the country in the early 1900s (Watson 1998).

The imagery in the promotional material aimed at settlers and tourists at the time suggested there was an egalitarian access to the natural environment. However, wilderness landscapes such as National Parks and reserves were still largely inaccessible, and to have visited these areas was an indication of one’s wealth (Ateljevic & Doorne 2002; Bell 1996). Other recreational and leisure pursuits indulged in by the wealthy members of New Zealand society included membership of exclusive clubs (which were male-only domains), sumptuous entertainment, expensive hobbies such as hunting to hounds and sports such as cricket and rowing (Gidlow et al. 1994; Watson 1998).

Travel for most working- and middle-class New Zealand families living in urban areas in the late nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century was by
public transport such as trams or trains, and thence to local recreation destinations such as beaches, racecourses, exhibitions and fairs (Phillips 2009; Watson 1998). In addition to financial constraints which dictated the mode and frequency of travel, commitments of work and home life meant that leisure time itself was limited for the majority of the population (Watson 1998). Societal pressure and expectations based on egalitarian ideals meant that leisure and recreation pursuits tended to be community- or family-focused rather than individual (Gidlow et al. 1994; Watson 1998). As with housing, the state was influential in the control and fostering of appropriate leisure and recreation activities of New Zealanders. Local government provided leisure facilities such as parks, halls (for dancing and other entertainment) and swimming pools (Gidlow et al. 1994). As in other countries, state government also had a moral role to play, legislating the censorship of books and films and restricting gambling, the sale of liquor and prostitution (Watson 1998).

The church also exerted a significant influence upon the forms of leisure and recreation that New Zealanders engaged in (Gidlow et al. 1994; Moon 2011). For example, in the 1880s the Women’s Christian Temperance Union campaigned for prohibition of alcohol, and in the 1920s the church took a proactive and disapproving stance against what it saw as the hedonism of the jazz era with its new crazes in pulsating music, film stars and fashion (Moon 2011). In addition, the church was a social focus for many families, as it provided communal social excursions as well as the regular church services. Some of the largest social organisations were church-based, such as the Young Men’s and Young Women’s Christian Associations (Watson 1998). Other forms of recreation and leisure in the settled years included gardening, making music and singing, reading, and community picnics which were lavish social events that included informal sport and games (Clayworth 2013; Phillips 2009; Watson 1998).

By the 1930s rising private motor car ownership meant that, while still rather limited, the ‘Sunday drive’ became a popular recreation past-time for many families, extending the range of travel beyond that of the tram or train (Clayworth 2013; Pawson 2012; Watson 1998). Camping holidays for those with cars also became popular during this time, with a variety of options available. A number of motor camps were established on the coast by local government bodies around the country. Farmers often permitted camping on their properties for a small fee, and it was also
possible to camp for free on public land wherever one found a desirable location (Collins & Kearns 2010b; Derby 2012). Nevertheless, in the late 1930s many still could not afford to purchase a car and mass car ownership did not appear in New Zealand until the late 1950s (Pawson 2012). It was against this political and social backdrop of the importance of family, home and community values that New Zealand’s second homes originated.

4.2.3 The original second home

The earliest second homes were rudimentary shelters built in the late 1880s, as male-only hideaways close to recreational hunting and fishing areas (Keen 2003; Peart 2009; Wood 2000). They were not usually built on land owned by the second home owner; instead, they were built with the verbal permission of the landowner or with a more formalised lease agreement between the two parties. Similar to the Western Australia situation, if they were built on public lands the relevant local authorities were generally not consulted, and the second homes were thus officially illegal (Keen & Hall 2004; Peart 2009; Selwood & Tonts 2004). They were often small and very basic in nature, with no electricity, sanitary facilities or running water. Those at Taylors Mistake (Figure 4.1) on the outskirts of Christchurch in the South Island, were among the very earliest second homes and many were merely elaborately boarded up coastal caves along the cliffs (Peart 2009; Wood 2000). With no road access, building materials had to be carried by the owner over the steep hills from Christchurch (Peart 2009). Other early second home locations were Nelson (in the South Island) and along the coast near Wellington (in the North Island), where amenities were still basic, and building materials were simple; predominantly wood and corrugated iron (Cox 1995; Farley 2003; Peart 2009).
After World War I, the first of New Zealand’s two main second home building booms took place; the second was during the decade after World War II (Skinner 2008; Wood 2000). Indeed, Wood (2000) maintains that the timing of these second home building events was no coincidence. Many New Zealand servicemen were psychologically (and physically) scarred and disturbed, and upon their return from the war they sought refuge at second home communities such as Taylors Mistake. The same ingenuity that the servicemen had become known for during the war was employed in the construction of ramshackle second homes, to overcome challenges such as lack of finances for building materials. The second homes they built provided a space for them to be alone (and yet paradoxically together) and deal with the transition and integration back into ‘normal’ domestic life. It was after World War I that the term ‘bach’ was first used to describe these basic second homes (Wood 2000).

During the decade after World War I, second home building was prevalent around many parts of the New Zealand coastline near the main urban centres of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Some second homes were built by clubs as a getaway predominantly for men, such as the second home of the South Wellington Soccer Club, built in 1924 at Red Rocks near Wellington (Cox 1995). Others, such as the three second home villages on Rangitoto Island off the coast of Auckland, were built by families who formed close knit second home holiday communities (Male 2001; Yoffe 2000).
It seems that the coast was the preferred location for most of the second homes in New Zealand at this time, with much of the available academic and popular literature focusing on coastal second homes (see for example Cox 1995; Peart 2009; Yoffe 2000). This is perhaps not surprising as all three main urban centres are located on the coast and the development of transport infrastructure made the coast more accessible than the hinterland (S. Barnett & Wolfe 1993). It seems that second homes built in rural areas or near lakes and rivers in these early years have been largely overlooked in the literature in favour of the mythology of the quintessential New Zealand second home by the sea. While nostalgic second home picture books by both Male (2001) and Grigor (2008) include some rural second homes, the overwhelming majority of second homes featured are in coastal locations.

The development of the original New Zealand second home differed from the situation in countries such as the UK, USA and parts of Australia described in Chapter Three. There, second home ownership was traditionally the domain of the wealthy and elite of society (Coppock 1977c). In New Zealand, the media have perpetuated the mythology of democratic second home ownership, largely based upon the supposedly humble origins of the original ‘bach’. Yet despite the representations of second home ownership as widely distributed across social classes in these early years, some of the working class Rangitoto second home owners of the 1920s referred to it as a privilege and acknowledged that few could afford it (Yoffe 2000). In light of the history of second home development internationally, it seems unlikely that New Zealand’s wealthy and elite did not also participate in second home ownership.

There is some evidence of second home ownership by the wealthy in New Zealand. The small settlement of Doctor’s Point, on the coast north of Dunedin in the South Island, was so-named for the many second homes (cribs) built by doctors in the 1910s (Church 2007; Lister 1977). Indicators of wealth and hallmarks of luxury at Doctors Point included travel by car to and from the second home (which was expensive at that time), second homes with tennis courts, the installation of a private telephone by one second home owner (there was no national telephone service until after World War II), domestic help and chauffeurs (Church 2007). Socio-economic status was responsible for distinct divisions, and some tensions, in some other New Zealand second home communities. For example, the community at Baylys Beach
near Dargaville, north of Auckland, identified two groups of second home owners based on their level of affluence, and are said to have referred to them locally as the ‘Have’s’ and the ‘Have Nots’ (Male 2001), while on Rangitoto Island “the ‘originals’ resented the wealthier newcomers with their ‘town’ ideas” (Yoffe 2000, p.58). However, references to second home ownership by New Zealand’s elite, and the luxury to be found in their second homes, are rare. For whatever reason, they have been rendered almost invisible and have been generally overlooked in the literature.

4.3 New Zealand in the coming-of-age years (1935 to late 1960s)

4.3.1 Egalitarianism and the introduction of the welfare state

The first Labour Government (centre-left Progressive) in New Zealand was elected to power in 1935, with its emphasis on egalitarianism. Much of the legislation enacted by the Labour government reportedly had as its aim the ‘levelling’ of society and the abolition of class distinction, although economic and social inequality was pervasive (Bloy 2005). Indeed, Labour’s election manifesto promised a “country where the plenty of the machine age shall assure to all the rich life in goods and leisure that the genius and natural resources of our country make possible” (W. D. McIntyre & Gardner 1971, p.318). Part of this rich life included a focus on a new housing scheme which came to symbolise the great New Zealand dream for many (Brickell 2003; Ferguson 1994).

The Housing Construction Branch of the State Advances Corporation was formed shortly after the election to encourage private (rather than state) construction of homes, through the provision of cheap loans to those wanting to build their own home (Brickell 2003; Ferguson 1994). The Labour Government also built good quality state housing in newly formed suburbs, to provide for those who could not afford to purchase a home. This, in combination with the implementation of the welfare state which guaranteed a minimum income (Moon 2011), helped to ensure that some of the poorer families could participate in some semblance of the New Zealand dream through renting a better quality home than was offered by private landlords (Ferguson 1994).
However, the Depression of the early 1930s had resulted in a shortage of materials, and the cost of building was rising. During World War II the government imposed restrictions on both the maximum price and floor area of new houses, which foreshadowed the increasing government regulation of the building industry for its own wider economic aims in the years after the war (Ferguson 1994). This state intervention and control were played upon by the opposition National party in the 1940s, who built their election platform around their progressive housing policy. The National Party (centre-right Conservative) believed that home ownership was a worthy end in itself, stating that “the true basis of national life is happy family life in the people’s own homes”, further reinforcing the strong post-World War I aspiration of owning a family home in the suburbs in the national psyche (Ferguson 1994; W. D. McIntyre & Gardner 1971, p.409). At the time, the freedom afforded by suburban living was being championed in the USA with the same focus on family living, along with a strong new focus - consumerism (Friedman 2010). The Fordist regime of accumulation championed in the USA dominated post-war political ideology in many other advanced capitalist countries, including the UK and New Zealand (Mansvelt 2005).

In New Zealand, the National Party fostered the notion of individual ‘freedom’ and consumer choice, and promised to facilitate this through removing building restrictions and giving New Zealanders the ability to build their own homes how and where they chose. The election in 1949 (and subsequent change to a National government) was based on the rhetoric of consumption, with two very different views of what was best for the nation – Labour’s frugal approach compared with National’s, whose leader stated, “people don’t just want the bare necessities of food, clothing and shelter. They want...to have some of those things we sometimes call luxuries that can make life so pleasant” (Brickell 2003, p.301). Through encouraging home ownership, the National government encouraged the consumption of material possessions for the home (Mansvelt 2005; Shaw & Brookes 1999).

Increased national prosperity and full employment in the 1950s led to a level of disposable income not seen before for much of the New Zealand populace, and this was coupled with a general rise in optimism (Consedine 1989; D. Mitchell &

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7 It seems that this generally meant ‘full male employment’ (Nolan 2003).
Evidence of the new ethic of consumption was found in the more than trebling of hire purchase debt in the decade from 1956 as credit controls were loosened and more ‘big-ticket’ items such as fridges and electric stoves became available (Brailsford 2007). These trends in household consumption mirrored those that had occurred in the USA and the UK from the 1920s, albeit delayed due in no small part to high prices and import restrictions imposed by New Zealand (Giles 1993; Shaw & Brookes 1999).

From the 1950s there was an increasing visibility and influence of American culture in New Zealand, following on from the fascination with American troops who had been stationed in New Zealand during the war (Brickell 2006). Local magazines carried articles about life in the USA and advertised imported goods made in the USA (Brailsford 2007; Brickell 2003). This was accompanied by a change in advertising rhetoric, reflecting marketing trends in the USA that promoted consumption as a panacea. Whereas previously the focus had been on the features of the product itself, now advertising promoted what the product could do for the consumer beyond its mere function, and products were increasingly linked to notions of desirability and social worth (Giles 1993; Shaw & Brookes 1999). Consumer choices were becoming a marker of socio-economic status, taste and sophistication in New Zealand as they had been in the USA (and the UK) for some time, and magazines were valuable arbiters of taste (Friedman 2010; Giles 1993; Sparke 2010).

### 4.3.2 Becoming more mobile

In addition to greater choice in the consumption of household goods and services, from the late 1930s New Zealanders had wider options for leisure consumption thanks to state intervention. Two pieces of legislation facilitated New Zealanders’ ability to have more equal access to participation in leisure and outdoor recreation. The 1937 Physical Welfare and Recreation Act mandated the provision of affordable and accessible recreation facilities by local government for their communities (such as campgrounds), and the Annual Holidays Act 1944 provided New Zealanders with two weeks paid annual leave (Derby 2012; Gidlow et al. 1994; Watson 1998). With the end of post-World War II petrol rationing in 1950, and increased affluence as mentioned above, car ownership more than doubled in the 1950s and the majority of
the New Zealand population was then able to travel further and more frequently during their leisure time. Caravans grew in popularity as a more comfortable alternative to camping, particularly as fuel restrictions were no longer a constraining factor to towing them (Derby 2012). The first motel in New Zealand opened in Picton (site of the inter-island ferry terminal at the northern tip of the South Island) in 1952, the provision of basic kitchen and bathroom facilities giving travellers a self-catering alternative to camping or caravanning (Gidlow et al. 1994). Along with these new family holiday opportunities, after the end of World War II a new style of second home was born; a reflection of the social and economic change described here. The heady combination of optimism, disposable income, mobility and better road access to the coast, led to a proliferation of second homes at the beach (Heeringa 2001; D. Mitchell & Chaplin 1984).

4.3.3 The vernacular second home

More typically built on privately owned rather than public land, the post-World War II second homes were still built by the owners themselves from whatever cheap building materials they could source, usually timber, but were somewhat larger than their predecessors. They included basic sanitary facilities, and rainwater was collected off the roof in corrugated iron tanks for drinking and bathing (Cox 1995; Keen & Hall 2004; Peart 2009). New Zealanders love affair with the beach continued, although other second home locations such as Lakes Taupo and Rotorua in the North Island and Lake Wakatipu in the South Island also rose in popularity during this phase of second home development (Heeringa 2001).

Despite New Zealanders increasing affluence, it was apparently socially unacceptable to admit one’s wealth (Consedine 1989; Peart 2009). Consedine (1989) believes this was largely due to the political need to maintain the myth of an egalitarian New Zealand society through keeping the relative gap between rich and poor well concealed. The disguising of wealth by the rich seemed to be reflected in the continued lack of ostentation in the second homes of this period (Thompson 1985). These second homes, built up until about the mid-1960s, are considered to have a particular style of architecture that typifies what the word ‘bach’ means to many New Zealanders and are referred to in the academic literature as vernacular second homes (Collins & Kearns 2008; Keen 2003; Peart 2009; Skinner 2008; Wood
They tended to have a simple, lean-to form with a sloping single-pitch roof, and large picture windows in the lounge to appreciate the sea or beach view (Figure 4.2) (Collins & Kearns 2008; D. Mitchell & Chaplin 1984; Peart 2009). In a somewhat nostalgic and romantic discourse, the interior is often remembered as filled with furniture oddments, the kitchen was basic, there was often a bedroom with bunks for the children, and entertainment for inclement weather consisted of packs of cards, Monopoly and a selection of old paperbacks (see for example Cox 1995; Grigor 2008; Male 2001). Mitchell and Chaplin (1984, p.21) term these second homes a “celebration of the open sky and ocean...[holding] the summer dreams of stock agents, secretaries and school teachers in walk shorts”. The function of the original ‘bach’ had changed from a retreat for the lone male, to a family-centred vacation retreat; further indicating societal change (Skinner 2008). Nevertheless, the name remained and it is this style of second home that much of the discourse around ‘the bach’ refers to, rather than the original second home (Collins & Kearns 2008).

Figure 4.2 Typical vernacular second home, or ‘bach’, in Northland (Source: Trudie Walters)
4.4 New Zealand in the contemporary years (late 1960s to present day)

4.4.1 The introduction of neoliberalism

The heady optimistic post-war years came to a rather abrupt halt. From the late 1960s to the early 1980s New Zealand experienced three periods of economic recession. The first of these was termed the ‘Wool Bust’ (1967-1969) as New Zealand’s wool market collapsed and the associated export income dropped dramatically, causing GDP growth to fall and inflation to rise (Reddell & Sleeman 2008). Following this, two events in 1973 had a large impact on New Zealand’s economic performance; Britain’s entry to the European Economic Community (EEC) and the OPEC-induced oil crisis. The former event seriously curtailed New Zealand’s access to the British markets for primary exports, to which almost unlimited entry had previously been granted and on which New Zealand’s economic prosperity had largely rested (Chatterjee 1996). The latter event resulted in two recessions (1974-77 and 1979-1982) and significantly pushed up the price of importing goods (Chatterjee 1996; Reddell & Sleeman 2008). The government response of the time proved largely ineffective and by the early 1980s New Zealand was in a state of economic disrepair characterised by a mounting level of national debt, rising unemployment and high inflation (Aberbach & Christensen 2001; Chatterjee 1996; Consedine 1989; Ferguson 1994).

In 1984 the Labour Government was elected to office and, adopting a neoliberal model, immediately began major restructuring. Through a series of radical economic and state sector reforms, New Zealand was liberalised and opened up to competitive international markets (Aberbach & Christensen 2001; Chatterjee 1996; Consedine 1989; Ferguson 1994). While this was seen by some as an unusual move for a Labour government, particularly in terms of the direction, speed and aggressiveness of the reforms, other OECD nations were also engaged in a process of economic restructuring in the 1980s – albeit at a slower pace (Aberbach & Christensen 2001). The deregulation of New Zealand’s finance sector resulted in the establishment of a new financial services industry, which in turn spawned a new order of wealth and power held by “younger men with accountancy and business qualifications, with access to international finance, and who are imbued with aggressive and acquisitive ambitions” (Jesson 1987, p.83). In addition, this
deregulation led to an increase in the availability of cheap money in the form of
bank lending, which was often used to speculate in the share and property markets,
or start investment companies. The emergence of these opportunities in turn
resulted in the accumulation of wealth amongst a new generation of New
Zealanders, who were lauded by the business press for their success (Consedine
1989; Hazledine & Siegfried 1997). Furthermore, this new generation “deliberately
cultivated an aura of opulence…[and] rebelled against the country’s long-held
reluctance to show off wealth” (Moon 2011, p.539-540) through their penchant for
conspicuous consumption.

Popular media articles at the time often described not only how the wealth was
gained, but also how it was spent (Moon 2011). The purchase and display of
ostentatious consumer items such as Rolex watches and expensive cars, yachts and
properties (note that the media used the term ‘luxury’) was something New
Zealanders had previously been reticent about but which was increasingly
constructed as acceptable (Ell 1994; Peart 2009; Wilkes 1994). Indeed, the
publication of an annual Rich List in the National Business Review from 1986 could
be taken as evidence of the fascination with the new, more overt, generation of
wealthy New Zealanders (Hazledine & Siegfried 1997).

At the same time, the neoliberal reforms and subsequent deregulation of the
manufacturing and agriculture sectors, along with the privatisation of the public
sector, led to job losses and rural decline in many areas and resulted in widening
disparities in levels of both home ownership and income among New Zealanders
(Chatterjee 1996; Consedine 1989; Ferguson 1994). The Prime Minster of the time,
David Lange, was unconcerned and went so far as to state that the existence of such
inequality was an essential driver of the economy – a view reminiscent of
Mandeville’s nearly three centuries earlier, discussed in Chapter Two (Consedine
1989). The disparity has continued to grow and remains reflected in the type of
holidays taken by New Zealanders (see for example Perkins & Thorns 2001).

4.4.2 The excitement of air travel

The 1960s saw the expansion of international air travel, which hitherto had been
expensive and thus restricted to the wealthy (Collier 1991; M. King 2003; Watson
The number of carriers grew, and by the end of the 1970s included Air New Zealand, Pan-Am, Union de Transports Aériens (UTA), British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), Qantas and American Airlines. Subsequently, the number of regular scheduled services to the UK, North America and Asia also increased dramatically. Competition amongst carriers resulted in relatively low prices and these were capitalised upon particularly by young New Zealanders who “claimed what came to be seen as a right: OE or overseas experience” (M. King 2003, p.455). However, this competition resulted in a change in travel patterns for other New Zealanders too, for whom holidays in Australia became more affordable (Collier 1991; Simmons & Leiper 1998). Australia remains New Zealanders single largest international destination, and frequent short holidays to Australia are common for many New Zealanders (Collier 1991; C. M. Hall & Kearsley 2001; Simmons & Leiper 1998). Despite the increasing affordability, travel to Australia remained restricted to those with a certain level of disposable income - and the majority of New Zealanders still take their holidays within their own country (Collier 1991; C. M. Hall & Kearsley 2001).

For many New Zealand families, camping continues to be a popular holiday activity, although the nature of camping and campgrounds is changing; a reflection of the increasing demands for self-contained units not dissimilar to motels (Schanzel 2010). Visiting friends and relative (VFR), and the attendant utilisation of private accommodation, is another important component of domestic tourism in New Zealand, as it is in other countries such as the UK and Australia (Pearce 1993; Perkins & Thorns 2001). However, the defining difference between domestic tourism in New Zealand and that in Britain, according to Perkins and Thorns (2001) is the exodus from the city to the country that occurs during the summer. The figurative flight to the beach, mountains and lakes is still a New Zealand cultural tradition, whether camping, staying with friends or family, or holidaying at a second home. Nevertheless, they argue that the nature of domestic tourism in New Zealand is changing, and that some previously popular camping and second home destinations such as Queenstown have been gentrified and as a result are now less accessible to low- and middle-income earners.
4.4.3 The changing second home landscape

From the late 1960s, the second home landscape in New Zealand also began to change. This section describes three major changes that occurred, the most important for this thesis being the evolution of the so-called ‘luxury’ second home. However, also significant were the recognition and valorisation of the heritage and cultural values of some of the original second homes, and the increasing trend towards ‘re-use’ second homes in some areas.

In the late 1960s, local government attention began to focus on the poor construction of some second homes, and the lack of effective sanitation. They had previously often taken a more lenient approach to second homes. As a result, the new building codes were more stringently enforced in many places, and the second homes built after this time began to more closely resemble urban homes (Collins & Kearns 2008; Peart 2009). It could be argued that these legislative changes formed the basis for the beginning of the so-called ‘luxury’ second home phenomenon; however, deeper and more fundamental economic and social change was required before conditions were conducive for the luxury second home market to begin to flourish.

It was the introduction of the neoliberal economic regime in the 1980s that was more influential in ushering in a new phase of second home development in New Zealand. Many of the newly wealthy could now afford, both financially and socially, to build larger more expensive second homes than had existed in the past – and they did (N. McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006; Thompson 1985). In the early 1990s, for example, a purpose-built holiday suburb was constructed along a series of canals at Pauanui on the Coromandel Peninsula (N. McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006; Peart 2009). This not only allowed the second home owner to have access to the water, but also to construct a private jetty at which to moor their yacht or motorboat (Peart 2009).

At the same time, a new form of architecture was emerging. It was commonly referred to as post-modernist and was quite distinctive from previous New Zealand architecture in its sharp angles and minimalist design (Moon 2011). This type of conspicuous ‘statement’ architecture was not restricted to primary homes, and post-modernist second homes soon began appearing. The building of contemporary second homes such as these reflected the wider socio-economic changes that were occurring in New Zealand society at the time, such as the increasing acceptance of
the display of wealth discussed in Section 4.4.1. The relative gap between rich and poor was no longer well hidden and a public poll in 1984 revealed that the majority of New Zealanders no longer subscribed to the belief of an egalitarian society (Consedine 1989).

Many authors (Austin 2006; Cheyne & Freeman 2006; Collins & Kearns 2008; Cox 1995; Ell 1994; C. M. Hall & Kearsley 2001) have noted the change from vernacular to contemporary second home (Figure 4.3), and some lament that New Zealand is losing its vernacular second home landscape (and in some areas even the newer second homes of the 1970s and 1980s) as they are being progressively bulldozed and replaced by modern luxurious, architect-designed dwellings in many coastal and lakeside locations. Indeed, Collins and Kearns (2008, p.2917) found that New Zealand was over-represented in a recent international publication showcasing noteworthy beach architecture, and all examples were in stark contrast to the vernacular New Zealand second home “in terms of design, size, grandeur and amenity.”

Figure 4.3 Contemporary holiday home in Akaroa, Banks Peninsula (Source: Trudie Walters)
There has also been increasing commentary in the media over the last 20 years about the change in second homes from vernacular to contemporary (Collins & Kearns 2008), termed the ‘luxury’ second home phenomenon by some. In much of the media discourse this phenomenon was inextricably linked with a commentary about rising property prices, particularly in coastal areas and popular holiday destinations:

\[\text{Fabulous million dollar holiday homes have hit Auckland's Hauraki Gulf like a tidal wave. Ageing weekend [second homes] with [outside toilets] out back have been swept away by swank architect-designed mansions with Italian porcelain toilets ('Bach gives way to seaside opulence' 1999)}\]

\[\text{A good number of these baches remain as much-loved holiday homes for generations of individual families. But increasing numbers are being demolished as well, the result of rapidly increasing value of the prime sea- or lake-side land that they were built on, and increasing demand for better holiday home luxury and style ('Holiday tradition remains, despite the increasing luxury' 2007)}\]

Some of the media reporting about this so-called ‘luxury’ second home trend carried a moralising tone. Unlike the moral backlash in the UK discussed in Chapter Three though, it had little to do with decreasing affordability of property for first home buyers and more to do with the increasing inability of middle income buyers to afford a second home (Collins & Kearns 2010a). This stems from the popular media representations discussed in Chapter One (Section 1.5), “partly romantic, yet partly grounded in actual experiences over much of the 20th century” (Collins & Kearns 2008, p.2920), that most New Zealanders of average means could aspire to own a modest second home at the beach.

Alongside the media commentary about the luxury second home phenomenon was an increasing representation of the heritage value of the original second homes built in the 1930s or earlier. Two of the early second home communities that have attracted much attention and media interest in the last three decades are those of Rangitoto Island, off the coast of Auckland, and Taylors Mistake near Christchurch (Peart 2009). While there is evidence of nearly a century of rumbling discontent by the authorities about these private second homes on public land, local government has largely turned a blind eye to the situation and until recently these baches were officially tolerated (Foster 2003). However, as in Western Australia the rumblings got louder and these old second homes were deemed an eyesore and a health hazard in the 1980s due to their sub-standard construction and lack of sanitary facilities.
The second home owners and heritage enthusiasts mounted a defence against demolition on the basis that these second homes were historically, culturally and architecturally valuable (Foster 2003).

As a result, in 1995 the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT) accorded official heritage place designations to thirteen such second homes at Taylors Mistake. This was followed in 1997 by NZHPT historic place registration of twenty second homes on Rangitoto Island, and in 2002 of a further nine on the coast near Wellington (Keen & Hall 2004; Peart 2009). No official legal protection against demolition was afforded by the NZHPT designation. When local government (in the case of Taylors Mistake) and the Department of Conservation (Rangitoto Island) began to exert greater control over the use of public land, they therefore ordered the second homes to be demolished, rather than renewing leases when they expired (Foster 2003; Peart 2009; Yoffe 2000). Lengthy and complex court battles took place over both second home communities (Foster 2003; Yoffe 2000). In 2002 the Environment Court decision favoured the second home owners at Taylors Mistake and their baches were allowed to remain, while the fate of the Rangitoto Island second homes is still undecided (Department of Conservation 2013; Peart 2009).

The final major change in the second home landscape since the late 1960s is the trend towards what Keen and Hall (2004) have called ‘re-use’ second homes. Like the UK, France and Spain (see Chapter Three), many rural areas in New Zealand experienced outmigration as people moved to urban areas to pursue better employment or education opportunities (N. McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006). The impact of the oil crisis in the early 1970s saw farm incomes decline, while the government restructuring that began in 1984 resulted in many redundancies in small towns throughout the country as services were centralised (Horn, Simmons & Fairweather 1998). In some cases this rural outmigration has facilitated the development of a second home landscape where previously none existed; the takeover and transformation of existing housing stock into second homes (Clement 2007). However, these re-use second home landscapes have also resulted from other circumstances.

The small town of Twizel, located in the central South Island, was established by the government in 1967-1970 as a base for workers on a major hydroelectric dam
project (Montgomery 1991). At its peak it had a population of around 5000 residents, but upon completion of the dam in 1984 the population dropped to around 1000 and it was expected that most of the houses would be demolished (Barclay 1998). However, after a lengthy battle to retain the town, the state government offered the local government most of the shops, homes and facilities. Many of the shops, and services such as the maternity hospital and post office subsequently closed down due to the lack of population to sustain them and the majority of the houses were later sold as (relatively) cheap second homes (Montgomery 1991).

As a result of outmigration, rural towns such as Twizel have become an affordable alternative to other popular high amenity second home destinations (Barclay 1998; Montgomery 1991). Furthermore, as a result of the in-migration of those seeking second homes in these areas, shops, restaurants and other services have been retained or developed (Montgomery 1991). This has led to something of a shift in the traditional second home location, away from the coast and areas of high amenity such as mountains/lakes, to less traditional rural locations and in this way has contributed to a more diversified second home landscape (Clement 2007; N. McIntyre & Pavlovich 2006).

### 4.5 Summarising Chapter Four

This chapter has examined the development of second homes in New Zealand in relation to the historical, social and cultural contexts in three periods of time from the late 1880s until the present. The origins of the second home in New Zealand are popularly held to be working class rather than upper class, and the second homes of the latter were either absent (an unrealistic expectation) or have simply been ignored by both the media and academia. Nevertheless, it is evident from Yoffe’s (2000) research on Rangitoto Island that many of the working class second home owners considered ownership a privilege, despite the promulgation of the mythology of a democratic ownership in the media in recent years. It is also important to note here that, although three periods of time were demarcated and a variety of second home types discussed, a later second home type did not necessarily replace the earlier version. In some areas of New Zealand, a few of the original second homes remain
alongside vernacular second homes, while in many other areas the vernacular second homes can be found cheek by jowl with contemporary ‘luxury’ second homes.

While in many countries second homes were traditionally the preserve of the social elite, in New Zealand ownership is frequently represented in the media as being more democratic in nature. Second homes are a response to and a reflection of the prevailing societal conditions and in New Zealand they reportedly evolved over time from a working class bachelor pad (1880s), to a middle class family tradition (1950s), to the domain of the wealthy (1990s). The popular media has portrayed them as traditionally representative of an egalitarian society but now symbolic of a growing inequality in New Zealand society (Barber 2005; Cox 1995). This is also echoed in some of the academic literature (Collins & Kearns 2010a; Freeman & Cheyne 2008). Second homes in New Zealand therefore provide a useful, and unique, lens through which to reveal and critique media representations of luxury. The following chapter sets out how this examination is carried out.
CHAPTER 5. THE RESEARCH PROCESS:

APPROACH, METHODS AND INTERPRETATION
5.1 Introducing Chapter Five

This chapter acts as an important link between the previous three literature-based chapters and the following three chapters which argue and critically discuss the research findings. It will explain the ‘how’ of the thesis in a way that provides clarity and understanding of the method, analysis and interpretation involved. This chapter begins with an explanation of the research philosophy. My ontological, epistemological and methodological beliefs were fundamental not only to the formation of the research objective itself but also thereafter to the research approach and the selection of methods. Following this, the rationale for the selection of magazines in general and Home New Zealand magazine in particular is presented, as the choice of which media material to use was important in successfully addressing the research objective.

The reader is then guided through the decision-making process of method selection, made more challenging by the nature of the material to be interpreted which included both written and visual text. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the written text and was also adapted for use with visual text to provide a holistic approach to the interpretation of the material. Using a sample extract of text from the magazine to illustrate the process, each phase of the analysis is then detailed, giving a robust and transparent method of analysing any empirical material that consists of both written and visual text. Finally, the chapter addresses issues of the trustworthiness of the research.

5.2 Research philosophy and approach

All research is shaped and influenced by the philosophy, paradigm or worldview of the researcher (Creswell 2013; Goodson & Phillimore 2004). Indeed, the philosophical assumptions of the researcher are instrumental in determining the form of the research question itself. Here, the research objective is centred upon revealing and critiquing media representations of luxury in second homes, and it is how the term ‘representation’ is understood and unpacked that is key to how the research was approached. Hall (1997) holds that there are three theories of
representation; reflective, intentional and constructionist. The first assumes that the meaning being represented reflects a true material reality as it exists within the world, while the second assumes that the true or real meaning lies with the person speaking or writing and what they intended the words to mean. While there is some truth to both of these theories of representation, both fail to take into account the social character of representation or meaning and the resulting lack of ‘fixedness’. The constructionist theory of representation recognises this social nature of meaning, seeing it as a system of signs and concepts, determined by culture, linguistics and other systems of representation that construct meaning (Hall 1997). It follows that meaning must also be actively interpreted (Hall 1997; Morgan & Pritchard 1998) and, as such, constructivism was adopted here as it has a natural alignment with my interpretivist worldview.

Beliefs about the nature of reality (ontology), what constitutes knowledge and how it can be known (epistemology) and the process of research (methodology) are the main elements contributing to a researcher’s worldview (Creswell 2013; Goodson & Phillimore 2004). In Chapter Two, luxury was positioned as a subjective, complex, socially constructed notion that varies between individuals, societies, cultures and across space and time (Berry 1994). It is a relative concept where multiple truths exist. Accepting and deeply internalising these beliefs early on in the research process heavily influenced the research approach. This thinking, combined with my worldview, suggested that a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology would characterise this research (Guba & Lincoln 2005; Hollinshead 2004).

A hermeneutic methodology was therefore well matched to the nature of the research objective - given the somewhat ‘messy’, complex research subject, it was not unexpected that the methodology would also be somewhat ‘messy’. As many authors have noted, this does not in any way imply that the research is lacking in validity or is methodologically unsound (Creswell 2013; G. R. Jennings 2012), and this will be discussed further in Section 5.8. Rather, it refers to the fundamental characteristic of hermeneutics in that it seldom follows a predetermined, linear path from establishing the research question, formalising the methods, collecting and analysing the data, presenting the results and wrapping it up with a neat conclusion. As Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p.53) state:
[y]ou begin, for example, in some part, try tentatively to relate it to the whole, upon which new light is shed, and from here you return to the part studied, and so on. In other words, you start at one point and then delve further and further into the matter by alternating between part and whole, which brings a progressively deeper understanding of both.

The qualitative enquiry process that stems from the interpretivist worldview is suited to this thesis, as it provides a way of approaching a research objective that seeks to understand, rather than describe, the nuances of a particularly complex social phenomenon (Creswell 2013; Phillimore & Goodson 2004). It requires reflexivity on the part of the researcher and acknowledges both their values and their subjectivity (Creswell 2013); something that is vital in this research where, as has been shown, the very nature of the concept of luxury is value-laden and subjective. As such, the researcher’s interpretations are shaped by their experiences and background (Creswell 2013). Such an approach also values transparency and this chapter seeks to provide a fully transparent description of the research process in order to allow the reader to understand and appreciate the chain of enquiry (Phillimore & Goodson 2004).

At this point, an explicit statement about my subjectivity is warranted in order to write myself into the thesis. My experiences of second homes described in Chapter One (particularly those during my formative years), may be different to those of the second home owners portrayed in the magazine articles but they are nevertheless important to the context of this study as they are deeply intertwined with it. My feelings and personal perspective have shaped both the topic and the framing of the study, and of course also inevitably influence my interpretation of the empirical material. To that end, I have both read the articles as researcher, and researched the articles as reader. The latter is a way of reading I have always adopted, closely studying both the written and visual text of the magazine for what they reveal, and reading with an awareness of affect and the emotions they evoke in me. As with much qualitative research, it is impossible to separate personal experience from the interpretation and as such a large part of myself is inherently reflected in the findings (Creswell 2013; Denzin & Lincoln 2005). My interpretation of representations of luxury in second homes in New Zealand is also influenced by my ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status and gender (white, Christian, middle class woman) and I readily acknowledge that alternate interpretations may be produced by other readers.
whose contexts and experiences of second homes differ to mine (Gibson & Brown 2009). Indeed, the interpretation of meanings presented here relies not only on my ability to understand the denotative meaning of the text and images but also the underlying connotative meanings represented by a system of socially and culturally coded signs (Morgan & Pritchard 1998). However by using interviews with editors and journalists, I also sought different understandings of how luxury was represented within the second home articles. The aim of this was to gain and present broader insights. In addition, the inclusion of many extracts and images from the articles as support allows the reader to both appreciate the interpretations presented here, and to construct their own representations.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the selection and gathering of empirical material and a description of the methods used. Qualitative, ‘messy’ research often uses a variety of methods, depending on what is available and what can be adapted to suit the needs of both the researcher and the empirical material (Creswell 2013). There is no ‘one size fits all’ approach. Indeed, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) have likened the qualitative researcher to a bricoleur, one who uses whatever is at hand and adapts it to suit the task, often using a combination of tools or methods to address the research objective and responding to the needs and vagaries of the empirical material as the research progresses. Before proceeding with an explication of the methods used here, however, the decision-making process regarding which media material to use must be discussed.

5.3 The choice of media material

As discussed in Chapter Two (Section 2.7.3), the media has been vital in disseminating information about luxury, style and good taste, particularly from the twentieth century. Certainly the broader role of the media in both influencing public opinion and reflecting the views of the public (or at least what they believe are the views of the public) has been widely acknowledged (C. M. Hall & Valentin 2005; Stokowski 2011; Timothy 2012). In a similar vein, Brennan (2013, p.193) considers that text, in the form of books, magazines and advertisements, provides “traces of a socially constructed reality”. This contention is echoed by second home researchers, such as Harrison (2008) and Luka (2007) who have noted in passing the importance
of newspapers in the social construction of the ‘cottage lifestyle’ in Canada. Various forms of print media have consequently been used in a range of studies as a source of empirical material to investigate the social constructions of social phenomena related to second homes, home, and tourism. For example, newspaper discourses about second homes have been examined for their representations of both national culture and the rural landscape in the Finnish context (Pitkänen 2011; Pitkänen & Vepsäläinen 2008; Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen 2010). Magazines have been used in research into aspects of the discourse surrounding the home including gender, consumption, and design (Aynsley & Berry 2005; Osgerby 2005; Shaw & Brookes 1999). Tourism research is increasingly valuing advertising material as a source of empirical material in examinations of the construction of social class, place and local or national identity (Page, Steele & Connell 2006; Schellhorn & Perkins 2004; Small, Harris & Wilson 2008).

5.3.1 Why magazines?

In addressing the research objective, it was the representation of luxury from a lifestyle perspective rather than a news perspective that was of interest, as second homes have been portrayed as an integral part of New Zealand lifestyle and culture (Kearns & Collins 2006). To that end, magazines were considered the most appropriate source of empirical material, rather than other types of print media such as newspapers and current affairs periodicals. This point notwithstanding, there were a number of other reasons for using magazines, which will be discussed here.

Since at least the eighteenth century, magazines in particular have been used by cultural mediators as a vehicle to transmit knowledge of new consumer goods and lifestyles to which readers can aspire (Beetham 1996; Bourdieu 1984; Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). They have both influenced and reflected society’s changing notions of fashion, taste, desire and luxury in various areas including architecture and interior design (Osgerby 2005; Perkins, Thorns & Winstanley 2008). In addition, magazines have been identified as a “significant form of visual and textual information about the modern home and its inhabitants” (Aynsley & Berry 2005, p.1).
Magazines are a more permanent form of media than newspapers, as they remain on the newsstands and magazine racks for longer and are easier for people to keep and re-read, and therefore their influence may be longer-lasting (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004; Spiker 2003). The nature of magazines allows them to provide more in-depth articles about specific events, people and places than newspapers or television programmes and in this way they “chronicle history” (Spiker 2003, p.6). However Beetham (1996, p.3) makes the important point that magazines are “only available to those with the necessary levels of literacy, income, leisure and space for reading” and thus magazines both reflect and are influenced by their readership (Emmison & Smith 2000). Magazine readership targets specific demographic segments of society, traditionally based upon gender, income and occupation but increasingly based upon social or lifestyle segmentation as traditional class boundaries have become blurred (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). This dictates the content and style of the magazine, and as such, magazines provide a window on a particular segment of society and culture (Beetham 1996).

Previous research outside of New Zealand has identified the importance of design and lifestyle magazines in influencing the purchasing and design decisions of their readers (Friedman 2010; Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen 2004; Osgerby 2005). For example, participants in various studies acknowledged the influence of such magazines in providing inspiration and ideas for interior design, although they were quick to point out that they did not simply ‘copy’ the ideas but adapted them to reflect their individual style (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen 2004). While only the wealthy elite of society may be able to afford to turn the fantasy homes or interiors showcased in the magazines into reality, Osgerby (2005, p.110 [emphasis in original]) notes that for other readers the “ability to conceive of oneself as the kind of man who would buy into the [magazine's] lifestyle” is equally important. Thus even the type of magazine read appears to be a tool used by the reader to assert and display their [shared] social identity, or at least an identity the reader aspires to (Emmison & Smith 2000).

In New Zealand, many forms of media have been a source of ideas about goods and services for, and designs of, homes over the last century, including radio, television and more recently the internet. However Leonard, Perkins and Thorns (2004) contend that it is the print media that has played the most significant role in
influencing ideas of taste in the architecture and home-making context. Significantly for this thesis, it is house, home and lifestyle magazines in particular that are an important part of New Zealand culture (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). They are easily accessible for the majority of New Zealanders through bookshops and supermarkets and also in public libraries (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004).

5.3.2 Why Home New Zealand magazine?

Having determined that magazines would be the focus of the study rather than other forms of popular mass media, the remaining choice was which specific magazine to use. As discussed in Chapter One, this thesis is premised upon the notion that there exists an alternative viewpoint of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand, but that it has, until now, been unrecognised. The nature of the magazine selection needed to reflect such a view. Furthermore, it also needed to have sufficient longevity to be able to provide a discourse about the now-valorised vernacular second home at the time they were being built in New Zealand, rather than at the time of their valorisation in the 1990s. Home New Zealand magazine was thus selected as the source of empirical material for the study for a number of reasons. First, it was the first architecture/lifestyle publication in New Zealand and carries regular second home articles. It began in 1936 as Building Today, and over the years has had a number of name and publication frequency changes (see Table 5.1). The magazine is still in circulation today, providing an uninterrupted publishing period of 76 years for analysis which has allowed for a comprehensive longitudinal study to be conducted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of magazine</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Frequency of publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building Today</td>
<td>1936 (Oct)</td>
<td>Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home and Building Today</td>
<td>1937 (July)</td>
<td>Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home and Building</td>
<td>1937 (Nov)</td>
<td>Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1948 (April)</td>
<td>Two-monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951 (April)</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970 (Oct)</td>
<td>Two-monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 (Feb)</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975 (Issue 6)</td>
<td>Two-monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand Home and Building</td>
<td>1976 (Issue 1)</td>
<td>Two-monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand Home and Entertaining</td>
<td>1999 (Feb)</td>
<td>Two-monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home New Zealand</td>
<td>2007 (Oct)</td>
<td>Two-monthly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Name changes and frequency of publication of Home New Zealand magazine

Second, the magazine was published under the auspices of the New Zealand Institute of Architects (until 1994) and was established as a showcase for the work of architects in the hope of generating more work for them. As such, it was aimed at those who could afford the services of an architect, or those who aspired to being able to, and therefore provides a different perspective to newspapers, periodicals and other magazines aimed at a more general audience. Third, it is considered a highly valued record of material culture and as a result has been used in archival analysis in a variety of ways. For example, Leonard, Perkins and Thorns (2004) used it in a content analysis aimed at exploring the influence of print media in the construction of notions of home in New Zealand. Shaw and Brookes (1999) investigated the gendered discourse of Home and Building magazine (as it was then called) from 1936-1970, while Foster (2003) used occasional extracts from editorials and articles in his research to provide illustration about how vernacular second homes were viewed in 1950s New Zealand. The history and development of Home New Zealand and its focus is provided in Chapter Six as context. It sets the scene for the thematic analysis presented in Chapters Seven and Eight. Having discussed the reasons for choosing magazines in general, and Home New Zealand in particular, the breadth of empirical material required to address the research objective effectively will now be considered.
5.4 Empirical material

Various authors note the importance of context in the interpretative process; the researcher must ground their analysis of empirical material in the social, historical, political, economic and cultural context of the time (Brennan 2013). The nature of the research objective here meant that magazine articles dealing with second homes were the focus of the empirical material collection. However, in order to provide the necessary context, and to aid in the interpretation process, other contextual material from the magazine, along with interviews, were vital in the research process.

5.4.1 Second home articles in Home New Zealand magazine

The Hocken Library, part of the University of Otago in Dunedin, contains archived copies of Home New Zealand and its predecessors from Issue 1, October 1936. As material is not able to be taken away from the library, the ‘fieldwork’ was carried out on site over a period of weeks in late 2012/early 2013. Every issue of the magazine was read from cover to cover and the empirical material in the form of second home articles was gathered. All 266 second home articles identified from 1936-2012, comprising 1405 pages of material in total, were digitally photographed and assigned a unique identifier number (year/month/image number) to facilitate ease of identification throughout the research process. Each article was then printed as a hard copy (in black and white or colour as appropriate) to facilitate the initial phases of the thematic analysis which will be discussed in Section 5.7. In addition, the number of second home articles (and number of pages devoted to second home articles) per issue, total number of articles per issue, total number of pages per issue, and the number of magazine covers featuring second homes was recorded, allowing a quantitative analysis of patterns over time to be carried out. Where a second home article was accorded (prime) first position in the magazine body content, this was also captured. These figures were taken from the contents page, providing consistency where it was unclear whether a piece of text should be considered as a single article, more than one article, or an advertorial. In this way, the subsequent analysis more accurately reflected how the magazine content of the time was viewed.
5.4.2 Other contextual material from Home New Zealand magazine

When reading through the magazine for the first time, attention was focused not only on the second home articles, but on the entire content and feel of the magazine. This was considered to be a useful method of facilitating my immersion in, and familiarity with, what was happening in New Zealand society at the time of publication. In terms of the broader context and gaining an understanding of the nature of luxury throughout the period under examination, it was important to gain insight into the norms, values and peculiarities of society during this time.

It is recognised that editors and journalists significantly influence the character and content of newspapers and magazines (Aynsley & Berry 2005; Pendergast 2000; Spiker 2003; Stokowski 2011; Timothy 2012; Zukin & Maguire 2004). Thus editorials are also considered valuable sources of material (Hanke 1989; Pendergast 2000; Spiker 2003; Zukin & Maguire 2004). Many of the Home New Zealand editorials were useful in providing contextual information, regularly commenting on political, economic and social developments in New Zealand as they related to architects and the practice of architecture, and the wider building industry.

The content, style and tone of advertising, reader’s letters and other articles were also considered useful sources of empirical material, and a means of allowing me to approximate being a reader of the time (Beetham 1996). I sought to immerse myself in the fullness of each magazine, attempting to read with an awareness of the naturally occurring historical distance (Beetham 1996). Naturally while it was not possible for me to truly engage with the articles as a reader situated in the 1930s, I believe this awareness and way of reading nevertheless stood me in good stead. This is evidenced by the fact that often when I took a break from reading and re-entered the world, I was disconcerted to find myself in the twenty-first century, so engaged was I in the world and time I was reading about.

All editorials were digitally photographed and assigned a reference number, as were other articles and advertisements that exemplified the representation of luxury. The editorials and other contextual material were later printed off as hard copies for ease of manual analysis. In total, 541 pages of editorials and 76 pages of other contextual material were used.
5.4.3 Interviews

In order to gain a richer depth and breadth of contextual information to inform the reading of the second home articles, in-depth interviews were conducted with three editors of the magazine (all of whom had also contributed articles on second homes), and with a writer and a photographer who had both regularly contributed articles and images on second homes. Given the subjective, socially constructed nature of luxury, it was felt that seeking the perspectives of those involved in the production of media representations of luxury in the context of second homes, and capturing them in their own words, was an appropriate method for actualising the research objective.

A broad overview of Home New Zealand magazine and its predecessors from 1988 was able to be gleaned from the interviews (Table 5.2). It was not possible to interview any pre-1988 editors; Victor L. Beckett (editor from 1936-1974) passed away in 1975 and two other editors could not be found despite extensive enquiries. Every editor over the period 1988-2012 agreed to an interview, along with one writer, meaning that the authors of nearly half (42.2%) of the 149 second home articles published from 1988 were spoken with. The three most prolific photographers of second home articles were contacted, and one consented to an interview. The ethical issues surrounding fieldwork involving human participants were addressed through gaining University of Otago ethics approval for the study (Appendix A).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Time of involvement with magazine</th>
<th>Contribution of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editor A</td>
<td>1988-2009</td>
<td>Wrote 20 second home articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editor B</td>
<td>2000-present</td>
<td>Wrote 13 second home articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editor C</td>
<td>2003-present</td>
<td>Wrote 26 second home articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer A</td>
<td>2000-2010</td>
<td>Wrote 4 second home articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographer A</td>
<td>2003-present</td>
<td>Photographed 6 second home articles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Details of interview participants’ period of involvement with and contribution to Home New Zealand magazine
It is acknowledged that, given the small nature of the sample population, anonymity may be difficult to maintain and participants were made aware of this prior to the interviews, both verbally and in writing (Appendix A). However, there were three mitigating factors. First, each participant was assigned a pseudonym, and every effort was made to make them as unidentifiable as possible. Second, the information sought from participants was not sensitive, either in a personal or a commercial sense. Third, they were able to withdraw from participation at any point in the interview. Pseudonyms were allocated alphabetically to enable the reader to be aware of the relative timeframes of their involvement with the magazine. The timeframe of involvement with the magazine refers not necessarily to the participant’s tenure as editor, but reflects the duration of what each person considers their formal involvement with the magazine, hence the periods of overlap.

A semi-structured approach to interviewing was taken; while some structure was necessary in order to be able to gain a deeper understanding of the production of the articles, it was deemed important to have flexibility. The use of predetermined questions would have been anathema to me, given my relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology, and would have resulted in a proscribed question and answer session based on the preconceived notions of the researcher. The purpose of the interviews was to gain other’s perspectives on luxury and second homes in the magazine, and thus a flexible approach to the interview questions allowed the best possible chance of this happening. For example, some questions were relevant to all interview participants, while others were not. The conversation was therefore allowed to flow and develop in directions that, while still focused on the thesis aims, were not possible to pre-empt. Such deviations can often provide rich empirical material (McGehee 2012). The use of some structure provided the participant with a reassurance that their time was appreciated, as the interview was kept on task but at the same time was not constrained (McGehee 2012). Interviews ranged in duration from 30 minutes to 70 minutes.

The findings from the initial phases of analysis of the magazine materials were used to inform the broad topic areas of interest for questioning and discussion which sought to explore the rationale behind the representation, in both images and text, of the second homes selected for inclusion in the magazine. General themes were:
• how editorial decisions were made regarding the style and content of the articles selected for the magazine;

• how they chose to write about the homes;

• how photographers went about photographing the property;

• their views on the representation of luxury and second homes; and

• their perceptions of how the readers engage with the articles.

Questions focused on the participant’s period of involvement with the magazine, although any insights the participants had about the evolution of luxury within the context of second homes over other periods were also welcomed. This allowed for any temporal variations in perceptions of luxury to be recognised and discussed. An active listening technique was employed, whereby I sought to understand the participant’s point of view through the use of probing questions where the meaning of an answer was not sufficiently clear (McGehee 2012). All interviews were digitally recorded and field notes were written immediately after each interview to capture the salient points while still fresh in the mind. Interviews were listened to repeatedly during the researching and writing process and relevant comments transcribed as appropriate (Nisbet 2006). Extracts from the interviews are used throughout the findings chapters (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight) as contextual material to inform and support the interpretations of luxury in the representations of second homes.

5.5 Preliminary analysis of contextual material and interviews

Prior to the interpretation of the themes relating to representations of luxury in the second home articles, an initial preliminary phase of analysis was necessary to set the scene and to condense some of the contextual material. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter Six, purposefully providing the reader with a broad overview of the magazine over the history of its publication and thus helping to contextualise the interpretation of media representations of luxury described in Chapters Seven and Eight.
The preliminary qualitative analysis began with the very first reading of the magazine - copious notes were taken about each issue, detailing the tone and style of the both the articles and the advertisements, along with changes in the language used. First impressions and thoughts were noted, and included indications of what was happening in the wider New Zealand political, economic and social contexts where mentioned or alluded to. Where luxury was explicitly mentioned, this was highlighted and catalogued, along with synonyms that were perceived to imply luxury and the context in which they were used. As mentioned above, the material from the editorials and interviews informed Chapter Six as well, using the perspectives of the editors in particular, as they were instrumental in determining the style and content of the magazine.

Preliminary quantitative analysis of the second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine was carried out, using six key measures:

- Total number of second home articles published per year;
- Percentage of articles devoted to second homes each year;
- Percentage of magazine pages per year devoted to second homes;
- Percentage of magazine issues per year containing second home articles;
- Percentage of magazine issues with second home articles listed in first position on the contents page; and
- Number of magazine covers featuring second homes per year.

This enabled broad patterns in the prevalence and relative importance of second home articles in the magazine content over the years of publication to be identified. The significant contextual findings from this quantitative analysis as they relate to the development of the magazine are presented in Chapter Six.

**5.6 Considerations of methods for interpreting the second home articles**

The central concern of this thesis was the representation of luxury in second home articles, and as such the focus of the interpretation was on identifying recurring
themes within the second home articles. The gathering of material lead to two forms of ‘data’ that needed to be interpreted: (1) written text, and (2) visual text. Each type of material potentially lent itself to various methods of analysis and interpretation. Here, the rationale behind the chosen method is given.

### 5.6.1 Written text

My ontological, epistemological and methodological leanings suggested that the method must be able to reflect the richness of the empirical material and capture the nuances and deeper meanings interpreted in the representations of luxury. Given the slippery, subjective and temporal nature of luxury, the methods needed to be inductive rather than deductive, meaning that the themes were to be generated from the material and not from my theoretical preconceptions. However, it is acknowledged that no research can be truly inductive; it is not possible for the researcher to operate in a complete epistemological vacuum (Braun & Clarke 2006). Indeed, here the reading of the literature prior to the analysis had brought to my attention some of the conceptualisations of luxury to be alert to; and yet the analysis remained flexible and inductive to take into account the fluidity implicit in representations of luxury. A latent rather than semantic approach was preferred, allowing the material to be examined for its deeper meanings and underlying assumptions related to the research objective. My hermeneutic methodological position determined that the final analysis of representations of luxury in the second home articles should be interpretive rather than descriptive (Braun & Clarke 2006). This research did not seek to generate theory from the analysis, nor did it seek to explain individual’s stories or experiences of a particular phenomenon, thereby ruling out the use of methods such as grounded theory, phenomenology and narrative enquiry (Creswell 2013).

Qualitative thematic analysis is becoming more widely used as a method to gain an understanding of how the media, particularly magazines, socially construct various aspects and notions of home through their discourse (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004; Osgerby 2005; Perkins, Thorns & Winstanley 2008; Shaw & Brookes 1999). While there are a variety of ways of conducting thematic analysis, it is sufficiently flexible to allow for the inductive, latent, interpretive qualities desired here. Furthermore the use of web-like diagrammatic networks as part of thematic analysis,
as adopted in this thesis, provides a valuable graphic representation of the themes and the relationships between them (Attride-Stirling 2001). These networks then become a tool for describing, exploring and reporting the findings, allowing the reader to understand how the text was interpreted (Attride-Stirling 2001). A clear and concise description of each phase in the thematic analysis process used for this thesis is given in Section 5.7.

5.6.2 Visual text

Through the use of images, magazines and other forms of media communicate ideas and influence the viewer or reader (Albers & James 1988; Rose 2007). While the choice of method for analysing and interpreting the written text in this thesis seemed to be relatively obvious and straightforward, the approach to interpreting the visual text was decidedly more problematic. Many methods have been used in many fields, and therefore finding the most appropriate way forward was challenging. For example, the content/semiotic analysis combination has become a popular method for analysing large amounts of visual text in the field of tourism over the last few years, as researchers recognise not only the denotative meanings in photographs but also the connotative messages inferred by readers and viewers (Hannam & Knox 2005; Stokowski 2011). With such an approach, carefully considered categories for coding the components of the images are built from the conceptual framework of the study and occurrences are then counted; these coding categories may be quantitative, qualitative or a mixture of both, according to the research objective (Dann 2005; Page, Steele & Connell 2006; Stokowski 2011; Timothy 2012). The resultant frequency counts are subjected to statistical analysis which in positivist tradition is held to be rigorous, replicable and valid (Rose 2007; Sather-Wagstaff 2011). Other methods for analysing visual material include psychoanalysis, audience studies, historical analysis, structural analysis, ethnomethodology and aesthetic analysis (Rose 2007; Sather-Wagstaff 2011). For the most part, though, insufficient space is given to discussions of paradigmatic underpinnings of such research, leaving the reader with little understanding of the methodological considerations, and even sufficient detail of the method used in some cases (Chambers 2011; Sather-Wagstaff 2011).
In this research my relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology naturally influenced the approach to interpreting the visual text, as it did with the written text. The images were considered to be representations of reality as perceived by the photographer and not as evidence of an objective reality (Rakić 2011). Images, like written text, are thus open to interpretation both in their creation and in their viewing despite the oft-touted notion that they are a “window on reality” (Albers & James 1988, p.136). Images, again like written text, contain both manifest and latent meanings, the interpretation of which depends on the socialisation and interpretive competence of the researcher (Albers & James 1988; Emmison & Smith 2000; Sather-Wagstaff 2011).

Examining representations of the sensual nature of luxury instinctively suggested a rich emotive and evocative (experiential) content to the images that would somehow resist capture sufficiently through quantification. Luxury could potentially take many forms in an image: a sense of luxuriousness enhanced by the use of lighting; luxury in architectural form; the tangible luxury of designer items or art; the tactile luxury of soft furnishings; lusciously displayed gourmet food; a deserted beach on a sunny summer day. Furthermore it was recognised that “the whole is often more than the sum of the parts” (Page, Steele & Connell 2006, p.60), and this applied not only to the parts of an image but also to the nature of magazine articles which contain both written and visual text which make up the whole. Such a view is hermeneutic in nature - only by relating to the whole can the meaning of a part be understood (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2000).

The desire to capture these many possible nuances of luxury and luxuriousness, along with my hermeneutic methodological position, dictated the choice of methods for interpreting the visual text. A qualitative approach was deemed the most appropriate means of depicting the overall impression that the images and their captions created. In this way, a richer understanding of the meanings and representation of luxury through the images could be brought together than would be possible through a content/semiotic analysis (Page, Steele & Connell 2006). In her valuable work *Visual Methodologies*, Rose (2007) discusses the strengths and weaknesses of a number of methods for interpreting visual texts. Semiotics and discourse analysis were amongst the methods of potential interest initially considered for this thesis.
Rose (2007) suggests that while semiotics provides a rich vocabulary for analysis of images, she also notes that it does not demand reflexivity, can be difficult to comprehend and may not be suitable for more emotive or experiential images. Furthermore, semiotics focuses on structure and signification as a result of its ontological and epistemological positioning and thus does not sit comfortably with this research (Echtner 1999). Discourse analysis allows for the intertextuality that naturally surrounds images (they are usually viewed alongside other images or text such as captions) which is an important component in the reading and interpreting of images (Emmison & Smith 2000; Rose 2007). However it is more concerned with power, knowledge and the construction of social difference. While both of these methods therefore have strengths that could be useful in for addressing the research objective here, such as the ability to identify themes, neither on its own could provide the necessary paradigmatic or methodological ‘fit’ required.

These considerations, along with the similarity in the researcher’s ways of perceiving the written and visual text as outlined above, suggested that an adaptation of the thematic analysis that was applied to the written text would be appropriate in interpreting the visual text in this thesis. Such an analysis would resemble Sather-Wagstaff’s (2011, p.173) use of a “discourse-centred, qualitative, thematic, semiotic and interpretive mode of [qualitative data analysis]” in order to gain a deeper understanding of the meanings in her visual material. It would also be able to take into account the holistic process of reading a magazine article where both written and visual text contribute to the overall impression and meaning interpreted by the reader. The contribution of this research thus lies not only in addressing a gap in the knowledge of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand, but also significantly in contributing to the broader methodological literature.

5.7 Conducting the thematic analysis

Following the preliminary analysis of the magazine articles, advertisements and editorials described in Section 5.5 above, the second home articles were examined in more depth using a thematic analysis technique in order to identify recurrent themes surrounding the representation of luxury in the context of second homes (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006). By amalgamating two best practice articles by
Attride-Stirling (2001) and Braun and Clarke (2006), a series of six phases were identified in conducting the thematic analysis (Figure 5.1). Sather-Wagstaff’s (2011) method of conducting a thematic analysis of visual material was also used to guide the adaptation of the technique to suit visual as well as written text.

While this process map is presented as a linear progression, in reality thematic analysis is an iterative and recursive process entailing constant moving back and forth between the phases – as with any hermeneutic analysis (Attride-Stirling 2001; Creswell 2013). Next, each phase is described in detail and a sample of the Home New Zealand magazine text is used to illustrate the process of thematic analysis from start to finish.
Figure 5.1 The six phases in an iterative thematic analysis (Adapted from Attride-Stirling (2001), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Sather-Wagstaff (2011)). Arrows top and bottom indicate the ‘back and forth’ nature of the analytic process.
5.7.1 Phase One: Initial reading of texts to gain familiarity

Every *Home New Zealand* magazine article on second homes was initially read through to gain an understanding of the content and to detect signs and forms of luxury (Braun & Clarke 2006). At this stage, early thoughts and preliminary points of interest regarding representations of luxury were noted down, and sentences and words highlighted simply because they seemed to make some sort of intuitive ‘sense’ (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006; Ryan & Bernard 2003). As each article was encountered, the visual images and accompanying captions were read first as the eye was naturally drawn to them. The way in which the thematic analysis was carried out thus reflected the holistic process of reading the magazine. Equal consideration was given to the visual and written text throughout the analysis.

5.7.2 Phase Two: Repeated readings to code texts

In the coding phase of the analysis, articles were examined for similarities and differences with previous articles, and recurring words and data extracts relating to elements of luxury were recorded in a matrix along with the article reference number (Attride-Stirling 2001; Ryan & Bernard 2003). Anomalies, missing elements, contradictions and discrepancies were also considered to be valuable data, and were coded accordingly (Braun & Clarke 2006; Lincoln & Guba 1985). For example, Table 5.3 provides an example of the coding of the visual text, where the feeling evoked in the written text spoke of warmth which seemed to be at odds with the visual text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>REFERENCEa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Despite being colourful, this bach is somehow cold feeling – perhaps it is the use of bold blue and bright red, or perhaps it is the stark feeling. There is no evidence of human personality at all – no art on the walls, no people visible, and the outside photo looks like it has been styled with the outdoor table set and a kayak on the lawn</td>
<td>198810:34,37b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Example of an anomaly between written and visual text (a the reference allocated to each code was comprised of yearmonth: page number; b the reference in bold indicates that the image was in colour).
Each subsequent reading of the texts brought new insights, which in turn warranted a further round of reading to ensure as many initial codes as possible were generated across the entire data set (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Ryan & Bernard 2003). After systematically attending to the entire data set in this manner a number of times, it is believed that the widest possible number of codes had been identified. The coded extract below illustrates this phase in the process (Table 5.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extract from second home article</th>
<th>Initial coding of extract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| An unpretentious summer retreat, which makes effective use of sliding doors to take advantage of sea views and summer breezes. Scandinavian simplicity transposed to the New Zealand environment. The clients brief was to design an informal “get-away” holiday/beach house which could accommodate the family and invited friends. (1983, Issue 1, p.39) | (1) Lack of pretension  
(2) Second home as a retreat  
(3) The importance of the sea view  
(4) International influence of simplicity  
(5) Second home as a getaway, with an informal nature  
(6) Only those who are close are included |

Table 5.4 Extract from written text of second home article showing initial coding

Six codes were generated from this single extract, and just over 800 codes in total were identified from written text of the 266 second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine. During this phase, the initial coding of the visual text was carried out simultaneously (Table 5.5). Codes for the visual text tended to be longer and more descriptive, as they were attempting to code not only what was visible within the images, but also the mood, emotion or impression the photograph was evoking (Sather-Wagstaff 2011). However, various objects present in the images were also coded, as were the rooms shown (Sather-Wagstaff 2011).
Interior photos show comfortable furniture, exterior photos show outdoor furniture on the deck and people enjoying the sun and views while dining.

Photo of bach in sandhills framed by tree leaves, blue sky and sunshine evokes a certain warmth.

Photo of exterior shows a simple flat-roofed second home with a deck area, and the photo is taken from below thereby implying elevation. Interior photo looks out through expansive windows to the sea view from the lounge area, shows plush looking lounge chairs, calfskins or similar on floor and two sun-loungers out on the deck. A very restful picture.

Socialising (implicit or explicit)

Coffee plunger and cups on table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE a</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interior photos show comfortable furniture, exterior photos show outdoor furniture on the deck and people enjoying the sun and views while dining</td>
<td>194609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo of bach in sandhills framed by tree leaves, blue sky and sunshine evokes a certain warmth</td>
<td>195904:42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo of exterior shows a simple flat-roofed second home with a deck area, and the photo is taken from below thereby implying elevation. Interior photo looks out through expansive windows to the sea view from the lounge area, shows plush looking lounge chairs, calfskins or similar on floor and two sun-loungers out on the deck. A very restful picture.</td>
<td>196904:37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising (implicit or explicit)</td>
<td>195805:41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981/1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>199904:124b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>199912:133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200002:88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200008:80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200104:89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200212:75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200312:86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200402:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200412:97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200512:130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200602:89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200612:94,96-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200712:79,82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200712:110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200804:79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>201006:76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee plunger and cups on table</td>
<td>199810:116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200102:90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 Extract from initial coding of visual text ( a the codes shown here were chosen for their ability to illustrate the various types used rather than a chronology of coding; b the references in bold refer to colour images).

This phase in the process was critical, as the success of the final analysis rested upon the attention to detail paid here. It was therefore important that it was not hurried (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006). Throughout the analysis process the nature and rationale of decision-making was recorded as the recurring words and data extracts were translated into codes, and as these were subsequently translated into basic themes (Gibson & Brown 2009).
5.7.3 Phase Three: Development of basic themes

The codes were consolidated into basic themes (or categories), by collating together all codes that seemed similar (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006; Lincoln & Guba 1985). To continue with the example given in Table 5.4, the codes referring to the second home as a retreat (2) and getaway (5) were combined with similar codes from other extracts to form the basic theme:

Retreat

Codes that did not seem to fit with any theme at this point were not discarded; rather, they were filed as ‘miscellaneous’ (Bernard & Ryan 2010; Braun & Clarke 2006). Likewise the codes for the visual text were also grouped into basic themes; for the codes given above in Table 5.5 the basic themes included:

Views
Warmth
Eating/Drinking

Although the visual and written text codes were developed simultaneously, they were recorded in separate documents, from which the basic themes were then derived separately. This ensured that each coding document was related to the same type of material, and was comparing ‘like with like’. In addition, by consolidating the codes into the basic themes separately, any anomalies or contradictions between the interpretations of the two forms of text could be identified. This then provided a measure of triangulation to enhance the credibility of the thematic analysis, as will be discussed in Section 5.8.

5.7.4 Phase Four: Consolidate into organising themes

The basic themes were then further condensed into higher level themes. The resultant organising themes were then clearly defined and named (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006). Thus the basic theme above, Retreat, was combined with others, into the organising theme ‘the luxury of sanctuary and restoration’ (Figure 5.2).
Each organising theme was checked for coherence by reviewing the data extracts and examples for each code that made up the theme. With the visual text, this involved not only reading the written descriptions given in the initial coding phase but also reviewing the images themselves to check for unity. For example, Figure 5.3 illustrates a sample of the images coded as ‘warm’ that contributed to the basic theme ‘light and warmth’. Where the internal homogeneity of the theme was questionable, the theme was revised; in some cases previously miscellaneous codes were then able to be meaningfully incorporated into a theme (Braun & Clarke 2006). At this point, the basic themes for the written and visual texts were also checked for coherence with each other (i.e. across the data set) and then amalgamated (Sather-Wagstaff 2011). In this way each provided a form of representation and substantiation of the other.
Copyright permission not obtained

Figure 5.3 A selection of visual text illustrating the basic theme "light and warmth" (Source from top: Anon/Bauer Media, Barry McKay/Bauer Media, John Pettit/Bauer Media)
5.7.5  Phase Five: Derive global themes and networks

Additional, deeper analysis revealed overarching global themes that could be derived from the organising themes, whilst maintaining their internal homogeneity and mutual exclusivity (Braun & Clarke 2006; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Ryan & Bernard 2003). Furthermore, the basic themes, organising themes and global theme could be visually depicted as a thematic network. Here, the organising theme in the earlier example contributes to the thematic network surrounding the global theme of ‘the luxury of the second home’ (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 The global theme "the luxury of the second home" showing the whole thematic network with its four constituent organising themes and their respective basic themes
In this phase, as in the previous two phases, the themes were constantly checked for coherence with the coded extracts, ensuring that both the global themes and the thematic networks worked in relation to the extracts (Braun & Clarke 2006). This phase was iterative and organic, and involved a ‘going back and forth’ between the codes, the basic themes and the tentative organising themes until a cohesive argument was made for each global theme, such that they could be defined and named (Braun & Clarke 2006).

5.7.6 Phase Six: Describe, explore and analyse networks

Deriving the global theme and placing it at the centre of the thematic network (Figure 5.4) then provided a visual tool for describing, exploring and analysing the empirical material in a way that was transparent and easy to understand. Each thematic network was able to be investigated in detail. Vivid examples of both the written and visual text were selected for their ability to illustrate the story being told in a compelling manner. The themes were considered in relation to the others, resulting in a broader overall story of the representations of luxury in the context of second homes in Home New Zealand magazine over the course of its 76 year history (Braun & Clarke 2006). The two global themes identified, and their associated networks, are critically examined in Chapters Seven and Eight.

5.8 Ensuring the trustworthiness of the research

Many have noted the criticisms of positivist researchers towards qualitative research on the basis of a lack of objectivity, generalizability and criteria for judging rigour and validity (Decrop 2004; Lincoln & Guba 1985). Issues of terminology notwithstanding, there have been various attempts by qualitative researchers to establish criteria for qualitative enquiry which allow the trustworthiness of the research to be ascertained (Creswell 2013; Decrop 2004). Credibility, applicability, dependability and confirmability are cited as the qualitative equivalents of the quantitative constructs of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity respectively (Lincoln & Guba 1985) where:
• Credibility refers to the truthfulness of the findings.

• Applicability deals with whether the findings are able to be transferred to a different setting or group.

• Dependability is associated with the consistency and reproducibility of the findings.

• Confirmability refers to how neutral or objective the findings are.

With specific regard to thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) note a number of pitfalls which can result in poor quality work, and provide a checklist of criteria to ensure that the analysis has been conducted rigorously:

• Equal attention is paid to all data items;

• The coding process is thorough, inclusive and comprehensive and themes are not generated anecdotally;

• Themes are rigorously analysed and cross-checked with the original empirical material to ensure internal consistency and coherence;

• The material is analysed rather than paraphrased, and the analysis matches the material;

• The analysis provides a convincing argument;

• Sufficient time is dedicated to all phases of the analysis and writing process;

• Assumptions about the method are made explicit in the reporting;

• The epistemological position of the researcher is reflected in the language used; and

• The active nature of the researcher in the research is recognised.

By paying attention to the criteria set out above by Braun and Clarke (2006), the nature of thematic analysis meant that the notions of credibility, applicability, dependability and confirmability were largely addressed. Alongside these criteria, other means of ensuring the trustworthiness of the thesis were also engaged in.
Credibility was enhanced through the iterative process of thematic analysis, the constant ‘back and forth’ comparisons between codes and themes at all phases of analysis. It is further improved through an extensive description of Home New Zealand magazine (to be found in Chapter Six) which contextualises the analysis and interpretation presented in Chapters Seven and Eight. Prolonged engagement and persistent observation, points that Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider create credibility, stemmed from decades of personal experience (and my reflections on this experience) not only with second homes but more particularly with the home and lifestyle magazine genre. In addition, the use of multiple sources of contextual material (interviews, editorials, advertisements) acted as a means of triangulation, thereby further enhancing the trustworthiness of the research (Decrop 2004; Lincoln & Guba 1985).

Applicability was addressed through the use of thick descriptions of the material that allowed the reader of the thesis to appraise whether the findings could be transferred to other settings/magazines and other second home cultures. Statistical generalisation of the findings was neither possible nor desirable and the study did not seek to suggest causal relationships (Lincoln & Guba 1985). However, the context of the study was given in detail (Chapters Two, Three and Four) the findings were integrated with the academic literature (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight) and where possible similar studies were used as a comparison (Decrop 2004). In this way, analytical generalisation, rather than statistical generalisation, is conceivable and through the research a framework is provided for understanding media representations of luxury in other contexts.

The use of many extracts from the empirical and contextual material gives the reader the opportunity to judge the dependability of the interpretation and findings for themselves. Providing a convincing argument through the analysis in this manner further enhances dependability (Braun & Clarke 2006). As this thesis must be the product of the researcher alone, the use of an external auditor as suggested by Decrop (2004) to ensure dependability and confirmability was not practicable. Nevertheless a “devil’s advocate” in the form of two PhD supervisors was used to “keep the researcher honest”, questioning the research approach, methods and interpretations (Creswell 2013, p.251).
As others have noted, qualitative thematic analysis is a ‘messy’ non-linear process, iterative in nature and somewhat subjective (Creswell 2013). While the researcher can never be totally objective, at least the process of interpretation can be made transparent by recording the data accurately and searching for alternative explanations and interpretations (Decrop 2004). Reflexivity is vital in such a process, with the researcher needing to constantly question and justify the interpretation of the text and decisions about coding. To that end, the keeping of a record of this process of analysis and reflection assists with providing confirmability and robustness (Decrop 2004; G. R. Jennings 2012).

5.9 Summarising Chapter Five

This chapter has described and explained the research philosophy, approach and methods of the thesis, consistent with and influenced by my ontological, epistemological and methodological beliefs. It has detailed the rationale behind the choice of Home New Zealand magazine and has explained the empirical and contextual material used in the research. Each of the six phases of the thematic analysis of the written and visual magazine article text was described in detail. The chapter sought to explain the innovative method used to interpret the visual material in a clear, concise and transparent manner and in so doing contribute to the broader methodological literature. This chapter has also discussed how I addressed the criteria for trustworthy qualitative enquiry.

The next three chapters present the results of these endeavours. It is hoped that the reader will find them not only to be a rigorous, coherent and cohesive analysis and interpretation of the empirical material, but also interesting and thought-provoking. The first findings chapter (Chapter Six) sets the scene and provides the context necessary for the reader to understand the development of Home New Zealand magazine since 1936. In addition, it includes a broad overview of second home inclusion in the magazine. Chapter Seven explores representations of the luxury of the second home, while Chapter Eight analyses the findings related to the representations of the luxury in the second home.
CHAPTER 6. SETTING THE SCENE: 76 YEARS OF

HOME NEW ZEALAND
6.1 Introducing Chapter Six

This chapter presents the findings from the analysis of contextual material, and serves as a preface to the findings of the thematic analysis presented in the following two chapters. Its purpose is to tell the story of Home New Zealand magazine, in order that the reader better understands the researcher’s subsequent interpretations of the representations of luxury and the second home. The development of Home New Zealand magazine is discussed in relation to the social, political and economic contexts in which it occurred. As such it is divided into two of the time periods that mirror that of Chapter Four; the coming-of-age-years (1936 to late 1960s) and the contemporary years (late 1960s to present day). This chapter details significant influences on the magazine such as the impact of World War II, the rising consumer society that emerged in post-war years and the recessions of the late 1960s and 1970s, along with other more recent changes in the tone, style and content of the magazine and how these reflect contemporary New Zealand society. It also contains a short section about the readership of the magazine, and acknowledges the existence (and importance) of both intended and aspirational readers and how the magazine caters to each. The chapter concludes with a broad discussion of the patterns and trends in second home articles in the magazine from its inception. Throughout the chapter the voices of the magazine’s editors are present through the inclusion of extracts from editorials and interviews, providing support and evidence for the contentions made.

6.2 The magazine in the coming-of-age years (1936 to late 1960s)

6.2.1 One man’s vision: Building Today

The magazine began in October 1936 as Building Today, the vision of one man. Publisher Victor L. Beckett, in conjunction with the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Institute of Architects (NZIA), was also the managing editor, with the Institute providing co-editors and a little financial support for the venture (Shaw & Brookes 1999). The Institute, through its involvement, hoped to educate more New Zealanders about the benefits of employing an architect and thus secure more work
for its members. The sector was struggling, with only approximately 5% of building work at that time involving the input of an architect (Shaw & Brookes 1999). As stated in the first issue, the magazine was:

“devoted to the interests of all who love homes and gardens or who are interested in architecture and buildings in the sincere wish that New Zealanders may have more comfortable, more healthy and more convenient homes, more efficient and economical factories and commercial structures and more artistic and distinguished public buildings.” (frontispiece Oct-Dec 1936, p.1)

In his first editorial, Beckett spoke of New Zealanders hopes of home ownership, echoing government ideology and reinforcing the notion of the great New Zealand dream (examined in Chapter Four). The editorial then went on to highlight the role of the architect in avoiding inefficient, unhealthy and uneconomic home design. In short, Beckett firmly linked architect-designed homes with living well. This was perhaps not surprising given the magazine’s unashamed focus on educating the public about the benefits of employing an architect. After two issues, publishing began under the auspices of the New Zealand Institute of Architects rather than just the Auckland branch of the organisation. As a consequence the articles broadened in geographical scope to feature work from throughout the country, as opposed to solely from Auckland and its environs (Editorial, Home and Building, April-June 1937, p.7).

The July-September 1937 issue saw a change of name to Home and Building Today which according to the editorial indicated “more exactly the true scope of this magazine” (Editorial, Home and Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.7). It appeared this ‘true scope’ encompassed women readers, with Victor Beckett stating that the word ‘home’ should be used in the title as “women are much more likely to be interested in a magazine featuring homes than in a magazine devoted mainly to building which the present title suggests” (Shaw & Brookes 1999, p.202). In the following issue, while no comment was made about it in the editorial, the title of the magazine was shortened to Home and Building, which it remained as until 1976.

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8 Where extracts are taken from articles in Home New Zealand magazine, they are identified as such by citing the journalist’s name, along with the title and issue/date of the magazine. Other forms such as editorials and interviews are identified accordingly. While slightly unconventional, this format allows the reader to immediately differentiate the context of the extract without needing to continually refer to the list of references at the end of the thesis. Furthermore, it helps to maintain the anonymity of those editors who were interviewed as part of this research.
6.2.2 The impact of World War II

World War II had a direct impact upon the magazine, with paper shortages and printing issues leading to sporadic publication throughout the war years⁹, but there were also indirect impacts for the magazine flowing on from the wider influence of the war on the building industry. For example, building restrictions imposed by the government and increasing costs of materials affected the amount of and type work for both architects and the building industry. In addition, one editorial noted that many architects had been drafted into New Zealand’s Armed Forces or were working in the government Public Works Department (Editorial, *Home and Building*, Sept-Nov 1943, p.3). The focus and content of the magazine reflected these changes, with feature articles about architects’ work designing hospitals, stores and industrial buildings. Fewer domestic homes were showcased. Notions of ‘making do’ and being thrifty were common and new columns appeared in the magazine, dedicated to inexpensive decorative ‘how to’ projects to brighten the home. While a lack of ostentation in the home was encouraged in the magazine during the war years, one columnist used lined curtains falling to the floor with extra length to achieve “an added air of quiet luxury” that was acceptable (Gosset, *Home and Building*, Nov 1939, p.39). Luxury used in this sense was interpreted to mean a quiet air of comfort, achieved through the tasteful application of a relatively inexpensive accessory. Building restrictions were sometimes referred to in the editorials, particularly after the war had ended and controls were seen as unnecessary:

> Controls in general have become so much a part of our everyday lives in this small country that it is essential to take stock occasionally and ask ourselves – are they really necessary? ...we may quite well ask whether the restrictions on house building in particular should not be waived altogether...the time has arrived when this step should be taken by the Government... (Editorial, *Home and Building*, June/July 1949, p.15)

In 1948, responding to “the wishes so often expressed by readers and advertisers” and having secured a reliable paper supply (Editorial, *Home and Building*,

⁹ In 1940 the first issue was not published until March (one month late) but publication was quarterly thereafter. In 1941 the September issue was missing and in 1942 there were only two issues published (in June and December). In 1943 the magazine was published in June, September and December, while in 1944 only the March, September and December issues were published. Quarterly publication resumed in 1945 and 1946, but then only a single issue was produced in 1947 (in March). Publication resumed in January 1948, and the editorial of the April 1948 issue announced a change to two-monthly publication from that point onwards.
April/May 1948, p.11), the magazine moved from quarterly to two-monthly publication. The stated aim of the magazine was to “cover every aspect of the home – design, decoration, furniture, equipment, gardening, hobbies, entertaining, pets, books – as well as the architecture of public, commercial and industrial buildings” (Editorial, Home and Building, April/May 1948, p.11). In 1951 it became a monthly publication, again apparently as a response to reader requests:

> Over recent years many readers have asked for more frequent publication, which we believe will also make the magazine of greater value to advertisers. It will likewise double the opportunity for talking about and illustrating the things which Home and Building holds to be true and valuable. (‘Home & Building to be published monthly’, Home and Building, April 1951, p.9)

Note here also the reference to advertisers. As discussed in Chapter Four, New Zealanders during this time had become more affluent, and the home was coming into its own as a site for consumption which the magazine and its advertisers were able to capitalise on (Brickell 2003; Shaw & Brookes 1999).

6.2.3 The home as a site for consumption

Many articles in the 1940s and 1950s carried an international focus and showcased the latest trends from Britain and Europe, along with a preponderance of advertising for imported products, mostly from the United Kingdom and the United States. This was perhaps not surprising, given New Zealand’s historic ties with the former and its more recent fascination with the latter as a result of contact with US troops during World War II as identified in Chapter Four. Many products such as dishwashers, refrigerators and televisions, were pictured in the magazine years in advance of their arrival in New Zealand. For example, televisions were first mentioned in 1952 and yet transmission did not begin in New Zealand until 1961 (Bell 1996). By doing this, Home and Building educated the reader about new technologies and international trends in consumption for the home even before they arrived in New Zealand, and possibly stimulated consumer interest and desire for these products and services in the process.

By the 1950s the magazine discourse suggested electric washing machines were “an example of one of yesterday’s luxuries which has become today’s necessity” (Sherer, Home and Building, Jan 1955, p.53), yet despite this assertion over 40% of
New Zealand households did not have access to one (Statistics New Zealand 2013a). Likewise even though refrigerators had been available in New Zealand for decades at this point, only about half of New Zealand homes had access to one – either their own or shared with another household (Statistics New Zealand 2013a). Shaw and Brookes (1999) give two possible reasons for this. First, the expense of these items meant they continued to be viewed as luxuries for much of the New Zealand populace, even for those who could afford them. Second, it seems many were suspicious of new electrical appliances and resented the enforced change to their domestic habits that purchasing them would necessitate.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the 1950s and 1960s were a time of change for the New Zealand consumer and this was reflected in *Home and Building* magazine. By the mid-1950s the New Zealand government had eased import restrictions, and in combination with increasing levels of home ownership and affluence, this resulted in higher sales of household appliances such as washing machines and refrigerators (Shaw & Brookes 1999). Furthermore, the easing of credit controls by the government in 1956 allowed retailers to promote terms of credit to eligible customers (Brailsford 2007). Advertising for stoves, refrigerators and washing machines was prominent in the magazine, and offers of credit terms implied both a ready consumer market and a high degree of competition between retailers. In addition to the focus on these ‘big ticket’ appliances for the home, there was an increasing emphasis in the magazine on home décor and keeping up with the latest in home decorating trends.

The April 1964 issue introduced a new service to readers - the “Room of the Month”. This was an exhibition room set up in Auckland by architects and interior designers to showcase contemporary design trends alongside the latest products of advertisers in a ‘real’ home environment. The room was photographed and featured in the magazine each month, and readers (and the general public) could visit the room for inspiration. While this was a novel innovation for New Zealand, the precedent had in fact been set overseas. A similar ‘room setting’ had been instituted in German department stores in the early 1900s (Breckman 1991), while the British Council of Industrial Design held design exhibitions in London as early as 1946 and established a Design Centre there in 1955 (Sunley, Pinch & Reimer 2011). Furthermore, ‘good design’ exhibitions were found in the USA in the 1950s – all
with the purpose of educating consumers about new products and the aesthetics of good design (Friedman 2010). In *Home and Building* magazine, the Room of the Month article detailed the appliances, furnishings, fixtures and fittings shown in the room, along with stockists and in many cases the prices. The Room expanded into a full Building Centre covering five floors and proved exceptionally popular with the Auckland public, with over 1000 people visiting daily by 1973 (Editorial, *Home and Building*, Sept 1973). An editorial discussing the success of the concept on its 10th anniversary went on to speculate about the reasons for this:

*The curious and inventive New Zealander was aware from reading the overseas glossies that there was more to a house than four walls and a roof and his, and even more so, her avid interest in finding out just which door knob was best for the front door...* (Editorial, *Home and Building*, Sept 1973, p.7)

The home was thus cemented in the readers’ imagination as a site for consumption, with *Home and Building* magazine both disseminating and legitimising ideas about what constituted good taste.

### 6.3 The magazine in the contemporary years (late 1960s to present day)

#### 6.3.1 New Zealand in recession

In addition to contributing to falling GDP and rising inflation, the ‘Wool Bust’ recession of 1967-1969 mentioned in Chapter Four had an impact on architects and on the building industry. Many skilled and trained workers in both fields left New Zealand for Australia in an attempt to find work (Reddell & Sleeman 2008). This resulted in labour shortages and higher building costs. Editorials, while generally trying to remain upbeat, occasionally referred to the recession:

*The recent drastic Government measures to curb inflation are slowly but surely having their effect on all sections of the building industry...for those who can, the time [to build] is now – when the whole industry is looking for work to keep its well trained staffs occupied.* (Editorial, *Home and Building*, May 1967, p.31, emphasis in original)

The impact of the recession was reflected in the content of *Home and Building*; by the early 1970s there were no book reviews, cooking or travel columns, and the advertising seemed to be skewed more towards building materials and less to
household furnishings and appliances than previously. Nevertheless, the Room of the Month continued throughout and provided readers with information about domestic architecture, furnishing and interior decoration trends.

Another recession which began in 1974 and lasted 3 years (Reddell & Sleeman 2008) resulted in high inflation and rising production costs which pushed many periodicals out of print and nearly resulted in the closure of the magazine in 1974, according to one editorial (Editorial, Home and Building, Issue 6, 1975). After a period of nearly 40 years as managing editor, Victor Beckett retired at the end of 1974. At the beginning of 1975 his son Robin assumed the roles of both managing editor and publisher under the mantle of Associated Group Media (AGM) Ltd, with the New Zealand Institute of Architects still formally involved with the magazine until the early 1980s through the provision of co-editors. In 1976 the magazine changed its name to New Zealand Home and Building.

Perhaps coincidentally, colour images in the magazine were introduced at the same time Robin became managing editor and publisher. While the magazine covers had always been printed in colour (albeit very basic two or three colour printed line drawings in the early years), in 1975 the first colour insert appeared with a feature called (appropriately) “Living in colour”. Progressively more colour was introduced to the magazine pages over the next decade, with most articles containing at least one page of colour photographs, and by 1986 the magazine was printed in full colour on glossy paper.

6.3.2 New wealth and the increasing pace of life

According to the magazine credits, Robin Beckett remained in his dual roles as managing editor and publisher until 1982, at which point he relinquished the managing editor role to W. Douglas and continued on as publisher. In 1981 Kirsty Robertson took over the role of editor from A. H. Curtis, who had held the position since 1972, bringing with her a change in the style and layout of the magazine, along with a change of tone in the articles. She was the first editor with a journalism rather than architecture background, but architecture (specifically New Zealand architecture) nevertheless remained the focus of the magazine. Like previous
editors, in addition to commentary related to the architecture industry her editorials often made reference to the changing nature of New Zealand society. For example:

-Life has become more complex. People have become more demanding. (Editorial, NZ Home and Building, Issue 1 1983, p.4)

-Our world is changing to keep pace with the pressures and stresses of modern living, but in doing so it is actually causing much of it too. (Editorial, NZ Home and Building, Aug/Sept 1985, p.9)

It seemed as though the pace of life in New Zealand was increasing, with more emphasis on stress, pressure and the frenzy of city living. The rise of the ‘young urban professional’ (known colloquially as “yuppies” (Moon 2011)) was evident in the magazine discourse, as were the burgeoning finance and advertising industries in the new competitive age of the neoliberal free market economy (Chatterjee 1996; Moon 2011). The magazine featured many commercial buildings during this time, focusing on the luxurious, expensive and cutting edge office spaces. One article discussed the wealth that accompanied the rise of the new computer, finance, insurance and advertising companies (Moon 2011), and the expenditure of money on the hitherto unknown concept of ‘corporate image’:

-In quest of this elusive concept certain tenets are pursued: individuality, prestige, sophistication. The whole tied up with a ribbon that spells SUCCESS. (Hargreaves, NZ Home and Building, Issue 3 1983, p.26, emphasis in original)

This thinking was not restricted to the corporate sector. It seemed that by the mid-1980s New Zealand had become a nation of increasingly sophisticated consumers (at least in the eyes of the journalists) and the home was a sphere in which the notion of individuality could readily be asserted. One article suggested that consumers were:

...growing increasingly sophisticated and concerned with individuality... (Malcolm, NZ Home and Building, Feb/March 1986, p.27)

Feature articles about architecture and design echoed these sentiments, with oblique references to the ability of the architect or interior designer to achieve a sense of sophistication and individuality for their clients. After the introduction of neoliberal government policy in 1984 (see Chapter Four), competition for the consumer dollar became even more aggressive and by the mid-1980s fully one third of NZ Home and Building magazine was dedicated to advertising. It seemed there was an abundance of home-related goods and services available, with which the
sophisticated consumer could assert their distinctiveness. Many of these goods and services were marketed using words such as exclusive, high quality, stylish, lavish, fine, unique and chic. The context in which these words were used suggests they were synonymous with luxury and luxuriousness, although those two terms themselves were also in frequent usage during the mid-1980s in the magazine.

However, after the share market crash of 1987 the tone of the magazine changed dramatically, with editorials discussing (in hindsight) the loss of integrity with wealth, the distasteful decadence shown by the financial business sector and the building of pretentious houses as status symbols. The swanky restaurants and 1980s extravagance were decried in favour of unpretentious neighbourhood cafes and a return to traditional values. These editorials reflected the wider media commentary of the time, as “the yuppies mostly retreated from their expensive restaurants and extravagant cars, and threaded themselves back into the more familiar fabric of New Zealand society from where they had originally come” (Moon 2011, p.545).

Nevertheless it seems the effects of the recession and the ‘values-rhetoric’ had been forgotten by the mid- to late-1990s and there was again a sense of luxury and sumptuousness to the magazine. This could be seen in the evocative use of language (different words to those used in the 1980s, such as discerning, seductive, refined, gracious, opulent, elegant, decadent) and in the sensual nature of the imagery used in the advertising (rich colours and textures, comfortable soft furnishings). It was perhaps a more subtle form of luxury than in the mid-1980s, with less ostentation and more refinement, less mirror glass and hard granite edges and more welcoming softness and curves. However it was still expensive, and there was a continuing association with notions of individuality, distinction and good taste.

6.3.3 Severing ties with the NZIA and the rise of the lifestyle discourse

During 1994 Editor A assumed the role of editor as Kirsty Robertson became the new editor-in-chief¹⁰. In late 1994 the magazine was taken over by a new publisher, Australian Consolidated Press NZ Ltd, ending the long-standing formal association with the NZIA. However, registered architects continued to receive a copy of the magazine as part of their subscription to NZIA (Interview with Editor B, June 2013).

¹⁰ This role was previously termed ‘managing editor’.
The editorial in the first issue under the new publisher made no mention of this severing of ties and only the sharp-eyed would have noted the change of publisher. Nevertheless the magazine still sought to bring the best of New Zealand architecture to its readers, and since that time the editors have worked hard to cultivate and maintain the magazine’s relationships with existing and new architects:

_My primary point of contact is actually with architects, so, umm, obviously over the time I’ve been in this job I’ve formed good relationships with quite a number of them…so when I started I put a lot of effort in going to see architects and getting to know them and making them feel like they could kind of call me_ (Interview with Editor C, March 2013)

In early 1999 the name of the magazine was again changed, this time to _New Zealand Home and Entertaining_. The new focus was on including “inspiring ideas to enhance the pleasure your home brings to you, family and friends…[offering you] the means to enjoy your haven even more” (Editorial, _NZ Home and Entertaining_, Feb/March 1999, p.16) and to that end featured a new entertaining section that covered food and wine related issues and recipes. However, the editor was quick to point out that the focus was on a sense of togetherness and enjoyment. Short columns with recipes and informative articles about wine had been a feature of the magazine in the past, but some thirty years had passed since the last such column and this new entertaining section was certainly more prominent. This association of food and cooking with pleasure in New Zealand reflected the social construction of a foodie lifestyle which had become popular in the overseas media in the previous decade (Hanke 1989). The food portrayed in _NZ Home and Entertaining_ was designed to be simple and fuss-free, as no-one wanted to spend hours in the kitchen preparing a lavish dinner party; “thank goodness,” the editor commented, those days were gone (Editorial, _NZ Home and Entertaining_, Feb/March 1999, p.16). This was somewhat ironic, given that many of the entertaining articles seemed to be lavish, with recipes featuring gourmet ingredients and stylish settings.

In addition, a broadening of the scope of the magazine was evident, with the introduction of a new section dedicated to leisure travel, rather than a single column as in the past. It contained articles centred on a specific destination (usually overseas) and it provided the reader with ‘useful’ information about fashionable bars, cafes, restaurants, clothing shops, hotels and design stores, and cultural
activities to partake in such as art galleries, museums and exhibitions. This was highly suggestive of the demographic of the readership and implied a high degree of both economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). It seemed to assume that readers were looking for more ‘off the beaten track’ destinations, yet with a large dose of comfort. Where New Zealand content was included in the travel section it too was aimed at the upper end of the market, for example “luxury escapism” at a Northland vineyard retreat (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, June/July 2000, p.169), or “new luxury escapes in Rotorua and Hawkes Bay” (NZ Home and Entertaining, April/May 2001, cover page). Nevertheless, the main focus of the magazine remained the showcasing of the work of New Zealand architects to an interested public (Interview with Editor A, March 2013). The introduction of the ‘Home of the Year Award’ in 1995 was designed to further the vision of the magazine to celebrate New Zealand design (Editorial, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 1995/96, p.12) and continues today. More importantly for the publishers, the competition was a way to maintain contact with architects and their work, and to gain exclusive access to homes that had not been featured in competing magazines (Interview with Editor A, March 2013).

6.3.4 The home as a sight for consumption

Editor C announced a name change to Home New Zealand in the October/November 2007 issue after two years at the helm, reflecting a move away from entertaining in the magazine content to a focus on the home itself. Other changes accompanied the change of title:

Now, more than ever, we’re focusing on what we do best: inviting readers into the best-designed homes in New Zealand. So here’s what we’ve done to make our magazine better: We’ve given the magazine a complete redesign and upgraded our paper stock to make the work of our talented team of photographers look even better than before. Each of the homes we feature has been given extra breathing space to allow you a more comprehensive look around them. (Editorial, Home New Zealand, Oct/Nov 2007, p.15)

This vision continued a trend towards a more lavish style of photography in the magazine, and more space dedicated to the images. In this way, homes therefore became not only a site for consumption, but also a sight for consumption. Double page spreads became common and articles of ten pages were only comprised of
about two pages of text. The inclusion of many “dreamy” (Interviews with Editors A and C, March 2013) images was important as it made the magazine more accessible to a wider range of readers:

... I’m a writer but I was under no illusion that people would buy a magazine on the strength of the photography not the writing...and in fact many of the articles may not even be read... (Interview with Editor A, March 2013)

Umm, I always kind of think of the magazine as having a kind of a number of different entry points, umm, I think a lot of people that, umm, purchase the magazine may not even read all of the stories, or sometimes none of them, but the pictures are their primary kind of point of engagement...people can dig into the content without feeling like they’re consciously having to...inhale and read 800 words if that’s too difficult (Interview with Editor C, March 2013)

So it was recognised that not all readers actually read the text, meaning that the images assumed a higher significance in selling the magazine and provided a point of difference with competing publications.

6.4 The readership of Home New Zealand

The readership of Home New Zealand was seldom referred to in the magazine, but on two occasions a demographic breakdown was published (1976 and 1982). It is unclear why the editors included the results of official print surveys in the magazine – it may have been to attract new advertisers, it may have been to prove itself to its competitors or it may have been to reassure readers of the standard of the publication. Whatever the reason, it seemed that a significant proportion of the readers were in the higher income bracket and many were responsible for making significant financial business decisions.

That a high proportion of the readership was in the upper income bracket was reflected in the advertising that appeared in the magazine over the years. For example, Bank of New Zealand travellers’ cheques were advertised in Dec 1948 and the first advertisement for international flights (to Europe via Sydney) was in April 1952 – this was at a time when international travel was the preserve of wealthy New Zealanders (Holland & Kelly 2012). An Astral refrigerator advertised as “Now less than £50” (Home and Building, Jan 1954, p.15) suggested that by 1954 prices were
becoming more affordable; however, this equates to NZ$2500 in 2013 terms and was thus still very expensive (Reserve Bank of New Zealand 2013).

The sporadic inclusion of cartoons spoke of the readership in a tongue-in-cheek manner (Figure 6.1). Here, being old-fashioned is socially constructed as the ultimate nightmare. Which, presumably, the readers are not. The social and cultural capital of the readers was implied through the inclusion of columns dedicated to book reviews, art and sculpture, travel and gourmet cooking, where both time and knowledge to indulge (along with the necessary accoutrements) were important indicators of social standing (Bourdieu 1984).

Figure 6.1 Cartoon humour in Home and Building, May 1962, p.95 (Source: Anon/Bauer Media)

According to the media kit on the Home New Zealand publisher’s website, the readers of the magazine in 2013 are affluent, stylish, design-aware consumers with a passion for quality and luxury goods. Their average household income is 44 per cent higher than the average New Zealand home owner, they have a love of
“indulgence/high-end luxury” and are “44 per cent more likely than other magazine readers to be a foodie or food connoisseur” (Bauer Media 2013, n.p.).

However in addition to the target demographic and reported readership there is an ‘invisible’ readership, evidence of which is found in some of the reader letters published for a short time in the 1950s:

…it seems to me that you and all architects are only concerned with big houses that could almost be called mansions. What about the underdog who’s trying to build a small house on £10 a week? (Reader letter, Nov 1951, p.3)

The average reader cannot afford the ideas of an interior decorator, and it is only by studying magazines such as yours, that they acquire ideas. (Reader letter, June 1953, p.3)

These reader comments speak of the aspirational readers of *Home New Zealand* and its predecessors, those who cannot afford an architect designed home but who utilise the magazine as a source of inspiration. This unseen readership was also recognised by all the editors interviewed, for instance:

There’s also a large body of readers who...umm...value architecture and would like to hire an architect one day and some people may only do that once in their lifetime, and the nice thing is they kind of prepare for that for a really long time, so they read the magazine in preparation and sometimes they tear things out and keep stuff, although sometimes they just keep the whole magazine...so they’re kind of building up knowledge (Interview with Editor C, March 2013)

‘Aspiring’ readers may use the magazine to educate and inform their consumer choices and to increase their knowledge of the language of architecture. In this way, the magazine may be seen as a valued tool in the achievement of a long-held dream of designing and building a home, allowing the reader the pleasure of anticipation over a period of time. It may also be used as a means of acquiring knowledge (or cultural capital) about what constitutes good taste and distinction in home decoration and furnishing (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004).
6.5 Second homes in *Home New Zealand*

6.5.1 A broad overview of patterns and trends

Both the quantitative content and qualitative commentary related to second homes in *Home New Zealand* magazine have changed over the 76 years of publication. This section illustrates and examines this evolution in two ways; first, through an examination of changes in the number and percentage of second home articles and their relative position in the magazine over time; second, through links made to what was happening at the time, both within New Zealand society and within the magazine. In this way, this section situates second homes in the magazine within the broader socio-economic, political and cultural context and sets the scene for the two findings chapters that follow.

The commonly held view that a second home building boom occurred in the two decades after World War II (Collins & Kearns 2008; Peart 2009) is reflected in the increase in the number of second home articles published per year in *Home and Building*, as it was known then (Figure 6.2). However for the majority of the years 1936-1995 (a period of 59 years) there were seldom more than two second home articles published per year – in only ten years were there more than three second home articles. From 1995 the number rose, attaining a consistent eight to ten articles per year from 2000 to 2010.
While the number of second home articles in the magazine reflected a post-World War II second home building boom, analysis of the percentage of pages in *Home New Zealand* magazine devoted to second home articles each year (Figure 6.3) reveals a different picture. Although the number of second home articles may have been higher in the two decades after the war, the percentage of pages devoted to them remained relatively low - less than 3 per cent each year. The single exception to this was in 1968 when 5.2 per cent of pages were dedicated to second home articles. Second home articles were shorter than other articles, suggesting that they were not the primary emphasis. However from the late 1990s at least 4 per cent of the total number of pages was devoted to second home articles each year, rising to a maximum of 10 per cent in 2009 and again in 2012.
Figure 6.3 The percentage of pages in *Home New Zealand* magazine devoted to second home articles per year 1936-2012

Figure 6.4 depicts the percentage of issues of *Home New Zealand* magazine per year that contained second home articles. Of the 60 years from 1936 to 1996, there were 23 years where no second home articles were published in the magazine. However for the majority of the period from 1981 to 1995 second home articles were published in a third of the issues. Second homes featured in no less than half of the issues each year from 1996, with at least 80 per cent of issues carrying second home articles in many of the years from 2000-2012. In 1979 the first colour second home article was published (there was only a single second home article published between 1975 when colour was introduced, and 1979). As with other articles, the article was only partially printed in colour.
Figure 6.4 The percentage of *Home New Zealand* magazine issues per year that contained second home articles 1936-2012

To further illustrate the changing strength of emphasis on second homes over the years of publication, the percentage of issues per year featuring a second home on the cover was calculated (Figure 6.5). The majority of issues from 1936 until the late 1990s carried no images of second homes on the cover; however, from 1998 no fewer than 16 per cent of covers featured second homes. In 11 of the 13 years from 2000-2012, second homes were on the covers of at least one third of the issues each year.
The relative position of second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine over the years of publication was also analysed. The percentage of issues each year with a second home article listed first on the contents page, considered to be the premium position, was plotted. Figure 6.6 shows that from 1997, second homes were in first position in at least 16 per cent of issues in 14 out of 16 years. Over the 60 years prior to this, however, second homes only featured in first position in 12 years.

Figure 6.5 Percentage of *Home New Zealand* magazine covers each year featuring second homes 1936-2012
The quantitative analysis presented here illustrates the increasing significance of second homes in *Home New Zealand* magazine, particularly since the mid- to late-1990s, which coincides with the popular media commentary noting the rise of the so-called ‘luxury’ second home phenomenon. Not only were there more second home articles published from the late 1990s, but they also comprised a higher percentage of the total number of pages than previously. Furthermore, the percentage of issues featuring a second home on the cover increased from 1999, as did the percentage of second home articles in first position in the magazine. This indicates the changing importance of second homes to the magazine in more recent years.

However the numbers only tell part of the story and a broader view incorporating three external factors must be taken into consideration in their interpretation. First, restrictions put in place by the government during World War II prohibited the building of second homes. In 1949 the government lifted the restrictions and the building of second homes up to 400 square feet (37 square metres) was again permitted. Nevertheless, self-built second homes were still illegally erected during
the war years, as this article discussing the lack of architectural taste in second homes implies:

...in lieu of usual building materials, unobtainable through war conditions, people have resorted to makeshift structures which can only be described as shacks. (‘Let’s resolve to design our weekend cottages with taste and efficiency’, Home and Building Sept-Nov 1946, p.17)

Often during the 1950s there were two second home ‘articles’ per page, resulting in the higher number of articles but reflected in the lower percentage of pages devoted to second home articles (Figures 6.2 and 6.4). Finally, as with other articles in Home and Building in the 1940s and 1950s, second home articles were often reprinted within a year or two of initial publication. Nevertheless it is argued that these figures are still broadly indicative of the situation in New Zealand in the 1950s; the building of second homes was becoming more popular and this was reflected in the media.

Until the mid-1990s, second homes accounted for generally less than 4 per cent of the articles in Home New Zealand (Figure 6.7). However a clear pattern emerges from the late 1990s, where second home articles as a percentage of the total number of articles in the magazine climbs rapidly from around 5 per cent to over 10 per cent in the decade 1999-2009. This is despite the Asian Crisis (1997-1999) and the Global Financial Crisis (2007-2008) which impacted on both the New Zealand economy and the second home housing market (Reddell & Sleeman 2008). From 2009 the percentage of second home articles then drops to just over 8 per cent in 2012.
Much of the commentary in the New Zealand media at the time of the Global Financial Crisis focused on the impact on the second home housing market, with sales volumes and prices dropping:

[The stance of owners not prepared to drop their price and meet the market] is behind the low level of sales in all the areas dominated by holiday homes and, combined with the economic outlook, suggests the slip will continue for some time before flattening out...The year to September 30, 2008, captured the initial blast of the downturn but the slide since then has been eye-opening. (Morris 2009, p.B4)

Despite this commentary though, in the period 2009-2012 the percentage of second home articles featured in the magazine had risen to almost 10 per cent. The potential reasons for the patterns and trends identified through this quantitative examination of second home articles will now be discussed in relation to wider conditions in New Zealand society at the time.
6.5.2 Second homes in the coming-of-age years

While three second homes were featured in the July-September 1937 issue of *Building Today*, there was only a single second home article in the magazine during the war years. This may have been a reflection of the building restrictions in place at the time, in combination with the diverting of architects to necessary war projects or to active duty in the war itself as discussed in Section 6.2.2. However from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s, two distinct representations of second homes could be identified in *Home and Building* magazine. First, stylish architect designed second homes from overseas were often showcased in photographs accompanied by a brief text naming the architect and location. Perhaps, as it stated quite openly in its mandate and implied in many editorials, the magazine hoped to educate and inspire New Zealanders and thereby provide architects with more work. Second, there was an element of moral outrage in the tone of some articles about self-built second homes, both illustrated in the extract above from 1946 and again here in 1950:

*The ambition of most of our people – to own a bach or cottage at the sea or lake side – is responsible for the destruction of thousands of acres of bush and the substitution of innumerable drab and ugly shacks...*  
(*Editorial, Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1950, p.17*)

The 1950 editorial then went on to highlight many of the disadvantages of self-built second homes (in addition to their ugliness) such as poor ventilation, lack of orientation to the sun, no comfort and no privacy. In short, second homes that were not architect designed were construed as aesthetically repulsive and unfit for the purpose of comfortable living and relaxation on holiday.

Once the building restrictions had been lifted in 1949 and the building of a second home was again permitted, the magazine was quick to capitalise. Ideas for a 400 square foot second home were presented in the August/September issue that year, while designs for a 500 square foot ‘cottage’ and a ‘hillside bach’ were included in the October/November and December/January issues of 1950 respectively. The first actual architect designed New Zealand second home to be featured in the magazine after the war was in 1951; a lakefront second home with boat shed and jetty (Figure 6.8). Architectural floor plans often accompanied the articles, albeit without measurements, to encourage readers to approach architects directly for a tailor-made solution to their specific requirements.
Figure 6.8 The first second home featured in the magazine after World War II, *Home and Building*, May 1951, p.24-25 (Source: Sparrow Industrial Pictures/Bauer Media)
By the late 1950s, like the home itself (Shaw & Brookes 1999), the second home in New Zealand had become a site for consumption, with the rise of articles dedicated to the summer lifestyle at the second home. Some showcased new consumer goods for the second home, while others provided instruction and advice on how to decorate the second home. In December 1957 a second home was featured on the front cover of the magazine for the first time (Figure 6.9). As with many of the cover images, it showcased a particular product; in this case, it was Tasman Pine (a timber product produced by a New Zealand company called Tasman Pulp and Paper).

Figure 6.9 The first cover of Home and Building to feature a second home in Dec 1957 (Source: Bauer Media)
In March 1958 *Home and Building* again featured a second home on the cover, this time showcasing ‘Fibrolite’, a new asbestos cement cladding material that would become a very popular product in New Zealand, especially in the construction of second homes as it was light, durable and “completely resistant to the destructive corrosion of salt laden air” (“The “Fibrolite week-ender”, *Home and Building*, March 1958, p.3). Floor plans for the second home on the cover were shown in an article in that issue, and in the May 1958 issue there were photographs of the completed second home on display at the Auckland Easter Show (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10 Article showcasing the Fibrolite second home exhibition at Auckland Easter Show, *Home and Building*, May 1958, p.34 (Source: James Hardie/Bauer Media)
This exhibition second home was very popular with show attendees, with over one hundred thousand people were reported to have viewed it (“The 1960 “Fibrolite week-ender””, *Home and Building*, April 1960, p.3). Nevertheless, from the early-to mid-1960s, many of the second homes featured in *Home and Building* were from overseas, predominantly the UK, USA and Scandinavia. The focus on international second homes in the magazine carried with it an image of luxury and exclusiveness, somehow reminiscent of Mun’s (1664) association of foreign goods with luxury in the seventeenth century described in Chapter Two (Section 2.6.1).

### 6.5.3 Second homes in the contemporary years

In January 1968 the first of a twelve part series began on how to build your own second home; an interesting development given previous discussions in the magazine about self-built second homes. It was a comprehensive, step-by-step design and build project capable of being carried out by any competent home do-it-yourself person. The hypothetical family that this project was aimed at:

*is envisaged as two parents, one son, one daughter – the parents in mid-thirties or early forties, children 8-14 years. A family that has spent 10-15 years getting established and now has a home well on the way to being paid off, a medium priced car, a small boat for which secure storage must be provided. They have just accumulated enough for a modest but comfortable cottage.* (Lee, *Home and Building*, Jan 1968, p.33)

The floor area was either 675 or 800 square feet (approximately 63 or 74 square metres respectively) depending on which floor plan was chosen. While a little larger than normal, this was considered to be fairly close to the average size and was designed to “realistically cater” to the needs of the family (Lee, *Home and Building*, Jan 1968, p.33). This how-to guide signified a shift away from the usual course of directing readers to the services of an architect for their house building solutions. Previously the editors had refused to provide readers with working plans from any of the homes featured in the magazine – on the basis that each family, site and home was different and therefore had unique requirements (Shaw & Brookes 1999). It is not clear why this guide was included in the magazine, nor was there any indication in future issues about the number of readers who successfully completed the project.
As mentioned briefly earlier, there was a period of approximately 25 years from the early 1970s to the late 1990s when the number of second homes featured in the magazine declined (refer to Figure 6.4). During this time New Zealand experienced three economic recessions – two Oil Price Shocks (1974-1977 and 1979-1982) and the 1991-1992 Recession (Reddell & Sleeman 2008). This may at least in part explain the decline in second home articles, as tighter financial conditions tend to result in a reduction in spending on discretionary purchases such as new vehicles, travel and second homes (Morris 2009; Reddell & Sleeman 2008). Furthermore, if architects are not employed to design second homes, this should naturally be reflected in the content of a magazine devoted to showcasing new architecture. However it may also have reflected the editor’s awareness of what the readers would (or would not) read during this period, and that perhaps articles on second homes would have been deemed inappropriate in that economic climate.

There was a notable increase in the number of articles on second homes from 1999 when the magazine changed its name to New Zealand Home and Entertaining, perhaps reflecting the role of the second home as a site for entertaining and leisure. While there had only been one or two second home articles each year from the 1970s to 1990s, some issues now contained as many as six separate features. Logically perhaps, given the long-standing association of second homes with the easy-going summer beach holiday lifestyle, the December/January summer issue each year from 1999 included the largest contingent of second homes. Frequently between a quarter and a third of the number of articles in this issue were dedicated to second homes in the period between 2002 and 2012. From 2005 second homes featured so regularly in the magazine that there was seldom an issue without at least one second home article at any time of the year. Second homes had therefore become a significant focus of Home New Zealand magazine from the late 1990s, with more articles and pages per year dedicated to featuring them than in previous decades.

6.6 Summarising Chapter Six

This chapter has presented the findings from the analysis of contextual material. It has showcased the story of Home New Zealand magazine from 1936 to the present
day and related it to the social, economic and political context of the time. It has foregrounded the increasing emphasis on second homes in the magazine, through a quantitative analysis, and through a more qualitative analysis has situated the second home content within the broader context of the magazine’s development. The reader’s attention has been drawn to how the magazine has both reflected and been impacted by changes in the society in which it was published, through its editorial, articles and advertising. As shown in Chapter Two, the definition of luxury is slippery and dynamic but it rests in the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of the society in which it is found. This chapter is therefore pivotal in this regard. It has given the reader a deeper appreciation of the backdrop against which representations of luxury in second homes have been interpreted, through situating the magazine within the broader societal context. In the following two chapters the findings of the thematic analysis are presented. Chapter Seven critically examines the luxury of the second home, while Chapter Eight provides evidence of the luxury in the second home.
CHAPTER 7. THE LUXURY OF THE SECOND HOME
7.1 Introducing Chapter Seven

Having put in place the theoretical framework and necessary societal context in the previous chapters, it is now appropriate to introduce and outline the global themes identified through the thematic analysis of the *Home New Zealand* second home discourse. Two global themes were recognised in the representations of luxury within the context of second homes; the luxury of the second home and the luxury in the second home (Figure 7.1).

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 7.1** *Home New Zealand* second home thematic networks – the two global themes illustrating how they relate to the research objective

This chapter critically examines the global theme of the luxury of the second home which was a consistent and pervasive notion throughout the years of publication of the magazine. The global theme encompasses four organising themes: the luxury of sanctuary and restoration, the luxury of leisure and pleasure, the luxury of ownership and the luxury of the site (Figure 7.2).
Figure 7.2 Thematic network for the global theme “The luxury of the second home” showing the four organising themes and the thirteen basic themes that constitute them.
Through a rigorous analysis of each of these organising themes, and the basic themes that constitute them, this chapter will illustrate the luxury inherent in owning a second home. This is an important finding as there has been little, if any, sense of such a luxury evident in the academic and popular media constructions of second homes in New Zealand, at least until recently. The discussions in this chapter will then lead into points of similar significance in Chapter Eight which investigates the global theme of the luxury in the second home.

7.2 The luxury of sanctuary and restoration

Four distinct but related basic themes constitute this organising theme: the second home as a retreat or getaway; the second home as an escape; life at the second home as a contrast to everyday life; and the second home as a source of restoration that refreshes the owner in some way (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3 The organising theme "The luxury of sanctuary and restoration" and its four basic themes
The evocative language used in the construction of the second home as a place of sanctuary and restoration contributed strongly to the organising theme of the luxury of the second home. The basic themes of retreat, escape, contrast and restoration were often found together in the same paragraph, as seen in the following extracts:

*This is a house to escape to. Its quiet, spacious interiors are welcoming and relaxed, while the coastline beckons you outside to take in the restorative sea air. The laid-back lifestyle that it provides is the perfect antidote to the pace of city living.* (Wells, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Aug/Sept 2001, p.66)

*Here, we have a weekend getaway that allows its owners the rare pleasure of looking at life and the way we live it in a completely different way...[It] is an escape from their busy city lives...* (Hansen, *Home NZ*, Aug/Sept 2009, p.48)

It was a consistent narrative throughout the years of publication. Furthermore it mirrors the academic literature, where references to second homes as sanctuaries and places of physical and psychological rejuvenation are common (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Jaakson 1986; Pitkänen, Puhakka & Sawatzky 2011; D. R. Williams & Kaltenborn 1999; D. R. Williams & Van Patten 2006). Each of the four basic themes will now be unpacked and critically examined.

### 7.2.1 Retreat

Much of the academic literature has documented the notion of the second home as a retreat or oasis away from an urban environment for the owners (Chaplin 1999; Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; D. R. Williams & Van Patten 2006). The language of ‘retreat’ is used by second home owners in Norway, the UK, Canada and the USA, indicating a cross-cultural similarity in the meanings attributed to the second home (Chaplin 1999; Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Luka 2007; D. R. Williams & Kaltenborn 1999; D. R. Williams & Van Patten 2006). It is also part of the common rhetoric found in real estate advertising material for second homes in New Zealand, where it is used as a tool to evoke impressions of a dream lifestyle that owning a second home may fulfil (Collins & Kearns 2008):

*Waterfront Retreat...You will now want the weekends to come around even faster, as your coastal holiday home will be waiting for you! Arrive Friday night, swing open the bi-fold doors to the massive decking, pour the wine/beer and simply unwind. There is an open-plan living/kitchen area, 2 bedrooms and bathroom on the main level, with a cute...*
bunkroom with bathroom below. You will never tire of the sweeping harbour views or the easy stroll down through the tree-covered reserve walkway to the almost private sandy beach for swimming or launching the kayaks. Come and secure your slice of paradise. (Waterfront retreat 2013)

This construction was also evident in the magazine text, with frequent references to the second home as a retreat, getaway, hideaway, sanctuary, haven or refuge:

*Perhaps you are planning for days at your holiday retreat, which may be a bach at the beach or up in the bush. Whatever the location, your retreat signifies a complete break with the monotonous daily routine of the larger part of the year. (Hoby, Home and Building, Nov 1956, p.13)*

*While satisfying his clients’ desire for all the comforts of home, he has provided them with an island hideaway that is a true sanctuary from city life. (Millar, NZ Home and Building, June/July 1998, p.102)*

The use of such language in the magazine conjured up mental pictures of a hiding place, a safe and peaceful place where one could experience seclusion and solitude. It constructed the second home as a private place to which one could go to withdraw from the world for a time. Indeed, the *OED* defines a retreat as “a place providing privacy or seclusion for the purposes of prayer, study, or meditation, or for rest and relaxation; a quiet or secluded dwelling or residence” ('Oxford English Dictionary' 2012). This was certainly the imagery portrayed in the magazine discourse, as illustrated by the extracts above. However, it was not only the physical totality of the second home itself that was the retreat. In many cases specific rooms in the second home had been designed for the purpose of retreat. In both instances there was a sense of luxury in having a dwelling or room purposefully designed so that one could retreat from the company of others to experience privacy and seclusion, whether those ‘others’ were the world at large or those whom the second home owner was on holiday with. This sense of luxury is based on the assumption, inherent in the text, that one desires to retreat from others, to have a safe space to oneself in the modern world, and that this is sought after but not necessarily available to all. In this way, it was reminiscent of the function of the original New Zealand bach (discussed in Chapter Four) as a place of retreat for men.

The photographs associated with the second home articles likewise provided visual confirmation of the nature of a retreat (Figures 7.4 and 7.5). In the first image shown overleaf, for example, the second home was described as a “weekend
retreat”. The lounge was furnished with chairs that appeared comfortable and inviting, suitable for resting and relaxing. The open nature of the deck and placement of the outdoor furniture suggested no prying eyes on the beach invading one’s privacy – and indeed, the beach was empty (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 The second home as a weekend retreat, *Home and Building*, April 1969, p.37 (Source: Studio One/Bauer Media)

In the second image (Figure 7.5), the term ‘retreat’ was used to refer to the master bedroom. The book lying open on the bed suggested someone had been reading quietly in solitude. The windows were open, implying a sense of safety and security. Despite the sun and presumed warmth of the day, there was no-one on the beach or sand dunes. It was a picture of calm, repose and sanctuary which again evoked a feeling of desire.
Upon deeper reflection, this desire was subsequently interpreted as indicative of a sense of the luxury inherent in such a dream lifestyle, constructed in the articles through the use of evocative language and metaphor in the romantic portrayal of the second home as a retreat. Through the text, both written and visual, there was a sense of the luxury not only of having a place to retreat to, but also the luxury of being able to retreat from. In this way, the articles portrayed a luxury akin to Mitchell and Hebecker’s (2008, p.26) “humble luxury” – which they define as the luxury of (an imagined) way of life, rather than physical material luxury linked to prestige value and mentioned in Chapter Two.

7.2.2 Escape

The theme of escape was similar to that of retreat, in that one could enjoy the luxury of escape from, and at the same time savour the luxury of escape to:

[The second home] is an escape from their busy city lives... (Hansen, Home NZ, Aug/Sept 2009, p.48)
This is a house to escape to. (Wells, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2001, p.66)

The need to escape from everyday life and seek new experiences is held to be a fundamental motivation for leisure and tourism generally (Graburn 1983; Jaakson 1986; Pitkänen 2008). The second home is a specific form of response to these needs while at the same time allowing the owners to enjoy the safe and familiar (Pitkänen 2008). In the magazine the common rhetoric of escaping ‘everyday pressures’ and ‘stress’ was always explicitly linked with city living:

These weekend cottages need not be large...a few days away from the rush of our so-called modern civilisation will truly serve as - Nature’s sweet restorer... ('Planning for leisure', Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.29)

Haven to holiday-makers...who wish to escape the rigours of city dwelling (Magdalinos, NZ Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1988, p.38)

“Life in the city is always hectic,” sighs Karin, “...we can escape here and have a little getaway and come back refreshed” (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, April/May 2001, p.86)

While there were references to this from the earliest issues, the notion of ‘escape from’ became more prevalent in the magazine discourse after the introduction of neo-liberalism in 1984 (as discussed in Chapter Four). Those living and working in the city were represented as busy and constantly under pressure (as highlighted by Kirsty Robertson’s editorial comments in Chapter Six, Section 6.3.2); therefore they needed a second home to escape to. This was subtly reinforced in the magazine by the absence of rurally-based owners of second homes – it seemed that only city dwellers owned (or needed to own) a second home.

In the magazine, the work environment was deemed the chief source of stress and pressure and this echoed international research findings – not only in the field of second home studies (Chaplin 1999; Pitkänen 2008) but also commonly in leisure studies (Juniu 2009; Schor 2006), sociology (Southerton & Tomlinson 2005) and tourism (Wang 2000). Some have proposed that, while the primary home may have performed the role of providing an escape from work in the past, the adoption of modern technology over recent years has meant an encroachment of work into life at home (Chaplin 1999; Ellingsen & Hidle 2013). Thus, for some who eschew broadband and mobile technology, the second home may be a means of escaping and achieving both a physical and psychological sense of separation from the work
environment (Jaakson 1986; Van Patten & Williams 2008). It was seldom mentioned in the articles, perhaps indicating that it was taken for granted that work would not enter the life lived at the second home. Very infrequently though, there were explicit statements about leaving work (or technology) behind:

Away from the fax machine, cellphone and computer there’s nothing to do but sense your stress departing. (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, June/July 1999, p.106)

...without the pressure of the phone and mail the couple can ease back into a slower pace. (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, April/May 2001, p.86)

Images accompanying the articles also portrayed a lack of (paid) work at the second home, through the absence of work-related paraphernalia. However in one article, there was a photograph of a laptop open on the dining room table (Figure 7.6).

While the laptop may have been used at the second home for leisure purposes, its imagery nevertheless remains strongly associated with work. The presence of the laptop at the second home may provide evidence of the notion that the work-leisure duality is no longer relevant, even at the second home. Indeed, Blackshaw (2010) notes the modern blurring of boundaries that traditionally separated work and leisure. He argues that for some, work may be a form of leisure rather than its antithesis, and that pleasure and enjoyment may be found in such work of a different kind carried out during one’s leisure time. Here, in the context of escape then, perhaps one is able to indulge in the luxury of escape to the pleasure of work at the second home.
In addition to an escape from [work], international research has suggested that the notion of escape may be to the refuge of a second home, generally located amongst nature (Jaakson 1986; Luka 2007; Pitkänen 2008; Pitkänen, Puhakka & Sawatzky 2011; Van Patten & Williams 2008; D. R. Williams & Van Patten 2006). Some evidence of this could also be seen in the magazine discourse:

*Architect Pete Bossley’s winning design for an elegant island hideaway transports its occupants from busy city lives back to nature (Millar, NZ Home and Building, June/July 1998, p.101)*
Wolfe (1977) disputed such claims of an ‘escape to nature’, stating instead that while the ostensible reason for second home ownership in Ontario, Canada may have been to reconnect with nature, those who owned second homes were more likely to live in homes with ample gardens and backyards on tree-lined streets. Furthermore, he argued second home ownership did not bring owners into direct contact with nature, as for the most part they were located in highly modified urbanised settings. Such sentiments were also echoed by Jaakson (1986). Likewise, the idea of nature as portrayed in the *Home New Zealand* magazine discourse seemed to be sanitised and civilised. New Zealand second homes were predominantly found in more suburban coastal settings rather than amongst dense native bush (forest), although naturally there were exceptions to this. It appears that the perception of what constitutes ‘nature’ is thus relative and highly dependent on one’s cultural background (Pitkänen 2008; Tuulentie 2007), and that in the magazine discourse examined here any location deemed ‘rural’ or ‘coastal’ was by implication ‘nature’ or ‘natural’. This was also noted in Norway by Grimstad and Lyngø (1993) who found that despite the second home environment having been heavily modified by humans, and resembling more of a suburban setting, second home owners still considered that it represented nature.

### 7.2.3 Contrast

While life at home was constructed as busy, hectic and stressful and almost always city-based, as discussed above, there was a sense of contrast in lifestyles between the primary and second homes. These contrasts were not only physical but also psychological in nature. Distinctions were frequently made between urban and rural, fast-paced and slow-paced, complicated and simple, pressured and relaxed:

...providing them with peaceful, restful surroundings totally different from the Auckland [city] way of life (‘Holiday cottage at Taupo’, *Home and Building*, Dec 1967, p.31)

*The owners deliberately sought a bach that would be the antithesis of their more complicated lives back in the city* (Thornton, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Dec/Jan 2006/07, p.95)

The second home was often purposely designed to be a deliberate physical contrast to the primary residence, built and even furnished in a different style:
“She wanted it to be totally different [from their permanent home] – relaxed, open-plan, bright and not fussy” (Bucknell, NZ Home and Building, Dec/Jan 1997/98, p.76,78)

They wanted something simple, a house that was a deliberate contrast to their city home... (Hansen, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2009/10, p.74)

Both Ellingsen and Hidle (2013) and Halfacree (2011) noted that the contrast between primary home and second home may not necessarily be a contrast in material standard and comfort, yet for some second home owners featured in the magazine it was exactly that:

[They] don’t crave convenience when they go on holiday...[their holidays] are all about enjoying the surroundings rather than living in the lap of luxury. There’s no electricity...“We wanted to make the experience of staying at the bach slightly inconvenient...We didn’t want a city house at the beach,” [the owner] says. (Lewis, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2001/02, p.72)

For some second home owners, it seemed the physical contrast between primary home and second home resulted in a sense of psychological contrast, functioning as something of a trigger to change to a different, more relaxed holiday or weekend mind-set. A comment by one of the architects supports such a contention:

[He wanted] to create a sense of arrival which would help the owners to switch mentally from city-living to weekend-relaxing mode (Millar, NZ Home and Building, Dec/Jan 1989/90, p.34)

A different but comparable phenomenon was observed by Chaplin (1999) and Van Patten and Williams (2008), whereby second home owners reported feeling the stresses of everyday life departing when they reached a particular landmark on the journey to their second home. Similarly, Ellingsen and Hidle (2013) noted one second home owner who had a particular set of clothes that he only wore while at the second home, which both signalled and reinforced a psychological distancing from life at the primary home. There seemed to be luxury inherent in these statements; the luxury of being able to live, or be, in a different manner than at the primary home, which was echoed in a comment by one of the editors:

They just wanted to live in a different way, they wanted it to be...more relaxed, not so structured, and that is a luxury these days (Interview with Editor B, June 2013)

This was particularly true of the earlier extract above where life at the second home was designed to be slightly inconvenient. This idea of inconvenience and contrast
was referred to by one of the editors interviewed, when describing what constituted a luxury:

> Your experience of living is heightened...you spend a lot more time every day focused on the rituals of eating and sleeping, washing up, sitting in the sun and things like that...and its interesting how deep the appreciation of [the architect’s clients] is for that inconvenience, they adore it. (Interview with Editor C, March 2013)

Alternatively, as suggested in this extract from the 1950s, the physical contrast between primary and second homes may be the outward manifestation of an inner psychological contrast. The second home may be a venue for a fuller expression of one’s personality which may not be possible at the primary home:

> On the other hand, it is in [designing a place for] our holiday pursuits that most of us have the best opportunity of expressing our individuality (Beckett, Home and Building, Nov 1953, p.29)

This statement reflected the shift towards a consumer culture in New Zealand society at the time, where the notion of individuality through consumption was being championed (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.1). This finding echoes the work of D. R. Williams and Van Patten (2006, p.38), who state that second home ownership “affords symbolic expression of ‘authentic’ identity and allowed for considerable personalization in construction and furnishings”. Likewise, in his study of Canadian cottagers, Luka (2007) found a strong belief that the second home was the place where people could really be themselves. Here, and perhaps more importantly, the architect designed second home was portrayed and sold to the readers as an authentic representation of the owners’ identity, which enhanced the perception of the luxury inherent in the theme of contrast.

### 7.2.4 Restoration

The second home not only allowed the owners the luxury of being able to escape the rigours of city living, and the ability to do so in a contrasting environment, it also provided them with a transformative place from which they could return rejuvenated to their everyday lives. The magazine discourse implied that the feeling of restoration gained at the second home was something that was either absent from, or was unable to be gained to the same degree, at the primary home:
It’s so invigorating to step into a new and different atmosphere. (Harris, Home and Building, Dec 1964, p.7)

Its occupants can’t help but return to their city existence feeling invigorated (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2003, p.87)

The concept of the second home as restorative was mentioned sporadically throughout the decades, but was noticeably more prevalent from the 1990s, at a time when the social construction of ‘life as stressful’ was also evident in the magazine editorials (see also Chapter Six, Section 6.3.2):

As a foil to our pressure-cooker existence which places so much demand on our time… (Editorial, NZ Home and Building, Aug/Sept 1992, p.8)

...old values and “homely” decor provide the necessary retreat from stress-filled lives (Editorial, NZ Home and Building, Feb/March 1993, p.10)

This notion of everyday life as stressful and time-pressured has often been discussed and hotly contested in the academic literature (Schor 2006; Southerton & Tomlinson 2005; Sullivan & Gershuny 2004; Wang 2000). Previous research has reported that having a second home provided the owners with a place where time took on a different meaning (Chaplin 1999; Pitkänen 2008). For example, while there was still ‘work’ to be done (for example, cooking, chopping firewood, cleaning), there were no schedules, no times to be kept, no deadlines to meet, no need to account for how each moment was spent (Chaplin 1999; Jaakson 1986; Kaltenborn 1998; D. R. Williams & Kaltenborn 1999). This perception, perhaps more than anything else, helped to facilitate the transformative restoration process for second home owners. Indeed, D. Quinn (2010, p.108) mentioned the second home owners in her study speaking of the “special luxury” afforded by the lack of structure at the second home. One particular comment by a second home owner in the magazine echoed these sentiments:

“It’s very relaxed...you can do your own thing and take your time over it”, says Sigmund (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, April/May 2001, p.86)

It was not that the second home provided more time than the primary home, rather it was that the second home provided a backdrop for the consumption of time in a different manner than the primary home. This difference was an important ingredient in the interpretation of the luxury of the second home, and it will be
discussed further in the following section examining the luxury of leisure and pleasure.

Various studies have reported a more intangible belief that the second home owners’ sense of renewal while at the second home came from the ability to experience something that was missing from their everyday lives. This commonly took the form of restoring a sense of balance or equilibrium, of restoration through an experience in and of nature not possible at the primary home, or of some other indefinable yet equally real restorative quality of the second home or its location (Chaplin 1999; Jorgensen & Stedman 2001; Pitkänen 2008; Pitkänen, Puhakka & Sawatzky 2011; B. Quinn & Turley 2005; D. Quinn 2010). However this restorative quality is not unique to second homes. As Graburn (1983, p.11) points out, tourism itself is “often identified with…the renewal of life, the recharging of run-down elements”. Importantly for this thesis, Crouch, Jackson and Thompson (2005) note the role of the media in reflecting and constructing this utopian dimension of holidays and tourism. As evidenced in the preceding extracts from the magazine, the intangible nature of the therapeutic properties of the second home was both seen in, and created by, the magazine discourse.

To summarise, the organising theme of sanctuary and restoration identified in the Home New Zealand discourse mirrored the academic literature on second homes. The second home was commonly referred to by second home owners and academics alike as affording retreat from a busy urban life (D. R. Williams & Kaltenborn 1999). It was a place to escape the rigours of work, and was often a physical and mental contrast to the primary home (Chaplin 1999). It was these aspects of the second home that carried with them an unspoken degree of luxury. The luxury of sanctuary and restoration seemed to be heightened and more special at a second home designed specifically for the owners, where their needs were catered for and their identity reflected in the very fabric of the property. This was perhaps unsurprising, given that the original intent of the magazine was to promote the benefits of employing the services of an architect.

The luxuries of retreat, escape, contrast and restoration were not exclusive to architect designed second homes; however, it is argued here that these qualities could also be contained within the walls of vernacular self-built second homes. In
fact, these are all experiences sought (and perhaps found?) in the very act of tourism itself (Graburn 1983). It was the second home’s existence as the site for the consumption of such experiences that was interpreted here as contributing significantly to the global theme of the luxury of the second home. The luxury of a second home lay in being able to step out of the ‘everyday’ for a time and thence to return feeling refreshed and restored. Part of the ability to achieve this rested in the very *raison d’être* of the second home – leisure.

### 7.3 The luxury of leisure and pleasure

The second organising theme centred on the luxury of living a lifestyle devoted to leisure and pleasure, which could be viewed as a natural consequence of the primary purpose of a second home (Figure 7.7).

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 7.7** The organising theme “The luxury of leisure and pleasure” and its three basic themes

Further to the discussion of the historical luxury of leisure at the beginning of Chapter Three, support for the continuing conceptualisation of a lifestyle of leisure and pleasure as a luxury was recently succinctly captured by Blackshaw (2010,
when he stated that “[p]erhaps the greatest virtue of leisure is that it allows us to suspend for the time being the weight of the world, to be irresponsible and delight in it”. While the academic literature has largely ignored this aspect of second home ownership, Glyptis and Chambers (1982, p.247) did note that “few people have the luxury of designing or fitting a home principally with leisure needs in mind”. In *Home New Zealand* magazine, architects did just that; purposefully designing second homes to facilitate a lifestyle which centred upon the specific leisure and recreation pursuits enjoyed by the owners (indoors and outdoors, active and passive). In this way, the architect designed second homes showcased in the magazine inherently spoke of the luxury of leisure and pleasure. Eating, playing and relaxing were all dominant and recurring basic themes contributing to the luxury of leisure and pleasure at the second home (Figure 7.7), and each will be critically examined in turn.

### 7.3.1 Eating

While a short cooking column was introduced to the magazine in October 1967\(^{11}\), the representation of eating as a pleasurable form of leisure and socialising only became apparent from the late 1990s, particularly after the magazine changed its name to *New Zealand Home and Entertaining* in early 1999. It reflected the increasing pervasiveness of the discourse of food and entertaining as a form of social and cultural capital which had become prevalent on television and in the print media internationally since the 1980s (Hanke 1989; Wurgaft 2005). In the magazine, the first editorial under the new name spoke of the new focus designed to showcase more ways to “enhance the pleasure your home brings” (Editorial, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Feb/March 1999, p.16). Cooking, eating and dining were seen as an explicit part of this pleasure, particularly at the second home. This mirrored a sizeable number of overseas studies which identified the cooking and sharing of a meal as a significant part of the pleasure of the second home leisure lifestyle (N. McIntyre, Roggenbuck & Williams 2006; Pitkänen 2008; D. Quinn 2010; Vittersø

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\(^{11}\) This cooking column, titled “Bon Appetit”, ran for three years, with the final column featuring in the Oct/Nov 1970 issue. It focused on providing recipes with an international flavour, such as Chicken Chasseur and Nasi Goreng. The article’s by-line was “good cuisine is the essence of a good life” (*Home and Building*, Dec 1967, p.46)
The magazine discourse frequently referred to ‘entertaining’ and described it in somewhat romantic terms:

*The beach house is the ideal place to reconnect with friends and family over long walks and leisurely meals* (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 1999/2000, p.132)

*At this weekend retreat, the owners are able to indulge their passion for entertaining in a relaxed and casual way. These sensual pleasures begin at sunrise when they are nudged awake by the aroma of freshly baked bread rising from the kitchen. A brisk walk along the beach and a leisurely read of the weekend papers, may be followed by lunch on the deck – perhaps scallops and orzo pasta and a simple rocket salad washed down with a glass of rose* (McCall, NZ Home and Entertaining, June/July 2000, p.91)

Invariably the ingredients, food and wine mentioned in the articles over the years, and as exemplified in the second extract above, were of the type considered ‘gourmet’ or luxury items for most New Zealanders. While many have criticised Bourdieu’s concept of capital and its relationship to social class (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen 2004; Silva & Wright 2009), nonetheless it provides a useful vocabulary for discussing the luxury consumption represented here. He argued that both financial and cultural capital were evident in the foods (along with other goods and activities) preferred by different social classes, and that social class could be identified through an examination of food preferences (Bourdieu 1984). This thesis does not seek to proscribe a class identity, but contends that the manner in which entertaining at the second home was portrayed in the magazine certainly suggested a high level of financial and cultural capital. This contention is supported by the work of Adema (2000) who argues that knowledge of gourmet food and (particularly) having the leisure time to prepare it, are symbolic of social and economic status.

The accompanying images in the magazine were sensual, visual treats, depicting close-ups of the dishes, with the captions drawing the reader’s attention to gourmet, exotic and imported ingredients. The dining tables set for entertaining were usually reminiscent of a café or restaurant setting, with sparkling silverware and wine glasses, and often a stunning sea view backdrop (Figures 7.8 and 7.9). The overall sense was one of a pleasurable second home lifestyle, with the luxury of having both the time to cook special dishes and the time for a leisurely lunch (or dinner) socialising with friends and family. That this could be interpreted as a luxury was
perhaps indicative of the lingering influences of the early moral philosophers and the church. As discussed in Chapter Two, the early moral philosophers decried the consumption of rich gourmet food and wine as luxurious excess (Bach & Glancy 2003; Dunbabin 2003), while the church equated both the non-productive consumption of time in this manner and the excesses of food and wine with sin (Weber 2001). By their moralising against leisure and pleasure in this way, they implicitly ascribed to them a sense of luxury which remains centuries later.
Figure 7.8 Entertaining at a 'retro-styled' second home, NZ Home and Entertaining, April/May 1999, p.124 (Source: Kieran Scott/Bauer Media)
Figure 7.9 Entertaining friends for lunch at the second home with gourmet food, wine and ocean views, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.75 (Source: Kieran Scott/Bauer Media)
With the new focus on food and entertaining, it was perhaps unsurprising that a large dining table was depicted as a necessity rather than a luxury. Indeed, many articles carried images of large dining tables that the captions revealed as having been specially designed for the second home owners:

A dining table large enough to seat 10 people was another must (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 1999/2000, p.134)

Casual family dining is the order of the day and ... [the interior designer] designed a gloriously large oak table, “so they can all sit round it and drink red wine and eat pizzas.” (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.107)

The recurring emphasis on table size focused the reader’s attention on the practice of entertaining rather than the mere practice of eating (Muir 2010) and in doing so it elevated the banal to the special and luxurious. Furthermore, the representation of meal preparation as a leisure activity for second home owners, rather than a chore, blurred the boundaries of work and leisure (Blackshaw 2010; Chaplin 1999). Even where food, dining and entertaining were not explicitly mentioned, the notion of a social lifestyle centred on the pleasure of taking the time to share food at the second home was nevertheless implied and portrayed in the images; a bottle of wine and multiple glasses on a dining table, smiling people sitting on the deck with drinks in hand and food platters nearby (Figure 7.10).
Figure 7.10 A social lifestyle at the second home, *Home NZ*, June/July 2008, p.113 (Source: Mark Smith/Bauer Media)
7.3.2 Playing

While play and leisure are distinct concepts, Rossman and Schlatter (2008, p.11) define play as “leisure with the childlike characteristics of spontaneity, self expression, and the creation of a nonserious realm of meaning.” Furthermore, it implies a sense of the freedom that may be found in leisure, along with satisfaction and the pursuit of pleasure (Blackshaw 2010; Carr 2011; Rossman & Schlatter 2008). Whereas children’s play has largely been viewed as acceptable, adults’ play has traditionally been viewed as a non-productive use of time, conjuring images of frivolous luxury and sin (Carr 2011; Hunnicutt 2006). However, it is argued here that other forms of luxury are represented in the idea of ‘play’ in Home New Zealand magazine.

In his early work on Canadian cottagers, Wolfe (1951, p.20) noted that proximity to areas in which to “play”, in the form of water sports, was an important factor influencing second home distribution in Ontario. Likewise play, used in the magazine in the more colloquial sense of pleasure and having fun, was important to many second home owners in the Home New Zealand articles. For instance, for the following second home owner the need to cater for her leisure activities was of fundamental importance in the design of her second home:

“The house has been designed very much around my needs – socialising, ski trips with girlfriends, having fun...” [says the owner] (Berryman, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2005, p.111)

While this statement seemed to illustrate an overtly hedonistic view of life at the second home, focused on fulfilling a need for leisure and pleasure, such an explicit view was seldom acknowledged in the magazine discourse. Nevertheless, the idea of ‘playing’ at the second home in New Zealand was evident in the magazine and consisted of two distinct constituent parts: the portrayal of specific enjoyable leisure and recreation activities partaken at the second home, and the deliberate effort made to free up time for play by planning for the avoidance of ‘house’ work around the second home. Both of these facets will be examined here.

The types of leisure activity enjoyed by the second home owners were often explicitly stated in the magazine articles, and play itself was also mentioned:
“There are three things we do at the beach that we don’t do at home,” says Karen Pearson. “Bake bread, make coffee and watch TV.” Not forgetting all the other recreational pleasures that a house by the sea offers (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 1999/2000, p.133)

[the swimming pool] provides the family with further opportunity to play in their Central Otago paradise (Bayley, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2003/04, p.96)

The owners...are keen skiers in winter, and take to the lake in their boat in summer (Hansen, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2007/08, p.100)

As in the previous section about eating and entertaining, the types of leisure activities indulged in by the second home owners were suggestive of a degree of both financial and cultural capital. Fishing, diving, boating and skiing all required the acquisition of leisure accessories and it has been argued by others that these activities have traditionally been restricted to those with sufficient disposable income to afford such an acquisition (Featherstone 1987; Wolfe 1977). In addition, such activities required an investment of cultural capital, not to mention time, in learning the language of the activity and gaining the technical skill necessary to participate in the activity (Adema 2000; Bourdieu 1984).

Making bread by hand, for example, as implied in the article from which the first extract above was taken, required knowledge of the ingredients necessary for a particular style of bread, along with knowledge of process and technique. Through its inherent forms of capital, bread-making seemed to bestow a measure of exclusivity (and luxury) on the second home owner. Perhaps more importantly though, all of these activities also required the consumption of time (Adema 2000) which echoed Veblen’s (2007) observations outlined in Chapter One and, as noted earlier, was a luxury that the second home provided the backdrop for. As implied in the first extract above, the availability of time at the second home enabled the participation in activities that the primary home did not.

Freeing up time for leisure at the second home was also planned for, especially in regards to work around the second home where the concept of low maintenance featured from the earliest years of the magazine. Indeed, the very first article on second homes was titled “Planning for Leisure” (‘Planning for Leisure’, Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.29). Throughout the decades, work both inside and outside
the second home was deliberately avoided by many owners wherever possible in order to spend more time at play:

- Throughout the design, minimum maintenance of house and garden has been keynote. (‘Minimum upkeep was the keynote’, Home and Building, Jan 1953, p.31)

- All [materials] were chosen to allow the owners maximum leisure time at the beach (Cotton, NZ Home and Building, April/May 1991, p.69)

- “We didn’t want something that would make us so house-proud we would spend all the time cleaning it.” [say the owners] (Hansen, Home NZ, Aug/Sept 2009, p.93)

The magazine discourse constructed the perception that only an architect designed second home afforded the luxury of choosing a lower-maintenance option which reduced the amount of work required and therefore allowed more time for leisure. The older vernacular second homes, where mentioned in the magazine, were portrayed as higher maintenance:

- “There’s always ongoing maintenance and everything needs to be brought in by boat, but it’s a real pleasure. You get an enormous amount of satisfaction from it,” [the owner] says. (‘Holiday havens’, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2003/04, p.164)

Also evident in this extract, however, is the notion that this higher maintenance was part of the pleasure of owning a vernacular second home. The notion of pleasure here echoed popular mass media constructions of the vernacular second home in New Zealand, as in this example:

- A legendary New Zealand institution – Doing-It-Yourself – is also responsible for the form of many earlier baches...the owner often being the builder (and that in itself was and remains part of the pleasure of the bach). (Thompson 1985, p.8)

Furthermore this mirrored the international academic literature, where many second home owners were reportedly happy to spend time maintaining their properties. As in the extract above, they did not view it as a form of work in the same manner as at their primary residence, but more as an alternative form of leisure (or play) and a way to experience job satisfaction and a sense of achievement that may have been missing in their paid employment (Chaplin 1999; Grimstad & Lyngø 1993; Jaakson 1986). Nevertheless Jaakson (1986) held that, while some maintenance activities afforded a sense of purpose, for most second home owners they were largely viewed
as a chore. Significantly though, also mentioned in the literature is the importance of the social dimension of second home maintenance, particularly for men (Grimstad & Lyngø 1993; Jaakson 1986). Paradoxically at the same time as increasing time for leisure, the low maintenance second home may have reduced the opportunities for social interaction, as maintenance work was frequently a co-operative endeavour between neighbours or within families (Jaakson 1986). Indeed, the emphasis on the (real) pleasure and (enormous) satisfaction in the second to last extract on the previous page would suggest that, for this second home owner at least, these more intangible benefits of second home maintenance were viewed as part of the luxury of leisure and play at the second home. One wonders, then, whether the phenomenon of low-maintenance was really a luxury at all – whether it was seen as such perhaps depended on the social identity the second home owner wished to portray.

7.3.3 Relaxing

The second home was represented in the magazine as a space where the functions of recreation, leisure and tourism were played out and thus a dominant component of the ‘leisure and pleasure’ theme was relaxation. Indeed relaxation, like play, was incorporated into the design of the second home by the architects in response to the owners’ brief. It was a consistent theme through the years:

[Designed for] enjoyment and relaxation (‘For enjoyment and relaxation’, Home and Building, April 1959, p.42)

Relaxing in style – a house designed for easy weekend living (Millar, NZ Home and Building, Dec/Jan 1989/90, p.32)

The house balances the experience of being part of the large Bay of Islands landscape and the creation of composed opportunities for quiet relaxation (Cheshire, Home NZ, June/July 2010, p.77)

While for many people the idea of relaxation itself could be considered something of a luxury, the real luxury in Home New Zealand and its predecessors lay in having a dwelling specifically designed for that purpose. While one could have a primary home designed by an architect, it still had to cater for a number of different and competing functions such as spaces for working, entertaining guests, leisure pursuits, maintenance, solitude or studying. One’s second home simply needed to be designed for leisure and pleasure – even though it may have been anything but
‘simple’ in form. This nuance of luxury was captured nicely by two particular
extracts:

Moving into the 90s the New Zealand bach is a somewhat grander
structure than its forebears...designed for people and for pleasure. They
are holiday places, where people gather to relax and have fun (Millar,
NZ Home and Building, Dec/Jan 1989/90, p.26)

The idea of peaceful hideaways – places where one can escape the
trauma of business life in favour of minor pleasures, such as smoking
tROUT or reading books while lolling on comfy old chairs left to you by
some long-dead aunt - is a temptation hard to resist (Bromhead, NZ
Home and Building, Feb/March 1996, p.171)

The underlying luxury in the first extract was not only due to the grandness of form
of the modern New Zealand second home, but more importantly because they were
designed specifically for pleasure. In the second excerpt, the use of the word
“temptation” seemed suggestive of luxury as it carried with it a sense of sin. As
discussed in Chapter Two, the early church deemed activities such as those listed in
the quote as unproductive leisure and pleasures. These activities were therefore
considered sinful as they represented a form of luxury. Furthermore, the evocative
language used in the second extract above conjures up pleasurable images of an
imagined life of comfort and relaxation at the second home, where one is able to
spend time reading – suggesting that this was a guilty pleasure that could not happen
at the primary home.

The most common form that relaxation at the second home took was reading or
taking time for an afternoon nap, and the architects designed special places that were
conducive to relaxing in this manner:

...these magical rooms make an afternoon nap or just a long time lolling
with a book seem irresistible (Hansen, Home NZ, Aug/Sept 2009, p.54)

[the architect] knows when to leave you alone to simply sit in the sun on
the crest of a hill to gaze at the view and experience some of the simple
pleasures in life (McKay, Home NZ, Aug/Sept 2010, p.119)

Again this was reinforced in the images alongside the text; in the few photos
showing the owners (or the owners’ friends or children), they were invariably
depicted relaxing – often reading in the sun or merely sitting doing nothing (Figures
7.11, 7.12 and 7.13).
Figure 7.11 An anonymous couple taking tea in the sun at [their?] 1940s second home, *Home and Building*, Sept 1946, p.17 (Source: Anon/Bauer Media)

Figure 7.12 The owner’s daughter reading at the second home, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Feb/March 2002, p.64 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
Figure 7.13 The owner relaxing in the sun at the second home, *Home NZ*, April/May 2009, p. 106
(Source: Paul McCredie/Bauer Media)
Jaakson (1986) and Kaltenborn (1998) also found that the second home owners they interviewed spent much of their time at the second home sitting around, not doing much or talking. Some of the literature reported that second home owners, particularly women, felt they were able to indulge in something as simple as reading a book at the second home without feeling a sense of guilt, which they could not do at the primary home (Van Patten & Williams 2008). Indeed, relaxation in general was something that could not be achieved to the same degree at the primary home, and was cited as one of the most important reasons for second home ownership (Grimstad & Lyngø 1993; G. Kelly & Hosking 2008; Pitkänen 2008; Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen 2010; Vittersø 2007).

This organising theme has centred on the very purpose of the second home - that of leisure and pleasure. The second home lifestyle centred on eating, playing and relaxing, all of which required the luxury of time (Bittman 2002). It is perhaps this aspect, the non-productive consumption of time, more than any other that contributed to an impression of the luxury of the second home – indeed it is often considered to be the ultimate luxury (Twitchell 2002; Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie 2006). In this sense the discourse was reminiscent of The Theory of the Leisure Class whereby only those with the luxury of time were able to maintain a second home for the purpose of leisure and pleasure (Veblen 2007).

High levels of both financial and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) were implied throughout the magazine discourse, particularly with regards to eating and playing, which further suggested a sense of luxury. Again though, Perkins and Thorns (2006) noted that such capital was not restricted to those with expensive, contemporary second homes but that it was also apparent in the owners of more ‘rustic’ second homes. Relaxing was an important facet of leisure at the second home, and was constructed as a luxury that was both permitted and made possible at the second home (Jaakson 1986). While leisure and pleasure were possible at the primary home, it was the second home that provided a purpose-built platform for leisure that facilitated a no-guilt experience – a point made in the magazine and also in the academic literature (Van Patten & Williams 2008).
7.4 The luxury of ownership

As discussed in Chapters One and Four, second home ownership in New Zealand has been represented as indicative of an egalitarian society and a widespread phenomenon across ages, social classes and income levels. However the interpretation in this thesis of the magazine discourse challenges this viewpoint. The organising theme of the luxury of ownership is present throughout the years and is portrayed through three basic themes: the demographics of the owners; notions of the privilege of ownership; and more recently through the representation of second home ownership being beyond the reach of most (Figure 7.14).

![Diagram showing the organising theme "The luxury of ownership" and its three basic themes: Demographics of second home owners, The privilege of ownership, and Beyond the reach of most.]

Figure 7.14 The organising theme "The luxury of ownership" and its three basic themes
7.4.1 The demographics of second home owners

The demographics and wealth of second home owners, whether implied or explicitly stated in the magazine discourse, pointed to second home ownership as a luxury in New Zealand in three ways. First, where the occupations of second home owners were given\textsuperscript{12}, most were professionals such as doctors, architects or upper level managers rather than blue collar or wage workers, while others were self-employed. These professions indicated formal education at a level beyond secondary school and indeed often many years at tertiary level. Consequently, this implied a higher level of income. This seemed to be the case not only for those who owned the larger modern architect designed second homes, but also for those who owned the vernacular second homes showcased in the magazine.

Second, it appeared that ownership was often only available to those who were middle-aged or older and had been able to consolidate their financial position to the degree necessary to purchase a second home. This was symbolic of sufficient disposable income and/or the ability to raise the necessary level of finance to support such purchase decisions. The analysis of written and visual text indicated that many of the second home owners were older couples who were grandparents or whose children had left home. While there were also some younger second home owners with teens or younger children still living at home, they were certainly in the minority in the \textit{Home New Zealand} discourse.

Finally, the type of second homes featured in the magazine suggested that ownership was only available to those with an above average level of wealth. This was intimated in two ways in the discourse; through the cost to build a second home, and through the employment of professionals. Occasionally the cost of the second home was given and was able to be converted to 2012 prices (Reserve Bank of New Zealand 2013) in order for a comparison to be made. Three examples are given here; note that they do not include the cost of land (Table 7.1). These have been adjusted to 2012 prices to allow a comparison with the median house price for 2012, which does include the cost of land. It is apparent that all cost significantly more than the median and this provides substantiation for the interpretation of the high level of financial capital held by the second home owner.

\textsuperscript{12} In the majority of articles the second home owners’ occupations were not stated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cost to build (not including cost of land)</th>
<th>Adjusted cost to build (2012 prices)(^a)</th>
<th>Median New Zealand dwelling price 2012 (including cost of land)(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>$7,900</td>
<td>$356,834</td>
<td>$370,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>$65,000</td>
<td>$454,612</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>$433,323</td>
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</tbody>
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Table 7.1 Cost to build second home in adjusted 2012 prices compared with median price of dwellings in New Zealand in 2012. \(^a\) Adjusted price calculated using Inflation Calculator from Reserve Bank of New Zealand (2013). \(^b\) Median dwelling price from REINZ (2013).

The employment of professionals during the second home building process further implied the level of wealth of the owners. There were many references to a pre-existing working relationship with the architect who designed the second home:

“If you want an interesting house, you need an architect,” says [the owner], “even if you have ideas of your own, you still need an architect. Ross [the architect] knows us, how we live, the sort of people we are.” [He] has known [the owners] for many years and has done some work on their previous house. (McCarthy, NZ Home and Building, Aug/Sept 1986, p.9)

Having worked happily with Auckland architect Leo van Veenendaal on renovations to their seaside Auckland villa, it was only natural to involve him in the design of their holiday retreat (‘Southern comfort’, NZ Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1998, p.98)

This indicated that the owners had sufficient financial capital to not only employ an architect once, but twice and in some cases more. While builders, plumbers and electricians were necessary professionals in the building process, particularly with stricter building regulations in force since the 1960s, other non-traditional professionals such as interior designers and landscapers were also engaged. As early as 1953 there was evidence of a second home owner employing both an architect and a landscape designer.

These interpretations, based on the somewhat limited portrayal of second home owners in the magazine discourse, corroborated findings in the international literature (refer to Table 3.1, p.65). Second home owners were found to be generally
older, more highly educated, earning more than the national average and with fewer dependent children (Hoogendoorn & Visser 2010; G. Kelly & Hosking 2008; Luka 2007; Norris & Winston 2010; Overvåg & Berg 2011). While these demographic characteristics do not explicitly denote luxury, they certainly provide evidence for a claim of the exclusivity of ownership and are therefore suggestive of luxury. This finding contradicts the discourse of egalitarianism associated with second homes in New Zealand mentioned in Chapters One and Four. These characteristics were evident in the magazine discourse even from the 1930s, suggesting that it was not a recent phenomenon in New Zealand:

*This house, built by Professor Knight for his own use...* (‘Planning for leisure’, Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.29, emphasis added)

*...Dr Ludbrook’s three sections enjoy an extensive view...* (‘A holiday home for comfort and convenience’, Aug 1952, p.27, emphasis added)

However, there was another factor that spoke of the exclusivity of ownership; the ethnicity of the second home owners. Of the 150 pages which carried images of people, only two pages carried an image that may have been anything other than a European New Zealander. In one instance the text stated that the second home owner was German. In the other, the ethnicity of the second home owner was not made explicit but there were many references to Maori concepts in the text which implied the owner may have been of Maori descent. The overwhelming sense from the images was that second home ownership was a phenomenon almost exclusively associated with European New Zealanders.

The exclusivity of the ethnicity of second home owners has also drawn comment in the academic literature. For example, Pitkänen (2011) noted that in Finland, where the second home culture is very strong, imagined second home landscapes are a means of asserting national identity and Finnish values in response to increasing foreign ownership of second homes in recent years. The issue of racial inequality has also been raised in recent research in both Canada and Norway, suggesting that the unadulterated monoculture at the cottage may provide a welcome respite from the multicultural nature of the cities where most second home owners live (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Luka 2007).
7.4.2  The privilege of ownership

The theme of the privilege and good fortune of owning a second home was identifiable from the early 1960s:

*Each summer, overtaxed roads, public transport and accommodation accentuates the holiday problem, reducing pleasure from the outset. Those with permanent lake or seaside cottages have few worries* (Elliott, Home and Building, Dec 1961, p.17)

*If you are lucky enough to own a holiday house...* (Harris, Home and Building, Dec 1964, p.7)

These extracts suggested that the masses travelled to the coast or lake by public transport and stayed in public accommodation (such as campgrounds), while those who owned a second home had the good fortune to avoid such congestion and could enjoy maximum pleasure, secure in their certainty of private accommodation. However, in the early 2000s a more overt representation of the privilege inherent in second home ownership became evident:

*A family inheritance allowed them to begin to realise a life-long ambition to own a house directly fronting the coastline* (Wells, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2001/02, p.97)

*...the real point here is the diminishing availability of that paragon of Kiwi lifestyle; the bach. Increasingly the only way to make lazy summers at the beach possible is to spend the larger part of the year in bleak servitude to corporate capitalism* (Wood, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2007/08, p.89)

It seemed that second home ownership required a substantial amount of financial capital, as evidenced by the references to a family inheritance and hard work (see also Table 7.1). This, coupled with the perception of dwindling availability of (presumably cheaper) vernacular second homes as in the second extract, alluded to the good fortune of those featured in the magazine articles who had managed to secure ownership. This also supported the supposition made in the previous section that a high level of financial capital was required to own a second home and provided additional substantiation for the notion of second home ownership as a luxury. Those interviewed in the course of this research also noted their view that to own a (any) second home in New Zealand was both a privilege and a luxury:

*A holiday home is a luxury anyway...you know, how many people have holiday homes? I don’t have one...so to have one is...and it’s how you
define luxury, so it’s...if you have one it’s probably luxury anyway (Interview with Photographer A, March 2013)

Obviously not everyone has a beach house, so even to have one is a luxurious element...I’m not lucky enough to have one! (Interview with Editor B, June 2013)

The notion of privilege, while perhaps not identified explicitly as such, was also evident in the literature – particularly in countries without a history of second home ownership passing down through the generations. For example, Halseth (2004) in his examination of second homes in Canada noted a disparity between the popular conception of widespread second home ownership and the reality of a privileged few. However in the Nordic countries where, as mentioned in Chapter Three, second home ownership was commonly passed down through the generations, the notion of privilege was generally absent (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Periäinen 2006). Furthermore, in these countries not only does second home ownership lack the connotation of privilege, it is also perceived as being accessible and within the financial means of much of the populace (Periäinen 2006; Pitkänen 2008).

7.4.3 Beyond the reach of most

The notion of second home ownership as beyond the reach of most New Zealanders is the final basic theme contributing to the luxury of ownership. Although perhaps similar to the basic theme of the privilege of ownership, this discourse was distinctive in its explicit nature, and related more to the changing nature of the New Zealand second home landscape. It was first identified in the magazine discourse the mid-1990s but has become more prevalent in the last decade:

*Many families cannot afford a ‘proper’ beach house (Milligan, NZ Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1996, p.145)*

*At any rate, the price of coastal and lakefront land was sky-rocketing, so it was no longer within reach of the average Kiwi (Pearson, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2000/01, p.109)*

*[for him] as for most New Zealanders, skyrocketing prices meant that his “lifelong dream” of a coastal property no longer seemed in reach (McBride, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2010/11, p.114)*

These extracts suggest the ‘average New Zealander’ was unable to afford a second home and consequently those who owned a second home were increasingly part of a select few. This mirrors the situation in some countries overseas, especially in
Canada, Australia, Northern Ireland and the UK (Halseth 2004; Paris 2011). Since the late 1990s, there has been a rapid rise in property prices in New Zealand, particularly along the coast within weekend driving distance of the major cities (Cheyne & Freeman 2006; Freeman & Cheyne 2008). In some instances prices have risen over 200% from 1999 to 2004, considerably higher than the 46% national average (Cheyne & Freeman 2006).

During this same period there were also references to the building budget and the need to economise:

> [the architect] designed the built-in furniture and coffee table...all in ply as a cost-saving measure (Gregg, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2001/02, p.109)

> Keeping a close eye on costs can be particularly important if you’ve spent most of your money on a piece of land with a million-dollar view and now don’t have limitless finances to pay for the construction on it (‘Peace by piece’, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.44)

Second hand furnishings and accessories were mentioned in passing, but they were often paired with modern designer furniture in an eclectic but stylish mix. In this way, the magazine functioned as taste-maker, illustrating that an acceptably chic setting could be achieved through the clever use of more affordable second hand items – when placed alongside more expensive pieces. In addition, it highlighted the ability of the architect to reducing building costs while creating a bespoke second home. Thus, although the representation of second home ownership as beyond the reach of most had increased, the magazine presented ways in which New Zealanders could still achieve it.

The first reference to a second home available to rent was in the October/November 1997 issue, and then again in June/July 1999. However from 2004 there were a total of ten articles that published the owners (or their agents) contact details for potential rental clients. Half of those articles featured in the 2008-2010 period; during and immediately after the Global Financial Crisis. In late 2008, for the first time in the magazine’s history, an article was published that detailed nine architect designed second homes available for rent around New Zealand. Furthermore, the editorial linked it directly to the “challenging economic times”:

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While the renting of one of New Zealand’s “best” second homes is not in and of itself evidence that second home ownership is beyond the reach of most, it is nevertheless argued that it provides support for the notion. Yeoman (2011, p.49) notes that (with regards to luxury products in general) “renting allows consumers to sporadically dip into the luxury lifestyle without paying the full (unaffordable for most) price for the privilege.” For some second home owners, renting may allow them to recoup some of the ongoing costs of ownership and facilitate the purchase or continued ownership of the second home (Bieger, Beritelli & Weinert 2007). There has been recognition in much of the international literature that ancillary costs such as insurances, maintenance, property taxes and even the cost of travel to the second home are not insignificant (Halseth 2004; Paris 2011).

This section has critically examined the organising theme of the luxury of ownership. The luxury of second home ownership was generally not explicitly constructed in the magazine discourse but rather was more oblique in nature. It was implied over the years through a consistent series of signifiers including the demographics of the second home owners, the cost of building and the employment of professionals. In addition, the very real sense portrayed in the magazine that second home ownership had moved beyond the reach of most contributed greatly to the theme of the luxury of second home ownership in the last 10-15 years. Alongside this, there was a sense of privilege amongst some of the owners. These representations again challenge the popular media rhetoric identified in Chapter One suggesting that second home ownership in New Zealand was widespread amongst the classes (in a supposedly egalitarian society); rather the findings presented in this chapter indicate that it has always been a luxury reserved for those with sufficient financial capital.
7.5 The luxury of the site

The representation of the luxury of the site was identified from the earliest issues of *Home New Zealand* magazine and continued throughout the decades of publication. It contributed significantly to the global theme of the luxury of the second home through the three basic themes of the setting, the views, and privacy and seclusion (Figure 7.15).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Privacy</th>
<th>Views</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The luxury of the site</td>
<td>The luxury of the second home</td>
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Figure 7.15 The organising theme "The luxury of the site" and its three basic themes

7.5.1 Setting

The setting of the second home was frequently described in a way which evoked a sense of exclusivity and luxury, and was evident from the early years of the publication:

*Has a setting worthy of a James Fitzpatrick travel talk*¹³ (‘A holiday home on the shore of Lake Rotoiti’, *Home and Building*, May 1951, p.25)

*This cottage is about a hundred feet from the water’s edge on one of the finest inland lake beaches in the North Island* (‘A lakeside cottage planned for easy holiday living’, *Home and Building*, March 1953, p.27)

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¹³ These ‘Traveltalks’ were well known travel documentary films produced by US director Fitzpatrick from the 1930s to the 1950s for audiences in the UK and USA, but which must also have been familiar to New Zealand audiences as implied in this extract (LA Times 2013).
Few of the articles specified the exact location of the second home, instead giving a general region as in the second extract. While the magazine was no doubt protecting the privacy of the second home owners, this further worked to enhance the impression of the exclusivity and luxury of the site. Additionally, the frequent use of words such as ‘perfect’, ‘sumptuous’ and ‘spectacular’ all influenced the perception of the second home setting as both luxurious and a luxury. The overwhelming majority of second homes featured in the magazine were located on the coast and the evocative language used conjured up romantic images of an idyll for the reader to aspire to:

_The location is an almost too-perfect distillation of the New Zealand beach ideal...hills that hug a gentle beach shrouded in pohutukawa_14 (Hansen, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2007/08, p.78)

_It is hard to imagine crafting a better outlook: sandy beach and gnarled trees in the foreground, sheltered water and pleasant little bush-clad islands in the midground, and a far view across the bay to layered ridges and a glimpse of open ocean to the east. Yet there is another prospect just as enticing inland, to a soft green valley with ponds and planting, giving onto ridgelines stacked up in the afternoon haze_ (Cheshire, Home NZ, June/July 2010, p.72)

The perception of luxury of the coastal setting was due in no small part to the association with exclusivity and premium prices such a limited commodity commands (Collins & Kearns 2008). In New Zealand, the coast has traditionally been viewed as democratic and accessible to all (Collins & Kearns 2008; Freeman & Cheyne 2008). Over the last decade though, the popular media discourse has articulated (or provoked) public disquiet in response to rising property prices and increasing waterfront property development. Headlines alluding to the perceived change to a less democratic (more exclusive and elite) New Zealand coast over the last decade include:

*Fight for the beaches (Watkin 2005)*

*The Great New Zealand Coast Grab (Barber 2005)*

*Waterfront boom claims more coastline (Henderson 2003)*

Indeed, recent academic literature has contended that coastal property in New Zealand, especially in second home destinations, has become an elite setting (Collins

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14 A pohutukawa (*Metrosideros excelsa*) is an iconic native New Zealand coastal tree sometimes called the New Zealand Christmas tree for the mass of red flowers it bears at that time of year (Wassilieff 2012).
& Kearns 2008; Freeman & Cheyne 2008). It has been noted that the popular media commentary centres on the injustice inherent in the inability of the ‘average New Zealander’ to afford a second home in these locations and avoids the politically-charged questions around affordability of primary housing for permanent residents who may often be on lower incomes (Collins & Kearns 2010a; Freeman & Cheyne 2008). Privileging the (leisure) needs of one sector of society over the (housing) needs of another in this way alludes to the exclusive nature of the coastal second home setting.

Not all second home settings were constructed as equally luxurious, however, and non-coastal second homes exhibited a ‘lesser luxury’. On the rare occasions where pastoral second homes were featured, the setting was not described in such rich and emotive detail:

_There was no lakeside position, no stream, no surf, no vistas, just bush – and very nice it is too, the Thoreau romance without Walden Pond..._ (Walker, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2009/10, p.104)

_From the road, people sometimes mistake John and Cathy Taylor’s holiday house for a shed – albeit a very elegant shed, nestled on the bucolic fringes of Martinborough [a small town in a rural area] (Daniell, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2004/05, p.117)_

Notice the description of the first setting was simply ‘very nice’ and that of the second was ‘bucolic’. It seemed that pastoral settings were not worthy of description, that they were somehow ‘less than’. Likewise, accompanying photographs seldom showed pastoral second homes in their wider setting, whereas the coastal second homes were commonly photographed from a distance to showcase the setting. The photographs of second homes in pastoral settings were generally no larger than one third of a page, whilst the coastal second homes often featured double page spreads. This served to illustrate the ‘lesser luxury’ of the pastoral and the perception of the ‘greater luxury’ and grandeur of the coastal (Figures 7.16 and 7.17).
Figure 7.16 A half page image of a second home in a 'bucolic' setting, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Dec/Jan 2004/05, p.117 (Source: Paul McCredie/Bauer Media)
Figure 7.17 Double page spread of a coastal second home setting. *Home NZ*, June/July 2010, p.70-71 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
In the magazine discourse, the view from the second home was an intrinsic part of the setting and was also closely linked to the representation of the luxury of the site, in both the written and visual text. However for the purpose of this thesis the view was considered sufficiently distinct to constitute a standalone basic theme and as such is treated separately.

7.5.2 Views

From the very first article, descriptions of the views from the second home were lush and laden with adjectives such as panoramic, extensive, uninterrupted, magnificent, breath-taking, sweeping and unsurpassed. Most of these referred to sea views as the majority of the second homes were located on the coast, often on the beachfront as discussed above. However, as these two extracts illustrate, while the view was important in the earlier years it assumed an even greater significance with changed meaning in the 1980s:

[when landscaping] keep in mind that the sea views are of vital importance (Thornton, Home and Building, Nov 1956, p.45)

Views and orientation to the land take on a different meaning from those of the traditional bach situation. No longer is there an involvement with the landscape as a means of escape from the suburbs. Rather, contemplation of the land as a picturesque and pretty view takes importance. Proximity and orientation to the open landscape of the sea, for the purpose of viewing it only, becomes a valuable commodity that can be bought and sold. People move into developed land, having different aspirations from early bach builders. The trappings of suburban life are available and are expected, and as new suburbs spring up by the sea, the contemplation of the landscape and the exclusive image that the proximity affords, becomes more important than actual involvement with it (Durkin, NZ Home and Building, Dec/Jan 1984/85, p.39)

Recent academic examinations of real estate advertising have also remarked upon the emphasis placed upon the view, particularly of bodies of water, and being able to gaze upon it (Cheng 2001; Cheung & Ma 2005; Collins & Kearns 2008). Such a visual connection is held to be of special cultural value to New Zealanders (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). From the mid-1980s there was more emphasis in the magazine articles on the ability of the architect to capture the best view. Indeed, an uninterrupted view was the epitome of the symbolic luxury of the site:
The stainless steel hood above the fireplace can be lowered into place or raised so as not to obscure the view (Millar, NZ Home and Building, June/July 1994, p.62)

Maggie also wanted the ground around the house to be as level as possible to avoid handrails spoiling the scenery (Lewis, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.75)

Likewise the images associated with second home articles showcased the views, often in a double page spread in the more recent issues (Figures 7.18 and 7.19).

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Figure 7.18 Early photograph showcasing the view from the second home, Home and Building, Sept-Nov 1946, p.9 (Source: Sparrow Industrial Pictures/Bauer Media)
Figure 7.19 The importance of the view was highlighted here through both the layout of the double page image and the header text, *Home NZ*, Dec/Jan 2010/11, p.72-73 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
The rising value of the view as a symbolic commodity to be bought and sold was also noted by Collins and Kearns (2008) in their research into real estate marketing material in New Zealand. They remark that particular features of the home, such as windows, doors and decking, were only mentioned if they offered particular views – a finding echoed not only in the extracts on page 211 which referred to means of ensuring the preservation of the view, but also in the following:


*The bi-fold windows fold right back, framing the spectacular panorama*  
(Tolerton, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2000, p.80)

Adding to the perception of the luxury of the site through the images of the views was the almost total lack of ‘other’ people in the photographs (Figure 7.20).15 This was despite media commentary that demand for coastal land had soared and that a form of ‘second home suburbia’ had developed - particularly in many of the locations featured in *Home New Zealand* magazine. This would seem to imply an abundance of ‘others’ rather than a lack of, yet there was no sign of them in the images in the magazine, adding to the sense of luxuriousness of the view from the second home - while beaches in New Zealand may be deserted relative to other parts of the world, nevertheless they are seldom totally bereft of people.

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15 In the rare photos where people are present they are in the far distance, as are any neighbouring homes or other signs of humanity.
The empty beaches in the magazine carry connotations of private beaches. While this may have been the case for a very small minority of the second homes featured in the magazine, for most it was merely an illusion that fostered the notion of exclusivity. Research into real estate marketing has noted the construction of exclusivity through the lack of the “human imprint” and through an appropriation of the public view as an extension of private property (Cheng 2001; Collins & Kearns 2008, p.2928). One of the purposes of this technique was to enable the viewer to place themselves in the image, albeit as a prospective purchaser (Collins & Kearns 2008), and it is argued here that the same principle of (be)longing could be at work in the magazine discourse. By placing themselves in the image, the reader could imagine themselves as part of an exclusive set, enjoying the good life associated with being the owner of a beachfront second home. Part of this good life was conveyed by the depiction of wide exterior spaces which connoted a feeling of being at leisure (Cheng 2001), reinforced by the very purpose and function of a second home as discussed earlier in Section 7.3. Cheng (2001) made the further observation that real estate marketing images of views always showed a calm sea or harbour which she felt added to the impression of a leisurely lifestyle. Calm sea views prevailed in Home New Zealand magazine as well, and Cheng’s explanation may explain, at least in part, the emotions evoked through the images.

However there were exceptions that demonstrated tensions between the depiction of the view and the reality of the site. For example, at first glance the image in Figure 7.21 appeared to show, like so many others in the magazine, a stunning view with no signs of humanity. Yet the text explicitly drew attention to the notion that the view from the second home had been manipulated by the architect, and it was the clever manipulation that was shown in the image:

*The kitchen, for example, features a long horizontal window raised just high enough to crop out the surrounding suburbia while offering a spectacular perspective on the lake...These carefully framed perspectives cleverly create a sense of glorious isolation (Hansen, Home NZ, June/July 2012, p.16)*

After reading the text, signs of this “surrounding suburbia” in the image then became apparent; in the middle distance to the right, the sun picked out the roofs of homes on a hillside, while in the foreground just above the gas hob a nearby grey roof and chimney were evident. In this case then, the perception of the luxury of the site
resulting from the description of “glorious isolation” was potentially lessened; that the second home was in suburbia was somehow disappointing. Had the reader scanned the images in the article, rather than reading the text, the sense of the luxury of the site may have been maintained.

Figure 7.21 The stunning, yet carefully composed, view from a second home, *Home NZ*, June/July 2012, p.17 (Source: Paul McCredie/Bauer Media)

There is nothing inherently wrong in framing such a view in this manner. Indeed it could be said that the writer was entirely honest in pointing out the suburban location, thereby illustrating the skill of the architect in providing the owners with a *sense* of glorious isolation. In addition, by framing the view in this way, the architect has provided the second home owners with privacy, the final basic theme that contributed to the notion of the luxury of the site.

7.5.3 *Privacy and seclusion*

While significant, the desire of the second home owners for privacy only rose to prominence in the magazine discourse from the mid-1980s:
As far as possible all existing planting was to be retained to ensure maximum privacy (‘Retreat at Seaforth’s Peninsula’, NZ Home and Building, Issue 1 1983, p.39)

Extensive planting in native species will in time provide privacy and enclosure to this much enjoyed area in the summer (‘Akaroa sentinel’, NZ Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1984, p.80)

From the 1990s, references to privacy and seclusion (often discussed in terms of remoteness or isolation) became much more frequent, reflecting a time of social change in New Zealand. This change, as discussed in Chapters Four and Six, was associated with the introduction of a neoliberal agenda and the subsequent rise in individualism at the expense of collective thinking. It also resulted in increased competition and a faster, more stressful pace of life, particularly in the city (Moon 2011). The representation of the home as a private haven became common, so it was perhaps unsurprising that the notion of the need for privacy and seclusion flowed into the second home discourse.

Furthermore, the magazine discourse seemed to construct a hierarchy of luxury inherent in privacy and seclusion that was related to the level of naturally-occurring privacy. The highest degree of luxury was accorded to naturally private sites and was a more recent construction – perhaps due to the increasing rarity of such sites in New Zealand in recent years. There, the architect had free reign over the design of the second home without needing to consider the notion of privacy at all. This gave the site a superior sense of exclusivity and status:

[There] is no need for privacy in such an isolated location... (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2000, p.52)

Because privacy wasn’t an issue, the expansive views immediately cried out for glass, glass and more glass on the remaining three sides (McCall, NZ Home and Entertaining, Oct/Nov 2001, p.73)

The luxurious degree of privacy afforded to the site is demonstrated by the fact that the owners can lie in their bed, with the sliders and grilles drawn right back, turning the “walls” into fresh air (Lewis, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2003/04, p.81)

As if to emphasise the point, the last extract above was accompanied by a small photograph of the bedroom (Figure 7.22). While the site was certainly private and secluded, situated as it was on an island, sleeping in a bedroom entirely open to the elements may not have been perceived as a luxury by all readers. Rather, for some it
may have resulted more in an uncomfortable sense of vulnerability than of luxury. Whether the owners actually slept with doors open or not was a moot point; what was more important was that the site was so luxuriously private that they could choose to do so if they wished.

Figure 7.22 The epitome of the luxury of privacy. *NZ Home and Entertaining*, Dec/Jan 2003/04, p.82 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)

A lower degree of luxury was found in a second home site where privacy needed to be engineered in response to the second home owners’ brief. Where it was not provided for by the setting, privacy could nevertheless be achieved through clever planning by the architect:

*The couple prepared a concise brief for [the architect]. Provision of privacy from the road was paramount. This was achieved with a gate and half wall as the entry point to the house (Bucknell, *NZ Home and Building*, April/May 1992, p.61)*

*There were challenges, as there always are. The site’s best views were to the southwest, hardly advantageous for collecting solar warmth in winter. And the home was to be one of the first on the subdivision, meaning privacy wasn’t an immediate concern but would become one soon enough (Hansen, *Home NZ*, April/May 2009, p.114)*
The second extract here captured the essence of the luxury of privacy and seclusion. Here, the implication was that even though the site was less than ideal (there were ‘challenges’), the architect was able find a solution to provide the owners with the privacy they desired.

It seemed as though second home owners over the years were seeking greater degrees of privacy and seclusion and went to greater lengths to secure it, seeking more remote and isolated properties. While this could be related to the notion of escape, as discussed earlier in this chapter, it seemed to go deeper than just escape. Privacy itself seemed to have become a valuable commodity to be purchased, and the luxury and exclusivity lay in how much privacy and seclusion the second home owner could afford; the level of privacy attained imbued the second home owners a level of distinction. Studies of real estate advertising certainly suggested that the notion of privacy (whether implicit or explicit) was an important selling point in advertising material (R. Barnett 2007; Collins & Kearns 2008). In the UK, Davies and O’Farrell (1981) found evidence to suggest second home owners placed a premium on privacy and remoteness and the extracts from Home New Zealand given in this section echo these findings.

Part of the reason that privacy seemed to be a luxury lay in the power that it held; the privacy that second home owners had was not extended to others. This was noted by Jaakson (1986) with regards to some Canadian cottagers who held an elitist belief that the public lake on which their cottage was located was a form of private property. A similar contention was made by Collins and Kearns (2010a), who reported that non-second home owning members of the New Zealand public had lost their sense of privacy when walking along public beaches. In areas where second homes had been built on the beachfront and on the headland overlooking the beach, people felt as though they were being watched or that they were in someone else’s space (Collins & Kearns 2010a). The visual intrusiveness of the second homes was unequal; second home owners were able to look out upon the beach-going others, but not be looked in upon by them.

From the preceding analysis it is evident that the organising theme of the luxury of the site contributed significantly to the global theme of the luxury of the second home. Luxury was represented through discussions of the setting (coastal being
more desirable and luxurious than pastoral or urban), the views (sea views being preferable to lake views, and both being superior to rural views), and the luxury of privacy and seclusion (where privacy can be rated on a hierarchy of luxury). Such representations were also accompanied by underlying notions of elitism and power.

Through both the written and visual text the New Zealand landscape was portrayed in *Home New Zealand* as coastal and unpopulated, almost devoid of human imprint, as something to be gazed upon from the second home and thus privatised. Those upon whom the second home owners gazed were rendered invisible, and the visual intrusion of the private second home on the public space of the coast was almost always unacknowledged. Such an acknowledgement would not have been appropriate in a magazine such as *Home New Zealand* where the purpose was to highlight the work of architects rather than make a political statement. However the failure of the popular media in general to recognise the impact of second home development spoke of underlying issues of power and elitism which have been raised in both the New Zealand (Collins & Kearns 2010a) and international literature (Halseth 2004; Jaakson 1986) but as yet do not seem to have entered the public consciousness.

### 7.6 Summarising Chapter Seven

Through a critical analysis of four contributory organising themes, the global theme of the luxury of the second home has been examined in depth in this chapter. Many aspects of luxury were inherent in second home ownership, even from the very earliest days of *Building Today* magazine; the luxury of sanctuary and restoration, the luxury of leisure and pleasure, the luxury of ownership and the luxury of the site. Furthermore, many of the themes identified as luxury in the architect designed second homes in the magazine could equally apply to the vernacular second homes, yet this has seldom been recognised in the media or indeed the academic literature (notable exceptions include Perkins and Thorns (2006) and Halseth (2004) who both allude to the idea). It is contended here that the ownership of any second home for the purpose of leisure is, and always was, a luxury for what it afforded the owners.
The temporal nature of the luxury of the second home was also evident in the magazine discourse. Different discourses rose to prominence in the second home articles over time – particularly after the introduction of the neoliberal regime in 1984 which precipitated a time of social change in New Zealand. The rhetoric of escape from a stress-filled city life increased in frequency in the mid-1980s, the rise of the foodie lifestyle and the desire for privacy could be seen from the 1990s, while the representation of rising property prices (and its ramifications) became more noticeable in the 2000s. However, some discourses surrounding the luxury of the second home remained constant throughout; the demographics of the second home owners, the importance of the view and the luxury of the setting. The temporality of luxury was more pronounced in the second global theme, and this will be discussed in Chapter Eight in more depth. It is therefore to the luxury in the second home that attention is now turned.
CHAPTER 8.  THE LUXURY IN THE SECOND HOME
8.1 Introducing Chapter Eight

Chapter Seven discussed the ways that the *Home New Zealand* discourse surrounding second homes constructed a sense of the luxury of the second home in New Zealand over the years of publication. This interpretation came through the notions of the luxury associated with sanctuary and restoration, leisure and pleasure, ownership and the site. In this chapter the luxury in the second home, is set out and explored.

Two organising themes that contributed to the global theme of the luxury in the second home were identified in the magazine discourse; physical luxury and metaphysical luxury (Figure 8.1). While the former is a tangible form of luxury, the latter is a more intangible and sensory form of luxury akin to luxuriousness. That there is, and more importantly always has been, luxury evident in the New Zealand second home is a significant finding, as again there has been very little recognition of it in the literature. In this way, the findings contribute to the academic knowledge and understanding of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand.
Figure 8.1 Thematic network for the global theme “The luxury in the second home” showing the two organising themes and the eight basic themes that constitute them
8.2 Physical luxury

There were numerous representations of tangible physical luxury identifiable in the second homes over the duration of the magazine’s publication. This organising theme was comprised of four basic themes (Figure 8.2), and each of these will be examined in turn in this section.

![Diagram of Physical luxury themes](image)

Figure 8.2 The organising theme "physical luxury" and its four basic themes

8.2.1 Architectural design features

From the earliest issues of *Building Today*, architectural design features were a key component in the physical luxury identifiable in the second home and reflected the socio-cultural and economic conditions in New Zealand at any given time. References to spaciousness were consistent throughout the years of the publication, and through the use of extracts from the magazine articles it will be argued that this
was, and still is, a form of physical luxury. Other luxury features in the second home were seen to devolve over time from luxury to necessity (Berry 1994; Twitchell 2002). This phenomenon was most apparent through the representations of garaging, bathrooms and kitchens and will be discussed below. The temporal nature of luxury also manifested itself in one ‘luxury’ being replaced by another, often as new technology was developed and the old luxury item was made obsolete (Berry 1994).

Spaciousness was an important architectural design feature that contributed to the theme of physical luxury in the second home, and was mentioned from the very first article:

*The main feature of the house is its spacious living-room with large open fireplace and chimney* (*Planning for leisure*, Home and Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.31)

Support for the argument that spaciousness in a second home was a luxury in New Zealand in the 1930s could be found in the writings of others. For example Yoffe (2000, p.33), describing the second homes on Rangitoto Island near Auckland in the 1920s and 1930s, wrote:

*The families who took up sites were not affluent. Baches were very rudimentary and made of the cheapest materials. Many started as one room shacks with later additions of rooms and verandahs [sic] as finances allowed.*

This quote suggested that only those with sufficient wealth could afford to build a spacious second home at that time, while those without had small (and cheaply built) second homes. A little later, during World War II, building restrictions were implemented (refer to Chapters Four and Six) but were lifted in 1949 to allow the construction of second homes again of up to a maximum floor area of 400 square feet (37.1 square metres). At this point, the luxury of spaciousness and its association with comfort was particularly evident in the discourse:

*Next – and here is room for the controversy – it was considered advisable to have a large and comfortable living space and to economise on sleeping accommodation. This allows for entertaining and for comfortable relaxation during the greatest heat of the day or in bad weather* (*A 400-foot holiday cottage*, Home and Building, Aug/Sept 1949, p.53)
In later years, after the lifting of all building restrictions, spaciousness remained an important feature of architectural design. It was constructed in the discourse as part of the attractiveness and allure of the second home:

Its appeal lies in its spacious interior (‘A country retreat’, Home and Building, Oct 1962, p.48)

In some cases the dimensions of second homes and rooms were given, highlighting the luxurious size of the space:

The finished layout is a long, low, narrow 230 square metre house that has mirror-image double bedrooms and en suite bathrooms at each end. In between is a spacious 12m x 7m living and kitchen space, with a 3m stud height (Lewis, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.75)

Spaciousness was also evident in the accompanying images, where it was not limited to the main living areas. Spacious bedrooms were depicted, as were spacious decks and outdoor areas (Figures 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5). Furthermore, in all photographs in Home New Zealand magazine and its predecessors the perception of spaciousness seemed to be enhanced by the lack of visual clutter (which will be discussed in more depth in Section 8.3.1).
Figure 8.3 Spaciousness in the living area (top) and bedroom (bottom) in an early 1950s second home, *Home and Building*, Aug 1952, p.26 (Source: Michael Brett/Bauer Media)
Figure 8.4 Spaciousness in bedrooms as depicted in the visual discourse, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, June/July 2000, p.90 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
Figure 8.5 Spaciousness in outdoor areas as depicted in the visual discourse, *NZ Home and Building*, June/July 1998, p.108 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
Ironically, however, in recent years there was something of a trend towards showcasing small second homes in *Home New Zealand* with nearly one third of second homes (where the floor area was stated) since 2004 having a floor area of 75 square metres or less. Whether this was a response to increasing property prices, increasing building costs or a reaction to the global financial crisis which began in 2008 was unclear. Nevertheless, the discourse suggested that while these second homes may be small, the luxury of a sense of spaciousness could be achieved by employing an architect:

*The house itself measures just 75 square metres, but the design creates an impression of a far bigger area (Daniell, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2004/05, p.119)*

*For a building that measures only 50 square metres, it boasts a remarkable variety of spatial experiences, giving the impression that is a far larger house (Hansen, Home NZ, Feb/March 2012, p.27)*

Statements such as these were perceived in two different ways. First, that only an architect was able to design the second home in such a way as to maximise the perception of space; perhaps not surprising given the focus of the magazine. Second, while not everyone would view such a small second home as a luxury, there was a sense that the ability to choose to live in a smaller space than would be the case at the primary home, albeit for just a short period of time while on holiday, was very much a luxury. This idea of the luxury of choice will be discussed further in Section 8.3.3.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the architectural design features highlighted in the magazine frequently emphasised the temporal nature of luxury. In particular, the devolution of various luxury features became evident over time. The first second home article in 1937 showcased a luxury architectural design feature in the form of a garage:

*The garage, which is a separate building, is designed in a similar style to harmonise with the main structure. (‘Planning for leisure’, Home and Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.31)*

It could be argued that a garage was a necessity in order to protect such an expensive asset, but in the 1930s vehicle ownership itself remained something of a luxury, with many New Zealanders unable to afford a car (Pawson 2012). Therefore for the average reader of *Home and Building Today*, a home with a garage was a symbol of
luxury as it implied that the home owner was also car owner. By the late 1950s car ownership was widespread (Pawson 2012) and this was reflected in the magazine discourse, with garaging at the second home becoming more widespread and by implication less of a luxury item. In later years, even double garages (indicating ownership of more than one car) had become such a familiar sight at the second home that they were seldom if ever explicitly mentioned in the magazine discourse.

This illustrated not only the temporal nature of luxury (Berry 1994; Twitchell 2002) as discussed in Chapter Two, but also how the treatment of architectural features in the magazine discourse reflected the devolution in status from luxury item to convenience to necessity. When first introduced (the ‘luxury’ phase), architectural features were highlighted as special or unusual and were accompanied by some degree of explanation or definition. When more common (the ‘convenience’ phase) they were mentioned in the text only in passing. Finally, when very common (the ‘necessity’ phase) it seemed they were only drawn to the reader’s attention if there was something different or unique about them.

The devolutionary path of the luxury of bathrooms in second homes, as represented in the magazine discourse, provides another useful example of this process. Despite indoor bathroom facilities being common in primary homes in New Zealand after World War I, reportedly most second homes even into the 1930s had no provision for sanitation; an outside toilet was the norm (S. Barnett & Wolfe 1993; Yoffe 2000). In this context, the following extract from a second home article was interpreted as significant and indicative of a degree of luxury:

*Shower room, bathroom and W.C. are grouped separately off a rear lobby* (‘A week end cottage’, Home and Building, March 1941, p.13)

After World War II, indoor bathrooms were common in the architectural floor plans of second homes shown in the magazine, but were rarely mentioned in the accompanying text. By the late 1970s, architect-designed primary homes with two bathrooms were becoming more common in *NZ Home and Building*. An award-winning home in Christchurch featured the first en suite bathroom in 1979, and by 1981 the first en suite in a second home was shown in the magazine. These extracts provide something of a timeline of bathroom commentary from this time, from when
en suites were unusual to a time when en suites were common, reflecting temporal changes in bathroom luxury:

For convenience and privacy, the owners have their own en suite (‘en suite’ was italicised as a foreign word in original, Knight and Woodroffe, NZ Home and Building, June/July 1986, p.58)

[Despite the size of the second home, the architect] has cleverly managed to incorporate four bedrooms, two with en suites plus a third guest bathroom (Holder, NZ Home and Entertaining, Feb/March 2000, p.91)

A luxurious en suite lies off the master bedroom, while the family shower is “big enough to throw six small children into” and features a shower head at either end (Hindmarsh, NZ Home and Entertaining, Feb/March 2006, p.94)

In the first extract above there was almost a sense of justification, or at least the need to explain the inclusion of the en suite. In the second extract, the architect was praised for prioritising the limited space to include not one but two en suites, presumably at the expense of the size of other rooms in the second home. The importance placed on the en suites implied that they were viewed by the owners as a necessity – or as a luxury worth sacrificing space for. The unapologetic luxury in the last extract is found not only in the nature of the en suite (explicitly described as “luxurious”) but also in the size and fixtures of the family shower. Accompanying images provided further important visual information about forms of physical luxury, with modern upmarket fixtures and fittings being prominently depicted in spacious bathrooms. This sense of physical luxury was increasingly reinforced in the captions which were often replete with rich evocative phrases (Figure 8.6).
Despite luxuries becoming necessities over time (Berry 1994), there were always new luxuries appearing, with the latest in building materials and techniques, technology and domestic and international architectural trends being incorporated in the second home. For example, luxury building materials introduced over the years include external cladding products such as Fibrolite\textsuperscript{16}, schist (a type of stone found in New Zealand only in the Central Otago district and in vogue from the 1990s), and monolithic cladding (a new building material in the early years of the twenty first century). This contrasted with much of the literature, which held that second homes were mostly devoid of the modern materials and technology common in the primary

\textsuperscript{16} It was discovered that long-term exposure to asbestos caused lung disease and as a result Fibrolite could now be considered anything BUT a luxury in older homes that still contain it, as it must be professionally removed (The asbestos removal guide 2012).
home, at least until recently (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Perkins & Thorns 2006; D. R. Williams & Van Patten 2006).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the focus of the magazine, being modern and up-to-date was an important component of the physical luxury in an architect designed second home. Nevertheless, the identification and interpretation of architectural design features as luxuries required an understanding of New Zealand society and the language of luxury. For example, in 1949 an outdoor shower was labelled a “great convenience” (‘A 400-foot holiday cottage’, Home and Building, Aug/Sept 1949, p.53). The insight sought and experienced while immersed in reading Home and Building articles and advertising material (see Chapter Five), led to the understanding that in 1940s New Zealand, convenience was frequently used as a euphemism for luxury. Occasionally the language and expressions used in the articles evoked a sense of luxury where it did not exist previously. For example, up until the 1980s the words ‘bedrooms’ or even ‘guest bedrooms’ were in use, but by the late 1990s the language had changed to ‘guest suites’ or ‘guest wings’ which at the very least sounded grander and more luxurious.

From time to time, however, the discourse unambiguously defined certain features as a luxury. Here, the inclusion of various luxuries at the second home was facilitated through the adoption of new technology:

Then, there are the added luxuries, say the owners with glee: “We installed heated ceilings and a hot water system that can be activated by telephone to ensure that the house is warm when we arrive on a cold Friday night.” Also, in summertime after a dip, there’s no need to shiver under the outdoor shower, because that also has hot water: “Shameful, we know,” say the owners, “but very nice!” (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.108)

This extract was also one of the very few to illustrate fundamental tensions in the admission of luxury, with the second home owners reportedly feeling shame and yet at the same time boasting of the luxury features in their second home. There was an underlying sense in their statement that was reminiscent of the enduring association of luxury with sin and guilt as discussed in depth in Chapter Two (Section 2.4).

The adoption of new technology was also prevalent in the kitchen. In a pleasurable second home lifestyle that centred on entertaining, as considered in Chapter Seven (Section 7.3.1), the kitchen assumed an increasingly important role over the years as
the social hub of the second home. From the 1980s progressively more physical luxury features were noticeable in both the written and visual discourse about the kitchen (refer also Figure 8.7, p.245). Large kitchens with the latest technology were commonly encountered in the magazine discourse, and the advertisements in the magazine over the years showcased the most modern appliances and accessories. In this way, the magazine functioned as a taste maker in a similar manner as television cooking programmes (Ketchum 2005), highlighting the luxurious consumer goods and features required to achieve a beautiful second home kitchen:

*The German kitchen was an extravagance (Copland, NZ Home and Building, Feb/March 1989, p.120)*

A white glass box slides up through the kitchen island benchtop. At night it lights up and, with a Martini glass placed on top, the room becomes a glamorous cocktail area (Berryman, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2005, p.115)

*The owners requested comprehensive cooking and entertaining space, so a 6.5-metre-long concrete and fibreglass bench and a wall of cupboards provide all they need in the kitchen (McBride, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2006/07, p.67)*

In addition, the language in the third extract above illustrated the subjective nature of luxury. The large bespoke kitchen bench and substantial storage spoke of physical luxury when compared to an average home, and yet the text suggested that the second home owners viewed it as a necessity. The luxury apparent in the second home kitchens in the magazine again contrasted markedly with the academic literature. For example, Vittersø (2007) reported that while preparing food and eating together were important and enjoyable leisure activities for the Norwegian second home owners in his study, most lacked modern kitchen facilities – many cooked outdoors and without electricity and were happy to do so as part of what they considered to be an authentic second home experience.

Highlighting the relative and subjective nature of physical luxury in the context of second homes in the magazine, were statements such as this:

*After three years camping on the site before the bach was designed and completed, even these basic touches [solar water heating, insulation, log fire] feel like luxuries to the family. Which, when you think about it, is exactly what the idea of a bach is all about. (Hansen, Home NZ, Aug/Sept 2009, p.96)*
Here the family had been without hot water, insulation and heating while they enjoyed camping holidays on the site prior to building. Upon completion of a second home that incorporated such features, they judged them to feel like luxuries. This suggested that over time, once the novelty value of having these features available at the second home had dissipated, they would once again be seen as necessities in the same way as they would be viewed at their primary home. In this way, a period of deprivation could result in a perceived necessity becoming a perceived luxury, if only for a relatively short while.

The architect designed second homes featured in the magazine therefore incorporated a number of luxury features relative to the standards of New Zealand society of the time. This also differentiated them from the self-built second homes which lacked such luxury touches and which were occasionally mentioned in the magazine discourse:

*Not only are many of our [self-built] holiday homes depressing externally. They are also unsuitable internally for the purpose for which they were built...They are often slapped together without consideration for maximum sunshine, fresh air and outdoor living. They have small windows and little provision for comfort and privacy (Editorial, Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1950, p.17)*

*Those who founded the community [of second homes at Baylys Beach near Dargaville, north of Auckland, in around 1914] were mainly doctors, lawyers, farmers and other professionals...They could have afforded more luxurious holidays but preferred their humble baches with no running water and kerosene cookers (Milligan, NZ Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1996, p.142)*

These extracts not only exemplify the difference in the degree of luxury between the self-built second homes and the architect designed second homes, they also illustrate how the social construction of the self-built second homes had changed in less than 50 years. The first extract is from an editorial in 1950 which was a scathing attack on the ‘shacks’ being built predominantly in high amenity coastal areas by those with no architectural taste. Naturally enough, given the focus and purpose of the magazine, it implied that the benefits of employing an architect included the provision of such luxuries (indeed, necessities) as large windows, comfort and privacy. The latter extract, written in 1996, looked back on the early second homes of those who could have afforded better (the ‘shacks’ of the previous editorial) with a nostalgic fondness. Instead of referring to them as ‘ugly’ and ‘eyesores’ as the
earlier editorial did, these self-built second home were constructed as ‘humble’. Furthermore, the article suggested that the luxuries of running water and electricity had been foregone by choice rather than by necessity. Choice made the lack of facilities a luxury and this point will be returned to later in the chapter.

Danish and Norwegian academic literature has also noted an evolution in second home architecture, from the traditionally basic form to a modern form catering to a growing demand for physical comfort (Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Hjalager, Staunstrup & Ibsen 2011; Vittersø 2007). It is contended here that their use of the language of ‘comfort’ was indicative of physical luxury and was an oblique reference to the luxury in architecture and design features. In other research on Norwegian second homes, Grimstad and Lyngø (1993) noted the apparent contradiction in the desire to live a basic life but have modern material comforts, such as having a hot shower after ski-touring. Exemplifying the subjective nature of luxury, Vittersø (2007) noted tensions between second home owners who viewed these ‘comforts’ differently. Some viewed hot showers to be necessities, while others viewed them to be luxuries and therefore contrary to their expectations of an authentic second home experience. Nevertheless the majority of the second home literature does not use the word ‘luxury’, nor does it examine the physical form or architectural aspects of the second homes in any detail.

8.2.2 Interior decoration

The interior decoration of the second home portrayed in the written and visual magazine discourse provided ample evidence of physical luxury in a variety of forms. While present from the early 1950s, it was more prevalent from the mid-1980s as the home (and by extension the second home) became increasingly commoditised as a site for consumption in New Zealand, as overseas (Brailsford 2007; Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen 2004; Paris 2011). Rather than the purchase of mass-produced items, the owners of second homes featured in the magazine seemed to prefer distinctive furnishings and accessories. Many had items specially designed, imported, brought back from overseas travels, or sourced from exclusive designers:

*The actual colour of the leather furniture [in the lounge] was achieved by having a batch of leather especially dyed. It is aqua sea green and*
accurately reflects the colours outside...Pieces of art have been chosen carefully. A Zena Abbott tapestry commissioned especially. Door handles were imported from England and imported taps chosen for their function and because they remind [the owner] of birds (McCarthy, NZ Home and Building, Aug/Sept 1986, p.11, 13)

Owner Jack Cooper reads in a Philippe Starck Costes chair, under [an artwork by] Delicia Sampero. Jack bought the zebra skin rug in South Africa (Lewis, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2001/02, p.82)

There was a sense of luxury, exclusivity and social status communicated to the reader through these extracts. In addition, the reader was encouraged to aspire to such luxury and status, especially through the introduction in the late 1990s of a single page section titled ‘Style File’ at the end of some articles. This column detailed how to achieve the same ‘look’ and provided the details of stockists for the same or similar consumer items as photographed in the home. Prices were often quoted as ‘POA’ (price on application) which was certainly suggestive of both the level of financial capital required and of luxuriousness. Even where prices were given, they served to further reinforce the financial capital required of the readership – in terms of who was able to afford such items, and who was not. For example in the August/September 2000 issue, one Style File featured a desk lamp priced at NZ$849 and a kitchen sink mixer tap priced at NZ$1150 (p.58) which equated to NZ$1175 and NZ$1590 in 2012 prices respectively (Reserve Bank of New Zealand 2013). To put this in context, the cost of the items relative to the average weekly household income before tax was calculated for the years 2000 and 2012 (Table 8.1). The lamp cost the equivalent of at least 75% of a household’s weekly income, while the tap cost more than one week’s household income.

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Table 8.1 Cost of items as a percentage of average weekly household income (before tax) in 2000 and 2012. ² Income information sourced from Statistics New Zealand (2012). ² Adjusted price calculated using Inflation Calculator from Reserve Bank of New Zealand (2013).
These items represented a significant financial investment and it is argued that they were thus restricted to those on above average incomes. A reader on an average income may have viewed them as luxury items, yet the subjective nature of luxury means those on high incomes may have considered them less of a luxury. Nevertheless the role of the magazine as taste maker and educator remained, allowing the reader to appreciate the outward manifestation of the achievement of success and high social status (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). In addition to the main body text of the articles and the introduction of the Style File, the photograph captions provided access to luxury and helped to educate the reader by giving information about designer items and stockists (Figure 8.7).
Figure 8.7 Detailed caption directing the reader’s attention to the designer items in the photograph, along with information about stockists, *Home NZ*, April/May 2008, p.79 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
While the luxury in interior decoration was generally implicit and relied on the reading and interpretation of various symbols in both the written and visual discourse, on occasion it was explicitly pointed out to the reader:

...a possum fur throw...adds a touch of luxury to the bed. Pure white bedding...keeps the room looking light and airy (Dunphy, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2002/03, p.109)

Caption: Robyn’s choice of ultimate luxury – an Agape Spoon bath – drinks in the expansive rural views from the master bedroom. A Vola spout, Paini Cox mixer and Agape storage ladder finish off the look (Berryman, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2005, p.114)

Again the magazine discourse provided readers with a sense of what constituted luxury and also how to achieve a similar look in their own home or second home. Somewhat ironically, and indicative of the subjective and almost nonsensical nature of luxury, the first extract made a luxury item of a pest species. In New Zealand, the possum (a furry marsupial about the size of a cat) is responsible for the destruction of native flora and fauna and the spread of disease (Davidson 1996). Yet here the pelts were sewn into an (expensive) throw blanket for the bed or sofa and given status as a luxury item.

Educating the reader about art and sculpture was the subject of frequent columns in the magazine over the course of the years, but it was only in the 1980s that the reader’s attention was drawn to art and sculpture in second home interior decoration:

Inside chipboard wall linings create a neutral background for the clients numerous pieces of art (‘Retreat at Seaforth’s Peninsula’, NZ Home and Building, Issue 1, 1983, p.40)

Both lovers of art and design the couple brought many of their favourite artworks and furniture to the house. A Neil Dawson sculpture hanging beside the woodburning stove catches the eye on entering, as does a Frank Lloyd Wright chair. On the opposite wall is a Dick Frizell [sic] print, nearby a Patrick Hanly painting and beside the French doors are works by Philippa Blair and Jenny Dolezel (Bucknell, NZ Home and Building, April/May 1992, p.63-64)

For their interior décor, [they] opted for pieces that were spare, modern and fitted well with the architecture...They had in mind various art and objects they had collected and wanted to bring to the house including, in the kitchen...an artwork by Pat Hanly...and a painting by Gretchen Albrecht in the bedroom (Hansen, Home NZ, April/May 2011, p.80)
More often than not, the artists and sculptors were named; they were frequently well known and recognised New Zealand names that (today at least) commanded high prices\textsuperscript{17} for their work. While it cannot be certain that prices were high when the pieces were purchased, the naming of the artists and sculptors seemed to suggest that at the very least it was the case when the article was written. Alternatively the naming of the artists implied that the reader should have known the artists even if they were not (yet) well known or expensive, thereby delineating the cultural capital of the reader.

Once again, the representation of the luxury in interior decoration in the second home differed between the architect designed second home and the vernacular second home. Images of the interiors of the latter often showed many second hand and/or kitsch items in a cluttered setting (Figure 8.8). Contrast this with the full page image of the contemporary second home kitchen, its caption drawing the reader’s attention to designer decorative elements (Figure 8.7).

Vernacular second homes were represented as not luxury in \textit{Home New Zealand} magazine, but rather as nostalgically familiar and somehow ordinary. It is argued that in doing this, the magazine was perpetuating an ideology about how a real ‘bach’ and life there should be. In this way the vernacular was portrayed in opposition to the luxury afforded by an architect designed second home. This has also been noted in the Swedish context where similarly strong ideas exist about an authentic second home culture (Lagerqvist 2013). Furthermore these findings echoed the New Zealand literature on vernacular second homes, which often spoke of the eclectic nature of interior decoration and a lack of physical luxury (see for example Foster 2003; Yoffe 2000).

\textsuperscript{17} For example, the following average prices were achieved at auctions by one art dealer in 2013 for some of the artists named in the extracts on the previous page: Dawson ($11,707), Hanly ($18,795), Frizzell ($3,635) and Albrecht ($16,062) (Art + Object 2013).
Figure 8.8 The visual construction of the vernacular second home as not luxury, *NZ Home and Entertaining*, April/May 2001, p.3 (Source: Kieran Scott/Bauer Media)
8.2.3 Light and warmth

An understanding of the context of housing in the first half of the twentieth century suggested that light and warmth were luxuries as many (if not most) New Zealand homes of the time were small, poorly ventilated and poorly designed for sun and heat (Brickell 2003). One of the fundamental advantages of employing an architect, then, lay in their ability to design a home (or second home) to provide health giving benefits, as these editorials noted:

There is, however, one thing at least to which our magazine stands dedicated: the general improvement of the architecture of this country and, with it, of the health and happiness of the people (Editorial, Home and Building Today, Jan-Mar 1937, p.7)

The full consideration of [a home’s] arrangements to obtain the greatest advantage of sun, open space, proper arrangement of rooms in relation to each other, and compact economical planning, are matters in which the competent designer can demonstrate that the cost of his services is amply repaid. For the failure to place a value on such competent service, the individual and the community are paying both in hard cash and in the lack of amenities of good health, comfort and efficiency (Editorial, Home and Building, May-Jul 1938, p.7)

Light, ventilation and warmth were important considerations for the good health of a home’s inhabitants, but, like spaciousness, were also associated with comfort and being comfortable. Given the conditions of housing at the time then, these design features contributed significantly to the perception of physical luxury in the second home in the early years of the magazine. Articles commonly focused on light and warmth in the form of fireplaces, glass louvres (predominantly in the early years) and large living areas with large windows:

The deep bay shown in the photograph forms a sun lounging area and is yet handy to the fireside for winter comfort (‘A week end cottage’, Home and Building, March-May 1941, p.13)

The living room is comparatively commodious and provision has been made for ample light and view. The fireplace is centrally situated for economical diffusion of heat in winter (‘A 500 sq. ft. cottage that is simple, commodious, economical’, Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1950, p.27)

Two bunk rooms each containing four bunks and a spacious clothes closet, with adjustable glass louvres to each bunk, giving good ventilation...A shower and wash room with a perspex sheet over,
allowing light and warmth on south side (‘A week-end house in the Waitakere Ranges’, Home and Building, Jan 1952, p.25)

In more recent years, while the rhetoric of the health giving properties associated with light and warmth has disappeared, there was still a lingering luxury inherent in their portrayal in the magazine. This was particularly evident in the description of large expanses of glass in the form of walls and windows:

Virtually the entire seaward side of the house is comprised of glass sliding doors which open onto a deck (Bucknell, NZ Home and Building, April/May 1992, p.63)

The fully glazed living area opens completely to the beach view, allowing the sunlight to flood in (McKay, Home NZ, April/May 2008, p.76)

Given the reality of New Zealand’s climate, however, with its high rainfall and windy conditions (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004), whether the second home owners were actually able to have the “entire seaward side of the house” open very often was debatable, and indeed a moot point. Here the luxury was in the extent of glazing and not necessarily the actuality of its use, heightening its luxury value. In addition to the text, the associated photographs illustrated the luxury of glass. This was generally enhanced by images of open doors or windows allowing the sun to stream into the second home and also through captions which focused the reader’s attention on the nature and amount of glazing (Figure 8.9). That large windows and sliding glass doors exuded a sense of luxury may be a historical legacy. Certainly in early New Zealand, as in other places, glass was expensive as it was imported, and most windows were made of small individual panes – if one broke it did not cost as much to replace as one large pane. Naturally, only the very wealthy could afford large windows made of a single pane of glass (Salmond 2012).
With regards to warmth in the winter months, fireplaces were the most commonly depicted form of heating in the second homes featured in *Home New Zealand* magazine over the years of publication. However, as with other architectural design features mentioned in the previous section, they also evolved with the times and thus retained their luxury status. With a single indoor fireplace becoming *de rigueur* in the second home in the last 30 years, the brand, type, number and location of fireplaces became progressively more potent symbols of the physical luxury of warmth:

*Stainless steel heaters suspended beneath the eaves and an outdoor fireplace extend the possibilities for outdoor living (Millar, NZ Home and Building, June/July 1998, p.102)*
The house is heated with two Jetmaster gas fireplaces inside and an open fire outside. The house is also air-conditioned (Lewis, NZ Home and Entertaining, Feb/March 2002, p.64)

Four roaring hearths, both indoors and out, ensure pleasurable alfresco and winter living (McCall, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2004, p.92)

Within the last twenty years the notion of being warm and comfortable indoors had been extended to being warm and comfortable outdoors. Again, it seemed to be irrelevant whether, given the vagaries of the New Zealand climate, this was a reality for the second home owners or merely an illusion; it was the representation of the (perceived) luxury of being able to experience pleasurable outdoor winter living that was more important (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004).

In addition to portraying warmth through the written word, it was portrayed visually through images accompanying the articles. The fire in the hearth, golden timber, warmly toned furnishings and the use of lighting (either natural or artificial) were all commonly used tools to convey a sense of warmth. For example, the roaring fire, soft lighting, comfortable furnishings and warm tones of the wood ceiling, along with a wine bottle and glasses set out ready on the coffee table, all lent an impression of warmth to the image in Figure 8.10. The caption alongside the image in Figure 8.10 noted the “lodge-like atmosphere” of the main living room which further fostered a feeling of luxuriousness and exclusivity. This was due largely to the association of a lodge (as portrayed here) with upmarket luxury travel in New Zealand, as lodges are promoted as being “in a class of their own…cater[ing] to “the most discerning visitor” (Tourism New Zealand 2014).
Figure 8.10 A common style of image portraying the luxury of warmth in the second home, *NZ Home and Building*, Oct/Nov 1998, p.105 (Source: Anon/Bauer Media)
The luxury of light and warmth, as constructed in both the written and visual magazine discourse, was related to (or derived from) an impression of comfort. In the magazine, to be well lit and warm was to be comfortable and happy. By implication, to be in the dark and cold was to be uncomfortable and miserable. Similarly, in their work on the second home, both Kaltenborn (1998) and Kearns and Collins (2006) related comfort to feelings of well-being; this may in part have explained the sense of luxury evoked in the magazine articles. Supporting this interpretation, various marketing studies have found that consumers perceive luxury to be associated with comfort and being comfortable (Dubois & Czellar 2002; Feldman 2008; Small, Harris & Wilson 2008). In addition, sociological studies have revealed that participants’ visions of their ideal home were equated with subjective notions of comfort (Madigan & Munro 1996; Silva & Wright 2009; Woodward 2003). These ideals may be both driven and reinforced by representations in the media as illustrated here and as discussed earlier in Chapter Two (Section 2.7.3).

8.2.4 Outdoor elements

The final basic theme contributing to the organising theme of physical luxury in the second home was that of outdoor elements. Many were related to specific recreation and leisure pursuits, which may in themselves have been deemed luxuries (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.3), but some also carried with them a substantial requirement for space - for example, the inclusion of a tennis court or swimming pool in the grounds of the second home. In fact, one of the first articles featured a second home with both a tennis court and a swimming pool (‘Planning for leisure’, Home and Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.32). Nevertheless it was not just the requirement for space that afforded swimming pools the impression of luxury, as the following extract from an article about pools illustrates:

*Pool-conscious – that describes New Zealand home-owners these days. Some regard a private pool as a status symbol. Generally, however, a typically practical reason lies behind these homely touches of the Riviera – suburbs forcing families further from the coast; increasingly tiresome treks to crammed beaches with a minimum of parking… (’it’s a long hot summer…so why not install a swimming pool! Home and Building, Jan 1968, p.9)*

Here the author seems to feel the need to justify owning a private swimming pool, refuting the idea of a pool as a status symbol and instead citing a number of practical
reasons – seemingly attempting to rationalise a luxury on the basis of necessity, or convenience at the very least. Two of the fourteen second homes that featured swimming pools were located on the beachfront, making something of a charade of the rationale given in the above extract (Figure 8.11). The element of luxury inherent in these pools was not necessarily that their beachfront location made them somewhat redundant (although it could be argued that this was the case). Rather, it was more that the swimming pool provided the second home owners with the ability to swim in private and to control their own sanitised swimming environment. In this manner the second home owners were perhaps able to enjoy the luxury of a level of physical and psychological comfort that was not available to others who lacked a swimming pool. In addition, it afforded the owner the luxury of choice of where to swim.
Figure 8.11 The luxury of a swimming pool at a beachfront second home, *Home NZ*, Dec/Jan 2009/10, p.29 (Source: Paul McCredie/Bauer Media)
Along with outdoor fireplaces, which were discussed earlier in this chapter (Section 8.2.3), other outdoor luxury items over the years included boat sheds, roof terraces, barbecues, jetties, pizza ovens and spa pools. The interpretation of luxury relied heavily on understanding both the New Zealand context at the time of writing and the type of language used:

*The boat shed was placed so that future excavation to the lake edge could permit floating entry of a large dinghy* (*A holiday home on the shore of Lake Rotoiti*, *Home and Building*, May 1951, p.25)

*Considering the enjoyment any family would get from [a portable barbecue] the cash outlay would be well justified. Barbecue “tools” are an asset too* (*Hoby, Home and Building*, Nov 1956, p.15)

*Luxury launches can now pull up at private jetties with gang-planks leading to palatial homes* (*Milligan, NZ Home and Building*, Oct/Nov 1996, p.144)

The first extract above was from an article about a large lakefront second home in a stunning setting, with many other luxury features for the time such as large self-contained bedrooms for adult children, a “large and well windowed” lounge and a roof deck (*‘A holiday home on the shore of Lake Rotoiti’, Home and Building*, May 1951, p.25). This suggested that the boat shed, built as part of the second home, was also a luxury as it was worthy of bringing to the reader’s attention. The need to justify the cost in the second extract implied that a barbecue was a luxury item in mid-1950s New Zealand. The third extract spoke of physical luxury not only through the ownership of a second home with a jetty, but also by the use of adjectives such as “palatial” and “luxury launch”.

Landscaping was the final outdoor element that contributed to the representation of physical luxury in this theme. In the few *Home New Zealand* articles on vernacular second homes, the images generally depicted unkempt lawns and few plants (Figure 8.12) and in this way mirrored the representations in the literature (*Kearns & Collins* 2006; *D. Mitchell & Chaplin* 1984).

Compare this to the images of architect designed second homes in *Home New Zealand* magazine (Figure 8.13) where the landscaping was often extensive. In addition, they were frequently specially designed to ensure a low maintenance space and the work was carried out by professionals (both luxuries as discussed in Chapter Seven). Indeed, the very term ‘landscaping’ was suggestive of the luxury of professional design and execution (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004) and was a language not seen in the articles about vernacular second homes.
Significantly, the abovementioned outdoor elements spoke of the underlying cultural capital of the second home owners. Much like the discussion in Chapter Seven around leisure activities and cultural capital, here both the acquisition of knowledge and the consumption of time were required to enjoy the luxury of the outdoor elements. For example, playing a game of tennis required a degree of skill and time, barbeques and pizza ovens implied a knowledge of the intricacies of cooking in such a manner, and as argued above, the very word ‘landscaping’ inherently suggested an understanding of the language of professionals (if not the phraseology used by them).

The organising theme of physical luxury was thus frequently and readily identifiable in the magazine. It was evident through the representation of the architectural design features of the second home, through the early adoption of new and innovative spaces, technologies, building materials and fixtures and fittings by the second home owners. Garaging, bathrooms and kitchens provided useful illustrations of the temporality of luxury, through both the devolution and evolution of luxury products over the decades. Physical luxury was evident, too, in the interior decoration of the second home, with much commentary about art, sculpture and bespoke items. Some second home owners had furnishings or other home wares
specially imported from overseas, while others brought items back from overseas travels. The representation of the second home as a site for consumption was evident as early as the 1950s, but from the 1980s became increasingly prominent. This mirrored a similar change in the role and status of the primary home in New Zealand during these periods (Brailsford 2007; Mansvelt 2005; Shaw & Brookes 1999).

Light and warmth were forms of physical luxury apparent from the earliest years of *Building Today* through to today’s *Home New Zealand* – both written and visual text provided evidence that supported such an interpretation. The perception of the physical luxury inherent in light and warmth was associated with underlying meanings of comfort and being comfortable. Various outdoor elements also contributed to the organising theme of physical luxury over the years. Some were associated with a need for space, such as tennis courts and swimming pools, and the luxury related to the amount of space required. However, most were related to the early adoption by second home owners of new outdoor leisure accessories when they were still uncommon (and therefore considered luxury items) in New Zealand homes. Undertones of cultural capital held by second home owners were also implicit in these outdoor elements, in that they required both knowledge and time invested in their use.

### 8.3 Metaphysical luxury

In addition to the physical luxury there was a sense of metaphysical luxury evident in the second home articles. This took the form of a more sensual representation related to notions of luxuriousness, a more abstract form of luxury related to the aesthetics of the second home. It was communicated on an affective level through both the written and visual discourse, provoking an emotional response from the reader. Four recurring basic themes in the second home discourse spoke of luxuriousness and contributed to the organising theme of metaphysical luxury (Figure 8.14).
Figure 8.14 The organising theme "metaphysical luxury" and its four basic themes

8.3.1 Mood

There were two key ways in which the mood of the second home, as portrayed in the magazine discourse, was suggestive of metaphysical luxury: through the construction of the second home as a place of calm and peace; and through the language of being cosy and enclosed. Each will be considered in turn below for its contribution to a sense of luxuriousness.

The mood of the second home was often described as calm, peaceful and serene, qualities which were valued by the owners:

*The owners find this cottage fulfils all their requirements...providing them with restful, peaceful surroundings ('Holiday cottage at Taupo', Home and Building, Dec 1967, p.31)*
“For us the house is all about the light and space and feeling of serenity it exudes” (Majeed, Home NZ, Feb/March 2010, p.106)

Accompanying photographs captured what calm and serene ‘looked like’ in this context (Figures 8.15 and 8.16), and whether in black and white or in full colour the sense of peace was evident. There were no people, rooms were spacious and carried an impression of stillness. The quotidian accessories of everyday life (such as bric-a-brac, newspapers, magazines, coasters, bowls of keys) were lacking, and the rural or ocean view could be viewed as both expansive and restful. Again, as in Chapter Seven, the images depicted blue skies and calm seas which further added to the luxurious sense of peace (Cheng 2001).

Figure 8.15 A calm interior from the 1960s, Home and Building, Dec 1967, p.31 (Source: Anon/Bauer Media)
Figure 8.16 A more recent depiction of a calm interior. *Home NZ*, Feb/March 2010, p.107 (Source: Paul McCredie/Bauer Media)
One could imagine the luxury of sitting in silence in one of the comfortable chairs, basking in the sun while contemplating the artworks on the wall or merely gazing out at the view in Figure 8.16. In each of the instances where calmness, peacefulness and serenity were mentioned in the magazine, it seemed as though they were related somehow to a lack of visual distraction in the second home. The eye did not rest on accessories or ornamentation but rather swept across clean surfaces and (what appeared to be) carefully arranged spaces. This allowed for an uncluttered view which equated to an uncluttered mind; there was nothing to divert one from the process of relaxation and contemplation.

The lack of visual distraction in home and lifestyle magazine advertising and articles has also been noted by Leonard, Perkins and Thorns (2004). They believed this resulted in homes appearing uncluttered, spacious, clean and tidy, thereby presenting an idealised imagery of the home to the reader. While the editors of Home New Zealand, when interviewed, explicitly stated that none of the homes in the magazine were professionally styled prior to being photographed, nevertheless clutter was often removed to enhance the image:

> often though, we will, when we shoot, there’s kind of a process of extraction goes on, so...as opposed to being in the room, when you photograph a room, umm, visual clutter, or the feeling of visual clutter, is sort of heightened, so, and our photographers will just kind of sometimes haul out stuff a little bit...because we are in the business of, I think, of kind of selling dreamy images (Interview with Editor C, March 2013)

This lack of ornamentation and clutter and its contribution to an atmosphere of calm was reinforced in other articles and their accompanying photographs:

> “Everyone is happy when they come here, and that’s because this place inspires a sense of calm” (Thornton, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2006/07, p.98)

This quote was highlighted under a photograph depicting a simply furnished bedroom in neutral tones and a warm wood interior with clean lines (Figure 8.17). The implication, then, was that this image represented calmness. Furthermore, the main body text below the image drew the reader’s attention to the fact that the “the main living space is uncomplicated, and just as importantly, unhampered by stuff”.
It seemed that a sense of calm and peacefulness, as constructed in *Home New Zealand* magazine, was a luxury seldom found in everyday life but was planned for and achievable in the second home, through an uncluttered style of decoration and a lack of people. This highlighted two interesting tensions in the discourse. The first was between this mood of calmness and the construction of the second home as an important place for entertaining and socialising, as discussed in Chapter Seven. Whether there existed different motivations for second home ownership amongst owners, whether there were different ‘seasons’ when the owners sought sociability or solitude, or whether the reality of the second home lifestyle differed from the imagined lifestyle was unclear from the discourse. While it may have been all, none or a combination of these factors, other studies have noted similar tensions between perception and reality. For example, Robertson (1977) discussed a discrepancy between the anticipated use of the second home prior to purchase and the actual use after purchase. More recently, both Luka (2007) and Pitkänen (2008) have identified something of a disjuncture in the popular perception of the second home.
as an extensive social space, finding that in reality it was more often a space for peace and personal isolation.

The other tension in the magazine was found in the contrast between architect designed second homes and the traditional or vernacular second home, where the latter was often portrayed as cluttered rather than uncluttered:

*The bach’s intimate interiors are covered in mementos collected by [the owner]...collaged with papery treasures: photographs, paintings, messages, clippings, poems and the like (Smith, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2009/10, p.67)*

The imagery in the few articles devoted to vernacular second homes constructed the clutter as an acceptable, indeed expected, form of decoration emphasising the nostalgia and intergenerational ownership of the second home. The visual discourse also differed in these articles; photographs were frequently smaller and displayed in a montage form (Figure 8.18 and also refer back to Figure 8.8, p.248). The images seldom focused on the physical form of the second home but rather on the content. In this way, clutter became part of the luxury of the mood of the vernacular second home, albeit carrying a different meaning to that of the architect designed second home. Furthermore, the visual text drew the reader’s attention to small scenes of banal everyday life in the second home (Figure 8.18), implying an unsophisticated lifestyle and reinforcing the life lived at the second home rather than the second home itself.

This tension was also noted by Abram (2012, p.243) in her observation of the aesthetic differences in the portrayal of the traditional and modern in Norwegian second home (cabin) and lifestyle magazines:

*Over time old cabins thus began to accumulate objects, but the new generation of modern cabins and apartments of the 2000s present an entirely different aesthetic. New high-end cabins have an almost anti-cabin aesthetic, a sleek and urban minimalism, from which objects and knick-knacks have largely been banished. The contemporary cabin is emptying out again, both of rusticity and also of personal markers.*

However, with this exception, the notion of tensions in the social construction of the aesthetics of vernacular and contemporary second homes has otherwise gone unnoticed in the academic literature. The findings presented here therefore both
identify and contribute to addressing a significant knowledge gap in our understanding of the changing nature of second homes.

Figure 8.18 The mood of the vernacular second home, *Home NZ*, Dec/Jan 2009/10, p.67 (Source: Mark Smith/Bauer Media)
This argument is not to suggest that the uncluttered modern ‘luxury’ second homes are lifeless, but more that the life lived (and the luxury sought) there is different. Furthermore, perhaps this reflects the types of people who own these second homes, echoing various academic studies that reported a distinction in the way primary homes were conceived by different social classes. The middle and working class tended to view their homes as familial spaces with an emphasis on relaxed (but still clean) comfort, while the upper class placed more emphasis on the home as a reflection of their taste and style (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen 2004; Madigan & Munro 1996; Woodward 2003). Indeed, Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen (2004, p.23) associated this with the financial and cultural capital of the home owners:

_This may be understood as the choice of necessity: to keep a nice and tidy home costs only a lot of work, to keep a special style requires both money and knowledge._

This statement alludes to notions of luxury; not only the luxury of choice but also the luxury of capital held by those ‘with style’ – which falsely assumes that those without capital lack ‘style’. In the magazine discourse then, the stylish and uncluttered nature of the second home, reflecting the financial and cultural capital of the owners, contributed to the impression of luxuriousness in the mood of the architect designed second homes. Likewise Leonard, Perkins & Thorns (2004, p.109) argued that magazines such as *New Zealand Home and Building* conveyed “values and ideals associated with those who have access to considerable financial and cultural capital”, and that the homes featured were so luxurious as to be an aspirational fantasy for most readers rather than a reality.

The second key way in which the mood of the second home was constructed as luxurious was through the language of being cosy and enclosed:

_**Snug and enclosed around the fire** (‘The great outdoors’, NZ Home and Building, June/July 1991, p.18)_

_Checked sofas and timber tones lend the more enclosed winter end of the room a cosy lodge-like feel* (Pearson, NZ Home and Building, Dec/Jan 1998/99, p.84)\(^{18}\)

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\(^{18}\) At the time of their research, 1998-2000, the magazine was still titled *New Zealand Home and Building*
Upstairs, the same timber lines a cosy balcony, a warm embrace of timber sheltered enough to be inviting even on [sic] a cold winter’s day (Hansen, NZ Home and Entertaining, Aug/Sept 2006, p.102)

Significantly, rather than connoting a lack of space, in this context being embraced, enclosed or enveloped evoked notions of nurturing or being nurtured, and of being safe and secure. The linguistic devices employed resulted in the anthropomorphising of the second home, ascribing to it human traits. This seemed to aid in the construction of the second home as a nurturing shelter that somehow satisfied the psychological need for love and a sense of well-being, echoing the literature on the meaning of home (Easthope 2004; Tuan 1975). Again this was reflected and reinforced through the accompanying visual discourse (Figure 8.19). It was in this intangible, emotive manner that the mood of the second home was conveyed in the magazine and contributed to the organising theme of metaphysical luxury.

Figure 8.19 Visual depiction of the “cosy lodge-like feel” of the more enclosed winter end of the second home living room, NZ Home and Building, Dec-Jan 1998/99, p.83 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
8.3.2 Beauty

It is said that beauty lies in the eye of the beholder, but in *Home New Zealand* it was conveyed to the reader through both the written and visual discourse in the form of the authoritative ‘expert voice’ – in this case the magazine was selling the voice of the architects, who had been ‘trained’ in architectural aesthetics. From the early years, it was evident that beauty was an important factor to be considered when designing and building a second home. Here the synonym ‘attractive’ was used:

*The baches presented here show a wide variety in design, but they all have one common aspect – simple planning to provide an attractive appearance with internal comfort and harmony with their surroundings* (*‘Let’s resolve to design our weekend cottages with taste and efficiency’, Home and Building, Sept 1946, p.19*)

The associated images of the “baches presented here” exemplified what the writer considered to be attractive (Figure 8.20). These were substantial second homes for the period, rather than the vernacular self-built second homes, and the text implied a beauty of form (and good taste) that was only achievable through employing an architect. That this article carried the subtitle “Don’t uglify coasts and hillsides” suggested that beauty in second home design was regarded as a necessity by the writer. Implicit in the article was the notion that second homes not designed by an architect were ugly and a blot on the landscape. This in turn could be read as a form of moral judgement against those who had no understanding of architectural aesthetics, rendering them inferior for their evident lack of taste. This was reminiscent of the way the aristocracy and elite viewed luxury in the Middle Ages (Berry 1994), as put forward in Chapter Two (Section 2.5), and carried similar connotations of power.
Figure 8.20 Attractive second homes with internal comfort, *Home and Building*, Sept 1946, p.16
(Source: Sparrow Industrial Pictures/Bauer Media)
In an editorial four years later, the writer held the owners of self-built second homes directly responsible for the unacceptable deforestation and destruction of areas with high amenity value. Furthermore, he railed against them for the lack of beauty to be seen in their second homes:

*Perhaps we are influenced by the unconscious conviction that we are a tough outdoor people and hold to the immature belief that our holiday homes should be rough and devoid of beauty (Editorial, Home and Building, Oct/Nov 1950, p.17)*

In contrast, the erection of architect designed second homes was seen as acceptable as they were beautiful and would harmonise with the natural environment, reflecting a more mature New Zealand society. Once again we see here the lingering influence of an old argument, in this case the one put forth by David Hume and Adam Smith in the eighteenth century (see Chapter Two, Section 2.6) whereby luxury was seen as a mark of civilised society.

Over 50 years later, the magazine continued to educate its readers about what was beautiful, in its role as the authoritative expert:

*[Native flaxes and grasses growing nearby] gave rise to the idea of mimicking that verticality and colour in the home’s warm-toned cedar screen. It is a gesture that makes the home beautiful to look at despite the almost windowless face it presents to the street and neighbouring properties (Hansen, Home NZ, April/May 2009, p.118)*

This beauty was illustrated in a double page photo spread (Figure 8.21). Acknowledging perhaps that this beauty was unconventional, the article immediately went on to note that:

*Nevertheless, its box-like proportions have confused some passers-by who, [the architect] has heard, asked why a transformer room had been built on such a prime lakeside site (Hansen, Home NZ, April/May 2009, p.118)*

However, a deeper critique into the possible underlying meanings led to the notion that the writer may have been making a subtle statement: not everyone was cultured enough to appreciate beauty. Alternatively, that those who were supposedly cultured did not know what beauty actually was. Or that, in being designed this way, it purposely excluded those who did not have the necessary cultural capital to understand its beauty.
Figure 8.21 The subjective nature of beauty, *Home NZ*, April/May 2009, p.112-113 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
This ‘transformer room’ example illustrated how, by portraying the second home in the magazine in a particular way, the message that ‘the [expert] architect knows best’ seemed to be reinforced. In this instance the photo spread chosen to represent the second home in the magazine was taken at dusk. There was a soft mellow light enhancing the natural warm tones of the cedar cladding, juxtaposed with the vivid green of the grass and wide expanse of pale sky. This served to show the second home to the reader in the best possible light and showcased its ‘beauty’ to best advantage. When presented in this way, the readers could indeed believe the passers-by to be ‘uncultured’ or ‘ignorant’ of architectural beauty.

In addition to the use of the words ‘beautiful’ and ‘attractive’, beauty in the second home was conveyed through a number of euphemisms over the years. From the late 1930s to the late 1950s, the words pleasing and pleasant were commonly used to infer beauty:

*On a sunny morning (when Wellington boasts one) the sun sends shafts of light through the leaded dormer lights, playing on the open timber roofwork with pleasing effect* (*Planning for leisure*, Home and Building Today, July-Sept 1937, p.31)

*...the photograph above shows the pleasant unspoilt setting with the house nestling into the hillside* (*For enjoyment and relaxation*, Home and Building, April 1959, p.42)

While there was no image alongside the first extract (perhaps explaining the uncharacteristically rich description), the photograph in the second extract is shown in Figure 8.22 to illustrate the beauty of the setting the written discourse referred to. The image was taken on a sunny day with just a few innocuous clouds, it was nicely framed by including the leaves at the top of the picture, and apart from the second home there were no other human imprints such as a driveway or other homes to spoil the pleasant (beautiful) setting.
Another common euphemism used in more recent years to infer beauty was the word elegant:

[the architect’s] pared-back blueprint for modern summer living hovers elegantly above a sumptuous slice of coastline on Waiheke Island (C Walker, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2007/08, p.106)

Every part of the home is innately elegant, but it also functions like a high-performance machine (Hansen, Home NZ, April/May 2012, p.78)

The sense of elegance and beauty described in the first extract was enhanced through the elevated position of the second home, with a photograph taken from below illustrating how it hovered (Figure 8.23). Furthermore, the use of interior lighting in the image, which was taken at dusk, heightened the sense of aesthetic beauty and exuded an impression of luxuriousness.
The notions of elegance and sophistication were regularly linked in the discourse and used in a manner that connoted beauty. The way these terms were used implied a degree of luxuriousness that was interpreted here as metaphysical luxury:

*The kitchen itself is sophisticated, yet extremely functional. Although quite compact it has all the modern appliances, as well as plenty of bench and workspace. To follow the theme a pale grey vinyl covers the floor. A paler grey is repeated on cupboard doors which are set off by chrome D-handles. Black bench top and tiles behind stove [sic] add to the elegant look.* (Knight and Woodroffe, *NZ Home and Building*, June/July 1986, p.58)

In this extract, the use of the word ‘yet’ suggested a justification or argument that while the sophisticated aspects of the kitchen may have been viewed as a form of luxury, they were also functional or utilitarian and therefore not ‘just’ luxuries. The
extract also provided a detailed explanation of what constituted sophistication. Here it was the colours, the chrome handles, and the black bench top and tiling - all the height of fashionable elegance in the mid-1980s and representative of luxuriousness even in a primary home, as indicated by other homes showcased in the magazine at the time. Again there was a visual reinforcement, with an image of the kitchen (Figure 8.24). Much of the discourse around elegance and sophistication was not explicit and the reader was left to interpret the meaning from the totality of the visual and written context.

Figure 8.24 Elegance and sophistication in the second home kitchen, *NZ Home and Building*, June/July 1986, p.59 (Source: John Pettit/Bauer Media)

Beauty was also frequently evoked through a rich descriptive written discourse which conjured up a sense of the aesthetic luxury of the second home:

*The honey-gold colour of clean-finished pine panelling creates a pleasant background for contemporary furniture and fabrics, and the*
warmth of the panelling both to the eye and to the touch makes a happy room to relax in when you come indoors ('A country retreat’, Home and Building, Oct 1962, p.48)

At night, a soft yellow glow emanates from the slot windows and light washes beautifully over the slatted timber screen (McCall, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2005/06, p.104)

Indeed, the way the words were crafted and rolled off the tongue was itself evocative of luxury. The image accompanying this second extract depicted the beauty described in the text in a visual manner (Figure 8.25). Again, the golden tones of the lighting added an impression of luxuriousness to the photograph.

Figure 8.25 The beauty of soft lighting washing over timber cladding, NZ Home and Entertaining, Dec/Jan 2005/06, p.104 (Source: Jackie Meiring/Bauer Media)

Certainly the photographer interviewed acknowledged the importance of portraying beauty in the images:

It’s my job to, in a way...reinterpret [the architects design] and make pictures by cropping out the rest of the world, and within that there are lots of ingredients that make up sort of layers of beauty... In some situations there may only be a few layers of beauty in the shot, but it’s
It seemed that the notion of beauty was fundamental, not only to the architect and the writer, but also to the photographer. Beauty was thus present over the duration of publication of the magazine through the use of direct and indirect references. Second homes, or parts thereof, were variously described as beautiful, attractive, pleasing, elegant and sophisticated. Beauty was further communicated to the reader through rich evocative text and accompanying visual feasts using soft lighting to enhance the aesthetic beauty of the second home.

8.3.3 Simplicity

The notion of simplicity as a form of luxury may at first glance appear counterintuitive or paradoxical, particularly when the luxury literature has often positioned simplicity in opposition to luxuriousness and the luxury of excess (Arena 2011; Bach & Glancy 2003). Simplicity was traditionally equated with frugality and an ascetic life of virtue (J. Jennings 2007). In the magazine, however, it is argued that the simplicity of the second home lifestyle was represented as a form of metaphysical luxury. It is important to note that the representation of simplicity as discussed here was only associated with the architect designed second homes in Home New Zealand articles and not the vernacular second homes. There were occasional comments in the second home articles that spoke of the incongruity of considering a simple lifestyle to be a luxury:

*The architect is also acutely aware of the irony inherent in the clients’ brief for simplicity and a pared-back lifestyle, while also having to accommodate the infrastructure, material comforts and possessions nowadays deemed essential for any weekend expedition (Walker, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2007/08, p.111)*

Much of the literature on second homes notes the pursuit of a simple lifestyle as one of the main motivations of second home owners (Chaplin 1999; Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Kaltenborn 1998; Pitkänen 2008; Van Patten & Williams 2008; Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen 2010; Vittersø 2007). This was reflected in the magazine discourse where the concept of simplicity was associated with a ‘pared-back lifestyle’ at the second home, a phrase becoming more widely used in the magazine discourse in later issues. The magazine discourse closely resembled the simple life aspired to
and discussed in the academic literature, and was illustrated particularly well in this extract:

> It’s the stuff that romantic dreams are made of – a rustic hideaway that captures the simple pleasures of a rural existence (Bartley, NZ Home and Building, Oct 1997, p.103)

Certainly here there was a sense that the simple lifestyle was a desirable yet difficult to achieve utopia (interpreted here to mean an enviable luxury), a privilege reserved for those who owned a second home. Chaplin (1999) noted some British second home owners enjoyed ‘pretending’ they lived a simple peasant life while at their second home in France. At the same time they acknowledged that it was a role they played, rather than the permanent reality of being a French peasant, and that it was enjoyable precisely because of its temporary nature. Similarly, Perkins and Thorns (2006) suggested that the escape to the simple life at the second home was balanced by a return to the challenge of a more complex life at the primary home.

However the bulk of the representation around the notion of simplicity referred to architectural simplicity. As with the simplicity of lifestyle, there seemed to be an underlying luxury in the notion of simplicity of architectural design:

> The pair’s preference for classic styling (Billy’s other great love is France) shows through in the graceful proportions of the rooms and their uncluttered simplicity (Millar, NZ Home and Entertaining, June/July 1999, p.108)

> The joy of this holiday home is its no-frills architectural simplicity (McCall, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2008/09, p.102)

At first glance this seemed to be self-explanatory; simple and simplicity were related to a structure or design that was plain, uncluttered, unadorned and basic. Nevertheless a closer examination of the images associated with these articles suggested that ‘simple’ did not mean basic as in inexpensive, nor did it necessarily mean a lack of luxury. Rather, the notion of simplicity was constructed in the discourse as synonymous with taste and style:

> Basic but with taste and design nous, for sure (Interview with Editor B, June 2013)

Once again the financial and cultural capital of the second home owner was evident in the ideal of simplicity associated with exclusive, high quality designer products (Leonard, Perkins & Thorns 2004). For example, designer lightshades, an upper-end
dishwasher and an espresso machine were featured in the photographs associated with an article about a simple second home (Figure 8.26).

Figure 8.26 High quality simplicity in a contemporary second home, *Home NZ*, Aug/Sept 2009, p.95
(Source: Paul McCredie/Bauer Media)

These findings suggested that the luxury inherent in simplicity was related to the second home owners’ freedom of choice, and the level of both financial and cultural capital that afforded them the freedom and ability to choose simplicity. Indeed, both Chaplin (1999) and D. R. Williams and Kaltenborn (1999) noted that where modern facilities at the second home were lacking, this was as a result of a choice made by second home owners rather than born of necessity. This luxury of choice was also alluded to briefly in Section 8.2.1 in relation to the building of a small second home. One editor stated:

*I think that’s probably quite a strong movement we’ve seen in New Zealand, particularly probably over the last 10-20 years, where you know, the definition of luxury has changed, umm, and it’s more…luxury is actually simplicity and luxury is more about the environment around you…*(Interview with Editor A, March 2013)
And referring to an article published in the magazine in 2012 which featured a 40 square metre second home, Editor C stated:

*The fact that the owners of that were like, yeah fine, we can live like that on our holidays, is amazing I think, and, and that is their definition of luxury, when they could have possibly used the same amount [of money] to get a much larger home that would have had a lot more stuff* (Interview with Editor C, March 2013)

So the owners had deliberately chosen simplicity over “stuff”, and to live in a restricted space for short periods while on holiday, where they would not choose to live like this permanently. In addition, note the reference to the expense involved in achieving such simplicity. Editor C coined the phrase the “luxury of deprivation” to describe this recent trend towards choosing simplicity over convenience and comfort, while Editor B applied a parable to explain the phenomenon:

*It’s the same thing, that age old story that people quote, about the fisherman and the rich man, so the rich man’s working working working all his life so he can, you know, afford to buy a boat and go fishing, and the fisherman’s just fishing...so...there’s some sort of irony in it really...* (Interview with Editor B, June 2013)

All three of the editors interviewed believed that this move towards chosen simplicity and a more considered form of consumption at the second home was a luxury that could only be afforded by the wealthier sectors of society. This type of simplicity was perceived to be very different to that lived by others who, through circumstance, may have to live a permanently simple lifestyle forsaking modern conveniences through necessity rather than choice.

### 8.3.4 Modesty

Related to simplicity, and yet subtly distinct from it, were the basic themes of modesty and a lack of pretension. They were perhaps best illustrated using examples of what they were not, which were frequently encountered in the magazine discourse:

*Most of us recognise this truth if only because we find nothing so embarrassing as an ostentatious nouveaux riche house among the baches at the seaside...Our seaside and holiday baches should be as unpretentious and as inconspicuous, as informal and as egalitarian as we all should be and want to be* (Wilson, Home and Building, Dec 1957, p.28)
...building a beach-side monstrosity isn’t necessary (Hansen, Home NZ, Dec/Jan 2007/08, p.74)

He was the logical choice for an adventurous Auckland-based couple who wanted something more – or perhaps less – than another beachside McMansion (Macdonald, Home NZ, April/May 2012, p.98)

Whereas simplicity referred to the lack of architectural adornment or a lifestyle of simple pleasures, modesty and unpretentiousness seemed to refer to an unassuming style and a lack of vulgarity (Freeman & Cheyne 2008; Kearns & Collins 2006). In this regard the representations of modesty and a lack of pretension were used to emphasise to the reader the second home owners’ good taste and social class membership (Bourdieu 1984). There was an underlying sense of distinction in the discourse, implying that those who built modest second homes were of higher class than those who built ostentatious second homes, due to their ability to exercise restraint and exude stylishness – much like the traditional distinction between the *bourgeois* and the *petit bourgeois* (Bourdieu 1984). However, as with beauty, modesty appeared to be in the eye of the beholder, with some of the second homes exhibiting an incongruous degree of luxury in their modesty:

> It’s a luxurious place to be in but it’s never ostentatious, a beautifully low-slung home that slinks right into its environment...”You’ve got all the trappings of a modern house without overriding the humble bach aesthetic,” says [the architect] (Smith, Home NZ, June/July 2008, p.112)

The images of this second home illustrated what could have been a traditional (humble or modest) 1950s or 1960s second home, built low along the lakefront and seeming to merge with the landscape (Figure 8.27). However, other photographs depicted the ‘modern trappings’ mentioned in the extract – artwork and sculpture by notable New Zealand artists, antiques, designer furnishings, and indoor and outdoor fireplaces – which lent the second home its luxurious feeling (Figure 8.28). Again, the use of a montage of images is used in connection with the notion of a vernacular second home, albeit a renovated one in this case. It was easy to identify with the supposed modesty of this second home, and to understand what the writer meant when speaking of the luxuriousness of being there. The second home owners were shown to have style and taste that translated into a second home that exuded an impression of understated luxury, but one that many readers could perhaps envisage themselves feeling at home in due to its lack of ostentation.
Figure 8.27 A “luxurious…but never ostentatious” lakefront second home, *Home NZ*, June/July 2008, p.108-109 (Source: Mark Smith/Bauer Media)
Figure 8.28 The luxurious modern trappings, *Home NZ*, June/July 2008, p.111 (Source: Mark Smith/Bauer Media)
Wherever pretentiousness or ostentation were mentioned in the second home articles, a moralising tone was taken against the seemingly vulgar inappropriateness on display. The magazine constructed an ‘authentic’ second home as one displaying certain traditional values (such as modesty), in this way continuing the legacy of New Zealand’s venerated vernacular second homes. Ostentation then, was the antithesis of the second home aesthetic in New Zealand. Indeed, in this extract, the moralising suggested that pretentious or ostentatious second homes (and by implication their architects and/or owners) lacked restraint:

...turning its back on the look-at-me homes around it...The modest amount of glazing in this bach (which shows remarkable restraint when compared at [sic] some of the neighbours)... (McKay, Home NZ, April/May 2008, p.75,81)

Yet ironically, rather than modesty and restraint, the accompanying image of the exterior of the second home revealed what could indeed be considered to be a ‘look-at-me’ home with a substantial rather than modest amount of glass (Figure 8.29).

Figure 8.29 The visual depiction of a supposedly “modest amount of glazing” referred to in the body of the article, Home NZ, April/May 2008, p.81 (Source: Patrick Reynolds/Bauer Media)
The article discussed on the previous page serves to highlight the subjective nature of the construction of modesty (and therefore luxury) in the magazine discourse. While some readers may not consider the amount of glazing in the above image to be modest, the writer clearly did. His presumably extensive experience of contemporary architecture led him to make the statement and in this way his opinion became the authoritative expert voice of the magazine. However, close examination of the text revealed the writer suggested that it was in comparison to the other modern dwellings in the neighbourhood that this second home displayed restraint and modesty. There was a sense of irony in his comments, and even his use of the word ‘bach’ to refer to such a luxurious substantial second home seemed a little tongue-in-cheek.

To summarise, the organising theme of metaphysical luxury, as interpreted in the discourse, was affective and highly subjective in nature and was dependent on the worldviews of both the writer and reader. It was a more ethereal form of luxury, akin to luxuriousness, that was slippery and difficult to define yet at the same time somehow real. Metaphysical luxury was conveyed in the magazine discourse through a sense of the luxuriousness inherent in the mood, beauty, simplicity and modesty of the second home. This impression was evoked in the prose, in the rich thick descriptions of the luxuriousness in the second home and through the use of sensual images.

The second home was a place that exuded a mood of calmness and peace, and afforded a sense of cosiness and enclosure that was somehow nurturing. The aesthetic beauty of the second home was an important component of the metaphysical luxury and was depicted through both the written and visual discourse over the years. There were elements of subjectivity in the descriptions of beauty in second homes, but the authoritative ‘expert voice’ was used to educate the reader in the appreciation of beauty. Synonyms such as elegance and sophistication were used to evoke notions of beauty, and the frequent use of images incorporating flattering lighting (whether natural or artificial) showed the second home to best advantage.
There was an underlying luxuriousness in the ideal of simplicity, whether in being able to live a temporarily simple lifestyle at the second home, or in the architectural simplicity of the second home which was associated with taste and style. Much of the sense of luxury in this regard was to be found in the luxury of choice - in the ability to choose to live without ‘modern conveniences’ such as televisions, dishwashers or even electricity. While such a notion has not been discussed in other academic literature on second homes, it is perhaps not unique to the New Zealand situation and is an avenue worthy of future investigation. The luxury of modesty was commonly positioned in opposition to pretension and ostentation, and was again linked with taste and style.

8.4 Summarising Chapter Eight

The findings presented here challenge both the academic literature and popular media constructions portraying the emergence of luxury in New Zealand second homes as a recent phenomenon, arguing instead that it has always been evident in the pages of Home New Zealand magazine and its predecessors. Through an examination of two contributing organising themes, physical and metaphysical luxury, the global theme of the luxury in the second home has been described and explored in depth in this chapter.

Representations of physical luxury in the second homes exhibited strong temporality in both the evolution and devolution of luxury products and services. Second home owners were seen to be early adopters of new technologies, building materials, design trends and outdoor elements throughout the years of publication of the magazine. In addition to the temporality of luxury, the magazine highlighted the evolution of the second home from a site for consumption to a sight for consumption. There was increasing emphasis on representations of luxury through the visual text in the articles in the last decade. Captions associated with the images frequently detailed the designer items showcased in the interior decoration of the second homes, along with details of where to purchase the items. In this way, Home New Zealand magazine again functioned as an arbiter of taste, showcasing the importance of high quality luxury products and educating the reader about what
constituted good taste and style. Light and warmth were regular focal points of the written and visual text of the magazine, and the representation of light and warmth as sources of good health (in the early years of publication) and comfort was associated with a sense of physical luxury.

Three noteworthy findings were identified through the representations of a more intangible, sensual, metaphysical form of luxury. First, the mood of the second home was often portrayed as calm and peaceful, which contrasted with the finding in Chapter Seven of representations of sociability. Second, the representation of metaphysical luxury differed greatly between articles about contemporary and vernacular second homes. The former were constructed with full page and double page images as elegant, sophisticated, uncluttered and with simple clean lines. The latter were portrayed with montages of small images as snapshots of banal everyday life, cluttered and filled with nostalgic kitsch. Through visual representations of the mood, beauty and simplicity that contributed to the sense of metaphysical luxury, the contemporary second home was constructed as luxurious, whereas the vernacular second home was not. Third, temporality also existed in metaphysical luxury, through the identification of more recent representations of the luxury to be found in the simplicity of the second home and the second home lifestyle.
CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION
9.1 Introducing Chapter Nine

This thesis was premised upon the certainty that there was an alternative discourse of luxury - one that, significantly, recognised and made visible the various elements of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand. This discourse has been given voice in the preceding three chapters where the findings of the preliminary and thematic analyses were presented. However, these findings are not to be read in isolation and should not (indeed, cannot) be separated from the context in which the research was conceptualised. A graphic representation of the entire research process is given in Figure 9.1, mapping the development from conceptualisation to completion. The reality of the research process was quite ‘messy’ as is characteristic of a hermeneutic qualitative approach (Creswell 2013) – as such, the arrows at the top of Figure 9.1 illustrate the ‘back and forth’ nature inherent in such an iterative and reflexive research project. Reflecting on a diagrammatic representation of the research process is both useful and appropriate at this juncture, as it captures the cohesiveness of the thesis and makes sense of it in a visual manner.

Chapter One discussed the three contexts in which the thesis was grounded and from which the overarching research objective and research questions arose. The conceptual framework of the thesis was developed over Chapters Two, Three and Four, with an examination of the ways of seeing luxury followed by a critical investigation of the second home literature from overseas and within New Zealand. These three facets were viewed as interconnecting pieces (Figure 9.1), and together constructed a holistic theoretical framework that related back to the research context and forward to inform the research approach.
Research context

The changing nature of second homes in New Zealand
The rise of the new 'luxury second home' phenomenon
Discourses of national identity, egalitarianism, new luxury
Absent discourses in luxury and second home literature

Research questions

How is luxury in the context of second homes represented in Home New Zealand?
How do representations change through time?
How does the representation differ between vernacular and contemporary second homes?

International second homes
- luxury of leisure, luxury of ownership, luxury of landscape, moral backlash

New Zealand second homes
- symbols of egalitarianism, national identity, absence of luxury

Luxury
- slippery to define, subjective, socially constructed, dynamic, temporal, luxury as sin, luxury as reward

Research philosophy
- interpretivist
- subjectivist
- relativist

Methodology
- hermeneutic
- qualitative
- thematic analysis
- interviews

Figure 9.1 Mapping the research from conceptualisation to completion - research contexts, conceptual framework, methodologies, thematic analysis. Arrows at the top reflect the ‘back and forth’ iterative nature of the research process.

Within the context of Home New Zealand magazine 1936-2012

Chapters 1
Chapters 2-4
Chapter 5
Chapters 6-8
The nature of the research objective and the socially constructed nature of luxury meant a hermeneutic, qualitative methodology was the most appropriate means of operationalizing the research objective (Chapter Five). It therefore seemed natural (indeed, it seemed there was a need) to tell the story of *Home New Zealand* magazine from its inception, as this informed and provided the context for the subsequent interpretation of luxury in the context of second homes. This narrative, presented in Chapter Six, was followed by the findings of the comprehensive thematic analysis which centred upon two overarching global themes; the luxury of the second home and the luxury in the second home, which were the focus of Chapters Seven and Eight.

Having addressed the ‘why, where, when, who, how and what’ of this research in the previous eight chapters, this final chapter foregrounds the ‘so what’ - the most significant findings, insights and contributions of the study. It concludes with clear directions for future research into both luxury and second homes.

### 9.2 Research contributions

This research speaks of a specific genre of magazine (architecture/lifestyle), aimed at a specific reader demographic (higher than average income and education), in a specific place (New Zealand), during one specific period (1936-2012). As such, it is a window into the second homes of a small number of people who in all likelihood do not represent the ‘average’ New Zealander or the ‘average’ second home; were a different magazine selected as the source of empirical material, the findings would no doubt have been different. Likewise, it would be interesting to carry out a study from the perspective of an architect, to identify similarities and differences in their interpretation of representations of luxury within second homes. However, the influence of the magazine on wider society should be recognised. Many of *Home New Zealand*’s readers are aspirational and use the magazine as a source of inspiration; they do not need to own the homes in the magazine in order to aspire to them. The magazine’s influence on perceptions of luxury therefore reaches further afield than its stated reader demographic, and the contributions of this research acknowledge and reflect this. Furthermore, while this thesis has focused on media
representations of luxury in New Zealand, importantly it has wider relevance beyond geographical borders.

Studying how luxury is represented provides an avenue into the inner workings and values of a society, as the media is both a reflection and an influencer of socio-cultural norms. As such, the implications of this research are transferrable to other societies and cultures where luxury is implicitly or explicitly represented in media discourse. Below, the research questions originally posited in Chapter One are re-visited to address how they have been answered. Following this is a discussion of the major theoretical and methodological contributions that this thesis has made to the academic literature.

9.2.1 Re-visiting the research questions

There were three research questions that operationalized the research objective of revealing and critiquing media representations of luxury in the context of second homes in New Zealand, and each will be re-visited here for its contribution to the overall discussion.

The first research question asked:

- How is the notion of luxury represented and constructed through both the written and visual text of second home articles in the magazine?

This thesis has identified a multi-layered and nuanced representation of luxury in both the written and visual text of Home New Zealand and its predecessors. The identification of two global themes (the luxury of the second home and the luxury in the second home) and their respective organising themes emphasised the ways in which luxury was represented and constructed in the magazine.

Chapter Seven discussed the luxury inherent in owning a second home; in having somewhere of one’s own to retreat to in order to return to everyday life with a sensation of having somehow been restored. The very raison d’être of a second home - leisure - was interpreted as a luxury through the way in which it was represented in the discourse. Second home owners were portrayed as having a high degree of financial and cultural capital through the disclosure of the leisure
activities they participated in at the second home. While the luxury of ownership itself was a more recent representation in the popular and academic literature, it was evident throughout the duration of Home New Zealand’s publication, albeit more commonly in an implicit rather than explicit manner. The site of the second home conveyed the impression of luxury in the form of exclusivity of location (usually beachfront), through the focus on the view (expansive and devoid of ‘others’) and through the attainment of privacy (natural or by design).

Chapter Eight found that a sense of luxury was evident in the physical structure of an architect designed second home, in its design, size, fixtures and fittings. There was also a metaphysical luxury to be found in the aesthetic beauty and mood of the second home, akin to luxuriousness. Finally, the paradoxical nature of luxury was illustrated in the more recent emphasis on simplicity and modesty. Second home owners enjoyed the luxury of choice, in the ability to choose to live a simple lifestyle - but only temporarily and only while on holiday. Luxury was therefore both tangible and intangible in form. Notions of luxury were conveyed equally through the written and visual text of the magazine, and as such could only be adequately appreciated by taking a holistic approach to analysis and interpretation.

Luxury was represented and constructed in a variety of ways. First, it was present in its most obvious physical form, which was frequently how the ‘new luxury second home’ discourse in the media and academic literature was interpreted. More subtly and powerfully, however, were the representations of the sensual and emotive forms of luxury. Furthermore, through its representations of luxury, the magazine positioned itself as an arbiter of taste, educating readers in the appropriate form (both physical and metaphysical) of the second home in terms of not only the exterior but also the interior design and decoration. In this way the magazine was responsible for the dissemination of social and cultural capital to its readers (Bourdieu 1984).

Underlying the function of the magazine as a taste-maker are notions of power and control, reminiscent of the discussion in Chapter Three (Section 3.2), with those who possess financial and cultural capital determining what constitutes
legitimate taste and normalising the luxury in the second home (Featherstone 1987). In this case, those with power are not only the second home owners who build such properties, nor the architects who design them, but also significantly the magazine’s editors who determine which second homes to feature, where in the magazine they are featured, and how they are featured.

The second research question asked:

- \textit{How do the forms and representations of luxury change through time?}

This thesis has provided an in-depth longitudinal examination of 76 years of representations of luxury in second homes in New Zealand. It has followed the development of architect designed second homes over the decades, and in doing so charts the history of this previously overlooked form of luxury. This is significant not just for its contribution to the wider luxury literature, but also for shedding light on the evolution of luxury in the New Zealand second home culture over that period. Furthermore, the changes in the representation of luxury mirrored changes in the wider political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of New Zealand society and provided a unique lens through which to identify changing values and social mores. Figure 9.2 maps the representations of luxury in the context of second homes alongside the evolving Home New Zealand magazine commentary and the wider socio-cultural and political context, thus visually connecting the New Zealand context from Chapter Four and the findings from Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. For example, as discussed in Chapter Four, shifting ideals and beliefs about wealth and the display of luxury after the introduction of neoliberalism in 1984 were reflected in new and distinctive forms of post-modernist architecture (Moon 2011). These forms of architecture were showcased in the magazine, accompanied by a commentary of new wealth, success and increasingly stressful city lives, detailed in Chapter Six. Representations of luxury that appeared during this time were discussed in Chapter Seven and included a stronger narrative about the second home as an escape or retreat, and a new focus on interior decoration and expensive designer items.
### Representations of luxury and second homes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views/site</th>
<th>Overseas examples</th>
<th>Escape/retreat</th>
<th>Interior decoration</th>
<th>Privacy</th>
<th>Garages</th>
<th>Foodie lifestyle</th>
<th>Simplicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spaciousness</td>
<td>Increasing visibility of imported goods for the home from US, UK and Scandinavia, advertising linked to desirability and social worth, home as a site for consumption</td>
<td>New wealth, success, increasing pace of life, stress, luxurious office buildings, increasing advertising of luxury goods</td>
<td>Loss of integrity with wealth in 1980s, distasteful decadence, pretentious houses as status symbols, now more focus on authenticity</td>
<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
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<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light/warmth</td>
<td>Increasing visibility of imported goods for the home from US, UK and Scandinavia, advertising linked to desirability and social worth, home as a site for consumption</td>
<td>New wealth, success, increasing pace of life, stress, luxurious office buildings, increasing advertising of luxury goods</td>
<td>Loss of integrity with wealth in 1980s, distasteful decadence, pretentious houses as status symbols, now more focus on authenticity</td>
<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
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<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garages</td>
<td>Increasing visibility of imported goods for the home from US, UK and Scandinavia, advertising linked to desirability and social worth, home as a site for consumption</td>
<td>New wealth, success, increasing pace of life, stress, luxurious office buildings, increasing advertising of luxury goods</td>
<td>Loss of integrity with wealth in 1980s, distasteful decadence, pretentious houses as status symbols, now more focus on authenticity</td>
<td>No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings</td>
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### Home NZ magazine commentary
- **1930s-1940s**: Increasing visibility of imported goods for the home from US, UK and Scandinavia, advertising linked to desirability and social worth, home as a site for consumption. Avoid waste, national interest, lack of ostentation.
- **1950s-late 1960s**: No book reviews, cooking or travel columns, less advertising for household furnishings. Age of mass production, emphasis on freedom/consumer choice, post-WWII optimism, increased disposable income, mobility and leisure time.
- **1980s**: Loss of integrity with wealth in 1980s, distasteful decadence, pretentious houses as status symbols, now more focus on authenticity. Introduction of neoliberal policy, burgeoning financial services and insurance industries, accumulation of wealth, conspicuous consumption.
- **1990s**: Home as a haven, glamour, comfort and opulence, renovating as the ‘poor cousin’ to building new, the demise of the bach. Distinctive new forms of post-modernist architecture, display of wealth socially acceptable, valorisation of vernacular second homes.
- **2000s**: Increasing coastal property prices and widening social inequality, Global Financial Crisis.

Figure 9.2 The temporal nature of luxury in *Home New Zealand* magazine 1936-2012

Page | 299
The temporal nature of luxury in the context of second homes was certainly evident in the *Home New Zealand* magazine discourse. Throughout the years, the architect designed second homes showcased in the magazine were at the forefront of contemporary design practices and mirrored what was happening in primary homes designed by architects. Their owners were early adopters of new technologies and building products that were to devolve, over time, from luxuries to conveniences to necessities. New forms of luxury then evolved to take their place. This was especially evident in garaging, bathrooms, and kitchens (Figure 9.2). This contrasted with the discourses in the popular and academic literature of the vernacular second home, where much of the building material was reportedly cheaply purchased and much of the interior finishing and furnishing was second-hand (Male 2001; Thompson 1985; Yoffe 2000). Representations of the luxury of simplicity in the second home, as discussed in Chapter Eight, rose from the late 1990s and were aligned with both the magazine commentary associated with authenticity and the broader socio-cultural context of the valorisation of the vernacular second home in the popular media (Figure 9.2).

It was not only the physical form of luxury that exhibited temporality; the nature of how the magazine represented luxury also evolved through time. Increasingly in more recent years the magazine discourse was dominated by the visual text, with many double page spreads capturing the luxuriousness of the second home, frequently with the use of clever lighting. Photo captions often detailed designer names and stockist details for art, sculpture, fixtures, fittings and furnishings and drew the reader’s attention to these commodities. In this manner, the magazine provided implicit advice about design, style and good taste and imparted cultural capital (Perkins, Thorns & Winstanley 2008). In addition to the second home being a *site* for consumption, in much the same way as the primary home had become (Paris, Jorgenson & Martin 2009; Shaw & Brookes 1999), through the pages of the magazine it increasingly became a *sight* for consumption.

The third research question asked:

- *In what ways do the representations of luxury differ between the vernacular and contemporary second homes featured in the magazine?*
In general, the magazine seldom featured articles about vernacular second homes, but when it did they were commonly accompanied by montages of images rather than stand-alone images. These collections of small images of vernacular second homes showcased moments of everyday life at the second home, and captured still-life scenes of clutter and kitsch. Vernacular second homes were positioned in contrast to architect designed second homes in terms of both lifestyle and design. The aesthetic of the architect designed second homes were represented as distinctly different to that of the vernacular second home. The difference in the social, cultural and financial capital between the owners of these two forms of second home, while veiled, was present in the written and visual text; vernacular second homes lacked the sense of exclusivity and style portrayed in the articles about architect designed second homes. In this way, the vernacular second home seemed to be constructed as ‘not luxury’ and in binary opposition to the contemporary architect designed second home.

This thesis has also provided evidence of an evolution in the architects’ commentary about the vernacular second home, from a scathing discourse about aesthetically repulsive dwellings in the 1940s and 1950s to one of nostalgic fondness from the 1980s onwards. This mirrored the more recent discourse in the popular press and the academic literature and represented something of a cultural turn towards heritage and nostalgia; to a supposedly simpler life experienced at the second homes of the past (see for example Kearns & Collins 2006; Peart 2009; Yoffe 2000).

9.2.2 Theoretical contributions

It is through highlighting the insights into representations of luxury in New Zealand that this thesis makes a valuable contribution to the luxury literature. It emphasises not only the contested understandings of luxury but also the temporal nature of luxury, and shows how representations of luxury in the media are inextricably linked to wider societal values. Most significantly, whereas previous studies into luxury have focused on how luxury is perceived (see for example Christodoulides, Michaelidou & Li 2009; Vigneron & Johnson 2004), this research has adopted an alternative focus and examined how luxury is represented. In doing so, this thesis has presented evidence of the more intangible and sensual forms of luxury which...
have often been overlooked in the literature and yet form a vital component of how luxury is represented and a sense of luxury interpreted.

This thesis also makes two strong contributions to the literature regarding luxury in the context of second homes. First, is the identification of a longstanding historical representation of the luxury in the second homes featured in *Home New Zealand* magazine. While the literature has referenced a ‘new’ luxury second home phenomenon over the last two decades, the findings presented here indicate that this luxury is not necessarily ‘new’. The architect designed second home with its markers of luxury has existed since at least the late 1930s; it is simply that we have not recognised them as our gaze was filtered through the lens of our current social, economic and cultural context. The second homes of those with more disposable income, those who could afford to employ an architect and other professionals, have always been more expensively and stylishly finished and furnished than others. Ellingsen and Hidle (2013, p.258) assert that, in Norway, second homes are a “new arena in which [owners] can display [their] good taste and advanced sense of style” but it appears that in New Zealand, second homes (as showcased in *Home New Zealand* magazine at least) have long been an arena in which to display one’s good taste and style. Through the pages of the magazine, however, the display of the owner’s taste and style is extended beyond the boundaries of the owner’s social circle to include strangers, and in this way their social and cultural capital is legitimised and disseminated to a wider audience (Bourdieu 1984).

Second, this thesis argues that many of the basic themes inherent in the luxury of the second home as interpreted from the *Home New Zealand* discourse are transferable to the vernacular second home. While in most cases the vernacular New Zealand second home may not be particularly ‘luxurious’ in nature, it is nevertheless symbolic of what Mitchell and Hebecker (2008, p.27) term a ‘humble’ luxury – one which they define as “[not] all about expensive brands but [based on] an authentic reflection of [New Zealand’s] understated culture”. The very essence and purpose of a vernacular second home - leisure - speaks of luxury in the same way as that of the contemporary ‘luxury’ second home, and thus commonalities exist between the two forms. Most importantly, the second home (vernacular and contemporary alike) provides the backdrop for the consumption of time, considered to be the ultimate
luxury by many in today’s modern, fast-paced society (Southerton & Tomlinson 2005; Twitchell 2002). Likewise, although the media and academic literature refer to the notion of second homes (whether contemporary or vernacular) as retreats or hideaways, they generally fail to recognise the inherent luxury in this imagery. In much the same way as tourism is a luxury for those unable to engage in it (Graburn 1983, 1989), likewise owning a place to retreat to or hide away that provides a transformative experience to the owners is a luxury for those unable to do the same. Perkins and Thorns (2006) also raise the notion of the luxury of ownership, stating in passing that even the ownership of a ‘rustic’ second home is a luxury, bearing the markers of financial and cultural capital that indicate the second home owner belongs to a relatively affluent minority. The findings presented here certainly support such a contention.

9.2.3 Methodological contribution

In this thesis, thematic analysis has been adapted to include the analysis of visual material. In itself, the use of thematic analysis is uncommon in the fields of luxury, where quantitative analysis and modelling are the norm, and tourism studies, where content analysis is more frequently used (Page, Steele & Connell 2006; Schellhorn & Perkins 2004). Therefore, it is significant not only that thematic analysis was used in this thesis, but also that it was adapted for use with visual text. It has shown thematic analysis to be versatile and yet rigorous. Importantly, it has allowed for a holistic approach to be taken to interpreting notions of luxury in magazine articles where it is the overall impact of both written and visual text that tells the story. Thematic analysis used in this manner has generated a more in-depth and nuanced understanding of the luxury phenomenon than an analysis of the written or visual texts alone. Furthermore, it has allowed the identification of the intangible, sensual luxury that other methods may not have been able to capture.

Some of the second home studies that have used thematic analysis have provided little detailed description of how the analysis was actually carried out (see for example Overvåg & Berg 2011; Pitkänen, Puhakka & Sawatzky 2011). By contrast, this thesis has offered a comprehensive step-by-step account for undertaking thematic analysis. In doing so, it has provided a useful tool for approaching a wide
range of written and visual text (such as social media, magazines, newspapers, advertising material) in a holistic manner that will be valuable across a wide range of disciplines. It is able to be used in situations where a content analysis may not be able to adequately capture the subtle nuances of a concept, as has been illustrated here with regard to the study of luxury.

9.3 Directions for future research

This research has made several contributions to the luxury literature, the second home literature and the methodological literature. It has been an extremely rewarding project both professionally and personally, but in some ways it is merely the beginning. In addition to gaining answers, this thesis acts as a springboard or starting point for three important new directions for future research into representations of both luxury and second homes.

First, while the focus of this thesis has been on representations of luxury in second homes, it raises questions about the representation of luxury in other contexts. For example, many scholars have raised issues associated with the notion of the luxury of leisure – albeit couched in the language of unequal access rather than luxury (see for example Bittman 2002; Blackshaw 2010; Rojek 2006). In addition, leisure is acknowledged as a site for the expression of financial, social and cultural capital in a similar manner to second homes (Cook 2006; Critcher 2006; Thurlow & Jaworski 2006). However what is lacking in the literature at present is a critical examination of how the media represents luxury in the context of leisure.

This is also the case with regard to the luxury of tourism, of which second homes are arguably a part (Paris 2011). Inequities in power and wealth are reproduced and maintained through the practice of tourism, and while these inequities have been addressed in the literature it seems they are seldom problematized using the language of luxury (Ateljevic & Doorne 2002). Like leisure, and indeed like luxury, the consumption of tourism is a tool in identity creation and expression and is rich in symbolic meaning (Ateljevic & Doorne 2002). While some of these symbolic meanings and their representation have been explored (see for example Albers & James 1988; Ateljevic & Doorne 2002; Small, Harris & Wilson 2008), the
representations of luxury inherent in them generally have not. One notable exception to this is Thurlow and Jaworski’s (2012) visual essay involving a semiotic analysis of landscapes of luxury and privilege. These gaps in our understanding of the nature of media representations of luxury in leisure and tourism present rich veins of potential research to be mined in the future.

Second, gendered discourses in the second home articles were identified, but to accord them the in-depth treatment they deserved was something that lay outside the scope of this thesis. They thus remain under-explored and provide an important avenue for future research. Certainly there was evidence of gender inequality with regards to access to leisure in the Home New Zealand second home discourse. This was most overt in the written discourse of the 1940s and 1950s, and was discussed by Shaw and Brookes (1999) in their analysis of advertisements in the magazine. Commonly, however, more subtle gendering was identified in the visual discourse; women were depicted as enjoying the ‘pleasure’ of cooking in their modern second home kitchen [working] while others were relaxing. Likewise, this thesis has identified a need for work to be done on representations of ethnicity/race, of sexuality, of the family and of heteronormativity. Almost exclusively, the people in the Home New Zealand images were white New Zealanders, and the nuclear family was presented as normative. Addressing issues of how gender, ethnicity, family and heteronormativity are represented will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of second home culture in New Zealand. In addition, such an analysis would serve to shed light on cultural and societal changes over time.

Lastly, despite the existence of magazines devoted to second home lifestyles in Canada, Finland and Norway (Abram 2012; Luka 2007; Pitkänen & Vepsäläinen 2008), no research efforts have been directed at an examination of the messages contained therein, either for second home owners or for non-second home owning readers. The findings of this thesis suggest that these magazines may be a valuable resource for future research which challenges preconceived ideas or mythologies surrounding second home cultures in these countries.
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APPENDIX A: UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO ETHICS APPROVAL
1. University of Otago staff member responsible for project: 
   Dr. Tara Duncan

2. Department:  Tourism

3. Contact details of staff member responsible:  tara.duncan@otago.ac.nz, ph 03 479 3486

4. Title of project:  Media representations of luxury in second homes in New Zealand

5. Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:

   Staff Research
   
   [ ] Names

   Student Research
   [ ] Names
   Trudie Walters
   PhD

   External Research/ Collaboration
   [ ] Names

   Institute/Company

6. When will recruitment and data collection commence?

   15 March 2013 is when the first approaches will be made to ‘gateway’ contacts to source potential interview subjects.
When will data collection be completed?

30 June 2013

7. **Brief description in lay terms of the aim of the project, and outline of research questions** (approx. 200 words):

New Zealanders have a long history of second home ownership and the second home landscape is an important part of the New Zealand culture. As is the case in the UK, Australia, Norway and Finland, the changing nature of second homes in New Zealand has received increasing media attention in the last 15 years. The traditional second home is being overshadowed by larger, more expensive, professionally designed second homes in many areas. Commentary in newspapers and periodicals focusing on the rise of this so-called ‘luxury second home’ phenomenon has often taken a moralistic stance. Despite the increasing media interest, the luxury literature does not recognise the issue, while the academic literature on second homes has only remarked on the phenomenon in passing and the cultural implications have been largely ignored. Using a thematic discourse analysis, this research project will critically examine the nature of media representations of luxury within the context of second homes in New Zealand over time; specifically it focuses on the architecture and design magazine *Home New Zealand*, from its inception in 1936 to the present time.

8. **Brief description of the method.** Please include a description of who the participants are, how the participants will be recruited, and what they will be asked to do:-

The bulk of the empirical material is from editorials and second home articles in *Home New Zealand* magazine. However the second part of the field research methodology is based upon a set of semi-structured interviews with current and past editors of the magazine, along with the most frequent contributing journalists. This will provide a more nuanced understanding of the context in which the articles, and indeed the magazine, are produced. It will add new perspectives and possible ways of reading or seeing the articles which may not have been considered, thereby providing another layer and depth of meaning to the research findings.
The choice of interview participants is not prescribed beyond people (18 years of age and over) who are involved with magazine editorial decision-making and/or writing articles about second homes, and who are happy to talk about their perceptions of how luxury is portrayed in relation to second homes and second home ownership as part of the study.

A purposeful sampling strategy is therefore proposed but there is no definitive target number of interviews; it is hoped to speak with at least the current editor of the magazine and two past editors, along with one or two of the most prolific journalists. Current editors and journalists will be contacted directly, and it is hoped that they will be willing and able to provide contact information for past editors and journalists.

The interviews will be electronically recorded. A semi-structured approach will be taken; while some structure is necessary in order to be able to gain a deeper understanding of the production of the articles, it is also important to have the flexibility to allow the conversation to flow and develop in directions that, while still focused on the thesis aims, are not possible to pre-empt at this stage. Such deviations can often provide rich empirical material. The broad line of questioning will seek to explore the rationale behind the choice of which second homes to include in the magazine, and the portrayal, in both images and text, of the homes selected. General themes will include how editorial decisions were made regarding the style and content of the articles selected for the magazine, how journalists chose to write about the second homes, their views on what constitutes luxury, whether these views have changed over the course of their involvement with the magazine, and their perceptions of how the readers relate to the articles.

9. **Please disclose and discuss any potential problems:** (For example: medical/legal problems, issues with disclosure, conflict of interest, etc)

With regard to the field research activities identified above, the following ethical issues were considered:
• Project information provision and participant consent: all persons interviewed during the research study will be provided, in advance, with an Information Sheet (refer to attached) to advise them of the nature of the research study, what their participation will entail and that their conversations will be recorded for later analysis by the researcher. A signed Consent Form (refer to attached) for their participation will be sought from each individual.

• Personal information/anonymity: the identification of interview participants in field research notes, and audio recordings will include a pseudonym; contact details; date; time; location of interview; and gender. All personal information and interviews will be held strictly in accordance with the University’s protocol for storing confidential data. All interviews will be held in a locked cabinet in the Department of Tourism and electronic data will be stored in a password-secured computer. It is acknowledged that, given the small nature of the sample population, anonymity may be difficult to maintain. However, there are three mitigating factors. First, each participant will be assigned a pseudonym, and every effort will be made to make them as unidentifiable as possible. Second, the information sought from participants is not sensitive, either in a personal or a commercial sense. Third, they are able to withdraw from participation at any point in the interview.

• Referencing: all participant data in the analysis, writing stage and final thesis will be assigned pseudonyms and anecdotal references will be used where appropriate.

• Personal safety of the researcher and participants: all care will be taken to ensure the safety of the researcher and participants whilst undertaking the field research activities. A Department of Tourism Postgraduate Fieldwork Budget and Safety application form will be completed in advance of the field research and will include an analysis of potential risks as well as practical considerations such as communicating and notification of the researcher’s location on a regular basis to the Department.

Applicant's Signature: .................................................................

(Principal Applicant: as specified in Question 1, Must not be in the name of a student)

Signature of *Head of Department: .................................................................

Name of Signatory (please print): .................................................................

Date: .................................................................
Departmental approval:  *I have read this application and believe it to be scientifically and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The Research proposed in this application is compatible with the University of Otago policies and I give my consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee.*

*(In cases where the Head of Department is also the principal researcher then an appropriate senior staff member in the department must sign)*

IMPORTANT: The completed form, together with copies of any Information Sheet, Consent Form and any recruitment advertisement for participants, should be forwarded to the Manager Academic Committees or the Academic Committees Assistant, Registry, as soon as the proposal has been considered and signed at departmental level. Forms can be sent hardcopy to Academic Committees, Room G23 or G24, Ground Floor, Clocktower Building, or scanned and emailed to gary.witte@otago.ac.nz.
Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?

The aim of this research is to examine how the popular media has portrayed the notion of luxury in second homes. Specifically it focuses on articles from the architecture and design magazine *Home New Zealand*, from its inception in 1936 to the present time.

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago.

What type of participants are being sought?

Participants who are current or past editors of *Home New Zealand* magazine (and its previous incarnations) and contributing journalists who have written articles about second homes.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to discuss how and why you made editorial decisions regarding the style and content of the articles selected for the magazine (editors only), how and why you chose to write about the second homes (journalists only), your views on what constitutes luxury, whether these views have changed over the course of your involvement with the magazine, and your perceptions of how the readers relate to the articles. It is envisaged that the interview will take approximately 1 hour, and it will be held at a time and location convenient to you.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind, and you may withdraw from the project at any stage.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

This project involves an open-ended questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes the rationale behind the choice of which second homes to include in the magazine,
and the portrayal, in both images and text, of the homes selected. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. With your consent, all conversations will be digitally recorded.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Personal information will also be requested such as your name, position at the magazine, dates of employment and contact details in the event of further clarification being required. All data collected will be treated in the strictest confidence and stored in accordance with the University’s protocol for storing confidential data and will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the study depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Please be aware that should you wish we will make every attempt to preserve your anonymity.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand). You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish. Alternatively the results of the study may be published in the Doctoral thesis which will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand).

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Trudie Walters  and/or  Dr Tara Duncan
PhD Candidate  PhD Supervisor
Department of Tourism
Department of Tourism
University Telephone Number: 03 479 9046  University Telephone Number: 03 479 3486
Email Address:  trudie.walters@otago.ac.nz  Email Address:  tara.duncan@otago.ac.nz

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479-8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Tourism, University of Otago
CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. Personal identifying information will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;

4. This project involves an open-ended questioning technique. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;

5. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed;

6. The results of the project may be published and available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

I agree to take part in this project.

..........................................................................................  ........................................
(Signature of participant)  (Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Tourism, University of Otago