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Identity, Nostalgia and Leisure: Technology Use in Second Homes

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Identity, Nostalgia and Leisure:
Technology Use in Second Homes

by

Françoise Bourdonnec

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Anthropology

Thesis Committee:
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ABSTRACT

This thesis, based on two years of ethnographic fieldwork in the US, Russia, France and Australia, focuses on technology use in second homes and its implications for technology design. I highlight the unexpectedly strong sense of nostalgia, for place as well as for richer relationships, felt in second homes around the world, and the ways in which second home residents use technology to shape space and behavior to reinforce this link to an imagined past. I show that the transition between main and second homes, with its rituals of preparation and transition between physical locations, allows residents to assume different identities in the two locations. These identities are based on location rather than role, and their second home identities allow them to showcase a part of themselves which does not flourish in the city. Lastly, I articulate the ways in which technology's logic is shaped by work environments, and how this logic does not always mesh well with the "messiness" of home lives. I further show that the choices of technology placement and acceptance in the home are a function of both how a technology is perceived (as aligned with work or leisure, for example) and of the behaviors residents value in the home, and an anthropologically informed understanding of these behaviors can, and should, influence product design choices.

Dedication

For Ron, who put up with “the manifesto.”

Et pour mes parents, qui y ont toujours cru.

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This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many along the long and winding road to get here;

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Chapter I – Introduction

In this thesis, I present data and analysis based on research I conducted while employed by Intel Corporation’s User Experience Group (UEG) on second homes in four countries; France, Russia, Australia and the United States. After fieldwork spread over several years, seven thousand annotated photos, more than forty hours of transcribed interviews, and increasing experience in articulating anthropological insights to an engineering-based company, I remain amazed at how broad an impact anthropological findings can have in a corporate environment.

When I first began this second home research, I expected it to yield information about technology use and placement. I also expected it to give us insights as to how people thought about technology in the home: insights we can use to design more intuitive, user-friendly technology. By looking at homes that are not main homes, and comparing them to main homes, we can arrive at the essence, the heart of what is necessary and acceptable in a home.

The research certainly did all of this; when paired with the focused UEG research on technology in homes around the world, it allowed us to understand at a greater level of granularity what technology use is acceptable, and where. The research results have allowed us to reshape the ways in which Intel thinks of technology in the home – shifting from the notion of “any data, anywhere, any time” to a more nuanced understanding of appropriate data consumption patterns and locations; from the idea that consumers want Personal Computers (PCs) everywhere - and that “inside every television, car and phone is a PC waiting to get out” - to the realization that some parts of one’s home, and indeed of one’s life, are valued because they are free of technology.

This change has broad implications, internally and externally. Internally, Intel now considers usages as a component of product definition (Bourdonnec 2008). Externally, the impact can be seen in the evolution of the company’s vision for “home computing,” from a PC-in-the-living-room to the way in which new products integrate our knowledge of what people love about televisions to bring internet to the TV (Bourdonnec 2010). It has also forced us all to think about business goals differently; if (some) parts of the home are technology-free, what does that mean to the model of selling multiple visibly-high technology products into the home? What are the implications to the customers we should partner with to deliver on these capabilities? And what does it mean to an ingredient company who has been spectacularly successful in marketing its high tech brand (Interbrand 2010) to acknowledge that the very element - high tech - that has made it successful may need to fade into the background to be

successful, as people move towards wanting more appliance-like behavior from their technology items?

Technology plays an increasing role in homes around the world. Its ability to shape home space use and behavior by making certain rooms “functional” or “non-functional” is deeply felt and speaks to the importance technology has taken on in our existence. To engineers, this importance is obvious; less obvious are the ways in which space and behaviors can constrain technology acceptance. In the case of second homes, it is clear that certain behaviors commensurate with the home’s goals are encouraged, and that technology must fit itself into them to maintain its position in the home. Thus, technologies which connote work are not encouraged in second homes. Neither are those which support “single-person” activities, such as music players. In contrast, appliances to improve comfort, recreational technologies and those gadgets that encourage joint activities are welcome in second homes. The “unexpected delight” (Zafiroglu and Bell 2009) of the research, however, was the way in which technology use revealed deeper feelings people project onto second homes. The first was nostalgia, the second, the ways in which an alternate identity was created in second homes.

Nostalgia for a better past, one where relationships were more important and stronger, where families had time for each other and were not constrained by the hurly-burly of modern life, was a consistent theme in all of the fieldwork countries. Although the nostalgia was not always for the same time – it was the federation period or the early postwar period in Australia, the time between the

wars in France, and the immediate post-war period in Russia, for example – the theme resonated around the world. Interestingly, the longing expressed was not a true nostalgia. Many of the families were not longing for their own past, but rather for an idealized past, one that combined elements of national history and an ahistorical view of past life. In particular, the notions of gender task allocation and of the separation of home and work life, which were reflected in notions of which technologies (or appliances) were acceptable for home use, and which were more likely to be connoted as male or female, do not necessarily reflect historical conditions. In peasant life in Brittany, for example, “work” and “home” were one and the same, in contrast to the division I saw created in second homes. In some ways, technology and its ability to blur the lines between work and home is very much enabling a return to the past – although it is not perceived as such, and respondents went to great lengths to keep the two separated.

Second homes, with their warmer relationships and more controlled environment, where specific behaviors can be encouraged, are drawn in stark contrast to main homes, which are perceived as deeply embedded in the bustle of the city, constrained by the external pressures of calendars, appointments and work constraints. In a main home, families have much less influence on the environment or atmosphere they can create. In contrast, the second home is a haven where the family’s nostalgic needs can be fulfilled, at least for a time. I am sure that this nostalgic environment would not be acceptable in the long run, especially to those who are tasked with maintaining it and making it work.

However, as a haven from the busy lives people live, it is a welcome relief. Residents of second homes subordinate the technologies they bring into the homes to the overarching goal: supporting the atmosphere and environment they crave, to the point of declaring “technology-free zones.”

Building on the notion of nostalgia and the work required to maintain it, it became apparent that people were using second homes as a “set,” a stage upon which they could project and create a separate and contrasting identity to the one they lived year round. This identity, which allows them to fulfill a different part of themselves, is built in contrast, and in opposition to, the elements of their “year-round” identity; continuity contrasting with change, traditional/regional aesthetic contrasting with a more modern one, relaxation contrasting with the constraints imposed by city life, in particular in Russia, and “serious leisure” contrasting with everyday work. In creating this opportunity to explore or emphasize an aspect of one’s identity which is not easily recognized during the year – and in supplying the space to showcase it – second homes play a critical role. The role goes well beyond the “vacation” which could be supplied by a hotel or B&B; the ability to transition between and exercise the two identities enables our respondents to maintain a balance in their lives and to nurture multiple aspects of their identity in a structured way. This analysis alleviates some of the issues with code-switching between multiple identities highlighted by identity theorists, and no doubt contributes to the sense of serenity residents spoke of. Instead of having identities that did not fit into their lives, they have identities which mesh into their environment.

Research Overview

Between 2006 and 2008, I conducted second home research in four countries: the US, France, Russia and Australia. This research was one of a series of studies focused on understanding technology's use and place in the home, conducted by UEG anthropologists working in Intel Corporation's Digital Home Group (DHG); I was one of these anthropologists. UEG was a fifteen person, newly created, cross-disciplinary team of five anthropologists, a video ethnographer, four designers and four human factors engineers chartered with bringing ethnographic insights and data throughout DHG's product development process. We worked in cross-disciplinary teams for each project to help DHG design for people and the ways in which they use technology, and, once a product was designed, circled back to test its user experience (UX) with the target audience. In other words, we studied people using the product to see if the design delivered on the promised experience. Within UEG, I managed the Home Experience Research (HERE) team that designed and executed much of the fieldwork that informed the process, and participated in others' projects and analysis.

UEG explored the boundaries of homes through several projects, including the second homes project, which I led, along with research on Recreational Vehicles (Zafiroglu and Chang 2007), McMansions (very large new homes) (unpublished) and sheds (Bell and Dourish 2007), all of which explore the boundaries of homes. I believe that second homes can tell us a great deal

about the nature of homes precisely because they are not “main homes,” but rather extreme variations on them (Harding 1991; Hartstock 1983; Wylie 1992). In consequence, I chose fieldwork countries in which second home experiences represented a diversity of experiences. I specifically wanted to explore the reasons that might cause residents to purchase or rent a second home, which include family/vacation, cultivation of food resources and preparation for a lifestyle transition – either to retirement or to a slower-paced routine.

Consistent with UEG’s methodology, my research was multi-sited (Marcus 1995), to allow us to compare and contrast different environments (countries, regions, home types) and determine whether overarching themes or directions could be identified, or whether specific home constraints favored certain behaviors or choice. As the “research lead” on the project, I was responsible for setting up the research plan, coordinating travel and contacts, and recruiting. However, I also worked with a partner and/or local contact in each location. This support was particularly important in Russia, the only country whose language I did not speak. As a standard part of the research process within Intel, and to ensure compliance with Human Subject Research protocols, I used Intel’s Digital Home User Experience Research Participant Release Form, which was vetted and approved by the legal department (see Appendix A). This form, also approved by PSU’s IRB, ensured that participants’ confidentiality would be protected, and that the data would be used only for approved purposes, including internal analysis as well as scholarly publications. Both Intel and the participants have approved the use of this data for my MA thesis.

The research data had a dual purpose; UEG were balancing anthropology's focus on broad understanding of themes such as space and place or identity with the need, in applied research, for findings which can be translated into near-term product impacts for Intel and DHG. DHG's focus over the past few years, has been in the areas of personal computers (PCs), televisions (TVs) and settop boxes, so our research, although it touched on handheld devices and phones, emphasized PCs and TVs as intercept points. These directions are not, strange as it may seem, contradictory; in fact, over time, the team came to find that some of the most impactful insights were strategic in nature, rather than tactical; these pertained to how people think about technology, rather than to the products themselves. That said, our goal was to understand how technology was used in homes throughout the world. We consciously chose our respondents from the "middle class" of each country, however that was defined, judging people in this group to be the most likely consumers of any technologies we could have an influence on.

Research Design and Methodology

For the project I was leading, I recruited informants (all participants were adult subjects) that represented relevant family structure and types of homes. For example, in Russia, I sought out dachas in dacha settlements, but also homes in peasant villages turned into dachas, and Garden Association homes; in Australia, I chose caravans and "shacks" (small summer cabins) as well as homes. Using

researcher contacts in each country, I recruited using the snowball technique (Bryman 2004; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). In Australia, France, and Russia I worked with six families in each country; in the US, I worked with a smaller sample of two to glean a frame of reference while minimizing US based data, which Intel tends to weigh more heavily. Participants were recruited based on class, location, second home access (ownership or rental), type of second home (condo, apartment, house) and family structure so that the subject sample was representative of the country's second home use based on the secondary research we had done, and of the middle class as locally defined. Further, in order to understand the contrast of second homes to main homes, I attempted, where possible, to visit both homes with my participants. This goal was sometimes logistically difficult, for example due to distances or Russia's quickly-changing environment, where the day consistently began with a modification to the previously-agreed schedule, so some of my visits only included a main home, others only a second home. The majority of interviews, however, included visits to both primary and second homes, allowing me to understand which aesthetic, technical and use choices were specific to second homes rather than to the country I was in.

This research design allowed me to set up a double comparative framework, which I have not seen used elsewhere. I did a comparison across multiple countries as well as one that compares first and second homes within countries. To minimize the discrepancies due to natural environment, I attempted to pick "similar" regions to study in each country; the use of a mountain house,

for example, might be very different than that of a coastal home both in appropriate timeframes and in activities. Based on locations I had access to, and the importance of coastal amenities in the US/French/Australian homes, I chose to focus on coastal homes and their corresponding “home bases” in cities away from the coast. Brittany (France), the Fleurieu Peninsula, South Australia, Oregon (USA) and the St. Petersburg (Russia) region allowed this analysis, although two of the locations (Adelaide, Australia and St. Petersburg, Russia) are major metropolitan areas in their countries, and two (Brest, France and Portland, Oregon) are relatively smaller cities (see Appendix B for maps).

As this multi-sited ethnography was conducted with the aim of providing product input to engineering teams, I had to modify traditional fieldwork methods, which require the anthropologist to spend extended time – ranging from months to years - in a location not only to gain informants’ trust, but also to acquire an in depth understanding of an entire society. Although this traditional norm is not as strongly embedded as it was - “Rapid Assessment” (RAP/REA) methodologies have been in use for two decades (Harris, et al. 1997) - the enthusiasm of the current (June 2010) discussion on “the Proverbial Year of Fieldwork; is it necessary?” on the Anthrodesign users’ group (Hansen 2010) shows that the debate is far from over.

While appealing, the year of fieldwork is impractical when doing a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) – particularly when product development lifecycles are taken into account. Even at an abbreviated 3-6 months of research

per site, the research alone would take a couple of years; add in the analysis and reporting out of the data to Intel, and the necessary mapping of ethnographic findings to technical (product) requirements, and several years would have passed before the research was made available to teams who can integrate it into products. In the consumer electronics space, where cell phones, like fashion accessories, have a six month to two year lifecycle, where product design takes place over perhaps a year, and where new “models” come out annually, the time seems unacceptably long. Indeed, given the annual structure of Intel’s corporate funding processes, a 3-year project without intermediate results on which the design teams can build stands a strong risk of being shut down.

From UEG’s perspective, following traditional timelines for anthropological fieldwork would delay the work’s impact by a product generation or two – and might well negate our ability to influence product at all. In consequence, we chose to make some changes to our research methods, which evolved over the first years of the group’s existence. First, we opted to use recruiters to identify informant households that were most likely to meet our needs, represent the diversity of living conditions we were looking for, and allow us to “hit the ground running.” Although this method does not allow for the deep relationship development of a more organic informant selection, we found that such a selection was extremely effective in enabling us to obtain broadly applicable data. Second, we opted to spend less time in each country; we typically spent two weeks in each country, and broke that time up into segments. Rather than spending one extended period of time with each family, we visited them multiple

times, leaving “homework” such as photobooks (Figure 1) to complete in between appointments.

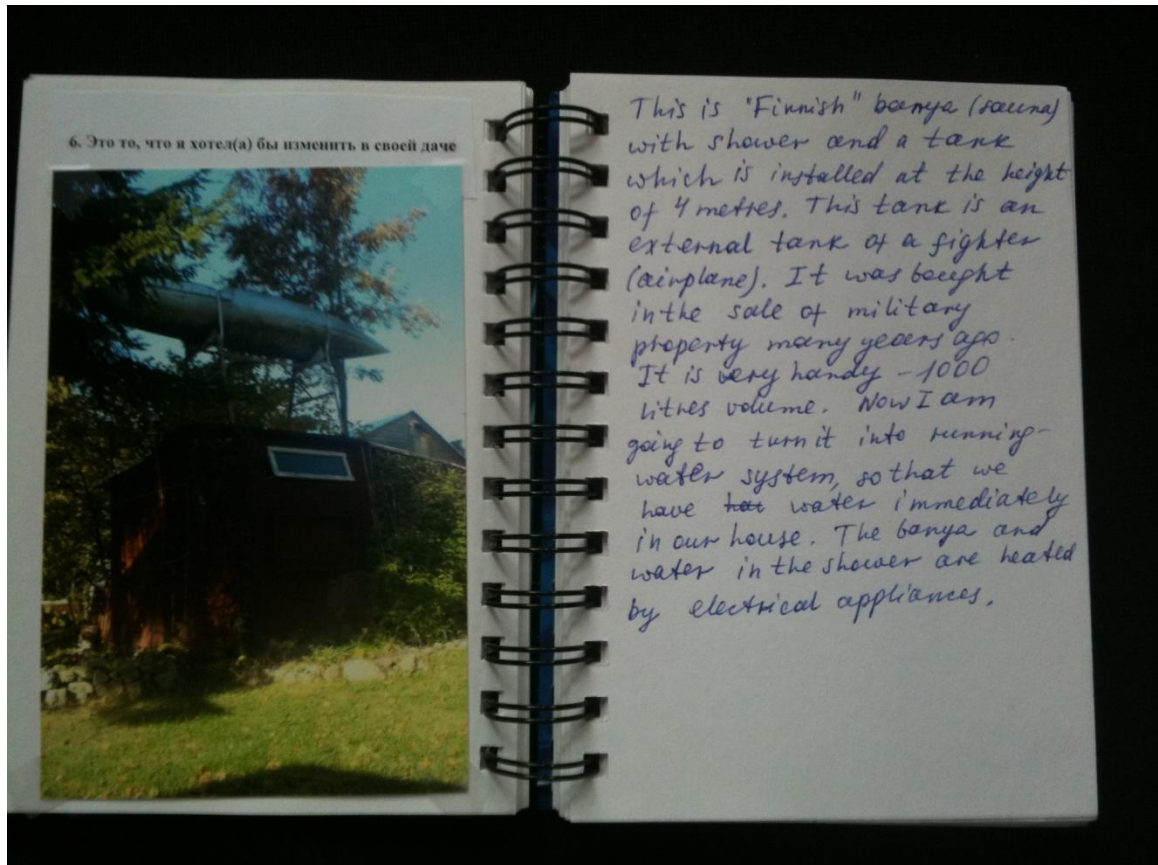


Figure1 - Photobook completed by a family, with photo and explanation in response to our probe (typed at the top) “This is one thing we would like to change about our dacha...”

We used the time between meeting families to broaden the range of informants we met with, and to gain a deeper understanding of the second home market. For example, in France, I met with the publisher of a magazine for expat (British) second home owners, and I visited rental offices, realtors, furniture

stores, DIY shops and technology and appliance stores, as these places were frequented by second home owners.

Thirdly, and in particular in Russia, I added to the interviewing/notes tradition of anthropology (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) some methods drawn from ethnography and design research that proved to be revealing and insightful; cognitive mapping (Figure 2) (Hasbrouck 2007) and photo-journals (Figure 1) (Banks 2001; Rose 2007).

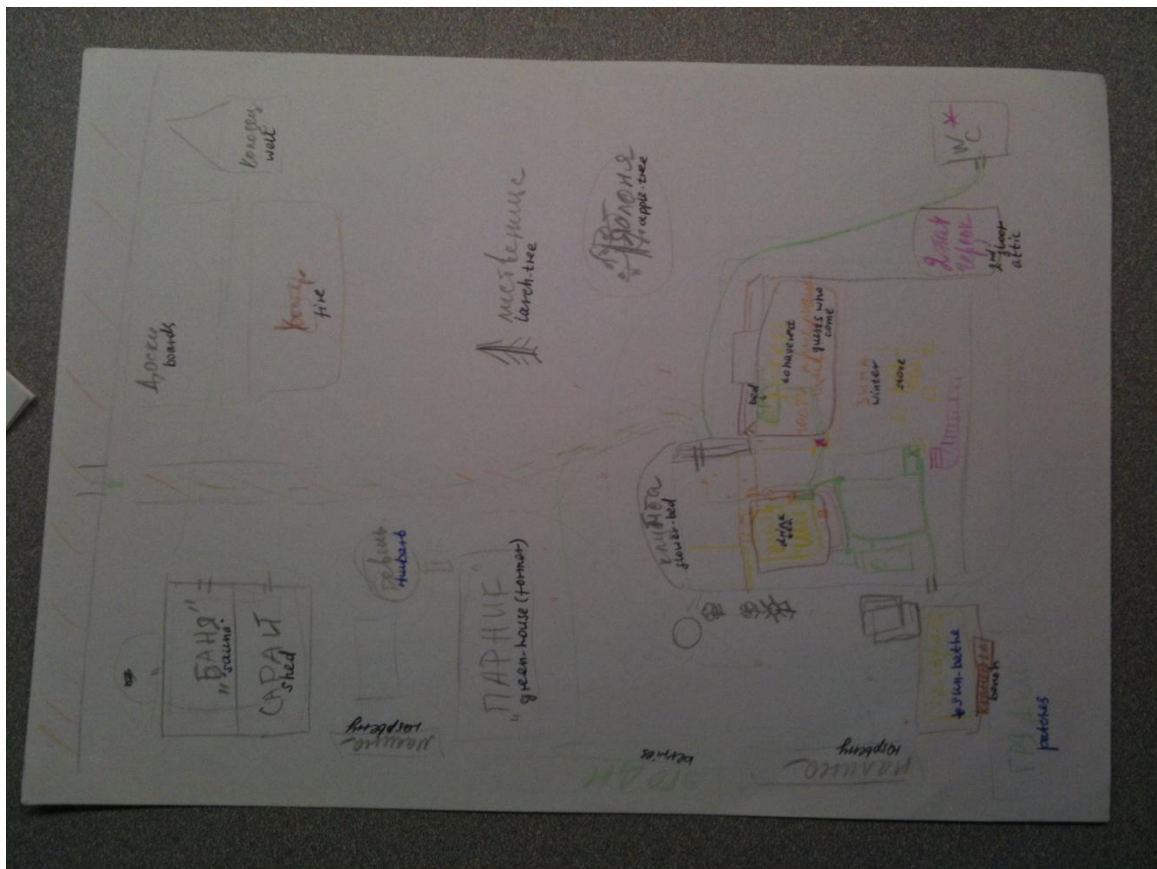


Figure 2: Cognitive map of Oxana's dacha.

- Light Green = route of a typical day
- Yellow = best common areas, places to be together
- Red = areas of conflict

- Orange = areas of regular interactions with others outside the family
- Purple = best areas to escape
- Dark Green = areas of limited access to anyone in the family
- Pink = areas where you learn

“A picture is worth a thousand words” is a particularly apt saying when one is trying to draw aesthetic distinctions, describe physical items, or convey the size/shape/feel of homes across cultures – in this case, to give design teams, often steeped in US culture, the background context for the requests or usage models we bring back from the field. Each visit included video of the interview and photography of the home’s interior and exterior, as well as images of the surrounding area, to convey the environment in which these homes exist. A consistent process of photo annotation of the photos we had taken, which was typically done the day of the home visit, also allowed for some search capabilities across all the team’s research – to find photos of a specific person, place or technology. This annotation became particularly important as the overall home research pool grew; by 2009, the UEG team had visited twenty-two countries, over two hundred households and compiled more than seven hundred interviews (personal communication), and data management became an increasing issue. All interviews were transcribed (by bi-lingual transcribers where necessary) for coding and reference, and home visits also entailed a write-up of family descriptions, key takeaways and additional context information supplied by translators or field workers. Our goal was to ensure that the data were usable by UEG researchers beyond the original researcher by making key points available to the entire team.

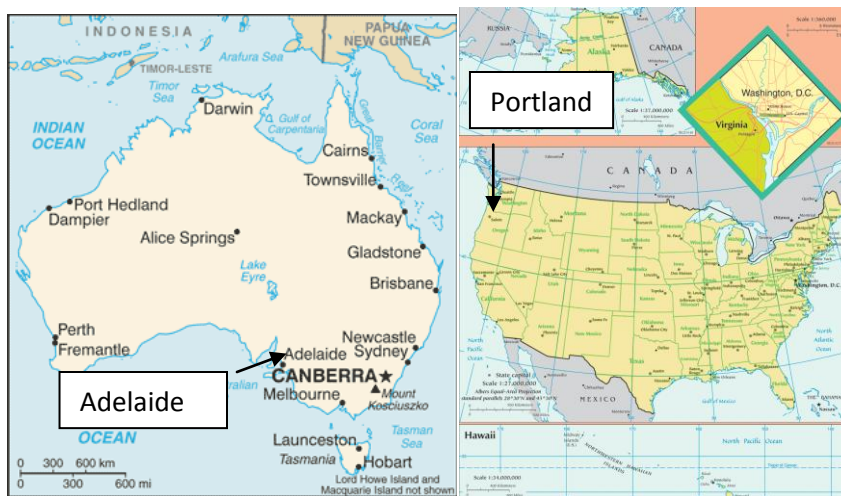
These modifications in research design, while not as radical as they might have seemed in the past, do challenge traditional anthropological norms. Much like the notion of “going” into the field (Passaro 1997), the “year of fieldwork” is a rite of passage in anthropological circles, invoked explicitly and implicitly as a measure of success (Motlagh 2010; Rohde 2007) and heated debate (see the Anthrodesign thread). However, I argue that when one is studying societies in which one has prior experience, and/or doing so with local expert support, relevant information can be gathered more quickly (Bell 2006). Further, I would argue that in contrast to traditional anthropological work, which seeks a deep understanding of multiple facets of a culture and the ways in which they interact, in the tradition of Geertz (1972) or Malinowski (1929), we are looking at a much more circumscribed set of research questions and implications. Thus, I believe that potential limitations in the research methodology are mitigated in this case – and are offset by the expected value of the research, in particular its ability to bring rich, highly contextual qualitative data, and an emic point of view, to a business culture focused on universal solutions, deeply embedded in American homes and aesthetics and “data driven” by numerical data – and quick turn-around times.

Location selection

As I mentioned earlier, my goal was to select similar field locations by the coast that reflected differences in their markets. The sites I chose had a further

advantage; they allowed me to build on prior experiences. Although I am now a US citizen, I was born, and my family still live, in Brittany, on France’s west coast. I spent half my life in France, including every childhood summer at my “summer home,” my grandfather’s farm a few miles from the coast. This experience provided me with a background to understand the summer home community as well as with a network from which to recruit second home owners. I have lived in Portland for fifteen years, and have been able to compare and contrast the American approach to vacation homes to the French one during that time. Several of my UEG co-workers, including our manager, had lived or worked in Australia, and were able to provide a network of informants, rich context for research, and the occasional translation. Russia was the country where I had the least context, and there I followed the trail my colleagues had blazed by recruiting a Russian anthropology graduate student to translate for me and assist in fieldwork. Throughout the thesis, French translations are my own, and Russian ones are courtesy of Alexandra Kasatkina.

Figure 3: Map of Research Areas.





Oregon, the US field site, is noted for its scenic coast and mountain beauty. Location and access are contributing factors to the site choice decision; Portland, Oregon's biggest city. It is located within 2 hours of coast, mountains, lakes and rolling countryside, and less than a day's drive to central Oregon, all of which are vacation locations. In this country, second homes are fairly unusual at ~3-6% of the total pool of homes (Weagraff 2004) and, commensurate with the size of the country, second homes may be hours away by plane or car; the median distance between main and second homes in 2008 was 316 miles (NAR 2009). The boom in second homes here is more closely linked to investment

decisions (NAR 2005) than it is in Europe, and second homes owners tend to be wealthier. Second home ownership in the US carries much greater class and wealth implications than in the other countries we studied.

In France, on the contrary, the second home is ideally less than an hour and half (Silverston 2005) from the main living location; this location is congruent with the long tradition of second homes located in a family's home village (Chevalier 1999). France finished its rural to urban transition fairly late, becoming majority urban in 1931, and many families are only one or two generations from working the land; this existing migration tends to be intra-regional, or to the strong attraction of Paris (Gravier 1947) rather than inter-regional. However, the homes of the families I interviewed represented the shifting paradigm of French second homes; when one's family home is in a region that is poor in "entertainment value" the tendency is to choose a more interesting location that the family returns to on an annual basis ("en villegiature"). Thus, although two of the families I spoke to went back to family-owned homes, they did so partly because both of these homes were by the sea. Whether sea, mountain or countryside, France's second home tradition is well established; in Europe, France is second only to Spain in percentage of second homes relative to overall dwellings, with 10-15% of the housing stock in secondary housing (Ball 2005). Second home ownership in France, although sometimes a marker of class, is not linked to wealth, in part due to the family inheritance of land; in fact, one of the attractions of French second homes for northern Europeans is the low cost of "country" (as opposed to mountain or coast) houses (Secondaire 2005). A larger

proportion of French second homes are locally owned relative to other countries – although Chaplin (1999) also suggests France as a field site where notions of identity and production can be analyzed by focusing on two different populations – new “incomers” from other countries, such as Britain, and native French homeowners passing on a family heritage. I opted not to follow up on this aspect of Brittany’s second homes due to the complexity of first home visit logistics.

As in France, in Australia vacation homes are predominantly by the coast, as indeed is 85% of the population (Frost 2003; Marshall, et al. 2006). The “Sea-Change” movement, named for the 1999 Australian Broadcasting Corporation drama about a frazzled city lawyer abandoning her career and possible partnership in a prestigious law firm for a small coastal town judgeship, has driven a resurgence of smaller coastal communities (Corporation 2000). Increasingly, city-dwellers are looking to move to small coastal towns, and a second home is often the first step in this move. In Australia, our participants were more likely to be transitioning from city to “county town” life than in other sites, but the wide range of second home types, from caravans to shacks and cottages, thwarted easy class and wealth conclusions.

Russia presented another focus altogether. In stark contrast to the US, close to 50% of urban dwellers in Russia have or have access to a dacha (Struyk 1996), and dachas have a value far beyond escape from the city. For many city residents, dacha gardens are a key food source - witness the root cellars dug near every dacha I visited - and were particularly valuable during the difficult

times of perestroika (Ekström, et al. 2003; Ries 2009). Dacha garden produce is preserved and brought home at the end of the summer and eaten throughout the year. As Natalya, a single mom in her late 40s whose career as a mining engineer had, at “perestroika”, morphed into facilitation of lease and ownership changes for communal apartments commented, standing in the garden of her Garden Association dacha, during that time, “without the dacha, we would have starved.” This essential quality of the dacha – its presence in the main home space, year round, and its importance in the family’s economy – drives a very different relationship to this home than would a purely vacation oriented model (Southworth 2006; Struyk 1996; Varshavskaya, et al. 1999). Arguably, the best indicator of comfort, if not wealth for dachniki [dacha dwellers] was the degree to which they could convert the garden to flowers rather than food.

I had originally identified one last focus for second home ownership, to add to family/vacation, food resources and life transitions; climate/seasonal shifts. Unfortunately, I was unable to study India’s hill stations or a similar geographic model to represent this transition due to a shift in research focus towards more product-specific research areas.

Overview of Thesis

The current ethnographic corpus has few, if any multi-sited or multi-cultural ethnographies of the home. Building on and expanding Harding’s notion of strong objectivity (1991) and standpoint theory (Harding 1991; Hartstock 1983;

Wylie 1992) I believe that second homes can tell us a great deal about the nature of homes precisely because they are not “main homes” as such, this research will fill a niche in the studies of home. In its focus on comparing identity in multiple homes, it will also add to studies of identity and place. The use of technology to define space in homes, and the differences in use of home space between main and second homes, are also under-explored topics; this thesis should thus add to the data available to scholars about technology use.

In Chapter Two, I will show how the results will help flesh out the ways in which people use space – and in particular, how technology placement influences space use by making spaces more or less friendly to specific behaviors. Conversely, I will show that space and physical limitations of existing homes constrain technology placement in unexpected ways.

The research also revealed the importance of nostalgia in second homes – an unexpected, and unexpectedly consistent, finding in each country I visited. As I will explore in Chapter Three, it is clear that people are managing their second homes, and the technologies within them, to enhance their ability to recreate an idealized past, perceived as different from, and better than the present.

An extension of this nostalgia is the significantly different ways in which people represent themselves in their second and main homes; they are displaying two different identities, and managing their space, behavior and of

course technology in consequence. In Chapter Four, I introduce some anthropological theory on identity to assess these findings.

Taken as a whole, this thesis will be of interest not only to anthropologists, but also to the technology industry as it seeks to design products that fit a home's aesthetic and size, as well as determining the easiest and most intuitive ways for people to interact with technology.

In this thesis, I will first look at the ways in which technology use shapes and is shaped by space and how that differs in main and second homes. I will then explore the theme of nostalgia in second homes, its impact on tech use, and the ways in which technology and nostalgia feed into the creation of a new identity in second homes.

Chapter II - Nostalgia.

When describing his dacha, Artiom, a 26-year old St. Petersburg resident, started by saying “In Stalinist days, they knew how to build a dacha. The soldiers [who were building it for the general] knew they would be in trouble if it was not built properly.” This comment was the most unexpected I heard during my fieldwork on second homes, but it was characteristic of one of the key themes that emerged from that research: that second homes were often tied both to notions of the past, and to the past as a better time and place (at least, if you were a general).

The theme of nostalgia caught me by surprise. When I began my research, I was focused on understanding the ways in which second homes were used differently than main homes. I did not expect to find this harkening back to the past. But in all the sites we visited, almost everyone spoke, explicitly or implicitly, of second homes as being linked to the past. In Australia, city dwellers seeking a “sea-change” move to the coast, and try to recreate the “warm family

atmosphere” of a traditional house; in France, there is a long tradition of second homes sited in families’ ancestral villages where people “sat and talked like the old days” ; in Russia, city-dwellers’ dachas are common and provide an essential source of food and calm, “a place of one’s own” in contrast to the communal city apartments; and in the US, second homes encompass beloved childhood memories and continuity (Balfe 1995). All hark back to the past.

The past associated with second homes is imagined as a better time than the present, simpler and more grounded. The nostalgia informants express for this ahistorical and idealized time shapes the way in which they talk about, decorate and care for their second homes. In addition, they behave differently in second homes than they do in their main residences. Nostalgia defines the activities and items (of technology, in particular) considered “appropriate” for a second home, distinct from a main home; these items are managed, implicitly and explicitly in support of this vision. Elements of local, traditional identity, in particular, are incorporated and referenced in second homes to create an “appropriate” environment in support of this nostalgic identity. In Australia, people used seaside colors and patterns in the shack’s painted walls; in France, Breton themes predominated, and in Russia, there was a presence of wood in the dacha. The distinction between second and main homes allows a comparison to broader issues of nostalgia in popular culture (Stewart 1988).

Theoretical overview

Nostalgia (from the Greek *nostos*, a return home) has been defined as “a bittersweet longing for things, persons, or situations of the past” (American Heritage Dictionary 2000). This definition, which speaks directly to the importance of both home and memory, also contains within it the tension that we see on a daily basis; for nostalgia to exist, the object of nostalgia must be gone. One cannot be nostalgic for the present or for current structures (Hodge 2009).

The literature on nostalgia is surprisingly, and helpfully, grounded in notions of place. Much of what I read focused specifically on landscapes (Benavides 2008; Brinkman 2009; Thornton 2009; Whitridge 2004) and physical buildings (Bloch 2005; Bonnin 1990; Hodge 2009; Jell and Jell-Bahlsen 2003; Silverstein 2004) as touchpoints of nostalgia. Nostalgia is also a wonderful intersection point for archaeology and anthropology, since a portion of what feeds our nostalgic creations have been recovered by archaeologists (Beranek 2009; Hodge 2009; Meskell 2002; Smith 2007). This literature will prove useful as we speak to the physical aspects of the nostalgia invoked by second homes, and the emotions these aspects evoke.

A great deal of this nostalgia, however, derives from non-physical elements (Buyandelgeriyn 2008; Cavanaugh 2004; Stewart 1988) or from the modification in meaning of everyday objects (Berdahl 2001; Stewart 1988), both trends which I will touch on in describing my research. In this chapter, I will explore several distinctive aspects of nostalgia, in particular a desire for

relationships that mirror those of the past, food practices that are no longer an everyday occurrence at main homes, traditional home aesthetics and technology decisions, traditional notions of space use, and work practices of second homes. In each case, it is the differences between past and present that make nostalgia possible; one cannot be nostalgic for the now.

Relationships

In St. Petersburg, Natalya, said, speaking of conflict with her neighbor over ownership of a tree on the dacha property line; “It is starting to feel like a communal kitchen (the common kitchen in an apartment shared by multiple families; usually a source of conflict). I wish we could go back to the good relations (we had before).”

As this comment highlights, Russian dachas were a particularly important place to build positive relationships, and escape the tensions created by cramped living spaces in the city. They were envisioned as oases of freedom; Antosha, a retired aeronautical engineer and “hero of Leningrad” (as a child, he was one of the rare survivors of the WWII siege of the city), called it “the only place you can be proud of, that is yours”, and often the only truly private space for the dachniki. Like most Russian city dwellers, the dacha dwellers I met had main homes in communal apartments, in which each resident family has one or several rooms and shares the kitchen and bath. These housing setups create conflict between families, and tensions run high even when the families are related. In many of

their descriptions of family relationships, the assumption was that such relationships, playing out in the first home, would be difficult and conflictual. Inna, a woman in her 40s who lives with her husband, Yuri, teenage daughter Asya and her parents near the Moscow gate, describes her relationship with her parents as difficult. Yuri concurred, saying “Inna and her mother are both strong and energetic women who both try to have their own way; it makes for conflict”. Yana, a 23-year old student, spends the summer at the family dacha with her son and husband (who commuted daily to St. Petersburg to work) partly in order to defuse tension with her parents; all five of them share a city apartment. In contrast to the stress of the city, informants viewed the dacha as a place to have “real” relations, as Oxana, a student and actress in her early twenties who had been vacationing at the family dacha, built on a large plot in a dacha settlement by her maternal grandfather, all her life. Natalya saw it as a place to help each other out. As Natalya’s comment above shows, this view of dacha life may represent an ideal rather than reality, but it is an ideal all the dachniki aspired to.

Similarly, in France second homes were focuses of sociability. The past was explicitly called out as a time when people “had more time for each other” and “talked to each other” and families tried to recreate this feeling. Marie contrasted the way in which the adults “stayed and talked with each other (in the second home) instead of watching TV,” and spent time reading, or talking to the other members of the household, usually in the kitchen. Meals were more leisurely and had more conversation. Anne Marie, a single former dermatology secretary in her 70s, commented that her social life was much busier at the

beach condo, even though it was quite small and not really suited to hosting guest, but her extensive family and friends like to come down and walk on the beach with her, and sit and talk. Again, she describes a modern version of the past, where sitting and talking was the main means of entertainment. This recreation of the past and of its perceived practices, in a way that may or may not have existed, is reminiscent of other re-imaginings.

In Australia, Audrey, a Victor Harbor school teacher who, with her husband Rob, purchased the Victorian Rose Cottage “to retire to” and ran it as a rental cottage in the meantime, talked about it as “like it used to be” – where they had time to relax and enjoy each other and the activities they like. In the Milang shacks, a lineup of very small houses on the shore of Lake Alexandrina, Alan, an affable and talkative retired car salesman who had moved to Milang when his wife’s health required an unpolluted, calm environment, talked about the sense of community that was found there; the children grew up together, families planned community meals and parties, and since everyone at the shacks had been coming there for years, the sense of continuity was pervasive, and welcomed.

Children feature heavily in the relationships adults described; the second home, separated as it is from the stress and influence of the city, is an opportunity to improve the children’s upbringing by holding it to the standards of the past. In Russia, this goal could mean giving them a healthier environment, with clean air and nourishing food, as Marina, a young mother in her mid-twenties who was visiting the family dacha from her home in Moscow, did for the

4-month old who napped in his pram outside the Komarovo dacha. It could also involve improving their education, as Anna, a white haired English teacher whose rented dacha also hosted her own mother, grandson and occasionally, a visiting daughter, did for her grandson, to ensure that his vocabulary and table manners would be “suitable.” Polina, a journalist in her mid forties who had a long term lease on a dacha that was one of a series in a settlement built for deserving residents, such as the handicapped or veterans, in Soviet days, came there with her husband and two small children; she taught them traditional “intellectuals’ card games” there. In France, parents ensured that their children acquired skills that they themselves had acquired in their youth. Children were often enrolled in week-long sailing classes, a traditional coast summer occupation and a useful skill in a region with a deep sailing tradition, where small sailboats are a ubiquitous sight off the shore. They also helped out their grandparents in the sometimes quite large garden, learning how to weed and harvest vegetables, and went shrimp netting and clamming when the tides allowed. Parents felt that this continuity, the passing on of skills and knowledge to the next generation, was a valuable function, even though sailing and farming are no longer Brittany’s major jobs. It took place much more effectively in the second home, where the emphasis on human relations reinforced the lessons being passed on.

Physically, the homes’ layouts force togetherness; there is most often one main room in which most of the day’s activities take place. This layout is partly driven by financial constraints – second homes are an investment, and are often in older, smaller houses which would be costly to expand or renovate. However,

in contrast to the main homes, where bedrooms are looked upon as private spaces where one can live and act, bedrooms in second homes were often minimalist and bare, designed to support sleeping only and discourage a separate life. Physical layout ensures that families spend time together. There is often one room – the glassed-in veranda in Russia, the kitchen in France, the main room in the US – where the family spends the majority of its indoor time.

This mapping of space as a mechanism of discipline is well established; Foucault's work on the subject is perhaps the most influential (Foucault 1995), but less extreme studies of homes as constraining mechanisms have a long history (Bourdieu 2000 (1972); Pellow 2007) and can usefully frame the ways in which a family can enforce its nostalgic goals on members who, perhaps, have not entirely bought into the notion.

In second homes, people are able to create a space where they do not need to subordinate their behavior to the constraints of the city; they can create their own rules, reinforce the values that are most important to them, and nurture relationships with more time and space: a valued and valuable thing.

Food

Nostalgia goes well beyond the notion of home. Other emotionally connoted items can invoke the same reaction: food, for example (Lind and Barham 2004; Pilcher 2005; Vizcarra Bordi 2006), or a sense of togetherness

and friendship (O'Carroll 2005). Food is not only one of life's necessities, it is an important part of the nostalgic experience. In each country, specific food traditions are a central part of the second home environment, a reflection on the centrality of food and its symbolism as love (Fernandez-Armesto 2002). In each household, memories and pleasant times were associated with food and eating, and people often spent much of their time indoors in the kitchen or eating areas.

Mothers and grandmothers delighted in making old-fashioned, labor-intensive dishes. Although these dishes are not "summertime" dishes per se, summer is now the only season in which families have the time to make them, so these dishes become associated with the summer – and often, the entire family was involved in pulling them together. In France, grandfathers showed their grandchildren how to garden, and grandchildren would proudly bring back the fruits (or leeks) of their labors – and feel quite strongly against the rabbits or deer who wanted to eat them. Children were also participants in the clamming or shrimping expeditions; shrimp netted during the day were boiled in seawater, cooled, and peeled and eaten with mayonnaise that evening. Of course, you can buy shrimp during the year, but those you have spent hours fishing in cold water for taste much better. Clams were cleaned, and after dinner had been eaten and the dishes put away, the adults in Marie's family would sit and, assembly line fashion, open clams and stuff them with snail butter, chatting all the while. Some of the completed shells would be eaten the next day. Most would be frozen and taken home; in the winter, brought out and broiled, they would be an appetizer to remind the family of their summer vacation. Meals which took longer to make – a

slow simmered rabbit civet, for example, were also easier to fit in at the summer home.

In contrast, in Russia, the basic nature of dacha kitchen setups precluded elaborate cooking. Instead the focus of food consumption shifted to serving the tastier produce raised in the dacha garden in as close to its natural state as possible. As Inna said, "Dacha fruit taste better. Even when you bring them back to the city, the flavor starts to fade." Tatiana and her daughter, Oxana, had a somewhat stormy relationship, but they could agree that the dacha fruit were the best – and cooperate to spend an afternoon making jam, to be stored under kitchen floorboards to keep cool. The taste of the jam from her childhood is one of Oxana's fondest memories, and one she enjoys recreating.

Dashniki were generous in preparing garden vegetables for guests - not to mention sending the interviewer home with fresh fruit, gathered during our visit - slightly wormy but delicious apples, gooseberries, cucumbers. It was fresher, more intensely flavorful fare than the luxurious hotel buffet, especially when seasoned with the dachniki's camaraderie. Every time we took a train back from the dacha settlements, we would see families bringing back bulging bags of produce. This production is less of a necessity now than during the perestroika period, when the gardens' production tided families over the winter. A repeated comment I heard was "if you had come here (to the dacha) 5 years ago, you would not have seen any flowers; everything we planted had to be edible"

(Natalya) or “the only meat we had for 3-4 years was the chickens and rabbits we raised at the dacha” (Inna).

Curiously enough, in view of Australia’s vibrant food culture, local wineries and the ubiquity of Beerenberg brand preserves made in nearby Hahndorf, food did not seem to play a major role in second homes in the Milang area (if one excepts tea, drunk at all hours); I suspect it may be because many of these homes were transitional ones, and still contained a strong element of “work.”

Clearly, food is a key emotional element of the past participants were trying to recreate. It has a strong emotional component, and ties back to childhood memories. It has historically been one of the ways in which familial love is expressed and is deeply linked to local habits – “terroir.” (Fernandez-Armesto 2002) (Lind and Barham 2004; Pilcher 2005; Vizcarra Bordi 2006) As such it is the perfect vehicle for nostalgia, and we certainly saw our participants put food front and center in this recreation of the past, especially in contrast to the limited time or access to fresh produce they perceived in the city.

Having finished a discussion of food, I will now discuss a less ephemeral and more visible form of nostalgia, that of the second homes’ aesthetics.

Aesthetics

There was a clear difference between the interior décor of the main homes we visited and that of the second homes. In second homes, there was an explicit

choice to create a different aesthetic in support of the homes' goals. This choice references several authors (Mallett 2004, Chapman and Hockey 1999, Zafiroglu and Chang 2006) who articulate the importance of understanding or analyzing the home as part of a relationship - that between the ideal (here, nostalgic) home and the real one. Chapman and Hockey (1999) focus on the example of the 1995 British ideal home exhibition and its impact on home design. Cheung and Ma (2005) show how both government and media portrayal of housing changed the ideal Hong Kong home. Zafiroglu and Chang (2006) bring us back to reality by pointing out the contrast between real and ideal, and the importance of taking into consideration the "embodied" home rather than only the ideal one.

In Brittany, brightly painted Quimper porcelain (Verlingue 2004) plates and bowls had pride of place in the homes we visited, often displayed on furniture that evoked Breton tradition either in its shape (the "buffet" used to display the family's most beautiful or valuable pieces of porcelain) or its décor. "Traditional" Breton carving (Caraminot and Plazy 2003), no longer fashionable for main homes, was considered appropriate for second homes, invoking as it does the region's past.

It is not only a long-time local manufacture, but its design choices are rooted in Breton imagery. The piece that can be found in any house (and which, for many French people, evoke fond childhood memories of hot chocolate breakfasts) is the "bol à oreilles" (two-eared bowl) customized with the owner's

name, and decorated with a traditionally dressed Breton boy (baggy pants and broad hat) or girl (long skirt and coiffe) (Figure 4)



Figure 4: Handpainted breakfast bowls; the Bol à Oreilles, Quimper ware.

In addition to Quimper ware, the le Roux home displayed a coiffe (traditional headdress) typical of the region, and a pre-war school world map, where France and its territories were tinted blue. Monique le Roux, a retired homemaker whose grown children send their own offspring to stay with her for part of the summer, said that the same map had hung in her classroom when she was a young girl, and it reminded her of that period. Even in cases where the construction does not allow for period furniture or knick-knacks (such as Anne Marie's 30 m²/325 ft² condo), the art and color schemes were chosen to evoke the ocean and maritime themes. In keeping with the location of the house, Anne Marie also kept coffee table books on the region, as well as old postcards of the area. Although these items were not passed down by family, they evoked the area's past heritage.

This “cultural editing”, or picking and choosing of cultural elements to reflect one’s desired image, is reminiscent not only of the ways in which elements are cropped, highlighted or interpreted in photography or visual anthropology (Barrett 2000; Collier and Collier 1986; Ruby 1981; Sontag 1977) but also - and, given the weight of tourism in many of these regions - importantly, of the cultural editing that occurs when presenting a region to tourists around the world. This editing can be done, as above, by reclaiming a version of one’s traditions (Dantec and Éveillard 2001) or by more complex and creative process of re-creating traditions for the tourist gaze. In these cases, local inhabitants meet the nostalgia needs of the tourists, rather than their own (Hoskins 2002; Shiner 1994; Urry 2002).

Like Brittany’s evocation of a pre- or early-industrial past, where peasants or sailors are key actors, Australia’s south coast evokes the 19th century Victorian or turn of the century Federation era – whether in the interior décor of the home, or in the town architecture surrounding it. Australian vernacular architecture is inspired by the common wood and corrugated-iron sheds, and often includes the use of multiple verandahs in domestic architecture, the use of metal for roofing, wide overhanging eaves for shade, and of course water catchment barrels, omnipresent in this dry land. In older homes, gardens were also carefully laid out as an extension of the house, to provide color and interest year round. Although the home we visited was currently being rented out, the owners planned on moving into it when they retired. Audrey had decorated each room with antiques, and consciously attempted to create a Victorian/Federation

atmosphere inside and out. The garden was a losing battle; keeping climbing roses and flower beds alive during the worst drought in decades was impossible. In the house, she included family pictures, and an opportunity for guests to write notes about how they felt about the house – a nod to the joint recreation of the past.

In the US, second homes echoed the “appropriate” local décor; ocean-and-beach inspired wall art, like an old sextant, images of lighthouses, and metal fish sculptures by the shore, with blues and greens as the home’s dominant colors. In a mountain cabin, old ski gear hung on the pine-clad walls of the cabin, and traditional Pendleton blankets were thrown across the couch, reinforcing the “cabin” theme.

Russian dachas were more of a décor challenge. The economic conditions of the Soviet and post-Soviet system made purchasing furniture an impossibility for many, so uniquely among the second homes I visited, dachas had aesthetics similar to that of main homes thirty or forty years earlier. Dachas furniture was most often hand-me-downs from the main home, so it had a mismatched feel, as it was often not adapted either to the space or to its use function. Even rented dachas were crowded with furniture; the summer renters only brought bedding and clothing, so much of the “stuff” in the house was left there as well. Russian dachas were often crowded; a consequence of the Soviet system was that nothing is discarded, for fear of not being able to replace it. There is a strong “fixit” mentality in Russia; for example, at the local bookstore in

St. Petersburg, the “how to fix things around the house” book was so heavily thumbed through it was falling apart. People were proud – and expected – to be able to fix anything in the house that broke, and stockpiled “raw materials” for fixes, just in case. Every dacha we visited had some non-functioning items that were being saved against such an eventuality – a physical carrying forward of the past. In addition, the past was invoked in describing the architecture of the ideal dacha; it had a veranda, was made of wood, and was sited in a large, open lot – in contrast to gated, alarmed “stone castles” built by newly rich “minigarchs” (oligarchs that have been moderately successful).

Technology and Nostalgia

Nostalgia as an area of study has become increasingly rich over the past years. Beyond academic interest, popular culture has expressed an increasing fascination with the topic as both a marketing tool as well as an emerging theme in political and social discourse (Naughton and Vlasic 1998). Technology companies might do well to think about the product implications of nostalgia; witness the success of early arcade games, such as Pac-Man, re-issued for PCs. Fitting electronic technology into the aesthetics of the past is a challenge, as it is inherently more recent than the period evoked.

However, as I have discussed, all technologies are not created equal – and second home residents were not living technology-free lives. Infrastructure technologies were the most acceptable; even in Russian dachas, the most

Spartan of the homes we visited, electricity, telephone, sewer and hot water were either available or desired, and desirable, attributes. In Australia, and France, technologies such as refrigerators, washers or dishwashers were perfectly acceptable, especially in family homes where children were expected and the workload to keep the family clothed and fed took up a considerable amount of time.

The same welcome is not extended to more recently developed technologies, such as the microwave or the internet. Clearly, being “connected” or reheating and cooking meals in minutes do not support the nostalgic views of vacation homes desired by their inhabitants. The microwave, for example, defeats the image of the kitchen/stove as the center of the household where meals are lovingly prepared by the matriarch of the family and where food is a representation of love (Fernandez-Armesto 2002). This is an example of letting only specific elements of technology into the house.

Families also discourage technologies that are perceived to separate members of the family. Thus, “shareable” technologies such as radio, TV, VCR, or the PC/laptop used as a movie screen are acceptable. Individual ones, such as PC/laptop, Walkmans/iPods, or other devices that inhibit interaction are not. The traditional solution to discouraging such non-engagement is to ensure that activities take place in a shared or communal space. The internet challenges this solution, in that it allows people to create external links while sharing a common space; one can text, mail, or IM while physically proximate to one’s family, and

physical and mental engagement are no longer commensurate. Engaging in a solitary activity such as reading may be appropriate, but interacting with the outside world is not.

This reluctance to deal with technology, and concerns about what it will do to the family's togetherness are not a new phenomenon – nor are worries about the impact of uncontrolled, external access into the family space. This discomfort seems to recur at the introduction of a new technology, when social norms to deal with it have not been developed. Parental concerns about the risks children today run on the internet could, with a few tweaks, have been lifted from concerns in the 1920s about what telephone access would do to young girls (Cassell and Cramer 2008). Radio and television were certainly perceived as “rotting one’s brains” (Zafiroglu, et al. 2006) when they were introduced – a step down from conversation, discussion and reading they ostensibly replaced. As “togetherness” technologies, TV and radio are now welcome in second homes, and it remains to be seen whether the next generation will adopt the internet – and struggle with another type of technology.

After focusing on the inside of the house, and looking at how nostalgia influences both the technology it contains and its aesthetics, I will now focus on another essential component of nostalgia: the contrast of nature and culture.

Nature/Culture

Nostalgia of another sort, that of a closer link to nature, is highlighted by the way in which informants describe their homes. Using cognitive mapping (Hasbrouck 2007), we asked respondents in Russia to draw maps of their dachas (Figure 2). Without exception, they drew not only the house, but also the garden around it. Very often, their favorite place in the house was not actually inside the house; it was outside in the garden or yard. Within the house, the favorite place was invariably the veranda. Yana's great regret at the division of the family dacha was that she no longer had access to the veranda, which was "owned" by another aunt, and therefore locked up when the aunt was not present.

Just as in France and the United states, in Russia people spoke of the second home as being embedded in a landscape; landscapes were critical to the experience of the home. In Russia, there is a very clear (and unanimous) definition of what constitutes a good dacha;

- A "native" wooden house (rather than stone or brick)
- In or near woods, preferably dark and large ones
- Where mushrooms and berries grow
- Near water – a lake or the Gulf of Finland
- Slightly elevated to avoid mosquitoes
- With large plots so that neighbors have enough space
- Kept unfenced

Areas that did not meet these needs, which were on a river or a marsh, or only in a small wood, or where too many people were gathering mushrooms, were perceived to be less valuable. Conversely, Anna spoke longingly of the dacha her second husband, a writer, had access to; it was in Komarovo, an older dacha settlement on the Gulf of Finland, and met all of the qualifications listed above.

In France, second homes were valued as they allowed access to nature - the sea, woods, hiking paths or the beach - especially when small children were involved. Similarly, Jerry, a teacher whose second home is on the Oregon coast, pointed out that his fondest memories of the stays at his grandfather's home involved being outside. The landscape embedded itself in memories. Just as there is a dichotomy between leisure and work, structure and relaxation – so nature and culture or city contrast.

Elements of nature were often integrated into the daily routine. Most of the families had a set daily routine, especially if children were involved, and it involved getting outside to the beach, the lake, or going for walks. Adults, too, build walking around the homes or being outside in the garden into their day; “I spend all day outside; I only come in for tea” (Inna, St. Petersburg). Likewise, in Brittany the day usually involved a walk on the beach, in woods, or along the coastal “chemin des douaniers” [the restored, and publicly accessible, customs officers' path which follows the entire coast], most often after dinner. “After

dinner, we go for a digestive stroll down to the pines” (Marie, Brignonic, France).

Activities and “work” of second homes

When asked by his grandchildren “where is the TV?” Guillaume Peron answers, pointing to the large bay window which looks out onto the bay 30 feet beyond the house. “There it is. It is on all day, and there’s only one channel.”

The activities allowed within the home are also oriented to the outside world. Even as they live in the present, in the existing house, second home owners spend considerable time and energy in differentiating their second home from the main house in ways that reinforce the nostalgic ideal and its focus on the outside. Indeed, the second home lends itself to this type of “home work” in ways that main homes do not; the second home is separated from the daily work environment and routines, a “space out of time” that can be more easily shaped to reflect the family’s desire to reconnect with the past (Chaplin 1999).

Informants also behaved in ways they would not have in their main homes; for example, the Peron grand-children could launch dinghies off the beach behind the house. They did so at quite a young age (5), secure in the knowledge that everyone in the neighborhood they could sail to (or drift towards) would know where they belonged; their life jackets had their family name on the back, and the family is well known in the area, having been there since the 16th

century. “Ah, it’s a little Peron” the neighbors would comment, and bring them back. These neighbors included the sailors posted across Roscanvel bay on “l’Ile Longue” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Rade_de_Brest.svg) – an easy drift away, and France’s nuclear submarine base. Drifting there warranted the occasional warning. Other children would play unsupervised for hours – assumed to be fine as long as they checked in for meals.

Other families could not be quite so hands-off if, for example, getting to the beach involved crossing a road, or climbing down many flights of stairs to access the beach at the bottom of a cliff. In such cases, getting the children out took more work and constrained the adults’ options for daily activities, but the adults considered this activity an essential part of the experience, even as they bemoaned the constraints such a commitment imposed.

This work of supervising children’s play was most clearly articulated by the women in the family. Although they enjoyed giving their families the memories and experiences they had had as children, and recognized the value of the environment they were creating, several of the women we talked to groused at the amount of work they had to do to keep the household running. Marie, who stayed with her in-laws in Roscoff, commented that “Keeping a household of 8 people running is hardly a vacation” and contrasted this duty with her annual family vacation with friends, which took much less work. Monique le Roux and Anna both felt constrained by their grandchildren’s needs. Although they prioritized them unhesitatingly, both longed for more flexibility to manage their

days. Marie expressed a desire for more technology in the second home; “I spend a lot more time doing the dishes here (by hand) than I do at home” and Mme Peron, at the end of a summer during which she had hosted a rotating series of grandchildren (the Perons had 12 children) exclaimed “I feel like I’m running an inn”. She had a vacation planned afterwards to recover. As new appliances come into play – washers, dryers, dishwashers - the expectations of household care also rise (Schwartz Cowan 1985). Such is certainly the case here; without access to hot water, for example, I doubt Anna’s grandson would have been bathed daily, or that clothes would have been washed so frequently.

The work involved in keeping the household running emphasizes the ways in which this nostalgic view of the world reflects traditional family structures, hierarchies and power relationships. The activities are heavily gendered. The women are the ones who take on the organizing responsibility and do much of the work to enable this lifestyle. Men do much of the maintenance of the home. For example, Monique’s husband Guy le Roux, a retired pipefitter living in Brest, drives the 45 minutes to his second home on a regular basis throughout the winter. This house, a converted fisherman’s cottage, had granite walls on which mold will grow if it is left unattended over the winter. The le Roux have a heater and dehumidifier on throughout the “off-season” to keep the house habitable. In Russia chopping wood for the stove is a job in itself. But men do not generally engage in the same amount of day to day work as women do in regards to second homes.

Traditional gender roles are also called into play when deciding who does what work. Artiom chops wood because “that’s what real men do,” and generally speaking, men took the “fixing” role, and initiated “hunting and gathering” expeditions for mushrooms or shrimp. Gardens seemed to be a neutral zone – tended by whichever family member was most interested in them. Women owned “making the house a home”, decorating and maintaining the house, viewed as traditional “mother’s work.” This split, although consistent in families composed of both genders, is also a nostalgic recreation; it is not a reflection of the shared workload more typical of traditional, rural household structures of the past (Coontz 2000 [1992]; Schwartz Cowan 1985). By recreating what is, for many of these regions and periods, a “historically incorrect” gendered workload distribution, second home owners are engaging with, but also modifying, the past. In the next section, I will discuss the challenges that such authenticity, or lack thereof, poses.

Authenticity

I argue that the families’ vision of the past is not a true nostalgia, which I define as a longing for a past within one’s own memory. The past many of the families we spoke to are attempting to recreate is not their own. The French families were not returning to family homes; the Russian dachas were recently built, and the Australians were moving into county towns from outside; why, then, this yearning

for an imagined past? We can tease out the answers by looking at the exceptions to the “not-my-memory” rule.

The Perons were one such exception. One of their summer homes had been in the family since the 16th century, and they still proudly point out the round “meurtière” window ancestors put in, to be able to shoot and repel English invaders – while mentioning the lovely English gentleman who lives down the lane. Their eldest daughter and her husband, a Navy admiral, are in their fifties and use it as a summer home. Once the Navy assignments that have kept them moving are over, they plan to live there full time in retirement. They had just finished renovating it, keeping the old stone walls exposed as much as possible, and commented on the difficulties of maintaining the old infrastructure elements while upgrading the house’s comfort. The new house by the shore was built in the 1920s by the current owner’s father. Guillaume Peron, the current owner, is a fit-looking retired manager in his 80s. It is still known locally as “le pouf” (the whorehouse), as it was commandeered to serve in that capacity by the German army during WWII. The Peron’s discourse about the house is also much less idealized – they complained about the quality of the plumbing and the work needed to keep up an old house.

Likewise, Yana’s family has vacationed at their dacha since the 1940s, when her great-grandfather, a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, was granted it by the government. It lies in Komarovo, a prestigious intellectuals’ dacha community, which is older, less than an hour from St. Petersburg by train,

and within walking distance of both the Gulf of Finland and a lake. The dacha is a beautiful wood building, set in a large plot of open forest. To Yana's dismay, the family had to sell part of the land, and a large, new stone dacha, nicknamed "the (train) carriage" for its shape, is being built very close to theirs, ruining the dacha's atmosphere and forcing them to build a new veranda. When the family patriarch died, the children kept the dacha in the family. Each of the aunts/uncles has a couple of rooms in the house, with the kitchen and bath shared. This arrangement mirrors the communal apartments in the city. Like the Perons, Yana is realistic about what can and cannot be done at the dacha; for example, despite its closeness to the city, it is not usable in the winter, as it takes the old ceramic furnace half a day to get the building warmed up, and that is too hard on the children. People whose second homes had been in the family for decades are realistic rather than nostalgic about aged construction and the upgrades, changes and maintenance "old houses" require.

In contrast, most of the families had acquired or began using their second homes more recently – typically in the 70s or 80s. So the period they are evoking - an "ahistorical" blend of several time periods (Coontz 2000 [1992]), but always a more rural, pre-industrial past - predates their presence in the second home. Indeed, it sometimes predates the home entirely. Because the past they are evoking is not one that they lived, it might be more accurate to speak of an idealized view of the past, rather than of nostalgia for it. No one, clearly, imagined the past as a harsh or ugly place. In fact, there were clear delimitations on what kind of past families were nostalgic for. In Russia, the two dates always

brought up in conversation were memories of bitter times; WWII and the siege of Leningrad, with its attendant death and starvation, and perestroika, where employees went unpaid and the certainties of Soviet life were replaced with the unsettled, messy transition to democracy. Clearly, neither of these times were the ones people longed for. Instead, pre- or post-war times were evoked as more agreeable. Similarly, in France, the rural references refer to times no later than the interwar period, the period in which Brittany's rural began. The nostalgic reference to a golden age is constant, but the exact time period varies according to the region in question.

This notion of authenticity, and the need to invoke it, ties back to some of the tourist discussions we have seen (Shiner 1994) and opens the question of what is an acceptable object of nostalgia, since the second home owners are quite clearly not bound to "historical exactitude" in their search for this feeling. I would argue that in this case, the important item is for them to feel that their home or activities are authentic enough, regardless of what the actual case may be, a point I will expound on in the discussion following.

Discussion

Nostalgia was a constant everywhere I went. Its contents, however, changed from place to place and over time. I argue that nostalgia does not have to look back too far to be valid. For example, Alan bemoaned the loss of the sense of community he loved at the Milang shacks during his lifetime. He feels

that the neighborhood feeling has faded – not only because Lake Alexandrina’s shores have receded from the shacks due to a drought, but also because there are more “temporary” inhabitants and because people have more options to spend their spare time. In effect, he admits that the sense of community he so valued might have been constrained by opportunity or means, and that its rules might not be welcomed by all the vacationers.

There were similar fractures in other views of the past; the past which is evoked is not a complete one. Families are, to quote the SCA (Society for Creative Anachronism), creating the past “as it should have been”, shorn of discomfort and hardship, and leaving by the wayside some of the constraints attendant to the lifestyles people look back upon. The women who bring up the workload involved in making the summer home work for the entire family highlight the work this nostalgic lifestyle creates for them. I argue that gender roles are the point at which this rupture between daily life and the imagined past is most visible.

Such a dichotomy between ideal and reality is unsustainable in the long run, but it may also be one of the elements of the second home’s appeal: a time-bounded commitment to the past. Making second homes into “real” homes would throw these contradictions between nostalgic ideal and reality into sharp relief and challenge the ideal of past life. The second home would become “just a home,” embedded in the day-to-day minutiae of life – nice, perhaps, but hardly embodying the appeal that second homes hold today. A second home’s benefit

may be that it is separated from the everyday, and so allows families, for a time at least, to mix and match the best of both worlds.

The less idealistic view of long time homeowners underlines how key nostalgia is to the second home mystique. In truth, as Peter Mayle pointed out (Mayle 1992), owning a second home is, at least in the west (Russian dachas are an entirely different proposition), an illogical move from a financial standpoint. One should, logically, choose to rent. The appeal of second homes is not, however, a rational one; it is emotional, and this connection to the past is an essential element of the home's appeal for its inhabitants. Nostalgia, in other words, is as much a necessity to second homes as family and friends, or a good location. Trying to divorce it from the homes would gut their value as surely as would moving them to the city.

Nostalgia is thus a key component of the second home; we will see in the next chapter that it also underpins what is perhaps the second home's most important function; that of allowing residents to create an identity specific to the second home.

Chapter III - Identity

The thing that stuck me most forcibly when comparing main and second homes is how different they seemed. There was no sense that the same person lived in both, and I certainly could not have picked out someone's aesthetic preferences by looking for commonalities between the two homes.

Russia was, to some degree, the exception since dachas are furnished with hand-me-downs from city residences; everywhere else, there was clearly a "vacation aesthetic" and a "home aesthetic." In addition to this aesthetic aspect, the nostalgia I have highlighted in the previous chapter and the different behaviors people engage in at their second homes, there are a few more relevant differences between main and second homes. The work people engage in to maintain their homes, the ways in which they represent themselves, and the fact that people perceive themselves to be "different" when they are at their second homes lead me to conclude that there is a different identity being created in second homes. My respondents consciously reinforced this different identity as

one mechanism to escape their everyday (city) routine and its constraints. The second home was a place where a different part of oneself can take the lead, and different needs can be fulfilled.

In this chapter, I will look at how the changing identities that I see between homes reinforce or challenge existing theories of identity defined along the lines of class (Bourdieu 1984, Ortner 2003), nation (Anderson 1991), or gender (Butler 1990). I will look at notions of aesthetics and national identity, the perception of difference in second homes, the notion of “serious work” as a means to a second home, and finally close with a summary of the ways in which a second identity is created and expressed in second homes.

Theoretical discussion: Identity

Although everyday life reinforces the notion of a single, fixed identity - materialized in the written identification papers we all carry - anthropological theory has moved beyond. Whether inspired by postmodern views of exceedingly flexible identities, in which a different identity is taken on in different contexts, inspired by Foucault’s notion of subjectivity, an identity shaped in part by surveillance and control of society, or tying back to Freud’s and Lacan’s view of identity created through others’ eyes, there is a common theme of identity as flexible, evolving, and multi-faceted.

The idea of multiple subjectivities that come into play in different parts of one's life provides a starting point to think about how people manage different identities in different homes. However, one element is helpful in scanning through these identities and grounding them in reality. If they are all flexible and evolving, how can we use them for analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000)? The idea of an identity that is not only voluntarily chosen, but also based in practice (Bentley 1987; Brubaker and Cooper 2000) may help explain why some of these identities, whose adoption creates a certain amount of work, retain such a powerful emotional pull: they are both conscious and unconscious. In this particular case, several theoretical models can usefully be put into play to analyze the observations made in second homes.

The first model is the notion of located identity, or one grounded in place. Place presupposes a sense of identity. In contrast, space simply connotes a set of geographic coordinates. The first acts as an emotional reference as well as a purely physical one: an additional dimension to the GPS coordinates, so to speak. Place shapes one's role; it is a particular space charged with specific meaning and impact (Bourdieu 2000 (1972); Ingold 2001; Low 2002). This sense of located identity is extended in notions of national identity based on origin in a specific area, and in diasporas, where the thread of a common origin is the binding factor (An Tour Tan 2007; Anderson 1991; Clifford 1994; Felton 2004; Tréanton 1995; Whitaker 2004).

The second model is the idea that identities are created in opposition to one another to serve different purposes. Thus, for example, the Maya artisans in Guatemala city managed two identities to optimize the outcome of engagements with different constituencies: Maya Indians to the tourists, but artisans to the city authorities who controlled the market in which they worked (Little 2004). Although these identities are not explicitly exclusive, it would be detrimental to use the “native” identity when dealing with state functionaries. This strategic use of identities to achieve specific goals is visible in interactions between tourists and indigenous groups as well (Hoskins 2002; Shiner 1994; Urry 2002; Volkman 1990).

The notion of a traditional identity can also usefully be explored. With Said, I note that ethnic identities linked to “others” are defined as contrasting and inferior to the dominant western paradigm, often in ahistorical images, or fantasies (1979). From inferior, these ethnic identities have been re-appropriated and assigned new meaning. In addition to the tourist examples mentioned above, which certainly carried a notion of geographic as well as aesthetic “otherness,” there have been rediscoveries of local heritages, which are revalued as representatives of nostalgia. Witness the value associated with “Irishness” in Irish pubs in Germany (O'Carroll 2005), or the revaluation of Breton identity, once dismissed in the popular press as rustic and stupid (Dantec and Éveillard 2001) and now, in many ways, an attractive, forward looking, indeed trendy identity (An Tour Tan 2007; Le Coadic 1998). Australia also carried this notion forward; what has historically been the less forward-looking portion of the country (White 1981)

– the county towns in particular – are now looked to as the place to go. Markers of rusticity have become “cool.” It is worth noting here that notions of tradition are often invoked as being constant and demonstrating continuity, in contrast to the rapid pace of change and the discontinuities imposed by modern life (Hall 1992). The reinvention of tradition as “cool” may be a solution to reintegrate tradition in a way that is meaningful to modern life, a new, and functional, twist on the “defensiveness” of strong local identity production.

The contrasting markers of main and second homes extend to the manner in which work is managed. Balfe (2001) looks at a specific subset of such cultural identity in her study of summer houses in New England. The Protestant work ethic (Weber 1958) to which many of her informants’ ancestors subscribed was a key factor in the decision to acquire a summer home, as well as in its design; one of their goals, acknowledged or not, was to teach children the work ethic that was no longer required year round for family survival. In other words, the notion that a summer house exists for relaxation is paradoxically linked to the ongoing work that it requires – and this heritage lives on today in the work of maintaining the house. The pleasure of spending the summer at the summer house is paid for by the discipline, financial and otherwise, required to keep it up; it is, to build on Ortnier’s “serious games” concept (1996), “serious leisure.”

This approach is not an isolated focus; Chaplin’s work on British homeowners in France (Chaplin 1999) also calls out the productive work of making a home as “serious leisure.” These second homes are often houses that

need to be restored, then maintained, not only for physical comfort, but also to create the memories and family environment for which they were often purchased. The homeowners spend as much time working on their houses as they do “at work” elsewhere, but it is perceived very differently. It is a return to the balance they have lost in their everyday lives rather than an imposed effort. Such work creates a sense of accomplishment and new skills acquired rather than of work per se – again, a return to a past where such work was valued.

Respondents also articulated the importance of separating oneself from the “normal,” and of the rituals which bracket the arrival and departure from vacation homes. Like Chaplin’s expats, they value the ability to “escape” their everyday lives, although the change is a 2-hour drive to the coast or the mountains, rather than a more noticeable change to another country. This drive is an escape from driven, stressful lives; the second home is perceived as a place to “hang out,” a place where a different set of “domestic rituals” can be played out. These rituals often hark back to a pre-industrial balance of consumption and production (Chaplin 1999). These rituals of escape, which fit into the framework of ritual transformation from state to state (Turner 1967) fit into the model of other domestic rituals such as those of entry and exit described in Rosselin’s study of a Parisian hall (1999) or in Miller’s study of the ritual of shopping (1998). In all cases, these rituals mark the entrance and exit of “another place”; in this case, a door into the place to express another identity.

Work on second homes focuses – understandably – on their leisure aspect, articulated, along with a classification of home types, in a 2005 analysis of the European second home market (Ball 2005). Although Struyk’s review of Russian dacha (1996), only touches on the theme, Chaplin expands on the notion of second homes as places of simultaneous escape and production. In her example, the work required to keep up second homes and the rituals associated with them are integral to the separation from everyday life that gives them value. This theme recurs in Balfe’s work on second homes on the US east coast; working on a house enhances one’s appreciation of it (1995). Balfe also touches on the importance of such houses to one’s identity, but this idea is fully developed in Chevalier’s overview of the French second home as a physical incarnation of family identity (1999).

The notion of “cultural capital” (Bourdieu 1984) seems particularly relevant to the study of heritage and identity. In Bourdieu’s work, one’s cultural position is in part defined by the “cultural capital” one possesses; the knowledge, often implicit, that is passed on through families, as well as the indirect markers of class and rank. In this context, the possession of a “summer house” is a way of binding the family closer to its cultural identity, and demonstrating its knowledge capital, as well as the capital outlay for its acquisition. The loss of a summer home is a betrayal of one’s heritage, as well as a loss in rank. This reaction is consistent with the perception of one’s cultural identity being sold off - an unforgivable act, and one which may slowly break up family ties (Balfe 1995). It

also ties to the theme of “remembered” home articulated in Mallett’s overview of the literature (2004).

The observations I made in Russia, France, Australia and the US certainly reinforce the notion of contrasting identities. There was a very clear sense of a second home identity defined “in contrast” to one’s main home, but also in contrast to the constraints associated with such a home: the rigid scheduling imposed by a job, the business of city life, the lack of time for quality relationships. Instead of defining one’s identity in contrast to others, as is often the case, I argue that our participants defined multiple identities as a function of place. The nostalgia for a more relaxing time and place expresses itself in the creation of an identity that supports that ideal, but also in the acceptable tradeoffs of time and space in second homes. In return for more time, second home residents are willing to trade off decreased space. In return for purer relationship to nature, they are willing to trade “modern” conveniences or workload. Especially in older houses, such as Forest Service cabins on the slopes of Mt Hood, ownership requires a level of maintenance and work (e.g. chopping wood for the stove, ongoing repairs and frostproofing) that cannot be contracted out. In contrast, newer coastal developments have a high availability of maintenance services. They are, in effect, displaying the contrast between leisure time “to be” and leisure as work.

Aesthetics

“We would not showcase those things in town” was a comment I heard repeated in Brittany when I commented on the prevalence of traditional Breton items in second homes. That was the first indication that there was a specific aesthetic in second homes, distinct from that of main homes. This feeling was later borne out when, in going to the local librairie [bookstore], I found a series of decorating books focused not only on second homes, but on second homes on the coast (there were others focused on the mountains, or on country or city areas);

- The House of our Holidays (La maison de nos vacances) (Sibuet 2005)
- Seaside Deco (dandco bord de mer) (Saharoff and Zamboni 2006)
- The House in its Region : Brittany (La maison dans sa région ; la Bretagne) (Stein 1990)
- Decor by Region: Brittany (Style Bretagne – déco régions) (Saharoff, et al. 2006)
- The Soul of Breton Houses (L'âme des maisons bretonnes) (Le Goaziou 2002)
- Brittany in Objects (La Bretagne en objets) (Caraminot and Plazy 2003)

This notion of a regional décor was clearly a decorating theme, and unlike other themes I have seen, people were actually taking such ideas on, or if not these ideas, then others similar to them. There was a distinct aesthetic difference between the main homes and second homes in Brittany; the difference was

consistent enough, and similar enough, to indicate that this decor was an overarching theme, linked to second homes rather than to the region. It was, perhaps, a case of playing out one's "taste" (Bourdieu 1984) by showing one understands the expectations of a second home in the area.

Second homes consistently reflected aesthetics either linked to the coast, with use of varnished wood, bright blues and whites recalling the sea, maritime motifs in the décor or in the structure of rooms, steel cables to recall rigging, and plants such as hydrangeas typically found by coastal cottages, in addition to the more common geraniums. Even when it would have been more convenient to upgrade items such as wooden shutters to a modern steel rolling version, many coastal homes keep the traditional items, which swing out to lock against the wall by the window. Brightly painted, they are a stark contrast to the white or grey house walls and black slate roofs common in Brittany.

On occasion, for example in Anne Marie's small condo, which was laid out in a very modern fashion and did not really allow for a fully fledged coastal décor, ideas from other coastal regions were pulled in. Anne Marie had travelled a great deal, and the white walls of her patio reminded her of Greece, so she consciously brought in the blue-and-white aesthetic of the Greek isles to her space, hanging art and purchasing fabrics which reinforced the concept. She relied on a different source of cultural capital, in this case: "travel rather than tradition, but I suspect the aesthetic provided much the same impact.

The other major decorating theme visible in Brittany, and the one to which the introductory sentence in this section refers, is that of “bretonnerie.” Because coastal Brittany is largely dependent on the tourist industry, many shops and town resources tap into the region’s distinct Breton identity by using traditional motifs, colors, and furniture types as part of the décor; lit-clos [traditional beds enclosed in a carved wooden armoire, often repurposed for linens in modern homes] , Quimper pottery, and Celtic motifs such as triskellions.

The motifs even show up in such non-traditional areas as sportswear; Brest-based Breizh Punisher’s specializes in garments which play upon traditional Breton themes in trilingual (French/Breton/English) jokes (Figure 5). Their “mascot” is Raymonde (Figure 6), a young woman wearing a traditional coiffe from the Pays Bigouden - and carrying a surfboard. This image provides a stark contrast to the traditional, very covering, heavily embroidered costume – and to the social constraints which made even conservative swimsuits an impossibility until after WW2 (Dantec and Éveillard 2001)



Figure 5: Menhirs Black/Men in Black – a tri-lingual play on words and on both US movie culture and Breton tradition (wine corkscrew references Brittany’s high per-capita alcohol consumption, shears the peasant and druid traditions)



Figure 6: Raymonde, the untraditional Bigoudène mascot for the “Breizh Punisher’s” (sic) brand.

This use of Breton identity as a selling point for the region was not unexpected. I did not, however, expect to see the same behavior for individuals, especially since for most of those we spoke to, their main homes were in the same region. Logically, if they wanted “Breton” decor, they could have it year-

round. But they clearly did not do so; their main homes could have been lifted from any middle-class French home, controlling for age and income. Thus, the “Breton” décor was very much about second homes, rather than about being in Brittany. Marie and Jean-René, a couple in their late 40s had a comfortable home in Rennes, the traditional capital of Brittany, with cherry wood furniture, and a table large enough to seat them, their three boys and the little girl Marie nannies. In Jeanne’s home, the furniture and art reflected her past as part of the city of Lannion’s economic establishment, when she and her husband, a successful builder, had bought art from local artists such as Morinay and Le Bras early on. Now a widow, as she put it “I could not afford those pictures now!” and her furniture reflected corresponding taste and funding. Anne Marie’s town condo reflected her travels, with fabrics from south Asia and matting inspired by the region decorated the walls, and with knick-knacks and sculptures a mix of family pieces and art brought back from her travels. The le Roux main home had a classic French décor, with comfortably upholstered furniture in light colors, and coordinated striped wallpaper.

When it came to second homes, however, things changed. The le Rouxs could not fit much traditional furniture into their small home, as such pieces tend towards the massive; without closets, lit-clos, banc-clos and armoires acted as de facto room dividers and were correspondingly substantial. They did have a dresser with display rails, and on it were balanced a series of antique local porcelain plates. A starched traditional coiffe was on display, as was an old map of the world, which contrasted nicely with the granite walls of the house. The

map, which showed French territories worldwide in the interwar period, and reflected the traditional view that all Frenchmen, regardless of ethnic origin, have Gauls as ancestors (“Nos ancetres les Gaulois” was a traditional history lesson) (Burke III 2002) certainly support Anderson’s notion of an imagined community (Anderson 1991) defined by the ways in which it talks about its past.

Anne-Marie, as already mentioned, had not chosen a Breton theme, but had definitely selected a coastal theme to reflect the beach just a few minute’s walk from her house. The blue and white color theme was very cheerful in Brittany’s sometimes-limited sunshine, and had the additional benefit of unifying the small space. Jeanne had added both a few traditional touches of porcelain (in this case a tea set) as well as highlighting the more maritime of her pictures in the living room. Lastly, the Perons did not so much change the décor – the house had been in the family too long to do that – as allow it to be invaded by sailing gear (for boats and windsurfers of various kinds) brought in by various family members. They also played up the coastal theme by having door identifiers for the rooms which were painted with pictures of local seabirds; puffins, seagulls, and gavinias.

In the other regions I visited, the tie to a “traditional identity” was not so broadly shared. Despite this lack of focus, second homes were significantly different from main ones from an aesthetic perspective. This point held true even in Russia, which had the most constraints in this domain. In Russian dachas, there was a sense of greater light and space than in main homes. Although the

dacha was smaller, it often felt less crowded than the family's portion of the city apartment, as there was only a summer's worth of stuff, rather than the needs of a family year round. Furniture was also more dated; in the West, one might see Ikea furniture at a summer house, but in Russia one was more likely to see it in a main home such as Tatyana's, as it was connoted as "modern". Dacha furniture tended towards 60s models.

In the US, homes were decorated to "fit into" their environment. On the coast, that meant bright, ocean inspired blues and greens, Mexican fish pottery in the bathroom and fish sculptures on the wall, wicker furniture, a telescope to watch the stars and the passing ships, a window seat to curl up in, as well as rooms that took advantage of natural lights and views, and a traditional (cedar shake/white trim) coastal architecture. In the mountains, fitting in meant a cabin whose décor was stripped down to essentials; wood paneled walls, wooden furniture, Pendleton blankets, a big black stove, and skis and poles against the wall as only additions. In both cases, the owners made a conscious effort to match the décor to the location. The corresponding main homes were, in one case a 1950s ranch with "grad students-meets-danish-teak" furnishings, and in the other a Victorian home with a modern aesthetic behind its leaded-glass windows. Clearly, one of the consequences of second home ownership was the subordination of one's taste to the house's environment, or to the expectations of second homes in one's social circle.

This taste constraint is, perhaps, one of the markers of class consumption touched on by Charles, et al; conspicuous consumption declines as wealth increases, to be replaced by more discreet, “coded” purchases that are less externally visible (2009). This goal may drive the choice of traditional décor for second homes, rather than more eye catching options. Certainly, the choices made in second home décor by the household in each country tell us something about what they are signaling to others (Bourdieu 1984) and how they see their social identity, especially since consumption has, in some ways, replaced production as a marker of class (Carrier and Heyman 1997; Miller 1998). Beyond signaling identity, consumption, especially of large items like homes, also gives insights to the constraints under which households operate, and therefore to their class. As I will later discuss, further investigation of this area could be fruitful.

In Australia, the sense of a traditional identity is more complex. In South Australia, the traditional indigenous keepers of the Coorong, the estuary around the Murray mouth are the Ngarrindjeri, but this tradition is clearly not what many sea-changers in transition to the city are harkening back to. Rather, they invoke the Victorian/Federation period that saw the industrialization and development of the region, when Milang became a transshipment hub for the region. Again, the contrast between the Victorian interior of Rose Cottage, and the much more modern interior of the family’s home – with an overstuffed couch, recliners and modern table and chairs, or between the “shipshape” interior of the cabins rented out in the campsites and the interior of the owners’ home is striking. Like the contrast between the shacks and Alan’s house in Milang (which we were not able

to visit), the different environment plays a key role in defining the state of the second home. Tying back to the notion of practices as a root of identity, (Brubaker and Cooper 2000), the different environment in which these two identities are created certainly reinforces the (different) behaviors expected of, and consequent identities of their inhabitants in different venues. Interestingly enough, they were very conscious of this difference and were able to articulate it to me, as explored in the next section.

I feel different here...

One of the things that came through very strongly in conversations with the families we visited was how differently they felt in their second homes. This difference went beyond the obvious conclusion that second homes were more relaxing than first ones, and hinted at something deeper, a contrast to the city. Oxana, for example, said “When I come here, I feel like a child again. All the vistas and views are the same as they were when I was small, the trees are in the same place...it makes me feel safe.” Polina articulated that “at the dacha, I feel a sense of peace that I do not find elsewhere.”

More specifically, in Russia, the dacha gave a sense of peace and security not felt elsewhere; people saw the difference between homes not as an aesthetic choice, but an emotional one. A dacha is the place that is really one’s own, where one feels at home (Artiom), in contrast to the shared space and looming conflict of a communal apartment. The different mind space that is

occupied by the dacha is epitomized in the conversation with Sergei, Inna and their family. When asked “what they liked best about their house” in the city, they looked blank, asked me to repeat the question, and after much discussion, concluded they had never thought about it; “you do not like or dislike where you live, you live with what you have.” In contrast, when asked what they liked about their dacha, they were able to articulate its benefits; “dachas are signs of freedom and creativity.” And “the main gables (their dacha, built in 1914 had intricate gingerbread work on the gables) and [...] the possibility to leave the city, the smog. To breathe.” This sense of pride and ownership, as well as the notion of dachas as a safe, peaceful haven certainly creates the framework for people to feel different in their dachas than they do in their main homes. This (uniformly positive) feeling plays into the sense that dachas are a special, separate sphere – and that they are worth time and effort to maintain.

In France and in the US, the distinction was not so stark, perhaps because main home living conditions were not so stress-inducing. In these countries, the feeling of difference was more tightly linked to memories of childhood. People linked second homes with going back to places where one had grown up, or the calming sense of a familiar routine similar to that of one’s childhood. Familiarity and stability were called out, and in one US example there was a conscious sense of trying to create a specific environment and experience for one’s children, to shape them in similar ways one had been shaped. In this case, Portland informants expressed quite clearly the fact that they were purchasing a second home to transmit to their children something they themselves had

experienced and valued: an inheritance, and a part of their identity. Jerry, in Portland, was at his most animated - and angry - when he talked about the sale of his childhood family home. Twenty years later, the wounds were still raw. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, physically expressed in the second home, is a viscerally important gift, with impact well beyond the financial capital invested in it.

“Earning” the Right to a Second Home

The enjoyment people expressed in their second homes sometimes came at a cost, especially for the mothers or grandmothers in the household, who did most of the work of making the second home not only habitable, but agreeable. Marie for example, said “the real relaxing vacation is when we go to Burgundy (camping) for a few weeks, with friends. We hike, we buy wine, we talk...there is no obligation, everyone can do whatever he or she wants.” She contrasted this freedom with the work required to make their second vacation home “work” and keep everything running; although she clearly loved returning to her childhood home, and appreciated having the time to read in the veranda (sunroom), keeping a traditional home running took much more time and effort – a specific investment she was willing to make. Again, we see a variation on Ortner's notion of “serious games” come into play, with “serious leisure”; the commitment and investment to obtain the benefits of the second home.

As I mentioned, Guy was also willing to make the time and effort investment to drive down during the winter to check on the house. In fact, it was much smaller than his initial investment; after buying the house and its lot in 1972, he spent several years fixing it up. A traditional granite fisherman's house, it had been abandoned as the sardine industry, once the economic heart of le Guilvinec (and no doubt responsible for the town's reputation as a bastion of worker's rights) declined. The house was built to withstand winter weather; the small doors and windows opened away from the coast and its dominant winds, and it followed the traditional Breton layout of a central passageway with rooms on either side on the ground floor, and a series of small rooms, almost cubbies, up a steep stairway at the end of the hall.

During the years he worked on the house, and until it became inhabitable, the family holidayed at their new property in a caravan (trailer) parked in what would later become the garden. Monique le Roux mentioned that one of the happiest days of her life was when they could move from the caravan into the house. By then, her husband, a pipe-fitter by trade, had redone the electrical and plumbing systems, installed a new kitchen and bathroom, moved several walls, reinsulated the roof, put in French doors to the garden, and redone the wallpaper. By the time I visited, the garden had received the same level of care, and Guy was proud of his kiwis, asparagus and tomatoes. Although they would make a substantial profit if they sold the house, given the home's history and proximity to the center of town and the beach, the le Rouxs were quite emphatic

about never selling the house. It was the most effort they had ever put into a project, and its value went well beyond the financial.

Alan delighted in fixing up his space and proudly showed off the many improvements, including a shower and shelving, that he had made to the shack over the years. Alan also fits into the mold of second home owners who invest not only funds, but sweat equity into their homes. Likewise, the Russian garden plot dachas - constructed by their owners rather than by professionals - represented a huge investment of time and energy. Antosha laughed when he recounted the building of his dacha, “The first year, I worked so hard....I would come out in winter and build in the snow. The first (ground) floor was done, so I slept there. I was young then.” He and Natalya shared memories of sourcing hard to get materials from scrap yards or job sites, then finagling transport to get them out to the dacha plots (since neither of them had cars at the time, although Antosha has since acquired an orange Lada. Building a dacha clearly required keeping an eye out for things which could be useful – a sense I suspect was highly developed after dealing with the irregular consumer goods flow of the Soviet era.

Guy, Antosha, or Alan were all well qualified to tackle these challenges. What surprised me most was the willingness of people who were not particularly well prepared for a sideline in building, to jump in. Natalya, for example, learned some things on the fly to get her dacha built, and negotiated hard with an army of “suppliers” to do the things she could not, from transport to framing. She clearly

wished she had had more time and resources. When asked what her regret about the dacha was, she replied “the chimney” (it was crooked). Likewise, in Australia, Audrey and Rob, the owners of Rose Cottage, tackled some substantial renovations, not only of the interior, to make the décor match the image they wished to project, but also of the garden (with less success, given the drought and impact of Australian weather on rosebushes). Likewise, the owners of caravan parks and motels in and around Milang all consciously planned continued investment in fixing up their spaces, not only to maintain the value of their investment, but also as a matter of pride. Each of them focused not only on what they intuitively did well but also on the less familiar, for example repainting the motel in bright primary colors, as well as redecorating the rooms for Georgia, the Milang motel owner. These efforts are not easy for the homeowners, who will proudly share them with friends or interviewers as measures of personal achievement.

This investment of time and energy reflects both the importance that people attach to their second homes and the notion, highlighted in the literature, that the role of second home owner must be earned. This role was one of the few places where I saw a difference between owners and renters. Renters, although they appreciated the homes and valued them, did not have a deeply felt commitment to home improvement, although I also noticed that dachniki who held long term leases on their dachas behaved increasingly like owners. Owners considered that the work they put into their homes – whether in maintaining them during the year, or the work during the summer to make them into the “ideal

homes” that they aspire to create for their families – to be an integral part of the ownership experience. It is a part of the experience they have mixed feelings about. Some portions are fun, some less so, often depending on what people like to do. Still people get enough out of the effort to continue it. The dividends come in family happiness, certainly, but also, I suspect in “boasting rights”. When one has accomplished difficult (at least for our owners) maintenance work, one can boast about it and, in some ways, showcase skills not usually called upon: accumulation of another sort of cultural capital, as well.

Guy was incredibly proud of his garden; although it was work, he does not have this kind of space in the city and really enjoys the work. He is also justifiably proud of his ability to maintain the house. In contrast, Colette and Jerry, a dual-career Portland couple in their mid-thirties, contract out much of the work to maintain an Oregon Coast beach house exposed to the wind and sea air. They see the effort to maintain the house as a chore to get through and manage rather than any source of amusement, although they do take pride in getting the maintenance done remotely, and serving on various boards and committees set up by the community homeowner’s association. Homeowners commit time and money in support of maintaining their second home. In return, they get a place for family vacations, but also increased boasting rights and, at least in the US, with its paucity of second homes, increased visibility of their status.

This observation falls in line with what I see in the daily maintenance efforts, and the work required to keep the second homes running; it is a

nuisance, but it is necessary, so owners put in the effort to enjoy the benefits of second homes. The time investment can range from things that happen daily to more occasional work. Marie, Fanny (Guillaume's energetic wife), Monique and Georgina, a former accountant and the owner of Milang's only motel, all expressed a certain level of frustration at the amount of work required to maintain things on a daily basis. As Georgina put it, "I hate cleaning. You never get to take advantage of it, and then you go back and do it all over again the next day." This frustration is exacerbated by the often reduced capabilities available at the summer homes; cooking and cleaning for visiting grandchildren is more of a chore when there's no dishwasher to take care of the dishes (Marie), or when the drying clothes take longer to dry on clotheslines inside the garage because it is raining outside. And the fact that the second home may be hosting a rotating roster of grandchildren, friends and visitors make it a more complex house management problem. The host cannot just leave the laundry for another day when the clothes belong to owners who will be leaving the next morning. Although much of the work of daily home care falls to women, it is not an exclusive subject. Antosha, in Russia, fulfilled this role in his dacha, preparing many of the meals and ensuring that his grandson was taken care of and accounted for. He clearly found it less fulfilling than his "real work" – the inventions he worked on when the rest of the household was asleep.

Despite their complaints about the work that needed to be done, none of the "home-makers" challenged the expectation that this work needed doing, and that it was valued, and indeed essential to the creation of a proper second home.

No-one, for example, recruited (or press-ganged) other household members into helping with the work, or ceased doing it. This effort was their contribution to a good summer, and again, “serious leisure.” Their work allowed them to reinforce their second home identity, by demonstrating their commitment to the effort.

Building on the many, and early, ethnographic works which describe gift practices (Benedict 1989; Cronk 1997; Lévi-Strauss 1967; Malinowski 1929) this effort, their gift to the household, went beyond in establishing their importance making the summer successful and also created a reciprocal obligation from family and guests. The summer effort contributed to the women’s relative power in their families, which seemed well established.

Interestingly, given the similarities in second and main home work – its sometimes repetitive nature, the types of repairs needing to be done, or the sense of contributing to a family effort – second home work is perceived radically differently from main home work. In second homes, the work, embedded as it is in this different space, aesthetic and feeling, is not identified as such; it is part and parcel of the experience. In contrast, main homes, with their web of externally imposed obligations and constraints, the different schedules of family members, and inflexible daily schedules, are perceived as more quotidian, grayer, and an obligation, exchange or trade (Cronk 1997) rather than a gift.

Rituals

There was less complaining about the equally constraining but less frequent processes to “set up” or “shut down” the summer homes. The notion of a routine, a series of tasks necessary to move from year-round to second home, was found in each of the countries we studied, although Russia was the one where failing to complete it would have the greatest impact, given the severity of the winter weather. These tasks involved not only getting the second home up and running, but also, in some cases, shuttering the main home, marking the transition between places. Marie and Jean-René, for example, shut down the water and some of the electricity in Rennes, and commission elderly neighbors to watch their house when they leave. In addition to ensuring intervention if anything happens, the neighbors like to feel needed. The transition efforts have two major components; the first is preparing the house itself by ensuring that all of the infrastructure systems are ready to go, whether water, electricity or alarms. Often, and especially if the second home is loaned out to friends, this preparation takes the form of a checklist: things to turn on upon arrival, and off when leaving, as well as a set of house rules and appliance idiosyncrasies for temporary visitors (See Appendix C for an example).

The second major aspect of transition efforts concerns preparing the house’s residents for the move. In France and Russia, there are often clothes that are specifically reserved for second home use and stay there year-round; old, comfortable “dacha clothing” in Russia which, as Artiom put it, is “the old

clothing you take to the dacha and wear for 10 more years.” In France, it was activity-specific clothing, and both Marie’s parents and the Perons complained that the grandchildren’s accumulated fishing and sailing gear was taking up an ever-increasing amount of space in the garage or the shed. Beyond these items, the household needs to pack up whatever is necessary for a comfortable stay: food, clothing, books, housewares and so on. The amount varies according to whether the summer house is a rental or in the family’s possession; however, in each country there is a generally accepted set of possessions that are included in a rental home. The process of packing everyone into the car or train, and ensuring that every necessity is thought of, is work for the entire family.

Although these family transitions are constraining and demanding, they also mark of the beginning of the summer season and the door to something valued and important. Whether they take place weekly or once a season, these transitions were discussed very differently than the daily chores. They were “a ritual” that put Colette and her family in the right mindset to go to the summer house.

A new identity?

The notion of a ritual transition between main and second homes – whether the train ride and the walk from the station to the dacha, or the packing and preparation for the move – strongly supports the concept alluded to by the families we talked to, that of a different identity in second homes than in their

main residence. This transformation certainly fits with my observation during the study that people seemed different in their two homes. If this duality is indeed the case, how is this different identity represented? I have already touched on several of the aspects that lead me to the following conclusion.

First, the second home identity is marked with a recognized entry/exit point with an accompanying ritual of arrival and departure. This explicit transition between states, recognized by its participants who brought up the notion of “ritual” or “process,” implies that there is a difference between start and end point. This difference is a spatial one, certainly, but it goes well beyond that to evoke other transformations or transitions into a new state (Turner 1967).

As part of this new identity, residents created a different “set” in which their lives can play out. Most vividly, the aesthetics of main and second homes are different; items and trends that would be considered “passé” or unfashionable in main homes are celebrated in second homes. This celebration is particularly true of “old fashioned” items, which link the home’s inhabitants to the region’s past; and applies whether or not the family was actually a part of this past. Of course, families whose homes had been in the family for generations embraced the past, which was an integral part of their story, but new homeowner or renters integrate a past that was not a part of their story (as Artiom does) into their aesthetic. They learn the stories of the home to pass on to visitors or guests, and ensure that they fit into the norms and expectations of the prevailing aesthetic.

Tied to this notion of a prevailing aesthetic is the ways in which such an aesthetic reinforces or recalls norms and behaviors that can differ between

homes. Often, second homes are a place where behavioral norms are different than in first homes. Consistent with the notion of nostalgia explored earlier in this thesis, the behaviors encouraged in second homes harken back to an idealized past; one where families spent time together, where that time is spent in joint pursuits, conversation and enjoyment of each other. This contrasts starkly with the behaviors tolerated in main homes, where a home's inhabitants may have varying goals, agendas and timetables, where time together is limited, possibly rushed or unfulfilling. In Rennes, their main home, Marie and Jean-René are held to a tight schedule in the morning "In Rennes (their main home) we have the radio on in the morning, Jean-René's not a morning person and he does not like to have to talk to anyone!" In second homes, there is a consistent attempt to drive behaviors and activities that support and reinforce these long cherished ideas. In consequence, the families we spoke to were conscious of acting quite differently in second homes than in main ones, and of perceiving the second home activities as better and more agreeable. The norms to which people are held in their second homes are different. I suspect that they are more consistent, and certainly more internally influenced than the behaviors imposed or influenced by the outside during the year.

When children are involved, this set of specific behaviors is particularly pronounced; grandparents in particular are quite emphatic about wanting to create an environment and expectations that reinforce "good" or "proper" behavior for their grandchildren. In this case, the second home is viewed as an isolated microcosm, where an identity and its corresponding behaviors can be

molded away from the interference of a world which may undermine those norms. Although second homes are not, outside the US, markers of wealth per se, the desire to transmit a specific series of “appropriate” behaviors can be seen as a marker of class. In Bourdieu’s (1984) model, modified by Ortner (2003) grandparents are helping their families accumulate cultural capital to be successful.

As a consequence of the different behaviors expected in second homes, second home spaces are also differently managed. The difference is not only, as we have seen, an aesthetic one; it is also driven by the size and shape of second homes, which are most often smaller than primary residences. In effect, the second home is a more compressed stage upon which to play out one’s life. Size imposes a greater level of interaction with the other actors in the environment. As a consequence of these spatial differences and the behavior expectations, second homes spaces are used quite differently than those of first homes. Fewer private spaces, more activities taking place jointly in common spaces, and a greater integration of external spaces and nature – remember that these spaces are often the most valued in the home – into the flow of the day substantially change the way the day proceeds, where the day’s activities take place, and the amount of time people spend in different spaces; in particular, more activities take place in public rather than private spaces.

Technology use in second homes, constrained as it is by the behaviors inhabitants are trying to reinforce, also creates a different identity. Many of the objects, such as automobiles, that people own or use signal things about identity

(Charles, et al. 2009; Horowitz and Mohun 1998; Miller 1991); likewise, the ways in which we chose to use or not use items conveys much about how we wish to be perceived. Thus, the significantly different uses of technology in second homes is an intentional indicator by its users that they wish to be perceived as having different focuses or interests while they are in their second homes. In effect, differing technology use in second homes is, like the homes' aesthetics, a visual signal that "someone different lives here."

If, as many of us sometimes (unfortunately) feel, that work is a key element, if not the key element of our identity, the different notions of "home work" between the main and second homes, and the differing ways in which the same work activities are perceived between the two locations certainly support the notion that we have different identities in these two types of homes. In fact, I would argue that the amount of work people put into their second homes – to maintain them, to earn the right to enjoy them – speaks to the importance this identity of the "working second home owner" has for the families to which we spoke, and how important this "serious leisure," this practice of second homes, is to them.

As is to be expected, the activities that take place in second homes differ radically from those in first homes. This difference is certainly a function of the time of year in which the homes are used, and their function as a refuge away from the business of the rest of the year. Swimming, crabbing, or mushroom hunting are hard to do in the middle of a city. But over and above the vacation

element, the value given to different activities in second homes is also an indicator of their relative importance to identity.

Lastly and most importantly, the families I spoke to were quite emphatic that they felt differently in their second home than in their main one. I would argue that this difference showed in their interactions with us. They were more laid back, more relaxed, and in some ways seemed happier when sharing experiences or lunches with us at the second homes. In France, the teas or lunches provided were still outstanding, but they were lighter, easier to prepare items, and the cooks did not feel the need to apologize as they would have during the rest of the year. In Russia, the tension in main homes contrasted with the more relaxed, easygoing demeanor of dachniki; dachas were where one could relax, let down one's guard and show who one really was. In some ways, second homes allow people to showcase the best of themselves, the parts of their identity that do not always fit into the grind of the daily routine, leaving aside the mechanisms developed to deal with the rest of the world, the obligations incurred at one's job, the necessity of managing multiple and conflicting agendas.

Why an alternate identity?

By creating a space for people to showcase what they perceive to be their best selves, second homes act as a touchstone. They allow people to reconnect with parts of their lives for which the rest of the year, symbolized by their main homes, leave little time or space.

In creating a safe haven within which people can re-source or re-ground themselves, and confirm that they still have the capacity and ability to invoke this alternate identity that is often hidden from view during the year, the second home plays a vital role. Of course, it has an intrinsic value; depending on its location, it supplies valuable resources such as food supplies, peace and quiet or freedom from stress. It allows city dwellers to get back to the country, either as a return to a home village or in preparation for a transition away from city life as part of a sea change. It provides a new generation of children with the opportunity to engage in the rituals of (usually summer) activities: swimming, exploring the country-side, gathering mushrooms or berries as they ripen, sailing, clamming or fishing. For adults, they provide a break from the city routine, a literal and figurative breath of fresh air during the year.

This function of second homes is important, and certainly the cause of much of the joy and fond memories they generate. But this function could largely be fulfilled by other alternatives; a vacation to a hotel or, perhaps a “pension de famille” or a “Bed and Breakfast” (B&B) for a more informal environment.

I argue that second homes have a second role which is less visible, but perhaps more valuable; they are a stage on which people can express their alternate identities in a consistent manner. They do so on a stage that is within their control and that both frames and supports this creation; I cannot imagine trying to bring forward a repressed identity in the relative anonymity and impersonality of a hotel room, no matter how well designed or decorated. It would

simply be too hard to fit one's environment to support the identity, and there would be too many points of interference to maintaining the appropriate behaviors – whether those points of interference come from the infrastructure of the hotel (which may well advertise broad access to technologies families find undesirable) or, more likely and more importantly, from the other guests – who may or may not have the same goals or ideals of behaviors to follow. In the case of children, the feedback from their peers may offset or even override the efforts the rest of the family is making to reinforce appropriate behaviors or ideals.

This role of second homes also makes sense of the consistent findings we saw regarding the types of behaviors people engaged in while in their second homes. The notion of a space in which one can cultivate and nurture one's second identity - the one that is overridden by modern life - explains why so many of the study participants spoke of a nostalgic element in their discussion of second homes.

The second home is the place where this secret garden can be cultivated, where one can reach back to one's roots and reconnect with aspects of one's life which are too often overlooked. The very nature of the contrast between main and second homes – spatial, physical, aesthetic, activity-wise – enables and reinforces this transition. Like the Mexicans in Decena et al's work (Decena, et al. 2006) whose nostalgia for the home they left contrasts with the benefits they have acquired by emigrating, second home residents are torn between the benefits of their main identity and their secondary one. Unlike the migrant

workers, they have the ability to “code-switch” between the two at regular intervals; this flexibility may well reduce the tensions historically felt by diasporic communities who cling to a vision of their country rooted in the past – and are consequently shocked at the reality of changes in their home country upon their return (Raj 2003). By creating a second identity, second home owners can effortlessly switch between both states – and gain the benefit of each.

Crucially, their positioning between two homes creates the (self) consciousness of an alternative identity; all of our respondents recognized that they were not the same people in both their houses. If we accept that identity awareness is essential to the construction of alternate identities, and that this awareness comes out of disjunctures or ruptures (to harken back to the globalization point made in Hall (Hall 1992), but also (Bentley 1987)) then the second home is not only the focus of a second identity; it is its enabler.

The importance of identity work in second homes came as a pleasant surprise; it was certainly not what I anticipated when beginning the research. In the final chapter, I will now look at the practical applications of these findings to technology placement in the home, and to technology design.

Chapter IV - Technology and Space

One of my key goals in doing this research was to determine which technologies can be used, and are culturally appropriate to main homes and second homes. By doing so, I hoped to shed light on the more general question of which technologies are most acceptable for use in homes, and what, if any, constraints guide technology placement throughout the home. In this chapter, I will first touch on the logic of technology, how it is created, and how it overlays itself to homes. I will further show that technology, not being designed for homes, does not always fit well into the physical and social constraints of the home. I will then demonstrate that technology influences how space is organized in a home, and that it does so differently in second homes than in main homes. I will also show that technology placement decisions are used to reinforce appropriate behaviors in the home, that they reflect beliefs about gender, work and home divisions, and that these permeable borders take time and energy to maintain. Lastly, I will tease out some of the ways in which technologies can be thought of as more flexible and how companies might integrate this into their design process.

Anthropological Theory on Space and Place

A main topic of my analysis, and one that I found useful to start off with, is the use of space and the ways in which technology constrains or shapes it. My literature review revealed no internationally multi-sited studies dealing with either the use of space in homes, or technology use in homes across countries; however, I draw on single-sited work addressing these areas of interest.

As we will see, technologies can be categorized in multiple ways. Two that emerge clearly from the data are contrasts between shared and personal technologies, as well as between leisure and work technologies. This shared/personal dichotomy maps well to the contrasting notions of public and private space in homes, a distinction that has been broadly studied, probably driven by a historical (post-industrial revolution) contrast between the workspace and street as public and the home as private (Cieraad 1999; Mallett 2004). Rosselin's (1999) work on the hall's role as a barrier in Parisian apartments emphasizes the role of physical space in the transition between these two worlds. My research suggests that this role of physical space in the transition between two worlds also holds for the transition between main and second home. In fact, it is even more strongly felt, as the transition is not between two rooms but between two geographically distinct locations. The distance between the main and second home locations seems immaterial in this case: the feeling

was the same in France, where second homes are 1-2 hours away, as in Russia, where it can take four hours to get to a dacha by train and foot.

I argue that the technology choices made in second homes are a reflection of the desire residents have to shape this space differently than space in their main home. This desire follows the notion of home as a haven (Mallett 2004), which reaches its logical conclusion in Chaplin's (1999) descriptions of the French second homes of UK residents as a place to "escape" – in line with the traditional view of "an Englishman's home is his castle." However, Fairhurst (1998) challenges the accuracy of this perception of a haven in a world which increasingly blends work and home spaces. Innovations such as telecommuting have blurred the lines between work and home, a change enabled by technology and carrying with it no small measure of anxiety. This anxiety is particularly visible in the US, which appears to have fewer distinctions between "work" and "home" (Hochschild 1997; Nippert-Eng 1995; Switzer 1997).

My research in second homes, however, draws an intriguing contrast to the anxiety which surrounds this blurring of boundaries. Technology, often thought of as antithetical to tradition, is the thing which lets users to go back to a pre-industrial era model of shared work and home spaces (Coontz 2000 [1992]; Hardyment 1987; Schwartz Cowan 1983; Yanagisako 1979) by allowing home owners to bring technology into the home, but also to manage where it goes. This management allows them to either, or alternately, reinforce the home as a

haven or move back to a nostalgic, pre-industrial model of shared work and home space.

In addition to the notion of the home as a private space in contrast to the public outside, a second level of privacy – internal to the home – is also relevant, as we will see. This division between public and private, and the consequent constraints on one's use of home space or expectation of privacy within a home, can be created along multiple lines. Some are predictable reflections of household structure: gender (Munro and Madigan 1999; Smith and Winchester 1998) or age (Munro and Madigan 1999). Others are less obvious; Cheung and Ma (Cheung and Ma 2005) explore privacy as an indicator of modernity in Hong Kong's newer apartments, for example. More relevant to my purposes, Shapiro (1998) focuses on a specific element contributing to privacy (or lack thereof) in the home: the role of technology. From mail to the internet, from better insulation to VCRs, technology has shaped the way we view privacy, both physical and social. Being physically isolated from someone no longer means being separated from them, and the physical, auditory or visual boundaries which defined privacy in the past no longer hold. Since social convention has not yet caught up with these new technologies, the 'rules' that govern these interactions are still unclear and in flux.

Lastly, although studies on technology adoption have focused on its innovation aspect (MacKenzie and Wajcman 1999; Rogers 1995), they have also broadened to look at the constraints associated with wide adoption. One major

notion is “gendered” technology. In contrast to the technologists’ ideal and asexual “user,” easy-to-use technologies – sometimes referred to as appliances - are associated with women (Gilbert and Kile 1996; Green and Adam 2001; Heller 2004; Horowitz and Mohun 1998; Kramarae 1988; Margolis and Fisher 2002; Oldenziel 1999; Spender 1996; Wall 1998). In reality, many technologies (from refrigerators to telephones) created for business use only truly became popular when a home use was discovered for them (Schwartz Cowan 1983), and their gender association became a feminine one, linked to consumption rather than the traditionally more powerful creation (Horowitz and Mohun 1998). I will argue that this association has implications to product design that go well beyond “making a version in pink” (Heller 2004).

Before delving into the details of how technology is used in homes, and how it is used differently in second homes than in main ones, I will start by discussing how technologies are created, and why they do not always adapt easily to homes.

Technology’s logic

When UEG began research into technology use in homes, we did so in part because technology is not typically developed with users in mind. In particular, Intel has been incredibly successful throughout its forty-odd year history by creating things that no one had asked for or had uses for – from faster processors that ultimately led to using PCs for graphics intensive applications like

gaming to wireless internet connections that allowed one to do email or check Facebook in a café. The mindset can best be described as “create the technology, and they will find a use for it.” Until recently, technologies were created and marketed without taking into account where they would be used.

In particular, technologies such as the PC, or network routers, were originally designed for offices, and “ported” into homes “as-is”, without much regard to how offices and homes might be different. This omission created new technologies that people had to adapt to, rather than the other way around, and slowed technology adoption. In the interest of creating successful products, Intel realized that it needed to understand a bit more about homes around the world, and how they differed from offices.

Intel understood offices and corporate customers; it was, after all, a corporate customer itself, and understood office layouts. In offices, technology configurations can be dictated or controlled. Often, there are standards that control which software and hardware can be purchased or used (if only to ensure people can share information), distances between devices are standardized, and sources and types of electricity, internet access and other systems are well understood, even if they are not always as stable as one would like (in countries where electricity spikes are an ongoing issue, for example). Thus, it is reasonable to make assumptions about how technology will be used in businesses and to design for that “use case.”

In contrast, home environments are rich, complex, and messy. Homes are physically diverse. They involve a changing number of people, both in and outside the family, and they are overlaid with a social fabric--the complex sets of social relationships and identities and practices they support--that make a house a home (Zafiroglu and Chang 2007). Perhaps most significantly, their inhabitants will not have their interactions with technology dictated to them.

Understanding what aspects of home interact with technology is essential to creating things that people will use not reluctantly, but with pleasure. UEG, by applying anthropology to product design, could help Intel develop products which deliver on technical promises and do so in a way which is “intuitive” for many users. The result would be a win-win situation, in which Intel’s products would meet users’ needs more effectively, and therefore be more successful, resulting in contented users and a profitable business. The challenge for technology companies is to understand what makes technology feel like home, which requires wrestling with notions of privacy, acceptable use of specific areas, and behavioral norms within which the technology must fit.

For example, notions of private/public space must be taken into account in technology development. Much technology is developed with the goal of creating, rather than limiting, capabilities; Intel’s view for data access is “all content, everywhere (on all screens), all the time.” Particularly in families, this is not what people are looking for. Marie and Jean-René split their summer holidays in Brittany between the two grandparents’ homes. I met them at her mother’s

house, where Marie had grown up. They had 3 boys, ranging in age from nine to seventeen. They were acutely aware that content and location interact in a home. To maintain the ability to monitor their children's computer use, they limited computer use to a place perceived as "public": the living room in their main home. As UEG learned when families tried to consolidate data from multiple PCs onto one "family server" during a product trial, shifting the physical location of data changes its access pattern. The "family server" exposed the children's music collections to their parent's eyes, and led to some interesting discussions about their choices (Salmon, et al. 2007). The implicit barriers of space disappear on the network, so someone's information is visible without first going into his or her room – a location perceived as private, and therefore a spatial barrier to accessing the information on their computer. This notion – that where something is used has social implications to how it can be used – is a new one for the industry.

As the server example demonstrates, technology networks (and flows) and the social constraints or sharing practices do not overlay particularly well. This has been a gate to adoption of many new technologies that would, for instance, enable consumers to show friends their vacation photos on a TV screen, or "timeshift" to watch an episode of their favorite show, available on the internet, in a more comfortable location than the cramped confines of one's office, den or closet – where the PC resides. However, this vision requires coordinating several networks that co-exist as independent entities rather than as a whole that the homeowner can adapt to his or her wishes. Fitting technology

into the home requires network analysis and, often, rewiring; needless to say, this setup is neither intuitive nor easy. Consumers find these visions desirable, but draw the line at the amount of work – and wiring - necessary to make this vision come to life.

My analysis has thus shown that technology's logic is intertwined with the corporate world which creates it. Historically, technology companies create technology for work or office use, and port it over to homes without enough regard for the ways in which these are different from the relatively standard office environment. Nor do the companies take into account the ways in which technology's logic may not overlay with the home. In the next section, I will look at technology use in the home; how it is shaped by home spaces and behaviors, and how it shapes them in turn.

Homes are not virgin lands: technology use in the home

UEG's initial work focused on the major forms of technology likely to be found in homes in coming years: TVs and PCs. In contrast to the dominant view at Intel, of interchangeable screens, differentiated only by size, we discovered that consumers had very different perceptions of these technologies, and used them differently. In this section, I will go into detail about how these – and other – technologies are used in the home, and how these uses shape and are shaped by the physical environment.

As I articulated earlier, one of the challenges for companies seeking to encourage adoption of new technologies is the fact that a new technology or piece of equipment must nest into a pre-existing set of spaces, objects and relationships. These may or may not have been created with this technology in mind, and may or may not easily adapt to or invite in the new technology (Zafiroglu and Bell 2009) . These physical constraints do not change when a new appliance or technology is brought into the home – and one of the challenges technology designers face is recognizing that homes are not “virgin lands”.

I was reminded of these physical constraints as I visited homes in France and Australia. In France, the Perons’ daughter and her husband, a navy admiral a few years from retirement, had just finished remodeling the 16th century family home; one of the biggest issues for them was figuring out how to run wiring (electrical and internet) that would be up to modern code through the home’s granite walls. In Australia, corrugated metal is the traditional material for home roofing. As I discovered while visiting the town of Hahndorf, it is almost impossible to have wireless coverage throughout a corrugated roof house without a repeater; the waves bounce off the metal and interfere with each other. Unfortunately for innovators, the average lifespan of the physical building is much greater than that of the technologies that inhabit it. Even the US, with its relatively flexible (and short-lived) wooden-frame homes, had an average home age of 32 years in 2007 (Census 2007). Thus, understanding how new technologies will fit into existing constraints is critical for adoption; any capability that requires a whole-home remodel will not be adopted. The modest progression of home

automation systems, which allow homeowners to control lighting, temperature and other home systems, but require extensive replacement of home systems, demonstrates this (Woodruff, et al. 2007).

Nor is space flexible; throughout my research, I saw examples of space constraints dictating what technology could come into the home. In Australia, Alan loved cricket and made sure he had a TV in the shack so he could watch the matches. It was a small black-and-white model; given the size of his kitchen, anything bigger would have overwhelmed the viewer. He represents a trend; very large televisions are much less popular outside the US (DisplaySearch 2010) in part because in smaller spaces, viewers cannot sit far enough away from them to watch the screen comfortably. Technologies designed for the standard American house, whose average size is 1700 ft², will not always work in home sizes around the world, which average well below 1000 ft² (Euromonitor 2006a). Since many of the designers who create new technology are based in the US, thinking about these constraints is a requirement that is critical to success.

Beyond physical constraints, the infrastructure of homes dictates which technologies can be let in. In Russia, for example, Oxana pointed out that the family used an old electric teakettle because the new one “was too strong”, so they had gone back to the older, less demanding model. Polina mentioned that there was a cooker they had had to give away because it did not work in their dacha. For the same reason, Polina’s family brought a laptop to the dacha to watch movies, rather than setting up a PC; laptops require less power to run. In

extreme cases of irregular or “spiky” electricity supplies, families come up with alternative plans to deliver electricity to key appliances; often generators, but also car or truck batteries. This creates a new challenge for technology designers. Their product must meet a different set of technical “specs” (specifications), in particular a greater tolerance for using “dirty” (low quality) current without damage to the product’s insides or capabilities (Asokan and Payne 2008; EMPG 2005). This is a reflection of the ways in which aging infrastructure, such as limited numbers of electrical outlets and elderly wiring, will limit which technology will be let into the home.

I have shown that the physical environment of home constrains and shapes what technologies can be let in. Acceptable technologies are limited by physical space, but also by infrastructure and, most importantly, by the fact that homes pre-exist the technology, and cannot flex to fit it. Technologies seeking to enter the home have to deal with constraints beyond these physical limitations. They must also address the “mental models” of the home’s residents, the way they view the technology.

All technologies are not created equal; the UEG research I draw on found marked differences in how users perceived the two main technologies we were interested in: PCs and TVs. PCs, for example, were heavily connoted as “difficult,” “sickly” and “work-related.” They were deemed difficult because they were hard to understand, had incomprehensible technological components (speeds, graphics capability etc), flashed odd, stress-inducing error messages, and were hard to trouble-shoot or fix. Unfortunately, PCs justified the “sickly”

comment, as they often “caught” bugs or viruses. Parents uniformly believed these to have been brought in by the children’s computer use, either by clicking on a link they should not have or swapping files with their friends. As a result of these difficulties, many houses had broken PCs sitting in a corner, in a closet or on a desk, often in an out-of-the-way place, waiting for repair (Hasbrouck and Faulkner 2006).

PCs held work-related connotations, and thus not be thrust into the middle of the (home) space. It is interesting that in many cases, despite the presumption of work, PCs were actually used for leisure activities; many children other UEG researchers interviewed as part of PC use research projects could show their game, photo editing or music mixing skills more readily than their internet paper research or study skills (Faulkner and Hasbrouck 2006). Despite this, PCs’ image continued to be a serious one. As such, they were banned from living rooms and other places where the family interacted with each other (Faulkner and Hasbrouck 2006). Even where PCs were shared, they were very much perceived as items which enable a single user to access technology (Asokan and Payne 2008).

In contrast, TVs were front and center in the homes, and people loved their TVs (Zafiroglu 2007). TVs were considered “part of the family” and space was, literally, shaped around them. In China, people would cut holes into walls to fit the back of the deep (CRT) TVs so they could watch them; in the US and elsewhere, TVs, as one of the bigger pieces of furniture in a room, dictated room

layout and furniture choice and placement (Zafiroglu, et al. 2006). The creation of the TV cabinet furniture is a testimony to the TV's omnipresence, as is the typical positioning of furniture to allow the TV to be seen by the entire family in the main room. TVs are viewed as easy to use, reliable, and flexible, able to adapt to one or many viewers (Zafiroglu, et al. 2006; Zafiroglu and Faulkner 2007) and an essential part of the home environment.

In my research, I found that technology use in main homes was more intense than in second homes. In many homes, radio/TV were used daily, inside and outside the house, the internet was used for information and entertainment, and multiple other (especially entertainment) technologies were available. Technology use was also more distributed; in the main homes in each of the four countries I visited, technologies were found in multiple rooms in the homes.

Their distribution in the home was not random, however. This finding is not a surprise given how differently the two main technology devices in the home are viewed. TVs were the most valued technology; they resided in the family spaces - living room or kitchen - first. If the house had more than one TV, the extras were located in various other living and sleeping spaces. These secondary TVs were usually "hand me downs" from the main room that had been replaced by upgraded technology; color rather than black and white, or flatscreen instead of a bulky CRT model. Like TVs, if game consoles and DVD/VCRs were present, they were typically located in the home's central or family space, in order to allow monitoring of the children's use. Thus, technologies that the family interacted

with together, that contributed to common activities, were located in central areas of the home in support of this interaction.

PCs, in contrast, were often situated in bedrooms or offices. The homes we visited typically had only one of them, although there was discussion, especially in families with school-aged children, of buying another laptop or PC for school purposes. The PC was rarely in the main living area of the house; it was deliberately “made invisible” in much the same ways that other infrastructure items were kept out of sight. In Brittany, for example, Anne Marie, whose love of travel was reflected in the decoration of her immaculately kept home, made a dual-function cover for her PC; it kept out the dust but also allowed this piece of technology to blend into her home’s décor. This is consistent with the behavior UEG has seen in homes around the world; PCs are viewed as necessary, but not display items. They are not easy to fit into the aesthetics of a home, and many homeowners I met cited this as a reason to “push them out of the way.” This view is no doubt reinforced by the cables and wiring that PCs seem to bring along with them. The fact that PCs are often used for work, rather than for social interactions, also dictates that they be used outside the main home areas unless parents want to keep an eye on their children’s internet usage.

Technology companies often focus on where or how technology is used to determine its characteristics or positioning, but my research pointed out a two more areas they should take into account. The first is aesthetics, the second alternatives to technology. From an aesthetic standpoint, as I mentioned above,

some technology placement is a consequence of the visual impact of the wires associated with the technology. Technology companies should not underestimate the importance of aesthetics in purchase decisions; the success of flat-panel TVs, which quickly became a majority of the market despite their substantially greater cost (DisplaySearch 2010) is proof that consumers will pay for technology that “fits” into their homes.

Within the homes I visited, the most expensive or advanced technology was not always the most well used or loved. At their second home, the le Roux family joked that the “technology” they used most was the “billig,” the gas ring and cast iron griddle traditionally used for making crepes, since that was used every Friday they were at the house for a crepe dinner. Similarly, Jean-René’s first purchase when he arrives at the summer house is a red tide table booklet for the region, available for a few Euros at any news agents’. He uses this to plan his shellfish gathering excursions or fishing trips. Although it is possible to get more accurate information online (each cove or beach has a slightly different tide time, which must be calculated from a reference point), he much prefers his paper solution; it is not only practical, but has a symbolic value as “the start of summer” that a computer cannot match. The competition to a technology is not always, and indeed perhaps not often, another technology. It is often the pre-existing, “low tech” elements of everyday life.

This creates a difficult challenge for technology manufacturers. What the industry refers to as “unmet needs” are often met perfectly well by existing, low-tech items. And, since technology is not always welcome in all parts of the

home, the industry's goal of creating solutions for household problems is more complicated than it appears, as it needs to both solve the problem and be usable in multiple parts of the home, according to the way the family lives. Thinking about the ways in which technology problems are solved "without" technology points out the types of flexibility the industry needs to build into products to make them usable in many parts of the home.

As evidenced by the distribution of differently-connoted technology, technology is perceived as aligned with specific behaviors, and people manage their technology accordingly. In consequence, technologies viewed as fostering "desirable" behaviors are emphasized – or banned, in the case of the ongoing debate in the US about the hours children spend (Pew 2010) in front of screens rather than "out and about." In the next section, I will show that as the desired behaviors in second homes and main homes are quite different, so are the technologies brought into them.

Second home technologies.

While I was chatting with Guillaume at his house in Roscanvel, looking out onto the Brest Bay, he reflected on the importance of technology to the young. "One of our daughters-in-law asked us whether she could come on vacation with her child and bring her godson. The godson was three. They get here, she shows him around, and he's looking everywhere, and looking, and he says 'But there

isn't even a TV here?' Three! So I show him the TV (gestures towards the large picture window in the salon) and tell him there's only one channel."

The notion that some technologies were appropriate in certain homes, and others were not, was a constant in my research, although many of my respondents did not express themselves quite as forcefully as Guillaume. In fairness, most of them did not have the ocean 50 feet away, either. Although the Perons had, somewhat reluctantly, put a TV in their Brest home, they were set against having one in the vacation home where they hosted a large – and ever changing - cast of children and grandchildren. As Fanny put it, "It's sad to be on vacation in such a lovely place and spend all your time inside." Their grandchildren knew not to ask about TV; they just pulled out board games or, more often, ran around outside. If they were reluctant to do so, their grandfather volunteered to give them an after-breakfast *dictée*, the spelling and grammar exercise dreaded by French schoolchildren. This offer usually cleared the house within minutes.

Thus, the family's technology choices are a reflection of the activity they want to see in their homes, and in all of the countries I visited, different technologies were allowed into the house in second homes from those allowed in main ones. This desire to use technology commensurate with the goals of a second home, and the need to manage this technology self-consciously, speaks to how powerful technology is in influencing use of time and space in and around homes. In this section, I will show that the technologies allowed into second

homes are those that reinforce the behaviors and atmosphere the family wishes to encourage there: those related to relaxation and sociability.

Consistent with what happens in main homes, the most frequently found and most beloved piece of technology in second homes was a TV, which was present in about two-thirds of the homes I visited. The fact that TVs were easily accepted into second homes is representative of the ways in which second homes are imagined, and in particular of relaxation/work and freedom/structure divides between second and main homes.

Main homes were perceived to be the hub of constraints driven by work, both the work of maintaining the home and the work outside the home to which family members have to bend their schedules - think of Jean-René's radio in the morning. Mothers or grandmothers, such as Marie and Fanny in France, or Anna in Russia, mentioned the rigorous structure of their days at home and felt that part of the joy of "real" vacations was a reduction of these constraints.

In contrast, second homes are much less structured. They are about togetherness and freedom. Thus, the TV's social and shared aspect makes it a perfect fit for the second home, where families try to spend more time together. As one of the few new technologies that is not viewed as a "single-owner" product, TV or its proxies (laptops for movie viewing in Russia, for example) were relatively easy to assimilate into second homes, as they encouraged togetherness and sharing.

As desirable devices whose access, especially for children, is often limited during the year to encourage studying and bedtimes, TVs are also part of the

more relaxed, less constrained atmosphere of the second home. At their summer home in Brittany, Marie's children were allowed to watch TV later in the evening than they do at home, since they did not have to be up in the morning. They take advantage of this rule relaxation, she says, "they always seem to find something on, unfortunately!" In the le Roux family, whose converted Breton fisherman's cottage had very little room for playing children, the TV and its attendant VCR are also considered to be a good backup entertainment plan when rain kept the children from their daily visit to the beach and board games had paled. Polina, in Russia, brought a laptop to the dacha so that she and her children could "sit together and watch a movie". Although informants agreed that children, especially small ones, benefit from structure, second homes are a place where that structure can be relaxed, where there is more flexibility in doing things one enjoys. Allowing children access to technologies which are "off-limits" or restricted during the school year is a way of sharing the freedom of second homes with them.

Marie and Jean-René also talked about the more social expectations of the second home life in Brittany, contrasting it with the "heads-down" mornings, when they have to get to work. Similarly, Guillaume Peron took the time to read the local paper when he was at his summer home – although he wouldn't do so in the city. I also heard from people that in their second homes, they paid less attention to the time, and did not keep to the same structured days as they did in the city. Artiom, the twenty-something analyst from St. Petersburg, was a good example; he described the day at his dacha in the woods as starting "between 10

and 1 – whenever we want to get up,” in contrast to his work life. Anna, in St. Petersburg, spoke of the day “really beginning” whenever her grandson woke up (although her mother would get up earlier to go swimming). Technologies that reinforced the year long constraints of daily schedules and work, such as Polina’s cell phone, internet news feeds or even alarm clocks were either banned or relegated to nooks in the second house. People used technology location to reduce the changes of disruption to the home’s atmosphere.

In addition to the technologies that fostered togetherness and a removal from day to day “work,” technology adoption in second homes focused around “comfort and support” technologies, things that make the day or the space more pleasant. Clothes washers, microwaves, fridges, and movie watching capability (laptop or DVD/VCR) or, in Russia, Electric kettles for tea; in each of the countries I visited, these assistive technologies are welcomed. They are perceived as helping to achieve a harmonious and successful stay; in fact, they are not always perceived as technologies at all, a notion I will come back to at the end of the chapter.

In contrast to main homes, I found that in all four countries, whenever technologies were brought into the second home, they were almost always clustered in one or two rooms - the main room or the kitchen – where they were most easily accessible to the family. Other rooms were deliberately left bare of technology, as were “favorite” rooms or spaces (semi-exterior spaces such as the verandah in Russia, France, or Australia, or the deck in the US). The le Roux in southern Brittany proudly – and explicitly -articulated this; “this is a room

without technology. Oh wait, except for the (electric) clock.” This choice was in part driven by the layout of second homes, which often have fewer private spaces than main homes, but also reinforced the notion of doing things together. I showed in Chapter Three that this desire for togetherness taps into a deep vein of nostalgia among second home owner trying to recreate the past; technology use and distribution are used to reinforce standards of behavior viewed as appropriate in that vein. In fact, the only exceptions to the common area placement rule were “work” technologies, which were typically limited to a specific, isolated area: a bedroom, or the mezzanine – pushing undesirable behaviors out of the way by limiting its tools. This is true even when, as for PCs, tools perceived as “work” technologies can also, or mainly, be used for leisure. Perhaps this is because of the type of leisure they provide, which is solitary and focused away from others, is not congruent with the atmosphere and behaviors second home owners wish to encourage.

Thus, it is clear that technology use in second homes is substantially different than that in main homes. People are, more or less consciously, aligning the technologies they let into their homes with the behaviors they consider acceptable in that context. These behaviors – and interaction expectations – vary with the home’s location. People do not act the same way on vacation as they do during the year. The technologies that are allowed into the home shape and support these behaviors. Technologies become another way, along with explicit behavioral expectations and space use, to reinforce the behaviors residents want to see.

As demonstrated in this section, there is a clear division in homes between work and leisure spaces and activities. Just as they do with other things, people map work and leisure space onto their technology – and vice versa. I will now look at how solid these boundaries are, and see whether work occasionally enters the leisure second home space.

Testing boundaries: letting work technologies in

Second homes are viewed as places of rest and amusement, and technology in the home aligns accordingly. However, I also saw the desire to occasionally have work capability at second homes. Although this desire was viewed with reservations, respondents in all four countries did let work technologies into second homes, although they did so in ways that allowed them to manage the exposure to these technologies.

In St. Petersburg, for example, Antosha worked on his patents from the dacha, and so had a PC there and longed for internet connectivity. Occasionally, Artiom took his laptop out to his dacha in the Karelian peninsula to do work from there – when he only had a few meetings to take towards the end of the week, to lengthen the weekend visit to the dacha. He valued the cell phone coverage and the network he had put in, although most weekends, neither got used – the family tended to read, “light novels, not heavy stuff”, while they were at the forest dacha. Likewise, Yana, who was spending the summer at the family dacha and was in the process of writing her thesis brought her laptop to write, and used a

specific room as her “office.” However, with a 2 year old in the house, she admitted to having very little time to write up her Georgian experiences.

In France, Anne Marie, who moves into her Brittany coast apartment for a good part of the summer, brings along a laptop and her cell phone. This is the minimum technology she needs to fulfill her functions on her building’s board during a renovation, and it’s considerably less technology than she has at home. Beginning a few years ago at age 70, Anne Marie learned to use computers so she could dub LPs onto CDs and edit them. She has become an expert user, and while we were interviewing her at her main home, she inquired of us whether we had an opinion on how best to partition a hard drive (we did not). Likewise, in Oregon, Colette and Jerry made sure their coast house had high speed internet to be able to take longer weekends without losing track of work.

Australia followed the same pattern, but work in second homes was more prevalent there, as second homes often had a “main home” component. More technology, including PCs, showed up in second homes which were used “for work” as well as “for holidays.” In particular, “sea changers” planning a move from the city to the country, who ran a business out of their second homes as they transitioned - running campgrounds or leasing cottages, for example - made sure they had access to what they needed to continue working. In many cases, the biggest focus was the internet, to allow for communications and bookings, but also to allow continued focus on other jobs or education. For example, Julia, who with her husband John moved from Adelaide and now manages the Clayton caravan park, is finishing her PhD in South Australian colonial art. Fifty-

something caravan owners Alfie, a truck driver “made redundant” and Beryl, who made and painted ceramics “until the Chinese killed the business, our bit of it, at least”, carried a PC and printer all the way from Queensland (the far north of the country) to South Australia. Although Alfie admitted to being technology-illiterate, Beryl could “figure just about anything out,” and they funded a portion of their travels by using the PC/printer to create designs they transferred to bags and T-shirts and sold at local markets. “Animals – dogs, cats, and horses - are always popular. And of course we can’t do Harry Potter or them because of the copyright problems.” In Alfie and Beryl’s case, the money they made from selling products at the market allowed them to fund their continued travels around Australia. Without it, they would have had to return home, or move in with Beryl’s son, who lived in Milang, an unappealing prospect. For them, having work technology in their second homes was essential to allowing them to use the second homes at all.

However, working in second homes could be risky for family relationships. Polina used her cell phone at the dacha to deal with a work crisis one weekend, so that she could both work and enjoy the dacha. However, she said she would not do it again; her husband and children asked her to turn the phone off, as they felt it was “invading” their holiday home and turning it into an everyday place. Although they did not articulate it this way, they were expressing the notion of work as something to be done in the city. In an extension of this feeling, people who did not want to bring work with them managed their time differently.

To offset the risk of having their dacha space invaded by work, most of the Russian families we talked to would go back to the city once a week during the summer to catch up on life, get done whatever work was needed – and head back to the dacha. In addition to keeping the dacha as a space of relaxation, this behavior also mitigated the risk of having expensive technology stolen. We heard from all the dachniki we talked to that “Thieves come into the dacha settlements during the winter, when they are empty, and they steal valuables from the houses.” Although no one we met had been robbed, this risk was taken as an article of faith, and Oxana’s mother admitted to hiding cutlery and appliances in the root cellar on their property. Although, as Oxana commented, “Since everyone hides things in the root cellars, if they’re smart thieves they’ll go look there first.” By keeping more expensive technologies in their main homes, dacha dwellers made it possible for the second home to remain a place of relaxation and happy memories, rather than the source of worry during the year. This worry would have tainted the enjoyment of the dacha during the summer.

French homeowners behaved in similar ways, by segregating “work” technology in the main house. The Perons occasionally made a run across the bay to check in on their home during the several months they hosted the family at the vacation home. Guy considered setting up a remote monitoring system for the cottage’s dehumidifiers, which would have allowed him to check on things and manage them remotely, but ultimately decided against it. He was afraid he’d miss coming by on a regular basis, and that it would be the beginning of “work/city” technology in the summer home. As he put it “instead, when we need

to use a PC here (in the vacation house), we go to the “Maison du Marin” (community center) and use theirs.” Both of these families were creating segregation mechanisms that kept prohibited technologies out of their second homes, and allowed the families to maintain the atmosphere and behaviors they desired, without having to “work around”, segregate or manage those technologies perceived as work related.

In a “mirror image” contrast, Australian second home owners who rented out caravans or homes reported that they consciously kept work linked technology out of the houses. They focused on creating an aesthetically pleasing environment – either Federation, from Milang’s heyday, at the Rose Cottage, or a more streamlined “sailing” aesthetic at the cabins at Clayton. Hosts expended considerable time, energy and thought towards making the guests’ stay as comfortable as possible. Audrey emailed guests ahead of time to ask about food allergies so that the baked goods left for them would be suitable, and inquired about likes and dislikes to have the right ingredients to hand for the country breakfast. Georgina upgraded the motel’s linens and decor “so they do not feel so impersonal,” and putting up “barbies” (outdoor grills) for the guests. Both the hosts ruled out providing internet or PC services, saying “that is not what people want when they come here.” Clearly, providing that (work-related) technology would distract from the image and environment these hosts were creating, and their guests demanded. A second home owner might chose to bring work on vacation, but as a matter of principle, vacation hosts wouldn’t allow technologies in their homes which they perceived to be detrimental to the vacation experience.

It is clear that second homes are a space of leisure, of freedom, and of nostalgia. Informants managed the technologies they let into the home accordingly. The effort they were willing to put into doing so, however, leads me to believe that the dichotomy between main and second homes is not as clear as families would like; it is a porous border which must be maintained and managed lest the technologies associated with the rest of the year come creeping into second homes and impact their value. Families manage technologies in support of the behaviors desired in second homes, and set barriers to behaviors by disallowing or physically managing the location of specific technologies, but this requires conscious effort and vigilance. Successfully maintaining one's second home as a haven is not a foregone conclusion, and requires rigorous monitoring of technology. Before closing this chapter, I will circle back to a distinction which may be useful for technology companies to think about, as it seemed, in my research to allow more flexibility in placement within the house: appliances rather than technologies.

Appliances: ease of use and gendered technologies

As I discussed earlier in the chapter, setup for technology systems is hard. In contrast, appliances have an “out of box” experience that is usually intuitive, quick, and involves only connecting the appliance to a power source and putting away the accessories. Perhaps in consequence, people had a very different approach to “technology” (PCs, notebooks, printers, routers, etc) than they do to “appliances” or gadgets. Research into kitchen usage in the United States

(Bourdonnec 2005) shows that technology was perceived as difficult to use, finicky and prone to breaking down, whereas appliances, although in some cases just as complicated as the “technology” discussed, were perceived as reliable, intuitive to use, and consistently delivering to expectations of the experience. That is to say, washers wash clothing, microwaves cook food and programmed appliances turn on when expected. In focus groups, describing an item as a “kitchen appliance” rather than a “kitchen technology” significantly increased both the number of people who would consider buying it as well as the positive reception of the concept. Similarly, the “assistive technologies” that ease the work of maintaining the home were easily allowed into second homes, in part because they were not perceived as a risky technology, but as part of the fabric of life. I argue here that technology companies who want their products to be broadly used – in second as well as main homes, for example, would benefit from the easy-to-use image associated with appliances, which can be used in many contexts and tend to “fade into the background”.

Interestingly enough, “appliances” are typically connoted as feminine items, in contrast to male “technology”. Although women have long been viewed as the main decision makers for purchases in the home (Euromonitor 2006b) and influence up to 90% of consumer electronics (CE) purchase – in addition to making a more than half of them directly (CEA 2009), the CE and computer industries have only belatedly woken up to the fact that women are just as important a purchasing force as men for what they consider to be “technologies” as well (Marco 2008). The Perons provided a marvelous example of this dynamic

as they were debating what to do with the gift card we had given them in compensation for their time. Guillaume Peron suggested that he could buy a new drill with it; his wife quickly corrected his misapprehension, saying “it is money (of) the house (and therefore should be spent on the house)”. They ultimately decided to buy a PC with the money, instead.

Limiting women’s roles to “feminine” technologies underestimates their impact on past and future technology adoption. Technologies such as the telephone, electricity and refrigeration are examples (Hardyment 1987; Lovegren 2005 [1995]; Menon and Bhasin 1996; Silverstone and Haddon 1996) of cases where spending on, and adoption of, the technology accelerated when it moved from business to home and became part of the feminine domain, not necessarily in its production, but in its control and purchase.

In the modern incarnation of this shift, technology companies increasingly recognize that women are “the canary in the coalmine.” That is to say that women are the leading edge of demanding performance from technology items, and are much less patient than men in “getting them to work” (Heller 2004). Thus, women challenge the overwhelmingly male “geek” ethos, in which working with the technology and adapting to it are things to boast about. In a world where users increasingly complain about the difficulties of technology use, and are moving from purchasing technology specifications to purchasing an experience or an outcome, technology companies could gain much by focusing on what women want from technology, and designing to it.

Appliances are more welcome in second homes. So might some of the new products coming to market, and for whom a series of new nomenclatures have been created, to mark them as easy to use. The technology industry speaks of "devices" to describe the many variations of e-readers (Amazon's Kindle, Sony's reader....), smartphones, touchpads and other products they are reluctant to brand "technology" even though they are highly complex, technological items. Appliance-like reliability and ease of use sell – and sell to a broader spectrum of homes than "technology" does.

Conclusion

This review of technology use homes shows how well existing theory on public and private spaces, gender and leisure/work divisions map to technology use in homes; according to the behavior desired in a home space, specific technologies will be allowed into the home. I have also demonstrated how technology's origin in, and targeting of, corporations created constraints and an 'internal logic' which created difficulties in adapting technology to the home, and requires corporations to think differently about how they design for home rather than work use.

Technology use in the home is shaped first by physical constraints, the shape and size of the home, and secondly by the mental constraints of its inhabitants. People around the world associate technology with certain behaviors or impressions, and they chose to install specific technologies in specific rooms congruent with these associations. PCs, for example, are heavily work connoted,

whereas TVs are associated with family and relaxation. I'll note that these associations do not always reflect the reality of technology use, but given their importance in users' mental models, companies should nonetheless pay attention to them.

Logically enough, technology use in second homes is different than that in first homes, as people use the same logic to locate technologies. Since they are trying to create a different atmosphere, however, and encourage different behaviors, a different, and reduced, set of technologies is let into the second home. Specifically, work related technologies are mostly kept outside the home; when residents do need to let them in, they do so in very specific and controlled ways, and invest considerable time and energy into making sure that the "work" technologies do not take up too much space in second homes.

I closed this chapter by articulating some of the challenges to technology, in terms of aesthetics and ease of use, technology manufacturers should take under advisement to create technologies that, being perceived as flexible and invisible, would be allowed in more types of homes. However technically complex, female-connoted appliances are perceived as fitting into homes more easily and represent a path manufacturers can usefully explore. This could allow consumers to use technology to encourage behaviors, but also feelings like nostalgia that they wish to develop in second homes.

Chapter V – Conclusion

At the conclusion of the second home research, I look back on findings both unexpected and practical. I hope that they will be useful to other researchers given the relative underrepresentation of second homes in the literature of space and place, technology or identity I have seen.

The most unexpected finding was the importance of nostalgia in second homes, and the ways in which second home residents harkened back to the past in creating the atmosphere for their homes. The literature on nostalgia emphasizes the importance of place and home, but I had not anticipated that second homes would combine both so well. This nostalgia for a past that was, in many cases, an imagined one, led them to make specific choices about aesthetics, activities, and behaviors allowed into the second homes. Only items that supported this vision of a better past were allowed in, with consequences to the lifestyle embodied in these homes, and more specifically to the technology allowed in. Since nostalgia is often for non-physical elements as well as physical ones, families were supporting their nostalgic needs in allowing only technologies

which supported the togetherness and activities they desired, such as televisions, in the house. Work technologies such as PCs were banned.

Based on this research, I have shown that beyond nostalgia, second homes allow their residents to embody an alternate identity, separate from the one in play on a day to day basis in the city. Expressing their feelings of contrast between the two, informants felt, and indeed acted and decorated, differently in their second homes. This alternate identity, based on place rather than on role as in much of the identity literature, allows them to nurture and draw out portions of themselves which cannot be given free rein in the city. The second home is a set for this alternate identity to be played out, and its use must be earned by the work in which owners engage to maintain it. A portion of this work is the transmission of cultural capital to the next generation, as articulated by Bourdieu (1984).

Lastly, the use of technology in second homes in contrast to main homes highlights the ways in which technology is perceived. Depending on its nature, it is viewed as either “work” or “leisure”, and managed in consequence. People only let technology into their homes if it is aligned to the behaviors they wish to encourage. This is demonstrated by the contrasting suites of technologies allowed in second homes, with their focus on leisure, and main homes, which integrate work items. A portion of the work of second homes is boundary maintenance between work and leisure environments.

The results of this project open up new horizons for further research, addressing both theoretical questions and implications for product design. The first set of questions are those which occurred to me after returning from the field, the issues which emerged as part of the analysis and which I would like to revisit.

Given the importance of nostalgia in second homes that emerged from the research, I would like to understand how non-second home owners fulfill the same need; do they create a niche within their main homes, or recreate the past some other way? Delving deeper into the ways in which the past is recast, which elements of it are important, which are edited out and how this editing is managed would also be valuable, as would a more refined analysis of how different family members value these nostalgic elements. Based on this first work, I suspect that bringing back such a nostalgic culture to the everyday world would be difficult, particularly for the mothers and grandmothers who, at least in second homes, are chartered with making the nostalgia “work” with our modern expectations.

An extension to the research on identity might involve the intersection of class and second home ownership. As I articulated in the introduction, second homes are not necessarily a measure of wealth outside the US. These homes, and the way they are decorated, may be indicators of class, however. There is an element of “social capital” in play in the work that is put into second homes (Bourdieu 1984). This capital can be acquired within the family, by the gift of work to make the holidays pleasant, for example, or externally, by visible consumption

(Carrier and Heyman 1997; Charles, et al. 2009). I did not explore the social impact this prestige acquisition could have, or whether it was different in countries where second homes were common, as in Russia, relative to those where they were not, such as the USA.

If the tradeoff to this work, to this “family gift” is increased prestige, a better understanding of the mechanisms for acquiring it, as well as the payoff for families who invest time and energy in doing so, would be helpful, especially in understanding how technology might support or limit prestige acquisition. To properly analyze these differences, I would like to interview non-second-home-owners to see if they interpret or view the homes in the same way as the owners do. If second homes are a marker of class then, as Ortner (1996:42) puts it, since “looking up from below, class [is] very visible indeed” we should get very different interpretations of this data from people who don’t have access to one.

Building on the notion of multiple identities, the idea of two identities grounded in two places but otherwise similar cultural environments (main and second homes) warrants more research. Much of the work I have seen on embracing or alternating between identities focuses on adapting these identities to the practice expected of one in a specific environment, or of countering it. In both cases, the adaptation is viewed as a reaction to the environment rather than a proactive initiative. This research on second homes creates an opportunity to look at a more proactive identity creation, and to understand what role places can

play in them; in a variation of “you are what you eat,” we might say “you are where you are.”

The second set of questions relates to product impact. If nostalgia is a key component of second home life, and a cherished portion of residents’ lives, how can we integrate this nostalgic feeling into product design? Is there an opportunity for “retro-tech” in the same way we have seen retro cars or décor? The PT cruiser, for example, was modeled externally on cars of the 50s or 60s, but contained modern interior amenities and technical improvements, and might be a model for an alternative to the bland beige (or black) box PC. The retro concept might not only be a design discussion, as taking into account the ways in which people aspire to simplicity is just as important. Integrating new technologies into form factors we understand, such as MP3 radio, making it easier to use. . Doing so will require a fundamental shift in thinking, from multipurpose technology “that can do everything” to more targeted solutions which do a few things well and easily. This change also implies a different set of decision tradeoffs in product decisions, and a continued shift away from purely technical criteria towards usage based decisions and, perhaps, aesthetic ones. It might also lead to rethinking of our interactions with technologies, as well as the ways in which we conceive of technology-assisted interactions – or indeed formalizing the emotions or feelings we attribute to technologies.

It will also require a greater acceptance of the importance of appliances, rather than technology, in a continuation of Intel’s initial thoughts about how

“devices we love” will influence the future (Johnson 2010). Appliances are more easily integrated into people’s lives, they are perceived as simple (even if they are extremely complex) and reliable. This perceived simplicity may well be the key to broader acceptance of technologies in parts of the home where they are banned. It will also force a rethink of how technology companies design products. At the moment, the “best” projects are the most technically challenging ones, not necessarily the ones which deliver usages that consumers value most; changing Intel’s internal hierarchy, which is similar to the one Gusterson describes (1996) will be difficult. Changing the way we market technology will also be wrenching; until recently, Intel’s customer segmentation was entirely based, not only on technology, but on computer technology, and the marketing strategies are focused around technological “goodness” and improvement. Changing the focus to outcome rather than process (or technical capability) as the key selling point will require a mindset shift. That will be difficult for a company that has defined itself by technology for thirty years, and that has only recently begun to say, in internal posters, “It’s not what we make, it’s what we make possible.”

The notion of multiple identities could also be usefully explored for product options. If the challenge, from the technology company’s perspective, is to integrate technology seamlessly into people’s lives so that they buy more products, how would we make products that could (easily) be switched from “work mode” to vacation mode, or nostalgia mode? And by extension, as we accept that people construct multiple identities, how can products be tailored to

these identities? And will these identities, and the importance of specific projects, change over time, as users progress through life stages and adopt, or chose not to adopt, new technologies? The challenge of creating devices that can switch gears while remaining simple to use will be a huge, from both technical and user interface perspectives. But the greatest challenge of all will be understanding which identities are relevant to the users, and at what time, and getting to the theoretical implications of such switches in individuals' lives.

I believe this work on second homes has been useful from an applied perspective, and I venture to think that it has contributed to the corpus of ethnographic work in three areas; technology and space, identity, and nostalgia. Given the dual - industrial and academic - goals and the time constraints of the research, I was unable to dive into some of the more complex aspects of the creation of nostalgia and the maintenance of identities. I would like to return to it in future research, or hope that another researcher will do so.

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Appendix A: Participant Release Form

Appendix A1; Consent form used by Intel team during the research period in 2006-2007. I will not be using this form for research, as my thesis involves secondary analysis of data gathered with this consent form. I have highlighted the paragraph that pertains to the reuse of this existing data.

Digital Home User Experience Research Participant Release Form

Thank you for participating in Intel's study of technology use in second homes, and for inviting us into your home! To improve future products, we are documenting how the spaces and technologies within households like yours are used. Who uses them, for what, when, and why? What works smoothly, what does not? What are your hopes and concerns?

Our visit today will last no more than three hours. We will be documenting the visit with video, audio, photographs, and/or text. To thank your household for participating in this research, our primary contact will be given a gift of (\$\$.)

All data collected are for research purposes only and primarily for internal analysis. *However, we may want to show or use specific portions as examples in research presentations or publications—e.g., at conferences, at trade shows, in classrooms, in journal articles, or with companies and organizations with whom we collaborate. In all cases, your name, address, and other identifying information (other than your picture, voice or likeness in the video, audio or photographs) will be kept confidential.*¹

During your participation, feel free to ask us to stop recording at any time, or to delete any recordings. Furthermore, please do not discuss with us any plans, inventions, or patents which you feel you may pursue in the future, or to which you may not want us to have access.

Please make sure that all the adults present in your household sign this form, and that minors, if participating, understand and assent to their involvement.

By signing this form, you agree that;

- You have read and understood it, and agree to its conditions;

¹ Verbiage from consent form relevant to data reuse

- Your participation in this study is completely voluntary;
- Our primary contact in this household has received (\$\$) as a thank-you gift for participating;
- Your names, addresses, and other identifying information will be kept confidential;
- The audio, video, and other media recorded during your participation become the property of Intel Corporation for use in this research and possible inclusion in research publications and presentations as listed above;
- You are not revealing any of your own private product concepts, inventions, or ideas that you may want to develop in the future;
- You are being given a blank copy of this form to keep.

Signature (of primary contact and/or parent/guardian)
Date

Name Printed

Appendix A2; Extracts from Intel internal policies relevant to privacy

From Intel's "Code of Conduct, 2008";

Privacy

Many countries have implemented, or are planning to implement, privacy laws that set requirements for the appropriate handling of personal data (any information that can be used to identify, contact, or locate an individual). We are committed to protecting the reasonable privacy expectations of everyone we do business with, including our customers, consumers and employees. We believe individuals have the right to decide when their personal data is collected, used, or disclosed. We also believe that responsible stewardship of personal data is a critical component in maintaining trust in the Intel brand and ensuring that individuals feel

confident that Intel respects their right to privacy. Therefore we each have a responsibility to comply with Intel privacy and information security requirements when personal data is collected, stored, processed, transmitted, and shared. When questions, issues, or concerns arise, consult Intel Legal or a member of the Privacy Team.

From Intel's Legal website;

Privacy Standards

Purpose of Collection and/or Processing Personal Data

You must clearly define the reason why you need to collect and process personal data prior to obtaining it from an individual. You may not use personal data for any other reason than the purpose specified to the individual at the time of collection without their prior consent.

Minimization of Personal Data

You must collect and/or process only the personal data required for a specific purpose.

Retention of Personal Data

You must not retain personal data longer than necessary to satisfy the purpose for which it was collected.

Security of Personal Data

You must take reasonable measures to protect personal data from unauthorized access, use, modification, disclosure or loss.

Transfer of Personal Data

You must comply with Intel privacy and security requirements when transferring personal data to or from a third party.

Accuracy of Personal Data

You must implement reasonable measures to ensure that the personal data you collect and process is accurate, complete and current.

Choice

You must obtain opt-in consent from individuals before collecting or processing their personal data.

Individual Access to Personal Data

You must provide individuals reasonable access to their personal data.

Personal Data Complaint Management

You must respond to privacy related complaints from individuals in a timely manner.

Privacy Notice

You must provide individuals a clear explanation (notice) of your personal data handling practices at the time of collection.

Privacy Training

All Intel employees and contingent workers are required to complete the Intel corporate privacy training every calendar year. New employees and contingent workers must complete privacy training within 30 days of their start date.

Privacy Compliance Enforcement

All Intel employees and contingent workers must comply with Intel Privacy Policy, Standards and Procedures.

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Appendix B: Instruction List for Rentals

No smoking in the house. No pets without prior approval.

Gate; Wave the card against card reader. To buzz somebody in from the house (they must call on the gate phone, not a cell), press *9 on the phone.

Checking-in; Please register with the manager upon your arrival or at the next opportunity during her office hours. Jan Roth is the Capes manager. Her hours are; Tues to Friday 8:30 am to 5:00 pm. Sat; 9:00 to 5:00 Sunday 10:00 to 2:00. The office is closed on Mondays. Phone number is 503-842-8777.

Front door lock; The same key works for both locks. The bottom lock locks automatically unless you pop it out (we recommend doing so upon your arrival and just using the deadbolt during your stay as certain members of the family have been known to lock themselves out by having the door shut behind them). Please lock both upon leaving.

Garage; The code to get into the garage in 0235 or the door key will work.

Trail to the beach; Go back down Capes Drive and keep right to the end of the road. Take the stairs down, follow the path and take more stairs (approximately 170 steps altogether was my mother's estimate; the exact number, per Denis is 195).

There is also beach access in Oceanside if you do not want to deal with the steps.

There are maps, info, tide tables, etc. on the left of the TV and guides (hikes, the coast) on top shelf on the right.

Dogs; Must be on leash on Capes property. Pick up after dogs in yard and on Capes property.

Appliances; Washing machine; **Use only 1/3 the normal amount of detergent as it is a front loader.**

Upon leaving (all);

1. Take all garbage and recycling with you. There is a dumpster/recycling shed right outside the Capes gate on the left as you leave.
2. Leave the outside light on.
3. Run dishwasher and put away dishes.
4. Run the garbage disposal.
5. Wash sheets and make the beds unless you have arranged for cleaning service.
6. In winter, leave the heat on in all the rooms at 50 degrees.
7. Make sure damper in fireplace is closed.
8. Put away all games/books/videos.
9. Bring in deck chairs from outside.
10. Shut all windows and blinds. Make sure storm doors are pulled closed. Put bars in the sliding glass doors.
11. Please do NOT turn off (water heater, ice maker, etc.) anything that was not turned off when you arrived.
12. Please take any consumables/food that you brought with you.

Phone numbers; The phone number at the house is 503-555-5555. Please use your calling card for any long-distance phone calls. If you have any problems or questions, please call us at 503-555-5555. The Capes manager's phone number is 503-555-5555.