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School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Pluri-residentiality and the multi-house home: an investigation into the second home ownership of the black elite residents of Soweto.

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science at University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

Johannesburg, November 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this Dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Master of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.



(Signature of candidate)

November 2015, Johannesburg, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Globally, people are connected to multiple homes. This connection develops through ownership and place attachment. Second home tourism research explores the ownership and place attachment to multiple homes for the purpose of leisure. Whilst second home tourism research has been conducted extensively in the Global North, focusing mainly on leisure, the same cannot be said for the Global South. In South Africa, there is little research conducted on the local wealthy black population and the connection to ownership and place attachment to additional/second homes. The history of racial, socio-economic and spatial segregation in South Africa has facilitated the unique development of the connection to multiple homes for the black populations. Using the current second home tourism literature, together with the legislative history of South Africa, this research hopes to develop open and inclusive explanations of the second home phenomenon for the case of the influential black elite residents in South Africa. This dissertation explores the link that sixty-nine black elite residents of greater Johannesburg suburbs have with their additional homes that are located in Soweto and other regions in sub-Saharan Africa. To achieve this, a largely qualitative methodology set was implemented through the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews and thematic content analysis was utilised for the analysis. To conclude, the results of this dissertation dispute certain aspects of concepts used in current second home literature. It is also emphasized that it is important to rethink and re-conceptualize the international ideas of circulation, mobility and pluri-residentiality, when attempting to appropriately adapt these concepts South Africa.

DEDICATION

To my parents, thank you for the constant support through this journey of mine. Thank you for the encouragement through prayer, even when I had no confidence in myself. Mama and papa, I hope this makes you proud!

To my siblings, Gift, Fhulufhelo and Clive, I wish only to inspire you to fulfil all your dreams. Thank you for believing in me and supporting me through it all.

My dear friend and sister Zanele Moloi, you are my role model. Thank you for constantly being there and never losing faith in my ability to continue and finish off my Masters degree. Thank you for the prayers, love and friendship through this journey of mine.

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CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ELITES AND PLURI-RESIDENTIALITY

1.1 Background

People are connected to multiple homes through ownership and place attachment[1] (Stedman, 2006; Williams *et al*., 2006). Globally, the connection to second homes has been studied more from the ownership and place attachment perspectives for the purposes of tourism/leisure studies (Müller, 2002). Second home tourism research has focused mainly on the leisure perspective of second home ownership and attachment (Williams and Hall, 2000); this focus has expanded to include other perspectives of the second home phenomena. Leisure studies include investigating location, purpose and type of homes that are established for use during holiday seasons (Clout, 1972; Barendregt *et al*., 2004).

Second home ownership has been investigated to a large extent in the Global North in countries such as Sweden, Germany, the United States of America and Norway (see Clout, 1972; Jaakson, 1986; Müller, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2002; Gallent et al., 2004; Müller; 2004; Dijst et al., 2004; Hall and Müller, 2004; Gallent, 2007; Paris, 2009). Current research shows that second home ownership is not a new phenomenon because of the large data set available for this type of investigation (Clout, 1972; Müller, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2002; Müller, 2004; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b).

In countries such as South Africa and China, the second home tourism research focus has been similar to the research undertaken in the Global North (see Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004; Hui and Yu, 2009; Visser, 2013b). In many cases in the Global South, it has been found that the wealthy, white, mobile populations invest in additional homes, located in the coastal regions or within recreational, nature-oriented amenity areas for the purposes of retirement and vacation (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004; 2010; 2011). This shows that the second home

[1] 'Place attachment' is used to describe an emotive/intangible value, which one attaches to a particular space/setting. This attachment is, to an extent, experienced through frequent visitation to the space/setting (Stedman, 2006; Morgan, 2009).

experience found in the Global North is also present in some parts of the Global South. However, the focus on the white, middle and upper-class mobile populations ignores other aspects of second home ownership, such as the black wealthy mobile population. It is important to study this particular demographic so as to add to the literature pertaining to this phenomenon in present countries within the global south. Within the literature available on second home tourism in South Africa the focus is evidently on the poorer black populations and the local economic development of tourism hotspots in small towns that include second home establishments (Hoogendoorn, 2011). Included in this are studies on labour migration and the influence this has had on the temporal and spatial linkages of poor populations to their second homes (Hoogendoorn, 2011). Parallel to this, there is limited literature focusing on the wealthier black populations and their relationship with additional homes within the Global South (Hoogendoorn, 2010; Visser, 2013b).

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the knowledge gap within second home tourism research. The core aim of this research is then to propose the importance of building on literature that investigates multiple-home ownership and place attachment, for the case of the black elite residents of Johannesburg. This will be done in order to create a new understanding of multiple house home ownership and place attachment for the context of South Africa. This will be done by exploring how the concepts of pluri-residentiality, circulation, mobility and the multihouse home, apply to the context of the Global South, using specifically the relationship that the sixty-nine wealthy black residents of Johannesburg have with their multiple homes in Soweto.

The first major concept that will be used in this research is pluri-residentiality. The term pluri-residentiality is used to refer to families that have multiple homes within a town or even second homes within the rural areas or metropolitan regions, which make up a single household (Bell and Osti, 2010). For the case of this thesis, a pluri-residential is then someone who is connected to multiple homes through ownership and/or place attachment regardless of whether they live or grew up in that home, or how frequent they visit. In this research the definition of pluri-residentiality is expanded to explore mobility, circulation and the relationship one develops with multi-house homes. A similar example can be found in Greiner's (2012) work, which

suggests that multiple homes foster the mobility and migration of individuals. This then develops into multiple networks of circulation between multiple homes, making pluri-residentiality possible. Green *et* al., (1999) explore the concept of a multihouse home. The multihouse home can be explained as alternative houses that are situated in the urban areas/towns and even rural regions that are connected to the primary household and therefore together create one home (Overvåg, 2011; Greiner, 2012).

The connection between multihouse homes is defined as circulation. Circulation refers to a frequent type of movement, through which an individual travels to and from his/her primary and second home (Overvåg, 2011). The aim of this mobility is not to permanently change residency, which is similar to migration, rather this type of mobility allows for the occurrence of travel cycles (by weekly or monthly) where the intention is not to change residence (Clout, 1972; Ogden, 1994; Overvåg, 2011). The repetitive and cyclical movement of an individual is created or influenced by the multiple mobilities[2] (daily livelihood duties; place attachment) and in turn, advocates the maintained link with a second home or even multihouse homes (Overvåg, 2011). Therefore, it can be said that an individual circulates between multihouse homes. This means that there is an informal, intangible connection formed between these homes and these multiple places can then be described as a single home (Overvåg, 2011; Greiner, 2012).

In order to explore the case of multihouse homes for the black elite in Johannesburg, the history of Soweto and Johannesburg will be introduced in this chapter to reveal how apartheid laws influenced the connection that the black elite have with their home(s). Following this, the sample of the study will be introduced. The race and socio-economic status of these participants within the context of Johannesburg is discussed to further understand who the black elite are, why they have chosen to live in the suburbs of Greater Johannesburg and their significance within current political and social affairs. In conjunction with the specifics of this research's context and

[2] Multiple mobilities' describe the everyday commitments that create the need to travel; the small networks that societies are organized through, the everyday stability and movement that occurs (Overvåg, 2011). These multiple mobilities exist because of work, school, homes, shopping malls, the post office, the bank etc. It is the idea of moving between (Canzler et al., 2008; Overvåg, 2011). It is within the perspective of these concepts that this research focuses on the relationship between the black elite and their multiple homes.

sample, the second home phenomena concepts of pluri-residentiality, circulation and mobility will also be introduced. Lastly, the rationale behind the importance of such an investigation will be discussed, together with the research questions designed for the study. To conclude, the different chapter agendas of this dissertation will be presented briefly.

1.2 Study Site

The main study site of this research is Soweto (Figure 1). Soweto is a township located in the south of Johannesburg which was originally designated for the black working class populations (Bonner and Segal, 1998). Here an exploration is undertaken to understand the network of homes between Johannesburg suburbs and Soweto, and any additional homes located elsewhere in South Africa and bordering countries. Soweto is the base of this network as engineered by apartheid urban planning (Bonner and Segal, 1998; Posel, 2006; Dlamini, 2009).

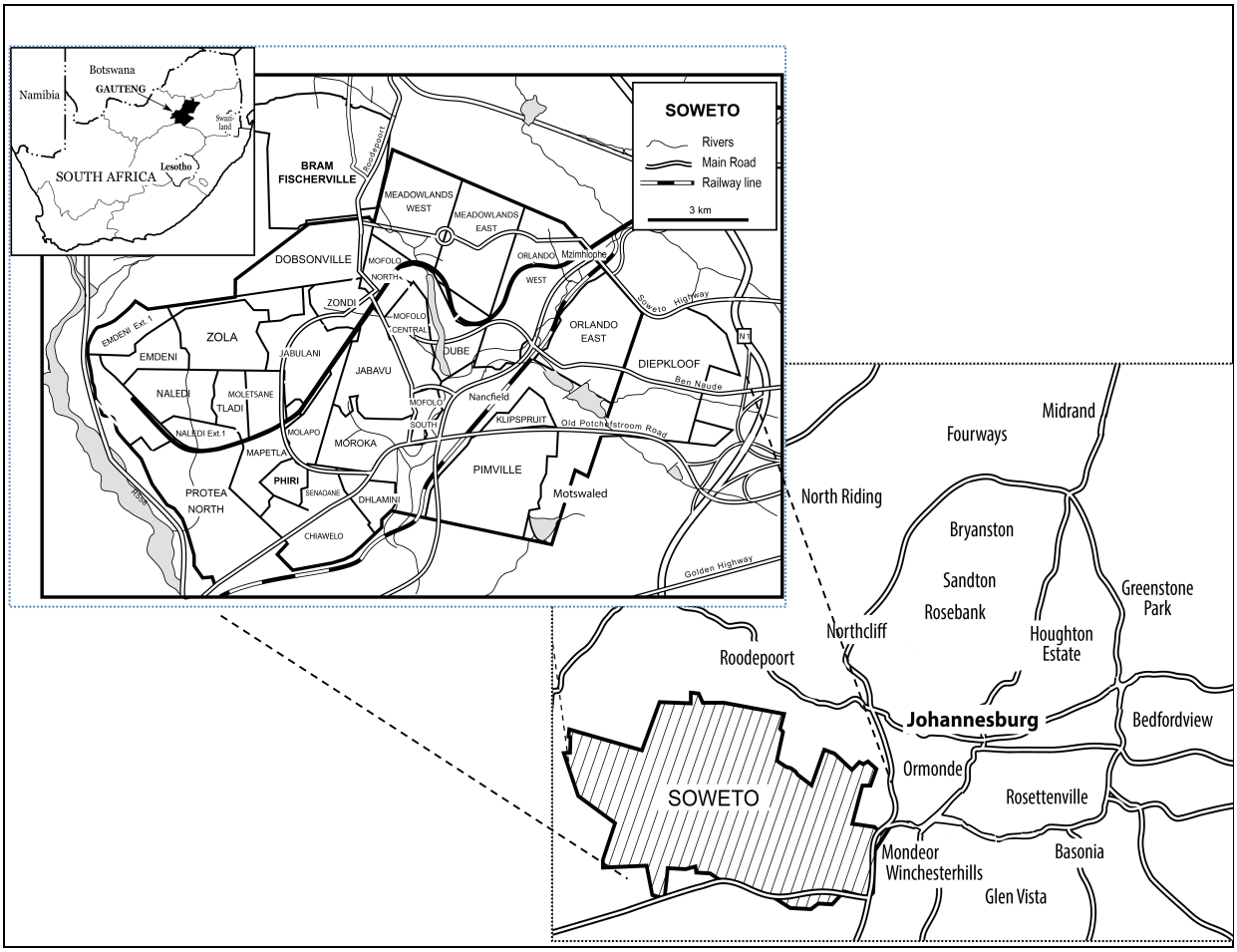

Figure 1: Study Site

This research engages with sixty-nine black wealthy residents of Johannesburg that have relocated from Soweto to the suburbs of Greater Johannesburg. Although they have relocated, having lived (born and raised or lived for a particular period of their lives) in Soweto, the black elite maintain a connection with their homes in Soweto. Therefore, in an effort to re-understand how circulation, mobility and pluri-residentiality are influenced by a relationship with the home(s), it is important to keep in mind that the history of colonization, segregation and the apartheid laws within South Africa fostered the development of circulation and labour migration networks amongst the black population (Byrnes, 1996; Smit, 1998; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003).

It was the Apartheid urban planning and associated segregation laws that facilitated the circulation and movement of the black population through urban settlements (Pollock *et al*., 1963; Christopher, 1992; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). Although the apartheid urban planning policies and laws encouraged the black population to stay temporarily in urban spaces like Soweto, this has changed in the post-apartheid era, as spaces like Soweto are now considered to be a permanent home by many of its black residents (Christopher, 1992; Turok, 1994; Dlamini, 2009). On a broader scale, Berrisford (2011) argues that the exclusionary and oppressing spatial legacy which was implemented by the segregationist government remains. It is suggested that the spatial 'apartheid-style' designs of urban spaces emphasize the social and racial inequalities (Turok, 1994; Visser, 2001; Iheduru, 2004). This is in agreement with other scholars, who argue that the apartheid urban planning designs still resonate within current infrastructure, as local planning frameworks and Integrated Development Planning (IDP), which aim to redistribute certain benefits of urban society, have struggled to completely implement the spatial and social reintegration of society (Bond, 1998; 2000; Visser, 2001; Berrisford, 2011).

This study will look into the circulation processes and pluri-residentiality, the nostalgia for certain social practises that occur in and around the homes of the participants (Overvåg, 2011; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b). Furthermore looks at how, the laws of the post-apartheid government and the multiple mobilities facilitate the development of new circulation between the urban places of Soweto and suburbs of

Greater Johannesburg. Soweto is therefore a useful context to attempt to understand the applicability of concepts used international literature for the case of the black elite residents and the second home phenomena in South Africa.

1.3 Research Participants: Race, Class and the significance of the Home

The race and class of an individual has significant meaning within South Africa's communities specifically because of the segregationist and apartheid history (Berrisford, 2011). Race was the determining factor for one's experience of public spaces within South Africa during this period of segregation (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). It is important to emphasize that the race of an individual is a determining factor of life experience. Race forms "social interactions and is embedded in our institutions" (Loveman, 1999, 891).

Class in South Africa, was and remains influenced by the legacy of social and racial segregation created by the apartheid government (Visser, 2011; Berrisford, 2011). There is no set definition for the term class. However, the general consensus is that class refers to one's socio-economic position within society (Lenin, 1965). The socio-economic position of the participants of this research is linked to the history of the location of the study site. The social class of an individual is determined by his/her 'objective reality' which refers to the position one occupies within the social strata, dependent on "the system of social production and their relation to the means of production" (Lenin, 1965, 421). This definition suggests that the economic position of an individual is based on an individual's access to this wealth. In addition, the standards of living are influenced by the wealth the individual has attained.

The apartheid history of South Africa has influenced majority of the black population's socio-economic position by implementing laws that limited the control of assets for the non-white population (Pollock *et* al., 1963; Byrnes, 1996; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). Consequently, only a small group of the black population have come to own assets and fall within the upper-class income bracket (Byrnes, 1996). According to Statistics South Africa, the upper class residents of Soweto, earn between R307 601 and R2 457 601 (Space-Time Research, 2015). The elite black

residents are said to earn beyond R2 457 601 (Space-Time Research, 2015). Thus, in order to find suitable participants, the minimum annual household income bracket used for this investigation was between R500 000 and R600 000.

Looking at the history of the black South African citizen, in particular the housing structures and access to wealth, it could be argued that the home of a black South African holds value because of the apartheid history of oppression (David Makhura, 2015). Gauteng Premier David Makhura uses the example of the current RDP[3] four-room standard houses that were provided for the black population and describes them as being a replication of the apartheid 'matchbox'[4] houses (Gauteng Premier David Makhura, 2015). Post-apartheid, the RDP houses are said to be "incubators for poverty" (Gauteng Premier David Makhura, 2015).

In contrast to the case of the majority of black South Africans, the black elite is a group considered to have been able to further liberate themselves from this form of living because of their access to and ownership of multiple homes within former white areas (de Waal, 2013). The current South African black elite can be described to be affluent, influential, connected and powerful within society (de Waal, 2013). What stands out about some black elites living in South Africa is that they are politically affiliated with the African National Congress (ANC) (da Waal, 2013). The status of being associated with the ANC facilitates the power this group has over poorer populations (Smith, 2010). Their leadership positions and connections afford them the capacity to choose whom they wish to give access to state funds (Smith, 2010). For that reason, some of the black elite lead lifestyles that include excessive spending on their mode of transport, homes, private schooling for their children and holidays (Smith, 2010; de Waal, 2013).

This research focuses, in particular, to the black elite that originate from Soweto that have now relocated to suburbs in Greater Johannesburg and further in Gauteng.

[3] The Reconstruction and Development Programme is an integrated socio-economic policy framework that was put into action after the 1994 elections by the ANC. The purpose of this framework was to fix the effects of the Apartheid government on the South African society (The White paper on reconstruction and development, 1994; Bond, 2000).

[4] The 'matchbox' houses were owned by the Apartheid state and leased to black tenants on a monthly basis. The size and standardization of these housing units is what made the commonly known as 'matchbox' houses (Morris, 1980, 54-55; Lewis, 1966, 53-54).

This research attempts to explore how this access to wealth and the connection to homes to establish and perhaps challenge the hegemonic literature pertaining to wealthy second home owners globally.

1.4 Pluri-residentiality through the Apartheid Urban Planning and Post-apartheid

When discussing the extent to which race and class influence access to wealth and space, it is important to keep in mind that the historic legislation and controlled migration patterns of South Africa have created a unique case of the second home phenomena for the black population (see Byrnes, 1996; Giliomee, 2003; Hoogendoorn, 2010). The urban planning, Native (urban Areas) Act 1923 and movement control laws controlled and limited the frequency of travel to different homes of the black population (Pollock *et al*., 1963; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). Consequently, labour migration resulted in a rural-urban network forming and links to multiple homes in Soweto and the Bantustans (Christopher, 1992; Hoogendoorn, 2010). Post-1994, once the former governments' law and policies were abolished, the freedom of movement and ownership of households further assisted in the development of a network amongst multiple homes for the black population (Byrnes, 1996; Giliomee, 2003).

Similarly, a case study by Overvåg (2011) looks at migration and circulation in order to properly explain the difference between migration and circulation networks by investigating the second home tourism phenomenon in Norway. It is suggested that a network of mobility is present for the purposes of maintaining a relationship with multiple homes through multiple mobilities. Overvåg (2011) uses terms such as pluri-residentiality, multiple mobility and circulation, to conceptualize mobility and the relationship developed between the different homes of second home tourists. This research uses a similar approach to understanding the network and relationship built by the black elite through the ownership and place attachment to additional homes in Soweto and other provinces of South Africa. In light of Overvåg's (2011) rationale around circulation, figure 2 illustrates the general migration pattern of black labour that took place during Apartheid and also after the Apartheid era. The houses in

Soweto and the rural setting are important spaces within this research as these are the spaces that the black elite own and/or are attached to.

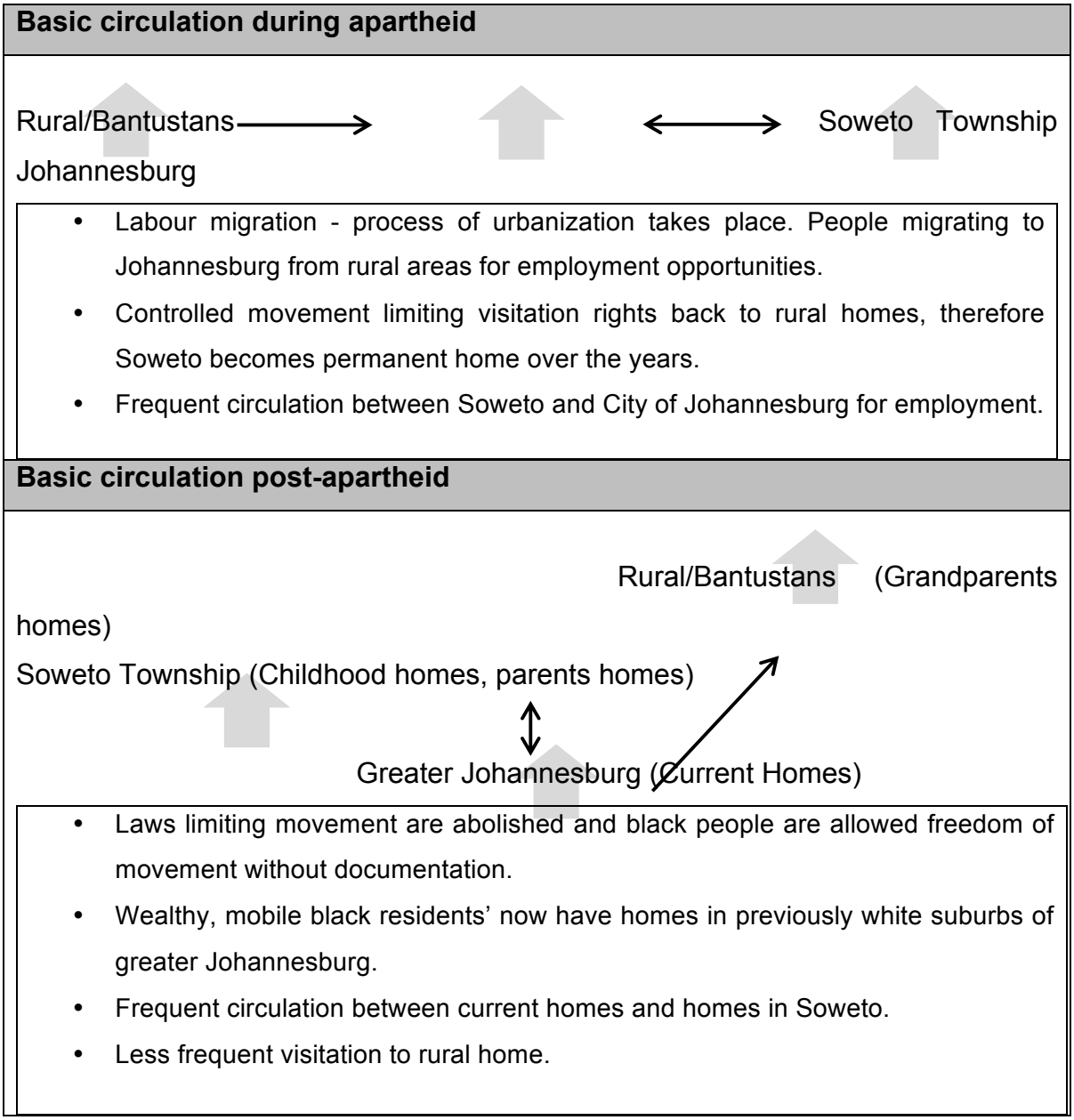

Figure 2: Illustration of movement during apartheid compared to post-apartheid movement of ex-Soweto residents that have relocated to suburbs of Greater Johannesburg (After Overvåg, 2011).

1.5 Rationale and Research questions

This research aims to explore the applicability of the pluri-residentiality and the multiple home phenomena to black elite that have relocated from Soweto and have

moved to suburbs of Greater Johannesburg. The purpose is to contribute to the limited literature available in the realm of second home tourism in South Africa. The argument made through this dissertation is that, there are unique circulation networks and multiple mobilities that have influenced a heterolocal[5] connection with multiple homes of the black elite that are still present, even post the urban planning and settlement laws of the apartheid era.

It is important to rethink and re-frame the concepts of pluri-residentiality and the multiple homes which relate to second home tourism, when attempting to apply these concepts appropriately to the case of the developing world and, specifically South Africa. By understanding the societal changes created by the segregationist and apartheid government, and peripatetic networks formed through a connection to a home, a better understanding of pluri-residentiality and circulation occurrences will be facilitated. Through this the research further attempts to assist in setting an independent approach to second home research within the Global South, in particular for the black elite population, by emphasizing that not all dominant international theories are relevant to the Global South context. Therefore, in order to look at these aspects of second home ownership for the case of the black elite residents, this research aims to answer three main research questions, which are as follows:

a) Where are the multihouse homes of the black elite located?
b) How have the circulation and other mobility patterns of the black elite developed post-apartheid?
c) Do the black elite maintain a link with their second homes and multihouse homes?

The following chapters provide a conceptual background to second home tourism research and also specific to South Africa in order to answer the 3 main research questions posed for the purpose of this investigation.

[5] The term heterolocal is derived from the concept of 'heterolocalism' which refers to a current structure of dispersed ethnic residents of the urban areas that continue to keep a cultural identity through linking with certain places. The identity becomes heterolocal because it is still linked to places of its origin i.e. Soweto, rural home (Bantustans) (Zelinksy and Barret, 1998; Halfacree, 2012; Brettell and Hollifield, 2014).

1.6 Conclusion: Chapter agendas

Chapter 2 of this thesis focuses on international literature that speaks specifically about the dilemma around defining concepts related to second home ownership. As this research is heavily dependent on the respondent's connection to home(s), the first section looks at the space and place of home and the analysis in relation to an individual's development of a heterolocal identity. Following this, the typology of a second home(s); the purpose, type, location and issues around differentiating between the first and second home is discussed. Building on to this understanding, the link one has with one or multiple homes, the following section looks at concepts of VFR[6] Tourism and VFR Travel, mobility, migration, circulation networks and multiple mobilities in the era of globalization in addition to how they foster a peripatetic relationship between an individual's heterolocal identity and the space of a home(s). Lastly, the chapter concludes by reviewing international case studies which gives empirical evidence of the concepts of second home tourism. This is done to illustrate how far international literature has come, in addition to the knowledge gaps which are yet to be filled.

Chapter 3 attempts to narrow the focus of this research by looking at second home tourism research in the Global South, specifically South Africa. The opening section briefly looks at attempting to set the standard for second home tourism literature in the developing world. It is emphasized that in order to set a standard independent of hegemonic research within the realm of second home tourism, it is vital to draw less from international standards (Visser, 2003a; 2006; Rogerson, 2012). Hoogendoorn and Visser (2004, 2010b, 2011a), have conducted the majority of the second home tourism research thus far and have published works that include a variety of research focuses that are specific to South Africa. The chapter continues by discussing some of the issues around conducting second home ownership research in South Africa, within a context of an apartheid history, in addition to the meaning of race, class and gender within research positionality (Visser, 2003a; 2003b; Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012b; Hoogendoorn and Müller, 2013). This chapter discusses the conceptual dilemmas faced by the developing world in order to illustrate the need to rethink the applicability of certain terms used in the developed

[6] VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) tourism is the act of traveling away temporarily from the habitual dwelling to visit friends and relatives (Williams and Hall, 2002; Backer, 2011).

world, which have come to be homogenously used in the developing world but do not quite explain the in-depth meaning. Building on this, wealth in South Africa and other sub-Saharan countries is linked to consumption patterns in order to understand the black wealthy populations' relationship to the space and place of home (Giliomee, 2003; Hoogendorn, 2010). Lastly, there is also a focus on the history of wealth and the laws and policies influencing power in South Africa, both pre- and post-1994, in order to understand how the limited migration, circulation and mobility patterns have developed around the black wealthy in the post-apartheid era and in essence how the apartheid state has fostered the development of multiple homes in South Africa. Thus there is a need for empirical/official research (Horrell, 1978; Bonner and Posel, 1998; Smit, 1998; Hoogendoorn, 2010).

The methodological considerations of this research are explained in chapter 4. The methods employed to execute this research are discussed step by step. Firstly, the background to the study site, and pressures experienced conducting social science research are briefly explored followed by the epistemological position of the researcher. This chapter also explains the structure and nature of the interview process in addition to the process undertaken to identify the black elite sample set as participants for the interviews. Lastly, the method of thematic content analysis employed is explained, and how it was used for the purposes of systematically organizing the results of the investigation. In addition to this, the challenges and limitations in the fieldwork phase of the data collection will be discussed.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of this investigation as a whole. The profile of the sixty-nine black elite interview participants used is displayed and compared to the statistics South Africa census data (2011); the annual household income, occupation and the location of the multiple homes is presented. The following section explores the meaning and significance of further results by comparing and contrasting the results with that of previous research done within the second home tourism research realm. The final chapter of this thesis concludes with arguments made by the researcher by exploring the limitations experience within the research process and looking into possible future prospects for this nature of the research conducted. It is hoped that more second home research focusing on the black elite population of South Africa is encouraged through this research.

CHAPTER 2: A FOCUS ON INTERNATIONAL SECOND HOME TOURISM LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss second home tourism literature from an international perspective. This is necessary as it provides a background to the current literature which focuses on the second home phenomenon. Numerous debates dealing with the dilemma around defining a second home have agreed that there is no set universal definition; however a second home generally refers to a vacation home used temporarily during leisure periods (Goodall, 1987). This explanation has been applied for the purpose of a second home for the wealthy white residents of the global north and south regions (Goodall, 1987; Hall and Müller, 2004; Gallent, 2007; Paris, 2009; Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004; 2010; 2011; Paris, 2011). However, for the case of this research the definition will be revisited for the case of the wealthy black residents of South Africa. This approach will be used because, characteristics such as the location, type and purpose of a second home are important to unpack in order to be able to contextualize arguments made within second home tourism research (see Clout, 1972; Jaakson, 1986; Müller, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2002; Gallent *et al*., 2004; Müller; 2004; Dijst et al., 2004; Hall and Müller, 2004; Gallent, 2007; Paris, 2009).

Following this, the definition of a home will be unpacked as a basis of the relationship people can develop with second homes. An overview of second home literature within the developing world context will be explored. This section will attempt to discuss the current debates dealing with second homes for the wealthy white and mobile residents of South Africa along with the limited data available on the black population and their relationship with a second home. Lastly, comparing and contrasting the two perspectives will emphasize the lack of information that exists with reference to second home ownership of the black elite with an attachment to multihouse homes Soweto.

2.2 A discussion focused on the Meaning and Analysis of 'home'

Whilst attempting to explore the connection to a second/additional home, it is necessary to explain briefly, the meaning of a 'home'. A home can be described as a space of consumption and also production i.e. relationships are formed within the space of the home and attachment is ascribed to the space because of the interaction with significant people such as family and friends (Williams and Hall, 2000). It is a space in which people and families interact with each other and experience the structure itself. Overvåg (2011) describes this as information which is produced in the form of multiple mobilities (connections at a distance; technology) and, connections with family and friends are harvested within this structure (Overvåg, 2011). Easthope (2004) describes a home as a place and a space to which emotive, personal social meaning is ascribed. When studying the different characteristics and purpose of a home, a space in which there is interaction of culture, ethnicity, identity and relationships are developed, concepts are formed to try and understand these dynamic spaces (Lowe, 2004; Clapham, 2005).

Lowe (2004) suggests that a home is a space in which the identity of an individual can be formed through regular interaction with other individuals within the home i.e. family and friends. This type of understanding is similar to the understanding that a home is a space that goes beyond the physical boundaries. External and internal experiences of an individual associated with a home can mould a fluid relationship (Bondi, 1993; Williams and Hall, 2002). It is a place where the identity of its users is protected, culture is groomed and security is offered (see Fig 3). The Viet Kieu are Vietnamese citizens who reside outside Vietnam. The term Viet Kieu translates to the term Vietnamese sojourner (Williams and Hall, 2002). Williams and Hall (2002) use a conceptual framework to explain how the *Viet Kieu* maintain a relationship between their patterns of travel consumption and the migrant cultures which are created within their households in Vietnam. Through experiencing the home, the identity of an individual (in particular for this case study, the Viet Kieu), is moulded. This experience is contributed to by key cultural dimensions such as the family structure and marriage. In addition to this, both internal and external factors are also present, together with consumption patterns that influence the travel behaviour and in essence, the attachment and value are ascribed to the home.

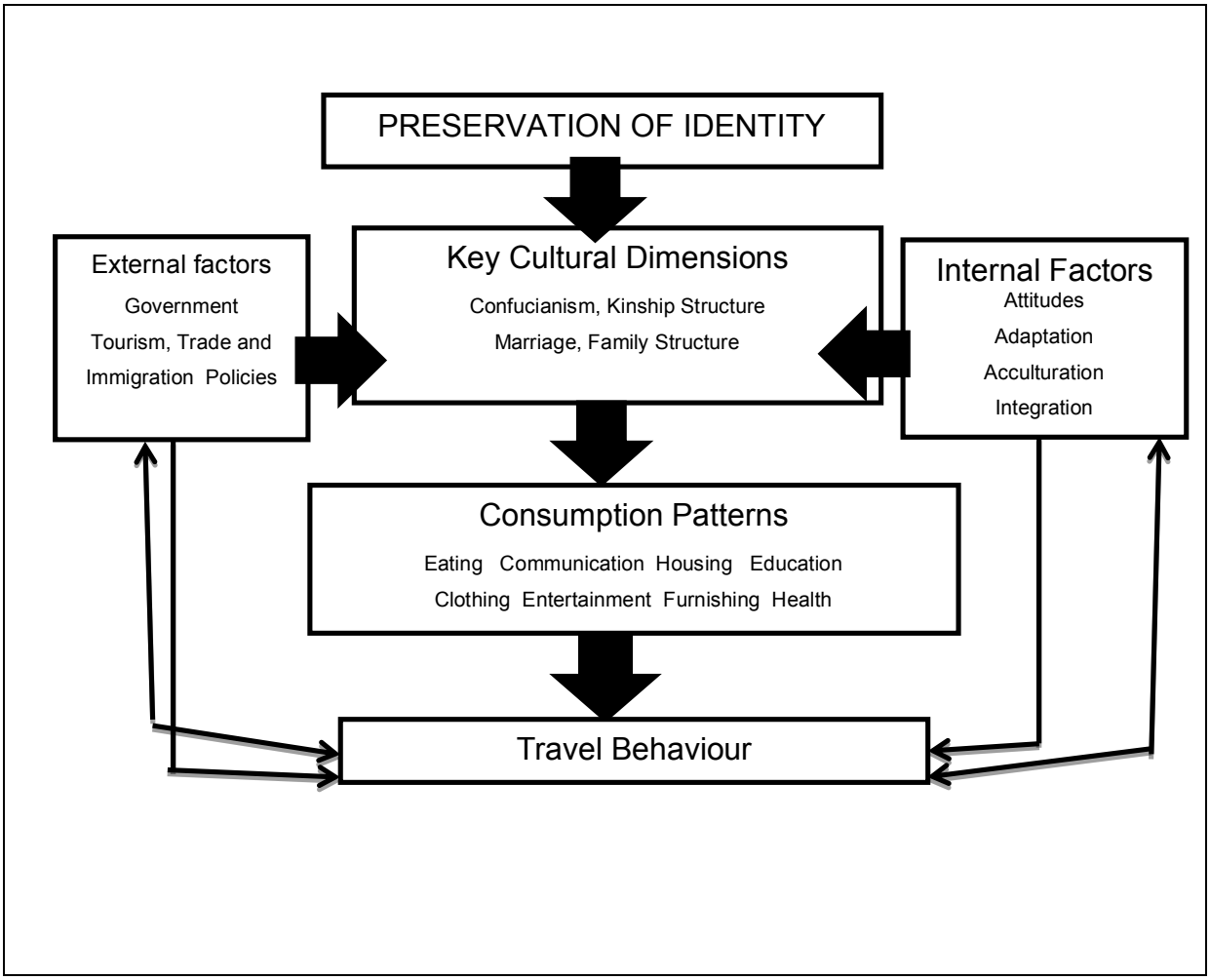

Figure 3: The relationship between Migrant cultures and Travel Consumption of Viet Kieu (Williams and Hall, 2002, p230).

The circulation network between homes in Australia and Vietnam, of the *Viet Kieu*, illustrates a need to reconnect with their roots and accordingly, a constant connection to this fluid relationship with preserving their identity and cultural practises (King, 1994; Williams and Hall, 2002). Therefore, the relationship one has with a home is constantly changing and developing, perhaps even influencing the home into having its own identity as a space (Lowe, 2004; Quinn, 2004; Hardhill, 2004; Gallent, 2007; Halfacree, 2011).

By understanding the significance of a single home, one can adapt the same meaning of attachment to multiple homes that are experienced by many different identities (Overvåg, 2011). The permanent presence of the second home-owner

through materiality (sending of monthly remittance and visits to family) and a connection at a distance is one way of revealing how one home can easily be considered to be connected to other homes (Boyle *et al.,* 1998; Hall and Page, 1999; Williams and Hall, 2000; Müller, 2000; Hall, 2005; Stedman, 2006; Paris, 2009; Overvåg, 2011). These aspects of second home ownership have been explored in literature through many topics such as VFR tourism, migration tourism, cultural influences, lifestyle, kinship and marriage (Hall and Williams, 2002). These topics have been used to explain how homes become connected. In view of that, the typology of second/additional homes will be discussed.

2.3 The typology of second homes: the purpose, type, locations and the difference between primary and second homes

Defining a second home has proved to be a problematic notion because of the many characteristics that contribute to the different second homes in the context of the global north and global south regions (Williams and Hall, 2000; Müller, 2000; Visser, 2003; Hall and Müller, 2004; Gallent *et al.,* 2004; Paris, 2009). The common definition of a second home for the developed world suggests that purchasing or investing in a second home is a common form of elite and middle class leisure consumption (Müller, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2002; Müller, 2004; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b). This is the case for countries such as Sweden, Germany, United States of America and Norway. As this definition has been used consistently through literature, research shows that the second home occurrence is not a new research phenomenon for most countries in the global north (Coppock, 1977).

The indistinctness around identifying second homes has been a topic since the early emergence of second home tourism research in the 1970s (Coppock, 1977; Paris, 2009; Müller, 2011). Property studies revealed that identifying second homes became an issue because of the many different types of physical house structures, locations of second homes and the challenge in differentiating between first and second homes (Marsden, 1977; Coppock, 1977). Second homes were traditionally associated with the wealthy and middle class populations for domestic leisure purposes. Due to the upper-class, socio-economic position, the location of these properties was predominantly situated on the metropolitan peripheries and the

coastal area where the cost of living is cheaper than in the city-centres. However, others were also located in rural villages (Dower, 1977; Müller, 2000; 2004; Visser, 2006).

In terms of the physical structure, a second home is not necessarily any different to the other more permanent/fixed-property, thus categorizing it is just a different approach to naming accommodation (Williams and Hall, 2002; Paris, 2008). Another difficulty in identifying a second home comes with the networking or frequency of travelling between these structures. How permanently one stays in a structure may influence the uncertainty in differentiating between the first or second home (Haldrup, 2004; Visser, 2006; Overvåg, 2011). Williams and Hall (2002) adopt a similar approach in identifying a second home. It is suggested that the study can be approached by assessing features such as the type of dwelling, its location and the purpose of this dwelling. This approach of identifying a second home is fluid in the sense that it can be applied to the Global North and Global South contexts alike, because it does not confine its definition to the type and location of the structure. Instead, by identifying these features (type of dwelling, size, location and purpose) one will be able to build on the pre-existing ideas of the relationship between the second home owners and the second home (Williams and Hall, 2002). Paris (2010) developed a table in which he organises the possible uses/purposes that a home may have. He states that a second home is a fluid entity, constantly in a state of development and may be used for various purposes, by to the people who engage with the structure, whether it is occasionally or daily (see Table 1).

Table 1: Typology and Dwelling use (Paris, 2010)

1. Primary residence/ first home: Used by a family most of the time.
2. Second home/ an additional home to the first home: Another home used/visited during leisure periods or simply for family use.
3. Multiple homes/many homes: Simply a home in addition to the primary and the secondary home.
4. Pied-à-terre': An apartment or dwelling used for the purpose of travel convenience to and from work.
5. Investment property/ commercial dwelling: A house that is purchased to

produce return investment, rented out by people other than the family.
6. Other non-commercial family dwelling: A house/ apartment purchased by parents to house children whilst at college, for the convenience of travel to and from college.

On the one hand, Visser (2006) suggests that having a less narrow and more inclusive approach to identifying a second home allows for the geography (location) and other characteristics to not be excluded within the definition process. However, on the other hand, Marsden (1977) argues that a second home can be defined as a static physical structure that goes unchanged for the time it is used. Marsden (1977) speaks of a few categories that can be used to identify a second home which are similar to the typology of dwelling use provided by Paris (2010) (see Table 1); firstly that it is a home used on weekends by guests or family that do not pay for the accommodation.

Secondly, for the purpose of property investment, second homes are also used as private holiday homes that are rented out during peak holiday seasons in order to cover the cost for the owner. The categories, described in Table 1 cover the common use of a second home which is leisure; renting out the property to generate income, personally using the house for family vacations or even investing in a second home for retiring. The ownership of a second home provides for the opportunity for the production of leisure and even for the consumption of leisure (Hall and Page, 1999). The process of identifying the purpose of a second home draws from leisure-time and how it is spent whilst visiting the location of the second home (Hall and Page, 1999).

A contrasting perspective is given by Gallent (2007) who suggests that a second home needs to be seen as more than just a static property, that it is capable of embracing mobility for the time that it is used. By appropriating this space (a second home), the dwellers (tourists, retirees and occasional visitors) may not be the same, therefore the purpose and way in which meaning is attached to the space is dynamic in the sense that the space essentially is not static but is in constant development (Quinn, 2004; Hardill, 2004; Gallent, 2007; Halfacree, 2011). Although the

perspective given by Marsden and Coppock (1977) may be from an ownership point of view and the view of Quinn (2004) and Gallent (2007) may be from a heterotopic[7] view, second home definitions may also be looked at from the temporal state (Dowing and Dower, 1973). The idea of how long one stays in a structure does not differentiate between it being a first or second home.

An example of accommodation that can be for both permanent and temporary residence of an individual is a *pied-à-terre* [8](Clout, 1972). This form of residency is similar to that of a second home but is also more like the permanent residence in that it serves the same purpose as the primary residence. However, in this instance, contrary to examples traditional holiday homes referred to by Müller, (2004) and Dijst *et al*, (2004) in their respective works, this structure (the *urban pied-à-terre*) is used very frequently, on a weekly basis. It is purely for convenience of travel for work purposes but can be used for leisure. The flexibility in the purpose of the structure reveals that second homes are based on the experience and needs of the household.

The debates around the defining of a second home within the context of the Global North (and how it impacts the users and the environment) are continuous for the context of the Global North and are discussed in the case study section which will follow in this literature review (see Williams and Hall, 2000; Müller, 2000; Visser, 2003; Hall and Müller, 2004; Gallent *et al.,* 2004; Visser, 2006). Similar cases of identifying and defining second homes are also found in the developing world however, due to the history of colonization and apartheid, there are links to labour migration (Posel, 2006). For the purpose of this dissertation, a second home will be described as an additional home to which an individual is connected to through place attachment and/or through purchase. This definition will be used because it is an open and inclusive explanation of the second home phenomenon in the developing world. In addition, allows for opportunity to shift from the dominant perspective from

[7] A heterotopic view is deduced from the term 'heterotopia' which refers to places or spaces that are fluid and are experienced beyond physical, spatial and temporal boundaries. These spaces are described in this manner because they facilitate for new, refreshed connections and emotional connections as they are not static (Halfacree, 2011a).
[8] A *Pied-à-terre* is a small apartment that is located in a large city, used as a secondary home, for temporary residents (Clout, 1972).

the traditional developed world which assumes the ownership of additional/second homes for leisure purposes.

2.4 A relationship with second homes through mobility

The lifestyle choices that lead up to ownership or a relationship with a second home are many. The maintenance of a connection with the different homes can be shown within the temporal and spatial boundaries (Quinn, 2004; Hardill, 2004; Gallent, 2007; Halfacree, 2011). Taking into consideration the politics around defining and identifying second homes this next section focuses on the theories that relate a peripatetic relationship with a second homes. The purpose of this next section is to discuss the literature on second home tourism that includes various concepts such as tourism-migration, place attachment, mobility, and leisure, the concept of visiting friends and relatives (VFR) and circulation (Boyle *et al.,* 1998; Hall and Page, 1999; Müller, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2000; 2002; Haldrup, 2004; Hall, 2005; Stedman, 2006; Paris, 2009; Overvåg, 2011).

2.4.1 Mobility: a 'peripatetic relationship with a home'

The first concept to be discussed is 'mobility' as it plays a large role in the study of human geography (Karsten and van der Klis, 2009). Mobility refers to the capability to move or to be moved (Karsten and van der Klis, 2009). Williams and Hall (2005) argue that mobility takes on many forms of movement that develop relative to space and time; whether it be a primary home, second/other homes, holiday homes, investment property or a *pied-à-terre* (Paris, 2011). 'Home' is a space from which people's daily lives begin, it is a space that promotes mobility through the fluid connection of multiple homes (Saunders, 1990; Somerville, 1997; Karsten and van der Klis, 2009). Similarly, Giddens (1991), suggests that as globalization occurs globally, a home is constantly developing and adapting to the interactions that take place within the home.

Halfacree (2011) suggests that merging the idea of 'home' and 'household' has become problematic as both ideas can be understood differently or even intersect. A family within a place-bound space no longer simply implies limited life for an individual. Instead the concept of home has become more fluid and more related to

temporal thinking (Halfacree, 2011). In agreement with the idea of a fluid and flexible relationship with home, Williams *et al*., (2006) say that although 'home' has long been associated with being sedentary, it is dynamic and may even be constructed as an extension of the self. In addition to this, modernity has facilitated the reconceptualization of the meaning of home and has linked it more freely with time and space. A peripatetic relationship with a home is developed through globalization; circulation and the presence of place attachment to home, regardless of frequency of visit to a space. This creates an impact on the understanding of a place-based/sedentary identity in relation to the structure of a home because of the new fluidity (Williams *et al*., 2006). Mobility is a wide concept that seeks to explain the different modes of movement and is recently used to explain movement facilitated by globalization. Multiple mobilities contribute to the reasons people choose to move, the push and pull factors that influence the frequency of movement i.e labour migration, tourism, globalization or even having a second home (Wallace *et al*., 1996).

The study of second home tourism commonly uses the term mobility as the simple act of movement from and to second homes (Boyle *et al.,* 1998; Overvåg, 2011). On one hand, the mobility of an individual is linked to the measure of permanence; how temporary their stay is influenced by the experience of the physical structure or space. Not much literature covers the concept of temporary mobility and circulation. Consequently, there is uncertainty on the time limit of travel and stay (Williams and Hall, 2002). On the other hand, the occurrence of movement is informed by underlying economic, social and cultural reasons and it is important to include these when looking at the study of tourism and migration respectively (Williams and Hall, 2002).

Overvåg (2011) speaks about mobility as a double occurrence, firstly, physical movements of objects and people and secondly, that there is also movement of information (Figure 4). In addition to this, Overvåg (2011) argues that mobility between two or more homes promotes 'connections at a distance'. Haldrup (2004) combines the two ideas and suggests that movement/mobility is essential to tourism and how people experience and perceive landscapes and places. The focus of how

people travel to their dwellings (second homes) is described as a performed art (having significant meaning and influence on the environment) (Haldrup, 2004).

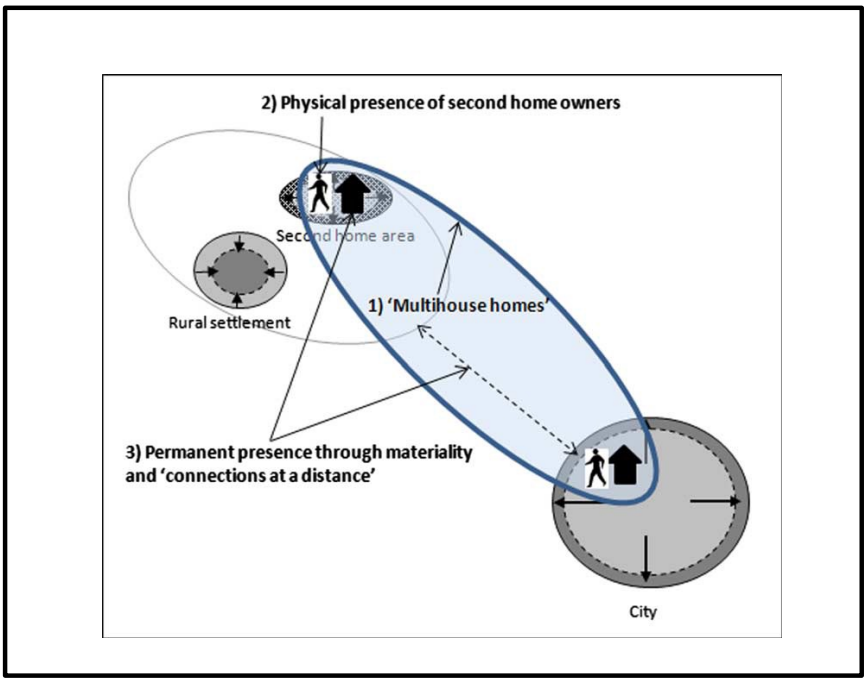

Figure 4: The connection of multiple mobilities of the modern second homes in Norway (Overvåg, 2011, 161).

Canzler *et al.,* (2008) take the idea of mobility further and speak about how contemporary society employs multiple mobilities. Multiple mobilities are the small networks through which the movements of societies are organized. This takes into consideration the everyday obligations such as travelling between work, home, school and even from building to building (Overvåg, 2011). These ideas of mobility link to that of a second home because mobility fosters a greater attachment to a second home as people get the liberty of choosing what they do with their leisure time and how they move from place to place (Haldrup, 2004; Stedman, 2006; Overvåg, 2011).

2.4.2 Networks: Migration, circulation and multiple mobilities

The idea of being mobile links to larger form of movement called migration. Migration is referred to as "the residential relocation of an individual, family or group from one place to another" (Heibert, 2009, 462). This form of movement is associated with mobility over boundaries, and a longer degree of permanence (Williams and Hall,

2002). It has been said that migration is different to tourism because in the case of migration, people move to change their residence permanently and for tourism, people move and return to their original homes. Migration relates to international as well as local regions, people move from rural to urban areas and vice versa (Williams and Hall, 2002; Hiebert, 2009; Overvåg, 2011). This form of movement is different to that of circulation which is more temporary and short-term (Overvåg, 2011).

In contrast to the elements of migration, circulation is a more frequent type of movement that can be used to describe the peripatetic relationship an individual can develop when relating to their second home. Instead of the aim being to change residency permanently, like migrating, circulation occurs in cycles and the intention is not to change residence but to use both or more homes for convenience of everyday life and leisure (Clout, 1972; Ogden, 1994; Overvåg, 2011). The repetitive and cyclical movement of an individual is created or influenced by multiple mobilities (the movement and information; place attachment) and in turn, advocates the maintained link with a second home or even multiple-house homes (Overvåg, 2011). These concepts have been used in literature for the purpose of discussing the relationship sojourners develop with spaces; home(s), work or even the community.

A very important type of migration is one that relates to people having to relocate for the purpose of employment. Labour migration refers to shifting physical labour to another location (Posel, 2006). The International Organisation for Migration (2011) states that migration is a major characteristic of globalization and the global economy. However, second home tourism research is not relevant to this theme and includes most debates around migration that include how retirement influences movement, the quality of life (Halfacree, 2011a). Hardhill (2004) writes about how transnationalism seeks to facilitate the flow of people, ideas and goods among regions. It can also be said that the daily movements (multiple mobilities), the daily peripatetic lifestyle of the transnational elites and their ways of consumption and production are interconnected with globalization (Hardhill, 2004; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b). Transnationalism loosely refers to social patterns and networks of the interconnectivity between people and their social and economic activity amongst national boundaries (Hardhill, 2004). One could argue that the dominant characteristics of globalization also effect what is described as a heterolocal identity

(Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b). Through the convenience of technology, people are constantly interconnected, thus the cyberspace and physical space expand. It is in this sphere that an individual's identity is constantly developed and heterolocal (Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b).

Globalization can be considered to be the era of multiple mobilities (Halacree, 2011b). This age of technology facilitates heterolocal lifestyles, the agency to employ a fluid relationship with space, time and place (Steinbrink, 2010; Pearse, 2012). Gallent *et al*., (2007) speak of negating the pressures of everyday life; the obligating networks that we are engaged in for purposes of employment. It is evident through research that circulation and multiple mobilities are the vital contributors to the process of globalization. Living in a time where interaction between two people has the option to remain constant, regardless of the time difference and location, occurs in the present time creates a new platform for the relationships people have with their home(s) to be studied (Halfacree, 2011b). Therefore, the study of movement and the development of relationships with places has impacted greatly on second home tourism literature globally, furthermore, setting the standard on which all tourism-research is based (Hardhill, 2004; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b).

2.4.3 Tourism: the desire to escape everyday routine

Haldrup (2004) suggests that tourism is the desire to travel as an escape from the everyday life. This stems from having spare time that involves no obligation or responsibilities for an individual (Williams and Hall, 2002). Tourism has also been defined as a problematic concept because it is contrary to migration. On the one hand, tourism is considered to be more temporary, and on the other hand, migration is permanent relocation (Hall, 2005). There is also a dilemma around defining how temporary a stay can be (Williams and Hall, 2002). A starting point on how to describe tourism has been proposed by Hall and Page (1999). Hall and Page (1999) suggest that certain characteristics of an individual's choice to travel can be identified in order understand the type, purpose of the travel.

Firstly, mobility influences movement outside the usual residence; secondly, movement is not permanent and is short-term with the intention of returning to the

usual residence. Another feature that can be identified is if the motivation for movement is for reasons other than those of employment that is paid for within the duration of the stay (Hall and Page, 1999). All these features are appropriate as a starting point yet they have also been said to be problematic in many aspects (Hall and Page, 1999). The place of residence is not the same for the visits, one may circulate between residences. Secondly, the idea of measuring time is also difficult because it is relative to the individual and lastly, the intention of returning home may distinguish between whether the purpose of movement is migration or leisure (Hall and Page, 1999). This overlaps with the idea of the temporary migrants who travel for employment purposes (Williams and Hall, 2002). It is important to include aspects of leisure and social practices that create relationships between people and places. In addition to this, in order for someone to be mobile for touristic reasons, a relationship between time, space and human agency needs to be developed (Bell and Ward, 2000; Hall, 2005).

According to Coppock (1977) and Sharpley and Telfer (2002), the economic changes experienced by industrial countries in the past have allowed for more disposable income and longer periods of free time. This has led to a growth in travel and tourism and in turn the development of second homes (Williams and Hall, 2000). Leisure refers to free time that is spent away from obligating responsibilities (business, domestic chores, school and work) (Williams and Hall, 2002) and so it links to tourism as this desire to travel is accommodated through free time (leisure) (Hall and Page, 1999). A type of tourism that develops because of leisure can be referred to as VFR tourism (Williams and Hall, 2002). Migration is a significant for Visiting Friends and Relations (VFR) tourism to occur. The attachment, relationship that an individual may have with the friends and relatives influences the migration-led tourism phenomenon (Williams and Hall, 2002). Once a family member choose to change residences permanently, there develops a need for travelling back to one's native or original home for the purpose of visiting friends and relatives. Williams and Hall (2002) suggest that even more than just a continuum of friends and family centered relationship, there are other reasons that motivate migration-led tourism such as the rural-urban migrants.

2.4.4 VFR Travel

Taking into consideration that this type of movement has been happening throughout history as people have migrated, amongst other reasons, for employment purposes (Williams and Hall, 2000b; Backer, 2011; McLeod and Busser, 2014). VFR travel is also an important study because of the impact it has on the destinations of tourists (Backer; 2011). Loosely, the concept of VFR travel refers to the act of being mobile with the purpose of visiting a friend or relative (see Jackson, 1990; Williams and Hall, 2000b; Backer, 2011; McLeod and Busser, 2014).

Rogerson and Hoogendoorn (2014) explore different reasons for this tourism; visiting friends and family for purposes other than visiting them, such as funerals, weddings, cultural rituals as well as not staying in the same home/structure as the family and friends they are visiting. The question posed and explored by Jackson (1990), of whether VRF travel is underestimated within the realm of second home tourism, sets the emphasis on the need for research of the process of visiting friends and relatives. Backer (2011) responds to this and agrees that there is a lack of research with regard to VFR travel. In many of her works, Backer (2011; 2008) employs the term VRF 'traveller' instead of 'tourist' to explore the underrated interest in VFR travel. It is explained that the term 'tourist' is almost inclusive of everyone who is mobile, which in some cases is misleading, because there is a difference in reason for mobility (Williams and Hall, 2000b). A tourist is mobile for purposes of leisure and a traveller is someone who is mobile for obligating reasons (Leiper, 2004).

The case study conducted by Backer (2008; 2011) in Queensland, Sunshine Coast, Australia illustrates her approach on VFR Travel. Backer (2008) also explores seven reasons behind the neglect of VRF as a form of travel. These include, no set definition to VFR travel, misleading data collection, literature within the tourism text books and difficulty in trying to influence VFR travellers. Firstly, in Backer (2008) the lack of clear definition as to what a VFR traveller is may have misled scholars. Secondly, there should not be an assumption that visiting a friend or relative is the same as staying in their home for the duration of the visit. Backer (2008; 2012), is in agreement with Uriely (2010) by distinguishing the difference between a traveller and tourist. Uriely (2010) defines the VFR traveller to be someone who travels with the

purpose of being in the presence of a familiar environment with familiar faces such as friends, familiar or people who are native to the area visited. Furthermore, it involves, staying in the homes of these friends for the duration of the visit, experiencing their hospitality and even learning about their local cultural norms and behaviours. This is not the case for many scholars within second home tourism who use the terms tourist and traveller interchangeably.

McLeod and Busser (2014) look at the experiences of the hosts to the visiting friends and relatives visiting. They make the assumption that the visitors and hosts are staying at the same home for the period of visit. To explore the relationship between the host and the visitor, Shani (2011) discusses the 'extraordinary' and 'everydayness' experienced by the VFR tourist through his/her movements in between visiting friends and relatives and staying at his/her own homes. It is argued that when visiting their friends and family, at their home, a feeling of belonging and comfort may arise because of the meaning ascribed to this space.

In contrast, the tourist/visitor may also feel overwhelmed by the lack of privacy and thus experience a feeling of nostalgia (Shani, 2011). For this case study, there is no distinction between a 'tourist' and a 'traveller' as VFR tourism and VFR travel are used interchangeably. This section has discussed trends that are researched within second home tourism research within the developed world. It is important to differentiate and to clarify certain concepts and definitions so as to be able to give a review of the current debates that are taking place internationally with regard to the location and purpose of the second homes.

2.5 Second home case studies of the developed world

The following section will attempt to discuss the international debates in the second home tourism realm of research taking into consideration the concepts defined in previous sections. Some debates about second homes in the developed world context use the hegemonic idea of the location, type and purpose of a second home (Gallent *et al*., 2004; Williams and Hall, 2002; Hall and Müller, 2004). These associations are linked to the idea of leisure, free time that is consumption led (Coppock, 1977; Williams and Hall, 2000b). Müller (2004; 2006; 2011) mentions the

history in the development of second homes. He notes that societal changes such as an increase in seasonal mobility for the retirees' households, the issue around displacement of the rural community due to second home development and lastly, the growth of second home ownership by foreign investors have all accelerated because of globalisation, international migration and environmental interests. This furthermore justifies the need for revisiting the study of second home tourism and its impacts internationally (Müller, 2002; 2004; 2006; 2011).

The investigation by Barendregt et al., (2004) suggests that second home owners of the Netherlands frequently compensate for the lack of leisure opportunities experienced at their homes or in the surrounding area of their homes by investing in a second home. This occurrence is similar to many cases of second home investment internationally (Müller, 2006). Second homes in the case of Sweden are usually located in the rural areas which are similar to other Scandinavian countries with colder climates where the second home plays a significant role in the idea of a picturesque countryside (Müller, 2002). The rural areas for a great part of the population of the Scandinavian countries also represent the place of origin where culture, family and history are located (Jaakson, 1986; Williams and Hall, 2002). Contrary to this perspective of the rural idyll and the tourism benefits it brings to the Scandinavian countries, the case is different for the British countryside.

According to Gallent *et al.,* (2004), second homes are viewed as one of the main reasons for the displacement of the British rural communities. Evidence of the collapse of villages and schools due to the investment of property by the wealthy population reveals a shortage of housing supply in the countryside of the United Kingdom (Gallent *et al.,* 2004). Bollom (1978) however sees that second homes are not the main reason for the shortage of housing and the displacement of rural populations. Instead, Bollom (1978) suggests that the social changes that came with the more disposable income and longer periods of free time and more recently the economic decline should be the reason for housing shortage, and rather that the development of second homes is merely increasing the problem.

A more recreational and fluid relationship to a second home is explored by Barendregt et al., (2004). Dutch non-mobile caravan owners and German second

home owners can be used as an example where the trend of compensating for the lack within their primary settlements is not the motive for second home ownership. Here second home ownership is also a middle class phenomenon and instead the only difference is the type of second home due to the income per household (Barendregt et al, 2004). The result is that in general, affluent households own second homes but it does not mean that less affluent households do not have second homes; instead the differentiation is the type of second home they can afford (Barendregt et al, 2004). Seasonal vacation is a trend amongst the affluent population residing in developing countries in the global north. Here families stay in the city in winter but choose to spend summer at their second homes located in the countryside (Müller, 2002; Barendregt et al, 2004; Gallent *et al.,* 2004). Müller (2006) speaks about the amenity-rich areas in Sweden that influence the population distribution. This means that the geographically attractive regions of the country encourage second home development. Supporting this, there is evidence of second homes located in regions with popular tourist resorts, amenity-rich areas such as the Swedish mountains, at the Norwegian boarder and the interior of the southern part of Sweden where populations choose to reside (Marjavaara and Müller, 2005).

Overvåg (2011) addresses rural second homes in connection to migration, looking at the mobility patterns of the population create relationships to their second homes across distance. The second home is considered to be an extension of the second home owner through the interconnected mobilities that Overvåg (2011, 155) discusses. Part of the discussion in this paper is how the second home being an extension of multihouse homes is the first form of mobility, followed by the idea of 'place development perspective' which refers to the physical and social impact that a second home can have regardless of how long they stay. Lastly, Overvåg (2011, 160) speaks of the idea of 'connection at a distance' which occurs through the physical structure of the second home that can contain a materialistic connection through different modes of communication. It is suggested that second homes should not be understood as developing solely because of migration. Instead, the concept of circulation should be used to conceptualize the phenomenon (Overvåg, 2011).

Another approach taken to studying second homes in the developed context is the sustainability and impact of second homes on an environment and its community.

Müller (2001) investigates whether second home tourism is a good contributing factor to sustainable development. In addition Müller (2001) looks at the negative impacts on the environment and the host community, caused by the second home owners. The production and consumption patterns of the two areas are said to be altered due to the settlement of second home owners in the areas. However, it is suggested that a way to reduce this issue is by firstly, keeping tourist attraction activities exclusive to the area such as recreational activities and the areas distinctive culture. Secondly, also by attracting other tourists from close towns will have fewer impacts on the environment and society and in turn creating a sustainable economy. Concluding the investigation, Müller (2001) argues that second home tourism slightly adapts to the concept of sustainable development and that however the impact is not enough to accomplish significant development within the investigated areas.

Paris (2009) looks at repositioning second homes within housing studies of affluent countries. It is argued that the "increase in economic prosperity, the need for recreation, relaxation and improved accessibility of remote locations" (Barendregt et al., 2004, 140) has influenced the growth in second home ownership (Paris, 2009). Second homes in the case of the United Kingdom and Ireland are described as process of gentrification (Paris, 2009). This process of gentrification creates situations of displacement, even more the outsiders and locals are at conflict (Paris, 2009). Second home investment creates a stress on the resources available for the locals. For example, the fishing and agricultural communities in the 1960s were affected because of higher demands for resources in the peak harvest time which is when the second home owners would choose reside temporarily in the area (Paris, 2009). In addition to this problem, housing prices have peaked due to the growth in demand for second homes in the western coast villages which give a chance to the second home owners to experience the rural idyll (Paris, 2009). This of course brings with it a sense of exclusion in the sense that the housing market is inaccessible to those that earn less in comparison to the affluent second home owners (Paris, 2009).

Second homes are however, not exclusive to rural and countryside settings, instead they are also found close to recreational regions such as beach resort destinations

with warm weathers or the metropolitan region and even located in the cities as apartments (Müller, 2011). It can be said that the relationship to a second home has been explored beyond just the physical existence but even the theoretical connection (cultural significance, place attachment and experience) (Haldrup, 2004; Stedman, 2006). Stedman (2006) compares the relationships and place attachment of the second home owners that reside seasonally to the second home owners that reside all-year round at their second homes. This investigation finds that although the all-year round residents reveal more of a place connection, the seasonal residents also have a connection. Stedman (2006) also suggests that having to oscillate between the permanent and temporary home does not necessarily limit the extent of place attachment. Instead it can be argued that it fosters a greater sense of attachment to a place.

Other arguments have urged that mobility, place attachment and the impermanence of a migrant are influenced by the attractiveness of the area (Müller, 2005; Marjavaara and Müller, 2005). Therefore the relationship between a second home and the wealthy, white middle class in the developed context is more fluid as it transcends above conventional understandings of the past (Hall, 2005; Müller, 2005; Stedman, 2006).

In the many cases of second home tourism mentioned above, the wealthy are described as the mobile tourists with the option of having a second home because of the affluent economies and social or cultural meaning (Müller, 2002; Haldrup, 2004; Barendregt et al., 2004). This has been the main focus of consumption and production tourism research within the global north and south context. There is a general prevalence of second home ownership amongst the citizens of the global north for recreational purposes, however this is not always the case for countries in the global south where research has focused mostly on tourism as a tool for socio-economic development (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2010b). In addition to this, the recent migration-led tourism patterns that link the poorer populations to their second homes have been discussed.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the dominant ideas that pertain to second home tourism research in the global north. The common definitions of a home; home as a source of identity preservation, home as a place of belonging and security, set the foundation for mobility, migration and circulation. Being able to develop attachment to places between the rural and urban regions within a country or even across national borders encourages a connection to be maintained at these different homes/structures. A primary home and second home is constantly developing and changing because of the different users that ascribe meaning and attachment to it. Thus, the argument that a relationship with a home transcends beyond the physical boundaries is justified through this network and peripatetic lifestyle.

The general perception around ownership of multiple homes in the northern hemisphere is that second home owners are middle and upper class residence. The only difference that may be found is the type and purpose of the dwelling. A second home is simply an additional home to the primary residence, used temporarily during leisure periods; for example during school holidays, retirement and weekend getaways. These second home owners can afford to travel back and forth yearly or more which allows for them to spend and appreciate the bond, attachment created with these places (other homes). This is not to say that people whom are unable to travel as frequently to their second homes are not as attached to those spaces. In addition to this, engaging with multiple homes acquires these structures the description of a home (a source of ethnicity, culture, memory) because there is no single use for such a structure and it is important to understand this once making a comparison to the typology of dwelling use in other parts of the world, in particularly . The issue around defining and categorising the different purposes of a second home has been around for decades, instead the agreement is to define this structure related to the study case at hand and to categorise accordingly. The location of these properties was initially, dominantly situated on the metropolitan peripheries and the coastal area however, others were also located in rural villages.

Attempting to measure how long someone stays to visit their family and relations or even a place creates difficulty when writing about specifics within second home

tourism literature. Whether a person visits their family homes for obligating reasons or during their leisure periods is important to consider because there may be differences between the developed world context and the developing world context. Lastly, such assumptions relating to reasons behind second home ownership, the locations, the purpose and the type of the dwelling for the developed world context is not necessarily the identical situation within the context of the developing world. This literature review attempts to illustrate the flaws within some of the arguments that make such assumptions, moreover to draw the information from this chapter for discussion purposes later. The next chapter will discuss second home tourism research within the context of the developing world. Looking at how the wealthy white mobile elites enjoy the investment of second homes in contrast to the different relationship that the previously disadvantaged relate to a second home.

CHAPTER 3: THE RISE OF SECOND HOME TOURISM RESEARCH IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

3.1 Introduction

A developing country refers to a country located in the southern hemisphere (World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2014; Aoun, 2014). The characteristics of the majority of these countries which contributes to their 'developing status', include low human development index (HDI), lower standards of living, an underdeveloped industrial sector and slow economic growth relative to other countries (Knox and Agnew, 1998; World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2014). The majority of the country's residents have limited access to progressive material standards of living. This is not to say that the powerful minority is also struggling to grow financially, as recent statistics prove otherwise, showing the striking gap between the rich and the poor in certain countries within the global south (Swarns, 2002; Southall, 2004; Iheduru, 2004; Gladstone, 2005; Malinga, 2005; Tonheim and Matose, 2013; , 2014).

The aims of this chapter are firstly, to understand the dilemma in setting a standard for second home tourism research in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing regions. Secondly, to review the extent of second home research pertaining to the developing world by giving a brief review of second home tourism research conducted in the developing world. The aim is to note, how second home tourism has impacted on South Africa in the post-apartheid era; with particular focus during its 'elite transition' (Bond, 2000; Steinbrink, 2010; Visser, 2013; Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014). The peripatetic way of life of the previously oppressed has thrived regardless of the abolishment of the controlled movement laws; the circular migration and, now, informal rural-urban linkages have not been altered significantly (Posel, 2006; Schmidt-Kallert, 2009; Steinbrink, 2010). Thirdly, the chapter looks at the issues around applying conventional concepts; the difference between a first and second home for black South African residents; attempting to understand place attachment and nostalgia in relation to the household of origin. Lastly, the chapter will also look at the history of labour migration. In addition to this, the wealth acquired by a group of wealthy black South Africans will also be discuss. This will be linked to

defining the new meaning of home once in possession of resources that assist in upgrading homes.

3.2 Second home literature in the Global South

The literature on second home tourism has, for many years, been based on the research conducted in the global north (Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014; Williams and Hall, 2000; Hall and Müller, 2004; Visser, 2013b). Visser (2003a; 2006) and Rogerson (2012) argue that an essential factor for the growth and value in tourism literature in the global south should attempt to draw less from the dominance of tourism theory from the global north. It is necessary for more research to be conducted in order to set a standard for concepts that explain and guide tourism theories for regions such as sub-Saharan Africa and other developing counties.

It is highlighted that the current research on the wealthy, white and mobile South African second home owners has been similar to the research in Nordic countries and it is time to expand this research realm. Furthermore, although there have been procedural challenges when attempting to identify second homes in South Africa (Pienaar and Visser, 2009), data has been collected to identify the general locations of additional homes in Western Cape coastline, Free state, KwaZulu-Natal.This data includes the regional location of holiday homes, retirement homes and the homes of friends and family of the wealthy white second home owners (Visser, 2003a; Visser, 2004).

3.2.1 Case studies in the Global South

Wu *et al*., (2013) discuss consumption driven second home development in the town of Sanya, China. The impact of second home establishments may be positive in the sense that it has brought a growth in the hospitality industry; creating employment, income and investment opportunities. However, while this is the better side of such property development, the tourism-led real estate growth has also facilitated an increase in social exclusion and alienation for the host communities; i.e. ‘urban seclusion’ (Wu *et al.,* 2013). Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010) discuss how second

home tourism is viable for addressing local economic empowerment within the Global South.

Second home research is growing in South Africa. The research has focused on how second home tourism impacts on socio-economic activities and the environment; including aspects such as urban tourism, cultural tourism and rural-urban linkages (Smit, 1998; Visser and Rogerson, 2011). This is similar to research conducted in Hong Kong and China; which includes aspects of migration due to social influences like marriage, employment, politics and even recreational purposes (Hui and Yu, 2009).

According to Hoogendoorn (2011), second home tourism research in South Africa has mainly focused on white, rich and mobile populations and thus this only embodies a fraction of second home users in the country. Visser (2004) addresses the development of second homes in the case of De Waterkant, a suburb in Cape Town, South Africa. Here the second homes are located within the metropolitan region of Cape Town. Categorising the second homes in this case fit the description given by Marsden (1969). The categorisation used by Marsden (1969) heavily includes the letting out of holiday homes, second homes as investments and even weekend houses for families who own them. This means that the purpose of the development of the second homes in this area is similar to that of the developed world context.

In another case, the process of second home development is overlooked in Hong Kong, China (Hui and Yu, 2009). Due to political differences and agreements between Hong Kong and the mainland China, second homes have been researched to show that second homes play a similar role as they do for other regions within the Global South. There is the trend of the cross border second home consumption behaviour between Hong Kong and the mainland of China (Hui and Yu, 2009). Investigated in this paper is the prevalence of middle-aged citizens of Hong Kong opting to relocate for the more spacious, recreational environment that is not present in the usual urban life experienced in the city. Other attributes of migration are discussed, such as marriage, being the push or pull factor for a migration process. It is concluded that the globalization process acts as a facilitator to the expanding process of second home development.

The second homes provide the leisure time and a distance that is relatively close to the research participants' permanent dwellings (Chaplin, 1999). This case is similar to many of the examples mentioned in the case of second homes in the context of the global north (Clout, 1972; Müller, 2002; Barendregt et al, 2004; Gallent *et al.,* 2004). Through evidence, second homes are invested in for the purpose of leisure, thus as Müller, (2006) has suggested, the attractiveness of an area attracts more second home tourists to invest in second homes in an area. This means that rich-amenity in some cases fosters mobility and the permanence of the second home owner. However, in other cases in Southern Africa it has been revealed that second homes are a place of origin; culture and family history (see Hoogendoorn, 2011).

3.3 Conceptual dilemmas about Second homes in the Global South

The body of literature has been extended with regards to second home tourism research in South Africa, China and other countries within the global south. Literature is inclusive of all races, classes, environmental and gender aspects in relation to second home impacts (see Rogerson, 2002a; Hoogendoorn *et* al., 2005; Visser, 2007; 2010; Rogerson, 2012). The basic definitions of home, circulation, tourist, migration and mobility may be common in the developing and developed worlds, however, the changing institutions, societies, infrastructure developments, peripatetic lifestyle factors in the era of a global village foster a unique challenge when attempting to relate second home conceptual definitions to the developing world because of the history of colonization (Gladstone, 2005; Schmidt-Kallert, 2009). The following sections will attempt to explore the issues around defining and differentiating between 'tourist' and 'migrant', first or second home, mobilities, circulation and other conceptual dilemmas in the setting of the Global South.

3.3.1 The definition around a first or second home

There is a lack of research focusing difference between and first and second home for South African residents. Stedman (2006), Holden (2006) and Pearce (2012) speak of place attachment, nostalgia or emotional territory as one of the factors that could contribute to categorising multiple homes. Time is not considered as a factor for one placing more attachment to a certain space in comparison to another. Thus,

for many cases a second home in developing world literature is usually adapted from the developed world. And in many instances, a second home is described as a home in addition to the primary home; which is used for leisure and recreational purposes (Gallent *et al*., 2004; Hall and Müller, 2004). For domestic tourists/ labour migrants, one could argue that a second home is a separate or additional home that was purchased or is rented for the purpose of convenience and not leisure consumption (Gladstone, 2005). Instead in many cases of the developing world, what a second home represents for the wealthy, white and mobile, is not the same for the black poor and 'not so poor' populations (Visser, 2013). Labelling which home comes first or second is a personal choice. It depends on the individual who is travelling between different spaces that they consider to be a home. The term 'tourist' can be used because in certain instances, residents travel between different residences for the same reasons as a tourist – leisure; visiting friends and relatives, pilgrimage and escaping their everyday obligating responsibilities (Schmidt-Kallert, 2009; Pearce, 2012; Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014).

Posel and Casale (2006) investigate the internal migration patterns in relation to household poverty in post-apartheid South Africa. For the case of this paper, Posel and Casale (2006) suggest that a labour migrant is someone who leaves their household of origin, temporarily (and in most instances permanently), in search of employment. The 'temporary' factor does not have a time limit. The individual that leaves the rural household for better income generating opportunities is still considered a member of the household of origin, regardless of how many years they spend away whilst in pursuit of income, and of this income only a fraction is sent back to the rural home (Posel and Casel, 2006). It is concluded that, perhaps in these instances of the Global South, the term 'temporary migration' may not apply completely, and instead it may be a case of circular migration as a means to retain a connection to the household of origin in the form of remittance. In addition, the differentiation between a first and second home for a migrant is still a vague area of focus within academia.

Schmidt-Kallert (2009) writes about an 'incomplete' transition into the urban setting of Japan and Latin America; individuals who have left a household of origin in search of better life opportunities. There are economic and non-economic links between the

rural and urban setting that create a sense of liberated mobility for the permanent member of the rural household. This reciprocity forms multi-locational homes and provides an economic advantage over households without a labour migrant. Research by Posel (2006) and Schmidt-Kallert (2004; 2009) and others emphasises the difficulty in classifying individuals who lead peripatetic lives between multiple households because of need for financial advancement in these households.

It may be said that for the global south (of which labour migration plays a significant role in mobilizing rural households) classifying individuals who lead peripatetic livelihoods is conceptually challenging. It may be easier to have a more fluid explanation, taking into consideration their purpose for movement during apartheid and post-apartheid, a description which reflects that they take on both labour migrant and tourist characteristics (see table 2). In focus of the occurrence of migration, the next section will discuss the wealth and how it has influenced mobility for populations in the developing world.

Table 2 Push and Pull factors for circular migration - linking rural and urban South African household (after Posel, 2006).

Push Factors: Reasons for moving from rural to urban setting	**Pull factors: Reasons for visiting or travelling to the rural setting/ the household of origin**
Looking for employment opportunities (see Callinicos, 1996; Smit, 1998; Knight, 2001; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2005; Posel, 2006).	Remittance (see Posel, 2006; Posel and Casel, 2006; Schmidt-Kallert, 2012).
Personal conflict (Smit, 1998).	Visiting friends and family (VFR) (see Smit, 1998; Jackson, 2003; Posel, 2003; 2006; Uriely, 2010; Pearce, 2012; Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014).
Political violence (Smit, 1998; Posel, 2006).	Occasion; wedding, funeral or cultural ritual (Smit, 1998).
	Leisure period (Gladstone, 2005; Holden, 2006).

3.4 Linking wealth to consumption: the case of a few sub-Saharan African countries

From the 15th century to the 19th century, the interaction between Africa and the rest of the world came in the form of the trading of slaves (Byrnes, 1996; Blek, 2000; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). Prior to 1910, the south of African political and economic power was dominated by the European colonies and was later post-1910 passed on to the select few native organizational white bourgeoisies (Lloyd, 1964; Markovitz, 1977; Bond, 2000; Swarns, 2002; Southall, 2004). The government of the Union remained loyal to the values of the British, and remained economically tied to Britain colonizers by continuing with British global policies (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). In 1939, there was a change in government which was dominantly made of Afrikaner nationalists and through this government, the connections with the British policies dissolved (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003).

Countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe and others were colonized by the European colonies and that has crippled their development rate throughout the years (Know and Agnew, 1998). Although this is the case, many entrepreneurs, who are a part of the minorities have managed to rise above the impacts of exploitation of the colonizers (Markovitz, 1977; Bond, 2000). Furthermore, the elite lead lifestyles that afford them exclusive material standards of living; consumption patterns (multiple homes, luxurious cars and frequent domestic and international travelling) (de Waal, 2013). For the case of this research, the black elite lifestyle may be looked at to understand the tendencies of such characteristics in relation to consumption of space and the meaning behind this. Wu *et al*., (2013) also discuss the impacts of second home establishments for the town of Sanya, China and how three characteristics of these second home owners make them stand out compared to those of lower socio-economic status. Wu *et al*., (2013) categorize consumption-led migration in contrast to production-led migration arguing that firstly, the wealthy (who own these second homes) are of a higher socioeconomic status as compared to the lower labour migrants that inhabit the host community. In addition, the elite tourists that visit their second homes during their leisure periods have a unique way of life once present in this recreational area; the building of a social network, how and

where they spend their money is different to how the labour migrants of the second home location (Gray, 2006).

Thus, the importance of investigating affluent communities of the developing world, and specifically the black elite, who were previously disadvantaged, cannot be ignored. Elites are powerful, influential and responsible agents that are representing fast-growing economies (Iheduru, 2004; Charles, 2005). Knowing their choices and reasons for the location, type and purpose for multiple homes will contribute to the limited research in literature on second home tourism (Keller, 1963; Rogerson, 2012; Schmidt-Kallert, 2012; Visser, 2013b).

3.4.1 A brief view of the history of wealth and limiting laws: a glance at the segregationist period, apartheid and post-apartheid

The apartheid era was, designed to keep all wealth in South Africa for the white population (Giliomee, 2003). Taking into consideration the definition and identification process of a second home, this next section intends to explain the underpinning presence of second homes through the colonial economy, the apartheid and post-apartheid era. South Africa's historical legislation; segregation and controlled movement of population, wealth and power aided the development of second homes through labour migration (Byrnes, 1996; Giliomee, 2003; Hoogendoorn, 2010). It is vital to consider the occurrence of the labour migration history, apartheid legislation that facilitated this networking, circulation and migration patterns of the non-white populations spatially and temporally. It can be suggested the black elite citizens of South Africa also have a connection to a second home due to the history mentioned above and should be studied to broaden our knowledge and understanding (Visser, 2013b). In addition there is limited literature that can be found on the black elite as second home tourists and their interlinked networks and multihouse homes.

This is in agreement with Visser (2013, 76) who suggests that although there is some ethical duty to study the poor and the lives they lead through circulating in the urban and rural spaces, it is also important to notice that urban spaces are also occupied by the 'not so poor'/middle class, in this case the black elite. Consequently,

research also needs to be conducted on the black elite because they also occupy urban and rural spaces through pluri-residentiality and employment networks (Visser, 2013b).

The history of South African economic and political power and the distribution of wealth are important to discuss. This will facilitate the explanation of the history that has led to the current state of wealth of the black elite of South Africa. The discovery of diamonds was one of the first major factors that facilitated the growth of rural and urban migration (Pollock *et al.,* 1963; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). In the 1800s, the industrial development boomed in the country through the discovery of diamond and gold mining, the economy changed from a purely agricultural economy to an industrialized state (Byrnes, 1996; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). This was under the colonial power of the Union, which was in power of the minerals (Pollock *et al.,* 1963).

South Africa's legislation implemented laws that controlled the segregated settlement of the non-white population. Racial segregation of the country's population was an attempt to defend the growth and development of white wealth within the country (Byrnes, 1996). Laws such as the Hut Taxes (1857), Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) (Pass Law) Act (1952), Native (Urban Areas) Act (1923), and Population Registration Act (1950) are just a few of the means of control of assets by the white state (Byrnes, 1996). During the segregationist period from 1910 to 1948, the Hut Taxes were introduced in 1908 by the British colony in order to support the colonial economy (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). Taxing each household in the form of money, labour or stock was a way to force the black population to be involved in the economy (Byrnes, 1996; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003).

The Native (Urban Areas) Act employed in 1923 was the government's attempt to block any development of wealth for the black population (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). This act deemed urban areas as strictly white areas and required the black people to carry pass books that stipulated when, where, the reason and for how long a black individual would stay in that urban area (Horrell, 1978; Byrnes, 1996). In the 1950s, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Pass Law and the Natives Resettlement Act were all designed to remove, limit and control the

movement of the black populations within and around the high income hubs of South Africa (Pollock *et al.,* 1963; Horrell, 1978; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003). Allocating hierarchical privileges to different races; white people having the most and the black having the least, segregating races within themselves, depriving the black population of social, political rights, educational opportunities all meant that the growth of a black economy was not easy legally (Bond, 2003; Dlamini, 2009).

Although this was the case, South Africa's economy depended on labour; of which the majority of its force was the black migrants. Therefore there was constant circulation between the urban white areas and the assigned Soweto (See Figure 1) (Byrnes, 1996; Posel, 2006). Soweto is a township located in the south of Johannesburg which was originally designated for the black working class populations (Bonner and Segal, 1998). Labour migration and the segregation of races within designated areas facilitated for the black population to circulate between their multihouse homes in the townships, the rural second homes (Posel, 2006). With such a history, it is evident that the black residents of Soweto have a link to such an occurrence. In addition there is a need to further explore this in connection of wealth in the post-apartheid state.

On the other hand, education within the South African context, in particular for the black population has a significant history (Giliomee, 2012). The laws of the apartheid government oppressed and deprived the black population of good standards of education by implementing the Bantu Education Act, Act No. 4 of 1953. Bantu education was education that was taught, by law in Afrikaans language medium to black students, furthermore, the standard was poor (Giliomee, 2012). Therefore, only a small number of black students were accepted into universities to further their education within vast faculties of learning.

3.4.2 Post-apartheid: liberal access to the home, public space and the current influence of the black elite

In 1994, after the democratic elections, the new government's task was to reconstruct and redistribute this wealth in order to alleviate poverty amongst the black population (Byrnes, 1996). The democratic government's effort to provide

equal educational opportunities, social, financial and political rights was a means to empower the black population. Redress of the black population came in the form of some initiatives such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) (Knight, 2001; *A Strategy for Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment*, 2003). These initiatives differed in the sense that the approach to redeveloping the input of the black population to the economy was through privatization or through service delivery by the government. However, 21 years of democracy a great number of the population is not active within the mainstream economy and the labour market (Burger *et al.,* 2004).

Furthermore, by privatizing the services through the GEAR strategy, only the middle and upper class citizens would afford/receive the efficient civil service delivery i.e. waste removal, water, housing and electricity. The organizational elite have been said to be a part of the few that have acquired the expensive lifestyle through corruption, fraud and misuse of the state's funds (Knight, 2001; Report, 2014). Therefore, only a minority of the previously disadvantaged populations have benefited from this redress. In particular, for this research, the some of black elite are the beneficiaries of the ruling parties' efforts of apartheid redress.

According to Burger *et al*., (2004), the extent of black wealth in South Africa illustrates the depth of the redress implemented by the democratic ruling party (ANC). Since the oppressive laws were removed from the constitution, the non-white population has been given priority within the access of wealth and ownership of land and property within South Africa (Burger *et al*., 2004). In particular relation to the home, according to the Department of Human Settlements, the government has committed itself to 'Provide houses and services with the focus of eradicating the apartheid backlogs of more than 2.1 million housing units. The government has aimed to provide sustainable human settlements to improve the quality of household life for the poor' (Department of Housing, 2012). However, there is a backlog within the provision of these homes to the majority of the black population. There is great significance to a home for a previously disadvantaged South African. One could argue that the significance is emphasized more now that the law allows for access to a home, however this access is controlled by greed within government departments.

Looking at the black elite current suburban households, the location, type and the possible meaning of this. It is difficult to ignore the need for high walls, higher security, pools, gardens, visitors' courters and expensive cars express a deeper issue relating to class consumption and space, particularly the home (Dondalson *et al.,* 2013; Burger *et al*., 2004). The black elite are referred to as black diamonds of the township by Donaldson *et al.,* (2013), in an effort to distinguish them from the poorer neighbours within the townships of South Africa. This study focuses on the lack of relocation of wealthy black residents of a few townships in South Africa such as Bloemfontein, Pretoria and the Eastern Cape. Throughout the case study, an open category of wealth is used to describe the wealth of the black affluent residents within the townships. Firstly, the residents that have managed to attain wealth through good education and well-paying employment (Donaldson *et al*., 2013). Secondly, there are those that are wealthy because of hard work and experience within their respective industries (Donaldson *et al.,* 2013). Lastly, the group of wealthy black residents that are elite because of their levels of connections within government institutions, their political alignment to the ruling party (ANC) which gives them better access to government related tenders and employment opportunities. Donaldson *et al*., (2013) conclude that the wealthy group of residents prefer to stay within the township, despite being able to afford homes in suburbs within their provinces, because of the culture, social status and attachment to familiarity of the way of life within these spaces. In contrast to the case study by Donaldson *et al*., (2013), this research looks at the black wealthy residents that left the south western township of Johannesburg and now live in suburbs of greater Johannesburg.

3.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review the extent of second home research pertaining to the developing world. With the background of globalization as an essential factor for the growth and efficiency of travel between homes, this section discussed the rise of the progressive second home research for the global south. This is through the emergence of new, unconventional research that no longer only applies to the wealthy, white mobile second home owners, that assists in setting a new standard for second home tourism research. The determination is to draw less from the hegemonic standards of second home tourism research. With the focus of this

research being the relationship that the black elite have with their home(s), looking at the impacts of growth of second home tourism is facilitated by the ruling; affluent black minority of South Africa in the post-apartheid state, will contributes to limited literature.

Research that has been done in the developing world has focused on the wealthy white and mobile communities and their relationship to their multiple vacation and retirement homes. However, the challenge of looking at the poorer populations has been taken on by migration studies, focusing on labour migrants and the dominance of remittance linking them to their household of origin in the rural setting and their new home in the urban area. The peripatetic way of life of the previously oppressed (non-white South African residents) has thrived regardless of the abolishment of the controlled movement laws; the circular migration and now informal rural-urban linkages have not been altered. Second home tourism, has recently started exploring how the 'not-so-poor' black, affluent communities are relating to their home(s) within the post-apartheid state. Furthermore, looking at how their access to wealth influences or assists in defining the meaning of 'home' to them.

This chapter has also considered conceptual dilemmas facing the developing world. One being, differentiating between a first and second home; spatial and temporal contributing to reasons behind an individual's attachment to a home. The possibility of taking on both touristic and migrant characteristics in the case of labour migrants who left home for work purposes but never returned permanently to their homes of origin. The dominance of remittance has a huge part in this as the rural-urban linkages have not been altered due to the dependence of the income from labour migrant living in the urban area. It is important to mention that this labour migrant is still regarded as a member of the household regardless to how long they have been away perusing an income for the rural house hold. One may argue that, they take on touristic characteristics in the temporary travel and stay when visiting their household of origin for reasons such as family occasions, visiting friends and family, sending money and groceries.

Linking the history of wealth in South Africa to the conspicuous lifestyles of the black elite, attempts to open a more inclusive understanding to the 'new' meaning of home and the analysis of the space. Perhaps looking at the large houses, tennis courts, business at the golf courses, private schools and the dominance of remittance of the black elite facilitates an understanding of a new phenomenon in South African

tourism research. The following chapter will focus on the methodology of this research.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methods employed to explore the pluri-residentiality and multiple home networks for the case of the black elite. The focus is on the systematic process undertaken to explore the link between the multiple localities that are still present for sixty-nine black wealthy Johannesburg residents, with households of origin in Soweto. This research takes into consideration the historical context of a spatially and regionally segregated society and the fundamental institutional changes.

Firstly, two main dilemmas faced within the social sciences and tourism migration studies will be explored briefly. Following this, the reasons behind the choice of study site will be discussed, in addition to the qualitative approach used. The approach to compiling questions for the in-depth interviews will be unpacked, along with the approach used for sampling and identifying the black wealthy multiple house homeowners. Data organisation and analysis will also be discussed. To conclude this chapter, the limitations encountered during the fieldwork phase will be explored in conjunction with the researcher's positionality.

4.2 The experience of second home fieldwork

Second home tourism research is a fairly new study within the Global South (Visser, 2013). Like any research niche within its early developmental stages, there are some issues that may arise for different researchers during the data collection period and throughout the investigation process (Visser, 2006; Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012b; Visser, 2013). In the context of the Global South, data relating to the social, economic and environmental impacts of tourism are not always available, which is one of the main dilemmas for tourism migration studies (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012b). Particularly for social sciences and tourism migration studies, there is a challenge faced by on the investigators during the fieldwork period, to assist in contributing to strengthening the arguments made through literature from the Global South on an international platform (Visser, 200; Hoogendoorn *et al.,* 2005;

Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012). Therefore, it is important for the researcher, within the proposal stages of a study, to clarity their epistemological positionality and theoretical framework, which will then assist the efficiency of the methods chosen (Robson, 1993; Cater and Littler, 2007; Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012).

One of the challenges experienced by social scientists within the tourism migration studies is firstly, finding a suitable theoretical framework, secondly, establishing the researcher's positionality and lastly, a viable methodological approach. However, due to the context of the investigation, there may still be a lack of general data available (Visser, 2012). In particular, for this research, there is a lack of data pertaining to black wealthy South African residents and their relation to additional homes. This limited database makes it necessary to develop a qualitative methodological approach useful for the specific investigation. Secondly, it can be argued that there are few techniques that are incorporated within a qualitative approach and instead, it is more of a process (Robson, 1993; Yeung, 1997). One may propose using certain sampling methods, content analysis and a theoretical framework. However, through the investigation process, change may arise as there are many aspects to such a study that have not been established, which make it broad and necessary to narrow down and prioritize the focus of the study. Taking into consideration these general issues pertaining to second home tourism and social science studies, which employs qualitative methods and thematic content analysis, the next section, will attempt to discuss in detail the choice of study site and methodological considerations taken to fulfil this study.

4.3 The significance of Soweto as a study site

Soweto is the most populous black urban residential area in South Africa, with a population of around 1 695 047 and an area of 106.44 km^2 (Boraine *et al*., 2006; Census 2011). The proximity of Soweto to Johannesburg, the economic hub of the country situated in its periphery, has made it the most metropolitan township in the country - setting trends in politics, fashion, music, dance and language (Posel, 2004). Yet from the beginning of it's construction, Soweto has been a product of segregationist and apartheid planning, facilitating patterns of migration, circulation and pluri-residentiality. It was in 1903 that Kliptown, the oldest of a cluster of

townships that constitute present day Soweto, was established (Posel, 2004). The township was created to house black labourers, who worked in mines and other industries in the city, away from the Johannesburg city centre. The segregationist structure was set out so that later the inner city would be reserved for the occupation of the white population (Boraine *et al*., 2006). Due to political rivalry, poverty in the homelands and the limited and controlled travel permission granted, the township became permanent homes for the labourers in Johannesburg (Crankshaw and Gilbert, 1999). Regardless of this history of oppression, Soweto has a rich political history with regard to settlements and economic empowerment (Crankshaw and Gilbert, 1999; Dlamini, 2009). During the apartheid era in South Africa, the housing laws implemented for the non-white population influenced the type relationship the populations had with their multiple homes (Crankshaw and Gilbert, 1999). Consequently, placement of the black population fostered the development of multiple homes and pluri-residentiality through labour migration and circulation.

In terms of setting and structure of townships, Soweto is separated into sections, namely Orlando, Meadowlands, Dube, Dobsonville, Kilptown, Diepkloof, Zola, Jabulani and Foxlake (Dlamini, 2009). Many of these subareas formed through the years as Soweto developed into a permanent settlement for the labour force of Johannesburg (Boraine *et al*., 2006). Yet in the 1980s, the rise of middle-class residents established neighbourhoods referred to as extensions of subareas. These relatively affluent townships were developed to accommodate the emerging black middle class - mostly civil servants (Crankshaw and Gilbert, 1999).

An investigation focuses on class in Soweto (Alexandra *et al.,* 2013). One of the aims of the *Class in Soweto* research is to reveal the realities of class and access in Soweto. In addition to this Alexandra *et al*., (2013) categorise households and explore their access to finance and the household lifestyle that choices the participants of this study can afford. This research assists in profiling the current self-perceived socio-economic positions, independent of the brackets that the South African Revenue Service would have placed them in (Alexandra *et al.,* 2013). An aspect of the findings also discloses that 26% of the participants that reside in Soweto live in renovated or rebuilt former council houses (Alexandra *et al.,* 2013).

This is important to mention because the research conducted by Alexandra *et al*., 2013 supports the idea that perhaps in the post-apartheid era, the black elite have made specific choices to reside in the suburbs of Johannesburg based on income and status.

The social hotspots such as Vilakazi Street, the Orlando twin towers and other museum and memorial spaces attract not only visiting foreign tourists but also the black elite who also grew up in Soweto (Krige, 2011; 2012). The peripatetic relationship that the wealthy black population of Johannesburg have with their homes in Soweto, illustrates the constant development within the realities of attachment and meaning of home (see Gallent *et* al., 2004; Overvåg, 2011; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b; Krige, 2012). Keeping in mind the aims of this study, understanding the multiple reasons for travel between homes and social spaces; social hotspots, family and other functions, in particular between Soweto and the suburbs of Johannesburg, was important to explore. Understanding the standard of international concepts related to multiple homes ownership; location, size and dwelling type in addition to how hegemonic ideas of who owns more than one home and the choice of location made it necessary for research to be done on the knowledge gap for the case of South Africa and other countries within the global south.

Therefore, Soweto was the ideal setting for such research for investigating concepts of circulation, pluri-residentiality as well as attachment to the space called ‘home’ for the black mobile and wealthy previously disadvantaged. In particular, to focus this study on wealthy black residents of Johannesburg because of their urban movements and interaction with the space and how it fosters this influence of the urban geography that affects the poorer citizens of Johannesburg (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2011).

4.4 Research methods in practise

4.4.1 Identifying and finding research participants

Second home tourism research is fairly new research in the context of the black wealthy populations as participants and as a consequence, there is no established database of pluri-residentiality or ownership of multiple homes from which one can identify the black second home owners (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2011). To gain information about the relationships the black wealthy residents of Johannesburg have with their other homes in Soweto, the researcher had to engage personally with the respective research participants by employing the snowball sampling method (Neuman, 2000). Snowballing is a non-probability type of method which describes the method of using one respondent to put the researcher in contact with another respondent, who will then refer you to more participants for his/her research (Valentine, 1997; Neuman, 2000). Contrary to a quantitative sample strategy, this strategy allows for participants to be selected gradually to reveal the network of multihouse homes and circulation (Neuman, 2000). The networked and organized setting of a Soweto allowed for direct and indirect linkages and made it easier for referrals.

As this study is mainly qualitative with quantitative elements, interviewing the participants was the only way to engage on the topic of connections with the many homes they had attached meaning and sentiment to. Qualitative research can be explained as research that is aimed at explaining a phenomenon by understanding the reasons it happens the way it may happen (Greenstein *et al.,* 2003; Brannen, 2005; Maxwell, 2005). It is a subjective approach to data collection, as it considers all possibilities of emotive content revealed in the results found (Maxwell, 2005). Therefore, since this research was entirely dependent on speaking directly (or under certain circumstances, telephonically) with the participants, a snowballing approach to identifying the participants was used (Greenstein *et al*., 2003). Access to the research participants was gained through the following snowballing avenues:

1. Social media platforms (Facebook and LinkedIn) – Initially a status update was placed notifying the public of this research and the participants required.
2. Direct encounters with fellow postgraduates/students.
3. MBA students from business schools - The researcher contacted (emailed and called) the MBA admin co-ordinators from the Wits Business School, Wits Plus and Milpark Business School, for possible interaction with students with origins from Soweto, who have moved to Johannesburg suburbs.
4. Observation of the social groups on Vilakazi Street in Orlando and other 'social hotspots' in Soweto, lead to interviews with restaurant owners and other people they considered as black elite people who regularly used these spaces.
5. Lastly, a door-to-door approach in Diepkloof Extension was also employed in an effort to reach the sample size goal for this research.

As a largely qualitative exercise, this research focused less on the sample size and more on how the chosen participants clarify social life, as well as the conceptual dilemma around the second home ownership of the black population in Johannesburg. A sample size of sixty-nine black research participants who reside in greater Johannesburg was involved in this research. The main focus was to find black wealthy, who earn a minimum of R500 000 per annum and have a link to a second home or multihouse home. Furthermore, based on the annual income, link to Soweto and other rural homes, this research also attempted to explore whether the participants maintained a relationship with these homes. The nature of the study required individuals who are willing to share their experience with the space called home.

4.4.2 Interview Structure

In order to investigate the relationship between the sixty-nine black wealthy residents of Johannesburg suburbs and their multiple homes within Soweto, the researcher interacted face-to-face with the participants using semi-structured interviews as the research tool for the snowballing method. Having engaged with international and local literature pertaining to concepts of pluri-residentiality and peripatetic lifestyles, the types of issues that needed to be addressed became clearer when approaching

the interview structure. Since this research was a qualitative experience; a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions was formulated (Parfitt, 1997). This approach was most appropriate because it allowed for in-depth conversation to happen between the researcher and the respondent (Yeung, 1997; Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Attride-Sterling, 2001; Greenstein *et* al., 2003).

The interview was structured into 4 sections (refer to Appendix A). Section 1 dealt with the biography of the participants. The following was investigated:

1. Age
2. Relationship status
3. Home language
4. Profession
5. Highest academic qualification
6. Annual household income
7. Gender

The age, gender and home language was a necessary factor to include because this allowed for the researcher to understand the significance of the Apartheid era and post-apartheid social structures within the lives of the black elite. The profession, academic qualification and annual income gave an idea, to an extent, the socio-economic position of the participants. These factors were important to give a demographical view of the participants and in essence drive the research findings. Gaining access to the profile of the individual through the use of a semi-structured in-depth interview, allowed for the researcher to make focused denotations when linking the findings to mobility and pluri-residentiality literature.

Section two of the interview structure looks at connections with the multiple localities. The section identifies the location and dwelling type of the multiple homes in Soweto, the Johannesburg suburb that the respondent was currently residing in. This was important to explore because it would give a geographical view of choice of location. Understanding the residential environment; shopping malls (Sandton city Mall, Bedford shopping centre, Fourways shopping centre etc), schools and other

recreational facilities in comfortable distance also give a sense of the lifestyle affordability of the participant.

The frequency of visits to the participants' homes and the reasons for this peripatetic lifestyle is another aspect that was necessary to cover in the interview. The frequency was determined by asking how often the participants would travel from their current home in north Johannesburg to Soweto i.e. weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, 2-6 months, once a year or less than a year. The third section asks questions around the connection to the rural home. It was also investigated whether the respondent maintained a relationship, physically or via technology. Keeping in mind the aims of this research, which are to understand a relationship between place and black wealthy individuals within the context of Johannesburg, South Africa, a qualitative approach was utilized. This was done using open ended, semi-structure questions that directed the discussion between the interviewer and the participant.

Section four looks into the maintenance of an on-going bond between the black elite and their multiple localities. The role played by the respondent in all these homes, and how the presence of these roles in each household has influenced their identity a black elite, were also important to investigate. This informed the the knowledge gap in understanding how, in comparison to the wealthy white second home owners, the black elite are in connection to their multiple homes.

Lastly, section five addresses the hegemonic notions of second home tourism and has generalised that second home owners are also holiday home owners in recreational areas. This section also explores the future and maintenance of a connection with their multiple localities. Questions were asked about the desire to own a vacation home or whether the participants have an additional vacation home within the traditional recreational areas i.e. coastal location, to inform the growth of possible connections and disconnections to homes. Understanding if there is a need for a maintained relationship with their rural homes and may also influence the future content of research focused on the connection one has with a home.

4.4.3 Interview Process and Thematic Content Analysis

The researcher engaged in an interview process with most of the participants which lasted on average approximately 20mins each. There were cases, depending on how open the participant was to discuss their life story, where the interview lasted approximately 1 hour. For purposes of consent before the interview began, the participants were asked to sign 'Interview and Audiotaping Consent Forms'. For accuracy purposes and to avoid assumption during this process, whilst scribing the responses on the interview copy, the researcher also asked for permission to record the session (refer to Appendix 2). In cases where permission was not granted, the research only wrote the response. For accuracy purposes the research scribbled down key adjectives that were used by the respondents to express their relationship with their homes, family and friends. For example, amongst the research participants a common description of the values of maintaining a relationship with their Soweto home were unity and belonging.

To analyse the results, a thematic, content-analysis-approach was employed, as the majority of the results for this qualitative exercise were set in open-ended questions. Attride-Sterling (2001), suggests that a thematic network technique for analysis of data within qualitative research is appropriate. Thus, the purpose of the thematic network analysis is to organize trends that are revealed, whilst coding the results of the investigation in order to make better and clearer sense of the data (Figure 5) (Attride-Sterling, 2001). Sections 2 to 5 of the interview were structured using open ended questions. The value of this was to get an authentic, unbiased response and view of the relationship that the black elite have with the space called home. During the analysis process the researcher was able to thematically categorise the responses and thus, pick up trends. The value here was that this allowed for visibility of a possible similarities or dissimilarities between current second home literature literature and the findings of this research. Where there were dissimilarities, the researcher was able to choose specific responses from the participants and use them to highlight a new findings and possible avenues for future research focuses.

The age, gender, home language, profession, level of academic education were tallied up and categorised using tables. In section 1 of the interview, the interviewer

posed the question ‘Where is home?’ and this question informed the location of their Soweto home. It was important to know exactly where the sixty-nine respondents currently resided, where their multiple homes in Soweto were as well as the location of their rural homes. This has informed Figure 6 - A map illustrating the location of current homes in geographical orientation with their homes in Soweto.

The location network of the homes allowed the researcher to plot the migration patterns and to use similar concepts to previous research to describe the networks between the multiple homes. Information about the location of second homes, frequency of travelling to and from the second homes, number of females and males, and their household income, is be represented graphically in order to give biographical details of the sample group. For these reasons, thematic-content-analysis methods was employed by this research allowed for clear data analysis.

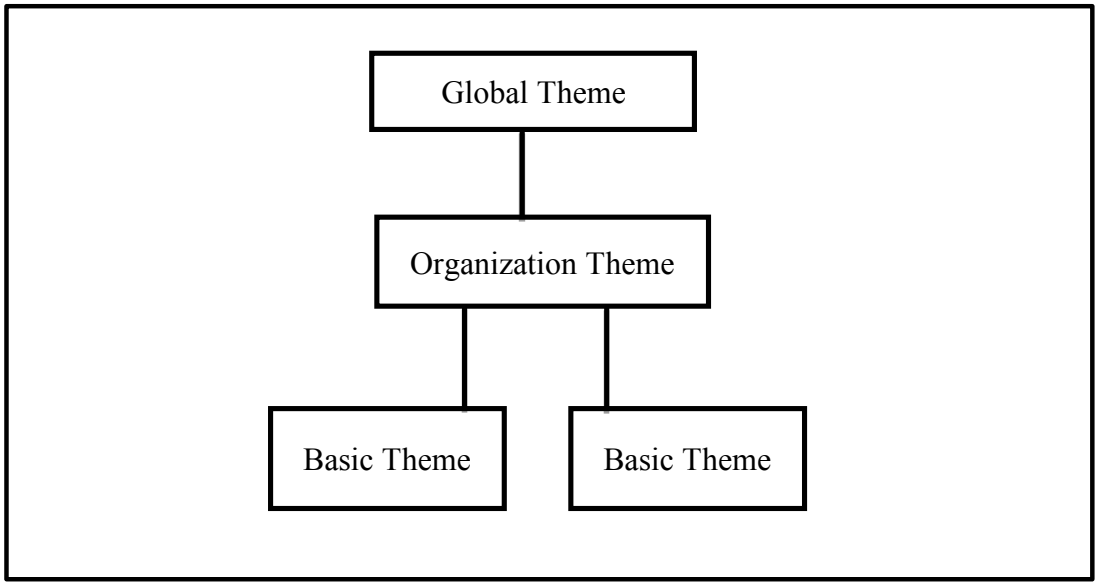

Figure 5 Organization of textual data

4.5 Advantages and limitations in the research field

Research can be described as a process, which results in information being used to fill knowledge gaps. A researcher would be required to engage with people or recorded data to find results pertaining to a specific subject matter (Carter and Little, 2007). Official records pertaining to the ownership or relation to multiple homes of

the rising black elite do not exist in South Africa (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2013). This study is in effort to strengthen the contribution to second home tourism literature that is made by South African academia. In the attempt to do so, the researcher encountered certain challenges and advantages though using the qualitative approach methodology through this investigation. This next section will attempt to give an overview of the limitations and advantages experienced by the researcher through accessing and interview the research participants.

Hoogendoorn and Visser (2012) write about issues around researcher positionality within the context of a South Africa, which has a segregated past and is currently undergoing developments within its societal and institutional structures. It is argued that such this development within the research site fosters the development of a 'new research environment' (Visser, 2003). As explained above, the researcher used about six approaches to finding suitable participants for the interviews. Below are the advantages and limitations that came with the use of the semi-structured interview and the snowball sampling method:

4.5.1 Advantages

As a qualitative exercise the researcher travelled to conduct interviews with the research participants. The advantage was that the researcher was mobile, and had access to email and telephonic means to communicate with the respective participants, so therefore the data collection process was not limited to certain time periods. Furthermore, the structure of the interview allowed for the participants and the researcher to engage in conversation. Discussing the black elite second homes, multihouse homes, pluri-residentiality and peripatetic lifestyle between homes was easily dealt with during the interview. The set, open-ended questions allowed for the black elite respondent's physical/ materialistic and emotional attachment their second home to be freely expressed in detail.

4.5.2 Limitations

A major challenge for this research was establishing the status of the participants' wealth. Simply assuming the evidence of conspicuous lifestyle; location and size of homes, number of homes, fancy cars and private schools that the children attended was not enough to classify the participants as black elite.

Once the researcher had been given the contact details of the participants, a challenge encountered when attempting to schedule a time and place for the interview to take place. In certain instances, there was agreement to set a time, and then the participants would not arrive to appointments. This required constant reminders from the researcher.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed in detail the format of how the data was collected and analyzed. Methodological considerations are important to explore because they make clear the purpose of a structured process of research. It was necessary for the researcher to consider the issues that surround the social sciences and people-oriented-investigation to make is easier to plan the approach to the study. Soweto as study site for the investigation of household networks, circulation and pluri-residentiality was ideal for the case of the wealthy black residents of Johannesburg because of its rich historical and cultural discourses revealed in the experiences shared by the participants. Although the fact that this research is an overwhelmingly unique study, the semi-structured interview and the snowballing sampling approach were suitable for the data collection process. The following chapter will discuss and analyze the results from interviewing the sixty-nine participants.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS FOR THE CASE OF 69 BLACK ELITES: THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR MULTIPLE HOMES AND AN EXPLORATION OF POSSIBLE LINKS TO INTERNATIONAL SECOND HOME LITERATURE.

5.1 Introduction

Investing additional homes for leisure and recreational purposes has been part of the patterns of consumption lived by the elite class globally (Williams and Hall, 2000). In particular for the black population, the ownership of additional homes is recent in that it was deemed legal only after 1994 – post-apartheid (Alexander *et al*., 2013). Literature illustrates that the wealthy, white mobile residents of the Global South can afford additional homes for leisure, retirement and recreation (Coppock, 1977; Williams and Hall, 2000). For the case of South Africa, there is little research that has been conducted focusing on the black populations and their relation to additional homes within the research realm of second home tourism. The findings of this research have revealed contrasting perspectives to the current international wealthy white second home ownership literature dominant in South African second home tourism research. Thus, this research attempted to reveal the importance of literature focusing on the black elite residents and their relationship to their homes.

Sixty-nine semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. The participants were black elite mobile residents of greater Johannesburg with a physical and historical connection to Soweto. The participants are considered to be 'elite' because their annual household income is between R500 000 to R600 000 annually. This is high within the black annual household income for residents of Johannesburg (Census, 2011). The interview process took place over a period of a year – (December 2013 – November 2014). Once the data was collected, the results were organized and analyzed accordingly. There are 2 main sections to this chapter. The first will present the biography of the participants and the second will look at the relationship between the black elites and their three homes. More importantly, the second section of this chapter attempts to show the meaning of attachment to the homes, which is ascribed through experience by the participants. This is also

compared and contrasted with the current literature within second home tourism. The overall aim of the chapter is to answer the 3 main research questions:

a) Where are the multiple homes of the black elite located?
b) How have the circulation and mobility patterns of the black elite developed post-apartheid?
c) Do the black elite maintain a link with their additional homes?

The locations of the additional homes within Soweto, the suburbs of Johannesburg and also the rural homes will be presented. In addition to this, the frequency of travel, circulation patterns and reasons to visit will be tabulated. The last section will attempt to reveal the maintenance of the relationship(s) with these multiple homes, which has developed over time through pluri-residentiality.

5.2 A profile of the research participants

5.2.1 Relationship status, age and home language

The participants of this research are black, wealthy and mobile residents of Greater Johannesburg. Thirty-eight are male and thirty-one are female. The participants are between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-five years of age, with the age bracket of twenty-five to 35 years being the most dominant. In terms of relationship statuses, forty-three are married, fifteen are single, five are divorced and one is separated from their partner. Five of South Africa's official languages are spoken amongst the participants, as home languages. On the one hand, Setswana is the most dominant language, with twenty-seven of the participants who speak it as a home language. On the other hand, nineteen speak isiZulu, fifteen speak Sesotho and a minority of three speaks Tshivenda (Table 3).

Table 3 Relationship status, age and home language of research participants

Age	Number of Participants (n=69)	Home Language	Number of participants (n=69)	Relationship status	Number of participants (n=69)
18 – 24 years	0	Setswana	27	Married	43
25 – 35 years	37	IsiZulu	19	Single	15
36 – 45 years	21	Sesotho	15	Divorced	5
46 – 55 years	11	Xhosa	5	Life Partnership	3
65years and older	0	Tshivenda	3	Widowed	2
				Separated	1

5.2.2 Employment and Education

Within the sixty-nine participants of this research, nineteen of the participants have a matric certificate. Whereas thirty-five have higher-education degrees (thirty-two have diplomas and three with postgraduate qualifications) (Table 4). The participants form part of the well-educated group of black residents of Johannesburg. In particular, they are part of the educated group of residents of Johannesburg with a connection to homes in Soweto and other provinces in South Africa. None of the participants have doctoral qualifications or less than a matric certificate.

Table 4 Education level of research participants

Education Level	Number of Participants (n=69)
Diploma	32
Matric	19
Degree	13
Honours degree	3
Masters degree	2
Lower than Matric	0
Doctoral degree	0
Other	0

The overall aim of the redress of the democratic government was to allow access to the economy (Knight, 2001). Accordingly, the participants are a part of a group which is motivated to study further in order to qualify for top positions within the workplace, which one could argue has allowed them income that sustains their families and extended family responsibilities. This is similar to cases studied by Burger *et* al., (2004) who found that furthering of education was on the rise for black township middle and upper class residents. It can be argued that as a part of the culture of consumption, education is vital amongst the black rising upper class as it allows them a better social status but also allows for the maintenance of employment in the long run. The thirty-two participants had on average five to fifteen years of experience in their respective careers, which assisted in their shifting from middle to upper class status financially. Two of the participants with degrees also mentioned that they were working towards a post-graduate degree to contribute to their qualifications. A female respondent stated that she had upgraded her management diploma, to a degree and has registered with a South African tertiary institution to further her post-graduate qualification in Business Administration.

"I would like to be a role model to my children. Although we are living comfortably in the suburb, I think it is important for them to see that hard work pays off" (Interview 48).

This is a similar finding to other research, which focuses on the middle and upper class residents of townships in South Africa (see Burger *et al.,* 2004; Donaldson *et al.,* 2013). The importance of modeling a culture of education and hard work amongst a population with a disadvantaged past is common and vital because of the better employment opportunities that it comes with. Thus, within the bigger context, within townships it is perceived that a better paying job with their consumption patterns; renovation of their parent's house in Soweto, newer vehicle and branded clothes (Burger *et al.,* 2004; Donaldson *et al*., 2013).

Employment was discussed as a basis for understanding the source of income. One respondent stated the following:

"I am in property. I have homes in Ormonde, Meadowlands and Naturena that I rent out for income. All the money goes to run my family home. I have to pay school fees for my children and varsity fees for my late brother's daughter... Oh, let me not choose too much of a high income here or else you will call the police on me… By the way I also have taxis". (Interview 39)

Looking at the evidence presented in Table 5, it was found that a majority of twenty-eight participants are business owners; taxi owners and catering/events company owners. However, these businesses are additional to their formal employment within government institutions.

Table 5 Occupation of research participants

Occupation/Industry	Number of Participants
Business Owner*	28
Other	19
Manager	11
Finance	10
Government	15
Director of organization	3
Housewife	3
Town Planner	3
IT	2
Logistics	2
Medical	1

*Business owners in addition to their daily professional jobs.

During the discussion about the occupation, forty-three participants also explained that they had multiple forms of income. Out of the total sixty-nine participants, forty-three are also formally employed by a government institution within different industries. Most of the participants occupy managerial positions, chief executive positions in addition to owning their own businesses. It was also revealed that source of income is not necessarily reflected within education level (Table 5). One could suggest that, a majority of the wealthy participants are the result of the Broad-Based

Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) initiative, which gives first, if not sole preference to non-white job applicants for workplace positions.

5.2.3 Household Income

This research focused on the annual household income in order to classify the participants' income status. A table with different income categories was presented to the participants (appendix 1) in order for them to select their appropriate household income bracket. On one hand, from observation, a few participants felt that they were not wealthy enough to be considered elite and down played their source of income or preferred to not reveal their household income bracket. On the other hand, the participants suggested that they found various means for income in addition to their day job. According to the Statistics South Africa statement released in November 2012, the average annual household income in South Africa for the black/African population was R69 632. Specifically, in Soweto, within a total of 45 000 household incomes that were considered in the 2011 census, 38 557 (85%) have no income, a minimum of 4692 (10%) households have an income ranging between R1 and R4800 per annum and a maximum of 37 612 (83%) households have an income ranging between R19 601 and R38 200 (Figure 6).

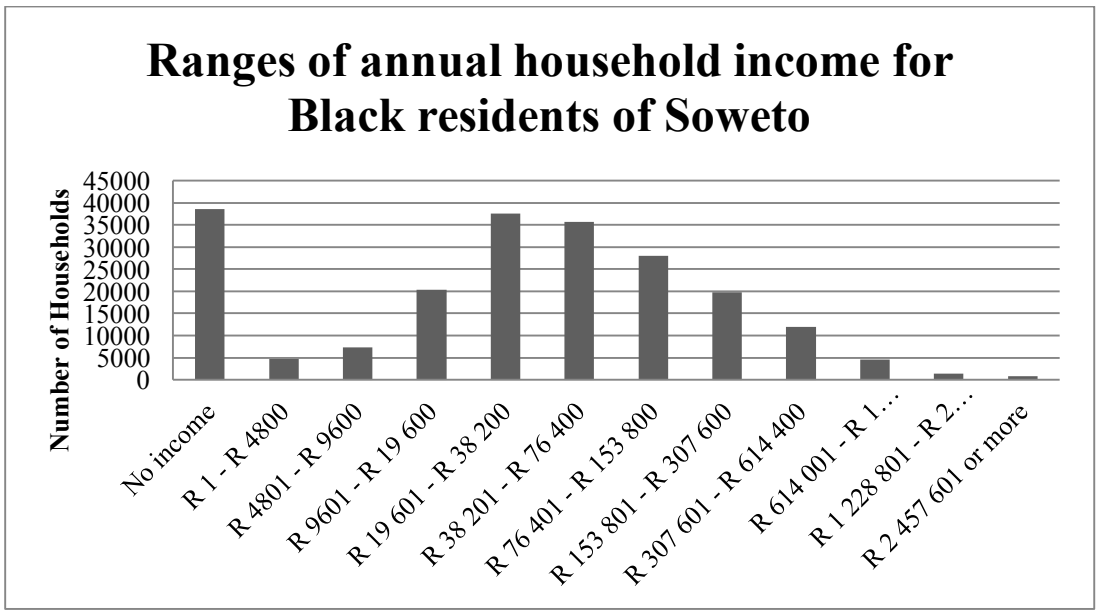

Figure 6 Range of Annual Household incomes for Soweto (Census, 2011)

Focusing on the census results of Soweto and comparing them to the household incomes of the research participants, a majority of 30 (43%) participants come from households that earn between R500 000 and R600 000. A minimum of 2 participants are a part of households that earn between R1 million and R2 million annually (Figure 7). The 30 research participants fall into a small group of 11 935 (27%) Soweto households that earn between R307 601 and R614 400 (Figure 6). This puts the research participants in the upper class level of household incomes.

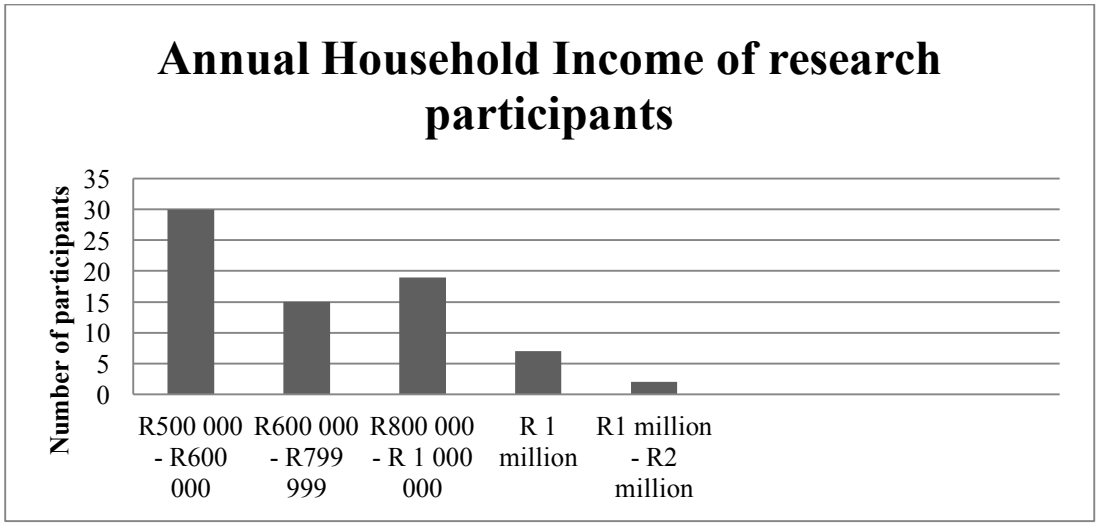

Figure 7 Annual household Income of research participants

In consideration of the household hold incomes, it is difficult to ignore that the basic demographics of the participants of this research influence the relationship to a home. The socio-economic status, cultural factors, age, race and employment have all been influenced by the history of apartheid. In particular, the older age group of the participants (36–55years) who are a part of the 30 participants that earn household incomes of between R500 000 and R600 000, have been exposed to and lived within Gauteng during the previous governments' oppressive laws that confined their movement and access to wealth, employment opportunities, good standards of education, health services and basic civil services, water and electricity, housing, infrastructure development and waste collection. In relation to space, these older participants may have experienced limited/monitored movement between rural, township and city spaces of South Africa. In particular, there is a connection between the rural area, current homes in the suburbs of Johannesburg and Pretoria and the home in Soweto.

5.3 Pluri-residentiality through a connection to a multihouse home

5.3.1 The current home

The first space this section will discuss is the current home. The current homes of the participants are located in northern (i.e. Sandton, Fourways, Midrand and North Riding) and southern (i.e. Glen Vista, Mondeor, Ormonde and Rosettenville) suburbs of Johannesburg, as well as greater parts of Gauteng i.e. Centurion, Pretoria (Figure 8).

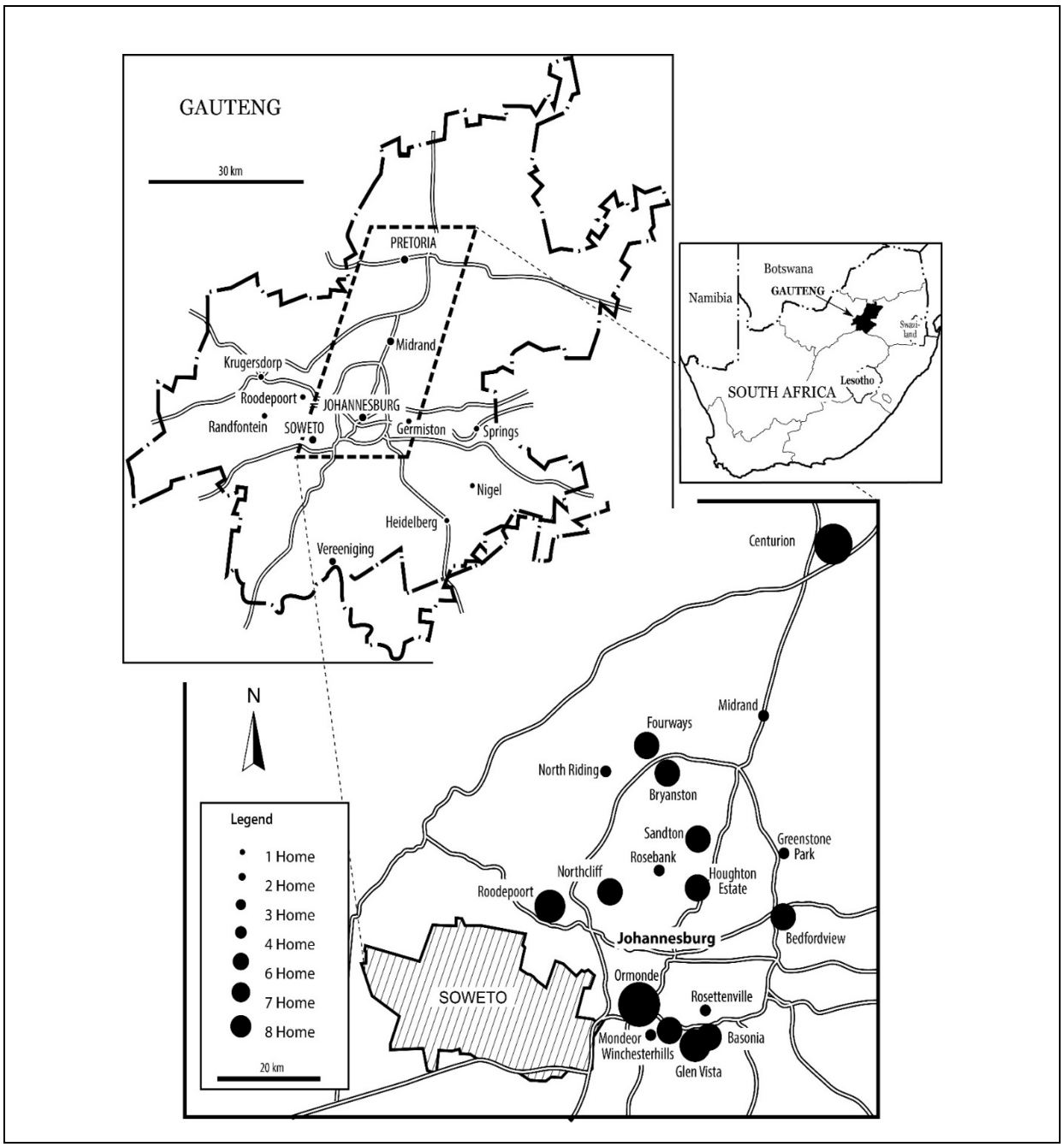

Figure 6 Location of research participants' current homes in Greater Johannesburg and Pretoria

The above map shows the orientation of the suburban homes in relation to their original homes in Soweto. i.e. eight participants live in Centurion and 3 participants live in North Riding. There is only one respondent in each location; Rosebank, Houghton Estate and Rosettenville respectively (Figure 8). The length of stay within these current homes differs for each respondent, however on average the participants stated they had stayed in their current homes for between two to five years. All of the current homes are located within close proximity of the Johannesburg city centre. The majority of the participants reside in different forms of gated residential areas within these suburbs. For example, Greenstone residential complex, Dainfern Valley Estate and Ormonde View Estate are a few of the residential spaces that the participants currently reside in.

Literature states that the wealthy populations enjoy a lifestyle of expensive consumption-led circulation and choose to reside in areas that are convenient for livelihood reasons (Table 6) (see Müller, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2002; Müller, 2004; Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004; Hui and Yu, 2009; Halfacree, 2011a; 2011b; Donaldson *et al.,* 2013). The current homes are generally located within suburban areas where there is convenience of living. There is efficient service delivery, safety measures within the gated communities and complex housing. Also, the malls, schools and workplaces within northern Johannesburg are in close proximity to the homes. When interviewing the participants regarding their reasons for the choice of area the following reasons were given:

Table 6 Research participants' choice of current home location*

Reason for choice of location of current residence	**Number participants**
Close to home in Soweto	63
Close to work	53
Close to schools for children	45
Aesthetic value/Amenity; Quiet environment	28
Central to shopping centres and other entertainment	27

Security	8

*Each participant gave multiple reasons, however, the majority of 63 (91%) chose the location of their homes because it was relatively close to their homes in Soweto.

Sixty-three of the participants stated that they chose the location of their current home because it was close to Soweto. The theme was homes located in Soweto, which speaks to a connection that is still present between the black elites and their township home. Due to the lack of literature focused on second home ownership in Soweto, this is an new finding that contributes to new literature.

"Living in Ormonde is convenient and central. It's close to the CBD and I can go to Rockville to see my mom whenever I need to". (Interview 38)

They argued the need to be able to travel conveniently to their homes and to see their parents regularly. Fifty-three participants stated that they chose the area that they live in because it was closer to their workplace. They didn't have to travel too far for employment. Following this, forty-five participants said it was important their children had priority access to the best schools, of which the majority is located within northern Johannesburg.

"…Fourways has made it easier to get first priority when I applied for my child's schooling. When my wife and wanted to start a family we realized that where we lived would matter because for the future of our child's education" (Interview 12).

Twenty-eight participants argued that the quiet environment, the better service delivery was one of the influencing factors for choosing the location of their current home. Twenty-seven mentioned that the centrality and convenience of better equipped shopping centers and other forms of entertainment were located within the northern Johannesburg area, thus they wanted access to a convenient lifestyle, instead of having to travel long distances to reach good shopping malls. Lastly, security was stated as important by a minority of eight participants.

When analyzing the reasons given for the choice of location of the current homes, one could argue that the reason for the choice to live close to work may be linked to

reasons similar to that of labour migration. Relocating for the purpose of employment is the focus of the paper by Posel and Casale (2006), which discusses the patterns of internal migration in relation to household poverty in post-apartheid South Africa. A member who leaves home for the convenience of work is still considered to be a member of the household regardless of the time spent away from the home (Smit, 1996; Posel, 1998). This is the same for the participants of this research, in that there is general consensus on relocating for the convenience of making a living but also to remain close enough to their homes in Soweto. Furthermore, there was emphasis placed on making or living in better conditions than the older previously disadvantaged groups experienced during the apartheid era. It is difficult to ignore the constant reminder of the state of society within the apartheid era and to link it to the current livelihood choices that are made by the black elite of this research.

One could argue that the choice of location is reflective of more than just the argument of convenience. The reasons given such as access to better shopping malls, access to better schooling for children emphasize the underlying subconscious need to be more like the 'other'/White/privileged (Fanon, 1986; Ashcroft, 2001; Duncan, 2003; Durrheim and Mtose, 2006), the successful livelihood, bigger yard and cleaner surroundings, yet remaining in close proximity with their home culture, identity, family and friends. There are areas in Soweto with bigger yards, quieter neighbourhoods i.e. Diepkloof Extension. It could also be suggested that this is also a form of subconscious reclaiming of a life that was denied by the apartheid laws. Financial freedom, access to previously white suburb spaces and homes has allowed for a form of personal tangible redress from the limited access to space. There is a discourse within the shift between classes (middle and elite/upper class) which is allowed and adapted within the post-apartheid democracy, for black, previously disadvantaged individuals' different identities to intersect dependent on the space and places they engage with (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Durrheim and Mtose, 2006; Gray, 2006). The need to relocate to northern suburbs is more than affordability and comfort, it also fosters for disconnect within the connection to the different localities. The access to former white areas, allows for more influence on the northern Johannesburg that they engage with socially and economically. The liberal access to space allows for them to engage in what one might call the 'white

lifestyle' i.e. home in the suburb with high walls and a swimming pool (Houghton Estate) and gated estates (Dainfern Valley, Midrand).

Blakely and Snyder (1997) discuss gated communities within the Global North. In essence gate communities are described as residential areas that are fenced and have limited/monitored access at the main gate. The main reason for such a community development is to privatize civil services for example having their own police protection, security patrol and other shared services such as recreational areas (parks, dams and play areas), private schools and entertainment (bars, pubs and sports clubs) (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Twenty-eight participants pointed out that the aesthetic value of the area they reside in was a factor for their choice. One could argue similarly to Blakely and Snyder (1997) in saying that elite communities aim to secure their social status. Living within the suburbs gives the impression that people are wealthy and wealth results in access to an efficient and lavish lifestyle. This social status gives power to people amongst those without such efficient access and wealth to civil services because they live within the township. In essence, living in these fenced communities communicates a great sense of significance and reputation. The assurance of security provides a peace of mind and a distance and disconnect from the historical reputation of violence and crime within Soweto.

5.3.2 The additional home: Soweto

Soweto is largely a Black/African residential area, which accommodates people within different combined annual household income brackets; those surviving on or below the poverty line and those living comfortably within the millionaires range (Malinga, 2005). Although Soweto was meant to be a temporary home for the labour migrants, today Soweto has become the biggest township in Gauteng, housing residents of different cultural backgrounds, languages and histories (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2003; Dlamini, 2009). The history and the differences of the labour migrants made Soweto a viable space to have conducted research focusing on circulation, pluri-residentiality and attachment to homes.

In the past, the black population of South Africa was banned from owning property or land (Bonner and Segal, 1998). Instead, housing was provided by the state on a

rental basis. Standard four-roomed homes with a toilet outside were provided regardless of the family size or income. The poor conditions of housing and squatter camps surrounding these homes and single-gendered hostels, pressured for a change in the state to allow the black middle class to own homes in extended subarea of Soweto such as Diepkloof (Bonner and Segal, 1998). It is vital to consider this when looking at the reasons why the participants chose to move out of their childhood home in Soweto. The participants' have a historical connection to Soweto as this is where they were born and where they grew up. The participants' original homes in Soweto are located randomly across Soweto i.e. Bram Fischerville, Diepkloof Zone 6, Rockville etc (Figure 9). Figure 9 shows the number of participants in each subarea in Soweto, for example eight participants have homes in Diepkloof, seven have homes in Jabulani, two have a home in Bram Fischerville and 1 respondent has a home in Molapo.

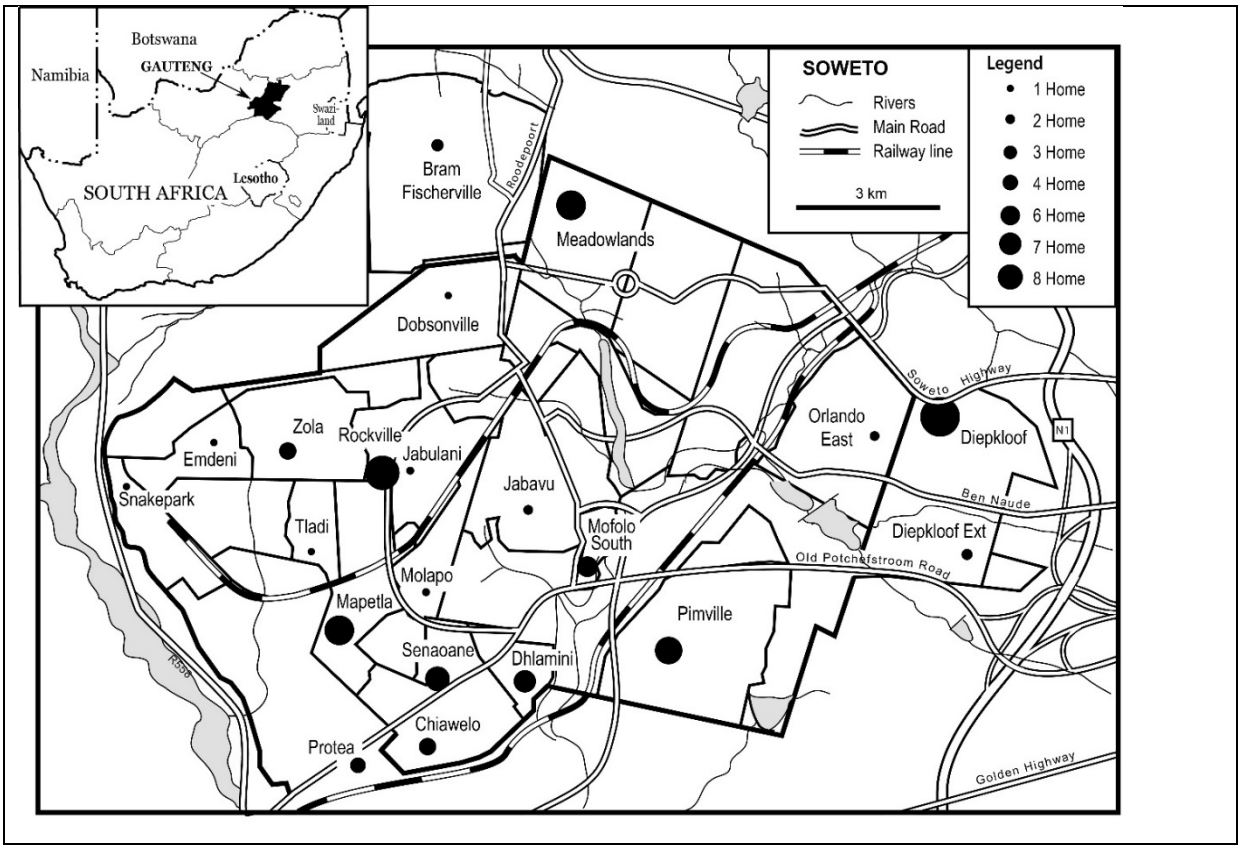

Figure 7 Location of the research participants' Soweto Homes

Currently, the homes in Soweto are different than they were 50years ago when they were built standard by the state. More homes have been renovated and extended for the purpose of comfort and leisure; gardens and high walls for privacy and amenity

can be found in all subareas of Soweto. One can argue that the democracy has influence more than social redress and financial freedom, but owning a home and being able to dictate the conditions of the garden has informed a new type of relationship with this space.

5.3.2.1 Frequency of travel from the current home to the home in Soweto

Evidence from the research proves that the black elite still visit their homes in Soweto quite frequently (Figure 10). A total of sixty-one participants live within the greater Johannesburg area, which is relatively closer to Soweto compared to the other participants (eight) that currently live in Centurion (figure 8). A majority of sixty-four participants visit their parents' home weekly or biweekly. In contrast, none of the participants spend more than a month away without visiting their parents' home. All the participants are mobile, which together with the shorter distance and location of their current homes makes it easier to travel more frequently. For example, on one hand, one respondent who lives in Sandton visits her parents weekly, travels around 29km to their parents' home in Diepkloof, Soweto. On the other hand, a respondent who stated he lived in Centurion with his wife and kids, travels biweekly to his parents' home in Jabavu travels around 68km.

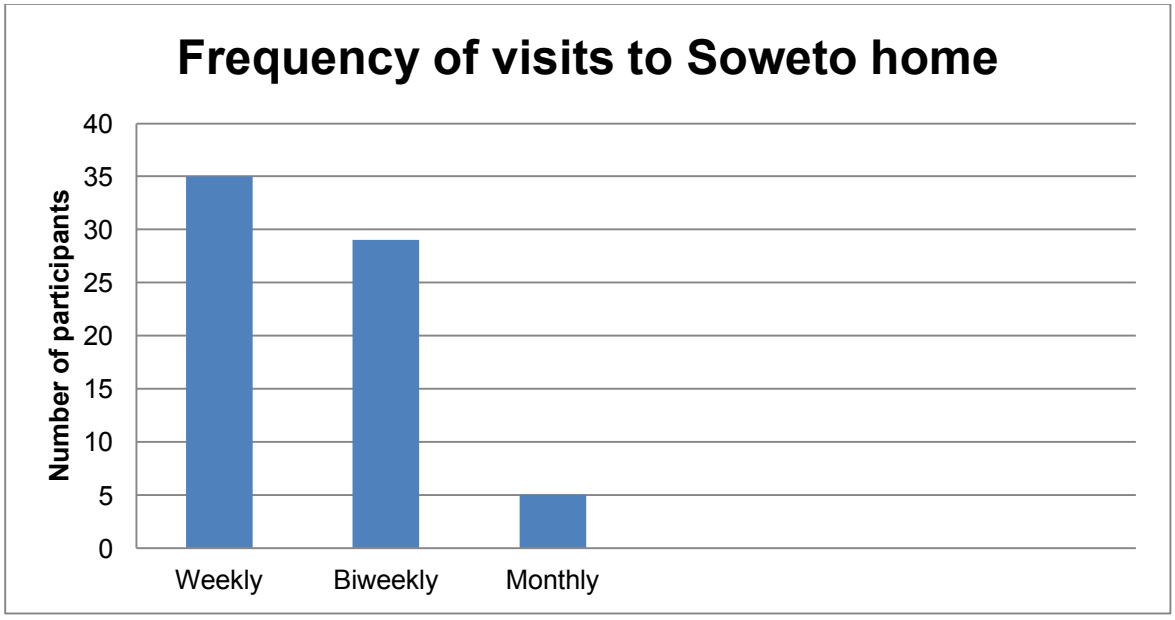

Figure 8 Frequency of visits to Soweto Home

Gallent (2007) suggests that an additional home needs to be understood as more than just a sedentary structure, and instead as a space that embraces mobility. This means that the frequent circulation between the homes creates a single home

connection through the presence of the black elite (Giddens, 1991; Greiner, 2012). In general, within second home literature suggests the time spent within a home is not necessarily an influencing factor on ones attachment to a space. Although sixty-four participants visit between weekly and biweekly, this does not prove that they are more attached to the home or the space of Soweto compared to the other five participants visit their home on monthly. One could argue that they only visit to perform responsibilities; taking their parents to the doctor, dropping off groceries and transporting siblings or other relatives.

"I am very busy with work and sometimes it takes away from the time I would like to just sit and catch up with my parents. So sometimes the only time I have is to check up on them or to drop my mother off at her sister's place because I am the closest child… my brother is in the UK." (Interview 57)

Mallett (2004) describes a space that someone may be attached to as a home where people live or 'lived space' where there is interaction amongst things, family, neighbours and extended communities. In essence, the home symbolizes a place socio-cultural familiarity and history. For the case of the participants, remittance plays a major role in their reason for frequent need to return home.

All the participants maintain a relationship with a home in Soweto. There are different reasons for leaving behind a home in order to settle into a new space; factors that influence migration, mobility and circulation. The participants of this research provided the following reasons for leaving their home(s) in Soweto (see Table 7).

Table 7 Push factors: Reasons for leaving Soweto Homes*

Push factors: Reasons for leaving home in Soweto	**Number of participants**

Marriage	20
House was/became too small	36
Convenience; closer to work, children schools etc.	21
Time to move out and start own life	15
School tertiary education	8
Family issues	8

*Participants gave multiple reasons for moving out of their Soweto home

The evidence from the interviews revealed that thirty-six participants stated that reason for leaving their home in Soweto was limited living space. The black elite felt that the space they had grown up in was no longer accommodating for their adult needs. The common reason in literature is migrating to find better life opportunities which are similar to a combination of the reasons given by the research participants above (Smit, 1996; Posel, 1998; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2005; Posel and Casale, 2006). Twenty-one of the participants justifying their need to migrate, with the need to move closer to work. In similar local contexts, leaving native homes is attributed to labour migration (Collinson *et al*., 2006; Posel, 2006). Only a minority argued that, in addition to other push factors, family issues and finding accommodation closer to tertiary education was valid enough to leave home and engage with a new space. Marriage was a popular reason for leaving the Soweto home given by the female black elite participants. Similar cases have been reported in the literature by Collinson *et al*., (2006).

Smit (1998) suggests that migrants maintain a rural urban linkage with their households of origin. Remittance, visiting friends and family and circular migration are some of the pull factors that second home tourism academic have explored in order to understand the nexus between two places, moreover, to understand the need for a peripatetic relationship (Smit, 1998; Overvåg, 2011; Greiner, 2012; Williams and Hall, 2002). This is in agreement with the reasons provided by the participants for their frequent travels back to their homes in Soweto. Nostalgia refers to a longing for a period in the past; a feeling evoked by memories due to diasporic sentiments of belonging (Silva, 2009). Similarly, one could argue that the influence of

visiting the home in Soweto may partly be a longing to negate the responsibilities that come with the current home and livelihood, which is revealed in one of the conversations between the researcher and the interviewee.

> *"When I am at my parents' home, I am home, I remember the ease of being a child".* (Interview 56)

The respondent speaks about a sense of comfort in being within the space and the presence of their parents/older relatives. The idea of being a child resonates within the lack of responsibility and the relationship they had with their caregiver. This additional home in Soweto may provide periods of leisure to the black elite. Periods that wealth and power do not offer. Evidence from the interviews states the following reasons for the maintenance of a peripatetic relationship between the multiple localities (see Table 8).

Table 8 Pull factors: Reasons for visiting Soweto Home*

Pull Factors: Reasons for visiting home in Soweto	**Number of participants**
Visiting parents/ family	50
Remittance	45
Visiting friends ('hanging out')	37
Children visiting grandparents	21
Business in area	2
Family/friends occasion	19

*Each participant gave multiple reasons for visiting their Soweto home

Greiner (2012) suggests that homes contribute as units that foster the mobility and migration of an individual. Furthermore, this influence also contributes to the development of networks of circulation between multiple homes, making them multilocal. The major reason for returning temporarily to homes in Soweto is to visit family and friends. Fifty of the participants argued that the dominant, if not only reason, for visiting their home in Soweto was to visit parents and extended family. Other reasons were also linked to family, within this group of participants, forty-five

stated sending remittance prompted their frequent visits and twenty-one argued that it is vital that their children spend time with their grandparents over school holidays (Table 8).

Visiting friends and family is a form of tourism that has been extensively explored in second home tourism and tourism academic research (Jackson, 1990; Williams and Hall, 2000b; Rogerson and Hoogensdoorn, 2014). The general argument is that people return/visit their homes/spaces/households of origin in order to spend time with family and friends (see Jackson, 1990; Williams and Hall, 2000b; Backer, 2011; McLeod and Busser, 2014). However, there has been debate around the difference between travelling for the purpose of leisure by for example booking separate accommodation and visiting friends and relatives and staying in the same structure/dwelling as the family for the duration of the visit (Leiper, 2004; Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014). Backer (2008; 2011) accommodates the black elite of this research by using an alternative term for describing a different purpose of visiting friends and family. VFR 'traveller' is used instead of VFR 'tourist' to avoid assuming that everyone who is mobile temporarily is a tourist. This is to elucidate that a tourist is mobile for the sole purpose of leisure in contrast to a traveller's purpose being for mobility and circulation which include responsibilities that come with visiting family and friends.

Forty-five of the participants state that the reason for visiting their homes in Soweto is to support their family financially; provide groceries, such as rice, maize meal, meat, milk and tea etc, to pay for a service or to buy medication. Another added reason to the conversation of remittance, the participants argued that they were renovating the homes of their parents. They wanted to make sure their parents were living comfortably, thus the added motivation to visit frequently to check on the construction (Figure 10).



Figure 9 Research participants'' newly renovated parents' Soweto home

Schmidt-Kallert (2009) describes frequent travels to home as an ‘incomplete’ transition. The purpose of exploring this, was in attempt to further understand the nature of the black elite participant’s attachment to the space (Soweto home), directly above the explained nexus between remittance and visiting friends and family. Figure 11 illustrates the period in which the participants visit their Soweto home.

A family with a place-bound space no longer simply implies a limited life for an individual. Beyond this, the space of home is now more than ever, understood as fluid and related to a temporal thinking (Haldrup, 2004; Halfacree, 2011). Therefore, one could argue that the constant need for visitation, the circulation and need for physical presence within the home of Soweto reveals a continuous need for attachment. Taking into consideration, both the push and pull factors that influence circulation between the different localities, an uncanny development of a connection between dispora, identity and home foster a nostalgic, meaningful relation to the Soweto home (Silva, 2009). In addition, living within the era of mobilities (globalization) facilitates a heterolocal lifestyle, the agency from individuals to employ a fluid relationship with space, place and time (Figure 3) (Steinbrink, 2010; Pearce, 2012; Halfacree, 2012)

5.3.2.2 Remittance

The issue of remittance is not unique to the black/African population of South Africa; it is a common practice amongst labour migrants in the Global South (see Greiner, 2012 for similar case). Remittance refers to the act of sending money to meet a responsibility/obligation (Intentional Organization of Migration, 2011). For the respondents of this research one could argue that remittance can in fact be described as the essence of labour migration as is seen in similar cases of black/African populations globally (see Greiner, 2012). Leaving home in search of better life opportunities creates an economic and emotional link between two households regardless of the setting (rural or urban) (Greiner, 2012; Halfacree, 2012a). Furthermore, this sense of liberated financial mobility allows for a financial advantage over homes that do not have an individual who is employed or who has moved for the purpose of employment (Posel, 2006; Schmidt-Kallert, 2004; 2009). Linked to this view, one can agree with the argument that the black elite households become multilocal; interlinked through a township-urban exchange (Greiner, 2012). The term 'multilocal households' can be used to describe the nexus that has developed between the current home and the Soweto home. Greiner (2012, 204) successfully uses this term to explain how "two or more spatially dispersed residential units are united in joint decision-making under the imaginary roof of one single household" (Greiner, 2012, 204). This is the same experience of the participants in that they rely on each other or they are responsible for household decisions because of their high income.

5.3.3 The Rural home: Cultural Home

The term 'rural home' usually refers to a home located in the rural areas where agriculture is the main source of income; characterised by underdeveloped infrastructure (World Development Report, 1990). A rural area is widely defined in contrast to an urban area, however this is problematic because the definitions of 'urban' and 'rural' are relative to a country (World Development Report, 1990). For this research, 'rural home' is used to refer to the additional homes of the black elite that are located in provinces that include previous Bantustan areas. As the focus of this study was the relationship developed between multiple localities that are

inclusive of a ‘rural home’. The reference in this research is made to the home of origin that the labour migrants of Soweto came from; originally each South African province was named Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Kwazulu-Natal, Free State (Christopher, 1992).

Of the sixty-nine respondents, it was noted that sixteen of the respondents said they did not have a rural home. However, rural homes of the research participants were located in provinces such as Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West and bordering countries such as Mozambique and Botswana (Figure 12).

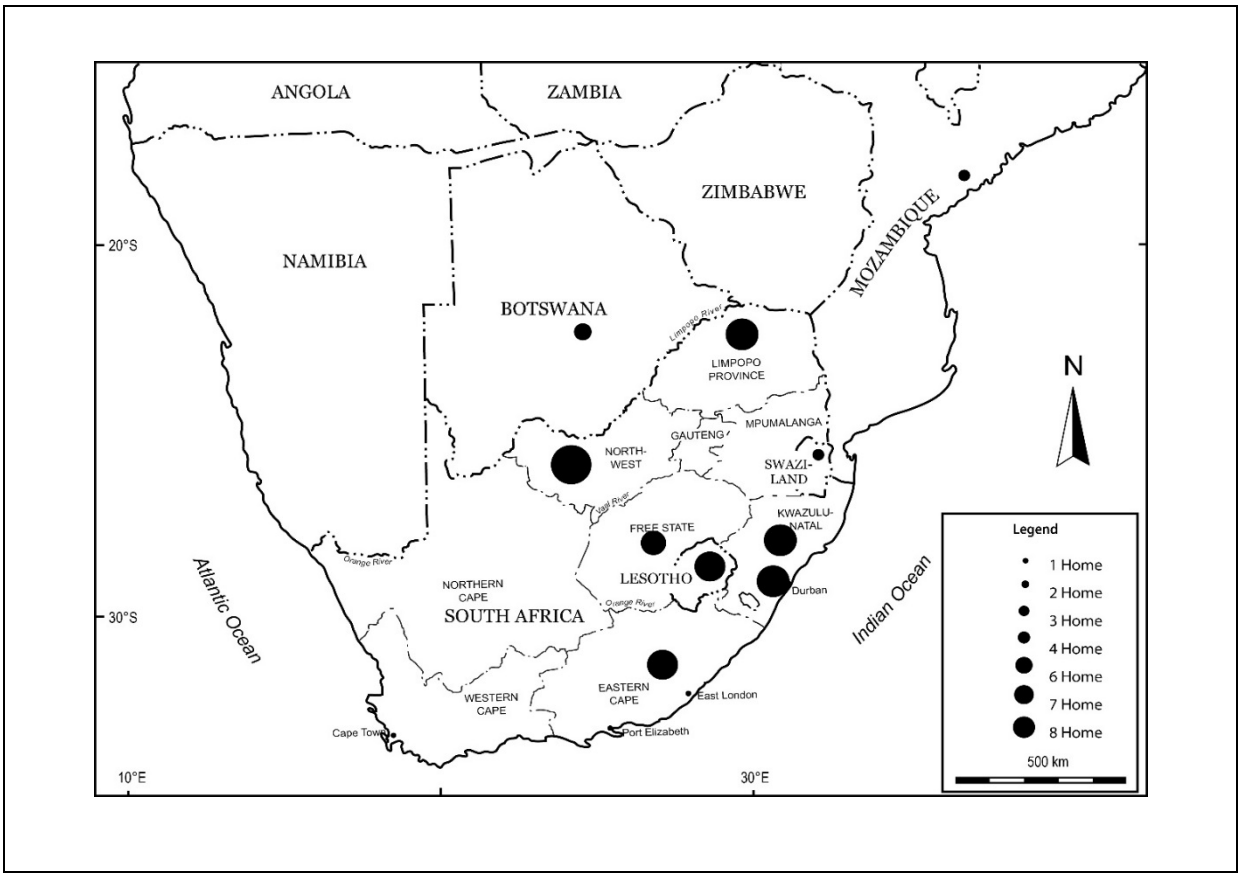

Figure 10 Location of Rural Home

Figure 12 shows the number of additional homes, that the black elite are connected to located within the South African provinces and bordering countries i.e. eight respondents have rural/ancestral homes in the North West and two respondents have homes in Mozambique. The participants generally described the rural homes as simple, yet impactful on the lives and identities of the respondents.

5.3.3.1 Frequency of travel from the current home to the rural home

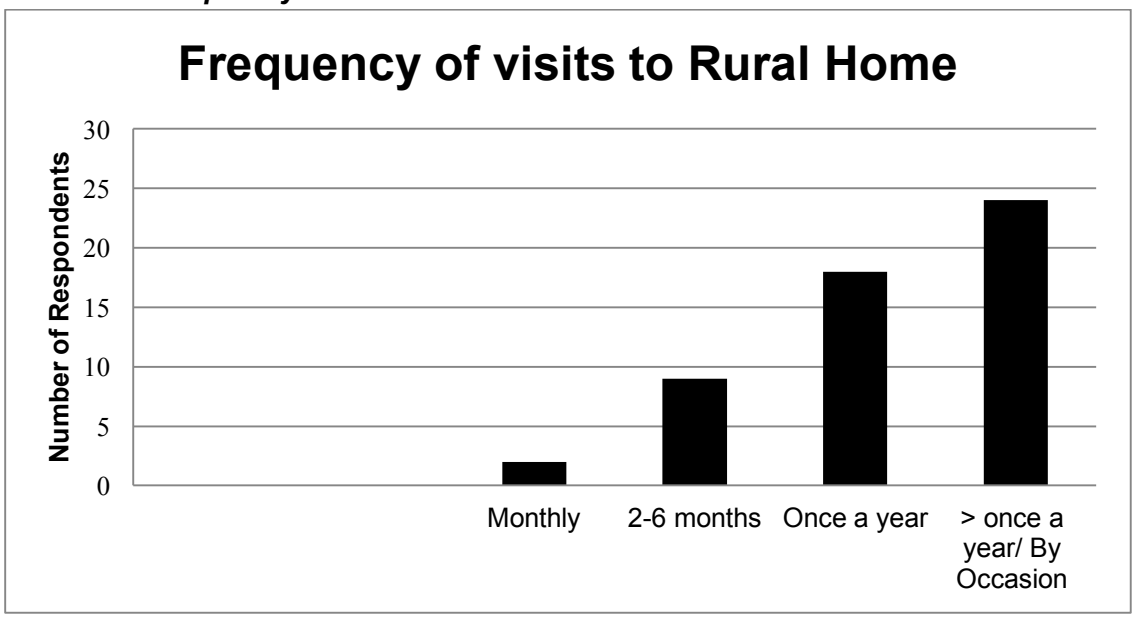

Figure 11 Frequency of visits to Rural Home

Looking at the frequency of travel (Figure 13), visits to the rural homes happen only by occasion (twenty-four respondents visit less than once year or by occasion). The reasons for the lack of frequent travel to the rural homes differ. However, a majority of the respondents argued that the purpose of visiting their rural homes was no longer the same:

> *"I have not visited my rural home, my grandparents' home in Qwa-qwa, in many years because they are no longer alive. There is extended family, but we are not close"* (Interview 35)

> *"I would like to go to Rustenburg more often, I am just too busy."* (Interview 7)

In contrast to those that stated that they did not have rural homes, fifty-six of the respondents shared a different sentiment. Although they did not travel as frequently as they would have preferred, they shared memories with the research which showed a longing for the time they had spent in the past, visiting their grandparents or extended family.

> *"I remember my great grandmother and my grandmother whenever we would visit them in Lesotho. Hot days at the kraal, the food! The traditional Lesotho*

food. Morogo, chicken feet. Basotho are a very humble nation; peoples' people!" (Interview 40)

"I remember visiting my grandfather in Rustenburg. I remember my grandmother would cook and bake bread for us." (Interview 4)

"I remember going to primary school; walking to school. There was less sophistication, less pressure. I also remember the family gatherings during school holidays. My sisters were sent to boarding school; we would reminisce on the stories they would tell us when they came home. Lesotho is a place to catch up and enjoy each other's' company" (Interview 17)

The rural setting, through the locale (the appearance of the space) (see Cresswell, 2009), provides a sense of escape from the busy life in Johannesburg. Although there is less circulation to the place due to reasons given above, the memory allows for a brief mental escape through family gatherings that occur between the current home and the Soweto home of the black elite.

One could argue that this sense of longing fosters an emotional place attachment which is derived from the meaning the respondents have ascribed to the place and space of their rural homes (Gallent, 2004; Easthope, 2004; Cresswell; 2009; Bell and Osti, 2010). Food provides a sense of fulfilment when it comes to this meaning a rural place has. The cultural food (Sesotho, Tshivenda, Isizulu etc) and the process of preparation; furthermore, the person who prepares it add to the components to building this nostalgic attachment. One could argue that the identity of the respective respondents shifts depending on the space he/she engages with, or in certain spaces one finds that his/her layered identities become dominant and in saying this, it can be argued that it becomes valuable for the black elites to maintain their connection to a 'rural identity' because of social practices that are absent in their urban multilocal homes (current and Soweto home) (Bondi, 1993; Müller, 1999; Svensson, 2004; Greiner, 2012).

Through this section of the research, it became clear that a relationship exists between all localities (current home, Soweto Home and Rural/ancestral home). The choice of location of the current homes reveals the need to be in travelling distance from their Soweto homes. Furthermore, the reasons for the visits show that visiting family and friends is an important characteristic of the purpose of travel to the multiple homes. The maintenance of a connection is fostered by the experiences, memories and responsibilities that are associated with engaging with the place. There is a constant presence of the black elite in each locality, through remittance, forms of connection such as internet, smart phones; and these foster the mobility and circulation of the black elite (see Overvåg, 2011). This is in agreement with what Cresswell (2009) states, which is, that place is the essence of where space, location and locale combine. A peripatetic relationship is developed and allowed through globalization; circulation, materials and connections at a distance through place attachment of the home regardless of the frequency of visit (Williams *et al*., 2006; Overvåg, 2011; Steinbrink, 2010; Pearce, 2012; Halfacree, 2012). Thus, one could argue that the homes in the township; suburb and rural localities influence the identities of the black elites beyond how society influences their norms and values.

5.4 Intersections of identity within the space and place of the multilocal household

Identity is a significant theme to discuss in qualitative research and is specific to this investigation because of the great amount of conceptual meaning around the politics of being a part of 'black elite' within post-apartheid South Africa. Attempting to formulate place identity within the politics of social space can prove to be a challenging process for data collection. Identity is fluid within its interconnected facets; "internally fractured and externally multiple" (Bondi, 1993, 97). Williams and Hall (2002) also look at identity through the home, and suggest that the preservation of identity has a significant influence on the link between migrant cultures and travel consumption. The researcher asked the interviewees if their relationship with their homes contributed to who they were. All the respondents agreed that the homes have contributed to their identity. However, even more significantly, their identities are influenced by their heritage, cultural practices, and the sense of belonging and household struggles.

"I value my heritage – Setswana because of my connection to my rural home."(Interview 22)

"If it was not the hardships of growing up in Meadowlands, I don't think I would be this hungry for success; a better living." (Interview 13)

"Living in Rockville, I was taught my principles, disciplines, values and morals. And visiting my grandparents in Swaziland kept me in touch with my culture and identity, who I am". (Interview 56)

"Growing up in all these homes, the lessons shape the decisions I make today. My experiences inform my decision making. I also think it's important to keep this through the generations of my kids". (Interview 12)

"Soweto contributed to my identity by giving me a sense of belonging. Knowing each woman in the community was my mother; sense of community. Ubuntu. Here in my current home in Poortview, I no longer have that." (Interview 39)

"In Soweto, I learned my morals and values, hard work, family...Here in Ormonde, living alone, being a single parent I have learned to be responsible, manage all affairs of my life and my son's life; to balance school, work and home". (Interview 19)

The different layers of identity are fostered by the multiple mobilities; remittance as previously explained (Greiner, 2012). One can argue that, identity of the black elite respondent's, becomes dominant when in his/her current homes, home in Soweto and his/her rural homes. The multiple homes of the black elite can be understood further as having a fluid relationship with their multiple homes through the home culture that is developed through the years. It can be said that this relationship inhibits characteristics of 'home culture' which is an intersection between the "ideas, cultures, values, meanings and physical and socioeconomic structures" (Støa, 2007, 4). The community, the sense of belonging, the togetherness through the diversity of cultures are all fostered by a common purpose that brought people to Soweto to

begin with. Furthermore, within the globalization era of mobilities, it can be said that identities are no longer based around the idea of a static home; instead the fluid, dynamic identity is imbued with the relationship to multiple homes. Quinn (2004) argues that because of this, multilocal households foster circulation, and different identities become dominant according to the different spaces with which they are engaged with. This is the case with the contestation between the identities of the black elite, of the different homes; Soweto home (first home) (child, financial supporter), current home (second home) (partner and/or parent) and rural home (extended/additional) (relative, grandchild or great grandchild) (Figure 14).

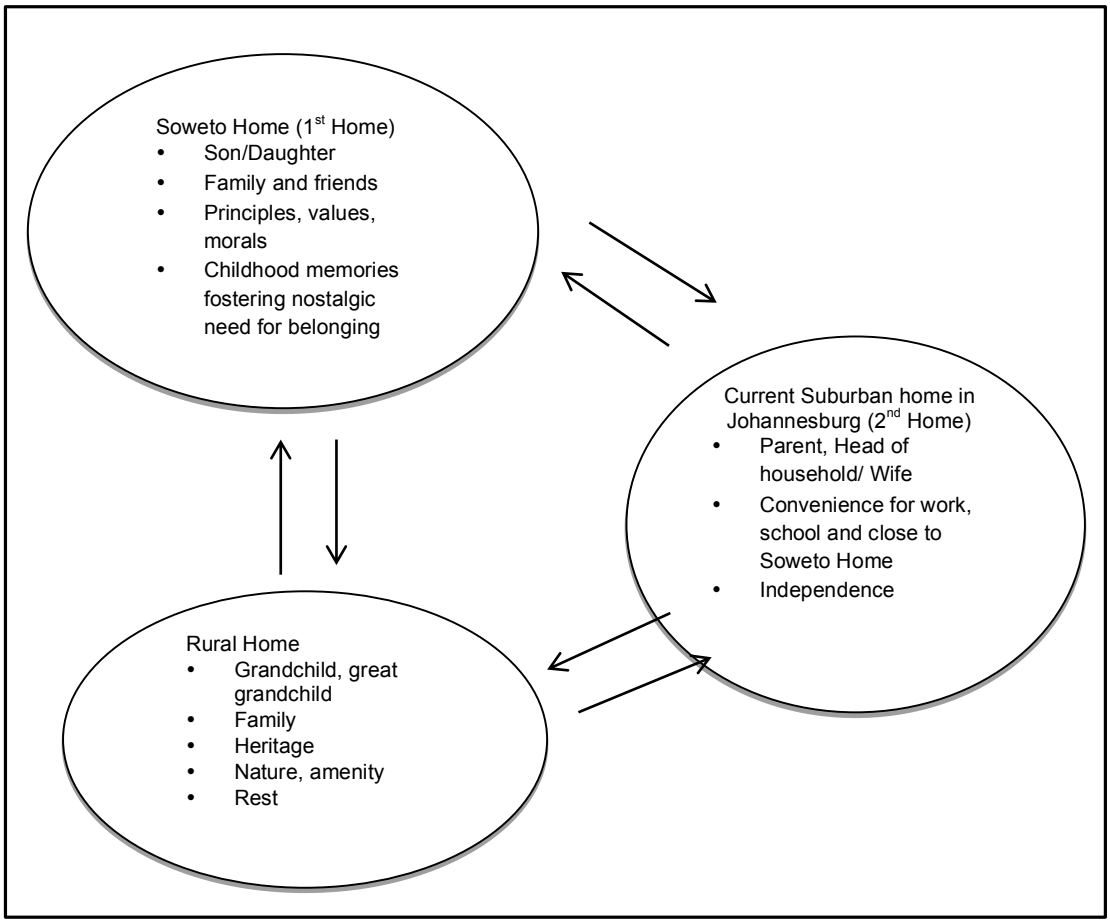

Figure 12 Preservation of identity through attachment to additional home.

The sense of belonging and need for a constant attachment to home, may be contributed to by the history of the black society in South Africa (Chrisopher, 1992). The segregation and exclusion from white group areas may have created this build of a fluid right to space and place in Soweto as a whole for the black population. Thus, the internal and external factors, during apartheid and post-apartheid, have

influenced the mobilities and identities of the respondents (see Smit, 1992; Williams and Hall, 2002).

The connection between the identities of the black elite and a home plays an important role when attempting to understand the value and attachment developed through the relationship to a home. The era of globalization and multiple mobilities allows for physical connection and disconnection simultaneously. This contributes to the concept of a connection between a fluid identity and home; the heterolocal lifestyle of consumerism (Charles, 2005; Halfacree, 2011). This consumerism is expressed in the idea remittance, the frequency of visits to family and friends within Soweto and the rural homes. Thus, the connection for the black elite is more to do with the occupants of the spaces in Soweto than a relationship with the physical space. It is the memories, the engagement with the space which is congruent to the relationships with family and friends therefore, fostering the formation of mobile, multilocal households (Schmidt-Kallert and Franke, 2012; Greiner, 2012). Thus the relationship that the black elite have with their multiple homes is extremely important.

5.5 An emotional attachment to multiple localities

The South African black population is a family oriented population due to the segregated and exclusionary past of the country (Krige, 2011; 2012). The lack of ownership of home has influenced the attachment to family and friends. The era of democracy and the abolishment of the apartheid government has allowed for more attachment to urban space. Although the rural home is one that gives the identity its roots, the Soweto home has influenced the respondents' values and morals in addition their current homes gives them a platform to live out their livelihoods as parents and partners. When asked if any circumstance would lead to connection with the localities fading, the respondents stated the following:

> *"My connection to Soweto will never fade. But I think because my maternal grandparents are no longer, this connection will fade".* (Interview 16)
>
> *"I think my connection with Zola will fade because once my uncle passes on we will sell the house".* (Interview 3)
>
> *"Yes, once my parents die, we travel less to Soweto for family visits…".* (Interview 6)

Others stated a contrast to these answers, arguing that their relationship to these spaces would never fade.

> *"Home is home. I will always visit. My neighbours are also my family."* (Interview 41)

> *"My connection to all these homes is long term".* (Interview 3)

A question of permanent return to their households of origin in Soweto was posed. The respondents argued differently but the main theme was that the space of Soweto no longer provided them with their immediate needs; shopping, household space, plot space.

> *"No, the yards in Soweto are too small".* (Interview 30)

> *"No, for social and economic reasons; firstly, efficient access to the shopping malls and social life…and secondly, all the people I grew up with have left Soweto".* (Interview 57)

> *"No, the mind-set is no longer the same. Where you live contributes to who you are".* (Interview 16)

> *"… I have become accustomed to a different way of life".* (Interview 9)

> *"No, I am married".* (Interview 14)

Although it has been argued that Soweto is a space of symbolism, a symbol of struggle and togetherness, a place for leisure consumption and pluri-residentiality through multiple mobilities, it a space that a majority of the respondents would not return to live permanently. The limitations in the spatial brought by the apartheid state is still present. Migrating permanently to the suburbs of Johannesburg, yet visiting the other homes as frequently as desired is a symbol of freedom. The allowance for an interaction with space, a different type of dwelling and location

gives a platform for the identity to evolve as post-apartheid mobile black elite with a relationship to multilocal housholds beyond the physical structure. It can be suggested that mobility is a characteristic of residents of all countries, but specific to the South African context, it is clear that mobility and circulation are fostered by pluri-residentiality and family and friends.

Lastly, the black elite show interest in owning vacation homes. The need to escape everyday responsibility and routine is not unique to the wealthy, white, mobile second home-owners globally. Only three respondents stated they had vacation homes in Port Elizabeth, Vaal dam and Umhlanga Rocks. This minority is in stark contrast to sixty-seven saying that the financial responsibilities did not yet allow for them to afford an additional holiday home similar to that of the western/traditional vacation home.

5.6 Conclusion

During the interview process, it became evident that the respondents do not distinguish between first and second home. Instead, each home serves an important purpose however; none is solely for recreation or leisure. Stedman (2006), Holden (2006) and Pearce (2012) write about place attachment, nostalgia or emotional territory as factors that contribute to telling the difference between the purposes of multiple homes. The respondents of this research have a connection to three homes; the home in Soweto, their current home and the rural home/grandparents' home. This is in contrast to the dominant literature of second home tourism as it states that a second home is an additional home

Taking into consideration the conversations that the researcher had with the respondents, it may be safe to conclude that the relationship with multiple homes is still present. In particular, the Soweto home holds much significance to the respondents and creates even more reason for a peripatetic lifestyle to be lived. Remittance is an additional reason for the physical frequent presence of the respondents within their Soweto homes. Within the Soweto homes, the black elite have learned independence, principles and other life values. This space moulds and contributes to the current identity of black elite, through the interaction with close family and friends. Furthermore, the presences of a sense of community, belonging and social oppression by the apartheid government have influenced the relationship

that the black elite have with space (within the home and with other communities of Johannesburg). Thus, it may be said that VFR travel is dominant within the relationship/connection that the black elite have with these homes. The relationship with the rural home holds a different value for the respondents, in that it is a cultural asset which fosters for the ethnic aspect of the black elite identity. Post-apartheid, within the current society, the results show that the connection to this home is not as strong as before. The fading of localities is influenced by the adapting to new lifestyles, new spaces the respondents call home afforded by the access to wealth and new era of democracy in South Africa. With the connection to multiple homes, comes the compromise of a locality. Once a family member has moved or passed on, the respondents lose a connection to the space. Thus, the essence of the black elite identity is moulded through the engagement of family and friends and not just the structure.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The final chapter attempts to conclude on the research findings of this dissertation. Drawing from the results and discussion of this dissertation, this next chapter focuses on the three main research questions and suggests any possible research prospects. In order to achieve this, this chapter will be structured into three sections dedicated to key findings of this dissertation. The first section will look at the essential issues that arose during the fieldwork of this investigation, which are around attempting to define and identify second homes for the black elite in South Africa. The emphasis will be placed on the fact that second home tourism research concepts need to be re-understood in order to be applied appropriately to the context of the Global South, in particular for the case of the black elite populations. The 3 main questions proposed have answered and opened new realms of discussion and research. The research questions were designed to explore the location of black elite multiple homes, the circulation patterns in addition to how the link to multiple homes is experienced by the participants and lastly, to understand the meaning of home for the black elites in the contexts of a post-apartheid South Africa.

6.1 Exploring the basis of the idea of a second/additional home within the contemporary South Africa

Williams and Hall (2000) and Gallent *et al*., (2004), argue that the definition of a second home has been problematized. There are different approaches to studying additional/vacation home, which include exploring the dwelling type, structure and purpose of a structure in order to establish if one can refer to a certain space as a second home. The general agreement in defining a second home within the context of the Global North is that, a second home is an additional fixed property that is used from time to time, during the leisure periods of the second home-owners. This definition has also been widely accepted for the case of the Global South. Thus, there is a general assumption that this home is used for vacation, retirement and other recreational purposes. However, this dissertation argues that this assumption, is not necessarily the case for the current black elite population of South Africa, who have relocated from Soweto to suburbs of Greater Johannesburg. For the purpose of

this research, a less constricting definition of a second home was adopted. The findings suggest that a second home refers to an additional home used/visited/experienced occasionally. The reason for excluding the aspect of 'leisure' is in order to allow for the applicability, of the basic concept of a second home, to the Global South. This is because leisure is not the sole purpose of second/additional homes for the black elite.

The process of defining second and/or additional homes for the black elite participants of this research, considers the fact that history of apartheid laws in South Africa have facilitated in the development of a connection to multiple homes for the black populations. The urban planning policies and laws (i.e. Hut Taxes, Pass Law, Native (Urban Areas) Act, and Population Registration Act) that racial and spatially segregated the population of South Africa. It is because of this that the researcher argues that the idea of a second home cannot be limited to leisure. For the black elite of this research, a second/additional home is a home that is used by the black elite for purposes that are not exclusively leisure-related. Furthermore, the black elite residents of greater Johannesburg have a connection to a second home, however it is not necessarily the traditional idea of a second home, hence the use of the terms 'second/additional' and 'second and/or additional home' interchangeably .

6.2 A second home for the case of the 69 black elite participants

6.2.1 Type

Attempting to establish the type of structure of a second home in the context of South Africa is also problematic. For the case of the black elite the type of structure of a second home is in constant development spatially and temporally. Home can be understood as a fluid and/or a physical structure of space. It has also been argued that a home is a space of constant development influenced by internal and external factors. Furthermore, for the case of the black elite, for most participants it is important to renovate the Soweto homes for their parents. This is symbolic of the constant change of the structure of home for the black elite and their family i.e. from the four-roomed houses to bigger, custom designed house. The motivation is to change the physical structure in order to 'leave' their parents in comfortable conditions. The bigger bedrooms and higher walls symbolize financial advancement

within many South African townships. Thus, defining a second home may prove to be problematic as the type of dwelling is dependent of the approach to the study.

6.2.2 Location

For the vast part of second home tourism research conducted in South Africa, the location of a second home has been similar to that of the dominant location proved in international literature. A second home is usually located in the metropolitan and coastal areas. The dwelling is located in amenity-rich surroundings which allows for a relaxed environment that is different to the urban setting that reminds the second home owner of the daily obligating duties and the fast-paced city centres.

When comparing the concept of second home dominantly used in international second home tourism literature, to the findings of this dissertation, it can be argued that this concepts cannot be adopted for all cases in South Africa and specifically for the black elite populations. The location of additional/second homes (multihouse home networks) of the black elite are in the urban areas i.e. Soweto, greater Johannesburg, adjacent provinces and bordering countries. This is because of the apartheid laws that implemented segregation based on race and a further cultural segregation amongst the black populations.

6.2.3 Purpose

The purpose of a second home has been associated with the location of the home for many years in tourism-literature. The purpose of an additional home for the wealthy white populations is to negate the busy environment they experience within the context of their current homes, the second home is to relax, and/or retire. However, for the case of the black elite, their second homes (Soweto and rural/ancestral home), can include a similar purpose to that of a vacation home. Keeping in mind the history, the purpose of these homes then was to systematically house the black population, temporarily during working seasons, and to control the movements and access to certain spaces that were classified as white areas. Despite the symbolic value of the four-roomed housing units being oppressive and confining, the participants reveal that the purpose of these homes has transformed to become a space where the identities of the black populations are reclaimed. This is

evident in the participants' frequent visits to see their family and friends in Soweto, even after having relocated to suburbs of Greater Johanneburg.

The purpose of the current home is to start off a new life as an independent adult/partner; it is close to work, allows parents to put their children in good English language schools and is in close distance to shopping malls which have a variety of stores in the north of Johannesburg. The purposes of this home are slightly similar to that of a *pied-à-terre*, in that this home is used exclusively for the travel convenience to and from work and better life opportunities. However, the participants are still considered to be members of the household in Soweto. In many instances, the black elite renovate and extend their homes for their parents. The first home for the black elite, is the home in Soweto, the household of origin. This home is located in the south western region of Johannesburg, where the participants' and some of their parents were placed for the convenience of a labour force for the apartheid government. Now, within Democratic South Africa, this home is what provides a brief escape from the obligating pressures of adult life and furthermore, a connection to the cultural identity and roots. The space presents a platform in which the simple memories of childhood are re-experienced, relived. Furthermore, this space is, as Williams *et al*., (2006) state, an extension of the self; the extension of the black elite identity.

Beyond the simple organization of spaces the idea of housing black populations oppressed the experience of spaces for the black populations. This altered the idea and experience of a home for the black elite. However, to contrast this idea, one can argue that this also created the rebirth of a reframe the idea of home. Soweto has become a permanent home for those that were born or grew up within the space. Furthermore, post-1994, this can be perceived as the re-establishment of the concept of multiple-home ownership for the case of the black population.
The current homes of the black elite symbolize a form of politico-economic redress. Although there are reminders in the urban infrastructure and the little, yet increasing, racial integration with the residential spaces, the purpose of choosing to reside within the suburbs of greater Johannesburg is more than just convenience. As argued in the result and discussion chapter, on one hand by moving out of Soweto, the black elite may also be attempting to avoid the reminders of the past oppression. It can be

argued that establishing homes in these suburbs reveals a discourse of victory and freedom. It is the agency and rebirth of the experience and purpose of home which is acquired through the access to wealth.

The rural home is an additional home which is also considered to be an extension of the black identity. This particular home and location of the home reinforces the cultural aspect of the black identity. However, it is a space where the ethnicity, ancestral culture of the black elite is reawakened. It is a space where, regardless of the busy, western lifestyle lead by the black elite within the urban setting of the city of Johannesburg, one can be reminded of the family rituals, the cultural identity can be lived through the communication using their native languages; Sesotho, Tswana, Tshivenda. Not to say that this is not possible within the second-home of Soweto, but, it is found that Soweto is such a multilingual space that one's home language is diluted and mixed with other cultural dialogs.

In saying this, although within the post-apartheid era the democratization and reconstruction of spaces is still a struggle, there is a development of circulation amongst those that are previously disadvantaged through the apartheid laws. The black population has, throughout the years been mobile in attempt to remain connected to a home. Therefore, the mobility patterns illustrated through the frequency of visits are influenced by the importance of looking after the parents, extended family and staying connected to the cultural roots.

6.3 The definition of the second home going forward

In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, the liberation and access to space is a big aspect of change and redress in South Africa. Housing supply for those that are previously and currently disadvantaged by government frameworks like GEAR and BBEEE, creates a certain experience of home for the black populations. Accordingly, attempting to understand the significance of the second or additional home phenomenon for the case of the black population in South Africa, emphasizes the need to shift away from the idea of 'ownership' to 'attachment'. It is within this dilemma that one can argue that the history of South Africa does not allow for the black populations to be completely associated with the idea of purchase and

ownership of a home. Instead, the black elite have revealed mobility patterns similar to those of pluri-residentiality, through their heterolocal connection to a home. The black elite participants spoke largely, about a home through the significance of emotional, historical connection.

Within the background of a society that is still segregated through the remains of the 'exclusionary spatial legacy', it may be safe to argue that going forward second home ownership needs to be reframed in order to accommodate the case of the populations with a history of colonization, segregation and apartheid within the Global South. Once an understanding around the idea of 'ownership' and 'attachment' has been established, it will become easier to incorporate these definitions into housing policies that attempt to move forward into alleviating the housing shortage.

6.4 Conclusion

Although there is a nostalgic need for circulation between the closer homes located in Johannesburg and Soweto, the loss of family members influences the lack of visits to the rural homes. It may be safe to say that the rising black elite of future generations may leave behind their primitive cultural backgrounds and adapt or adopt new, more fluid and diluted reinvented types of black home cultures through this pluri-residentiality. In this, more research needs to be done focusing on the cultural displacement brought on by multiple mobilities through the higher frequencies of circulation, pluri-residentiality within the Global South. The connection to 3 or more homes makes the case of the developing world unique in the sense that, these spaces are not homes because of purchase, instead they are considered homes because of the attachment to the extended family, friends and time spent visiting the space. The multiple homes provide the essence of the identity of the black elite participants. Moreover, the access to space, financial stability and comfort ability allows for a new identity within the post-apartheid state. This then influences a platform for the formation of a post-apartheid heterolocal black identity looked at through the home. Thus there is room for a further exploration of the relationships that the black elite have with their multiple homes and how this influences the intersection of the different identities once interacting with different homes.

Through the results and experience of the researcher during the fieldwork of this research, the idea of economic alienation experienced by the lower class residents through renovation of homes in Soweto was an aspect that could not be explored. This was not the focus of this investigation; however there is a need for research focusing on the social impacts of the renovations of multiple homes in Soweto. One can argue that a sense of alienation is experienced by some of the neighbours of the black elite. The renovated double story homes next to 4-roomed apartheid engineered homes with simple wired fences create a stark contrast in incomes and socio-economic statuses within the Soweto neighbourhood. Through observation of the difference in infrastructure and type of homes, it is difficult to ignore that the efforts of the state have not managed to fully change the impact of the apartheid government. And, in many instances this change, renovation of homes creates a sense of 'feeling left behind', alienation, displacement from their own home/Soweto for the case of the lower and middle class residents that reside in the same locality as the black elite that have also benefited from this redress implemented through government initiative such as GEAR, BBBEE.

It is hoped that this research triggers a need for further research focusing on the South African black populations and their relationship to space as a whole post-apartheid. Furthermore, it influences one's current perception of themselves as an individual navigating in different urban spaces and the circulation and pluri-residentiality networks. This research focused on the more intimate connection to a home, which impacts one's experience and perception of space within the broader environment of the public South Africa.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Pluri-residentiality and the multihouse home: an investigation into the link between homes of the black elite of Soweto.

Interview

*Second home refers to a home that is temporarily/occasionally used during free/leisure time for vacation, visit or even considered for retirement (Williams and Hall, 2002).

Open discussion with interviewee asking general questions around where they are from, where they live now, reasons behind choice of location.

Section1 – Biography of respondents

1. Gender

Male		Female	

2. Age

18-24 years	
25 – 35years	
36 – 45years	
46 – 55years	
65years and above	

3. Relationship status

Single	
Life partnership	
Married	
Widowed	
Separated	
Divorced	

4. What is your home language?

5. What is your highest academic qualification?

Lower than secondary (less than matric)	
Matric (Grade 12)	
Diploma	
Degree	

Honours degree	
Masters degree	
Doctoral degree	
Other	

6. What is your profession?

7. Annual Household income

R500 000 to R600 000	
R 600 000 to R799 999	
R800 000 to R1 000 000	
R1 million	
R1 million – R2 million	
R2 million – R6 million	
R6 million and above	

Section 2 – Current home and Soweto connection

1. Where is home? Not house, where is home as an emotional connection

    a. Where do you permanently reside (location)?

2. How long have you lived where you live now?

3. Why do you live there?

4. Do you have another place you consider to be your home(s) in Soweto?(close relatives home, your household of origin)

5. Was there a time when you permanently lived at this home in Soweto?

    a. If so, when did you have to move out of this home?

b. Why did you move out?

c. What are your memories of living in that home?

6. If there wasn't a time you lived in that home, why do you consider it to be 'home'?

7. Do you visit these home(s) in Soweto?

Yes		No	

8. How often do you visit your home in Soweto?

Weekly	
By weekly	
Monthly	
2 – 6 months	
Once a year	
Less often than a year	

9. What are you reasons for visiting this home?

Section 3 - Rural Home connection

1. Do you have another home/ rural home in any other province of South Africa or any other country?

2. Where is this home located?

3. Was there a time when you lived in this home permanently?

a. If so, when did you have to move out of this home?

b. Why did you move out?

4. What are your memories of this place (things you would do during your leisure period)?

5. If there wasn't a time you lived in that home, why do you consider it to be 'home'?

6. Do you visit this home?

Yes		No	

7. How often do you visit this other home?

Weekly	
By weekly	
Monthly	
2 – 6 months	
Once a year	
Less often than a year	

8. Why do you feel the need to visit this home?

9. What are the things you do when you are in this area/space/home?

Section 4 - Relationship with second homes, multihouse homes

1. What is your role/position in each of these homes? (Parent, child, close relative, friend of members of household etc)?
    a. Current home –
    b. Home in Soweto –
    c. Rural home –

2. Do you think these three localities contribute to who you are/ have become as an individual in your current home?

3. How have they contributed to who you are?

4. Why do you maintain a connection/relationship with all three localities/homes?

5. Do you see this as long term connection between the three?

6. Do you think one of the connections will fade with time?

7. Would you consider returning permanently to live in Soweto? Reasons?

Section 5 - Vacation Homes

1. Do you own any other vacation homes/ time share?

Yes		No	

2. If yes, where is this home located?

3. Why do you have a vacation home in addition to your other multilocalities/homes?

4. Are there any reasons why you do not have a vacation/ have not considered investing in a vacation home/time share?

Discussion notes

Appendix 2



14 November 2013

Participant Information Form

Dear Participant

My name is Tumelo Singo and I am a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Braamfontein Campus. I am conducting research for the completion of my Masters of Science degree. The purpose of this research is to explore the relationship between the black elite residents of Soweto and their second home(s).

Previous research shows that black citizens of South Africa maintain a relationship with their rural and urban homes (Soweto). Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with 69 respondents within the chosen study site to explore their relationship and need to maintain a link with their second home(s).

In order for you to assist with the research I would like to invite you to participate in this study. The interview will take place in a public space that you prefer (restaurant, library or other). Questions will be asked relating to your home(s); the relationship you have with your home(s) and distance travelled to and from home etc. You will not be penalized for not participating, and you have the right to withdraw at any time during the interview process. The interview will take 30 minutes or more depending on the discussions that may arise from the questions asked. It is also important to notify you that there will be not payments made for your participation. A pseudonym or a number will be assigned to your questionnaire to protect your identity throughout this research process. The information that you give will be written down however, your names will not be disclosed.

If you have any questions or require more clarity on this research, please do not hesitate to contact me at 0824036248 or my supervisor Dr Hoogendoorn at 011 717 6521 (during office hours).

Thank you for your time.

Tumelo Singo
Masters student
School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies.
University of the Witwatersrand

14 November 2013

Interview and Audio-taping Consent Form

I agree to take part in the research project and I agree to allow Tumelo Singo to interview me. I also willingly consent to the taping of my interviews as part of the research on my relationship with my second/ other home (s). I understand the purpose, conditions and procedures of the research as they have been thoroughly explained to me. I am aware of the questions that Tumelo Singo is going to ask me and I am also aware that any information I give will be kept anonymous. I understand that I will not get paid for my participation in this research and that I have the right to withdraw from participating at any time of the interview process. I understand that my identity will be protected and I am aware that all the data will be destroyed after the information is used for research purposes.

Name of participant: ……
Date: ……

Signature: ……..

I …… have explained the procedures, purpose and conditions of the study to my participants. I have explained to the participants what their rights with regards to their participation in the study as well as the limitations of confidentiality. I agree with the above mentioned conditions and will adhere to the accordingly.

Date: ……..

Signature of the researcher: …….

Appendix 3

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Singo

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H14/02/14**
PROJECT TITLE	Pluri-residentiality and the multihouse home: An investigation into the second home ownership of the black elite residents in Soweto
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms T Singo
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
DATE CONSIDERED	21 February 2014
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	19/03/2016
DATE 20/03/2014	**CHAIRPERSON** pp (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Dr G Hoogendoorn

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Singo
Signature

03/03/14
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES