

# SECOND HOMES IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS: OWNERSHIP AND TRAVEL IMPACT EXPLAINED

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Received: February 2004; revised May 2004

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## ABSTRACT

In Western countries, the scale of second home ownership increased enormously in the last decades. Yet, the outcomes of this development on spatial patterns and behaviour are unclear. In this paper we focus on two issues that arise from this trend: first, the impact of the residential environment of the primary dwelling on second home ownership and, second, the impact of second homes on travel. The paper is based on two empirical studies carried out in the Netherlands and in Germany. In the Netherlands, the owners of second homes frequently compensate for the lack of leisure opportunities at home or in close vicinity of their home in urbanised areas in which they primarily live. The same is true for allotment owners in Germany. However, Dutch non-mobile caravan owners and German owners of second homes do not follow any compensation strategies. In both countries the use of the private car is dominant although in Germany travel distances are larger than in the Netherlands. Based on a typology of second homeowners a sketch of future developments will be given. Some recommendations for housing and transportation policies will be formulated.

**Key words:** Second home ownership, compensation hypothesis, travel impacts, Germany, The Netherlands

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## INTRODUCTION

In the Roman Era wealthy Romans took up residence in spacious country villas on the borders of Lake Como or the Tiber river. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries well-to-do Amsterdam residents stayed in the city in winter time but spent the summers in their second homes on the border of the river Vecht or in the countryside of the Gooi area (Barendregt & Smit 2001). These examples show that the second home phenomenon is not new. What is

new is the increase in scale of second home ownership in most Western countries in the last decades. For example in Sweden the second home tradition dates back to the 1930s and more than one fifth of the households own a second home, a level which has not changed since the 1970s (Bielckus 1977; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2001). In most other European countries second home ownership did not become important before the 1960s. In the United Kingdom and especially in Wales, the number of second homes is estimated to be 250,000 at the

end of the twentieth century (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2001), in the Netherlands it is below 5 per cent of households (MU Consult 2001) and in Germany estimates claim 230,000 second homes, which is below 1 per cent of all households (Newig 2000). This development is a consequence of an increase in economic prosperity, the need for recreation and relaxation and improved accessibility of remote locations.

The growth of second homes could be seen as a positive development. For example, second homes could have a stimulating influence on the local economy by the demand for services and the creation of job opportunities. However, the ownership of second homes also has potential to cause problems if left unrestricted (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2001). For example, by reducing the supply of houses or pushing up prices, second homeowners could disturb the functioning of local housing markets (Shucksmith 1990). These recreational objects can also have negative environmental effects by stimulating the use of the private car and by increasing pressure on sensitive areas and traffic congestion (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2000) or by decreasing the amount of space for natural uses and quality of recreational landscapes (Hoggart & Buller 1995; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Elbersen 2001).

A quickly growing body of research is focused on the impact of residential environment on second home ownership. However, a general agreement on the outcomes is missing. In the literature we cannot find much information on the impact of second homes on travel. In this paper we want to explore both issues by integrating two empirical studies on second homes carried out in Germany and the Netherlands. In many respects, such as socio-demographics and economic situation, both countries are similar. However, these countries differ in size, planning traditions and landscape. The German study is carried out in Cologne (Lanzendorf 2001) and the Dutch case is carried out in two concentrations of second homes in the countryside of the Netherlands (Barendregt & Smit 2001).

In the next section we will give a short overview of second homes literature. The third section gives a description of the data we have used for our comparison between Germany and the Netherlands. The factors, which can explain the

ownership of second homes, are described in the fourth section. The impact on travel of the use of second homes is the subject of the section thereafter. We will conclude this paper with a discussion on future developments and policy recommendations.

## OWNERSHIP AND TRAVEL IN LITERATURE

There is no commonly acknowledged definition of second homes because of a variety of differences between dwelling types (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones 2001; MU Consult 2001). For the purpose of this paper we use a definition of the second home as 'a property owned, long-leased or rented on a yearly or longer basis as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere' (Dartington Amenity Research Trust 1977). Therefore, we include both permanent and mobile homes if the latter are for non-mobile use such as caravans with a non-mobile permanent location. If available, we will include arguments relating to allotment gardens in our analysis of second homes too.

### Socio-demographic factors affecting second home ownership

– As driving forces behind the increasing second home ownership, Coppock (1977) listed three socio-economic processes. First, higher disposable income, second, greater leisure time because of reduced working hours and, third, higher rates of car mobility. This explains that the typical second homeowner is highly educated, has at least a middle income and owns at least one car. Besides, households with children more frequently have a recreational dwelling than single households but less frequently than couples without children (Barendregt & Smit 2001). Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones (2000) point to regional economic disparities as an important factor as well. Rural regions are disadvantaged by economic decline and depopulation, which result in lower housing prices compared to urban regions. Hence, the rural disadvantage provides a focus for the housing demand of urban inhabitants.

Another group of factors influencing second home ownership are personal motivations including the desire for activities in a recreational area and open space, to escape the pressures of city life and frequently related with the stage in the life cycle, children in the

household or to find a place to live after retirement (Coppock 1977).

**The impact of the residential environment: compensation hypothesis** – The impact of the urban form and, more specifically, of the residential environment on second home ownership and travel is an issue of much debate. The compensation hypothesis asks about the impact of the residential environment on people's activities in space and time. Therefore, if the first home or its close vicinity lacks the opportunity or conditions for some activities this could generate the need for a second home which compensates the lack of opportunities or conditions in or around the first home. Consequently, travel will be more oriented at this second home.

There have been several studies undertaken to underpin the compensation hypothesis with empirical results. In France, a study showed already by the end of the 1960s that the proportion of second homeowners increases with the settlement size (Clout 1971). Similarly, Keers (1998) argues that Dutch households within high-density cities or neighbourhoods more frequently own a second home, caravan or allotment garden and, therefore, a more compact city development would result in more recreational travel. Peeters *et al.* (1992) show that people living in apartment houses travel more often and longer distances for social and recreational outdoor activities than others. However, their study fails to control for socio-economic personal characteristics. Similarly, Kagermeier (1997) shows in a study of southern Bavaria that garden owners travel far less for visits of friends and relatives. A result, which is supported by Holz-Rau & Kutter (1995) with a case study of several neighbourhoods in Stuttgart. They found that full-time workers with car ownership travel further distances for leisure activities if they do not own a garden. A Dutch research in two suburban communities (Dijst & Vermeulen 1999) shows that after controlling for income inhabitants with a large garden are less inclined to own a second home. More generally, Kaiser (1993) draws from a psychological study in two Bern neighbourhoods the conclusion that the total weekend travel distances decrease with increasing emotional ties and, therefore, among others with the quality of the residential environment.

However, other studies doubt the appropriateness of the compensation hypothesis. Wippler (1968) already showed that outdoor leisure activities were not affected by low quality housing, as measured by a small living space, limited sunlight, no panoramic view or noise pollution. Also Katteler & Kropman (1975) did not find an impact of recreational areas in the residential environment on leisure activities. For second homes, a study in Ontario found that summer cottage owners are those city dwellers with the greenest city environment (Wolfe 1977).

A recent analysis of the Dutch Continuous Holiday Survey (CVO) concludes after a detailed analysis that the impact of the urbanisation level on the ownership of recreational dwellings is mixed (MU Consult 2001). When controlling for the household composition, income and education, no differences in recreational dwellings between average, low or non-urbanised areas were found. This is also confirmed by Dijst & Vermeulen (1999). Only for highly urbanised areas were more recreational dwellings, in particular apartments and allotment gardens found compared with other urbanisation levels (MU Consult 2001).

In short, based on this short review of relevant literature we formulate two conclusions. First, we cannot find a general agreement on the impact of the environment on the ownership of second homes. Second, not much is known about the impact of second homes on travel. In the next sections we will show some results of recent research into these issues in Germany and the Netherlands.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

In this paper we want to analyse the factors, which influence second home ownership and the impact of the use of second homes on travel. For this purpose, we use two empirical studies from the Netherlands and from Germany. Because of differences in objectives and samples, these studies are not entirely comparable but they deliver complementary perspectives: the Dutch one from the destination side by surveying users of recreational areas and the German from the origin side by surveying residents in some urban neighbourhoods.

Most of the information for the Netherlands is based on a survey carried out by Barendregt

& Smit (2001). Two areas were selected: the Betuwe area in the province of Gelderland and an area in the Province of North-Brabant. The Betuwe is situated between the large rivers at the heart of the Netherlands. Besides rivers, the landscapes shows pastures and small towns. In Brabant the landscape is characterised by heath, pools and woods.

In each area complexes with non-mobile caravans or recreational dwellings were selected. In the Betuwe and Brabant, 193 and 115 owners of a second home filled in a questionnaire. This questionnaire asked the reasons for buying and the use of a second home, characteristics of the primary and second homes and environments and of the respondent.

From Germany, we use a leisure travel survey carried out in spring 1997 in four residential neighbourhoods of Cologne (for details see Lanzendorf 2001). The random sample includes 949 respondents with German citizenship of age 18 and older. Two neighbourhoods, Belgisches Viertel and Zollstock, are located close to the inner-city of Cologne and therefore have a more urban style of housing and a good accessibility of activities and places, which are typical for big cities. On the other hand, Longerich and Rath, are at the outskirts of Cologne and, therefore, are more of a suburban type which means a lower density development and more recreational space but a lower accessibility to the inner-city. However, Longerich is more of a mixed building structure with both apartment and detached houses while the latter are the most important building types in Rath. Another difference between the neighbourhoods is the provision of allotment gardens. Zollstock and Longerich both have a high number of allotment gardens in the neighbourhood despite their different locations to the city centre.

The questionnaire asked for some personal or household characteristics and urban form elements like the type of housing or garden ownership. Moreover, we asked if the residents owned a second home or allotment garden and, this being the case for 76 second home owners and 81 allotment owners. Further details about the location, the distance from the residence, the frequency of visits or the usual mode of transport for getting there were asked. The respondents also had to fill in a trip diary for one regular workday and one weekend.

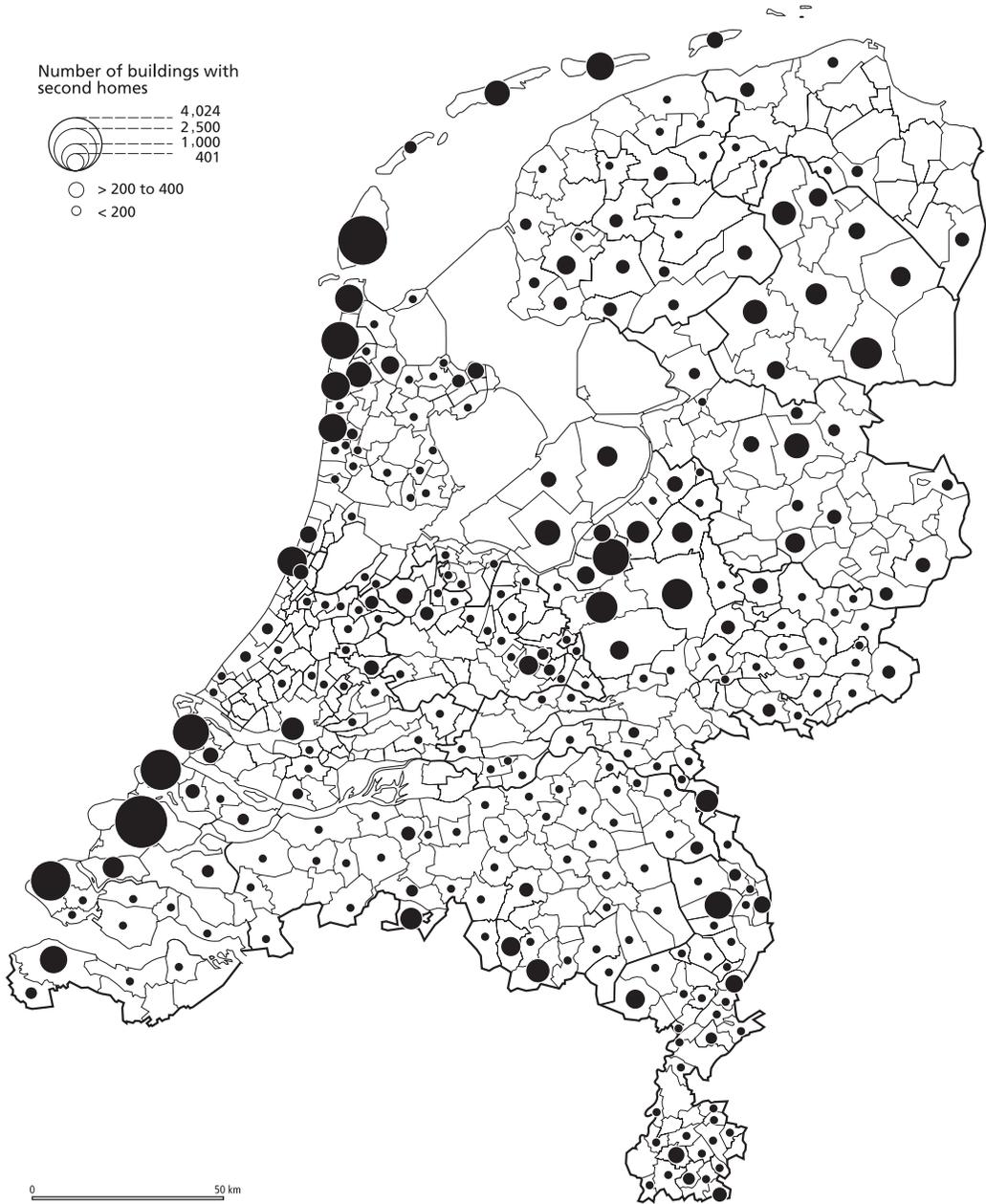
## USERS OF SECOND HOMES

In this section we describe the ownership of second homes in Germany and the Netherlands. First we give a rough sketch of the total number and spatial distribution of second homes. Second the impact of some socio-demographics and characteristics of the spatial environment will be discussed.

**Supply and spatial distribution** – In general, it is very difficult to assess the number of second homes. The main reasons for this are the use of different definitions of second homes and insufficient statistics. The Fifth Memorandum for Spatial Planning in the Netherlands (Ministerie van VROM 2001) mentions a figure of 600,000 second homes. However, if we exclusively focus on second homes used by their owners only other figures result. For the Netherlands we have calculated for the year 1999 that 53,000 people own a recreational dwelling. To this figure we can add 130,000 non-mobile caravans (Barendregt & Smit 2001). The total number of 183,000 is much less than the 600,000 the Ministry is using.

For Germany, it is estimated that 230,000 buildings have recreational dwellings. One half of them have only one or two dwellings, one third have more than 6 dwellings (Newig 2000). From the figures it is not clear these are for private use only or are also rented out. For non-mobile caravans we did not find a number for the whole of Germany, however, it is estimated that in 1995 about 200 million nights in Germany were spent in recreational places: about one half in a recreational apartment or house, one third in non-mobile caravans and the rest in garden allotments or on boats (Newig 2000). Today, 1.3 million people have an allotment in Germany (Wollkopf 2000). In contrast to the Netherlands, overnight stays in most places in Germany are not included in the figures.

We also can give an impression of the spatial pattern of recreational dwellings. Figure 1 shows the number of recreational dwellings owned by households in each province of the Netherlands. Although the data originates from 1998 we do not expect large differences with the current situation. The province of North Holland, South Holland, Zeeland, and Gelderland



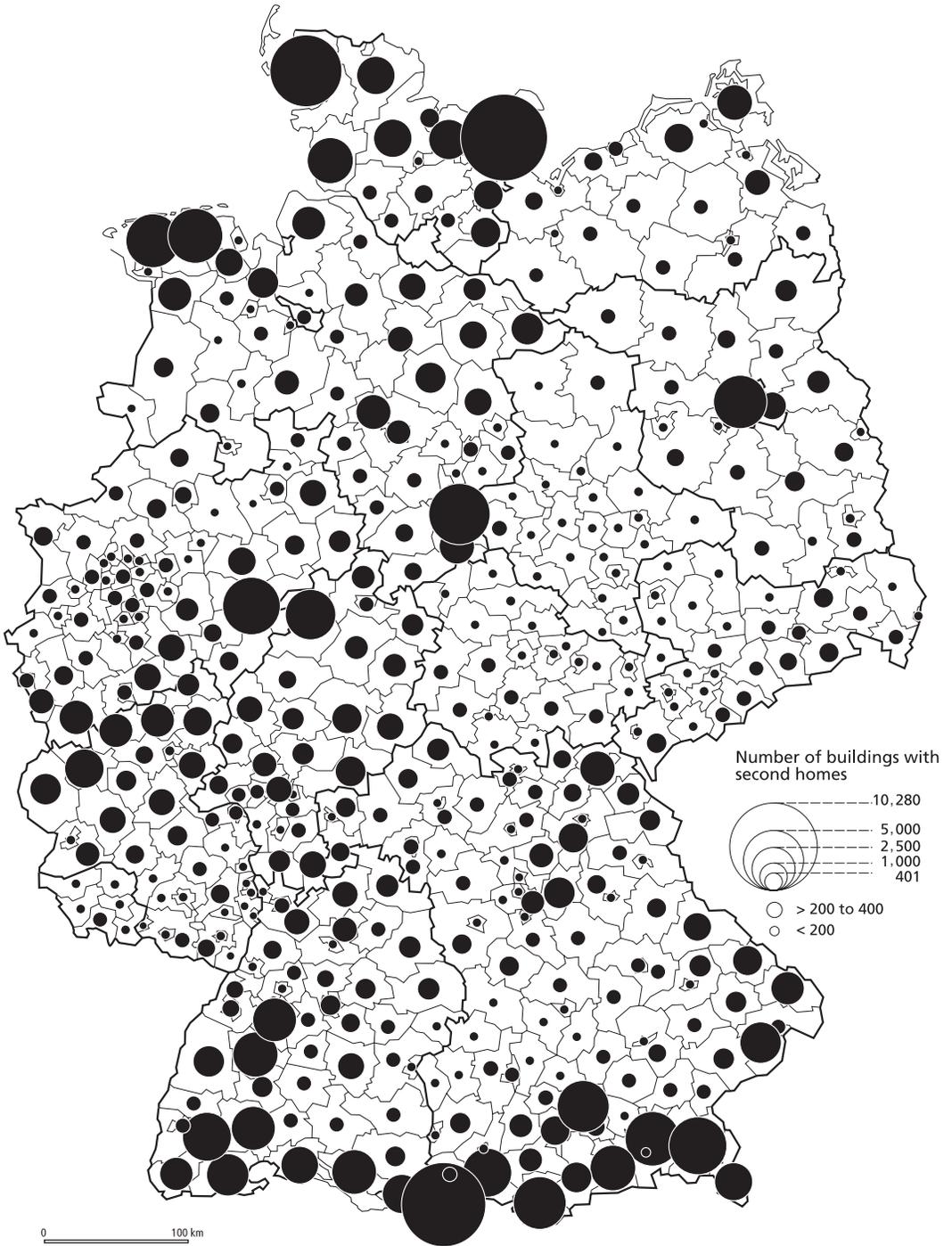
Source: CBS (1999).

Figure 1. Supply of recreational dwellings in the Netherlands in 1998.

dominate the picture. The Dutch shores and islands and the woodlands of the Veluwe in the heart of the Netherlands are especially popular. Almost a quarter of all caravans are located in

the province of Gelderland, followed by Zeeland and North-Brabant.

In Germany (Figure 2), most recreational dwellings are located in tourism regions, either



Source: Newig (2000).

Figure 2. Supply of recreational dwellings in Germany in 2000.

at the coast or in mountain areas (Newig 2000). Allotments are usually a feature in cities, frequently located along railway lines or other transport infrastructure (Wollkopf 2000).

**Impact of socio-demographics and spatial environment** – The Dutch and German research clearly shows an impact of household income on the ownership of second homes. In general, affluent households own a recreational site. However, this impact is dependent on the type of second homes. Based on the Dutch survey described in the third section, we see a significant difference in incomes between owners of recreational dwellings and caravans. Although most owners have household incomes between 1,100 and 2,400 euro per month, the owners of recreational dwellings are on average more affluent. Unlike second homeowners, allotment owners in Germany have an education level and a household income below average.

Other socio-demographics show differences between the owner categories. In general in both countries, second homeowners are over 30 years of age, which coincides with the need for a sufficient income to afford a second home, and live more frequently in households with at least two members. However, at the moment they bought their recreational site, Dutch owners of caravans were in comparison with the owners of recreational dwellings younger, and had more and younger children. Half the Dutch owners of both categories are retired and childless.

Ownership of a car is another independent factor we considered in the two studies. The German research shows that only 9 per cent of second homeowners do not own a private car compared with 28 per cent of the others. We can explain this correlation of car and second home ownership with the specific needs of a second home. First, the recreational entity is frequently located in rural areas at the periphery of public transport systems and, thus, difficult to access. Second, the transport of groceries, household and leisure goods to and from the second home are more convenient by car than public transport. In accordance with their income level, one fifth of allotment owners live without a car in their household. The location within cities makes it easier to use other transport modes like walking or cycling. Furthermore,

allotments in Germany are not used for overnight stopovers; therefore the furnishings and the need to transport household goods are less than for second homes.

Figures 3 and 4 give the residential locations of primary dwellings in the Netherlands. These figures clearly show that almost all owners live on the west side of the recreational complexes. The low supply of recreational sites in the eastern parts of the Netherlands and maybe also the relatively high quality of residential environments for primary dwellings in these regions, can explain these spatial patterns. The Figures also show that most owners live in proximity of their second homes. These findings are different from the Cologne survey: the average travel distance one-way is 195 km; the median is 300 km. From the 75 respondents with a recreational dwelling, 16 per cent have one that is more than 1,000 km away. Obviously, one reason for this difference between the Dutch and the German results is the methodology employed. Recreational dwellings abroad are covered in the German survey but not in the Dutch. But there is another reason, which may affect this difference: the size of the countries and the minimum distance to the most attractive landscapes. While these figures are comparatively small for the Netherlands, the citizens of Cologne have to travel much further distances if they want to reach a second home at the seaside or in the mountains. However, it should be noted that attractive recreational areas in the Eifel, Bergisches Land, Westerwald or Sauerland are within short reach from Cologne although these probably do not satisfy the demands of the Cologne citizens. It seems that in a larger country the inhabitants are familiar with more travel opportunities than in a smaller country, which creates larger travel distances to second homes. The location of the allotment gardens in Cologne is much closer to home than the second homes. On average they are within 3 km distance from the home and only 4 per cent of the respondents have to travel further than 10 km to get there.

Second homeowners used a mixture of different motivations to justify their sale. In the Netherlands 43 per cent of the respondents wanted to have a second home to enjoy during holidays or at the weekends. The recreational site was purchased by 17 per cent to offer their children a pleasant environment. One fifth

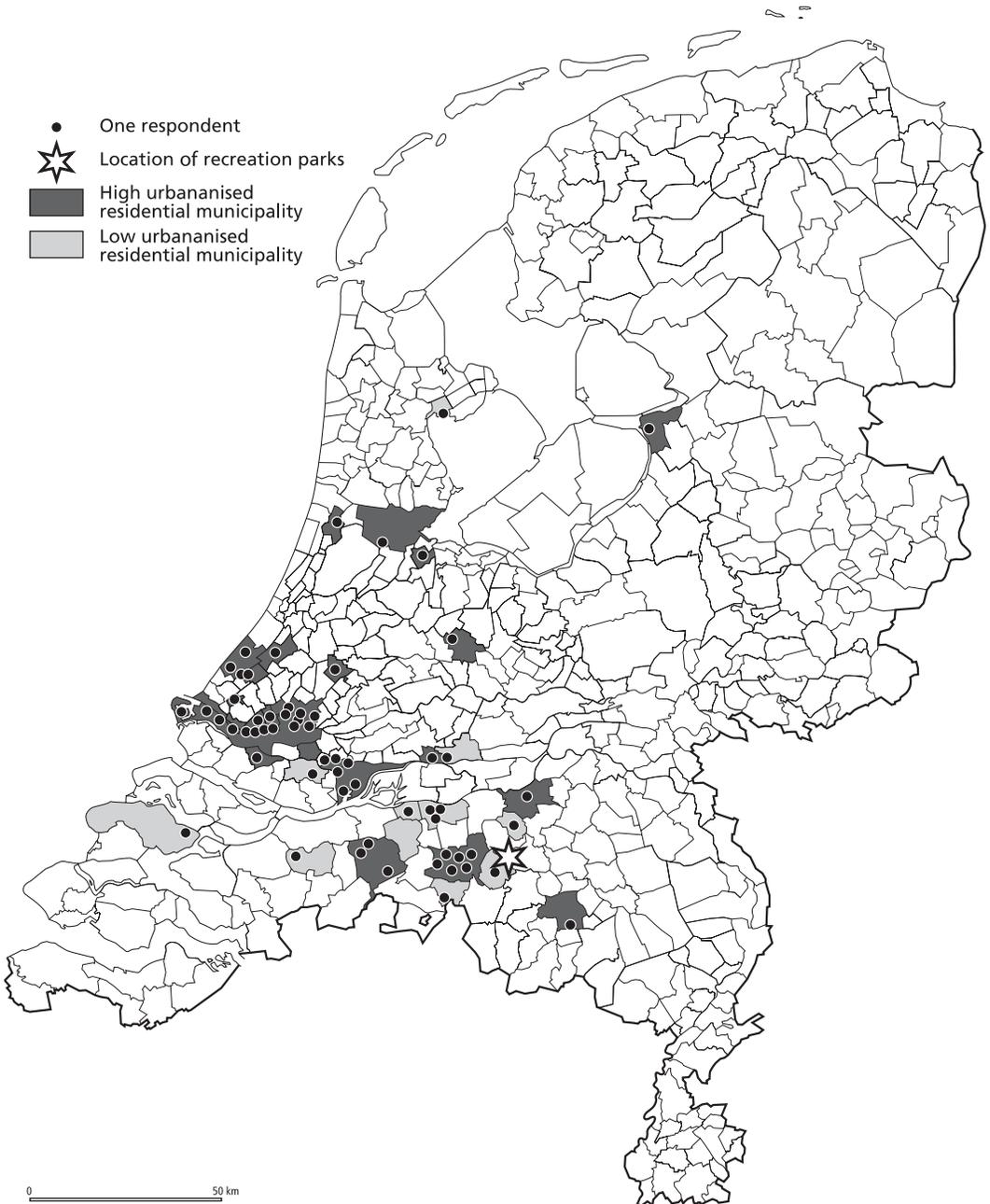


Figure 3. *Origin of owners of recreational objects located in North-Brabant.*

mentioned the garden as the main reason (Barendregt & Smit 2001).

Examining the compensation hypothesis can complement these subjective reasons for second

home ownership. The compensation hypothesis states that people who live in relatively low quality dwellings located in highly urbanised areas are more inclined to buy a second home.

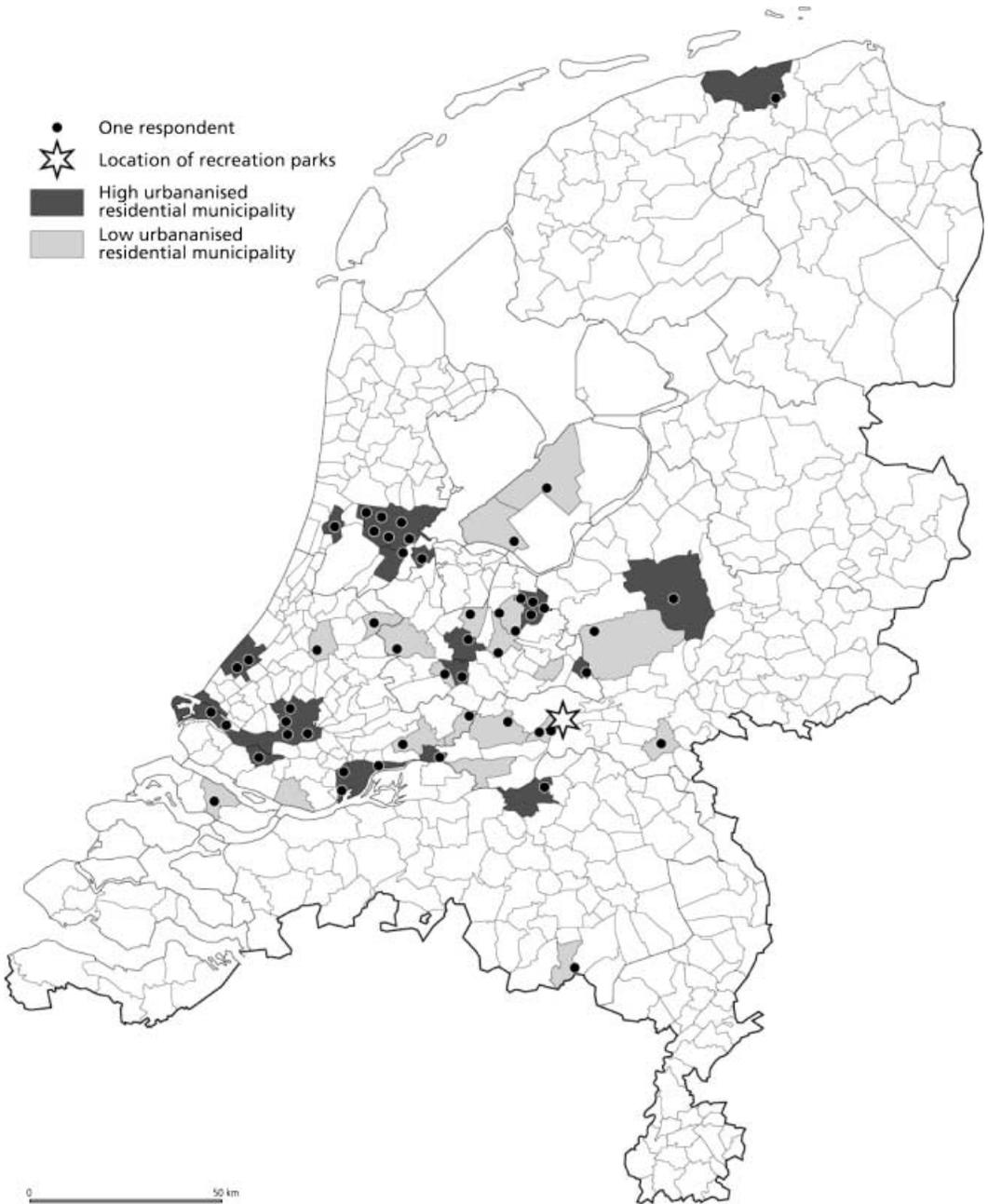


Figure 4. Origin of owners of recreational objects located in Betuwe.

With the data we have we cannot test this hypothesis, but can give some indications of its value. The Dutch data show that two thirds of the owners of a recreational dwelling live in highly or

very highly urbanised areas, but caravan owners live in less urbanised areas. Moreover, a garden at the first home or the size of the garden does not impact the decision to buy a second home.

Table 1. *Some residential environment characteristics of second home and allotment owners in four residential neighbourhoods of Cologne.*

	Second home owners (N = 76) (%)	Allotment owner (N = 81) (%)	Others (N = 792) (%)
Residential neighbourhood			
Belgisches Viertel	22	12	23
Zollstock	18	49	20
Longerich	24	32	29
Rath	36	6	28
Tenure structure primary dwelling			
Ownership	45	27	35
Renter	55	73	65
Characteristics primary dwelling			
Single-family house	41	10	33
Apartment house	59	90	67
With balcony	74	19	82
With own garden	39	12	34

Source: Lanzendorf 2001 (N = 949).

However, the opportunity to enjoy their own garden, to participate in recreational activities or for safety issues is a motive for owning a second home. Buying a second home in an attractive environment can compensate for the lack of these qualities in the environment of the primary home.

This compensation hypothesis was also studied in the German research. Factors such as the type of residential neighbourhood, housing conditions (such as housing type, tenure or garden ownership) were included in the analysis (Table 1). Surprisingly, the people who were living in their own home, in a detached family house, and with a garden were more frequently among second home owners than others. As a consequence, these results do not support the compensation hypothesis.

Unlike second homeowners, allotment owners in Cologne are less likely to own their own houses or apartments, live in a single-family house and have a garden. From the 81 allotment owners among the respondents, one half live in Zollstock and one third in Longerich, the two residential neighbourhoods with allotments at the borders of their neighbourhoods. Less frequently, we find allotments in Belgisches Viertel, which is in the centre of the city where space is scarce and expensive and in Rath the most suburban neighbourhood surveyed, where

many inhabitants have their own garden with the house and do not need an allotment. This relationship between the residential environment and allotment ownership supports the compensation hypothesis: therefore, the allotment is compensation where there is no garden with the owners house.

**Typology of second homeowners** – For understanding the different needs and demands for owning a second home better, we refer to a typology developed by Barendregt & Smit (2001). They distinguish three types of second homeowners:

1. The *holidayers* own a caravan or recreational dwelling in order to use this primarily to spend their long and short holidays with their family or retired partner in a family-friendly recreational complex. More often than not these owners live in a village and do not have many complaints about their primary dwelling or neighbourhood.
2. The *escapers* own a recreational site to escape their busy daily life. They are less satisfied with the quality of their garden and residential environment. Most of them are childless couples and prefer to have a quiet recreational environment. They live a relatively short distance (less than 50 km) from their primary

dwelling, which is primarily located in high-urbanised areas. They use their recreational site mainly for short visits (weekends). Many of them spend their holidays abroad. One third indicate that they do not need a second home when a desired primary home is available.

3. The *enjoyers* have their primary dwellings in one of the large cities of the Randstad. Most of them are retired. They have bought a recreational site for several reasons, such as the need for another environment or to own a garden. Comparable with the *escapers*, they also have some complaints about their primary dwelling and neighbourhood. Many have a need for social contacts, and have friends or relatives living on the same recreational complex. They use their second home frequently. Some of them almost live permanently in their second home.

This typology permits us to understand the Cologne results better. As we pointed out, probably a large share of the second homeowners in Cologne is of the type *holidayers*. One half of second homes is further than 300 km from Cologne and, therefore, it takes some effort travelling to spend time there. Moreover, this explains why the impact of the residential environment on the second homeowners is relatively low. For *escapers* and *enjoyers* probably the choice of a second home or an allotment garden is dependent on their socio-economic power. If they can afford it, they will prefer a second home in the surrounding recreational areas of Cologne, if not, they will prefer an allotment garden.

### IMPACT ON TRAVEL

In the Cologne survey, on average people visit their second home 14 times a year. The Dutch survey shows that the frequency of use is different for owners of caravans and recreational dwellings. Approximately 70 per cent of the caravan owners use their second home between 10 and 30 times a year. Most owners of recreational dwellings use their second home less than 10 times or more than 30 times yearly. These differences between recreational sites can be largely explained by differences in household type. Families visit their second homes less

frequently than senior citizens or other households without children. On average, the elderly spent 9 days on each visit. For families and couples this average is 7 and 4 respectively. The difficulty in combining these visits with work, maintenance and children's (leisure) activities is probably one reason for the differences in frequency. Couples see their second home as a good opportunity to escape frequently but for a short time.

Frequency of use could be negatively related to travel distance between primary and second homes, which is the case in the German survey. However, the Dutch survey shows rather the reverse relationship: frequency increases with travel distance. We expect, again, that this is an effect of country size and sample as already mentioned above for the distance between first and second homes. The Netherlands is a small country and by the methodology, second homeowners abroad are not included in the Dutch sample but are in the German one.

In the Cologne survey, on average, approximately 5,300 km are travelled yearly in visiting the second home. This is more than in the Dutch survey which has on average 4,250 km. The average larger distance between primary and second homes in Cologne is probably the main reason for this difference. In contrast, allotment users travel 578 km yearly only. The caravan owner in the Netherlands travels 2,400 km. Because of their travel frequency, senior citizens travel most (3,400 km/y); couples and families 2,900 and 2,400 respectively. Compared to the Germans (85%) the Dutch second homeowners choose their private car (95%) as the main method of travel. In the Cologne survey 6 per cent of second homeowners used an airplane. The main modes of transport for the allotment are bicycle (44%), car (38%) and walking (17%). Public transport is not used for that trip; as the distance is in most cases probably too short for it.

The second home is also used as a base for day trips. Biking and walking around, swimming, shopping and going out for dinner or a drink are the most favourite travel motives in the Netherlands. Most of the destinations are found in the proximity of the second home. As a consequence of the larger distances of shops, restaurants, museums, family parks and comparable activity places in the Betuwe, travel distances

are larger. For most of these activity places the private car is used. Public transport is used by only a few for all trips.

The results of the Cologne study show that the changes of the action space by the inclusion of a new base point, the second home or the allotment garden, foster changes in overall travel patterns. These changes are in two directions. The second home induces more car travel over longer distances for leisure trips. Car distances for second homeowners are 19 km or 60 per cent longer than for others. However, the allotments gardeners travel 5 km or 15 per cent less compared to others. This observation, the importance of a recreational dwelling for an action space and, henceforth, for travel patterns leads us to the proposition to include the ownership of recreational dwellings in models for the explanation of travel behaviour. Until today, travel researchers only marginally consider leisure travel as a focus of attention. Given its importance for the car distances travelled, this is a surprising observation (Lanzendorf 2001).

## DISCUSSION

The case studies we have used in this paper do not allow generalisations, but contribute to insights on ownership of second homes and impact on travel. Based on the information we have it is very difficult to predict the future size of second home ownership. Most authors agree that the size will increase. Based on the typology of second homeowners we can say something on the composition of these owners.

In Germany as well as in the Netherlands, income is an important determinant of second home ownership, however this impact is less than a few decades ago. As stated by Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones (2000) with the increasing disposable income, second home ownership is also affordable for lower- and middle-income households. The income classes mainly show differences in the type of the recreational sites owned.

For the compensation hypothesis, we found mixed results in Germany and in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, in contrast to the owners of mobile homes, the owners of a recreational dwelling frequently compensate for the urbanised areas in which they live with their first dwelling. In Germany, we were able to show

that allotment owners in Cologne compensate for the primary dwelling and its residential environment. However, second homeowners had an above average quality of their residential environment with gardens or detached family houses.

Furthermore, we presented three types of second homeowners distinguished by their motivations for ownership: the *escapers*, the *enjoyers* and the *holidayers*. In the future, we expect that the share of *escapers*, who escape from their busy daily life in a (sub)urban environment, will increase because the number of households with a heavy work load, such as dual income households with or without children, is expanding (Musterd & Van Zelm 2001). As Barendregt & Smit (2001) have shown, they are looking for opportunities to relax in a quiet recreational area outside of their residential environment. For visiting the second home frequently and to save travel time, they are looking for these opportunities at a short distance from their first home. We expect to find households in this category, too, which try to combine work and leisure in their second home and who therefore visit it frequently. As a consequence, the difference between first and second homes will become blurred. Some of them may spend more time in the second home outside of the urban environment than in their primary home. This development is also foreseen by Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones (2001).

The *enjoyers* want to own a second home because of its garden and for some social contact reasons. Most of them are already retired and spend on the average one third of the year in their recreational environment. Since they do not have to work any more, the second home does not need to be a short distance from their first home. The ageing of the population will cause a substantial growth of this category. For Europe, the amount of people aged 65 and over is expected to pass 20 per cent by 2025 (Champion 2001). In this category, we expect that the share of the retired who buy a dwelling abroad will increase.

Finally, the *holidayers* look to a certain extent like the *enjoyers*. The main differences are that the *holidayers* as the name indicates, have bought their second home to spend long or short holidays with their children with most of them living in small villages. We expect that the size of this category will stay stable or diminish.

Families in the countryside will also experience an increasing workload in the future, which can change their motivation to escape their daily busy life (see *escapers*).

One travel-related impact of second homes is the same in both countries: the private car is the dominant mode of transport. But, as the Cologne study showed, the second home and car use for travelling there, affects the daily travel choices in a more fundamental way: second home owners use the car more often and travel further distances for all leisure activities. One of the arguments for this finding is that they bought the second homes mainly for holiday reasons. Therefore, we hypothesise that second home ownership and above-average car driving distances in overall travel are highly correlated. This may be a task for further research to establish if this impact is a direct one, which means that the second home ownership induces more car use and longer car distances, or if there are common underlying factors like income, household characteristics or personal attitudes. However, because of its obvious importance, we suggest including the second home ownership in models explaining travel behaviour.

What consequences can policymakers draw from the empirical results outlined above? We discuss three points briefly: first, there is a need for policymakers to react on the increasing demand for second homes. Otherwise the increase of car use from second homeowners will continue and, moreover, there exists the threat of an increasing home ownership abroad and, thus, of more and more travel by car and, in the future by airplane.

Second, we believe that an improved recreational quality of the residential environment could reduce the need for second homes. The *escapers* from the Dutch survey are the target group for that approach. Moreover, the example of the allotment owners has shown that a garden in the vicinity of the residential neighbourhood may reduce the amount and the distances of car travel. However, this approach will not be successful on its own. As the example of the German second homeowners or the *enjoyers* have shown, there are other factors and needs that affect second home ownership, too. In this context, we believe that an improved residential environment is a necessary condition to reduce travel, but not necessarily a sufficient one.

Finally, new second home developments will continue to spread in recreational areas as long as such a high demand exists. Therefore, we believe that these developments should be guided by planning and other efforts. We propose to aim at a clustering of recreational facilities within biking distance from second home areas, which can reduce the amount of travel based at the second home. Furthermore, these recreational and second home clusters should be located in recreational areas at a short distance from the big cities to reduce the travel distances to the second home. Other ideas could include mobility and second home management. The first policy aimed at alternative modes to car use and the second at a more effective use of second homes, for instance by second home sharing.

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