

# **Second homes and local economic impacts in the South African post-productivist countryside**

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**Second homes and local economic impacts in the South African post-productivist countryside**

by

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this dissertation, submitted in fulfilment of Philosophiae Doctor in Geography at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work which I have not previously submitted for a qualification at another university or faculty.

I furthermore cede copyright of the dissertation in favour of the University of the Free State.

Gijsbertus Hoogendoorn

Bloemfontein, 2010

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ATM – Automatic Teller Machine

CAP – Common Agricultural Policy

GAA – Group Areas Act

GVA – Gross Value Added

HTTA – Highlands Trout Triangle Association

LED – Local Economic Development

LHWP – Lesotho Highlands Water Project

MRT – Multifunctional Rural Transition

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

PPT – Post-Productivist Transition

SDI – Spatial Development Initiative

UK – United Kingdom

USA – United States of America

VFR – Visiting Friends and Relatives

WINZ – Wine Institute of New Zealand

WTA – Wild Trout Association

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# PREAMBLE

## IN SEARCH OF A POST-PRODUCTIVIST COUNTRYSIDE: SECOND HOMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

### Background

The geographies of rural areas in both developed and developing world contexts have undergone dramatic changes over the past half century (McCarthy, 2006). Many commentators argue that rural areas have moved from a productivist to a post-productivist state (Argent, 2002; Wilson and Rigg, 2003). The productivist era of agriculture lasted from the post-1945 reconstruction until the late 1970s (Ilbery and Bowler, 1998; Wilson, 2001). Subsequently, the structural coherence of rural areas has been disrupted and rural spaces have been increasingly caught up within a global political economy where nationally regulated rural distinctions have in many cases been overtaken by other functions and meanings. The supposed security that existed in the agricultural industry has been eroded, assailed most strongly by neo-liberal economic forces in which 'free markets' reigned supreme (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998:6). Because of changes in the political economic context, a 'post-productivist countryside' emerged as an inceptive entity which reflects the breakdown of an almost absolute productivist past (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Mather, Hill and Nijnik, 2006). This move from a productive to a consumptive countryside has been investigated by many researchers – among them those exploring the relationship between places of tourism and migration within post-productivist countrysides (Müller and Hall, 2004b; Williams and Hall, 2000).

Müller (1999) and Müller and Hall (2004b) proposed that modern second home development as a consumptive phenomenon, and particularly its expansion, can

be attributed to the development of the post-productivist countryside. In addition, the development of second homes within rural areas is intermittently fuelled by influences from often major urban centres. Although second homes fall into a variety of research fields, it is not surprising that one of the most keenly researched interfaces relates to the tourism and migration nexus (Williams and Hall, 2000). Nonetheless, only from the late 1990s has renewed interest in second homes resurfaced with works by especially Müller (1999), Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000), Hall and Müller (2004a), Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005), defining the discourse. Recent second homes research has tended to follow two main perspectives. The first, which could be argued as a predominantly neo-liberal approach, focuses on the tourism/urban development nexus and especially the potentially desirable aspects of second home development, such as economic advantages and rejuvenating the post-productivist countryside (Müller, 1999; 2000; 2002; 2006; 2007; Marjavaara, 2007; Flognfeldt, 2004). The second approach has been Marxist in nature, focusing mostly on the undesirable outcomes associated with second home development, such as uneven development, displacement of local communities, escalating property prices and housing shortages (Gallent, 1997; 2007).

To date, issues concerning post-productivism have not seen any direct systematic research attention in South Africa. Nevertheless, Ingle (2010) has recently proposed that post-productivism, albeit difficult to discern in its early stages, has, as a process, gathered sufficient momentum to warrant scholarly attention in the local context. It is the contention of this thesis that post-productivism emerged during the demise and eventual collapse of apartheid. In post-apartheid South Africa, aggressive support of agriculture by the former government has been systematically dismantled

(Atkinson, 2007). Formal deregulation since 1996 has exposed the agricultural sector and rural/urban areas in the countryside to much purer neo-liberal markets (Mather and Greenberg, 2003). As a result, Atkinson (2007) notes that agriculture in South Africa now receives among the lowest subsidy support in the world. This has devastated the South African countryside. For example, the influence of international 'shocks' as Atkinson (2007:65) contends, in terms of trade, has been rife, in addition to worsening debt problems. Agriculture's contribution to the national economy has dropped substantially from 1950 to the end of the 1990s (Mather and Adelzadeh, 1997).

Growing agricultural decline has pushed many farmers off the land, and farmer numbers have decreased from 78 000 in 1992 to 45 000 in 2007 (Atkinson, 2007). The number of people working in agriculture has experienced a similar dwindling in numbers (Mather and Adelzadeh, 1997). For example, in 1951 over 33% of wage labourers in South Africa worked on white-owned farms, while during the 2000s less than 8% of wage labourers work in agriculture (Todes, Kok, Wentzel, Van Zyl and Cross, 2010). The macro-economic changes and policy-driven initiatives implemented by government seem to have had major impacts on the development of post-productivism in South Africa since the systematic demise of Apartheid. The policies and changes have found spatial expressions especially in the small towns of rural South Africa (Nel, 2005; Hoogendoorn, Mellett and Visser, 2005).

According to Nel (2005:261), the changes in local and international markets, environmental constraints, farmers' connections to larger and often distant urban centres and the systematic decline of stock farming because of theft have had dissenting effects on the agricultural service centres in South Africa. However, it is important to mention that some centres have survived this decline (Nel, 2005:261).

Although no research has been done on post-productivism in South Africa, Nel's (2005) research on small towns in South Africa might suggest some indicators that could be linked to post-productivism in this country. Some positive trends are the growth of tourist towns, especially in areas of natural beauty.

Hoogendoorn, Mellett and Visser (2005) contended that after the demise of apartheid, second homes in South Africa underpinned the emergence of a range of popular discourses as to which areas of the country were desirable for non-permanent residence. Furthermore, the emergence of an increasingly post-industrial economy was finding spatial expression in the physical form of industrial cities. In this context, suburban sprawl became more apparent than before.

Moreover, second homes that are acquired almost exclusively for use as tourism accommodation are also an emerging trend. Relative to second homes that serve as holiday homes, often with investment returns in mind, the number of regions that are exclusively or more closely associated with weekend leisure consumption is smaller, and such regions are much more difficult to identify in the South African context. However, over the past decade clear evidence of second home development for weekend leisure has developed in locations such as small towns that are relatively close to metropolitan regions (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004; Visser, 2004). The development of second homes, whether for holiday purposes, retirement, weekend recreation, or leisure, is certainly not a new phenomenon in South Africa, but under-investigated (Visser, 2004). In fact, research into the occurrence and dynamics of second homes only emerged in the post-apartheid era. Since 2003, a slowly growing body of literature has developed with the exploratory work of Visser (see 2003a; 2004a; 2006) providing the main contours of second home development debates in a selection of South African urban places.

## **Research problem and objectives**

In the concluding chapter of their influential collection *Tourism, mobility and second homes: between elite landscape and common ground*, Müller and Hall (2004b) note that second homes are significant for many reasons. Their main claim is that 'new forms and patterns of production and consumption now enable an increasing number of households to spend time away from traditional working and production environments, and in preferred locations with high amenity values' (Müller and Hall, 2004b:273). More importantly, the above mentioned may be 'related to broader movements of counterurbanisation and the development of a post-productive countryside' (Müller, 2004b:273). These two claims form the basis of this investigation.

Drawing on the experiences of four small towns and their immediate hinterlands, the diversification of activities away from typically productivist functions demonstrates the emergence and establishment of a post-productivist countryside linked to consumptive uses such as second homes. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to provide an integrated analysis of the economic impacts of second homes in the South African post-productivist countryside, using four small towns.

In order to achieve these aims, the following objectives are identified:

- To review and analyse different debates on post-productivist countrysides;
- To analyse the international debates regarding second homes tourism;
- To interpret the development of a post-productivist countryside using four study locations; and
- To study the economic impacts of second home development in the selected study locations

These research objectives support the key theoretical claim that economic impacts and development of second homes in the hinterland of South Africa is an integral part of the post-productivist countryside.

### **Background history on the study locations**

The following section provides an abbreviated historical account of each study site (see Figure 1) investigated in this thesis.

First, Rhodes village is 1,840m above sea level and 16km south of South Africa's border with Lesotho. The village is situated just above South Africa's Great Escarpment, at the southern end of the Drakensberg mountain range. It is only accessible by narrow dirt roads, one of which links it to the nearest town, Barkly East, which is 60km away. The origin of Rhodes lies in the establishment of agricultural activities in the region. The village was developed on the farm Tintern. The owner, Jim Vorster, agreed to the proclamation of a village on his farm and Rhodes was founded on 16 September 1891 (Walker, 2004). The period between 1918 and 1974 saw the establishment of a boarding school in the village and the development of Rhodes as a small agricultural centre. During this time Rhodes experienced what was known as the Wool Boom which started in the 1950s. This provided an upsurge in the region's agricultural economy, which continued until the late 1960s. However, the village economy declined gradually as the country's wool market became saturated. Rhodes became almost derelict by the late 1960s (Walker, 2004). However, at that time Rhodes started to become a popular venue for permanent family homes and broadly following the 'back to the land' movement seen at the same time in the United States of America (USA). This period is referred to in local

parlance as the 'Hippie Era.' Since the 1980s, Rhodes and its surrounding countryside gradually became better known as a tourist destination and second home hotspot for professionals from South Africa's main metropolitan regions.

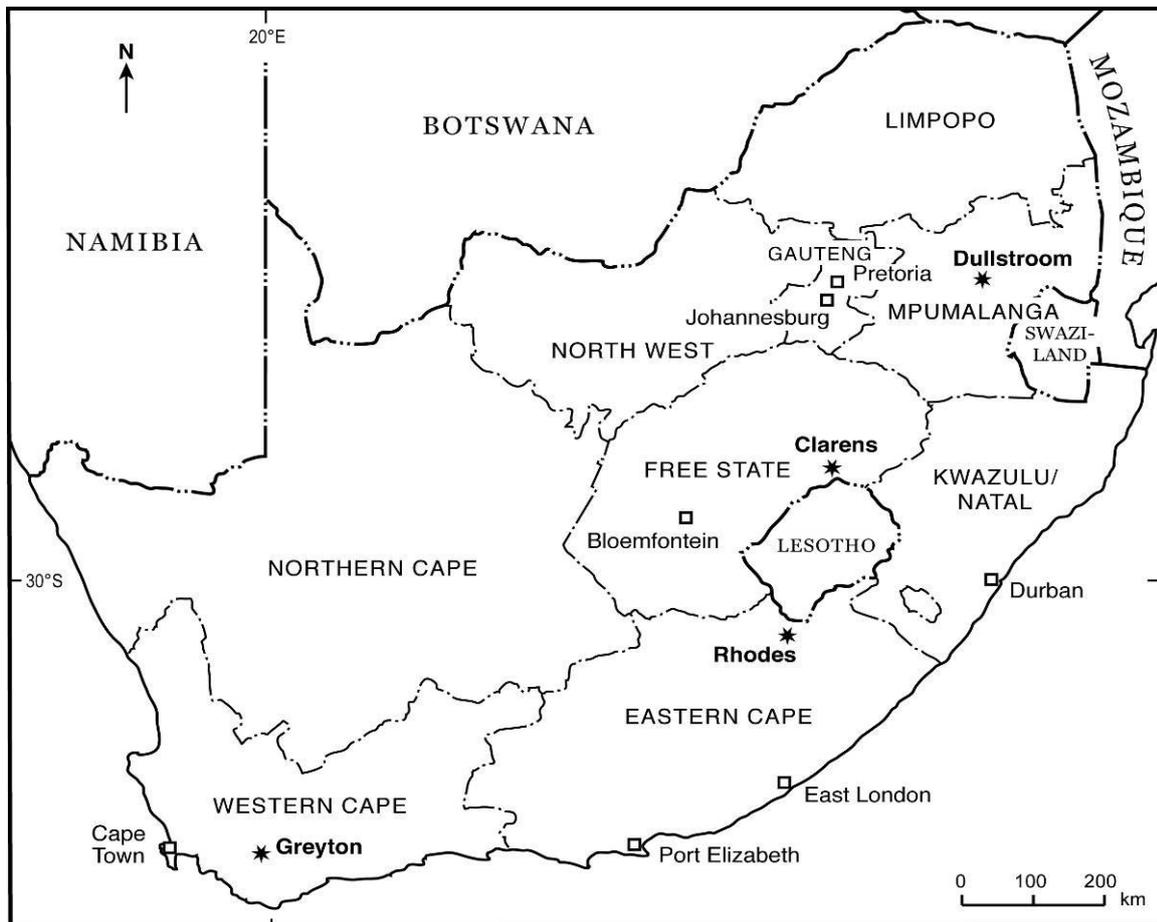
Second, Greyton is located 150km east of Cape Town. The town was laid out in 1854. By 1882, 53 of the 160 plots were sold, of which two thirds were bought by those who would have been classified as 'non-whites' by the later apartheid government. The town remained economically fairly stable for the first century, but Donaldson (2009) highlights that this has changed dramatically over the past 40 years, reflecting three distinct phases. Firstly, South Africa's notorious Group Areas Act, which enforced strict racial segregation in settlement patterns, was promulgated in Greyton in the 1970s. This forced residents classified as 'non-white' to relocate to a new township outside of the town, called Heuwelkroon. This spatially fragmented the built-up environment (Donaldson, 2009). Secondly, during the 1980s and 1990s, the predominantly white Afrikaans-speaking community started selling their properties for second home development to city-dwellers and roads were tarred, encouraging further development, especially for tourism (Donaldson 2009; Kemp 2008). Thirdly, physical developments increased by the end of the 1990s as the town became a retirement haven for residents from Cape Town. During this period the town also developed further as a tourist destination and weekend getaway for second home owners (Donaldson 2009).

Third, Dullstroom lies at an altitude of 2,100m above sea level, making it one of the highest towns in South Africa. It was settled by Dutch immigrants in the early 1880s and was proclaimed a town by President Paul Kruger in 1882. By 1893, the town consisted of 48 residents in eight houses, three stables, 10 cattle kraals and a trading store (Urban Dynamics 2007). In May 1900 the town was occupied by British soldiers

fighting in the South African War (1899–1902) and partially destroyed. The women and children from Dullstroom were sent to a concentration camp in the nearby town of Belfast. After the war, the Dutch immigrant population returned to the village to rebuild. By the 1920s eight shops were established and in 1921 the village was granted town council status. Trout were stocked in the rivers of the Dullstroom area in 1927, and it emerged as a recreational fishing destination, although the town remained primarily an agricultural service centre (Urban Dynamics, 2007). By the 1970s, tourism developed further in the town and it became a gateway to the tourist attractions of the Lowveld region and the Kruger National Park (interviewee Vaid). According to many of the residents, Dullstroom received major exposure in the Finders Keepers Sunday Times Win a Million Rand competition in the early 1980s, in which weekends away in the town were offered as a prize. As a result, second home acquisitions started taking place because of this exposure to the town. Presently, Dullstroom is seen as one of the major trout fishing destinations of the country and a major tourism destination in the Highlands Meander route (Rogerson 2004).

Fourth, Clarens was established in 1912 and subsequently developed as a retirement town for farmers. Its main economic purpose was servicing the agricultural sector. The retirement culture of the town was disrupted when a Gauteng businessperson in the mid-1980s started to buy properties in the town and slowly developed its tourism potential. This was met with resistance by especially the retirees of the town. Significant changes in the town would come from a different source in 1990: the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme which constructed a tunnel from the Katse Dam in Lesotho to the Ash River just outside of Clarens (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2004). Clarens was chosen to provide living quarters for teams involved in the construction

of the tunnel. In this process, the infrastructure of Clarens was upgraded substantially. In 1994, after the completion of the tunnel, the town was temporarily thrown into a recession. The recession was short-lived as the already present resourceful businessmen in the town started to promote Clarens as a leisure hideaway in the national media. Because of the promotion of Clarens's tourism potential in the national media, the development of second homes became commonplace in the town. Clarens subsequently grew as a town of which the principal economic focus is around leisure tourism and related activities (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2004).



**Figure 1: Location of research sites**

## **Value of research**

The value of this research lies in the exploration of two phenomena that have not been investigated in the South African context and could shed light on issues such as local (economic) development in post-productivist countrysides in the developing world. This statement can be divided into a variety of claims and contributions. This thesis attempts to interpret the South African countryside through the lens of post-productivism. Ilbery and Bowler (1998) noted the different elements of post-productivism such as dispersion and extensification. This project, however, will focus specifically on the diversification of economic activities which includes tourism and its place in the post-productivist countryside. In essence, a rethinking and reorientation in terms of thinking about the contemporary countryside is suggested, and the framework through which this is proposed, is post-productivism.

Second homes as a research niche fits into the larger South African urban and rural geographical discourses. Since the demise of apartheid, new research themes developed in South African urban geography; for example, studies on urban desegregation (see Christopher, 2001; Kotze and Donaldson, 1998; 2006), urban reconstruction and local government (see Parnell and Pieterse, 1998), urban poverty and development (see for example Parnell, 2004; 2005) to name a few. Moreover, Local Economic Development (LED) has received considerable attention (see Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998; Nel, 2001; Rogerson, 1997; 1999; 2003). Within the LED research theme, seminal papers emerged in the way in which LEDs could be enhanced with tourism as a means of economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief (see mainly Binns and Nel, 2002; Rogerson, 2002a; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010; Rogerson, 2010). These papers coalesced with the emergence of tourism as a research theme in urban areas and its peripheries (see

Rogerson and Visser, 2005; Rogerson and Lisa, 2005; Visser, 2005, Pirie, 2007; Preston-Whyte and Scott, 2007; Donaldson, 2007). The growing awareness of researching tourism development in the post-apartheid era brought along the emergence of second homes research (see for example Visser, 2003; 2004; 2006). Visser (2003) asserts that studies in South African geography, tourism, as well as town and regional planning research discourses, have remained mute concerning second home development. Therefore, in part, the value of the research lies in exploring this relatively unexplored phenomenon.

### **Structure of thesis**

This was the preamble to the thesis. Chapter One aims to map out the main debates of post-productivism, with special reference to the transition from a productivist to a post-productivist countryside and more pertinently the different indicators which direct post-productivist countrysides. However, this chapter asks the question why post-productivism as a theoretical approach has not been used to explore the countryside in the developing world. Thereafter, Chapter Two will explore the main debates in second home discourses highlighting key themes such as the economic, social and environmental impacts, as well as issues of definition, mobility and migration as well as planning. Chapter Three outlines the methodological issues, positionality and approaches considered and explored in this study. Chapter Four fleshes out the development of post-productivism in Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens, given the different circumstances and scenarios in each study site. Special reference is also made to second home development's place in the transition from productivism to post-productivism in the four study sites.

Chapter Five investigates the general economic impacts of second homes as part of the development of a post-productivist countryside. Patterns of employment creation, municipal services, as well as expenditure on tourism-related products by second home owners and guests are explored. Chapter Six provides conclusions in terms of second home development in the South African post-productivist countryside.

# CHAPTER 1

## CONCEPTUALISING POST-PRODUCTIVIST COUNTRYSIDES

### 1.1. Introduction

*'A new paradigm of multi-dimensional rural development has emerged which advocates a broader conception of the rurality where the rural is no longer the monopoly of the farmer'* (Korf and Oughton, 2006:278).

According to Holmes (2006), the pace and complexity of rural change during the past half-century, influenced specifically by socio-economic change, has received considerable attention in rural studies (for example, see Urry, 1984; Urry, 1995; Phillips, 1998). Despite the wide range of investigations and large body of academic literature available on rural change, post-productivism, has seen limited debate (Mather, Hill and Nijnik, 2006). In fact, post-productivism has been, more clearly defined within socio-political and welfare<sup>1</sup> theory than rural land use theory, or even rural-geography (Mather *et al.*, 2006; Goodin, 2001; van der Veen and Groot, 2006). This limited debate is surprising as post-productivism has been the only conceptualisation, according to Holmes (2006:142), that has attempted to investigate a holistic conceptualisation of issues pertaining to rural change. It must, however, be mentioned, that the existing debate has been particularly rigorous, but spatially and geographically highly focused (Mather *et al.*, 2006). The main source of the current debate has mostly come from the United Kingdom (see Wilson, 2001; Halfacree, 2007), although some investigations have emerged in other locations, such as Australia and Western Europe (see Smailes, 2002; Argent, 2002; Wilson, 2001;

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<sup>1</sup> Political and welfare theory on post-productivism relates to the ability of social-democratic states to re-adjust economies to allow individuals to decide to work or not work while being supported by the state. A commentator such as Goodin (2001) defines post-productivism as 'welfare without work.'

Kristensen, 2001). Unfortunately, with the exception of a few studies (see Wilson and Rigg, 2003; Rigg and Ritchie, 2002), almost no attention has directly been given to the developing world. The reason for the lack of research could potentially pertain to lack of research outside of the UK. Firstly, the concept of post-productivism has not caught on as a topic of investigation in the developing world but secondly, researchers like Wilson and Rigg (2003) have argued that the concept of post-productivism is discordant with the different rural land use patterns in the developing world.

Since the late 1990s much discussion has ensued over the concept of the post-productivist countryside and more especially the transition from a 'productivist to the post-productivist' countryside (see for example Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Halfacree, 1998; Marsden and Murdoch, 1990; Evans, Morris and Winter, 2002; Holmes, 2002). In terms of theoretical perspectives, Walford (2003:491) proposes that the theoretical abstract of post-productivism largely emerged as a structuralist theoretical notion in an attempt to embrace diversity of adjustments that occurred during the 1980s and 1990s in large part due to growing neo-liberal hegemony. This theoretical viewpoint has been most actively supported by the 'Wageningen School' which advocates farmers as active and knowledgeable actors in rural areas. The cultural turn in rural studies, have also given determined momentum to the highly contentious debates around the post-productivist countryside (Roche, 2002:823). This has led Roche (2002) to state that the rethinking of post-productivism is one of the key themes preoccupying rural scholars at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Nevertheless, the existing attempts at holistic and inclusive approaches to post-productivism are lacking (see Cloke and Goodwin, 1992). Mather *et al.* (2006) argue

that within the research ambit of post-productivism most attention has been given to agricultural change, while very little attention has focused on other land uses such as forestry, fishing and mining, not to mention more consumptive uses such as tourism and leisure. Despite the fact that the concept of post-productivism is supposed to display how land use change has moved away from agricultural production, agriculture is still, ironically, the main research focus. Indeed, Cloke and Goodwin (1992) make the important point that in the process of conceptualising the 'rural' it cannot be regarded as homogeneous and that there is ample scope to investigate the heterogeneity of the countryside.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the main and current debates on post-productivism. This chapter unfolds as follows. First, an abbreviated history of the multifunctionality of the countryside is provided to create an awareness of the diverse elements that have historically always been present in the countryside preceding the development of productivism and post-productivism. Second, a historical perspective will be given of the productivist countryside. Third, the main debates concerning the post-productivist countryside will be outlined, after which attention will be given to the links between migration and the post-productivist countryside. In the fifth section of material, post-productivism as a concept receives attention and is highlighted as a contested concept in terms of its functionality as a viable term to describe the countryside. Lastly, post-productivism and its applicability as a means of describing the contemporary countryside in the developing world contexts will be explored.

## **1.2. An abbreviated history of the multi-functional countryside**

The idea that (rural) land serves as a medium that assists all types of land use has always been present in rural areas (Holmes, 2006). Holmes (2006) argues that elements that constitute a multi-functional countryside, such as production, consumption and protection were already embraced by hunter/gatherer societies such as the Australian Aboriginal or, indeed, the national parks and forests in Europe that, in many cases, were used as hunting areas for aristocrats, dating as far back as the middle ages (Slee, 2005). Slee (2005) posits that urban sources of wealth for the many aristocrats kept rural economies replenished. In the eighteenth century, the Romantic Movement, appealing to the atavistic need<sup>2</sup> of man inspired by the poems and prose of Wordsworth and Scott, re-imagined how rural areas are perceived, from this, a variety of economies such as hotels, steamboats and railways emerged as the first signs of rural tourism. During this period, the most influential form of consumption-based rural land ownership in the United Kingdom was the opening-up of the Scottish Highlands for sport hunting and trout/salmon fishing on famous rivers like the Spey (Slee, 2005) (which is now deeply entrenched in fly-fishing folklore).

Farm-based tourism is also definitely not a new occurrence. For instance, upwards of a quarter of all farms in Austria have hosted tourists for over a hundred years. Similar traditions exist in Germany (Sharpley and Vass, 2006). During the interwar years, examples existed in the United Kingdom of tensions in the private sector which often overrode silvicultural<sup>3</sup> interests in favour of game conservation (Slee, 2005). In France since 1954, the state has made financial support available to redevelop

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<sup>2</sup> The atavistic need of man relates to the 'return' to nature, to a time when people were more closely connected to 'natural' forms of living.

<sup>3</sup> Silviculture relates to management of forests in the interest of a variety of cohorts.

dilapidated farm buildings into accommodation facilities and similar examples exist in Denmark as well as Italy (Sharpley and Vass, 2006). Since the 1960s, Halfacree (2006:309) argues that notions of 'back-to-the-land' experimentations, influenced most strongly by 'counter-cultural' perceptions have influenced many rural areas around the globe, but especially in the United States of America. Essentially 'back-to-the-land' experimentations can be seen as one of the first developments of a post-productivist countryside during the productivist period.

### **1.3. The productivist countryside**

*'...make two blades of grass grow where one grew before'* (Shucksmith, 1993:466).

According to Argent (2002:100) in the UK, productivism emerged in response to the Scott Report of 1942, as a result of chronic food shortages which were predicted during the war and thereafter. During and after this period of immense destruction, the importance of self-reliance in terms of food production was seen to have priority over other activities in the countryside. As a result, less emphasis was placed on importing food, with the focus being to foster rural, food-producing economies. This was the norm in most countries in the developed world directly affected by the Second World War (Jack, 2007:910). Consequently in the United Kingdom the *Agriculture Act of 1947* was put in place to aggressively support agriculture as the focal point of rural policy developments (Argent, 2002). The preoccupation with the progressive expansion of the food production industry took place in a typically capitalist mould, motivated most sternly in two narratives, namely that of 'pastoralism' and 'modernism.' Moreover, this typically capitalist form of agriculture

was underpinned by the modernisation of technology and the continued mechanisation of food production (Halfacree, 2007).

Indeed, this modernisation and mechanisation also went hand in hand with enormous subsidies from the private sector, but mostly from the public sphere, resulting in unprecedented increases in food production (Jack, 2007). This resulted in farming communities experiencing revolutionary processes in terms of production, but this revolution also created tremendous changes in the fabric of the communities that inhabited these environments (Walford, 2003). The productivist mindset shaped the countryside and established itself in every sphere of society (Halfacree, 2007).

Although current literature on the concepts of productivism and post-productivism is particularly UK-centric, some brief notes must be made on the different forms productivism took on in other countries of the developed world. For example, the United States of America (USA) most fervently ran the development of Atlantic food order through the mass consumption of agricultural commodities which resulted in the accelerated expansion of world food trade. This was achieved through the rapidly expanding capitalist market by means of Fordist regimes in agricultural production (Wilson, 2001:79). In Norway, Bjørkhaug and Richards (2004) argue that although the processes of productivism took on a typical guise experienced elsewhere in post-war Europe, it is important to note that since the 1930s, farmers in Norway always had the ability to influence policy through cooperatives, unions and political parties in what Bjørkhaug and Richards (2004:10) calls 'a social democratic model of strong co-operation between state and sector interest, natural resources and labour.' In a sense then, Norway's development of agriculture has always been productivist, and this largely remains the case.

In France, the *Loi d'Orientation Agricole 1960* was implemented which placed its faith in government to control the agricultural regeneration of this large producer, through state protectionism, subsidies and price guarantees within the economic sector (Wilson, 2001:79). In a country such as Spain, different processes were experienced as compared to France, yet largely similar comparisons can be made. In Spain, for example, after its destructive dictatorship and near economic collapse, the *1959 Stabilisation Plan* was put in place which opened up foreign investment and allowed Spanish citizens to seek employment elsewhere (Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001). This saw the national workforce in agriculture drop from 40% in 1960 to less than 20% with the coming of democracy in 1976 (Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001). The period from 1959 to 1976 also witnessed Spain's fastest modernisation and the Spanish government made very clear decisions towards high-tech development of its agricultural economy and enthusiastically joining the European Union. In Spain productivism took on guises of what would now be considered typical of post-productivism. However, because of the political developments, it ended up being very much productivist.

Given the different guises productivism took in the developed world, some comments can be made on its homogenising influence. For instance, Halfacree (2007:129) provides an account of how the societal and spatial structure of productivism established itself during this period. Three features worth noting are

- *Rural localities*: Predominance of agricultural activities with industrialised modes of food production which focused on increased output and profitability was established. Multi-faceted and specialised services surrounding daily and seasonal activities remained paramount.

- *Rural representations*: In broad terms, governments supported and nurtured food production as the foremost activity of the countryside.
- *Rural lives*: Farmers' livelihoods were generally protected by land rights, finance, politics and ideology. Developments were moulded in the interest of productivist interests.

This totalising force did have its faults and resultant fraught outcomes. According to Jack (2007), the over-production and subsidising of agriculture swamped markets and lowered the general income rates commonly associated with agriculture, as well as increasing property prices in rural areas. Jack (2007) also mentions that the dumping of surplus produce dealt all but irreparable blows to the development of industrialised agriculture in developing countries. Walford (2003) mentions additional drawbacks to the improved agricultural resource base and infrastructure. For example, the traditional historical support of smaller farms through subsidies and grants had shifted to larger producers. More particularly, Body (1991, cited in Jack 2007) argued that farming practices during the productivist era had one fundamental flaw. In the past, the majority of farms and farmers were almost completely self-reliant, where in the productivist era all farms were in some way influenced by external forces. As a result, agriculture developed an over-capacity when it came to its place in the countryside. This resulted in state protectionism which propelled agricultural intensification and farm redundancy in many localities (Holmes, 2006).

Halfacree (2007) critiques productivism by arguing that the totalising ideals of capitalist food production and ideals of an idyllic agricultural countryside were looked after, but diversification was not supported. However, more sentimental views have been taken by some, arguing that the decades after World War Two

were a consensual approach to agricultural policy. The stabilising effect of productivism through the guaranteed prices for produce and more than ample grant aid for modernisation was applauded by many (Walford, 2003).

Halfacree and Boyle (1998) however, suggest that the 'productivist era' came to an end in the 1970s, because of the inability of governments to control the economic state of the food order between Western European and North American countries, especially the USA. The supposed security that existed in the agricultural industry was reduced, assailed most strongly by neo-liberal economic forces in which the 'free market' reigned supreme (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998:6). According to Jack (2007) many farmers during this time felt particularly helpless, largely because of their reliance on government to sustain their ventures. The increased internationalisation of farming practices and subsequent over-production, as well as the decline in the number of farmers by 50% in the UK from 1950 to 1987, and their declining social and economic status, caused farmers to adopt different strategies to economically adjust (Jack, 2007:915; Halfacree, 2006). In addition, Cloke and Goodwin (1992:327) ascribe the breakdown of the productivist countryside, at least in the UK, because of the following reasons.

- In-migration in urban fringe areas or for that matter exurban areas expanded consumption and community ranges.
- The decentralisation of industrial plants into some rural areas.
- During the 1980s industrial production increased and became the dominant labour sector in many rural areas.

- Rural areas also became attractive for end-of-line<sup>4</sup> parts rather than centralised economic development.

This allowed the opening up of land for many other activities. These unforeseen consequences could be seen as key actors in the development of the post-productivist countryside(s).

#### **1.4. The post-productivist countryside(s)**

##### *1.4.1. The emergence of the post-productivist countryside(s)*

Rural areas have moved from a productivist to a post-productivist state (Argent, 2002; Wilson and Rigg, 2003). The changing nature of capitalism since the 1970s and the subsequent move towards post-Fordist economies, post-industrial societies, and post-modern cultures has resulted in flexible economies, societies and cultures (Cloke and Goodwin, 1992; Harvey, 1989; Soja 1989). Market-orientated modes of rural-occupancy influenced countrysides that it became overtly apparent that a transition is occurring (Holmes, 2006). For example, Walford (2003) argued that in the mid-1980s countries in Europe experienced the so-called 'farming crisis' because of its inherent high cost and purpose-designed tendency to over-produce and thus flood markets (as a result the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was initiated with the intention to limit agricultural production by lowering budgetary costs of the CAP's Guarantee Fund. Subsidies from government had also taken on different roles than before. For example, in the case of Europe, direct subsidies to farmers were removed and replaced by once-off payments that supported sustainable farming

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<sup>4</sup> 'End-of-line parts' is part of the 'Fordist assembly line' where small industries play a role in supplying parts to large factories

and environmentally friendly initiatives (Jack, 2007). Steps taken to ameliorate environmental damage associated with industrialised agriculture grew in importance. It is also argued by Knudsen (2007) that the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in the UK, the Coca-Cola dioxin scandal in Belgium, the salmonella outbreak in Denmark and the problems with swine fever in the Netherlands have caused many farmers to investigate alternative means of economic survival (Sharpley and Vass, 2006). Considering the economic changes, policy changes, environmental constraints, as well as general problems associated with productivist farming, farmers had to respond to volatile practices and generally uncertain incomes and a variety of ways which changed the nature of farm businesses and as a result, rural areas in general started to change (Jack, 2007). To illustrate, 56% of all permanent farmers in the United Kingdom have diversified their activities with diversification towards tourism-related enterprises being the most prolific (Sharpley and Vass, 2006:1041).

Subsequently, structural coherence was severed in the rural areas, and rural space was caught up within the global neo-liberal economy where nationally regulated rural distinctions have been overtaken and outmoded. In addition, rural areas have become increasingly regionalised (Halfacree, 2007). Because of these changes in the political economy towards neo-liberal economies, the resultant 'post-productivist countryside' emerged as an inceptive entity which reflects the breakdown of the productivist hegemony (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Mather, *et al.*, 2006). It is important to mention that the productivist to post-productivist transition is still ongoing, and will potentially create a more heterogeneous countryside in terms of land-use, structured coherence or social composition *inter alia*. The change in the localised countryside has had to take into account the social, economic,

political and cultural impacts filtering through from a global level, leaving Halfacree and Boyle (1998) to note that the post-productivist countryside is very much about a 'global sense of place.'

Marsden and Murdoch (1990) therefore importantly propose that the role of rural areas as spaces of consumption in an ever increasing and diverse post-Fordist<sup>5</sup> economy needs to be seen as key to our understanding of the capital accumulation process. Hence, post-productivism is suggested as an accurate account of the contemporary countryside, both as an established and emerging entity. The following section provides insight into the indicators and categorisations of the post-productivist countryside.

#### *1.4.2. Indicators and categorisations of post-productivist countrysides*

During the initial stages of research into the post-productivist transition, three chronological research components emerged for those involved in investigating agricultural change (Morris and Evans, 1999:352). According to Morris and Evans (1999:352), post-productivism was used as a means of describing strategies concerning farm adjustments and farm business development routes in a new and developing farming sector. Also, the theoretical establishment of post-productivism had occurred with specific reference to the different characteristics that make up this conceptualisation. This has mainly focused on pluri-activity, a return to sustainable forms of agriculture, environmental regulation, and, in broad terms, the

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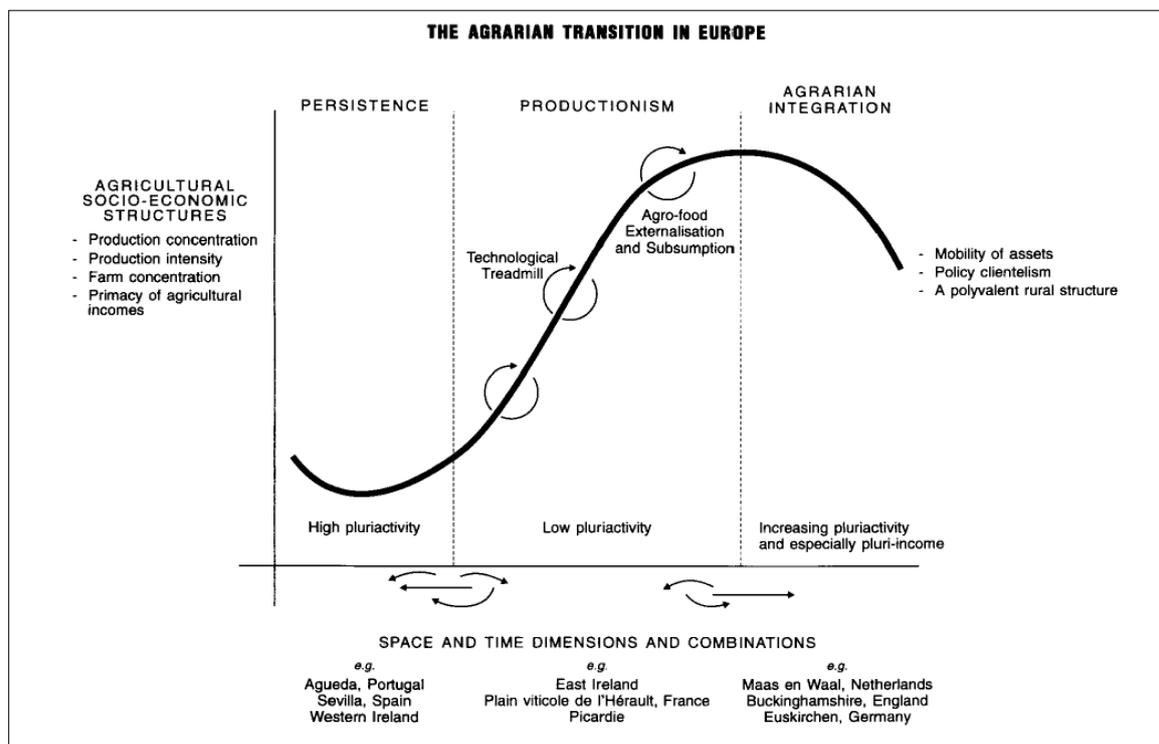
<sup>5</sup> Post-Fordism, in short, would be the move away from the 'assembly line' as a means of production to more flexible forms of production. Post-Fordism is in essence a transition away from Fordism and particularly prevalent in advanced economies of the developed world.

withdrawal of support for purely agricultural foci. Lastly, within rural geography, theorisation has become key, in terms of which the components of change have been viewed from productivist notions of intensification, concentration and specialisation towards post-productivist notions of extensification, dispersion and diversification (Morris and Evans, 1999:352).

Indicators in terms of what identifies and constitutes post-productivist countrysides are an important part of any investigation looking at this conceptualisation of rural change. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to investigate these different indicators. However, it must be noted that there is no one set of indicators that could indicate a clear set of rules to what constitutes a post-productivist countryside. It however, must be noted that there are different types of post-productivist countrysides. Contemporary categorisations are very much case-specific and severely lacking to the broader processes of rural change.

Keeping this in mind, Wilson (2008) argues that when it comes to the actual farm types, some farms have a higher potential for making the transition from a purely productivist state to a non-productivist or post-productivist state. This transition is also heavily dependent on the different types of farms and, more pertinently, farm ownership. The same could be argued in terms of the countryside as a whole and urban places within the countryside. Indeed, post-productivist categorisations do not take these land uses into consideration at any great length. Wilson (2008) therefore proposes that multi-functional transition can be measured on a continuum from strong to weak. Moreover, this needs to be assessed from not only single to multiple components of a diversified rural realm, but also from local to global spheres of change (Wilson, 2008).

Despite these limitations to categorise post-productivist countrysides, a number of attempts have been made in this respect. First, Terry Marsden's (1995) (see Figure 1.1) influential model initially helped identify the indicators of post-productivism. In his study, he investigated different countries across Europe such as Austria, England, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden. In these countries he identified twenty-four study areas to gauge the level of change from persistent primary agricultural activities to other forms of activities that he calls agrarian integration.



**Figure 1.1: Marsden's model of agrarian transition in Europe (Marsden, 1995:290)**

Marsden's model provides a useful conceptual base from which to view post-productivist activities. Much of the research that followed on the indicators of what post-productivism could entail, has often been based on this model. It is clear from

this model that countries in north western Europe have undergone more transitions towards a post-productivist state in the early 1990s than for example countries in south western Europe. According to Marsden (1995) this is by-and-large the result of local planning initiatives to promote diversification towards non-agricultural land uses. Marsden (1995) is also of the opinion that central or national planning frameworks do not have as much influence as it had in the productivist period.

Secondly, Halfacree and Boyle's (1998:8) have suggested four typologies that could assist in the identification of a post-productivist countryside, and which are;

- *Preserved countryside* – scenic areas with long-established preservation, anti-development, local decision-making; yet agricultural diversification and increasingly contested development for consumption uses, especially with respect to middle-class in-migrants.
- *Contested countryside* – areas beyond the core commuter zones; landowners and developers dominate but with increasing challenges from in-migrants.
- *Paternalistic countryside* – typified by the estates of large private landowners; some conversion of redundant agricultural assets but less development pressure; stewardship ethos.
- *Clientelist countryside* – remote, marginal zones, agriculture dominant but only through state welfare support; corporatist development.

Thirdly, Mather *et al.*, (2006) uses an in-depth analysis of key sources in research to lay out the main characteristics with special emphasis on the transition that has taken place. Table 1.1. provides an overview of the characteristics of post-productivism as laid out by Mather (*et al.*, 2006:433).

The first of Mather's *et al.*, (2006:433) characterisations that is listed is that of Ilbery and Bowler and is named 'Known Characteristics', where they developed one of the initial categorisations of post-productivism after Marsden. The characteristics that they developed are mostly an account of the main macro-economic changes that took place during the productivist to post-productivist transition. Ilbery and Bowler's (1998) definition of the productivist to post-productivist transition remains one of the most comprehensive definitions. The 'three bipolar dimensions of change' refers to the state of the contemporary countryside that embraces as previously mentioned, extensification instead of intensification, dispersion instead of concentration and diversification instead of specialisation (Ilbery and Bowler, 1998). The work of Kristensen (2001) in Denmark has been especially influenced by this definition.

**Table 1.1: Different characterisations of post-productivism**

Ilbery and Bowler (1998)	'Known characteristics' <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reduction of farm output</li> <li>• Withdrawal of state subsidies</li> <li>• Production of food in an increasingly competitive market</li> <li>• Growing environmental regulation of agriculture</li> </ul> 'Three bipolar dimensions of change': antithesis with productivism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• From intensification to extensification</li> <li>• From concentration to dispersion</li> <li>• From specialisation to diversification</li> </ul>
Wilson (2001)	'Seven dimensions': antithesis with productivism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideology</li> <li>• Actors</li> <li>• Food regimes</li> <li>• Agricultural production</li> <li>• Agricultural policies</li> <li>• Farming techniques</li> <li>• Environmental impacts</li> </ul>
Evans ( <i>et al.</i> , 2002)	'Five convenient categories' <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shift from quantity to quality in food production</li> <li>• Growth of on-farm diversification and off-farm employment (pluri-activity)</li> <li>• Extensification and the promotion of sustainable farming through agri-environmental policy</li> <li>• Dispersion of production patterns</li> <li>• Environmental regulation and restructuring of government support for agriculture</li> </ul>

Secondly, Wilson (2001:80–81) gives 'Seven dimensions' of what he terms to be the antithesis of productivism. These are as follows.

- *Ideologies* that have moved from, for example, the hegemonic position of agriculture to a loss of centrality that rather focuses different social representations of the 'rural.'
- *Actors*; to name one example: the agricultural policy community has been small yet very influential. This has moved to a widening of the community with a weakening of corporate relationships with agricultural ministries and farm lobbies.
- *Food regimes* have shifted from the Atlantic food order and Fordist production methods to post-Fordist production and non-standardised demands for goods and services, as well as vertically disaggregated production.
- *Agricultural production* changed from industrialisation, intensification and specialisation to dispersion, diversification and farmers that expressed their need to leave the agricultural 'treadmill.'
- *Agricultural policies* transgressed from marked financial support, government intervention and price guarantees to new forms of rural governance than incorporating changes in policies towards post-productivism. Farming techniques, evolved from mass industrial mechanisation towards sustainable agriculture.
- *Environmental impacts* improved from lack of environmental conservation towards conservation and the recuperation of lost and damaged habitats.

Thirdly, Evans, Morris and Winter's (2002) 'five convenient categories' combined many of the previous categorisation of Ilbery and Kneafsey (1997) and Ilbery and

Bowler (1998) yet argue very sternly that they are very limiting in that the terminology cannot accurately describe the developments of agricultural change from productivism to post-productivism. They believe that there is very little empirical evidence to support this claim, yet ironically their categorisation of indicators are quite useful in noting many of the changes in the transition from productivism to post-productivism.

#### 1.4.3. *Recent categorisations of post-productivism*

This section investigates the more recent categorisations from especially outside the UK. It could be argued that investigations outside of the UK have helped tremendously in broadening the focus of post-productivism and have made it inevitably richer. First, in the case of Australia, Holmes (2006) suggests that because of a vast supply of agricultural land, the move towards a post-productivist countryside has enabled investigators to view differentiated modes of rural occupancy from a much clearer point of view than other more contested localities such as Western Europe. More specifically, these modes can be described through different localities and spatialities in the Australian countryside. These are: productivist agricultural; rural amenity; small farm; peri-metropolitan; marginalised agricultural; conservation and indigenous (see Holmes, 2006:142). Holmes (2006) would, nevertheless, argue that the fundamental issues in the countryside would be focused on a complex, contested and highly variable mix of *production*, *consumption* and *protection* (Holmes, 2006:143). Also, the market-driven amenity-orientated uses have driven urban interests and spawned a variety of mediums that supplement farm incomes through different forms of tourism such as residential,

lifestyle, or investment opportunities (Holmes, 2006). It could however be suggested that consumption-orientated developments has gone hand-in-hand with changing societal values. Ironically in opposition, or at least, as an alternative to market driven forces (Holmes, 2006).

Secondly, one of the more recent specifications of post-productivism is by Halfacree (2007:131) in his four-part categorisation. His first indicator is *Super-productivism* which envisages the notion of productivism through neo-liberal economic perspectives and uses the 'logic' of capitalism. In this categorisation, agribusinesses continue with the practices of genetic modification of plants and animals as well as biotechnology. Moreover, the maximisation of profit is key in neo-liberal reform. The countryside is seen as an accumulation strategy. Second, Halfacree (2007:131), in *Consuming idylls*, proposes that although many rural areas have agriculture as a backdrop, other often urban-influenced forces initiate rural areas' consumption-based focus, such as leisure, residence, second homes, counterurbanisation and dwelling. In essence, it could be argued that a re-establishment of the rural-idyll has taken place. The emergence of issues akin to rural gentrification such as 'local' versus 'newcomer' is central in the planning arena where new developments are proposed. Third, Halfacree (2007:131) in addition, offers the *Effaced rurality* where remnants of idyllic and productivist ruralities are long forgotten. As he puts it, localities' formal representations and day-to-day activities have little to do with certain, often idyllic views of rural areas. Lastly, a still emerging element of post-productivism is *Radical visions* of rural locations where ecological citizenship foregrounds for a sustainable rural environment, this could also be seen as forming part of green politics (Halfacree, 2007:131). Radical visions is by nature the most anti-productivist strain of post-productivist ideals, these ideals are often in direct

opposition to traditional capitalist views; for example, traditional capitalist views promote some form of industrialisation, while radical views are oriented towards bioregionalism in terms of self-sustainability, conservation and self-sufficiency (Halfacree, 2007).

Halfacree and Boyle (1998) feel that it is important to note that the concept of the post-productivist countryside does not mean a countryside in which agriculture is either no longer present or has been eclipsed in significance by other land uses. It could rather be seen as a change of 'the rural' that has diverged within agriculture, between those farmers concentrating on subsistence and those combining agriculture with other gainful activities. Comprehensively, post-productivism advances that agriculture will remain the principal land use in rural areas, although its hegemonic position within the rural economy, local society, and polity, will no longer be assured and will increasingly become highly localised to certain rural areas. The probability exists that agricultural-based structural coherence will be more spatially selective as Halfacree (2007) suggests. Essentially, with these changes in the productivist position of the countryside, the post-productivist era suggests an enhanced role for exchange and consumption interests, while vying with productivist interests for local predominance (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998).

### **1.5. Post-productivism and migration**

One of the key characteristics of post-productivist landscapes is the different types of migration that influence its state. Consumptive uses have been especially facilitated by time/space compression, which brings the city to the countryside (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Holmes, 2002:381). According to Argent (2002) post-

productivism has assisted in a development of a more socially and culturally heterogeneous rural population, where processes such as counterurbanisation have brought a new grouping of residents to the rural realm. Paquette and Domon (2003) argue that changes in agricultural practices have led to declining farming populations and significant changes in the landscape. The resultant post-productivist countryside has caused major demographic changes in many rural areas. To the disbelief of many, smaller communities that had been dismissed as relics of a previous era were now growing (Mitchell, 2004). Champion (1998) argues that the distribution of populations is no longer controlled by urbanisation only. Therefore, different types of migration or the movement of people take on many different forms such as counterurbanisation, exurbanisation and temporary in- and out-migration for purposes of leisure, holiday or second home ownership. Processes such as anti-urbanisation<sup>6</sup> have been an increasing phenomenon (Mitchell, 2004). Smailes (2002) argues that the process of what he terms 'rural dilution' has developed a different social composition, littered with in and out flows of people accessing the countryside.

Changes in rural landscapes, in many cases, have rather developed to cater for 'consumers' rather than 'producers' (Paquette and Domon, 2003: 425). The development of additional housing, golf courses, land-fill tips, and industrial units has constituted an ever increasing middle-class image of the countryside expressed through idyllic views of rural areas (Cloke and Goodwin, 1992). Murdoch and Marsden (1994:231), cited in Halfacree and Boyle, 1998) feel that a major influencing factor in the transition from productivist to post-productivist countryside is embodied

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<sup>6</sup> In Mitchell's (2004:23) new categorisations of counterurbanisation, she suggests 'anti-urbanisation' as a term to describe people that reject city living and embraces a lifestyle within smaller settlements. Other terms also come into play in her new categorisations such as ex-urbanisation and displaced urbanisation.

by a former 'agricultural veto' to a 'preservationist veto' most often fervently supported by in-migrants. Moreover, the 'opening' up of the countryside has created numerous opportunities for businesses through the consistent commodification of the countryside which often caters for the needs of recent in-migrants (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998).

### **1.6. Post-productivism as a contested concept**

Claims that the countryside has undergone a transition from a productivist to a post-productivist state have been received with increasing suspicion, rejection and scepticism in recent years (Knudsen, 2007). According to Holmes (2006) the conceptualisation of 'post-productivism' has been seen as being an attractive conceptualisation capable of assimilating many viewpoints. Yet, commentators such as Mather, Hill and Nijnik (2006:441) argue that a more focused approach and definition towards post-productivism should be adopted. They argue that if this is not done, and if no specific components are attached to post-productivism, the term might be used too loosely, which can result in a *cul de sac* for theorisation. It is from this platform where the main opponents of post-productivism develop their viewpoints.

Main opponents of post-productivism, like Evans and Walford believe that there must be a complete reversal of productivism to be post-productivist, otherwise according to them it could be seen as a 'myth' (Mather *et al.*, 2006). Walford (2003) argues that 'productivism is not dead' and that empirical evidence of the demise of agriculture is less than conclusive. Hoggart and Paniagua (2001) argue that changes in rural businesses and communities have taken place, but not to the

extent to argue a radical break from traditional productivism. Walford (2003) suggests that evidence from large-scale farmers in South East England shows that the fundamental processes of 'productivism' such as concentration, intensification and specialisation persist despite changes in agricultural policy and changes in the industry in general. In fact, subsidies in the UK have increased from £355 million in 1984 to £2404 million in 2000 (Mather *et al.*, 2006). As a result, many commentators suggest alternative terms to describe the contemporary countryside of which eight are identified here.

First, Evans *et al.*, (2002) suggests terms such as 'ecological modernisation' as it could more aptly describe the processes of change that has taken place in agriculture from mass producing of food towards sustainable forms of agriculture and health conscious food production. Second, Smailes (2002:79) proposes the use of the term 'Rural dilution' as it has been used since the 1950s, coined by Vince (1952 cited in Smailes, 2002:79) to describe the situation in which the falling numbers of rural populations directly related to primary land uses, while remaining populations are involved in adventitious livelihoods. Third, Wilson and Rigg (2003:697) suggest the usage of 'deagrarianisation' to apply to the developing South. Deagrarianisation is defined as having the following elements connected to its typology; occupation adjustment, income-earning reorientation, social identification, and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from agriculturally based livelihoods and lastly spatial interpenetration. Although, Wilson and Rigg (2003) argue that deagrarianisation should be seen as part of the post-productivist process or at least parallel processes.

Fourth, Holmes (2006:145) sees the 'multi-functional transition' as a more accurate term, he argues that it is more descriptive, but it also avoids the historical myopia

attached to the prefix 'post.' He further suggests that in the process of understanding the balance between economic, social and environmental processes which influence the shape of the contemporary countryside and its interrelationships with different localities, there can be two mediums to do this; namely, the post-productivist transition (PPT) and the broader medium, multifunctional rural transition (MRT). Fifth, Marsden (1998:107) suggests that 'differentiated rural spaces' can be used as a more accurate term. An example of this differentiated rural space could be Denmark where in certain locations extensification and diversification have taken place, largely due to diversified crop cultivation patterns (Kristensen, 2001). Kristensen (2001:85) believes that complex regional development patterns have emerged in the eastern parts of Denmark where agricultural industrialisation has been rife. While simultaneously, the central and western parts have experienced extensification and diversification. Yet extensification seem to be the dominant trend in Denmark (Kristensen, Thenail and Kristensen, 2004). Sixth, it is important to note that many geographers in Britain and Europe, and to a lesser degree North America, rather argue for dual usage of the terms productivism and post-productivism rather than to substitute one for the other (see Argent, 2002, Wilson, 2001). Seventh, in more simplistic terms, Mather *et al.* (2006:443) suggests (in an attempt to reduce 'fuzziness') that post-productivism can be defined in much easier terms. They suggest that post-productivism should be seen as a process from 'material production' to 'service provision.' This is a process that has been seen on a macro-scale globally, but more specifically in the developed world. Eighth, according to Mather *et al.* (2006), the term 'multifunctional agricultural regime' might have some value, but it remains connected to agriculture. This in essence ignores other primary land uses, such as

forestry, but will also just see other secondary processes as additional, rather than key to the countryside.

In an attempt to move away from the UK-centric approaches, calls have been made towards investigating how post-productivism could be applied to other countries. Holmes (2002) aptly demonstrates that the case of rangelands in the United States, New Zealand and Australia brings about very different agenda than in the UK. Holmes (2002) observes that the countryside in these countries have much lower population densities. For instance, in Australia there is less than one person per square kilometre. Issues of debate surrounding 'rural restructuring' have always gone hand-in-hand with rural decline in these countries which might not be the case in Europe (Holmes, 2002).

More importantly Mather *et al.*, (2006) makes a valid point that any process in the countryside that is not agriculture, should not, off the cuff, be termed as post-productivist. According to them, post-productivism has been adopted too randomly and too easily, largely because of a lack of conceptual understanding and often a lack of empirical evidence. This has led commentators such as Evans *et al.*, (2002) to argue that the concept of post-productivism has no purpose other than to display that a change has occurred. In addition, Burton and Wilson (2006) ask the question whether the macro-level analysis and investigations of post-productivism are compatible with grassroots understandings of this change. Evans *et al.* (2002), in accordance with Burton and Wilson (2006) suggest that research on post-productivism has been too top-down and has lacked focus on individuals and their day-to-day actions.

It could be argued that issues surrounding the validity of post-productivism as concept often tend to be, in typical academic fashion, more linguistic or semantic in nature, rather than concrete. In general terms, the different suggested terminologies used to describe a global countryside are redundant. Some might argue that they are all synonyms with the same change. Arguments can also be made that the persistent separation of North/South, Developing/Developed and then resultantly Post-Productivist/Deagrarian perspectives, will solidify already polarised perspectives of how ruralities or contemporary countrysides are viewed. As Mather *et al.*, (2006:454) state: '*the debate on post-productivism bears many of the typical characteristics of academic debate. A new concept was introduced; it was stretched to unrealistic extents, and a call went up for its abandonment.*' It is ironic that the concept of 'post-productivism' emerged in the UK and was rejected there before it reached the developing world. No time had been allotted to develop the concept empirically or theoretically, albeit for a few publications. Therefore, this chapter now moves to an exploration of post-productivism in the developing world. It is argued that much research needs to be done in the developing world and will greatly contribute to the processes of conceptualising the post-productivist countryside. This will allow for a much richer and rigorous debate on this concept.

## **1.7. Post-productivism in the developing world?**

### *1.7.1. Post-productivism from a developing world perspective*

Unfortunately, very little research has been completed on post-productivism in the developing world. In fact Wilson and Rigg (2003) are among very few investigators

that have implicitly explored 'post-productivism' in the developing world and, as a result, this section relies heavily on their work. This section of the chapter will explore the different guises of post-productivism in the developing world and which forms it has taken on in different geographic locations.

Malthusian pessimism characterised the processes of food production during the 1960s and 1970s in the developing world (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). As a result, productivism as it is understood in the north as the hegemonic state of the countryside is mirrored in the developing world. For example, the importance of food security might have been of greater importance in the South than elsewhere after 1945 and independence of many African and Asian countries since the 1960s especially (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). In response to this, Marsden (1995) believes that in the South, structural adjustments have been proposed to cut down on 'uneconomic' farming methods in an attempt to encourage foreign exchange earnings. By the 1990s, a growing awareness emerged in which households who found themselves in agriculture could approach food security through other multiple and shifting means (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). For example, at present, organisations such as the World Trade Organisation and the European Union have influenced agricultural policies in the South which in the end pushed rural areas in post-productivist directions (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). More importantly the influence of global agro-food systems has forcefully moulded some countries into very typical productivist or, for that matter, super-productivist modes of production. While concurrently certain countries have become increasingly marginalised as a result of the very powerful influence of international markets where they have little chance of competing because of lack of quantity and quality produce (Wilson and Rigg, 2003:693). First, a question arises: do conceptualisations and perspectives of post-

productivism apply to the developing world contexts? Wilson and Rigg (2003) argue that the concept of post-productivism has generally been constructed with advanced rural economies in mind. Therefore, Wilson and Rigg (2003:681) analysed quintessential indicators to the notion of post-productivism in the North to developments in the South. These indicators are (Wilson and Rigg, 2003:681):

- policy changes;
- organic farming;
- counterurbanisation;
- the inclusion of NGOs at the process of policy making;
- the consumption of the countryside; and
- on-farm diversification.

Primarily, Wilson and Rigg (2003) come to the conclusion that there are many overlapping similarities between the key concepts of post-productivism in the North and the South. For example, in countries where agricultural marginalisation has taken place, the importance of the consumer has come to the forefront (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). However, Wilson and Rigg (2003) are of the opinion that, from the criteria in which they assessed the countryside of the South, the notion of consumption comes to the fore and gains importance.

The remainder of this section will look at the different guises of post-productivism in three locations; namely, Asia, Latin America and Africa. First, in the case of Thailand the strong notion of the rural-idyll has created the condition where the urban-based middle classes have been keen to invest in housing estates modelled according to archetypal Thai 'villages.' The Mae Sa village in Thailand is an example of a typical pre-productivist village that has been completely converted into golf-courses,

elephant shows, orchids, butterfly and snake farms, restaurants, five-star hotels, karaoke bars, brothels, massage parlours and resorts (Wilson and Rigg, 2003:694). In many areas across Thailand, property prices have increased by up to 2300% (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). Nevertheless, no clear transition has been made from pre-productivism to productivism and then post-productivism (Wilson and Rigg, 2003). This is most probably the case in many developing countries in which productivism has been eclipsed, moving from pre-productivism to post-productivism.

Secondly, Latin America experienced its worst economic crisis in the 1980s since the global depression of the 1930s (Devlin and French-Davis, 1995). The result of this has been a widespread debt crisis experienced by most Latin American countries. Although not documented in academic literature, this period seems to have ushered in the post-productivist era in Latin America. For example, Preston (1992) argues that Andean America has experienced many of the processes of agricultural and technological modernisation experienced elsewhere in the third world and has, to a large extent, had the same post-productivist indicators. According to Preston (1992:323) processes of change have been major changes in types of work in human settlements, for example, increasing commercial opportunities and novel needs. This has not only been, in part, because of the economic crisis, but also because of the liberalisation of the social and economic life in the post-agrarian reform period (Preston, 1992:323). Migration of labourers from rural to urban environments in the case of Latin America has given rise to different ways in which labourers engage with their environments. Preston's (1992:131) investigation of the Batallas region in Bolivia might give some indication of the form post-productivism has undertaken in Latin America. The following was found in this investigation. Firstly, low population density characterises the countryside due to rural/urban migration.

Traditional thatched houses have been abandoned for modern town houses. Secondly, the social composition of the towns in the Batallas has become more varied than before. For example, as the move towards other forms of income emerged other than agriculture, the social composition is made up of individuals involved in service delivery. Typically, ownership of land is not anymore considered as a determining factor in social status (this has been mirrored in the North). Thirdly, mobile lifestyle has come to predominate economic activity, people work over larger geographic areas spreading to the entire Northern Bolivia in a wider variety of jobs, especially through share cropping, buying and selling, as well as service delivery. Fourthly, the range of goods and services has increased significantly. Moreover, the betterment of education has been widespread in the Batallas region. As a result, Preston (1992) argues that the quality of life has increased significantly.

From the available research on rural environments in Latin America, it seems that the influence of the urban environment has become key in the post-productivist period. For example, Zoomers and Kleinpenning (1996) argue that in the case of Paraguay, Asunción has a fundamental role in the livelihood strategies of groups of people in the countryside. Zoomers and Kleinpenning (1996) however argue that it is not agricultural intensification or the spread of innovations that are key, but it is rather the case that Asunción acts as a safety net for many individuals to find additional incomes outside of agriculture, the reality being that in Paraguay agriculture cannot provide security of income for many cohorts involved in agriculture, most particularly, small farmers.

Thirdly, Crush and Jeeves (1993) note that in the case of Africa, the countryside is plagued by post-colonial failed rural development projects. The World Bank has labelled African agriculture as backward and unproductive (Bryceson, 2002). Wilson

and Rigg (2003:697) noted that in the case of Africa, the undermining of productivism has come about by the dismantling of state-controlled structures of support and subsidy. According to Bryceson (2002) the process of colonisation annexed large tracts of land in Africa, but also in the developing world as a whole. She believes that the economies connected to the colonial occupation fundamentally reordered land and labour usages, shaping the agricultural peasantry, settler farms and plantations and mining sectors, from which the continent is typically associated with economically. Wilson and Rigg (2003), in addition, propose depeasantisation has fuelled changes in the African countryside. This process is underpinned by changes in farming activities from typically super-productivist ideals on some farms, while others have been subject to increased urbanisation. The focus of this section of the chapter now shifts from Africa to South Africa.

### *1.7.2. Productivism in South Africa*

Segregationist and later apartheid rule played a key role in the establishment of a productivist countryside in South Africa. Until the 1860s, South Africa was a rural society with a very limited commercial agricultural sector. However, rural/urban migration and urbanisation in South Africa rapidly increased after the discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886). This process changed the make up of a predominantly rural society. Thereafter, the South African War (1899–1902) laid many rural areas bare because of the scorched earth policy of the invading British forces (Giliomee, 2003a). Moreover, the taxation on chiefdoms by the British Colonial Administration forced many indigenous communities to migrate to urban

areas for waged labour (Callinicos, 1987). According to Bernstein (1998:2), the land question was addressed by dispossession, which developed from colonial expansion, but also through Union initiatives such as the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. The depression of the 1930s, coupled with the worst drought of the previous century eliminated 90% of South Africa's cattle, which resulted in extensive urbanisation by both blacks and white Afrikaners. It can be argued that political control taken by the National Party in 1948 set the scene for South Africa's productivist development (Giliomee, 2003b). The National Party's traditional support base was from the agricultural sector, but especially from the farmers themselves. Thus, the political context and the National Party's economic strategies were established to create a strong base for productivist ideologies to develop. As a result, labour questions and especially competition for job opportunities were addressed by coercive labour regimes (Callinicos, 1987).

Nel (2005) argues that the development of productivist South Africa took on many of the guises typical of those found in North America and Australasia. However, its development was impacted by the fact that the majority of the country's surface (87%) was demarcated for white ownership and only 13% for black use. In what would become known as homelands, towns and villages developed, surrounded by communally tenured or government-owned land. These villages and towns were in many cases resettlement camps which were, and still are, overcrowded, poorly serviced and economically fragile (Nel, 2005:255). In white demarcated areas, processes such as capital accumulation and mechanisation were common but also went along with the segregationist government prior to the implementation of apartheid processes such as labour displacement, forced removals and resettlement. For example, the 1960s were characterised by grand shifts in labour

markets and consequent changes in patterns of labour deployment (Crush and Jeeves, 1993). On the part of the black homeland areas, the apartheid system precluded the development of a truly productivist agricultural economy, although decentralised industrialisation in the homelands was a major initiative by the apartheid government.

Market questions were addressed by different institutional support systems such as subsidisation to farmers. The provision of infrastructure was also a key initiative of the apartheid government and went along with guaranteed sales and prices as well as government research and development support (Bernstein, 1998:2). Mather and Adelzedah (1997) argue that the aggressive support of agriculture meant that white farmers had a commercial agricultural sector dominated by capital intensives farms. High levels of state support also resulted in very large and inefficient farms. The apartheid regime's goal of self-sufficiency in terms of food production was achieved, but it came at great social, environmental and financial cost (Mather and Adelzedah, 1997). From the mid-1980s, agriculture in South Africa became export orientated (Mather and Adelzedah, 1997). Moreover, during the 1980s, subsidy support was systematically removed. The demise of productivism coincided with the demise of apartheid. Political turmoil, sanctions and boycotts made for highly unstable markets which would lead to a transition from productivism to post-productivism in South Africa.

### 1.7.3. Post-productivism in South Africa

It is the contention of this thesis that post-productivism emerged during the demise and eventual collapse of apartheid. In post-apartheid South Africa, the aggressive support of agriculture by the former government has been systematically dismantled (Atkinson, 2007). As mentioned before, formal deregulation since 1996 has exposed the agricultural sector and rural/urban areas in the countryside to much purer neo-liberal markets (Mather and Greenberg, 2003). As a result, Atkinson (2007) notes that agriculture in South Africa now receives among the lowest subsidy support in the world. This has devastated South African agriculture, for example, the influence of international 'shocks' as Atkinson (2007:65) contends, in terms of trade has been rife, in addition to worsening debt problems. Agriculture's contribution to the national economy has dropped very substantially from 1950 to the end of the 1990s (Mather and Adelzadeh, 1997). In 2010, South Africa became a net importer of its food supply.

Decline because of greater competition between farmers, shortages in terms of capital to mechanise has pushed many farmers off the land, and farmer numbers have decreased from 78 000 in 1992 to 45 000 in 2007 (Atkinson, 2007). The number of people working in agriculture has experienced similar decline (Mather and Adelzadeh, 1997). Mather and Adelzadeh (1997) demonstrated that this is even more drastic when it is compared to the entire working force. For example, in 1951 over 33% of wage labourers in South Africa worked on white-owned farms, while during the 2000s less than 8% of wage labourers work in agriculture (Todes *et al.*, 2010). This is partially because of agricultural decline: a movement away from wage labour in agriculture has been succeeded by wage labour in urban areas and

unemployment in rural areas. Nonetheless, South Africa still maintains a very large rural population<sup>7</sup> (Shackleton, Shackleton and Cousins, 2001).

Post-productivist South Africa is also framed by additional processes concerning inclusiveness of previously disadvantaged individuals through *restitution*, *land tenure reform* and *redistribution* spearheaded by the Department of Land Affairs (Bernstein, 1998; Borrás, 2003). In the local context *restitution* is concerned with the compensation of peoples who were subject to forced removals after the implementation of the Land Act in 1913 (Deininger, 1999). This compensation has either been cash paybacks or the buying out of farmers by government to supply land to the original inhabitants.

*Land tenure reform*, has aimed at improving tenure security to both individuals and communities (Deininger, 1999, 26) through processes of tenure approval, adjudicating disputes, reforming tenancy laws and improving land allocation and holding, specifically for women. However, as Atkinson (2007) has observed, many farmers were wary of the *Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997*. Indeed, one of the outcomes of this piece of legislation has been that farmers have moved their farm labourers to nearby towns and villages to preclude potential land claims in future. The *Agricultural Labour Act* has also impacted upon the development of the post-productivist countryside. This act improved the conditions of labourers by securing minimum wages. Owing to the subsidy regimes of the apartheid regime, the labour force was inflated and in the absence of government aid has subsequently led to a significant trimming of the agricultural labour force (see also Todes, *et al.*, 2010). *Redistribution* – a process whereby the government attempted

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<sup>7</sup> Numbers of people working in agriculture has also declined dramatically from over 1.5 million in 1970 to about 700 000 by 2010 (Greenberg, 2010).

to provide land for residential and productive purposes to cohorts who were dispossessed during apartheid who want to practice agriculture – has also contributed towards the expansion of the post-productivist countryside (Deininger, 1999:27). In this case there is a reluctance to invest in farmland or existing farmers are merely selling their farms. In addition, the overwhelming majority of beneficiaries of redistributed land have failed to successfully farm them commercially, leading to the development of alternative, non-productivist activities (see Adato, Carter and May, 2006:227). Taken together, the macro-economic changes and policy-driven initiatives implemented by the government have had major impacts on the development of post-productivism in South Africa since the demise of apartheid.

As mentioned in the preamble, the macro-economic changes and policy driven initiatives implemented by the government seem to have had major impacts on the development of post-productivism in South Africa since the systematic demise of Apartheid. The policies and changes have found spatial expressions especially in the small towns of rural South Africa (see Box 1.1 for categorisations of South African small towns).

Drawing from Box 1.1, Nel (2005:261) argues that the changes in local and international markets, environmental constraints, farmers' connections to larger and often distant centres and the systematic decline of stock farming because of theft have had negative effects on the agricultural service centres in South Africa. However, it is important to mention that some centres have survived this decline, most especially small towns that have incorporated tourism and second home development (Nel, 2005:261).

### **Box 1.1: Nel's categorisation of small towns in South Africa in a post-productivist countryside**

Nel (2005:256) argues that the most important developments in small town South Africa and their hinterlands, and resultantly, the post-productivist countryside are:

- The disintegration of many mining centres, examples include coal mining towns in KwaZulu-Natal
- The dissolution of rail/transport towns, such as Noupoort in the Northern Cape Province
- The widespread decline of the agricultural sector. A multitude of areas have shifted to new rural activities, changing their economic activities from primary agricultural activities to other means of economic survival such as game farming. This has significantly reduced the reliance on small local centres as points of sale and service supply
- A subsidiary contributor to agricultural decline has been advances in transport technology and changes in retail patterns which have facilitated access to more distant and remote regional centres. This contributed to the displacement of small agricultural service centres
- Some positive trends may however be discerned, these include the growth of tourist towns, especially in areas of natural beauty. In parallel with the development of tourism towns has been the emergence of retirement and commuting centres, and to an extent telecommuting centres. In some cases, the development of tourism and retirement has taken place simultaneously in the same centres. Examples include Greyton and Underberg.
- In addition, positive trends (or negative depending on one's perspective) have been the growth of the larger centres. On the one hand the development of a diversified economy has contributed to this growth. However, on the other hand the amalgamation of service fields has often displaced and absorbed the functions of smaller towns and especially their hinterland. According to Nel (2005) it has been centres with more than 70,000 people which have experienced this growth, such as Queenstown in the Eastern Cape Province, or Bethlehem in the Free State Province.
- In smaller weaker centres, especially in former homeland areas, there is now an artificial economic dependence on state welfare. The loss of many formal sector job opportunities, burgeoning poverty and the out-migration of the skilled has all contributed to this dependence.
- The amalgamation of smaller centres under single authorities and the subsequent loss of local government status has weakened towns and many cases new local authorities are often incapacitated by financial constraints and untrained personnel.

## **1.8. Conclusion**

This review has explored rural change through the lens of post-productivism. It is evident that rural areas, despite some historical evidence of multifunctionality, have in broad terms moved from a state where food production was paramount to other

economic means and opportunities. This has led Jack (2007) to argue that global countrysides have moved away from productivism and will for the foreseeable future focus on post-productivism and its varied interpretations. Burton and Wilson (2006) make the valuable point that most debates and analyses on the concepts of productivism, post-productivism and multifunctionality have to date been macro-level structural analyses of which a political economic perspective has been the most dominant element in this review. Indeed, Cloke and Goodwin (1992) come to the conclusion that in a changing rural environment, despite the technological, economic and societal trends which have contributed to the time-space compression not only on a global scale but also in remote rural areas, there have resulted changes in function in the countryside which are by no means uniform or in any way easily predictable.

This review has looked at a particular set of debates. First, evidence was given of the historical developments of multifunctionality in the countrysides, especially of northern Europe. Secondly, the processes of productivism in post-World War Two Europe were reviewed in a variety of localities such as the UK, France, United States of America, Norway and Spain. Thirdly, the inevitable transition from productivism to post-productivism was looked at as one of the main focal points of this chapter. More specifically, a variety of very influential categorisations of post-productivism were explored such as that of Marsden (1995); Ilbery and Bowler (1998); Wilson (2001); and Halfacree (2007). It became very clear that no single set of categorisations can come close to developing a truly holistic theoretical conceptualisation of the post-productivist countryside, yet a mix of the different indicators can give a fairly good understanding of the contemporary countryside. The main idea is that post-productivism is not only a process of transition from one

state to another, but a set conceptualisation of rural change. Fourthly, it is evident in the literature that different processes of migration strongly influence different post-productivist countrysides globally, more so than formerly productivist countrysides. Thus a review was necessary, looking at different processes of counterurbanisation, exurbanisation and different forms of in- and out-migration. Fifth, post-productivism as a contested concept was explored, given a variety of issues arising from it such as better and more apt suggested terminologies, calls for empirical evidence to substantiate the transition, as well as the theoretical value of the concept. Nevertheless, it is argued that post-productivism should remain as a conceptualisation despite the highly contested and rigorous nature of the debate.

Lastly, much more focus is needed in the developing world to develop a truly representative picture of a diversified countryside globally. The limited attention given to the countryside in the developing world is of serious concern and has made for a very weak conceptualisation of post-productivism in the developing world context. If Roche's (2002) claim that the rethinking of post-productivism will be one of the key themes preoccupying rural scholars at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century it should undoubtedly not leave out the developing world. In addition, post-productivism has been the only conceptualisation that has attempted to investigate the broader issues of rural change, but it will remain at best rudimentary if it leaves out the vast and rapidly changing countrysides of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Holmes, 2006:142). Post-productivism emerged as a structuralist notion, but is applied in very neo-liberal terms in the developing world it seems.

Moreover, very little research has been done focussing specifically on the effects of productivist to post-productivist transition on urban settlements, more expressly: how urban settlements have undergone changes because of agricultural change

specifically and rural change at large. Post-productivism as a focus of investigation has remained untouched in South Africa. In particular, the classification of the (re)development of the tourist small towns in the hinterland has been key. This influences not only the state of the post-productivist countryside, but also how urban places in these areas have changed as a result.

# CHAPTER 2

## SECOND HOMES IN A POST-PRODUCTIVIST COUNTRYSIDE: A REVIEW

### 2.1. Introduction

Second homes are by no means a new phenomenon (Müller, 1999:31). Although widespread interest in second homes is comparatively recent, it has a long history (Coppock, 1977a:4). Second homes were, for example, a prominent feature of ancient Egypt and subsequently of classical Rome, where the wealthy owned many villas that served a recreational purpose (Coppock, 1977a). Moreover, large country houses of the rich were owned in post-medieval periods, in particular, at close distance to cities such as London and Paris. By the nineteenth century, the aristocratic classes in Europe owned many country houses or châteaux, which were usually associated with a rural estate. Interestingly, many of these villas were situated on the coast (Coppock, 1977; Müller, 1999). In addition, during the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous examples can be mentioned of luxurious mansions owned by American millionaires along the Atlantic coast of North America (Coppock, 1977a). Nevertheless, while the above sketches a picture of the elite and wealthy, at present, the great majority of second homes are much more modest in concept and have a much humbler origin (Coppock, 1977a). That being the case, the intention of this chapter is to outline the emergence of second home research and current research themes explored internationally.

Second homes fall into a variety of research fields (Williams & Hall, 2000). Active research in this field began in the 1950s and 1960s, and laid the foundation for

subsequent research into the geography of second home development (see for example, Wolfe, 1951; 1952; 1964; Ragatz, 1969). The most seminal, and in many ways definitive work from the 1970s on second homes is Terry Coppock's (1977) edited collection, *Second homes: curse or blessing?* This edited collection explored second home development in a variety of locations such as Canada (see Wolfe, 1977), Scandinavia (see Bielckus, 1977), France (see Clout, 1977), the former Czechoslovakia (see Gardavský, 1977), the Caribbean (see Henshall, 1977), England and Wales (see Rogers, 1977) as well as Australia (see Robertson, 1977). Different themes were explored in these different geographic locations such as second homes as self-catering accommodation, planning aspects of second home development, as well as spatial modelling and predictive modelling. This was and still remains the foundational text for studies conducted on second home development (Hall, 2004).

Since the 1970s there has been a pause in research with only a few publications emerging<sup>8</sup> (see for example Hoggart & Buller, 1995; Shucksmith, 1983; Girard and Gartner, 1993). Only since the late-1990s has active research resurfaced with works by especially Müller (1999), Chaplin (1999), Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000), Hall and Müller (2004), with Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005) taking the lead. As mentioned previously, recent research has tended to divide into two main approaches. The first approach focuses on the tourism nexus and especially the potentially desirable aspects of second homes development, such as economic advantages and the rejuvenating of the post-productivist countryside (see Müller, 1999; 2007). The second approach has been led by a group of regional planners,

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<sup>8</sup> The reason for this hiatus remains unclear. However, some argue that the impact of recession and oil crisis in some countries during the 1970s and 1980s lead to dramatic decrease in second home development and consequently research globally.

focusing mostly on the undesirable outcomes associated with second home development, such as displacement, escalating property prices and housing shortages (see Gallent, 1997; 2007). It has to be noted, that although the revival in second home research has contributed significantly to our knowledge of second homes, it is still, at best, limited. Only a few themes have been explored with some depth. This chapter attempts to delineate these themes and hint at new avenues of exploration.

The first section of this chapter explores the definitional conundrums associated with second homes and concludes with Marsden's (1977) four part categorisation. This categorisation seems to be the most all-encompassing of definitions, and the best suited for the purposes of this study. The second component provides a review of the research completed on second homes from a regional planning perspective. This section relies heavily on the work of Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, as they are the key researchers involved in this field. Moreover, in this section, issues such as planning control, policy and housing markets are augmented that play a particularly important role in the case of the United Kingdom (UK), but not necessarily in the rest of Europe, or for that matter globally. The third section of investigation relates to the position of second homes within the processes of migration, mobility and circulation of second home owners as a process of consumption-led tourism. However, it has to be noted, that information available in this section is scant, and as Müller (2007) has noted, knowledge in this field remains rudimentary at best. Nevertheless, this section attempts to provide an account of the research that has been completed to date. The fourth section examines the social repercussions of second homes. It commences with explaining the need of urbanites, to access the post-productivist countryside through the medium of a

second home, as well as how this could come into conflict with traditional rural social and cultural practices.

Some light is also shed on viewpoints such as housing equity and changes impacting on post-productivist countrysides in which second homes are found. Issues are explored such as, putting additional pressure on infrastructure, rural gentrification and normative views on whether a second home can be considered to be either a positive or a negative occurrence in post-productivist countrysides. This section concludes with arguments that propose that the countryside has changed to a point where second homes fit into its broader structure. In the fifth section, the environmental impacts of second homes and second home developments are investigated. The sixth section considers the economic impacts of second homes. In general, it is concluded that the economic impacts of second homes and second home living are positive. This account highlights developments such as job creation, maintenance work, support of entrepreneurial start-ups and tourism development. Unfortunately, the economic impacts of second homes are not always positive. Examples exist, where second homes have accelerated the processes of rural out-migration, farm consolidation and the eroding of original social environments.

## **2.2. On defining second homes**

Marjavaara (2008:7) notes that there are a variety of names to describe a second home such as *vacation home, holiday home, summer home, recreational home, cabins, lodges, cottages, huts, flats, baches, apartments, chalets, villas, sports cabins, farmhouses*, not even to mention the non-English language terminologies like the Swedish *Fritidshus* or German *Wochendhaus* (Coppock, 1977a).

Despite the myriad of names used to describe a second home, however, it has been the case since the emergence of second homes as a topic of investigation, that there has been sustained ambiguity regarding a proper definition (Visser, 2006; McIntyre, Williams and McHugh, 2006). Indeed, the necessity for a definition of second homes is matched by the need for systematic information on the subject (Dower, 1977). Therefore, Müller (2004) makes the valid point that most researchers employ a pragmatic approach where data access determines the definition of second homes. Clout's (1977) *pied-à-terre* second home, with its inverted purpose, also comes into play to add to the definitional conundrum. A *pied-à-terre* second home is a home that is used for work purposes during the week and the first home is used over weekends for often recreational purposes. Moreover, while Müller (2004) suggests that urban second homes exist (see Visser, 2004), they have generated little attention and the research focus has been on rural second homes, more specifically, privately owned rural second homes. A possible reason why researchers focus on rural second homes is that they are easier to identify than urban second homes, which in most cases relieves the definitional conundrum apparent. The definitional conundrum is further complicated by the fact that second homes are an interdisciplinary field of study, receiving attention from tourism, planning, rural geography, population geography, and tourism scholars (Müller, 2004). Many commentators refer to second homes as 'residential tourism', 'semi-migration', 'summer migration', and some even refer to 'seasonal suburbanisation' (Müller, 2004). Essentially, Coppock (1977a) suggested the term *second home* is a generic concept and covers a very wide range of categories, the limits of which will depend on the definition adopted. Yet, at a very basic level it is important to note that a *second home* is a place to return to from weekend to weekend, holiday to holiday and season to season (Marjavaara, 2008).

Official definitions such as the United Nations and the World Tourism Organisation (1994), the United Nations Statistical Commission (2000) and EUROSTAT (2002) definitions (residing in a self-owned second property or in a second property owned by one's own family) are in widespread use, but for the purposes of this investigation, Marsden's (1977 cited in Visser, 2003:381) four part categorisation of second homes seems thus far to be the most all-encompassing of categorisations within the general field of second homes studies. In this categorisation, second homes are defined as immobile and un-serviced supplementary accommodation which:

1. Comprises a private home often visited at the weekend and on holidays by the family and non-paying guests;
2. Intermittently served as commercial holiday homes, which were used as private holiday homes but were let at high season to defray costs;
3. Intermittently comprises private holiday homes, often purchased for retirement, but meanwhile let out as commercial holiday homes, apart from occasional family use; and
4. Serve as commercial holiday homes, owned as an investment and usually let and managed by an agent.

The following section considers second home development, especially in the United Kingdom, from a regional planning perspective.

### **2.3. Second homes and their place in the planning literature**

Second homes from the perspective of the planning fields have received attention since the 1980s, especially by Shucksmith in the United Kingdom (UK) (see 1981; 1983; 1985; 1990). Shucksmith's work focused mainly on issues such as policy frameworks

and rural housing markets. After a short hiatus in research, the attention resumed through work from especially Gallent (1997; 2007), Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2003; 2005) and Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000; 2001). The work of these researchers (mainly) focused on issues similar to those of Shucksmith, such as planning control, policy and housing markets.

Furthermore, Gallent (*et al.*, 2005:135–137) often compare the impact of second homes within the UK and mainland Europe. For example, they suggest that second homes in the UK often occupy 'vacation space', in contrast to mainland Europe where second homes tend to occupy 'weekend leisure spaces.' This contrast is one of the main reasons why these researchers view second homes in the UK context as problematic. To elucidate: in the case of Sweden, second homes are relatively common, and the owners are actively engaged with their homes, as well as with the local community. The fact that most Swedish second homes are within reasonable commuting distances from the primary residence makes this a viable option. It is in essence a part of everyday life and issues such as investment in personal pensions, and increases in personal wealth do not come into play as much as in the UK. The supposed elite nature of second homes that Gallent (*et al.*, 2005) in the UK speaks of pressurises rural housing supply and affordability, amplified by social tensions and divisions in the post-productivist countryside (Gallent *et al.*, 2005).

As a result, the main theoretical claim that these researchers make is that second homes should be seen as part of the problems that exist in the post-productivist countryside. For example, Gallent *et al.* (2005) view these problems from two perspectives, namely, supply and demand of available housing stock. First, the main issues of supply are the purchasing of housing stock by retiring households and the purchasing of housing stock by urbanites for commuting purposes. However, low

wage economies in many post-productivist countrysides, add more to the problems facing rural areas than, more specifically, second home developments. Second, issues on demand, are general planning constraints on land release, particularly middle class resistance to new housing development in the countryside (see Gallent *et al.*, 2003), inefficiencies in the planning process, the low quality of some rural housing stock. A prioritisation of environmental goals over social concerns in important landscapes is also rife.

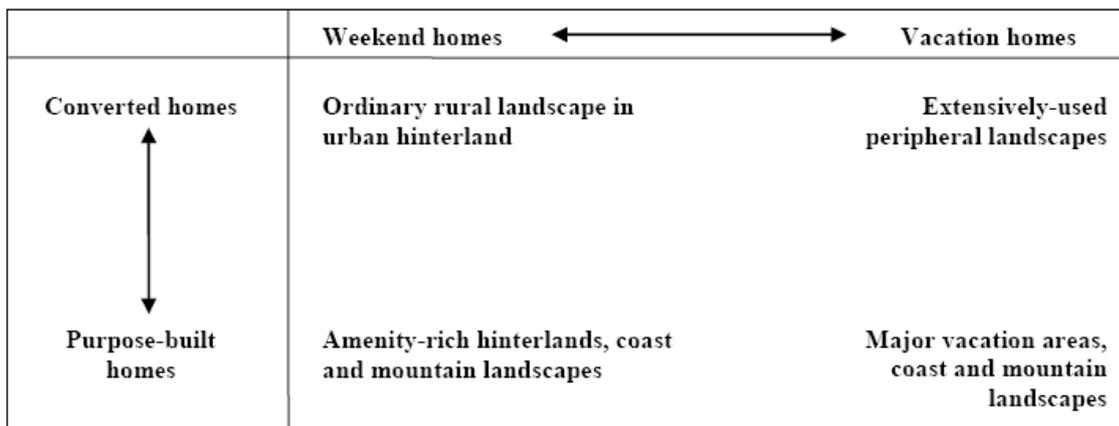
Gallent *et al.* (2005) nevertheless suggest that local politicians frequently face very real problems: a declining farming sector, low wages, failing services, unaffordable housing, homelessness, in-migration and out-migration, the gentrification of a select number of towns, and unrest amongst local voters. But, arguably, there is pressure from local communities to focus on second homes as it is often seen as an external pressure not needed in the post-productivist countryside. The blaming of local housing difficulties on people who cannot vote locally are widespread in especially Wales: so often, Gallent *et al.* (2005) argue, that much of what goes wrong in rural areas is often attributed to the influence of outside interests that remain outside and have no local political voice.

Gallent *et al.* (2005:211) contend that in the process of eliminating these constraints, second homes viewed from a planning perspective should be positioned in the correct way in which second homes are seen as one of many processes influencing the countryside. Gallent *et al.* (2003) argues that it is not coincidental that second home buyers are in many cases drawn to the same towns as retiring households, people commuting for work to nearby towns and cities, or those moving to the post-productivist countryside to change lifestyle. Therefore, the key considerations that need to be taken into account are *location, accessibility* and *cost* (Gallent *et al.*,

2005:213). In terms of *location*, they argue that certain areas attract second home buyers more so than others and that environmental concerns often override social concerns and the negative effect of this being that land release for housing is more tightly controlled and opportunities to deliver additional homes for the local need is reduced. Concerning *accessibility*, they suggest that an area that is easy to access will encourage additional housing pressure, especially in terms of availability for local communities that have to increasingly compete for available housing stock with newly arriving second home owners, such as commuters that use these areas for both weekend and social visits, daily and part-time commuters. According to them, *cost* is a key factor in attracting second home buyers to an area. Investing in property using surplus capital will be their main reason behind acquiring a second home, especially in the trade off between location and price. Therefore, they argue that because of this, second homes can come to symbolise the difficulties faced by some rural areas. In essence, if these three pressures are taken into account in the planning process, a lot of calamities owing to second homes could be eliminated or at least reduced.

#### **2.4. Second homes: mobility, migration and circulation**

The objective of this section is to explore the different types of mobilities, migration and general circulation of second home owners and the different cohorts that access second homes.



**Figure 2.1: Second homes types and their areas of occurrence. Copied from Marjavaara (2008)**

First, when looking at Marjavaara's chart (see Figure 2.1) it is apparent that different types of second homes in different areas necessitate different types of mobility and processes of migration and circulation. For example, weekend second homes are often situated in urban hinterlands and are often primary homes converted for this purpose. Further down the continuum, vacation or holiday homes are in many cases situated in peripheral landscapes and can be purpose-built, although not exclusively so. As a result, second homes are used variously for day excursions, weekend and short break holidays, longer holidays and seasonal migration (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004). This circulation between permanent home and second home is, according to Müller (1999:38), not a production but a consumption-based phenomenon. Migration to rural areas or the rural hinterland of urban areas is typically associated with a desire of migrants to satisfy lifestyle choices often related to recreation and leisure amenity values, including amenity landscapes (see Marjavaara and Müller, 2007). Despite obvious examples such as technological advancements and cheap air travel, the increased mobility of second home users through car ownership, the increasing popularity of outdoor activities, higher disposable incomes and more leisure time have been fundamental in creating this compression. This has been aided by developed world employment hours (a 5-day

week and 25–30 vacation days per annum) (Müller, 1999; Williams and Hall, 2002; Coppock, 1977). Therefore, because of the latter, tourism is a distinct occurrence, to certain areas, over a long period of time, which can be both the cause and effect of growth in second homes (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004).

Müller (2004), however, suggests that since the late 1990s, second home growth has been attributed to different phenomena not normally recorded under research on mobility and tourism, such as growing seasonal mobility among retired households (Williams and Hall, 2002; Rodriguez, 2001; Truly, 2002; Williams, King and Warnes, 2004), increasing internationalisation of second home tourism on foreign property ownership in some locations (see Hoggart and Buller, 1995; Chaplin, 1999; Müller, 1999), societal changes, reshaping identities because of migration, retirement migration, increasing individual mobility and welfare, and new environmental interests (see Hall, 2005; Müller, 1999). Therefore, Williams *et al.* (2004) suggest that these changes in tourist migration flows have particular relevance in understanding flows to second homes. Adapted from Williams and Hall (2002:19), the following should be kept in mind:

- Changes in mobility related to fragmentation of work and leisure time creates more opportunities for visits to second homes. The continuing cost and time constraints on international travel reinforce the importance of scapes in determining the locations of such second homes.
- A shift from migration to circulation. Increasing numbers of people have peripatetic lifestyles, whereby they circulate between different places for consumption and/or production reasons. For example, they include both

skilled labour migrants engaging in long distance commuting and second or third home owners driven by lifestyle and consumption goals.

- The relative growth of consumption-related, rather than production-related, migration. This is expressed both in labour and retirement migrations, as migrants seek out valued environments of temporary or permanent residence.

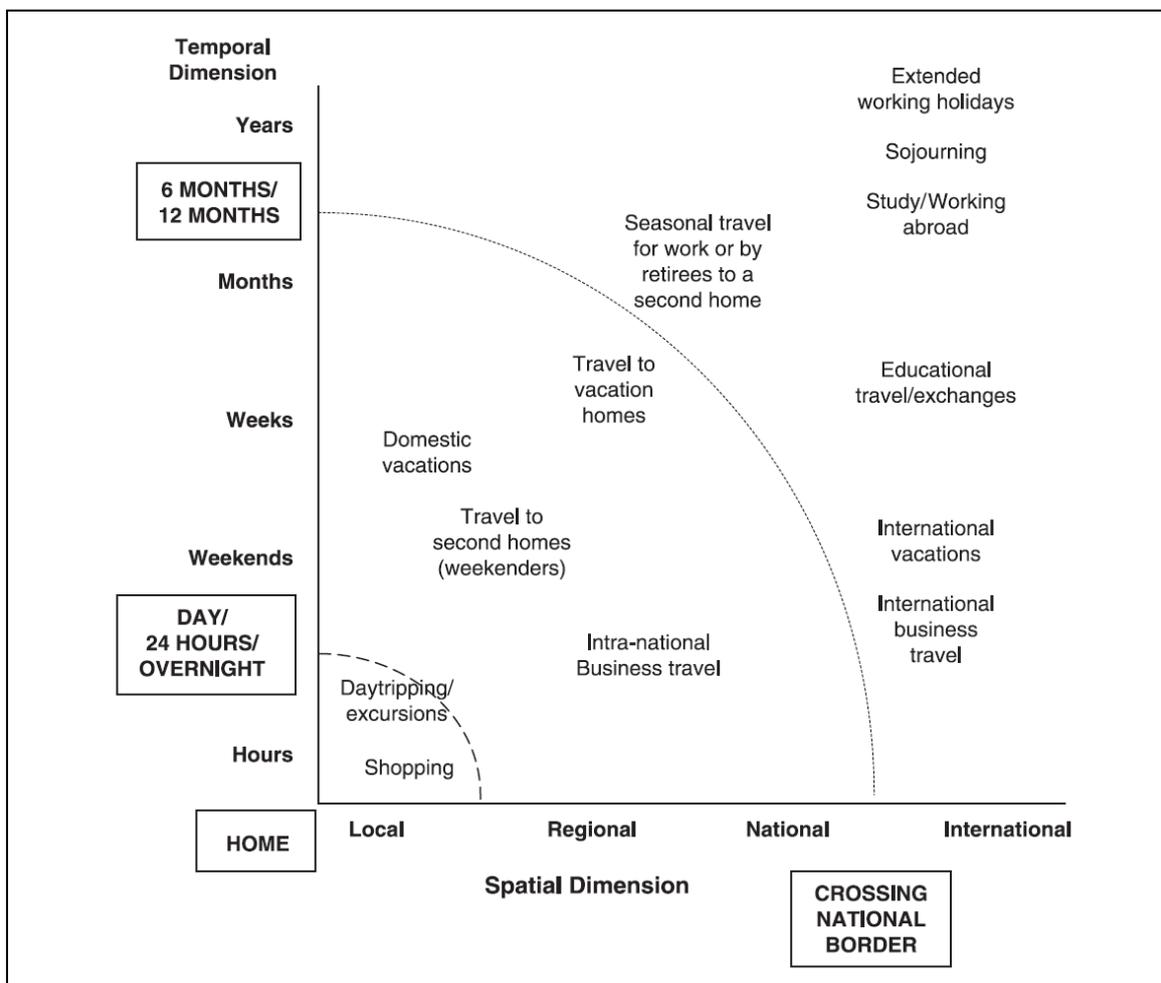


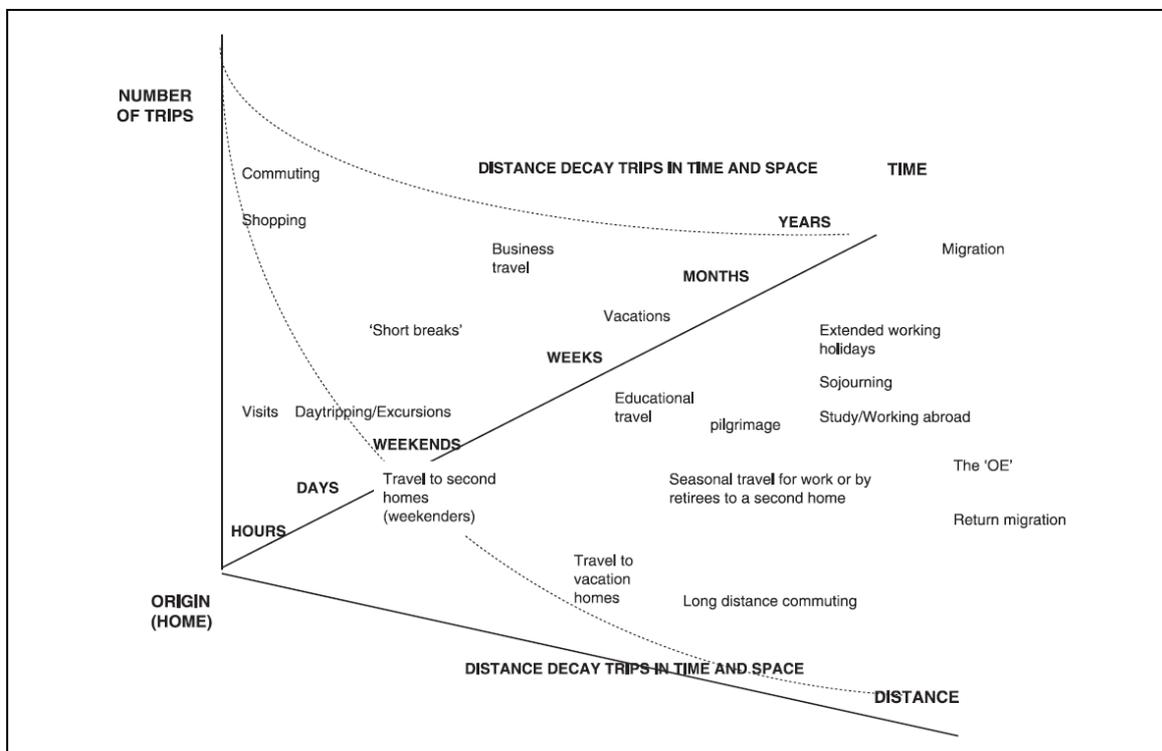
Figure 2.2: Temporary mobility in space and time (Copied from Hall, 2005:130)

Indeed, these changes in mobility have implications for a variety of activities such as accessibility, extensibility, distance and proximity. Figure 2.2, taken from Hall (2005:130), situates temporal mobility in space and time. However, for the purposes of this study, it works well to situate second homes within the greater framework of mobility, migration, seasonality and its spatial dimension within a temporal dimension to develop an understanding of intermediary purposes of second home development.

As seen from Figure 2.2., travel to second homes can be situated from a local to regional, and regional to national, spatial dimension. Furthermore, the temporal dimension in which second homes are travelled to and occupied can range from weekends to seasonal. In addition, the relation of second homes to mobility and migration has far-reaching effects from micro to macro scales, both within the temporal and spatial dimensions. Nonetheless, second homes are an intermediary type of mobility between local and international scales and between day tripping excursions and extended seasonal travel. Williams, King and Warnes (2004) make the valid point that patterns of second home use may be consistent over years, or owners may shift between different forms of temporality over short periods.

Figure 2.3, relates mobility time and space over the extent of one's life span (Hall, 2005:132). This figure also helps situate second homes within the temporal scale of a life span from a central point (mostly a home). In addition, it also demonstrates the number of trips that can be taken to second homes, as well as the distance over time and space. Again, it seems that second homes fit in as an intermediary between the distances travelled, the number of trips taken and the distance decay that takes place over time and space. Although Müller (2002a) deduces from his research in Sweden that second home owners choose a seasonal circulation, this

seasonal circulation separates the second home owners' social situation and integration from other migrants to the countryside. This results in second home owners having limited contact with rural communities, only to a few occasions per year. Other in-migrants' contact with rural communities may be more involved with the rural inhabitants than second home owners in order to maintain, for example, the rural service supply (Müller, 2002a).



**Figure 2.3: Extent of mobility in time and space (Copied from Hall, 2005:132)**

In closing, Müller (2007:199) feels that these new mobilities influenced by changes, such as second home taxation, commodification of the post-productivist countryside and commercial activities connected to second home living, will pose further questions with respect to how we view mobility. Especially as local place,

evident from research, is transformed by distant influences (Williams and McIntyre, 2001). In future research, Müller (2007) proposes that it can be expected that second home ownership is part of a comprehensive life course strategy where second homes are purchased to secure a spatial centre in life or a place to retire. However, at best, knowledge regarding the above mentioned remains rudimentary.

## **2.5. Social repercussions of second homes in rural areas**

The aim of this section is to unpack the social implications of second home development. This section sets off by charting two themes. First, the personal/familial/cultural need for a second home by the parties occupying them is discussed which creates social repercussions. Thereafter, this section explores the (fragile) communities these cohorts impact on. In closing, this section argues that certain claims between the dichotomous cohorts impacting on the post-productivist countryside are unduly contentious and that a different view of the countryside can be adopted.

Wolfe (1977) proposes that man has an atavistic need to return to nature. Therefore, second homes have emerged as an effective medium to satisfy this need. According to Chaplin (1999), second home owners escape to achieve a balance in their particular lifestyles. Second homes could also represent emotional and nostalgic connections with places of childhood, family or ancestry (Hall and Müller, 2004). In many cases, the attachment to the second home is sometimes greater than the attachment to first or urban homes (Müller, 1999). Second homes provide a 'middle landscape', a space for those social practices and pastimes that some might value highly, yet, are too often absent from modern life experienced in cities

(Svenson, 2004:73). For many people, the lifestyle at the second home also means a richer social life with more contacts with neighbours than in the urban areas (Aronsson, 2004).

Although, Coppock (1977b) feels that the development of second homes is a result of the failure of planners to create a quality of life in urban areas. Rural house prices that are relatively low, rises in urban income and mobility, combined with a '*cult of nostalgia*' for the countryside and the desire to escape the pressures of urban life have created part of this demand for a second home in rural areas (Heins, 2000). The decision-making process when buying a second home is often tied to the physical location rather than the community of the town or village (Girard and Gartner, 1993). This seems like a harmless and honest ideal, however, the existence of second homes and the patterns of usage have social and economic repercussions (Henshall, 1977). Second homes have consequences in the areas in which they are located. For instance, it involves interaction between second home owners themselves and the local population (Coppock, 1977b). In many instances, the influx of well-off households challenges the frequently fragile socioeconomic balance in the post-productivist countryside (Müller, 2002a). As Müller (2002b) argues, many second home owners have idealistic representations in mind when purchasing a second home. The resultant 'museum-strategy' aiming at preserving the countryside in an 'imagined' state, can entail conflicts with the local population and may counteract much-needed local development (Müller, 1999).

Indeed, second homes can create significant short-term and long-term economic, social and political relationships between their owners and the communities in which they are located (Müller and Hall, 2004). Second home development can also be perceived as a form of rural gentrification (Müller, Hall and Keen, 2004). Second

homes, perhaps more than most forms of tourism migration settlement, tend to be the focus of contested space issues (Williams and Hall, 2000). As well as the social effects of second home ownership tend to focus on the relative replacement or displacement of existing households. These issues are complex in both causation and the ability to measure the effects.

Second home landscapes can be seen as a 'landscape of power', an 'elite landscape' or an 'exclusive commodity' (Halseth, 2004:39; Müller and Hall, 2004; Müller, 2007). These landscapes of power are according to Halseth (2004:41), however, part of 'a longstanding process whereby the affluent members of society create social and spatial exclusivity.' Moreover, Halseth (2004:36) feels that the debates of second homes in the 'rural-recreational countryside' also speaks to a more general, and longstanding, discussion about rural change and the participation of new groups that fit into the post-productivist countryside. In addition, the commodification of the countryside may lead to the destruction of the 'rural idyll' in which so many second home owners want to take part (Halseth, 2004; Donaldson, 2007). Second homes' 'creative destruction', amenity-driven development may ultimately turn from providing significant economic benefits for the community to a complete replacement of the very community upon which it was created (Halseth, 2004). In essence, while second home landscapes are indeed set within the countryside, to be 'at the cottage' is to construct a geographic landscape and imagination and separation from that of the productivist countryside (Halseth, 2004:40).

For some, the process of buying a second home may be viewed as a process which disrupts the 'process-product' link between dwelling and community, and can act as a brake on the community building process (Gallent, 2007:97). Often the conflict

between the two cohorts (second homers and permanent residents) is due to the difference in socio-economic position. Furthermore, in some cases, the predominance of second homes in an area has resulted in increases in burglaries and crime-related occurrences (Henshall, 1977; Müller, 1999), where, for example, the lowest income groups are unable to compete in the housing market – ‘because of insufficient housing supply or other pressures’ – there is an unavoidable impact on local communities and their ‘cultural’ configuration (Gallent, Mace, Tewdwr-Jones, 2003:281).

‘Second homes generally enter what is already a conflicted landscape in many ways’ (Atkinson, Picken and Tranter, 2007:10). For example, for each property that is sold to a second home owner, there is a permanent household that potentially has chosen not to live in the post-productivist countryside anymore (Müller, Hall and Keen, 2004:26). Although, at the same time, for each property that is sold to a second home owner, there is potentially a semi-permanent commitment made to a new and potentially viable post-productivist economy (Atkinson, Picken and Tranter, 2007). It also needs to be mentioned that repeat visitors underpin regular, and intimate social relations between the two cohorts (Girard and Gartner, 1993:688). Sometimes second home owners are more opposed to new developments than permanent residents (Mottiar and Quin, 2003).

Unfortunately, because of these different views of the post-productivist countryside, as well as differing commitments and socio-economic stances, certain groups and individuals have resorted to extreme measures. For example, between 1979 and 1990 in Wales, arsonists burned 179 mostly English-owned second homes (Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones, 2003). In the case of Wales, the recognition that there is a clear concentration of second homes, is central to the perception of a general

'problem' with external buyers (in particular, buyers from England) often being accused of 'robbing' locals of the dwellings which should 'rightfully' have been theirs (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2001:61).

For Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones, the case against second homes is not a question of nationality, but rather a question of housing equity. For instance, there are 166 000 officially homeless households in England, but there are also 224 000 second homes (Gallent, 2007). To them, it seems unjust that there are people that are inadequately housed, while landscapes exist that are used specifically for an inessential purpose. Indeed, to them, second homes can also be seen as responsible for rural housing issues, as well as the closure of village schools and the decline and collapse of certain services. They also claim that second homes force young permanent residents to search for opportunities elsewhere, often in urban centres, therefore, perpetuating rural out-migration. However, note that Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005), realise that the situation in Britain is not necessarily applicable to the rest of Europe, or for that matter the rest of the world. However, they still maintain that the ownership of second homes is inherently unfair and denies many people the 'right' to own a home. Due to high concentrations of second homes in some communities, it is likely that this use (of second homes) accentuates problems surrounding existing housing, and aggravates social or economic difficulties, particularly the link between local wage levels and the ability to compete for new and existing homes. They feel that, at the very least, owners of second homes should be heavily taxed, to have this particular luxury. These taxes will be there to minimise inequality and promote opportunities for the cohorts that are negatively affected by the development of second homes (Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones, 2005).

Many commentators, however, have demonstrated the weakness of Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones's arguments, by using a crude and simplistic dichotomy between 'locals' and 'outsiders', implying that a relatively unchanging and harmonious set of relationships existed 'before' the growth of second home ownership. 'Locals', however, rarely if ever constitute a homogeneous group, whether measured along social, economic or demographic dimensions (Paris, 2006:6). Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005) themselves acknowledge that rural communities are not united in their opposition to second homes and is as false as the view that these same communities are united in their poverty. In addition, Coppock (1977b) suggests, that individuals have the right to own a second home. Marjavaara (2007b:30) suggests that the impact of second homes in rural communities can result in a change in local culture and ways of doing things. Often, the supposed fragile local communities are victims of different forces of rural change. Nevertheless, certain researchers claim that second home owners create 'fake' culture, 'hijack' the countryside, and 'occupy' ruralities, which poisons local culture through their seasonal presence. Consequently, that they are seen as a threat to identities and physical environments, as well as the survival of the local community, is somewhat contentious. The permanent residents are also often described as guardians of the natural environment, living in symbiosis with nature, as opposed to visitors from urban areas. This debate is controversial and requires further research (Marjavaara, 2007b).

In some cases, no incidences of conflict have occurred, because second home owners do not want to have any contact with the local permanent residents (Müller, 1999:180). It is argued that the second home owners are only filling the gap caused by rural out-migration of a post-productivist countryside. There is also validity in an

argument that there are many types of post-productivist countrysides, not just one productivist countryside (Hall and Muller, 2004). Second home owners often have intimate place attachments to their second home, and it is important to ask after how many years a second home owner can be considered a legitimate part of the local community and who is the legitimate part to decide this question. Local populations may often welcome the change (Müller, 2000).

## **2.6. Notes on the environmental impacts on second homes**

*'Detrimental effects of second home tourism are landscape degradation, reduction of local biodiversity, increased erosion and desertification, contamination of ground water and soils, the disappearance of green public spaces, increased burden of water treatment, as well as the negative image of badly integrated architecture within natural settings'* (Matteucci, Lund-Durlacher and Beyer, 2008:156).

Academic attention focusing on the environmental impacts of second home developments has been few and far between, even more so than the social and economic impacts. Nonetheless, exceptions do exist (see for example Hiltunen (2007) on the environmental impacts of second homes on the lake districts of Finland; and Kaltenborn, Andersen, Nellemann, Bjerke and Thrane (2008) on resident attitudes towards second home development in Norway). Researchers such as Müller (2004), Müller, Hall and Keen (2004), Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005) and Marjavaara (2008) have all only mentioned the environmental impacts of second homes and their influence on the regions in which they are found. However, Kaltenborn *et al.* (2008) argue that the recent expansion of second homes in the sub-alpine and ecologically sensitive areas in Scandinavia has led investigators

involved in the research of the negative impacts of second home development to take note.

According to Hiltunen (2007:248) '*tourism is deeply embedded in the process of global environmental change which scale and rate had dramatically increased because of human impact.*' Environmental concerns and impacts have received little attention in the past, although at present second home debate has become concerned with wider concerns over the building of houses, and housing markets in general, in the post-productivist countryside (Gallent *et al.*, 2005:64). For example, in the case of Britain, a recent trend has emerged away from derelict and empty surplus dwellings, towards new build and the use of mainstream housing stock. Two key concerns are highlighted because of this: the resource implications of second home usage, including travel, and the broader environmental pressures endured by second home 'hot spot' areas; and, the pressure for new build housing in second home areas, driven (a) directly by external demand for new homes, and (b) indirectly, by the pressure for new housing to meet local needs that is created when existing dwellings are used as second homes (Gallent, *et al.*, 2005:61).

Second home ownership does not always imply new environmental impacts (Müller, 2004). The issue rather lies where unplanned development around lakes and rivers, which in many cases are particularly attractive to second home development. Indeed, Kaltenborn *et al.*, (2008:665) argue that mountain and coastal second homes have become increasingly popular in many countries in Europe, the United States of America and Canada. These developments have provided a major source of income to many local municipalities via tourism and construction opportunities which arise from these opportunities. Nonetheless, the particular concern here exists that pollution could be a real risk to these natural environments.

Moreover, in the case of formerly permanent rural homes, usually no new infrastructure is needed, and these houses that are used for second homes, do not have a new infrastructural impact on the environment.

In fact, according to Müller (2004), second home owners can be more conservative and less positive about changes that could have an effect on their second home investments, and they often favour land use control and preservation. It is therefore not necessarily the second home developments that could impact on the environment in a negative way, but it is rather the migration to the second homes that have the most negative effects on the environment (Hiltunen, 2007; Müller, Hall and Keen, 2004). It must be mentioned that many commentators feel that planning regulations should be implemented with regard to second homes so that a limited negative impact could be had on the environments (Gallent *et al.*, 2005; Müller *et al.*, 2004). In essence, in comparison to other rural developments, second home tourism may be regarded as being relatively environmentally friendly.

It must be noted that in a new age of environmental conservation and awareness, conflicts between second home owners and locals do not necessarily only exist within the social sphere, but rather with respect to the extent of second home developments and productivist agricultural practices (Müller *et al.*, 2004; Kaltenborn *et al.*, 2008), these two elements compete for available land.

On the one hand, for example, in New Zealand, second home communities have come into conflict with local agriculturally based communities. Conflicts have arisen owing to the usage of helicopters, bird-scarers and loud air guns to deter birds from viticultural crops (Müller *et al.*, 2004). In all probability, examples must also exist in which second home owners have come into conflict with local permanent residents

when it comes to more pressing issues such as the uses of pesticides, over-grazing and poisons which could have dire effects on the natural environment. It is interesting to note that the chairman of the Wine Institute of New Zealand (WINZ) called these conflicts the 'intrusion of urban values and expectation into rural working environments' (Müller *et al.*, 2004:23). It is rightfully mentioned by Müller *et al.* (2004) that any sustainable development of second home tourism in productivist agricultural landscapes will have to balance these competing demands on resources.

On the other hand, Kaltenborn *et al.* (2008:675) have found contrary perceptions in southern Norway where permanent residents have a very 'ecocentric' perception towards second home development. In Kaltenborn's *et al.* (2008:675) research it has been noted that local residents have wholeheartedly agreed to statements such as 'plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist'; 'the balance of nature is very delicate'; 'humans severely abuse the environment.' This has led Kaltenborn *et al.* (2008) to argue that local residents are much more negative towards (new) second home developments than towards permanent residents. They feel that this negative association is driven by an ecocentric attitude that second home developments will disturb wildlife, cause large landscape changes and noise pollution. In fact, Kaltenborn's (2008) research has shown that local respondents appear to be positive towards the social and economic impacts of second home development, but undeniably negative towards the less desirable environmental impacts.

Second homes do not only have marked impacts when they are newly built. Hiltunen (2007:248) argues that the impacts of tourism on the natural environment coincide with second home tourism in general. Namely, there 'exists pressure on the

natural resources in the form of energy and water supply, land use and soil erosion as well as that second home tourism could harm wildlife and habitats, and reduces natural diversity' (Hiltunen, 2007:248). Second home development could also cause pollution, such as greenhouse gas emissions, solid wastes and waste waters, as well as noise pollution (Hiltunen, 2007:248). Mathieson and Wall (1982) already took notice in the early 1980s that three issues impact on the environment because of second homes in rural areas. These are that: the clearance of vegetation disrupts wildlife and reduces soil stability, deposition of human wastes into natural water reduces water quality, and visibility of second homes may negatively affect the aesthetic value and possibilities of the post-productivist landscape. However, this could be the case with any new development (Müller, 2004; Müller, Hall and Keen, 2004).

## **2.7. Economic impacts of second homes**

The purpose of this section is to delineate the positive and negative economic impacts associated with second homes. More specifically, their impact on local communities with regard to job creation, influence on property markets and infrastructure maintenance are investigated. First, it is important to note that most often the chief benefits of second homes are economic in nature (Atkinson *et al.*, 2007), as return visitors, second home owners and their guests create potential for economic development, not least in rural areas (Sievänen, Pouta and Neuvonen, 2007). The literature also suggests that second home tourism can be considered a good option for contributing towards more sustainable forms of development in rural

areas, owing to its potentially limited negative impact on the environment and host community (Müller, 2000).

Müller *et al.* (2004) highlight a range of positive economic benefits associated with second homes. They include the restoration of land values, increases in employment opportunities, the creation of a new economic base, the revitalisation of the local construction industry, the creation of service industries, increases in municipal revenue through rates collected (note that this could also be seen as a negative depending on the circumstances), and contribution towards maintaining existing local services.

Furthermore, Müller *et al.* (2004) suggest that the positive impacts of second homes are central to the decision-making practices of many rural planners and politicians who decide on land use and tourism development policies. Second home development is considered a possible economic stimulus (and sometimes the only realistic possibility) in rural environments, especially after a period of economic decline during the transition from productivism to post-productivism and changes that specifically affect an area's traditional agricultural or service base, because of the benefits that such development may bring to a regional economy (Clout 1971; Müller *et al.*, 2004). Furthermore, Müller *et al.* (2004) highlight the important contribution that second home tourism can make to the broader tourism industry. For example, second homes provide a steady supply of tourists, and encourage the creation of facilities for other types of tourism. They can, consequentially, facilitate the expansion of domestic tourism to previously neglected rural regions.

Municipalities are mainly interested in second home tourism because it leads to a growth of tax incomes and spending in the local economy (Müller *et al.* 2004). This

does not mean that second homes necessarily create new employment opportunities, but at least they contribute to sustaining already existing jobs. Elsewhere, Müller (2000) suggests that second home owners and their visitors could serve as a stabilising force in peripheral rural areas.

The *Swedish Governmental Commission on Second Home Living* (cited in Müller 2000) suggests that second home development should lead to positive economic effects in the following fields: production/construction of second homes; maintenance of second homes; and indirect employment, for example through local stores and restaurants. In the United Kingdom, it has been shown that the initial acquisition of second homes may inject investment capital into the local economy through generating work for solicitors, estate agents and surveyors. This generates a direct profit for these service providers, who may reinvest in the local area through further property purchases. The additional purchasing power released in the area has the potential to cause increases in local property values and stimulate investment in the form of home improvements, resulting in additional work for local contractors and a growth in the purchasing of hardware and appliances, which in turn creates new employment opportunities locally (Gallent *et al.*, 2005).

Consequently, Müller and Hall (2004) propose that the value of second home owners is located in the fact that they help with the establishment of entrepreneurial start-ups, the creation of business networks and opportunities, as well as the replacement of intellectual capital that may previously have been lost through rural depopulation and out-migration. In sum, second homes have been helpful to many rural areas. Second home tourism appears mostly to be a very positive form of tourism, combining economic gains with limited impacts on the social and physical characteristics of the host community. The economic impacts of second homes are,

however, not positive in all instances. For example, 'second home buyers often unwittingly exploit the weaknesses of the rural economy: they find 'bargain' properties, but rarely question why property commands such a low price in the local market' (Atkinson *et al.*, 2007:9). Moreover, as Frost (2004) highlights, second home tourism leads to increased costs to municipalities in providing additional infrastructure and services. Clout (1977) also suggests that in some areas, growing numbers of second homes have been blamed for accelerating rural out-migration and preventing schemes for plot consolidation and farm enlargement that could possibly have benefited permanent residents. Müller *et al.* (2004) have highlighted some further negative economic impacts associated with second homes. These include the increase of land values to levels beyond the means of local residents and increases in the cost of local goods and services. A case in point, Torres and Domínguez-Menchero (2006:243) discovered that in the case of Spain, the relation between the amount of taxes paid by permanent residents and the presence of second homes are important. For example, in municipalities where there are less than 185 second homes, each permanent resident has to pay an average of €253 in local taxes. In municipalities where there are between 185 and 2000 second homes, local permanent residents pay up to €422, while in municipalities, with more than 2000 second homes, permanent residents pay an average of €803 in taxes.

In a case study on the pressures exerted on rural Wales by external demand for houses from English prospective second home owners, Gallent *et al.* (2005) suggest that house prices have risen in particular 'hot spots' because of second home acquisition. Representatives of many local authorities felt that house prices have risen across their jurisdictions as a direct result of external housing demand. They also expressed concerns that new and existing housing respectively was, in some

instances, no longer affordable for purchase by local residents. For Gallent *et al.* (2005), it appears that a key element of the local economic impact of second homes is a separation that occurs between the first and second home property markets. Müller (2000) agrees with this contention, but suggests that a sufficient separation between the second home and permanent residence markets can be a crucial precondition for the positive economic effects of second home development to manifest in local economies. More specifically, where second home demand is accommodated outside the effective local housing stock for permanent residents, the adverse impact of house price inflation on permanent residents can largely be avoided, whilst money spent on general home improvements may inject new life into the local construction industry. In this way, the increases in recurrent general expenditure and increases in council tax revenue that come with second home development will not be offset by a reduction in demand, and the subsequent closure of local services due to out-migration of permanent residents (Gallent *et al.*, 2005). By contrast, where there is no separation between first and second home markets, competition between local residents and outsiders for mainstream housing can generate extreme inflationary pressure on property values, often pricing local residents out of the market. The subsequent displacement of these residents will mean a decrease in demand for services despite the fact that local council tax revenue may be sustained (Gallent *et al.* 2005).

These observations demonstrate that the economic impact of second homes differs according to the characteristics of particular local contexts and is heavily dependent on what types of dwellings are used as second homes. Indeed, Müller *et*

*al.* (2004) point out that in most cases, expenditure by second home owners is too low to permit the economy to specialise only in the needs of this market.

Apart from the influences of first and second home markets in the same geographic location, Müller *et al.* (2004) argue that two additional key elements are often forgotten in academic investigations focused on second homes. First, migration to second homes has effects on the economy of towns and villages lying *en route* to the destination. Secondly, second home tourism has various economic impacts even on second home owners' primary home districts. In essence, second home research focuses on the destination area, and not necessarily at second home owners' points of origin or places travelled through on their way to second homes. In many cases, the broader districts in which second home areas lie are also neglected.

## **2.8. Conclusion**

Müller and Hall (2004b) emphasise that second homes are an important element of contemporary lifestyles, mobilities, tourism and regional development. This has meant that since the late 1990s the growing interest in second home tourism has been shared across the social sciences (Timothy and Teye, 2009), but particularly by those interested in the changing natures of rural areas and human mobility. This has been in broad terms the intention of this chapter, to give an overview of the main themes investigated with respect to second homes, since its re-emergence as a means of study.

This chapter commenced by addressing the definitional conundrum that has faced second homes since its emergence as a topic of investigation. Thereafter, a view of second homes from a regional planning perspective was provided, underlining the importance of viewing second homes as part of the negativities that impact on the countryside, such as rural out-migration, limited housing supply and changes in the rural economy; more importantly: stressing the need for planning regulations that will view second homes from this perspective, as well as implementing procedures that will augment the positive characteristics of second homes and diminish the negative elements by higher taxation and providing areas that are suited for second home development.

Novel forms and patterns of production and consumption facilitate a growing number of households to spend time away from working environments (Müller and Hall, 2004b). Moreover, second homes also indicate the development of new, more fluid, patterns of mobility and place affiliation (Müller and Hall, 2004). Given this background, the third section of this chapter attempted to explore second homes and its link to the new kinds of mobilities that Müller and Hall speak of. Thereafter, the social, economic and environmental concerns of second homes were investigated.

Second homes in the social sphere have been a subject of considerable academic attention, in comparison to other spheres of investigation, since the 1970s despite a temporary hiatus. This section mainly argues that although there is merit in investigating differing perceptions that exist between second home owners and local permanent residents regarding different views of the countryside, it should be noted, that it is doubtful that purely dichotomous viewpoints of this issue are not truly representative of the situation, especially regarding the fact that second homes are

one of many factors that influence the post-productivist countryside. According to Müller and Hall (2004b), second homes create significant short-term and long-term economic, social and political relationships between their owners and the communities in which they are situated. They further argue that second homes also have highly significant functions with respect to collective and individual notions of heritage, sense of place and even identity.

The section on economic impacts highlighted the fundamental role that second homes play in regional development, arguing in broad terms that the positive economic impacts of second home development are more prominent than the negative. For example, in many parts of the developed world, second homes constitute a greater potential number of bed-nights for travellers than the formal accommodation sector (Müller and Hall, 2004b). The environmental concerns of second homes, especially the development of newly-built second homes, have received limited attention in the academic press. Nevertheless, it is maintained by most commentators that most second homes are relatively environmentally friendly, but attention should be given to second homes that are development in ecologically sensitive areas such as wetlands and forests.

As mentioned before, Müller and Hall (2004b) note in the concluding chapter of their influential collection of essays that second homes are significant for many reasons. Their main claim is that 'new forms and patterns of production and consumption now enable an increasing number of households to spend time away from traditional working and production environments, and in preferred locations with high amenity values' (Müller and Hall, 2004b:273). More importantly, the above mentioned may be 'related to broader movements of counterurbanisation and the development of a post-productivist countryside' (Müller, 2004b:273). These two

claims have formed the basis of the literature reviews of this thesis and have been explored at some length.

In chapters four and five, Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens are explored as important second home destinations in the South African post-productivist countryside. The golden thread that will run through an examination of these towns, as Müller and Hall puts it, is new forms and patterns of production and consumption. Thus, it will be shown that the systematic demise of apartheid and the consequent opening up of the economy and rural areas as a whole, which became typically neo-liberal, has created an extremely wealthy cohort of people that could 'purchase the countryside.'

# CHAPTER 3

## METHODOLOGY AND POSITIONALITY IN RESEARCHING SECOND HOME DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 3.1. Introduction

Debates focused on researcher positionality have been ongoing since the 1980s with feminist, social, cultural, political and economic geographers re-examining the way in which we conduct research (Visser, 2001). The fact that a researcher's social, cultural and subject positions affect the questions they ask, how they frame their questions, the theories that they are drawn to, how they interpret their data; access data; and their relations with informants in the field through interviews (to name a few issues), has, as Pratt (2009:556) contends, been remarked upon from various quarters. Among these debates, the 'art of fieldwork' ranks high among them (Driver, 2000). Although 'fieldwork' is a familiar term to social scientists such as geographers, Driver (2000: 267) notes 'it is striking how rarely we have reflected on the place of fieldwork in our collective disciplinary imagination. While the methodological and ethical dimensions of field research have preoccupied human geographers of late, reflecting broader concerns across the social sciences, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the specifically geographical dimensions of fieldwork.'

More particularly for this investigation, the intersection of institutional change and the process of field-based research, particularly with regards to research students, and fieldworkers more generally have been neglected in the research literature (Visser, 2001).

The chapter aims to comment on the changing South African research context in relation to researching second home development. In particular, this chapter positions my experiences as a specific positionality type, relative to this research project focused on second homes, requiring access to institutional elites, businesses and organisations, as well as different types of property owners and residents. Furthermore, this commentary is set against a particular temporal backdrop: that of tourism as a driver of economic development in a range of different locational contexts in a post-productivist countryside (Rogerson, 2002a).

It is the task of this chapter to report on these experiences gained while conducting fieldwork in Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens. Four key observations are made, providing the main structure of the chapter. Firstly, researcher positionality fundamentally frames the different creative avenues that could be selected in gathering baseline data from local institutions to identify second homes. Secondly, as second homes are not a recorded census entity in South Africa, a range of creative ways of identifying their presence is required. Thirdly, researcher positionality plays a role in gathering information from second home owners and permanent residents (not just institutions) once second homes have been identified. Fourthly, political-temporal contingency provides a further challenge to the gathering of second home data that both reinforce, or dilute, the impact of researcher positionality. Thereafter, these observations are weaved together, considering some of the implications they might hold for research focused on, and dependent upon local governments, their officials, and private citizens. Lastly, the different response rates achieved are given from the different localities.

### **3.2. Constructing second home databases in South Africa**

'In most Western countries second homes can be identified in census data' (Müller, 2004:388). However, Müller also notes that there is often a shortage of comparable data when investigating factors which second homes affect. This is, in part, because of diverging definitions. Ambiguities emerge when applying different research methods and definitions to different types of second homes when ownership, private rental, timeshare, income and the duration of occupancy are taken into account. In the case of South Africa and other countries of the developing world, the challenge lies in the inhibiting factor that second homes data is seldom, if ever, included in the census record, along with the fact that the quality of census data can be questioned. For example, although there is a category in South African census data specifically for recreational homes, its accuracy has to be challenged. If one assumes that all second homes fall under the census category of 'recreational homes', then the census data show that there are only 12,407 second homes in South Africa. This count is, however, undoubtedly incorrect, as the Western Cape's Overstrand Local Municipality (which includes Hermanus, Pringle Bay and neighbouring towns) alone, has been shown to have over 20 000 recreational second homes (Pienaar and Visser, 2009).

Therefore, the quality of available data on the number of possible second homes is unhelpful and essentially unclear. As a result, second home research in South Africa requires investigators to employ innovative, pragmatic approaches where access to data and information determines the validity of a study. Because of the broad inconsistencies in national data, researchers have no option but to construct their own databases to investigate second home development. This situation is, however, far from unproblematic.

The first investigations on second home research in South Africa analysed the rates-base data of local municipalities (Visser, 2006). In most cases, two addresses per property can be identified from rates-base address listings. The first address indicates the street address of the property and the second where the rates and taxes bill is sent to. The second address on the listing can often indicate a second home property. The researcher has to assume that if a property is, for example, in Hermanus, which is a well-known holiday destination, and the second address is in another area, for example, Cape Town, that the property in Hermanus is a second home and the owner's primary residence is in Cape Town. After obtaining this information, a questionnaire can be sent to the second home owner at the second address, or if telephone numbers are included in the database, a telephone call can be made to ascertain whether the property is indeed a recreational second home and, if so, conduct an interview with the second home owner. This has been the approach followed in this study.

This approach is, however, not altogether unproblematic for a range of reasons. For example, on many rates-base address listings there is no indication of whether or not a property is an actual second home, or an empty stand. Therefore time and money may be wasted in contacting a range of potential informants who do not have a second home but rather a second property, which might become a second home or primary residence some time in the future. Moreover, the registered owner of a property might be a legal entity such as a family trust or business trust, in which case the available second address or telephone number may be that of the representative attorneys and not the owner. Thus, if a questionnaire is sent to these addresses there is no guarantee that it will end up at the actual second home owner. In addition, the rates-base address listings do not tell one whether a property

is a complex of timeshare units, an important subcategory of second homes (see Timothy, 2004). If a questionnaire is sent to the second address listed for a complex of timeshare units, again there is no way of knowing if it will end up at the timeshare owners, rather than a property manager (see end of chapter for number of annulled questionnaires). Indeed, while investigating Dullstroom (see also Visser, 2004b) it was found that a significant number of second homes in the town are connected to the region's recreational trout fishing industry in such a way that many second home owners are part of so-called trout syndicates. These trout syndicates are a specific type of timeshare which is run by syndicate managers, to whom rates and taxes bills are addressed. Undoubtedly then, rates-base address listings do not make very specific reference to residential property use. Moreover, in many cases address listings are outdated: for example, some address listings observed on recent fieldtrips had last been revised in 2004.

From the above it is evident that a variety of factors hamper the exact identification of second homes. The following provides some insights into steps that have been taken to overcome these limitations.

The next section will focus on personal challenges faced when accessing data from local government, ratepayers' associations, second home owners, permanent residents and other key informants, whether in face-to-face interaction or telephone interviews.

### **3.3. Accessing baseline databases and second home owners**

When conducting research, the positionality of the researcher *vis-à-vis* the researched can significantly influence access to informants and information (Visser, 2001). The focus here is on researcher positionality in the context of interviewing local office bearers and wealthy property owners. Methods for elite research (beyond political science) have until fairly recently received relatively little attention. As Cormode and Hughes (1999:299) noted, researching the powerful presents very different methodological and ethical challenges from studying 'down.' The characteristics of those studied the power relations between them and the researchers and the politics of the research process differ considerably between elite and non-elite research.

In addition, as Milner (2007) observes, more general researcher characteristics such as social class, as well as racial and cultural positionality in the research environment, can affect the relationship between the researcher and researched. The combinations of these issues generate what many researchers have referred to as different 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' There have been a number of debates focusing on how researchers gain access to elite viewpoints and information (Herod, 1999). The consensus currently suggests that the notion of an insider/outsider binary opposition creates the impression that positionalities are frozen in place: that being an 'insider' or 'outsider' is a fixed attribute. On the contrary, as Mullings (1999) suggests, the insider/outsider binary is in reality a boundary that is highly unstable, subject to dynamism of positionalities in time and through space (also see Ward and Jones 1999). This observation appears to be very relevant to research students working in the context of South African private and public institutions as well as

individuals. The examples drawn on in the remainder of this section illustrate this point.

Irrespective of the methodology used to identify second homes, building a 'second homes' database requires access to municipal rates-base data as its starting point. Therefore, a cooperative relationship between the researcher and informants in local government institutions is a prerequisite for the investigation to get started. In the South African context, despite gains made in inter-racial reconciliation since the end of apartheid, race can play a particularly critical role in gaining cooperation and access to the relevant datasets.

For example, in research undertaken in Dullstroom, I (a white Afrikaans-speaking male) merely went to the local municipality's offices in the neighbouring town of Belfast (the seat of the relevant local authority), asked to speak with the senior accounts manager (a black male), explained my situation, and the accounts manager said that I should return in an hour and he would have the information ready. When I returned, the listing was duly provided. I was equally fortunate while accessing information for Greyton in the Overstrand Municipality. In these cases the attitude of the officials was highly professional and they were highly competent. These groups of officials/informants immediately understood the relevance of the investigation to them, their work and context. The fact that I am a white, Afrikaans-speaking male appeared not to have hampered access to the relevant information.

However, the very same personal characteristics created many difficulties for me when dealing with the predominantly black, Sesotho-speaking staff of the Dihlabeng Municipality in the eastern Free State while trying to access data for Clarens. Seeing that this positionality did not present problems in the Dullstroom study, access to

data was not perceived as potentially presenting any real challenges. However, I spent a total of eight hours trying to get address listings in an endeavour which was ultimately fruitless. I was sent from one office to another. I experienced that most municipal officials did not know what information I required and did not know what kind of procedures to follow to give me access to such information. The concept of a vacation home/recreational second home/holiday home or weekend home had to be explained repeatedly to officials. This is despite the fact that second homes are a developing phenomenon in that municipal area and undoubtedly contribute significantly to local government revenue and economic stimulation in an otherwise economically depressed region (see Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004). After being sent from one office to another, I ended up speaking to the municipal manager. I displayed my identification and staff cards, and the municipal manager asked outright if I was from the Scorpions, an infamous and now-disbanded anti-corruption directorate. Further information was divulged that the Scorpions were indeed at a stage investigating this municipality. I then devised a plan where I asked one of my fellow post-graduate students who is a black female and Setswana-speaking to go to this municipality to access this information for me. Initially she failed horribly, but after months of persistent inquiries she eventually accessed the information I needed. However, the information was outdated and inaccurate, but it was all I had.

It has been argued that white men could be perceived as having a disadvantage when conducting research in the context of local government in present-day South Africa (Visser, 2001). In especially remote rural areas it has proven to be difficult for me to interview black female informants, who often presented me with direct yes/no responses to questions and a reluctance to elaborate or motivate an answer on

open-ended questions. This may be because these informants experienced white male fieldworkers in the past as intimidating as a result of historical socialisation. To try to decrease distances in positionalities between researcher and researched, I exploited my dual identity as a student at the University of the Free State, a traditionally Afrikaans-language, 'conservative' university, and at that time I was a staff member at Rhodes University, an English-language, historically 'liberal' university. I alternately introduced myself to informants as being from either one university or the other, depending on the socio-political context I perceived myself to be in. This proved to be a successful method of accessing information, but not in all contexts.

Conversely, when I conducted interviews with especially other white Afrikaans men or women, research was more successful because there was a smaller likelihood of prejudice interfering in the data collection. Informants were more often than not very helpful. For example, in recent follow-up interviews in a longitudinal study with white Afrikaans-speaking key stakeholders in Clarens, I was applauded for my previous research in the area and encouraged to continue with this research as the key stakeholders deem it important. Moreover, all key stakeholders implicitly asked to receive finalised research reports as they see it as helpful to their respective endeavours. It could be argued that bridging the racial and gender gap between researchers and affluent home owners or key role players in communities is a matter of innovation and that means exist to access the information needed.

In South Africa second home owners in general (or rather those who have been contacted and analysed in this thesis), are in large part a homogeneous group (white, wealthy and male) with fairly similar opinions about their contribution to the local community. Nevertheless, the challenge in determining their impact on the

local context lies in accessing the views and opinions of impoverished majorities who live in villages and towns that are dominated by second homes. These views might be at variance with those of the key second home role players in these settlements. In my opinion, it is fruitful to understand the opinions of those people who spend their whole lives (not only their leisure time) in a locality where the majority of formal housing belongs to people who spend minimal time occupying these dwellings. Personal in-depth interviews with key stakeholders do not always present the true feeling of the community as a whole. While I conducted research in Clarens, in 2004 (see Hoogendoorn and Visser 2004) it emerged that the town's economic development from a tourism perspective was dominated by an individual who had seen the tourism potential of the town and developed it from there. The unfortunate reality of the town's subsequent economic expansion was that a significant number of permanent residents were to an extent forced from Clarens because of drastic changes in living costs. Therefore, when interviewing that particular individual developer, I received a very positive view of a town that had dragged itself out of a very dire situation. However, when I branched out and spoke to different sectors of the population, I developed a different understanding. I realised that the changes were not necessarily perceived positively by all, but rather were seen by many as consequences of the domination of an individual who had not necessarily taken into account the needs of the broader population of permanent residents. Thus the challenge lies in obtaining a more representative response to second home development, and the only way of getting this is to speak with as many permanent residents as possible.

### **3.4. Political temporal contingency and second homes research**

The development of a network of informants at the local government level or among second homes owners was/is, however, also impacted by the timing of the fieldwork and the research topic relative to the politics of the research environment at the time of investigation. Ward and Jones (1999) have suggested that geographical methodology literature is not sufficiently sensitive to political-temporal contingency in the research process. This omission, they suggest, refers to a political approach to the relations of research production, by problematising 'research situatedness' *vis-à-vis* the timing of research enquiry. Such timing, they argue, plays a key role in the 'critical positioning' (following McDowell, 1992a) of the researcher within the governance structures of local power, which is process-based and fluid. Their argument is that certain processes and programmes developed and conducted at certain levels and within particular organisations or institutions at particular times, set obstacles to gaining access to information, beyond those limits imposed by positionality and power in the research process (see for example McDowell, 1992b, Schoenberger, 1991; 1992). Consequently, conducting research on a topic that is sensitive at a particular time and with reference to particular tiers of government, for example, presents divergent problems in terms of access to certain types of information and the range of informants. The experiences I had in a number of different local authorities were, upon reflection, indicative of Ward and Jones' (1999) observations and as a result I consider 'political-temporal contingency' in the fieldwork process to be an issue of considerable importance in terms of research possibilities of second homes.

A starting point to this suggestion concerns the simple act of collecting rates-based data from local authorities. It is important to note that access to the property rates

base data was experienced differently in different parts of South Africa. In some cases, as already indicated, it was relatively simple, yet in other cases impossible. For example, as mentioned before, it remains almost impossible, irrespective of researcher positionality, to access the property rates data of Eastern Free State districts and local municipalities. Two political-temporal contingency issues might be highlighted in this respect.

Five years before this research was undertaken, the property rates base data for the Eastern Free State town of Clarens was obtained from the relevant authorities with no access challenges whatsoever. At the time, the particular municipalities were deemed to be relatively well run. However, subsequently the political context has changed dramatically. The fundamental difference is that these municipalities are under central and provincial government investigation for maladministration and poor service delivery, in addition to an array of issues surrounding political infighting. Currently there is a palpable fear of sharing information between different line departments within the same local authorities and certainly not with any outsiders, irrespective of race/gender/class positionality, because doing so might be construed as an inappropriate sharing of information. In addition, different potential informants appear to be fearful that whatever data they may make available to researchers might expose some sort of inconsistency, administrative oversight, or inaccurate data. Thus, as the political context of their operations has changed their engagement with others, not least of which 'outsiders' such as researchers, has hardened. Yet, other municipalities which are well run and not under similar investigatory pressure presented very few obstacles in terms of providing, or obtaining the very same data sets.

A key feature of my inability to gain access to information beyond my positionality, which can certainly be linked to temporality and political context, is the skills base of local government officials which has been the underlying reason for Eastern Free State local authorities under investigation for poor financial management and service delivery (Botes, Lenka, Marais, Matebesi and Sigenu, 2008; Vrahimis and Visser, 2006). As a result of blatant nepotism and favouritism in appointments, in addition to the weak implementation of affirmative action policies generally – although this is true for a number of other provinces too, Eastern Free State local authorities lack, among others, qualified town and regional planners and financial controllers (Botes *et al.*, 2008). This has in turn frustrated the gathering of local authority data as those who are collecting and managing the data are ill equipped to do so.

This holds implications for research where there is a heavy reliance on local government officials and the data they collect and manage. A lack of skills makes it difficult for the researchers to communicate what information they require. Even if this limitation can be overcome when information requests are communicated successfully, the local authority officials do not know how to access the relevant data sets or why accessing such information is necessary; as well as what the potential benefits derived from such baseline data research can hold for their particular local authority.

Linked to the timing of this research project relative to the politics of the context and resultant lack of skills was that rates tax bills were merely sent to the street address. There is no clear knowledge of whether it would reach the property owners, or just an incumbent of the property who has no responsibility to pay those particular bills, which in turn explains why many local authorities in the Free State are bankrupt or

approaching such a status. Nonetheless, there were also the further issues that in some cases the rates listing indicated outstanding services fees and I consequently felt that these persons' privacy might be at stake. Although there is legislation that guarantees access to public information, the interpretation of the legislation appears to differ between different local authorities.

Then again, the impact of political-temporal contingency played itself out in other ways and linked not to local authority officials, but the owners of second homes. Nevertheless, similar results of not gaining access to information from potential informants who are in this case highly skilled and can in fact understand the potential value/benefits of research for a local authority or even a part of a local community, ensued.

In one case, the local chairperson representing second home owners in Rhodes is a well qualified development practitioner. However, as the national government was at the time of investigation conducting research aiming to understand the impact of overseas second home property investors on the local property market, he refused any assistance, in addition to 'barring' local residents from participating. Fortunately, his call to inaction was not shared by second home owners who were all individually contacted to secure participation in the survey. The implied suggestion was that he did not want to draw attention to the occurrence of second homes in their particular region because the political context of the time did not appear to make participation in such a survey prudent.

### **3.5. Site selection, questionnaires, response rates and personal in-depth interviews**

The motivation for selecting research was encouraged by the following. Hoogendoorn, Mellett and Visser (2005) mention that after the demise of apartheid, second homes in South Africa underpinned the emergence of a range of popular discourses as to which areas of the country were desirable for non-permanent residence. Clear evidence of second home development for weekend leisure has developed in locations such as small towns that are relatively close to metropolitan regions (Visser, 2004). A variety of different locations were initially considered but lack of access determined other areas rather to be studied. Therefore, Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens were seen to be suitable locations given their different distances to the main metropolitan areas of the country.

This investigation draws on empirical data gathered over several months during 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010. All second home owners in the four settlements were identified through the rates-base address listings of the relevant local municipalities. Postal survey methods were used in all four case studies. (See Pienaar and Visser, 2009, for a fuller discussion of this method). In the process of attaining a response rate, a large number of questionnaires were sent out to addresses to determine which homes are second homes (see Appendix 1 for example of the last questionnaire used).

The village of Rhodes has a population of 450 permanent residents. There are approximately 200 plots in the village, of which 70 contain second homes (see Table 3.1 General Response Rates). A 27% response rate was attained (n=19). Initially about 101 questionnaires were sent out. Greyton has a population of 2,500 permanent residents. At the time of fieldwork there were approximately 650 homes

in Greyton. Of that total, an estimated 250 are used as second homes. A 35% response rate was attained in my survey of these owners (n=88). Six hundred and eighty-seven were sent out initially. Dullstroom has a population of about 3,500 permanent residents. During fieldwork there were 1,023 residential units in the town, of which an estimated 130 were used as second homes. The postal survey of these home owners yielded a 39% response rate (n=51). Four hundred and thirty-four questionnaires were sent out to potential second home owners. Lastly, Clarens has a population of about 3,750 permanent residents. During fieldwork there were 879 residential units in the town, of which an estimated 100 were used as second homes. The postal survey of these home owners yielded a 38% response rate (n=38). Roughly 270 questionnaires were sent out, although in this case longitudinal data from 2004 assisted in determining the number of second homes. In total 1492 questionnaires were sent out in all of the towns to determine how many second homes there were in the four towns. A total of 196 usable questionnaires were returned.

**Table 3.2: The number of second home owners, permanent residents and general response rates**

	Second home owners	Permanent residents	Response rate
Rhodes	70	450	27% (n=19)
Greyton	250	2500	35% (n=88)
Dullstroom	130	3500	39% (n=51)
Clarens	100	3750	38% (n=38)

Many questionnaires were returned as it was an open plot or not a valid address. Many individuals responded saying that the questionnaire to which the address was sent to was not a second home but a primary residence. Nevertheless, this aided in determining an accurate estimation. The questionnaire sought to gain insight into

the general biographic characteristics of second homes owners, why they invested in second homes and why they chose to invest in a second home in a particular location. In addition, the questionnaire sought to establish how these properties were used, what financial implications the second homes held for the owners, and how they engaged with the surrounding area in which their second home was located.

In terms of tracking post-productivist developments as well as the historical development of the different regions and towns, personal in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants (see Appendix 2 for the details of interviewees). Their attitudes and thoughts on second home development were also questioned. Interviews were between a half-hour and one hour in length and were recorded and transcribed. In Rhodes, a total of nine personal in-depth interviews were conducted with local entrepreneurs, municipal officials, local farmers and guest farm operators. In Greyton, eleven personal in-depth interviews were conducted with estate agents, retired residents, rates-payers association representatives, municipal officials and tourism office employees. In Dullstroom, nine personal in-depth interviews were conducted with restaurant owners, business owners, fly-fishing outfitters and guides, tourism office employees and municipal officials. Lastly, in Clarens four personal in-depth interviews were conducted with longstanding tourism developers in Clarens that were former councilmen and mayors, as well as property developers. These interviews were done as follow-up interviews from research conducted in 2003, hence the smaller number of interviewees. Lastly, a report back presentation was conducted to explore a reference group's opinions and feelings about the data at hand. In total, thirty-three personal in-depth interviews were conducted.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

It has been argued that fieldworkers researching second home development in the current socio-cultural and political South African context have to be resourceful and creative. It is vital in data collection methods to overcome numerous obstacles that may hamper interaction with various levels of government, second home owners and permanent residents. The unfortunate situation in South Africa is that one's race, gender and general connections within the socio-cultural make-up of the country, as well as temporality when the research is conducted will determine a large part of a fieldworker's success during data collection. What makes the South African situation unique is its configuration of many different cultures and races, which play a dominant role in presenting obstacles to, and some cases opportunities for, accessing information. More particularly, fieldworkers should attempt to understand why informants from different groups may react to them in different ways, and develop strategies for approaching them successfully in terms of access to data. In addition to this, a variety of methods should be followed to identify and clarify the number, distribution and impact of second homes in a locality.

Moreover, future research should aim to highlight the point that official data are of utmost importance in understanding the impact of this form of tourism. Until such official data are available, creativity and non-standard research techniques should be employed to expose and fulfil the need to understand second homes. Beyond these general remarks, a few specific issues could be highlighted.

The first concern relates to the very uneven access fieldworkers have to baseline property rates base data at local government level. In this regard, two issues stand out. Firstly, although researchers have a right to access the required information

under the Promotion of Access to Information Act, I was often told I could not have access to data. In addition, very often the local authority officials do not know what data is required, or how to access it. The worrying feature of this observation is that the local government information requirements of the larger second home project are not that complicated. However, the refusal of some local authorities to share information makes it all but impossible to conduct second homes research in certain parts of South Africa.

A second concern is that in the construction of research methodologies, highly flexible agendas seem to be required. However, such flexibility holds implications for the validity and power of the research. As such, the experiences reported here suggest that 'standard' methodological debates are inadequately sensitive to deal with the intersection of differentiated positionalities, research focus, time and politics, in a still transforming societal context. In contrast to the rigid emphasis on control and relative standardised procedures (particularly elite research), these examples allude to the need for a fluid, malleable research process that can move around a constellation of potential information and data types. Again, however, this provides a critical challenge for how research questions can be directed at South African local authorities in general when there can potentially be very mixed success in gaining access to the information those institutions preside over.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE EMERGENCE OF A POST-PRODUCTIVIST COUNTRYSIDE IN RHODES, GREYTON, DULLSTROOM AND CLARENS

### 4.1. Introduction

*'Second homes have shaped and reshaped the natural and built environment ...'*  
(Vepsäläinen and Pitkänen, 2010:195)

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate different processes that led the transition from productivism to post-productivism in the four case studies at hand. The chapter, therefore, aims to provide insight into these different influences of the changing countryside. A key observation of this chapter is that many processes, rather than a single process, have underpinned the transition from a productivist to a post-productivist countryside.

The chapter first focuses on Rhodes. The Rhodes district has emerged as a world class fly-fishing destination in recent years (Du Preez and Lee, 2010:245). It is also a tourist accommodation hub for the only ski-resort in South Africa, Tiffendell (Walker, 2004). The development of the tourism industry signifies a growing departure from exclusive agricultural production towards a consumptive leisure environment increasingly structurally dependent upon investors from large metropolitan centres. These investors are, by and large, second home owners who supply accommodation to tourists. These changes are explored first in this chapter.

The second case focuses on the town of Greyton. The Western Cape has survived the transition from productivism to post-productivism quite successfully in comparison to the other provinces in the country (see Nel, 2005). The main reason for this is, as Mather (2004) argues, that agriculture is no longer hampered by international anti-apartheid boycotts. Lifting of sanctions has created a very favourable climate for wine and citrus exports. Agriculture in the Western Cape reverted early on to wine farming instead of other types of more traditional forms of agriculture in South Africa such as maize and wheat. Changes in produce are a typical example of the post-productivist transition globally (see for example, Evans *et al.*, 2002). Secondly, the value of wine farming and its international influence has made it possible for wine farmers to compete on a global scale. For example, export values have increased by over 500% since 1992 (Mather, 2004).

In this section it is argued that despite the tremendous changes in agriculture within the Western Cape province, Greyton has gone from a productivist to a post-productivist state in a unique manner relative to the other towns studied in this thesis. Greyton is unique in that three primary events, namely: the practice of agriculture within the actual town boundaries; the introduction of the Group Areas Act (GAA); and the development of second homes have led to different processes of change which have ultimately led to tourism being heralded as the town's main economic force today.

The third section of this chapter will explore the emergence of the tourism economy in this area and how second homes have played an important role in transitions from productivism to post-productivism. The Mpumalanga Province, Highlands Meander and the Maputo Development Corridor have emerged as prominent tourism destinations in South Africa (Rogerson, 2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2007). Dullstroom and its

surrounds are the most important tourism node in the Highlands Meander and constitute 60 percent of its tourism economy (Rogerson, 2002b). The emergence of the post-productivist countryside in Dullstroom and its surrounds has been linked to recreational trout fishing. Rogerson (2002b:184) substantiates this by claiming that: *'Most tourism is linked to activities that are either directly or indirectly associated with trout fishing.'* The Finders Keepers Win A Million Rand that took place during the mid-1980s and rapid agricultural decline in the post-apartheid era is also linked to the development of the post-productivist countryside in this area.

The final section of the chapter moves the analytical focus to Clarens. Clarens is the second most important tourism cluster in the Free State province (Visser and Kotze, 2006) and is considered to be a 'Tourism Mecca' in the Free State province (Marais, 2004; Rogerson, 2004a). Halseth and Meiklejohn (2009) note that Clarens is a successful example of a town that has adopted tourism as a new means of creating new economic opportunities. Clarens is situated in one of South Africa's most advanced post-productivist countrysides. To reach this post-productivist state Clarens went through a very significant transformation from a sleepy hollow to a bustling tourism town. Second homes played an important role as an intermediary occurrence/development to create this transition. This section reviews and analyses these processes.

#### **4.2. The development of post-productivism in Rhodes and its hinterland**

Wilson (2008) argues that post-productivism can be measured on a weak to strong continuum. Rhodes presents a countryside in the initial stages of post-productivism.

This section of the chapter will go some way to demonstrate that there is increasing evidence that Rhodes and its surrounding countryside is becoming increasingly multifunctional. Table 4.1. uses Donaldson's (2009) framework on rural gentrification<sup>9</sup> to provide a brief overview of the transition from an agricultural service centre during the 1890s to late 1960s to the development of an exclusive tourist town in 2010.

The origins of Rhodes lie in the establishment of agricultural activities in the region. The village was developed on the farm Tintern that belonged to Jim Vorster. Vorster agreed to the proclamation of the village on the condition that 100 plots were sold and that it be named after the then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Cecil John Rhodes. A Mr Shaw of Sauer & Osmond sold the plots and Rhodes was founded on 16 September 1891 (Walker, 2004). Nineteen-eighteen saw the establishment of a boarding school and the development of Rhodes as a town, nestled in the agricultural economy of the Barkly East district. During this time, Rhodes experienced what was known as the 'Wool Boom' of the 1950s. Jack (2007) notes that globally many agricultural communities reached the pinnacle of their capital accumulation strategies and heights in productivist output during this time. This seems to be most certainly the case in Rhodes. However, in an attempt by government to control the carrying capacity of agricultural environments, stock reduction schemes were introduced in the 1960s (Benjaminsen, Rohde, Sjaastad, Wisborg and Lebert, 2006). This essentially productivist initiative contributed to the first stages of degradation of the existing farming communities in South Africa. Nevertheless, coinciding with the 'Wool Boom' and stock reduction schemes, an upsurge in the regions' agricultural

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<sup>9</sup> Donaldson's framework on rural gentrification is used to effectively interpret the post-productivist transition in all four case studies. It is believed that a local framework is more effective, where local speaks to local rather than global speaking to local.

economy continued until the 1970s after which gradual decline took place because the country's wool market became saturated. Jack (2007) mentions that many markets globally were swamped with over-production and thus the income generated was lower than what was necessary for survival. Therefore, the important point to make is that the government induced post-productivism unknowingly by some of its policies and initiatives.

As a result, the fortunes of the agricultural economy changed to the point where the village became almost derelict by the late 1960s (Walker, 2004). The countryside in the district of Rhodes, as evident from its historical context (see table 4.1), has undergone numerous changes up until and since the 1970s in which the number of farmers in the region and of permanent residents in Rhodes itself declined significantly. This was the result of numerous factors, not least of which elevated levels of mechanisation (interviewee Barnard). Rhodes was 'rediscovered' during the late 1970s and 1980s by a group of people seeking an alternative lifestyle. This period in local parlance was referred to as the 'Hippie era' (see also Ingle, 2010). '*Counter-cultural*' and '*back-to-the-land*' notions were particularly prevalent during this time (Halfacree, 2006). This is mirrored in the case of Rhodes and other locations in South Africa such as Rustlers Valley close to Ficksburg in the Eastern Free State where these experimentations were done during the 1980s (Visser, 2003b). The advent of the hippie era in Rhodes signalled the beginning of the current post-productivist/second home and tourism phase. The village gradually became better known as a tourist destination and second home town for professionals from South Africa's metropolitan regions, primarily Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban (Du Preez and Lee, 2010). These changes from production to consumption are what Marsden and Murdoch (1990) contend are key to our understanding of the capital accumulation process in a diverse post-Fordist economy.



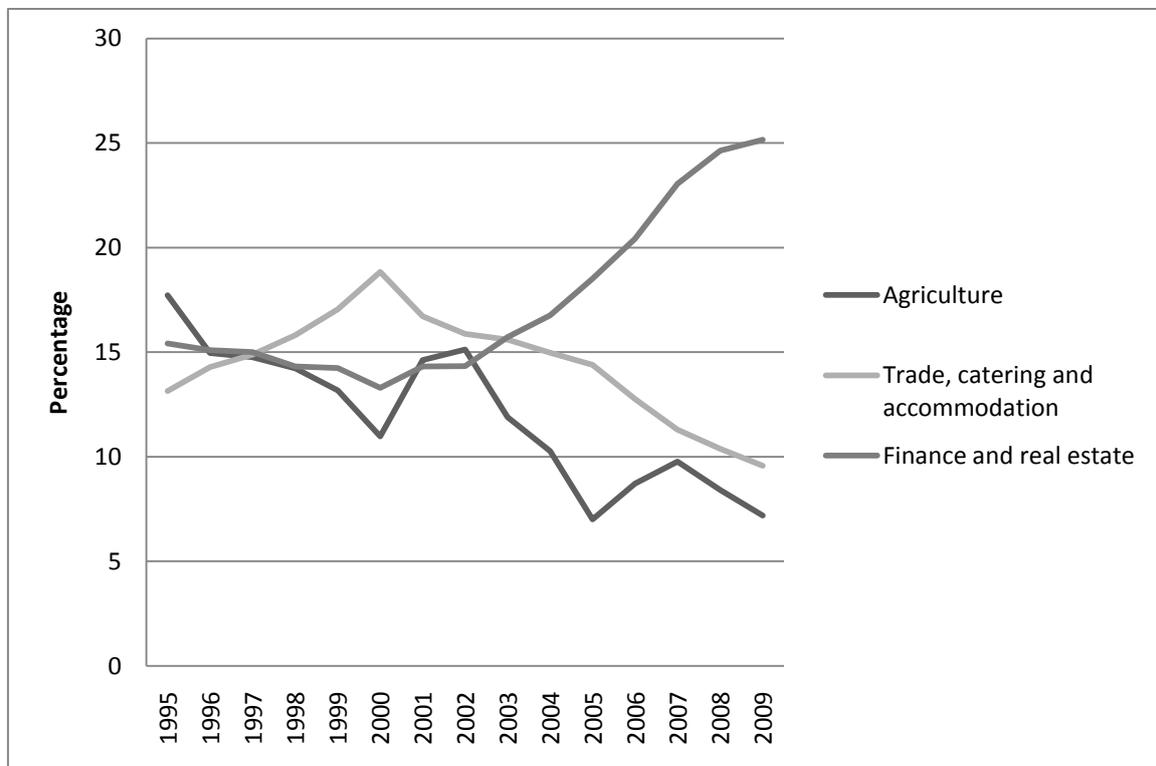
**Figure 4.1: An example of an old townhouse converted to be a second home**

**Table 4.1: Donaldson's framework applied to Rhodes**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Labour/Products</b>	<b>Property relations</b>	<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Finance/ Investments</b>
1891– late 1960s	Agriculture	19 <sup>th</sup> century agricultural village	Afrikaans – speaking community (in white group area (Rhodes) Xhosa/Sesotho (in black group Zakhele)	Agricultural products
1970s– late 1980s	Agriculture in the district, town went derelict	The so-called 'hippie-era', derelict town. Property values extremely low	Apartheid legislation implemented with white and black group areas	Minimal with no electricity or services
late 1980s –2010	Tourism entrepreneurs entered town, local labour used for second homes renovation and emerging tourism ventures	Declared a conservation area in 1997	Growing former black group area with very small population in former white group area	Emerging tourism area and town

Part of the Rhodes attraction for tourists is the character of the town's architecture which finds its origins in the Victorian era (see figure 4.1). Houses range from traders' residences to flat-roofed houses which used to be the town houses of farmers in the surrounding countryside. The attractiveness of these buildings is of such a nature that with a view to maintaining the character and heritage of the village, it was proclaimed as a Conservation Area by Government Gazette (no. 18152) on 25 July 1997. Rhodes was subsequently used as a base station for the Tiffindell Ski Resort construction team in the early 1990s. Owing to increased demand, property prices have increased significantly since the migration of these cohorts to the village.

In terms of changes in the countryside, the withdrawal of state subsidies have had a detrimental effect on the Rhodes countryside. Many farmers have left the Rhodes district because they could not compete in the newly globalised competitive markets after Apartheid. The withdrawal of state subsidies and globalised competitive markets has come to be an integral part of the global post-productivist countryside (see Ilbery and Bowler, 1998). This seems to be the case in Rhodes and its surrounding countryside.



**Figure 4.2: Per sector contribution to the total Gross Value Added in the Senqu Local municipality from 1995–2009**

Additional developments to the consistent change in technology included affluent farmers that bought up available land, which in part came to the market as a result of weak farming practices during the productivist period. The removal of generous farming subsidies after 1994 led to ever more farms being consolidated. In essence,

much of the farmers' narratives are echoed by Atkinson's (2007) work on agricultural change and diversification in South Africa more generally. As well as that, the changes in property ownership can be related to Holmes's (2006) contention that in a post-productivist countryside, market-orientated modes of rural-occupancy stand out. This is potentially part of farmers' attempts to adopt new 'Super-Productivist'<sup>10</sup> strategies of production to survive (Halfacree, 2007).

From the Quantec (2010) database it is clear that agricultural decline has taken place in the Senqu Local Municipality in which Rhodes Village is located. With the advent of the post-productivist period, the Gross Value Added (GVA) contribution in terms of the percentage of the total GVA for agriculture has gone down from an 18% contribution in 1995 to 7% in 2009 (see figure 4.2). However, trade, catering and accommodation which forms a substantial part of the tourism economy has showed substantial growth from 1995 where 13% of the total GVA contribution was from this sector; this reached a pinnacle of 19% in 2000 and has systematically declined since then to 10% in 2009. Finance and real estate of which second home development forms a substantial part has increased substantially from 15% GVA contribution in 1995 to 25% in 2009. These figures have shown that processes relating to tourism-led development have grown in importance since the advent of the post-productivist period and agriculture which was once one of the most important contributors to the local economy is in rapid decline.

Therefore, the process of rural diversification and tourism development in the Rhodes district has mainly been implemented by already affluent farmers who had the means to diversify land use and add to their income streams. For example, at

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<sup>10</sup> Super-productivist strategies relate to farmers adopting highly industrialised farming methods that exceed the food production capabilities of the productivist period (see Halfacree, 2007).

present seven of the seventeen farms in the district provide a range of activities not directly associated with agriculture. The Reedsdell Country Guest Farm close to Rhodes offers numerous activities such as 4x4 routes, fly-fishing, quad-biking, grey-wing shooting, and birding, mountain-biking and hunting, in addition to their cattle farming concerns. Further examples include farmers who have scaled down their livestock farming practices to incorporate tourism products in a prominent manner. This has been done to the point where some farm owners now operate farms in which half of their income stream is generated from tourism-related functions. Many of these farmers feel that such diversification provides them with a more secure income stream, which is not always the case with agriculture. For most farmers, this diversification has been a successful transition (interviewee Jansen) towards a post-productivist mode of production. This is in accordance with Morris and Evans's (1999) characterisations of post-productivism in which farm adjustment strategies have been taking place more and more as evidence has shown in the previous section.

Except for the seven farms that have diversified considerably, the other ten farms have diversified their activities to a lesser extent. For example, most of these farmers are members of the Wild Trout Association (WTA) providing many tourists and second home owners visiting their farms with the opportunity to fly-fish. However, these farmers noted that such activities do not contribute significantly to their incomes (interviewee Anonymous). When looking at Wilson's (2001:78) 'Seven dimensions' of post-productivism, one indicator applies specifically to Rhodes, namely *Ideology*. For example, the often pervasive productivist ideology has all but faded away in the Rhodes district; farmers have embraced this by joining the Wild Trout Association to name but one example. However, Walker (2009) argues that an offshoot of the

work of the Wild Trout Association has been the development of accommodation establishments. He notes that in 1989 there were fewer than ten accommodation establishments in the district, while by 2009 there were over eighty. In a recent study by Du Preez and Lee (2010), it came to the fore that fly-fishing in Rhodes generates about R5,658,240 per year to the economy of Rhodes and supports thirty-nine job opportunities. Du Preez and Lee (2010) argue that this amount might seem quite small, but given the fact that only 15% of Rhodes's residents are formally employed, it does contribute quite a significant amount for the local economy. Especially in this case, where 75% of the population earn less than R800 a month (Du Preez and Lee, 2010). Du Preez and Lee (2010) argue that trout fishing in South Africa is a well established industry and creates employment in the poorest and most underdeveloped regions of the country. This is most certainly the case in Rhodes.

On the whole, the farmers were of the opinion that the overall agricultural economy has diversified significantly over the recent past, albeit that this post-productivist change has mainly added to their income and has not changed the composition of their income stream significantly. The new development of an airfield close by might potentially be a determining factor in the future development of this town. Simultaneously, Rhodes in many instances remains typically paternalistic through its presence of large private landowners that have taken up redundant farms and have become industrialised. This relates directly to Halfacree's (2007) *Super Productivism* where neo-liberal economic conditions to a large extent still dominate agricultural activity, with farmers and farms becoming bigger and more powerful in the wool and beef markets of the country. To them, despite the increases in diversification, the countryside in Rhodes remains a productivist accumulation strategy. For example, in an interview with a local guest farm owner, it came to the

fore that she saw an opportunity to add to their income by upgrading already existing infrastructure such as old farmhouses and livestock paths for hiking and fishing purposes (interviewee Nel), but not at the expense of current farming practices.

The rise of off-farm employment has become widespread in the post-productivist countryside (Evans *et al.*, 2002). This notion could be applied to South Africa and more specifically to the situation in Rhodes where the increasing population numbers in Zakhele to find work and limiting of labour used on farms have become commonplace. In addition, the migration of individuals from nearby towns to find jobs in the growing tourism industry in Rhodes could be seen as a classic example of off-farm employment developing. More individuals are finding non-farm or non-agricultural related ventures to work in, be it by doing piece jobs for seasonal second home owners to working in the more than eighty different accommodation ventures in the district. With the growing popularity of fly-fishing, as well as the increased popularity of horse riding, quad-biking and hunting, it is inevitable that more people will rather work in these ventures than traditional farm labour. Whereas Rhodes acted as a supply centre for the surrounding farming community in the past, the tourism industry now contributes significantly to the town's economy and much of its economic base has adapted accordingly. However, most residents from the former 'black' group area are still mostly employed in the agricultural industry. Thus far, only marginal employment has been created by the tourism industry in the region but significantly in the village (interviewee Reeders). In opposition to this, a local farmer suggested that he felt that the diversification of land uses as a whole throughout the region has contributed enough to extra income and employment for the local community in Zakhele, that if it was not present in the economic situation,

many cohorts would have been much worse (interviewee Jansen). In closing, an important point to make is that the drivers of super-productivism and post-productivism in the case of Rhodes are clearly white. A worrying contention would be that the new capital accumulation strategies of the post-productivist countryside remain in the hands of the white and wealthy.

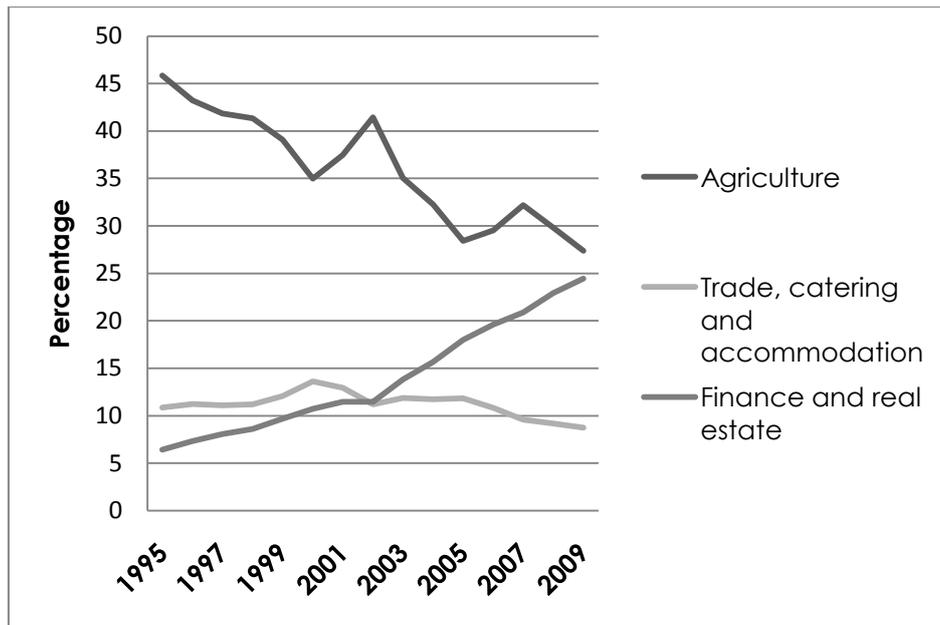
### **4.3. Post-productivism: the unique case of Greyton**

Despite the apparent success of the post-productivist transition in the Western Cape, agriculture in the Theewaterskloof Local Municipality in which Greyton is situated, has systematically gone into decline (see figure 4.3).

For example, the total contribution of agriculture to GVA was 46% in 1995 and has gone down to 27% in 2009<sup>11</sup>. Trade, catering and accommodation and the development of the tourism industry have stayed fairly stable over the post-productivist period with 11% contribution in 1995 and 9% contribution in 2009. However, finance and real estate have shown very significant growth from a 6% contribution to GVA in 1995 to 24% in 2009 (Quantec, 2010). It is clear that property speculation and second home development have come to be a very important part of the economy of this local municipality in the post-productivist era. It can also be argued that the decline in agriculture in this area, has allowed for tourism development to take place at a greater scale than in the productivist period.

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<sup>11</sup> Agriculture remains a main contributor, but it can be predicted that other contributors will overtake agriculture in future and if current trends are considered, agriculture will continue to decline.



**Figure 4.3: Per sector contribution to the total Gross Value Added in the Theewaterskloof Local municipality from 1995–2009**

However, these developments played out in a unique manner in the case of Greyton (as compared to the other case studies). Derek Crabtree, a permanent resident of Greyton, notes: *'Over the years, the economy of Greyton has changed tremendously, whereas it used to be a self-sufficient farming community, where you farm your own crops, that's changed dramatically. Very few people (if any) still farm. It has become a recreational leisure paradise. There used to be three or four shops, there are now a lot of art shops and other shops. The economy has changed from agriculture to tourism completely. It's a tourism and recreation town now.'*



**Figure 4.4: A second home in Greyton**

The following sections will trace this development, however, please note that this section of the chapter only explores the changes within Greyton itself, not the surrounding countryside. The reason for this is because Greyton presents a unique example where agriculture was practised within the town itself as a means of survival and then changed to other activities. Three primary events are discussed: first, the practice of agriculture within the actual town boundaries; second, the introduction of the Group Areas Act; third, second home development. Finally, these three events have led tourism to be the main economic force in Greyton in a post-productivist era.

#### *4.3.1. The changing environment of Greyton*

This section relies heavily on Donaldson's (2009:91) framework (see Table 4.2) which tracks the space and time configurations of the processes that indicated gentrification in his study of Greyton, but for the purposes of this investigation, it serves as a useful framework to display the changing, built environment in Greyton, as well as its post-productivist transition in three phases leading to its current state.

Firstly, the town was laid out in 1854, and its architectural character remains predominantly Victorian and Cape Dutch with thatched cottages being the typical style of residence (see figure 4.4) (Ferreira, 2007). In 1882, 53 of the 160 plots were sold, of which two-thirds were bought by 'non-whites' as they were classified by the later Apartheid government. In tracking the transition from a productivist to a post-productivist condition it is evident from Donaldson's framework that the productivist phase in Greyton's development from 1884–1979 is very homogeneous, not only in terms of its labour usage, but also in the uses of properties. For example, the majority of the properties were used for residential and agricultural purposes only. Moreover, the demographics of the town remained homogeneous with a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking white and coloured community involved in the economic development of the town.

**Table 4.2: Donaldson's (2009:91) framework of time, space and gentrification process outcomes in Greyton**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Labour/Products</b>	<b>Property relations</b>	<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Finance/ Investments</b>
1884–1979	Agriculture	Nineteenth century agricultural village	Afrikaans – speaking community (white and coloured)	Agricultural products
1980–1984	Change from agriculture to weekend second home retreats	Distortion of historic aesthetic through development of a township (at main entrance of town). Devalorisation of agricultural properties by lone gentrifiers.	Apartheid legislation segregation of community (white and non-white). White depopulation and increased second home owners	Creation of local real estate markets for urbanites
1985–1993	Tourism entrepreneurs, local labour used for renovations	Architectural restorations, subdivisions	Urban-rural migration more permanent	Emerging tourism area
1994–2007	Circulation of ideas (local newspaper), information (tourism centre), committees (historic conservation), recreation of agricultural lifestyle (Saturday market), arts and crafts	Re-creation of architectural styles, gated community development, land claims, state subsidised low-cost housing. Investment in restaurants and tourism accommodation	Retirement, second occupation (tourism entrepreneurs), population increase (older than 55)	Property boom (real estate market now exclusively for the rich), exclusive tourist spaces, expanding tourism/hospitality industry

Secondly, unlike many of the towns in South Africa, the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950) was very uneven and only slowly introduced in many areas that are located in the Western Cape Province. The notorious Group Areas Act, which enforced strict racial segregation in settlement patterns, was only promulgated in 1969. This forced residents classified as 'non-white' to relocate to a new township outside of the town, called Heuwelkroon, which spatially fragmented the built environment (Donaldson 2009:91). It is Donaldson's (2009) view that the

implementation of Apartheid legislation, at least to an extent, initiated the processes of rural (small town) gentrification in Greyton. For the purposes of this study it could be argued that the village of Greyton started the processes of the productivist to post-productivist transition with the implementation of the GAA. The forced removals initiated by the implementation of the GAA implied that coloured residents lost their means of subsistence agriculture<sup>12</sup> (Donaldson, 2009:92). Moreover, Donaldson (2009:92) notes that Heuwelkroon, the location to which the coloured residents were forcibly removed, did not have any space allotted for agricultural pursuits. In fact, in many instances the former fertile agricultural land in Greyton laid uncultivated (Donaldson, 2009:92). Indeed, when paying attention to the second line of Table 4.2., the change in social relationships in the towns was accompanied by the change in emphasis from agricultural activity to property speculation and investment for holiday and retirement purposes (Donaldson, 2009). As Donaldson (2009) notes, the historic aesthetic of Greyton was disrupted by the implementation of the GAA, but this however, did allow the property market of the town to be ready for an establishment of a local real estate market of wealthy urbanites from especially Cape Town. The GAA played an important role in creating a favourable economic climate for white second home owners to acquire properties, in fact, the GAA not only displaced the coloured residents, but the predominantly white Afrikaans community moved out of Greyton to migrate to larger urban centres in the region. Because changes in markets from local to regional markets are synonymous with the productivist efforts of the Apartheid government (see Mather and Adelzedah, 1997) interviewee Kemp is of the view that the outmigration of the white Afrikaans community is a resultant market change that reorientated itself during the height of productivist agricultural restructuring that supported larger markets in South

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<sup>12</sup> Note that subsistence agriculture is not generally associated with productivist agricultural regimes (see Halfacree, 2006).

Africa. In this case, produce rather went to Cape Town, instead of servicing local markets and to provide a basis for self sufficiency. The white Afrikaans community that were left behind had very little choice but to look at other areas for economic survival. As a result no small farms are left in the district and agriculture that took place in the town has all but disappeared.

Thirdly, as a result, second homes became the predominant feature of the White Group Area of Greyton. Indeed, during the research process, many interviewees acknowledged the change from agriculture as the main feature of the town to second home development. Maurice Bishop notes: *'When I got here, there was [sic] about 200 people living here and the majority of the properties were second homes.'* Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking white community sold their properties to city-dwellers and subsequently roads were tarred, which encouraged development, especially with the intention of developing tourism ventures (Kemp 2000). Donaldson notes in his framework, that since 1985, the main processes that characterise Greyton at present, emerged. By the end of the 1990s, entrepreneurs involved in tourism activities and ventures started to operate in town. This is unique given the state of decline of many small towns in South Africa (see Hoogendoorn and Nel, 2009). During this period, urban to rural migration started gaining momentum (see Mitchell, 2004 for discussion on different processes of urban to rural migration and counterurbanisation). Retirement migration has formed the bulk of this migration for retirees from Cape Town. At present, about a third of the permanent residents are retirees (interviewee Kemp).

As a result of these three events and processes, during the late 1990s the town also developed further as a tourist destination and weekend getaway for second home owners (Donaldson, 2009). Restorations, redevelopments and subdivisions of

properties took place which would in essence prepare Greyton for the changes that would occur from 1994. At present, the urban fabric of Greyton has become quite complex in comparison to its simplistic productivist beginnings. For example, in the development of services and initiatives, permanent residents and permanent in-migrants have been particularly instrumental, these include the emergence of a local newspaper, as well as the establishment of local committees. For example, interviewee Pat Smith notes all the different committees in town *'...we've got the aesthetics committee, the Red Cross and the rate payers association. We've got quite an active tourism organisation. There are many networks that will assist both the permanent residents and the second homeowners; nobody has to be left out.'*

The tourism initiatives of the town have flourished. At present, tourism enterprises in Greyton include twelve restaurant, five bed and breakfasts, three guest houses, three lodges and three hotels, forty self-catering cottages and houses, as well as eleven art galleries. A variety of other commercial ventures are also available such as Yoga centres and Health and Beauty spas. Halfacree's (2007:131) *Consuming idylls* applies to Greyton's development where entrepreneurial ventures have orientated themselves to consumption-based production. The changes that have taken place in Greyton question particular debates on post-productivism as a process that often displaces agriculture (see Walford, 2003; Evans, Morris and Winter, 2002). Going hand-in-hand with these developments has been a very lucrative property market. Leon Nel a property agent claimed that there is a very high turnover of properties in the town, and this has been accelerated by the non-permanent properties owners and second home owners who own a property for about two to five years and sell it at a profit. As Donaldson (2009) has aptly mentioned, the tourism developments and property boom have created exclusive

tourist spaces and an expanding tourism and hospitality industry. It is clear that Greyton has come a long way from its productivist beginnings where self-sufficiency and food security were of importance to a post-productivist state where exclusive tourism ventures are the new economic development mean of the town.

However, some developments of concern, have arisen in recent years. First the development of a gated community in a relatively crime-free zone has been of concern to many permanent residents (Donaldson, 2009). Nevertheless, it was noted that this gated community formed part of a retirement centre (Interviewee Kemp). Land claims have also arisen because of the forced removals of coloured residents during apartheid, although it seems that very little has come of this. Moreover, the development of low-cost housing subsidised by the state is of concern to many tourism entrepreneurs in terms of the aesthetics of the town and its place marketing possibilities.

#### **4.4. A post-productivist Dullstroom: trout fishing paradise**

The post-productivist developments of Dullstroom and its surrounding countryside took place because of three events that shaped its current condition. The first of these events was the stocking of trout in the rivers and dams of the area which gave rise to recreational fishing in the area. The second event was the Finders Keepers Win a Million Rand competition during the mid-1980s that gave massive exposure to Dullstroom in terms of its tourism capabilities. The third event and process, is agricultural decline which has resulted in farmers incorporating tourism ventures into their main economic endeavours to create a post-productivist countryside. As a result, this section of the chapter will commence by discussing the historical

developments of Dullstroom linked to the three main events, as well as the influence of tourism in decline in this area.

Dullstroom was settled by Dutch immigrants in the early 1880s and was proclaimed a town by President Paul Kruger in 1882 (see table 4.3 for the historical development of Dullstroom using Donaldson's framework).

By 1893, the town consisted of forty-eight residents in eight houses, three stables, ten cattle kraals and a trading store (Urban Dynamics 2007). In May 1900, the town was occupied by invading British soldiers during the South African War (1899–1902) and partially destroyed. The women and children from Dullstroom were sent to a concentration camp in the nearby town of Belfast. After the war, many of the Dutch immigrant population returned to the Netherlands but a substantial amount came back to the village to rebuild. By the 1920s, eight shops were established and in 1921 the village was granted town council status. A mix of nineteenth and twentieth century architecture characterises the houses in the town (see figure 4.5).

The first event that gave rise to Dullstroom's post-productivist nature was the stocking of trout in the rivers of the Dullstroom area in 1927 and some recreational fishing was done. Dullstroom, however, remained primarily an agricultural service centre up until the mid-1960s when recreational trout fishing started gaining popularity (Urban Dynamics, 2007). From 1965 to 1966, the municipal dam covered fourteen hectares and stocked it with seventeen thousand fingerlings of rainbow and brown trout (Urban Dynamics, 2007).

**Table 4.3: Donaldson's framework applied to Dullstroom to track productivist to post-productivist developments**

Period	Labour/Products	Property relations	Demographic	Finance/ Investments
1882–1970s	Agriculture	Nineteenth/twentieth century agricultural village	Afrikaans-speaking community (white group area) – Black group area called Sakhelwe with a mixture of African cultures	Agricultural products with some recreational trout fishing
1970–1988	Combination of agriculture and recreational fishing	Finders Keepers Win a Million Rand brought exposure to the town. Second homes are purchased	Apartheid legislation still implemented with urban to rural migration taking place from the Gauteng province	Creation of local real estate markets for urbanites
1988–2005	Tourism ventures and large estate developments	Second homes and bustling tourism town, large estate developments	Urban-rural migration at its peak with 'outsiders' moving to Dullstroom to open business	Strong tourism destination. 'Millionaires playground.' Exclusive tourist spaces.
2005–2010	Declining tourism ventures with minimal agricultural activities present in the town	Closing down of large estates, with rapidly growing township and social housing being created	Smaller scale white tourism entrepreneurs with large township of mixture of black cultures	Property and business recession, however still predominantly tourism ventures

From the 1970s, fly-fishing possibilities in the region were solidified by the establishment of private sector commercial trout-farming hatcheries in the Kwena Basin Conservancy (a location situated between Lydenburg, Belfast, Machadodorp, Waterval Boven and Sabie) (Rogerson, 2002b:145). Although these trout hatcheries

were in part established to increase food production opportunities, these developments were strengthened by pioneer tourists, mostly fly-fishers, predominantly from Gauteng (Rogerson, 2002b). Cloke and Goodwin (1992) make note of this by claiming that expanded consumption interests from metropolitan areas assisted in the dismantling of productivist notions. Interviewee Keaveney, a local fly shop operator, noted: *'I used to live in Johannesburg. I would stay here for the weekend and go back again. I eventually bought a house in town so that I can stay here for the weekend and go back to Johannesburg again. I came every weekend. When I retired, I came and stayed here permanently. A lot of people have done that.'*

This situation was made possible to a large extent by improved transport access from South Africa's economic heartland – Johannesburg. This increased possibilities to develop the area's tourism potential (Rogerson, 2002b). Rogerson (2002b:145) argues that the *'tourism resources of this area therefore initially opened up in response to the demands of domestic tourism, as Dullstroom became the farthest eastern edge of what might be termed 'the pleasure periphery' of the Witwatersrand.'* By the late 1970s, tourism developed further in the town, and it was seen as a gateway to tourist attractions of the Lowveld region such as Pilgrim's Rest, Bourke's Luck, Sabie, God's Window and the biggest attraction of the region, the Kruger National Park (interviewee A. Vaid). According to Rogerson (2002b:146) in the mid-1980s the first notable external private investment was lured to the region with the development of the Critchley Hackle luxury lodge which started in 1988.



**Figure 4.5: An example of a recently built second home in Dullstroom**

Secondly, the single most important event, according to Rogerson (2002b:146) that put Dullstroom firmly on the tourist map of South Africa was the Finders Keepers Sunday Times Win a Million Rand (see Table 4.3) competition in which weekends away in the town were offered as a prize and has acted as a catalyst for a whole string of new private sector investments and lured many new residents. According to Rogerson (2002b:146), since 1988 there has been a constant flow of new investment into the town, so much so that it has transformed from a sleepy farming village to the central axis of tourism in the Highlands Meander. From personal in-depth interviews it was determined that the estate developments in the region are owned by developers from Gauteng province; they also have resultantly extensive effects on the development of the town in, for example, drawing labour to their

developments. During this period, second homes also emerged as an integral part of the town's make-up. The following issues were uncovered.



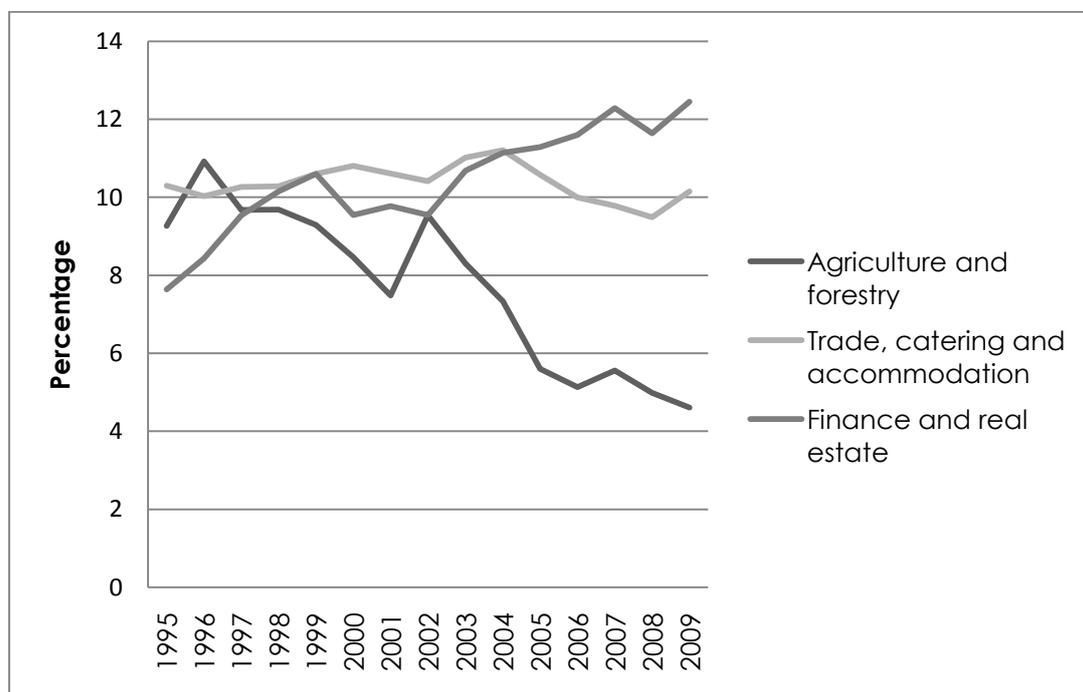
**Figure 4.6: An example of a variety of activities offered at one estate development in Dullstroom**

The *Paternalistic countryside* – which is typified by the estates of large private landowners (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998) is relevant to Dullstroom, where many large estates employ many people, catering for the elite classes of Gauteng. By the early 1990s, the most important development was the construction of an upmarket lodge called Walkersons which opened in 1993 (Rogerson, 2002b:146). Moreover, from 1995 to 1999 it is estimated that R8.5 million was invested in Dullstroom, mostly in

pubs, restaurants and retailing (Rogerson, 2002b:146). Today, Dullstroom is one of five towns that fall within the Highlands Meander, other towns being Belfast, Machadodorp, Lydenburg and Waterval-Boven, in the Mpumalanga Province which forms part of the Maputo Development Corridor (Rogerson, 2002b:145). The Maputo Development Corridor is seen as South Africa's most developed Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) (Rogerson, 2001).

In addition, Dullstroom forms part of the Highlands Trout Triangle Association (HTTA) which is seen as one of the most popular fly-fishing regions in Africa and reportedly has one of the largest concentrations of trout dams in Africa, with over 1200 dams (Rogerson, 2002b:153). An anonymous interviewee posited the following regarding the influence of trout fishing in the district: *'Trout fishing is the greatest attraction of Dullstroom.'* Another interviewee stated, *'I would say that trout fishing is the only constant in the town. If it was not for the trout fishing, Dullstroom would not have emerged as a tourist destination.'* Trout fishing is deeply entrenched in the tourism destination image of Dullstroom. Marketing mechanisms of the entrepreneurial ventures of the town and area make extensive use of Dullstroom's reputation as a prime trout fishing destination (De Jager, 2010). The core tourism product of the region, and Dullstroom specifically, is trout fishing, yet the diversity of adventure-based activities such as rock climbing, abseiling, hiking and mountain-biking has served to strengthen and diversify tourism in the area (see figure 4.6. for an example of diversified activities offered at estate developments) (Rogerson, 2004a). Recently there have been developments in terms of a new vulture viewing centre and sport tourism has also developed with high-altitude training taking place for athletes (Interviewee Kilbride).

Thirdly, the Emakhazeni Local Municipality in which Dullstroom is located has undergone decline in agriculture and forestry (Rogerson, 2002b). In 1995, agriculture and forestry contributed 9% to the GVA, while in 2009 it had dropped down to 5% (see figure 4.7). Rogerson (2002b) argues that this decline has been influenced by factors such as changing governmental policies in terms of subsidies and land restitution claims. These processes were experienced countrywide during the early to late 1990s and early 2000s (Mather and Adelzadeh, 1997).



**Figure 4.7: Per sector contribution to the total GVA in the Emakhazeni Local Municipality (1995–2009)**

Trade, catering and accommodation has remained quite stable: the GVA contribution was 10% in 1995 and 10% in 2009 (see figure 4.7). Finance and real estate, of which the estate and second home development have played an important role, has grown in contribution from 8% in 1995 to 12% in 2009. Thus, it seems that tourism-led development has grown (see Rogerson, 2002b, for similar

observations). Therefore, Rogerson (2002b) makes an important point with regard to tourism development in the Highlands Meander; that it is not in conflict with other economic activities in the region. (This idea opposes the anti post-productivist notions in literature that argue that farmers are often unified in their opposition in post-productivist developments – see for example: Walford, 2003; Wilson, 2001; Evans, Morris and Winter, 2002). Indeed, according to Rogerson (2002b) many farmers' responses to a problematic and uncertain state of agriculture have been to freeze their capital commitments or to disinvest from farming. This disinvestment is often connected to attempts made to diversify incomes by converting their farms to incorporate leisure or activity-based tourism. As a result, the cooperative closed down in Dullstroom in 2008, some farmers still use the local mill in town, yet most farmers drive to Belfast if they need to do any business related to their enterprises. Crime has had a devastating influence on the agricultural sector of the district. Rogerson (2002b) notes that stock theft has been the main difficulty facing farmers; in addition, farm attacks and murders have been systematically escalating.

In response to this situation, numerous examples exist where farmers have diversified their incomes by refurbishing and transforming their agro-enterprises to focus on business tourism through establishment of small conference centres linked to team-building weekends (Rogerson, 2002b). The *Clientelist countryside* of Halfacree and Boyle (1998) applies to this case study – agriculture is important in the Highlands Meander, but corporatist development has been taking place, especially catering for conference venues and team-building weekends. The interviewees substantiated this claim. Local fly shop owner Bruce Boshoff noted: '*The farmers have diversified. They had to. They all have dams, they have stocked it [sic] with trout, built a few chalets, and advertised, and 'voila' a secondary industry. I would*

*say a lot of the farms that were working farms are now recreational farms that host activities connected to hospitality. They have diversified. An anonymous former restaurant added: 'a fair estimate would be that about 10% of all farms in the district have switched over completely to tourism while about 50% have incorporated diversified elements into their ventures.'*

In terms of Halfacree's (2007) more recent categorisations, Dullstroom has some resonance. For example, *Super-productivism*, which envisages the notions of productivism through neo-liberal economic climates and the maximisation of profit, has been key to South Africa's agricultural neo-liberal reform as Rogerson's work has noted. The countryside is seen as an accumulation strategy but by incorporating diversified elements, it could be argued that certain farms or businesses on farms, might not have survived if it was not for the diversified elements present in it. In addition, Dullstroom and the Highlands Meander, as a whole, present a very strong case for Morris and Evans's (2002) claim that post-productivism goes hand-in-hand with farm adjustment strategies and new farm business development routes.

Despite agricultural decline, integration has occurred. This is evident through the bulb producer HADECO which supports the Tulip and Trout festivals in Belfast (Rogerson, 2002b). Morris and Evans (1999) have argued that changes in agriculture in the post-productivist state have been inclusive of more sustainable forms of farming and as a result integrate different forms of agriculture. Marsden (1995) calls this agrarian integration, where pluri-activity goes hand in hand with pluri-income. Nevertheless, trout fishing forms the basis of the Dullstroom countryside in its post-productivist state. Rogerson (2002b:148) notes that trout fishing in Dullstroom is pursued in two set localities; first, private water linked to lodges, small hotels, timeshare resorts often called trout syndicates and second locality is on water

leased by local fly-fishing clubs and associations, this represents a high percentage of fishable water which is an asset to local authorities.

Jim Keaveney a local fly-fishing operator notes with regard to development connected to trout fishing in the district: *'There are a lot of developments on the surrounding farms. Some residents are members of trout syndicates and use it as timeshare. Mostly it is four weeks a year. Verlorenkloof is an example of such a development. Some of these second homeowners don't necessarily own timeshares, but they have second homes in town, but they still belong to syndicates which look after the properties that they fish on. The development of the town initially was very slow, but fishing has always been the attraction.'* At present, the river catchments surrounding Dullstroom house about sixty-one trout fishing facilities: the Olifant houses twenty-two; the Crocodile has thirty-three; and the Nkomati has six. This means that over sixty farms stretching from Lydenburg to Waterval Boven are involved as fishing and accommodation providers (Du Toit, 2004). As noted before, Evans *et al.* (2002) argue that the growth of on-farm diversification can be widespread in the post-productivist countryside and that has certainly been the case in Dullstroom where it was noted by one interviewee that 95% of people that have work in Sakhelwe work in the tourism industry. The increased diversification of farms towards tourism initiatives such as conference centre developments, self-catered accommodation services, trout fishing and the forming of trout syndicates has increased pluriactivity not traditionally associated with agriculture. This accords with Wilson and Rigg (2003) who argue that during the 1990s a growing awareness emerged in which households who found themselves in agriculture could approach food security through other multiple and shifting means (Ellis, 1998; Wilson and Rigg, 2003).

Lastly, since South Africa went into recession in 2008, it seems that Dullstroom has been hard hit. Interviewees have noted that a high business turnover has become commonplace, with the buying and selling of businesses and properties as a whole escalating. Numerous estates have closed down, however it was noted that the developments in and around Dullstroom also attempted to over-exploit the available clientele and beyond the projected economic growth of the town, but also more than what the infrastructure of the town could handle. The Highland Gate Estate is probably the most famous golf estate that has closed down (Muller, 2009). One interviewee stated that: *'While we were there, there were eight different estate type developments that closed down. With the recession, it also seems that people were rather using self-catered accommodation units rather than catered options. Many of these estates have also taken people outside of Dullstroom. They go to estates and stay there the entire weekend, and never come to town to eat at the restaurants or frequent shops. In addition, the town's most prestigious fly-fishing festival/competition the Dullstroom Classic ceased to be about two years ago.'* The closing down of estates, the consequent move towards self-catered accommodation, the ceasing of main festivals, the general state of deterioration of the town because of poor service delivery has changed the type of clientele Dullstroom caters for. It was posited by an anonymous interviewee that a few years back Dullstroom used to be a millionaire's playground. The area has been increasingly changing and accommodating middle to lower income tourists.

The following issues will present Dullstroom with further issues in terms of rejuvenating their tourism economy. Evidence from Rogerson's (2002b) work and interview data, has shown that the systematic shedding of labour and increasing unemployment levels in the district has in the case of Dullstroom led to the expansion of the

residential population of the township and surrounds owing to in-migration from farms. Interviewee A. Vaid a local shop worker substantiated Rogerson's claims: *'...if we look at the past, farmers had to give tenure status to their worker. So what rather happened is, they did not give their workers tenure, and preferred to come and pick them up in the township, rather than actually giving them a piece of land. In that sense, the tourism developments in the town have not really contributed to the welfare of the Sakhelwe community, because there were hordes and hordes of people coming in, and thus nobody could get their head above water. So it pushed a lot of unemployed people to the town.'*

In terms of local job creation through tourism in Dullstroom it was noted by a restaurant owner that: *'For the people of Sakhelwe, there are no jobs for them in town or on the farms, except in the tourism industry.'* It was also noted in the same discussion that: *'There are about thirty places people can eat. I'm talking about coffee shops included. So you are looking at six people working per place on average. So that's on average 180 people. Dunkeld Estate has about eighty people working for them and Walkersons Estate has about sixty employees. Best case scenario: five hundred people out of three thousand people are employed in tourism. And there is a lady that has garden services and cleaning services and she employs maximum ten people.'* Although this points to general under-employment and a high unemployment rate and a declining agricultural sector, Dullstroom might present an opportunity for work, where towns such as Belfast, Waterval Boven and Waterval Onder have not undergone the same tourism developments and do not present the same employment benefits as Dullstroom.

**Table 4.4: Donaldson's framework applied to Clarens**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Labour/Products</b>	<b>Property relations</b>	<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Finance/ Investments</b>
1912–1985	Agriculture/Retirement village for local farmers	Twentieth century agricultural village	Afrikaans-speaking community (white group area) – with small black group area (Sesotho speaking)	Agricultural products
1986–1994	Coexistence of agriculture with some tourism ventures and housing location for labourers from the LHWP	Many properties being bought up by wealthy entrepreneurs/second homes emerging/housing for LHWP workers	Apartheid legislation applied yet transitions occurring from Afrikaans to English speaking community. Former black group area slowly growing (Sesotho speaking)	Creation of local real estate markets for urbanites, yet short recession in 1994
1995–2010	Tourism entrepreneurs, local labour used for creation of many new development including estates and second homes	Architecturally 'sandstone' being the main feature (see figure 4.5)	Urban-rural migration more permanent for whites and rapidly growing township	Tourism destination. Property boom (real estate market now exclusively for the rich), exclusive tourist spaces, expanding tourism/hospitality industry

#### **4.5. The development of a post-productivist countryside in Clarens**

Clarens is located 320 kilometres from South Africa's economic powerhouse Johannesburg. Clarens was established in 1912 and subsequently developed as a retirement town for farmers and to service the agricultural sector of the district until 1985 (see Table 4.4 for Donaldson's framework applied to Clarens) (Marais, 2004).

Clarens's post-productivist characteristics and development coincided with population growth and changes in the surrounding hinterland (see Table 4.4 & 4.5). It is proposed that four events have led to Clarens's transition to a post-productivist state.

First, Clarens developed as a retirement and services centre for the surrounding region, but the retirement culture of the town was disrupted when a businessperson from Pretoria in the mid-1980s started to purchase properties in the town. He then embarked upon the development of the town's tourism potential. Along with such changes, second home investment commenced at the same time (Halseth and Meiklejohn, 2009) (see figure 4.8 for an example of a newly built second home). This change was met with resistance by especially the retirees of the town with distinct anti-development notions resisting many of the new initiatives (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004). Local decision-making has also been particularly influenced by a number of individuals that have to a large extent steered Clarens towards its current function. Halfacree and Boyle (1998) have noted that the 'contested development for consumption uses' is a prominent feature of the post-productivist countryside and has been an issue of much debate in Clarens. Such contention, it should be noted, has remained with anti-developmentalism now seen especially with respect to upper-class in-migrants that develop homes and businesses outside the historic architectural aesthetic of the town and district.

More importantly for the focus of this thesis, Clarens grew as a town in which most of its economic focus is related to tourism activities (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004). The rise of Clarens as a tourism destination, has unlike most small towns in South Africa resulted in a large amount of capital and high level skills to enter Clarens during a period linked to the development of tourism. There are currently 147 bed

and breakfasts, 24 restaurants and 20 art galleries operating in Clarens (interviewee Weyers, 2009). Large tourism providers are also entering the market, as seen in the newly completed Protea Hotel (of the largest South African hotel group) development. The *Clientelist countryside* – or corporatist development – will feature in Clarens in the future (Halfacree, 1998:8). In the process, the employment base of the town and the hinterland has increased significantly but also shifted away from productivist agriculture (R. Crowther, 2009).



**Figure 4.8: An example of a newly built second home in Clarens incorporating sandstone elements**

In addition, the image portrayed by the tourism product offering echoes Halfacree's contention (2007:131) in *Consuming idylls* that 'urban-influenced forces initiates its consumption based focus' leading to Clarens becoming the new furthest edge of

Gauteng's and other places 'pleasure periphery.' The surrounding farms have adapted to the newfound economic focus of the town. At present the countryside around Clarens has twenty-one (out of the forty) farms that include activities that are not traditionally associated with livestock farming, with ten of the farms having switched to 'tourism-only' endeavours according to well-placed residents of long-standing in the Clarens district. Twenty-two farmers have applied for the rights to fragment and sub-divide their farms with some of them having applied to develop up to 18 properties on their farms, with plot sizes ranging between 1 and 2 hectares in size, most of which are to be used for second home development (interviewee Weyers, 2009).

Secondly, significant changes in the town came from a different source in 1990 when the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) required the construction of a tunnel from Katse Dam in Lesotho to the Ash River just outside of Clarens (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004). The headquarters, along with the living quarters of the construction teams of the LHWP were stationed in Clarens in 1990. During this process, the infrastructure of Clarens was upgraded substantially. This resulted in the construction of sixty-three new housing units, tarred roads connecting Clarens to a number of towns in the region, the development of better water supply, electricity and telecommunications. The large number of foreign contractors from countries such as Switzerland and the Netherlands also demanded upgrading in leisure services such as restaurants and bars. This activity also resulted in an increased population in Kgubetswana, the former black group area township of Clarens (see Table 4.5) (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004). By 1994, after the completion of the tunnel, the town was temporarily thrown into recession. The recession was short-lived as the already present and resourceful businessmen in the town started to promote

Clarens as a leisure hideaway in the national media (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004).

**Table 4.5: The changing population of Clarens from 1985–2009 (Marais, 2004:20; Spatial Development Framework, 2008/2009)**

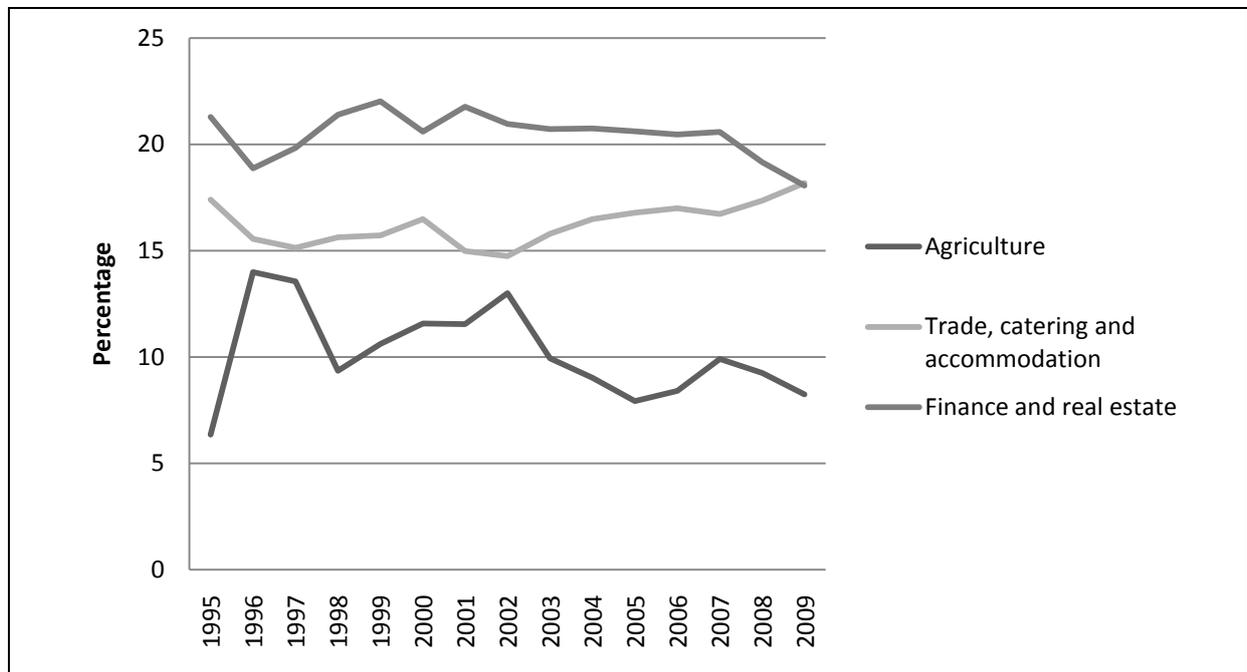
Year	Clarens	Kgubetswana	Total	Annual Growth
1985	200	670	870	n.a.
1991	276	1224	1500	10%
1996	587	1949	2536	11%
2001	459	3622	4081	10%
2009	538	4243	4781	15%

Thirdly, there has been considerable decline in the agricultural industry in the Clarens district. This links closely to Ilbery and Bowler's (1998) so-called 'Known Characteristics' of the post-productivist countryside. There has been a reduction in farm output, not necessarily on a farm-to-farm basis, but the district as a whole according to interviewees. Many productivist-era farmers have given up their farms, largely because of land claims, crime and withdrawal of state subsidies. Competitive markets have also meant that some farmers have changed their output away from cattle farming, to cherry, apple and asparagus farming which require different labour regimes (interviewee E. Crowther, 2009).

Within the Dihlabeng local municipality in which Clarens is situated, agriculture has gone systematically into decline. Agriculture contributed 6% to the GVA in 1995, experienced a high of 12% in 2001, and dropped down to 8% in 2009<sup>13</sup>. By contrast, trade, catering and accommodation (which forms part of the broader tourism economy) has remained stable with a 17% contribution in 1995 and 18% in 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Figure 4.9 shows the unstable nature of agriculture in the Dihlabeng municipality which is one reason why farmers have considered post-productivist initiatives.

Finance and real estate has shown marginal change where it contributed 21% in 1995 and 18% in 2009.



**Figure 4.9: Percentage contribution to the GVA per sector in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality (1995–2009)**

These changes have resulted in farmers making greater use of migrant and seasonal labour. This practice is quite an expensive form of labour, but short term, and seasonal employment of labourers has also negatively affected the local population, where permanent labourers had permanent, though low wages, while migrant and seasonal labourers have irregular incomes (interviewee R. Crowther, 2009).

In addition, farmers have changed their product ranges because of extreme levels of cattle theft coordinated from neighbouring Lesotho. The lack of security is mainly the result of post-apartheid policy decisions in which apartheid-era border patrols have been abandoned. In addition, the 'commando' system of community

policing was abolished by the new government, owing to the perception that it was an apartheid era structure. At present, the Eastern Free State is one of the most severely affected regions in the country, suffering great losses in terms of livestock theft. In Clarens itself, the decline of government support for the local cooperative and a move away from farming resulted in the cooperative becoming unprofitable and closing (interviewee R. Crowther, 2009). The main commercial activities in this regard are now conducted in the nearby and larger Bethlehem. Taken together, in the Clarens area 'a movement towards sustainable, new forms of agriculture, and the withdrawal of support from 'purely agricultural foci' is a widespread occurrence (Halfacree, 2007:131).

The fourth contributing factor has been the general tendency of farmers, since 1994, not to provide on-farm housing facilities for their farm workers. This has been a combined result of mainly farmers' responses to new agricultural labour policies and land tenure legislation. This has led to the retrenchment of a large number of farm workers, with farmers preferring to let their remaining farm workers commute between the nearest town and the farm. In the absence of apartheid-era influx control, redundant workers now have the choice to locate to Clarens as opposed to the former QwaQwa homeland.

#### **4.6. Conclusion and Discussion**

This chapter provided an analysis of the emergence of a post-productivist countryside in a number of South African towns. In the case of Rhodes, it is suggested, in part, that post-productivism coincided with the advent of an open agricultural economy which was ushered in during the first years of inclusive

democracy and subsequent neo-liberal economic and agricultural policies. Significant competition with mainly state-protected agricultural economies in the developed north encouraged the diversification of the rural economy. Part of this restructuring would not have taken place if not for second home development in Rhodes Village. Rhodes has undergone significant transformation over the past three decades towards a post-productivist state. These changes can predominantly be linked to the development of the tourism industry, which in turn was enabled due to changes in the structure of the national and particularly the agricultural economy which induced a set of economic activities typical of post-productivist countrysides.

In future, Rhodes will be faced by a number of challenges. Firstly, this village will be challenged by pressures to expand. Questions will arise as to the capabilities of trained builders and labourers that will be able to take on these projects. This will be problematic given the distances that will have to be travelled to supply the variety of materials needed to do this. Secondly, as Rhodes becomes more popular, the level of service delivery and the quality of the hospitality industry will have to be upgraded to satisfy the needs of the urban consumer, as many second home owners and key stakeholders have noted in interviews. Thirdly, given the last two points, the question will be if the current infrastructure will be able to handle new developments such as restaurants, petrol stations and super-markets. Water shortages are also often suffered during winter. Will this be sufficiently upgraded? Fourth, environmentally, Rhodes and the district as a whole presents a pristine and world class fly-fishing environment that lures anglers from all over the country and for that matter internationally. This pristine environment with limited angling pressure has formed the foothold of its popularity. However, Walker (2009) argues that as siltation increases and as rivers become polluted by irresponsible farming practices, the

natural resources might disappear making the original reasons for visiting this region disappear. 'Working for water' has also degraded many environments by their 'carpet bombing' approach which leaves many environments not rehabilitated and has increased erosion (Walker, 2009:2). Moreover, the South African government has recently proposed eradication of trout as an 'invasive' species. This will have tremendously negative economic effects on the development of this town. A potential 'economic slump' might be a very real possibility. This is a fact, given that Du Preez and Lee (2010) found that 89% of the 700 anglers that visit Rhodes will not come to Rhodes if trout is eradicated.

Greyton presents a unique opportunity in assessing the development of post-productivism within the built environment itself. Agriculture was Greyton's main economic purpose. Both the Coloured and the Afrikaans-speaking communities practiced agriculture on small farms, small-holdings and large erven in the town itself. Essentially being productivist, however, evidence could suggest that the Group Areas Act changed the social relationships in the town and this was accompanied by the change in emphasis from agricultural activity to property speculation and investment for holiday and retirement purposes. Donaldson (2009) has gone some way to improving this premise, this chapter has attempted to continue to prove Donaldson's propositions but from a different angle, i.e. that of post-productivism instead of rural gentrification.

Moreover, second homes played an integral part in this development. More importantly, Apartheid legislation to an extent initiated the transition from a productivist to a post-productivist state with the implementation of the Group Areas Act. A variety of viewpoints could be taken here. Post-productivism took on the guise of political injustice, while productivism presents a history of racial integration.

However, Greyton today does not present much evidence of a truly productivist past, nor do the initial stages of post-productivist developments. Greyton in the post-apartheid era has become a village with a flourishing tourism sector fuelled by retirees, second home owners and tourists from the Cape Town metropolitan area. Second home ownership does bring a substantial amount of money to the town and representatives of the impoverished Coloured communities have noted that a lot of employment has been created by the use of second homes, although they were sure to note that it is still marginal at best.

The future of Greyton presents a number of challenges. There are a large number of second homes in the town that put an intense strain on the resources of the town. Interviewees have noted that the typical 'sucking Suzie' sewage systems remain ineffective, and blackouts occur typically in winter over weekends when second home owners frequent their residences. Many houses are fitted with under-floor heating which the power-grid cannot handle. New and elite developments that will take place will put strain on the infrastructure of the town. It is hoped that the municipality will be able to control these new developments. By and large, the community interaction by second home owners remain limited, however, it is possible for them to be involved in the town as they frequent their homes quite regularly. It is possible for them to have a marked effect in the community of the town and economic development.

In the case of Dullstroom and many other towns and villages in rural South Africa, what can be considered as a truly post-productivist state emerged only after the demise of Apartheid. This has gone hand in hand with activity-based leisure, more specifically trout fishing. As was mentioned by interviewees, job creation has been substantial in the town because of tourism and secondarily second home

development, but there have been changes in the countryside as a whole, and issues relating to tenure. The majority of the residents in Sakhelwe are still unemployed and the job creation in Dullstroom has only been marginal at best.

The key points made on the state of the post-productivist countryside rely heavily on Rogerson's observations. Firstly, he believes that the limited spin-offs of tourism development on the local black communities are an important finding (Rogerson, 2002b:161). Secondly, although there have been job opportunities created for black employees, the main beneficiaries of the local tourism initiatives that have brought economic development, have been set up to benefit established white-owned tourism businesses (Rogerson, 2002b:161). It was noted in an interview that salaries are also very low. Some places do not even pay the minimum wage. The local municipality also needs to look at ways to improve infrastructure and improve service delivery regarding water and electricity supply and sewage control. Interviewees have also complained that because of the limited capacity of the municipality, all developments were stopped. If Dullstroom wants to 'rebuild' itself after the recession it will be very important for the local municipalities to create favourable conditions for the private sector to further develop the town. It is clear that there is a future for Dullstroom as the tourism Mecca of the Highlands meander. Dullstroom from the late 1990s to the early 2000s was a millionaire's playground, but questions will have to be asked as to if this will remain Dullstroom's ideal. In addition, if the government continues with their proposed eradication of trout as an invasive species, the entire Dullstroom tourism sector will inevitably close down, unless they can develop other viable tourism economies. However, for a town that has developed all of its initiatives around trout fishing, the future might look bleak. The

approximately five hundred employees in the tourism industry from Sakhelwe are minimal, but even worse would be if none had jobs at all.

Clarens has seen one of the most dramatic changes from a productivist to a post-productivist state. Its main tenant of post-productivism has been diversification and more specifically diversification towards tourism. Clarens today plays a limited role as an agricultural supply centre. It has developed a thriving economy around which the former town and township dwellers, as well as the new second home owners, are prepared to pool their energies for collective benefit (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004). However, the reliance of what Nel (2005:256) calls 'artificial economic dependence on state welfare' have been much more substantial in the improvement of the lives of the people in Kgubetswana, than tourism. The immigration to Clarens and subsequent population growth has served to cancel out the potential wealth increase that tourism could have brought to Clarens. The systematic decline of agriculture and the use of migrant labourers could go a long way in substantiating why the population increase of Kgubetswana has been slowing down.

Finally, this chapter provided an exploration of an emerging post-productivist countryside in a part of South Africa. The diversification towards consumptive leisure practices such as tourism and leisure functions has led to a diversification of farming practices resulting in a countryside in which agricultural production has decreased in importance. It is also contended that post-apartheid policy interventions, aimed at assisting previously disadvantaged black farm workers, as well as closing institutions and practices the present government saw as apartheid regime vehicles of oppression, reinforced the development of a post-productivist countryside. In combination, the stage was set for second homes to emerge as a new

phenomenon in the countryside which further enhances the trend towards post-productivism.

These observations are, however, not only of relevance to Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom, Clarens and its hinterland but in the country. Furthermore, further afield in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and North-West Provinces, the proliferation of *wildsplase* (game farms) is leading to the large-scale conversion of former cattle farms to wildlife farming and hunting lodges. Taken as a whole, it is the contention of this chapter that a transition from productivism to post-productivism has established itself in South Africa and it seems that second homes are playing an important role in this trend. As seen from this chapter, it holds both opportunities and challenges and will require monitoring and policy debate.

The next chapter will give specific attention to the economic impact of second home development in the four case study areas.

# CHAPTER 5

## THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SECOND HOME DEVELOPMENT IN RHODES, GREYTON, DULLSTROOM AND CLARENS

### 5.1. Introduction

It is evident from the previous chapter that second homes played an important part in the transition from productivism to post-productivism. This has especially been the case during time periods when the different tourism economies established themselves in Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens. Second homes are also important in the perpetuation of the post-productivist state. It seems that since the post-productivist transition, second homes have become a constant in the respective towns. The economic impact of this establishment is most significant.

It is the contention of this chapter that second homes in small towns and villages of post-productivist countrysides in South Africa can induce much-needed economic activity and employment creation in their host regions. In the empirical material presented, it is demonstrated that second home investment in the four settlements generate vital capital inflows through local government rates and taxes, employment creation and elevated levels of consumption in otherwise economically marginal regions where such income is limited or non-existent. This is done most pertinently by acting as a foundation in the different towns to underpin accommodation through self-catered accommodation and then by supporting tourism entrepreneurial ventures in the towns and its surrounding hinterland.

These contentions are developed through three sections of analysis and discussion. First, an in-depth analysis of the socio-economic profile of owners of second homes in four small settlements is given. Thereafter, the focus turns to the types of employment opportunities created by these second home owners, and the income they bring to local municipalities. Third, a general overview of second home owners and their tenants' patterns of expenditure on tourism-related products is provided.

## **5.2. The socio-economic profile of owners of second homes in Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens**

This section provides outline of the personal characteristics of the second home owners of Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens, examining why they have invested in these areas and how they use their properties. As will be indicated, although the socio-economic profiles are similar, the manner in which second home properties are used differs, which in turn (and explained in the section to follow) holds diverse economic impacts for the towns and their hinterland.

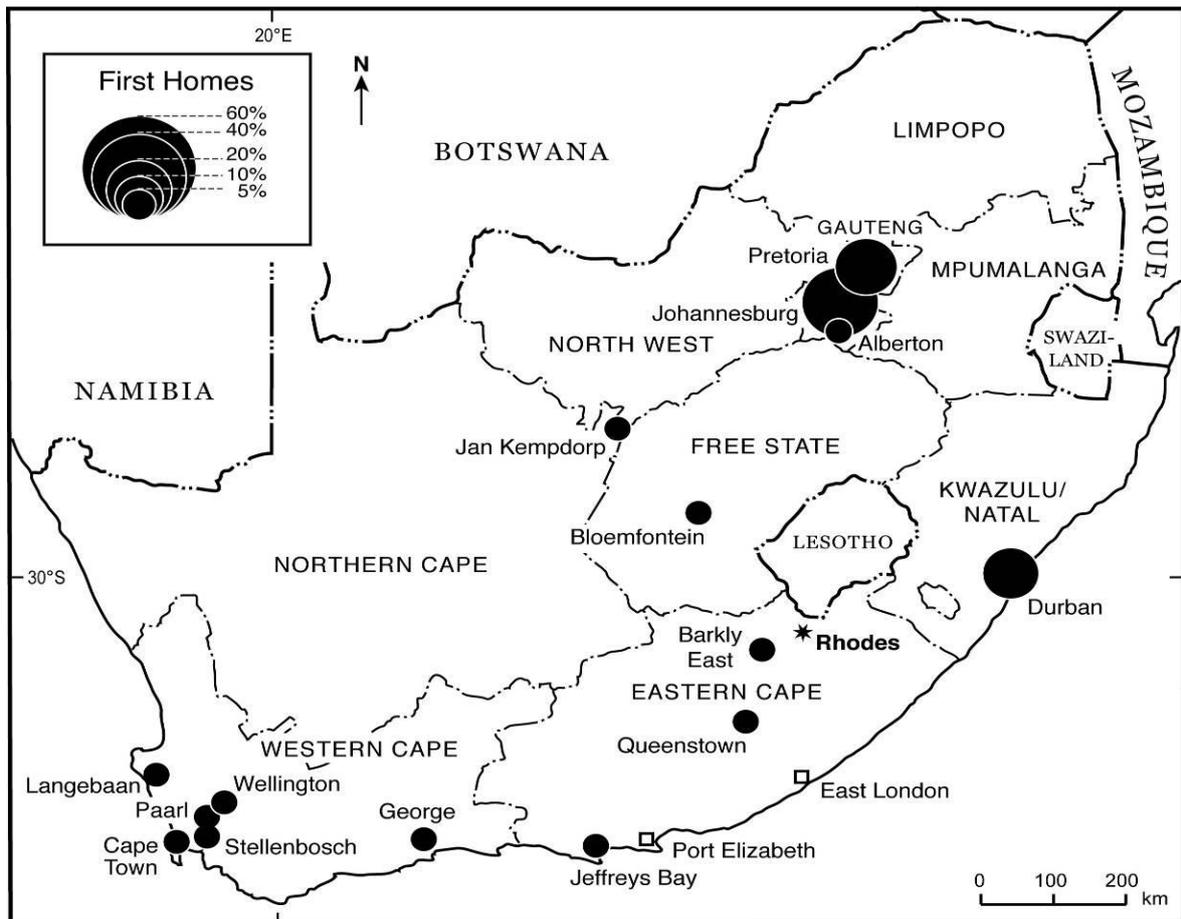
The general demographic profile of the second home owners of these settlements is similar to owners of second homes in other second home areas studied in South Africa thus far (see Visser 2006). Survey participants are white South Africans, mostly married (81%) and male (70%), reflecting the inequalities in the distribution of South Africa's national earning power and the gendered nature of both income and property ownership in South African society. In the main, the second home owners speak English as a first language (66%). The educational level of the second home owners is high, with as many as 42% having completed postgraduate training. As a result, findings in data speak of a very homogeneous group of respondents;

however, it is unlikely the case in the rest of South Africa where second home usage has a different language and education groupings. Nevertheless, in the case of Greyton (23%), Dullstroom (18%) and Clarens (26%), many second home owners are retired services professionals. With regard to the ages of household members, it is evident that these households are predominantly established family units where adults are middle-aged, or approaching their middle age. Given the economic profile of the owners and their high educational levels, it is not surprising that the majority are upper-level income earners. Upper-level income earners and their influence on the areas they inhabit finds resonance with Halseth's (2004) work where he argues that second home development forms part of a longstanding process whereby the affluent members of society create social and spatial exclusivity. This is most certainly the case in South Africa because of its history of spatial exclusivity.

In the case of Rhodes, second home owners' travelling distances from their primary residences vary, but the average distance is 800km; investors from Gauteng account for 48% of the owners of second homes at Rhodes (see figure 5.1).

Other first home localities are also prevalent but in the minority in comparison to the Gauteng metropolitan region. The most noteworthy of these localities are Durban and towns and cities in the Western Cape province such as Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Paarl and Wellington.

In the case of Greyton, the average second home is 150km away from its owner's permanent residence, and 80% of the second home owners reside in the Cape Town metropolitan area (see figure 5.2).

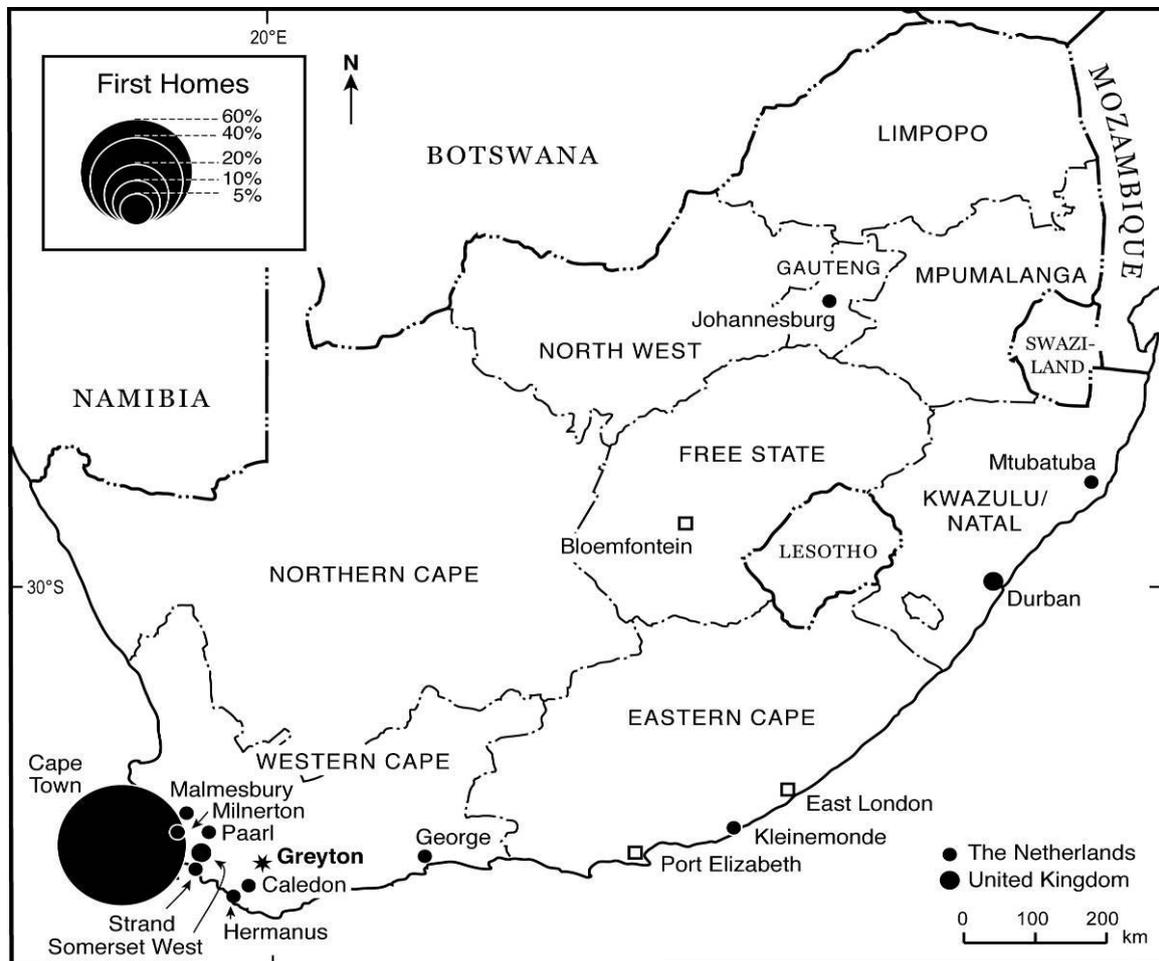


**Figure 5.1: Different first home locations of second home owners in Rhodes**

Although the Cape Town metropolitan region dominates as a first home location, it is interesting to note that some second home owners come from small towns such as Caledon, Malmesbury and Milnerton, also a small group of international second home owners come from the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Second home owners in Dullstroom live on average 250km from the town, and 73% of the second home owners reside in Gauteng (see figure 5.3). Some first home localities are of note such as small cities and large towns such as Nelspruit, Middleburg, Secunda and Tzaneen.

In Clarens, the average second home is 321km from the town, and 66% of second home owners reside in Gauteng (see figure 5.4).

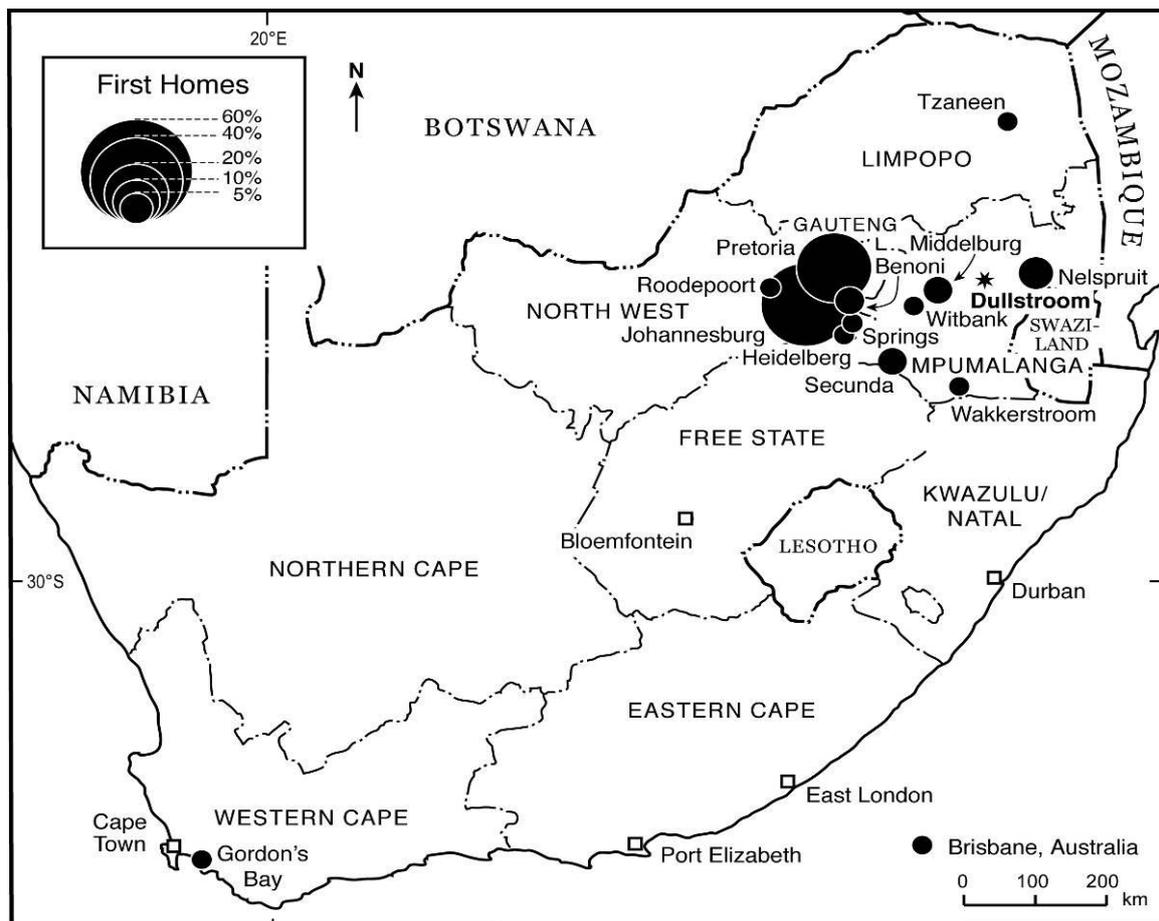


**Figure 5.2: First home locations of second home owners in Greyton**

In the case of Clarens, it is interesting to note that other first home locations are from middle-order cities such as Bloemfontein, but also from Clarens's closest town Bethlehem, which is about 35km away.

The purchase dates of second homes in Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens vary. However, from the data collected it is evident that second homes only became an important factor influencing the structure of these settlements after the demise of apartheid in 1994, although it does seem that Rhodes has a more well-

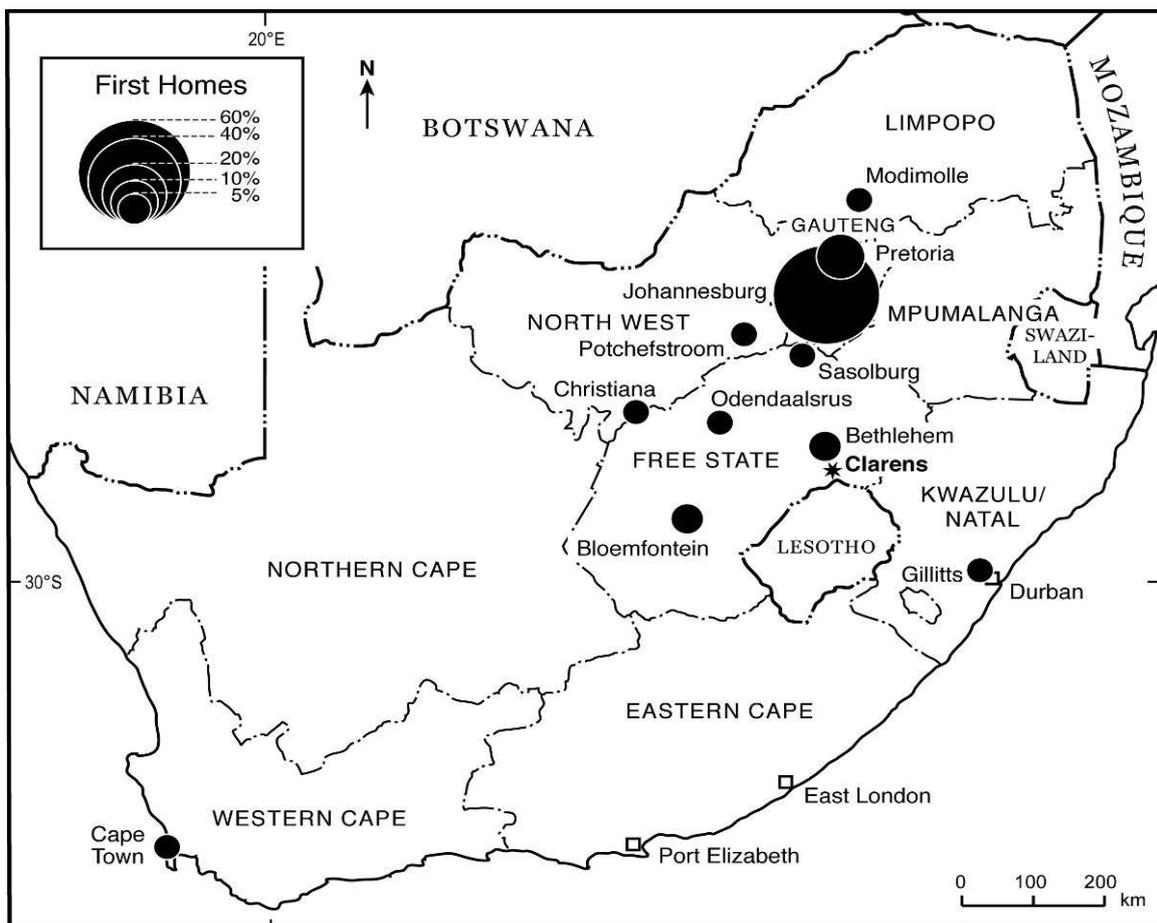
established second home owner base than Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens. For the purposes of this thesis, it is argued that second home developments in these four towns are concurrent with the development of post-productivist countrysides in South Africa.



**Figure 5.3: First home regions of second home owners in Dullstroom**

Reasons for investing in a second home vary according to which settlement a second home is situated in. Motivating factors include the natural beauty of the surroundings; the diversity of leisure activities that are available in the respective regions, such as fly-fishing and hiking; and the promise of a lifestyle associated with the countryside. Müller (1999) and Heins (2000) have discussed in their research the 'cult of nostalgia' and the 'rural idyll' is what second home owners pursue when they

visit their second homes in an attempt to re-connect to rural living or a lifestyle that is considered to be more 'natural' than living in major metropolitan areas. Collectively, the main reasons for buying a second home that can be discerned from the evidence are the possibility of retirement to the area in the future; investment return; and more generally, a desire to escape from the major metropolitan regions to access the different amenities of the countryside.



**Figure 5.4: Clarens second home owner's first home localities**

In all four settlements, an average of 81% of the respondents are sole owners of their second homes, while an average of 19% are not. Of the latter, an average of 52% share their properties with relatives. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that some

differences exist between localities. For example, at Rhodes, 33% of the respondents share their properties with friends, and in Greyton 29% of the respondents own their properties through a trust, while in Clarens 20% are involved in fractional title. Property purchasing prices differed between locations. However, the settlements located closer to the main metropolitan regions were more expensive. Consequently, with Rhodes, the most distantly located from South Africa's main metropolitan regions, acquisition prices were below R500,000, while the majority of second homes in the other locations were acquired at prices significantly above R500,000. The key observation is that accessibility to the major metropolitan regions, and therefore the frequency with which second homes can be visited, is a factor that elevates property prices. This is also visually displayed by the five figures in this chapter. Nevertheless, Atkinson *et al.* (2007) claim that many cohorts who buy second homes often overexert the rural economy by acquiring very cheap properties, but they do not question why property comes at such a low price. Nonetheless, in the case of the four studies at hand, the acquisition of second homes rapidly pushes up prices, but the benefits of second home usage come from a different source, which will be explored later on in this chapter.

In most cases, second homes were not newly built on an open lot of land, but rather, existing housing stock was purchased. However, in the case of Dullstroom and Clarens it was recorded that a significant number of new residences had been erected as second homes. Müller (2000) suggests that the production/construction of second homes and maintenance leads to possibly beneficial impacts. Following from Müller, a key contribution that second home investors make to the local economy relates to renovations and adaptations made to their properties. It is also important to note that most of the renovation work and building construction that

has been completed drew upon labour from the settlements themselves, which is important for creating and maintaining local employment opportunities. Renovation costs varied but were largely proportional to the costs of acquiring the properties. The respondents in Rhodes who renovated their properties spent R25,275 on average. The amounts in the cases of Greyton (R175,000), Dullstroom (R99,812) and Clarens (R52,993) are substantially higher. This could be attributed to two factors: Rhodes has been declared a heritage area, meaning that houses in the village are not allowed to be altered on the outside; and owners do not frequent these homes as much as the home owners in Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens do. The key point is that frequent occupation necessitates regular renovations.

As mentioned before, according to Müller (1999:38), the circulation between permanent home and second home is not a production-based but a consumption-based phenomenon. As a result, second home developments can be considered as a good way in which to stimulate regional economies of rural environments (Clout, 1971; Müller *et al.*, 2004). Aspects of the economic impact of second home ownership were determined by establishing the average number of days in which owners occupy their second homes per year, which towns and regions they visited while at their second homes, as well as their sense of community with the other residents of their second homes' settlements, and general attitudes on owning a second home.

It was established that second home owners engage for various reasons with the surrounding towns and areas in the immediate vicinity of the respective towns. In the case of Rhodes, owners live in their second homes for an average of twenty-two days per year. The places most commonly visited while at their second homes is Barkly East (37%) – this is mostly to purchase groceries and fuel – and Tiffendell (16%)

for skiing. In Greyton, the average number of days per year that owners spend at their second homes is significantly higher (51 days). The place most commonly visited while at their second homes is Caledon (29%), mainly for grocery purchases. Hermanus (22%) is also visited quite frequently for leisure purposes such as whale watching.

In Dullstroom, owners spend an average of forty-one days per year at their second homes. The places most commonly visited while at their second homes are close by. These are Lydenburg (37%) and Belfast (30%), mostly for shopping. In Clarens, the average number of days per year that owners spend at their second home is thirty-eight. The place most commonly visited while at their second homes is Bethlehem (38%) for grocery purchases and the Fouriesburg (33%) area for sight-seeing. In Dullstroom it seems that second home owners only access different towns for supplies and not for leisure, which is not the case in the other towns. These visitations to other areas affirm Müller's *et al.* (2004) notion that second homes can facilitate the expansion of domestic tourism to previously neglected rural regions. Places such as Lydenburg, Belfast and Fouriesburg are economically marginal at best. The development of a tourism economy as part of the broader economy of these districts can be of value in assisting the struggling agricultural economies in the different post-productivist countrysides (see Rogerson, 2002a; Halseth and Meiklejohn, 2009, for discussions on the regional economies of the mentioned towns).

An important finding of this research is that many of the participants own more than one second home: 57% in the case of Rhodes, 33% in Greyton, 49% in Dullstroom, and 38% in Clarens. This raises many questions regarding how these owners divide their time between their different residences (see Chaplin 1999; Gallent *et al.* 2005).

Second home owners from the respective towns own other second homes in locations mostly along the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Kwazulu-Natal coasts. The following towns were cited most regularly; Ballito, Pringle Bay, Morgan's Bay, Betties Bay, Hartenbos, Hermanus, Mosselbay, Plettenberg Bay, Jeffreys Bay, Margate, Amanzimtoti and Umhlanga.

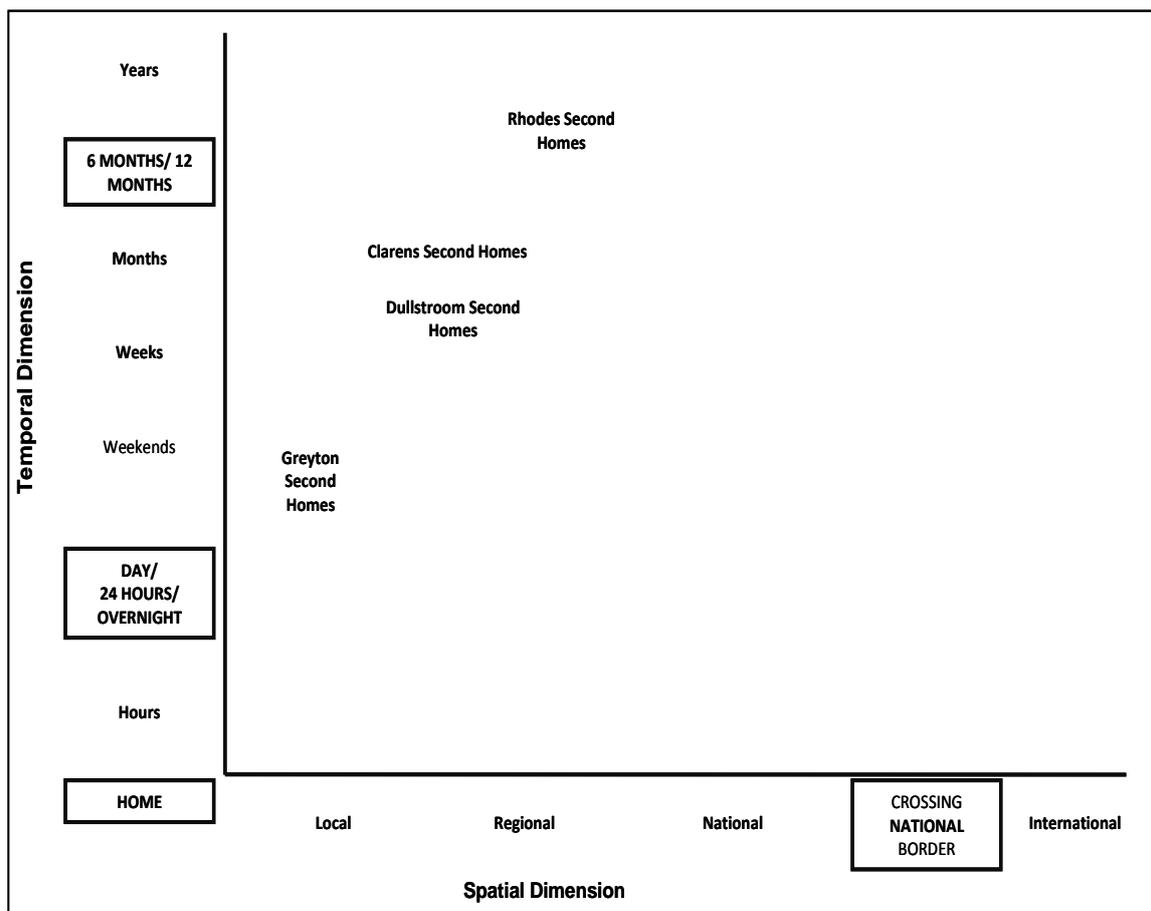


Figure 5.5. Spatial and temporal dimensions of second homes use in the study sites (adapted from Hall, 2005).

Second homes may be consistently frequented over many years and are often used variously for weekend and short break holidays, longer holidays, and seasonal migration (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004). In terms of the temporality of second home use, it was found that owners mostly visit Rhodes during December and

January. In the case of Greyton and Dullstroom, the second homes are used on a weekly or bi-weekly basis, while in Clarens they are used monthly or bi-monthly. The usage of their second homes is positioned on Figure 5.5. to explain the temporal and spatial dimensions of the usage of their homes. Distance to and from first and second homes plays a crucial role and thus the time periods of usage will depend on its accessibility, be it weekend occupation to seasonal.

Fifty-two percent of the Rhodes respondents let their properties out during periods when they do not occupy them, as do 31% in Greyton, 28% in Dullstroom and 38% in Clarens. The lower frequency of renting out of properties in the latter three towns is the result of these homes being used more regularly by the owners than in the case of Rhodes.

Our attention now turns to the impact of second home ownership on these settlements' economies and employment levels.

### **5.3. General economic impacts of second homes in Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens**

#### *5.3.1. Employment creation, municipal services and second home owners*

The main advantage of second home development is its economic value (Atkinson *et al.*, 2007). Given the general demographic features of the settlements' second home owners and their second home usage patterns, the economic impact these second homes have on the regions they are situated in is as follows. The second homes under investigation are supplementary accommodation units which are privately owned for the purposes of leisure for family members, as well as paying and

non-paying guests. Purchasing a second home is usually a one-off investment. However, the maintenance of second homes is a recurrent expense, as are municipal rates and service charges. These hold, in my view, a significant local economic impact for the settlements and their local authorities. Because second home owners live elsewhere and occupy their second homes chiefly for leisure purposes, they are in nearly all instances dependent upon locally hired assistance. Most participants employed a gardener and domestic worker in addition to the obligation of paying the monthly municipal rates and electricity, refuse removal, water and security bills. Locally hired assistants mostly work at the homes on days that the owners are not there. Consequently, other permanent local residents tend to manage the domestic workers and gardeners on behalf of the second home owners. The wages that are earned also tend to be comparatively high in relation to other wage-earning opportunities at equivalent skill levels in the settlements under investigation. The average monthly remuneration for domestic workers across all four settlements is R575, and varies little from one settlement to another, except in the case of Clarens (see Table 5.1). Wages for gardeners vary: their monthly remuneration amounts to an average of R200 in Rhodes, R695 in Greyton, R401 in Dullstroom and R430 in Clarens.

If these figures are extrapolated to the total number of second homes in each settlement, as shown in Table 5.1, R188,247 per annum is paid by second home owners to domestic workers at Rhodes, with Greyton reaching R845,932, Dullstroom R545,633 and Clarens R736,358. In addition to this, if one extrapolated the gardeners' wages to the total number of second homes, owners contribute R75,137 annually into the economy of Rhodes, Greyton (R1,610,659), Dullstroom (R428,939) and Clarens (R434,779). In total, then, an estimated R263,383 is paid to domestic

workers and gardeners annually by second home owners in Rhodes, R2,456,591 in Greyton, R974,572 in Dullstroom and R1,171,137 in Clarens.

**Table 5.3: Domestic workers' and gardeners' remuneration**

<b>Domestic workers</b>	Average per second home owner per month	All second home owners per month	All second home owners per annum
Rhodes	R464 (n=14)	R15,687	R188,247
Greyton	R460 (n=54)	R70,494	R845,932
Dullstroom	R541 (n=33)	R45,469	R545,633
Clarens	R833 (n=28)	R61,636	R736,358
<b>Gardeners</b>			
Rhodes	R200 (n=13)	R6,261	R75,137
Greyton	R695 (n=68)	R134,222	R1,610,659
Dullstroom	R401 (n=35)	R35,755	R428,939
Clarens	R430 (n=32)	R36,232	R434,779

Müller *et al.* (2004) claim that many municipalities are interested in second home development as it can lead growth of tax incomes and spending in the local economy. This is most certainly the case in all four case studies. However, Frost (2004) highlights that second home development often leads to increased costs to municipalities in providing additional infrastructure and services. This can also cause rates and taxes to increase in the town. Interviewee Fred Steynberg has noted that since second homes have come to dominate the landscape in Rhodes, the increases in rates and taxes have been exorbitant. For example, in terms of other recurrent monthly expenses, the largest contribution to the local economy is made through various payments to the local authorities for water, electricity, rates and refuse removal. This amounts to an average of R629 per month for owners of second homes in Rhodes (see Table 5.2). Of this total, R320 goes towards rates and taxes,

whilst the remainder is accounted for by utility charges. Furthermore, if the total average amount of R629 is extrapolated to all second homes, R23,530 per month or R282,356 per annum flows into the coffers of the local authorities. Similarly, large amounts are paid over to the local municipalities in Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens (see Table 2). As the second home owners do not utilise the services in full throughout the year, this income can be utilised elsewhere in the municipal area.

**Table 5.4: Payments made to local municipalities for services rendered**

	Average per second home owner per month	All second home owners per month	All second home owners per annum
Rhodes	R629 (n=19)	R23,530	R282,356
Greyton	R1,057 (n=72)	R209,044	R2,508,528
Dullstroom	R959 (n=40)	R94,826	R1,137,913
Clarens	R1441 (n=34)	R126,671	R1,520,053

Adding these standard costs of wages and municipal rates together results in a total capital inflow of R545,739 to Rhodes, R4,965,119 to Greyton, R1,683,546 to Dullstroom and R2,970,442 in the case of Clarens. This inflow of capital to these small settlements, given the extremely limited alternative means of income generation and employment in the localities, is certainly significant.

#### **5.4. Expenditure on tourism-related products by second home owners and guests**

A further impact of second homes on the local economies of the small towns relates to the owners' support of leisure activities in and around these localities. This impact is seasonal, however, and it varies according to the owners' length of stay at their second homes. These owners, but also importantly their guests, provide seasonal stability in the demand for a range of tourism-related functions, which in turn service the tourist market. The issue of renting out a second home becomes an important

factor in utilising the positive economic impacts of second homes. Bieger, Beritelli and Weinert (2007) believe that renting out a second home is a progressive way of valuing one's investment and to create stronger social ties between different social groups. Ruggieri (2008) claims that the expenditure patterns between second home owners and guests renting a second home have the same expenditure patterns. The same has been assumed in this study. Some of these flows are now highlighted here.

In Rhodes, second home owners spend an average of twenty-two days per annum in their second homes and rent them out for an average of forty-five days per annum. Consequently these second homes are occupied, on average, for sixty-seven days per year. These sixty-seven days are assumed to be the days in which these visitors can engage in tourism-related activity in the region (similar assumptions are applied to the other three settlements). In Greyton, second home owners spend an average of fifty-one days per annum at their second homes and rent them out for an average of 120 days per annum. This implies that their second homes are occupied for 171 days a year. In Dullstroom, second home owners spend an average of forty-one days per annum at their second homes and rent them out for an average of sixty-five days per annum, suggesting that their second homes are occupied for 106 days a year. In Clarens, second home owners spend an average of thirty-eight days per annum at their second homes and rent them out for an average of 133 days. This implies that their second homes are occupied for 171 days a year. The value of these observations verifies Sievänen, Pouta and Neuvonen's (2007) claim that suggests that second home owners who are return visitors to their second homes, as well as their guests, create the potential for economic development.

Müller (1999) explains that indirect employment generated by second home ownership feeds through to different expenditure patterns in local stores and restaurants in these localities. This has been affirmed in the different case studies. For example, owners of second homes in Rhodes reported spending an average of R774 at restaurants, R694 in art galleries and R819 on petrol at the local service stations on their previous trip. Assuming that all second home owners would have similar spending patterns, these amounts can be extrapolated to all owners of second homes at Rhodes. This would yield a combined inflow from all second home owners of R39,224 to restaurants, R16,752 to art galleries and R31,635 to the local petrol station during their previous visit. In addition, if tourists who rent second homes have the same spending patterns, the following amounts are reached annually: a total of R259,465 is spent at restaurants, R110,812 is spent in art galleries and R209,265 is spent at the local petrol station, amounting to a collective total of R579,542 per year (see Table 5.3). When similar calculations are made for the other three towns, an annual expenditure of R6,789,876 in Greyton, R3,333,787 in Dullstroom and R4,969,540 in Clarens is recorded.

Second home owners and guests who rent second homes in Rhodes generally take part in a variety of leisure-based activities such as fly-fishing, game drives, 4x4 trails, snow-skiing and horse-riding. These activities have proved to have a significant economic impact on the surrounding rural economy. To provide a sense of these impacts, only the activities that contribute the most to local economies are taken into account in this discussion, but less influential activities are, however, taken into account when making final calculations in the summary below, demonstrating the total estimated economic inflow to these settlements' immediate hinterlands.

Snow-skiing is the most lucrative activity in the area, although it does not take place in Rhodes itself, but at the nearby Tiffendell Ski Resort. The average second home owner spent an average of R3,100 on snow-skiing during on his/her last trip. If this amount is extrapolated to all Rhodes second home owners' last visits, an amount of R29,931 is reached. If tenants and second home owners are combined, it yields a total of R197,992 per year (see Table 5.4).

**Table 5.5: Expenditure on selected local amenities**

	Average per second home owner (last trip)	All second home owners (last trip)	All second home owners and tenants per year
<b>Rhodes</b>			
Restaurants	R774 (n=19)	R39,224	R259,465
Art galleries	R694 (n=10)	R16,752	R110,812
Local petrol stations	R819 (n=16)	R31,635	R209,265
<b>Greyton</b>			
Restaurants	R580 (n=67)	R110,472	R4,170,120
Art galleries	R752 (n=17)	R36,315	R1,370,843
Local petrol stations	R466 (n=25)	R33,085	R1,284,913
<b>Dullstroom</b>			
Restaurants	R778 (n=44)	R87,227	R1,849,222
Art galleries	R537 (n=18)	R24,649	R522,559
Local petrol stations	R509 (n=35)	R45,378	R962,006
<b>Clarens</b>			
Restaurants	R790 (n=24)	R49,868	R1,154,078
Art galleries	R3303 (n=15)	R130,395	R3,017,656
Local petrol stations	R504 (n=26)	R34,474	R797,806

Second home owners and people who rent second homes in Greyton generally do not take part in a variety of leisure-based activities such as those in Rhodes or Dullstroom for example. The reason for this is that the region in which the town is situated offers more traditional tourism activities which are not as adventure-oriented as those offered in Rhodes. Tourists to Greyton participate in other activities

that have a regional economic influence, such as visiting the local market and wine cellars. During their last visit, second home owners in Greyton spent an average of R256 at the local market. If this amount is extrapolated to all Greyton second home owners' last trips, an amount of R41,456 is reached. If it is assumed that tenants spend similar amounts on this activity, then their expenditure combined with that of the second home owners, reaches a total of R1,564,948 per year.

In the Dullstroom area, second home owners and tenants generally take part in a variety of outdoor leisure activities such as hiking, mountain-biking and fly-fishing. Fly-fishing is the most popular activity which second home owners and their tenants engage in – it is, after all, the core draw-card of the town. During the respondents' last trip, an average of R1,130 was spent on the acquisition of fly tackle, guiding services, rod fees and fishing licences. If this amount is extrapolated to all of Dullstroom's second home owners' last trips, a total of R54,735 is reached. If it is assumed that second home owners' tenants spend on average a similar amount, then a total of R1,160,384 is spent on these fly-fishing-related products and services.

Clarens presents a variety of leisure-based activities, although the survey data suggests that the second home owners and guests are generally not as active those in other towns. Although horse-riding or golfing was a frequently cited leisure activity, it has to be assumed that the tenants of the second homes would take part in a greater number of activities hosted in the region such as quad-biking, 4x4 trails and hiking, to name three. During the respondents' last trip, an average of R580 was spent on horse-riding activities in the surrounding mountains. If this amount is extrapolated to all Clarens's second home owners' last trips, a total of R7,632 is reached. If it is assumed that second home owners' tenants spend on average a similar amount, then a total of R176,614 was spent on horse-riding activities.

**Table 5.6: Expenditure on different tourism activities**

	Average per second home owner (last trip)	All second home owners (last trip)	All second home owners and tenants per year
<b>Rhodes</b>			
Snow-skiing	R3,100 (n=4)	R29,931	R197,992
<b>Greyton</b>			
Local market	R256 (n=57)	R41,456	R1,564,948
<b>Dullstroom</b>			
Fly-fishing	R1,130 (n=19)	R54,735	R1,160,384
<b>Clarens</b>			
Horse riding	R580 (n=5)	R7,632	R176,614

From this discussion, the general economic impact of second homes on the different settlements becomes apparent. For Rhodes, if all expenditure on tourism activities by second home owners and tenants is combined, then a total of R1,001,248 per annum is reached. To this must be added the total annual amount of R545,738 spent on gardeners, domestic workers and municipal services. Then, if the average of R25,757 spent (per second home) by owners on general renovation work during the last year is extrapolated to all second home owners, an amount of R1,026,666 per year is reached. It is estimated that R35,933 of this amount is spent on local labour and R990,733 on building material. When the tourism activities expenditure on gardeners, domestic workers, municipal services and renovations are added, one reaches a total estimate of R2,573,653 which is added to the economy of Rhodes by second home owners per year. Our general observation, then, is that second home ownership not only holds substantial economic benefits for Rhodes itself, but also that significant income is raised for the surrounding region.

If all expenditure on tourism activities by second home owners and tenants in Greyton is combined, then a total of R11,975,126 per annum is reached. The total

cost of workers' remuneration and municipal services to second homes (R5,771,305 per annum) can be added to this. If the average reported spending on general renovation work (R175,003 per second home owner) is extrapolated to all second home owners, an amount of R36,750,630 per year is spent on this. It is estimated that R9,132,532 of this is spent on local labour and R27,618,098 on building material. In total, second home ownership contributes an estimated amount of R43,839,378 per annum to the economy of Greyton.

For Dullstroom, when all tourism activities expenditure by second home owners and tenants is combined, then an annual total of R6,038,342 is reached. To this the total yearly expenditure on workers' remuneration and municipal services (R2,532,308) must be added. If the average amount spent on general renovation work (R99,812) is extrapolated to all second home owners, an amount of R14,858,288 per year is reached. Out of this it is estimated that R4,681,379 is spent on local labour and R10,176,910 on building material. Thus an estimated total of R23,428,939 per year is contributed to the economy of Dullstroom by second home ownership.

In Clarens, if all tourism expenditure by second home owners and tenants is combined, then an annual total of R6,775,262 is reached. To this the total yearly expenditure of workers' remuneration and municipal services (R2,970,442) must be added. If the average amount spent on general renovation work (R52,993) is extrapolated to all second home owners, an amount of R6,831,857 per year is reached. Of this it is estimated that R2,648,234 is spent on local labour and R4,183,624 on building material. Thus, an estimated total of R12,393,938 per annum is contributed to the economy of Clarens by second home ownership.

## 5.5. Conclusion

This investigation of second homes in four small South African settlements presents an opportunity to shed potential insight into this visible, yet largely unknown phenomenon. The chapter has also been guided by the belief that second homes and the general activities surrounding their use have a greater economic impact than has previously been appreciated. Second homes influence a variety of different components in a local economy, ranging from domestic workers' wages (admittedly exploitative wages) to the general tax base of otherwise poor to impoverished rural municipalities. In addition, the analysis demonstrates that second homes have a regional influence through the leisure activities that their owners and tenants undertake, developing and sustaining a range of local businesses that offer these activities.

The chapter emphasises the fact that the second homes' distance from their owners' primary residences and the frequency of second home use by owners and tenants has a significant influence on the extent of the economic impact of second homes on a particular region. The more easily accessible a destination is to large metropolitan regions and the more frequently it is visited, the greater the positive influence of second homes on the local economy is. Therefore it is clear that the economic influence of second home owners from the main metropolitan regions of South Africa can be far-reaching and can aid in sustaining otherwise economically crippled post-productivist economies.

Residents from Gauteng and the Cape Town metropolitan area have been attracted to break away from the cities and buy second homes in small settlements through the existence of specific natural amenities in or near these places. This was

the case for second home ownership in all four settlements studied. It is also clear that second homes often serve as potential locations for owners' future retirements, thus providing the potential for further inflow into local economies as temporary residents become permanent. Furthermore, an average of 24% of all properties in the settlements studied are second homes, which suggests that these may constitute upwards of a quarter of the contributions made to the municipal rates-base in some places.

For the future development of small settlements in economically depressed post-productivist countrysides, it could be suggested that tourism-related businesses, as well as local and district municipalities should not underestimate the potential influence of second home ownership. Moreover, local authorities should encourage second home owners to let out their properties when they are not occupying them, because doing so benefits the local economy as a whole through bringing more consumers to local economies.

The next chapter will conclude this thesis by linking second homes within the South African post-productivist countryside and how these two processes (productivism and second homes) point to a variety of other issues that need to be researched in future in terms of second homes and post-productivism in South Africa.

# CHAPTER 6

## SECOND HOMES IN A SOUTH AFRICAN POST-PRODUCTIVIST COUNTRYSIDE

### 6.1. Introduction

The key theoretical claim of this thesis is that the economic impacts and development of second homes in the hinterland of South Africa is an integral part of the post-productivist countryside. The final chapter of this thesis aims to draw the findings of this investigation into a set of conclusions. At the outset of this thesis, it was noted that 'new forms and patterns of production and consumption now enable an increasing number of households to spend time away from traditional working and production environments, and in preferred locations with high amenity values' (Müller and Hall, 2004b:273). This is because of '...broader movements of counterurbanisation and the development of [a] post-productivist countryside' (Müller, 2004b:273). In response to this, Vepsäläinen and Pitkänen (2010:203) noted that '...second home tourism is not merely a phenomenon of the post-productive countryside, but the long history of second home ownership has made them an established part of the rural landscape and thereby also contributed to the formation of the post-productive countryside.' These statements by Müller/Hall and Vepsäläinen/Pitkänen formed the starting point of this investigation, with the thesis examining post-productivism and second homes in the South African context.

This chapter draws together the key objectives and findings of this investigation. The first section of the chapter provides a discussion of the first objective of this thesis which was to review and analyse themes current in literature dealing with post-

productivist countrysides. The second section of the chapter deals with the second objective which was to scrutinise the main literature dealing with second home development. Thereafter, the third objective is explored which interprets the development of post-productivism using the four case studies at hand. The fourth section of this chapter looks at the final objective, which was to analyse the economic impacts of second home development in the selected case studies. The fifth section focuses on future research themes related to post-productivist countrysides and second home development in South Africa.

## **6.2. Exploring second homes in the South African post-productivist countryside**

The thesis commenced in chapter one with a review of current debates on post-productivism. Historical evidence of a multifunctional countryside was given. Then attention was focused on the transition from the productivist to the post-productivist countryside, focusing generally on European perspectives of this transition. In addition, particular attention was given to the indicators of post-productivism in the developed world. It was also argued that post-productivism and processes of migration seem to be especially interlinked with each other. Despite rigorous debates on post-productivism, many argue it to be a contested concept and some have called for its abandonment. However, this review has challenged that notion by considering if post-productivism can be applied to the developing world contexts. The argument was that post-productivism can indeed be applied to the developing world if differences are considered such as local economic climates, differing local contexts and policies which differ substantially from the developed world's countryside. It was also suggested that the theoretical conceptualisation of

post-productivism cannot be abandoned if it has not been theorised sufficiently within different spatial contexts of the countryside (locally and globally). Lastly, the review applied the notion of post-productivism to the South African countryside and its small towns. It was argued that post-productivism does, indeed, apply to South Africa. It was suggested that post-productivism did not develop in the 1970s like most developed and developing countries. Rather it was only with the introduction of democracy and the fall of apartheid during the first part of the 1990s, when post-productivism started to emerge in parts of South Africa. After 1994, changes in agricultural policies and rural development strategies impacted the countryside widely, and affected the small towns of rural South Africa more specifically.

In chapter two, second homes come into view as a key phenomenon that underpins the development of the post-productivist countryside's diversified condition. This review opted to give a broader analysis of themes discussed internationally. This is because of limited debate that has emerged only in the late-1990s after a long hiatus since the emergence of post-productivism in the 1970s. This chapter reviewed definitional issues on second homes and what it potentially means and represents in different locations in the post-productivist countryside. Thereafter, second homes and their place within the planning realm were explored. Negative impacts of a changing countryside such as fluctuating property markets, job opportunities and inefficiencies in housing stock were discussed. Following these considerations, second homes as an intersection of broader process of mobility, migration and circulation was considered especially with relation to how this fits into the spatial and temporal dimension of first and second home destinations. In essence, second homes can be considered as a medium that connects urban areas to post-productivist countrysides.

The social repercussions of second homes were also explored, given the different attitudes second home owners have in terms of the impact of their dwellings within the post-productivist countryside. In addition, some perspectives were presented in terms of local permanent residents' feelings and attitudes towards second home ownership and development. Thereafter, an outline was provided of the environmental impact of second homes, highlighting that environmental impacts remain among the least researched aspects of second home development. This section investigated the impacts of second homes on mountainous and wetland areas, as well as the conflicts that different cohorts experience regarding agricultural activities in the post-productivist countryside and how this clashes with tourist behaviour.

In terms of second homes, the purpose of this thesis related to the economic impact of second home development. It was argued that second homes highlight a range of positive economic benefits, ranging from employment creation to supporting business and increasing municipal revenue. However, some negative economic impacts associated with second homes were highlighted which included the exploitation of post-productivist economies by increasing rates and taxes. In the conclusion, the link between second home development and post-productivism was highlighted to provide a context against which chapters four and five could be read.

Chapter four demonstrates how various processes underpinned the productivist to post-productivist transition within the South African countryside. The four case studies at hand were used to provide an empirical basis to support this observation. Firstly, Rhodes was explored and it was suggested that second homes played and still play an important role in supporting a number of different post-productivist

initiatives such as tourism and how the countryside surrounding Rhodes has gone some way in incorporating diversified tourist activities. However, it was suggested that Rhodes remains an emerging post-productivist countryside with many challenges to face in future. The most important is protecting the natural environment for future development of a diversified tourism and agricultural economy.

The case of Greyton presented a unique opportunity to assess the transition from productivism to post-productivism within the built environment of the town specifically. The importance of Greyton as a study site comes from the dramatic transformation of the built environment because of the relatively late implementation of the Group Areas Act. This set the stage for second homes as an intermediary in the transition from productivism to post-productivism in this town. At present, Greyton is an exclusive space which incorporates retirees' different tourism initiatives and businesses of which second home development plays a particularly important role, especially given its significant economic impact.

In Dullstroom, trout fishing has played a particularly important role in establishing the post-productivist countryside in the area. The importance of the Finders Keepers Win a Million Rand competition that exposed Dullstroom's tourism capabilities should not be underestimated. Dullstroom represents a classic example of a productivist to post-productivist transition. Dullstroom had a very strong agricultural focus during the apartheid era, while in the post-apartheid era a strong diversified condition which includes a variety of tourism endeavours discussed in chapter four. It is interesting to note that Dullstroom is the only town investigated in this thesis that has gone into economic recession because of the global financial crisis. The town has been marred by closing estate developments and a move towards self-catering

accommodation instead of catered accommodation. It does, nevertheless, seem that second homes remain a constant in the town. A future longitudinal study should prove important in assessing the impact of the economic recession on the town itself.

The case of Clarens has seen a very dramatic change from productivism to post-productivism underpinned by four events in the countryside. These four are the location of Clarens as a housing venue of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, the general decline of the agricultural industry, as well as the tendency of farmers to locate their labourers rather in Clarens than on farms. These events have formed the foundation for an extremely strong tourism economy that now flourishes in Clarens. Clarens presents one of the strongest post-productivist countrysides in this investigation and second homes played an important role in the development of the town from productivism to post-productivism and continue to be a strong supplier for self-catered accommodation over peak periods of tourism activity.

Drawing together the different processes that have occurred in the four study sites points to the larger issue in terms of post-productivist developments in the South African context. This will form the basis for the discussion that follows. The elements and processes of the South African post-productivist countryside may include many of the indicators mentioned by Ilbery/Bowler and Wilson but it also includes some issues that are typical to the South African experience. The most influential and powerful process that forced the South African countryside into a post-productivist state has been the demise of Apartheid. The transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa, or for the purposes of this study the transition from a productivist South Africa to a post-productivist South Africa has had a variety of spin offs.

The decline in the number of active farmers has been widespread and has subsequently had a detrimental impact on the natural and built environments of the countryside. This decline in active farmers was the result of a number of reasons. The transition from heavily subsidised agriculture to limited subsidisation has probably been one of the most influential processes behind the changes in the countryside. These include broader processes of agricultural and rural change such as recession, technological advancements, saturation of markets, agricultural decline, freezing of assets and disinvestment. This investigation suggested that the influence of large and industrialised farmers that have purchased large tracts of land and have initiated many farm consolidation endeavours have had a widespread influence. This has created off-shoot processes by pushing people off the land either to small towns in their respective districts or increased urbanisation to major urban centres. Because of fewer farmers and limited subsidisation, none of the towns in this investigation have agricultural cooperatives anymore. This process has not only been evident in this but is a widespread occurrence across the country. Changes from primary produce to other secondary produce have also had a marked effect. For example, movements from sheep and cattle farming to citrus and wine farming have seen many countrysides change their infrastructure to accommodate changes in produce. In addition, many of the changes in the countryside have been influenced by the effects of crime and more specifically cattle theft. In addition, post-apartheid policy shifts have also played a role in the post-productivist transition. The disbanding of the 'commando' system has exposed many farmers to very unsafe environments. Heavy losses in terms of their livelihoods and personal attacks have led many farmers to reconsider their income strategies. On-farm diversification that incorporates tourism activities has become one of the main attractions for all of the towns involved.

Diversification towards tourism has become widespread. Diversification in the post-productivist countryside in South Africa towards tourism has been an important finding of this investigation. The study augmented the development of small towns as tourism towns in the hinterland of South Africa, instead of archetypal second home towns and villages along the coast (e.g. Hermanus, Jeffreys Bay, Plettenberg Bay or Amanzimtoti) of the country well known in the media. It has to be noted that the towns in this investigation are by and large champions of the transition from agricultural service centres to bustling tourism towns. Although numerous other examples exist, this diversification has taken place to a lesser extent, but still significant enough for investigation. The importance of second homes should not be underestimated as a key phenomenon in laying the foundation for greater diversified activities to take place in urban areas but also on farms. In the case of this study, second homes laid the foundation for larger tourism developments to take place and consequently because of the redevelopments of the different towns, the farmers of the regions have seen the opportunity to diversify their incomes. As a result, a countryside very much different from its productivist past has emerged.

Urban change in the post-productivist countryside, because of second homes and the development of low-cost housing subsidised by the state is of concern to many tourism entrepreneurs in terms of the aesthetics of the town and its place-marketing possibilities. As Donaldson (2009) aptly mentions, the tourism developments and property boom have created exclusive tourist spaces and an expanding tourism and hospitality industry. The post-productivist countryside and the limited work available in agriculture have forced many unemployed labourers to move to towns. The main attracting factor has been to find employment in the tourism sectors of these towns. Unfortunately, minimal job opportunities have been created by the

tourism sector to develop a barrier against the rapidly increasing populations and unemployment in these towns. Thus the work that has been created by tourism is just a drop in the ocean.

On the one hand, one has a bustling tourism town (in the former white group area) with a very small population, partially because of second home developments. On the other hand, and in many cases, an (in)formal settlement (former black group area) with rapidly growing populations and large developments in terms of social housing, but limited employment opportunities has emerged. Thus, the question remains: will these towns be able to keep their small town 'feel' while population increase and severe polarisation continues, given the historical and current economic and social circumstances of the country? How will they ethically go about developing their tourism endeavours while being sensitive to the previously and currently disadvantaged cohorts that frequent these towns? A great drawback of this investigation is that it did not consider many of these questions at any great length. At least, a result of this thesis is that it points to the importance of these issues to be investigated in future.

In chapter five, the economic impact of second home development was explored. The main point of this thesis is that second home development is an important catalyst in stimulating the emergence of the South African post-productivist countryside. Second home development in the developing world has received very little research attention. Therefore, this investigation of second homes in four small South African settlements presents an opportunity to shed potential insight into this phenomenon. Second homes in the developing world invariably present different challenges and opportunities to those in the developed world. Key differences with regard to second home development in the developing world are the year-long

presence of domestic workers and gardeners. An additional difference between second homes in the developed world and second homes in the developing world is that second home owners, at least in the case of South Africa pay full government tax throughout the year. This is not necessarily the case everywhere in Europe or elsewhere. The continuous support of the local economies makes second home development a valuable local economic development possibility in many impoverished post-productivist countrysides in the developing world, but more specifically South Africa. Second homes influence a variety of different components in a local economy, ranging from domestic workers' wages to the general tax base of otherwise poor to impoverished rural municipalities. Second homes have a regional influence through the leisure activities that their owners and tenants undertake, developing and sustaining a range of local businesses that offer these activities. This investigation underlines the fact that the second homes' distance from their owners' primary residences and the frequency of second home use by owners and tenants has a significant influence on the extent of the economic impact of second homes on a particular region. The more easily accessible a destination is to large metropolitan regions and the more frequently it is visited, the greater the positive influence of second homes on the local economy. Therefore it is clear that the economic influence of second home owners from the main metropolitan regions of South Africa can be far-reaching and can aid in sustaining otherwise economically crippled post-productivist economies.

Residents from Gauteng and the Cape Town metropolitan area and other smaller cities have been attracted to break away from the cities and buy second homes in small settlements through the existence of specific natural amenities in or near these places. This was the case for second home ownership in all four settlements studied.

It is also clear that second homes often serve as potential locations for owners' future retirements, thus providing the potential for further inflow into local economies as temporary residents become permanent residents. Furthermore, an average of 24% of all properties in the settlements studied are second homes, which suggests that these may constitute upwards of a quarter of the contributions made to the municipal rates-base in some places. Moreover, local authorities should encourage second home owners to let out their properties when they are not occupying them, because doing so benefits the local economy as a whole through bringing more consumers to local economies.

### **6.3. Future research on the post-productivist countryside in South Africa**

#### *6.3.1. A geography of rural change in a post-productivist countryside*

Post-productivism is a contested concept globally, and contemporary research on post-productivism within a developing world context and particularly in South Africa is bound to have its critics. Nevertheless, I do believe that it is an area of research that is significant because it examines the changes in the South African countryside in a holistic manner. The post-productivist countryside as a conceptualisation is yet to be directly challenged and extended in this country. From this standpoint, more research is needed to fully understand the complexities of the South African post-productivist countryside. The following research endeavours are suggested:

- Agricultural change and the corresponding economic adjustments
- Extensification and dispersion
- Environmental regulation

- Changes from primary to secondary produce
- Rural land use change in the post-productivist countryside, especially changes from traditional productivist farms to post-productivist farms such as holiday and game farms
- Off-farm employment

Researching the variety of issues from a post-productivist perspective might serve to clearly outline challenges faced by rural South Africa.

### 6.3.2. *A small town's post-productivism?*

In this section of the chapter 'small towns' as an avenue of investigation is suggested in terms of our understanding of post-productivism. The towns investigated in this thesis are examples that have embraced the change from productivism to post-productivism. This transition was essentially realised when towns identified key opportunities and utilised investments both internal and external to it.

Nevertheless, the benefits of this have not been equitably distributed among communities. While there have been apparent elements of success in all of the cases studied, the findings beg two key questions. First, how replicable are processes or experiences such as these? And, secondly, who actually benefits? In a partial answer to the first question, each experience provides valuable insight into issues of leadership, the role of external investment and the significance of both local stakeholder and private sector engagement. With regard to the second question, sadly, given South Africa's huge development backlog, the majority of small town residents have only seen minimal improvements in their well-being and livelihood opportunities. Whilst the somewhat mythical notion of 'trickle down' might

yield some benefits, ultimately it is predominantly the wealthy that have derived the most apparent benefits (see Nel and Rogerson, 2005).

South Africa's small towns are clearly experiencing tremendous change, and it is evident that some of these towns are embracing the change and adapting to it in a dynamic manner. This has the upshot of causing significant changes in economic foci and social make-up. In the case where these changes are not met with favour, the picture is far less certain. This raises further questions about what exactly is transpiring in the six hundred small towns not included in this study, specifically those in the former Homelands for which there appears little evidence of any proactive initiative by local governments, stakeholders and private enterprises. Given the stark reality of poverty in most small towns in South Africa, questions need to be raised, within a policy and theoretical framework. Do small towns have the capacity to achieve their respective development potentials in the absence of external backing – especially those with a real development potential but challenged by financial constraints? Should greater external support be encouraged? More importantly, will research play an important role in exposing these necessities to different stakeholders at hand?

#### **6.4. Future research opportunities on second homes in South Africa:**

##### *6.4.1. Economic impacts*

A number of issues not addressed in this investigation require scrutiny. Firstly, the economic impacts of second homes are shown to be significant. However, when viewing the wage levels of those employed by second homes owners, for example,

questions do arise. While the employment created in these small towns is welcome, one must ask whether the wage levels seen in these locations do not indicate labour exploitation.

This in turn raises issues of what the livelihood strategies of workers in second homes are, as in most cases the wages earned are significantly below minimum wage levels set for workers in South Africa's rural areas. Related to this point is the idea that although more services become available, the nature and costs of those services and produces require scrutiny. In fact, rural places might become entirely 'second home dominated'. However, much more could be achieved if the various stakeholders in the respective towns investigated here actively embraced second home development. Although tourism development does receive prominence as holding potential economic benefit in some of the towns, the role of second homes per se is not part of the current strategies for tourism development. As a consequence, the following recommendations can be made:

- Ascertain the extent of participation and social dialogue between the different stakeholders in these towns;
- Ensure that planning interventions are anchored in the local area, rather than imposed by individual second home owners, property management consortiums, or property developers located in the metropolitan regions;
- Ensure that local resources are used as extensively as possible and in such a manner as to develop local competitive advantage; and
- That the services are locally owned and managed.

Given greater emphasis on these issues, I contend that for the future development of small settlements in economically depressed post-productivist areas, tourism-

related businesses, as well as local and district municipalities should not underestimate the potential economic impacts of second home ownership and development. To allow the economic (social and environmental) impact of second home usage to be assessed with greater validity, a call has to be made to the South African government to initiate the development of a formal database in which many of the issues raised in this thesis can be quantified.

#### *6.4.2. Environmental threats*

Whilst the environmental impacts of second home usage fall beyond the ambit of this investigation, these impacts require investigation. Although the size of the towns investigated here were not large, all of them have grown as a result of second home development. There is a range of 'second home development hotspots' (see Visser, 2006), where large-scale urban development linked to second homes are taking shape. Many of these developments are in ecologically sensitive locations. In some cases water security is being compromised as a result of a growing number of second homes. South Africa is after all a water scarce country. Moreover, with unstable supplies of electricity becoming an ever-increasing problem in South Africa, second homes negatively influence these towns. For example, during winter periods second homes overload grid systems and power shortages become more common.

In terms of the broader South African second home phenomenon, many areas are second home-led and developed in ecologically sensitive areas. For example, second home villages such as St Francis Bay are developed on a wetlands system. These developments negatively influence fauna and flora. The second homes are also affected negatively by natural water rising and falling taking place as the wetlands flood. Landscape degradation, reduction of biodiversity and potentially

the contamination of water supplies and groundwater are real problems faced by unregulated development of second homes in ecologically sensitive areas (Matteucci, Lund-Durlacher and Beyer, 2008). The second home developments inhibit mobile dune fields and wetland systems. The disruption of natural movements created flooding. Second home development also impacts on artificial drainage systems which often fail and sand/water movements then flood second homes (Interviewee Gillian McGregor). An increasing phenomenon has been the development of golf courses and golf-estates linked to second homes.

In some cases, absentee land ownership and seasonal second home ownership also present fire hazards. For example, some second home owners frequent their second homes less than once a year, and if these second homes are not maintained by local gardeners' alien vegetation species grow out of control and present fire hazards. This is particularly dangerous in the dry climates of South Africa where fire hazards are a very real danger, especially in the Western Cape, Kwazulu-Natal and Eastern-Free State where fire warnings are regularly given.

At least in the case of this study, many of the houses are not newly built, thus very little new environmental impacts have occurred in these areas as in the case of newly built second homes. Nevertheless, this is the exception and not the rule. The lack of planning in the development of second homes might hold detrimental impacts in future in a range of locations (Kaltenborn *et al.*, 2008). The role of rate payers associations is important in the protection of these environments and how second home owners fulfil their roles in these associations.

Second home owners often also have to travel great distances to second homes and the carbon footprints of these owners might be much higher than in smaller (for

example) European countries where public transport could be used to get to second homes or shorter distances have to be travelled (Hiltunen, 2007; Müller, Hall and Keen, 2004).

#### 6.4.3. *Social repercussions*

A very important point that this thesis did not investigate is the views of the majority populations that live in the case study location. The question arises: in what way are 'indigenous populations' (both white and black) becoming 'outsiders' relative to the elites moving into these small towns. Also, questions should be posed as to whether or not resentment among permanent residents is developing. If one does not have the same resources and you are seeing people in the local area who are demonstrably wealthier than you, there could be resentment. The towns in this investigation have all experienced some form of rural gentrification where many of the original residents have been pushed out by increasing living costs. Questions in future can be posed in terms of what role second home development in these towns has played in increasing processes of gentrification. It is also clear that many second home owners do not commit to minimum wages to the people that work for them. This is illegal and if not remedied will perpetuate already impoverished individuals' living conditions in remote rural areas where economic survival is very hard.

In this study, local permanent residents have complained that second home owners and tourists demand levels of service that they experience in the major urban centres. However, in the four case studies the same level of training and education

is not present which is available in major urban centres such as Johannesburg (see Rogerson, 2002b for notes on Dullstroom and lack of training opportunities). This creates resentment on the part of local permanent residents. It is also perceived that second home owners make exorbitant demands on local municipalities in terms of what services they can deliver (Interviewee Debbie van Wyk).

Second homes and crime has also been a concurrent factor. The seasonality of second home usage has allowed for many second homes in these towns and in fact in the country as a whole to be targeted (Henshall, 1977; Müller, 1999). This has very negatively affected many of the town developments as second home investment can decrease and thus positive elements of second home ownership cannot be utilised. It seems improbable that much development will take place in tourism destinations if fear of crime and crime is a reality. The increasing fortification of second homes and employment of security agencies might work against the original reasons why these towns became popular to live in or to own a second home in, such as for example, aesthetic beauty, safety and security.

With reference to the towns investigated in this study, housing shortages are a significant problem. However, an argument that second homes take up existing housing stock might be seen as doubtful. For example, with the inherited historical separation of blacks and white, the former black group areas still remain terribly impoverished. The supposed available housing stock that second home owners take up, are beyond the financial reach irrespective of whether they were second homes or not. They remained expensive to people living beneath the breadline. It is a paradoxical situation, in that, the properties which take up second homes could be used for shelter for people living in inadequate housing. Nevertheless, the economic and financial benefits that second homes bring would then not have

been utilised by these cohorts. Thus arguments put forward by Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones against second homes and which question housing equity, remain ambiguous in the case of South Africa. Simplistic arguments such as simple adding and subtracting of official homeless households vs. second homes are too limited to take into account the varied position impoverished households face in these towns. Moreover, the presence of a thriving tourism economy influenced by second home ownership have lured many people from surrounding rural environments to migrate to these towns to potentially find work. Thus housing shortages have become inevitable in these areas.

#### **6.5. (Non)-recreational, tribal and rural second homes?**

Looking to the future, at present, five million of South African urban residents regularly migrate between rural and urban areas (Boraine, Crankshaw, Engelbrecht, Gotz, Mbangwa, Narsoo and Parnell 2006). This means that there are up to 2 million (non)-recreational second home users in South Africa if one assumes that there are about three individuals per household. At present 61% of South Africa's population are urbanised and rural/urban linkages remain an important part of South African life. However, the use of (non)-recreational second homes in the developing world and relations to time usage patterns, falls outside of research to date.

The '(non)-recreational'/'tribal second home' or 'rural home', as it is popularly referred to, present different circumstances to purely recreational second homes while differing vastly from the *pied-à-terre*, primarily because it is not a choice but an economic necessity (see Smit, 1998). In essence, rural homes can often only be visited over public or seasonal holidays or for familial reasons such as funerals,

initiation or child birth (Smit, 1998). Therefore it does take on the typical forms of weekend, holidays or seasonal usage, but the reasons for visiting can be different than second home tourists. These homesteads are also reached via public transport, unlike recreational second homes, which are accessed by the personal car or air travel in South Africa. For example, the largest former homeland districts are in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces and are also in the poorest provinces in the country. It has to be asked how regularly these areas are visited because of their relatively distant location to the Gauteng province, and because these residents are often too poor to travel more than once a year. Similar questions could be posed for the former homeland areas of northern Kwazulu-Natal. Nevertheless, a good place to start research of this kind would be in the former homeland areas of South Africa.

South Africa also houses increasing numbers of legal and illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Nigeria and Ghana in search of work or educational purposes. Many of these immigrants also have rural homes in their countries of origin. This could be an important research niche in future exploring of trans-national or international (non)-recreational second homes in Southern Africa. Academic attention to non-recreational, tribal, and rural second homes has been limited despite important issues that require exploration to develop a richer and more inclusive theory on second homes and their varied meanings and time usage.

The key point to make is that almost five million South Africans take part in Visiting, Friends and Relatives (VFR) tourism. This results in large numbers of second homes that need to be investigated. Moreover, just because people are poor and take part in different kinds of activities not usually associated with tourism activities does

not mean that they are not tourists. This will be very important for future investigations.

## **6.6. Conclusion**

Post-productivism and the role of second homes therein have received no direct research attention in the past nor has the nexus of the two phenomena been theorised in South Africa. This investigation provides a first response. In accordance with Müller and Hall, the thesis was led by the contention that second homes, drawing on the empirical realities of Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens were the result of the development of the post-productivist countryside not only in these areas specifically but also the country more generally. It was suggested that this coincided with the advent of an open agricultural economy which was ushered in during and with the coming of democracy and subsequent neo-liberal economic climate and agricultural policies, influencing both rural and urban areas. It was demonstrated that second homes played a significant role in the development of the specific towns focused upon in this investigation and have undergone significant transformation towards a post-productivist state over the past decades.

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# APPENDIX 1

27 January 2009

Dear Sir / Madam

## **Questionnaire Survey of the profile of Second Home Owners**

I am a lecturer at Rhodes University currently engaged in research on the impact of second home owners on the local economy of Clarens. The aims of this project are to examine the role and distribution of second homes in Clarens specifically, as well as to establish whether there is a second home development trend in the Free State Province.

In view of the above, it will be greatly appreciated, if you could answer the following questions as accurately as possible and post it back to me. An addressed envelope with postage is included with this questionnaire. If it is more convenient you can also fax the questionnaire to 046-6361199. **Please be assured that the information will be regarded, as completely confidential.** No individual second home or second home owner will be identified as such in the final report. The completed data files will be destroyed once the information it contains has been extracted and used to establish an aggregate picture for the study area, which is the overriding aim of the project.

The success of this project is totally dependent upon your kind assistance, as no recent data sets exists for second homes in Clarens or the Free State Province in that respect. Furthermore, if you are interested in the outcome of this project I shall gladly e-mail the information to you, my email address is g.hoogendoorn@ru.ac.za. If at any stage you may have any other enquires you are welcome to contact me at 046-6038321.

Your kind co-operation in this venture is gratefully acknowledged.

Kind Regards,

Gijsbert Hoogendoorn

For previous second home study on Clarens, visit:

<http://www.up.ac.za/academic/acadorgs/saafecs/vol32/hogdorn.pdf>

## Second home development in Clarens

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### Instructions

- Please insert a cross (X) in the appropriate space(s), or write your answer in the space provided.
- If you feel you would like to elaborate on certain questions- please do, as it can only enhance the value of the research.

### Section A

1. What is your profession? \_\_\_\_\_

2. What is your gender?

Male	1
Female	2

3. What is your relationship status?

Married	1	Widower/Widow	4
Single	2	Divorced	5
Living together	3	Separated	6

4. What is your home language? \_\_\_\_\_

5. What is your highest academic qualification?

Less than Grade 12 (Matric)	1
Grade 12 (Matric)	2
Diploma	3
Bachelor's degree	4
Honours degree	5
Master's degree	6
Doctoral degree	7
Other:	8

6. What are the ages of the members in your household (living with you)?

	< 6	7-12	13-18	19-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60
1. Adult 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2. Adult 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3. Child 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4. Child 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5. Child 3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6. Child 4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7. Child 5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8. Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9. Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

7. In which city or town is your permanent place of residence located? \_\_\_\_\_

8. How far is your second home from your permanent place of residence? \_\_\_\_\_ km

9. What is your annual household income?

Under R100 000	R100 001- R200 000	R200 001- R300 000	R300 001- R400 000	R400 001- R600 000	R600 001 – R1 000 000	R1 000 001 – R 2 000 000	Over R2 Million
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### **Section B**

1. In what year did you purchase your second home in Clarens? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Why did you buy a second home in Clarens?

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3.1. Are you the sole owner of your second home?

Yes		No	
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3.2. If you are not the sole owner of the second home, with whom do you share it?

Business Associate(s)	
Friends	
Relatives	
Timeshare	
Trust	
Other. (If other explain):	

4.1. Do you own other vacation and recreational properties?

Yes		No	
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4.2. If yes, where? \_\_\_\_\_

5.1. On average, how often do you visit your second home in Clarens?

Daily	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	2-6 months	7-12 months	Less often than once a year
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5.2. Please indicate the number of days per month (on average) that you have personally spent in Clarens during the last year.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Days												

6.1. Do you let your property out?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6.2. If yes, how many days per month (on average) did you let out your property out during the past year?

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Days												

7.1. Did you develop your property on an open plot?

Yes		No	
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7.2. What was the market value of the property when you first bought it?  
R\_\_\_\_\_

7.3. What do you estimate is the current value of your property? R\_\_\_\_\_

7.4. Approximately how much money did you spend on the redevelopment, renovation and maintenance of your property in the last year?  
\_\_\_\_\_

7.5. In which location(s) is the builder construction company based which performed this function? \_\_\_\_\_

8. What are the operational costs of your property per month or per year (for each option you can choose either the per month or per year option)

	Per Month	Per year?
Domestic Worker from the Clarens area	R	R
Gardener from the Clarens area	R	R
Electricity	R	R
Rates/Taxes	R	R
Refuse Removal	R	R
Water	R	R
Security	R	R
Permanent resident that manages your property	R	R
Other (please specify):	R	R

9.1. How many days did you spend in Clarens during your last visit? \_\_\_\_\_

9.2. During your the last visit to Clarens, how much money did you spend on each of the following activities (if you took part)?

Item	Amount spent per item for the full length of stay
a. Restaurants	R
b. Art & Crafts Galleries	R
c. Local Petrol Station	R
d. Groceries	R
f. Gift shops	R
g. Other: Indicate	R
1.	
2.	R
3.	R

10.1. During your last visit to Clarens, how much money did you spend on each on each of the following activities (if you took part)?

Activity	Amount spent per item for the full length of stay
a. Fly-fishing	R
b. Bird watching	R
c. Hiking	R
d. Mountain biking	R
e. Quad biking	R
f. 4x4 trails	R
g. Horse riding	R
h. White water rafting	R
i. Archery	R
j. Golf	R
k. Other: Indicate	R
1.	
2.	R
3.	R

### Section C

1.1. Are there other towns and regions that you visit while you reside at your second home?

Yes		No	
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1.2. If yes, please name the three most important towns and indicate the reason for visit?

Name of town	Reason for visiting

2.1. Do you have frequent contact with permanent local residents?

Do not know local residents	Greet Only	Visit occasionally	Visit regularly
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2.2. Explain your answer above.

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2.3. Have you made friends with other second home owners in the Clarens area?

Yes		No	
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3.1. Are you involved in any community forums or meetings?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3.2. If yes, please elaborate on the activities of these forums or meetings?

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4.1. Do you think it is important for second home owners to be actively involved in the development of the community in Clarens?

Yes		No	
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4.2. If yes, please explain your answer above?

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5. If there is anything else you would like to add please feel free to do so.

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**Thank you very much for your cooperation!**

## APPENDIX 2

### Personal in-depth interviews:

#### Rhodes Village:

Interviewee: Ms D. van Wyk, manager at Walkerbouts Inn

Interviewee: Mrs H. Reeders, owner and manager of Rubicon Flats

Interviewee: Mr F. Steynberg, local entrepreneur

Interviewee: Mrs S Kölz, municipal official

Interviewee: Mr C.J. Barnard, local farmer

Interviewee: Anonymous, local farmer

Interviewee: Mrs H. Nel, guest farm owner

Interviewee: Mr W. Jansen, guest farm owner

Interviewee: Mr D. Walker, owner of Walkerbouts Inn and director of the Wild Trout Association

#### Greyton

Interviewee: Leon Nel/Seeff Properties

Interviewee: Robyn Pietersen (coloured)/Greyton Tourism Office

Interviewee: Susan Barnett: Top team properties

Interviewee: Tess Crabtree/Pam Golding

Interviewee: Derek Crabtree/Pam Golding

Interviewee: Gudmundur Thorvardarson

Interviewee: Ann Davidson (coloured)

Interviewee: Maurice Bishop: interior designer, architect and involved in the aesthetics society

Interviewee: Pat Smith: Retired resident and head of the rate payers association

Interviewee: Anthony Potberg – Municipal Official

Interviewee: J.T. Kemp: Retired Resident

## **Dullstroom**

Interviewee: Nonnie Madonsela: Municipal official

Interviewee: Sarah Kilbride: Tourism Information office

Interviewee: Abdullah Vaid: Owner of the Blue Shop

Interviewee: Mahmood Vaid: Worker in the Blue Shop

Interviewee: Jim Keaveney: Retail manager at Mavungana fly-fishing

Interviewee: John Thoabala: Professional guide at Mavungana fly-fishing

Interviewee: Bruce Boshoff – Owner of The Village Angler

Interviewee: Anonymous Restaurant owner

Interviewee: Anonymous Restaurant owner

## **Clarens**

Interviewee: Bruce Weyers: Local entrepreneur

Interviewee: Robert Crowther: Retired resident/Former mayor and councilman

Interviewee: Elize Crowther: Retired resident and former councilman

Interviewee: Anonymous Restaurant Manager

## **An interview on the environmental effects of second homes on St. Francis Bay**

Interviewee: Gillian McGregor: Environmental consultant and academic engaged with research on the wetlands systems of St. Francis Bay

# SUMMARY

**Title:** Second homes and local economic impacts in the South African post-productivist countryside

**Candidate:** Gijsbert Hoogendoorn

**Supervisor:** Prof. Gustav Visser and Prof. Lochner Marais

Issues concerning post-productivism have not seen any direct systematic research attention in South Africa. Nevertheless, it has recently been proposed that post-productivism, although difficult to discern in its early stages, has gathered sufficient momentum to warrant scholarly attention in the local context. This study develops this contention by focusing on the role of second homes tourism as a contributor to developing a South African post-productivist countryside using four study areas, namely, Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom and Clarens. It is argued that the initial development of productivist countrysides was linked to the apartheid regime's concerns over white land ownership, black labour distribution and food security. It is then suggested that although the productivist countryside was under strain towards the final years of apartheid, the dismantling of apartheid agricultural policy and financial support for white farmers led them to seek out other economic opportunities. Movement towards consumptive leisure practices such as tourism and leisure functions has led to a diversification of farming practices resulting in a countryside in which agricultural production has decreased in importance. It is then argued that the stage was set for second homes to emerge as a new phenomenon in the countryside which further enhances the trend towards post-productivism. The project then provides an analysis of the various economic impacts of second homes in four study sites mentioned.

**Key words:** second homes; South Africa; small towns; tourism; local economic impacts, post-productivism

# OPSOMMING

**Titel: Tweede huise en plaaslike ekonomiese impak op die Suid-Afrikaanse postproduktivistiese platteland**

**Kandidaat: Gijsbert Hoogendoorn**

**Studieleier: Prof. Gustav Visser en Prof. Lochner Marais**

Kwessies rakende postproduktivisme het nog nie enige regstreekse sistematiese aandag in Suid-Afrika geniet nie. Desnieteenstaande is onlangs voorgestel dat postproduktivisme, hoewel moeilik om in sy vroeë fases te onderskei, genoeg momentum het om vakkundige aandag in die plaaslike konteks te regverdig. Die studie ontwikkel hierdie bewering deur op die rol van tweedehuis-toerisme te fokus as 'n bydraer tot die ontwikkeling van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse postproduktivistiese platteland deur middel van vier studiegebiede, naamlik Rhodes, Greyton, Dullstroom en Clarens. Daar word geredeneer dat die aanvanklike ontwikkeling van 'n produktivistiese platteland met die apartheidsregering se kommer oor wit grondeienaarskap, swart arbeidsverspreiding en voedselsekerheid verband gehou het. Daar word dan voorgestel dat hoewel die produktivistiese platteland in die laaste paar jaar van apartheid onder druk was, het die aftakeling van apartheid se landboubeleid en finansiële steun vir wit boere hulle genoop om ander ekonomiese geleenthede te soek. 'n Verskuiwing na verbruiksontspanningspraktyke soos toerisme en ontspanningsgeleenthede het tot 'n diversifikasie van landboupraktyke gelei, wat 'n platteland waar landbouproduksie se belangrikheid afgeneem het, tot gevolg gehad. Daar word dan geredeneer dat die weg berei is vir tweede huise om as 'n nuwe verskynsel in die platteland na vore te tree, wat verder die tendens tot postproduktivisme verhoog het. Die projek verskaf dan 'n ontleding van die verskillende ekonomiese invloede van tweede huise in die vier studiegebiede wat genoem is.

**Sleutelwoorde:** tweede huise; Suid-Afrika; klein dorpe; toerisme; plaaslike ekonomiese invloed; postproduktivisme.