PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF SECOND HOMES IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA

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Perspectives on the social impacts of second homes in rural South Africa

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the degree 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 thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

Emerentia Antoinette Hay

Bloemfontein, 2014

Opgedra aan: Johnnie

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I never thought that I would be a second home farmer five years ago when I first started with second home research. Our lives constantly change – and it is the same with geographical spaces over time. This topic was and is very special to me because I now have firsthand experience and could therefore relate to my participants in the neighbouring town of Rosendal, which was my study area.

The writing of this thesis was quite a journey and it represented more than only climbing Doornkop alongside my second home farmstead – which is a challenge on its own. A number of people have shared this bumpy journey with me to the peak. I would firstly like to thank my beloved mother who has always supported and believed in me. Her prayers took me right through this journey: *baie, baie dankie Ma vir Ma se onwrikbare glo in my – dit sal my altyd bybly.* Most importantly, my love and thanks to Johnnie, without whom this thesis would not have been concluded: *dankie my lief!!* To my children, Jonè and Stephan: *julle was altyd so begripvol en geduldig oor die jare terwyl ek hiermee besig was*. Jonè with your computer knowledge and support with the graphs: *ek waardeer jou! Johan en Daleen – julle het ook bly glo in my! Dankie!*

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Last, but certainly not least, I thank God who gave me unbelievable insight and support when the bumpy road sometimes became too steep to carry on. I once heard a motivational speaker say if you set your goals too high and you can finally reach them, the feeling is unbelievably fantastic! That is precisely what I feel right now.

Ps 16:5 : Here, U is my lewe, U sorg vir my. Wat ek ontvang, kom alles van U af. 'n Pragtige deel is vir my afgemeet …

ABSTRACT

Second homes as phenomenon in Human Geography has been researched in some detail in developed countries, but considerably little research has been presented on this phenomenon in the developing world. The existing research focuses mainly on economic issues related to second home development – but this research was specifically undertaken better to understand the social perspectives and resultant impacts of this phenomenon on rural communities. Economic issues also came into play, but the main focus was to unravel the social intricacies that second homes bring to a rural environment.

Rosendal in the Eastern Free State of South Africa was used as a case study and included the predominantly white town of Rosendal, the black township of Mautse and the surrounding farming community. The area is known as a retreat for city dwellers from the Gauteng region and the capital of the Free State province, namely Bloemfontein.

The literature review revealed that social and economic impacts of second home development on host communities, worldwide and locally, play an important role and contribute to the shift of communities from a productivist to post-productivst countryside. Furthermore, social change serves to undermine the social utility of traditional farming – resulting in a differentiated or post-productivist countryside of which second home development is an example.

A mixed methods approach within the interpretivist paradigm was utilised for this thesis, where a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research was implemented. Furthermore, a case study approach was used because the study wanted to provide a platform and agenda for future studies on social impacts of second homes. Case studies within the interpretivist paradigm have received relatively little attention from social scientists, especially geographers – therefore it may be argued that this is new territory for second home research in South Africa.

The findings revealed that research in South Africa on people with lower incomes as second home owners is almost completely absent. One of the main contributions of this study therefore, is the unraveling of the socio-economic profiles of lower income earners who have second homes, and do not necessarily come from cities. Secondly, research on high amenity rural places often focuses on the potential

impacts of rapid growth in tourism and second home ownership on the 'host' community. Part of this worldwide research is the seasonal and weekend resident attachment to such a landscape, but for the current study farm dwellers' migration was also researched – dwellers who travel during month-ends to town locations or 'informal dwellings', which may lead to the erosion of (or in constructive terms rather change in) the existing socio-cultural fabric, as rural values are mixed with the urban (and farm) values of incomers. Thirdly it was found that the six indicators of a post-productivist countryside of Wilson and Rigg (2003) can only be partially applied to the current case study. This indicates that developing countries are probably moving partially to a post-productivist state in the rural areas, but that certain factors not known to developed countries are also at work and contribute to permutations of the mentioned indicators.

The thesis closes with a suggestion that post-productivist theory may have to be reviewed for developing country environments.

OPSOMMING

Tweede huise as 'n verskynsel in Menslike Geografie is reeds deeglik nagevors in ontwikkelde lande, maar betreklik min navorsing oor hierdie fenomeen bestaan in ontwikkelende lande. Die bestaande navorsing fokus hoofsaaklik op ekonomiese kwessies betreffende tweede huis-ontwikkeling – maar hierdie studie fokus spesifiek op die sosiale perspektiewe en gevolglike impakte van hierdie verskynsel op plattelandse gemeenskappe. Ekonomiese kwessies word ook aangespreek, maar die hooffokus is om die sosiale impakte van tweede huiseienaarskap op plattelandse omgewings te ondersoek.

Rosendal in die Oos-Vrystaat van Suid-Afrika is benut as gevallestudie en sluit die hoofsaaklik wit dorp van Rosendal, die swart dorp Mautse en omliggende boedery-gemeenskap in. Die gebied is bekend en veral gewild onder stedelinge vanaf Gauteng en die hoofstad van die Vrystaat, naamlik Bloemfontein.

Die literatuurstudie toon dat sosiale en ekonomiese impakte van tweede huis-ontwikkeling op gemeenskappe – wêreldwyd en plaaslik – 'n beduidende rol speel en bydra tot die beweging vanaf 'n produktiewe na 'n post-produktiewe gemeenskap. Verder ondermyn sosiale verandering die sosiale bruikbaarheid van tradisionele boerdery – en gevolglik lei dit tot 'n gedifferensieerde of post-produktiwistiese gemeenskap met tweede huis-ontwikkeling as kenmerk.

'n Gemengde metode-benadering binne die interpretivistiese paradigma is gebruik in die ondersoek, waarna 'n kombinasie van beide kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe navorsing geïmplementeer is. 'n Gevallestudie-metode is gebruik met die oog op die skep van 'n platform vir toekomstige navorsing oor sosiale impakte van tweede huiseienaarskap. Min navorsing deur sosiale wetenskaplikes (veral geograwe) is nog opgelewer oor gevallestudies binne die interpretivistiese paradigma – daarom kan geargumenteer word dat dit nuwe terrein is vir tweede huis-navorsing in Suid-Afrika.

Uit die bevindings is dit duidelik dat navorsing gerig op tweede huiseienaars met laer inkomstes in Suid-Afrika feitlik onbekend is. Een van die primêre bydraes van hierdie studie is die ontleding van die sosio-ekonomiese profiele van laer inkomste-verdieners as tweede huiseienaars wat nie noodwendig van stede af kom nie. Tweedens, navorsing oor gewilde plattelandse plekke fokus gewoonlik op die potensiële impakte van die geweldige groei in toerisme en tweede huiseienaarskap

op die plaaslike gemeenskap. Deel van hierdie wêreldwye navorsing is die seisoenale en naweek inwonergehegtheid aan so 'n gemeenskap, maar die huidige studie het ook gefokus op plaaswerker-migrasie – waar hul dan gewoonlik gedurende maandeinde na die dorp reis na hul informele struktuur. Hierdie tendense kan lei tot die erodering van die bestaande sosio-kulturele samestelling, want die plattelandse waardes meng met plaas- en stedelike waardes. Derdens is bevind dat die ses indikatore van 'n post-produktivistiese gemeenskap van Wilson en Rigg (2003), slegs gedeeltelik toegepas kan word op die huidige gevallestudie. Dit lyk asof ontwikkelende lande hoogstens gedeeltelik beweeg na 'n post-produktivistiese toestand in veral plattelandse gemeenskappe, maar dat sekere faktore, onbekend aan ontwikkelde lande, ook aan die werk is om by te dra tot permutasies van die genoemde indikatore.

Die proefskrif sluit af deur voor te stel dat die post-produktivistiese teorie hersien moet word om meer toepaslike voorsiening te maak vir ontwikkelende plattelandse omgewings.

KEY WORDS

Second homes

Interpretivism

Post-productivism

Post-productivist countrysides

Developing world

Social and economic impacts

Rurality

Low income second home owners

Escapism

Family pull factor

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADLI – Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation

ANC – African National Congress

CBO – Community-based Organisations

DAFF – Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

DARE – Deagrarianisation and Rural Employment

ENGO – Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GFI – Gross Farm Income

GVA – Gross Value Added

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IPAP – Revised Industrial Policy Plan

IPS – Inter Press Service

LED – Local Economic Development

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NPO – Non-profit Organisation

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Plan

SAP – Structural Adjustment Policies

SDPRP – Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program

SMS - Short message service

SPSS – Statistical Package for Social Sciences

SSA – Sub-Saharan Africa

UK – United Kingdom

VFR – Visiting Friends and Relatives

WINZ – Wine Institute of New Zealand

WTO – World Trade Union

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVES ON SECOND HOME OWNERSHIP IN RURAL AREAS

1.1 Introduction and orientation

The geographies of rural areas in both developed and developing contexts have undergone dramatic social change and restructuring because of a variety of underlying political, economic, environmental and social sub-forces (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Through rural economic restructuring and concomitant depopulation, many rural properties become available for potential second home owners (Müller, 2011). Second home development as an element of social, and general rural change in the countryside can be associated with a transformation of the countryside into what is described as a more post-productive state or consumption landscape (Hall & Müller, 2004). These post-productivist countrysides emerge as involving entities which reflect the breakdown of an almost absolute productivist past (Halfacree, 2012). Currently, the countryside is increasingly known for its amenities and imagined rural lifestyle (Hall & Müller, 2004).

Although second homes as phenomenon has been researched in some detail in developed countries, considerably little scholarship has been presented on this phenomenon in the developing world – to understand the social perspectives, and resultant impacts, of this phenomenon on rural communities. Müller (2011: 137) confirms this contention when he states that the 'scope of the phenomenon is largely unknown', especially regarding the societal changes on rural communities such as restructuring, the influence of technology, and globalisation. Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010: 548) indicate that second home scholars in the developing world most often 'analyse the impact of second home owners from an economic perspective'.

Internationally, second home researchers have mostly focused on the middle classes, focusing on countries such as Sweden and New Zealand (Müller,1999; 2000; 2002; 2004; 2006; 2007; 2011; Müller, Hall & Keen, 2004; Hall & Müller, 2004) and the upper classes in the United Kingdom (Gallent, 1997; 2007; Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003; 2005; Gallent & Twedwr-Jones, 2000; 2001). Even in developing countries, scholarly reflection on second homes mostly focus on White, rich and

mobile second home owners (Hoogendoorn, 2010), which represents only a section of the second home users of a country. Hoogendoorn therefore states that 'second home research in South Africa on people with lower incomes as second home owners is almost completely absent' (Hoogendoorn, 2010: 4).

Against the background of these facts and concerns, the aim of this thesis is to shed light on a specific set of issues that can further develop world scholarship on the social impacts of second home ownership. A critical argument of this investigation is that the social perspectives and social impacts on rural communities have not been adequately investigated within mainstream second home research in developing countries, and deserve urgent attention to more fully understand and theorise them. To understand social perspectives on second home owners three issues are put forward, firstly: Why do people (of all classes) have second homes in rural areas?

This question has preoccupied several researchers over the past twenty years (e.g. Clout, 2005; Hoggart, 2007; Chaplin, 2001). A number of explanatory motives have been put forward, most notably the desire to escape from routine, from home life, and ultimately from modernity itself (Quinn, 2004). Chaplin (2001) uses a quotation from Saul Bellow's *Humboldt's Gift*,[1] to show that people needed to escape the daily stresses of city life even in the 1970s.

It seems that decades ago the same feeling of 'escapism' existed when Cohen and Taylor (in Chaplin, 1999: 1) emphasised that 'there is a mere mental ability to lift ourselves above the arrangements of everyday life ('paramount reality')'. They argued that such self-consciousness might imprison people more firmly within 'reality' in the sense that it provides them with an alibi for continuing to live their routine habitual lives, a reassuring belief that at least mentally they had escaped, and that they were somewhere else.

[1] "The world has become self-referring. You know this. This thing has seeped into the texture of the world. The world for thousands of years was our escape, was our refuge. Men hid from themselves in the world. We hid from God or death. The world was where we lived, the self was where we went mad and died. But now the world has made a self of its own. Why, how, never mind. What happens to us now that the world has a self? How do we say the simplest thing without falling into a trap? Where do we go, how do we live, and who do we believe? This is my vision, a self-referring world, a world in which there is no escape" (Cohen & Taylor, cited in Chaplin, 1999: 1).

Thus, this feeling of 'escapism'– escape from pressures of work, everyday routine, and commodification, 'to a space which' according to Chaplin 'is a bolt-hole, a retreat or a genuine break from paramount reality' (Chaplin, 1999: 41), will be examined in this investigation together with the actions and activities through which the escape is attempted or affected, leading to some insights into the rural idyll idea (Rigg & Ritchie, 2002), as well as attendant production-consumption relationships (Hall & Müller, 2004).

Another reason, according to Hoogendoorn (2010), why people have second homes in rural areas, might be the 'visiting friends and relatives' factor (VFR tourism), which could perhaps be interpreted as another form of escape. He argued that there is an inseparable link between VFR tourism and second home tourism as a consumptive phenomenon; which is in line with Müller's (2011) thinking. This thesis *inter alia* focuses on the VFR factor, especially amongst lower income groups.

The second question the thesis addresses relates to the possible impacts second home owners have on host communities – and *vice versa*. It is suggested that Walford's (2004) dichotomies of outsider/insider and landscape/place could possibly be applied to rural communities in developing countries, not least rural South African second home destination regions. Place could be experienced as an aesthetically pleasant landscape by one individual or group and may be experienced by another as a place of home with a wholly distinct identity and set of meanings. The insider's place is rapidly being recreated into something wholly unknown by outside forces, for instance disparities in lifestyle, class and core values, as well as social inequities and community conflict. According to McWatters (2009) the whole character of small towns could change, and change is a part of its identity. Part of this research is the seasonal and weekend resident attachment to such a landscape, but also farm dwellers' migration during weekends to townships or 'informal dwellings' (Informal dwellings refer to settlements alongside towns which have sprung up because of non-regulated migration; after 1994 the government launched a number of projects to allocate land, housing and better services in these areas). This represents a different trend compared with worldwide trends.

The last question is: To what extent is the theory of post-productivism aligned to the study area? The post-productivist countryside[2] is no longer seen primarily as a 'food factory' but as a place for leisure and residence (Marsden, 2010). In addition to leisure and residence, the possible role second homes play in rejuvenating the post-productivist countryside will be examined. Wilson and Rigg (2003) argued that it is possible to measure the shift from productivism to post-productivism on the basis of six indicators. The concept of post-productivism needs to be adapted and developed to address conditions outside the developed world by:

> 'embedding it possibly with theoretical discussions surrounding the Southern-based concept of 'deagrarianisation' and also emphasising that the theoretical notion of multifunctional agricultural regimes (a regime that conceptually, temporally and spatially follows on from the post-productivist transition) may be more appropriate to describe the possible 'endpoint' of contemporary agricultural change, and that – in line with similar calls from an advanced economies perspective – the notion of post-productivist agricultural regimes should only be used to describe a specific (and relative) transitional phase of agricultural change'.
>
> (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 681)

These three questions/issues form the basis of this investigation.

1.2 Problem statement

The overall aim of this thesis is to explore and provide a comprehensive analysis of social perspectives concerning second home development in a developing world context.

This thesis adopts an inductive approach whereby second home development as element of social and more general rural change in the countryside is examined in detail, via a case study of Rosendal/Mautse in the Eastern Free State of South Africa. A pertinent issue in this research is the focus on lower income people as second home owners too, which is almost absent in current South African second home discourse, except for Hoogendoorn's recent paper (2011).

[2] Post-productivism means extensification instead of intensification, dispersion instead of concentration and diversification instead of specialisation in the contemporary countryside (Ilbery & Bowler, 1998).

The following questions will therefore have to be answered:

- What do the socio-economic profiles of second home owners look like with the specific focus on reasons why they became second property owners?;
- What impacts do second home owners have on host communities – and *vice-versa*?; and
- To what extent is the empirical case study aligned with theoretical positions on post-productivist countrysides?

1.3 Primary and secondary aims of the study

The primary research aim of this research study is to examine the social impacts and perspectives of second home ownership in a developing world context in rural communities. This primary aim is supported by the following secondary research aims, namely to:

- conduct a literature review with specific focus on international and local debates concerning second home development in general;
- examine the historical background of the second home phenomenon in developed and developing countries;
- provide an economic and socio-cultural overview of second home tourism impacts on host communities;
- provide an overview of the socio-economic impact of second home development in South Africa, with specific reference to the Dihlabeng municipal area in which the case study town of Rosendal/Mautse is situated;
- conduct a brief investigation regarding the developmental history of Rosendal/Mautse with reference to second homes in the area;
- conduct primary research in order to compile a socio-economic profile of second home owners; their associated impacts towards rural residents in Rosendal/Mautse; and
- examine whether the theory of post-productivism is applicable to Rosendal/Mautse.

1.4 Research methodology

The thesis elected for a mixed method paradigm as qualitative/quantative research is a holistic and inductive approach, where a specific social phenomenon is explored, understood and described, rather than predicted (Anderson, 2002; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The aim is to gain a fuller and more in-depth understanding of how second home ownership unfolds in that particular setting, what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like and which meaning they ascribe to experiences in relation to second homes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

The focus is not only on the outcomes of the study, but the whole research process is being considered as important (Denzin, 2010). The attempt was not to prove hypotheses but rather draw paralells between the findings of this case study and the existing discourse in second home research, and detect novel trends. Data will be analysed inductively, with the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon studied. The researcher was interested in the understanding and reflection of the participants' different meanings and perspectives on second homes, which correlates with Interpretivism.

An in-depth case study design is regarded as suitable for the current study. An in-depth investigation of a natural case will be reported on and therefore the current study can be regarded as realistic (Yin, 2011). The focus of the current study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the social issues of second home owners on host communities and *vice versa* – namely Rosendal/Mautse in the Eastern Free State; to understand the emotional reaction of various groups of individuals in the town/area owing to the erosion of the socio-cultural fabric of rural values displaced by the urban values of second home incomers. Therefore no prior hypothesis was set, but a problem statement formulated to guide curiosity about the practice itself (Beeton, 2005).

Data was gathered over several months during 2010 to 2013 (June/July 2010; Desember 2010 and January 2011; Desember 2012 and January 2013) in one location namely Rosendal, which are divided into sub-areas: Rosendal town, Mautse township and Rosendal farming community. Figure 1.1 provides an aerial view of the case study area.

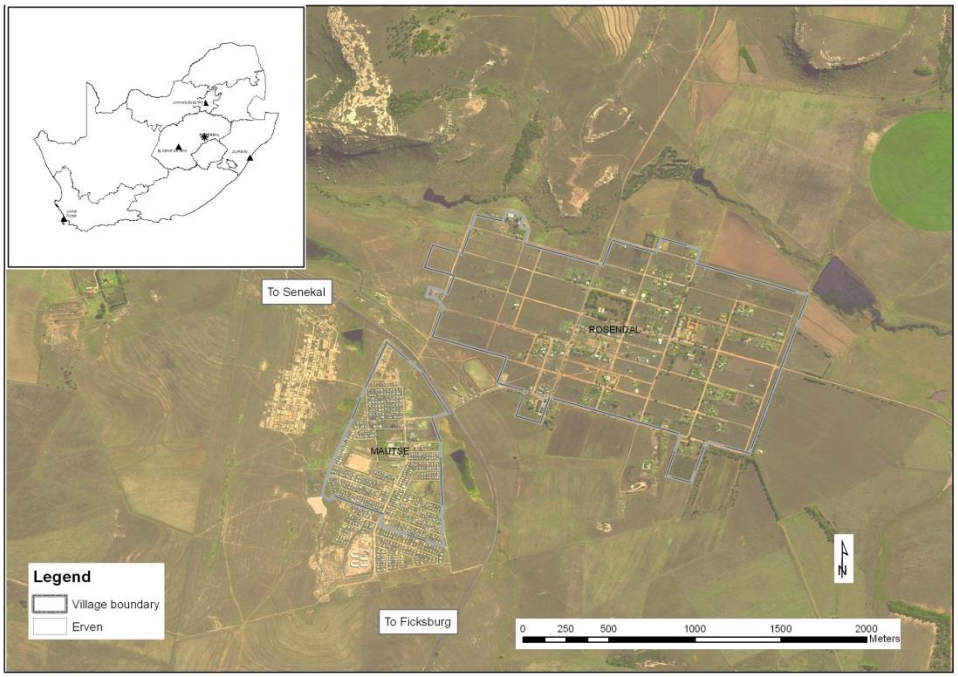

Figure 1.1 Rosendal/Mautse case study location (Compiled by Barker)

Second home owners were identified through the rates base address listings of the Dihlabeng municipality within which Rosendal is located. If a home owner's tax and services accounts were sent out to an area other than the Dihlabeng municipal area in which the property was located, the owner was identified as a likely second home owner. However, many of the addresses were outdated and therefore another data collection technique had to be used. Purposive and snowball sampling as data collection technique was used. Some municipal officials and residents of Rosendal assisted with telephone numbers and e-mail addresses of second home owners. Thirty semi-structured interviews were conducted with stakeholders in the Rosendal town area, which include businessmen, entrepreneurs, local residents and second home owners (Category A).

Structured questionnaires form part of Category B informants. In total 74 participants responded, namely: 40 second home owners from Mautse; 27 second home owners from Rosendal town and seven second home farmers in the Rosendal district. Participant observation over the three year period informs the result of the interviews and questionnaires throughout.

Owing to the descriptive nature of mixed method research, the data is presented in the form of letters and symbols (Coffey, Atkinson & Delamout, 2003). A SPSS software

programme (version 19) was used to analyse the quantitative data. The data was captured in Excel spreadsheets and analysed statistically. The thirty qualitative interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word documents. However, owing to the relatively manageable extent of the research data, the process to organise, manage and categorise the data was done relatively easy. This implied that after the data was coded, themes, patterns, relationships and connections within and between categories were identified through the building of networks, code families, tables and matrixes (Coffey *et al.*, 2003).

It has to be pointed out that quality criteria have been seen as 'guiding principles' rather than fixed standard criteria (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Throughout the research study, it was attempted to maintain a balance between remaining flexible and creative but also to promote transparency and rigour (Mason, 2002; Seale, 2002; Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis & Dillon, 2003). Lincoln and Guba (2003) identify five criteria for evaluating the soundness of qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and authenticity (Spencer *et al*., 2003). In Chapter Four each criterion will be explained.

When working with human participants, ethical requirements regarding confidentiality, anonymity and trust arise (Lincoln & Guba, 2003). The second home owners of Rosendal town were SMSed and asked if they wanted to participate voluntarily. The participants were then informed about the process and goals of the research by sending them an e-mail. A similar process was used for local stakeholders before the initial interview phase started.

Owing to ethical considerations, anonymity of participants is respected and the names of individuals are thus not disclosed in the study. However, some participants' quotes, insights, comments and perceptions were used without mentioning their names.

1.5 Layout of the thesis

Chapter One provided some background to the investigation presented while Chapter Two focuses on international debates concerning second home development. Worldwide the concept of a second home is often difficult to tie down. Perhaps it is owing to the fact that second homes do not constitute a distinct type of accommodation (McIntyre, 2006). However, different views and debates

concerning definitional matters are addressed in the first part of Chapter Two. Despite all the obvious limitations and problems associated with the issue of secondary use, this thesis adopts a pragmatic approach in order to define the phenomenon of second homes: 'If a home owner's tax and services accounts were sent out to an area other than the respective municipal area in which the property was located, the owner was identified as a likely second home owner' (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010: 136), and second homes defined as 'detached and non-mobile, privately owned, single/family dwellings for recreational and secondary use' (Marjavaara, 2008: 8).

Thereafter, the relationship between second home development and rural tourism needs to be clarified (Hall & Müller, 2004). Different views demonstrated that place locality is a feature of rural recreation and tourism and it is sometimes manifested in second home ownership (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011). Therefore, second home ownership contributes to substantial changes to the rural landscape and resulted implications for local communities with varying economic, social-cultural and environmental impacts (Hall, 2005). This leads to a transformation of the countryside what is described as a more post-productive state or into a consumption landscape according to Ilbery and Bowler (1998). Special reference is also made to the historical background of second homes worldwide and in South Africa. Although second homes have received extensive research attention internationally, these concerns got momentum only for the past ten years as an area of investigation within the South African context (see Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004; 2010a; 2010b; 2011a; 2011b; 2012; Visser, 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2006; Pienaar & Visser, 2009; Hoogendoorn, Marais & Visser, 2009; Hoogendoorn, 2010a; 2010b; 2011).

Chapter Three focuses on post-productivist countrysides and it is likely that recent population trends will accelerate the differentiation of the countryside which leads to changing ruralities and changing landscapes (Marsden & Murdoch, 2006; Hoogendoorn, 2011). According to a growing number of commentators, the agricultural sectors and rural areas of advanced Western nations, as well as some Developing World countries (Hoogendoorn, 2011; Spocter, 2013), are experiencing a transition from productivism to post-productivism (Evans, Morris & Winter, 2002; Wilson, 2010). The countryside is no longer seen primarily as a space of food production only but also as a place for leisure and residence; it services the external

(Marsden, 2010) demands of urban residents. This involves a redefinition of the countryside, from a productive space to a series of spaces of production and consumption, involving the use of the countryside for the achievement of lifestyle choices and leisure practices (Holloway, 1999). The work of Wilson and Rigg (2003), which is based around six interconnected 'indicators' or 'dimensions' of post-productivism, and the successful 'exporting' of the theory of post-productivism to the global South is the focus of the remainder of the chapter. The applicability of the post-productivist indicators in a global Southern context is examined and possible examples are applied to each indicator.

In Chapter Four a description, explanation and elaboration on the research methodology and strategies are addressed. Interpretivism as meta-theory and mixed method research as methodological paradigm are justified (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). It is not uncommon for mixed method case researchers to call for letting the case 'tell its own story' (Yin, 2011). That is exactly what this study wants to do. Someone cannot be sure that the case is telling its own story well or will tell it at all, but the ethnographic ethos of interpretive study, seeking meanings held by the people within the case, is strong (Yin, 2011). Therefore, case content evolves in the act of writing itself. The choice of research design and the selection of participants are then subsequently discussed. A discussion follows on data collection and the techniques used. Thereafter, the manner in which data analysis and interpretation thereof were conducted will follow. The remainder of the chapter sets out the quality criteria of the study and concludes with a discussion on ethical considerations.

Chapter Five addresses the first research question namely: What do the socio-economic profiles of second home owners look like? It explores one of the basic questions in the second home literature by asking why do people have second homes? A number of possible motives have been put forward. Furthermore, this chapter provides a profile of Rosendal/Mautse and its second home owners. Thereafter, the chapter provides a short history of Rosendal/Mautse and surrounding area. The findings presented in this chapter are based on the semi-structured interviews with local residents and stakeholders in Rosendal/Mautse (participants in Category A) and semi-structured questionnaires with second home owners (participants in Category B). The surveys and interviews were conducted during the course of 2010–2013. The researcher authenticates and enriches the findings of the

current study through participants' quotations, visual data, findings from the questionnaires and participant observation.

Chapter Six investigates the second research question which focuses on the different social and economic impacts of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse. The interviews with entrepreneurs, local residents, elderly residents and second home owners will be analysed in order to examine the different impacts of second home development in Rosendal/Mautse (participants in Category A). The participants' verbatim quotations made a valuable contribution to the investigation. The chapter concludes by presenting insight into positive and negative impacts of second home development on Rosendal area.

Chapter Seven outlines the third research question, namely: 'To what extent is Rosendal/Mautse aligned with theoretical conceptions of post-productivist countrysides?' This chapter will also bring the previous findings (Chapters Five and Six) in line with the indicators of Wilson and Rigg (2003). Participants' verbatim quotations, visual data and personal observation will be used to substantiate and enrich the results of the current study.

Chapter Eight is the final chapter with conclusive remarks concerning social perspectives on second homes in a developing world context. Possible contributions are highlighted and a discussion on the limitations of the current study will follow. Concluding remarks form part of the remainder of this chapter with recommendations for future research.

1.6 Conclusion

In Chapter One a concise overview was provided to introduce the study. The context was set out concerning second home ownership worldwide. An inductive approach is used to examine mainly the social aspects of second homes in a developing world context. The study aims to fill a gap regarding research on the social perspectives on second home ownership in a rural community in a developing world country.

A literature review follows in two chapters. The layout of Chapter Two is as follows: the first part of the chapter is devoted to international debates concerning the definition of what a second home is. The second component focuses on the background history of second homes in developed and developing countries. The

following component provides a review on why second homes should be viewed within the wider context of rural change. Thereafter, the section focuses on the link between second home development and rural tourism. Overviews of different issues concerning second home development impacts are investigated in the next section. To conclude the chapter the focus is on South African second home development.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNATIONAL AND SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON SECOND HOME DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of owning a second home has been on the research agenda for a considerable amount of time, particularly in developed countries (Müller, 2011; Hall & Müller, 2004). Moreover, second homes have a long history: the affluent people of ancient Rome, for example, had their 'country villas in the surroundings of the empire's capital, the Russian tsars had their winter palaces and the 18th century Parisians had their *maisons de plaisance'* (Clout, in Marjavaara, 2008: 1). The geography of rural areas has undergone major and, some argue, fundamental changes over the past half century (Hoogendoorn, 2011). Second homes are a major contributor to regional economies, particularly the more peripheral areas, while they may also represent a 'significant heritage resource because of their use of vernacular architecture and the ongoing use of buildings that may otherwise have fallen into disrepair' (Hall & Müller, 2004: 3). Against this backdrop, the intention of this chapter is to contribute to these debates by accessing various perspectives on second home development both worldwide and locally, with specific emphasis on socio-economic perspectives on the phenomenon.

Second homes fall into a variety of research fields (Williams & Hall, 2000). Internationally, second homes are viewed as an important part of urban tourism and a leisurely lifestyle. New forms and patterns of production and consumption enable an increasing number of households to spend time away from traditional work and production environments in preferred locations with high amenity values (Hall & Müller, 2004). Despite these tendencies, second homes have not been highlighted in social science research (particularly) (Müller, 2011). Nevertheless, the rural has seldom been addressed in second home research, and second homes do not play a major role in rural studies, despite their role in community change and consumption of the countryside (Müller, 2011). However, active research in the geography of second home development was pioneered by the work of Wolfe (1977) in rural Canada, with substantial early research also being undertaken in the United States (see Ragatz, 1970). Continental Europe also reported a significant

amount of early research (see Clout, 2005) as did Australia (see Robertson, 1977). With the publication of Coppock's (1977) seminal edited text, *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?*, the second home phenomenon became a major international research topic for those scholars investigating the tourism and migration nexus, and therefore provided a benchmark for second home research.

Relatively little was published on second homes in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the question was raised as to whether second homes research had gone into hibernation (Hall & Müller, 2004). However, since the late 1990s, a substantial number of publications on second homes have begun to emerge. More research surfaced with works by Müller (1999), Chaplin (1999), Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000), Hall and Müller (2004), with Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005) taking the lead.

The layout of this chapter is as follows: the first part of the chapter is devoted to international debates concerning the definition of what a second home is and concludes with Marjavaara's (2008) definition which resonates strongly with the purpose of this study. The second component focuses on the background history of second homes in developed and developing countries. Second home research internationally has mostly focused on middle classes in the case of countries like Sweden and New Zealand (Müller, 2007; 2010; 2011; Müller, Hall & Keen, 2004; Hall & Müller, 2004) and upper classes in the United Kingdom (Gallent, 1997; 2007; Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003; 2005; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; 2001). In the developing world, scholarly reflection on second homes has focused especially on the White, rich and mobile South Africans (see Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004; Hoogendoorn, Mellett & Visser, 2005; Hoogendoorn, Marais & Visser, 2009; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010a; 2010b; Hoogendoorn, 2010a; 2010b; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012; 2011a; 2011b; Visser, 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2006; Pienaar & Visser, 2009), as well as middle-aged Hong Kong residents and frequent cross-border trippers in the Mainland (Hui, 2009). Da Silva and Del Grossi (2001) investigated the rapidly expanding pattern of non-farming activities of ex-urbanites (as potential second home owners) in farming regions of Brazil. The section which follows provides a review of second homes and why they should be viewed within the wider context of local rural change, which could result from not only developments in the countryside and agriculture, but also from influences from urban areas and the urban population (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). There is a large body of academic literature available on rural change (see also Phillips, 2004; 2005; Halfacree, 2007; 2012; Jones

& Little, 2000; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011), however, post-productivism as an approach to understand rural change and the role of tourism (for example) therein has seen limited debate (Goodman, 2001; Mather, Hill & Nijnik, 2006). This section also focuses on the link between second home development and rural tourism.

Undoubtedly, second home development has 'different kinds of impacts on the host destination' (Marjavaara, 2008: 11). An overview of different issues concerning the impacts of second home development, such as economic, environmental and socio-cultural impacts is investigated in the following section. The historical background on second home development in the South African context will subsequently be discussed. The chapter concludes by shifting to South African second home development. Here, second home development as a topic of investigation has remained invisible until fairly recently (at least before 2003) (Visser, 2003). Nevertheless, whatever the reason for the 'invisibility' of the second home phenomenon to South African researchers, the fact remains that researching second homes has only recently emerged as a serious field of investigation in this country (see also Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010; 2011; 2012; Hoogendoorn, 2009; 2010; 2011; Visser, 2003; 2004; 2006).

2.2 What is a second home?

Understanding what a second home is provides the obvious starting point for investigating its 'meaning' and measuring its effects on housing markets or rural communities. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000: 6) state that the basis of any social enquiry must be the 'recognition and definition of the core concepts'. The core concepts in, for example, a housing study might include the 'household' or the 'dwelling' (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). It seems that the core concept in a second home study is 'second home' itself. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) argue that the term is somewhat misinterpreted in academic research where the 'home' is viewed as an individual's principal node of social transaction and interaction. In this context a 'second home' is not a 'home' unless it is viewed within a deeper symbolic meaning for its user wherein secondary social transaction plays a vital role. According to Salletmaier (1993), 'recreation spaces'- also referred to as the secondary dwelling - are much more than just 'physical places and should be seen within the context of place identity' which could have a definite influence on the user's 'action potential' (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 6). According to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000: 7), Salletmaier's definition borrows greatly from the work of

Habermas (1987, 1991) and is more concerned with the 'sociological justifications for demand than the search for a practical definition'. This observation is in line with Flemsaeter's (2007) work on emotional dilemmas connected to social property relations when smallholdings are converted from permanent to second homes.

According to the *Dictionary of Human Geography* (2009: 730), a second home is 'a property owned or rented on a long lease as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere' (see also Coppock, 1977). It seems that second home owners have their primary residence somewhere else where they spend the majority of their time (Marjavaara, 2008). According to McIntyre (in Marjavaara, 2008: 7) it is often difficult to tie down the concept of second home, because 'the term spans a range of accommodation types with different ownership, function and character'.

Second homes come in different shapes and sizes, including boats, mobile homes, huts, flats, apartments, chalets, villas, luxury houses, farmhouses etc. Internationally, the term 'second home' differs from country to country. One example is the one million 'dachas' located around Moscow (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt & Watts, 2009). In Australia and Tasmania, they refer to second homes, which are centered on cheap makeshift holiday homes, as 'shacks' (Atkinson, Picken & Tranter, 2007). Atkinson *et al.* (2007) state that 'shacks' largely remained of poor quality and did not comply with contemporary environmental or building standards.

Gallent (2007) furthers this argument when he refers to the word 'dwelling', which supposes engagement with others and thereby contributes to social capital and cohesion. He also contrasts the view of dwelling as a process and states that 'dwelling' is measurable. Furthermore, he emphasises that 'second home' is merely a physical structure in one sense but, in another, it has meaning for both those who reside within and for those who might be excluded from the housing market because of its presence in a particular location.

Coppock (1977: 1-16) took these concerns further when he stated that not all functional second homes are owned by those who use them. He mentions that 'a range of potential functions from rented on a long lease, weekend use or vacation and recreational purposes'. Johnston *et al.* (2009) agree that a second home is a property owned or rented on a long lease as the occasional residence of a household usually living elsewhere. Chaplin (2001) proposed a different view when

she investigated British second home owners in France. She states that it is possible for people to escape commodification to a free area in which the divisions between work and leisure are blurred. A few years earlier Buller and Hoggart (1994a) argued that an increasing number of British second home owners found a substitute for the loss of British countryside in the French countryside. Another argument provided by MacCannell's analysis (in Müller, 2002a: 428) is the view that 'industrial work fails to provide basic social and cultural experiences due to the fragmentation of the production process'. Human identity is thus to a great extent based on experiences coupled with leisure activities such as sport, community activities and religion.

The debate surrounding the definition of 'second homes', especially for planning purposes, reached a high during the 1970s and many of the difficulties experienced at that time are far from being resolved today (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Coppock (1977) argues that rational analysis of the problems posed by second homes is prevented by the existence of stereotypes in a field in which definition is difficult and facts scarce. Some local authorities consider static caravans as potential second homes whilst others do not. Similarly, 'ownership (that is, freehold tenure) is often implied as a criterion for definition but it may also be argued that a second home, like a main residence, may be rented or leased' (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 7). Coppock (1977) also states that second homes may be used by others, and it is debatable at what point these should more properly be regarded as rented holiday accommodation. It seems that the issue of definition across the developed world is quite difficult to resolve. For instance, in Spain, many owners who rented out their flats claim that these are second homes in order to avoid tax on rental income (Barke, 2004). Pyne (in Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000) arrives at a three-tier definition for vacation accommodation which may or may not be a second home:

1. Second home: a dwelling used by its owner and possibly other visitors for leisure or holiday purposes and which is not the usual or permanent place of residence for the owner.

2. Holiday investment property: a dwelling owned either locally or outside the country and not permanently occupied but let to holiday makers solely on a commercial basis.

3. Club/institute/company holiday property: similar to the above but used only by club members or company employees and clients (Pyne, 1973: 3).

Futhermore, three groups of second homes may be recognised: stationary, semi-mobile and mobile (Hall & Müller, 2004) (Refer to Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 : Second home characteristics

Non-mobile (stationary)	Houses and apartments	Solitary cottages and houses Second home villages Apartment buildings
Semi-mobile	Camping	Trailers/mobile homes Recreational vehicles Tents Caravans
Mobile	Boats	Sailing boats

Source: Newig (2000) in Hall & Müller (2004)

According to Hall and Müller (2004: 5) most researchers employ a 'pragmatic approach where data access determines the definition of second homes'. Müller (2002) suggests that to complicate definitional matters further, both the term and the concept of second homes have been increasingly brought into question. More and more households in the developed world adopt mobile lifestyles and show an ability to allocate their time independently of a single workplace and therefore possess several homes (Williams & Hall, 2002). According to Müller (2011) it seems that second homes are seldom sold, but they are sometimes passed on through generations. In some cases, the owners may form a strong emotional place attachment with the home and Kaltenborn (Hall & Müller, 2004: 6) 'uses the term 'alternate home' to indicate the emotional meaning that is otherwise hidden by the term second home'. He further states that the extent of this phenomenon is often disguised owing to administrative practices that require households to register a primary residence (Müller, 2002).

This leads to a further argument concerning definitional matters: Müller (2002) criticises the administrative practices that fail to recognise the complexity of current mobility patterns and forms by defining people as static and immobile in their day-to-day life. 'Administrative procedures simply do not accept that people are at

home in two places at once, in the same way that travel arrival cards usually do not allow more than one reason for a visit' (Hall & Müller, 2004: 6). The term second home has risen as a result of these administrative practices. Müller and Hall (2002) state that second home owners are sometimes excluded from some of the local community institutions and practices owing to the power of such practices. This may mean that second home owners are excluded from certain citizenship rights by virtue of their inability to vote, and from access to certain public amenities and institutions. Another perception on second homes is the dichotomy of outsider/insider and landscape/place made by Walford (2004). He states that the insider's place is rapidly being impropriated and recreated into something wholly unknown by outside forces. Marjavaara (2008) agrees with this sentiment by stating that second home owners (as outsiders) could displace 'real' locals from the housing market.

To conclude, the point to be made here is that the definitional problems are seemingly far from being resolved. On Census night (1991) in England and Wales, the definition used was as follows:

> [S]econd residences were defined as company flats, holiday houses, weekend cottages etc. in permanent buildings which were known to be the second residences of people who had a more permanent address elsewhere and which were unoccupied on Census night. This classification was applied even if the premises were occasionally let to others.
>
> (OPCS, in Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 10).

According to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) the definition excludes empty dwellings not *known* to be second homes and potential second homes counted as 'occupied accommodation' on Census night. It seems that this false registration also happened in Spain (Barke, 2004) and in Austria (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). However, it is clear that a lack of clear statutory guidance on what constitutes a second home leaves the system open to inaccuracy either because of abuse or honest misinterpretation.

Despite all the obvious limitations and problems associated with the issue of secondary use, this thesis adopts a pragmatic approach in order to define the phenomenon of second homes (Hoogendoorn, Mellett & Visser, 2007: 136): 'If a home owner's tax and services accounts were sent out to an area other than the

respective municipal area in which the property was located, the owner was identified as a likely second home owner'. Hence, second homes are defined as 'detached and non-mobile, privately owned, single/family dwellings for recreational and secondary use' (Marjavaara, 2008: 8).

2.3 Background history on second homes in developed and developing countries

The purpose of this section is to explore the historical background of second homes in developed and developing countries. The origin of second homes can be traced back to very old societies where a house in the countryside was an exclusive asset for the nobility (Coppock, 1977c). Coppock (1977: 4) refers to ancient Egypt and classical Rome, where 'wealthy Romans might have as many as fifteen second homes or villas, among which they chose the one that was most pleasant at a given time of the year'. Marjavaara (2008) confirms the above statement when he refers to wealthy citizens of Rome with their country villas and the Russian tsars with their winter palaces. Clout (1972) refers to the 18th century Parisians with their '*Maisons de Plaisance*' which were replaced by less impressive weekend houses owned by rich and noble people in the nineteenth century. One of the most important points to be raised in Clout's research is the role of 'inheritance' in the second home market. In France, it was commonplace for a city-dweller to inherit a rural home from grandparents (Clout, 1970). According to Coppock (1977) the immediate predecessor of the modern concept of a second home is probably the shooting box of Victorian Britain and the summer cottage on the Atlantic coast of North America. The shooting box refers to the stalking of deer and the shooting of driven grouse – the British Royal Family provides the best-known British example. According to Hall and Müller (2004: 7) 'second homes could be found, during the 18th century, in spa towns and later in coastal towns on a seasonal basis to escape city life'. Coppock (1977) refers to the suitcase farmers of the American wheat lands who would possess a farmstead, where they would spend some time during the preparation of the land sowing and harvesting, and a town house, some distance away, with perhaps also a vacation home in California or Florida (Kollmorgen & Jenks, in Coppock, 1977).

It is quite clear that transportation had a substantial influence on the geography of second homes. Ljungdahl (in Hall & Müller, 2004) noted that second homes were built along the steamboat lines in the Stockholm archipelago and Flognfeldt has reported a similar pattern of development along the Oslo Fjord (Hall & Müller, 2004). The large country houses of the upper classes were certainly serving this kind of

function in the post-medieval period, particularly in areas within reasonable travelling distance between cities (Coppock, 1977).

Internationally, second home investigations are closely linked to contemporary tourism and mobility. The main focus is on the intersection between tourism and migration as well as the development of various types of urban areas which explained second home development and investment (Williams & Hall, 2000; Hoogendoorn *et al*., 2005). Hall and Page (1999) mention an interrelated and overlapping relationship between tourism, recreation and leisure. The international body of research demonstrates, among other findings, that 'second homes are an important part of the urban tourism and leisure lifestyle of many people in the developed North' (Hall & Müller, in Hoogendoorn *et al*., 2005: 112). Wolfe's (1977) early work on cottaging in Ontario (1951, 1952) laid the foundation for later research on the geography of second home development. Together with other research on second homes it was evident that this phenomenon should be indicative of more fundamental changes affecting European and North American societal systems as a whole (Coppock, 1977). According to Coppock (1977) second homes may represent a 'curse' in some communities and a 'blessing' in others. Second homes are not inherently bad, but have the potential to cause problems if left unrestricted owing to the influx of city dwellers to attractive rural areas (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2001).

As a result of the increasing mobility and development of the industrial and post-industrial world, coupled with the increase in regional and international leisure migration associated with contemporary globalisation, second home development have re-entered the research agenda and received renewed research attention since the 1990s (Paris, 2009). This view is supported by Sharpley and Telfer (2002) who state that greater economic prosperity leads to higher disposable incomes, fewer working hours and longer periods of leisure time. Finnish scholars and other Nordic country researchers reported the same trend where second home users create a potential for rural development (Saarinen, 2003; Sievänen, Pouta & Neuvonen, 2007). These processes, in turn, have been seen to have led to explosive growth, not only in the tourism system generally, but also in second home development in particular (Williams & Hall, 2000).

Just as gentrification was observed by second home researchers to be a trend that 'emulated the habit of a rural gentry having a *pied a terre* in the city, so second homes often appear as rural weekenders and long term holiday retreats of the urban bourgeoisie' (Atkinson, Picken & Tranter, 2007: 3). Work on rural gentrification (Phillips, 2002; 2004; 2005; Smith & Phillips, 2001; Darling, 2005) continues to broaden the interest in the residential choices of high income groups and their resulted impact on what are often low-income rural housing contexts. In the United Kingdom, Continental Europe and North America the general focus was on the withdrawal of dwellings from local markets with the effect of excluding 'local' groups from housing markets, the 'distortion' of local housing markets with effects on housing affordability and market-based exclusion, as well as the erosion of local services owing to the seasonality of residence. According to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) there is a potential for second-home purchases to cause an inflation of house prices that may then affect the housing opportunities available to some households. This may lead to perceptions of a second home 'problem'. According to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) the potential British demand for second homes in rural France in the late 1980s was outwardly the result of house price differentials, widened by the property boom. In Australia, there has been little accounting for second homes, although one of the earliest investigations on second homes was conducted in the 1960s and focused on Queensland (Atkinson *et al.*, 2007). Larger investments being made in rural/coastal second homes suggest this is starting to erode what was a more distinctly Australian experience in the 'shack culture' and cultivate what has otherwise been termed 'elite landscapes' (Hall & Müller, 2004).

In New Zealand, second homes are referred to as either a 'bach' (in the North and Upper South Island) or a 'crib' (in the lower South Island) (Keen & Hall, 2004). Three key types of second homes exist in New Zealand namely *vernacular* (traditional 'do-it-yourself' minimalist second homes), *re-use (*second home communities that sprung up in areas where the discontinuation of other industries has left redundant housing) and *contemporary* (purpose-built second homes in resort areas) (Keen & Hall, 2004). Another interesting trend is the movement of older people from northern European countries towards southern Europe. For decades many of those with the necessary financial resources have moved from colder and wetter European regions towards areas with a warmer and drier climate, such as the Mediterranean coast (Hall & Müller, 2003). In Spain, regions such as Costa Blanca, Costa del Sol and the Balearic

and Canary Islands have become favourite locations for both permanent and temporary European older age migrants (Hall & Müller, 2004).

In developing countries, second home investigation is not primarily interested only in outdoor recreation; in fact there are other motivations for second homes too. Coppock (1977) refers to the seasonal movements of farmers in Africa, especially in southwest Nigeria. These farmers have a town house, where they spend much of the dry season when work is at a minimum on the farm, and a good deal of time is spent on social activities (Oluwasanmi, in Coppock, 1977). The most long-standing African example of community involvement in tourism is found in Zimbabwe. It consists of a series of projects where rural Zimbabwean communities residing in wildlife areas accrue financial benefits from the wildlife resources, mainly through safari hunting operations. According to Coppock (1977) it seems highly unlikely that, except for official residences, second homes are of any importance in China during the 1970s and 80s, and while wealthy citizens, politicians and senior officials throughout the developing world may have more than one home, the total number must be small. More recent research shows that middle-aged Hong Kong residents find second homes in the Mainland preferable owing to the more spacious recreational environment (Hui, 2009).

Research conducted in developing countries includes Rigg and Ritchie's (2002: 4) research on Thailand's rural areas. The past is being used by non-traditional rural groupings to justify their presence and to make themselves, in a sense, 'more traditional and more authentic than the farmers'. Rigg and Ritchie (2002: 4) provide 'a critique of the construction of the rural idyll in Thailand, tracing this back to what is sometimes suggested to be the first piece of Thai literature, an inscription dating back to 1292'. The discussion then turns to show how this construction of an imagined rural past infuses ideas about the present and the policies promoted by local NGOs and others. The consumption of rural Thailand by new classes, tacitly embodying this imagined past, is exemplified by reference to two case studies: a hotel with a 'working' rice farm and an elite school. The infiltration of new groups into rural Thailand with new agendas has, in some instances, created tension while also providing new opportunities for traditional rural classes.

Second home development has been well documented throughout the Western, or developed world and in the case of upper and middle income earners in the

developing world (see Hall & Müller, 2003; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003; Aronsson, 2004; Halseth, 2004). However, in the case of low income earners, or poor people in the developing world, second home development forms an important part of labour migration, although in part a consumption phenomenon (Hoogendoorn, 2010).

In South Africa, Visser (see for example, Visser 2003, 2004, 2006) and Hoogendoorn (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013), as leading researchers, and their research students provide the main contours of the local second home debates. In general, this research has focused on how the presence of second homes and second home owners, as well as their consequent tourism induced expenditure patterns and associated economic linkages, assist (or not) in employment creation and broader economic development.

In the rest of Africa, however, little research concerning second home development has been undertaken, except in countries such as Kenya and Mozambique where the focus is mainly on tourism development (Rogerson, 2012; Kiambo, 2005).

2.4 Second home development and rural tourism

The aim of this section is to shed light on the link between second home development and rural tourism. Location loyalty is often a feature of rural recreation and tourism and this sometimes manifests as second home ownership. Increased personal mobility for urban populations since the 1950s has meant a restructuring of rural areas into locations for recreation and tourism activities (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011). Along with other economic changes, the growth of other types of farming (eg game farming) and social processes has contributed to substantial changes to the rural landscape (Hall, 2005). Both Phillips (2005) and Hoggart (2007) raise important issues in their papers about the changing class composition of rural populations in the United Kingdom. Phillips (2005: 477) uses new official statistics on socio-economic classification to show that 'previous accounts of the capture of rural space by middle-class groups are based on an aggregate concept of the middle-classes that conceal important differences in terms of the statistical presence and socio-cultural impacts of different middle-class fractions in different rural places'. Hoggart's paper focuses on a previously neglected aspect of rural class analysis in the United Kingdom, namely that of movements of working class groups into and out of rural spaces. Other studies highlight movements of low-income groups to rural areas to take up low-skill and low-wage employment (see Milbourne, in Brereton, Bullock &

Clinch, 2010). In South Africa, small art towns are now attracting urban-rural migrant artists to start 'artist colonies' through 'art-related economic revitalisation and infrastructure developments' (Donaldson, 2007: 319). These small towns are now being shaped and transformed into exclusive spaces. Another study by Donaldson (2009) shows a direct relationship between higher property prices and property transfers in so-called gentrified towns and those in towns of stagnation or decline.

Second home ownership is widespread in Europe, particularly in the Nordic countries where low average population density dominates the areas; therefore access to second homes is common and comprises most parts of society (Müller, 2007). Moreover, the same trend is observed in North America and the Mediterranean second homes where it forms an important part of the tourist industry. During the last ten years, second home development became a significant phenomenon in developing countries such as South Africa and Thailand (Müller, 2011). Hoogendoorn & Visser (2010) argue that increased prosperity of the middle and higher income groups, principally amongst Whites, explains the demand for second homes in South Africa. Other scholarly reflections in developing countries such as Hong Kong reported that residents there prefer second homes in the Mainland owing to the desire to have more space and at the same time escaping everyday urban life (Hui, 2009).

'Second homes are mainly, though not exclusively, located in rural areas' (Müller, 2011: 137). For cold climate destinations like the Nordic countries, there are three main types of purchasers (Müller, 1999):

- 'Devoted fans of Sweden' who have travelled extensively in Sweden, are very interested in outdoor activities, and may have friends and relatives living there.
- 'Dedicated cottagers' whose primary motivation is to escape the pressures of urban life in Germany, and to have a base for relaxed and tranquil leisure.
- 'Coincidental and impulsive cottagers' are impulsive buyers who on a first or second trip to Sweden took advantage of low prices following devaluation of the Swedish currency in the mid-1990s (Shaw & Williams, 2002).

These differences can be explained, in part, in terms of the fluctuation in the housing market, as well as the cultural and inter-generational differences between urban and rural families (Satsangi, Gallent & Bevan, 2010). A large number of second

generation city residents often inherit family houses in the countryside and feel obliged to visit those second home properties on weekends or during school holidays. Some societies, for instance the Scandinavian ones, have a deep cultural attachment (Marjavaara, 2008). For example, the cottage provides a sense of belonging and also continuity of identity through symbolic identification with an emotional home and family togetherness that is sometimes absent nowadays owing to the often segmented lives and schedules that characterise most urban households (Müller, 2011; Williams & Kaltenborn, 1999).

For other parts of the world, the utilisation of second homes is highly variable – for instance, they can be dual first homes with the family dividing its time equally between this and the town residence (Williams & Hall, 2000). This pattern can be found around most large cities such as London and New York. The rural home is used most weekends as an addition to a city apartment. Alternatively, the second home may be located in a more distant region; city families own second homes near coastal areas or remote countrysides. Second home ownership may also be internationalised. There is, for example, considerable German ownership of second homes in Sweden (Müller, 1999) and British ownership in France (Chaplin, 2001), thus visits may be less frequent, and involve seasonal long stays. According to Shaw and Williams (2002), the distribution and intensity of the use of second homes can be understood in terms of accessibility and time-space budgets (Hall & Müller, 2004).

Another mega-trend worldwide is rural tourism to agriculture – or second property development of farms – which helped to maintain existing jobs and create new ones (Halfacree, 2012). It is now more than 30 years since Wolfe wrote about his observations from Ontario in the already mentioned anthology *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* (Coppock, 1977). Similar observations were made in Scandinavia – rural properties left vacant by migrants from agricultural areas have been taken over as second homes (Baylina, 2010). A marked decline in the number of farm-holdings can be seen all over Europe as a result of rural restructuring processes and economic decline in the agricultural sector (Flemsaeter, 2007). Hall (2005: 354) takes this argument further when he states that tourism has the potential for 'bringing considerable economic and social benefit to rural areas through income enhancement and infrastructure upgrading, particularly for marginal and less economically developed regions'. Therefore, by placing mobility at the heart of

understanding tourism, the geography of tourism may also be able to make a greater contribution to human geography (Hall, 2005).

2.5 Socio-economic impacts of second homes in rural areas

The aim of this section is to interrogate the social and economic implications of second home development. According to Tacoli (2002), second home tourism has different kinds of impacts on the host destination. Hall and Müller (2004) argue that new and more flexible forms of transport and new creative tourism attractive products will lead to an increase in the number of households which will use the opportunity to spend more on leisure activities in and around the second home. This section will address different issues concerning second home tourism impacts.

Social and economic impacts of second home owners on rural areas vary from location to location. Hall and Müller (2004) state that more rural properties became available for potential second home owners owing to rural economic restructuring and depopulation, and hence have entailed new patterns of consumption owing to the conversion of rural areas into arenas for recreation, leisure and tourism (Müller, 2002). This leads to a transformation of the countryside into a more post-productivist state (cf. Marsden & Murdoch, 2006) or more specificially into a consumption landscape (Marsden, 2010). Agricultural and forestry production is no longer the main focus in rural communities, but instead it is consumed for its amenities and imagined rural lifestyle. The new consumers, also described by Walford (2004) as outsiders, often have an idealised image of the countryside. Conflict may arise between outsiders (new consumers) and insiders (traditional local population) over rural resource use (Fountain & Hall, 2002).

Marjavaara (2008) argues that different second home landscapes arise depending on the local setting, for instance areas dominated by second homes that are converted into permanent homes and those dominated by purpose-built second homes in attractive urban hinterlands (see Figure 2.1). The horizontal axis in the figure indicates a continuum of visiting frequency, ranging from infrequent (vacation homes) to frequent (weekend homes). On the vertical axis, the type of second home is indicated, based on the original purpose of the dwelling. The extremes on each axis indicate a typical second home landscape based on its relative location to major urban settlements and its local features (Marjavaara, 2008: 11).

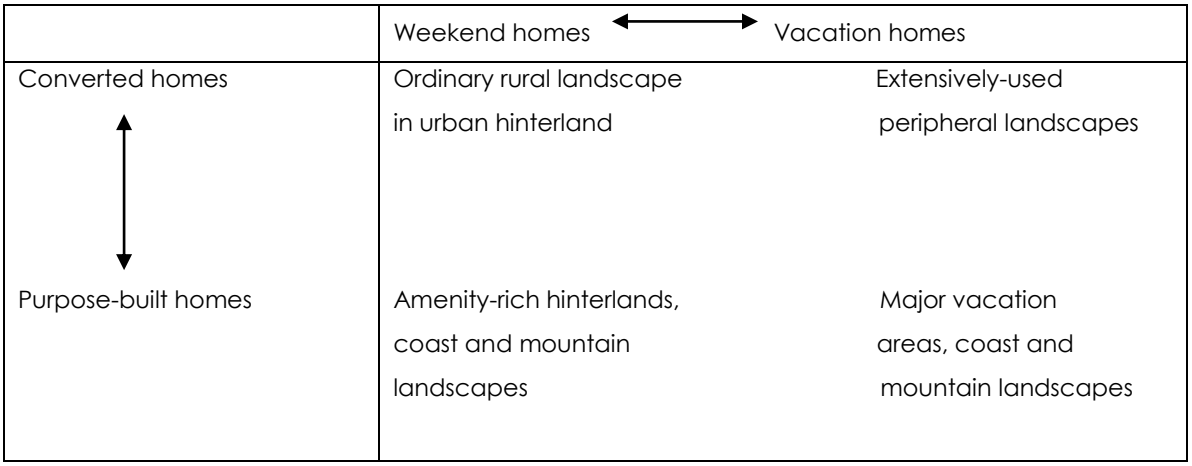

Figure 2.1 Second home types and their areas of occurrence. Source: Redrawn from Marjavaara (2008: 11).

It seems that local impacts in second home destinations have the 'highest potential in locations within the weekend recreational zone and in major vacation areas' (Marjavaara, 2008: 11). Marjavaara (2008) argues that there is a shortage of land and dwellings specificially in areas dominated by purpose-built second homes in attractive coastal and mountain locations. Furthermore, the situation may also arise in the weekend zone dominated by converted second homes in former permanent villages where second home demand competes with demand for permanent homes. Kauppila (2010), however, argues that international second home studies have concentrated on the hinterland of large cities and, owing to this, investigations focused on peripheral resorts have been neglected to a large extent. He examines the places of residence of the second home owners of four large peripheral resorts – Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs – in northern Finland and aims to create a distance model for these resorts from the viewpoint of the regions of destination, which seems to be neglected to a large extent in the distance studies of tourism. The study noticed that the resorts attract second home owners from a substantially wider geographical area than just from the weekend zone, stressing touristic elements in the context of resort-oriented second home tourism.

Second home owners are sometimes referred to as tourists and so the 'impacts of second home tourism are often similar to the impacts of other forms of tourism' (Hall, 2004: 15). However, some characteristics of second home tourism are more distinct, which means they are more prominent. Second home tourists purchase property which implies different sets of social and economic relationships in comparison with

other forms of tourism, and among these are the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts (Norris & Winston, 2009).

Hall and Müller (2004: 17) state that the rather frequent and prolonged use of second homes implies 'a considerable outflow of consumption from the primary home area, although the implications of this are rarely taken into account when second home flows are considered'. Marjavaara (2008) confirms the above when he states that a positive impact is when the local population becomes increasingly dependent on the income generated by outsiders (second home owners), rather than the decreasing income from traditional sectors such as agriculture and forestry. Hence, it is recognised that second home development may contribute to the creation of additional jobs and income generation in rural host communities (Green, Marcouiller, Deller, Erkkila & Sumathi, 1996).

Another positive economic impact central to rural planners and politicians' decision-making processes, is on who decides on land use and tourism development of specific areas (Green *et al.*, 1996). In relation to the above view, Deller, Marcouiller and Green (1997) argue that municipalities anticipate growth of tax incomes and increased spending in local businesses and are therefore mainly interested in second home tourism. However, a negative impact can arise if second homes displace permanent homes, and lead to a reduction in the overall population with potential impacts not only on expenditure patterns but also on municipal taxes (Hall & Müller, 2004; see also Marjavaara, 2008). Moreover, it can be argued that second home owners are like patrons for services in rural areas that otherwise would be on the brink of economic failure owing to decreasing profits, caused by the general trend of rural out-migration (Glesbygdsverket, 2001; Marjavaara, 2008).

Müller (2002) has pointed out that the distance between second home and primary residence also has an influence on the expenditure patterns of households of second home owners. 'The greater the distance between the second home and primary residence, the smaller the amount of goods that can be taken from the primary residence' (Bohlin, in Hall & Müller, 2004: 17). Relatively high income can therefore be expected from peripheral second home and vacation areas (Hall & Müller, 2004). Kauppila (2010: 164) takes the argument further when he states that the 'Space-time dimension has an influence on the number of trips'. This illustrates

the decline in the overall number of trips with time and distance away from a central generating point owing to the individual's limits of time and money.

Jansson and Müller (2003) identify a number of economic impacts related to second home ownership, renovations of properties as well as the consumption of goods and services. They mention the maintenance of local services such as banking, real-estate sales, craft, and retail which generate a marginal income that enables local entrepreneurs to continue to run their businesses. Marjavaara (2008) confirms this view when he states that permanent residents are often older and more dependent from others, which means they are more spatially restricted in their choice of shopping outlets. It seems, however, that second home tourism can, and does, serve as a welcome economic injection for host communities. This was also recognised in the Stockholm archipelago, where a large demand for services in construction, electricity, plumbing and other related areas was noted (Nordin, in Marjavaara, 2008).

Another positive impact concerning second home tourism is the increased interest in locally-produced products, especially niche products from the local agricultural sector (Marjavaara, 2008). This means producers gain a higher price for their products compared to what they could get if they should sell the products to nearby retail stores. Hoogendoorn and Visser (2004) confirm this statement when they mention that price levels are set by more affluent temporal visitors, and thus affect the price of land and properties. According to Jansson and Müller (2003), the same trend was noticed in the prices of materials needed for repairs and maintenance. They further stated that the most important activity among second home owners is the maintenance of their second property.

Marjavaara (2008) argues that knowledge transfer is an issue rarely addressed in relation to second home tourism impacts. Leppänen (2003) suggests that second home owners potentially create a 'centre of competence' for rural areas, when they share their knowledge and creative capabilities. Hall and Müller (2004) propose that the value of second home owners is located in 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. Some key ideas include second home owners acting as 'mentors for local youth groups or

the purchase of local handicrafts and equipment to use in their permanent living areas' (Marjavaara, 2008: 15).

During the 1960s and 1970s the social impacts associated with second home ownership caused concern among rural communities and policy makers (Coppock, 1977a, 1977b; Rogers, 1977; Jordan, 1980). These concerns, for example urban lifestyles and values, were still alive in the 1990s, as well as the fears of an invasion of the countryside – which never actually occurred (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Marjavaara (2008: 17) argues that second home owners, who represent urban lifestyles and values, are 'temporarily re-allocated into an environment with different norms and values which often leads to a collision with local life'. It seems that second home owners come with 'alien values' which might undermine the traditional way of living (Skärgärdarnas Riksförbund, in Marjavaara, 2008). Second home owners are sometimes blamed for living a 'fake culture' (Jordan, 1980). Often, the supposed fragile local communities are victims of different forces of rural change (Hoogendoorn, 2011). This debate is controversial and requires further research.

A further area of conflict is the socio-economic background of second home owners as compared to the permanent residents. In the early days of second home tourism, the gap, in terms of socio-economic status between the two groups, was definitely larger. Today, many second home owners, especially in the Stockholm archipelago, are 'middle aged or elderly with a relatively high educational level who work mainly in the private sector, whereas the permanent residents are often elderly, poorly educated and work in the public sector' (Sievänen *et al.*, 2007, in Marjavaara, 2008: 18). Sievänen and his co-workers argue that second home owners have more influence on issues such as new developments and they also have more economic power and knowledge about legal procedures. However, the political power is still, in most cases, in the hands of the permanent residents.

Another issue of social concern is the lack of interaction between second home owners and permanent residents (Marjavaara, 2008). Hall and Müller (2004) take this argument further when they state, at least outside the Nordic countries, that second home owners are sometimes wealthier than the residents of the host community (see also Saarinen, 2003). They further state that second home development can also be

perceived as a form of rural gentrification, which means a 'clash of traditional rural lifestyles with urban images of rural life' (Hall & Müller, 2004: 21; Müller, 2011).

A further argument is that many second home owners have idealistic representations of the rural in mind when purchasing a second home. The resultant 'museum-strategy', aimed at preserving the countryside in an 'imagined' state, can entail conflicts with the local population (Müller, 2000: 4). A different view is when second home owners are more opposed to new developments than permanent residents (Mottiar & Quin, 2003). In South Africa, Visser (2004) states that second home tourism, at least before the birth of democracy in 1994, had a racial dimension, whereby second homes are mainly from the wealthy class, meaning primarily the White population, and thus 'racial segregation is maintained in the second home destinations' (Marjavaara, 2008: 19).

Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2005) argue, however, that the ownership of second homes is inherently unfair and denies many people the 'right' to own a home. They suggest that 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 locals that are negatively affected by the development of second homes (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). Halseth (2004) argues that second home development in Canada is often 'isolated from the rural landscape and thereby contributes to the transformation of the countryside into an elite landscape' (Hall & Müller, 2004: 21). In this regard, Aronsson (2004) reported that contact between second home owners and other residents in Sweden are relatively rare and limited to certain places. A further social impact regarding international second home owners is language and traditions (Buller & Hoggart, 1994b; Müller, 1999). Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, (2005: 59) state that a 'proportional decline in the number of Welsh language speakers in the traditional language 'strongholds' was attributed to counter-urbanisation alongside the broader impacts of tourism, retirement related in-migration and the growth in second home ownership'.

Another social impact concerning second homes are the concerns regarding displacement or replacement of the traditional permanent population by second homes (Coppock, 1977; Marjavaara, 2008). It seems that growth in second home ownership generated a realised social impact as well as an emotional reaction – either positive or negative (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). In most cases young

families are unable to purchase a property and thus villages are transformed into second home resorts (Walford, 2004). Some low income groups were subsequently replaced by 'outsiders', because they could not compete in the property market. This realised element might include the erosion of the socio-cultural fabric. These elements may be followed by emotional reactions which are far more difficult to measure, but which are most of the time expressed in terms of 'attitudes' towards second home owners (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). According to Thompson (2004) is attitudes a function of social change and therefore rural communities are judged directly against changing local attitudes. The importance of 'attitudes and attitudinal research' was certainly accepted by Bollom (in Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 54), but it has long been acknowledged that 'judging attitudes and quantifying 'social intangibles' may prove extremely problematic'. However, such a perspective is overly simplistic. Hall and Müller (2004) argue that rural change is owing to economic restructuring wherein globalisation, new trade regimes and technology play a definite role, and which further leads to rural unemployment and out-migration. They further state that a service-based economy leads to changes in the countryside and encourages urban living. It seems that second homes are visible and perhaps convenient scapegoats whilst the less tangible underlying causes of 'community decline' are less visible and far more difficult to address (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). According to Müller (2011) one could conclude that second home owners fill the gap caused by rural out-migrants.

Some positive social aspects, according to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2005), are the purchasing power of second home owners which support local services, for example the village shops. A similar argument is that of Hoggart, Buller and Black (1995) which confirms the enhancement of the self-esteem of locals as investment may increase confidence in the local economy and generate new opportunities in the rural labour market.

There is another argument concerning social impact on rural communities, namely that second homes represents a softer and a less socially harmful or 'colonising' form of tourism (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). This means second home owners become native to the place through investing themselves there through participating in daily activities. They also embed themselves in their adopted community where they drink in local pubs and shop in local shops. But others are

perhaps more likely to use the second home as a dormitory, and as a base to engage in recreational activities that set them apart from permanent residents.

2.6 Notes on the environmental impacts of second homes

The aim of this section is to shed light on the environmental issues concerning second home development. Gallent and Twedwr-Jones (2000: 49) divide environmental impacts of second homes into three categories. The first of these is the impact of 'growth in the leisure industry' which 'involves an increasing pressure on environmentally sensitive areas' – for instance areas of outstanding natural beauty – and traffic congestion associated with an increasing number of people travelling into these areas (Holmes, 2006). Secondly, owing to the 'rising demand for newly-built second homes', there is the concern over increased development pressure in the countryside and thirdly, there is the 'environmental and landscape impact that restoration and conversion work has on the rural housing stock'. Conversion may offer positive environmental benefits as renovation and the changing use of material can lead to the preservation of abandoned properties (Hiltunen, 2008). Pyne (in Gallent & Twedwr-Jones, 2000) further argues that the visual character of the surrounding area could benefit through the renovating process. Downing and Dower (in Gallent & Twedwr-Jones, 2000) have noted that buildings with a historic value will especially benefit owing to the preservation *versus* renovation idea. In France, Hoggart and Buller (in Akerlund, 2013) have argued convincingly that second home acquisitions have a positive environmental benefit with British buyers 'making significant additions to the rural housing stock of France through the acquisition and renovation of buildings that are unsuitable for human habitation' (Hoggart & Buller, 1995: 188). It seems, however, that the rural housing market in France can still accommodate this type of demand in surplus stock. However, in Britain this is not the case, because the outside demand for effective housing in some importing areas has generated economic, environmental and social tension (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Mathieson and Wall (in Hall & Müller, 2004: 22) list three major issues related to second home tourism: 'wildlife disruption owing to the clearance of vegetation, disposal of human waste, and aesthetics'. Moreover, houses relying on septic tanks and deep bored wells have serious environmental implications for ground water supplies (Keaveney, 2006).

Another impact concerning the environment is what second home owners take with them into the importing area. It could have a positive impact, for instance to set

new environmental standards in the countryside, because they have the 'means, social capital and education' (Long & Hoogendoorn, 2013: 11), or a negative impact, 'leading to protectionist attitudes at the expense of rural economic vitality' (Gallant & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 50). Hall and Müller (2004) state that these impacts will apply to any built development. No new infrastructure is needed in existing rural permanent homes, but it is definitely needed in purpose-built second home developments. In this regard, unplanned and unregulated housing developments could have raised pollution concerns (Hiltunen, 2008). Hence, compared to other forms of rural development, second home tourism may be regarded as being relatively environmentally friendly (Leppänen, 2003). According to Hall and Müller (2004: 22), second home owners are usually 'more conservative and less welcoming towards change, particularly if it involves industrial development'. In fact Kaltenborn, Andesen and Nellemann (2009) state that second home owners care about the physical qualities of their second home environment, and therefore tend to be more positive concerning land use control and preservation.

Hall and Müller (2004) note conflict with respect to second home development and some agricultural practices. For example, Gillion (1998) researched the Nelson area north of the South Island of New Zealand where 'lifestylers', who migrate from urban centers, have an influence on the price of suitable land earmark for wine growing. The Martinborough area on the North Island reported similar problems. These differences of environmental perception contributed to what the Wine Institute of New Zealand (WINZ) chairman called the 'intrusion of urban values and expectations into rural working environments' (WINZ, 1997: 10, in Hall & Müller, 2004). Kaltenborn, Andesen, Nellemann, Bjerke and Thrane (2008) also reflected on resident attitudes towards second home development in Norway. They argue that the recent expansion of second homes in the sub-alpine and ecologically sensitive areas in Scandinavia has led investigators to become involved in the research of negative impacts of second home development. Other Finnish scholars focus on the ecological sustainability of rural second home tourism on the natural environment (Hiltunen, 2008).

Water is an important attraction for second home developments, and this implies high utilisation of coastal locations, which can cause major environmental effects such as deteriorating water quality, soil erosion and reduced natural diversity (Hiltunen, 2008). In the Hartbeespoort case study in South Africa, Long and

Hoogendoorn (2013: 91) reported similar findings: owing to the deteriorating water quality, 'property values and consequently the place attachment value also decline'. Jerling and Nordin (2007) take this argument further when they mention the negative effects on the local flora and fauna as well as the disturbing effect on breeding sea birds in the Stockholm archipelago. Huhtala and Lankia (2012: 733) refer to the negative effect of algae in water in a Finnish study under second home owners – 'aquatic recreation decreases dramaticially'. Long (2013) reported a similar negative effect of a polluted water environment and the resultant impact on the place utility of second homes in the Hartbeespoort case study. Marjavaara (2008) mentions another negative impact, namely visual pollution, where second homes dominated the landscape seen from the sea.

However, it seems that the impact of second home tourism on the environment is regarded as minor compared to several other popular forms of tourism such as 'long haul sun, sea and sand-based tourism' (Marjavaara, 2008: 17). Indeed, this is not a major but different area of investigation that requires attention.

2.7 Second home developments in South Africa.

Although South African academic attention has not focused adequately on second home development in the past, the local media played a major role in the understanding of this phenomenon (Visser, 2004a). The following discussion aims to give a historical outline of second home development in South Africa and to provide some insights into the question of what types of second homes there are in South Africa. The section is concluded by focusing on recent scholarly research conducted on second homes. According to Hoogendoorn and Visser (2011), second homes have received extensive research attention internationally, but in developing countries like South Africa this topic only recently (the last 10 years) re-emerged as an area of investigation. The development of second homes in South Africa can be 'traced back to the establishment and expansion of a number of coastal towns and villages' (Visser, 2004a: 131). Cape Town's pleasure periphery of False Bay is one of the oldest examples of second home development, where the 'small fishing villages of Muizenberg and St James became the holiday and weekend retreats for the Victorian and Edwardian Capetonian (and Johannesburg) gentry' (Visser, 2004a: 131). Similarly, sugar-cane and mining magnates built weekend and holiday second homes in seaside hamlets along the North coast of KwaZulu-Natal and further along the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast for the next half-

century (Visser, 2004a). Later these locations were systematically absorbed into the sprawling urban hinterland of large cities like Cape Town or Durban (Neethling, 1998).

Other coastal towns along the South coast of the Western Cape Province, such as Rooi-els, Pringle Bay, Kleinbaai, Franskraal and Pearly Beach, have, according to Steyn (in Magi & Nzama, 2002), been closely linked to tourists' activities from surrounding inland towns and farms, but also holiday-makers from Cape Town and Gauteng (Neethling, 1998; Visser, 2006). The key trend that emerged from the initial stage of second-home development, however, was that the fortunes of those towns and villages, and others that were still to be 'discovered' tended to be linked to developments in the Gauteng region – the economic heartland of South Africa (Visser, 2003). It becomes apparent that these developments would firstly underpin 'forms of consumption-led economically active and retirement migration, and secondly, in the process, would stimulate labour, entrepreneurial and return (labour) migration' (Visser, 2003: 390).

From the late 1950s until the early 1970s South Africa experienced an economic boom which led to large-scale development in metropolitan regions. The result, according to Preston-Whyte (2001), was higher spending money and consequently large-scale second home development along the country's coastline. The second home development was not the same along the South African coastline since the KwaZulu-Natal coastline at that time enjoyed considerable preference over that of the Cape (Preston-Whyte, 2001). The reason for this was linked to the fact that the transportation systems in the country were best developed between Johannesburg and South Africa's main port, Durban, as well as the fact that it was a shorter trip by car, only six to seven hours, *versus* correspondingly ten to twelve hours to Cape Town. Another important factor is the fact that Durban was established as a seaside resort city with family-friendly beaches and mild climate, especially marketed for escaping the harsh Highveld winters (Visser, 2003). Thus, during the late 1970s and 1980s the once-small villages and hamlets to the north and south of Durban became more and more accessible for the middle classes, especially with the large-scale development of time-share units in this area (Heath, 1990; Visser, 2003). Visser (2003: 391) argues that in many instances 'the development of these loci of domestic travel was connected to apartheid'. South Africa's increasing isolation from the rest of the world owing to sanctions enforced upon South Africa, as well as the

increasing control over foreign exchange, impacted significantly on the more affluent classes. According to Visser (2006) it is also to this period that the current concentration of second homes can be depicted its large-scale expansion and preferable locations.

In order to understand the processes underlying the development of second homes, one should be able to locate these homes in the first instance. Unfortunately, 'no official data concerning second homes has been collected in South Africa' (Hoogendoorn, Mellett & Visser, 2007: 136). Second home investigations in South Africa are therefore totally 'dependent upon general media statements, the accuracy of which cannot be established' (Hoogendoorn *et al*., 2007). Given the total lack of such a completed database in the South African context, the task here is to 'provide some pointers in respect of the general trends as to where and why second home development has taken place in this country' (Visser, 2003: 389). Visser states that the objective was to provide a platform from which this phenomenon can be studied and at the same time provide a general overview of the second home discourse in South Africa. It is well understood that a large amount of urban and regional development has taken place and is continuing at this moment but, unfortunately, the varied impacts that second homes have on host communities and locations are not properly investigated. Although second homes have received extensive research attention internationally, these concerns have aroused wide concern, at least during the last ten years, as an area of investigation within the South African context. Analysis for the African continent as a whole remains to be undertaken although a few tourism-development investigations have been undertaken in a number of countries such as Kenya (Rogerson, 2012) and Mosambique (Kiambo, 2005). Currently, there is still a limited body of exploratory research that investigates the significance of the second home phenomenon in South Africa where the focus is mainly on economic impacts (eg. Hoogendoorn, 2010a; 2010b; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004, 2010a; 2010b; 2011a; 2012; Visser, 2003a, 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Pienaar & Visser, 2009; Baker & Mearns, 2006; Hoogendoorn, Mellet & Visser, 2005; Hoogendoorn, Visser & Marais, 2009; see Figure 2.2). A general geography of this phenomenon in the local context has been set out by these first academic investigations. This work was subsequently extended by a set of papers (Visser, 2003a; 2004a; 2004b; 2006) that started to alternate the significance of international second home debates to the South African situation. In addition, these

investigations presented some general outlines of the dynamics and ranges of second home development (Visser, 2004a), as well as case studies in popular established second home locations (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004; Visser, 2004b; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011).

The first four completed case studies in South Africa provided some insight into second home development research in the early 2000s, namely: 1) the coastal towns of the southern part of the Western Cape Province – the municipality of Overstrand; 2) a small rural town in the eastern Free State province – Clarens; 3) a small coastal village in KwaZulu-Natal – Zinkwazi; and 4) a neighbourhood in the Cape Town metropolitan area – De Waterkant. It has to be stated that only a small portion of the diversity of second home development in South Africa was captured in these first four case studies. Recent research was conducted, firstly, by Pienaar and Visser (2009) who studied the Overstrand municipality located in the Western Cape Province. Secondly, the investigation of Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010) on five small rural towns in South Africa. Thirdly, Long and Hoogendoorn's (2013) study on environmental impacts in the Hartbeespoort municipality. Other scholarly research was done by Hoogendoorn, Visser and Marais (2009) on Rhodes in the Eastern Cape Province, Baker and Mearns (2006) in the Hartbeespoort Dam area in the North West Province, and a pilot study by Masetle, one of Hoogendoorn's students (Hoogendoorn, 2011), on low-income earners as potential second home tourists from the Limpopo province. Figure 2.2 shows the study sites investigated by second home scholars in South Africa. It seems from the above that more empirical research is required to elucidate the nature of second homes and their impacts on host communities.

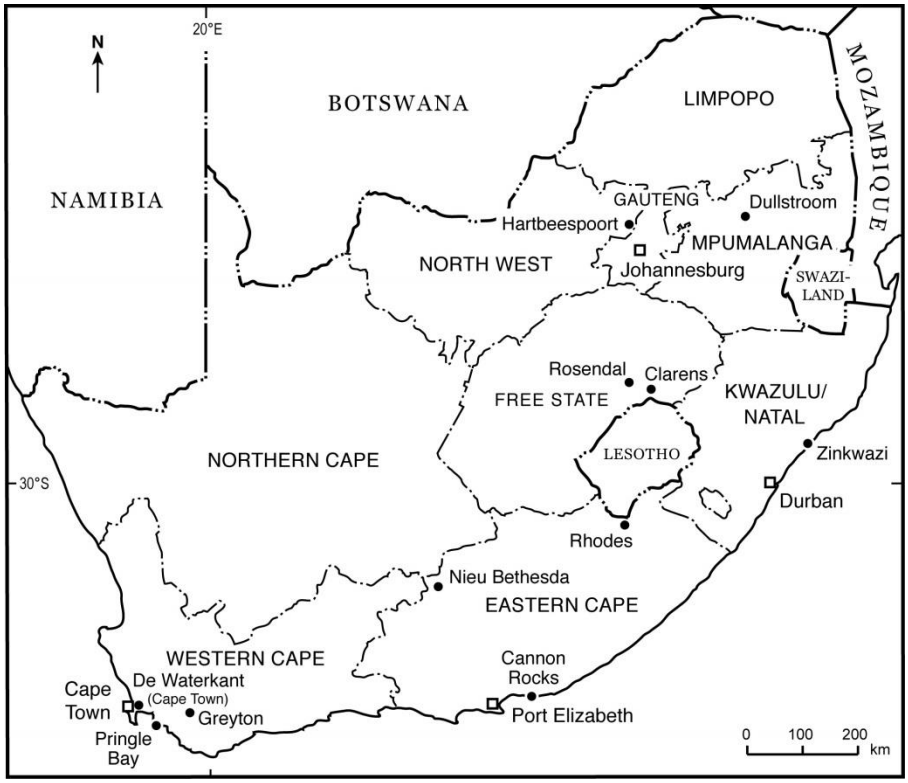

Figure 2.2: Locations of researched sites (Compiled by Job)

According to Visser (2006), second home development in South Africa demonstrates similarities to developments found internationally; and specifically economic impacts of second homes found elsewhere are also recapitulated in the South African context. Property price appreciation and the generation of employment stand out as key similarities. Visser (2006: 353) further argues that the only impact that generally does not feature in the international debates is the fact that 'limited residential property mobility in the South African context inadvertently leads to the maintenance of apartheid's racially segregated residential areas and divisions of labour'. This argument will be taken further in the current study.

2.8 Conclusion

Almost 40 years ago Bielckus (in Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 59) argued that 'more research was required on the changes second home owners bring to rural communities from a sociological viewpoint'. Hall and Müller (2004) support this argument when they emphasise that the second home phenomenon is not an issue of the past, but an important element of contemporary lifestyles, social integration, tourism and amenity landscapes transformed into elite landscapes. Bollom (in Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 60) has shown that 'community opposition to second

homes is not a reflection of community decline, but rather the strength of social structures and the vitality of village life'. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) stated that different types of second home developments created different social, economic and environmental impacts upon host communities. They further state that the 'renovation of surplus housing stock may act as a positive economic and environmental force in the countryside, the change of use of mainstream housing stock may be seen as the natural successor to economic stagnation as a force contributing to the social decline of rural communities' (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000: 60).

Although this chapter touched on different perspectives concerning second home development, including some social impacts, it appears as if not enough focus has been placed on social perspectives or role players in rural communities of developing countries. It is this gap that the researcher wishes to address in this study.

To take these arguments further, the next chapter will focus on some theoretical perspectives on post-productivism where the main argument is that an increasing number of rural communities have moved to a post-productivist state, which leads to differentiated localities where people focus more on leisure and recreational consumption.

CHAPTER THREE

CHANGING RURALITIES, CHANGING LANDSCAPES: A DIFFERENTIATED COUNTRYSIDE

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two the focus was on different perspectives concerning second home development from an international and local viewpoint. These perspectives, it seems, contribute to changing landscapes and result in differentiated countrysides. Since the mid-1990s, rural scholars have posed questions about the possible formation of a more diverse and heterogeneous set of rural geographies (Halfacree, 2012; Murdoch, 2006; Panelli, 2008). The gamut of processes of population change (e.g. counter-urbanisation) has often been a decisive factor to such contentions of an increased pluralism of rural space. In this regard Halfacree (2012) refers to such rural spaces as 'super-productivist' spaces of agribusiness or the 'rural idyllic' spaces of conventional counter-urbanisation.

Leading rural academics have also postulated that a 'differentiated countryside' is being moulded (Marsden & Murdoch, 2006), and it is likely that recent population trends will accelerate the differentiation of the countryside. During the 1990s, studies have shown how particular types of rural locations are selectively restructured in distinctive and varying ways by emerging societal processes – for instance, the growing importance of processes such as post-productivism and shifting agricultural regimes (Halfacree, 2012), and new forms of rural governance (Jones & Little, 2000; Murdoch, 2006). This is typified by Phillips' (2005) contention that the restructuring of agriculture and land use planning regimes are leading to particular rural locations being more susceptible to rural change. A key element of change in rural space is concerned with both the agricultural use and development of land (Marsden, 2010). Rural property rights, their exploitation, development and commoditisation have been shown to be an important locus around which social and economic changes occur (Marsden, 2006). The value of differentiating between class structure, lifestyles, cultural textures and forms of action has been the subject of a number of other studies (Cloke, Marsden & Mooney, 2006; Phillips, 2005). In recent investigations, however, attention is focused on whether the issues of social recognition, identity and distinction should be differentiated from the social relations of inequality and exploitation (Marsden, 2010).

The purpose of this chapter is to review the main and current debates concerning post-productivism. The chapter unfolds as follows: the first part of this chapter addresses the four-fold ideal typical classification which was developed and reported in Marsden (2010) and the next section reviews some of the main theoretical discourses on post-productivist agricultural regimes, which are largely developed within an advanced economic framework. According to a growing number of commentators, the agricultural sectors, rural areas and small towns of advanced Western nations are experiencing a transition from productivism to post-productivism (Evans, Morris & Winter, 2002; Wilson, 2001). In Britain and Western Europe, where this putative transition is most evident, the salient features of the shift include: the gradual removal of farm-level subsidies; the introduction of a range of agri-environmental programmes aimed at reducing agricultural commodity surpluses and halting farm-related environmental degradation; and the development of a more socially and culturally heterogeneous rural population as counter-urbanisation has brought a new stratum of residents into rural areas (Argent, 2002). Post-productivism is a term that neatly captures a sense of fundamental change in post-war agriculture covering the political culture within which agriculture operates, the policy and market conditions under which farming takes place and the experiences of farmers themselves (Evans *et al.*, 2002). It has also been successfully deployed within discourses on wider rural change which recognise the declining significance of agriculture in the social and economic fabric of rural space (Evans *et al.*, 2002).

However, other debates concerning the concept of post-productivism will also be discussed in order to understand contemporary agricultural change in developing world regions. The work of Wilson and Rigg (2003), which is based around six interconnected 'indicators' or 'dimensions' of post-productivism, and the successful 'exporting' of the theory of post-productivism to the global South (also referred to as developing countries), is the focus of the remainder of the chapter. It must be noted that there is no one set of indicators that could indicate a clear set of rules as to what constitutes post-productivist countrysides (Hoogendoorn, 2010). Contemporary categorisations are very much case-specific and severely lacking in the broader processes of rural change (Hoogendoorn, 2010). Despite limitations to categorise post-productivist countrysides, the last part of the chapter relies heavily on the work of Wilson and Rigg. Lastly, post-productivism and its applicability as a means of

describing the contemporary countryside in the developing world context, especially in South Africa, will be examined by giving examples for each 'indicator' or 'dimension' of post-productivism.

In this chapter, I shall argue that post-productivism, deployed specifically in a rural community context in advanced countries (also referred to as global North) , could be successfully 'exported' to the Southern context which relies on 'shared definitions, meanings and discourses' of post-productivism (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). It is important to clarify and acknowledge the enormous diversity of perspectives within the North-South division. This chapter highlights the way in which research in different parts of the world comes up with new perspectives on post-productivism. However, the concept needs to be adapted and developed to address conditions outside the developed world, possibly embedding it within theoretical discussions surrounding the Southern-based concept of 'deagrarianisation', defined 'as a long-term process of occupational adjustment, income-earning reorientation, social identification and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly agricultural-based modes of livelihood' (Bryceson, 2002: 726).

3.2 A changing rurality: from productivism to post-productivism

In recent years, the idea of a 'post-productivist' countryside has gained ground among rural researchers in both the European Union and other advanced economies (Wilson, 2010). Post-productivism implies that modern agricultural communities have changed in such a way that they are no longer primarily concerned with the production of food and fibre – labeled as the so-called 'productivist era' – but comprises a variety of functions with an emphasis on food quality, environmental conservation and which moves away from state-sponsored production subsidies that have encouraged agricultural intensification (Cloke *et al.*, 2006). The countryside is no longer seen as a food factory but rather as a place for leisure and residence; it services the external demands of urban residents (Marsden, 2010). This involves a redefinition of the countryside, from a productive space to a series of spaces of production and consumption, involving the use of the countryside for the achievement of lifestyle choices and leisure practices (Holloway, 1999). Rigg and Wilson (2003: 682) further state that the post-productivist era is generally seen as the 'mirror-image' of productivism. Thus, post-productivism is characterised by a relative, and sometimes scaling down in the intensity of farming through extensification, diversification and dispersion of agricultural production (Marsden,

2010), with a move away from agricultural production towards the 'consumption' of the countryside (Marsden & Murdoch, 2006). Agriculture lost its central position in society and is often characterised as 'contested' countrysides (Wilson, 2007). Former marginal actors at the core of the policy-making process play a vital role therein (Burton & Wilson, 2006), which means a weakening of the state's role in policy making powers (Marsden, 2003). Further, farming techniques are more in line with environmental protection policies through reduced application of external inputs (for instance organic farming) (Morgan & Marsden, 2010).

Marsden and his co-investigators (2004; 2006; 2010), began to investigate the differentiation of rural space through the portrayal of ideal typical conditions. The variations in regional and local rural spaces are associated with the 'differential role and power of agricultural, residential and other commercial interests, giving at least four distinct types of rural, social and political formation' namely:

- the preserved countryside – characterised by strong anti-development and preservationist attitudes and decision-making;
- the contested countryside – areas which lie outside the main commuter catchments and may have no special environmental quality. Ex-urban in-migration is recent and increasing in many parts of the contested countryside;
- the paternalistic countryside – areas where large private estates and large farms still dominate. Many of the farms face uncertainties in income and are looking for new sources of income; and
- the clientelistic countryside – these areas are likely to be found in the remote rural regions where agriculture and its associated political institutions still have power, but where farming and much of the rest of the rural economy can be sustained only by state subsidy (Marsden, 1998: 108).

Marsden (2010) uses the above four differentiated rural spaces and identifies four key spheres or parameters associated with rural community development namely:

- mass food markets;
- quality food markets;
- agriculturally related development, and
- rural restructuring.

An in-depth examination of the above dimensions allows a deeper focus upon the inter-sectoral constitution of rural spaces which could raise specific questions about effective ways to regulate the differentiated countryside in the post-productivist context. Firstly, mass market food production still dominated the British and European agricultural sector (Goodman, 2001), this was also the case in Australia, especially after the Second World War (Argent, 2002) until the early 1980s. Most farmers are nowadays trapped into the vertically organised food chains regulated by some corporate retailers and manufacturers with power.

Secondly, owing to changing consumer conditions, it is evident that food markets are becoming more differentiated according to different sets of socially constructed food quality criteria (Marsden, 2010), which reflect the socio-economic characteristics of consumers. In this regard the case of organically produced milk in Denmark could play an important role (Baylina, 2010). Further, organic food supply chains in Italy, for instance, taking hold as consumers explore new types of cuisines (e.g. Parmesan cheese, mozzarella cheese etc.). The purchase of quality foods has provided particular groups of consumers with enhanced opportunities to differentiate themselves so that quality food become a mark of cultural capital (Brereton, 2011).

Thirdly, 'agricultural diversification' tends to concentrate on the new activities in which farmers participate, including the changing and developing of land and buildings into new recreational consumer products, referred to as non-farm activities (Marsden, 2010). Diversification can be defined as the movement to develop new sources of on-farm income generation from non-agricultural and novel agricultural enterprises (Woods, 2005).

Finally, rural restructuring processes are influenced by the varying institutional and regulatory structures and processes developed in the different types of countryside. According to Marsden (2006), the intensity and type of influence is most clearly demonstrated when comparing the preserved and the clientelistic countrysides. Evans *et al.* (2002) argue that policy changes led to agriculture becoming more competitive, and to respond to the challenges and opportunities of the world markets. In rural debates, the tendency has been to characterise post-productivism in terms of dimensions rather than definitions. Mather, Hill and Nijnik (2006) summarise the characterisations offered by Ilbery and Bowler (1998), Wilson (2001) and Evans *et*

al. (2002) in Table 3.1, which exemplify the breadth and diversity of meaning which have been associated with post-productivism.

Table 3.1: Characterisations of post-productivism (Source: Mather *et al.*, 2006:443)

Ilbery and Bowler (1998)	'Known characteristics' • Reduction of farm output • Withdrawal of state subsidies • Production of food within an increasingly competitive international market • Growing environmental regulation of agriculture 'Three bipolar dimensions of change': antithesis with productivism • From intensification to extensification • From concentration to dispersion • From specialisation to diversification
Wilson (2001)	'Seven dimensions': antithesis with productivism • Ideology • Actors • Food regimes • Agricultural production • Agricultural policies • Farming techniques • Environmental impacts
Evans *et al.*(2002)	'Five convenient categories' • Shift from quantity to quality in food production • Growth of on-farm diversification and off-farm employment (pluriactivity) • Extensification and the promotion of sustainable farming through agri-environmental policy • Dispersion of production patterns • Environmental regulation and restructuring of government support

3.3 Second homes: From post-productivist countrysides to elite landscapes

The term post-productivism seems to have originated within a considerable amount of research produced in the early 1990s on aspects of community adjustment and restructuring, with a specific focus on family farm households. The very first use of this

concept within this context was in a conference paper by Munton (1990: 10) on options for change among upland family farm businesses: 'The 'post-productionist' [sic] period that agricultural policy, farmers and the food industry are now entering means that the margins of profitability will become tighter and the overall logic of the agricultural treadmill (involving increasing stocking levels, scale and level of subsumption) will be increasingly questioned'(Munton, 1990: 10).

One of the reasons for the ongoing interest in 'post-productivism' is that there continues to be fundamental theoretical, conceptual and empirical debate about the nature, pace and even existence of the transition from a 'productivist' to a 'post-productivist' rural community (Wilson, 2004). While scholars such as Ilbery and Bowler (1998: 135) argue that 'there can be little doubt that agriculture in most developed market economies has entered a post-productivist period' (see also Saarinen, 2003; Sievänen, Pouta & Neuvonen, 2007; Willis, 2001), other authors are more cautious. Wilson (2001, 2002), for example, suggests that notions of productivism and post-productivism have been useful in highlighting existing spatial differences in contemporary agricultural landscapes, and that they have acted as a useful basis for conceptualisations of a 'multi-functional' agricultural regime that allows for the mutual coexistence of productivist and post-productivist actor spaces. Other critics (Evans *et al.*, 2002) go even further and largely reject the notion of post-productivism as a 'myth', arguing that there is very little evidence of post-productivism even in the UK where it was first conceptualised.

Aspects of the above arguments include the movement of lifestyle seekers to rural areas. However, in recent years these concerns have broadened to include the impact of rural second homes used for leisure purposes and their contribution towards the rise of post-productivist countrysides (Müller, 2011; Hall & Müller, 2004). Müller (2011), who first linked second homes and post-productivist countrysides, raises the question of whether second homes are a result of a differentiated and restructuring rural community or not. Furthermore, he mentions the varied contribution of second homes to a move towards increasingly post-productivist countrysides. In this regard Hoogendoorn, Marais and Visser (2009) refer to the generation of much needed employment opportunities which serve as a medium to sustain a broader tourism industry and a source of regional income in the global South.

If second homes can be seen as a contributor towards post-productivist countrysides, then recent discussions surrounding the notion of 'deagrarianisation' in the global South (e.g., Bryceson, 2002; Rigg, 2001) show striking surface parallels with debates on the shift towards post-productivism in the global North. According to Wilson (2001) little discussion has taken place on whether a shift towards post-productivist agricultural regimes can be observed in a developing world context. The reason for this may be that the theoretical debate on post-productivism (supported by empirical data) has been based on a variety of assumptions that may only be found in advanced countries, and that these assumptions could be easily transferred to the global South (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). Broadening the theoretical debate on post-productivism beyond advanced economies is particularly important at this time as it could be argued that, if the notion of post-productivist agricultural regimes does not find applicability at a global scale, 'post-productivism' may be an 'insufficiently robust theoretical framework to explain the broader patterns of agricultural change in the 21st century in any given locality' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 684).

3.4 Post-productivist 'indicators' and the applicability thereof to the regions of the global South

According to Evans *et al.* (2002) there are similar problems with regard to practical assumptions about the shift towards post-productivism, particularly in terms of the specific 'indicators' or 'dimensions' that have been used to conceptualise both productivism and post-productivism from an advanced economies' perspective. Wilson and Rigg (2003) mention six of the key debates surrounding the use of 'fashionable' indicators towards post-productivism:

- policy change;
- organic farming;
- counter-urbanisation;
- the inclusion of Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOs) at the core of policy-making;
- the consumption of the countryside; and
- on-farm diversification activities.

Holmes (2006), in his analysis of the concept in an Australian context, selected similar key debates to assess whether recent agricultural and non-agricultural changes in

the Australian outback confirmed a shift to post-productivism or not. Moreover, contemporary investigators of post-productivism have now gained sufficient momentum to spark further investigations on specific aspects of the productivist/post-productivist transition in different geographical contexts such as Switzerland (Wilson, 2010), New Zealand (Willis, 2001) and Australia (Holmes, 2006; Argent, 2002). Emphasis has particularly been placed on post-productivist 'indicators' or 'dimensions' such as changing food regimes (Goodman, 2001), the greening of agricultural policy (Woods, 2005), changing farming ideologies (Marsden, 2010), and the shift towards more environmentally friendly farming methods (Holmes, 2006; Walford, 2004).

The investigation of possible policy change as a key indicator of post-productivism forms one of the most 'tangible' indicators to assess, because it depicts 'real' shifts in rural countrysides both in advanced economies and in the global South. According to Wilson and Rigg (2003), there is some evidence of supranational bodies such as the WTO and the EU influencing agricultural policies in the global South and propelling them in a post-productivist direction. It is argued that the changes in the Common Agricultural Policy of the EU show some elements of the UK-centric post-productivist transition, for example the parallel developments in ideologies, actor spaces, agricultural practices and food regimes (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). This view is shared by Bryceson (2002) when she argues that the World Bank and other international and national agencies have, over the past decade, stated that Africa is fundamentally an agrarian continent whose interface with the world market now, and for the foreseeable future, lies in agricultural commodity exchange.

Another example is the rising cultivation of non-traditional crops under systems of contract farming where new technologies and high levels of chemical inputs were encouraged in India, Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Thailand (Singh, 2002; Reynolds, 2002; Goss & Burch, 2001). Goss and Burch (2001) and Reynolds (2002) likewise see integration into the global food economy as having the effect of marginalising national governments. Ponte's (2002: 1116) analysis of the coffee industry also convincingly demonstrates how the real power has not shifted away from national governments to supranational organisations, but rather from national and local governments and farmers towards 'buyers' and, more generally, from producers to consumers: 'as governments retreat from the regulation of domestic

coffee markets … the weakness and inherent instability of the institutional framework falls straight on the shoulders of coffee farmers in developing countries'.

These developments in the coffee industry could be seen as reflecting the intrusion of post-productivist ideals into developing world production systems. In 2002, for example, 'the EU began to test imports of shrimp and poultry from Thailand for the presence of Nitrofurans, veterinary drugs now banned in the EU' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 692). The effect was that exports of shrimps from Thailand declined by more than 50% in the first half of 2002. Therefore, consumer consciousness in the developed North plays a vital role in how changes in government policy, EU and WTO, often promoted by NGOs like the *Fairtrade* organisation, are influenced. However, according to Rigg (2005), in South Asia, as well as in Southeast Asia and many parts of Africa, there is, it seems, a paradigmatic blind spot on the part of officials when it comes to understanding rural livelihoods in terms of non-local activities.

Another key debate revolves around 'organic farming' which has been seen by many as a vital ingredient of the post-productivist countryside, particularly because of its emphasis on traditionally grown produce which is both of high quality and pollution-free and linked to rapid changes in Western consumer behaviour (Marsden, 2010; Burton & Wilson, 2006). According to the work of Sanders on 'eco-villages' in China (2000a; 2000b; 2000c), the concept of organic farming there focusses on the restructuring of a traditional practice which corresponds with similar patterns apparent in many Mediterranean farming areas. Therefore, many farmers can be labelled 'pre-productivist', because of the low level of use of chemical inputs. Yet in some countries (e.g. Laos), organic farming has also been identified as a key comparative advantage. Commercial organic farming and the sale of organic produce can therefore be seen as a means to raise income in many poor rural areas of the developing world. With this sequence in mind, it is possible to find the same agricultural systems side by side, but with one embedded in a pre-productivist landscape and the other in a post-productivist one. Recently, Malawi and Zambia have reintroduced comprehensive fertiliser subsidy regimes, signifying the potential reinstatement of 'big' agricultural policies by the state, along of course with their previous ambiguities for policy outcomes (Ellis, 2007).

The international market for organic produce is worth billions of dollars annually, but Africa's potential in this field is still largely untapped (Organic farming in SA, 2012). Organic farming could possibly be the answer to the continents' food security problems. Research conducted by a number of organisations proves that organic farming can double or treble production in the developing world (IPS News Agency, 2012). These organisations teach producers to farm in an ecologically sound way and to make optimal use of Africa's scarce water resources. Moreover, the income potential from organic farming is enormous. Organic farming in Uganda is generating 22 million dollars annually in export earnings (the biggest in Africa) (IPS News Agency, 2012). In 2008, Woolworths in South Africa was piloting commercial-scale organic cotton farming to develop a local source for its 100% organic clothing range (SA info material, 2012). In Lesotho, farmers overcome child malnutrition through organic farming (Organic farming Lesotho, 2012).

Another key debate revolves around 'counter-urbanisation' where some theorists describe it as a transition 'indicator' towards 'post-productivism' in advanced economies. It is argued that counter-urbanisation has led to a watering down of the traditional urban-rural divide, at least in many advanced economies and to a lesser amount in developing countries (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). This, in turn, has led to 'changes in attitudes of formerly traditional rural communities now influenced by 'urban' and more progressive middle-class values and environmental attitudes which, it is suggested, may have led to changes in farming practices and a questioning by the farming community of 'traditional' and often environmentally destructive countryside management behaviour' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 689, Halfacree, 2012). Mitchell (2004) puts forward a further argument which proposes three forms of counter-urbanisation: ex-urbanisation, displaced-urbanisation and anti-urbanisation. The term 'ex-urbanisation' was originally coined by Spectorsky (in Mitchell (2004: 7) to describe the movement of well-to-do urbanites in search of a 'limited dream' in the bucolic countryside surrounding New York City. The term 'displaced-urbanisation' is offered to describe household moves that are motivated by the need for new employment, lower costs of living and/or available housing. 'Anti-urbanisation' is a third type of counter-urbanisation, the occurrence of which may be found within the settlement system. This term, and its variant, 'anti-urbanite', have been used in a variety of ways. Nearly two decades ago, Blackwood and

Carpenter (in Mitchell, 2004), for example, proposed the term anti-urbanites to describe people who aspire to live in smaller places.

Mitchell (2004) believes that anti-urban motivations move residents (beyond the suburbs) to escape crime, taxes, congestion and pollution. Further, Halfacree (2012) argues that numerous motivatons prompt residents to leave urban areas – the so-called 'back-to-the-land' theme. In this regard Mitchell (2004) refers to phrases like 'new start' that represents a 'clean break'. It shows residents' desires for rurality in terms of rural living environment and lifestyle. Phillips (2002) states that new middle classes have both the power and desire to live in the countryside and, once living there, they change, restructure or reconstitute the countryside. Sometimes this restructuring of the countryside is quite direct: Thrift (in Mitchell, 2004) writes of the service class that is 'covering' their homes with Laura Ashley prints and stripped pine furniture. Yet counter-urbanisation may be interpreted as an advanced world-centric concept and, so far, rarely applicable – at least directly – in a developing world context.

A fourth debate around the indicators of post-productivism focuses on the idea whereby formerly marginal actors, such as environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) have been increasingly included in the 'core' of the policy-making process (Hewison, 2009). Yet, as many researchers have highlighted (e.g. Eder, 2006; Marsden, 2010; Ellis, 2007), such enabling democratic conditions and environmental policy-making processes are sometimes not in place in the developing world.

Ellis (2007: 12) illustrates the above argument when he states that Ethiopia follows policies that 'trap people in agriculture'. Ethiopia has an agriculture growth strategy called Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation (ADLI) which is built into its Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction programme (SDPRP). The capital or rental value of land cannot be converted as asset since the land belongs to the state and cash renting is prohibited. There are widespread perceptions in rural Ethiopia that if land is left vacant for more than 3–4 months it will be reallocated by the local administration and if individuals were thought to have moved excessively into non-farm activities the same procedure happened (Ellis, 2007). There are, however, examples of ENGOs funding fish farming in Tanzania where they coordinate most of the ponds which are owned by groups of villagers who are

highly organised. The groups were organised by Mangrove Management Programs, District Fisheries Officers, Association of Zanzibar Salt Producing Organisations (AZASPO) and Tanzania Salt Producers Association (TASPA) (Msuya & Mmochi, 2007).

Rigg and Ritchie (2002: 4) mention another example of ENGOs in Thailand. There they used constructions of 'tradition' as a useful tool to make a case for a 'new' development – the Regent Hotel – where they used 'ancient as well as modern techniques to produce rice'. On the rice farms some chemical and organic fertilisers were used but no pesticides or herbicides. The rice is harvested with a sickle and not a mechanical harvester, and they also used buffaloes instead of modern mechanical methods for land preparations. The Regent's artistic manipulation of nature and farming is clearly not going to lead to a fundamental transformation in the regional economy. It is only a handful of fields, after all, but it does show how traditional agriculture is being adapted to meet the demands of a new rural economy. This is where the production process is totally transformed into a performance carefully choreographed for consumption by (largely) foreign visitors (Rigg & Ritchie, 2002).

Fifthly, Marsden (2010) sees the move away from agricultural *production* towards *consumption* of the countryside as a key factor of post-productivism. The argument here revolves around the fact that the countryside, in many advanced economies, has lost its main role as a food production site, and that it has taken on a new consumptive role where a variety of different goods are produced. This 'indicator' implies that there is 'willingness and ability within society as a whole to 'consume' the 'new' goods produced by actors in the countryside (e.g. golf courses, hiking trails, farm tourism)' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 690). Yet again, it could be argued whether this post-productivist indicator can be applied in most developing world countries. However, in Thailand for example, there are strong notions of the rural idyll which come from the urban-based middle classes – 'dated back to the late 13th century inscription of King Ramkhamhaeng' (Rigg & Ritchie, 2002: 4). Housing estates, populated by urban middle classes, which are more than willing to consume rural areas, are collectively called *mubaan* or 'villages'; hotels draw on the past in their promotional literature and in their architecture; even expensive preparatory schools for Thailand's elite self-consciously model themselves on this imagined past. In these ways, the past is being used by non-traditional rural classes to justify their presence and to make themselves, in a sense, more 'traditional and more authentic' than the

farmers who they are, in some cases, displaced from the countryside (Rigg & Ritchie, 2002: 4).

According to Hewison's research in Mae Sa (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 694), 'a village in the Mae Sa valley north of Chiang Mai, a similar process was noticed where a 'classic' Northern Thai farming community during the mid-1970s characterised a more pre-productivist than productivist era. By 1993, the last village rice field had been sold and by the end of the decade within a 15-kilometre radius of the village there was a variety of golf courses, reservoirs, elephant shows, butterfly and snake farms, restaurants, five-star hotels, karaoke bars, brothels, massage parlours and resorts'. In Malaysia, a similar dual process of de-kampong-isation (de-villige-isation) and de-agriculturalisation (Thompson, 2004) is described by researchers, where villages almost have become retirement settlements for the parents of young adults who prefer city life above rurality.

A final factor, according to Wilson and Rigg (2003) relates to debates about on-farm diversification as a key indicator of the possible shift towards post-productivism. On-farm diversification means, for example, 'taking agricultural land out of production for 'alternative' uses such as golf courses, riding schools, camping grounds etc' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 690). Whether this indicator can easily be transferred to the developing world situation is still debatable. In the poorer world, however, diversification in livelihood terms has played a vital role, both in agriculture and non-agriculture. According to Ellis (2007) diversification in association with small family farming in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), excluding South Africa, has been around for a long time. The two 'classic' reasons for diversifying – risk and seasonality have always been pertinent. Non-farm occupations reduce risk by combining activities that have different risk profiles. Ellis (2007) also found that while diversity of income sources is prevalent across different income classes, the nature of this diversification differs between better off and poorer households. The better off tend to 'diversify in the form of non-farm business activities (trade, shop-keeping, transport, brick-making etc.) or salaried employment', while the poor tend to 'diversify in the form of casual wage work, especially on other farms, while remaining heavily reliant on subsistence crop production'(Ellis, 2007: 10). Another study in Brazil focusses also on diversification of non-agricultural activities, the creation of employment and incomes in rural areas (see da Silva & Del Grossi, 2001).

Other research conducted across four African countries (Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya and Malawi) in a livelihood research project entitled LADDER[3] in 2001/02 (Ellis & Freeman, 2004), shows for all four LADDER country samples how agricultural productivity per hectare rose steeply across the income ranges. The net farm output per hectare in a series of country samples was between three and six times higher for the top income quartile of households compared to the lowest income quartile. A similar picture of rural economic diversification and a progressive shift from farm to non-farm livelihoods is evident in the DORAS[4] field survey of 45 sites in the Central Plains of Thailand undertaken in 1994–95 (Rigg, 2006). 'Over two decades the contribution of farming to household income declined from close to 90 percent down to 36 percent, while the share of non-farm income increased from 13 percent to 64 percent. In India, the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER)[5] has been undertaking a continuing survey of rural households in 240 villages across 16 states since 1968. This rich data source shows that during 1968–99, the share of non-farm incomes in rural incomes rose from 19 percent to 48 percent' (Foster & Rosenzweig, 2004: 517).

Another large scale study is the Deagrarianisation and Rural Employment (DARE) research programme undertaken in six African countries (Ethiopia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa) during 1996–98. This provides the fullest and most up-to-date picture of what is happening to livelihoods and activity in rural Africa (Bryceson, 2002). The headline figure is that the DARE research programme 'found non-agricultural (non-farm) activities contributing a 'remarkable' 60–80 percent of rural household income (Bryceson, 2002: 730), significantly higher than the usually quoted figure of around 40 percent'.

3.5 Linking notions of 'deagrarianisation' with 'post-productivism'

There are questions raised about the applicability of the six debates to the global South (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). The global South also offers several 'debates' or 'indicators' of post-productivism. Countries like Australia and New Zealand are not

[3] LADDER was a cross-country research programme funded by the DFID Policy Research Programme from 2000–2004.

[4] DORAS field survey of 45 sites in the Central Plains of Thailand undertaken in1994–95.

[5] The National Council of Applied Economic Research has been undertaking a continuing survey of rural households in 240 villages across 16 states since 1968 in India.

part of the 'global South', despite being geographically south of the equater, because they are considered as developed countries. These debates do not have universal resonance across the global South, but they do map out alternative paths of agrarian transition to that proposed by work on rural change in the global North (Wilson & Rigg, 2003).

Bryceson (2002) argues that a widespread process of deagrarianisation is a feature of the African continent. She defines deagrarianisation as 'a long-term process of occupational adjustment, income-earning reorientation, social identification and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly agricultural-based modes of livelihood'(2002: 726). A parallel process of rural change has also been marked out in Asia (Rigg, 2001) and Latin America (Kay, 2008). What is evident in the global South is a shift from farm to non-farm activities (but usually without the complete abandonment of the rural base), both in terms of employment and income; 'a series of cultural and social changes that have served to undermine the social utility of traditional farming, making it in many areas a low-status occupation' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 697). This view is confirmed by Rigg (2005: 189) when he states that 'farming has become, often in little more than a decade, a low status occupation to be avoided'.

As one would expect, there are no neat, blanket generalisations that can be made about the effects of these changes in the global South except to note that they are having important – though variable – 'impacts on poverty, production, and productivity, patterns of consumption, economic growth, investment, gender relations, and inequality in the countryside' (Rigg, 2005: 187). While the identification of general effects may be problematic, it is possible to identify some common forces propelling these wide scale changes in the composition and trajectory of economic activity and livelihoods in the global South. According to Rigg (2005: 8) individual cases will, necessarily, be individual but 'five propelling forces would seem to have some degree of common currency across the global South, even if their relative importance varies between sites, countries, and continents'. These are:

- the erosion of the profitability and return to small-holder agricultural production;
- the emergence of new opportunities in the non-farm sector, both local and non-local;

- environmental degradation;
- increasing land shortages, and
- cultural and social change.

Rigg (2005: 8) identifies the above forces which are termed 'first level propelling forces', but they are underpinned by a raft of 'second level propelling forces', not all of which will be found in individual countries or cases. The broad outcome, however, will be similar – 'to squeeze farming and agriculture in a variety of ways'.

Of the first level propelling factors identified above, it is the last – cultural and social change – which has received the least attention, because it is vague and difficult to pin down. Another reason could be the shifting in analysis of agricultural and employment which tended to be concentrated in the social sciences, economics, and associated disciplines. Rigg (2005: 8) reported that 'land shortages, environmental degradation, and structural changes in the economy and in employment are generally well documented' – some of the least remunerative non-agricultural activities tend to rely on immoderate extraction from the natural resource base, for example, sales of firewood and grass are an important activity for the Sudanese rural poor but generate very low incomes and contribute significantly to environmental degradation (El Bashir, in Rigg, 2005). Cultural and social factors and, less obviously, social and cultural positions, are also connected with the economic changes outlined above and in people's views of these changes. There is a general belief that rural people should remain in rural areas and in farming. Villages are viewed as culture and social units and are seen to have a certain moral substantiality which can be traced back through history and which is firmly embedded in local cultural norms and social practices and structures – in fact it is 'a way of life' that gives a distinctive character to rural societies (Rigg & Ritchie, 2002: 3). It is when villages are fragmented by modernity, when village production is undermined by industrialisation, and when villagers are withdrawn from their original homes that things are perceived to go wrong.

Another view is from Tacoli (2002): she mentions that widows living alone, especially in Tanzania, are often socially marginalised, and may be forced to find employment in unprofitable occupations (such as harvesting natural resources) or even in prostitution, while patronage is in many cases a crucial element of access to activities such as intra-regional trade. Rural poverty in Senegal has been linked to

the lack of access to non-farm income, while in Tanzania the accumulation strategies of better-off rural households are based on income diversification and the simultaneous exploitation of both rural and urban resources (Msuya & Mmochi, 2007).

Bryceson (2002: 727) links deagrarianisation in Africa with another process: depeasantisation: 'After a century of colonial and post-colonial peasant formation', she writes, 'depeasantisation has now begun, representing a specific form of deagrarianisation in which peasantries lose their economic capacity and social coherence, and shrink in demographic size relative to nonpeasant populations'. She identifies structural adjustment policies (SAPs) and market liberalisation as instrumental in propelling depeasantisation. According to a study of six African countries (Ethiopia, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe), these policies, although to varying degrees and in different ways, undermined productivism by unpicking the state-orchestrated structures of support and subsidy (Bryceson, 2002: 728): 'SAP policies largely dismantled African marketing boards and parastatals that had serviced peasants' input requirements, enforced commodity standards, and provided single-channel marketing facilities and controlled prices'.

These SAP policies led to two important changes: firstly, farmers recoup their costs quickly by changing to the production of 'fast crops' such as tomatoes and potatoes, as well as to avoid crops requiring large capital inputs; secondly, a progressive move out of agriculture – depeasantisation – reflecting, in part, the steep decline in returns to farming.

According to Wilson and Rigg (2003), there is an underlying assumption in much of the literature on the transition of productivist to post-productivist agricultural regimes, that it is easy to 'measure' the shift to post-productivism on the basis of various indicators. Evans *et al.*, (2002: 325) push this argument quite far when they argue that the 'concept of post-productivism appears to be a distraction from developing theoretically informed perspectives on agriculture'. Wilson and Rigg (2003) however, argue that the reality may be more complex and that the transferability – or rather 'exportability' – of complex theoretical concepts, such as 'post-productivism', to the global South is highly problematic.

3.6 Post-productivist 'indicators' and their applicability to South Africa.

It is the contention of this section that the theory of 'post-productivism' can be partially used in the context of the global South. However, the concept needs to be adapted and developed to address conditions outside the developed world by embedding it with theoretical discussions surrounding the Southern-based concept of 'deagrarianisation' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). The theoretical conception of 'multifunctional agricultural regimes' (regimes that conceptually, temporally and spatially follow on from the post-productivist transition) may be more appropriate to describe the possible 'endpoint' of contemporary community change, and – in line with similar requests from developed economic perspectives – the notion of post-productivism should only be used to describe a specific (and relative) transitional phase of rural change (Wilson, 2001; Evans *et al.*, 2002; Holmes, 2006; Morgan & Marsden, 2010; Barbieri, 2010). The multifunctional rural changes are characterised by the territorialisation of productivist and post-productivist action and thought (i.e., it includes the four types of (differentiated) countrysides suggested by Marsden (2010)) as well as the six debates (indicators) mentioned by Wilson and Rigg (2003). Multifunctionality as a way to describe the current countryside, explains why this study underlines diversification towards tourism from which second home tourism develops.

The most obvious starting-point is the investigation of possible policy changes as a key indicator of post-productivism. The WTO acted as a 'great leveller' with regard to productivist and post-productivist policies owing to the merging of policies in both the global North and the global South. The WTO aimed at addressing some of the problems associated with free trade of agricultural products around the world – some with productivist tendencies (e.g., aiming at commodity production maximisation and intensification) and others with post-productivist tendencies (e.g., ensuring better food quality and aimed at reducing negative environmental impacts) that apply to both the Global North and Global South simultaneously (Goodman, 2001).

Before 1994, regional development strategies in South Africa had basically been `top-down affairs' designed to accommodate capital accumulation and labour exploitation, and served to establish White minority domination (Maharaj & Ramballi, 2002). Since the 1970s, South Africa has experienced serious economic instability, influenced in part by the global recession as well as the confutations in apartheid

(Seethal, 2002). These problems were exacerbated by political upheaval coupled with the economic sanctions imposed by the international community to force the undemocratic White minority government to abandon its apartheid policy (Hoogendoorn *et al*, 2009). This situation has had a major effect on the agricultural sector of South Africa.

Statistics revealed that 'in 1951, 16.6 percent of South Africa's GDP originated from the agricultural sector: In 1979, the GDP had dropped to 5.9 percent and declined further to 3.8 percent in 2002' (Atkinson, Pienaar & Zingel, 2004: 14). The recent past has seen a rapid liberalisation in agriculture (along with many other important labour absorbing sectors) and a 'drastic elimination of protective tariffs in key food commodities' (Atkinson, 2007). Historically the outgoing National Party, replaced by the ruling African National Congress in 1994, maintained close contact with the formerly White agricultural sector as an important political citizenry (Atkinson, Taylor & Matose, 2006). 'Through these linkages, organised agriculture had subsidised access to credit, price support mechanisms were put in place (as were export rebates) and statutory single channel marketing systems had been established' (Atkinson *et al*., 2004: 15). Farmers were represented by cooperatives that originated in the 1930s and, along with the Land Bank, Department of Agriculture and Marketing Boards, they administered an environment that was closely integrated and disposed towards monopolistic practices (Atkinson, 2007). 'Prices of agricultural products were politically negotiated and calculated for set periods of time' (Atkinson *et al.*, 2004: 15).

Rogerson (2010), however, states that the transformation phase to a democratic society has been characterised by the demise of `top down' regional development planning coupled with a rise of `local' economic development (LED) initiatives. The democratic government of South Africa has recognised LED (Local Economic Development) planning as an important growth strategy for post-apartheid economic reconstruction (Nel & Rogerson, 2005).

LED also features prominently in other government development strategies. The Urban Development Strategy (RSA, in Nel, 2000) and the Rural Development Framework (RSA, in Nel, 2000) both have an LED focus. 'The former focuses on the provision of housing and infrastructure, public works, efficient regulation, mobilisation of investment and the promotion of small businesses while the latter identifies LED as

a way forward for rural local governments' (Nel, 2000: 1011). Specific actions identified are: economic diversification, training, service provision, housing and the development of infrequent markets. The formation of partnerships, agricultural support, land reform, tourism, forestry and small business promotion also feature in the document (Nel, 2001).

Another policy to be mentioned is the Revised Industrial Policy Plan (IPAP), presented during March 2010, which looked at key aspects concerning agricultural policy in South Africa. Firstly, Agri South Africa (an umbrella body that represents provincial farmers' associations) is a federal organisation which promotes, on behalf of its members, the sustainable profitability and stability of commercial agricultural producers and agribusinesses through its involvement and input on national and international levels. Secondly, Agri South Africa represents commercial and emerging farmers through 9 provincial unions and 26 commodity organisations. The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) categorised farmers into subsistence, smallholder and commercial farmers. Intervention at subsistence farmer level seeks to support farmers with basic agricultural, forestry and fisheries starter packs that include seeds and seedlings, fertiliser and livestock. Smallholder and commercial farmers will receive support to enable them to continue producing sufficient food for local and export demands (DAFF, 2010). The strategic plan for the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries 2010/2011 focuses on accelerating delivery on food security, rural development linked to land reform, and skills development.

The IPAP action plan focuses specifically on an organic production strategy, for example in the cotton industry, which seems to address one of the indicators of post-productivist countrysides. The amount of chemical inputs used, consumer demand for 'organic' produce in markets/stores, and farmer behaviour *vis-à-vis* on-farm pollution are some of the key aspects addressed. In an emerging market, such as South Africa, the move to organic production is usually an economic rather than an ideologically-driven decision (see Organic farming, 2012): 'South African commercial farmers sometimes fail at organic farming, because they switched over too quickly, ditching all chemicals, which is as traumatic for the soil as 'a drug addict going cold turkey' (Inter Press Service News Agency, 2010). The South African Biofarm Institute promotes sustainable and profitable biological and organic farming. South African organic farmers face many obstacles. Firstly, there is little

research locally to guide them, and secondly, the government will often not help farmers unless they use fertilisers and poisons. Thirdly, getting certified 'organic' is difficult and costly (Inter Press Service News Agency, 2010). An excellent example of organic farming in South Africa, however, is the following: 'South African food and clothing retailer Woolworths' efforts to establish a local source for organic fibre for their clothing has been given a major boost, with the country's first commercial scale trial crop of organic cotton being planted' in 2008 (SA info material, 2008).

Woolworths, together with the ComMark Trust, Cotton South Africa and the Organic Exchange, set up a pilot programme in which a number of farms in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces are growing organic cotton, under the direction of the Agricultural Research Council's Institute for industrial crops. At the annual Organic Exchange Conference in Monterey, California, Woolworths announced that they had become the world's third largest consumer of organic cotton, since introducing South Africa's first clothing range made from 100 percent organic cotton in 2004 (SA info material, 2008). They are behind only two giant American corporations, discount department chain Wal-Mart and sportswear manufacturer Nike.

Another example of organic farming in South Africa is in the orchards of the Western Cape: 'After decades of trying to coax fruit onto trees with the aid of chemicals, fruit farmers are packing in the pesticides and deciding to grow green' (Organic farming, 2012). South African retailers are also, belatedly, falling in behind organics. Organic tomatoes, apples and potatoes are now widely available in supermarkets. Organic Freedom Project, a non-profit organisation, recently announced plans to create 100 000 jobs in organic food and bio-fuel production in South Africa by 2014 (Organic farming, 2012).

Although increasing numbers of consumers worldwide become 'green aware', commercial farmers are still motivated by the profit motive, and quantity is therefore more important to them than quality. Genetically modified seeds ensure huge crop yields and pesticides and herbicides are sprayed over crops in large quantities. The multinational seed and pesticide companies, which produce these products, often have links to government officials (Preston & Ngah, 2012). In this way, they ensure that they have prime access to the markets. Across South Africa, however, many poor urban and rural women are already keeping hunger at bay with community

food gardens. The resultant produce not only feeds them and their families, but surplus food is sold at local markets, generating an income for the women who are often the sole breadwinners in extended families (Atkinson *et al.*, 2004).

As mentioned earlier, one of DAFF's strategic plan 2010/2011 goals is: 'integral and sustainable rural development'(IPAP, 2010). Land reform is a key part of government policy. Moser (in Atkinson *et al*., 2004) states that lack of access to land is a major blockage which prevents the poor from meaningful participation in the local economy. A study conducted amongst farmers and farmworkers in the Southern and Western Free State in mid-2003 asked farmworkers whether they would want their own land, and if so, what kept them from acquiring it and whom they would approach for assistance. According to Atkinson *et al.* (2004: 37) the results were highly revealing:

> 'Union organisers indicated that their members were in some cases living in very isolated areas where it was difficult to reach them with information. Another indicated that 'workers know nothing about land reform or how the process works and because they have such little knowledge of it, people are not interested'.

They went on to explain that some workers suffer from 'afhanklikheidsindroom' ('dependency syndrome') whereby they expect any changes in their condition to be initiated by farmers or other outside agencies.

Another study conducted by Atkinson (2007) examines the problem of managing municipal commonage in the Nama Karoo, part of Northern- and Western Cape, South Africa. She argues that municipalities are now facing pressure from local communities and the Department of Land Affairs to make their commonage land available to emergent Black or Coloured farmers. She states that the effective management of municipal commonage can contribute to land reform, food security, local economic development and sustainable natural resource use. Commonage land is, in many towns, the only natural resource available to poor communities (Atkinson, Taylor & Matose, 2006). However, according to a case study conducted in Philippolis, a small town in the Free State, South Africa, most of the commonage farmers are ex-farmworkers who lost their work on farms in the area. In this area, and the Nama Karoo, where the ecosystem is easily disturbed by

overgrazing, it is important that commonage farming operations be conducted with substantial knowledge of 'veld' maintenance, so that sustainable livelihoods are created (Atkinson *et al*., 2006). It seems, however, that this is not the case: 'People lack adequate insight into the nature and consequences of land degradation, and the means available to them for addressing the problem'(Atkinson, 2007: 720).

According to Atkinson *et al.* (2004) farmworkers remain some of the most marginalised members of rural communities, while their formal incomes contribute significantly to the maintenance of local rural economies. The South African agricultural sector has been subject to global trends in agriculture, including a rapid dismantling of tariff structures and of protectionist support mechanisms the sector had traditionally enjoyed (Atkinson *et al.*, 2004). The DAFF has, however, stated that 'as a country, we are … committed to promote environmentally friendly production methods (green economy) to enable us to create jobs, raise incomes, improve food security and focus on rural development linked to land reform' (see DAFF, 2010).

A third indicator of post-productivist countrysides is counter-urbanisation (see Wilson & Rigg, 2003). Bryceson (2002) observed a return migration to rural areas in Africa after the economic crises of the 1990s and the structural adjustment programmes (SAP) that have followed. 'During the 1980s, the combined forces of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and bilateral donor agencies pursuing 'structural adjustment programmes', exerted unavoidable pressure on African governments to cut back on government expenditure' (Bryceson, 1996: 103). The result was massive job losses in urban areas. The removal of food subsidies and drastic reductions in commodity imports caused the prices of consumer goods to climb. In this atmosphere of declining standards of living, both rural and urban population coincide on a strategy to minimise risks involving household diversification of economic activities.

In South Africa, however, the picture is different from the rest of Africa, particularly in high natural amenity areas which are along the South African coastline and, increasingly, in the interior. According to Visser (2004a), counter-urbanisation in South Africa can be traced back to the establishment and expansion of a number of coastal towns and villages. Similarly, along the southern and northern coasts of KwaZulu-Natal, well-known families within the sugar-cane industry, as well as the mining industry of Johannesburg, built weekend and holiday homes in attractive

areas (Visser, 2004a). Nowadays a similar trend is noticed along the southern and northern coasts of KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern and Western Cape, the Drakensberg escarpment, Dullstroom (about two hours' drive from Johannesburg), in the Mpumalanga Province, Hartbeespoort Dam (also near Johannesburg), as well as Clarens and Rosendal in the Eastern Free State (see Hoogendoorn, Mellett & Visser, 2005). Higher incomes and more leisure time lead to large-scale second home development along South Africa's coastline. A few case studies done on second home development provide some insights.

The first four case studies were explorative and set the field for further research on second home development in South Africa. Hoogendoorn *et al.*, (2009) found definite links with post-productivism in the Rhodes case study. Baker and Mearns (2006), based on Hoogendoorn and Visser's findings, concluded in their study that second homes have a resulted economic impact on host communities. Unfortunately, these cases have started a debate but still need to be thoroughly investigated in order to characterise the precise contours of the phenomenon (counter-urbanisation) in South Africa.

Another indicator of post-productivism is the move away from agricultural *production* to *consumption* of the countryside. This 'indicator' implies that there is willingness and an ability within society as a whole to 'consume' the 'new' goods produced by actors in the countryside, for instance walking trails, horse riding, bird watching etc. Along the South African coastline and the interior, a large number of towns and villages have been developed significantly as a result of consumption-led migration (Visser, 2003). On the consumption side, this has led to second home development linked to different types of migration as the properties are employed for holiday use, weekend use, or as holiday or weekend homes that will become retirement homes, or second homes that are acquired, mainly for investment return (Visser, 2003). This too, 'leads to labour and entrepreneurial migration that, in turn, require housing development' (Viser, 2003: 390).

Not only have consumption practices left their mark in rural areas, the effect in terms of the infusion of new ideas, job creation or traditional production practices is also clear. 'The price of agricultural land, and that in rural towns and hamlets, may be inflated by high demand from 'lifestylers' migrating from urban centres to rural areas' (Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2007: 131). This view is shared by Ritchie (in Wilson, 2007),

who studied the village of Ban Lek in northern Thailand over nearly two decades and found land prices rose by 2300 percent.

It has furthermore been noted that many of these migrants have idealised perceptions of rurality. This, in turn, has led to changes in attitudes of formerly traditional rural communities now influenced by 'urban' and more progressive middle-class values and environmental attitudes which, it is suggested, may have led to changes in farming practices and a questioning, by the farming community, of 'traditional' and often environmentally destructive countryside management behaviour (Wilson & Rigg, 2003; Halfacree, 2012). According to Hoogendoorn *et al.* (2007: 134), 'Cape Town became the main beneficiary of 'White and wealthy' southward migration for both permanent and holiday purposes and also for international investors'. However, this trend is not representative of all population groups in South Africa because of apartheid's radically segregated residential areas and divisions of labour before 1994 (birth of democracy in South Africa). According to Atkinson (2007), for instance, simply not enough is understood about farmworkers' experience of rural-urban linkages in South Africa. She further states that many urban households have strong links with rural family members. These links include multiple homesteads, commuting, circular migrancy, remittances, and shared family responsibilities for rearing children in both rural and urban contexts, and target migrants who aim to achieve a certain goal before returning to their place of origin.

Another novel approach is the creation of 'township suburbs' situated adjacent to urban areas and inhabited exclusively by farmworkers (Atkinson, 2007). The workers commute to the farm on a weekly basis. In Fauresmith and Bothaville in the Free State as well as in the Western Cape, employers purchased the land for the settlement and the residents obtained freehold tenure (Atkinson *et al*., 2006). The farm owners avoid future land tenure claims by farmworkers and workers have access to social services. However, the social impact of these commuting workers on rural communities could lead to changes in behaviour in a differentiated countryside (Atkinson *et al.,* 2004).

Another factor relates to debates about on-farm diversification as a key indicator of the possible shift towards post-productivism. On-farm diversification means, for example, taking agricultural land out of production for 'alternative' uses such as riding schools, camping grounds, 4x4 trails etc.

In Africa this means, for instance, that 'trading, retailing food grains, small ruminants and vegetables, sales of 'injera' and bread, involvement in smuggling, selling labour in kind, working as carriers of smuggled items and trafficking, sale of leaves and grass, sale of fuel, wood, timber and charcoal, working as housemaids in the towns, borrowing/lending money, sales of material assets, leasing plots, extended social networks, production and sale of traditional goods such as local baskets made of bamboo, sisal, grass and clay pots, clay pans, and cleaning of grains in flour mills' (Havnevik, Negash & Beyene, 2006: 14). Almost the entire above-listed income-diversifying portfolio of activities is within the domain of women (Wilson & Rigg, 2003).

In South Africa the situation is quite different. Dullstroom, about two hours' drive from Johannesburg in the Mpumalanga Province, was linked to the trout-fishing industry of the region (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011). Thus, Dullstroom was, and remains, a retreat for those who seek to escape the city. Hartbeespoort Dam and the Vaal River, located about an hour from Johannesburg in the North-West Province, became a favourite recreational area with the main focus on water sports (Baker & Mearns, 2006). Other remote villages all over South Africa (Clarens, Howick, Nottingham Road, Greyton, Montagu, Bonnievale, McGregor etc.) share a similar popularity as weekend retreats, because of their beautiful scenery and availability of a number of activities like horse-riding, 4x4 trails, hiking trails, bird watching etc. (Hoogendoorn, 2010)

An increasing number of farm households are engaged in non-farm activities. In the North, for Japan, the figure is 90 percent (Motoki, 2003) while in many countries in the developing world, figures around 50 percent are common (Wilson & Rigg, 2003). In South Africa, the number of farm units dropped from 1996 to 2007 by 66 percent (Agri SA, 2010). This means that 66 percent fewer farmers are engaged in farming activities, and consequently the farm size per farmer increases. One reason for this drop may be the reduction of public subsidies by the government. South African agricultural subsidies are now among the lowest in the world, amounting to roughly 2,7 percent of total output (Atkinson, 2007). According to Hoogendoorn (2010) a farmer is now more vulnerable to international shocks owing to the reduction of state support in the form of public subsidies (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011). This is probably why farmers became more and more involved in non-farm activities, for instance wildlife/game farming combined with guest houses on farms. These

activities, combined with traditional farming, provide a more stable income to farmers but, unfortunately, have their own challenges.

Another novel approach is the so-called rural gated developments where features of security and a sense of belonging in an idyllic rural setting became more prominent in South Africa, especially in parts of the rural Western Cape (Spocter, 2013). These developments show strong links with the post-productivist theory, because rural areas are transforming into a more consumptionist countryside – leisure activities such as golf and hiking (Spocter, 2013). A further link with post-productivism is the decline in farm profits in the Western Cape, and therefore farmers have to sell their land, or portions thereof, to developers for the constructon of gated developments (Spocter, 2013).

A final factor of post-productivist indicators has been based on the assumption that 'former marginal actors, such as environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs), have been increasingly included in the 'core' of the policy-making process' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 689; see also Hewison, 2009; Ellis, 2007). In South Africa, for instance, ENGOs help to educate and train previously disadvantaged communities and give them advice for starting new small businesses – for example Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency, Umsobomvu Youth Fund, Khula Enterprise Finance Ltd. etc. World Changers Academy (WCA) is a non-profit organisation based in Durban, South Africa that seeks to empower young people through life skills and leadership development programmes. Legal Resources Centre (LRC) is a human rights organisation based in South Africa, with offices in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Grahamstown. The emerging role of public-private growth coalitions is starting to be discerned whereby farmers are encouraged to farm in a more environmental friendly way (Mosiane, 2000). Community-based organisations (CBOs) and NGOs have a long history and play a key role in resource – and capacity-weak areas. Their contribution in smaller centres such as Kei Road and Seymour are noteworthy in this regard (Nel, 2000). In addition, the support and training rendered by private organisations such as the National Business Initiative (NBI) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) have been of particular value to CBOs and NGOs (Nel, 2000). The application of technology, coordinated and driven by these non-governmental organisations, is an essential shift from pre-productivism to post-productivism.

In this regard the former President Mandela announced at the 1998 Presidential Job Summit: 'The government has had no illusions about the massive social problems that our new democracy has to deal with. We know too keenly that government alone cannot address these problems'(Mandela, 1989: 1, in Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, it requires a collect responsibility from a range of stakeholders if it aims to succeed. 'NGOs and community-based organisations have key roles to play in filling the development gap which exists and they need to be assisted in this endeavour' (Nel, 2000: 1020). In the agricultural sector, the Rural Foundation assisted in the development of farmworkers' skills and quality of life during the 1980s. According to Atkinson (2007), it was the most significant philanthropic and development organisation ever created in South Africa to promote service delivery to farmworkers. They improved the working and social conditions of farmworkers through, for instance, housing, sport and recreational activities among farmworkers, childcare centers and projects to empower rural women. The Rural Foundation was liquidated in May 1998 because of repeated cuts in its annual subsidy from the Department of Social Development. Civil society organisations like NGOs and NPOs (Non-profit Organisations) have taken the Rural Foundation's place. According to Atkinson (2007), civil society interventions have been fragmented, underfunded, poorly co-ordinated and badly integrated with government institutions in the years thereafter.

3.7 Conclusion

To summarise, it is possible to use the theory of 'post-productivism' in the context of the global South. Wilson and Rigg (2003) suggest that the concept needs to be adapted and developed to address conditions outside the developed world, possibly by setting it in unique histories of rural places coupled with theoretical discussions surrounding the Southern-based concept of 'deagrarianisation'. They also emphasise that the theoretical notion of 'multifunctional agricultural regimes' may be more appropriate to describe the possible 'endpoint' of contemporary agricultural change. However, Mather *et al.* (2006) disagree by stating that it perpetuates identification with agriculture alone. They further contend that it would continue to ignore other rural land uses (e.g. forestry) at a time when sectoral barriers are being dismantled. Also, multi-functionality does not convey the sense of a shift in emphasis away from material production that is argued to be the essential characteristic of post-productivism (Mather *et al.,* 2006).

In South Africa, however, it is possible to 'measure' the shift to post-productivism on the basis of various indicators suggested by Wilson and Rigg (2003). Following the publications on the Revised Industrial Policy Plan of March 2010 and other policies concerning agriculture, there has developed a considerable consensus in the policies and the academic debates about rural change have progressed to a more integrated approach to rural areas, and to the regional economies and the spaces in which they are increasingly embedded. However, the focus is still on sustainable development and the redress of inequalities. Thus, the current dynamic processes of rural restructuring (for instance land reform in South Africa) occurring in the post-productivist countryside are, under present conditions, far from harmonious or integrated (Marsden, 2010, in England, Atkinson, 2007, in South Africa). Moreover, successful recent local integrated rural development initiatives have been exceptions rather than the norm (e.g. organic farming in Western and Eastern Cape and Limpopo Provinces). To build upon them will require a more concerted and strategic spatial planning approach on a regional basis which can at least attempt to reshape and modulate global and local dynamics as they impact upon the realities of differentiated rural spaces embedded in the concept 'multifunctionality' as a way to describe the rural countryside.

Differentiated rural spaces, in certain towns and villages, along the South African coastline and increasingly in the interior, have grown significantly as a result of consumption led migration. However, this development is sometimes associated with a transformation of the countryside into a consumption landscape (Marsden, 2010) where it is consumed for its amenities, its housing environments and an imagined rural lifestyle (e.g. non-farm activities – hiking, fly-fishing, 4x4 trails etc.).

Will changing ruralities and changing landscapes bring about a differentiated countryside? It seems plausible, because it is a major feature of rural spatial change (Marsden, 2010). More generally, it is a rural community where the certainties of agricultural production as the traditional 'rural hub' are giving way to a much more polyvalent rural scene and regulatory structure. As Halfacree (2007: 131) states: 'a rural locality may have an agricultural backdrop but its key spatial practices are consumption-orientated: leisure, residence, counter-urbanisation, dwelling, contemplation.' It has to be stated that post-productivism in the current case study develops through diversification processes towards tourism, from which second home development and their social impacts, are the key focus areas.

Therefore, the focus of this study will be on social impacts and perspectives which evolved in the social identification and spatial relocation of urban dwellers to rural areas, the income-earning reorientation, the social emotions and social changes that have served to undermine the social utility of traditional farming, resulting in a differentiated or post-productivist countryside, second home development being an example of this shift.

In Chapter Four, a discussion of choice of research methodology and strategies applied in this study is provided.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND STRATEGIES IN RESEARCHING SECOND HOMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two the current study was contextualised within existing literature by providing an overview of completed studies on second homes. Chapter Three focused on the possibility to 'measure' the shift to post-productivism on the basis of various indicators suggested by Wilson and Rigg (2003) in the context of the global South. Post-productivism in the current case study develops through diversification processes towards tourism, from which second home development and their social impacts are the key focus areas.

In this chapter a description, explanation and elaboration of the research methodology and strategies deployed in this study will follow. The choices, namely Interpretivism as meta-theory and mixed methods approach (where a combination of qualitative and quantitative research, as methodological paradigm) are justified. The choice of research design and the selection of participants are then discussed. Furthermore, the data collection and the techniques used are explained. The manner in which the study is conducted, the data analysis and interpretation will follow. The quality criteria of the study are set out and the chapter is concluded with a discussion on ethical considerations.

4.2 An outline of the research methodology and paradigmatic assumptions

In this section, the methodological paradigm and the meta-theoretical paradigm that are used in the current study are described. The rationale for using a case study approach following the qualitative/quantitative stage is also explained. Table 4.1 provides an outline of the research methodology and process followed in the study.

Table 4.1: An outline of the research methodology and process (adapted from Loots, 2010).

PARADIGMATIC ASSUMPTIONS	
Methodological paradigm:	***Qualitative and Quantitative research***
Meta-theoretical paradigm:	***Interpretivism***
RESEARCH DESIGN	
Descriptive	
Case study	
Study population & sampling	***Category A: 30 local residents and business owners***
	Category B: 74 second home owners
	Purposive sampling and snowball sampling
DATA GENERATION	
Data collection techniques: Semi-structured interviews (Category A)	
	Structured questionnaires (Category B)
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	
Content analysis	
Numerical coding (qualitative and quantitative data)	
QUALITY CRITERIA OF THE STUDY	
Credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, authenticity	
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	
Informed consent, anonymity and trust, expertise of the researcher, confidentiality cultural differences, role of the researcher, voluntary participation	

This thesis elected for a mixed methods approach, where a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research is justified. In 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 (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012). As a result, second home research in South Africa requires investigators to employ creative, pragmatic approaches to construct their own databases to investigate second home development (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2011; 2012). Researchers sometimes refer to mixed-methods as a 'pragmatic' approach as during the design of research, data collection, and data analysis it is impossible to operate in either an

exclusively theory or data-driven fashion (Denzin, 2010). Moreover, pragmatism means being adaptable, energising and creative in the gathering of relevant information. Therefore, this research relies on a mixing of methodologies, with the focus on qualitative research.

Mixed methods research is a holistic and inductive approach (Denzin, 2010), where a specific social phenomenon (in this case second home owners) is explored, understood and described, rather than explained or predicted. The aim is to gain an in-depth understanding of what the world looks like in that particular setting, what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like and which meaning they ascribe to experiences. The characteristics of mixed methods research are described by Denzin (2010). The first characteristic is a naturally occurring environment which serves as direct source of data. The universum for this study is an estimated 100 second home owners from Mautse (very difficult to determine – owing to the lack of official data as well as the lack of management of municipal officials who seemingly struggle to provide infrastructure maintenance and therefore an address list of the roughly 2000 unemployed residents settling in large numbers on the edge of Mautse), 37 second home owners from Rosendal town and ten second home farmers from the Rosendal district which were selected through purposive and snowball sampling. Due to the descriptive nature of qualitative research, the data is presented in the form of letters and symbols. The focus is not only on the outcomes of the study, but the whole research process is being considered as important. The attempt was not to prove hypotheses or to generalise the outcomes of the study. Data was analysed inductively, with the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon studied. An interest arose in the understanding and true reflection of the participants' different meanings and perspectives, which correlates with Interpretivism. One distinctive feature of qualitative description according to Dey (2004) is its integrative function, which means that unnecessary details were stripped away and delineated more clearly to the more central characteristics of the data. In other words, the researcher presents a narrative about the data – to construct an illuminating narrative. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011) this means that qualitative research studies things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Mixed methods research is inherently multi-method in focus (Brewer & Hunter, 2006). However, the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. In the Social Sciences, objective reality can never be captured (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In the current study structured questionnaires, apart from the semi-structured interviews with the local community members, were used to triangulate and secure the in-depth understanding of second home owners and their socio-economic impact on the rural community of Rosendal. Triangulation[6] is not a tool or a strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation (Denzin, 2008).

Meta-theoretically, the current study was framed within Interpretivism to obtain an in-depth understanding of the social impacts and perspectives of second home owners on the host community, and *vice versa*. Interpretivism, as epistemology, assisted the researcher in collecting data in an interactive way, with the aim of understanding and interpreting the meanings underlying the behaviour of participants.

In this way, the attempt was to understand participants' perceptions from their life worlds and frames of reference (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Willis (2007) argues that whether you call it interpretive research or mixed methods research, a core belief of this paradigm is that the reality we know is socially constructed. Researchers therefore have access only to a socially constructed reality. Willis (2007) states further that none of us, including those who conduct research using the scientific method, has direct access to external reality. This position is often counter-posed to positivism,

[6] Triangulation is a term regularly used within qualitative research and specifically in case study research. It is borrowed from the discipline of land surveying and is based on the principle that a point in space can be determined through recognised trigonometric laws, if two other points are known. It is used in the Social Sciences to describe research strategies that use different methods to answer the same question, or alternatively to describe the collection of data from different strategies in order to improve the validity of results (Tashakorri & Teddlie, 2003: 459–461). Different forms of triangulation are used in social research. Data triangulation refers to the gathering of data through different sampling strategies and from a variety of sources, while investigator triangulation refers to the use of more than one investigator in the data gathering or interpretation process. Theoretical triangulation is the use of more than one theoretical position in interpreting data and methodological triangulation refers to the use of two or more methods in data collection and a distinction is made between within-method and between-method triangulation (Stake, 1995: 112–113).

but it also differs from critical theory. However, neither is comfortable with the socially constructed reality of Interpretivism. In this way, the intention was to understand the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it and make meaning of the social phenomenon under study, namely second home owners in rural Rosendal. Schwandt (2000) agrees that in order to understand a specific social action, the researcher or interpreter should be familiar with the meanings that lie behind the specific actions.

Schwandt (2000: 192) uses the concept of 'empathetic identification'. In order to understand participants' motives and beliefs, the researcher should attempt to move into their thoughts. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) agree that by getting inside the head of another, so to speak, the inquirer could attempt a guess as to the meaning of the actor's behaviour. The researcher therefore argues that the process, through which people make sense of their lives, can be understood through the utilisation of Interpretivism as epistemology (McMilan & Schumacher, 2002). As researcher within the Interpretivist paradigm, it is acknowledged that one can never fully know the meanings of another person's life experiences, but can only present one's own interpretation and description of these meanings.

4.3 Research design

In this section, a discussion of the research design, the motivation for using the case study approach and the selection of participants will follow.

An in-depth case study design is regarded as suitable for the current study. An in-depth investigation of a natural case will be reported on and, therefore, the current study can be regarded as realistic. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001) this can lead to better insight and understanding of similar situations or cases and make interpretation easier. This study wants to provide some sort of platform and agenda for future studies on social impacts of second home research. Moreover, case studies within the Interpretivist paradigm have received relatively little attention from social scientists, especially for geographers. The researcher is thus able to argue that this is new territory for second home research in South Africa.

Case studies are defined as empirical investigations that consider recent phenomena within its unique context, even though the line between phenomenon and context might be blurred (Reed, 2009). It is not uncommon for mixed methods case researchers to call for letting the case 'tell its own story' (Yin, 2011). That is

exactly what the current study wanted to achieve. Someone cannot be sure that the case will tell its own story well, or will tell all, but the ethnographic ethos of interpretive study – seeking out different meanings held by the people within the case – is strong. Therefore, case content evolves in the act of writing itself.

According to Beeton (2005), the case study approach is an accepted and often utilised research method. The case study approach lends itself to utilise a 'variety of sources and present findings in a variety of ways towards gaining an in-depth understanding regarding various aspects related to a specific case' (Wilkinson, 2008: 3). Miles and Huberman (in Beeton, 2005: 42) describe research case studies as 'a holistic empirical inquiry used to gain an in-depth understanding of a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence'. Yin (2011: 50) confirms the above when he states that 'Case studies focus on the generation of 'rich, in-depth descriptions of complex issues by using multiple sources of evidence, as opposed to other research strategies'. Stake (in Beeton, 2005) asserts that case studies have the capacity to take numerous study *foci* into account by including several groups of individuals within the boundaries of a case, for example a town. The focus of the study is to accomplish just that: to gain a more in-depth understanding of the socio-economic impacts of second home ownership in the case of Rosendal/Mautse in the Eastern Free State; and to understand the emotional reaction of various groups of individuals in the town/area owing to the erosion of the socio-cultural fabric of rural values displaced by the urban and farm values of incomers. Therefore, no prior hypothesis was set, only a curiosity about the practice itself.

Case study research has been accused of a lack of rigour because of the opportunity for bias as a result of subjective sampling and reliance on researchers' interpretations. Even though bias could creep into any research strategy, researchers need to be especially 'vigilant in their design and execution of case studies' (Stake, 1995: 134). South Africa has experienced a series of fundamental changes in its institutional structures in recent years. Visser (2003) suggests that these changes underpin a 'new' research environment for research scholars. His concerns represent a useful conceptual tool for understanding potential limitations to case specific studies in the on-going transitional merge of South African government institutions. In this study many sources of evidence are integrated to reduce bias. At the same time, multiple sources of evidence are used for data triangulation, which

refers to the gathering of data through different sources (interviews and visual data) in order to strengthen validity and increase confidence in the interpretation of collected data.

No official data concerning second homes is collected in South Africa. Therefore, 'second home investigations in South Africa are totally dependent upon general media statements, the accuracy of which cannot be verified, or empirical data gathered by individual researchers' (Hoogendoorn, Mellett & Visser, 2007: 136). The current study falls into the latter category, comprising data gathered over several months during 2010 to 2013 (June/July 2010; December 2010, January 2011; December 2012; January 2013) by the researcher in Rosendal, which is divided into sub-areas: Rosendal town, Mautse township and Rosendal farming community.

The second home owners were identified through the rates base address listings of the Dihlabeng municipality within which Rosendal is located. 'If a home owner's tax and services accounts were sent out to an area' other than the Dihlabeng municipal area in which the property was located, 'the owner was identified as a likely second home owner'(Hoogendoorn *et al*., 2007: 136). However, many of the addresses were outdated and therefore an additional technique had to be used. The study also made use of snowball sampling, where some municipal officials and residents of Rosendal assisted with telephone numbers and e-mail addresses of second home owners. Ward and Jones (in Rice, 2010) suggest that geographical methodology literature is not sufficiently sensitive to political-temporal contingency in the research process. They argue that 'timing' plays a key role in the 'critical positioning' of the researcher within the governance structures of local power, which can set obstacles by gaining access to information. The experiences the study had in Rosendal/Mautse were, upon reflection, indicative of Ward and Jones' (in Rice, 2010) observations. The research process was influenced by the general timing (The researcher is a full-time teacher) and the local government 'calendar'. In many respects the constraints of my full-time job, the distance to Rosendal/Mautse, and financial constraints determined the timing of my fieldwork. The best time, given these constraints, was during the holidays of June/July 2010 and December 2010/January 2011. In retrospect, this timing was unfortunate because in June 2010 South Africa hosted the FIFA Soccer World Cup and many South Africans took days off work which made it more difficult to gain interviews at local government level. Similarly, in the December holidays many municipal workers were on leave. The

timing, nevertheless, presented positive outcomes too. Most second home owners were resident in Rosendal/Mautse during the June and December holidays.

Although none of the Mautse participants' home language is English, interactions and questionnaires were conducted in English. Temple (2002) and Shklarov (2007) emphasise the importance of being aware of the implications of cross language research.

In this regard, a research assistant[7], who was proficient in the home language of second home participants and came from a similar cultural background, assisted and interviewed some of the 40 second home owners from Mautse. She welcomed the financial support, because she is a student and looked forward to do holiday work for an extra income.

After a few hours' training on how to complete a questionnaire and how to interview the participants, the researcher accompanied her and evaluated her on the first few interviews. She had a good understanding of the research process as a whole, and therefore was in a good position to understand the context in which the questionnaires were conducted. The farm workers' participants were not accessable for the research assistant, because of large distances between the farms and town and therefore the researcher interviewed them on different occasions herself. The Rosendal town and farming area participants were able to answer the English questionnaire, as they speak both Afrikaans and English.

4.4 Data collection

The data collection techniques in combination with the data documentation techniques employed in the study, will be discussed below.

The study adopted a text analysis survey technique through the use of semi-structured questionnaires as a guide to collect and analyse data in relation to the research questions. Data gathering instruments for the compilation of this case study included interviews with local rural residents, district-council members, entrepreneurs, property agents, art-gallery managers, community representatives from both the Black and White constituencies and businessmen in Rosendal and Mautse (semi-structured questionnaire – Category A), as well as detailed and informal interviews

[7] The research assistant (Ms Wanzi) is from the University of the Free State where she is completing a B.Com degree. Her home town is Rosendal.

conducted with second home owners in Rosendal town, Mautse and the farming community (formal interview schedule – Category B). Another data gathering instrument was the observations by the researcher.

Second home owners in Rosendal town were sent a letter, *via* e-mail, after the researcher had introduced herself via SMS and requested their permission to send an e-mail to ask if/whether they wanted to participate in the research or not (Annexure 1). If they did not respond timeously, the researcher made a further attempt to contact them. The rationale behind this was that the study area is very small and therefore all the participants' responses were needed. The Rosendal town participants sent the completed questionnaire back via e-mail.

Some of the participants took part in informal conversations (via e-mail) concerning the topic and this definitely made a contribution and enhanced the research. Some second home owners from Rosendal town, were interviewed when the researcher visited the study area, specifically if the second home owners were visiting Rosendal when the participants in Category B were interviewed. The transcribed data enriched the research as people usually feel more relaxed and eager to elaborate when they are in the security of their homes.

Second home owners from Mautse were identified by officials from the local municipality. The research assistant, accompanied by her mother who is well-known to the residents, interviewed the second home owners in that area. During the December holidays (2010) most of them were visiting Rosendal/Mautse, because of the festive season and people taking their yearly vacation. Purposive sampling methods were applied to identify participants in this category and snowball sampling was furthermore employed since certain participants were recommended for consultation by other participants and also by local residents. Forty second home owners from Mautse were interviewed during the December holiday of 2011. Interviews with participants in Category A (business owners, local residents, elderly residents, entrepreneurs and second home owners) were more informal and less structured. A list of topics for discussion was, however, prepared for each interview. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants in Category A where they were invited to talk about their feelings and reflect on what second home ownership meant to them while being recorded. Interviews were designed to take a conversational style. A questionnaire with questions acting as prompts was

developed to assist with the conducting of these interviews (Annexure 2). The main question was: 'What do you think of second home owners?'

Non-probability sampling methods were applied to identify participants in this category and the process contained elements of judgment and snowball sampling, because certain participants were recommended for consultation by other participants. Thirty interviews were conducted with participants representing the following groups, organisations or individuals:

- local government, local and district council,
- local entrepreneurs,
- estate agents and property developers connected with Rosendal,
- local residents,
- persons with knowledge of the history of Rosendal, and
- second home owners.

All interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and then transcribed into a Microsoft Word document to be analysed.

In Rosendal town, a total of 37 second home owners, accounting for nearly thirty three percent of all formal residential housing units (150 units), were identified of which 27 participated in the study. In Mautse, a total of 40 second home owners participated. The universum of second home owners in Mautse is estimated at 100, although no official data exists. Mautse has more or less 8000 inhabitants (Interview with local municipal worker). Ten second home farmers of an estimated 36 farm owners in the Rosendal area were also identified through snowball sampling, of which seven participated. In total, seventy-four (27+40+7=74) people participated in the interviews. Figure 4.1 shows the location of Rosendal, Mautse and surrounding farms.

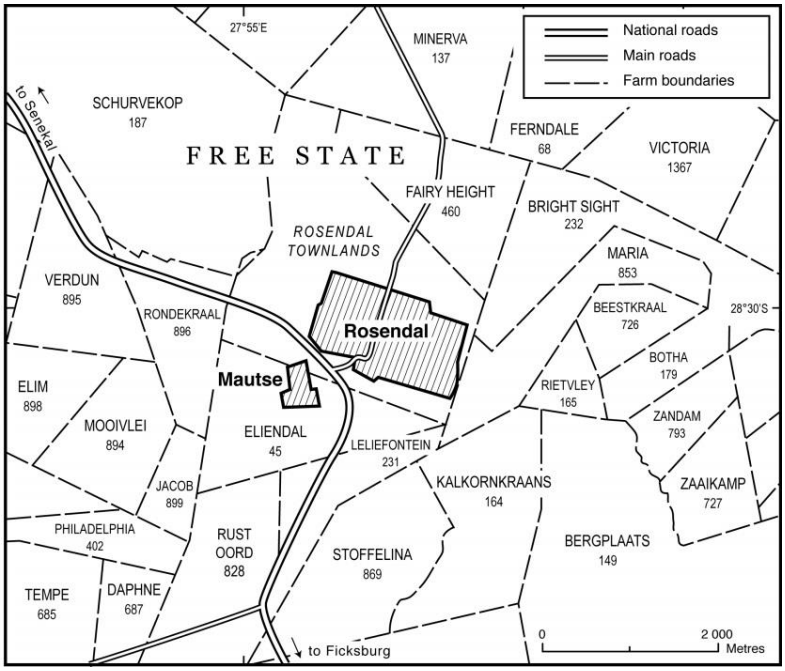

Figure 4.1: Location of Rosendal, Mautse and surrounding farms (Compiled by Job)

The questionnaires were designed in English and participants were given the choice of responding in either English or Afrikaans (Annexure 3). Two leading academics on second home research in South Africa, Hoogendoorn and Visser (2004), gave permission to use their developed questionnaire in the research. Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010) conducted research on the role of second homes in local economic development in five small rural areas in South Africa. This investigation formed part of a larger survey of second home development in South Africa and drew on empirical data gathered between 2007 and 2009. The larger project started as an exploratory investigation in 2003, focusing on second homes in Clarens in the Eastern Free State, Cape Town's De Waterkant and Zinkwazi on the KwaZulu-Natal north coast (Visser, 2006).

A pilot case study was conducted to test and refine data collection plans with respect to the questions asked and procedures followed in interviews. The pilot case study was chosen based on convenience (a farm near Rosendal) and accessibility of interviewees. The researcher also interviewed a municipality official, who assisted with the refinement of the questionnaire. The owner of the farm is well-known in the area, and could therefore provide useful guidelines for approaching future cases.

4.5 Data analysis and interpretation

In mixed methods research, data analysis and interpretation are not a one-dimensional process, but rather a continual learning process, where the researcher continuously comes to new insights as a study progresses. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) therefore define data analysis in terms of three linked sub-processes: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. They further state that these processes 'occur before data collection, during study design and planning; during data collection as interim measures and when early analyses are carried out; and after data collection as final products are approached and completed'(Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 429). Throughout the current study, the focus was on providing an accurate inductive description and interpretation of a naturally occurring phenomenon, namely the examination of socio-economic perspectives of second home owners and the rural communities.

Content analysis was applied to analyse qualitative data. Content analysis examines the words and phrases within a wide range of texts, including interviews and informal conversations (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This means the interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word documents and coded with assistance from Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) in the form of the Atlas.ti computer package. However, due to the relatively manageable size of the research data, the process to organise, manage and categorise the data was implemented without serious difficulties. This implied that, after the data was coded, themes, patterns, relationships and connections within and between categories were identified through the building of networks, code families, tables and matrixes (Coffey, Atkinson & Delamout, 2003). For instance, a theme, code or code family that is central to the analysis and understanding of the phenomenon would have a high density count. The process of coding and categorising sharpened and enhanced the researcher's ability to ask questions about the data. Therefore, the search for negative instances and contradictions formed part of the data analysis. Analysis and interpretation thus imply that data is taken out of context and then re-contextualised by putting it together in a way which aims at discovering regularities, irregularities and patterns that appear across data when formal links are created between, for example, codes and themes (Henning, 2004).

The above mentioned analysis was used for the thirty interviews with local stakeholders (local residents, entrepreneurs, art gallery owners and businessmen). For

the questionnaires used with the seventy-one second home owners, an SPSS software programme (version 19) was used to analyse the data. The data was captured in Excel spreadsheets and analysed statistically. The analysis included cross tabulations and analysis of variance tests. The results are presented in the following chapter.

4.6 Quality criteria of the study

Owing to its nature, a qualitative research design cannot be evaluated under the same scientific criteria as quantitative research (Davies & Dodd, 2002). However, it is important to have some type of quality criteria in place to evaluate the soundness of the research. Elliot, Fischer and Rennie (in Elliott & Timulak, 2005) identify three reasons for quality-guiding principles in qualitative research: firstly, to legitimise qualitative research, secondly, to foster more credible scientific reviews, and thirdly, to enhance the quality of the research conducted. Other scholars concur that qualitative studies conducted within the Interpretivist framework are ontologically and epistemologically different from quantitative methods conducted within the positivist framework, but suggest evaluation criteria nevertheless. In Geography, the vibrant debate between Baxter and Eyles (in Crang, 2002) and Bailey, White and Pain (in Pain & Francis, 2003) has clarified, for example, that while it is impossible to adopt a standardised method which includes prescribed practices, but more general principles for evaluation can be established.

The researcher agrees with the view of seeing quality criteria as 'guiding principles', rather than fixed standard criteria. Throughout the research study the researcher strove to maintain a balance between remaining flexible and creative as a qualitative/quantitative researcher, while conducting the current study in a professional manner that promoted transparency and rigour (Mason, 2002; Seale, 2002; Spencer *et al.*, 2003). Lincoln and Guba, in Spencer *et al.* (2003), identify five criteria for evaluating the soundness of qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and authenticity. In an attempt to produce a study of quality and soundness, careful attention to these criteria was paid.

According to Baxter and Eyles (in Crang, 2002), the most important principle for the evaluation of qualitative studies is the notion of credibility. Qualitative research is based on the belief that participants reveal multiple realities, with the role of the

researcher being to give a true and credible representation of these revealed realities (Lincoln & Guba, 2003; Seale, 2002). Within the Interpretivist paradigm, credibility may thus be defined as 'the degree to which a description of human experience is such that those having the experience would recognise it immediately and those outside the experience can understand it' (Baxter & Eyles: 513, in Crang, 2002). Therefore, the truth value of a qualitative study resides in the discovery of phenomena and experiences as they are lived and perceived by the research subjects and other researchers (Coffey *et al.*, 2003). This means that the credibility of a qualitative study can be strengthened by the modification of tentative results based on the feedback from academic peers and research participants.

It was attempted to present a credible study through the interviews with second home owners and local stakeholders in the Rosendal area. Participants in Rosendal town and farming community felt more than comfortable to share information with the researcher, because we share the same demographic profile. In Mautse the research assistant filled that gap, because of the language barrier - most residents are Sotho speaking. However, the researcher attempted to heighten the credibility of the current study by defending the claims and explanations using other worldwide studies in the literature review. Throughout the current study, the researcher acknowledged and reflected on the possible influence of researcher bias. In this regard, the researcher was in constant dialogue with other researchers on this topic to mirror and reflect on the researcher's own experiences and perceptions.

In order to improve the credibility of a qualitative study, researchers should also spend enough time studying the research setting and its inhabitants (Crang, 2002). Through prolonged engagement, researchers will get to know the local culture as fully and as comprehensively as possible and also build 'trust and rapport with the participants' (Lincoln & Guba, 2003: 302). The researcher has intensive contact with Rosendal, Mautse and the farming community and considered every possibly relevant aspect of the phenomenon under study. The researcher also built trust with the participants.

Triangulation is generally considered to be one of the best strategies to improve the credibility of a qualitative/quantitative study conducted within the Interpretivist framework. Triangulation thus involves a complex process of playing different data

sources and data interpretations off against each other (Denzin, 2010). This may even entail the integrated use of qualitative and quantitative sources (Sintas & Alvarez, 2002). In the current study semi-structured questionnaires were sent *via* e-mail to thirty seven second home owners, and triangulated the outcomes, by means of tables and graphs, with the in-depth interviews with local stakeholders in the Rosendal area – namely local residents, entrepreneurs, art-gallery owners and businessmen. The researcher also observed local residents and took photos to better understand the phenomenon visually. This combination of different data sources and different data interpretations added breadth and depth to the analysis and provided a more kaleidoscopic view of the social practices under study.

The criterion of transferability refers to the extent to which findings from a particular qualitative study can be 'exported to contexts and situations outside the research setting' (Leininger: 106, in Lincoln & Guba, 2003). Some researchers are convinced that generalisations are the ultimate goal of research inquiry. The question is often raised, according to Lincoln and Guba (2003), as to what value there is in only knowing the unique and not being able to generalise findings. Within the qualitative/quantitative paradigm, especially where humans are involved, there are no context-free generalisations because humans portray different views and realities. This argument is in line with Hoogendoorn and Visser (2012) who demonstrate the dynamic ways in which identities and attendant power relations are created and transformed in various multi-cultural settings. They also highlight the importance of 'political-temporal contingency in framing the research process, illuminating the impact of research focus *vis-à-vis* the political and temporal context of the research and informants' (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012: 3). Owing to the absence or lack of availability of official data it is therefore necessary to be particularly resourceful and creative in the fieldwork, keeping in mind the current social-cultural and political context of the South African environment (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012).

Transferability in mixed methods research refers to the idea that findings of a study can be transferred to other specified contexts of participants, through the provision of a deep description regarding the sending and receiving of contexts, rather than a belief in context-free generalisations (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The researcher has therefore attempted to present the reader with an in-depth description, and then allowed the case to tell its own story about the socio-economic perspectives on

second home ownership. The outcomes of the current study are then compared to different international trends concerning second home development.

The third criterion of qualitative/quantitative research within the Interpretivist framework refers to the call for consistency. Consistency in qualitative research is problematic in the sense that human behaviour is not static, but continuously changes and adapts to new circumstances. It is therefore more important to ask whether the results are consistent with the collected data. The dependability of qualitative studies thus mainly refers to the 'degree to which interpretations are made in a consistent manner' (Baxter & Eyles: 517, in Crang, 2002).

To make interpretations in a consistent manner it is essential, in the first place, to collect the data as rigorously as possible. In the case of in-depth interviews, attention should be paid, among other things, to the unambiguous formulation of questions and the ordering of topics (Dunn, 2005). It is, however, crucial to record and preserve the collected data as much as possible. This can be done through the detailed description of the behaviour and activities of the participants in extensive field notes and the meticulous transcription of recorded interview data (Denzin, 2008). It is, however, not sufficient to merely collect narratives of events and word-for-word records of the original transcripts. Since subsequent researchers cannot come up with their own interpretations of the same material without access to the original field notes and transcripts, Crang (2002) even pleads for the archival of qualitative data.

An attempt to conduct a clear research process was made by using semi-structured questionnaires and interviews. The use of multiple sources of evidence was important for reliability and validity. For this reason, care was taken to incorporate the views of as many participants as possible. The sources of information consisted of personal interviews, questionnaires *via* e-mail, and direct observations (supported by photographs taken on visits). The researcher also used text analysis with Microsoft programmes to analyse the data which assisted in writing a dependable report and therefore provide a true reflection on the research process.

The last criterion identified by Lincoln and Guba (2003) corresponds with the question of neutrality. As objectivity is considered to be an unattainable aspiration (Mohammed, in Limb & Dwyer, 2001), confirmability refers to the findings themselves and not to the researcher. Confirmability may thus be defined as 'the degree to

which findings are determined by the participants and the conditions of the inquiry and not by the biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer' (Baxter & Eyles: 517, in Crang, 2002).

This means that researchers have to think about the presence of their positionality and personality in the collection, the interpretation and the writing-up of research material (Skelton, 2001; Moser, 2008). As a mixed method researcher following an Interpretivist approach, it was initially difficult to position myself in relation to the research inquiry. The research area is next to my home town and it was difficult to exclude my subjective experience in reporting on the current study. As Denzin (2008) suggests, a researcher would like to tell the whole story, but of course cannot. However, engaging with the existing literature, the researcher realised that the question regarding objectivity *versus* subjectivity has been a point of discussion for several scholars and researchers (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Gergen & Gergen, 2008).

Hoogendoorn and Visser (2012: 5) argue that the 'researcher's positionality and political-temporal contingency in the research process can, and does, hamper a number of potential research topics and their investigations'. They state further that a researcher's social, cultural and subject positions (amongst others) affect the questions they ask, how they frame such questions, and also their relations with informants in the field. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) confirm the above view when they argue that the personality of the researcher helps to determine his or her selection of topics, his or her intellectual approach and his or her ability in the field. However, it is important to admit the fact that the researcher plays a central role in the research inquiry. The researcher therefore adopted a stance of critical subjectivity, as one primary way of dealing with the challenge of subjectivity.

To summarise, the basis of qualitative research is to describe people, events and places. Authenticity within qualitative research indicates whether such descriptions and explanations correlate with one another. It consists of the degree to which different points of view are fairly and equally represented (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The goal of the current study was to use mixed methods to accurately describe a social phenomenon in such a way that my description correlated with, and was a representation of, the participants' views. The results will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Spencer *et al.* (2003) emphasise that good quality research is always an ethical piece of research. Ethical considerations apply both within the research field as well as within a study itself. Qualitative/Quantitative studies cannot be placed outside the power relations that structure society, a single question in an in-depth interview or a simple phrase in a research report has the potential to disrupt the everyday life of research participants. Here the ethical principles are discussed and considered during the research process.

When working with human participants, ethical requirements regarding confidentiality, anonymity and trust arise. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) point out that extreme care must be taken to avoid any harm to them. Traditional ethical concerns have revolved around the topics of informed consent (consent received from the subject after he or she has been carefully and truthfully informed about the research), right to privacy (protecting the identity of the subject) and protection from harm (physical, emotional, or any other kind). In practice, this means that researchers have to 'inform their research participants openly and completely about the research purposes, the research methods and the supposed duration of the interviews, focus groups or participant observation' (Christians, 2005: 144). To guarantee confidentiality, researchers have the 'ethical imperative to protect the identity of the participants' (Christians, 2005: 145) and to resist the 'temptation to publicise details about things which were said or done privately' (Cloke *et al.*, 2006: 135). Researchers should also avoid negative consequences for themselves and the people that they study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This implies that researchers should keep away from issues that may be 'potentially upsetting or psychologically damaging for anyone involved in the research project'(Dowling, 2008: 21).

Throughout the research, the participants were treated in a professional and respectful manner. The researcher first SMSed the Rosendal town second home owners and asked if they would be willing to participate voluntarily. They are then informed of the process and goals of the research by sending them each an e-mail. The local stakeholders are also informed of the process before started any interviews. Due to ethical considerations, anonymity of participants is respected and the names of individuals are thus not disclosed in the study. However, some participants' quotes, insights, comments and perceptions were used without mentioning their names.

Questions regarding inequities can be raised on the researcher's status as an Afrikaans speaking researcher, who conducted research in Mautse with predomintly Sotho speaking residents. To counteract the language barrier a research assistant was assisting with the interviewing process of some of the participants. With the second home owners in Rosendal town and the surrounding farming area it was easier to access data, because we share common languages. In some cases, however, I did find myself viewed as an 'outsider', from a sexuality point of view for instance, which frustrated access to certain types of information. In Rosendal town, gay and lesbian groupings are formed and it appeared that they were particularly suspicious, and therefore overly cautious, about sharing information about themselves and other gay groups in town. Considering the extensive time period that was spending in the research field, the researcher nevertheless managed to establish relatively sound and open relationships with the participants.

Many authors have reflected on ethical considerations that can arise from cross-cultural research (Hole, 2007; Muula, 2005; Shklarov, 2007). Throughout the current study, the researcher was aware of the challenges related to cross-language and cross-cultural research and acknowledged the potential influence on both ethics and the content of scientific work (Shklarov, 2007).

Culture cannot be viewed as an external factor but must rather be seen as an integral part of human behaviour. It was therefore aimed to view human acts within their cultural context. The researcher guarded against observation bias and tried to avoid incorrectly interpreting the participants' culture and non-verbal communication. In this regard, the research assistant in the Mautse context was familiar with the cultural background of the participants and also proficient in their home languages. Although the questionnaires were conducted in English, the research assistant translated the questions into the home language of the Mautse participants.

In many studies, anonymity cannot be maintained, especially when data is collected using interviews. The interviewer had direct contact with all participants and was able to recognise each one of them. In this case, respondents must be assured that the information given will be treated with confidentiality. That is, they must be assured that data will only be used for the stated purpose of the research and that no other person will have access to interview data (Bless & Higson-Smith,

2000). Moreover, one should be aware of the particular importance of anonymity and confidentiality in particular types of research such as this case study. The participants in the current study were fully informed about the nature of the research. The procedures and purpose of the study were discussed and they were given the option to voluntarily participate in the study.

Within a qualitative/quantitative research paradigm, my role was to act as a primary instrument for collecting and analysing data. Within this role, on the one hand, the researcher had the opportunity of taking advantage of presented opportunities for gathering and generating meaningful and rich information. On the other hand, my role as human instrument was limited by the fact that humans are subjective beings (Merriam, 2009). A precise representation of what was said or meant is, however, not possible, because researchers do not have direct access to another's experience (Riessman, 2003). It is acknowledge that my interpretations might be filtered through my worldviews and perspectives, and therefore could be subjective, personal and biased. The researcher attempted to address this potential challenge by engaging on a regular basis with her supervisor to limit subjectivity. Throughout the current study, the researcher tried to put her background, views and values aside and focused on attempting to understand the participants' beliefs, thoughts, views and motives.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter explained and justified the research methodology and strategies. The focus was on paradigmatic assumptions, which included the meta-theoretical and the methodological paradigm of the current study. The research process was discussed as were different phases of the study. The use of a case study research design, the selection of participants, and the different data collection techniques were all justified. The process of data analysis and interpretation within the framework of text analysis was also explained. The chapter concludes by explaining the quality criteria and ethical considerations of the current study. Subsequent to this thorough exposition of the theory of this study's research methodology, it is essential to revisit the problem statement and aims of the current study as stated in Chapter One.

The problem that this research study seeks to explore is to give a comprehensive picture of social impacts concerning second home development in a developing

world context. In South Africa, and for that matter globally, second home research focusing on lower income people as second home owners is almost completely absent and therefore requires further research. This cohort will also form part of this investigation.

The primary aim of this research study is to examine the social impacts and perspectives of second home ownership in rural communities in a developing world context. This primary aim can, if only partially, be determined if the following secondary aims are successfully analysed, namely to:

- conduct a literature review with specific focus on international and local debates concerning second home development.
- examine the historical background of the second home phenomenon in developed and developing countries.
- provide an economic and socio-cultural overview of second home tourism impacts on host communities.
- provide an overview of the socio-economic impact of second home development in South Africa, by utilising the town of Rosendal in the Dihlabeng municipality of the Eastern Free State as case study.
- conduct a brief investigation regarding the development history of Rosendal/Mautse with reference to the development of second homes in the area.
- conduct primary research in order to compile a socio-economic profile of second home owners, their associated impacts towards rural residents in Rosendal/Mautse, and
- examine whether the theory of post-productivism is applicable to Rosendal/Mautse.

From the problem statement and aims, the following research question was formulated: Which social impacts and perspectives of second home ownership in rural communities of a developing world context can be identified, and which of these are novel to a developing world environment and link to post-productivist debates?

This primary research question can be subdivided into the following three secondary research questions and these will be discussed in the following three chapters:

- What are the socio-economic profiles of second home owners in the Rosendal/Mautse area with a specific focus placed on reasons why they have become second home owners? (Chapter Five)
- What impacts do second home ownership have on the Rosendal/Mautse area? (With emphasis on socio-economic impacts) (Chapter Six)
- To what extent is Rosendal/Mautse (case study area) aligned with the theory of post-productivist countrysides? (Chapter Seven)

CHAPTER FIVE

A PROFILE OF ROSENDAL AND ITS SECOND HOME OWNERS

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter Four the research methodology and strategies used in this investigation were explained and elaborated on. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a profile of Rosendal and its second home owners. The chapter aims to provide insight into aspects of social perspectives on second home ownership by addressing the first research question (mentioned in Chapter One), namely: what are the socio-economic profiles of second home owners in the Rosendal/Mautse area – and what were the reasons for becoming second property owners?

It will be argued that traditional second home ownership, as it exists in developed countries, is also prevalent in Rosendal/Mautse. More importantly, however, it is argued from the empirical data that a new dimension of second home ownership exists in Rosendal/Mautse, namely ownership by lower income groups. Furthermore, it will be argued that reasons for buying/being allocated a second home, differ.

These contentions are developed through four sections of analysis and discussion. Firstly, the focus is on providing a short history and current context of the town and surrounding area. Thereafter, as main focus, the profile of the second home owners is analysed by addressing personal characteristics such as gender, marital status, home language, profession, academic qualification, personal income and participants' age. In addition to personal characteristics, the focus then shifts to the spatial and economic distribution profiles of second home owners such as their place of permanent residence, distance between second and permanent properties, the year purchased and reasons for buying second properties. Fourthly, the profile of second home owners is further analysed by addressing ownership characteristics under sole or shared ownership, ownership of other recreational properties, whether the property is rented out, market value of the property when bought, current market value, money spent on renovations, location of builders, frequency of visits to Rosendal/Mautse, average number of days visiting in a year and contact with permanent residents. The responses of different groups within this case study, namely White second home owners, Black second home owners, local

White residents, Black local residents and the interaction with each other, are constantly examined throughout the analysis.

Rosendal is located before the four sections of analysis are discussed.

5.2 Rosendal's location

Rosendal/Mautse is accessible by road from Johannesburg and Bloemfontein by means of a two to three hour journey by car of which the distance is 330 and 220 kilometers respectively (see Figure 5.1). The town (see Figure 5.2) is located 44 kilometers from Ficksburg and 32 kilometres from Senekal in the Eastern Free State.

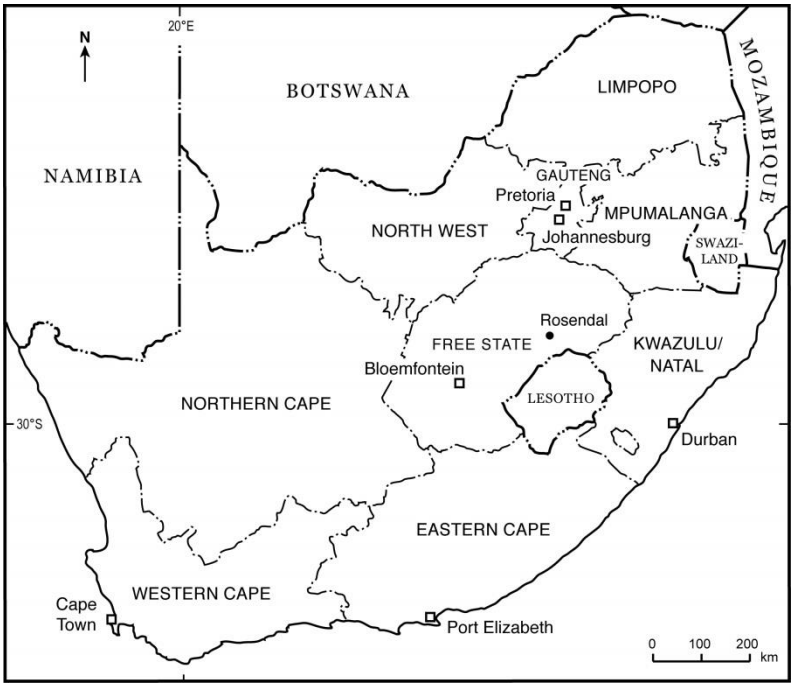

Figure 5.1 Rosendal/Mautse and other main towns/cities in South Africa (Compiled by Job)

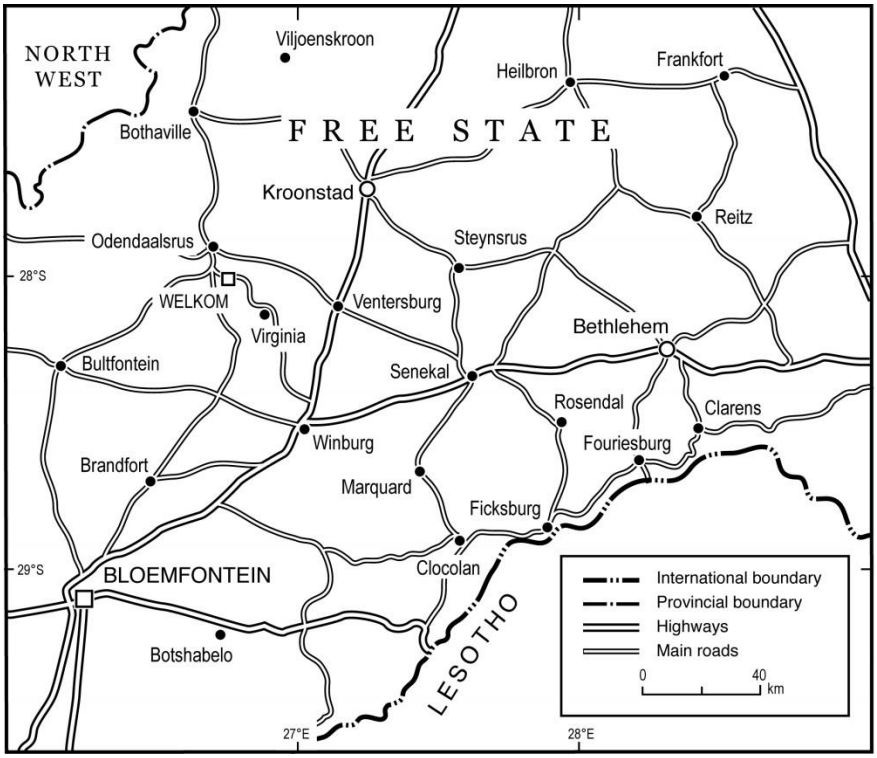

Figure 5.2 Rosendal/Mautse and neigbouring towns (Compiled by Job)

Rosendal/Mautse is situated in a picturesque area characterised by sandstone formations (see Figure 5.3) and traditional houses.

Figure 5.3 Sandstone formations in the Rosendal area[8]

[8] Downloaded from: http://www.pbase.com

The sandstone has been used for many lovely dressed-stone buildings found on the Eastern Highlands, while decoratively painted Sotho houses dot the grasslands of the area (see Figure 5.4). The Eastern Free State is characterised by scenic and

Figure 5.4 Decoratively painted Sotho houses in the Rosendal area[9]

breathtaking natural beauty, and is sometimes mentioned as a lure for second home owners. The following images demonstrate what Halseth (2004) once tried to highlight when he explained the importance of 'cottages at the lake' within Canada's rural recreational countryside. He referred to this importance as 'geographical imagination attached to the landscape' when second home owners enjoy the scenic lake area in Canada's rural countryside (Halseth, 2004: 35).

Figures 5.5 and 5.6 visually display the scenic Rosendal/Mautse area and surrounding farms, and provide some indication as to why urban dwellers are fond of the area. Rosendal complies with the argument that second home owners seek out locations relatively close to their permanent place of residence so as to achieve maximum equilibrium between work and leisure time (Hall & Müller, 2004). This is in line with South African debates (Hoogendoorn, 2010) and those elsewhere in the world, such as Kauppila's (2010) investigation in Finland into the site selection of a second home in the space-time dimension.

[9]Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalinfo.co.za

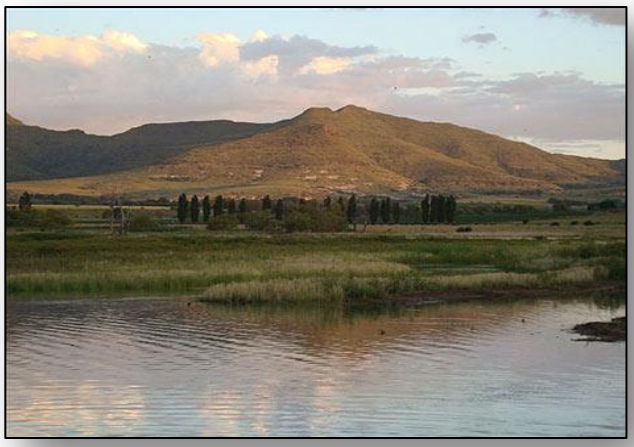

Figure 5.5 Rosendal dam on the outskirts of the town[10]

The idea of owning a weekend refuge for relaxation contributes to the development of second homes within easy access of urban areas (Müller, 2011).

Figure 5.6 Moolmanshoek guest farm near Rosendal[11]

Now that the location has been explained, the first section of analysis – namely the history and current context of Rosendal – will be discussed.

5.3 A short history and current context of Rosendal

During the early 1900s, towns in the Eastern Free State were far apart and churchgoers had to travel far distances (Groenewald, 1963). Senekal and Ficksburg

[10] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalinfo.co.za
[11] Downloaded from: http://www.pbase.com

were roughly 96 km (more or less ten hours on horseback) apart and this made it difficult for people to attend church services (Eloff, 1980). A few men made representations to the Government to establish a new town: "These men played a vital role in establishing Rosendal, namely: Mr JCR Kriek, F Smith, PR Botha, HJP Crause, LJ Fourie, JJ and JW and GHH and SJL van Niekerk" (Groenewald, 1963: 20).

Rosendal was established in 1912 when farm no. 231, Leliefontein, district Ficksburg, was bought from Mr Francis Smith. The original deed is included in Annexure 4 which shows the farm Leliefontein as one of the subdivisions of the original farm Rietvlei. Figure 5.7 shows the first building, brought by ox-wagon from Ficksburg, which was the office of the attorney, D de Villiers: 'For the town commonage, the farms Rosendal, Leliedal, Jacoba and Mamre were bought – all subdivisions of the original farm Rietvlei, from Mr PR Botha' (Groenewald, 1963: 21).

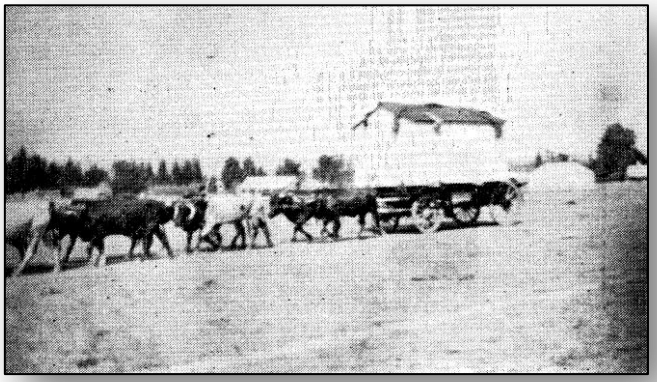

Figure 5.7 First building on its way to Rosendal (Source: Groenewald, 1963)

Of some importance is how the town was named. The land surveyor, Mr JFJ van Rensburg from Winburg, measuring the plots and the attorney, Mr D de Villiers, auctioning the plots argued about the name, and asked Phillip Botha's widow (of the farm Rietvlei) what she thought a good name would be. She said Leliefontein sounded good but her son, Hansie, said Rosendal was better (as a result of the wild roses growing in the valley of the Witteberge). The Town Council later debated the two names and chose Rosendal. It seems, however, that the origin of the name was already mentioned in the diary of Reverend Erasmus Smit, a minister of the Voortrekkers, long before. The following entry was made on the date Vrijdag, 13 Oktober 1837:

> Certain travelers, the brothers Greyling and Marthinus Viljoen etc., had shot some wild animals the previous day, and brought beautiful flowers – some of which we have never seen before – into the laager. I therefore suggested that this place where the governor also camped, be called Bloemendal or Roderozendal because of exceptionally large red rose flowers found in large numbers in this area.
>
> (Groenewald, 1963: 21) (author's translation from Dutch to English)

It could have happened by chance that a young man and a reverend, decades earlier, had thought of the same name. However, one of the late descendants' widows, Mrs Botha, said in an interview (Annexure 5) that the wild flowers are still to be found in the valley, though they do not really look like roses.

During the years following 1838, some Voortrekkers moved further on into Natal (KwaZulu-Natal today), but some people preferred to stay in the valley. The reason for their stay may have been the fertile soil and moderate summer climate (Annexure 5 – interview with Mrs Botha). Mr PR Botha was among those who decided to stay and he became a respected person in the area. Other sources (Mr Dirk Botha who wrote a book about the Botha name and history) speculated that Mr PR Botha (Koos Beesboer) was not a Voortrekker, but came with other families from the Cape Province (the town Aliwal Noord is mentioned). He bought more farms in the valley, some from Jews who had grocery stores in the area (most small towns had Jewish shops – interview with Mrs Botha). Other families also settled there and their descendants farmed in the area. According to Dirk Botha's book, the reason for their stay could have been the fact that it was relatively easy to get farms in the unoccupied interior. Factors like droughts in the Cape Province and cattle losses due to the migration between the Cape and Transgariep (today the area between the Gariep and Caledon rivers) could have contributed to farmers staying in the area permanently (Eloff, 1980), for instance: 'the Crauses, Fouries, Krieks, Van der Merwes and Van Niekerks are well known in the area' (Groenewald, 1963: 23), and even today these families still farm in the area (Annexure 5 – interview with local municipal worker).

Before the 'Groot Trek' (White people moving from the Cape Province to the interior) many hunters and cattle farmers explored the Transgariep area and found a tripartite division of people namely: 'hunter-gatherers (Bushmen or San); the

pastoralists (Khoisan); and the agriculturalists (Bantu-speaking groups)' (Ross, 2008: 8). All the groups hunted and collected wild plant food, but only the Bantu-speaking groups owned cattle, therefore, 'the boundaries between the groups were never impermeable'(Ross, 2008: 8). Du Preez (2004: 17) refers to the Leghoya, also known as the Bakubung – people of the Hippo – who were master stone builders constructed low round corbelled huts in the vicinity of Winburg, Senekal, Rosendal, Bethlehem and Vrede (Evidence of a Leghoya village is found on the researcher's farm). They were wiped out during the Lifaqane, a violent upheaval and restructuring of chiefdoms in Natal and on the Highveld during 1820 and 1830 (Du Preez, 2004: 21). The remaining families and individuals moved to Lesotho and became integrated with the Basotho. A myth long held by White South Africans is that Bantu-speakers arrived in South Afica about the same time as the first Dutch ships sailed into Table Bay in 1652. Evidence from archaeology and linguistics revealed that 'the ancestors of agri-pastoralists originated in the region of modern-day Cameroon, north of the equatorial rain forest. They moved southwards and occupied settlements as far south as present-day KwaZulu-Natal' (Beck, 2000: 17). During the same time a group of French missionaries located themselves in Basotholand and started a missionary station on Moshoeshoe's (King of the Basothos) request (Comaroff, 2013). The French missionaries had a significant influence on the relationship between the Whites and the Basothos in the Transgariep area in the subsequent years, especially with the sympathetic support they rendered to Moshoeshoe (Comaroff, 2013).

Various Basotho Wars took place on the border between the Orange Free State and Basotholand – referred to as the Eastern Free State border belt. The Whites were a buffer between the Basothos and other tribes, especially the Zulus. Most South African Wars were initiated by the desire of both parties' unsaturated desire for more land. On 3 April 1866, after mediation by Wodehouse, 'the agreement of Thaba Bosigo was signed by the Orange Free State and Basotholand' (Eloff, 1980: 24). The clause of agreement stated that Moshoeshoe had to cede the conquered area and accept the new border between the two areas.

During the 1900s, and the years thereafter, the area was sparsely populated by White people, and the farmers tried to defend their cattle and themselves from wild animals. The area was (and remains) 'contested territory', despite the fact that borders had been demarcated between South Africa and Lesotho. The reason

therefore may have been the high poverty rate in Lesotho and the need to satisfy hunger – which was in stark contrast with the South African side where farmers produced a variety of produce (this remains the case today)(Farmer's Weekly, 2013). During these years, the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold in Johannesburg made a major contribution to the prosperity of the central South African interior because farmers now had a ready market and took their produce, such as wheat, butter, wool, hide and other products, to these areas. An enormous market was created and an economic stimulus for the rural farming community in the Eastern Free State evolved (Eloff, 1980). The traders brought back medicine, clothes, weapons and other necessary goods. Cash was also brought back because there was a time when hard cash became very rare, especially during the time of the "Blue Backs" and the "Good Fors," the casual names for paper notes of the 1860s and 70s in the Orange Free State (Groenewald, 1963: 24). In the late twentieth century the Sotho-speaking people in the Eastern Free State were drawn systematically into the labour market and remain dependent upon non-monetarised agricultural production (Comaroff, 2013). The prosperity did not last long, however, because during the South African Wars (especially the Second Freedom War of 1899–1902), Lord Kitchener instructed his troops to 'clear the country systematically of horses, cattle and supplies' as part of the the so-called policy of *verskroeide aarde* or scorched earth (Beak, in Eloff, 1980: 110). The British troops burned down farmhouses and exiled White males to as far as Ceylon (Sri Lanka) where they remained for a couple of years. Their families were taken to concentration camps in the area (interview with Dirk Botha's widow, Pepe). After the War, the surviving wives and children went back to the destroyed farms where they had to start all over again. During 1961 South Africa, which had been a British colony, became an independent Republic. A moderate recovery took place in the agricultural sector in the years thereafter when the government coordinated activities and provided funding and mentoring through different state departments.

As the years passed (1970s -1990s), the Eastern (Orange) Free State became an area where farmers farmed with a variety of products including cattle, sheep, corn, maize and fruit. The Ficksburg area is, and has been for many decades, the biggest cherry producing area in the country. Rosendal did not grow as quickly as other towns in the region, such as Ficksburg and Senekal, and remained a small town, probably because of the absence of a railway line. The cheese factory was a welcome

economic injection and contributed to the town's prosperity in the 1950s and 60s. However, following the closing down of the cheese factory (due to economic restructuring), many people left the town to look for jobs elsewhere. Another reason for mobility is probably the inadequate supply of enough clean water, which remains a big challenge for the area. However, the government gave approval (during October 2011) to build a new dam which will provide Rosendal and the surrounding towns with water (interview with construction engineer – Annexure 5). It was noted that: 'The dam will also provide water for vegetable irrigation projects, funded by the Government and earmarked for west of Mautse. Recreation facilities will also be part of the development initiatives of Rosendal/Mautse'.

For years after the closing down of the cheese factory, the town became a retirement town for farmers of the area (interview with an elderly resident). Apart from Rosendal's role as a retirement centre, the servicing of the farming sector comprised its main economic purpose. A well-known artist, Chris van Niekerk, and his friends rediscovered Rosendal by chance in the late 1990s – and they put the town on the so-called 'map' again. They saw massive opportunities and bought a few cheap properties. More of these artists and their friends came to Rosendal as it was cheaper for them to settle there than in another popular small village in the Eastern Free State, namely Clarens. This creative class sought low cost alternatives to the high costs of working from the cities (cf. Ingle, 2010). These people prefer the gravel roads (see Figure 5.8) and unspoilt environment, and as one interviewee claimed: 'This place will never become a second Clarens'.

Figure 5.8 Gravel roads in Rosendal with church in the background[12]

Moreover, business people also explored other opportunities in the area, for example: available farms in the surrounding area were developed for leisure consumption purposes – a type of haven farm for themselves. Factors like uneconomic farming units owing to shrinking farm sizes, and undiscerning farming practices which led to overgrazing and erosion attracted potential investors to do something different with the land (cf. Atkinson, 2007). Guest farms with 4x4 and hiking trail routes, bird watching, or game farming became very popular alternatives to explore; as one interviewee (a medical doctor from a city) noted: 'It was a heart'sdesire for me since childhood to own a piece of land in this area, because the beautiful sandstone formations make the area so beautiful. It is so wonderful to sit on the 'stoep' and see my cattle grazing in the field.'

Commercially, only five shops are currently in operation in Rosendal. Figure 5.9 is an example of one of these shops, namely a local coffee shop in Rosendal. The previously mentioned well-known artist, Chris van Niekerk, re-located to Rosendal in 2006 and changed the space into an antique and coffee store/shop combined with

[12] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalinfo.co.za

Figure 5.9 Rosa's Coffee Shop in Rosendal (Source: Hay)

a small theatre area. He and his artist friends have since brought well-known theatre productions to the town. Meerkatkolonie in Figure 5.10 is another example of a shop, specifically an art gallery belonging to a well-known sculptor/artist, Dahla Hulme, who has already held international exhibitions of her work.

Figure 5.10 Meerkatkolonie (Source: Hay)

The local Co-operative services the farmers of the area. Unfortunately, some commercial farmers have to travel to nearby Ficksburg or Senekal for fertiliser and other more specialised products needed during the planting season. Agricultural activities range from intensive crop production and mixed farming of products such as maize, sunflowers, wheat, soya and sorghum to cattle ranching and sheep farming. Some owners engage in dairy farming. The grass types in the Eastern Free State are such that farmers have to plant additional grazing during winter months for their cattle and provide supplements for the animals. Game farming has also grown over the years, and today it is a viable industry with great economic potential.

The above discussion on the historical and current context of Rosendal mainly reflects the former-White-area of Rosendal as written historical versions of the history of Mautse are scarce.

The situation across the main road linking Senekal and Ficksburg – in the former-Black township of Mautse – differs radically from Rosendal town in terms of historical, social and economic profiles. As mentioned earlier, the hunter gatherers (Bushmen or San) comprised the first inhabitants in the Eastern Free State where smaller nomadic pastoralists (Khoisan) and the Leghoya (mentioned earlier) lived in the mountaineous areas of Ficksburg and Rosendal (Ross, 2008). Some of South Africa's most valued San rock art is found in the regions around Ficksburg, Bethlehem and Ladybrand. Agriculturalists (Bantu-speaking groups) from the Northern and Eastern parts of Southern Africa moved southwards. The Northern and Eastern groups included Zulu, Mapolane, Baphuti, Bakwena, Barolong and Bataung tribes (Beck, 2000: 17). The Bakwena tribe divided into five groups, with the Basotho tribe division locating themselves in the Ficksburg area (Eloff, 1980). Nowadays the late descendants of the Basothos are still to be found in these Eastern parts of the Free State, including Mautse. Figure 5.11 shows one of the areas where some of the late descendants of the Basothos (Sothos) still live today.

Figure 5.11 Former black group area in the Eastern Free State[13]

In terms of the current context of Mautse, the overwhelming impression is that an average of 2000 out of the 8000 people is unemployed (interview with municipal worker). A factor such as minimum wages enforced by law (see minimum wages,

[13] Downloaded from: http://www.pbase.com

2013) could have contributed to this situation. The announcement, earlier in 2013, of the new minimum wage came after a wave of violent and dramatic strikes by farmworkers based in the Western Cape. Farmworkers have been fighting for a minimum wage of at least R150.00 a day. The new minimum wages fall short of this target, however, at only R105.00 a day or R11.66 per hour (see minimum wages, 2013). Another reason for the high unemployment rate in Rosendal/Mautse is the losses suffered by farmers owing to droughts in the past (interview with local farmer). During the past 20–30 years most farmers laid off redundant workers (cf. Atkinson, 2007). An interviewee (farm owner in the area) noted:

> I remembered the time (I was still a farm boy then) when many male and female workers worked on the farm and in and around the farm house. Every farmworker's wife was allocated a small piece of work, either washing or ironing. Everyone got a chance – one week the one group and the other week the other group and so on.

This argument is in line with Atkinson's (2007) investigation in Philippolis, in the southern Free State, under emergent farmers who use municipal commonage. She argues that increasing numbers of farmers have mechanised their farms by using ever larger tractors and implements rather than smaller tractors used in the past, to replace workers. This situation has led to massive unemployment and many jobless people move to towns and live in terrible conditions (see Atkinson, 2007). These people need to gain access to grazing land and small arable garden areas in order to supplement their income and to enhance household food security (Atkinson *et al*., 2006). In the years following 1994, the Government gave many plots to disadvantaged people in South Africa. The year 1994 is the birth of democracy in South Africa which implies the first general elections that incorporated everybody. The Dihlabeng municipality, of which Mautse is a part, recently received a thousand stands for free. However, in most cases, the poorest people and most needy residents did not receive the plots, as one interviewee reported: 'If you knew someone in the municipality or members on the Council Board, you received a free plot/stand'(interview with municipal worker). She further noted that it was 'first come, first served!' Therefore, many second home owners in Mautse got hold of property, through favours and the help of people in higher ranking positions (interview with businessman in Mautse).

In Mautse a few spaza shops and four taverns (Waya-Waya-shebeen is very popular amongst tourists) are in operation. Spaza shops provide a service to the residents in the immediate vicinity of the shop (Refer to Figure 5.12). Spaza shops are open long hours and the businesses serve residents throughout the day. Historically, many spaza shops began as house shops that sold a few items, gradually evolving and changing form as the business grew in size.

Figure 5.12 Local spaza shop in Mautse (Source: Hay)

While Rosendal might earlier have been a small, quiet retirement town, it has increasingly become a site of intensive leisure consumption involving a transient community of second home owners. It is because of their expanding numbers relative to other permanent residents. In the surrounding areas of Rosendal at least ten second home farmers could be identified out of a possible 36 farmers. In Mautse, however, owing to the high unemployment rate, a survivalist atmosphere exists where people supplement their income with small arable garden areas and free ranging cattle. The question then arises as to who the second home owners of Rosendal town, surrounding farm areas and Mautse township are, why they have invested in the area, and how they use the properties they have purchased or have been allocated. An examination of the financial implications for second home owners, and how these owners engage with the local residents and the area, is also presented. A final issue is how this study area links with other research in similar areas in South Africa, for example Clarens, which is also situated in the Eastern Free State.

The variability in the types of accommodation and housing styles of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse are first visibly displayed to provide a clear understanding of the diversity in second home accommodation in the study area.

5.4 Diversity of second home housing styles

The following images reflect a range of second homes/properties in the case study area. The first image (Figure 5.13) is of a Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) house belonging to a second home owner in Mautse.

Figure 5.13 RDP house with tin structures next to it (Source: Hay)

The government built RDP houses for people without fixed structure houses. Especially farmworkers use RDP houses on a temporary basis, mostly during weekends or month ends, or for their children to stay in during the school term to attend school in Mautse or Rosendal. Some of these houses are owned by more than one family and are occupied by their extended families. Grandparents are often looking after grandchildren while the owner of the house works in a city or on a farm.

Many of the RDP houses were poorly built with cheap materials and are very small. Most people added onto these houses either by using mud or tin structures (see Figure 5.14) at the back of the house. Others built tin or zinc structures (see Figure 5.15) and extended them with more tin or wood –- the so-called 'shack' or informal dwelling.

Figure 5.14 Second homes with extensions in Mautse (Source: Hay)

Most second home owners and residents in Mautse received a free plot/stand from the government and used any available materials to build temporary shelters.

Figure 5.15 Second home informal dwellings in Mautse (Source: Hay)

Figure 5.16 shows a newly built 'off-the-grid' second home, belonging to a owner in Rosendal, with modern building materials and almost no formal garden, except for a backyard organic garden. The owner rents out his house on a regular basis. Owing to his busy work schedule, he seldom visits Rosendal.

Figure 5.16 Newly built 'off-the-grid' house in Rosendal town (Source: Hay)

Figure 5.17 is a house belonging to four owners. They renovated the old house and visit Rosendal mostly during holidays as their primary residence is in Durban which is probably too far away for weekend trips.

Figure 5.17 Joint second property ownership in Rosendal town (Source: Hay)

Figure 5.18 is a farm in the Rosendal area. The owner's primary residence is in Gauteng. She leases the farmland and visits the farm house during weekends or holidays for leisure purposes.

Figure 5.18 Second property ownership (farm)[14]

The last image is a new, modern, steel-framed type of house (belonging to a Rosendal town owner) which has become fashionable in Rosendal of late (see Figure 5. 19). To date only three of these modern steel-framed houses have been built in Rosendal.

[14] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalinfo.co.za

Figure 5.19 An example of a steel-frame house in Rosendal (Source: Visser)

An in-depth discussion now follows on who the second home owners of Rosendal/Mautse are. An examination of their personal characteristics is initially presented.

5.5 The personal characteristics of second home owners in Rosendal area

This section provides an outline of the personal characteristics of the second home owners in the study area, specifically profession, gender, marital status, home language, academic qualifications, personal annual income and participants' ages. The study area as a whole is very small and hence requires very high levels of detail. As indicated and discussed in Chapter Four, the universum of this study for Rosendal town is 37 second home owners (of which 27 participated) out of 150 properties with built structures; 10 second home farm owners (of which 7 participated) out of approximately 36 Rosendal farm owners. Both these groups represent 46% of the total participants in the investigation. The 40 Mautse participants represent 54% of the total second home participants. The universum for the Mautse participants is difficult to determine because the municipality could not assist with the calculation due to the unstructured and uncontrolled management of the plots. However, after interviews with different stakeholders, an approximate number of 100 second home owners out of the approximately 8000 residents were eventually located. All second home participants in Rosendal town (formerly a White area) are White, while in Mautse township (the former Black local authority) all participants are Black. This study area profile with its clear separation of race and location therefore does not link up with the main desegregation narrative of the 'post-apartheid' era (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010).

Most of the second home participants are male (69%) and married (46%). The languages spoken vary from Sotho (49%), Afrikaans (37%) and English (15%)(see Table 5.1). Given that Mautse consists of roughly 8000 residents and Rosendal town consists of about 150 built properties, this is in line with the language profile of the area (interview with municipal worker – Annexure 5). The demographic profile of second home owners of other studies done in South Africa (Visser, 2006; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010; Hoogendoorn, 2010), however, differs from the Rosendal area. The survey participants in those studies were predominantly White English-speaking South Africans (Hoogendoorn, 2010). However, the townships and surrounding areas were not included in their analyses, as various towns were focused upon. This thesis makes a critical addition to the South African second home discourse by including the predominantly Sotho cohort of second home owners. The current Rosendal/Mautse case study contrasts to the Hoogendoorn and Visser studies because second home owners from all walks of life were found in Mautse, Rosendal and surrounding farms.

This phenomenon of second home owners in a rural settlement like Mautse can, in part, be ascribed to the fact that the government provided free plots to previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa after 1994 (birth of democracy in South Africa). The Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) was a socio-economic policy framework implemented by the ANC government with the aim to address the immense socio-economic problems brought about by the consequences of the struggle against its predecessors under apartheid. Specifically, the plan set its sights on alleviating poverty and addressing the massive shortfalls in housing and social services across the country—something that the document acknowledged would rely upon a stronger macroeconomic environment. The RDP aimed to link growth, development, reconstruction, redistribution and reconciliation into a 'unified program', held together by a broad infrastructural programme that would focus on creating and enhancing existing services in the electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training sectors (RDP, 2013). According to the Government, all subsidy houses were subject to an eight-year sale restriction provision and property may be taken back without any compensation if this restriction was not adhered to. The beneficiaries that were removed may then re-apply for a subsidy house if they satisfy the qualification criteria (RDP, 2013) Contrary to the spirit of the sale restriction, most houses, in some areas virtually all,

have illegal tenant shacks in the yard and properties have been unlawfully sold, let or developed (interview with municipal worker). Second property ownership has been facilitated in recent years by the Provincial Government which allocated 1000 stands/plots to previously disadvantaged groups in this settlement (interview with municipal worker). Some disadvantaged people who live elsewhere obtained an RDP house or stand in Mautse and therefore qualify as second property owners. This is in line with Marjavaara's (2008: 8) definition of a second home as a 'detached, non-mobile, privately owned, single/family dwelling for recreational and secondary use'.

Another personal characteristic concerning the profile of second home owners is that a large cohort (50%) of the second home participants indicated that they have Grade 12 or less, together with annual earnings of less than R100 000 (51%) – this mainly represents the owners in Mautse (54% of the participants). This indicates that people without higher education qualifications and higher levels of disposable income can also own or develop a second home (see Table 5.1).

A further personal characteristic is the varied occupational background of the participants (see Table 5.1). Similar findings regarding the broad spectrum of occupations were reported more than a decade ago by Chaplin (2001) with her study in France under British second home owners, where occupational and educational backgrounds vary from professional and managerial classes to workers in factories. Second home ownership is by no means exclusively for the professional or elite classes. This Rosendal/Mautse investigation shows that the occupations vary, comprising the farmworker, metal worker, bricklayer, construction worker, receptionist, interior designer, architect, medical doctor, lecturer, journalist, and even to professions such as film producer, executive chef and engineer (see Table 5.1). This study is therefore substantially different from previous studies done in South Africa because lower income second home owners, with varied occupational backgrounds, are included in the investigation. This leads to different perspectives on second home ownership.

With regard to the familial status and ages of the second home household members, it is evident that these households are predominantly established family units mainly comprising of adults between 30 and 50 years of age (42%) (see Table 5.1). This claim corresponds with Jansson and Müller's (2003) investigation in northern

Finland and Sweden where the typical age for acquisition of a second home is in the 40s when children are teenagers with just a few years remaining to stay in the parents' home. In this regard Lundmark and Marjavaara (2013: 283) refer to the 'family life-stage perspective' where ambiguous relationships exist between the owners and their second homes. In their investigation some second home owners express 'negative experiences that might cause the owner inner conclict when deciding between going to the second home and going somewhere else on holiday'. Other international debates focus on the changes in the family structure due to death of a spouse, a divorce or where family inherited their properties, which thus represent a significant place for family heritage (Jansson & Müller, 2003). In France for instance, it is commonplace for city dwellers to inherit rural homes from grandparents (Clout, 2005). Sometimes the dwelling is located inconveniently in relation to the primary residence and the new owners feel reluctant about their ownership (Lundmark & Marjavaara, 2013).

Table 5.1: Personal characteristics of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse area (N = 74: Mautse – 40; Rosendal – 27; Farms – 7)

		N	%
Profession	Professional	38	51.4
	Managerial and administrative	8	10.8
	Clerical	1	1.4
	Artisans and production workers	8	10.8
	Workers in transport, information and telecommunication technology	4	5.4
	Farming/forestry/fisheries	1	1.4
	Pensioner	1	1.4
	Farmworkers/domestic workers/informal workers/ mine workers	9	12.2
	Self employed	2	2.7
	Sport, recreation and culture related workers	1	1.4
	Authors, journalists and linguists	1	1.4
Gender	Male	51	68.9
	Female	22	29.7
	Did not respond	1	1.4
Marital Status			
	Married	34	45.9
	Single	21	28.4
	Cohabiting	11	14.9
	Divorced	7	9.5
	Separated	1	1.4
Home Language			
	Afrikaans	27	36.5
	South Sotho	36	48.6
	English	11	14.9
Academic Qualifications			
	Less than Grade 12	29	39.2
	Grade 12	8	10.8
	Diploma	8	10.8
	Bachelor's Degree	10	13.5
	Honours Degree	5	6.8
	Master's Degree	10	13.5
	Doctoral Degree	2	2.7
	Other	2	2.7
Personal Annual Income			
	<R100 000	38	51.4
	R100 001 – R200 000	5	6.8
	R200 001 – R300 000	2	2.7
	R300 001 – R400 000	5	6.8
	R400 001 – R600 000	5	6.8
	R600 001 – R1 000 000	7	9.5
	R1 000 001 – R2 000 000	6	8.1
	>R2 000 000	2	2.7
Ages of household members of participants			
	<6	2	2.7
	7-12	1	1.4
	13-18	1	1.4
	19-30	10	13.5
	31-40	14	18.9
	41-50	17	23
	51-60	6	8.1
	>60	8	10.8
	Did not respond	15	20.3

However, a substantial proportion of second home owners (32%) in this investigation actually purchased a property for familial connections (see Table 5.2), because of family who also own a property in town or surrounding area.

To conclude, some personal characteristics of the participants in the Rosendal/Mautse case study differ from previous investigations. A critical point to make is that those without higher education qualifications and higher levels of disposable income can also own or develop a second home. Furthermore, some second home owners have strong familial connections and feel attached to the area owing to the fact that their family also own(ed) a property in town or surrounding area.

5.6 Spatial and economic distribution profile of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse

This section provides a profile of the spatial and economic distribution of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse. The analysis focuses on place of permanent residence, distance between second and permanent properties, year purchased and reasons for buying the second property.

It is generally argued that second home owners select properties relatively close to their permanent place of residence so that they can balance the work and leisure time effectively (Chaplin, 2001). Kauppila's (2010) investigation in Finland, into site selection of a second home in the space-time dimension, further substantiates the above argument whereby people choose localities within short distance of the permanent residence. This claim corresponds with the Rosendal/Mautse case study where 51% of the second home owners indicated that they are within 300–400km of Rosendal/Mautse and also indicated their primary place of residence (58%) as Gauteng (Table 5.2). Given that Johannesburg is roughly a three-hour drive away from Rosendal, it is ideally located for the development of second homes by rich and poor people intended for use over weekends and during holiday periods. Similar findings were also reported from earlier South African studies (Visser, 2004; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004). Clarens, also located in the Eastern Free State, is also ideally located for the development of second homes, because it is about a 'three-hour drive from Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Durban' (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004: 144).

Another derivation according to distance between permanent place of residence and second property is that a substantial number of participants (19%) indicated that they are within 100km from Rosendal/Mautse. These participants are from the surrounding area – working on farms during the week – and retreat to their second

homes over weekends. Their extended families – parents and children/sister(s) with children/brother's wife/wives with children – live in RDP houses or informal dwellings which these farmworkers renovate during weekends or, more often, during month-end after receiving their salaries. In most cases, the grandparent(s) are looking after their grandchildren and the owner of the house is working on adjacent farms or in the city (interview with farmworker).

A further spatial and economic characteristic is the varying purchase dates of second homes in Rosendal town. Most second home owners (58%) bought or received their properties before 2006. The rest of the second home owners (38%) bought or received their properties after 2006 (see Table 5.2). Four percent did not respond regarding the year of purchase. It is evident from the data collected that second home developments only became an important factor influencing the environment of the area, especially Mautse, since the demise of apartheid in 1994. To a lesser extent this is applicable to the second home owners in Rosendal as well as the second home farmers; only 15 (20.3%) second home owner participants bought or received their properties prior to 1995.

A last point concerning the spatial and economic characteristics is that 35% of the participants indicated that they bought the property for its aesthetic value and to escape from city life (Table 5.2). This percentage is directly aligned with the percentage of the former-White second home owners from Rosendal town and second home farmers (27/74 participants = 36%). This is in line with Florida's study (2010: 86) which refers to the 'natural beauty, the aesthetic context and the openness of the area' as a reason for people to develop a solid emotional attachment to a specific place. Similar findings from Hoogendoorn's study (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010: 553) are reported which include motivating factors such as 'the natural beauty of the surrounding area, the diversity of leisure activities and the promise of a lifestyle associated with the countryside'. Müller (1999) and Heins (2004) have discussed the 'cult of nostalgia' and the 'rural idyll' that 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. These views are supported by an investigation done by Flognfeldt (2004: 234) in Norway where most farmers have an additional summer farm in the mountains which 'provides opportunities for the establishment of

mountain lodges that compete with the informal accommodation provision of the summer farms'.

Table 5.2: The spatial and economic distribution of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse area (N = 74)

		N	%
Place of permanent residence	Free State	24	32.4
	Gauteng	43	58.1
	North West	3	4.1
	Eastern Cape	2	2.7
	KwaZulu Natal	1	1.4
	Mpumalanga	1	1.4
Distance between second and permanent property			
	<100 km	14	18.9
	101 – 200 km	3	4.1
	201 – 300 km	11	14.9
	301 – 400 km	38	51.4
	401 – 500 km	1	1.4
	501 – 600 km	1	1.4
	>600 km	4	5.4
	Did not respond	2	2.7
Year purchased			
	< 1985	3	4.1
	1986 – 1990	6	8.1
	1991 – 1995	6	8.1
	1996 – 2000	11	14.9
	2001 – 2005	17	23.0
	2006 – 2010	28	37.8
	Did not respond	3	4.1
Reason for buying second property			
	For children to go to school	5	6.8
	To retire	3	4.1
	Less crime	2	2.7
	Didn't buy it – inherited	2	2.7
	Received the property/from municipality/RDP	3	4.1
	Love the rural area/quiet/space/scenery/clean air	12	16.2
	Investment/property fairly cheap	1	1.4
	Weekend retreat/escape/get out of city	14	18.9
	Parents/family live here/where I grew up	24	32.4
	Other	8	10.8

To substantiate the claim of aesthetic value and escape from the city life as main reason for purchasing a second home, the following images (See Figure 5.20 – 25) will show the aesthetic beauty of Rosendal.

Figure 5.20 Rosendal farming area[15]

Figure 5.21 Witteberge and 'kosmos' flowers[16]

[15] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com
[16] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com

Figure 5.22 Winter season – snow on the mountains[17]

Figure 5.23 Misty cold mornings at the dam on the outskirts of Rosendal town[18]

[17] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com
[18] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com

Figure 5.24 A farmstead near Rosendal town[19]

Figure 5.25 Sunflower field with the Witteberge in the distance[20]

A further reason for purchasing property, as indicated by the participants, is family relations/ties (32%) (Table 5.2). This claim relates to Masetle's findings (Hoogendoorn, 2011) which indicate that family relations are the most important reason for buying a second home in a developing world context. Other reasons participants gave vary, including opportunity, less crime in rural areas, near to the school for their children, to retirement and having received RDP houses from the Government. Chapter Six will address the two main mentioned reasons for purchasing/obtaining a second property in Rosendal/Mautse, namely escape from city life and escape to family life.

[19] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com
[20] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com

5.7 Ownership characteristics of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse

This section provides an outline of the ownership characteristics of the second home owners in the case study area. Ownership characteristics such as sole or shared ownership, ownership of other recreational properties elsewhere in the country, property that is rented out, the current and initial market value of properties, money spent on renovations, location of builders, frequency of visits to Rosendal/Mautse, average number of days visited in a year, and contact with permanent residents will be addressed in this section.

As seen in Table 5.3, the majority of the participants (68%) are sole owners of their second homes, while the minority (32%) shares ownership with relatives, business associates and a life partner/wife (cf. Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010). This view is supported by other investigations in, for instance, Sweden where almost 29% of second home ownership is acquired through family transactions or inheritance (Jansson & Müller, 2004). Most of the respondents (74%) indicated that they have a primary property – and the second property in the Rosendal area, while the other 20% have further properties in the Free State (4%), Western Cape (3%), KwaZulu-Natal (4%) and Mpumalanga (4%), while 6% did not respond (see Table 5.3).

Another ownership characteristic is the initial market value of second home properties. Sixty-one percent of the participants (both in Mautse and Rosendal town) bought their second homes for under R100 000. This claim is not surprising; most participants, especially the participants in formerly White Rosendal, indicated that the properties were very cheap in the 1990s (refer to Table 5.2). Moreover, most property values of undeveloped plots stagnated and little fluctuation has taken place in recent years. Most of these owners hope for a dramatic increase in property prices, however the property boom era of the late 1990s and first part of the 2000s has not re-materialised. On the other side of the road at Mautse, a second property owner said, 'Most second home owners got plots/stands for free, the so-called RDP plots or houses', which most Mautse residents benefited from. A probable observation therefore is that, before 1994, second home owners in Mautse did not exist or were few in number. This thesis makes a critical addition to the South African second home discourse by including this cohort of second home owners.

Another derivation concerning initial market value of second homes is that 20% have bought their properties for between R100 001 and R300 000 (Table 5.3). These

higher prices may have been a result of original owners beginning to sell their properties for higher prices (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004). Hoogendoorn and Visser, in the Clarens case study, state that property prices in 2004 typically ranged from R500 000 to R1 million. Similar findings are recorded in other South African studies (Hoogendoorn, 2010; Baker & Mearns, 2006).

The current value of most of the second homes, especially in Mautse, is under R100 000. The reason for this is that lower income earners, especially in Mautse, spend little money on renovations. This, coupled with the worldwide economic recession and decreased property values since the high of 2009 (properties reached skyrocket prices), could explain the relatively lower current value of these properties. Nevertheless, the current value of some of the second homes in the former White area is in stark contrast with Mautse and range from R100 000 to R5.9 million (see Table 5.4). The reason for this is that second home farms are included in the analysis of the data, where the current value of farmland in the area is more or less R6500 per hectare. The function of farms as second homes is reinforced by the fact that children left the farm for the cities for education or work and later returned to rediscover the potential of the farm as a holiday/weekend retreat (cf. Flognfeldt, 2004).

The rise in property prices over recent years is demonstrated in table 5.4 below. It has to be pointed out that these property values are from the former White area and farms, and show a gradual increase in property prices over time – although stagnation can be deduced in the figures from 2010 up to the present. The main observation here is that the concequences of the worldwide recession and the concomitant frequency with which second homes can be visited, may explain the stagnation of property prices of late.

Seventy-seven percent of the second home owners spend less than R50 000 per year on renovations. There is also a difference in spending patterns concerning renovations between Rosendal town, second home farms and Mautse. The second home owners in Rosendal town spend more on renovations while the poorer participants spend less on renovations and generally do the renovations themselves. Some second home farmers indicated that their renovations are primarily maintenance related: repairing fences is a priority as cattle lost owing to weak fencing can cost them greatly. Forty-one percent of second home owners indicated

they used local builders in Rosendal and Mautse (Table 5.5) (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). A local builder said: 'I know all my clients' preferences, because I was also a second home owner once'. He mentioned that he gave them advice and, in this way, gradually became ingratiated with them.

Table 5.3: Ownership Characteristics of Second Home owners in Rosendal/Mautse (N = 74)

		N	%
Sole owner	Yes	50	67.6
	No	24	32.4
Shared ownership			
	Friends	2	2.7
	Relatives	11	14.9
	Timeshare	1	1.4
	Trust	3	4.1
	Other	7	9.5
	Explain other:		
	Business partner	1	1.4
	Ex-partner	1	1.4
	Life partner	2	2.7
	Wife	3	4.1
Own other recreational properties			
	Yes	15	20.3
	No	55	74.3
	Did not respond	4	5.4
Where			
	Free State	3	4.1
	Western Cape	2	2.7
	KwaZulu Natal	3	4.1
	Mpumalanga	3	4.1
Property rented out	Yes	9	12.2
	No	64	86.5
	Did not respond	1	1.4
Market value of property when bought			
	< R100 000	45	60.8
	R100 001 – R200 000	6	8.1
	R200 001 – R300 000	9	12.2
	R300 001 – R400 000	1	1.4
	R400 001 – R500 000	3	4.1
	R500 001 – R800 000	2	2.7
	R800 001 – R900 000	2	2.7
	R1000 001 – R2000 000	2	2.7
	>R2000 000	1	1.4
	Did not respond	3	4.1

A recently introduced concept – the 'steel-frame' type of house, also called 'IniZio' – became popular in the former White area and is in stark contrast with the sandstone houses in town. Figure 5.26 illustrates an example of an 'IniZio' house in Rosendal. The 'IniZio' houses are cost-effective and are selling from R325 000 for a 40 square/meter one bedroom unit (IniZio, 2013). A great benefit is that they are more eco-friendly and energy efficient. However, the impact thereof is not yet known in terms of whether it will lead to a change in architectural building material and styles used in this predominately sandstone Eastern Free State town.

Table 5.4: Summary of second property prices in Rosendal town from 1987–2010

Plot number	Year	Previous value	Current value
366	1987	13 000	1 350 000
464	1996	25 000	650 000
22	1996	3 000	900 000
110	1997	100 000	600 000
103	2000	25 000	200 000
farm	2000	250 000	-
farm	2000	1 050 000	5 000 000
485	2001	20 000	550 000
farm	2001	246 000	2 100 000
102	2002	70 000	900 000
388	2003	4 500	100 000
farm	2003	1 300 000	3 600 000
502	2004	120 000	400 000
76	2005	280 000	600 000
490	2005	360 000	1 000 000
315	2005	150 000	600 000
farm	2005	2 974 803	5 973 500
287	2006	300 000	650 000
39	2006	280 000	490 000
376	2006	280 000	600 000
302	2006	250 000	320 000
390	2006	150 000	300 000
466	2006	280 000	600 000
303	2006	250 000	320 000
452	2007	180 000	1 500 000
50	2007	280 000	480 000
454	2008	300 000	500 000
55	2008	500 000	900 000
100	2008	195 000	250 000
191	2008	485 000	600 000
85	2010	500 000	1 300 000
577	2010	750 000	750 000
442	2010	720 000	720 000
146	2010	850 000	850 000

Table 5.5 Money spent by second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse (N = 74)

		N	%
Current market value			
	<R 100 000	33	44.6
	R 100 001 – R 200 000	1	1.4
	R 200 001 – R 300 000	3	4.1
	R 300 001 – R 400 000	2	2.7
	R 400 001 – R 500 000	3	4.1
	R 500 001 – R 600 000	6	8.1
	R 600 001 – R 700 000	1	1.4
	R 700 001 – R 800 000	2	2.7
	R 800 001 – R 900 000	4	5.4
	R 900 001 – R1 000 000	1	1.4
	R1 000 001 – R2 000 000	3	4.1
	>R2000 000	4	5.4
	Did not respond	11	14.9
Money spent on renovations per year			
	<R 1000	5	6.8
	R 1 001 – R 50 000	45	60.8
	R 50 001 – R100 000	5	6.8
	R100 001 – R150 000	2	2.7
	R150 001 – R200 000	2	2.7
	R200 001 – R250 000	1	1.4
	>R250 000	5	6.8
	Did not respond	9	12.2
Location of builders			
	Rosendal/Mautse	30	40.5
	Ficksburg	13	17.6
	Bethlehem	9	12.2
	Senekal	2	2.7
	Fouriesburg	1	1.4
	Self/Private/Owner built	6	8.1
	Other	13	17.6

Figure 5.26 A steel-frame house in Rosendal (Source: Visser)

Another issue concerning ownership characteristics is in terms of the temporality of second home use. It was found that owners mostly reside in Rosendal during the Christmas season (December/January) and Easter holidays (March/April), and to a

lesser extent during the June and July winter school recess (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). For the remainder of the year, 'visits are structured by work and school commitments, with weekends being taken often once a month (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004: 146), especially by the farmworkers from the farming community.

The frequency of visits varies, but most of the second home owners visit Rosendal once every two to six months per year (38%) (Between one and five days per visit – Table 5.7), while 34% come monthly. Many of the latter participants, mostly Black second home owners, visit their family at month-end in Mautse and provide their family, grandparents or children, with money and food from the farm which could contribute to possible spending patterns by second home owners. This is not so predictable in Rosendal town and the surrounding farms, where visits are not linked to month-ends – and spending thus continues throughout the month. According to the frequency of visits, a businessman from Mautse indicated that more and more overseas tourists visit the township, especially American tourists who enjoy their traditional food and beer as well as the cultural experience.

The frequency of visits is also influenced by other factors. Some Mautse second home owners, for example, carry on with the building process of their homes, either the walls or roofs of their houses, depending on the amount of money available (Table 5.6). The second home farmers appear to visit their farms more often because most of them are looking after their cattle themselves or are engaging in other farming activities. Similar findings are reported from Flognfeldt's (2004, in Hall & Müller, 2004: 234) investigation in Norway where second home farmers visited more often because these summer farms 'were multipurpose production areas during the summer season – milking and cheese-making, wild berry picking, trout fishing and the providing of accommodation to hikers'. In some cases, these second home farmers make use of a farm manager. One farmer has a dairy and therefore visits more often as this type of farming is labour-intensive.

Table 5.6: Second home owners' visitation frequency

Frequency of visit		
	N	%
Daily	1	1.4
Weekly	4	5.4
Bi-weekly	14	18.9
Monthly	25	33.8
2–6 months	28	37.8
Less often than once a year	2	2.7
Total	74	100.0

As can be seen in Table 5.7, which indicates the average number of days visited in a year, most second home owners indicated that they visit between one to five days at a time, usually from the week running up to Christmas through to the first week of January, or during any given five days during the festive period and then shorter weekends during the year.

Table 5.7: Average number of days visited in a Year

Average number of days visited in a year		
	N	%
1–5	51	68.9
6–10	7	9.5
11–15	6	8.1
16–20	4	5.4
21–25	1	1.4
26–30	1	1.4
>30	2	2.7
Did not respond	2	2.7
Total	74	100.0

Hoogendoorn (2010) confirms that second homes may consistently be frequented over many years and are often used in variable ways for weekends and short break holidays, longer holidays, and seasonal migration. The pattern of Mautse second home owners is that they seem to frequent their homes over month-end weekends and then to spend longer time with family during the festive season. Most farmers allocate annual leave to their workers during this time of the year. The derivation

about the festive season also holds true for the former White Rosendal area, where most participants bring friends and family along to visit Rosendal during the festive season – but frequent the town in a more unpredictable way (than in Mautse) during the year.

Another ownership characteristic has to do with the renting out of second homes. Eighty-seven percent of the second home owners do not rent out their properties for the periods during which they are not in Rosendal. The remainder of the participants (12%) rent out their properties, usually during the periods between school holidays (Table 5.3). These 12% of participants are from Rosendal town and mostly rent out their properties to tourists (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). An elderly gay person in town, who is involved with the letting of properties, plays a vital role in rendering a service to the second home owners and at the same time generates an income for them and for himself. This situation holds implications for tourist flows and employment patterns in Rosendal, in the sense that more money is spent there and this, in turn, creates more jobs.

Another ownership characteristic of second home owners is how the contact with permanent residents unfolds. Thirty percent of the participants visit local residents on a regular basis (see Table 5.8). This is somewhat lower than Quinn's (2004) findings in his investigation in Ireland where 46% of second home owners indicated that they socialised with local Wexford residents. In contrast, most Rosendal/Mautse second home owners only greet or visit local residents occasionally (61%). This claim corresponds with other international findings where second home owners socialised with the friends and family invited to visit when they are at their second homes (Quinn, 2004). In Quinn's investigation, a further 45% of second home owners indicated that they socialised with other second home owners known to them at their permanent residences (2004). The deduction can be made that Rosendal/Mautse second home owners socialise somewhat less with local residents than the international average.

Table 5.8: Contact with permanent residents

Contact with permanent residents		
	Frequency	Percent
Do not know local residents	3	4.1
Greet only	16	21.6
Visit occasionally	29	39.2
Visit regularly	22	29.7
Did not respond	4	5.4
Total	74	100.0

Given these general demographic characteristics associated with second home ownership, the question arises as to how these may impact socially and economically on Rosendal/Mautse and the greater Rosendal rural farming area.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter reported on the profile of second home owners – who they are and where they are coming from as well as certain other issues, for instance personal and ownership characteristics. Different residential characteristics of second home owners in Rosendal and Mautse were also addressed. The researcher made use of participants' contributions (questionnaires) as well as interviews with second home owners in Rosendal and Mautse to obtain the data.

Chapter Five critically argued that traditional second home ownership, as it exists in developed countries, is also prevalent in Rosendal/Mautse. More importantly, it is argued from the empirical data that a new dimension of second home ownership exists in Rosendal/Mautse, namely ownership by lower income groups. Further, it is argued that reasons for buying/being allocated a second home differ according to different income levels. Lower income earners indicated *family* as the most important reason for utilising a second home, while the middle and higher income earners indicated the *escape* factor as the most important reason for buying a second home.

In Chapter Six, the second research question of the current study will be addressed, namely: which possible impacts second home owners have on the Rosendal area.

CHAPTER SIX
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF SECOND HOME OWNERSHIP IN ROSENDAL/MAUTSE

6.1 Introduction

It is evident from the previous chapter that traditional second home ownership, as it exists in developed countries, is also prevalent in Rosendal/Mautse. More importantly, a new dimension of second home ownership exists in Rosendal/Mautse, namely ownership by lower income groups. Using the empirical data, this chapter argues that second home owners can change the character of a rural settlement – this is especially evident during weekends and holiday periods. In addition, second homes in small towns and villages in developing countries can induce much-needed economic activity and employment creation. Moreover, it is argued that second home owners undoubtedly have different kinds of positive and negative impacts in the host destination, as well as in the surrounding area. This study also argues that the impacts upon Rosendal and Mautse show similarities, but also differences that may be attributed to cultural practices, income, backgrounds etc.

The above contentions are supported by data from interviews with entrepreneurs, local residents, elderly residents, and second home owners which have been analysed in order to examine the various impacts of second home development in Rosendal/Mautse. Each participant received a code number[21] (Annexure 6). The verbatim transcripts were translated from Afrikaans into English and from Sesotho into English (Annexure 5).

During the course of the study a number of themes regarding the social and economic impacts of second home development in Rosendal/Mautse emerged, and these form the basis of the mentioned arguments. These themes are developed through eight sections of analysis and discussion, namely: (1) the supportive

[21] The second column in Annexure 6 contains the gender of the participants (F = Female, M = Male). For a business owner the code is BO, for a local resident the code is LR, and for an elderly resident the code is ER. The code for a second home owner in Mautse is SHOM and second home owner in Rosendal town is SHOR.
Fictional names were used to protect the real identity of the participants.

character of second home owners; (2) the financial contribution to the local municipality through taxes/rates and employment creation; (3) the involvement of second home owners in different activities; (4) the generation of new ideas; (5) engagement with locals; (6) values of locals *versus* second home owners; (7) the character of the town that has changed from a traditional agricultural farming area to an environment with a mix of modern urban values and traditional values; and (8) the effect of second home ownership on property prices. The last section of the chapter will go some way to demonstrate the inverse of the above mentioned themes by showing that Rosendal/Mautse and the surrounding countryside also have a definitive impact on second home owners; it is not only second home ownership that impacts on the social and economic environment.

6.2 Themes regarding social and economic impacts of second home ownership in Rosendal/Mautse

6.2.1 Support of second home owners to the businesses and entrepreneurs in Rosendal/Mautse

The first theme induced from the empirical data – regarding the impacts of second home development – has to do with the socially and financially supportive character of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse. This impact is partially seasonal and/or at month-end and varies according to the owners' length of stay at their second homes (refer to Table 5.6). The owners, but also importantly their guests, provide seasonal and month-end stability in the demand for a range of tourism-related functions, which in turn service the tourist market (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). This view is confirmed by Marjavaara (2008: 12) in Sweden: "[…] the local population was becoming increasingly dependent on the incomes generated by the summer guests rather than the decreasing incomes from traditional sectors such as agriculture and fishing." Nordin (in Marjavaara, 2008) argues that the income generated from second home tourism is much higher than the locals' usual income obtained from traditional sources of income. Leppänen (in Marjavaara, 2008) argues that today second home tourism is probably one of the most important elements in the development of rural areas in Sweden. Müller (1999) notes in his study under German second home owners, that four German second home households

spent as much on groceries as one average Swedish permanent household. In South Africa, Hoogendoorn (2010: 139) confirmed that:

> The empirical material demonstrates that second home investment and use, in five small rural South African towns and villages, 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.

Baker and Mearns (2006) also confirm the supportive character of second home owners in their study of Hartbeespoort, South Africa. The same has been demonstrated in this study. Some of these empirical facts are now highlighted.

The following narratives demonstrate the supportive character of second home owners. In an interview with a farmer's wife from the area (BO1), it came to the fore that she saw an opportunity to extend their income by selling meat to the locals and second home owners: "Yes, I saw them buying milk and soft drinks from the local store, but I think they buy their groceries somewhere else, because you know, the groceries are very expensive here! They support us, however; I think they like our 'braai' pack. You know, it's fresh and of good quality." Another business owner (BO2) who operates her own 'take-away' café, however, felt somewhat different: "The second home owners do not support my business, because I think they bring their own food with them. It is the locals, especially the Mautse residents, who support me." The hotel manager (BO3) has a nuanced response: "The second home owners visited our restaurant next to the hotel very often, especially after we first opened our doors, but later when their houses were completed, they only came on special occasions. The locals are our regular customers – on Thursdays we have a pizza night which is very popular among the locals and neighbouring towns' guests. During winter we cater for hunters who support our hotel and restaurant." An important point to make is that the supportive character varies between the different businesses. Interestingly, the sexual orientation of some of the second home owners also seems to play a part in the variation in supportiveness – as is evident in some of the narratives.

The coffee shop, for example, is in the heart of town and a large number of second home owners and locals support it because the previous owner is a well-known gay artist. He first bought a sandstone house in town, and later the coffee shop. (It was lately sold to a gay female couple and managed by a straight couple). Later, he also started a theatre where shows were held and are still presented on a regular basis. In an interview with the current managers of the coffee shop, they noted the following: "The second home owners are very 'nice' people. They support the coffee shop and like to dine here during their visits. They come and relax here and I think it is good for the town's economy." According to the managers, the attitudes of the local community changed tremendously after they took over because previously it was a "gay 'moffies' place and scared straight people off." They also remarked: "During the week we need customers, we can't survive on weekend customers alone." The New Year's party of 2013, held at the coffee shop, is an excellent example of how the balance between straight/gay and local/second home owners was obtained: all partied together and mingled till very late that night. Some of the reasons could have been the good music (provided by a professional disc jockey from Durban) and tasty food. In this particular instance it is evident that straight and gay, local and second home owners showed social support to the business.

A similar view concerning the socially supportive character is shared by the creative class, predominantly gay men and women, who mostly relocated from the city to enjoy the peace and tranquility of this area (cf. Ingle, 2010). Second home owners support their businesses and like to buy a painting of the area. One artist paints landscapes, especially the sandstone formations of this region. Another artist agreed and noted that "they [second home owners] are my friends" – there is a sizable gay and lesbian community which to some extent is involved and connected in one way or another. The owner of one of the guest houses in Rosendal (BO8), a friend of one of the gay cliques, feels very positive about the second home owners, because they "support us." Some of them visited her guest house and "fell in love with this place" and started to look around to buy a property. From the above narratives it is clear that sexuality is an issue which can both be an opportunity and/or a problem and could therefore affect the socially supportive behaviour of second home owners towards local businesses.

In addition to the supportive character, second home farmers buy goods for their farms from the local Co-operative. The manager of the Co-operative (LR11) confirms that most second home farmers financially support the shop but "there is a decrease in the type and amount of goods they purchase." Maintenance material and nutritional feed for cattle are mostly bought since second home farmers in the area are primarily involved with cattle farming. Moreover, the diversification towards consumptive leisure practices has led to a diversified countryside (Hoogendoorn, 2011). Most permanent farmers produced "maize and sunflower in combination with cattle breeding" in the Rosendal area, however, a substantial number of permanent farmers are "involved in consumptive leisure practices" (interview with local farmer – LR12). Another farmer (LR9) reports that: "We cannot survive on one farm anymore. We have to buy more and more land in order to survive. You know, nowadays, the mark-up per hectare is so low." It must be pointed out that some farmers and second home farmers diversify towards consumptive leisure practices. It is evident from the observational research that there is an exotic bird farm, an herb farm, yoghurt/dairy farms, hiking trails, 4x4 trails and guest farms in the Rosendal area. The second home farmers are, however, to a lesser extent involved in consumptive leisure practices.

In Mautse, the supportive character of second home owners is also experienced by local businesses, but somewhat differently to that of Rosendal town, because cultures differ (traditional music and beer are enjoyed) as do income levels (refer to Chapter Five). The owner of one of the taverns in Mautse confirms the support of "both locals and second home owners." He mentioned that second home owners (especially the farmworkers) normally "come during month-end after they receive payment." A critical point to be made here is the stark contrast between Rosendal town and Mautse in terms of socio-economic background. The poverty levels are very high in Mautse and local residents are raised in negative circumstances where food is scarce and accommodation found in informal structures. Unfortunately, these second home owners spend most of their money during the last weekend of the month. The owner of one of the taverns boasted about having American tourists in addition to the local residents. Some of the local artists and second home owners from Rosendal

town also enjoy his traditional food and local homemade beer. A positive trend emerging in recent years is that tourists enjoy being exposed to African cultures.

To conclude, the empirical narratives show that most of the businessmen and women of Rosendal confirm the socially and economically supportive character of second home owners, at least during weekends and holidays. A minority of the businesses in Rosendal town felt that second home owners do not support them. Furthermore, in Mautse the supportive character of second home owners centers around the four taverns – mostly during weekends and month-end. The second home farmers mostly demonstrate their support for local businesses by buying maintenance materials.

6.2.2 Financial contribution through rates/taxes and employment creation

A second theme concerning the impact of second homes on Rosendal/Mautse is the financial contribution second home owners make to the local authority and *via* job creation. Hall and Müller (2004) argue that second home tourism makes a large financial contribution to local authorities through rates and taxes. In relation to the above view, Deller, Marcouiller and Green (1997) argue that municipalities are mainly interested in second home development because they anticipate a growth of tax income and increased spending at local businesses. In the case of Clarens in South Africa, Hoogendoorn and Visser (2004: 145) state that second home owners use their properties infrequently which results in high 'profits' to the municipality, due to the 'underutilisation of services available'. The poorer community in Clarens benefits due to the regular payment for services by second home owners – and thus a possibility of better services through cross-subsidisation that are rendered to all communities. Furthermore, these taxes will help to minimise inequality by promoting opportunities for the locals that may, in some cases, be negatively affected by the rise in property prices (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). In the Rosendal/Mautse case study the empirical facts which follow support the above theoretical claims. During an interview with a municipal worker (LR8) she stated that "the tax payments of second home owners help to maintain much needed services in town." This municipal worker plays a major role in trying to keep the municipality functional. The Dihlabeng District Municipality's head office is in Bethlehem and struggles to manage the Rosendal office properly. She further states: "We

sometimes wait so long for things we ordered, it is so frustrating, you know?" Another perspective was heard from the vice-chairperson of a development project in the Dihlabeng district (LRM1): "different cliques are formed in the municipality and they help their friends, especially when you vote for them. It makes me so angry, you know? Now I must vote for them in order to get money for my project." An important deduction is that the income generated through taxes and rates does not necessarily all come to Rosendal/Mautse, nor does it fully benefit the poorer community in the study area.

The contribution to the local municipality can be calculated as follows: for water a fixed minimum availability levy of R52 in 2013 plus a sliding scale above 6 kl consumption, electricity a fixed minimum availability levy of R142 for 2013 plus a sliding scale for consumption, sewerage a fixed levy of R96 for 2013, and refuse removal a fixed levy of R135 for 2013. The sewerage and refuse removal payment for Rosendal and Mautse (older area) are the same. More or less 70% of the new plots in the new residential area of Mautse received Eskom meter boxes, while the sewerage buckets are emptied three times a week. At this stage nobody pays for the electricity and water in the new residential area of Mautse, but in the older area of Mautse approximately 50% of the residents buy pre-paid electricity.

When added, this amounts to an average of R1300 per month for Rosendal for first and second home owners (R52 + R142 + R96 + R135 + R875 [for property tax, the amount differs according to size and the average water and electricity usage]), and R232 per month for Mautse (R96 + R135) for the two mentioned groups (interviewee – LR8) (see Table 6.1). Residents do not pay for water if they use less than 6 kilolitres per household per month, but thereafter it increases according to a sliding scale. When the total average amount of R1300 is extrapolated to all second home owners in Rosendal town, the large amount of R48,100 monthly, or R577,200 per annum, should be paid over to the Dihlabeng municipality. Mautse second home owners received the plots/stands for free, but make the pay the municipality for sewerage and refuse removal. The average monthly amount is R232 per household for residents in Mautse. The total monthly payment therefore amounts to R23,200 for the 100 second home owners and so R278,400 per annum should be paid over to the Dihlabeng municipality.

Table 6.1: Payments made to local municipality for services rendered

	Average per second home owner per month	All second home owners per month	All second home owners per annum
Rosendal	R1300 (n=37)	R48,100	R577,200
Mautse	R232 (n=100)	R23,200	R278,400

An important point to be made is that all second home owners in Rosendal town are obliged to pay the basic water and electricity availability levies each month and thereafter for the consumption for those days/weekends/periods they reside in Rosendal or their domestic worker/gardener use water and/or electricity. The open plot owners pay the same basic levies for water and electricity. An average amount per second home owner, however, is used here in order to calculate the total amount of payments paid over to Dihlabeng municipality – which may be optimistic. It is, however, very complex to determine exact averages as the property taxes differ – as does monthly water and electricity consumption in each household. These figures also do not include second home farmers' contributions, because it is very difficult to determine exact averages since the land taxes differ.

To conclude, when adding these standard rates together it results in a total annual potential capital inflow of R855,600 which is a welcome economic injection to this rural community. This is, however, an optimistic assumption because all the income paid to the municipality does not necessarily come to Rosendal/Mautse, but rather to the district municipality. Furthermore, not all plots/stands are developed plots and thus the amount of R1300 is also somewhat optimistic. It must also be rememberd that not all participants make regular payments to the municipality. The flip side of this coin is that the contribution of the ten second home farmers has not been included in the calculations.

In addition to the financial contribution second home owners make to the local municipality, second home owners are dependent upon hired assistance to maintain their homes. Employment is thus created in and around the second homes. Locally hired assistants mostly work at the homes during weeks/days that the owners are not there and provide security through their presence at these

premises. Permanent locals, such as the previously mentioned elderly person, tend to manage the domestic workers and gardeners on behalf of some of the second home owners and a network of reliable employment is created in the process. A gay second home couple had the following response: "We trusted him [the gay guy] when he first brought the worker to our house. Today we are very satisfied, because he looks very well after our house when we are in Bloemfontein. We do not care how much we pay him. He is precious!" The wages that are earned tend to be relatively high in relation to other wage-earning opportunities at equivalent skills levels in the study area (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). The average monthly remuneration for full-time domestic workers is R1865.60 (R11,66/hour x 160 hours) (see Table 6.2). If these figures are extrapolated to the total number of second homes in Rosendal town, as shown in Table 6.1, and it is accepted that second home owners hire these workers full-time, a maximum of R828,326 per annum is potentially paid to these workers. If the gardeners' wages (R11,66/hour x 160 hours) are extrapolated to the total number of second homes in Rosendal town, a maximum of R828,326 per annum is also potentially contributed to the local economy of Rosendal town.

Table 6.2 Domestic workers' and gardeners' remuneration should they be employed full-time (2013 figures)

	Average per second home owner per month	All second home owners per month	All second home owners per annum
Domestic workers	R1865.60 (n=37)	R69,027	R828,326
Gardeners	R1865.60 (n=37)	R69,027	R828,326

In total, then, a potential maximum of R1,656,652 is paid to domestic workers and gardeners. This figure is applicable to all second home owners in Rosendal town, but only 27 participated in the research project. As stated, not all second home owners hire full-time domestic workers and gardeners, and some second home owners are not really dependent upon hired assistance, and prefer the assistance only when they are in town. Furthermore, this figure may not be applicable to Mautse second home owners, because they may only employ domestic workers and gardeners on a limited basis because of financial

constraints. This is also not applicable to second home farmers, because they may employ more workers and usually the whole family is staying near the farmstead.

In summary it can be stated that second home owners make a substantial financial contribution to the local authority – and are clear contributors to job creation in the area.

6.2.3 Involvement of second home owners in various town activities

A third theme regarding the impacts of second homes on Rosendal/Mautse is the involvement of second home owners in various activities in the host community. Müller (2011) highlights the important contribution that second home tourism can make to the broader tourism industry, especially in rural areas. It can, according to Hoogendoorn (2011), facilitate the expansion of domestic tourism to previously neglected rural regions. Research in France (Hoggart & Buller, 1994) and Sweden (Müller, 2011) suggests that second home owners are channeled to certain destinations by the promotional activities of real-estate agents. The agents may also play an important role in offering post-purchase services and activities. Furthermore, second home owners embed themselves in their adopted community where they become involved in activities, for instance drinking in local pubs and shopping in local shops. Accordingly, the activities of second home owners mainly occur locally and usually include engaging in creative work on the property (cf. Chaplin, 2001). Indeed, maintaining and changing the interior and exterior of the second home itself forms an important motive for second home ownership (Hall & Müller, 2004). Chaplin (2001) even sees such maintenance as an expression of owners' identities. However, certain second home owners are more likely to use the second home as a dormitory and as a base to engage in outdoor activities in and around Rosendal/Mautse that set them apart from permanent residents. The empirical facts from the data which follow strengthen the above theoretical claims.

A variety of activities in the Rosendal/Mautse area, in which second home owners engage, emerged during the interviews with participants. The manager of the coffee shop [BO4] explained as follows: "Every three weeks or so there's a performance by South African artists and celebrities and the 110-seat theatre is sold out. The second home owners with their friends from the city also come,

and also folk from the surrounding areas as far afield as Bethlehem come to enjoy the 'real big city Joburg' entertainment. A light meal, at an exceptionally realistic price, rounds off the evening." A participant (a farmer's wife) noticed some of the second home owners every month-end at their 'plaasmark' [farmers market where farmers sell their homemade produce]. At the market a variety of products can be found – fresh organic cheese, homemade yoghurt, herbs and other farm products. The variety of products is the direct result of the removal of generous farming subsidies after 1994 which led to farms being consolidated and engaging in creative products. The above view is confirmed by Atkinson's (2007) work on agricultural change and diversification in South Africa. This is also in line with Halfacree's (2007) argument that farmers adopt other production strategies to survive.

In addition to the above mentioned activities, another business owner [BO7] explained that second home owners are involved in the Valentine's Day festival during February each year. They support the festival by means of advertising and organising it. A local resident [BO5] but also business owner (working from his house) said something that provided a different view: "Last year we organised a festival with one hundred exhibition stands. We put a lot of effort in it you know! Then a 'clique'[sic] of second home owners and local artists decided to rather march to Mautse and socialise with the people in the tavern. They wanted to do their own thing and didn't want to cooperate with us." Here it is evident that different groupings have different agendas – some of them became involved with the Mautse people while others would only like to be exposed to African cultures: "I was in a township and I ate their traditional food and drank their homemade beer." Another resident (BO7) who is an active community member and involved in community projects to improve living conditions in Mautse, gave a different response: "My reaction concerning the festival was: 'If you can do it better by all means, why don't you continue to do the job?' You know, we have different perspectives. We can't exclude the people of Mautse. We are dependent upon each other. We need their input and therefore we encourage interaction and try to become involved in Mautse. I see Rosendal as a diverse community – whether you are White, Black, straight, gay, rich or poor – it doesn't matter! They all can play a role and make contributions. So yes, the Gautengers are the people who spend money here

and try to make a difference." An important observation to be made here is the various views/agendas concerning the different activities by different groupings of second home owners. The views of second home owners in this regard therefore cannot be presented from a single perspective. Furthermore, from the above it is quite clear that second home owners and locals of Rosendal have different perspectives concerning involvement in Mautse, because some of the locals are more conservative than some of the second home owners.

Another activity indicated is to stroll through town on the gravel roads and visit the different shops. A businesswoman [BO9] who commutes between Johannesburg and Rosendal commented: "It's so nice to walk in the town, sometimes late at night and there is no fear of crime at all. It's so safe here. My friend and I walk in the streets for exercise. I observe a sense of community here." Another family-friendly activity for children is to ride their bicycles and fish in the dam at the far end of town. Another second home farm owner has the same response: "We walk long distances here on the farm and enjoy the fresh air." A second home owner noted: "Here we can walk freely without the city's limited concept of safety. We also see the children playing in the streets just as when we were children long ago." The main observation here is that some second home owners have unrealistic expectations concerning safety, because South Africa's crime rate is one of the highest in the world (News 24.com, 2014).

Most of the second home owners are also accustomed to visits their friends from the city (see Chapter Five) or other residents (previous second home owners) and responded: "Especially during the winter holidays, it is so nice to drink soup with some close local friends at our fire-place." Similar responses were detected from second home owners in Mautse: "We like to visit our family" and "It is so nice to see my family and friends during the festive season." An important observation is the family/friend connection in the study area which correlates with other similar investigations (cf. Masetle, 2010, in Hoogendoorn, 2011; Halseth, 2004).

In addition to the activities of second home owners already mentioned, they also maintain and change the interior and exterior of their second homes (cf. Chaplin, 2001). One participant (SHOR7) responded that: "We like to decorate our house by ourselves." The above participant and his partner are both

creative and like to change the interior often. Another view from a second home owner is the following: "I like to paint and fix my house on my own – you know I never get the chance at my first house. I am so busy! I usually use contractors at my primary property." Another participant (SHOR6) stated: "When I paint I totally forget all my troubles and focus on the work!" A Mautse participant (SHOM1) shares these sentiments: "I cannot wait for the end of the month you know, and then I can continue building my house." Chaplin (2001) characterises such behaviour as an 'escape' aimed at providing a balance in life. The observation to be made from this is that second home owners engage in self-renovating activities that are not regarded as "normal" in their primary property environment.

From the observational research there are different opinions concerning the participation in activities in Rosendal. From the empirical data it is evident that most second home owners do not take part in a variety of organised leisure-based activities such as hiking, 4x4 drives or water rafting, though a few hiking trails exist in the area, for instance the Mosamane Hiking trail approximately 8 km from Rosendal. Moolmanshoek guest farm in the same area caters for a variety of activities like game viewing horse riding trips, fly-fishing, abseiling, high ropes and 4x4 drives. The reason for the lack of participation in organised leisure-based activities is, perhaps, that Rosendal attracted a creative group of people and second home owners who valued other things. Rosendal/Mautse therefore offers more traditionally orientated activities such as relatively safe informal strolling, visiting of friends, renovating of homes and, occasionally, hunting. Some farmers in the area like to hunt during the winter season and invite their friends and family to join them (a variety of buck species are found in the Eastern Free State). In Mautse the same trend on a limited scale was reported: "We like to hunt with our dogs on the outskirts of the town" [normally small wild animals like rabbits or birds].

Furthermore, a few business-related participational activities are detected in the data, namely: visiting the two restaurants (Rosa's coffee shop and the hotel's restaurant), the two art and craft galleries in Rosendal, the four taverns in Mautse, the take-away café, gift shop, local Co-operative, grocery store, petrol station, spaza shops and a Chinese shop. The data provides an indication of the spending patterns of some second home owners at local businesses in

Rosendal/Mautse. Their spending patterns at the restaurants, taverns and art galleries were calculated based on their last visit. It is evident that 12 second home owners spent an average of R2 658 per household at the art galleries, 21 second home owners spent an average of R593 per household at the taverns and 33 second home owners spent an average of R546 per household at restaurants during their last visit. If this amount is extrapolated to all participating second home owners' last trips to Rosendal/Mautse, a possible total amount of R62 367 could have been spent during the last visit.

Table 6.3: Total expenditure on selected local amenities per last visit

	Average per participating second home household (last trip)	All participating second home households (last trip)
Restaurants	R 546 (n=33)	R18 018
Art galleries	R2 658 (n=12)	R31 896
Taverns	R 593 (n=21)	R12 453

To summarise, the overwhelming majority of second home owners take part in activities available in Rosendal/Mautse. An important observation related to Rosendal and Mautse is the preference for more traditional, tranquil activities rather than the adrenaline type of activities detected in the Clarens case study which included white water rafting, abseiling and 4x4 trails (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010).

6.2.4 Ideas of second home owners in terms of development of the Rosendal area

"There is something impossibly romantic about turning down a dirt road and seeing a windmill salute a timeless area ringed by sandstone mountains" (LR3)

Bearing the above quote in mind, some second home owners want to keep Rosendal as it is. They came to Rosendal because they needed the peace and tranquility: "We need the simplicity – you need so little! My friends and I are seeking simplicity. You know, to be near the soil – to be 'grounded'. I sometimes wish that I can take this simple lifestyle to the city where I spend most of my time" [SHOR5] (Refer to Figure 6.1). These owners are not pleased with the

development of properties next to them. This view can also be interpreted as a step "back to nature" (Jaakson, in Hall & Müller, 2004). In this regard, some owners adapt 'the surroundings of the second home to the nature of their imagination, while others move towards an idealised simple rustic lifestyle in which ideas of rurality become extremely important' (Müller, in Hall & Müller, 2004: 12).

Figure 6.1 An image that reflects the peace and simplicity with a windmill in the backyard[22]

The sentiment of a simple, rustic lifestyle with little development is not, however, shared by all second home owners. Some owners prefer modern building materials that contrast with the traditional sandstone buildings (refer to Chapter Five), for example the 'steel-frame' type of house, also called 'IniZio' (see Figure 5.18).

Residential development probably has a different meaning for many Mautse second home owners; preferences in terms of building materials and novel ideas concerning development do not play an important role for the majority. The municipal worker (LR8) indicated that almost 2000 people in Mautse are unemployed and live in informal structures. To survive, and to receive a stronger structure to live in, are in most cases all that counts.

One Mautse local resident lamented the lack of residential development in the open spaces of Rosendal town: "There are so many open plots in Rosendal

[22] Downloaded from: http://www.rosendalimages.com

town, I wonder why the municipality never developed it?" (After the closing down of the cheese factory in the 1960s, many people left Rosendal town to look for jobs elsewhere).

These open plots, with some remains of earlier sandstone material, are evident in Rosendal town and became a thorny issue concerning the housing backlog in Mautse. In 2004 Visser already confirmed that second home development in South Africa has a racial dimension, where second homes are mainly for the wealthy class – and open plots in leisure havens are often owned by White second property owners. The sense one gets is that these development issues could contribute to major differences in terms of how development is viewed by Rosendal/Mautse second home owners and local residents.

Development in the sense of capacity development is mentioned by a second home owner [SHOR5], who made the following remark: "I became involved with other local residents and friends in capacitating activities in Mautse. We taught women in Mautse different skills, so that they take responsibility for themselves, for instance the beer project. They collect beer caps and cover it with different material and then make ornaments which they sell." They were also taught to crochet tablecloths as part of the job creation project. Another resident (LR5) loves being involved in community projects (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). He thought of "teaching unemployed people to paint or make any other art form and exhibit their work in an outside theatre near Mautse." A Mautse resident emphasised the importance of skills development with the following remark: "We are in the process to start a huge organic tunnel project funded by the government. We hope to provide jobs for many people, because as you know many people here in Mautse are unemployed."

The local engineer working on the dam project confirmed the above remark: "Many people will benefit, especially the town businesses, because the dam has recreational opportunities and will attract many tourists." The dam holds major opportunities for development for the whole area. Recreational opportunities as well as irrigation opportunities are some possibilities the dam holds for the area. Conflict between different stakeholders, however, jeopardises the finalisation of the project. The farmers whose farms lie in the catchment area of the dam and the government cannot come to an agreement on the expropriation prices.

There is also the issue of moving graves from the catchment area of the dam, to the Rosendal cemetery.

Further empirical evidence concerning developmental ideas for Rosendal/Mautse is captured by a second home owner (SHOR5) and her friends who indicated that they "started organic and herb gardens" (see Figure 6.2) and are trying to live a more sustainable lifestyle. This trend is evident in both Rosendal and Mautse.

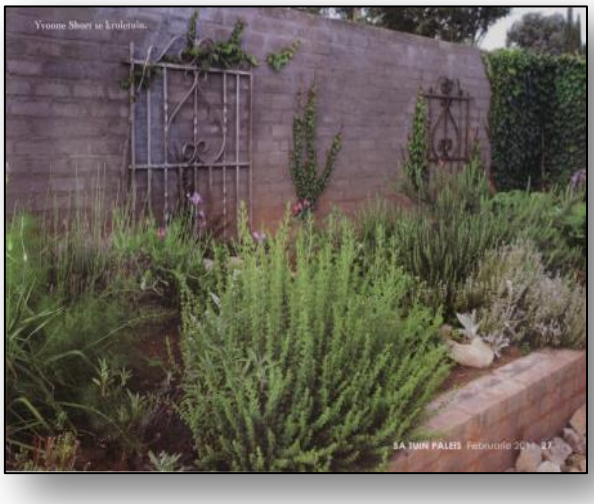

Figure 6.2: Organic and herb gardens in Rosendal (Source: Jonker)

Some second home owners try to grow vegetables and fruit in the traditional way without the use of chemicals to fight pests. Most participants in Mautse have peach and apricot trees in their yards. One of the community projects mentioned earlier focuses on sustainable 'green' development (Refer to Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 A sustainable 'green' project for Mautse's residents (Source: Hay)

Further empirical evidence of the "green" movement comes from a local resident (LR6), divorced and trying to make a living in Rosendal, who is "passionate about 'green' spaces that leave minimal carbon footprints." As much local natural material as possible is used in her house and garden (see Figure 6.4). She also makes her own compost and uses special earth-worms to speed up the process. Her organic garden was recently showcased in a lifestyle magazine (*SA Tuin Paleis*).

Figure 6.4 An example of an organic garden in Rosendal town (Source: Jonker, 2011)

A complementary perspective concerning development is that some second home owners do not use electricity but heat their water outside with a traditional 'donkie' (a water heating system outside the house working with wood fire) and use a coal stove to prepare food. Some of the Rosendal second home owners admitted that "this lifestyle would not suit families with small children." Some second home owners have young children and it is therefore more difficult to maintain this kind of lifestyle. In contrast to the above situation, some Mautse second home owners and local residents have large families and must cope without electricity, because they cannot afford electricity. A municipal worker (LR8) reported that "almost 50% of Mautse residents use pre-paid electricity." From the above empirical data it is evident that some people prefer a "green" kind of lifestyle while others have no other option than to survive without luxuries.

To conclude, most second home owners and previous second home owners are involved in a variety of developmental projects. Firstly, residential development where people have different opinions regarding the development of properties; secondly, capacity development where the focus is on skills development of mostly unemployed people; and lastly various sustainable 'green' developmental projects to make a financial contribution to improve Rosendal and Mautse and also help to sustain this relatively poor rural community.

6.2.5 Engagement of second home owners with local residents on a personal level.

Another issue of socio-cultural concern in second home research is the general lack of interaction between second home owners and permanent residents (Marjavaara, 2008). This theoretical claim corresponds with other international investigations whereby second home owners indicated that they socialise mostly with friends and relatives they have invited to come and stay with them in their second home, or with other second home owners familiar to them from their lives in their permanent residences (e.g. Quinn, 2004). The trend observed in the current investigation is similar, though on a limited scale. Most of the business people in Rosendal town know the second home owners of Rosendal town and farming area on acquaintance level, but this is not the case with second home owners from Mautse. The following responses came to the fore: The managers/owners of the 'take-away' café [BO2] and grocery store [BO1]

indicated that "we are not personally involved with the second home owners." An elderly woman [LR1] in town expressed more or less the same feelings about the second home owners: "I feel negative about them – they are not really part of us here." Similarly, another Rosendal resident responded: "We are a small rural community, so yes we know them but we don't visit them. They have their own friends, especially the other artists living permanently here in Rosendal." Another response (LR2) from a local resident: "Our neighbours are women and we found we grew up in the same town. So yes we visit them occasionally, but they rather visit the other second home owners or local artists."

Further empirical evidence of minimal interaction with locals is detected in the following narratives of second home farmers. Some second home farmers mostly stay on their farms during their visit. A second home owner commented: "We enjoy the sunny rooms in the winter and like to sit and read a book. We want to enjoy the time on the farm to the fullest. We do not go to town too often – only to buy the necessary foodstuff." From the observational research, however, it is clear that differentiation exists concerning their interaction with locals – some prefer limited contact while others are commercial second home farmers who need things on a daily basis to operate their farm businesses properly and they therefore make contact with local business people on a regular basis.

The creative class in Rosendal town, including the artists, coffee shop and guest house owners, seems to feel more positive about contact with second home owners, as it was reported that they knew the second home owners personally and visit them on a regular basis (cf. Ingle, 2010). One business owner (BO5), who works from his house and makes beautiful ornaments, stated that second home owners form 'cliques' and come with their friends from the city and 'party' at these artists' houses or at the coffee shop (cf. Quinn, 2004). A participant commented: "I always was a loner, but here in Rosendal I experience a sense of community. In the city you do not even bother to greet your neighbours. Here, we are a creative, like-minded group of people. We socialise with each other, but if we feel to be left alone, they respect it." A further observation is that some retired, former second home owners (married couple from Pretoria – LR2) socialised with other local creative residents: "There is tremendous interaction between us, you know? We know some of the artists from our Pretoria days. They are much younger than us, but still we like to socialise." This is in agreement with

Müller's (2011) investigation which observed that people in Sweden tend to buy second homes where their neighbours own second homes. This claim corresponds with the situation of a few permanent creative class residents who were exposed to Rosendal a long time ago when they visited the area for the first time. At first they became second home owners and later retired in Rosendal. The following comment was often heard during the interviewing sessions with these permanent residents: "Rosendal is like an evolving love affair for me. The longer I live here, the deeper I fall in love with the place."

A similar perspective regarding the last mentioned views concerning interaction between second home owners and local residents is found in Mautse. From the observational research it is evident that some of the second home owners are well known by the business people of Mautse. The four taverns are popular visiting spots and the owners know most of the visitors well. Most second home owners in Mautse are connected in one way or another with local residents, either as family or friends. A Mautse second home owner commented: "My mother and children live here in my place – I try to come and visit them at month-end." Some second home owners, from further away, mostly come during the festive season (refer to Chapter Five) and they indicated that they "visit other family and friends in the area." A critical point to be made is that certain Mautse second home owners living on farms (mostly farmworkers) visit their second homes more often than those from further away – and in addition become more engaged with the locals. Furthermore, because family ties are often interlinked with second home ownership (Müller, 2011), the majority of Mautse second home owners know local residents on a personal level.

In contrast again, the following remark of a second home owner attests to the varied social perspectives about engagement on a personal level: "I sat on the stoep the other day and knitted a jersey when a fancy red car passed my house. I heard them say the following: 'Hey, there sits an 'aunty' [word for old lady] on the stoep! Never seen her before!' Maybe they thought nobody is alive here!" It has to be pointed out that the majority of second home owners visit their local friends as well as other second home owners in Rosendal. Some of the elderly Rosendal residents are, however, excluded because they appear more conservative and differ in opinion and values from some of the second home owners.

A summative perspective from the above empirical facts is that the following types of interaction are experienced: in Rosendal some second home owners do not really interact with local residents whereas another group mingles well, especially with the creative class of the town. Second home farmers tend to interact only on acquaintance level with Rosendal residents, even though some visit local businesses often. In Mautse the situation seems to be simpler, as most second home owners have strong family ties with local residents and therefore interact regularly on a personal level.

6.2.6 Values of locals and second home owners

Probably the least understood of all impacts of second home tourism is the issue of socio-cultural impacts (Marjavaara, 2008). As far back as 1977, Coppock raised important socio-cultural impact issues regarding the question of how this phenomenon could benefit rural areas. Socio-cultural impacts are a source of many conflicts at the destination (Marjavaara, 2008). Second home owners often represent urban lifestyles and urban values that are 'temporarily injected into an environment with different norms and values which often leads to a collision with local life' (Alalammi, in Marjavaara, 2008: 17). The empirical facts which follow will strengthen the above theoretical claim.

The first socio-cultural impact has to do with different sexual orientations. A retired resident, who resided in the farming area for 30 years and then relocated to Rosendal town, mentioned the different sexual orientations which have a social impact on the host community: "They refer to our town as the 'pink town', because so many of the people are gay. I don't like that!" This element may give rise to varied emotional reactions which are difficult to determine, but usually expressed in terms of 'attitudes' towards second homes and their owners (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Oppenheim (in Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000) takes this further by explaining that attitudes are closely related to behaviour, and although this relationship may not be consistent over time, attitudes may spill over into behaviour. A remark from a permanent resident, previously a second home owner, provided a more positive attitude – with accompanying emotional reactions and behaviour – when she said: "My friends here are more 'genuine,' but also different. In Johannesburg my friends were so 'narrow-minded'. Here I met a farmer and were exposed to different things such as game hunting. My friends here are less materialistic and consumer driven." From

the above empirical quotes it is evident that some permanent residents react negatively and some positively towards second home owners – with concomitant positive or negative attitudes and behaviour.

In addition to the varied attitudes many business people and entrepreneurs are not really aware of conflict between themselves and second home owners, although one resident [BO7], who works from her house, indicated frustration about the children of some second home owners who use their 'quad bikes' during weekends: "At the moment we can do nothing about the disturbance, because we are not yet a carbon-free area, but when we are, we can put a restriction on the number of motors/bikes here." It is evident that this local resident is irate about the disturbance through noise pollution.

Another response from a resident [LR6], previously a second home owner, indicates that there is conflict between the local government, which has "no vision," and the second home owners of Rosendal town. She noted: "The municipality is busy rewriting their LED (Local Economic Development) programmes." When the local government decided to implement a development programme and create employment for the more than 2 000 unemployed Mautse residents, it provoked conflict, because "what kind of job opportunities will benefit the area?", the resident asked. She argued that this area is well-known for its natural amenities and unspoilt beauty (such as the gravel roads). Most second home owners in Rosendal town bought property specifically for that reason. She argued further that these second home owners are the people who pay their taxes regularly and the rest of the community therefore benefit due to this under-utilisation of services and cross-subsidisation (most second home owners visit Rosendal only on weekends or during holidays – Chapter Five). Job creation by the local government, in her opinion, should therefore be developed taking into account the unspoilt beauty of the area.

Another issue concerning socio-cultural differences between second home owners and local residents has to do with the differentiation in the previously mentioned financial values between local residents and second home owners: conflict may arise amongst various groupings because wealthy second home owners pay higher salaries to local residents than the accepted Rosendal rate (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). Rosendal residents may lose staff in this way and think

of this practice as insensitive to second home owners. Mautse residents may also experience this as problematic; those employed by local residents feel unfairly treated in comparison to those employed by second home owners, and those unemployed feel even more despondent. The difference in financial values with regard to employment practices, and what people hold dear, therefore holds conflict potential, and is described well by a businesswoman from Rosendal town [BO10]: "Our values here are less materialistic compared to the second home owners. They have more urban values and are definitely money driven! For us here, it is not so important which car you drive. Your aspiration here is whether the jam you make is either good or bad."

Further conflict potential is added when looking at the spiritual background of some permanent residents compared to some second home owners. Some observations in this regard can be made. The manager of the hotel [BO3] referred to the values that her parents held as Rosendal was a farming community where people went to church on Sundays. Currently, the Dutch Reformed church consists of more or less 80 members: "Most of the second home owners do not attend church on Sundays. They 'party' till late on Saturdays." A negative remark from a business owner [BO5] who works from his house was: "What I don't like is that they have a strange influence on Rosendal. They look down upon the local residents. I distance myself from their way of doing and also their spiritual life. Do you know some of them visit the 'sangomas' [traditional healers in the former-Black communities who 'perform ceremonies which has to invoke the ancestors in a proper and deferential manner'](Beck, 2000: 22) in the mountains?" Contrary to what has been stated is the following positive remark from a second home owner concerning spiritual values: "I like to go to church on Sundays, because afterwards I can see all my old friends." Another comment was: "We like to stay on the farm for the whole weekend. Next Sunday we shall attend church in our home town." In Mautse, two participants (SHOM1 and 2) reported that they do not have any problems concerning the attendance of church on Sundays. However, some Mautse second home owners from cities "prefer to strengthen the ties with their forefathers" during their visits. They are accustomed to going to the forefathers' graves and becoming "involved in rituals", assisted by diviners who could interpret signs and omens (Beck, 2000: 22).

A summative perspective from the above empirical facts is that varied spiritual values exist in Rosendal/Mautse which could lead to conflict in the rural area. Most of the elderly residents feel that their values differ from those of the second home owners. However, the younger residents, and specifically the artists, do not agree. It has already been indicated that some second home owners have a different sense of spirituality, and feel they are on vacation and therefore experience less need for attending church gatherings – or are used to going to gatherings in their home town. Whatever the case, there seems to be only one denomination in Rosendal town which cannot cater for the different spiritualities. Furthermore, some 'sangomas' [traditional healers] are known widely and play an important role in some people's spiritual lives.

To conclude, the values of second home owners differ quite markedly in some respects from those of the local residents. Sexuality is viewed from often opposing perspectives, second home owners seem to have different financial values from local residents, and spirituality is practiced in different and unique ways. Many elderly local residents are more conservative whereas the values of residents from the creative class are more aligned with the progressive perspectives of second home owners.

6.2.7 Social effects on the town's character and identity

Another theme regarding the impacts of second home owners on Rosendal/Mautse is the social effects of second home ownership on the town's character and identity. Müller (2011) states that, in Canada, second home development is often isolated from the rural landscape and changes the countryside into an elite landscape, which implies a clash of traditional rural lifestyles with urban images of rural life. Flognfeldt (2002) draws a different picture in rural Norway – second home owners are increasingly seen as an integrated resource that can be utilised to attract additional businesses. Second home owners with relatives in the second home destination may already have social contacts in the area, which enhances the opportunities of becoming fully integrated. The following narratives will enhance both stated theoretical claims.

One business owner [BO1] indicated: "It is difficult to say, but I think the character changes when second home owners and their friends come to Rosendal to watch the 'shows' at the Rosendal theatre during weekends, and

bring their urban values along. In the week is it very quiet here and it remains a rural community." Some local residents prefer the quietness and unspoilt environment. Another participant (BO10) gave her response about the character of the town as follows: "We relish the uncomplicated life in Rosendal and the fact is it energises us and gives our work a positive focus. All we have to do is to look at the clear unpolluted sky to understand the positiveness. We do not want to change this – rather becoming fully integrated with the area and its people."

A complementary perspective concerning the changing character is coming from elderly residents who stated that the character of Rosendal changed over time. The town was originally a rendezvous for farmers from the area to buy stock and to attend church on Sundays. One elderly resident (ER1) commented: "If we look back, it is impossible to ignore the changes that took place – first ox wagons, horses, donkeys and later motor cars. We cannot blame people for changing over time. People's ideas and views are so very different from those of fifty years ago," she then mentioned how her grandchildren differ from her and continued, "I think the question is rather: In what way did we adapt to our modern world or do we still yearn for old-fashioned things? Rosendal, it seems to me, is an excellent example of this yearning attitude by city people who come back again and again." A guest (inscription in a visitors' book) confirmed the previous remark: "I looked across the street and there was a covered, wooden platform with wooden steps leading us to it. It was fascinating so we drove around to the front of the old Barclays Bank and found that it was a Bed and Breakfast now. Our call was answered by a very charming and artistic young man. He showed us through the house and into the garden which was so beautiful with lovely 'old-fashioned' flowers. He then showed us 'The Cottage' and I was nearly speechless!" The same elderly resident (ER1) thinks back with nostalgia and remembers the VLV (Women's Agricultural Union) who gathered once a month. They made homemade products and participated in competitions nationally with other unions. Another building, the same elderly resident (ER1) recalled, was the hotel. The hotel was a very popular gathering place in town after the farmers bought stock from the local Co-operative. She further noted: "Saturdays they used to play tennis at the tennis club too" (the tennis club is still well supported by the larger community and they hold all sorts

of events there). Nowadays, the elderly residents feel that "more and more artists buy properties in Rosendal" whose gathering place, it seems, "is the coffee shop in town."

A deduction that can be made from the previous responses is that some people are still experiencing the tranquility of the area, whereas others believe that the town changed markedly over time from a traditional farming community to a space where urban lifestyles and urban values meet local norms and values. The latter is especially true over weekends and holidays; and pockets of nostalgia are still experienced in the midst of this meeting.

Another way in which social effects may be described is using the level of integration of second home owners – in this regard it must be pointed out that many local business owners and other permanent residents were previously second home owners and became fully integrated with time in this rural area and fell deeply in love with the beautiful area. One business owner (BO11) stated: "I have a quality life, with good friends here and the peaceful environment and space are also bonuses – look at the mountains!" Another felt the peace and quietness is inspirational for him as an artist (cf. Ingle, 2010): it helps him to be creative. Another family (BO6) decided to raise their children in a rural environment, away from city stress. For other people safety is a very important consideration: "You know, I can leave my door open and nothing will happen! There is no need for me to lock up all the doors and windows. The police patrol the streets at night and know immediately when something is wrong." It has to be stated that second home owners sometimes have unrealistic expectations and show naivety, because petty crime is rife in many areas of the Free State. Others believe that the sense of community is important (Chaplin, 2001). "We feel that we belong here," some of the previous second home owners (LR5) stated: "You know, we lived in Pretoria for very long and came to Rosendal to retire. If my husband feels ill, I will have the boldness to ask the other people, because we care for each other. They are also very supportive and you know when they have surplus produce, they will share it with the others."

An important observation is that a substantial number of local Rosendal residents were previous second home owners and as time passed became fully integrated in the area and experience a sense of belonging.

The situation in Mautse is quite the opposite from Rosendal. Rosendal changed from a relatively active, wealthy farming community to a quiet unspoilt town (refer to Chapter Five), whereas Mautse exploded in terms of informal housing, especially after 1994 when the government provided social grants and basic housing to the previously disadvantaged. The impact second home owners make is especially evident at month-end and during the festive season. Here it must be pointed out that some of the farmworkers bring along their traditional, conservative, farm norms and values with them. In this regard one participant mentioned that "[…] it is important for us to carry forward our traditions, you know, the initiation of our young children." On the other hand, the city-based second home owners bring along their city norms and values – such as a focus on materialism with modern clothes, latest model cars, non-traditional food, spending money on children, etc. It is evident that at least a group of these second home owners experienc clashes with the locals, probably related to clashing economic statuses. However, some second home owners from the city use the time during the festive season to catch up with their traditional values – referring to "mak[ing] our forefathers happy by holding certain rituals." These rituals include the slaughtering of cattle and visiting of forefathers' graves.

The conflict potential where integration of second home owners and local residents has not materialised, seems uppermost in some residents' minds. A resident (LR10) who moved to Rosendal during the previous year noted that she (and her husband) felt that the Rosendal people needed someone to guide and influence them to become involved in terms of conflict resolution. It seemed, to her, as if she could change the conflict points (e.g. different wages for gardeners/domestic workers; city values *versus* rural values) between the local residents and second home owners. Despite possible conflict potential, however, she felt that second home owners have influenced the town positively. Most of them renovated their houses or built new houses and in the process the town benefits because they spend money and create jobs. Another response from a business owner (BO7) was: "We are a group of creative artists here in Rosendal and are engaged in upliftment programmes. We also are engaged in building bridges and trying to give back to the community. We have many skills and financial resources to plough back into Mautse. We see the opportunity to manufacture unique African products characteristic of Rosendal."

To conclude, taking the above evidence into account, second home owners changed the character of Rosendal and Mautse in specific ways – seemingly positive in most instances. Second home owners can be described as giving at least a seasonal/month-end/weekend life to a location that would otherwise be very quiet. What is transpiring is that a traditional character – mostly during the week outside of holiday periods – is complemented by a more progressive character during weekends/holiday/month-end when an influx of second home owners is experienced.

6.2.8 The effects of second home ownership on the property market

In the last theme regarding the impacts of second home owners on Rosendal/Mautse, it is argued that second home owners enter what is already a conflicted landscape in many ways (Atkinson, Picken & Tranter, 2007). 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 countryside anymore" (Müller, Hall & Keen, 2004: 26). In Sweden, Marjavaara (2008) reports that socio-economic differences between individuals who compete for dwellings in the same location are central to the problem. Marjavaara (2008) argues that it could cause property values to rise, and hence increases the property tax burden for permanent residents. The following empirical facts strengthen this theoretical claim.

Some of the elderly residents (ER1 and 2) remembered a time when Rosendal flourished, especially when the cheese factory was still in production. The progressive school was actively involved in activities and participated with neighbouring schools on the sport field. Many people lived permanently in the formerly White Rosendal in comparison with today. After the factory closed in the 1960s, many houses stood empty because people chose to leave the town to search for jobs elsewhere. Years later some of the houses were demolished and only a few are left today. For approximately three decades the value of the houses was very low. Until the early 1990s, it was a bargain to get such a house, as well as the open plots. Gautengers and other property investors especially, saw the opportunity to buy these houses and open plots (refer to earlier remarks in Chapter Five).

Second home ownership definitely had an effect on the property prices (see Table 5.4). In the early 1990s it was a bargain to purchase plots for ± R10 000 but during the later 1990s the prices gradually increased – both because of a worldwide upswing of interest in real estate, as well as city dwellers slowly re-discovering rurality. In an interview with a local resident and business owner (BO1) the above fact was emphasised: "My parents bought a house on a large plot a long time ago. We sold the subdivided plot and renovated the old house. We made a fortune!" It has to be pointed out that there were definitely positive impacts for some people who possessed or inherited erven or houses before the 1990s in Rosendal town.

Another resident (LR1), who came to Rosendal more or less fifteen years ago, heard by chance about "the cheap plots in Rosendal." They bought a house for R30 000 and her husband commuted to work for a few years between Rosendal and Gauteng. Later, they rented a small farm outside Rosendal and they are now breeding cattle. It is important to note that the weak economy in the rural areas of the 1960s/1970s, in conjunction with the general restructuring of the rural economy, had a migratory effect on the local community. Not everyone suffered because of this, however, as some permanent residents benefited through the purchase of relatively cheap properties at the time (e.g. R30 000 for a property). Another resident (LR2) argued that the elderly were/are displaced from their houses because of greed; they experienced that their friends sold their houses at a huge profit – and then started to look for "another place to stay because Rosendal does not have retirement facilities." However, the friends soon realised that – as the resident (LR2) noted: "the new retirement place is not cheaper, and you know, the living costs are rising all the time." The chances of these friends returning are slim, because of the high property prices. The permanent residents often occupy an inferior position in terms of finances, which can result in displacement. In Sweden, Marjavaara (2008) argues that displacement caused by second homes is generated by temporal migration whereby the displacers are seasonally attracted to a place, often in rural locations. The socio-economic differences between individuals who compete for dwellings in Rosendal are central to this phenomenon. The second home owners of Rosendal town represent individuals from the middle to upper classes of society who are in the position to buy a second property, whereas some of

the locals in Rosendal town are mostly retired residents, and cannot afford to pay the higher taxes as well as the higher wages for their domestic workers (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). The elderly resident (ER2) who came to Rosendal sixteen years ago even suggests that young people leave the area permanently because they cannot make a living in Rosendal town: "not enough feet to support the businesses. Young people are constantly looking for action – not here in Rosendal!" However, the above issue is a general issue in rural areas and is not directly related to second home investment.

A complementary perspective concerning property prices of second homes in Mautse is the quite remarkable differentiation of property prices from that of Rosendal town. The Government provided the free plots with certain conditions attached to the transaction. A municipal worker (LR10) mentioned that "the two most common conditions are an eight-year prohibition on selling or letting, and a condition that there may be only one dwelling per property. Both seemed reasonable at first, but as everyone who has anything to do with 'black townships', 'locations' and 'informal settlements' knows, the real world bears virtually no relationships to the fantasy world of planners and legislators." Most blacks are faced with the following intolerable choice: if they can get a job somewhere other than where they happen to live, which is mostly the norm, they have to remain unemployed or abandon their most valuable asset, their house. If they choose to abandon an RDP house, it is re-allocated to the next person on the waiting list – "or, some believe, the next person to pay a suitable bribe" (LR10) – and they never get another, regardless of how compelling their reason might be for leaving. Most blacks ignore the lawful options and sell or let their RDP or other township house 'informally'. Since the law prevents them from having a secure or tradable title, they are forced to sell or let at massively discounted 'black market' prices. It seems that, because of the discretionary and clandestine allocation of RDP houses, there is real or suspected corruption. Perhaps the most bizarre aspect of these above mentioned conditions is the assumption that RDP houses disposed of by initial beneficiaries will remain unoccupied. This does not hold truth as a second home owner reported: "my children and mother live in my house and I come during month-end to visit them." Most second home farmworkers use the RDP houses for their children or other family members. Another second home owner from Gauteng let her house

to relatives: "[…] my house is used during the year by my family and when I am coming during the festive season I also stay there." A critical point to be made here is that RDP housing is not entitled to full and unrestricted freehold title. If the government discontinues restrictive RDP housing conditions, the effect would be that all new RDP beneficiaries could get full title and property rights, and possibly normalise the property market. A perspective that is rife – and related to corruption in respect of the RDP houses – is that many homeless people squat while "teachers and policemen own RDP houses" (LR10).

To summarise, second home owners in Rosendal town have a definite influence on property prices and contribute to displacement. In Mautse, however, the situation is vastly different because a normal free market property environment does not exist. The latter situation may, however, also be viewed as a form of displacement, where the poorest are still not afforded housing opportunities.

6.3 Analysis of the inverse: the social impacts of Rosendal/Mautse on second home owners

This section of the chapter will go some way to demonstrate the inverse of the previous sections of this chapter, namely that Rosendal/Mautse and the surrounding countryside also have a definite impact on second home owners. In the previous chapter (Chapter Five) the questionnaires of second home owners were analysed in order to understand why they purchased second homes in this area. However, eight second home owners were also interviewed in person and five e-mail conversations were held which enhanced the outcome of the study. Quotations from previous second home owners (now local residents or commuting residents) were also used to have a better understanding of the impacts Rosendal/Mautse had on them. Triangulation, which represents an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question, was used: these eight interviews were mirrored against the 74 questionnaires with second home owners in order to understand more clearly what impacts Rosendal/Mautse has on them. The data from the interviews which follows substantiates the findings.

For most of the participants in Rosendal town, the most important motive given for purchasing a second property is "escape" - such that it becomes a theme to which they repeatedly return while talking about their working lives in Gauteng or other cities. Related themes are their general feelings about Rosendal and their primary

homes, and more specifically the changes they believe have been brought about by the second home experience. Mautse second home owners' most important motive for purchasing/obtaining a second home is another form of escape, namely: "escaping to family." This is a different perspective to the usual escape motive – family draws these owners to Mautse. It has to be pointed out that different forces are at work here – an escape motive away from the city which represents a voluntary 'escape' while family represents a 'pull' motive where family ties are strengthened during visits to Mautse.

The voluntary 'escape', as an impact Rosendal/Mautse has on second home owners, is detected by the narratives from participants. Many participants talked about the stress they felt in the city and the pressure on them to achieve and perform (cf. Chaplin, 2001). They also mentioned that time was restrictive for themselves and their friends: "I want to get away from the 'rat race'!"(SHOR2). Another response from a participant (initially a second home owner) is as follows: "The corporate pressure is too much! And then at every robot and grocery store you are harassed – there is always someone that needs something from you" (BO7). Another participant mentioned the need to balance his and his family's life: "I've come to a point in my life where I really need balance in my life. The corporate pressure is too much for me!" (SHOR4). The lack of balance between work and leisure, in most second home owners' lives, was the strongest motivating force for them to buy a second home in rural Rosendal. The tranquility and beauty of Rosendal's environment – as opposed to the experience of time constraints, pressurised living and absence of natural scenery in the cities – had a definite influence on their choice to purchase a property there (cf. Chaplin, 2001). Sadly, most of them can only utilise it for a part of the year (refer to Chapter Five – Table 5.7).

This type of escape is further explicated as the imagination of a socially constructed symbolism intimately associated with an unbounded lifestyle (Halseth, 2004). A local resident (LR5), initially a second home owner, emphasised the feeling of going back in time and being in control. "You are making the rules of what you want to do each day and you do it," he noted. It is like a free-flowing and unbounded lifestyle where they [second home owners] set their own pace. This 'being in control' is in contrast with the externally controlled lifestyle of the city, which second home owners try to escape from: "We choose to live as near as possible to the soil – as primitive and

traditional as possible, you know? We control our lives and experience tremendous joy via the things around us." (LR5). Another response: "For me Rosendal is a place where you can control your environment to a certain extent. You watch how your tomatoes are growing! And how the hens lay eggs. You are worried here whether the apricot jam you make is good!" (BO7). Many second home owners experience a sense of control, or as some of them expressed themselves, 'making the rules' and 'doing it' which emphasise the contrast between the externally and time-controlled city life and the more relaxed lifestyle of Rosendal where time is less important (cf. Müller, 2011). Rosendal plays an important role in creating a space where an unbounded lifestyle can be lived.

For other second home owners, 'escape' is in the 'way of doing things' or following a different routine to daily life (cf. Chaplin, 2001). This is another impact Rosendal has on second home owners – here the space and environment allow people to follow different daily routines. This is best described by participant SHOR5: "You know the first year I came here I hardly noticed the peach and apricot trees. This year I made my own jam! You know you spend four hours cooking instead of just half an hour. So everything changed, you do things in a different way, it's a different lifestyle." She also mentioned that she is doing needlework, something that she never had time for in her busy schedule, and fixes things in and around her house. Most of the second home owners agreed that they do different things, and in a different way, when in Rosendal and on the surrounding farms, and have a different routine: "We do not strive for a perfect space here, but we like to renovate and fix things to a certain extent. We decided to leave the garden as it is so that the grass and the veld become one" (SHOR7). Most second home owners in Rosendal therefore 'contrive their escape from every day routine through the very routine of rituals they slip into, which illustrates the patterned nature of escape through routines' (Hall & Müller, 2004: 12). Rosendal seems to provide such a space for second home owners to escape through these routines.

For most second home owners in Rosendal, the area also represents an 'escape' to a different space. Their level of self-awareness is, in itself, also an attempt to escape – such as adopting a different mode of living for the time they spend in Rosendal (cf. Chaplin, 2001). For these times they 'pretend to live a more natural life emphasised by simplicity, inconvenience and even hardship, which results in an authentic uncommodified experience' (cf. Jaakson, in Hall & Müller, 2004: 12): "Rosendal is a

great little rural village – an escapist bubble away from the crime, grime, noise, pollution and ugly commercial developments so typical in the rest of our country. It would be great if it could remain that way!" (SHOR8). Another response also emphasises the concept of 'escape': "To escape city life and be close to unspoilt nature" (SHOR7) as does yet another response: "You know, you come with certain ideas to the area and become prejudiced. Now you see things in a creative way – an old rusty wire or iron becomes beautiful ornaments. It's like to pretend that we never thought of this!" (SHOR5). It seems, however, that this authentic uncommodified experience is also a simulation, in which the participants play a role. They control their environment to a large extent by regulating their routine city lives and replacing it with something more enjoyable.

For most second home owners the pressures of work and the 'rat race', to which some participants referred, mean that the time spent in Rosendal is when there is time for pleasure and for family life (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2011). The Mautse participants and, to a lesser extent, the Rosendal town second home owners, indicated that "family" was the most important reason for purchasing a property in Mautse/Rosendal area, and therefore could have influenced or impacted their choice of second residence. The family factor becomes a pull-motive where second home owners strengthen family ties through varied activities or rituals. These rituals are symbolic group activities or procedures prepared in a natural way by families to guide and facilitate social and individual change (cf. Ngoma, 2003). A ritual ceremony brings people and all elements of the universe (living and non-living) together. The slaughtering of animals (cattle or goats), together with drinking traditional home-made beer afterwards, concludes the ritual. It is evident from the observational research that most Mautse participants take part in family gatherings during the festive season in December/at month-end/during school holidays. The following responses of second home owners elaborate on the 'family escape': "We like to socialise with our family and friends. We have the same interests. You know, it is motivational and stimulating to associate with them" (SHOR2); "I like to visit my family and enjoy their company. It is so 'nice' to visit our family and friends" (SHOM1). Participants further stated: "We know each other and it is really nice to see them all. All the family from far away comes during the festive season and it is really great to have them around." The Rosendal/Mautse environment therefore has a

definite impact on second home owners' choice to become involved in family gatherings and reunions.

To conclude, family in itself is also an attempt to escape from the world of work – and the time during the festive season or other holiday periods is spent strengthening family ties. It is clear from the observational research, as well as the empirical data, that Rosendal and Mautse has a definite, though mostly different impact on the respective second home owners. For the former White Rosendal town area, the voluntarily escape from city stress and pressures of work to second homes appears to be the main attraction of second homes, while the family motive as pull factor is strongly detected in second home owners from Mautse.

6.4 Conclusion

Second homes hold a range of positive and negative impacts associated with second home development in Rosendal/Mautse. I have argued that second home development has specific social impacts, but also economic impacts on Rosendal/Mautse at least during month-end, holiday periods and the festive season. It is evident from the empirical data that social impacts upon Rosendal and Mautse differ owing to different income levels and cultural practices and therefore it was necessary to examine the economic impacts as well.

In terms of the positive effects, the following five themes developed: firstly, the supportive character of second home owners was clear – buying basic food and household goods and therefore generating an income stream for the Rosendal region. Secondly, the financial contribution to the local municipality through rates and taxes also became clear, as well as the good selling prices of properties should a local resident wish to relocate. Thirdly, the involvement in different activities by second home owners leads to the development of many leisure activities such as restaurants and taverns. Fourthly, the generation of new ideas, especially by the creative class, which help the community via skills training programmes became evident. Fifthly it was found that second home owners engaged with locals and visited them regularly.

Second home owners also induce perceived negative impacts on Rosendal/Mautse – for instance the social effects of second home ownership on the town's character and identity: a traditional agricultural farming environment moves to a space of a

combination of modern urban values (especially over weekends and holidays) and a more traditional mid-week. Secondly, second home owners in Rosendal town have a definite influence on property prices and contribute to displacement. In Mautse, however, the situation is vastly different, because a normal free market property environment does not exist. The latter situation may, however, also be viewed as a form of displacement, where the poorest are still not afforded housing opportunities and displacement of local residents may take place because of incorrect allocation of RDP houses. Thirdly, the urban and farming values that are challenging rural values may contribute to value conflict. Fourthly, the wage levels that differ between local residents and second home owners may add to conflict. Most second home owners generate higher income streams than local residents who are mostly retired. In this regard some second home owners prefer to pay higher salaries to their domestic workers, because they provide security for the homes with their presence. Lastly, the irregular employment of local residents is also a feature that may be viewed in a negative light: some second home owners are not really dependent upon hired assistance, and prefer the assistance only when they are in town.

The last section of this chapter demonstrated that Rosendal/Mautse and the surrounding countryside also have a definite impact on second home owners. Two important themes concerning the most important motive given for purchasing a second home are 'escape' and 'family'. It must be pointed out that 'escape' from the world of work and resulting pressures is in itself an escape attempt to something better and more desirable. Wolfe (1977) once described this feeling as a 'divorce' from the urban environment. The 'escape' factor is also an 'escape to family' where second home owners adopt a different mode of life for at least the time they spend in Rosendal/Mautse when they become mostly involved in family rituals and activities to strengthen family ties. This investigation, therefore, includes and elaborates on this new understanding of 'escapitism' where the countryside also has an impact on second home owners.

This chapter addressed the second secondary research question of the study and focused on verbatim quotations to enrich the outcome of the findings.

In Chapter Seven the third secondary research question will be addressed: To what extent is Rosendal/Mautse aligned with the theory of post-productivist countrysides?

CHAPTER SEVEN

ROSENDAL/MAUTSE ASSESSED AGAINST THE INDICATORS OF A POST-PRODUCTIVIST COUNTRYSIDE

7.1 Introduction

In the preceding two empirical chapters, the focus was on the social and economic profiles and impacts of second home owners in the Rosendal area. Critical findings conclude that a new dimension of second home ownership exists in Rosendal/Mautse, namely ownership by lower income groups. Furthermore, it is evident that second home owners can change the character of a small settlement, at least during weekends and holiday periods. Impacts also differ between Rosendal and Mautse, because a different social composition exists and cultural backgrounds and income levels play a role.

Based on the aforementioned empirical findings, the question arises whether the Rosendal area has moved from a productivist to a post-productivist state. The aim of this chapter is to assess Rosendal/Mautse as case study against the 'indicators' or 'dimensions' of post-productivist countrysides. The post-productivist indicators highlighted by Wilson and Rigg (2003) will be utilised to assess whether post-productivism can be deployed, specifically in developing countries. In this regard, very little research has been completed on post-productivism in the developing world (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010; Spocter, 2013). This section therefore relies heavily on Wilson and Rigg's work.

7.2 Overview on post-productivism

The theory of post-productivism states that there is a strong move away from conventional agriculture into a variety of leisure activities which leads to a creative class in rural areas (cf. Ingle, 2010). The phenomenon of second homes plays an important role in the transition from productivism to post-productivism, as this cohort of owners predominantly consume a variety of leisure activities and change the character of the traditional farming countryside. This post-productivist view is shared by scholars in developed (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; Marjavaara, 2008; Hall & Müller, 2004) and developing countries (Visser, 2010; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010; Spocter, 2013). Halfacree (2012) for instance, states that the countryside branches off into an area where agriculture and other gainful activities exist together, the so-

called multi-functional transition to post-productivism. It is important to note, however, that agriculture remains the key factor in these rural areas, together with the multi-functional character of other sources of income (Hoogendoorn, 2010).

This chapter will assess the Rosendal/Mautse area as case study against Wilson and Rigg's (2003) six indicators of post-productivism in a global Southern context – with a particular focus on the contribution of second home ownership. The six indicators are:

- counter-urbanisation,
- consumption of the countryside,
- on-farm diversification activities,
- organic farming,
- policy change, and
- the inclusion of environmental non-governmental organisations at the core of policy-making.

Wilson (2008) argues that the multi-functional transition of post-productivism can be measured on a weak to strong continuum. This chapter will argue that there is increasing evidence that Rosendal/Mautse and its surrounding countryside is becoming increasingly multi-functional whereby a substantial number of locals, farmers from the area, and second home owners are looking for new sources of income. It will furthermore be argued that Rosendal/Mautse presents a countryside in the contested stages of post-productivism whereby this area is characterised by ex-urban in-migration with a multi-functional character (Marsden, 2010). However, there are also characteristics of the area that have not been documented in literature, such as second home owners migrating from more rural areas such as farms. It has to be stated that the Rosendal/Mautse case study is a small settlement of roughly 8150 people (8000 in Mautse and 150 in Rosendal town) (interview with municipal worker) and could therefore be considered as a small settlement with surrounding farms. There is only one main tar road to the centres of both Rosendal and Mautse, the other roads are all gravel roads.

Participants' verbatim quotations, visual data and personal observations will be used to substantiate and enrich the results of the current study. Statistical data from various sources (e.g. Quantec) strengthens the findings of this chapter.

Each participant received a code[23] (Annexure 6). Furthermore, there is consistent reference to existing worldwide literature on this topic.

7.3 Post-productivist indicators and the applicability to Rosendal/Mautse

7.3.1 Counter-urbanisation

According to Wilson and Rigg (2003) counter-urbanisation has led to a dilution of the traditional urban-rural divide: attitudes of former traditional rural communities are influenced by 'urban' and more progressive middle-class values and environmental attitudes. These may lead to 'changes in farming practices and a questioning by the farming community of 'traditional' and often environmentally destructive countryside management behaviour' (Wilson & Rigg, 2003: 689, Halfacree, 2012).

This change in attitudes owing to the influence of 'urban' values is evident from the interviews with some elderly residents (ER1 and 2): "I feel negative about them [second home owners], because they are not really part of us. They socialise till late over weekends with their friends from the city" (ER1); "Their values are different from ours" (ER2). Another response expressed similar sentiments: "They [second home owners] form groupings and do not socialise with the locals" (BO5). Marjavaara (2008: 17) supports the above narratives when he argues that second home owners "who represent urban lifestyles and values, are temporarily re-allocated into a social environment with different norms and values that often lead to a collision with local life." Other scholars argue that second home owners come with 'alien values' (Skärgärdarnas Riksforbund, 2002), which undermine the traditional way of living, and have been blamed for representing a 'fake culture' (Jordan, in Marjavaara, 2008: 17) or something that is not 'natural' in the rural setting.

The above quotations are mostly from elderly Rosendal town residents. To put the above empirical narratives in context, it is evident from this investigation that Rosendal had experienced an outflow of young and productive people due to the economic restructuring of the area, as well as the closing down of the cheese factory in the 1960s. In the years thereafter the creative class and some second

[23] The second column in Annexure 6 contains the gender of the participants (F = Female, M = Male). For a business owner the code is BO, for a local resident the code is LR, for an elderly resident the code is ER and the code for a second home owner in Mautse is SHOM and second home owner in Rosendal town is SHOR. Fictional names were used to protect the real identity of the participants.

home owners saw an opportunity, bought relatively cheap erven, and renovated some of the old houses (cf. Ingle, 2010). This is in line with one of Mitchell's (2004: 155) three forms of counter-urbanisation's characteristics, namely displaced urbanisation. The term 'displaced urbanisation' is offered to describe household moves that are motivated by the need for new employment, lower costs of living and/or available housing. This argument is strongly confirmed by some of the creative class members in Rosendal: "You know the living cost in the city is very high and it becomes too expensive for us [family of six]" (BO6). This participant further noted that his wife does home schooling with their four children while he paints and runs his art gallery from their house. Another participant reported that "it is sometimes difficult to balance our costs because, you know, we do not sell a lot of paintings every day!" It is evident from the other residents' narratives that they relate to the above issue, namely purchasing relatively cheap properties and travelling for a number of years between a city and Rosendal before retiring in Rosendal or becoming permanent residents. This view is supported by Hall and Müller (2004) when they argue that a substantial proportion of second home owners actually purchase a property for later retirement, even if it is never used as such. This latter issue is confirmed by a Mautse participant (SHOM3): "I will use my home one day when I retire. In the meantime some of my family members live there." In this regard it has already been pointed out that most second homes in Mautse are used by family members or their friends. This issue was addressed in earlier sections of this investigation.

A second form of counter-urbanisation, according to Mitchell (2004), is the idea that anti-urban motivations move residents (beyond the suburbs) to escape crime, taxes, congestion and pollution. This view is substantiated by Ingle's investigation (2010) where he found an increasing number and variety of creative small enterprises in South Africa's desert Karoo region. His research reported that this area attracted many well-qualified and experienced people from city areas. The same phenomenon of anti-urban motivations is experienced in Rosendal/Mautse, namely people who make a living from creative pursuits, including artists, designers and knowledge-based professionals. This view is confirmed by a participant: "You know, the lifestyle is so different here! We leave our doors open and walk freely in the streets. We are not afraid!" (BO9). The following remark provides a clear indication of how most of the previous second home owners feel: "Here I live in my body, but in the city in my head. Therefore, I think we need to balance the two. Here I can do

intense thinking, because I have space and peace around me!" (BO11) On closer investigation, this behaviour was closely connected to ideas of production and consumption: the second home or newly obtained primary home in most cases provides people with the ability to experience something that was no longer regarded as present in their everyday lives.

The third form of counter-urbanisation according to Mitchell (2004), is ex-urbanisation, which was originally coined by Spectorsky (in Mitchell, 2004:7) to describe the movement of well-to-do urbanites in search of a "limited dream" in the bucolic countryside surrounding New York City. Dozens of studies in North America (Thrift, in Mitchell, 2004) and Europe (e.g., Cloke *et al*., 2006) have attempted to uncover the motivations behind the decision to take up rural residence. Mitchell (2004: 154) concludes: 'that perceived rural amenities— both tangible (attractive, natural and built landscapes) and intangible (peaceful, quiet, safe or friendly places)—have played an increasingly important role in the migration decision of urban out-migrants.' This view is partially confirmed by a participant's (LR6) remark: "I was previously from the city, but now I am a local resident. In the beginning it was very difficult for me to survive here, but now I have an organic vegetable garden and I also have my friends here. We became self-sufficient! It isn't so difficult to survive on the 'platteland' [rural area]."

A supplementary dimension to the migration decision of out-migrants is Phillips' (2005) argument that new middle classes have both the power and desire to live in the countryside, and once living there they change, restructure or reconstitute the countryside: "In fact, we make the decisions, because some of us are on the community board!" (LR6). It is evident from the empirical data that some second home owners are part of the community board in Rosendal and play an important role therein. From the observational research it is evident that some of the second home owners and creative class have the capacity to change and restructure the countryside. This can lead to conflict between some of the second home owners and the locals. The following remark demonstrates the difference in views between these groupings: "Some of these locals are so narrow-minded! It is so difficult to influence them, you know?" (SHOR6). This narrow-mindedness, and underlying differences regarding race, politics, and religion between second home owners and permanent owners, may affect the successful organising of events; a case in point here is the centenary festival of Rosendal which was supposed to be held in 2012.

Only a few people attended the festival in Rosendal – whilst a large number of creative class members and second home owners of Rosendal marched to Mautse to demonstrate solidarity. The centenary was believed to be a big disappointment.

Mautse second home owners represent another dimension of migration, related to Mitchell's (2004) 'limited dream'. Some second home owners are farmworkers while others work in the construction industry or professional careers in the cities (refer to table 5.1) – and this mostly increases the gap in terms of socio-economic status between locals and second home owners, because roughly 2000 people are unemployed in Mautse and live in conditions of severe poverty. A few comments in this regard were detected. Participant SHOM1 reported that "On the farm we sometimes receive meat or otherwise we hunt wild hare for the 'pot'." In contrast, the Mautse unemployed residents feel meat will always be a luxury. If the monthly governmental social grant for the elderly (above 60 years of age) of R1,260 (the amount on 1 April 2013) is taken into account, it is rather unlikely that luxuries can be purchased and therefore meat may not be a priority. Another comment from SHOM2 is: "I am from the city and during the festive season we bring food and clothes for our family members." It must be pointed out that most second home owners from the cities, who represent wealthier lifestyles, support the poorer family members in Mautse. It is evident from the Mautse narratives that a variation in behaviour exists between different people and clashes of values may cause conflict – especially between those with financial means and those without. Most Mautse second home owners probably relate to Mitchell's 'limited dream' in the sense that their dream of a house in the rural area is tempered by the surrounding environment of daily hardship; fortunately they can provide something, either food or clothes, for a short period (month-ends/festive season) for their family to keep the limited dream alive. (Here it should be observed that 'limited dream' may be utilised as a first-world concept; it is unclear whether the stark contrast in income suppresses the dream of Mautse second home owners in any way).

To conclude, controversy among researchers has surrounded the concepts of counter-urbanisation (Mitchell, Bunting & Piccioni, 2004) for instance: is the growth of a rural area owing to development of tourism and second home tourism, or is it the result of re-urbanisation and revived economic development and re-development? Mitchell *et al.* (2004: 156) take a critical stance, according to their

Canadian research, 'that small centres with populations of 10 000 or less can be considered as rural areas'. They further argue that artists (or ex-urbanists) who establish themselves in rural communities or settlements can be considered to be part of the counter-urbanisation movement. The findings of this study revealed that counter-urbanisation is applicable during weekends/holidays, but during weekdays Rosendal/Mautse still predominantly operates as a quiet small settlement anchored primarily by agricultural activity. According to the three types of counter-urbanisation described by Mitchell (2004), namely displaced urbanisation, ex-urbanisation and anti-urbanisation, the Rosendal/Mautse case study demonstrates most of these characteristics. Evidence has been found in the narratives of participants who have been displaced from cities in search of a lower cost of living. Similarly, evidence has also been found of anti-urbanisation where participants indicated they want to escape a number of city related pressures. Evidence was furthermore found concerning ex-urbanisation in terms of tangible and intangible characteristics that drew Rosendal/Mautse participants to the area.

The role of second home owners in terms of counter-urbanisation is critical: they often represent the transitional phase from being temporary residents to later relocating permanently to the area. Even if they do not relocate permanently, they still contribute to values associate with urban areas.

It appears, therefore, that this indicator of post-productivism can be exported with ease into a developing world context.

7.3.2 Production in – to consumption of – the countryside

The second indicator according to Wilson and Rigg (2003) is the move away from agricultural 'production' to 'consumption' in the countryside. This 'indicator' implies willingness and ability, within society as a whole, to 'consume' the 'new' goods produced by actors in the countryside, for instance hiking trails, horse-riding, and bird watching etc. This is in line with Preston and Ngah's investigation (2012) of the Batallas region in Bolivia where the countryside is characterised by low population density owing to rural/urban migration. The move to different forms of income, other than agriculture, led to a change in the social composition of the towns in Batallas (Preston & Ngah, 2012). Importantly though, these other forms of income are not necessarily in conflict with other economic activities of an area (Rogerson, 2002). Indeed, according to Rogerson (2002) many farmers feel forced to diversify their

incomes by combining their farm activities with leisure activities (see Spocter, 2013). However, the following empirical data, as well as other national and provincial statistics of South Africa's agricultural sector, will demonstrate that the above theoretical claim of additional consumptive activities shows similarities with the South African rural countrysides.

To substantiate the above claim it is important to revisit the development history of South Africa's agricultural environment. The earlier history of South Africa and Rosendal itself was addressed in Chapter Five, but this section focuses on the period from 1948 and onwards when the National Party's (the ruling party during the apartheid years) traditional support base was based in the agricultural sector (Hoogendoorn, 2010). South Africa's agricultural development was strengthened during the second half of the 20th century 'by the fact that the majority of the country's surface (87%) was demarcated for White ownership and only 13% was for black use (Hoogendoorn, 2010: 54). After 1948 the agricultural sector flourished and White farmers received state support in the form of fixed prices for their produce, which secured their income in a sense. Furthermore, from the mid-1980s, the agriculture sector in South Africa became more export driven (Mather & Adelzedah, in Hoogendoorn, 2010). This flourishing export era came to a standstill in the period before 1994 when 'political turmoil, sanctions and boycotts made markets highly unstable and unable to function properly' (Hoogendoorn, 2010: 55). An important turnaround concerning agricultural production came during the demise of apartheid subsequent to 1994. It has been stated that 'post-productivism emerged in South Afica during the demise of apartheid' (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010: 56). In the years thereafter, the agricultural environment became characterised by formal deregulation – and now, as a result, also receives some of the lowest subsidy support in the world (Atkinson, 2007). The removal of generous farming subsidies led to an increasing number of farms being consolidated. For the first time South Africa became a 'net importer of certain food supplies' (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010: 56). Against this background of South African agricultural production, it is argued that similarities exist between the production/consumption indicator of the theory of post-productivism and the Rosendal investigation.

In the light of the above argument of diversifying income possibilities other than primary agriculture, the tertiary sector in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality, where Rosendal/Mautse is located (this sector includes finance, real estate and trade

(wholesale and retail) showed a dramatic increase in terms of Gross Value Added (GVA) contribution over the past 16 years. The tertiary sector increased from R1,723 million in 1995 to R2,511 million in 2011. On the one hand, this is much higher than the secondary sector (e.g. manufacturing) and the primary sector (e.g. agriculture) respectively during the same time (see Figure 7.1) (Quantec, 2013) and on the other hand, agricultural production in Dihlabeng municipality showed a significant increase of R6 million from R245 million in 2010 to R251 million in 2011. A deduction from the above figures is that agriculture still contributes significantly to the total gross domestic product of Dihlabeng municipality, but when compared to other sectors (secondary and tertiary) of the economy, it is becoming less substantial.

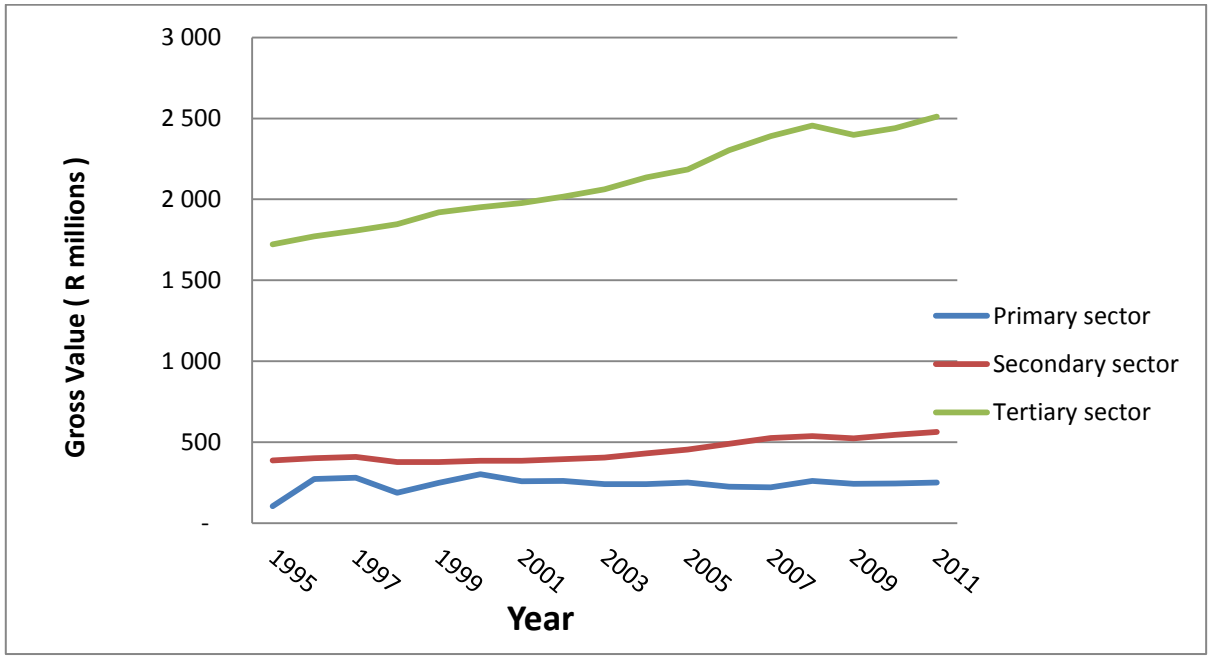

Figure 7.1: Per sector contribution to the total Gross Value Added in the Dihlabeng municipality from 1995–2011 (Source: Quantec, 2013).

These figures show that the tertiary sector (finance, real estate and trade), which is related to second home development, has grown in importance since the advent of the post-productivist period – which phased in following the demise of apartheid during 1994 (according to Hoogendoorn, 2010). Agriculture, which was once the most important contributor to the local economy, is still significant though on a smaller scale. Furthermore, the empirical data supports the above view that primary agriculture is extended by other income-generating activities, whereby roughly 15 of the 36 farmers in the Rosendal area supplement their income with other sources

(e.g. homemade produce; guest farms; hunting; horse-riding; bird watching; hiking trails etc.) and Rosendal town itself consists of many creative people who make a living out of their creative pursuits. In Mautse the same trend is present, though on a limited scale, with inhabitants supplementing their income either from farming on municipal commonage or by keeping stock in backyards. All types of African products made of natural sandstone rocks or a variety of grass leafed ornaments are also sold.

Looking at national figures (Figure 7.2) concerning agricultural production in comparison to other sectors of the economy, it seems that the same trend exists, namely the primary sector is the lowest while the tertiary sector – of which second home ownership forms a substantial part – is the highest. The declining agricultural sector relative to the other sectors since 1995 therefore correlates with Hoogendoorn's findings that rural areas, and for that matter the whole of South Africa, have moved to a post-productivist state.

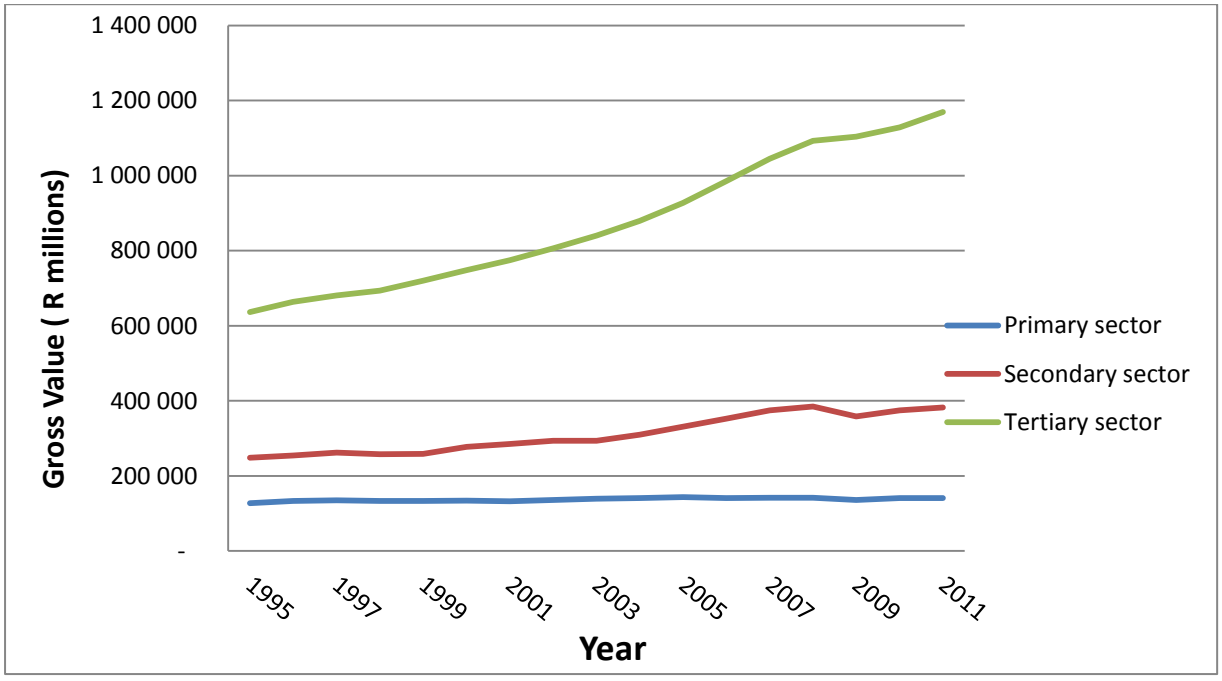

Figure 7.2: Per sector contribution to the total Gross Value Added in South Africa from 1995–2011 (Source: Quantec, 2013).

It is evident from the above data that agriculture, which is part of the primary sector in South Africa, is declining in comparison to other sectors. Some of the reasons given for the decline are the decrease in farming profitability and water

availability/scarcity (drought, declining rainfall or over-demand for water). This has left South Africa with approximately one third of the number of farm units it had in the early 1990s (cf. Agri SA, 2010) (see Figure 7.3). Although the number of farm units in South Africa has dropped to less than 40 000 farms during this time, gross farm income (GFI) has increased by more than 300 per cent (Agri SA, 2010). In many instances, the unoccupied farms have been changed to other land uses, or consolidated into larger farming units to achieve effective economies of scale. This latter example relates to Halfacree's (2012) 'Super Productivism' where agricultural activities became bigger and more powerful. This practice is also evident in the Rosendal case study where some farmers may obtain more farm units in order to increase their profit margins, while others became involved in activities other than traditional farming (e.g. herb farms, bird-watching farms, guest farms etc.)

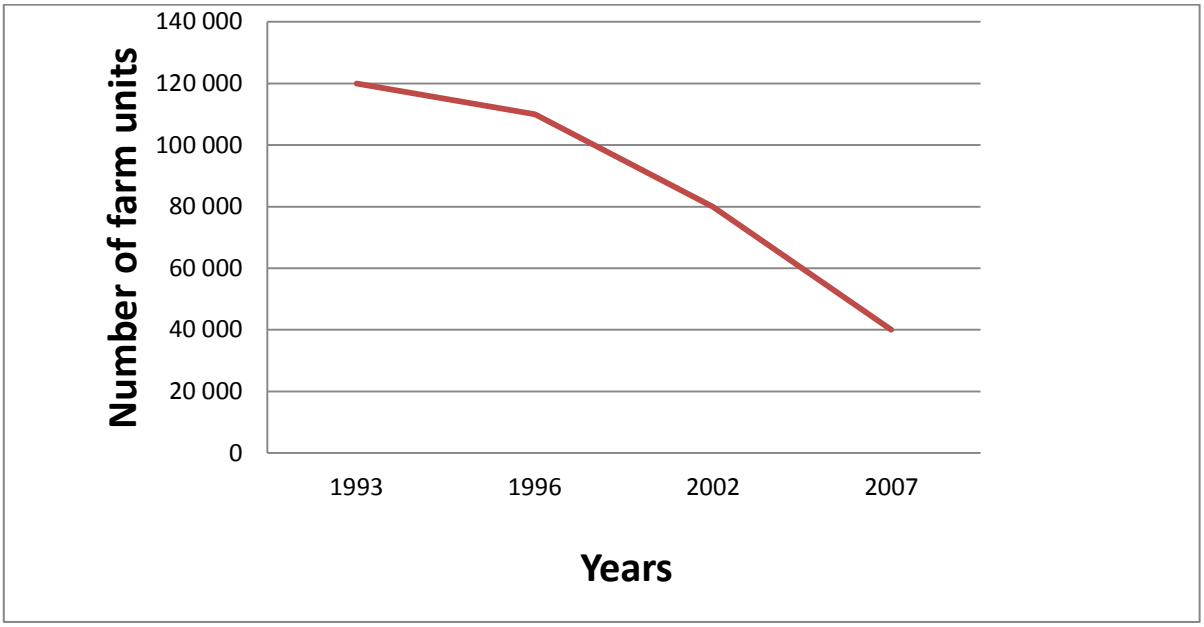

Figure 7.3 Number of farm units (Source: Agri SA, March 2010)

Although the area in which maize, wheat and dairy (5 per cent of the national herd) are farmed has decreased significantly over the last 20 years, production remains relatively constant which indicates an increased trend in intensified production (Agri SA, 2010). The remaining farms have generally increased their irrigation, fuel, fertilizer, mechanisation and genetically modified seed inputs. Intensified agriculture also often leads to increased mechanisation, which in turn leads to fewer jobs on farms.

As a result a staggering 140 000 agricultural job losses were detected in South Africa (Agri SA, 2010) over the past 16 years. The Rosendal case study shows a similar trend. Figure 7.4 shows a decline of almost 50 per cent of the agricultural labour force in the Dihlabeng municipality over an 11 year period – there were almost 12 000 workers in 2000 but the number had decreased to almost 5 000 workers in 2011.

Figure 7.4 Labour force (primary sector) of Dihlabeng municipality (Source: Quantec, 2013)

The reasons for this significant demographic trend are partly political (farmers' fears of land tenure legislation) and partly economic (farmers have to compete in different agricultural markets, with virtually no tarrif protection) (Atkinson, 2007). The government's macro-economic changes and policy-driven initiatives also have major impacts on the majority of farmworkers: many became unemployed or were evicted and drifted to nearby towns. Atkinson (2007) reported the same trend throughout the Free State, where small towns show the most rapid rate in growth and amount to an average increase of 3.5 percent in population per annum. Typically, these residents now live in informal dwellings on the edges of towns, in severe poverty that is often exacerbated by extremely poor environmental health conditions – some of those residents are second home farmworkers who still have a job but travel during weekends or month-ends to Mautse to visit their family or do maintenance on/in their informal structures or RDP houses.

The declining effect of the agricultural sector can further be seen in the pressure that is placed on municipal commonage (cf. Atkinson *et al*., 2006). Many of these new arrivals would like to farm, and some have attempted to do so, either on municipal commonage or by keeping stock in their backyards (with deleterious consequences for environmental health). Most of these cattle drifted away owing to the lack of fencing, and sometimes died of hunger and thirst especially during winter seasons when there was a low grass density and low rainfall.

A summative remark concerning the declining agricultural sector, and the effect thereof on common land, has to do with the redistribution process [a government initiative to address the inequalities of the past] whereby the government attempted to provide land for residential and productive purposes to cohorts who were dispossessed during apartheid and wanted to practice agriculture. It seems that the above situation has also contributed towards the expansion of the post-productivist countryside (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010).

Considering the above arguments of a mixture of consumption practices as well as ongoing traditional farming activities, it must be pointed out that consumption practices left a substantial mark in rural areas (cf. Hoogendoorn, 2010). The price of agricultural land, and that of rural towns and hamlets, have been inflated by a high demand from 'lifestylers' migrating from urban centers to rural areas (Hoogendoorn *et al*., 2009) (see also Table 5.4 for property prices in Rosendal town). In most cases, the income generation in urban areas is higher than in rural areas, as is the level of employment (Marjavaara, 2008). However, as far as second home tourism is concerned, these differences are often present and have been documented throughout the Western world (cf. Clout, 2005; Marcouiller *et al*., 2013; Halseth & Meiklejohn, 2009; Hall & Müller, 2004; Gallent *et al*., 2003; Aronsson, 2004; Halseth, 2004). This is in line with a study done by Rigg and Ritchie (2002) on the transformation of rural areas from zones of production to arenas of consumption in rural Thailand.

To conclude, the second indicator from Wilson and Rigg (2003) indicates similarities with this investigation and is therefore applicable to Dihlabeng municipality, which is part of the larger Thabo Mofutsanyane region. It is evident from the data that both the increased production in traditional agriculture and the dramatic increase in the tertiary sector, represent the ability within society as a whole to 'consume' the 'new'

goods produced by actors in the countryside. This may lead to a change in the social composition of the Rosendal/Mautse area and, thereby, transform the area into a post-productivist countryside.

7.3.3 On-farm diversification

Another indicator from Wilson and Rigg (2003) relates to debates about on-farm diversification as a key indicator of a possible shift towards post-productivism. On-farm diversification means, for example, taking agricultural land out of production for 'alternative' uses such as riding schools, camping grounds, 4x4 trails etc. For the purpose of this study "on-farm diversification" is also seen as "in-village diversification" – in Rosendal, for example most plots are so large that a house and garden alone do not do justice to the land. Furthermore, the boundaries between the village and farms are relatively vague – and commonage is often used as grazing for cattle.

One new and 'alternative' use of farm land is the concept of farm towns or agri-developments on wine or game farms such as the Cape Points Vineyards Estate in Noordhoek and the Boschendal Wine Estate near Franschoek. The focus here is on a variety of houses on small plots surrounded by farm activities. They all have a common interest namely to "experience the freshness and openness of rural areas" (Meintjes, 2008: 74). Other rural villages all over South Africa (Clarens, Howick, Nottingham Road, Dullstroom, Rhodes, Greyton, Montagu, Bonnievale, McGregor and others) share a similar popularity as weekend retreats, because of their beautiful scenery and number of activities incuding horse-riding, 4x4 trails, hiking trails, and bird watching in town and on the surrounding farms.

The Rosendal/Mautse study area, also a rural and remote village, shares a similar trend of weekend/holiday/month-end retreat. Rosendal is surrounded by mountains, with dams adding to the picturesque effect, and the accent is on peace and tranquility – which the residents have vowed to maintain (see Figure 7.5). Second home owners, representing almost 33 percent of the formal residential units in Rosendal town, overwhelmingly share the same view. A variety of activities can be found in and around Rosendal/Mautse. A businesswoman (BO9), who runs a business from her house, confirmed: "I lived in Gauteng for many years and now I operate my business from my home. So yes, I was also a second home owner, but every time I

visited Rosendal, it became more and more difficult for me to go back to Gauteng." An artist (BO10), previously a second home owner, made Rosendal her permanent home: "Owing to our work (as artists), we are not bound to one specific place. Second home owners have to return to the city on Sundays, but fortunately we can stay on. During the week Rosendal is like a ghost town and we can then be creative during the week. Rosendal is different from Clarens in the sense that Clarens is commercialised and Rosendal not. Rosendal provides something unique and different. "I think it is the mountains and the peacefulness of the area". From the above narratives it is clear that economic activities are influenced by mobile lifestyles and also computer technology such as availability of internet access, because people work over larger geographic areas and in a variety of jobs.

Figure 7.5: The dam on the outskirts of Rosendal[24]

Together with the peacefulness of the area, which inspires the creative class in Rosendal, the area is also characterised by its multi-functionality in terms of creative pursuits. For example, on the far side of the village, with spectacular mountain views, the latest development has appeared. A dairy has been transformed into a boutique hotel, up-market pub and restaurant. The development owner, another second home owner (SHOR8), reflected: "I came here and fell in love with the place. As my passion is building things, I then looked at the possibilities. The health spa and conference centre will make it more attractive for potential clients." SHOR8

[24] Downloaded from: http: //www.rosendalimages.com

sees his business as being beneficial to the local B&Bs and explained: "I'm never going to have enough accommodation for more than 80 people, so when even a medium-sized wedding takes place here, people will have to book into the B&Bs." There are six B&B guesthouses in Rosendal and two art galleries in town. One gallery (BO6), which showcases works by well-known artists, displays some work which is deeply influenced by what is seen in the Eastern Free State. The owner of this gallery (BO6) also provides space for other artists. The other gallery exhibits paintings done by the owner (BO10) but also combines these with the creation of multi-media sculptures. She obtains material from farms in the rural areas. An entrepreneur (BO4) in Rosendal has three buildings next to each other. At the one end is the main shop, which stocks a collection of antiques and memorabilia that you could browse through for ages. In the middle is the Shed, a workshop where pieces are restored and at the other end is a Gallery. Suzani is the Iranian word for 'needle' and here she sells a variety of beautiful, hand-embroidered floral items. An important point to be made is that alternative uses for agricultural (and town) land is evident in the Rosendal/Mautse area and contribute to the diversity and multi-functionality of the area which is a characteristic of post-productivist countrysides. Multi-functionality is also evident in Mautse but in other ways to Rosendal town and surrounding farms.

From the observational research it is evident that Mautse, which represents a poorer community, has always reflected a good degree of diversity and multi-functionality in terms of livelihood, both in agriculture (on a limited scale on the commonage land) and non-agriculture. Mautse's commonage land is used for upcoming Black farmers and ex-farmworkers' cattle. In terms of non-agriculture, Ellis (2007) refers to diversification in association with small family farming in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). He gives two 'classic' reasons for diversifying – risk and seasonality – which have always been pertinent in Africa. Non-farm occupations reduce the risk by combining activities that have different risk profiles. Studies of rural income portfolios derived from both large-scale, nationally representative, sample surveys, and from purposive household studies, converge on the startling figure that, on average, roughly 50% of rural household incomes in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are generated from engagement in non-farm activities and transfers from urban areas to abroad; remittances and pension payments being the chief categories of such transfers (Ellis, 2000; Ellis & Freeman, 2004). Similar findings are reported in the Mautse case study; however, some people are self-sufficient while others leave their cattle ranging free

on commonage land (see Figure 7.6). Most of these cattle drift away owing to the lack of fencing, and sometimes die of hunger and thirst. It seems however, that the Dihlabeng Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for 2012–2017 budgets for the improvements of the above issues by providing more farms to local small-scale farmers, for instance the poultry and piggery project valued at R3,600,000, the Hydroponics project to the value of R150,000 and the development of an Equestrian centre valued at R100,000; and lastly a project which will involve the youth to be taught about farming practices in conjunction with the University of the Free State (IDP, 2012).

Figure 7.6: Free ranging cattle in Rosendal town (Source: Hay)

Another novel project, which is also part of the multi-functionality of this rural area, is the sustainable project in Mautse, where a few locals together with second home owners sponsored organic gardening and provided seedlings and advice. It is reported that some locals created their own vegetable gardens (see figure 7.7), which relates to the debates around on-farm diversification as a key indicator of a possible shift towards post-productivism in developing countries.

Figure 7.7: Self-sufficient second home owners with vegetable gardens (Source: Hay)

Some local residents are also involved in the selling of leaves and grass, sandstone bricks (see Figure 7.8), wood, timber, charcoal, material assets, traditional goods such as local baskets made of grass, clay pots and pans (see Figure 7.9). They also work as housemaids in the town and they borrow/lend money.

Figure 7.8 Making of sandstone bricks (Source: Hay)

However, of the 8000 residents in Mautse, roughly 2000 are unemployed (interview with the municipal worker (LP8), and have very little agricultural experience and knowledge.

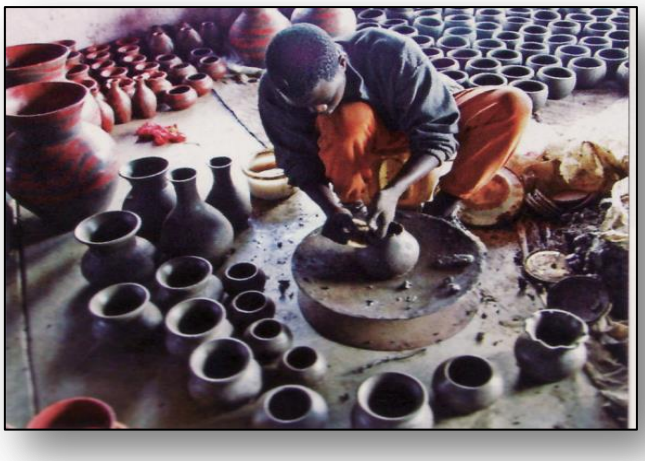

Figure 7.9 Making of clay pots (Source: Hay)

This situation puts pressure on the commonage land and leads to varying degrees of desertification – overgrazing, soil erosion and difficulties with noxious weeds.

A summative view concerning on- and off-farm diversity is that the countryside in the Rosendal/Mautse district has undergone numerous changes up until, and since, the 1990s during which the number of farmers (see Figure 7.3) and permanent residents in Rosendal declined significantly (refer to Chapter Five). This was the result of various factors, for instance mechanisation, the withdrawal of state subsidies and the globalised competitive markets after apartheid. Therefore, on-farm diversification and restructuring of farming activities in the Rosendal district has been implemented by already affluent farmers who had the means to diversify and add to their income streams. For example, Moolmanshoek Guest Farm offers numerous activities such as 4x4 routes, hiking trails, bird watching/farming and hunting, which supplement their traditional farming activities. Other farmers scaled down their farming activities and incorporated tourism products, for instance the Mosamane Hiking trail, 8 km from Rosendal. A few farmers found a solution for the low milk price and are producing finished goods like cheese or yoghurt and they are selling these to the local community. Other farmers changed to herb farming. For most farmers, however, food security is a priority and therefore they modified their techniques and machinery to maximise profits to become bigger and more powerful in the agricultural markets of the country. Ten of the 36 permanent farmers are second home farmers – the majority of them see the property as an investment opportunity.

Many of the second home farmers, as well as permanent farmers, feel that such diversification provides them with a more stable income, although this change in income composition mainly contributes to complement their income and has not really changed the composition of their income stream significantly.

To conclude, from the above discussion it is evident that on-farm (and in-village) diversification activities in the global Southern context is an applicable indicator towards post-productivism. Part of this restructuring would not have taken place if not for second home development in Rosendal town (and on a limited scale in Mautse township) together with the changes in the agricultural economy which induced a set of economic activities typical of post-productivist countrysides. Second home development induces a variety of consumption practices as well as new ideas which facilitates on-farm and in-village diversification.

7.3.4 Organic farming

Another key debate revolves around 'organic farming' which has been seen by many as a vital ingredient of the post-productivist countryside, particularly because of its emphasis on high-quality, pollution-free and traditionally grown produce linked to rapid changes in developed country consumer behaviour (Marsden, 2010). Although more and more consumers worldwide become 'green aware', commercial farmers are still motivated by profit, and quantity is therefore more important to them than quality. However, across South Africa, many poor urban and rural women are already keeping hunger at bay with community food gardens. The resultant produce not only feeds them and their families, but surplus food is sold at local markets, generating an income for the women, who are often the sole breadwinners in extended families.

Some participants' remarks support the above statements concerning the organic farming indicator: "I grow my own organic vegetable garden. I bought special earthworms from the Cape and feed them all the kitchen waste as well as that of the hotel and I use the compost in the garden as fertiliser. I don't use chemicals to control pests. You must see my beautiful garden!" (The garden appeared in a South African gardening magazine) (LR6) (see Figure 7.10). (It is important to note that this local resident is a former second home owner). For second home owners it is sometimes difficult to maintain their gardens, owing to the limited time they spend

there, and therefore they have to make use of locals' support and labour (refer to Chapters Five and Six). Another response: "We are involved in organic gardening. We make our own compost from kitchen garbage and garden waste. We love to live as simple as possible you know? We like to go 'green'" (LR5).

Figure 7.10: Organic gardening in Rosendal (Source: Pretorius)

A participant's garden in Mautse also supported the view of organic farming (Figure 7. 11) which is practiced on a limited scale. This is one of the sustainable projects the local government has initiated collaboratively with local residents from Rosendal town.

Figure 7.11 Organic garden in Mautse[25]

[25] Downloaded from: http://www.inica.org.html

World-wide trends concerning organic farming show that this type of farming does not yet play a significant role in South African farming (refer to Figure 7.12 – 2011 statistics), because South Africa is not mentioned in particular and seems to be part of the portion 'Africa' on the pie chart, which represents 30% of the total organic producers world-wide.

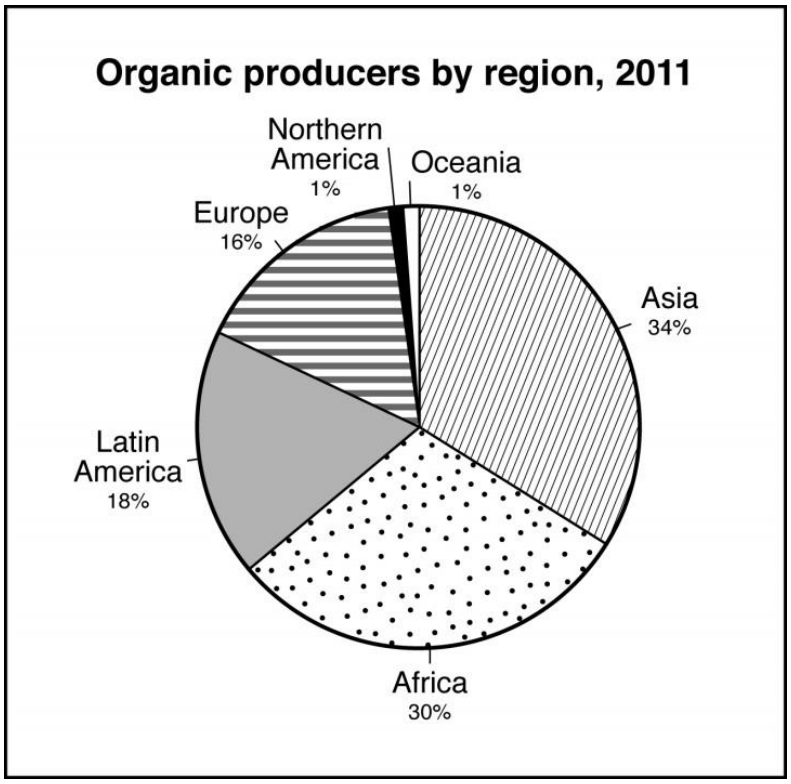

Figure 7.12 Global distributions of organic farms[26] (Redrawn by Job)

However, organic farming, as possible indicator of a post-productivist countryside, does play a substantial role in African countries. Figure 7.13 shows the differentiation in organic farm land in African countries. South Africa allocates less than 5% of the land to organic practices. This observation is quite surprising, because an emerging market such as South Africa is meant to contribute to the move towards organic production. It seems, however, that it is usually an economic rather than an ideologically-driven decision (SA Press Association, 2012).

[26] Downloaded from: http://rankingamerica.worldpress.com

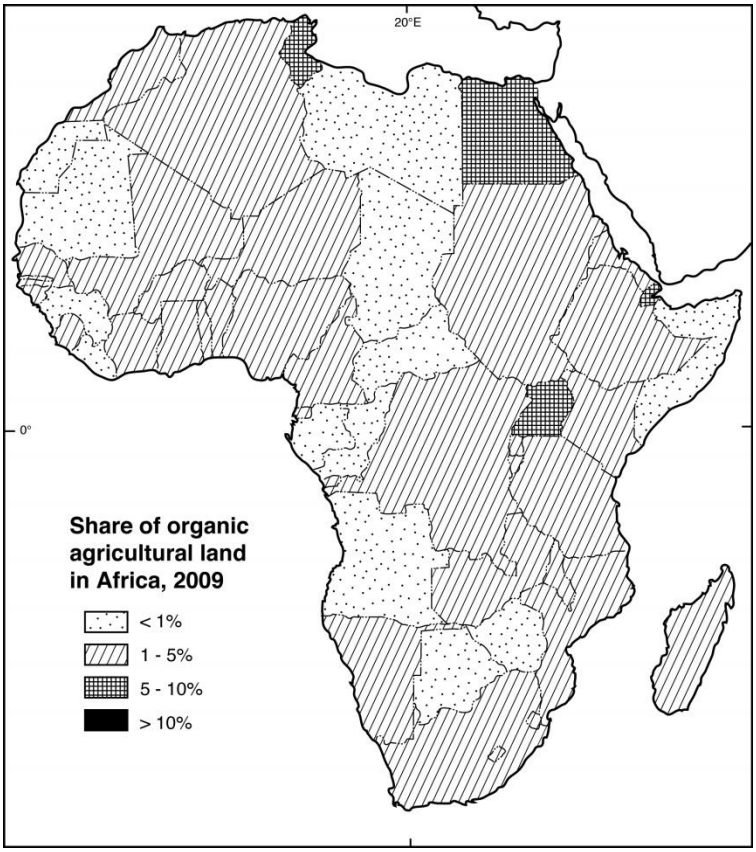

Figure 7.13 Share of organic agricultural land in African countries[27] (Redrawn by Job)

One example of organic farming is the Woolworths project which piloted commercial-scale organic cotton farming to develop a local source for its 100% organic clothing range (SA info material, 2010). Apart from cotton, a variety of products and the number of hectares under production are shown in Figure 7.14. Only four different products are shown on the graph – the other products are insignificiant and do not really contribute to the total agricultural income. It is clear that at present organic agriculture plays a limited role in South Africa.

[27] Downloaded from: http://www.fibl.org

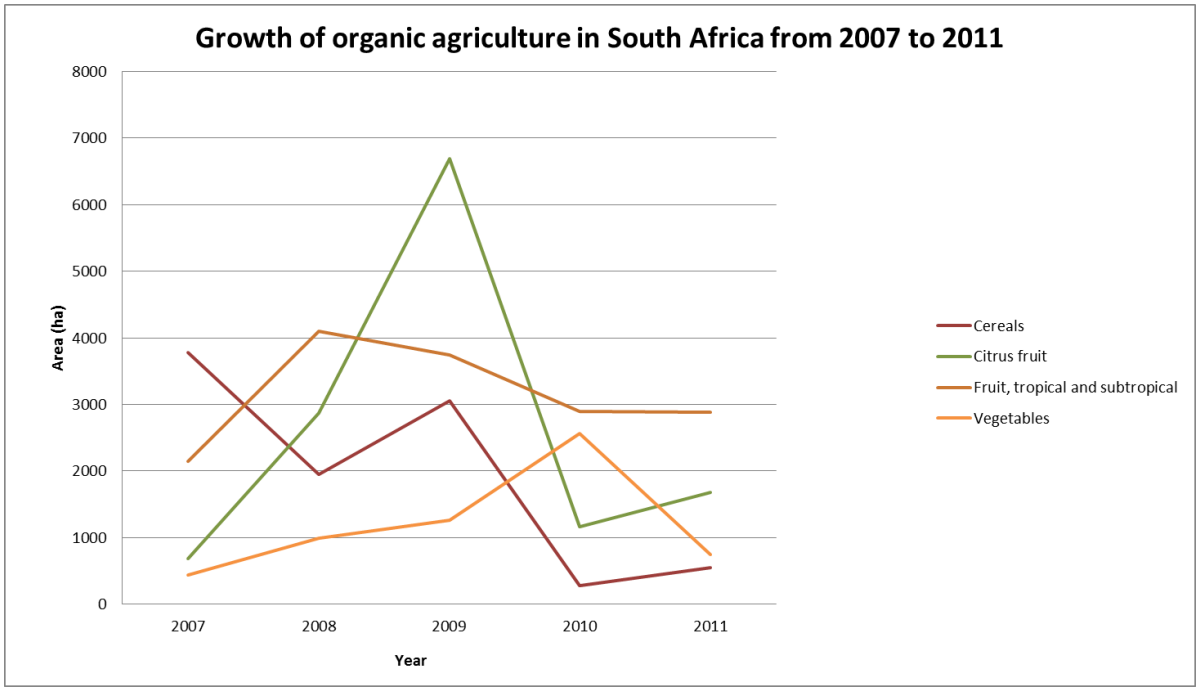

Figure 7.14 Growth of organic agriculture in South Africa from 2007 to 2011[28] (Redrawn by Hay)

It is important to state that the importance of organic farming is not shared by all the research participants in the study area. Furthermore, the above data is predominantly about Africa and South Africa and provides an overview on organic farming. No Rosendal farmers are directly involved in organic farming of scale. It appears as if it is only the few second home owners and local residents with organic gardens in Rosendal and Mautse that are involved. For the latter it is rather a struggle and survival motive than a new trend to live healthier.

This indicator of the post-productivist countryside is therefore only applicable on very limited scale in South Africa and, more specifically, the Rosendal area. In fact, it still seems to be an insignificant endeavour in real practice, despite the role that a few second home owners and local residents play in this regard. However, organic farming may contribute to the development of a consumptive environment and thus increase tourism development. Moreover, there are emerging signs that the "green economy" is starting to feature in government policies, such as the Integrated Growth Plan of 2012-2017 of the Dihlabeng Municipality.

[28] Downloaded from: http://www.fibl.org

7.3.5 Policy change

Policy change, as the fifth indicator of post-productivism, forms one of the most 'tangible' indicators to assess 'real' shifts in agricultural and environmental emphasis, both in advanced economies and in the global South. According to Wilson and Rigg (2003), there is some evidence of supranational bodies, such as the WTO and the EU, influencing agricultural policies in the global South and propelling them in a post-productivist direction.

A recent study conducted by Hoogendoorn and Visser provides "evidence that a growing number of localities, from large cities to small towns, are beginning to undertake proactive interventions for local economic development (LED) using tourism [as] the lead economic sector" (2010: 547). Local tourism initiatives have been encouraged in South Africa to counter the stagnation occurring in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010: 548) observe that although second home development has not yet been considered as "a possible LED strategy," it very easily could be. Investigating five small towns, they argue that second home development "generates vital capital flows 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." Furthermore, they also state that "tourism-related businesses, local and district municipalities should not underestimate the potential of LED impacts of second home ownership and development" (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010: 560). According to Pienaar and Visser (2009), local economic development (LED), within a neoliberal economic context, has been a particularly well-researched area of investigation in the global South, especially in South Africa (see Nel, 2001; Rogerson, 2012). Within the LED research theme an animated set of debates have emerged in which tourism development – as a LED strategy aimed at inducing economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief – feature strongly (see Binns & Nel, 2002; Rogerson, 2006; 2012).

In the light of the above LED research theme, there has been the introduction of some legislation to help strengthen local government capacity; such legislation includes Project Consolidation which was passed by national government to assist local government in strengthening their capacity for effective LED implementation (Rogerson, 2010). The Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA,

in Rogerson, 2010) is also a mandate of government that was passed on to municipalities to assist with the provisioning of skills to promote municipal capacity building. To date, the results of these policies cannot be traced as local government is still struggling to deliver in terms of LED – but each year, in their IDP reviews, LED is still projected as a tool to help with the recovery of socio-economic stresses (Rogerson, 2010).

The entrance to Rosendal town is an example of a Local Economic Development initiative of the earlier provincial Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEAT) and the local government (LED programme) (see Figure 7.15). Today, however, it is not fully operational any more. It was aimed at supporting strategic economic development work and the cooperation between local government and local businesses. The expected outcome of this partnership initiative included improved collaboration and dialogue between private and public stakeholders. A respected business owner in Rosendal town made the following remark: "Owing to the lack of direction from national government it is not always clear to us [local authorities and businesses] what our planning priorities should be." Different issues are put forward concerning the abovementioned lack of direction, namely: the different perceptions towards LED of the private sector and local government, questions of trust and mistrust between the private and public sectors, bylaws which are not enforced, corruption amongst municipal officials and the capacity gaps which remain an issue especially in smaller municipalities.

Figure 7.15: Entrance to Rosendal town (Source: Hay)

Some second home owners and local residents are also involved in training and capacitating programmes (Figure 7.16). They train unskilled, unemployed people to make candles and other hand-made products. Here are some of their remarks: "It is sad that we don't have a common vision on how Rosendal/Mautse must develop. The municipality is busy to rewrite the LED programme. I play a constructive role therein. I am still busy to teach local women needle skills. Unfortunately there are a lot of costs and emotional challenges involved" (BO7); another response: "We have a 'beer cap' project in Rosendal/Mautse. Unemployed women cover these caps with material and make beautiful ornaments to sell all over South Africa, especially in Pretoria and Clarens. Some women crochet blankets and you know it is very popular!" (LR6)

Figure 7.16: Skills development activities in Rosendal/Mautse (Source: Hay)

This argument is in line with other research done worldwide, for instance Rigg and Ritchie (2002) on rural Thailand (also a developing country) where many mainstream commentators, including the King of Thailand – arrived at a more sensitive, sustainable and appropriate (all key words in the alternative development lexicon) future for the Thai countryside.

To conclude, policy change as indicator is supposed to have a large cascading effect down from national to provincial to local level, but it seems as if good intentions on these levels are not translated into sustainable actions. The entrance to Rosendal (near Mautse) was earmarked for local economic development programmes and started off rather well but faded in a relatively short space of time. Furthermore, on local government level it also appears as if many novel ideas from

researchers to see second homes as part of government's LED programmes are still ignored (cf. Rogerson, 2010).

This indicator of a post-productivist countryside is therefore present in legislative terms, but almost absent in terms of execution – probably because of a lack of vision and management skills to bring all stakeholders on board in a focused way.

7.3.6 The inclusion of environmental non-governmental organisations at the core of policy making

The last indicator of post-productivism, according to Wilson and Rigg (2003), is that formerly marginal actors, such as environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) have been increasingly included in the 'core' of the policy-making process (Hewison, 2009; Ellis, 2007). Yet, as many researchers have highlighted (e.g. Eder, 2006; Marsden, 2010; Ellis, 2007), such enabling democratic conditions are sometimes not in place in the developing world. According to Rigg and Ritchie (2002), however, the increased power of environmental NGOs is also to be found in rural areas of the global South. Their study focuses on the rural idyll in Thailand as well as how this construction of an imagined rural past infuses ideas about the present and the policies promoted by local NGOs and others.

In South Africa, however, Community-based organisations (CBOs) and NGOs have a 'long history and have a key role to play in resource- and capacity-weak areas' (Nel, 2001: 1009). Their contribution in the form of financial support and training opportunities in smaller centres such as Kei Road and Seymour are noteworthy in this regard (Nel, 2001). In addition, the support provided by private organisations such as the National Business Initiative (NBI) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) have been of particular value to CBOs and NGOs (Rogerson, 2012). The application of technology, coordinated and driven by these non-governmental organisations, is an essential shift from pre-productivism to post-productivism.

As Nelson Mandela (former president of South Africa) once said, 'it is impossible for the government to address these problems alone' (Nel, 2001: 1020). Therefore, it requires the joint action of a range of stakeholders if it is to succeed. NGOs and community-based organisations have key roles to play in filling the development gap which exists and they need to be assisted in this endeavour (Nel, 2000).

Rosendal/Mautse municipality, which is part of the larger Dihlabeng municipality, indicated in their Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of spatial differentiation of 2012–2017 the following community based projects and activities: fast-track land reform with the support of NGOs; provide institutional support (e.g. water harvesting, irrigation schemes, as well as the upgrading of sewerage pipes); shield valuable agricultural land; ensure 60% satisfaction of food requirements through own production by 2014; improve rural transport (including logistics); skills development (develop rural further education and training through FET centres and agricultural colleges); rural town revitalisation (develop a rural nodal system and extend the neighbourhood development partnership grant (NDPG) to rural towns); improve light manufacturing, tourism and cultural work opportunities (the upgrading of the cultural village at the entrance of Rosendal at a cost of R1,500,000, the Love Rosendal Show at a cost of R30,000) in rural areas and develop cooperatives in rural areas (including a one-stop shop to provide all the necessary support for cooperatives); provide more farms to local small-scale farmers, for instance the poultry and piggery project to the value of R3,600,000, the Hydroponics project worth R150,000 and the development of the Equestrian centre valued at R100,000; and lastly a project which involved the youth to be taught about farming practices in conjunction with the University of the Free State (see IDP, 2012–2017).

To conclude, the last indicator of Wilson and Rigg (2003) shows parallels with other investigations (cf. Ellis, 2007) where environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) are increasingly included in the 'core' of the policy-making process to indicate a shift from productivism to a post-productivist countryside. The Dihlabeng Local Municipality actively seeks community participation in matters affecting the community and thus non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations could play a vital role therein.

It is unfortunate, however, to note that second home owners in South Africa have not yet been viewed as a significant group of people that can influence policy for the better in rural areas. The full impact on local economic development that involvement and recognition of second home owners may have in an area such as Rosendal/Mautse, is still to be discovered by drivers from the government's side.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the third research question was addressed, namely to what extent has the Rosendal/Mautse area been aligned to the theory of post-productivism. Wilson and Riggs' six indicators (2003) were utilised to obtain a sense of where the study area finds itself in the process – and also to make a judgement whether these indicators of the developed global North are relevant to the developing global South. The role of second home ownership in the move to a possible post-productivist environment was scrutinised throughout, as this is the particular focus of this study.

Some of the indicators have been found to be highly relevant in this case study of the global South, but others have been largely irrelevant because of certain circumstances.

The highly relevant indicators, those that have been found to be present to a huge extent, are counter-urbanisation, on-farm (and in-village) diversification and production-consumption. Despite the serious occurrence of these indicators, some of them demonstrated some nuances not prevalent in the developed global North: in terms of counter-urbanisation it was clear that lower-income groups can own a second property, but do not necessarily come from cities – some are based on farms. The lower-income owners from cities support family who are living in their second homes. Rosendal/Mautse also still exhibits a mix of urban (over weekends and during holidays) and rural (during the week) values – which strongly suggests that counter-urbanisation is still balanced by strong rural characteristics. On-farm diversification was found to be present in the area, but this was extended in this study to also include in-village diversification of land use, both of which imply multi-functional use of land. In terms of production-consumption it was found that primary agriculture is still growing, though at a slower rate, but that the secondary and tertiary sectors have grown dramatically. Second home ownership has contributed significantly to this growth by consuming these new products in the countryside, although the impact of second home owners in the Rosendal area may have been less than, for instance, a more commercialised rural town such as Clarens.

Two indicators that can be applied in an average manner in this case study are policy change and the inclusion of non-governmental organisations at the core of policy making. These were found to be only partially applicable: new policies have

been developed in line with post-productivism but the implementation thereof leaves much to be desired. In the same way non-governmental organisations are included in all policy documents – but in practice critical groupings outside of governmental organisations, such as second home owners, are largely ignored in local economic development efforts.

The indicator that is nearly absent in the current case study is the development of organic farming. Although small patches of excellence exist in the Rosendal/Mautse area, these are nearly insignificant in terms of the global movement towards organic farming. Second home owners play a definite role here, but in the bigger picture it makes an insignificant contribution to the post-productivist countryside.

In summary it can be stated that there are definite signs that, in some respects, the Rosendal/Mautse area is moving towards a post-productivist countryside. In other respects, however, little to average progress has been made. Wilson and Riggs' indicators of 2003 are in many ways applicable to the developing global South – but certain permutations occur that are not found in the developed global North. In certain ways some of the indicators are not (yet) applicable because of the relative slow pace of development in the developing global South.

This chapter (and the previous two chapters) highlighted the research findings of the current study and hopefully presented an extensive picture of just about all social perspectives involved in second home ownership in a rural countryside of a developing country.

CHAPTER EIGHT

REFLECTIONS ON SECOND HOMES IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA

8.1 Introductory reflection on the study

Social perspectives and social impacts of second homes on rural communities have not been investigated adequately within mainstream second home research in developing countries. To understand social perspectives clearly, three issues were put forward in this study, namely (1) what do the profiles of second home owners look like and why do people (including those with lower incomes) have second homes in rural areas? (2) What is the impact of second homes on host communities (as well as on second home owners)? And (3) to what extent is the theory of post-productivism aligned to the current case study as well as the possible role second homes play in rejuvenating the post-productivist countryside?

The reasons why people have second homes vary, but three themes evolved from the current research as possible reasons for having a second home in Rosendal/Mautse, namely 'escape', 'family', and 'permanence of residence'. The possible impacts second home owners could have on host communities – and *vice versa* – led to interesting conclusions which will be summarised later in this chapter. It was also found that the theory of post-productivist countrysides could be applied *partially* to the Rosendal/Mautse case study.

This study attempts to make a contribution about second home developments in South Africa, especially focusing on the social aspects. This focus is rather different from other scholars in the developing world who mainly focused on the economic impacts of second home developments on host communities.

8.2 Summary of the main findings

Based on the review of existing literature and the problem statement, the following primary research question was developed:

Which social perspectives can be derived from second home ownership in a rural community in a developing world context?

This question was subdivided into three secondary research questions:

1) How do the social and economic profiles of second home owners look, with a specific focus on reasons why they became second home owners?
2) What possible impacts do second home owners have on host communities, and *vice versa*? and
3) To what extent can the Rosendal/Mautse case study area be aligned with the theory of post-productivist countrysides?

Each of the three secondary research questions was addressed in the empirical section from Chapters Five to Seven. The groundwork, however, was laid earlier in the literature chapters.

In Chapter One a concise overview was provided to introduce the study. An inductive approach was suggested whereby second home development as an element of social and more general rural change in the countryside would be examined in detail, *via* a case study of Rosendal/Mautse in the Eastern Free State of South Africa.

In Chapter Two it was acknowledged that there is a large volume of academic literature on second home development. The phenomenon of owning a second home has been on the research agenda for a considerable period of time, particularly in developed countries (Müller, 2011). It was the intention of this chapter to contribute to these debates by accessing various perspectives on second home development worldwide and locally, with specific emphasis on social impacts and perspectives on second homes in rural communities of developing countries.

In Chapter Three it was argued that the theory of post-productivism, deployed specifically in a rural community context in developed countries, could possibly be successfully 'exported' to developing countries. The main argument was that an increasing number of rural communities have moved to a post-productivist state, with characteristics of differentiated localities where people focus more on leisure and recreational consumption. Furthermore, social change serves to undermine the social utility of traditional farming – resulting in a differentiated or post-productivist countryside of which second home development is an example. The applicability of Wilson and Riggs' (2003) post-productivist indicators in a global Southern context was examined and possible examples were applied to each indicator.

Chapter Four provided a discussion of the choice of research methodology and strategies. Interpretivism, as meta-theory, and a mixed methods approach as methodological paradigm was explained and justified. The in-depth case study design was regarded as suitable for this investigation. The interpretivist paradigm of this study provided a platform and agenda for future studies on social impacts of second home research, because existing research on second homes in a developing world context has predominantly been done via a more quantitative paradigm – and it is rare for scholars to let the case "tell its own story."

Chapter Five provided an overview about the social and economic profiles of second home owners and specifically the question of why second home owners have properties in the Rosendal area. The findings presented in this chapter were primarily based on questionnaires with second home owners (participants in Category B), although interviews with other role players were also taken into account (Category A). The questionnaires (and interviews) were conducted during the course of 2010–2013. The researcher authenticated and enriched the findings of the study through participants' quotations, visual data, observational research and findings from the questionnaires/interviews.

Concerning the socio-economic profile of the owners, a substantial number (just less than 50 percent) had educational qualifications and occupational levels that were not typified as professional. That such a large percentage was lower-level income earners was a surprising finding, as it is contrary to most other second home research and rather different to data in developed countries. Professional people are, however, still in the majority (51%).

The reasons for obtaining a property in the Rosendal/Mautse area varied. Thirty-five percent indicated that they bought the property for its aesthetic value and to escape from the city life. This is in line with research done by Chaplin (2001) and Buller and Hoggart (1994) on British second home owners in rural France where they experienced the feeling of 'escapism'. Furthermore, a large part of the second home owners (32%) said their families stay in the Rosendal area and they therefore feel attached to the area. The family factor corresponded with the pilot study done by Masetle (Hoogendoorn, 2011), one of Hoogendoorn's students, on low-income earners as potential second home tourists from the Limpopo province in South Africa.

Two important themes developed here: lower income earners indicated 'family' as the most important reason for obtaining a second home, while the higher income earners indicated that the 'escape' factor was the most important reason for buying a second home. Another interesting reason, that differs entirely from existing developed country literature, is that 12% of research participants were seemingly farmworkers who work on farms and commute to Rosendal/Mautse during weekends or month-ends. This is in line with Atkinson's (2007) investigation which found that farmworkers in other parts of the Free State and Western Cape obtain property in towns to ensure permanent residence. These town properties were often bought by farmers to avoid future land claims on farms, or allocated to farmworkers *via* the RDP programme. This phenomenon provides a third and critical further perspective on reasons for second home ownership in South Africa – which is apparently a unique South African phenomenon based on residence insecurity and land reform policies.

It is generally argued that second home owners seek out properties that are located relatively close to their permanent place of residence so as to achieve maximum equilibrium between work and leisure time (Chaplin, 2001). Ninety-two percent of the second owners in this study indicated that they were not more than 400km away from Rosendal, with Gauteng comprising the primary place of residence of 58% of second home owners.

According to the residential characteristics of second home owners, 68% of the participants were sole owners of their second homes, and most of the second home owners (74%) indicated that they have no other properties except their primary property, apart from the second home in the Rosendal area. Sixty-one percent of the participants bought or obtained their properties for under R100 000. It is critical to note that the government provided stands without cost to some Mautse residents, in terms of the so-called Reconstruction and Development Programme of the current regime. Most of the Mautse residents benefited from this scheme. Twenty percent of other second home owners bought their properties for between R100 001 and R300 000, with the current value of most of the second homes under R100 000. The reason for this is probably that the lower income earners, especially in Mautse, obtained the stands at no charge and spent little money on erecting permanent structures. This argument has some synergy with the New Zealand and Australian experiences where people 'squat' in some areas:

> The increased profile of shacks, particularly during the 'crown land saga', led to architectural vignettes and artistic depictions of the shack as a cultural expression of Tasmanian life. Second homes or shacks (informal structures) were grounded in the idea of cheap accommodation for domestic weekend and holiday getaways. (Atkinson *et al*., 2007: 6).

In terms of the temporality of second home use, it was found that owners mostly resided in Rosendal during month-ends, the Christmas season (December/January) and Easter holiday (March/April), and to a lesser extent during the June and July winter school recesses. The frequency of visits varied, but most of the second home owners visited Rosendal once every two to six months per year (38%), while 34% visited monthly. These monthly visitors mostly visited their families in Mautse at the month-end to provide them, their grandparents or children with money and food from the city or farm. Some of these monthly visitors also carried on with the building process, either the walls or roofs of their houses, depending on the amount of money available.

The question subsequently arose as to how these properties impact upon Rosendal/Mautse and the greater Rosendal rural farming area. This second research question was addressed in Chapter Six.

Second homes hold a range of positive and negative implications for the Rosendal/Mautse region. In terms of the positive effects, the following five themes developed: firstly, the supportive character of second home owners was clear – buying basic foodstuff and household goods and therefore generating an income stream for the Rosendal region. Secondly, the financial contribution to the local municipality through rates and taxes also became clear, as well as the good selling prices of properties should a local resident wish to relocate. Thirdly, the involvement in different activities by second home owners leads to the development of many leisure activities such as restaurants and taverns. Fourthly, the generation of new ideas, especially by the creative class, which help the community via skills training programmes became evident. Fifthly it was found that second home owners engaged with locals and visited them regularly.

Second home owners also induce perceived negative impacts on Rosendal/Mautse – for instance the social effects of second home ownership on the town's character

and identity: a traditional agricultural farming environment moves to a space of a combination of modern urban values (especially over weekends and holidays) and a more traditional mid-week. Secondly, second home owners in Rosendal town have a definite influence on property prices and contribute to displacement. In Mautse, however, the situation is vastly different, because a normal free market property environment does not exist. The latter situation may, however, also be viewed as a form of displacement, where the poorest are still not afforded housing opportunities and displacement of local residents may take place because of incorrect allocation of RDP houses. Thirdly, the urban and farming values that are challenging rural values may contribute to value conflict. Fourthly, the wage levels that differ between local residents and second home owners may add to conflict. Most second home owners generate higher income streams than local residents who are mostly retired. In this regard some second home owners prefer to pay higher salaries to their domestic workers, because they provide security for the homes with their presence. Lastly, the irregular employment of local residents is also a feature that may be viewed in a negative light: some second home owners are not really dependent upon hired assistance, and prefer the assistance only when they are in town.

In order to answer the third research question (Chapter Seven), Wilson and Riggs' (2003) six indicators were used to demonstrate that the theory of post-productivism can be partially exported from a developed world context to a developing world context. Some of the indicators have been found to be highly relevant in this case study of the global South, but others have been found to be nearly irrelevant. Also important to note is that the meaning of these indicators may be different when applied to the global North. Their presence or absence should therefore not be taken to mean that a process directly similar to that marked out for the global North is occurring (Rigg, 2006).

The highly relevant indicators that have been found to be present to a significant extent are counter-urbanisation, on-farm (and in-village) diversification, and the move from production to consumption of the countryside. Despite the occurrence of these indicators, some of them demonstrated nuances not prevalent in the developed North: in terms of counter-urbanisation it was clear that lower-income groups can own a second property, but did not necessarily come from cities – many were from nearby farms. The lower-income owners from cities especially supported

families who were living in their second homes. Rosendal/Mautse also still exhibits a mix of urban (over weekends and during holidays) and rural (during the week) values – which strongly suggested that counter-urbanisation is still balanced by strong rural characteristics. On-farm diversification was found to be present in the area, but this was extended in this study to also include in-village diversification of land use, both of which implied multi-functional use of land. In terms of production-consumption it was found that primary agriculture is still growing, though at a slower rate, and that the secondary and tertiary sectors have grown dramatically. Second home ownership contributed significantly to this growth by consuming these new products (e.g. hiking trails, 4x4 routes, bird watching etc.) in the countryside, although the impact of second home owners in the Rosendal area might have been less than for instance in a more commercialised rural town such as Clarens.

Two indicators that can be applied to a reasonable extent in this case study are policy change and the inclusion of non-governmental organisations at the core of policy making. These were found to be only partially applicable: new policies had been developed in line with the post-productivist indicator, but the implementation thereof has been forthcoming in an uncoordinated and ill-planned manner. In the same way non-governmental organisations were included in all policy documents – but in practice critical groupings outside of governmental organisations such as second home owners were still largely ignored in local economic development efforts.

The indicator that was nearly absent in the current case study was the development of organic farming. Although small patches of excellence in terms of intensive farming existed in the Rosendal/Mautse area, these were nearly insignificant in terms of other places in the world in which post-productivism has been recorded. Second home owners played a definite role here, but in the bigger picture it made an insignificant contribution to the post-productivist countryside.

In summary it can be stated that there were definite signs that, in some respects, the Rosendal/Mautse area was moving towards a post-productivist countryside. However, in some respects little to average progress had been made. Wilson and Riggs' indicators of 2003 are in many ways applicable to the developing South – but certain permutations occur that are not found in the developed North. In certain

ways some of the indicators are not (yet) applicable because of the relatively slow pace of development in the developing South.

8.3 Contribution of the current study

Second homes as phenomenon has been researched rather extensively in developed countries, but little seems to have been done in the developing world to understand the social perspectives, and resulting impacts, of this phenomenon on rural communities. Contributions of the current study mainly evolved *via* the three secondary research questions.

Firstly, research on second home development in South Africa on people with lower incomes as second home owners is almost absent, except for two Hoogendoorn's papers. One of the main contributions of this study therefore, is the unraveling of the socio-economic profiles of lower income earners who have second homes, and do not necessarily come from cities.

Secondly, research on high amenity rural places often focuses on the potential impacts of rapid growth in tourism and second home ownership on the 'host' community. Part of this worldwide research is the seasonal and weekend resident attachment to such a landscape, but for the current study the migration of farm dwellers – who travel during month-ends to town locations or 'informal dwellings' (stands provided by government with informal structures erected by the owner) – was also researched. This represents a further and different trend in comparison with worldwide patterns, and provides an extra angle from where second home research in a developing world context can be viewed.

The growth in second home ownership generated both particular social impacts as well as varied emotional reactions, which may lead to erosion of (or, in constructive terms, change in) the existing socio-cultural fabric, as rural values are mixed with the urban (and farm) values of incomers (during weekends/holidays). The emotional reactions, expressed in terms of 'attitudes', towards second homes and their owners as well as towards rural residents were examined and it is believed that this can contribute substantially to the existing knowledge base in the second home research field. Moreover, findings of the study shed light on the phenomenon of 'escapism' which implies a voluntary escape from the pressures of work and everyday routine – so familiar to most of the working class. A further specific

contribution, in terms of social perspectives, is that second home ownership must be seen differently in the case of South Africa and take into account that lower income earners obtained stands from government to promote permanence of residence in rural areas. This also links to the pull factor of the family motive as possible reason for obtaining second homes.

Thirdly it was found that the six indicators of a post-productivist countryside, identified by Wilson and Rigg (2003), can only be partially applied to the current case study. This indicates that developing countries are probably moving partially to a post-productivist state in the rural areas, but that certain factors not known to developed countries are also at work and contribute to permutations of the mentioned indicators.

The perspective on seasonal and weekend attachment of second home owners (as part of the indicator of counter-urbanisation) has often led to a typification of rural values being displaced by urban values. The researcher wishes to differ from this view and wants to state that in the case of Rosendal/Mautse it appears as if "displacement" is not the correct term to use. Traditional values seem to dominate during the week when the area is still highly reminiscent of the productivist era, whereas the area resembles a partial post-productivist era during weekends and holidays. In a sense, an oscillation between a weekend/seasonal post-productivist sentiment and a mid-week traditional productivist sentiment is experienced. At most it can possibly be called a mix of rural and urban values that develop, where residents and second home owners are probably influenced reciprocally by their respective values.

Through these main contributions the current study may help facilitate insights in other similar work concerning social perspectives on second home developments in rural areas of a developing world context.

Furthermore, this study supports a reconceptualisation of a post-productivist theory for the developing world, through detecting that Riggs's six indicators are only partially applicable to a developing country environment. For instance, counter-urbanisation, the first indicator, may happen in different ways to the global North: lower-income owners exist and they may also come from surrounding farms (and not necessarily cities). On-farm diversification may have to be extended to also include "in-village" diversification in a developing country where residents (previously

farmworkers) extend their income with home-made products, organic gardening, free-ranging cattle and pigs in and around their informal dwelling. The move from production to consumption may have to account for production that is still increasing – together with the exponential increase in consumption. Policy change and NGO involvement are happening well on paper in this case study, but in practice the implementation is ill-planned and badly implemented. Organic farming was noted as the indicator where the least similarity was found to the global North – and this is probably in part due to the slower pace of change in a developing environment.

8.4 Limitations of the current study

Despite being a Geography researcher in this study, I have been a practicing educator for the past 14 years. The researcher addressed the challenge of not being actively exposed to geographical research since the completion of her Master's degree through constant awareness, self-reflection and debriefing sessions with other researchers and her supervisor.

The researcher entered the research field as an Afrikaans-speaking person, whose home language is widely different from the participants in Mautse. As indicated in Chapter Four, the study attempted to address this limitation of language by acknowledging it in the first place. The researcher also made use of a research assistant and engaged in debriefing sessions with her as well. Furthermore, the researcher accompanied her on the first few interview sessions with second home owners in Mautse, but the participants on the farms were too far off and therefore the researcher interviewed them on different occasions. In this regard creative ways were used – both researcher and participants have a general understanding of Afrikaans and Sotho and can understand each other by explaining questions and answers with gestures.

As a mixed methods researcher following an interpretivist approach, it was initially difficult for the researcher to position herself in relation to the research inquiry. The research area is next to the researcher's home town, and it was difficult to exclude her subjective experience in reporting on the current study. As Denzin and Lincoln (2011) said, the researcher would like to tell the whole story, but of course cannot. However, when engaging in existing literature, the researcher realised that the question regarding objectivity *versus* subjectivity in qualitative research has been a

point of discussion for several scholars and researchers (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Gergen & Gergen, 2008). Hoogendoorn and Visser (2009: 5) argue that 'the researcher's positionality and political-temporal contingency in the research process can and does hamper a number of potential research topics and their investigations'. They further state that a researcher's social and cultural background could have an effect on the type of questions they ask, how they frame such questions, and also their relations with informants in the field. The researcher therefore adopted a stance of critical subjectivity, as one primary way of dealing with the challenge of subjectivity.

Mixed-method methodology is challenging in the geographical sciences as two prominent discources recently dominate the second home research agenda, namely a neo-liberal approach (see Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2009) where the main focus is on economic impacts of second home owners in post-productivist countrysides and a Marxist approach (Gallent, 2007) where the focus is mainly on uneven development and displacement of locals. However, it could be reasoned that Human Geography is predominantly about the experiences of humans, how they engage with the environment and change over time: this predominantly represents the realm of qualititative research with a flavour of quantitative methodology. Having said that, this predominantly interpretive, qualitative design may perhaps have been strengthened by adding a stronger quantitative component.

8.5 Recommendations

Limited statistics, and the perception of second home owners as outsiders and intruders into the countryside, contribute to the lack of recognition of this phenomenon (Müller, 2010). It is therefore critical that further research be done to develop an accurate database on second home owners in South Africa.

Bringing the aspect of rural studies strongly into second home research would certainly enrich our theoretical understanding of the phenomenon and allow us to assess the impacts of second homes more adequately (Müller, 2010). In this regard, the question of why second home owners choose a specific rural location may not have been exhausted thoroughly in this study. More research is certainly required on this specific issue.

The issue of second home ownership by lower income groups is relevant and certainly needs much more discussion and research. One specific aspect that came to the fore was the issue of ownership: it appears as if the traditional title deeds have not been transferred in the case of most of these second home owners of Mautse – and need further clarification, also in terms of the social impacts it may have.

An issue that needs further investigation is how and why certain rural areas attract creative class second home owners as well as owners from varied sexual orientations. Atkinson (2007) and Ingle (2010), two leading researchers in South Africa, investigated several towns in the Karoo region of South Africa that are undergoing a profound transformation with the influx of 'creatives' from urban areas. The influence of sexuality on small town environments, especially conservative settings, has not been addressed adequately in this study, and certainly will be worthwhile to focus on.

The issue of what 'home' means to different people certainly needs much more clarity. 'Second home' is not a 'home' unless it is viewed as a point of secondary social transaction with a deeper symbolic and emotional meaning for its user (Quinn, 2004). The 'home' as secondary dwelling is much more than just a physical space and should be seen within the context of place identity whereby family ties and emotional reactions play a central role in the meaning of 'home'. Owing to the lack of consistency regarding the meaning of "second home," more clarity is therefore needed to understand the issue of 'home'.

Another issue is the controversy among researchers surrounded by the concept of counter-urbanisation (Mitchell, Bunting & Piccioni, 2004) for instance: is the growth of a rural area owing to development of tourism and second home tourism, or is it the result of re-urbanisation and revived economic development and re-development? Mitchell *et al.* (2004: 156) take a critical stance, according to their Canadian research, that small centres with populations of 10 000 or less can be considered as rural areas". They further argue that artists (or ex-urbanists) who establish themselves in rural communities or settlements can be considered to be part of the counter-urbanisation movement. The findings of this study revealed that counter-urbanisation is applicable during weekends/holidays, but during weekdays Rosendal/Mautse still predominantly operates as a quiet small settlement anchored primarily by agricultural activity. Therefore, this study postulates that

Rosendal/Mautse is a rural settlement/rural village and not a small town. Owing to the lack of consistency regarding the meaning of 'town', more clarity is needed to understand the issue of 'town'.

8.6 Final conclusion

Second home ownership in a rural area of a developing country seems to have particular characteristics, over and above the generic characteristics identified in developed countries. One such particular (and peculiar) characteristic is that the South African government became a role player in distributing plots and RDP-houses to a number of lower income earners. Second home ownership has thus been opened to nearly all groupings in a creative and interventionist way – which calls for a completely new look at how second homes and their social impacts are viewed in a developing world.

This study found a number of positive and negative social and economic impacts of second homes in the Rosendal/Mautse area case study. The lasting impression, however, is that second homes and ownership bring much more social capital to the countryside – but it remains crucial to be managed in a way that the reasons why second home owners escape or are drawn to the area, remain intact.

The Rosendal/Mautse area has benefited greatly from the influx of second home owners, especially over the past two decades. Its character has evolved on the way to a differentiated and post-productivist countryside but is still embedded in a productivist rurality that will continue to draw people to the area in the future.

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ANNEXURE 1

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

2 December 2010

Dear Sir/Madam

Questionnaire on the profile of Second Home Owners

I am a PhD student at the University of the Free State and currently engaged in research on the impact of second home owners on the community of Rosendal. The aims of this project are to examine the social impact of second homes in the Rosendal area specifically, as well as to establish whether there is a developmental trend regarding second homes in the Free State Province. A further aim is to examine the role of second home owners and distribution of second homes in the Rosendal area.

In view of the above, it will be greatly appreciated if you could respond to the following questions as accurately as possible and return it to me via e-mail. **Please be assured that the information will be regarded as completely confidential.** No individual second home owner or second home location will be identified as such in the final report. The completed data files will be destroyed once the information has been extracted and used to establish an aggregate picture of 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 the Rosendal area. Furthermore, if you are interested in the outcome of this project I will gladly provide you with the summative information. My e-mail address is anettepienaar@yahoo.com.

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

Kind regards!

Anette Pienaar

ANNEXURE 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEWS

VRAELYS / QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT / UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE

DEPARTEMENT GEOGRAFIE / DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

NAVRAE: Prof. G. Visser / ENQUIRIES: Prof. G. Visser

Tel. (051)4013762

AAN ENTREPRENEURS/ BESIGHEIDSPERSONE

1. Ondersteun tweede woning eienaars jou besigheid? En hoe gereeld?
2. Ken jy hul persoonlik? Op voornaam terme?
3. Is jy bewus van enige konflik tussen hulle en plaaslike inwoners? Indien ja, brei uit.
4. Word hulle betrek by sosiale aktiwiteite soos bv. kerk aktiwiteite en ander? Verduidelik
5. In hoe 'n mate sou jy sê verskil hul waardes met jul plaaslike waardes. Verduidelik
6. Hoekom het jy hierdie dorp gekies om 'n besigheid oop te maak? Verduidelik
7. Dink jy misdaad het toegeneem vandat hier meer tweede woning eienaars is?
8. Het meer besighede oopgemaak vandat hier meer tweede woning eienaars is ?
   Gee voorbeelde
9. Dink jy die tweede woning eienaars hou van hierdie plaaslike, rustige leefstyl? Verduidelik
10. Dink jy die dorp het sy karakter en kulturele identiteit van byeenkomplek van die boere gemeenskap verloor nadat al meer tweede woning eienaars gekom het? Verduidelik

AAN ROSENDAL INWONERS

1. Ken jy van die tweede woning eienaars persoonlik. Verduidelik
2. Neem hulle deel aan aktiwiteite wat deur die dorpsbewoners gereël word? Verduidelik.
3. Is hul waardes anders as julle s'n? Verduidelik
4. Kuier hulle by ander tweede woning eienaars of hou hul hul eenkant? Verduidelik
5. Voel jy bedreig deur hulle? 'n Gevoel van hul neem oor? Verduidelik
6. Voel jy dat hulle die eiendomspryse opjaag en dit dus moeiliker vir plaaslike inwoners maak om daar te bly? Gee jou mening.
7. Dink jy die dorp se sosiale struktuur en sy karakter het verander vandat tweede woning eienaars daar bly?
8. Het misdaad toegeneem veral buite seisoen wanneer eiendomme toe staan? Verduidelik
9. Dink jy dat tweede woning eienaars nuwe idees na die gebied gebring het en lei tot ontwikkeling van die area? Verduidelik

10. Hoe voel jy oor die huispryse wat so hoog geword het, en dat jy sukkel om hoer eiendoms-belasting te betaal. Verduidelik

11. Hoekom het hy Rosendal gekies om in te bly? Verstrek redes vir jou besluit.

AAN OUD -INWONERS OOR DIE GESKIEDENIS VAN DIE DORP

1. Vertel meer oor die geskiedenis van die dorp. Enige interessante gebeurtenisse?

2. Hoe het dit gebeur dat al meer tweede eienaars huise kom koop het? Verduidelik

3. Dink jy dit is goed dat ander mense van buite nou in jul dorp bly? Verduidelik

4. Ken jy van hierdie mense persoonlik? Verduidelik

5. Maak hulle einge bydrae tot jul dorp? Gee voorbeelde

6. Enige toekomsplanne vir die dorp? Verduidelik

AAN PLAASWERKERS

1. Wanneer het jy die plek in die dorp gekoop?

2. Hoe gereeld gaan jy na die huis in die dorp?

3. Is dit jou eiendom of huur jy dit by die regering?

4. Hoekom het jy die plek in die dorp? Wat wil jy daarmee maak?

5. Watter aktiwiteite vind plaas in die dorp en neem jy deel daaraan?

6. Hoe het jy die huis betaal? Het jy 'n lening by die regering gekry? Verduidelik

7. Hoe lyk jou huis in die dorp? 'n Steen gebou of sink mure? Verduidelik

8. Hoe lyk jou huis op die plaas? Verduidelik

AAN TWEEDE WONING EIENAARS

1. Verduidelik die hele proses van hoe jy aan die eiendom gekom het.

2. Wat is die hoofrede vir die koop van die eiendom in Rosendal?

3. Beskryf jou gevoelens wanneer jy in Rosendal is.

4. Beskryf die verskil tussen jou stadslewe en lewe in Rosendal. Gee voorbeelde

5. Beskryf die aktiwiteite wat jy in Rosendal by betrokke is. Hoe verskil dit van die stedelike aktiwiteite. Gee voorbeelde en brei uit.

6. Beskryf wat hierdie tweede woning in Rosendal vir jou beteken. Verduidelik

7. Beskryf die interaksie tuseen jou en plaaslike inwoners en bure.

8. Doen jy herstelwerk aan eiendom self of maak jy gebruik van kontrakteurs? Verduidelik

9. Neem jy deel aan aktiwiteite gereel deur plaaslike inwoners of doen jy jou eie ding? Brei uit

ANNEXURE 3

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECOND HOME OWNERS

Second home development in Rosendal

Instructions

a) Please insert a cross (X) in the appropriate space(s), or write your answer in the space provided.

b) 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

Section B

1. In what year did you purchase your second home in Rosendal?

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

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

Yes		No	

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	

4.2. If yes, where?

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

Daily	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	2-6 months	7-12 months	Less often than once a year

5.2. Please indicate the number of days per month (<u>on average</u>) that you have personally spent in Rosendal 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 (<u>on average</u>) did you let out your property 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	

7.2 What was the market value of the property when you first bought it?

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

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 Rosendal area	R	R
Gardener from the Rosendal 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 specificy):	R	R

9.1. How many days did you spend in Rosendal during your last visit?

9.2. During your the last visit to Rosendal, 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 1.	R
2.	R
3.	R

10.1. During your last visit to Rosendal, how much money did you spend 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 1.	R
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	

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

2.2. Explain your answer above?

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

Yes		No	

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?

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

Yes		No	

4.2. If yes, please explain your answer above?

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

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

ANNEXURE 4

DEED OF LELIEFONTEIN

Weshalwe die Komparant afstand doen van al die regte en titel wat

sy gesegde Lasgewer

voorheen op genoemde eiendom gehad het en gevolglik ook erken dat

sy gesegde Lasgewer

geheel en al van die besit daarvan onthef en nie meer daartoe geregtig is nie en dat, kragtens hierdie Akte, bogenoemde

STADSRAAD VAN DIE MUNISIPALITEIT VAN ROSENDAL

Diens Opvolgers

~~Erfgename, Eksekuteurs, Administrateurs~~ of Regverkrygendes tans en voortaan daartoe geregtig is ooreenkomstig plaaslike gebruik, behoudens die regte van die Regering, en ten slotte erken hy dat die koopsom van die gemelde eiendom die som van EENDUISEND NEGEHONDERD VYF en TAGTIG POND (£1985.0.0) bedra.

.... TEN BEWYSE /

en dat hy in sy voornoemde hoedanigheid hiermee in volkome en vrye eiendom sedeer en transporteer aan en ten gunste van

DIE STADSRAAD VAN DIE MUNISIPALITEIT VAN ROSENDAL

Diens Opvolgers

~~Erfgename, Eksekuteurs, Administrateurs~~ of Regverkrygendes,

SEKER Resterende Gedeelte van die plaas LELIEFONTEIN No. 231 distrik FICKSBURG, groot as sulks EENHONDERD SES en TWINTIG (126) Morge EENHONDERD EEN en VYFTIG en EEN HALF (151½) vierkante roede sig uitstrekkende soos Grondbrief met aangehegte Kaart geregistreer op 24 Januarie 1907 ten faveure van die Boedel van wyle Johannes Jacob Botha en latere Aktes die laaste waarvan Akte van Transport No. 807/1945 geregistreer op 27 Februarie 1945 ten gunste van Komparant se Lasgewer, meer ten volle sal aantoon.

..... WESHALWE /

Opgestel deur my :

Transportbesorger.

BC 9642 /19 7

GEKANSELLEER 29-12-1976
CANCELLED

REGISTRATEUR
R REGISTRAR

MHE
Subject to Grondverwardery No. 6
Onderworpe aan
for ... 13/5 ... 6-8
13-5-1955 M15/801

Transportakte No. 5024

1947

Hierby word bekendgemaak:

DAT MARIUS VAN DE WALL,

Akteuitmaker van Bloemfontein voor my, Registrateur van Aktes van die Provinsie Oranje Vrystaat, verskyn het, te Bloemfontein, hy die genoemde Komparant synde behoorlik daartoe gemagtig deur 'n volmag aan hom verleen deur

NICOLAAS JACOBUS DE WET DU BUISSON

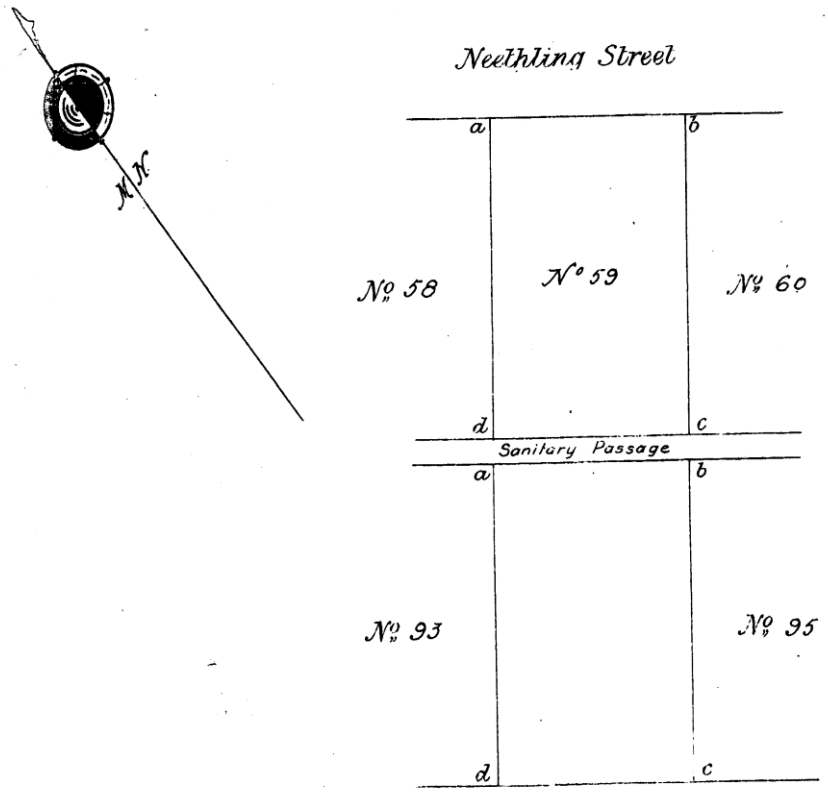
gebore op 13 Julie 1884

gedateer die 14de dag van Augustus 1947

en geteken te ROSENDAL

En genoemde Komparant het verklaar dat sy gesegde Lasgewer op die 26ste dag van Junie 1947 wel en wettiglik verkoop het

.... EN DAT /



SIDES		
ab	150	Cape feet
bc	200	"
cd	150	"
da	200	"

The above figure a b c d
represents

ERF No 94

situate in the Town of

ROSENDAL

Farm Rozendal, No 299, District Ficksburg.

in extent 208 sq: roods 48 sq: feet.

ANGLES	
a	90° 0' 0"
b	90 0 0
c	90 0 0
d	90 0 0

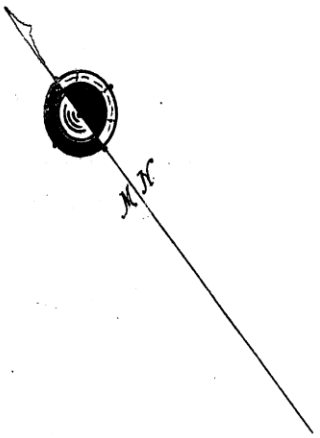
Surveyed by me on the 22nd ~~June~~ 1911,

This Diagram is annexed to Deed of Transfer No 151 dated 15 FEB 1915 Registrar of Deeds

Govt Land Surveyor

No. 11 Date 15 May 1912
Examined and approved as being in accordance with General Plan of Township

Actg. Chas. McLaren
Surveyor-General



Neethling Street

a b
No. 58 No. 59 No. 60
d c

Sanitary Passage

a b
No. 93 No. 95
d c

De la Harpe Street

Scale: 100 Cape Feet to 1 Eng. Inch

SIDES		
ab	150	Cape feet
bc	200	"
cd	150	"
da	200	"

The above figure a b c d represents

ERF No. 94

situate in the Town of

ROSENDAL

Farm Rozendal, No. 299, District Ficksburg.

in extent 208 sq. roods 48 sq. feet.

ANGLES	
a	90° 0' 0"
b	90 0 0
c	90 0 0
d	90 0 0

5 99 m 270 21/100 k

TEN BEWYSE WAARVAN ek, die genoemde Registrateur, tesame met die Komparant hierdie Akte onderteken het en die met die ampsseël bekragtig het,

ALDUS GEDOEN EN GETEKEN op die Kantoor van die Registrateur van Aktes in die Provinsie Oranje Vrystaat, te Bloemfontein, op hede die / dag van September in die jaar van Ons Heer Eenduisend Negehonderd en Sewe en Veertig.

In my teenwoordigheid :

REGISTRATEUR VAN AKTES.

Geregistreer op bogenoemde datum in die Grondregister van Oranje Vrystaat gehou te Bloemfontein, Boek , Bladsy , en betreffende :

Para. 1	Register	Boek	Bladsy	213
Para. 2	„	„	„	
Para. 3	„	„	„	

ANNEXURE 5

INTERVIEW WITH MUNICIPAL WORKER

Bokkie inwoner van Rosendal omgewing en werksaam by munisipaliteit(LR8)

Sy werk by die munisipaliteit en ken almal in die dorp en omgewing. Help ook baie met die tweede huiseienaars. Kyk ook na die mense se huise.

Is jy bewus van konflik?

Ja, veral tydens 2010 se oujaarsaand party. Party mense het so bietjie skeef getrek en wou nie deel wees van die ander mense se planne nie. Ons wou die stadsaal gebruik en R10 vra om net die huur van die saal te kon betaal. Ander wou by die tennisklub bymekaar kom. Die hotel wou nie, want die vorige jaar het net 2 mense opgedaag. So ja ons het toe by die tennisklub bymekaar gekom en lekker gebraai en musiek gemaak. Daar was van die plaaslike sowel as die omgewing se mense. Dit het toe baie goed afgeloop. My seun het musiek gemaak – die mense het op die tennisbaan gedans. Chris het by sy koffiewinkel toe ook 'n party gehad – 'n regte gay party. Op die ou einde het dit eintlik baie goed gegaan.

Ons is toe kwart voor twaalf kerk toe. Die kerk sou vroeer die aand gewees het, maar ons het toe besluit om net voor twaalf kerk te hou.

Oor die eeufees reelings – ja die hele ding het uitmekaar geval. Daar was onderlinge konflik gewees. Die plaaslike mense wou so maak, en die tweede huis eienaars anders. Van die plaaslike mense wat op die komitee was, het bedank. 'n Tweede huis eienaar het toe besluit om oor te vat – maar hy sit in Johannesburg en as daar vergaderings gehou word oor die Riemlandroete, dan kan hy nie dit bywoon nie, want hy is in Johannesburg. Die boeremark het ook gestop, en toe het Martie besluit om oor te neem. Haar pa behoort nie aan die boerevereniging nie, en toe moes sy die boerevereniging se plek huur. Op die ou einde het iemand anders toe oorgevat, so ja die boeremark gaan weer aan.

Die 21ste April gaan ons wel 'n nagmaalfees hê waar ons 'n perdekar gaan gebruik en van die mense na die kerk vervoer. Die mense trek dan aan soos in 1912. Na die kerkdiens gaan daar 'n ete wees in die kerktuin. Die Saterdag gaan daar 'n boeremark wees en die Sondag 'n sonopkoms diens in die oop area langs Gaffie se gastehuis. Saterdagaand is Amanda Strydom, die kunstenaar, ook hier in Chris se plek.

Het die dorp baie verander van nou tot lank terug? Jou ouers het mos hier gebly en geboer.

Ja, die dorp het baie verander. Daar was baie meer huise. Toe die kaasfabriek toegemaak het, het baie mense weggetrek. Baie van die huise het vervalle geraak en is toe gesloop. Vandag is daar net gras. Die dorp was baie lewendig, want die skool het tot standerd 8 gegaan. Daar was meer aktiwiteite en baie meer bedrywighede. Die kerkraadsvergaderings was ook heeltemal anders, die vrouens het gaan help. Het kos gemaak en alles het eintlik om die kerk gedraai. Die mense het meer omgegee vir mekaar. Vandag leef elke ou vir homself. Hulle is nie meer so betrokke by mekaar nie. Ook het die kinders nog gesonde kattekwaad aangevang – perskes gaan steel in die nag. Vandag is hier nie eintlik meer kinders nie. Die kinders gaan na die buurdorpe toe vir skool.

In die week is dit baie stil hier, maar naweke leef die dorp. Dan kom die tweede huis eienaars gewoonlik. Baie keer is daar opvoerings in die teater. Hulle kuier ook onder mekaar die tweede huis eienaars. Hulle meng nie met die inwoners van die dorp nie, hulle gaan ook nie kerk toe Sondae nie. Dit lyk of die twee groepe (plaaslike inwoners en tweede huis eienaars) nie met mekaar kommunikeer nie. Het nie eintlik raakvlakke nie. Hulle belange verskil en ook hul sienswyse. Die karakter van die dorp het verander oor die jare. Dit is lankal nie meer 'n plattelandse boeregemeenskap nie. Die stedelike tweede huis eienaars het ander waardes wat nie ooreenkom met die ou inwoners van die dorp nie. Die samesyn van vroeër is nie meer hier nie – van ek help kyk na jou kinders vanaand as julle êrens heen gaan. Elke ou doen maar sy eie ding op sy manier. Selfs die VLU (Vroue landbou unie) het doodgeloop. Die Elands dameskring het so 3 jaar gelede weer probeer om so een keer per maand iets te doen. Ek dink die rede waarom die goed doodloop is omdat ons werk. Ons

wil nie nog in die aand ook iets doen nie, is moeg gewerk na die dag en ons het ook gesinne wat ons moet versorg. Hulle reel ook uitstappies in die dag en dan kan ons wat werk nie saamgaan nie.

Watse aktiwiteite is daar alles hier in die dorp?

Net die tennis klub is al wat hier is. Daar is nie ander klubs nie. Hier is ook 'n staproete. By die dam buite die dorp vang mense soms vis. Ander stap rond met hul honde. Verder het ons nuwe dominee van die NG kerk begin met selgroepe. Sy beteken baie vir ons gemeenskap – ja ek dink daar is al 'n ommeswaai in ons gemeenskap.

So ja, die tweede huis eienaars het defnitief bietjie lewe in ons dorp ingeblaas. Voor hulle koms het die plek tot niet gegaan. Ons kan nie juis se dat hul geld inbring nie, want hulle bring kos en kruideniers saam. Tog sal hulle bv. melk of brood koop. Hulle betaal wel die huis en tuinwerker 'n salaries. Hulle sal ook petrol ingooi, maar verder bring hulle als saam. Die tweede huis eienaars betaal hoër salarisse aan die tuinwerkers, want hulle doen meer verantwoordelike werk. So ja daar kan konflik ontstaan tussen die werkers onderling. So vir die swartes is dit defnitief voordelig dat hier tweede huis eienaars is, want sonder hulle sou die swartes nie werk gehad het nie.

INTERVIEW WITH HOTEL MANAGER

Die eienaar kom so eenmaal elke maand na Rosendal en bly in die hotel. Het nie 'n 2de huis nie. Die bestuurderes bly op 'n plaas en ry elke dag in.

Hoe gereeld besoek 2de woning eienaars jul restaurant?

Hulle het baie gekom in die begin, maar vandat hul huise klaar gebou is kom hulle minder. Party kom so eenkeer in 'n maand, maar die meeste kom bitter min.
Donderdae kom plaaslike mense, want dan het ons 'n 'pizza aand' en oor naweke is dit plaaslik en 2de woning eienaars. Daar is ook heelwat mense wat deur ry van die Kaap of Johannesburg en dan oorslaap. Baie jagters in die winter het ook ons hotel en restaurant gebruik.

Ken jy van die 2de woning eienaars persoonlik?

Nie regtig nie. Wel die wat gereeld die plek besoek ken mens beter, maar nie persoonlik nie.

By watter aktiwiteite is die 2de woning eienaars betrokke?

Weet nie regtig nie. Party besoek die boere mark, maar die meeste is maar op hul eie.

Is jul waardes anders as die 2de woning eienaars s'n?

Dit was 'n boeregemeenskap in die verlede, my pa en oupa-hulle het na die kooperasie toegekom vir saad en kunsmis. Die skool en kerk was meer aktief – dit was soos 'n regte dorp.

Is daar enige konflik tussen julle en 2de woning eienaars?

Nee, nie waarvan ek weet nie.

INTERVIEW WITH COFFEE SHOP MANAGER

Wat dink jy van 2de woning eienaars in Rosendal?

Die meeste is baie 'nice'. Hulle kom om te ontspan. Hulle eet en kuier in die restaurant, so dis baie goed vir die dorp se ekonomie. Hulle ondersteun ook die 'shows' wat hier gehou word. Ek dink hulle beteken baie vir die dorp. Die gemeenskap en omliggende dorpe ondersteun ons ook al meer en meer. Ek het regtig nie 'n probleem met hulle nie, hulle kuier lekker hier by ons.

Is jy bewus van enige konflik tussen julle wat hier bly en die 2de woning eienaars?

Nee nie regtig nie. Die ouer mense wat hier bly het wel ander waardes as die 2de woning eienaars. Dit mag dalk konflik veroorsaak. Die 2de woning eienaars is baie privaat en kuier bymekaar – pla nie die 'locals' nie. Daar is wel sprake van konflik oor salarisse vir werkers wat verskil, maar ek betaal hul werkers almal dieselfde, want hulle betaal die geld in my rekening in. So ek weet wat aangaan.

Ken jy van die 2de woning eienaars persoonlik?

Ja, ek ken van hulle persoonlik. Ons kuier baie saam as hulle hiernatoe kom. Ek is 'n goeie sjef en hulle vra gereeld wat nuuts kan jy vir ons maak.
In die week is dit maar baie stil. Naweke as daar 'shows' is maak ek kos vir hulle. Baie kom al die Saterdag oggend en eet middag ete. Van die jong boere kom eet ook soms ontbyt hier.

INTERVIEW WITH LOCAL RESIDENT

Sam, 'n vrou wat haar eie besigheid van huis bedryf (BO7)

Rosendal is 'n aftreeplek vir my waar jy jou omgewing kan beheer tot 'n sekere mate. (control your environment to a certain extent.) Its safe here and small towns like this is excellent for people who wants more space and real possibilities like for instance weekly deliveries from Senekal apteek. Al probleem is dat hier nie 'n hospital en dokter is nie. Hier kom wel 'n dokter na die township toe eenmaal per week. Die probleem is dat dit net nie lewensvatbaar is om 'n dokterspraktyk oop te maak hier nie. Aan die ander kant Rosendal moet nie 'n tweede Clarens word nie.. In real terms the Eastern Free State can support only one Clarens. ' Another reality point is dat Clarens onder 3 ure van Johannesburg is, terwyl Rosendal nie is nie. So ek dink nie dit sal 'n massa toerisme plek word nie. 'n Derde punt is dat ons nie 'n common vision het oor hoe Rosendal moet ontwikkel nie. Die munisipaliteit is besig om hul LED program te herskryf. Ek speel 'n konstruktiewe rol daarin. Belangrike faktore wat 'n rol speel is bv. 'green' As ons 'n 'green' 'carbon free' town is, that allows us to make a lot of by-laws to develop a place. Organic farming en hoe ons water gebruik is als deel daarvan. 'n Ander groot probleem is quad bikes wat naweke die rus versteur. Ons hou nie daarvan nie. Op die oomblik kan ons niks

daaraan doen nie, maar as ons 'n 'carbon free' town is, kan ons 'n beperking plaas op die aantal motors hier. Daar is egter geen visie onder die plaaslike regering nie. Die mense neem nie standpunt in nie. Geen stel van indikatore nie. Onthou 2 000 mense oorkant die pad is werkloos, so as hier 'n ontwikkeling beplan word en dus werksgeleenthede sal hulle enigiets regverdig . So verseker is daar konflik tussen die partye. Watter tipe werksgeleenthede en hoe om die ekonomie van die dorp te verbeter word dan 'n kwessie. Ek werk nogsteeds op klein skaal om plaaslike vrouens op te hef – naaldwerk vaardighede. Dit het egter koste uitdagings en ook emosionele uitdagings. Nie so maklik nie. Op papier lyk dit goed, maar ongelukkig is dit nie so maklik nie. Vir my is dit wonderlik, want ek leer elke liewe dag iets nuuts bv. dat peste nie beheer kan word nie, veral as jy organies ingestel is nie, hoe om appelkooskonfyt te kook. Ek is ongelooflik bevoorreg om hier te kan bly – ek kan die slegste dag hê, maar as ek na die berge om my kyk dan weet ek net dit is die moeite werd.

Die skool is egter vir baie mense 'n kwessie. Wil eerder hul kinders grootmaak in die stad waar beter geleenthede is en dan later kom. Ek het gehoor van 'n gemeenskap in die Wes Kaap, waar mense soos ons getrek het na die platteland a.g.v. die lifestyle (lewenstyl), die korporatiewe druk en stress. Wat hulle gedoen het is regtig fantasties, hulle het betrokke geraak by die plaaslike skool en ondersteun waar hul kon. Nou is daar opgeleide onderwysers, geld ingesamel vir handboeke en wetenskaplaboratorium en so baat die hele gemeenskap.

Die platteland is defnitief rustiger as stedelike gebiede, maar tog is ons op 'n ander manier besig – kyk hoe jou tamaties groei en beheer die insekte en hoe jou hoenders eiers lê teenoor iemand wat vasgevang is in 'n verkeersknoop vir 2 uur. Ek het op 'n makro vlak gewerk vir die regering en betrokke gewees by ontwikkeling en was verbaas om te sien hoe baie van die strategieë hier in plek is en toegepas word, bv hoe klein besighede ondersteun word en hoe die onderwysraamwerk en toerisme beleidsraamwerk toegepas word. Ek het verseker 'n baie goeie kwaliteitslewe hier in Rosendal t.o.v. die omgewing en die ruimte, goeie vriende en natuurlik is mens meer kreatief. My vriende is meer 'genuine' en ook verskillend. In Johannesburg was my vriende my skoolmaats so meer 'n 'narrow path', maar hier ontmoet jy mense met verskillende belange bv. 'n vriend wat baie met perde te

doen het en so het ek meer oor perdry geleer. So dit het my 'social context' uitgebrei en my lewe verryk. Nog iets is dat ons al meer soos plattelanders begin leef – eers meer materialisties gedrewe na 'n verbruikersgeorienteerde leefstyl waar dit nie meer so belangrik is waste voertuig jy ry nie en waste huis jy besit nie. Jou aspirasies is of jy nou goeie appelkoos konfyt kan maak of nie. Jy sien ook nou moontlikhede raak van ou stukke hout of geroeste staal en dan maak jy iets daarvan sonder om hout te gaan koop soos vroeër. Iets anders is dat jy met bepaalde idees of vooroordele hier aankom. Soos die beeste nou daar in die kraal wat so bulk. Eers wou ek die SPCA gebel het, maar geleidelik het ek besef dis hul inkomste en dat hulle veilings moet hou. Word gekonfronteer met die werklikheid hier wat nie die geval is in die stad nie.

Hoe ervaar die plaaslike inwoners hierdie naweek mense?
Omdat ek Engelssprekend is distansieer ek my van die regte Afrikaner politiek. Daar is veral 'tension' rondom die feit dat hul besef naweek mense is nodig vir die dorp se ekonomie, maar terselfdertyd hou hulle ook nie van hulle nie. Baie konflik tydens die Valentynsfees waar plaaslike inwoners gevoel het die Johannesburgers neem oor . My respons was as julle (plaaslike inwoners) dit beter kan doen waarom doen julle dit nie? Ons kom agter dat daar 'n difference in perspective is, veral nou wanneer ons die eeufees reëlings moet tref vir volgende jaar. Dit kan nie net 'n blanke of wit fees wees nie, want wat van die swartes en hul kultuur. Die gemeenskap is afhanklik van die interaksie met die mense oorkant die pad. Ons het 'n optog gehad na die tavern oorkant die pad met die Valenstynsfees en dit het fantasties gewerk. Het ook baie vir die township mense beteken. Ek sien Rosendal as 'n baie diverse (Diverse) gemeenskap, waar elke lid 'n rol kan speel of jy nou wit, swart, gay, straight, ryk, arm konserwatief of liberal is.
Baie van die naweek mense wil en sal graag meer betrokke raak by aktiwiteite, maar ek weet ek was eers self een. Jy is so moeg en wil net op jou stoep sit en na die berge kyk. Tog spandeer hulle die meeste geld bv. met die veiling laasjaar om geld in te samel vir die Valentynsfees was dit die Gautengers wat die meeste gespandeer het. Hulle is regtig 'committed' to Rosendal.

INTERVIEW WITH LOCAL RESIDENT

Alicia – permanente inwoner (LR 6)

Wat dink jy van tweede huis eienaars? Ek dink hulle help defnitief Rosendal. Hulle ondersteun defnitief die dorp as hulle hiernatoe kom, byvoorbeeld as daar teaterproduksies is. Wat wel negatief is, is dat bv. die hotel sy pryse aanpas (verhoog) wanneer die Gautengers kom en hulle betaal dit, want hulle begroot daarvoor. Vir ons wat hier bly is dit eenvoudig net te duur. Wat wel posetief is is dat hulle regtig die plaaslike winkeltjies ondersteun bv. as hulle iets by die kooperasie nodig het wat nie te kry is daar nie, sal hulle wag dat dit bestel word eerder as om te ry na ander dorpe toe. Hulle soek partykeer snaakse goed – goed soos gordyn hakkies of goed om in die huis te gebruik en die Chinese winkel het gewoonlik sulke huishoudelike produkte. Die plaasmark is elke maand en ja die tweede huis eienaars ondersteun dit as hulle hier is. Dit is vir hulle 'n snaaksegeit – om so tussen die stalletjies te loop, gewoonlik baie ontspanne. Hulle koop ook van die organiese kaas en botter, en natuurlik ander plaasprodukte, bloot omdat dit 'n 'nuutjie' is. Tog dink ek daar is 'n neiging dat stadsmense al meer terug kom platteland toe vir 'n plattelandse ervaring – om met die natuur te versmelt – half een te word.
Wat ek nog gesien het, is dat van hierdie Gautengers of die van Durban Sondag vir Sondag in die kerk is as hulle hier is. So ja die gemeenskap is dalk nie meer dieselfde as lank terug nie, maar tog beweeg hierdie mense in die dorp – hulle draf of ry fiets. Baie kom net die Saterdag en gaan weer Sondag terug – dis net 'n wegbreek of wegkom kans vir hulle. Die tweede huis eienaars kuier ook oor en weer – hulle kan nie wag om mekaar weer na 'n tyd te sien nie. Hulle kuier ook met ons wat hier bly – nie met die ouer afgetrede mense nie.

Is jy bewus van konflik tussen julle en die tweede huis eienaars?
Nie waarvan ek bewus is nie, ek glo nie die hoër lone soos party beweer nie, is 'n probleem nie. Sover ek weet is dit maar 'n standaard tarief wat die Regering afdwing wat ons almal moet betaal.

Ek maak Amerikaanse kwilt dekens en verkoop dit landswyd. Hier kom te min mense na Rosendal so ongelukkig kan ek dit nie net hier verkoop nie. Ek dink die situasie kan verander, want hier is sprake van 'n groot dam wat hulle gaan bou. Dan kan dit

net soos Clarens raak – baie meer mense en ook meer tweede huis eienaars.Baie mense sal getrek word, veral die wat van watersport hou en hengel. Aan die een kant sal dit goed wees vir die dorp veral om te kan oorleef, maar aan die ander kant soek ons almal maar die rustigheid en oop en skoon omgewing. Wat interessant is is dat die mense wat hier in Rosendal koop heeltemal ander tipe mense is as die in Clarens. Die mense hier in Rosendal is mense wat nie na 'n plek toe wil gaan waar winkels is nie. Hulle koop vir die stilte, so hulle soek nie boutiques en koffieshops nie. Hier is die tuine aards, eintlik veldgras, m.a.w. so na aan die natuur as moontlik. By Clarens gaan die mans 4x4 roetes ry terwyl die vrouens shop. Besoek 'n verskeidenheid restaurante. Onthou Rosendal is nie op 'n hoofroete soos wat Clarens is nie.

Verder het ek 'n organiese tuin en 'n wurm boerdery. Dit is spesiale erdwurms van die Kaap. Al my kombuisafval en ook die hotel s'n word vir die erdwurms gegee en hulle verwerk dit. Dan vang ek die tee op wat ek dan gebruik as kunsmis vir my tuin. My tuin is in 'n tydskrif volgende maand. Gebruik ook nie chemiese middels om plae te bestry nie – hou dit so natuurlik as moontlik. Jakkie van Sandra plant groot – baie groente wat organies gekweek word, en ek ondersteun hom. Ek kom oorspronklik van die stad en dit was vir my 'n groot aanpassing, want dit was eers ons naweek huis, maar toe skei ons, en nou bly ek permanent hier. Die kinders is in Bloemfontein in die skool. Die rede waarom dit 'n groot aanpassing was, was omdat dit so moeilik is om deel te word, want hier is 'n groot 'alternative' groep wat gay en lesbies is, dan jou ouer afgetrede mense, die plaasmense en dan getroude stadsmense wat naweke kom. So ja ons het vir oujaar 'n dans beplan (ek is ook op die dorpskomitee), maar ongelukkig 'gel' mense nie altyd nie, en toe het party by die tennisklub gekuier en die ander by die koffieshop. So ja ek sal nie sê daar is konflik nie, eerder almal sosialiseer nie altyd saam nie. Wat wel konflik veroorsaak is dat die Gautengers meer vir die werkers betaal as wat die plaaslike inwoners betaal. Ek dink ons het verskillende politieke sieninge en neem meer ander rasse inag as wat die ouer mense doen. Ek voel ook dat die NG kerk nie genoeg uitreik na die township toe nie. Ons het 'n baie mooi 'township', die mooiste in die land. By elke erf is 'n perske of appelkoosboom. Daar is ook nie papiere wat rondlê nie, ek dink dit is omdat hulle trots is op hulle plek. Ons, ek en Sam leer die mense verskillende vaardighede sodat hulle hulle self kan bemagtig. Ons het 'n doppieprojek waar ons

bierdoppies by sjebeens kry, en dan trek ons dit met lap oor, en dit verkoop soos soetkoek. Ek verkoop dit in Clarens en Pretoria – het verskeie verskaffers. Ek het ook 'n vrou geleer hekel en sy hekel vir my blokkies wat ons dan aanmekaar werk. Ons maak dan komberse waarvan ons baie bestellings kry. Daar is 'n defnitiewe mark hiervoor – wêreldwyd is daar 'n terugkeer na handwerk, want ek is 'n kwiltter en ek sien die neiging. Hulle sê as daar 'n wêreldwye resessie is keer mense terug na hul wortels. Ek moet jou sê dit is moeilik om hier te oorleef, dit gaan partykeer maar swaar, maar dit is die moeite werd. Vir my kinders is dit die lewe – hier is geen tv, rekenaar nie. Ek moet sê ons mis dit nie. My kinders het 'n beter sosiale lewe hier as in die stad.

INTERVIEW WITH LOCAL RESIDENT

Permanente inwoner – skilder (Wim en Charmaine) (LR5)

Wat het gemaak dat julle hiernatoe gekom het?

So 3 jaar gelede het ek die erf gekoop, maar ek het oral rond gekyk. Wou op 'n klein dorpie kom bly, en toe is dit maar Rosendal. Ek en Charmaine het verlief geraak en toe kom wys ek haar die plek – ons het soos in 'n paar dae toe besluit om hiernatoe te trek. So ja dit is die omgewing en rustigheid wat ons getrek het, maar ek skilder landskappe, en daarom was Rosendal perfek. Dit is inspirerend en hier is genoeg materiaal. Charmaine raam dan my goed – so ons kon vir ons self so 'n inkomste hier skep. Ons is nie 'croud' groepsmense nie, eintlik eenkant mense, kon nie die stress van die stad hanteer nie, en ons het die rustigheid van die stad gesoek. Ons het 'n lewe daar agter gelaat en hier 'n nuwe een begin.

Aktiwiteite?

Charmaine is deel van die dorpskomitee en ook die feeskomitee vir volgende jaar. Wim het 'n erf nader aan Maitse gekoop met die doel om kunsklasse aan te bied vir jonger mans – hy se dit is nog net 'n gedagte maar wil dit graag op die been begin kry. Dit is veral vir werklose jong mans, so dan kan ek hulle sommer ook opleiding gee. Die idée is om alle kunsvorme vir hulle te leer, en dan so 'n opelug gallery te open. Ja dit is net nog 'n droom!

Daar is 5000 inwoners in Maitse en 70 inwoners hier. Werkloosheid is 'n groot probleem. Toe hulle een van die aanvallers nou die dag vastrek wat by 'n plaasaanval betrokke was, het hy gesê dit is omdat die plaasboere nie vir hulle werk het nie. Maar wat hulle nie besef is nie, is dat dit 'n arm gemeenskap is. Tog kan ons vir hulle die visstok gee en hulle leer om vis te vang – om selfonderhoudend te wees. 'n Goeie voorbeeld is Josef – hy is 'n bouer en hy sorg dat hy selfonderhoudend is. Hy is betroubaar en hy daag op. Die Sotho's is 'n vreemde nasie – hulle glo om werk te los vir môre, anders is daar nie werk vir môre nie. Tog is dit veilig hier, ten spyte van gister se aanval. Ons polisie is baie goed, hulle ken ons almal.

Ons is ook betrokke by organiese kweking van groente en vrugte. Ja, dit is half nog 'n tradisionele manier van doen. Ons het byvoorbeeld nie 'n 'geaser' nie net 'n 'donkie' ('n toestel buite wat warm water maak wanneer vuur met hout/ stronke gemaak word). Ons probeer 'groen' leef – dit is 'n duur aanvanklike uitgawe, maar later is daar net voordele. Daar is baie mense wat erdwurm komposse hier aan die gang het. Mense begin al meer na eenvoud soek – terug na die grond soos hulle sê 'grounded' en put vreugde uit dinge rondom hulle. Ons het gekies om so in eenvoud te leef – ons maak ons kos op 'n koolstoof. Ons vriende het byvoorbeeld amper 'gecrack' toe die krag af was – hulle is van die stad en bly in iemand se huis – vir ons is dit nie so erg nie. Ons sal 'n plan maak, vir hulle is dit geweldig traumaties. Ons ander vriende (ook skilders) se kinders is klein, en die manier van vuurmaak vir warm water met die donkie wou nie werk nie – so dit is half krities as jou kinders klein is dat daar tog volkome in hulle behoeftes voorsien word. 'n Goeie skool en alles wat daarmee saamgaan. Hierdie leefstyl sal dus nie almal pas nie. Die ideaal is dat ons almal selfonderhoudend moet wees – ons eie eiers, groente en vrugte te hê en dalk kleinvee ook.

Wat interessant is is dat Rosendal 'n sterk dorp was – finansieel sterk deur die boere gemeenskap wat besighede ondersteun het hier. Ook was die skool baie aktief. Die Kaasfabriek het gesorg vir 'n groot inkomste. Toe het verstedeliking plaasgevind – al meer jong mense het na die stede toe getrek op soek na beter werk en natuurlik vir opleiding. Nou, na baie jare, begin mense weer stadig aan terug kom op soek na rustigheid en kalmte.

ANNEXURE 6

Code number of each participant

CODE	MALE/FEMALE
BO1	F
BO2	F
BO3	F
BO4	M
BO5	M
BO6	M
BO7	F
BO8	F
BO9	F
BO10	F
BO11	F
ER1	F
ER2	F
ER3	M
ER4	M/F
LR1	M/F
LR2	M/F
LR3	F
LR4	F
SHOR1	M/F
SHOR2	F
SHOR3	M
SHOR4	F
SHOR5	F
SHOR6	F
SHOR7	M
SHOR8	M
LR5	M/F
LR6	F

LR7	F
LR8	F
LR9	M
LR10	F
LR11	M
LR12	F
LRM1	M
LRM2	F
LRM3	M
enginieer	M
SHOM1	M
SHOM2	M
SHOM3	M
SHOM4	M