A changing village: Second homeownership in Rhodes, South Africa

Gijsbert Hoogendoorn
Department of Geography
Rhodes University
Grahamstown
South Africa
g.hoogendoorn@ru.ac.za

Abstract: Rural geographies have changed significantly over the past half century. These reconfigured geographies are increasingly denoted as evolving from a productivist to a post-productivist state and second home development has increasingly been implicated as contributing to such change. This paper considers this post-productivist contention in the context of Rhodes, South Africa. It is argued that second home development is contributing towards an emerging post-productivist countryside. This argument is developed through three sections of discussion and analysis. Firstly, changes such as diversification, dispersion and extensification within the post-productivist countryside, has predominantly coincided with the advent of an open agricultural economy which was ushered in during the first years of inclusive democracy in South Africa. Secondly, a subsidiary intention of this investigation is to delineate how second homeownership as part of the larger tourism industry has contributed to the economic diversification of the Rhodes countryside. Thirdly, a broad analysis of the impact of second home ownership is given with reference to its social and economic influence. The paper concludes that, coinciding with the post-productivist changes in the Rhodes countryside, second home ownership has contributed to job creation and has had a varied tourism and regional impact which has added much needed support to the economy of the town.

Acknowledgements:
Thanks are due to Fred Steynberg and Susan Kölz for crucial insights into the development of Rhodes, as well as all the interviewees who kindly gave of their time. Gillian McGregor is acknowledged for preparing the map.
A changing village: second homeownership in Rhodes, South Africa

1. Introduction

The geography of rural areas has undergone dramatic, and some argue fundamental changes over the past half century. The impact of large-scale urbanisation, rural depopulation, and shifts in agricultural production systems has led many commentators to argue that rural areas have evolved from a productivist to a post-productivist state (Argent, 2002; Wilson and Rigg, 2003). Reconfigured rural areas have seen sustained research interest with the work by, among others, Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, as well as Phillips, who highlights the many fraught outcomes associated with such changes. Aspects of these debates include the movement of lifestyle seekers to rural areas. In recent years these concerns have broadened to include the impact of rural second homes used for leisure purposes on, and contribution towards, the rise of post-productivist countrysides (Hall and Müller, 2004; Müller, 1999). Most of the debates have unfolded in the developed north yet many of those concerns highlighted are of equal relevance in the developing south. Against this backdrop the investigation aims to contribute to these debates by accessing the role of second home development in the creation of a post-productivist countryside in a part of South Africa.

Drawing on the empirical realities of Rhodes in South Africa’s agricultural Eastern Cape Province, this investigation makes four observations with respect to second homes and the emergence of a post-productivist countryside. First, and in concert with Müller who first linked second homes and the post-productivist countryside, the main proposition and overarching theme is that second homes are a result of a restructuring and diversifying rural economy. Secondly, it is demonstrated that second homes, together with the development of the tourism industry, signifies a growing departure from exclusive agricultural production, towards a more consumptive leisure environment increasingly structurally dependent upon investors from large metropolitan centres. The third and fourth propositions highlight the varied contribution of second homes to a move towards on an increasingly post-productivist countryside. Here it is suggested that second homes
generate much needed employment opportunities but cannot be seen as having a major economic impact. However, second homes serve as a medium to sustain a broader tourism industry, and source of regional income that to some extent militate against its general inability to generate much employment and economic activity within the agricultural sector.

On the whole these propositions support the main argument of this paper: that second homes in Rhodes are the result of an evolving post-productivist countryside. This in part, coalesced, with the advent of democracy in South Africa, which necessitated rural diversification resulting in tourism sector growth in many rural areas. Part of this argument could be that many of these towns in the rural hinterland would not have developed as second home or tourism areas, necessarily during the apartheid era, as an agricultural economic hegemony would have been, at least in part, produced by the state. Simultaneously, however, second home development and Rhodes’ emerging post-productivist condition, would not have come to the fore if not for greatly increased demand for rural leisure consumption.

This contention is developed through five sections of material. First key features of the post-productivist countryside debates and its links to second homes are set out. The second section provides a brief historical overview of the development of second homes in South Africa, after which the fourth and fifth sections focus on the empirical realities of the case study, providing a detailed analysis of the changing countryside around Rhodes and the nature and dynamics of second home owners and the use of their properties. The final section draws the investigation to a close, arguing that the type of second home development taking place in Rhodes hold a number local development implications for the town and the surrounding region.

2. Second homes: from post-productivist countryside to elite landscapes

The geographies of rural areas in both developed and developing world contexts have undergone dramatic changes over the past half century (McCarthy, 2008). Urbanisation, rural depopulation and changes in their economic structure as a result of market deregulation, technological, and environmental change have impacted upon rural areas
seemingly everywhere (see Cloke and Goodwin, 1992; Holmes, 2006; Phillips, 1998). Many commentators argue that rural areas have moved from a productivist to a post-productivist state (see Argent, 2002; Wilson and Rigg, 2003). The productivist era of agriculture lasted from the post-1945 reconstruction until the late 1970s (Ibery and Bowler, 1998; Argent, 2002). This period was characterised by the blooming of agricultural industries and the state of the landscape, with respect to land rights, land-use, finance, politics and ideology. Until then, the agricultural countryside was preoccupied with the progressive expansion of especially the food production industry. This “productivist era”, however, came to an end towards the 1970s largely as a result of the inability of governments to control the outcomes of “the food order” between Western European and North American countries (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998). This, in turn, impacted significantly on many rural areas in the developed world as witnessed in, for example, Britain, Europe, North America and Australasia (Halfacree, 2006).

Subsequently, the structural coherence of rural areas was disrupted and rural spaces were increasingly caught up within a global political economy, where national regulated rural distinctions have in many cases been overtaken or outmoded. The supposed security that existed in the agricultural industry was eroded, assailed most strongly by neo-liberal economic forces in which ‘free markets’ reign supreme (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998:6). Because of changes in the political economic context a ‘post-productivist countryside’ emerged as an inceptive entity which reflects the breakdown of an almost absolute productivist past (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Mather et al., 2006). It is important, however, to note that many geographers in Britain and Europe, and to a lesser degree North America, rather argue for a dual usage of the terms productivism and post-productivism (see Argent, 2002, Wilson, 2001). As a result, some commentators argue that productivism remains the main driving force behind rural areas, and that terms such as post-productivism, or multifunctional transition are not the necessary antithesis of productivism (see Walford, 2003; Mather, et al., 2006). These concerns are not only of relevance to the developed north. Wilson and Rigg (2003), for example, argue that although post-productivism sits less easily within the changing countryside in the global south, it could nevertheless still be applied there, if concepts such as deagrarianization, among others, are taken into account. Essentially, with these changes in the productivist
position of the countryside, the post-productivist era suggests an enhanced role for exchange and consumption interests, both vying with productivist interests for local predominance (Argent, 2002; Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Wilson and Rigg, 2003). This move from a productive to a consumptive countryside has been investigated by many researchers – among them, those exploring the relationship between places of tourism and migration within post-productivist countrysides (Hall and Müller, 2004; Williams and Hall, 2000). Within the agriculture sphere, the following processes could be attributed to post-productivism: extensification; dispersion; diversification, through activities such as guest houses and -lodges, B&B accommodation, rural leisure activities; and the growing role of other activities not traditionally associated with the production of food (Ilbery and Bowler, 1998).

Müller (1999; 2002; 2007) proposed that second home development as a consumptive phenomenon, and particularly its expansion, can be attributed to the development of the post-productivist countryside. In addition, the development of second homes within rural areas is intermittently fuelled by influences from often major urban centres. The influences most often cited relate to counter-urbanisation, different mobilities, migration and tourism, and are argued to direct people from urban areas to rural areas (see Champion, 1998; Hall and Williams, 2000; Mitchell, 2004). According to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000), these forces are underpinned by ‘exporting regions’ which have permanent residents with greater affluence and leisure-time budgets which create the potential demand for second homes. Conversely, in ‘importing regions’, lesser relative affluence and economic stagnation fuels depopulation, increasing the availability of surplus housing stock, often the focus of second home demand. In this light, second homes could be seen as falling into a rural/urban continuum of demand and supply. Second homes are often an urban phenomenon which takes place within rural/peripheral areas, creating a change in the urban geographical composition of those areas. Owing to mobility, migration, and counter-urbanisation from urban areas on the one end of the spectrum, and rural change and the post-productivist countryside on the other end, second homes may develop as an intermediary occurrence within this continuum.

Because second homes fall into a variety of research fields, it is not surprising that it is one of the most keenly researched interfaces between tourism and migration (Williams &
Research in this field began in the 1950s and 1960s and laid the foundation for subsequent research into the geography of second home development (see for example, Wolfe, 1951; Ragatz, 1969). The most seminal, and in many ways definitive work from the 1970s on second homes that of Terry Coppock’s (1977) edited collection, *Second homes: curse or blessing?* Thereafter there was a major decline in second homes research with only a few publications coming to press during the late 1970s and 1980s (see Hoggart & Buller, 1995; Shucksmith, 1983). Only from the late-1990s has renewed interest in second homes resurfaced with works by especially Müller (1999); Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones (2000); Hall & Müller (2004); Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones (2005) taking the lead. Recent second homes research has tended to divide into two key perspectives. The first, which could be argued as a predominantly neo-liberal approach, focuses on the tourism-urban development nexus and especially the potentially desirable aspects of second homes development, such as economic advantages and the rejuvenating of the post-productivist countryside (see Müller, 1999; 2000; 2002; 2006; 2007). The second approach has been more neo-Marxist in nature, focusing mostly on the undesirable outcomes associated with second home development, such as displacement of local communities, escalating property prices and housing shortages (see Gallent, 1997; 2007).

In the case of South Africa, the development of second homes, whether for holiday purposes, retirement, weekend recreation or leisure, is certainly not a new phenomenon (Visser, 2004). However, research into the occurrence and dynamics of second homes only emerged in the post-apartheid era. Since, 2003, a slowly growing body of literature has developed with the exploratory work of Visser (see 2003; 2004; 2006) and his research students (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004; Hoogendoorn, Mellett and Visser, 2005) providing the main contours of second home development debates in a selection of South Africa urban places. The next section of this paper will focus on the development of second homes in South Africa over the last century.
3. **Brief historical overview of second home development in South Africa**

Throughout South Africa’s urban history a number of towns along the coastline were established or developed as a direct result of second home usage (Visser, 2004). There are numerous examples, such as False Bay, where Cape Town’s Victorian and Edwardian gentry, as well as a host of ‘Rand lords’, had second homes. Furthermore, along the KwaZulu-Natal coastline, second homes were owned by well-known families within the sugar-cane industry, in areas such as Park Rynie and Scottburgh. South Africa’s economic boom from the late 1950s to the early 1970s led to the large-scale development of its three main metropolitan regions: Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg/Pretoria (Visser, 2004). Higher levels of disposable income and discretionary time led to large-scale second home development along South Africa’s coastline (Visser, 2004). Quintessential examples of apartheid era second home towns are Amanzimtoti and Ballito in the KwaZulu-Natal province, as well as Jeffrey’s Bay and Plettenberg Bay in the Easter-Cape Province, to name a few. Furthermore, it could be argued that second home development in the post-apartheid era retained its growth owing to a property boom lasting much of the past decade (Visser, 2002), and increased mobility and migration, as well as international travel, creating an influx of foreign owned second homes (Visser, 2004b).

The presence of second homes in South Africa has created different urban geographies, either being established originally as a second home area, or because of changing urban scenarios in South Africa’s metropolitan areas. Hoogendoorn et al. (2005) contend that the demise of apartheid underpinned the emergence of a range of popular discourses as to which areas of the country were desirable for both permanent and semi-permanent residence. They further suggested that urban areas such as Pretoria and Johannesburg were increasingly perceived as dangerous and unstable investment locations. Subsequently, because of emigration and semi-migration of wealthy individuals to cities and towns being perceived as less vulnerable to black urban in-migration, physical transformation and economic restructuring, took place.

It was in this context that Cape Town and the larger Western Cape Province in which it is located became the main beneficiary of “white and wealthy” southward migration for
both permanent and holiday purposes, which in the process caused Johannesburg and Pretoria to experience some of their worst property slumps (Visser, 2004a). A recent, allied occurrence has been the increased participation of international second home investors in Cape Town, not least because of the city’s buoyant property market and perceived social stability (Visser, 2004b). Moreover, second homes that are acquired almost exclusively for use as tourism accommodation are also an emerging trend. Relative to second homes that serve as holiday homes, often with investment returns in mind, the number of regions that are exclusively or more closely associated with weekend leisure consumption in smaller urban places are more difficult to identify. However, over the past decade very clear evidence of second home development for weekend leisure has developed in locations that are relatively close, or easily accessible to metropolitan regions (Hoogendoorn et al., 2005).

In addition, it is important to mention that since the 1970s processes of agricultural modernisation and further mechanisation created widespread rural decline, unemployment and subsequent urbanisation (Atkinson, 2007:53). However, diversification of land usage in terms of tourism, nature conservation and industrialisation were not widespread. This was due to confined targeted support for white commercial farmers by the apartheid government (Binns et al., 1997). Therefore, owing to the aggressive protection of agricultural industries during apartheid, rural South Africa since 1994 has been opened up to the forces of the free market and its influences frequently highlighted in the international literature. Indeed, it could be argued that the development of a post-productivist countryside went hand in hand with post-apartheid agricultural policies (see Atkinson (2007:69), for a review of changing agricultural policies after apartheid). The macro-economic policies, not least those related to agriculture since 1994 forced many farmers to reassess their economic base and to seek out additional economic opportunities which subsequently opened up many rural areas, especially in the interior, to the development of tourism and places for the development of second homes.
4. Study Methodology

This investigation draws on empirical data gathered over several months during 2007 and 2008 in the village of Rhodes located in the remote rural area of north Eastern Cape Province. This village has a population of 450 permanent residents. At the time of the fieldwork, there were roughly 200 plots in Rhodes village (which includes Zakhele), of which 80 are used for residential purposes in Rhodes, the former white group area of the town. Of that total 70 are used as second homes. The second home owners were identified through the rates-base address listing of the Senqu Local Municipality in which Rhodes is located. A 27% response rate was attained from all second home owners using various mechanisms such as postal surveys and personal interviews. Personal in-depth interviews were also conducted with key informants in the town and local government.

5. An abridged history of Rhodes

The origins of Rhodes lie in the establishment of agricultural activities in the region. The village was developed on the farm Tinterm that belonged to a Mr. Jim Vorster. Vorster agreed to the proclamation of the village on the condition that 100 plots were sold and that it be named after the then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Cecil John Rhodes. A Mr. Shaw of Sauer & Osmond sold the plots and Rhodes was founded on 16 September 1891 (Walker, 2004). The period from 1918-1974 saw the establishment of a boarding school and the development of Rhodes as a town, nestled in the agricultural economy of the Barkly East district. During this time Rhodes experienced what was known as the “Wool Boom” of the 1950s. This provided a brief upsurge in the regions’ agricultural economy which continued until the 1970s after which gradual decline took place because the country’s wool market became saturated. Rhodes became a popular venue for permanent family homes in the so-called “Hippie era” of the late 1960s and 1970s. It was subsequently used as a base station for the Tiffindell Ski Resort construction team in the early 1990s. Rhodes village is 1840m above sea level and 16km due south of Lesotho. Barkly East lies above the escarpment, 60km from the village accessible by only a narrow dirt road (see Figure 1 for map of Eastern Cape and the location of Rhodes).
The nature of the architecture finds its origins in the Victorian era. Houses range from grand traders’ residences to flat-roofed houses which used to be town houses of farmers in the area. With a view to maintaining the character and heritage of the village, it was proclaimed as a Conservation Area by Government Gazette (no. 18152) on 25 July 1997.

In the course of the previous century the fortunes of the agriculture economy changed until the village became almost derelict by the late 1970s (Walker, 2004). Rhodes was “rediscovered” shortly thereafter by a group of people seeking an alternative lifestyle. This period in local parlance was referred to as the “Hippie era”. The advent of the hippie-era signalled the beginning of the current post-productivist/second home and tourism phase. The village gradually became better known as a tourist destination for professionals from South Africa’s main metropolitan regions, primarily Johannesburg/Pretoria, Cape Town, and Durban. Property prices have increased significantly since the migration of these cohorts to the village.
6. The changing countryside surrounding Rhodes

The purpose of this section is to display how the countryside around Rhodes has changed over recent years and shows the incorporation of non-agricultural activities which add to farmers’ income streams and contributing towards the production of a post-productivist countryside.

The countryside in the district of Rhodes as evident from its historical context has undergone numerous changes since the 1970s. In an interview with a local farmer it came to the fore that the number of farmers in the region and of permanent residents in Rhodes itself has declined tremendously. This is owing to numerous reasons; important among them elevated levels of mechanisation and the passing of the “wool boom” (Interviewee Mr. Barnard). In addition to this, it could be argued that government stock reduction schemes preceding this time in the 1950s and 1960s could have contributed to this degradation of the existing farming communities, in an attempt by government to control the carrying capacity of agricultural environments (Benjaminsen et al, 2006). Furthermore, additional developments to the changes in technology and market saturation were the result of affluent farmers buying-up additional available land, which in part came to the market as a result of weak farming practices, in addition to the removal of farming subsidies after 1994. In essence, much of the farmer narratives echoed issues highlighted in Atkinson’s (2007) work on agricultural change and diversification in South Africa more generally.

The process of rural diversification and tourism development in the Rhodes district has mainly been implemented by already affluent farmers who had the means to diversify land use to add to their income streams. For example, at present seven of the 17 farms in the district provide a range of activities not directly associated with agriculture. For example, the Reedsdell Country Guest Farm close to Rhodes, have numerous activities, such as 4x4 routes, fly-fishing, quad-biking, grey-wing shooting, and birding, mountain-biking and hunting, in addition to their cattle farming concerns. Further, examples include farmers who have scaled down their livestock farming practices to incorporate
tourism products in a prominent manner. This has been done to the point where farm
owners now operate farms where half of their income stream is generated from tourism
related functions. Many of these farmers feel that such diversification provides them a
more secure income stream, which is not always the case with agriculture. For most this
diversification has been a successful transition (Interviewee Mr. Jansen) towards a post-
productivist mode of production.

Except for the seven farms that have diversified considerably, the other ten farms, have
diversified their activities to a lesser extent, with most of these farmers members of the
Wild Trout Association (WTA) with many tourists and second home owners visiting their
farms to fly fish. However, these farmers noted that such activities do not contribute
significantly to their incomes (interviewee Mr. Tauber).

On the whole the farmers were of the opinion that the overall agricultural economy has
diversified significantly over the recent past. Albeit, that this multifunctional transition
or post-productivist change has mainly added to their income, and has not changed the
composition of their incomes remarkably. For example, in an interview with a local
guest farm owner it came to the fore that she saw an opportunity to add to their income
by upgrading already existing infrastructure such as old farmhouses and livestock paths
for hiking and fishing purposes (interviewee Mrs. Nel) but not at the expense of current
farming practices. Consequently, agriculture remains the main economic driving force of
the region.

This is not, however, the case in Rhodes Village itself. The tourism industry contributes
significantly to the economy of Rhodes as a small urban setting in the countryside and
much of its economic base has adapted accordingly. Also, most cohorts from the former
‘black’ group area are still mostly employed in the agricultural industry. Thus far, only
marginal employment has been created by the tourism industry in the region but
significantly in the village (interviewee Mrs. Reeders). In opposition to this, a local
farmer suggested that he felt that the diversification of land uses as a whole throughout
the region has contributed enough to extra income and employment for the local
community in Zakhele, that if it was not present the economic situation of many cohorts could have been a lot worse (interview Mr. Jansen).\(^1\)

7. **The socio-economic profile of second home owners in Rhodes**

This section provides an outline of who the second home owners of Rhodes are, why they have invested in the area, and how they use their properties. First, the general demographic of the second home owners are similar to other second home areas in South Africa – with the survey participants white South Africans and mostly married (86%) males (72%), reflecting the unevenness in the national earnings power and the gendered nature of both income and property ownership. In the main the second home owners are English speaking (66%). The educational level of the second home owners is high with as many as 45% having completed postgraduate training. Furthermore, it was found that most second home owners are professionals engaged in business, medical and architectural activities, or the creative industries such as broadcasting and film.

With regard to the ages of household members, it is evident that these households are predominantly established family units where adults are middle-aged, or approaching their middle age. The economic profile of the owners, and given their high educational level, it is not surprising that the majority are upper level income earners (75 percent earn more than R400 000 annually).

The second home owners permanently reside relatively far away from their second home. Investors from Gauteng province – the economic heartland of South Africa – accounts for 48% of second home owners in Rhodes, which is on average 800km away. The other main investors are from South Africa’s other main metropolitan regions, namely Durban and Cape Town, which are on average over 700km and 1000km away, respectively.

The purchase dates of second homes in Rhodes vary. Seven percent of second home owners bought their properties before 1990, while fifty percent bought their properties

---

\(^1\) Although this paper focuses specifically on the recreational second homes of Rhodes, in future research it could be valuable to investigate the influence of the changing countryside on the Zakhele’s community as whole. In an interview with a recreational second home owner, it come to the fore, that many Xhosa and Sotho speaking populations from the former black group area are, in addition to second home owners, transient and also make use of non-recreational second homes or dwellings. The following section will move to the main focus of this paper.
between 1990 and 2000, and forty-three percent bought their properties after 2000. From this it is evident that second homes, as a geography that influences the structure of the town, only became apparent after the demise of apartheid. The reasons for buying a second home in Rhodes vary, but some trends can be discerned. Thirty-percent of the owners bought their properties because of the natural and the aesthetic beauty of the surroundings and Rhodes itself. Twenty-five percent of the owners bought their homes because of activity-based leisure that can be found in the region, such as snow-skiing, fly fishing and hiking. Fourteen-percent of the owners decided to buy their second homes for peace and quiet, and as a “hideaway”.

Seventy-nine percent of the respondents are sole owners of their second homes, while 21 percent are not. Of the latter, thirty-three percent share their properties with friends and fifty-percent with relatives. Only 17 percent own the properties within a trust. Forty-two percent of the owners bought their properties for under R100 000, which is in general a fairly cheap acquisition price in comparison to many rural areas in South Africa (only eleven percent bought their properties for R100 000-R199 999, twenty-six percent for R200 000-R299 999, and twenty-one percent for over R300 000). Second homes in Rhodes are generally previously built houses that have been converted for the purpose of serving as a second home, and often also supply accommodation for the local tourism industry (Interviewee Mr. Steynberg). Simultaneously, it came to light that at peak times, when home owners reside at their second homes, tourists are denied the opportunity to stay over in the village as much of the available tourism accommodation is occupied (Interviewee Ms. Van Wyk). It could be argued that second home owners fulfil a contradictory purpose during these times. Furthermore, 82% of the properties were not developed on an open plot, and only 18% were. On the positive side, it is important to note that most renovation work and building that has been completed drew upon labour from the Rhodes area, which is important for job creation opportunities. Eighty-eight percent of the respondents used builders from the Rhodes area and twelve-percent from Cape Town. The respondents that renovated their properties spent on average R25 275, which could prove to be a substantial contribution to the economy of the village.
The social and economic impacts of the second home owners were determined by asking the second home owners how long they had stayed on their previous trip, therefore determining the towns and regions that they visited, and their community feeling and general attitudes on owning a second home. First, the average number of days that second home owners spend at their second homes was ten days, which clearly indicates that it is used for holiday purposes and not for weekend purposes. Secondly, the place most commonly visited while at their second home is Barkly East (37%) - this is mostly to purchase groceries and petrol. Places like Tiffendell (16%) are mostly visited for snow-skiing and Maclear (11%) is a popular fly-fishing destination. Thirdly, one of the most important findings of this survey is that fifty-seven percent of the owners own other second homes. It could be argued that this raises many questions regarding how they spend their time between the different homes on different vacations (see Chaplin, 1999: Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones, 2005), as well as questions on the sustained elitist nature of second homes in South Africa.

Fifty percent of the respondents visit with the local permanent residents occasionally, and thirty-two percent of the owners visit them regularly. On the other hand, 71% of the second home owners are friends with other second home owners. It could therefore be argued that second home owners are in general more inclined to be friends with other second home owners than with local permanent residents. Sixty-four percent agree that the acquisition of their second homes do push up property prices, while 29% strongly agree. This could mean that 93% of all the second home owners realise that their presence in Rhodes creates a change in the local economy and property market of the village.

In terms of the temporality of second home use, it was found that owners mostly reside in Rhodes during the Christmas season in December and January, as well as during August and October during the off-peak tourist season. Fifty-two percent of the second home owner respondents rent out their property for the time in which they are not in Rhodes. This is especially popular over the December holiday, the June/July school vacations, and during September. This clarifies why second home owners visit second homes in non-vacation times such as August and October (see Visser, 2004 for similar rental patterns),
owing to the fact that more income could be raised by renting out their homes during holiday times.

8. General economic impacts of second homes in Rhodes

8.1. Employment created by second home owners

Given these general demographic features, along with the use of second home properties, the question arises as to how these properties impact economically upon Rhodes. Clearly, these are supplementary accommodation units which are privately owned, for the purposes of leisure during holiday’s periods for family, and paying and non-paying guests. The majority of these investments are made on a once-off basis. A recurrent expense is the maintenance of the second home properties and holds, in our view, a significant local economic impact for the village and its local authority, especially because Rhodes is such a small hamlet.

Owing to their location elsewhere, as well as the leisure-related function of these properties, second home owners are dependent upon local hired assistance. All the participants employed a gardener and domestic worker, in addition to the obligation of paying the monthly rates, electricity, and refuse removal, water and security bills. As most of these properties are not occupied by the owners for lengthy periods, hired assistants mostly work on the days that the owners are not there. Consequently, permanent local residents manage the domestic workers, and the wages that are earned are comparatively high in relation to other wage earning opportunities in the district (Interviewees Ms. Van Wyk and Mrs. Kölz). The average monthly remuneration for these categories is R464 for domestic workers and R200 for gardeners. Whilst this, in the broader spectrum of affairs, points to low wage underemployment, it nevertheless represents an income to people who in the absence of second home owners would in all likelihood not have found employment in the area. Nevertheless, if the wage bills for domestic workers are extrapolated to the total number of second homes, it could point to an amount of R15 687 that is paid per month by second home owners to domestic
workers and this translates consequently to R188 247 in wage bills per annum to domestic workers. In addition to this, extrapolating the gardeners wages to the total number second home owners, R6 261 per month and R75 137 per year flow into the local community. In total, R263 383 is paid to domestic workers and gardeners by second home owners.

In terms of other recurrent monthly expenses, the largest contribution to the local economy is made through various payments to the local authority for water, electricity, rates and refuse removal, which on average amounts to R629 a month. Of this total, R320 goes towards rates and taxes, whilst the remainder is accounted for by utility charges. Considering the minimal infrastructure development such as no tarred roads, no curb-side installations, and no street lights, these funds mostly constitute a profit to the local authority, in the main, because they represent flat rates that are not linked to variations in service consumption. Furthermore, if the total average amount of R629 is extrapolated all second homes R23 530 a month foeds to the local authority. In addition, if this is extrapolated per annum R282356 can be reached in rate payments. If the totals wage remunerations and rates are combined an amount of R545 739 is reached. As the second homes community does not require high service levels this income can be utilised elsewhere in the municipal area. On the negative side, especially for impoverished permanent residents, it must be mentioned that the arrival of second home owners in the town have increased the rates and taxes significantly (Interviewee Mr. Steynberg).

8.2. Expenditure on tourism related products by second homes owners and tenants

A further impact of second homes on the local economy of Rhodes relates to the owners’ support of leisure activities in the area, as well as local eateries and taverns (Interviewee Mrs. Kölz). This impact is, however, seasonal, and furthermore, it varies according to the owners’ length of stay during any given visit to the second home. Seasonally, these owners provide stability in the demand for a range of tourism-related functions, which in turn service the tourist market. The impact is as follows.
First, second homeowners spend an average of 22 days per annum at their second home. Moreover, they rent out their second home for an average of 45 days per annum. This implies that their second homes are occupied for 67 days per year. The 67 days are the assumed days of tourism related activity in the region. Second homeowners spent, on their last trip to their second home, an average R774 on restaurants, R694 on art galleries and R819 on petrol at the local service station. When these amount are extrapolated to all second home owners, assuming that they would have similar spending patterns, a total of R39224 is spent on restaurants and R16752 on art galleries and R31635 at the local petrol station. In addition, if tourists that rent second homes have the same spending patterns, the following amounts are reached. A total of R259465 is spent on restaurants, R110812 is spent on art galleries and R209265 is spent on the local petrol station. It should be noted these amounts are second home owners and tourists combined.

Second home owners and people who rent second homes generally take part in a variety of leisure based activities such as bird watching, fly fishing, game drives, hiking, mountain biking, 4x4 trails, snow-skiing and horse riding. These activities have proved to have a significant economic impact on the region. For the purposes of this study, only the main economic contributors will be taken into account in the discussion, but the lesser influential activities will be taken into account when doing final calculations. Snow-skiing is the most lucrative of activities in the area, although it does not take place in Rhodes itself, but at the nearby Tiffendell ski resort. Second home owners spent a total of R3100 on snow-skiing during their last trip. If this amount is extrapolated to all second homeowners, an amount of R29931 is reached. If tenants and second homeowners are combined, a total of R197992 is reached.

Fly fishing is a popular activity by second homeowners and cohorts who rent second homes alike. During the second home owner’s last trip, a total of R1263 was spent on the acquisition of fly tackle, guiding services and rod fees, and fishing licenses. If this amount is extrapolated to all second home owners a total of R12190 is reached. If it is assumed that tenants also take part in this activity a total of R80634 is spent on fly fishing related activities. Moreover, the Wild Trout Associated (WTA) caters for fishermen that
access rivers in the district. According to Eastern Cape tourism figures, there are 700-plus anglers fishing the waters of the Wild Trout Association which generates some R4 million per annum in revenue for the local community if accepted tourism multiplier effects are taken into account, and the second home owners contribute to this total (Curtis, 2006).

From this discussion the general and regional economic impacts of second homes on the town of Rhodes became apparent. If all tourism activities and expenditure by second home owners and tenants are combined then a total of R1001248 becomes apparent. When the total maintenance of second homes is added, a total of R545738 is reached. This implies that a total of R1546987 could possibly be contributed by second homes to the economy of the village. The general observation then would be that many benefits do arise for Rhodes Village itself, but also that significant income if raised to the surrounding farming community too.

9. Conclusion
This investigation has led by the contention that second homes in Rhodes was the result of the development of an increasingly, but not exclusively so, post-productivist countryside. It is suggested that in part, this coincided with the advent of an open agricultural economy which was ushered in during the first years of inclusive democracy. Significant competition with mainly state protected agricultural economies in the developed north encouraged the diversification of the rural economy. However, it could be argued that part of this restructuring would not have taken place if not for second home development in Rhodes Village. The line of causality is, however, reflexive. For it can not be argued that second homes did not lead to a post-productivist countryside, but at the same token neither can it be concluded that the creation of a post-productivist countryside led to the expansion of second homes. Nevertheless, Rhodes has undergone significant transformation over the past three decades. These changes can predominantly be linked to the development of the tourism industry, which in turn was enabled owing to changes in the structure of the national and particularly the agricultural economy which induced a set of economic activities typical of a post-productivist countryside. More
particularly, this investigation has shown that leisure-based activities pertaining to second homes and general upkeep does contribute a fair amount to a generally impoverished community and district.
References:


Hall, C.M., and Müller, D.K., 2004: Tourism, mobility and second homes: between elite landscape and common ground, Channel view publications, Clevedon.


Müller, D.K., 1999: German second home owners in the Swedish countryside, Vetenskapliga Bokserien, Umeå.


Interviews:

Interview: Ms. D. Van Wyk, Manager at Walkerbouts Inn.
Interview: Mrs. H. Reeders, Owners and Manager of Rubicon Flats.
Interview: Mr. F. Steynberg, Local entrepreneur.
Interview: Mrs. S. Kölz, Municipal official.
Interview: Mr. C.J. Barnard, Local farmer.
Interview: Mr. C. Tauber, Local farmer.
Interview: Mrs. H. Nel, Guest farm owner.
Interview: Mr. W. Jansen, Guest farm owner.