

Indicators of post-productivism in South Africa's "platteland": A second home case study of Rosendal, Eastern Free State

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Abstract. The idea of post-productivism has been found to apply extensively in developed countries, but has been studied less in developing countries. A recent study in South Africa on second homes demonstrated that some rural spaces are slowly evolving into post-productivist countrysides, especially during weekends, month-ends and peak holiday periods. Wilson and Rigg's six indicators were utilised to assess the rural town of Rosendal in the Eastern Free State of South Africa, the adjacent black township of Mautse and the surrounding farming area, to determine whether the notion of post-productivism can be exported from the developed North to a developing world context. Some of the indicators have been found to be highly relevant in this case study, 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 developing South.

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1. Introduction

Rural geographies have changed over the years and specifically so in developed countries (Gallent, Tewdwr-Jones, 2001; Wilson, Rigg, 2003) but lately also in developing countries like rural South Africa (Hoogendoorn, Visser, 2014). Rural geographies are characterised by rural depopulation and major shifts from a space of production into multi-functional and, in many instances, post-productive countrysides (Pitkänen, Adamiak, Halseth, 2014). Second homes, as visible markers in post-productive countrysides, make a significant contribution to leisure practices (Hoogendoorn, Visser, Marais, 2009). Furthermore, second home owners mobilise the local economic potential by mentoring small and medium enterprises and strengthening local projects with their expertise (Rogerson, 2014).

Most of the rural geographies debates have initially unfolded in the global North (Gallent, Tewdwr-Jones, 2001; Wilson, Rigg, 2003; Müller, 2011), where second home researchers focused mostly on the middle classes such as in Sweden and New Zealand (Hall, Müller, 2004; Müller, Hall, Keen, 2004; Müller, 2011) and the upper classes in the United Kingdom (Gallent, Twedwr-Jones, 2001; Gallent, Mace, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005; Gallent, 2007). In the global South, the focus unfolded later and was mainly aimed at rich and mobile second home owners (Hoogendoorn, 2010). During the past ten years, however, researchers such as Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010a; 2010b; 2014) made valuable contributions to second home research and lately also on the topic of post-productivism in a developing spatial context such as South Africa.

2. Problem statement

Against this backdrop, this investigation sets out to primarily determine to what extent indicators of post-productivism were present within a rural area

of a developing country such as South Africa, but also to formulate more general conclusions concerning the examined problem. Second home development as driver for post-productivism together with the post-productivist indicators highlighted by Wilson and Rigg (2003) were utilised to assess whether a shift towards post-productivism was starting to unfold in this case study of the developing South.

3. Location and methodology of the investigation

The investigation is set in the empirical realities of Rosendal, located in the Eastern Free State of South Africa (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Rosendal in South Africa

Source: Compiled by Job (2014)

Rosendal, as case study, was used in the investigation as a combined name for three areas, namely the original White group area of Rosendal town, the adjacent Black township of Mautse as well as the surrounding farming area (Fig. 2).

Rosendal has evolved into a second home destination in the late 1990s. The area is characterised by

sandstone formations within the semi-arid agricultural heartland of South Africa. Rosendal is a settlement of roughly 8150 people (8000 in Mautse and 150 in Rosendal town) and could therefore be considered as a small settlement with surrounding farms (Hay, 2014). There is only one main tarred road to the centres of both Rosendal and Mautse; the other roads are all gravel roads. The economy of the town has been re-imagined and it is now, to a large extent, driven by the needs of second home tourism. As elsewhere in small urban settlements, second home development and its associated economic activities have been central in stemming economic decline (Hay, 2014). The so-called creative class, in the form of artists that have relocated mainly from Johannesburg, has contributed to these economic activities by seeking lower living cost alternatives to the high living costs of working in cities (cf. Ingle, 2010).

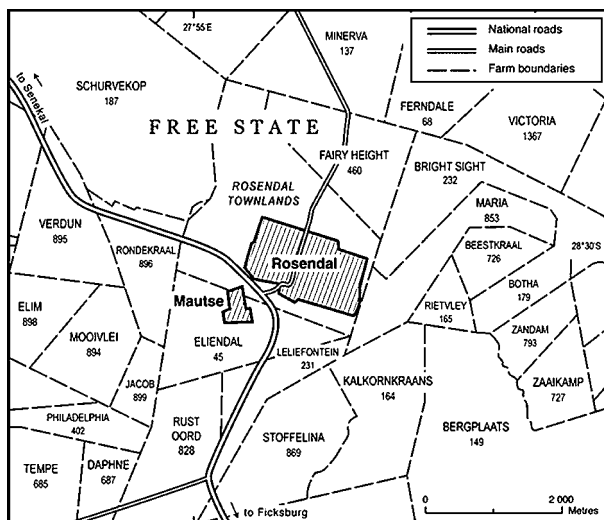


Fig. 2. Rosendal, Mautse and farming hinterland

Source: Compiled by Job (2014)

The methodology employed in this investigation was mainly of an interpretivist, qualitative nature. For the specific purpose of determining whether a shift towards post-productivism had taken place or was in process, a more focused comparative-qualitative approach was utilised, where indicators of post-productivism (according to Wilson and Rigg, 2003) were compared with what was found to transpire in the Rosendal area. In every instance of an indicator put forward by Wilson and Rigg, it was thoroughly compared with the qualitative data obtained from in-depth interviews and document analysis.

Thirty in-depth semi-structured interviews with permanent residents and second home owners of Rosendal, Mautse and surrounding farms were administered by the principal investigator and a number of documents pertaining to the issues related to the post-productivist indicators were consulted.

4. Post-productivism and the applicability of Wilson and Rigg's indicators to the South

The term *post-productivism* seems to have originated from 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. 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 – labelled as the so-called 'productivist era' – but rather with a variety of functions relating to an emphasis on food quality, environmental conservation and a move away from state-sponsored production subsidies that have encouraged agricultural intensification (Cloke, Marsden, Mooney, 2006). The countryside is no longer seen as a food factory but rather as a place for leisure and residence; it also 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, 2000).

One of the reasons for the ongoing interest in 'post-productivism' is that there continues to be a 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, 2010). While scholars such as Ilbery and Bowler (1998) argue that "there can be little doubt that agriculture in most developed market economies has entered a post-productivist period" (see also Willis, 2001; Saarinen, 2003; Sievänen, Pouta, Neuvonen, 2007), other authors are more cautious. Wilson (2010), for example, suggests that notions of pro-

ductivism 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, Morris, Winter, 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 United Kingdom where it was first conceptualised.

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

Wilson and Rigg (2003) suggested six indicators according to which countrysides can be identified as evolving towards post-productivism – as against the earlier era of productivism with its nearly exclusive focus on agricultural production. Although other researchers also identified dimensions of post-productivism (Wilson, 2010; Evans et al., 2002), this investigation utilised the authoritative indicators suggested by Wilson and Rigg (2003).

Their six indicators are:

- **Counter-urbanisation** – this is where urbanisation is reversed, and city-dwellers seek out rural spaces for a quality life. Wilson and Rigg (2003) mentioned the “changes in attitudes of formerly traditional rural communities now influenced by ‘urban’ and more progressive middle-class values and environmental attitudes.” These changes in attitudes could lead to changes in “farming

practices and a questioning by the farming community of ‘traditional’ and often environmentally destructive countryside management behaviour.”

- **Consumption of the countryside** – this implies that urban (and rural) people are enjoying (leisure) activities in the countryside on a constant basis because 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 (e.g. golf courses, hiking trails, farm tourism) (Wilson, Rigg, 2003).
- **On-farm diversification activities** – farmers have started to develop and include leisure activities as part of their income. These could be nature-related or activity-based or a combination of both. In a developing world context, these activities are, for instance, horse-riding, 4x4 trails, hiking trails, bird watching, etc. which link with the notion of a retreat for those who seek to escape the city. It could also include activities involving the production and sale of traditional goods such as local baskets made of bamboo, sisal or grass, and clay pots, clay pans, etc.
- **Organic farming** – a return to organic practices in food production is seen in countrysides, as opposed to artificial farming practices. 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 one embedded in a pre-productivist landscape and the other in post-productivism.
- **Policy change** – policies regarding rural spaces and rural municipalities are changing in favour of stimulating leisure activities and improved community development. According to Wilson and Rigg (2003) policy change 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. There is some evidence of supranational bodies such as the World Trade Organisation and the European Union influencing agricultural policies in the global South and propelling them in a post-productivist direction (Wilson, Rigg, 2003).
- **The inclusion of environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) at the core of**

policy-making – these organisations dealing with rural spaces receive more prominence in policy development, and are included as stakeholders to promote rural development. However, in the developing world such enabling democratic conditions and environmental policy-making processes are sometimes not in place to promote rural development.

5. Applicability of post-productivist indicators on Rosendal

The investigators analysed the characteristics of each indicator of Wilson and Rigg (2003) and compared it with what was happening in reality in Rosendal, Mautse and the surrounding farming area. In this way three themes emerged, namely that some indicators were highly relevant, some had moderate applicability and one had little applicability to Rosendal – representing the so-called developing South. It is also important to note 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).

An in-depth investigation regarding the above-mentioned themes follows in order to understand how far the movement towards a post-productivist countryside has unfolded in Rosendal.

5.1. Highly applicable indicators: Counter-urbanisation, production-consumption of the countryside; on-farm diversification

The highly relevant indicators that have been found to be present to a significant extent are counter-urbanisation, the move from production to consumption of the countryside and on-farm (and in-town) diversification.

Some theorists describe counter-urbanisation as a transition indicator towards post-productivism in developed countries, because the traditional urban-rural divide becomes more and more blurred (Wilson, Rigg, 2003). This has led to a change in

attitudes owing to the influence of ‘urban’ values to rural areas. Marjavaara (2008) argues that second home owners “who represent urban lifestyles and values, are temporarily re-allocated into a social space with different norms and values that often lead to a collision with local life.” Other researchers argue that second home owners come with ‘alien values’ (cf. Marjavaara, 2008), which undermine the traditional way of living, and have been blamed for representing a ‘fake culture’ (Marjavaara, 2008). These characteristics correlate to a large extent with what the investigators found in the Rosendal area: since the late 1990s a cohort of creative second home owners (Table 1), characterised by ‘urban’ values, saw opportunities in the area, bought relatively cheap erven, and renovated some of the old houses (cf. Ingle, 2010). The narrative of Interviewee 1 who came to Rosendal more or less fifteen years ago, supports the counter-urbanisation indicator: she heard by chance about “*the cheap plots in Rosendal*”, bought a house for R30,000 (\$2183) and her husband commuted to work for a few years between Rosendal and Gauteng. Later, they rented a small farm outside Rosendal, providing fresh milk for locals. A businesswoman from Rosendal town [Interviewee 2], previously from the city, describes the difference in values and what people hold dear well when she said: “*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.*”

To substantiate counter-urbanisation as a blurred urban-rural divide of values, the empirical data (Hay, 2014) showed that thirty-five per cent of the second home participants (Table 1) indicated that they bought the properties for their aesthetic value and to escape from city life, and in the process ‘rediscovered’ Rosendal which was at the time characterised by neglect and hopelessness (Hay, 2014). The general point is that most of these ‘rediscovered’ rural areas have been transformed almost beyond recognition into trendy ‘boutique towns’. In itself, the makeover or restructuring of old buildings can lead to conflict between second home owners and the locals. Clashes may furthermore arise when the tranquillity of the area is rated as unimportant, while others accept the fact that the town changed mark-

edly 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 (Hay, 2014). In this regard, Interviewee

2 stated: “*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.*”

Table 1. The spatial and economic distribution of second home owners in Rosendal/Mautse area (N = 74)

A (Criteria)	B (Types)	N	%
Reason for buying a 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
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

Source: Author's calculations

It is evident from the Mautse (1) narratives that a variation in counter urbanisation and behaviour exists between different people and clashes of values may cause conflict – especially between those with financial means and those without [Interviewee 4]. A cohort of second home owners (Table 2) are farmworkers while others work in the construction industry or professional careers in the cities – 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 [Interviewee 6]

An important observation is that most of Mautse's second home owners probably relate to Mitchell's 'limited dream' (2004) 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 [Interviewee 5] The overarching point is that 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 [Interviewee 1]. Even if they do not relocate permanently, they still contribute to values associated with urban areas [Interviewee 7]. It appears, therefore, that this indicator of post-productivism is relevant in a developing world context.

The second post-productivist indicator according to Wilson and Rigg (2003) is the move away from agricultural 'production' to 'consumption' of 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

Table 2. Personal characteristics of second home owners in Rosendal area (N = 74: Mautse – 40; Rosendal – 27; Farms – 7)

A (Criteria)	B (Types)	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
Gender	Authors, journalists and linguists	1	1.4
	Male	51	68.9
	Female	22	29.7
Marital Status	Did not respond	1	1.4
	Married	34	45.9
	Single	21	28.4
	Cohabiting	11	14.9
	Divorced	7	9.5
Home Language	Separated	1	1.4
	Afrikaans	27	36.5
	South Sotho	36	48.6
Academic Qualifications	English	11	14.9
	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
Personal Annual Income	Other	2	2.7
	<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
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

Explanation: ZAR 1.0000 = USD 0.0720

Source: Author's calculations

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-to-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, 2014). Indeed, according to Spocter (2013) many farmers feel forced to diversify their incomes by converting their farms into incorporated leisure activities. Hay's investigation (2014) supports the above view that primary agriculture is extended by other income-generating activities, whereby 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, guest houses, etc.). Rosendal town itself consists of many creative people who make a living out of their creative pursuits [Interviewee 8] and in Mautse the same trend is present, though on a limited scale, with inhabitants supplementing their income either from farming on municipal commonage, by keeping stock in backyards or by running shebeens for tourists and locals [Interviewee 3]. A variety of African products made of natural sandstone rocks or a variety of grass leafed ornaments are also sold.

To substantiate this finding it is important to revisit the developmental history of South Africa's agricultural environment. An important turnaround concerning agricultural production came during the demise of Apartheid subsequent to 1994. According to Hoogendoorn (2010) these events provided impetus to the emergence of post-productivism. In the years thereafter, the agricultural environment became characterised by formal deregulation – and, as a result, now receives among 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). Against this background of agricultural deregulation, farmers had little option but to re-route some of their energies to consumption activities – also true of the Rosendal area (Hay, 2014).

In the light of the above observation of diversifying income possibilities other than primary agriculture, the tertiary sector in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality, where Rosendal is located – which includes finance and real estate – showed a dramatic increase in terms of its Gross Value Added (GVA) contribution over the past 16 years – from R4,80 million (= \$124 million) in 1995 to R2,511 million (= \$181 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 (Figure 3) (Quantec, 2013). On the other hand, agricultural production income in the Dihlabeng municipality also showed a slight increase of R6 million (= \$432,000) from R245 million (= \$18 million) in 2010 to R251 million (= \$18,060,556) in 2011

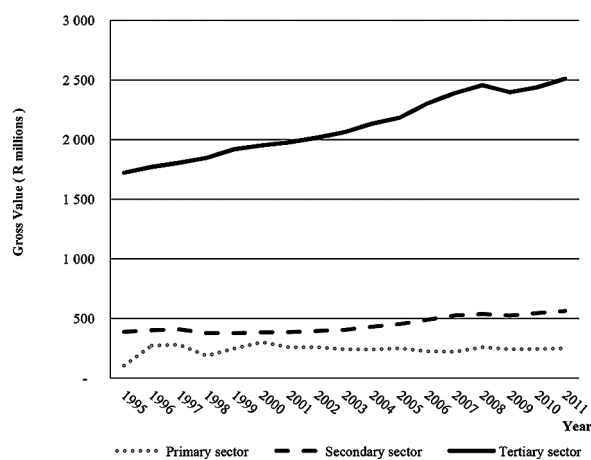


Fig. 3. Per sector contribution to the total Gross Value Added in the Dihlabeng municipality, 1995–2011

Explanation: ZAR 1.0000 = USD 0.0720

Source: Quantec, 2013

A deduction from the above figures is that agriculture still contributes significantly to the total gross domestic product of the Dihlabeng municipality, but when compared to other sectors (secondary and tertiary) of the economy, it is becoming less substantial. 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-Apartheid period (according to Hoogendoorn, 2010). Agriculture, which was once the most important contributor to the local economy, is still significant – though to a lesser extent. Furthermore, empirical data supports the above view that primary agriculture is

extended by other income-generating activities, whereby 15 of the 36 farmers in the Rosendal area supplement their income with other sources. A similar narrative was observed in Mautse: *“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!”* (Interviewee 3).

On the whole, the second indicator from Wilson and Rigg (2003) shows parallels with this investigation and is therefore applicable to the study area, which is part of the larger Thabo Mofutsanyane region that is predominantly rural. It is evident from the data that both the slight 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 predominantly rural Thabo Mofutsanyane region. This may lead to a change in the social composition of the Rosendal area and, thereby, transform the area into a post-productivist countryside.

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 paper, ‘on-farm diversification’ is also seen as ‘in-town diversification’ – in Rosendal, for example, most plots are so large that a house and garden alone do not do justice to the land (Interviewee 6). Furthermore, the boundaries between the town and farms are relatively vague – and commonage is often used as grazing for cattle. From the observational research of the Rosendal study it is evident that Mautse, which represents a poorer community, has always reflected a good degree of diversity and multi-functionality in livelihood terms, both in agriculture (on a limited scale on the commonage land) and non-agriculture. Mautse’s commonage land is used for emerging Black farmers and former-farmworkers’ cattle (Interviewee 6). In terms of non-agriculture, Ellis (2007) refers to diversification in association with small family farming in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). He provides two ‘classic’ reasons for diversifying – risk and seasonality – which have always been pertinent in Africa.

Non-farm occupations reduce 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, 2007). Similar findings are reported in the Rosendal case study; some people are self-sufficient while others leave their cattle ranging free on commonage land. Most of these cattle drift away owing to the lack of fencing and grazing, and sometimes die of hunger and thirst (Interviewee 3).

The countryside in the Rosendal district has undergone numerous changes since the 1990s during which the number of farmers and permanent residents in Rosendal declined significantly (Hay, 2014). This was the result of various factors, for instance mechanisation, the withdrawal of state subsidies and the globalised competitive markets after Apartheid (Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, on-farm diversification and restructuring of farming activities in the Rosendal district have 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 its traditional farming activities (Interviewee 9). Other farmers scaled down their farming activities and incorporated tourism products, for instance the Mosamane Hiking trail, 8 km from Rosendal (Interviewee 9). A few farmers found a solution for the low milk price and are producing finished goods like cheese or yoghurt and selling these to the local community (Interviewee 6). Other farmers changed to herb farming (Interviewee 6). 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 (Hay, 2014). Ten of the 36 permanent farmers are second home farmers – the majority of them see the property as an investment opportunity (Hay, 2014). 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 complementing their income and has not changed the composition of their income stream dramatically.

From the above discussion, it is evident that on-farm (and in-village) diversification activities in the global Southern context are a highly 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.

Despite the high relevance of these indicators, some of them demonstrated 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 did not necessarily come from cities – many were from nearby farms (Hay, 2014). The lower-income owners from cities especially supported family who were living in their second homes. Rosendal 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-town 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 (Hay, 2014). 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 (nearby town with strong second home influences in South Africa).

5.2. Moderately applicable indicators: Policy change; ENGOS

Two indicators from this case study that can be applied to a moderate extent in the developing South are policy change and the inclusion of environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) at the core of policy making.

Policy change forms one of the most ‘tangible’ indicators to assess ‘real’ shifts in agricultural and environmental emphasis, both in advanced economies and in the South (Wilson, Rigg, 2003). Policy change as an indicator is supposed to be passed down from national to provincial to local level, but it seems as if good intentions on these levels are not translated into sustainable actions in the South (Hay, 2014). A recent study conducted by Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010: 547) 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.” 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). 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 South, especially in South Africa (see Nel, 2001). On the whole a LED strategy aimed at inducing economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief especially for rural areas in South Africa (see Binns, Nel, 2002; Rogerson, 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) is also a mandate of government that was passed on to municipalities to assist with the provision 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 integrated development plan (IDP) reviews, LED is still projected as a tool to help with the recovery of socio-economic stresses (Rogerson, 2010). 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 committed by municipal officials and the capacity gaps which remain an issue especially in smaller municipalities.

The applicability of policy change as indicator to the Rosendal study shows some evidence in the form of the entrance to Rosendal town which 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). Today, however, it is not fully operational any more. It was aimed at supporting strategic economic development work and cooperation between local government and local businesses. The expected outcome of this partnership initiative included improved collaboration and dialogue between private and public stakeholders. In summary, policy change as indicator of a post-productivist countryside is therefore present in legislative terms, but near 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 (Hay, 2014).

Another moderately applicable indicator of post-productivism, in line with 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 (Ellis, 2007). According to Rigg and Ritchie (2003), however, the increased power of environmental NGOs is also to be found in rural areas of the South. Their study focused 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 ENGOS and others. The Dihlabeng municipality, of which Rosendal is part, however, 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 ENGOS; provide institutional support (e.g. water harvesting, irrigation schemes, as well as the upgrading of sewerage pipes); shield valuable agricultural land; ensure a 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 (= \$107,932)), the Love Rosendal Show at a cost of R30,000 (= \$2159) 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 (= \$259,036), the hydroponics project worth R150,000 (= \$10,793) and the development of the equestrian centre valued at R100,000 (\$7195); 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).

It can be argued that the involvement of ENGOS as post-productivist indicator of Wilson and Rigg (2003) shows parallels with other investigations (cf. Ellis, 2007) where ENGOS are increasingly included in the 'core' of the policy-making process to indicate a shift from productivism to a post-productivist countryside. The study area actively seeks community participation in matters affecting the community and thus environmental 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 environmental non-governmental grouping 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 is still to be discovered by drivers from the government's side (Hay, 2014).

These indicators 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, environmental 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.

5.3. Least applicable indicator: Organic farming

The indicator that was nearly absent in the investigation was the development of organic farming. This has been seen by many developed countries 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). There are signs that in some areas of the developing South 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.

However, from the Rosendal case study it seemed that some second home owners find it difficult to maintain their gardens, owing to the limited time they spend there, and therefore they have to make use of the support and labour of locals. In Mautse, organic farming/gardening is again practised on a limited scale. This is one of the sustainable projects

the local government has initiated collaboratively with local residents from Rosendal town. 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 Dhlabeng Municipality. Organic farming may contribute to the development of a consumptive environment and thus increase tourism development.

In summary, it seems that the small-scale organic farming that takes place in Rosendal rather has a struggle and survival motive than a new trend to live healthier (Hay, 2014). Only a few are aiming to live 'off the grid' in terms of electricity, sewage and water supply, apparently in pursuit of a greener lifestyle (Hay, Visser, 2014). Although small patches of excellence in terms of intensive farming existed in the Rosendal 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 in Rosendal, but in the bigger picture it made an insignificant contribution to the changing countryside.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that there were definite indications that, in a number of respects, the Rosendal area was moving towards a post-productivist countryside. Wilson and Rigg's 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 relatively slow pace of development in the developing global South.

The lower-income owners from cities support family who are living in their second homes. Rosendal 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. Then again, second home owners are very often connected in one way or another with permanent residents, often as direct or indirect family or through longstanding friendship networks (Hay, Visser, 2014). These strong ties are in many cases the result of circular migration between Rosendal,

the surrounding farming districts and larger cities such as Johannesburg. On-farm diversification was found to be present in the area, but not in an encompassing way as in the developed global North. The diversification was extended to 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.

Two indicators that can be applied in a moderate manner in this case study are policy change and the inclusion of environmental 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, environmental 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.

To conclude, it can be stated that there are definite signs, in some respects, that the Rosendal area is moving towards a post-productivist countryside. The role second home owners play therein, especially in terms of local economic development efforts, can largely be seen as an indirect contribution.

Note

“Platteland” is the Afrikaans word for a rural area, and often used by non-Afrikaans speakers in South Africa.

Mautse reflects the former black township area. The Bakwena tribe divided into five groups, with

the Basotho tribe division locating themselves in the Ficksburg area (Hay, 2014). Nowadays the late descendants of the Basothos are still to be found in these Eastern parts of the Free State, including Mautse.

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Interviews

Interviewee 1: Local resident of Rosendal, interviewed during December 2010.

Interviewee 2: Local businesswoman, interviewed during December 2010.

Interviewee 3: Second home owner in Mautse, interviewed during December 2011.

Interviewee 4: Second home owner in Mautse – primary residence in Gauteng, interviewed during December 2011.

Interviewee 5: Second home owner working on a farm in the Rosendal district, interviewed during December 2011.

Interviewee 6: Municipal worker in Rosendal, interviewed during December 2012.

Interviewee 7: Local retired resident, interviewed during June 2010.

Interviewee 8: Local resident and well-known artist, interviewed during December 2010.

Interviewee 9: Second property owner, interviewed during December 2010

Interviewee 10: Local resident – artist/sculptor of Rosendal, interviewed during December 2011.



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