



The spatial and socio - cultural impacts of second home development

A case study on Franschhoek South Africa

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Abstract

The geography of rural areas has undergone fundamental and some argue dramatic changes over the past half century and second home development has increasingly been implicated as contributing to such change. This thesis considers these changes and impacts of second home developments in the context of Franschhoek, South Africa, based on a three months fieldwork. This research follows the discourse with a more Marxist approach. As an expression of capital accumulation, second homes development is seen as leading to uneven development and the displacement of the local community as a result of escalating property prices and housing shortages. The aim of this thesis is to find out what the implications are for the village Franschhoek, in the Western Cape Province in South- Africa on a spatial and socio-cultural level. It is argued that second home development in Franschhoek can be seen as a force behind gentrification, inducing the displacement of local residents which changes the total fabric of place and community. The main impact is that there is no chance of property mobility for permanent residents and inevitably leads to the creation of residential class segregation. Furthermore, the perceptions of the local residents are considered. The old duality of host and guest become contested and due to this blurred distinction between in- and outsider in this specific second home context, paradoxal findings are made while comparing perceptions and experiences of the local residents and second home owners on the changes the town went through.

Keywords: Second home development, Spatial impacts, Socio-cultural impacts, Gentrification, local perceptions, Franschhoek, South Africa

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1. Introduction

Increasing mobility and escalating levels of regional and international leisure migration is associated with globalization (Hoogendoorn et al. 2005). In the field of tourism and its current trends, more and more land is acquainted by external actors and it is important to understand the complex dynamics created by this process. Second homes are a current expression of the localized impact of globalization and transnationalism in a neoliberal governance context as van Noorloos & Zoomers (2010) explain. The different scales at which the second home phenomenon is active (global, national, regional and local) and the combination of tourism and migration characteristics makes second home tourism a difficult subject to grasp, let alone its impacts and challenges. Already at the point of defining the phenomenon of second homes, difficulties arise, as under its umbrella different features can be identified; residential tourism, expatriate residency, retirement migration and lifestyle migration bounded by the overall characteristic of amenity migration (Koch-Schulte 2008: 2). It is a rapid growing phenomenon, and is certainly becoming an increasingly important feature in many countries, so also in South Africa.

South Africa is faced with increasing second home developments and ownership. Numerous villages and towns along the South African coastline, and increasingly in its rural interior, have grown and been changed significantly as a result of amenity migration (Visser & Hoogendoorn 2004: 105). Nevertheless, second-home development as a topic of investigation has long been almost invisible to the South African academic literature (Visser, 2003: 379). Recently, recognition of the impacts that second homes hold for local communities have started to draw attention at the highest levels of South African governance (Visser 2004: 105). This because both international as wealthy local urbanites are more and more obtaining second homes in rural towns and villages in South Africa. The recent interest can mainly be attributed to the mounting discontent in reaction to the rising property prices in the Western Cape, which makes it unaffordable for many South Africans to enter the housing market, leave alone owning a second home. It is for his reason that questions are raised whether these developments are justifiable, as the majority of the South Africans is unable to afford their own land or property. The straining of property mobility for permanent residents due to increasing property prices is one particular impact that doesn't feature in international debates. It is in the specific context of South African that this leads to the maintenance of the racially based cleavages in the property market. It would appear that as such under the influence of second home development in certain locations, exclusion on the basis of race during the apartheid is succeeded by a class based residential division through a financially exclusive property market. It is on this issue that this research put its attention in the specific location of Franschhoek.

The geography of rural areas has undergone fundamental and some argue dramatic changes 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 (Hoogendoorn, Visser, & Marais 2009). Second homes are often an urban phenomenon which takes place within rural and peripheral areas, creating a change in the urban geographical composition of those areas. According to Gallant & Tewdwr-Jones (2001), the different forces behind this are underpinned by regions which have permanent residents with greater affluence and leisure time budgets which generate the potential demand for second homes. Conversely, in other regions, lesser relative affluence and economic stagnation fuels depopulation, increasing the availability of surplus housing stock, often the focus of second home demand. It is argued that second homes can be viewed as a form of gentrification, second home owners have contributed to the transformation of the countryside and coastal villages into gentrified leisure sites (Paris 2009). Gentrification has been extensively researched and debated within urban contexts, while less attention was been given to this process in rural areas. Much attention is being given to the definition and meaning of gentrification in both contexts, and the possibility of diverse types and processes of gentrification and ‘gentrifiers’ (Phillips 1993; Phillips 2008). The defining features of contemporary gentrification are generally agreed on as the reinvestment of capital, social upgrading of the locale by incoming high-income groups, landscape change, and direct or indirect displacement of low(er)-income groups. As Visser and Kotze (Visser & Kotze 2008: 2567) note; gentrification, being urban or rural, refers to the class dimensions of neighbourhood change. In short, not only the changes in housing stock, but changes in housing class where the local residents of an area are replaced by a more affluent class of people. It is about changes in the social composition through in movement and displacement as Phillips (2002; 2005) notes.

This brings us to one of the most controversial issues related to second home development, whether the demand for second homes has a displacement effect on the permanent residents. Displacement and so called ‘land grabbing’ are repeatedly used in the debate on second home tourism (van Noorloos & Zoomers 2010). This second home induced displacement as Marjavaara (2008) calls it, and the influx of wealthy urbanites obtaining second homes can in this context be seen as leading to rural gentrification. Induced by second home development, *‘permanent residents leave their place of residence on an involuntary basis due to increased living costs and tax burdens caused by external demand for houses.’* (Marjavaara, 2008: 21). Displacement is as such a central issue in the gentrification process. The socio-economic differences between individuals who compete for properties in the same location are as said central to this discussion. Together with the resulting maintenance of residential segregation and racial divisions, these are the local development issues that second home expansion holds for host communities. It is also on this central aspect of gentrification

this research will focus in the location of Franschhoek and on one particular type of ‘gentrifiers’, namely second home owners.

Research aim

As second home development is a place and context specific topic, the purpose of this research was to find out what the implications are for the village Franschhoek, in the Western Cape Province in South- Africa on a spatial and socio-cultural level. The aim is to reveal the spatial and socio-cultural impacts induced by second home development on local level and whether this has led to gentrification and as such segregation or the maintenance of existing segregation in Franschhoek. The focus will be on the local perspectives towards the impacts of second home tourism. The research question than sounds as follows:

What are the spatial transformations and socio- cultural impacts that are induced by second home development in Franschhoek and what are the local perceptions towards these?

Surveys and interviews were conducted among the permanent residents of Franschhoek which unraveled their perceptions towards second home development. The objective of this part of the research was to get the insider perspectives on the developments taking place in the town. What are the implications of the influx of affluent foreign and domestic second home owners for spatial segregation and socio-cultural impacts on the local community? In order to answer this question we also need to take a closer look at the different groups involved, who are the insiders and who are the outsiders? One of the purposes of the survey was as such to take a closer look at how the local community of permanent residents in Franschhoek is composed and put this group of so-called ‘insiders’ against the second home owners who can be seen as ‘outsiders’ or ‘newcomers’.

In the first chapter the theoretical framework will be presented starting from the debate on the relationship between tourism and mobility and a definition of second homes. Second homes and their definition will be further discussed along with its spatial and socio-cultural implications on the tourist destination. After this theoretical chapter the research objectives and questions will be elaborated on together with the methodology used. Following, in chapter 3 the regional framework is given in order to place the research in its South African context. Also the research location, Franschhoek, will be extensively described with the main developments taking place there. After this, three empirical chapters will present the results of the research. Chapter 5 gives an extensive overview of the second home developments taking place in Franschhoek and the characteristics of its owners. Chapter 6 describes the spatial impacts of the second home developments taking place in Franschhoek, focussing on second home development as gentrifier and the induced displacement of the local residents. Chapter 7

finally compares the two groups involved and discusses the difficulties concerning the definition of hosts and guests. The perceptions and responses of the local residents towards these developments and its impacts on the local community are finally considered. In the conclusion then all chapters will come together answering on the questions posed and a short discussion is proposed.

2. Second Home Development and its Potential Impacts: a Theoretical Overview

In tourism research, mobility is put at the heart of the understanding. Mobility takes many different forms, including tourism and migration (Williams & Hall 2000). Increasing attention is paid in research on various concepts of mobility and the interrelations between them particularly as a result of globalization processes which include impacts of communication and transport technologies and the expansion of labour and leisure markets.

Tourism has always been used for the temporary travel mainly for leisure purposes with the precondition of returning within a year. Migration at the other hand involves a permanent settlement in the destination. However, contemporary forms of mobility have undermined this distinction (O'Reilly 2007). The process of globalization has led to the realization of global interdependence on all levels and as such tends to create a global mass culture. A new phenomenon and result of this process of globalization and increased interconnectedness and mobility is second home tourism as a distinct growing segment in the field of tourism. Within tourism literature, particularly this phenomenon can be defined as an intersection between tourism and migration (Casado-Diaz 1998: 225). Second home tourism can be viewed as an expression of new forms of hypermobility, 'residentiality' and leisure proper of late postmodernism and globalisation (Aledo, 2004).

The sector of second home tourism focuses specifically on sale and purchase of land and houses, and the subsequent urbanization of territories, as opposed to the conventional tourism industry which includes, besides hotels, other services such as tour operators and restaurants (van Noorloos & Zoomers 2010). This specific type challenges the distinction between tourism and migration even more. This group is said as O'Reilly (2007) notes, to think globally while living locally. As such, the in this research called second home tourists contribute to the creation of a mass global culture. In this chapter the concept of second home tourism will be explained and placed in its global context. Further its impact on local level will be discussed with a focus on the implications for local communities, their spatial segregation and composition.

2.1 Defining second homes

As a field of research, second homes have a long history in developed countries starting from the beginning of the 50s and 60s. International retirement migration and international second home tourism elate to individuals, mostly from Europe and the USA, seeking an affordable place to retire and/or purchase an additional home in less developed regions of the world such as South Africa (Hoogendoorn et al. 2005). However, since its emergence in academic research there has been a great deal of ambiguity and struggling concerning its definition

(Hoogendoorn et al. 2005; Visser 2006; Pienaar & Visser 2009). This ambiguity can be traced back to issues concerning the relationship of these properties to other fixed property assets, its types and its locations (Visser 2003). These homes do not constitute a discrete type, nor are they sharply distinguishable from other kinds of accommodation. The measurement and identification is a difficult issue, thinking of the fact that the adopted definition will affect the number identified.

In the 1960's the possession of second home was seen as subject to certain conditions, a minimum length of occupancy of the property and a proof of its possession included in these. The suggestion by then was that the majority was to be found in larger towns (Visser 2003). As De Wilde put emphasis on the role of second homes within the realm of production, Mardsen (1977) then placed more emphasis on second homes as part of consumption. Second homes were immobile and unserviced supplementary accommodation and he identified four distinct categories. There were the private homes often visited at the weekend and on holidays by the family and non-paying guests; the ones that serve as commercial holiday homes, used as private holiday homes but let at high season to defray costs; private holiday homes, purchased for retirement but meanwhile let out as commercial holiday homes, apart from occasional family use and finally commercial holiday homes, owned as an investment and usually let and managed by an agent. In the same period the range of potential functions of these second homes was also recognized by Coppock (1977) and he also located them in a new spatial setting, namely rural areas. He also suggested that ownership as a criterion and often the norm, did not apply to all of the second homes (Visser & Hoogendoorn 2004). A final aspect that makes the identification and measurement of second homes difficult is the dynamic character of these homes. In particular the changing relationship between the first and second homes (Visser 2003). The core of second home definitions would be that the owners of a second home must have their primary residence somewhere else, where they spend the majority of their time as Marjavaara (2008) notes. However, this conceptualization tends to become increasingly blurred in today's modern society. There is a high level of circulation and movement attached to this phenomenon, which is characterized by multiple attachment to place and in some cases even a changing from permanent to second home (Hall & Muller 2004). This aspect can also be related to the owners of such homes. O'Reilly (2007) identified four groups of migrants that can be placed under the second home tourism trend. The first is what she calls *full residents*, a group that fits perfectly under the name of migrants; *returning residents* is the second group referring to people returning regularly to their home country and possessing homes in both countries. The third group is the *seasonal migrants*, who live in their home country but seasonally move and finally *peripatetic migrants*, who are moving back and forth mostly owning a home in more than one place. Williams and Hall (2002) identified two basic forms of tourism-related migration, consumption- and production-led of which they see second homes owners as part of the former group.

Despite of all these definitional concerns, a certain agreement is reached with the definition given by Goodall in 1987 that may provide a useful starting point: 'A second home is a property owned or rented on a long lease, as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere.' (Visser 2003: 382; Hoogendoorn et al. 2005).

2.1.1 Motivations for second home development

Different motivation can be attributed to the purchase of a second home. A prime motivation for the tourists in this segment according to many would be a sense of inversion, an escape from daily life or the city (Jaakson 1986; O'Reilly 2007). This inversion is mainly leisure oriented. Lifestyle migration is a term often used to describe this specific segment in tourism. Among the lifestyles such migrants are searching are an escape from past experiences, the good life, certain quality of life and others Mc Watters (2009) It is a tourism-informed mobility, many residential tourists have purchased homes in places where they were previously regular tourists. Simply put, tourist destinations become migration destinations. It consist of the migration of more affluent individuals, which has often in research been linked to wider phenomena such as retirement migration, leisure migration, second home ownership and others. A final motivation can be related to increased aging and the decline in age of retirement in the past decades that produced a large number of retirees in developed countries. Besides economically active migrants, retirees are important players in the second home scene. Many of these retirees who have the resources decide to migrate to regions where they expect to improve their quality of life during their old age. IRM or international retirement migration creates as such new and innovative forms of transnationalism. However, also this form of migration has some definitional problems as it is a highly diverse and flexible phenomenon. Some of these retirees settle permanently while others maintain a residence in their home country (Gustafson 2001). Another long term motive to purchase a second home which is well represented in the literature is the idea of owning a second home as an investment opportunity. Second homes are typically seen in terms of potential capital gain and not as an investment to generate income. Whereas the value of other leisure goods such as boats and other vehicles usually declines, the value of property usually appreciates. Second homes are therefore seen as an ideal opportunity to invest in leisure goods (Paris 2009: 296).

The destination that is chosen can tell a lot about the aspirations they pursue. Benson and O'Reilly (2009) describes three types of lifestyle migrants, being the residential tourist who will mostly opt for destinations in coastal and sunny areas. Motivation in this group are mainly leisure, relaxation and 'tourism as a way of life' oriented. The second group identified by Benson is the rural idyll, where rural locations or popular and imagined to offer a lifestyle connected to the simple, pure life. Bourgeois bohemians finally seek more alternative lifestyles connected to spiritual, artistic and creative aspirations.

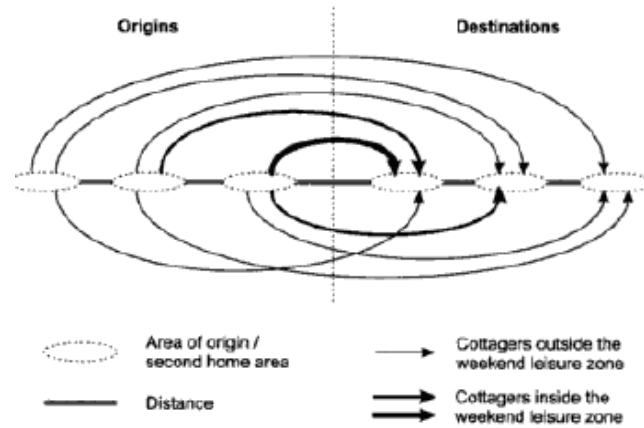


Figure 2.1: Origins-destinations relationships
(Hall and Muller 2004: 9)

According to Hall and Muller (2004) major second home locations are determined predominantly by space-time distance as shown in figure 2.1. The distance between the two locations often influences the length of a visit and number of times a second home is visited. Second homes which serve as a weekend home are often relatively close to the primary residence and frequently visited for shorter periods. Holiday homes are located further away from the primary home. They are visited with a lower frequency, but for longer periods. In this research the focus lays on immobile weekend and holiday second homes used for investment, recreational and leisure purposes.

2.2 The impacts of second home development

Another aspect of second home developments that is much debated is the impacts they have on an economic, spatial and socio-cultural level. These processes have not developed evenly and from location to location the impacts are not the same (Visser 2004; Marjavaara 2008) . Some regions may experience a positive growth, others a dependent economic development. There are two main discourses concerning these impacts. The first is the neoliberal approach that focuses on the nexus between tourism and urban development and the potentially desirable aspects of second home development. This looks mainly at the economic advantages and the role in a post-productive countryside. The second approach is more Marxist in nature. The focus here is on the rather undesirable outcomes. Second home development is seen as the expression of capital accumulation, uneven development, displacement of the local community and escalating property prices and housing shortages (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2010b; Maléne et al. n.d.: 1). International experiences on the impacts of second-home development have shown that definite impacts and threats do accompany the phenomenon. Also McWatter (2009) puts emphasis on the territorial effects that second home tourism can create because of the immense transformative power of the phenomenon. First the economic

impacts will be considered and after that the main focus will be on the spatial and socio-economic impacts second home development may entail for local communities.

2.2.1 Economic impacts

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council the direct and indirect impact of travel and tourism economy, both domestic and international, was in 2003 expected to be 10.4% of the world's economic activity (Hall 2005). Given its significance many policymakers got enthusiastic about the potential of tourism and its perceived economic and employment implications. However for second home tourism one must look at the more local economic implications at the specific destination. The expenditures of second home owners can cause economic contribution and development that will affect the given region. There are different ways in which second home owners contribute to the local economy such as the creation of employment, expenditures on local amenities, leisure activities and property maintenance and renovations (Baker and Mearns 2006). Municipalities are mainly interested in second home tourism because it increases tax income and spending in local eco such as the consummation of municipal services and leisure services such as restaurants, shopping streets, bars and groceries (Visser & Hoogendoorn 2010; Paris 2009). Some regions as Visser (2006) notes experienced a positive growth in terms of employment creation, foreign earnings and so on, while for others it led them to economic dependency through leakages and negative social and environmental impacts.

Other areas of extensive economic impact are the construction, real estate and finance sectors (Paris 2009). Here, second home owners are an important demand source. These sectors are rarely addressed in relation to tourism. Second home tourism however, showed significant spending in these sectors (Marajaava 2008).

2.2.2 Spatial impacts

Space is as Torres and Momsen (2005) note a phenomenon constituted by social relations. Also Deffner et al (nd.) agree that space is a social product, just as the 'social' always have a 'spatial' aspect. The spatial consist of multiple social relations across different levels, from the global to the very local.

'The spatial can be seen as constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations across all spatial scales, from the global reach of finance and telecommunications, through the geography of the tentacles of national political power, to the social relations within the town, the settlement, the household and the workplace.' (Torres and Momsen 2005: 314).

Gentrification

On the local level a process of gentrification can take place as a result of second home developments. Gentrification is a powerful process which plays an important role in refashioning the physical, economic and social characteristics of specific areas. The definition given by Visser and Kotze (2008: 2567) sounds

‘The process by which the working class residential neighborhoods are rehabilitated by middle class home buyers, landlords and professional developers. Typically the working class inhabitants were replaced by a more affluent class of people.’

New debates suggest an expansion of the term and the processes underlining its origination, because of changes in the spatial focus of gentrification. Now also rural location are included as well as the impacts of infill housing and newly built luxury housing developments (Visser and Kotze 2008). However, whether we talk of urban or rural areas, new buildings or change by renovation of the existing housing stock; gentrification refers to the class dimensions of neighbourhood change. As Slater et al. state in 2004; it’s not just the changes in housing stock, but in housing class (cited in Visser and Kotze 2008). According to Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones’ (2001), the different forces behind gentrification are underpinned by regions which have permanent residents with greater affluence and leisure time budgets which generate the potential demand for second homes. Conversely, in other regions, less relative affluence and economic stagnation fuels depopulation, increasing the availability of surplus housing stock, often the focus of second home demand. It is argued that second home developments can be viewed as a force behind gentrification and the influx of affluent second home owners contributing to the transformation of the countryside and coastal villages into gentrified leisure sites (Paris 2009). This view focuses on the gentrifiers and their characteristics and as such uses a ‘consumption-side’ explanation of gentrification (Visser 2002). Gentrification has been extensively researched and debated within urban contexts, while less attention was been given to this process in rural areas. Consequences of rural gentrification are as Hoogendoon and Visser (2004) argue for example the local housing, land and other markets that becomes unaffordable for local population due to second home developments and non-resident investor activities. One of the most commonly observed markers of amenity migration is rising real estate values as Gill (n.d.) notices. This raises questions of ownership and purpose. There is proven to be a clear causal relationship between the growth of second home ownership and problems of affordability for lower-income households and first time buyers (Paris 2009).

In South Africa Visser and Kotze (2008) argue, the relevance of rural, suburban or new build gentrification is obvious. The different processes through which these changes are

interpreted include tourism-induced change, gated communities and second home development. In this respect, it is important to identify the gentrifier(s) in order to differentiate gentrification from for example urban or rural renewal.

Second home induced displacement and the creation or maintenance of residential segregation

The classic outcome of gentrification is the displacement of the local often less affluent residents (Visser en Kotze 2008: 2570). Central to the concept of displacement is the involuntary movement of individuals (Marjavaara 2008). In the context of gentrification he argues, the influx of individuals from upper classes of society in a certain area may force people who already live there to move because they can no longer afford living there. The socio-economic differences between permanent residents and second home owners who compete for properties in the same location are central to this discussion.

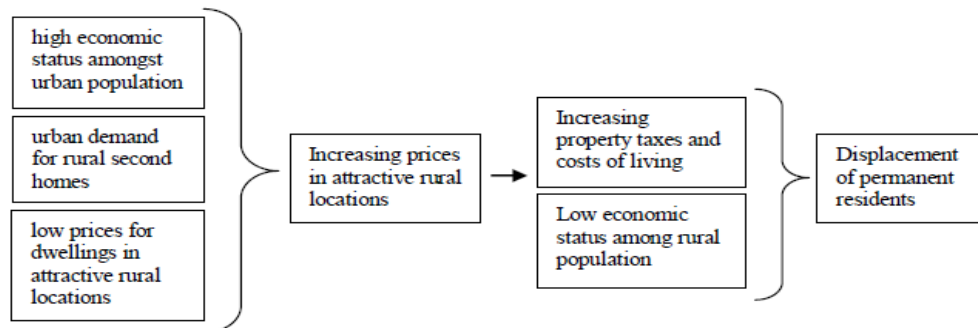


Figure 2.2: Chain of events and preconditions involved in second home induced displacement (Marjavaara 2008: 24)

Displacement and so called ‘land grabbing’ are repeatedly used in the debate on second home tourism (Zoomers and van Noorloos 2010; Asgari et al 2011). The seasonal influx of wealthy urbanites obtaining second homes can as said in this context be seen as leading to rural gentrification and as such lead to second home induced displacement as Marjavaara (2008) calls it (figure 2.2). Induced by second home development, ‘*permanent residents leave their place of residence on an involuntary basis due to increased living costs and tax burdens caused by external demand for houses.*’ (Marjavaara 2008: 21). The socio-economic advantage of second home owners causes a situation where these owners are generating a price rally on all properties. As such property prices rise as well as property tax burdens for permanent residents. Locals can as such be competed out of the local land and housing market. As a result places then may become seasonally inhabited which puts pressure on the economic activities and services.

The understanding of gentrification-induced displacement now also includes processes by which exclusion is pre-emptive. Anyone but a range of middle class or even more wealthy cohorts, to find some sort of literal and figurative space in those areas of investment. The

touristization of certain areas and the development of gated communities is an example of a process which gives way to a general process of space 'exclusivization' or elitization (Noorloos and Zoomer 2010). Ownership claims are made on the region and its resources. There also exists a sense of elitism in second home nodes (Jaakson 1986; Marjavaara 2008). This elitism creates often a distance between the tourists and the locals. As Mbaiwa (2005) also notes, enclave tourism often involves the types of facilities and services that fail to take into account the needs of local communities. Most often these are beyond the financial means of the local population and any currency generated has only minor effects on the host economy.

Another theory argues that economic decline in rural areas causes outmigration and as such frees up dwellings that might be converted and sold as second homes. The line of thinking followed here is that as a result of global changes rural economies are restructured leading to job losses and out-migration. The resulting empty dwellings are then converted into second homes. This rural restructuring theory state that behind every property that is being sold and converted into a second home, there is a household that decides not to live there anymore. The argument is that second home owners are only filling the surplus dwellings created by rural out-migration, however on a seasonal basis (Müller, Hall, & Keen, 2004; Phillips 1993). This line of thinking is almost the opposite of the theory of second home induced displacement. In this theory it is rural displacement induced by the impacts of global changes that paves the way for second home developments.

Visser en Kotze (2008) indicate is that the understanding of gentrification-induced displacement now also includes processes by which exclusion is pre-emptive. Anyone but a range of middle class or even wealthier cohorts is able to find some sort of space in those areas of investment. The cost of those spaces created through second home development results as such in the maintenance or creation of residential class segregation (Visser and Kotze 2008). The work on gentrification, as Maloutas (2004: 196) indicates, has followed on this invasion and succession idea. It indicates a process leading to segregation through the residential mobility of affluent strata which 'invade' and transform lower class areas. As such, an international demand for second homes in attractive rural areas affects its socio-economic structure. The serving class does not have the resources to compete in the property market and are obliged to look for properties in more affordable and often less desirable areas (Visser 2004). Through this process the residential mobility of certain people gets restricted by their socio-economic status. This again may create or maintain social segregation as, segregation patterns traditionally are considered to be changing through residential mobility (Maloutas 2004). The simplest way to calculate the level of segregation is by determining the difference in distribution between a given group population and the remainder of the population (Christopher 2001).

2.2.3 Socio-cultural impacts: Tourist encounters in a second home tourism context

One of the most researched of all impacts of second home tourism, and certainly in the anthropological studies on tourism, is the issue of socio-cultural impacts. These impacts are often a source of many conflicts at the destination as clashing urban and rural values and lifestyles meet. It concerns the way in which second home tourism influences and create changes and transformations in behaviour, daily routines, beliefs, values and the social life of people in the host community. It is the impact on the local community as a consequence of direct or indirect contact with second home tourists. Tourism has a high level of inter penetration, one of the four important concepts of globalisation mentioned by Shaw and Williams (2002: 26). Interpenetration is the level of which cultures and communities that seem distant come face to face on local level and as such stress diversity. The socio-cultural impact that tourism can have on the *host* society focuses on the interaction between host and guest, on the encounter between these two different cultures and lifestyles. As such one can see that the transnational forces playing in this field have a far reaching and often persistent impacts resulting from the interaction between global tourism and local realities. For the tourism industry in a specific locale to be sustainable an understanding of the social, cultural, environmental and economic implications is required (Tovar and Lockwood 2008). There are different 'socio-spatial groups' involved in second home development, from the wealthy high-class tourists to the working class population. An analysis of these 'socio-spatial groups demonstrates the complexity, in time and space, between development of second homes, settlement development and following social processes (Deffner et al n.d.: 3). What has to be considered is the danger of overdevelopment conflicts that may arise following the economic and spatial developments second homes may initiate. The different communities in towns affected by second homes may have different visions of what development should entail (Visser 2003).

Revisiting the concept of hosts and guests

Starting from the encounter between host and guest the impact of tourism is extensively described in academic literature. (Smith 1989; Nash 1989; Dogan 1989; Van Beek 2003; Fisher 2004; Nuñez 1989). Physical distance between people with different backgrounds is diminished by the intercultural contact that takes place in the tourism context (Smith 1989:3). The relationship between tourists and locals is complex because it is related to different factors (De Jong, 2007:4). The nature of the encounter differs according to the circumstances, like the type of tourist, the type of contact, cultural differences and motives of host and guest (van Gestel 2008). As Reisinger (2009) indicates, different types of tourists can be distinguished depending on their number, the degree of institutionalization of their travel arrangements, form of travel, ethnicity, purpose and attitude/ intention/ motivation of their

visit, preferences for activities, personality, type of holiday, traveller's status, and so forth. Categories of host and guest are however fluid, dynamic and contested (Sherlock 2001).

The tourist–host interaction is usually brief and temporary as the tourist usually stays in the destination for a short time. Mostly there is no opportunity to develop a meaningful relationship between tourists and host (Reisinger 2009). There however we find the difference when we talk about second home owners. Due to their length of stay and possible attachment to and involvement in the region or place where they own their second home, in this type of tourism the distinction between the two categories of host and guest becomes blurred (Sherlock 2001). In a second home context, as Marjavaara (2008) noted, second home tourists are neither tourists nor permanent residents, but rather a category in between. Sherlock (2001) labelled this group as 'new residents'. The host is always assumed as the counterpart in the binary relationship, but questions must be asked about the homogeneous presentation of the host community. The very notion of the term 'local' becomes contested. It becomes more complicated when part-time residents having holiday homes in the town and visit for long periods on a regular basis are considered (ibid.: 275). Permanent residents may perceive this group as tourists, but often second home owners consider themselves as part of the host community (Strapp 1988; Sherlock 2001). As Paris (2009: 297) indicates, impacts of second homes are often expressed in terms of conflicting interests of 'locals' and 'outsiders'. However, the weakness of using such a simple dichotomy is often demonstrated and contested. It implies the separate groups to internally all share the same characteristics, interests and priorities. Locals for example hardly ever constitute a homogenous group in social, economic or demographic dimensions.

Conflicting perceptions in a second home tourism context

Local perceptions are often crucial for the sustainability and survival of the tourism industry. As with many types of development, benefits will rarely be uniform. Important here is what is mentioned above, the question of homogeneity of host community and the fluid nature of hosts and guests that tend to destabilize the notion of community.

It is clear that second homes play an important role in affecting the physical, social and economic environment within areas where they develop (Baker and Bearns 2006). Second home owners often represent urban lifestyles and values that are temporarily re-allocated into an environment with different norms and values (Marjavaara 2008). As Visser (2004) states, second homes are something mainly for the wealthy class, in the South-African context meaning primarily the white population. Urban upper classes may come face to face with the poorer rural lower classes, this aspect contributing to the effect of segregation within the second home destinations. Here we are not only talking about domestic second home tourists as the phenomenon is becoming increasingly international. The socio-economic gap between second home tourists and the permanent residents becomes as a consequence even wider and

this may, according to Marjavaara (2008), be the largest in the early stage of second home development. For this it is important to understand the socio-economic characteristics of the groups involved. The awareness of the presence of second home owners, the contact with tourists and length of residency are other variables of importance when looking at the local residents; while length of stay and recreational characteristics of the second home owner determine the interaction from the tourist side.

Socio-cultural impacts of second homes specifically, as Asgari et al. (2011) mention, depend very much on the users of those second homes. This factor together with the extent and type of the developments and the local capacities will determine the size and type of the impacts. Both positive and negative impacts can be distinguished and these having different implications for the local community. Mostly those actively involved in the industry will see the highest benefits, while costs are often borne by those who derive no benefits ((Butler & Brougham, 1981; Gu & Ryan, 2008)Butler and Brougham 1981; Gu and Ryan 2008). Next to the perceived and received benefits, as mentioned before the contact between the actors involved is also an important factor determining the local attitude towards tourism developments. There is the obvious class difference and the sometimes less obvious differences in expectations. What locals want is often very far from what the tourists are looking for. The ideal perceptions of rural life by tourists may differ very strong from practices and values of local inhabitants (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2004: 107). Where the local population has aspiration for new jobs, progress and development, second home owners want the area to remain rural and quiet, as a leisure space. Factors identified as being important in the creation of certain attitudes or perceptions towards tourism developments by the local residence in the destination area are, occupation, age, ethnicity, duration of residency and place of residence as indicators of place attachment and the stage of the specific tourism development (Gu 2008).

Doxey's IRRIDEX

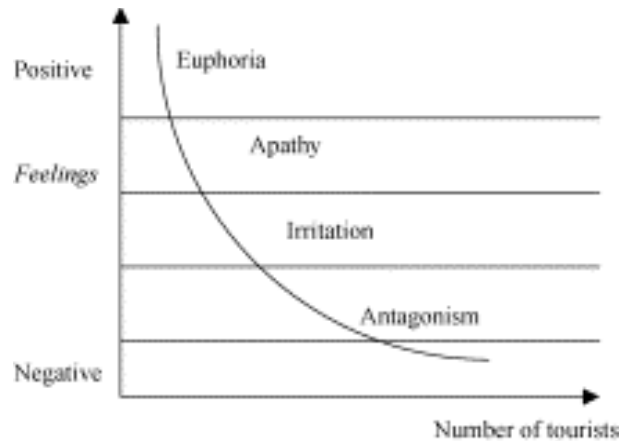


Figure: Doxey's Irritation Index

The irritation index or 'Irridex' of Doxey (1975) is the most well known theory existing on host - guest interaction. In this theory different stages are unravelled starting with the Euphoria stage, when there is no tourist activity in the region and hosts are interested in tourists and very welcoming. In the next stage however, when the amount of tourists is increasing, the contact becomes more formal and locals indifferent towards the tourists. In this Apathy stage there is confusion whether or not to welcome the tourists. When the maximum level of tourists is reached the tourism development is heading for the Saturation stage and the growth rate expected to be even higher. In this stage the hosts become concerned over prices rising, crime and cultural rules being broken. The tourists are even being perceived as annoyance and people get irritated, this is the Irritation or Annoyance stage. In the next stage hosts become more and more hostile towards the tourists and start blaming them for all wrongdoings in society. The Antagonism or Hostility stage implies that the tourists are seen by the hosts as exploitable and eventually they may call for actions to offset the negative impacts of tourism development they experience (Reisinger 2009). As Gu and Ryan (2008) point at, a growing resistance to tourism may occur when the numbers of tourists, or second homes in this case, begin to negatively impact upon accepted patterns of daily life. Tourism will be tolerated as long as the benefits outweigh the disadvantages.

3. Research Framework and Methodology

3.1 Objectives and questions

Research objectives

The aim of this research will be to get a better understanding of the second home developments in South Africa and more specific in the case of Franschhoek. The aim is to get an understanding of the implications of the impacts of second home development on local communities. In this research I want to reveal the spatial and socio-cultural impacts induced by second home development on the local community with specially paying attention to second home development as a potential ‘gentrifier’. The main focus will be on the local perspectives on these impacts created by second home tourism. In this research my aim is to describe the context of living and socializing in the dynamic places created by second home developments for local residents.

This research objective is divided in several sub-objectives:

- To identify the phenomenon second home tourism in Franschhoek and the characteristics of the second home owners.
- To identify the second home induced spatial transformations in Franschhoek thinking of processes of gentrification and displacement.
- To identify the socio-cultural impacts of second home development in Franschhoek. How does second home development change the social composition of the town as a result of gentrification and the induced dis- and replacement of local residents.
- To get an insight at the perceptions of the actors involved towards these impacts, mainly focusing on the local responses to the second home developments and its impacts on their town.

Research questions

What are the spatial transformations and socio-cultural impacts that are induced by second home development in Franschhoek and what are the local perceptions towards these?

This question is composed out of the following subquestions:

1. What are the characteristics of the second home development and its owners in Franschhoek?
2. What are the spatial transformations and socio-cultural impacts induced by second home tourism on the local community of Franschhoek focussing on gentrification and the displacement of local residents ?

3. What are the perceptions of the local community towards second home tourism and its impacts?

3.2 Conceptual model

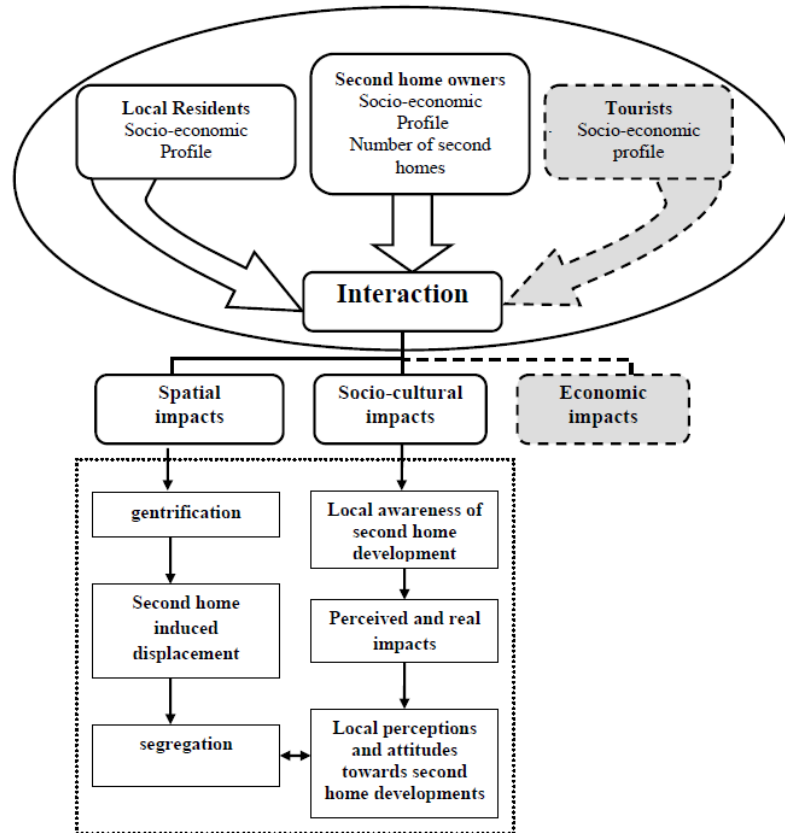


Figure 3.1: conceptual model

The conceptual model in the figure above gives an overview of the main concepts central to this research and the relationships between these concepts. Tourism has different types of impacts on a host location, depending on the type of tourist and the location itself. This model also includes tourists and economic impacts; however this research will only focus on second home tourism as specific segment in tourism. On top the different groups join together at the locale, the local residents and second home tourists. The specific impacts are determined by the interaction and the nature of the encounters between these different groups and the varying characteristics of the host population and the second home owners. Amongst these characteristics that matter for the local residents are age, sex, income, qualification and length of residence. For the second home owners these first four are added to expenditure patterns, characteristics of their second homes and number amongst others. The presence of second homes and second home development has different impacts on the local community and for this research the focus is on the spatial and socio-cultural. The spatial impacts include the possible gentrification of the town which can lead to the displacement of local residents and

as such create or maintain existing segregation. The socio-cultural impacts are linked to the awareness by local residents of the existence and scale of second home development and together with the perceived a real impacts this creates a certain attitude or reaction from the locals towards second home development, both positive and negative. The real or perceived segregation of the town may enforce these attitudes and perceptions.

3.3 Methodology

The key information that was gathered is used to get an insight in recent booming process of residential tourism and second home development in Franschhoek. I opted to use a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods ranging from the use of surveys to semi-structured and in dept interviews with key actors and stakeholders. The research was divided into different phases. The first phase was the preparation of the research proposal with outlining the theoretical background and research questions and objectives. Secondly, the implementation phase which covered the fieldwork and data collection was executed. As such this research draws on empirical data gathered over 3 months from February 14th until June 6th in Franschhoek, South Africa. During this fieldwork period already the first data was analyzed, a process that continued in the months following back in the Netherlands.

Franschhoek was chosen as the research area because it is an ideal second home node with a fair deal of second home owners, both foreigners and South Africans. As such the town is as a second home town representative for second home property in South Africa. Secondly the relative small size of the town made the data collection manageable in the amount of time available.

3.3.1 Quantitative data collection

In order to decide on the potential or possible impacts of second home/ residential tourism we will first identify for each location the share of second homes and get a profile of the second home owners and visitors. The definition used to find out whether or not a residence is second or first home will be the one used in the SANPAD program in order to get consistency within this program and research, for the definition will determine the amount and types of second homes to be found. Out of this data we will compute a sampling frame and through purposive quota sampling select second home owners for interviewing in order to get an overview of their profile, motives and characteristics of the settlements.

The data collection can be divided in several phases. The first phase encompassed the identification of the second homes and its owners in Franschhoek and the construction of the sampling frame. This was a crucial issue as there is no record on primary and secondary residence. As Pienaar and Visser (2009) note, there is no census that makes direct mention of

second homes per se, which means that there was no sample frame existing. The identification of the second homes was done by means of the address lists obtained from Stellenbosch Municipality used as a sampling frame. The rationale behind this method being that second home owners would probably prefer to have the utility bill sent to the primary residence for administrative purpose. When the second address differs from the location the properties are sited in Franschhoek, it can be considered a potential second home. For Franschhoek this was definitely the case. After sorting out the postal listings through purposive sampling, two databases were established one of potential foreign second home owners and one identifying the potential South African or domestic second home owners. This information was linked to GIS shape files which resulted into a map of all potential second homes in Franschhoek. During this phase some explorative interviews were conducted with second home owners and local residents. The main limitation and difficulty in this phase of the research was that the residents list of the municipality is incomplete and inaccurate as not even all plots are registered in it. This could lead to missing out and not being able to identify some of the second homes in town.

In the next phase a survey was developed and conducted amongst the second home owners to determine their socio-economic characteristics, their expenditure patterns and perceptions of the town. The questionnaires were filled out by door to door surveying and by sending them out by post. This because of the seasonality of second home tourism some of the respondents were not present at the time and some of the properties were rented out on long lease or empty so the owners were not in Franschhoek. The questionnaire used can be found in appendix 1. During the fieldwork 61 second home questionnaires were completed and collected. Of these 61 second home owners 42 were overseas and 19 South African. The questionnaires were coded and analysed with SPSS statistical programme.

In the fourth phase a survey was conducted among local residents through purposive sampling out of the remainder of the initial sampling frame. Information was collected with respect to selected socioeconomic characteristics of respondents (age, sex, employment, period of residency in the area) and with respect to their awareness of second home developments and its scale in the area. After this their perceptions towards these developments were measured with statements they could react on through a likert scale. All surveys were conducted in Franschhoek South, as it is in this area that second homes are mainly being bought or constructed and as such the perceptions of people involved and aware of the phenomenon were measured. (74% of the local respondents indicated that some of their neighbours' houses are empty for more than 1 month a year.). In the local survey, 86 respondents filled out the questionnaire. As a backup, this survey was also published in the local newspaper 'The Franschhoek Tatler' and can be found in appendix 2.

3.3.2 Qualitative data collection: semi-structured and in dept interviews

Part of the dataset is also build up with qualitative data collection. Tape-recorded semi-structured interviews were held with key stakeholders and informants. The local residents that were interviewed were also mainly those living in Franschhoek South, meaning the white part of the village. These interviews focused on themes such as the development of Franschhoek through the years and more specific the second home and residential developments taking place. For the local residents, sometimes the survey ended in a prolonged interview in which their perceptions towards both tourism and second home development in the town were elaborated on. Also Real estate agents, second home owners, gated estate managers, municipal officials and community representatives were interviewed. 33 in dept and semi-structured interviews were carried out with the different informants and stakeholders. During this interviews, also secondary data such as policy documents and zoning plans was collected. The list of interviewees and secondary data obtaine can be found in Appendices 3 and 4.

4. Contextual Framework

4.1 South Africa



Map 4.1: South Africa (geology.com 2011)

Situated in the south of the African continent, South Africa is surrounded by Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe and Mozambique in the north and wraps itself around Swaziland and Lesotho. In the north-east and in the south and west the country is sided by nearly 3000km of large coastal zone. With a surface of 1.23 million sq km the Republic of South Africa has a very diverse population of about 50.5 million speaking as many as 11 official languages (CIA, 2011a). The majority are the Africans representing almost 80% of the total population, followed by the white and coloured with 9% and the Indian/Asian population counting for 2,5% (Maumbe and Van Wijk 2008). The country knows three different capitals, with Pretoria being the executive capital, Cape Town the legislative and Bloemfontein the judicial capital. South Africa enjoys since 1994 a democratic government, having overthrown the apartheid policies of the past, headed by the State President Jacob Zuma of the African National Congress (ANC).

Since the late 90s South Africa has known a steady economic growth in GDP, with tourism being one of the fastest growing sectors. The national currency is the Rand (South African Tourism, 2011).

4.1.1 Overcoming the legacy of apartheid

One of the most important features of South Africa is its history of systematic and legalized discrimination that also shaped its economy, social and political structure. Under 'apartheid', racial discrimination and structured segregation got entrenched in South Africa. With the advent to power of the National Party in 1948, discrimination on racial grounds became the norm and ceased to be confined to particular statutes. The Population Registration Act of 1950 provided that everyone should be racially classified at birth and this classification was used as a cornerstone of the whole apartheid system. As such, after 1948, Africans found their way blocked at virtually every turn. The Group Areas Act of 1950 gave the minister of native affairs the power to designate that a piece of land be for occupation by a particular race only. People were shunted off to areas of which they had usually no knowledge and with which they had no connection. The Industrial Conciliation Act gave the power to reserve particular jobs for particular races. These legislations were all passed to ensure the social and economic survival of the White community and in particular the Afrikaner (Farley 2008; (Hoogendoorn 2010a). Even more than that, other legislation prohibited the marriage and sexual relations between whites and non-whites and the separation of facilities for different races.

Following the first democratic elections in 1994, which witnessed the final demise of apartheid, the new African National Congress (ANC) government has placed the need to address poverty and inequality firmly at the centre of its transformation agenda. South Africa is a very unequal society, consisting of a highly developed, 'first world' sector on the one hand and an underdeveloped, 'third-world' sector on the other. Racial and class differences generally coincide; with most members of the wealthy minority being white, and most of the poor majority black. The burden of poverty is exacerbated by limited access to basic services, poor housing, limited employment opportunities and inadequate infrastructure, which are an outcome of the terrible legacies of apartheid as Cheru (2001: 506) points it out. Numerous measures to restore the legacies of apartheid have been instituted since 1994. The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development was the overarching strategy of the government in order to overcome the economic legacies. Two of the major targets of the RDP were eliminating poverty and inequalities and addressing imbalances and structural problems in economy and labour markets. This amongst others by creating 2.5 million jobs in 10 years, building one million low-cost houses by 2000, redistributing 30% of agricultural land to black farmers within five years and democratizing and restructuring state institutions to reflect the racial class and gender composition of the society (Cheru 2001: 508). Later the RDP was rearticulated in the form of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) in 1996 with the view in the government that economic growth should be translated into redistribution, economic empowerment and employment creation. The RDP therefore didn't function as a development framework as it didn't affect the complex structure that reproduces

poverty and inequality according to the government. It is argued that the inequality has still not disappeared in South Africa, according to some it rather increased. An illustration of this can be seen when looking at the countries' GINI index. This index measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country. The more unequal a country's income distribution, the higher its Gini index. For South Africa, the index rose since the demise of apartheid from 59.3 in 1994 to 65 in 2005 which is amongst the highest in the world (CIA, 2011b). The Gini coefficient summarizes the income inequality varying from 0 meaning perfect equality to 1, when one household earns all the income and other households earn nothing. In the past, inequalities in South Africa were as said largely defined along race lines. However, increasingly they become defined by inequality within population groups. As an example, the Gini coefficient of the white population increased from 0.46 in 1994 to 0.60 in 2001. This is extremely high for a group with educational and occupational profiles that match those of high industrialized countries (Schwabe 2004).

Employment status is one of the key determinants of poverty. Unemployment in South- Africa is very high and is of a structural nature, mainly because of misallocation of resources in the apartheid economy. The fact that the economy still remained largely dominated by the white minority even after the 1994 democratic elections made socio-economic transformation a major concern (Maumbe and Van Wijk 2008). A central objective of the government is to increase the labour capacity of the economy.

Since 1994 also the delivery of housing has as said been a major priority, based on a fundamental understanding that housing is a basic need. The policy of providing sites-and-services schemes and making credit available to the poor on market-based criteria was a continuation of the 'deracialisation' policies to evolve apartheid's racial segregation into class-based segregation (Farley 2008). The Housing White Paper of 1994 stated a vision of

'viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities, within which all South Africa's people will have access to

- *A permanent residential structure and with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and*
- *Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply.'*

The mentioning of 'a permanent residential structure' referred to housing and as such distinguished itself from the sites and services schemes. The focus was on a product that includes an actual house (Huchzermeyer 2001: 305). The underpinnings of the housing policy remain however highly contradicting. There was a concern, and now it is accepted that the simplistic market-oriented housing policy will not overcome race and class-based spatial inequalities (Lalloo 1999; Huchzermeyer 2001). Because of the market-driven approach, the large-scale delivery of housing has never occurred. According to Cheru (2001) still about 2, 6

million houses are needed for the approximately seven million South Africans living in squats. The key constraint to that is the tendency in the South African housing discourse to avoid political significant issues. As long as these are not considered, questions of social justice will not be addressed. In this context also land is a big issue in South Africa.

4.1.2 Land reform

Of all the issues on southern Africa's socio-economic scene, that of land gives rise to the greatest emotion. During the apartheid system, in South Africa also land was an issue in discrimination. Different areas throughout the country were designated to whites or non-whites to occupy and own following the Native land act of 1913 and The Group Areas Act. The most fertile land was reserved for white occupation and what remained for the non-whites. As such the white minority could occupy 50 % of the land and ever since independence this disproportionate distribution only systematically exacerbated. At the end of apartheid 86% of all farmland was in hands of the white minority. (Cheru 2001; Farley 2008: 10; Lahiff 2008).

Since 1994, South Africa started a program of land reform designed to restore the racial imbalance in land holding and secure the land rights of the previously disadvantaged people. The main purposes were as said redressing the injustices of apartheid, economic growth and alleviating poverty. The current policy stems from the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy which speaks of three main pillars: restitution, tenure reform and redistribution. Restitution relates to land dispossessed as a result of the discriminatory laws and means the return of the land, alternative land or monetary compensation. Tenure reform is ensuring tenure for people where they live. Finally redistribution provides the disadvantaged or poor with land for residential or productive purpose (Cheru, 2001; Sibanda 2001; Lahiff, 2007). South Africa has adopted a strongly pro-market approach to land reform. The reform is based on a 'willing buyer, willing seller' model. This means a minimal role for the state, a lack of compulsion on landowners and the payment of market-related prices for land and as such a demand led approach (Lahiff 2008).

The land reform has proven to be a complex, sensitive and difficult area to address, given that most of the stolen land has since been re-inhabited and developed. Progress has generally been considered to be far behind the expectations and official targets. Of the target for land redistribution of 30% of the white-owned land over five years, only 1, 3% is yet delivered. In the restitution process, in both rural and urban areas, 63.455 claims were lodged including individual and community claims. By 2006 only 1.132 urban claims and 6.975 rural claims still waited to be settled (Lahiff 2008 : 3). This shows that dealing with the rural claims proved to pose many challenges. Where urban claims mainly involved individuals, rural claims could embrace groups up till 10.000 people.

New land policies promote large scale farming and productive use of land for non-agricultural purposes. This has caused urban expansion and the rise of a post-productivist countryside. The key question is how to deal with new pressure and competing claims, while maximizing opportunities for inclusive and equitable development. Land governance requires a balance between protecting rights and promoting the most productive use of land; between economic progress, sustainable land use and social justice (Sanpad proposal 2011). Empirical evidence suggests that opportunities to buy land through the market and the use of internet have resulted in new processes of 'land grabbing', and an upward trend in the ownership of land by foreign and other non-local buyers.

4.1.3 Tourism as development strategy?

Within this context of addressing the legacies of apartheid, new research themes aimed at development emerged. Under apartheid, tourism was essentially anti-developmental in focus. Being barely 40 years old, the tourism industry in South Africa started from a very small domestic market and a non-existing international profile. The early 1990s represent according to Visser and Rogerson (2004) a watershed, because then tourism first entered South Africa's development policy debate. Since the democratic transition, tourism has however become recognized as an increasingly important sector for South Africa's economy and for achieving the government's goals for reconstruction and development.

Local economic development (LED) became within the neoliberal economic context a well researched area of investigation and debates arose in which tourism development was aimed at as a LED strategy (Binns & Nel 2002; Pienaar & Visser 2009). While being a labour-intensive industry with the capacity to create jobs, the tourism sector can contribute to a variety of other economic sectors (South African Tourism 2010). However, the argument of tourism being a positive vehicle for development has often been questioned given the limited opportunities for local participation in the benefits and decision-making. As most other sectors in the South African economy it still reflects the old policies of apartheid, certainly in terms of ownership and skills (Koch et al 1998; Visser and Rogerson 2004).

In relation to the national policy regarding tourism as a strategy for local economic development, encouraging second home development was not regarded as part of this strategy. The question posed by Hoogendoorn and Visser (2010) is then whether second homes do support the principle needs of LED, including the participation of different stakeholders, a planning anchored in the local area rather than imposed by second home owners or developers, the use of local resources and whether services are locally owned and managed.

Second home development and foreign land ownership in South Africa

In the field of tourism, second home development has been a field of research in South Africa has come to the front the last decade. This field is often linked to several post-apartheid urban and rural geographical debates. It's placed within the context of the growing recognition of tourism's role in local economic development endeavours. (Pienaar and Visser 2009)

The long research silence can be understood in the context of the housing shortages in South Africa. With this issue playing, research on houses for luxury and leisure time seemed out of place. However, a number of coastal towns and more and more inland towns can trace their founding and subsequent development to second home developments, used for different purposes (Hoogendoorn et al. 2005; Visser 2006; Hoogendoorn 2010). Second homes are as such an integral component of the tourism experience mainly in rural and peripheral areas and certainly not a new phenomenon in South Africa. The phenomenon can be traced back to the economic boom from the 50s to the 70s, which led to higher disposable incomes and time to spend and as such to large scale second home development along the South African coastline. These homes were constructed mainly for the use as holiday homes during vacations. In the 70s and 80s, along the coast of the Western Cape a first wave of second home locations started to be developed by domestic investors. After the demise of apartheid, urban areas were more and more considered as unsafe and led to a movement away from central city areas. There was a semi-outmigration of wealthy urbanites to towns that were perceived as less vulnerable to black in-migration (Hoogendoorn et al. 2005; Visser 2003; Visser 2006). The mid 90s showed some new trends with the increased development of small towns near the initial second home locations, more and more holiday homes in larger towns and an increased international involvement. By this time, the development of these second home areas impacted upon the upper middle class who were mainly involved for investment purposes. As a consequence undeveloped land close to the second home areas were sought and developed as well. The main region of international tourism expansion has been the Western Cape Province and different locations in the Cape have been the focus of second home investment. Next to the very popular seaboard, also rural towns are sought-after second home locations (Visser 2003). Next to the holiday use, there are also regions more associated with weekend leisure consumption. These regions are smaller and more difficult to identify, although mainly located close to big metropolitan regions. In South Africa, the main 'weekender-generating' regions are certainly Johannesburg and Pretoria. The difficulty in identifying this segment is that they are found in the same locations popular for holiday second homes. In the case of

retirement migration and their role in second home development, the foreign retirees in South Africa have only recently emerged in the debate. Generally, this group are 'swallows' coming for a few months in the year. It is estimated that up to 10% of all property transactions in Western Cape Province are carried out by this category (Visser 2003: 399). In the South African context, the second home owners are mainly be found as white, wealthy professionals in their middle age often coming from large metropolitan areas.

4.1.4 Impacts and relevant legislation regarding second homes

In considering the impacts of second home development in South Africa, it is important to note that a second property is for most South African not a reality. After all, the country struggles with a housing shortage of up till 2 million units. That shelter is so scarce makes the study of second homes so crucial. The impacts that these developments can have on local communities start to draw attention to the South African government. When looking at the Zimbabwean land grab fiasco, questions are starting to be asked about who owns what type of property, where and for what purpose. In the current constitution, there are no restrictions put on land ownership. The most disputed issue in this debate is the land sales to foreigners. In South Africa there is no legal distinction between first and second homes (Maléne et al., n.d.). Second home ownership is currently heavily connected to the issue of foreign home ownership and the fact that the sale of land to foreigners is leading to an increase in house prices that rise beyond the reach of many South Africans. The same impact is seen in property taxes. As also Hoogendoorn et al. (2005) noticed out of case studies, the South African case shows similarities with international impacts of second homes. Positive impacts of second home development are to be found in employment creation and taxes paid to the local authority. The negative impacts are that the economic basis of affected towns changes to servicing the needs of the wealthy with low wage levels and few other employment opportunities. One particular impact however does not feature in international debates and is specific to the South African context, the straining of property mobility for permanent residents due to increasing property prices and as such the maintenance of racially based cleavages in the property market. Second home development indirectly leads to the maintenance of residential racial segregation and strengthens the spatiality of the race-class status quo (Visser 2003: 402).

As already mentioned, the main problem is that the South African census records make no direct mention of second homes per se (Pienaar and Visser 2009). There is neither specific legislation or policies with regard to second homes nor any policy interventions planned regarding foreign ownership (The panel of experts on the development of policy regarding land ownership by foreigners in South Africa, 2007). The Constitution of South Africa states that every resident of the country has the right to adequate housing and the state have the responsibility to achieve the realization of this right. In line with this, the Housing

Act of 1997 stresses that housing development should take place in a sustainable manner while giving priority to the poor. With regard to the impacts mentioned above, second home development seem to be a threat to sustainability and it would as such make sense to be taken into account in national planning legislation and local IDP's (Integrated Development Plan) (Maléne et al n.d.).

4.1 Franschhoek

It is not possible to deduce what impacts second home development has, and what processes underpin the development and expansion of second homes, when the basic question of where they are located is not answered. The impacts of tourism are considered in the context of the destination where tourism development occurs. Where tourists come into contact with the local people and the environment, and where there is the greatest need to identify, measure and manage such impacts. This environment is thought of in terms of physical attributes as well as its economic, social and cultural dimensions.





Map4.3: Franschhoek (Stellenbosch Municipality 2011)

Close to the City of Cape Town, bordered on three sides by mountains and in the middle of the enchanting Cape Winelands you find the Franschhoek Valley. In its centre lays what was originally known as ‘Oliphantshoek’. This picturesque town knows a rich history that has determined its current atmosphere and still lives in the town until today. From 1688 onwards, the Huguenots came to the Cape and eventually settled in this picturesque village. After being allocated several farms in the valley, in 1805 the area was called Franschhoek because it was inhabited mainly by French-speakers. This name remained and in 1881 the Municipality of Franschhoek came into being. The town of Franschhoek was originally established as a service centre for the agricultural community living in the valley, the main produce being wine grapes and fruit (CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010). The agriculture as a sector has however experienced a slow economic growth and as such declined as largest economic sector in the area. Connected to the wine industry is the tourism sector which forms another big employer and the town developed to the so called culinary capital of South Africa and today tourism has overtaken agriculture as its economic base. Over the years, Franschhoek evolved to one of the top five destinations in South Africa for both domestic and foreign tourists and as such the sector forms the backbone of the economy of the town (CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010). Franschhoek experienced a complete metamorphosis in its “sense of place”. Franschhoek has changed from an ‘Afrikaans’, rural agricultural town, to an English speaking tourist town (Willemse 2008). Its’ impressive natural beauty and quiet rural atmosphere made Franschhoek an ideal second home node, turning it into one of South Africa's most sought after second home addresses. The second homes are purchased by South Africans and foreigners alike and range from small cottages, big villas to exclusive wine farms. Next to Franschhoek evolving into a popular tourism product, the influx of these

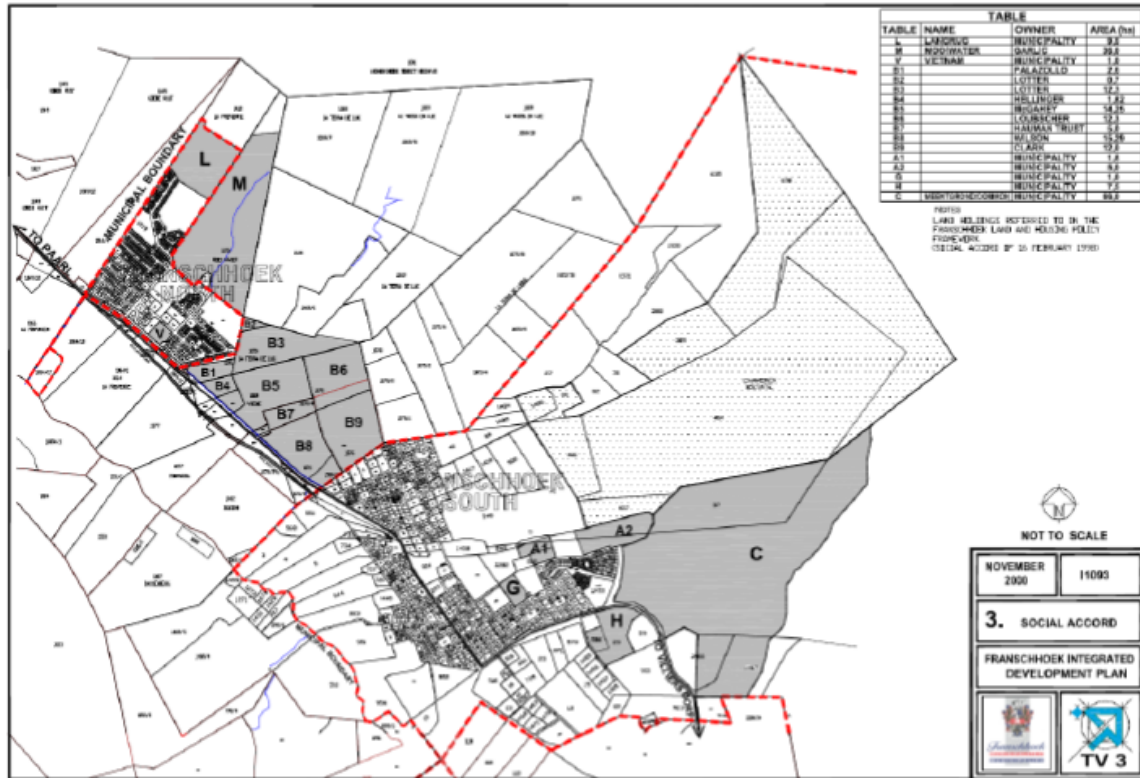
second home owners had an indisputable influence on the town and contributed to changing the fabric of Franschhoeks' place and community.

As a model apartheid town, Franschhoek knows a negative legacy from the past and this ad in the context of this research an interesting aspect. This legacy is clear in the artificial and visual separation of the community in two physically separate group areas. In addition to this separation, Franschhoek was not supposed to have a 'black' population under apartheid, only coloured and white. These facts have definitely influenced and shaped the social fabric of Franschhoek and gives an interesting discussion regarding the towns' demographics. The separation during apartheid resulted in the composition of the town in Franschhoek South, meaning the white residential area and Franschhoek North or Groendal. This latter is the coloured township. Adding to that is the influx of black population living in Langrug, which mainly consists of informal settlements and shacks. There are considerable gaps in levels of income and living between Franschhoek South, which consists of wealthy retirees of which many foreigners, and Franschhoek North with mainly people who have always lived in the valley.

4.2.1 Spatial development

The enormous population growth and expansion of the mainly upmarket residential housing sector since the demise of apartheid gave rise to serious housing shortages and as such the mushrooming of many backyard dwellings and informal settlements. To redress the negative legacy from the town's past and transform the community, a new model for land reform, housing and empowerment in the New South Africa was developed in the 16 February 1998 'Social Accord'(Franschhoek Municipality 1998). This Agreement focused on quality development and the creation of an integrated and non-segregated town that was able to cope with the housing shortage. In this agreement a Structural Development plan was developed and the municipal boundaries determined (Franschhoek Municipality 1998; Smit 2008; Willemse 2008). The basic principles of the Agreement were spatial effectiveness, the provision of appropriate housing for all income groups and as such the acquisition of individual title and ownership, discouraging of urban sprawl, the preservation of land values and the integration of Franschhoek as one village (Franschhoek Municipality 1998: 2; (Taylor, van Rensburg, & van der Spuy 2000; Smit 2011). This latter being one of the major objectives. One of the triggers for these development plans was the Land Reforms and claims made by former inhabitants of Franschhoek South who had to move to Groendal which the municipality wanted to settle on local level. A lot of land disputes followed this search for land to develop the needed housing and land restitution. As a result, the whole initiative was put on hold. On map 4.4 in grey the plots available for developments are indicated and with a red line the division of the town is made visible. As a solution, the decision was made to commercialize municipal land as high cost developments to fund the construction of medium

and low cost housing. Of the first these was at the time need of 100 units and the latter more than 1000 units. (Franschhoek Municipality 1998: 3; Smit 2011). The reality however was that in the mean time the prices of land had been increasing, the land under claim now developed as private property and the housing need had been rising.



Map 4. 4: The Social Accord (Taylor et al. 2000)

Section A2 was set for the land claims, backyard dwellings in Groendal were being formalized and it was proposed that the vacant infill area in between (indicated with a B) the two parts of the town was the main area for urban development and open for tendering. This vacant gap between South and North has since been filled with upmarket housing schemes, namely exclusive residential estates of which the first contracts had been signed in 2000. Low income developments now tend to move more upwards and westwards away from Franschhoek South. This is not entirely in line with what was originally intended, instead of the integration of North and South, now the division is even more fixated through a physical border. Up to date, there is a general lack of overall policy regarding the future development of Franschhoek. The shortage of affordable housing, a problem identified in the early 90's, has not been solved since as no houses have been built up to date. The development of agricultural land for residential purposes is the lowest priority for the council, however nowadays seems inevitable. In the Stellenbosch Spatial Development Framework of 2005, Franschhoek was one of the three growth nodes in the area which will be facing capacity problems in the future.

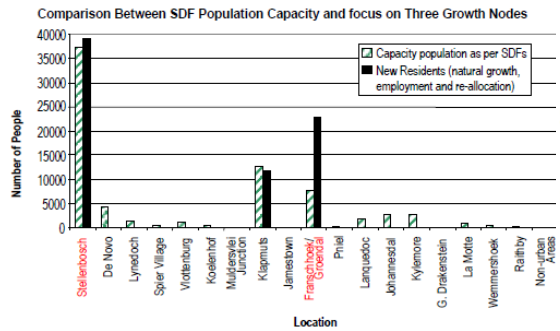


Figure 4.1: Comparison between SDF proposal and the three growth nodes (CNDV Africa 2005)

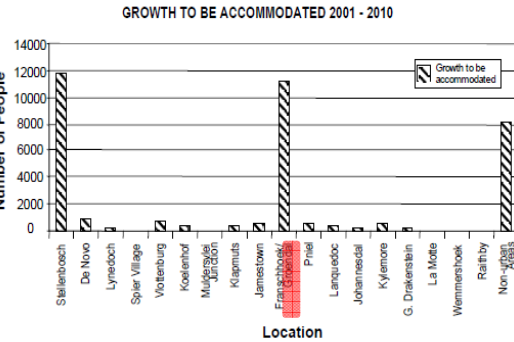


Figure 4.2: Population forecast to 2010, growth to be accommodated (CNDV Africa 2005)

Due to the influx of new residents on top of its natural growth Franschhoek will struggle in the future to be able to absorb and accommodate this growing population.

4.2.2 Demographics

Exactly defining the total population of Franschhoek turned out to be a difficult task (interview Bernabe de la Bat). At the census of 2001 an estimation of 8936 persons is counted, however over the last decade there has been an major influx of different groups of people in both formal and informal settings (CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010a: 92). This growth includes affluent white people settling in Franschhoek South as well as poorer people attracted by the amenities and work opportunities settling in Groendal and Langrug. Two different growth scenarios were proposed in the 1994 Structure Plan, one relatively slow and one rapid growth. By 1997 however, the population of the town alarmingly already reached its 2025 projection for the slow growth and its 2010 projection for the rapid growth scenario (Taylor et al 2000: 2.2). Following the Stellenbosch Social Development Framework 2010 the population of Franschhoek in 2010 was estimated 15500 (CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010b: 76). According to the municipal evaluation list, these 15500 residents live in 887 households in Franschhoek South, 1944 in Groendal and 1700 informal dwellings in Langrug. The different groups however grew at different rates. While after the demise of apartheid it's important to move away from these categorizations, the breakdown of the data above according to population group as given in the following table does however reflect the reality up to date in Franschhoek.

Population group	1991	1997	% increase	% growth/ annum	2000
White	1060	1775	67	11	2427
Coloured	2690	3320	23	4	3723
Black	600	2144	257	43	6243
Total	4350	7239	66	11	12393

Table 4.1: Franschhoek: Population Growth (CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010a :49)

As shown in table 4.1, the white population of the town has known an increase of 67%, which means an annual growth percentage of 11. The coloured increased by 23% and the black population by 257%. This latter incredible increase can be explained by the towns' mentioned apartheid history and the lifting of influx control (P.H., personal communication 2011). The population growth in Franschhoek is not only a result of natural growth, but mainly due to a continuing migration flow. Both coloured and black population groups are attracted by the employment opportunities the town may offer and wealthy 'white' up country urbanites come to escape city life and enjoy the natural amenities (Taylor et al., 2000).

A major problem is the inequality that still remains both in spatial and socio-economic ways. The sketched division of the town is also visible if we look at socio-economic indicators. Following a household survey conducted in Franschhoek by the University of Western Cape, the following socio-cultural characteristics can be distinguished for the two main areas in Franschhoek being Groendal and Franschhoek South (Pearce, Xu and Makaudze 2011). In this survey 68 questionnaires were filled out by residents in Franschhoek South and 138 in Groendal. The informal settlement of Langrug was not included.

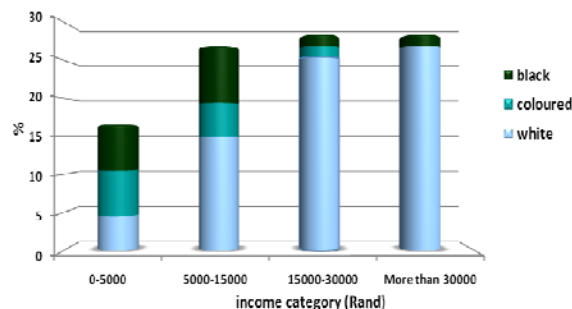


Figure 4.3: Income Categories according to population Group, Franschhoek South (Pearce, Xu and Makaudze 2011).

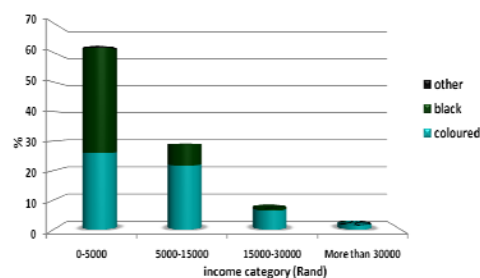
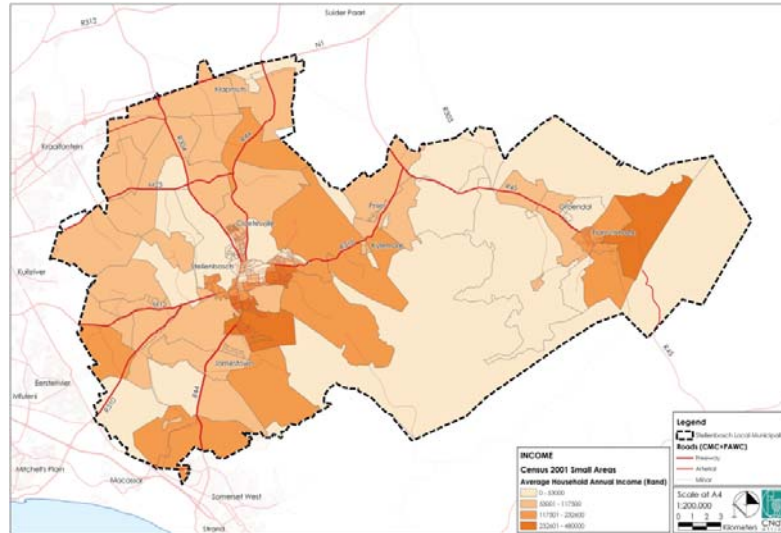


Figure 4.4: Income Categories according to population Group, Groendal. (Pearce, Xu and Makaudze 2011).

Regarding the socio-economic characteristics, most striking is the considerable income gap between the various groups as presented in the figures 5.2 and 5.3 comparing Franschhoek South and Groendal on income categories defined by population group. Map 4.5 better visualizes this division were in the eastern parts of Franschhoek there are significant higher income levels measured comparable to some parts of Stellenbosch. In the northern and western parts the average annual household income is below R53.000 per annum. These areas

contain a high concentration of low income earners (CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010a). The former apartheid division is also still visible when comparing Franschhoek South and Groendal. First of all this is seen in the ethnic background of the people living in each area and next to this, also the significant presence of informal dwellings in Groendal which are lacking in Franschhoek South is a striking example of the division present.



Map 4.5 Income Franschhoek according to the 2001 census ((CNdV Africa Planning and Design 2010a :155)

	Franschhoek South	Groendal
Average Number of household members	3	5
Socio-economic profile	% (N=68)	% (N=138)
Population group		
White	72.1	0
Coloured	11.8	55.8
Black	16.2	43.5
Other	0	0.7
Age		
< 30	17.5	17.2
31-40	14.3	32.1
41-50	15.9	24.6
51-60	17.5	11.9
61-70	23.8	10.4
71-80	7.9	3.7
> 80	3.2	0
Highest qualification		
Primary school	1.6	14.5
High school	9.5	29
Matric	12.7	39.1
Diploma	20.6	13
Degree	34.9	4.3
Post Graduate Degree	20.6	0
Monthly Household Income		
0 - 5000	16.4	62.3
5000 - 15000	26.9	29
15000 - 30000	28.4	7.2
> 30000	28.4	1.4
Residential characteristics		
Type of dwelling		
Informal dwelling	0	36.8
Flat	20.6	0.7
House	75	62.5
Small holding	4.4	0
Own the property		
Owning	52.9	87.7
Renting	27.9	8
Other	11.8	0.7

Table 4.2: Socio-economic profile and residential characteristics of local residents Franschhoek (Pearce, Xu and makaudze 2011)

As shown in table 4.2 the former apartheid division is still visible when comparing Franschhoek South and Groendal, first of all in population groups living in each area. Next to this, also the significant presence of informal dwellings in Groendal is a visible aspect of the division present in Franschhoek

5. Second Home Development in Franschhoek

From 1990's onwards Franschhoek developed into a second home node. Since then second homes constitute a significant percentage of the towns' total residential properties. As clarified in the methodology chapter, second homes only occur in Franschhoek South, the upmarket, mainly white centre of town, and in the gated estates developed in the infill area between the two parts of Franschhoek.

The focus of this research was on the second homes in these parts of town. Because of the limited time frame, foreign owned farms in the valley used as a second home are not included. In this chapter the second home development in Franschhoek and the characteristics of the owners and properties is outlined in a quite descriptive matter as a context for the spatial and socio-cultural impacts on the town and its inhabitants. Following the dataset obtained from Stellenbosch Municipality, Franschhoek South counts 1309 built up erven of which 883 are residential properties. In the other parts of town Groendal counts for 1486 properties and in Langrug informal dwellings keep mushrooming and already reached a number of over 1700. Of the 883 residential properties 319 were identified as potential second homes through the municipal dataset method (Municipality Stellenbosch 2011). Of these second homes 67% were identified as domestic (South African) owned and 33% foreign owned. Due to the fact that the phenomenon is seasonally bound and not all of the owners were reached, not all of the homes could be verified as being a second home. As such roughly estimated, second homes make up 36% of the total residential erven in Franschhoek. This is compared with other second home towns in Western Cape quite an amount.

Percentage second homes versus permanent on the total of all residential properties in Franschhoek

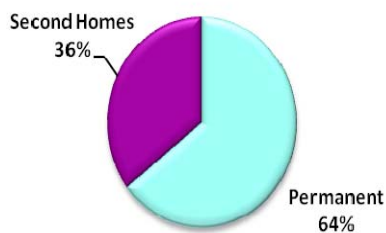


Figure 5.1: Second homes versus permanent homes in Franschhoek (Fieldwork Franschhoek 2011)

Percentage foreign second home owners versus domestic second home owners

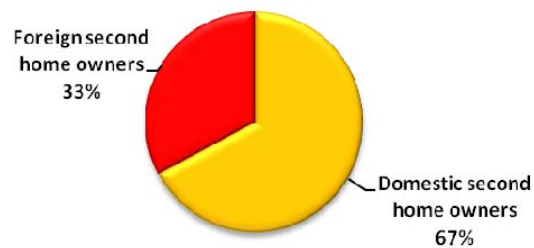
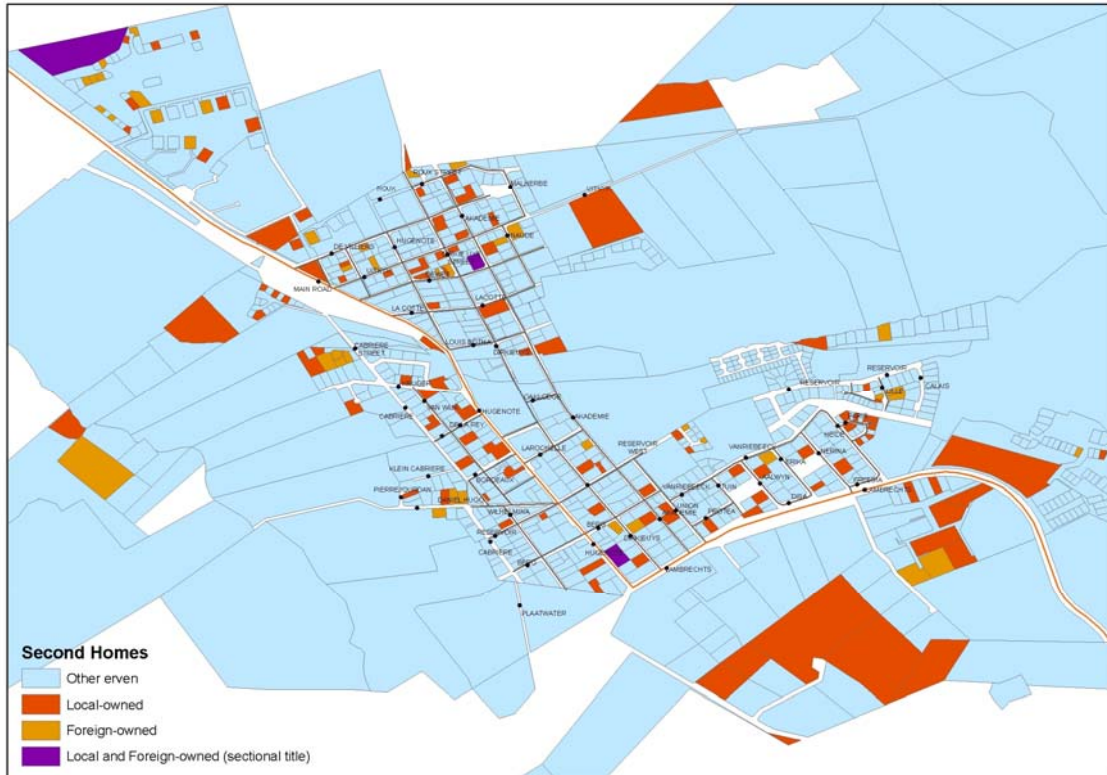


Figure 5.2: Foreign second home owners versus domestic second home owners in Franschhoek (Fieldwork Franschhoek 2011)

These numbers are extracted from the original dataset obtained from Stellenbosch Municipality. It is however difficult to give an exact number and proportion, taking into account that the amount of second homes in town and the number of these actually being used as a second home (holiday home) is in constant flux. A property can be the second home of an owner, but later on become his first home or can be rented out on a long lease to permanent

residents. As such the property may lose its status as a second home. Map 5.1 shows where the potential second homes are located in Franschhoek. Due to an incomplete dataset some of the potential second homes in Franschhoek might not be found on this map. Interesting to see here is that the second homes are not clustered in one gated estate or one specific part of the town: they are rather scattered around Franschhoek.



Map 5.1: Second homes in Franschhoek South (Fieldwork Franschhoek 2011)

5.1 Socio-economic profile of the second home owners

This section will provide an outline of who the owners of the second homes in Franschhoek are, their socio-economic profile and the characteristics of their properties. As mentioned in the previous section, 32% of the second home owners in Franschhoek are foreigners, which is quite an extensive amount. This finding is an important context concerning the implications for both the economic and socio-cultural impacts second home development has on the town. It means new money brought into the local economy and an aspect of foreignisation in terms of social and cultural impacts.

During the fieldwork, a survey was conducted amongst 61 of these second home owners of which 42 foreign respondents and 19 South Africans. Of the foreign second home owners, more than 90% of the respondents are European citizens of which the enormous majority have the British nationality. Another 7.1% are Americans. In the case of the domestic second home owners, the majority of the respondents have their primary residence

in the provinces Western Cape and Gauteng. In the analysis these two groups are analysed together for statistical reason. Any statements made about the groups separately only count for the respondents in this research, as no generalisations for the separate groups can be made. Table 5.1 shows the socio-economic profile and residential characteristics of the second home owners in Franschhoek.

First of all, what seems to be in correspondence with the international literature is that the majority of the second home owners are between the age of 50 and 70 years old as an important motivation for second home purchase is often related to the aging of the population in the developed world creating a large number of retirees. Next to economically active migrants, retirees are important players in the second home scene. What stood out during the fieldwork was that the majority of the foreigners were above 60 years old, while the domestic respondents are more spread over the different age categories. Why this is an interesting finding can be seen when linking this data to the current occupation of the second home owners. As table 5.1 shows, a good 40% of the second home owners are retired, while over half indicate still being economically active. when splitting up the data in foreigners and domestic second home owners, here we can see that over half of the foreigners indicate to be retired, while the majority of the domestic second home owners are either own their own business or are still employed. Also in accordance with the international trend is the educational level of the second home owners that is quite high. A university degree seems to be the minimum qualification for most of the respondents. When we look at their annual income, it can be noticed that second home tourism consists of the migration of more affluent individuals. Given their high educational levels and their ability to purchase one or more second properties it is not surprising that the majority are upper-level income earners with more than half fitting in the categories above R1.000.000.

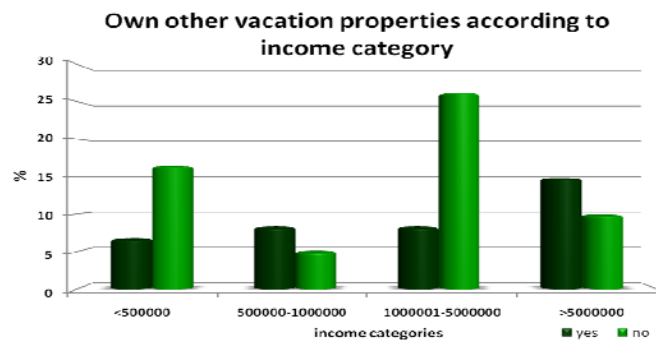


Figure 5.3: Second home owners owning other vacation properties according to income category (Survey Second home owners Franschhoek 2011)

The majority of the second home owners indicated not to own another home for vacation or recreational purpose, however, of the 37.7% who do own one or more most of them is to be found in the highest income category (figure 5.3)

Socio-economic profile	Second Home Owners % (N=61)
Age	
31-40	6.6
41-50	8.2
51-60	32.8
61-70	44.3
71-80	8.2
Highest qualification	
Matric	1.6
College	18
Bachelor	37.7
Honours	8.2
Master	19.7
Post Graduate	3.3
Phd	3.3
Current occupation	
Retired	44.3
Own business	23
Employed full time	19.7
Employed part time	11.5
Annual income (Rand)	
< 500.000	23
500.000 - 1.000.000	13.1
1.000.000 - 5.000.000	34.4
> 5.000.000	24.6

Table 5.1: Socio-economic characteristics of Second Home Owners Franschoek (Survey Second home owners Franschoek 2011)

5.2 Residential characteristics of the second homes

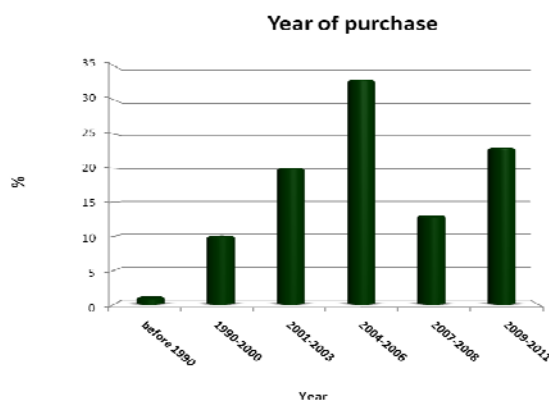


Figure 5.4: Year of purchase second homes in Franschoek according to the survey (Survey Second home owners Franschoek 2011)

The purchase dates of second homes in Franschoek vary. From the survey it appeared that most of the second homes are bought between 2004 and 2006 (figure 5.3). Although since the 1990's second homes started to emerge in the town, in these years before the global recession Franschoek knew its boom in second home development. As can be seen in figure 5.3, 33% of the respondents indicated to have bought their second home in Franschoek

between 2004 and 2006. It was also noted several times by the real estate agents that were interviewed that from 2000 onwards the second home market became attractive for overseas

buyers with the relative weak position of the Rand (Real estate agents Franschhoek, personal communication 2011). After the recession of 2008 when the housing market made a downfall, the purchases started to rise again from 2009 onwards. Remarkable is however, that this upswing encompasses more South Africans hitting buying a second home than foreigners. This might be explained by the global recession harder in Europe and as such made Europeans more reluctant to invest in a second home. When the Rand was low and in a weaker position in comparison with the Euro, it was a good investment for Europeans to buy a second home in South Africa. At the moment it is however less beneficial (A.M.H. and Real estate agents Franschhoek, personal communication 2011).

The majority of the second home owners indicated to be the sole owner of the property (table 5.2) When this was not the case mostly the property is shared with relatives. Concerning the purpose of the property, almost 60% of the second homes are used as a vacation home followed by 34% bought with the purpose of investment (table 5.2). What is striking here is that it the biggest proportion of the second home owners who bought their property for vacation purposes are foreigners. Relative cheap properties is what pulls the foreigners to buy in South Africa. The South Africans at the other hand tend to buy their properties more for investment purpose or weekend use than the foreigners (Smit, personal communication 2011). It is then also not surprising that more domestic than foreign second home owners indicate to rent out their property, partly or entirely.

Residential characteristics of the second homes	% (N=61)
Sole owner of the property?	
Yes	65,6
no	34,4
Purpose of the property	
Weekend home	4,9
Vacation home	57.4
Investment	34.4
Other	3.3
Rent out the property	
Yes, whole property	23
Yes, parts of the property	6.5
No	70.5
How often do you stay?	
Weekly	6.6
Bi-weekly	8.2
monthly	3.3
1 month a year	13.1
2-6 months	59
7-12 months	8.2

Table 5.2: Residential characteristics of the second homes in Franschhoek (Survey Second home owners Franschhoek 2011)

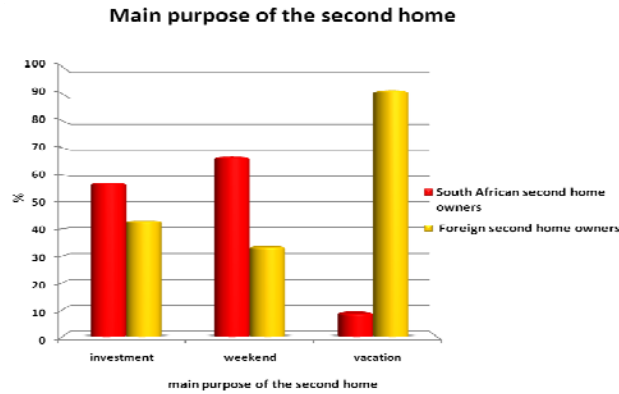


Figure 5.5: Main purposes of the second home divided per South African and foreign second home owners (Survey Second home owners Franschhoek 2011)

During the fieldwork it became clear that many of the second homes owned by South Africans turned out to be rented out on long lease. As such they were used as a permanent home, however not by the owner. This poses some new definitional questions as this would actually reduce the number of second home owners and the specific characteristics such as seasonal vacancy which induce particular economic and socio-cultural impacts on the local community. Finally, In general, the majority of the second home owners stay 2-6 months, of which the peak seasons are the months January and February. What can be noticed is that for the domestic South Africans the length of their stay is more varied from weekly to several months. As Hall and Muller (2004) noted, the length and number of visits the second home owner makes is often influenced by the distance between the first and second home. It is generally argued that second home owners seek out properties that are located within easy commuting distance of their permanent place of residence (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2004). In the case of Franschhoek, this can only apply for the domestic second home owners as over 80% of the foreigners have their permanent residence in Europe (table 5.3). A remarkable finding however is that some of the foreigners indicated to have their first home also in South Africa. So when looking at the spatial distribution of the domestic second home owners and comparing with their length of stay in Franschhoek, this is very much in accordance with the general findings on second homes as noted by Hall and Muller and Hoogendoorn and Visser. The majority of 68% of the domestic second home owners have their first home in Western Cape.

Place of permanent residence domestic second home owners (%)	
Western Cape	68
Gauteng	17
Kwazulu Natal	10
Other	6

Table 5.3: Spatial distribution domestic second home owners Franschhoek (Survey Second home owners Franschhoek 2011)

5.3 Motivations for buying a second home in Franschhoek

The motivations given for buying a second home in Franschhoek vary from respondent to respondent. The most popular motivation given was the weather, with mainly foreign second home owners choosing this motivation. An internationally frequently cited motivation for second home purchase is the search for an escape, a sense of inversion (Jaakson 1986; O'Reilly 2007). For many foreigners, of who most are British, choose to spend the in Europe rainy and cold winter months in sunny South Africa. The specific ambiance and atmosphere that Franschhoek has to offer is one the features that attracts both the foreigners as the South Africans, with specifically the surrounding wine farms and top restaurants as big assets. A third and related motivation that was frequently chosen was the escape from busy city life. Mainly for the South Africans, who as discussed often look for a second home close to their primary residence in one of South Africans big cities, the rural atmosphere of Franschhoek is a major pull factors. Another long term motive to purchase a second home which is well represented in the literature is the idea of owning a second home as an investment opportunity. It was, in line with what is already mentioned above, specifically the domestic second home owners who have the perception that Franschhoek offers a good investment opportunity. 44% o the second home owners agree that Franschhoek is a better town for investment compared with other small towns in the province. As can be seen in the next chapter when comparing the price of the property when purchased with the estimated current values, in some cases this may constitute a good investment return. However many respondents indicated that with the recession the value of their property declined in real terms and they may have to sell at a loss (J.D. second home owner, personal communication 2011).

6. The Spatial Impacts on Franschhoek Induced by Second Home Tourism

With the global recession also reaching South Africa, it is argued that this will also have its impacts in the context of second home developments. The influx of affluent retirees and potential second home owners is expected to subside and as such have an impact on the property market. This downturn may as well persist for a while with a more permanent dampening of ‘luxury lifestyles’. Those settlements in the Cape Winelands which depend highly on high income retirees and property purchasers moving south might be negatively affected by this tendency (RodePlan 2009). For Franschhoek, although the purchase of properties and their values over the last years since the recession of 2008 has gone slightly down, the property market still consists of luxury and high-class residential properties (figure 6.1). Still a lot of which are bought for second home purpose by both wealthy foreigners and South Africans (Real estate agents Franschhoek, personal communication 2011). The spatial development framework 2009/2010 of the Cape Winelands Districts indicates that most of the luxury suburbs are still to be found in the Stellenbosch municipality, in particular Franschhoek. Franschhoek falls in the highest price class of R1.5 million – R10 million. According to the real estate agents established in Franschhoek, the average entree level at the moment is around R2.5 million for a family house.

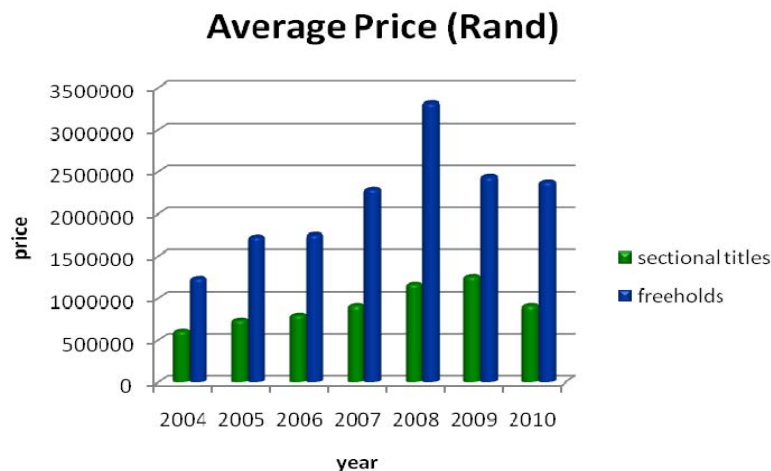


Figure 6.1: Average prices of properties in Franschhoek (Real estate agent Franschhoek, Personal Communication 2011)

What have become very popular are the gated estates mainly constructed along the Main Road in the infill area. This is also seen in figure 6.2 which gives the property transfers for Franschhoek in 2010 divided by type of property. They are popular both for buyers from for example Gauteng to retire or spend their weekends and holidays and for foreigners to spend 3-6 months a year.



Figure 6.2: Property transfers Franschhoek 2010 according to price and type of property (Real estate agent Franschhoek, Personal Communication 2011)

Prices would vary according to the estate chosen as some stand for more freedom and space than others. Domaine des Anges for example, established in 2000-2003, houses 39 properties in between vineyards that go for an average of R 5.5 million (Real estate agent Franschhoek, personal communication 2011). A property on La Petite Provence goes for R1-R5 million. As an example, La Petite Provence is built in 2001 with 86 houses and 72 flats. The latter often used as a ‘lock up and go’. As the manager of the estate explains, about 30% of the owners are permanent residents of Franschhoek, 20-25% rent out their property on a long lease and the remaining 45% are South African and foreign second homes owners. Although the estate was built as a residential estate and not with the purpose of attracting second home owners it has an almost 50/50 division.



6.1 Second home owners as ‘gentrifiers’

Gentrification concerns the process whereby a lower class area knows an influx of more affluent strata of residents and as such creates a change in the socio-economic structure of the location. However, in order to differentiate gentrification from other forms of rural renewal, it is important to identify the gentrifiers. As said, consequences of rural gentrification include the local home, land and other markets becoming unaffordable for local residents. As Hoogendoorn and Visser (2004) note, possible driving forces behind this process are second home developments and non-resident investor activities in the town. In this case the process is underpinned by residents of greater affluence in certain regions with leisure time budgets that generate the demand for second homes. A consequence of this then concerns the entering of this particular affluent group in the property market in Franschhoek. Property prices rise as well as the property tax burdens for permanent residents.

When comparing the profiles of these second home owners with the local residents in Franschhoek (chapter 4 and 5), an economic and social status gap is noticed. It should be noted that the gentrification of Franschhoek South is considered here and as such it is the permanent residents of Franschhoek South that are looked at in this comparison. The first and most important finding is the difference that can be found in comparing the income categories of both groups. The local residents are spread over monthly household incomes starting from less than R5.000. An almost equal spread is found between the categories R5.000-R15.000; R15.000-R30.000 and more than R30.000. While looking at the second home owners the categories start at less than R500.000 a year (+/- R40.000 a month) and the majority is to be found in the category R1.000.000-R5.000.000 (+/- R85.000-R400.000 a month). This indicates a higher disposable income and as such targeting more expensive or luxury housing. Over 50% of the second home owners is found in the age categories of 50-70 years old of which almost half are wealthy retirees, the local residents are rather spread over the different age categories and most are still economically active.

The purchase of properties for second home purpose has as mentioned known its boom between 2004 and 2006 in Franschhoek, but it started already in the early '90s. Therefore the town already started its transformation years ago and among the local residents nowadays only few of the original population or descendants thereof are left. As the oldest inhabitant of Franschhoek tells: *‘A lot of things have changed with the coming of the swallows. There are fewer big farms and few real Franschhoekers left. I’m one of the last Huguenote descendents left in town.’* Next to this there are also the developers as force behind the gentrification of Franschhoek, who practically monopolized the Main Road with its business properties in town. Notwithstanding these facts, it is striking that in the years after the second home boom, as seen in figure 6.1 there was an astonishing escalation of residential property prices in the years after and also rates and taxes knew a steep rise between 2004 and 2008.

Here one of the gated and exclusive estates in Franschhoek is taken as a small case study; the values of the different freeholds in the evaluations of 2004 and 2008 are compared. This example is chosen because a substantial part of the properties on the estate are second homes.

Domaine des Anges Properties

■ second home owners ■ permanent residents

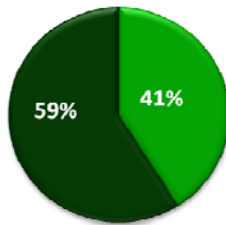


Figure 6.3: Properties Domaine des Anges (Fieldwork Franschhoek 2011)

41% of the 39 properties on the estate are second homes of which over half have foreign owners (figure 6.3). As seen in this example, the value of certain properties in the municipal evaluation list doubled to eight-folded between 2004 and 2008. This rise in value between 2004 and 2008 had serious implications for the taxes that needed to be paid. With the value also taxes rose from double to eight-fold.

Stellenbosch Municipality Rates Policy

The rates for the taxes on the ownership of property are based on the market value of the property, which includes land and improvements. This market value is fixed for 4 years in the Municipal property evaluation. Every immovable property owner pays these rates to the municipality where his or her property is located. The rates are calculated by multiplying the market value of the property (meaning the land plus buildings) by a tariff amount in Rand that the Municipal council has determined. These tariffs are:

Single residential property: R0.00477

Business property: R0.009541

Agricultural property: R0.001193

For example: property market value = R2.000.000
Yearly rates paid →
 $R2.000.000 \times 0.00477 = R9540$

There are several reductions and discounts the Council have an agreement on. For example, all residential erven that are valued R85000 or less are tax free as well as shacks. There is also a Senior Citizens and Disabled Persons Rate Rebate. The percentage rebate granted to different monthly household income levels are determined according to the schedule below.

Gross Monthly Household Income % Rebate		% Rebate	
Salary bands			
Up to		4500	100%
From	4501 to	6500	75%
From	6501 to	8500	50%
From	8500	10000	25%

(M.B, personal communication 2011; Stellenbosch municipality 2009)

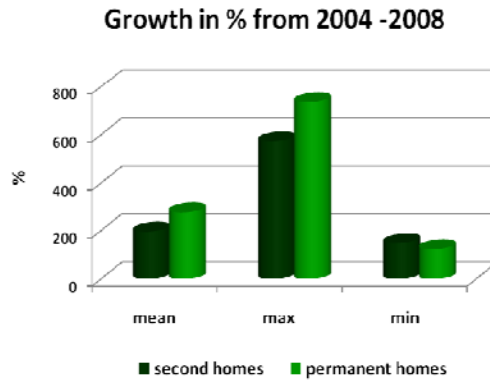


Figure 6.4: Comparison of growth % between second and permanent homes, Domaine des Anges (Fieldwork Franschoek 2011)

In figure 6.4 the growth percentage of the property value of the second homes are compared with the percentage of the permanent homes. As seen the properties used as permanent home knew a slightly higher average growth than the second homes. However the minimum value among these homes in 2004 was already higher than the permanent homes, and also the average value in 2004 was higher. In graph 6.5 the enormous increase in property values from 2004 to 2008 is clearly depicted. This obviously had tremendously consequences for the property taxes recalculated in 2008.

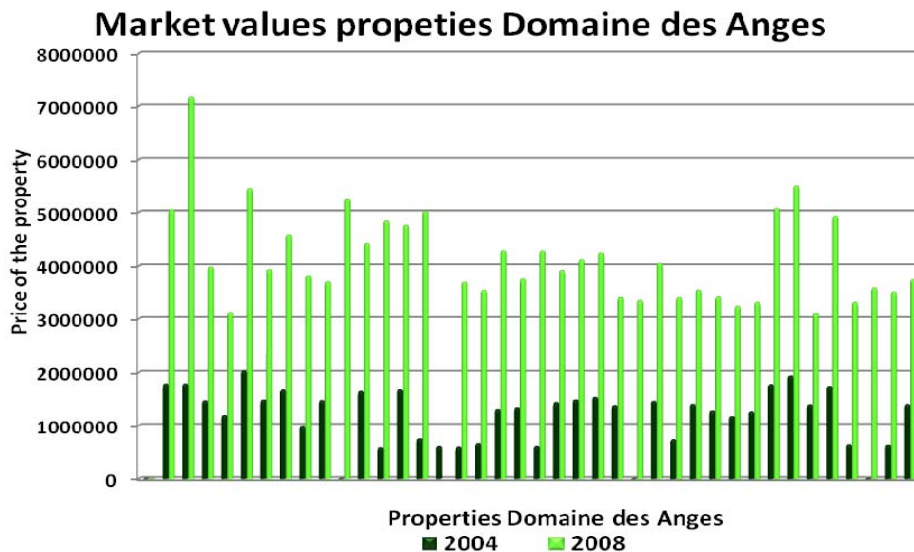


Figure 6.5: Rising property prices 2004 – 2008, Domaine des Anges (Fieldwork Franschoek 2011)

When looking at the prices paid for second homes and its effect is has on the property market together with the advantageous socio-economic status of the second home owners, second home development in Franschoek can be seen as one of the forces that have been underpinning the gentrification of the town. Due to their influx the property taxes of local residents rose to the sky and for many this became unaffordable.

6.2 Franschhoek no longer for ‘Franschhoekers’

Permanent resident Franschhoek, 72 years, lived his whole life in Franschhoek. On the question how much longer he planned to stay in Franschhoek: ‘It all depends... They are forcing people out with the evaluation of the houses. It has become unaffordable, certainly for pensioners. Before I knew all people in Franschhoek, now I am a stranger in my own town. But if they give me R5 million, I move out... I don’t have a choice (fieldnotes 2011)

With the facts just mentioned, it becomes clear that the changes in town in terms of extreme rising of property prices and taxes are a process in which exclusion is pre-emptive. With these prices, only a very affluent stratum can afford to live here or own property. Together with the previous findings, this brings us to one of the most controversial issues related to second home development, the displacement of permanent residents through this process of ‘exclusivization’.

In the figure 6.6 the age structure of the town is depicted, divided in recent buyers, recent sellers and stable owners in 2010. In this graph, it is clearly shown how the composition of the town still changes. As seen before ¹ most of the local residents are spread over all age categories with the majority middle aged and mature. What is of interest however, is the first and the middle bar. What is noteworthy here is the big group of pensioners, relative to their share in the local population, selling their property. As more respondents indicated, the trend mainly under pensioners was and is to sell their houses for what is in South Africa considered a high price and move to cheaper places (P.H, local resident Franschhoek, personal communication 2011). This group is replaced by an influx of people from younger age categories.

¹ See Chapters 4 & 5

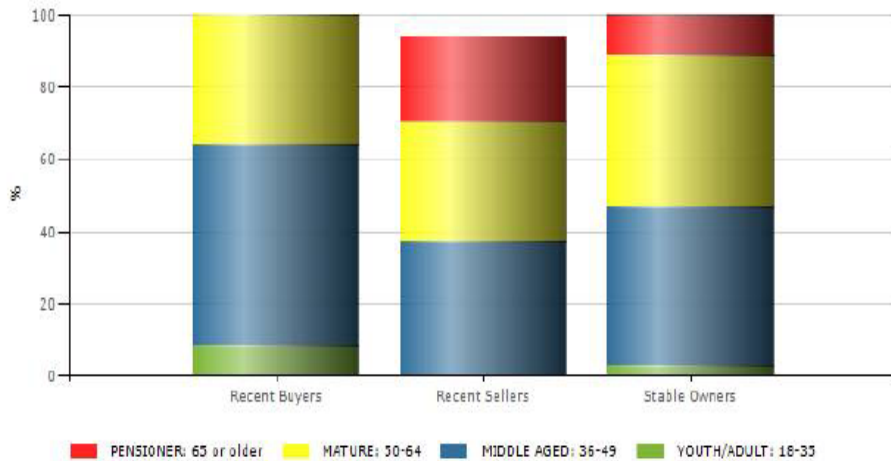


Figure 6.6: Age of residents buying, selling and owning property in Franschhoek 2010 (Real estate agent Franschhoek, personal communication 2011)

This continue process of dis- and re- placement explains the little amount of born and raised ‘Franschhoekers’. In line with this is the finding that only 9% of the respondents have been living in Franschhoek all their life. The majority of these 86 respondents only currently moved into Franschhoek, some less than 5 years ago. The pie charts in figure 6.7 shows very clear that even under recent sellers the biggest share only owned the property for less than 5 years. However, this doesn’t necessarily mean that the person have been living in his property. As seen in Chapter 5, a vast amount also enters the property market in Franschhoek for investment purposes.

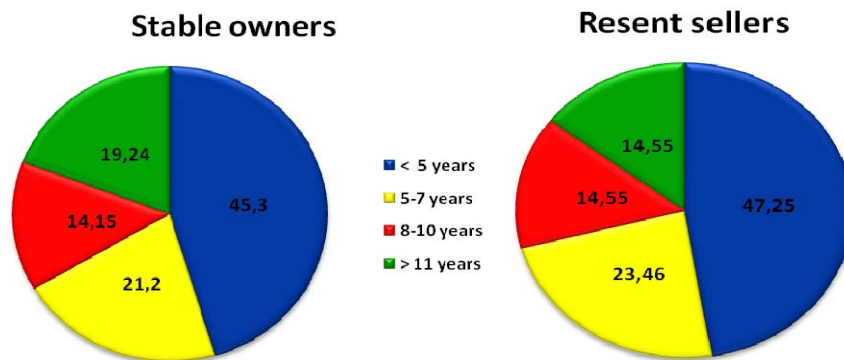


Figure 6.7: Tenure of owners Franschhoek 2010 (Real estate agent Franschhoek, personal communication 2011)

Permanent residents have to leave their place of residence and sell their property due to the increased tax burdens caused by the external demand for houses. As illustrated by figure 6.8, the majority of the permanent residents agrees to totally agrees that Franschhoek has become an exclusive location were only a certain class of people can afford to live.

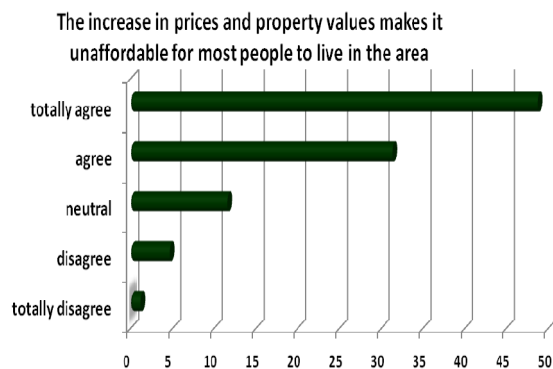


Figure 6.8: Opinions permanent residents ‘The increase in prices and property values makes it unaffordable for most people to live in the area.’ (Survey local residents 2011)

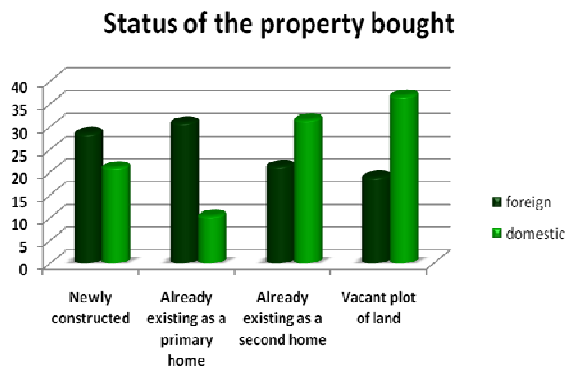


Figure 6.9: Status of the second homes when bought, divided in foreign owners and domestic owner. (Survey Second home owners 2011)

The properties that become vacant through this process of displacement are then bought by someone who can afford it. This can either be for permanent use or as a second home. This issue of replacement by second home owners becomes clear when looking at the status of the properties bought by the second home owners. Up till 24, 6% of the respondents indicated that the property before they bought it was used as a primary home. 26% bought a newly constructed house, which shows that also developers are targeting the more affluent strata of buyers. This is certainly true for the foreign second home owners, of which over half either bought such a newly constructed home or bought a house that was previously used as a primary home. However, as also Zoomers and van Noorloos (2010) note, what needs to be kept in mind is that much of the properties are sold voluntarily and for a high price. Nevertheless, this process has important impacts on the local community, owing to the fact that permanent shelter is scarce.

7. The Socio-cultural Impacts of Second Home Development

There are different ‘socio-spatial groups’ involved in second home development, from the wealthy high-class tourists to the working class population. An analysis of these ‘socio-spatial groups demonstrates the complexity, in time and space, between development of second homes, settlement development and following social processes. Impacts of second homes are often expressed in terms of conflicting interests of ‘locals’ and ‘outsiders’. However, in this case it is important to take a closer look at the different groups involved, can we speak of in- and outsiders? The fieldwork in Franschoek highlighted the problems with this duality. Due to the specific characteristic of the second home owners, in this type of tourism the distinction between the two categories of host and guest becomes blurred. One of the purposes of the survey was as such to take a closer look at how the local community of permanent residents in Franschoek is composed see what their perceptions are towards the second home owners or ‘outsiders’ and the impacts they bring about. The matter however is not as easy as this, the situation is more complex. First of all, as Marjavaara (2008) noted, second home tourists are neither tourists nor permanent residents, but rather a category in between. Secondly, the daily tourists visiting Franschoek can also be considered a separate group that has specific impact on the town. Also questions must be asked about the homogenous presentation of the host community. Locals rarely, if ever, constitute a homogenous group in social, economic or demographic dimensions.

A significant influence on the perceptions towards the impacts of second home development is the amount of years that the so called permanent residents have been living in Franschoek. The town has in this respect a transient community. The majority of the 86 respondents in the local survey only currently moved into Franschoek, some less than 5 years ago. Only 3, 5% indicated to have lived in Franschoek all their life. Next to that, as many as 21% of the local respondents appeared to be foreigners who live permanently in Franschoek, some of them converted second home owners (figure 7. 2).

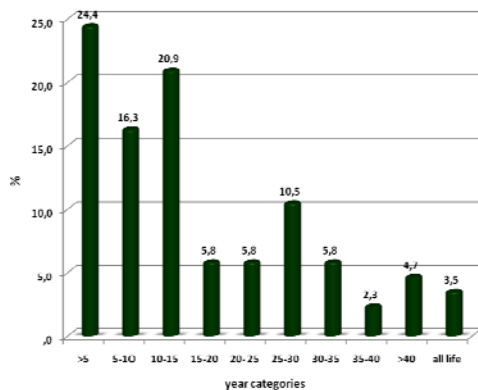


Figure 7.1 : Amount of years living in Franschoek, local residents (Survey)

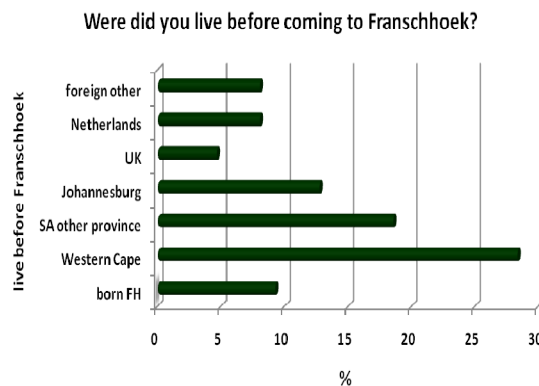


Figure 7.2: Place of residence before moving to Franschoek, local residents (Survey local residents 2011)

These facts, due to the gentrification of the town largely underpinned by second home developments, make the definition of a local community a difficult issue. The findings have major implications for the definition of both groups. Although these last groups are considered the insiders, residing the whole year in Franschhoek and the majority indicating wanting to stay in Franschhoek for ever they are actually also newcomers. As such many of them do not have a strong connection with the town yet and might not have experienced the enormous changes Franschhoek has gone through. Another factor that complicates identifying the ‘locals’ are the second home owners themselves, of which many have been coming to Franschhoek for many years and visiting for long periods. When asking the permanent residents, our research indicated that the so called ‘swallows’ - the name frequently used for the both foreign and South-African second home owners in Franschhoek – are not regarded anymore as tourists, but rather in between part of the community and tourists. As one of the respondents remarks: *‘They are no tourists, but also not part of the community. I see them rather as visitors.’* 80% considered the swallows as part of Franschhoek’s community and only 30% still considered them as tourists. Following the words of the respondents, the categories of host and guest are fluid and contested but yet on the other hand this same binary opposition is continuously used to express their experiences. Being a local is still connected to a certain commitment to the place or community.

A next important point influencing the perceptions of the locals is the awareness among locals of the second home developments taking place. Questions were asked regarding their experience with second homes and the owners and whether or not they noticed an increase in its development in town over the last few years. Of the 76% that did experience an increase in second homes, most experienced this increase between 1998 and 2002 or between 2004-2006. This latter category corresponds with the information received from the second home owners and the estate agents. The other groups that experienced this increase between 1998 and 2002 might refer to an earlier boom when the first second homes were developed in South Africa after the demise of apartheid. That the great majority agreed to totally agreed with the statement that some of their neighbours’ houses are empty for a long period in the year indicated that many experience the presence of second home personally.



Figure 7.3: Year of increase second homes (Survey local residents 2011)

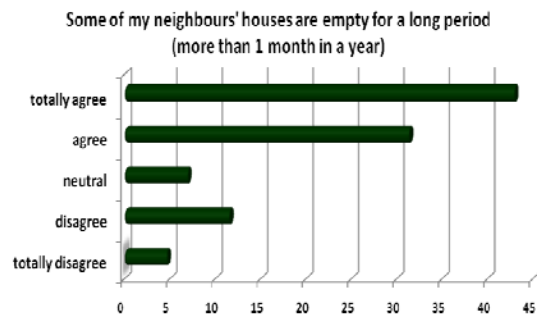


Figure 7.4: Neighbouring houses empty for a long period (survey local residents 2011)

The contact between the actors involved is another important factor determining the local attitude towards tourism developments. There is the obvious class difference that already has been addressed excessively in the previous chapters, but as many have second homes in their street for the majority there might have been direct contact with the owners.

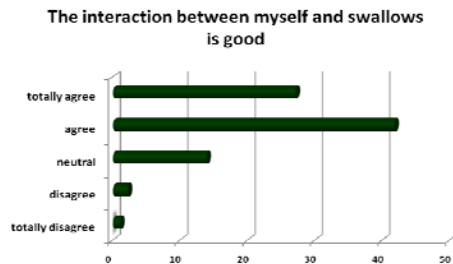


Figure 7.5: Interaction between myself and swallows (Survey local resident 2011)

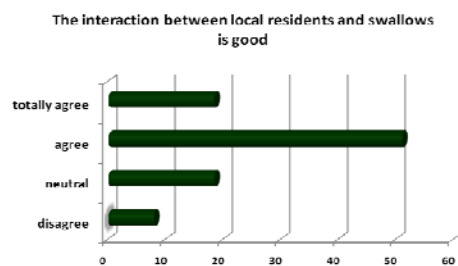


Figure 7.6: Interaction between local residents and swallows (Survey local resident 2011)

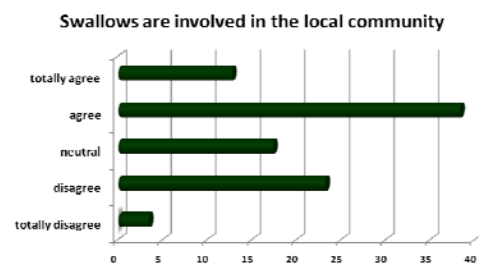


Figure 7.6: Interaction between myself and swallows (Survey local resident 2011)

As depicted in the figures 7.5 and 7.6, in general the local residents experience their personal interaction with swallows or second home owners as positive. Also in the interaction between the swallows and the local community they seem not to find any problems. Many state to have swallows in their circle of friends as do many of their friends who reside permanently in Franschoek. They are accepted as a part of life in Franschoek. However, when then looking at their perceived involvement of the swallows in the local community, opinions are more divided. When some agree because of them joining local clubs and association and just like themselves pay rates and taxes, others have other standards concerning community involvement. They are of opinion that the swallows tend to be on themselves and because of their seasonal stay don't really know what is going on. This might be explained by the fact that the majority of the second home owners is not planning to make their vacation home in Franschoek their permanent residence in the future. This off course could have implications for their attachment to the community.

7.1 Paradoxical opinions and common concerns

It is clear that second homes play an important role in affecting the physical, social and economic environment within areas where they develop. Local perceptions towards these impacts are often crucial for the sustainability of the tourism practices present. What the locals want and expect is often in contrast with what the tourist is looking for. Ideal perceptions of rural life and the search for a certain lifestyle may differ strongly from the practices of local residents. There might however be common concerns found as well, as the groups involved share the same space.

Second home owners: perceptions on a changing town

They killed the goose with the golden eggs. Franschoek was more rural before. Now houses are turned into shops and guesthouses, historical building destroyed and the locals are now guests. The commercialization of the town makes it lose its charm. (Second home owner Franschoek, personal communication 2011)

When asked to second home owners about their opinion and experiences on the town and the changes it has gone through, different answers were encountered. Concerning the town and its inhabitants, many expressed positive feelings. The positive contact with the locals was often mentioned and also the atmosphere of Franschoek seemed to be an asset, with Franschoek being a safe town where no much crime was encountered. However, when specifically asked about the changes the town has gone through over the years opinions were more diverse with quite a bit of negative voices. While many argued that despite the new developments the rural atmosphere was maintained, and that the developments actually improved the town, others experienced the opposite. Contradictory, the most quoted negative impact of the changes and developments Franschoek has known is the destruction of the character of the town. Franschoek would be changed into a tourism product. New and higher quality restaurants and shops together with employment creation was often quoted as improvements the town experienced, while overcommercialization and overdevelopment were terms heard at the negative side. In accordance with the processes explained in the previous chapter, among the second home owners the majority totally agrees that the living costs have been rising tremendously during the last five years. Costs of for example consumer goods are experienced as more expensive when comparing with surrounding towns. Furthermore, the property rates and taxes are by many experienced as not reasonable anymore. Paradoxically, many among them do recognize that the property values that determine these taxes are exacerbated by foreigners entering the property market. The rising of prices together with the pushing out of local residents are often quoted negative effects. More negative voices are raised about safety issues, traffic problems and the town becoming too busy.

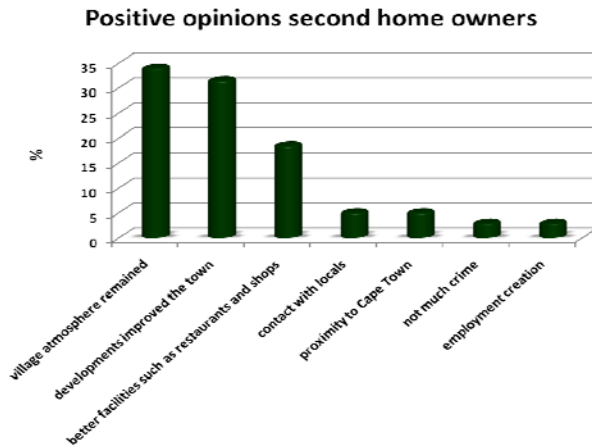


Figure 7.7: Categories of positive opinions quoted from second home owners (Surveys Second home owners 2011)

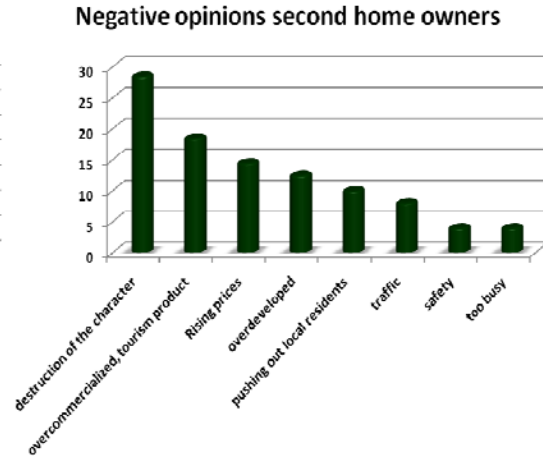


Figure 7.8: Categories of negative opinions quoted from second home owners (Survey Second home owners 2011)

Local perceptions on the impacts of tourism and second home development

In 2000 there was a house for sale in Franschhoek, asking price R 500.000. I put in my offer, but a foreign couple did a counter offer and bought the place for R1 million. In 2007 they sold it again for R2, 5 million without any upgrading or change. I got pushed out of the market by foreigners, me as a South African owning a business in town. They can pay prices no South African can afford. (Shop owner Franschhoek, personal communication 2011).

Among the local residents, first they were asked about how they experience Franschhoek at the moment. When given five options, the by far most cited was the experience of Franschhoek as a tourism town. On second and third place culinary capital and agricultural town were also named. This latter indicating that some of the locals feel that the town hasn't completely lost what it once was. As mentioned before, Franschhoek's economic base shifted from agriculture to a certain dependency on the tourism industry. The local residents were then asked about their opinions on the impacts of the tourism developments that have taken place in Franschhoek and changed the town, second homes being a segment of this. The main aim was to get an insight on how they experienced these developments, producing either positive or negative feelings. Another aspect is how costs are weighed against benefits and in how far tourism and second home development is blamed for the potential negative outcome.

Tourism facilities have mushroomed in the past decade, this however not to the accessibility and need of all inhabitants of Franschhoek. As most of the locals agree, many of those are first of all not affordable for locals and certainly not for the people living in the Groendal leave alone Langrug. However, as the town is financially divided, a reasonable amount of permanent residents considers them despite the money constraints open to

everyone. What is commonly agreed on is that the tourism sector with its facilities does provide very much desired employment opportunities. Although this labour is very seasonal, many people are dependent on the jobs provided by the many shops, guesthouses and restaurants. One voice from a woman living in ‘the other part of town’ made us aware of a problem involved in this. As she points out, it seems that first of all many of these new employers bring in their own workers from outside which marginalizes the locals from this labour market. Also she points at the influx of cheap labour in the squatter camp taking over their jobs. Another dual opinion on the impact of tourism development is whether this has led to the improvement of public services. As many argue the quality maintained as the municipality is well aware of the tourism value of the town, however they also point at the fact that where it is most visible is in the places is where tourists come. The northern part of town is quite neglected in this respect. A more negative voice raises questions of the capability of the town to cope with the developments pointing at the water and sewage problems the town experiences. Regarding the safety of the area, the general view is that crime hasn’t really increased and if so certainly tourism can’t be blamed for it. However, a side note many make is that tourists are off course an easy target and money always attracts criminals. Where small crime does occur people tend to blame this more on the high unemployment rates and the many ‘TIC’² users in the township.

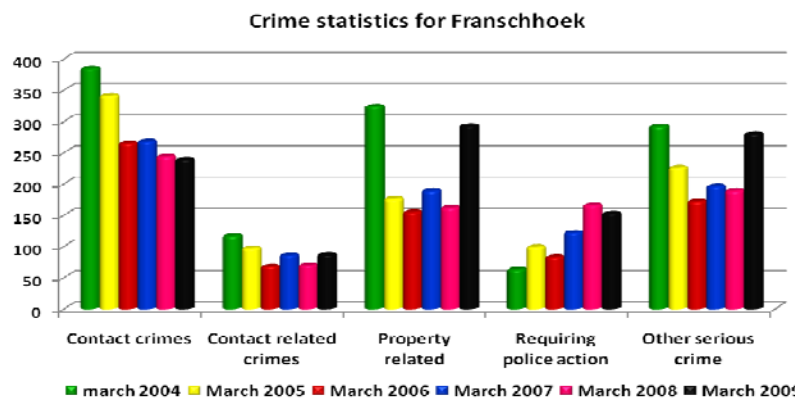


Figure 7.9: Crime statistics Franschhoek starting 2004 (CNdV status quo 2001: 165)

From the crime statistics for Franschhoek shown in figure 7.9, it appears that almost all categories of crimes show a decline over the years except property related crime and the category other serious crime. These two categories experience an upsurge after 2008. What might need more consideration regarding tourism developments is an appropriate public participation process for locals to influence decision making. Many are satisfied with the way things are decided and their influence on this, however also a fair amount of locals put questions to the real influence of the existing forums and the exclusion of certain strata of people from these.

² The drug TIC, or methamphetamine. At the moment many refer to it as a big problem amongst young coloured and black people in South Africa.

When then turning to the presence and entering of second homes and their owners, as mentioned above most of the locals are well aware of these developments taking place. Tourism developments are often linked to this influx, as former tourists became second home owners or even permanent residents. With respect to the rising property prices, a striking majority sees foreign ownership as triggering the exacerbation of prices in town. Next to this also property speculation is seen as influencing these prices. Properties are often renovated and improved to very high standards, which foreigners can afford. Some point the finger at the estate agents who are targeting high class buyers, while others emphasize that also local sellers are part of the problem as their expectations are conditioned by the values of certain properties in Franschhoek. Most of the respondents agreed with the statement that the increase in prices and property values in town makes it unaffordable for most people to live in the area. As mentioned by many, pensioners and salary people such as doctors or teachers cannot afford owning a house in Franschhoek. Salaries paid in the region cannot compete with the price of accommodation. This is mainly related to the rates and taxes people have to pay. As one respondent indicated, in three years time the rates she had to pay increased from R 14.000 to R38.000. Another more sensitive aspect is found when looking at the inhabitants of Groendal. An older resident of Groendal tells us: *'We were forcefully removed from town when you could buy a property for R1200. Now properties are worth millions. As such people living in Groendal can never move back in.'* (Resident Groendal, personal communication 2011). By some of the respondents, also the leaving of old residents and the changing of the population composition is related to this process. An interesting finding in that respect is however the disagreement of most locals to the statement that the influx of affluent foreigners changes the character of the town negatively. It is striking that when there is referred to persons instead of processes people tend to be less negative. Although many recognize the negative impacts just discussed, only few tend to blame second home owners. For many it is mainstream tourism that fundamentally changed Franschhoek. Also reference is made to *'foreigners and South Africans entering the town with money and buying up everything'*, but here people are rather talking about certain developers buying, restoring or destroying many old properties or building new developments. The residential estates in the infill area are given as an example as how modern developments *'turned a rural agricultural village into a town with golf course houses'*. The conservation of historical buildings is a sensitive issue for many of the locals. Most of them totally agree that this must have priority over new developments. Historical buildings have sentimental values to local residents and are the core of the old charm of Franschhoek that initially attracted people to move here. Many put question marks behind the approval of certain new developments, referring to the aesthetic committee as a buffer for the potential destructive capacity of modern developments. The homes build by second home owners are not considered a threat to the character of the town. Different styles are found, but most conform to the guidelines of the aesthetic committee.

When walking through town however, some buildings seem extremely out of place in Franschhoek, as shown in the pictures below.



At last the local residents were asked whether the current development changed their town as such that they didn't feel at home anymore in Franschhoek. Despite their opinions as discussed, the great majority disagree to totally disagree. An explanation for this can be found in the discussion at the beginning of this chapter regarding the homogeneity of the local community. There it was already mentioned that many of the locals can also be considered newcomers regarding the amount of time they have been living in Franschhoek. It is therefore not surprising that some of the respondents argue that the major changes to the town already had occurred when they came to living here. Among the locals that are born and raised in Franschhoek or have been living there for a considerable time the changes experienced are more profound. As one respondent relates: *'I became a stranger in my own town, if you go down the village now you are lucky if you meet people you know. Before everybody knew everybody.'* One of the major changes referred to by this group of people is the changing of the town from Afrikaans to mainly English speaking.

How much long do you expect to live in Franschhoek

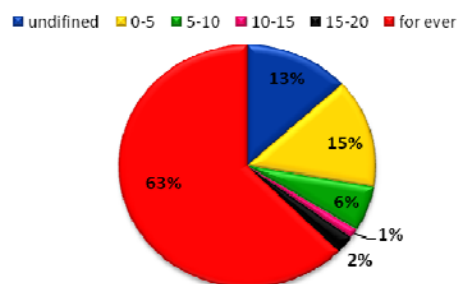


Figure 7.10: Years expected to stay in Franschhoek (Survey local residents 2011)

Despite the negative impacts discussed, the overall perceptions of the locals seems positive. This also shines through in the fact that when asked how much longer they expected or planned to live in Franschhoek the vast majority answered with forever (figure 7.10). An important finding is that next the differences in experience and opinion between the two major groups, being the local residents and the second home owners, conflicts are also found within the groups. The paradox in this finding becomes apparent when everyone seems to

share common concerns about the increasing exclusivity of the housing market and its implications for the segregation of the local community.

8. Conclusion

South Africa is faced with increasing second home developments and ownership. So also Franschhoek. The town has undergone a significant transformation after the demise of apartheid in 1994. Largely, these transformations can be linked to the development of Franschhoek as a tourism destination which was soon discovered by second home owners. Second homes are a current expression of the localized impact of globalization and transnationalism in a neoliberal governance context (van Noorloos and Zoomers 2010). In the field of tourism and its current trends, more and more land is acquainted by external actors and it is important to understand the complex dynamics created by this process. The purpose of this research was to investigate the characteristics of the specific location of Franschhoek as a second home node and find out what the implications of these developments were for spatial and socio-cultural impacts on a local level. The aim is to reveal the spatial and socio-cultural impacts induced by second home development on local level and whether this has led to gentrification and as such segregation or the maintenance of existing segregation in Franschhoek. As such this research follows the discourse with a more Marxist approach. As an expression of capital accumulation, second homes development is seen as leading to uneven development and the displacement of the local community as a result of escalating property prices and housing shortages. This research contributes to the development debate as it investigated the different sides of second home development and analyzed the impacts accompanied by this phenomenon.

With an estimation of 36% of its total residential properties being second homes, Franschhoek seems an ideal second home node comparing with other non purpose build towns in the Western Cape. Both South African and foreign second home owners find their way to the property market in Franschhoek with its recent peak between 2004 and 2006. When looking at the characteristics of Franschhoek and the general assumption that the destination chosen tells a lot about the aspirations pursued; the second home owners may be considered fitting in Bensons and O'Reilly' (2009) type of the rural idyll, for whom rural locations are popular and imagined to offer a pure and tranquil lifestyle. Considering the residential characteristics of the properties, all four of Mardsen's (1977) distinct categories are present. There are the private homes visited at weekends and/or holidays both for non-paying guests and commercially used; and the commercial holiday homes bought as investment or for later retirement and in the mean time let as holiday or permanent homes.

An issue of significant research interest relates to rural gentrification in South Africa resulting in the creation of a post productivist countryside. The process of gentrification implies the displacement and exclusion of a lower by a higher income group. While some have seen the forced displacements during apartheid as a racialised government-led form of gentrification, second home development is seen as a force behind gentrification and

displacement on an economic basis. This particular spatial impact that does not feature in international debates is specific to the South African context. So also to Franschoek. There is evidence of the presence of an affluent urban and foreign population and relative low prices for properties in an amenity rich location, which fuels the demand for rural second homes. The status gap became clear when comparing the profiles of the second home owners with that of the local residents. It was demonstrated that property values in the area have escalated significantly since the accession of this group to the local property market. Parallel, property taxes experienced an equal increase as proven by the evaluation lists of the Stellenbosch Municipality. The local population, due to their lower economic status, is not able to afford such prices or keep up with the rising taxes. The far more wealthy second home owners can outbid the competition on the housing market from permanent residents and as such the latter are 'forced' out as they can't afford the rising costs anymore. Also in Franschoek, in accordance with the rest of South Africa, second homes are something mainly for the wealthy class. However, what needs to be kept in mind is that much of the properties are sold voluntarily and for a high price. Nevertheless, this process has important impacts on the local community, owing to the fact that permanent shelter is scarce. The main impact is that there is no chance of property mobility for permanent residents and inevitably leads to the creation of residential class segregation. It seems as if apartheid redlining on racial grounds has been replaced by a financially exclusive property market that entrenches prosperity and privilege. Whilst exclusion was defined on the basis of race in apartheid South Africa, class division has come to define its post-apartheid reconstitution (Visser and Kotze 2008: 2580). Due to international competition for dwellings, residential mobility and even entering the property market is restricted for locals in Franschoek South, however extends it to foreign investors, business entrepreneurs and vacationers. Next to the internal socio-economic gap in the centre of the town between 'locals' and second home owners, which limits the property mobility of the least advantageous group, it also reinforces the existing racially based cleavages in the property market. There is no chance for those living in the township to enter the 'white' residential area of the town. As such there is no hope for the aimed at integration between Franschoek South (Groendal) and North.

Impacts of second homes are often expressed in terms of conflicting interests of 'locals' and 'outsiders'. In a second home context, as Marjavaara (2008) noted, second home tourists are neither tourists nor permanent residents, but rather a category in between. Sherlock (2001) labelled this group as 'new residents'. The fieldwork in Franschoek highlighted the problems with this duality. Due to the specific characteristic of the second home owners, in this type of tourism the distinction between the two categories of host and guest becomes blurred. First of all, questions must be asked about the homogeneous presentation of the host community. Locals rarely, if ever, constitute a homogenous group in social, economic or demographic dimensions. The majority of the 86 respondents in the local survey only currently moved into Franschoek, some less than 5 years ago. Only a minority

indicated to have lived in Franschoek all their life. Next to that, as many as 21% of the local respondents appeared to be foreigners who live permanently in Franschoek, some of them converted second home owners. As such the town has in this respect a transient community. Secondly, the daily tourists visiting Franschoek can also be considered a separate group that has specific impact on the town. And finally second home tourists are neither tourists nor permanent residents, but rather a category in between 80% considered the swallows as part of Franschoek's community and only 30% still considered them as tourists. A positive socio-cultural impacts side it is argued that second home owners regularly visit their homes and care about the area. Following the words of the respondents, the categories of host and guest are fluid and contested but yet on the other hand this same binary opposition is continuously used to express their experiences. Being a local is still connected to a certain commitment to the place or community. But this place and community has totally changed. In the past the infrastructure belonged to the people of Franschoek and everybody knew everybody. Today, Franschoek is a cosmopolitan of different people. Those different people have different experiences and perceptions of the developments taking place in Franschoek and the impacts of these on the local community. What the research revealed was that indeed the perceptions and aspirations of the locals and the second home owners who share this same space differed in some way; however there were some common concerns as well. An important finding is that next the differences in experience and opinion between the two major groups, being the local residents and the second home owners, conflicts are also found within the groups. The paradox in this finding becomes apparent when everyone seem to share common concerns about the increasing exclusivity of the housing market and its implications for the local residents. When looking at the perceptions of the local residents, the negative voices were mainly raised when asked them about the impact of the process of second home development on the town. However, when asking questions regarding the owners of these homes, the opinions were rather positive. Although they are known and appreciated as their neighbours and friends, a common used term for second home owners is swallows which has a rather negative connotation. Following Doxey's Irridex (1976) the host population would become more annoyed or even hostile once prices start rising and certain saturation is reached. From the survey however it appears that this irritation or hostility stage is not yet reached in Franschoek. The interaction with swallows is generally experienced as good and the majority of the locals indicate to still feel at home in Franschoek. Although Franschoek has gone through all these major changes over the last years due to both tourism and second home development which have not always been positive, there is remarkably still no hostility between second home owners and permanent residents. The blurred distinction between host and guest in a almost newly composed community might be an explaining factor. There are not a lot of the born and raised 'Franschoekers' left and many of the current permanent residents can be considered newcomers themselves. The question now is where the tipping point lies, when irritation and hostility might rear its head.

Discussion

Especially during the past five years, in combination with the discontent regarding the slow pace of land reform and redistribution, the debate on foreign ownership is facing momentum in South Africa. Important is to note that second properties are plainly not a reality for most South Africans. It is for this reason that questions are raised whether it is justifiable that while a stunning majority of the South Africans is unable to afford their own land or property, second homes are existing and are contributing to processes of gentrification and maintaining spatial and social segregation. South Africa is after all a country that has a housing shortage of between 1.5 and 2 million units.

This research, together with more national and international experiences on the impacts of second home development have shown that definite impacts and threats do accompany the phenomenon. This mix of positive and negative socio-cultural, environmental, and economic impacts of second home developments, makes planning and policymaking a rather difficult task. In South African planning legislation there is however no distinguishing between first and second homes, leave alone that any distinction is made or recorded on municipality level. In the policy now, there is however no restriction at all on land ownership. The main concept in planning policy however is that local planning should use the system to promote greater sustainability. This includes economic sustainability by connecting the housing supply to the need of the labour market, recognizing the importance of environmental sustainability and social sustainability focusing on the combat against exclusion and creating balanced communities (Malén et al. n.d.). Coping with increased housing demand and competition for affordable housing then in South Africa requires careful planning, and second homes could be a threat to sustainability. It is a luxury that only the highest stratum of the South African population can afford, which is a small minority. From a planning perspective they are viewed as one of the many processes influencing the countryside and at the same time as an integral part of the problem that exists in the countryside. Mainly the local housing market experiences major impacts from the development of second homes.

On top of that, it is not only South Africans buying second homes. Also foreigners are involved in this phenomenon. Ownership of land by non-South African citizens (foreigners) is experienced as an intervening factor, however its impact on ownership patterns and land reform is not clearly known by policy makers. This lack of comprehensive policy and legislative framework contributes to the acquisition and investment and land by foreigners. This acquisition is denying many South Africans affordable access to land and renders them strangers in their own country. In that sense it might be considered important to determine the exact size of land owned by foreigners and the purpose of those for the purpose of designing an appropriate policy framework. A start can be made here to improve the information and statistics in the Deeds Registries and include foreign and second home ownership and use.

Not for the purpose of restriction or prohibition, but it would be wise to include the formal distinction between first and second home in the local Integrated Development Framework. This gets a better insight in its impacts and may be a guidance to find where the tipping point lies for the spatial and social sustainability of a certain location. What might be concluded is that without this knowledge, insight in its impacts and second homes left to follow its current trajectory, it might potentially lead to unsustainable development.

Although this research tends to focus more on the unsustainability of second home developments, the eyes must not be closed for the potential benefits it might give a certain location. The potential economic impacts and spending patterns of second home owners that might uplift an area and its community are not considered in this research. Important is to find and maintain the balance between the conflicting impacts of second homes on rural areas. Therefore planners and policy makers need to take into consideration the rural residents' preferences as well. Therefore, the challenge facing planners is the need to design policies that can balance between the demands of wealthier urban residents wishing to develop or buy second homes in the rural areas and the preferences of local communities in order to support economically, spatially, environmentally and socially sustainable developments.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey Second Home Owners



Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is _____ and I am student at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. I am currently engaged in a research program on Second Homes, with the partnership of Stellenbosch University. The aim of this research project is to examine the role and distribution of Second Homes and its owners in Franschhoek specifically. It is hereby assured that the information will be regarded completely confidential and the results will only be used for academic purpose. Your kind co-operation in this venture is gratefully acknowledged and appreciated.

Kind Regards

Section A. General household characteristics

1. Age: _____ 2. Nationality _____ 3. Gender:

1	Male	2	Female
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4. What is the highest educational qualification of the home owner(s)? _____

5. What is the current occupational status of the home owner(s)?

1	Retired	2	Own business	3	Employed Full-time	4	Employed Part-Time	5	Other, _____
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6. What is the main source of income of the homeowner(s)? _____

7. What is approximately the annual household income?

1	R < 500 000	2	R 500 000- 1 000 000	3	R 1 000 001 – 5 000 001	4	R > 5 000 000
---	-------------	---	----------------------	---	-------------------------	---	---------------

8. Could you please specify the members in your household and their ages? (For example Adult, wife, age 45)

	Age		Age
1	Adult, _____	5	Child
2	Adult, _____	6	Child
3	Child, _____	7	Other, _____
4	Child	8	Other, _____

Section B. Second Home characteristics and Motivation

1. What is your place of primary residence?

1	Country	2	Town/Village
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2. Type of transportation you use to reach Franschhoek and to get around in Franschhoek? (more answers possible)

	To reach Franschhoek	Get around Franschhoek
1	Own Car	
2	Hired Car	
3	Airplane business class	
4	Airplane (economy class)	
5	Other, _____	

3. In what year did you purchase/obtain your property in Franschhoek? _____

4. What was the approximate price of your property when you purchased/obtained it? R _____

5. What do you estimate is the current value of your property? R _____

6. Through whom did you purchase/obtain this property?

1	Local Real Estate Company	3	Directly with project developer	5	I inherited this property
2	International Real Estate Company	4	Individually	6	Other, _____

7. What was the status of the Franschhoek property at moment of purchase?

1	Newly constructed	3	Already existing, used as secondary home	5	Other, _____
2	Already existing, used as primary home	4	Vacant plot of land		

8. Are you the sole owner of the Franschoek property?

1	Yes (continue question 9)	2	No
---	---------------------------	---	----

8 a. With whom do you share this property?

1	Business Associate (s)	3	Relative(s)	5	Trust
2	Friend(s)	4	Time Share	6	Other, _____

9. What is the main purpose for the property in Franschoek? *More answers possible*

1	Weekend Home	2	Vacation Home	3	Investment	4	Other, please specify, _____
---	--------------	---	---------------	---	------------	---	------------------------------

10. What were your main motivations for selecting Franschoek as destination? *Only rank 3 most important*

1	Weather	7	Tranquillity and ambiance of the area
2	Family and friends close by	8	Developed facilities and services
3	Close proximity to primary residence/ airport	9	Investment opportunity
4	Escaping busy city life	10	Wine and Dine
5	French character of the town	11	Perceived safe living environment
6	Exclusivity of the destination (popular trend)	12	Other, _____

11. Do you plan to make this your primary home in the future?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Do not know yet
---	-----	---	----	---	-----------------

12. On average, how often do you stay in the Franschoek house?

1	Daily	2	Weekly	3	Bi-weekly	4	Monthly	5	2-6 months	6	7-12 months	7	Less than once a year
---	-------	---	--------	---	-----------	---	---------	---	------------	---	-------------	---	-----------------------

13. Please indicate the month(s) that you usually stay in the Franschoek house.

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

14. Did you renovate the property after purchase?

1	Yes	2	No (continue question 15)
---	-----	---	---------------------------

14.a How much did you approximately spent on renovation?

1	Below 300 000	3	500 001 – 1 000 000	5	2 000 001- 4 000 000
2	300 000-500 000	4	1 000 001 – 2 000 000	6	More than 4 000 000

14.b When renovating, did you make use of the following services? *Please indicate which services and where they are from.*

		From Franschoek and surroundings (25 km)	Elsewhere, please specify
1	Building contractor		
2	Architect		
3	Engineer		
4	Landscape Designer		
5	Interior Designer		
6	Other, _____		

15. Are you part of a body corporate/home owner's association/community organisation?

1	Yes	2	No
---	-----	---	----

16. What is your approximate monthly spending on rates and taxes? R _____

17. How much do you pay on average for electricity on a monthly basis? _____?

18. Do you make use of the following services? if yes, please indicate on average how many times you hire these services per week or month, circle either week or month

1	Domestic Worker	_____ times Week/Month
2	Gardener	_____ times Week/Month
3	Gardening Service	_____ times Week/Month
4	Pool Maintenance	_____ times Week/Month
5	Security Service	_____ times Week/Month
6	Permanent resident that manages your property	_____ times Week/Month
7	Butler services	_____ times Week/Month

8	Driving services	_____	times Week/Month
9	Other (please specify): _____	_____	times Week/Month
10	Other (please specify): _____	_____	times Week/Month

Section C: Investment and other properties

1. Do you rent out your property? Or parts thereof? (please specify which parts)

1	Yes, whole property	2	Yes, part of the property, _____	3	No, please continue question 2
---	---------------------	---	----------------------------------	---	--------------------------------

1.a. What is the rate you charge? (Please circle or day, or week, or month) R _____ per day /week/month

1.b Approximately, how many days per month did you rent out your property during the past 12 months?

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

1.c Are the people you rent out to repeater guests?

1	Yes	2	No
---	-----	---	----

1.d Through what channel do you rent out your property?

1	Rental Company	2	Project developer's rental system	3	Privately	4	Other, _____
---	----------------	---	-----------------------------------	---	-----------	---	--------------

2. Do you own other vacation and recreation properties? Please indicate where.

1	Yes	2	No (continue question 1 section D)
1	_____		
2	_____		
3	_____		

2.b Which property do you spent most time at? _____

2.c. When (which months) do you spent most time there? _____

Section D. Daily Living and Spending characteristics when being in Franschoek.

1. When you are in Franschoek do you own or hire car(s)?

1	Own	2	Hire	3	No (continue question 2)
---	-----	---	------	---	--------------------------

1.a What type of car(s) do you own or hire here in Franschoek? (Put down most used brand) _____

1.b How many kilometres do you on average drivewhen being in Franschoek (on a weekly basis), _____ km

2. Please indicate how frequently you visit restaurants and wine estates in Franschoek, circle either week or month

1	Restaurants	_____	times Week/Month	2	Wine Estates	_____	times Week/Month
---	-------------	-------	------------------	---	--------------	-------	------------------

3. Please indicate the two names of the restaurants and wine estates you visit most in Franschoek:

	Most frequent visited restaurants:		Most frequent visited wine estate:
1	_____	1	_____
2	_____	2	_____

4. Please indicate how often you visit the following shops in Franschoek and how much you on average spent there per visit, please circle either week or month

		Frequency of visit	Average spending (per visit)
1	Grocery store	_____ times per week/month	R _____
2	Clothing store	_____ times per week/month	R _____
3	Gift/Souvenir store	_____ times per week/month	R _____
4	Hairdresser	_____ times per week/month	R _____
5	Farmers Market	_____ times per week/month	R _____

5. Which town do you prefer most to do your shopping?

5.1 If not Franschoek, Why not?

1	Paarl	2	Franschoek	3	Stellenbosch	4	Cape Town	_____
---	-------	---	------------	---	--------------	---	-----------	-------

6. Please specify which activities in Franschhoek you participate in, when you are here?

Activities	Frequency of visit	Activities	Frequency of visit
1 Golf	_____ times per week/month	6 Water sports	_____ times per week/month
2 Fly fishing	_____ times per week/month	7 Other, _____	_____ times per week/month
3 Visits to wine estates	_____ times per week/month	8 Other, _____	_____ times per week/month
4 Spa	_____ times per week/month	9 Other, _____	_____ times per week/month
5 Horse riding	_____ times per week/month	10 Other, _____	_____ times per week/month

7. Which associations/clubs are you part of? _____

8. When in Franschhoek on average, how much do you spend?(circle either per week or permonth) R _____ week/month

9. What are the three most important places for you to meet and socializewith friends in Franschhoek?

1 _____	2 _____	3 _____
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10. Could you by means of percentages indicate the composition of your group of friends in Franschhoek?(Add to 100%)

Franschhoek local residents _____ %	Franschhoek South-African residents _____ %	Franschhoek Non South-African residents _____ %	Non Franschhoek Residents _____ %	Other, _____ %
-------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------

11. Are there other towns in the region you stay over while residing in Franschhoek?

1	Yes	2	No
---	-----	---	----

11.a Please name the three most important towns and indicate the reason for staying over.

Town/Village	Reason for Visit
1 _____	_____
2 _____	_____
3 _____	_____

Section E: Perceptions on Franschhoek

1. How would you describe the town of Franschhoek today compared with when you purchased your property? (For example: the sense of place, the atmosphere e.g.)

2. Please indicate your opinion about the following statements.(++ totally agree, + agree, 0 neutral, - disagree, -- totally disagree)

		++	+	0	-	--	N/A
1	The amount of retail and shopping facilities are appropriate for the town	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
2	Entertainment facilities are according to the needs of all inhabitants of Franschhoek	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
	Property values are exacerbated by foreigners	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
4	Investment in Franschhoek is better than investing in other small towns in the province	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
5	Costs of consumer goods are more expensive in Franschhoek compared to surrounding towns	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
6	Living costs have risen tremendously during the last five years	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
7	The amount of rates and taxes paid is reasonable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
8	Tourists determine Franschhoek its street view	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
9	Traffic is not yet a problem in Franschhoek	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
10	The growth of the town in terms of urban development is destroying the character of Franschhoek	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	

Thank you very much for your participation and have a good day!

For any queries do not hesitate to contact me: by email or phone. If you are interested in the results, or if you want to participate in this research more in-depth please leave your personal details:

Appendix 2: Survey Local Residents



Universiteit Utrecht

Good day,

My name is _____. I am a student at University Utrecht (Netherlands) and I am conducting research on Second Home Developments in Franschoek.

I would appreciate your opinion on what you think about second home development in Franschoek. The information will be used for academic purpose only and all information is considered confidential.

Below is a list of questions I would like you to answer. Please indicate what best describes your opinion on the following questions. There are no right or wrong answers

Section A. General Characteristics

Gender:

Male	Female
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 2. Age: _____

3. What is your current occupation?

--

4. In which street or suburb of Franschoek do you live? _____

5. How long have you been living in Franschoek? _____

6. Where did you live before you came to Franschoek? _____

7. How long do you expect/ plan to stay in Franschoek? _____

8. How do you see/or experience Franschoek? Please rank the most appropriate description of the town from 1 (most appropriate) to 3 (the 3rd most appropriate)

Agricultural service centre	Tourism town	Culinary capital of South-Africa
Investment town	Agricultural town	

9. Indicate the most 'liveable' months (according to how nice it is to live in the town; **not** according to the weather) in Franschoek for you personally:

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

Section B. Perceptions on Franschoek and second homes ('Swallows')

Second home owners are foreigners or South-Africans owning a house in Franschoek that they only use for short periods annually. In addition to their house in Franschoek they own a primary residence somewhere else in the country or overseas. In this questionnaire I will further refer to these people as 'swallows'.

Please encircle yes or no or write your answer in the box

Do you think there has been an increase of second homes in Franschoek over the past few years?	Yes	No
If Yes: When did you experience this increase? Year: _____		
Approximately how many 'swallows' do you know of in Franschoek?		
Approximately how many 'swallows' do you know personally in Franschoek?		
Do you consider them as your friends?	Yes	No
Do you consider the 'swallows' as part of Franschoeks' community	Yes	No
Do you consider them as tourists	Yes	No

Section C. Perceptions on tourism impacts

Please indicate your opinion on the following statements. (++) totally agree; + agree; 0 neutral; -Disagree; -- totally disagree)

Statement	++	+	0	-	--	If your answer is agree or totally agree, please explain your answer here
Positive						
The interaction between local residents and swallows is good	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
The interaction between myself and swallows is good	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Swallows are involved in the local community	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Tourists provides an opportunity for cultural exchange	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Tourism developments results in new residents in my community	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Tourism facilities are accessible to all inhabitants of Franschoek	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
There is an appropriate public participation process for residents to influence decision making regarding tourism in Franschoek	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Quality of public services has improved due to tourism development	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Some of my neighbours' houses are empty for a long period (more than 1 month in a year)	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
The tourism sector in Franschoek provides many desirable employment opportunities for local residents	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	
Negative						
Property values are exacerbated (increased) by foreign ownership	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	

Property values are exacerbated (increased) by property speculation in general	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
The increase in prices and property values makes it unaffordable for most people to live in the area	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
Living and service costs have risen enormously during the last few years and this can be blamed on tourism development	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
I am against new tourism facilities which will attract more tourists to Franschhoek	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
The influx of affluent foreigners changes the character of the town negatively	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
The conservation of historical buildings must have priority over new developments	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
Tourism increases the amount of crime in my community	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
Due to the current tourism developments I don't feel at home anymore in Franschhoek	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
Where swallows have build new houses these are out of character to the town	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree

Please complete the following two sentences:

I LIKE living in Franschhoek because _____

I DISLIKE like living in Franschhoek because _____

Thank you very much for your participation. For any queries do not hesitate to contact:

If you are interested in the results or want to participate in this research more in-depth, please leave your contact details:

Appendix 3: Personal communication: in-depth interviews

1. February 25, 2011: N. Ceasar, Franschhoek
2. February 25, 2011: E. September, Financial Department
3. March 10, 2010: J. Dance , Second Home Owner Franschhoek
4. March 10, P. Joosten, Real Estate Agent Sotheby's
5. March 10 2011: M. Visser , Real Estate Agent Seeff
6. March 14, 2011: J.Roux, local inhabitant
7. March 14, 2011: Jäger, Real Estate Agent Franschhoek
8. March 14, 2011: Lew, Manager Café Benedict
9. March 17, 2011: L. Coetzee, Real estate Agency Engel & Völkers
10. March 17, 2010: Foreign Permanent Resident
11. March 23 2011: Palmer.; Second home owner
12. March 24, 2011: T. Steyn, Marketing Manager Franschhoek Wine Valley (T.S.)
13. March 24,2011: S. Schäffer, Redactor Franschhoek Tattler
14. April 9 2011: Haigh, Second home owner & permanent resident
15. April 16 2011: R.; Security guard Fransche Hoek Estate
16. April 18 2011: Quinten, Cape Winelands District
17. April 18 2011: Fooij, Planning Stellenbosch Municipality
18. April, 19, 2010 A.van Heerden, permanent resident, foreigner
19. April 20 2011: P. Smit, Manager Property Management and Administration
20. April 25, 2011: P. Denecker, Franschhoek Farmer (Fruit Farmers Association)
21. April 2011: Local Resident Groendal – Life Craft Market
22. April 2011: B.P., permanent resident foreigner
23. May 3, 2011: Manager Petite Provence
24. May 4 2011: Fine & Country, Estate Agent Franschhoek
25. May 9, 2010 P. Haasbroek, Chair Rate Payers Association Franschhoek
26. May 10, 2011 Loraine and Chris, Permanent residents managing second home properties, Tabeël Interiors
27. May 10, 2010 B. de la Bat, Head Economic Services Municipality Stellenbosch
28. May 10, 2010 M. Blauw, Town Planning
29. May 11, 2011: The Kusasa Project
30. May 11, 2011: Rawson, Real Estate Agent Franschhoek
31. May 11 2011: M., owner Ottersbend
32. May 2011: Darian Pearce WRC Project K5-1974
33. May 2011: RiaPools, Permanent resident foreigner

Appendix 4: List secondary data collected

- **Franschhoeks' zoning plan and maps - Stellenbosch Municipality**
- **Franschoek Residents list – personal communication Stellenbosch Municipality**
- **Property evaluation lists of 2004 and 2008 – Stellenbosch Municipality**
- **Franschhoek Urban Edge Zone: Land Use Management Policy 2003 – Stellenbosch Municipality**
- **Franschhoek Land and Housing Development Policy Framework. Agreement 16 February 1998 - Personal communication P. Smit**
- **Franschhoek Spatial Development Plan 2000 – Stellenbosch Municipality**
- **Cape Winelands District Spatial Development Framework. Situational analysis 2009/2010**
Stellenbosch Municipal Spatial Development Framework 2005 and 2010 - Stellenbosch Municipality
Stellenbosch Municipality. Spatial Development Framework 2005
Stellenbosch Municipal Spatial Development Framework draft Status Quo Report 2010
Stellenbosch Municipal Spatial Development Framework draft Strategies Report 2010
- **Franschhoek real estate statistics 2010 – Personal communication, Real estate agents Franschoek**
- **Franschhoeks' tourism survey - Franschoek Wine Valley & Toursit Association**
- **Franschhoek Guidelines for Conservation and Development. By The Franschoek Trust 1989 – Personal communication S. Schäffer**
- **Franschhoeks' demographics in a survey conducted by the University of the Western Cape - WRC Project K5-1974**