TOURISM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE MOUNTAIN DISTRICTS OF ANDALUSIA, SPAIN

by

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- ABSTRACT -

Studies of tourism in southern European countries have centred on the spectacular rise of international coastal tourism. Rural tourism has taken the form of a mass summer migration both of returning emigrants and of city dwellers, the latter favouring upland areas to escape summer heat.

Enquiries were made in the town halls of 150 municipalities in eight upland areas of Andalusia and three types of rural tourism were identified. Peripheral tourism, overwhelmingly domestic in character, is correlated significantly with distance from large cities, and three distinct concentric zones were noted, in which new second homes, old second homes and rented accommodation predominate with increasing distance from the city. Non-peripheral tourism evolves in a more concentrated manner in areas remote from large cities; it is related much more strongly to the inherent characteristics of the region. Coastal hinterland tourism reflects characteristics of both the above types. Dynamic models of each type are developed by simulating the outward diffusion of tourism zones from a city or tourism nucleus.

Interviews were also held with 259 inhabitants in 19 municipalities. All these villages have an uneconomic, declining agricultural base, and tourism was seen locally as the greatest hope for the future. However, there is little evidence to suggest that tourism has benefitted the rural economy; peripheral tourism in particular can be seen as the expansion of 'urban colonialism', not rational regional development. Interviews with 25 second home owners near Seville revealed only superficial contact with the rural economy.

Given the certainty of a continued rise in rural tourism demand, the need for planning is highlighted. Specific tourism growth centres and conservation areas are suggested, as well as ways of combining tourism, agriculture and industry; however, the key to successful rural development lies in encouraging local initiative and regional identity.

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The taking of several weeks of leisure time has now become almost a right in all income groups in the more developed countries (1), where there is enough productivity to sustain leisure (2). Though Burton estimates that in Britain 75% of leisure time is spent at home (3), increasing environmental stress in urban areas has led to a spectacular increase in leisure travel with domestic tourism, in particular, moving down the social hierarchy. While the main reason behind this has undoubtedly been the increase in the standard of living of all classes of the populations of industrialised countries, writers have also emphasised a greater mobility due to a larger number of households and their greater geographic separation (4), better roads and greater car ownership (5) and a wider awareness of the countryside through the media (6). Leisure and recreation habits are, therefore, one of the most rapidly changing fields of modern life.

In 1951 only 1% of the British population had three weeks' holiday a year (7) whereas now this is the prerogative of all but a few. In France (8) it is estimated that there was an increase of 7% a year in tourism between the late 1960s and mid-1970s. In Germany, whereas only 27% of the total population took holidays in 1962, 42% did by 1971 (9).

Southern European countries, with a generally lower standard of living than France and Germany, have lagged behind in comparative statistics; for example, whereas in 1970, 88% of Swedes took holidays,

only 20% of Spaniards did so. However, they have benefitted enormously from international tourism - it has been estimated that the Mediterranean coast accounts for over 50% of international tourist movement (10). In addition, with the continuing industrialisation and rise in the standard of living in these countries, the proportion of their own populations who take holidays will also rise considerably, to levels currently experienced in France and Germany. While this study will briefly consider the place of international coastal tourism in the economy of its area of study, Andalusia, it will be concentrating on the rise of domestic tourism there.

This form of tourism is rapidly increasing in many areas previously unchanged by modern development, in a generally unplanned and spontaneous manner. While one study indicates that the number of Spanish tourists has recently been increasing in the popular international resorts of the Costa del Sol (11), the main thrust of Spanish domestic tourism has been to rural areas. This trend partly relates to a return by urban immigrants to their rural origins, and is also very much explained by the high density of population and high summer temperatures experienced in Spanish cities. This study will take a wide-ranging view of domestic tourism in rural areas of Andalusia (Part 2) then consider the relationships between this and the population and rural economy of these regions (Part 3) and end by suggesting how rural tourism may best be integrated in such areas, by drawing on a wide range of case studies and planning literature. But firstly, this type of tourism will be discussed in a theoretical framework, and its importance relative to other types of tourism in Andalusia will be considered (Part 1).

Scope of past studies of tourism

In both academic and official circles, domestic tourism has been comparatively neglected in favour of the more spectacular patterns and consequences of international tourism. Here, economists and geographers

have concerned themselves with the movements of people and income from generally richer to poorer countries; and also, international tourism is the most capitalised tourism type, so has received the most attention from governments and entrepreneurs alike. Domestic tourism has grown in a more sporadic, dispersed manner, but in many countries involves as many, if not more, people than international tourism and covers larger areas. Furthermore, it is spreading in regions little affected by international tourism and is beginning to represent a significant flow of funds to peripheral regions.

The concentration of scholars on international tourism can partially be explained by data availability. A pioneering study of Spanish domestic tourism by the Instituto de Estudios Turísticos (12) was based entirely on surveys by its authors, who point out that most Spanish tourism statistics deal with the amount of foreign tourism in Spain or the number of Spaniards going abroad. Palomino points out that much of domestic Spanish tourism is of an informal nature, and is not reflected in the official statistics which claim to give an overall view of the country's tourism. The largest categories here would be second homes and families visiting relatives (usually emigrants returning to their place of origin for the summer).

For this reason alone, then, one could say that past studies tend to lack a total view of domestic tourism (13). Furthermore, Turnock (14) argues that geographical studies of tourism are characterised by a lack of coherence due to the wide variety of themes. Coppock and Duffield say that the definition and identification of tourism is difficult due to its heterogeneity in space and type, and according to Cooper much work on tourism and recreation has used inappropriate theories from other disciplines (15). Preau points out that tourism is often imprecisely defined - being variously treated as the act of tourism, the enterprise of tourism or the effect of tourism (16).

It would seem to be necessary to define a methodological basis

for this domestic tourism study. As a dispersed form of tourism affecting primarily the rural areas, with entrepreneurs and tourists originating mainly from urban areas, work on domestic tourism could be seen as part of the vast field of literature on town/country relationships (17), and Suárez Japon suggests that domestic tourism in Spain has opened up a new city-country dialogue; it also opens up a new value system of space (18).

White suggests that the interaction between tourists, tourism operators and locals should form the basis of such a study, and that in the past there has been a lack of emphasis on the operators (19). This may partly be because recreational facilities have until recently been seen as add-ons and were not recognised as long-term investments (20). In this study, Part 2 will consider the types and patterns of rural tourism, with special reference to the origin of enterprise. To a limited extent, the fitting of locational/dynamic models will be attempted - Rajotte suggests that location theory and recreation have not been brought together much (21). Part 3 will broaden this to look at rural tourism in the context of the whole rural economy. Here the discussions will move away from the more economic considerations of tourism location to deal with the implications of such developments in the rural economy. Environmental goals impose severe limitations on tourism development justifiable in economic terms (22). In this way, tourism can finally be fitted into the socio-economic advance of rural areas.

PART I

The Setting for this Study

1. *THE PROCESS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT*

Antecedence and growth of tourism in society

The theoretical aspects of tourism have tended to concern the general relationships between economic development and the rise in leisure time and, as a subsidiary of that, the ways in which leisure time is used by different groups. This literature is generally from psychology and sociology, and does not primarily concern the spatial or temperal development of tourism, which should fall into the sphere of historians and geographers. In these disciplines, there is no coherent theoretical basis for the study of tourism, mainly because it is not easily pigeonholed within the existing structure of the subjects. Within geography, tourism study has been mostly of the nature of regional monographs veering towards the planning and prescriptive angle. These works come especially from the French school of geography, and are tied very much to the traditional regional concept in the subject. Such literature will be reviewed in the final section of this work when planning applications are discussed. Theoretical writings on tourism in geography are sparse, though some authors have suggested models which will be reviewed here. Firstly, however, the wider field of the growth of leisure in society will be examined, inasmuch as it impinges upon the development of temporal and spatial models.

The broadest view of leisure and tourism emanates from the field of sociology and even philosophy, and sees its growth in terms of the evolution of class structures. The Spanish sociologist Trias, in an article on leisure and culture, distinguishes between the elite minority culture which gives rise to a leisure of quality and a reflexive nature,

which is separated from material concerns, and the culture of the masses which is irreflexive, vulgar and acritical (23). Furthermore, the Spanish geographer Ortega Valcarcel points out that leisure space reflects urban growth (24).

These two concepts could perhaps form the underpinnings of temporal and spatial modelling of tourism. The idea of an elite minority culture could form the first stage in a temporal model, whether of international or domestic tourism, and the city-based origin of tourism could lead to a spatial tourism model based on a distance-decay function from urban areas. However this would obviously only apply to more localised, generally domestic tourism, not international tourism, which is often organised round air transport with sun, sand and sea as the primary attractions.

Temporal Models

While much has been written of a descriptive nature on the growth of tourism over time (this will be discussed in relation to the study area at the beginning of Part 2), there has been little attempt to conceptualise these ideas, and what there is can be divided into ideas on the growth of international tourism, ideas on the growth of domestic tourism, and considerations of conditions in urban areas and the rise in the standard of living there relative to rural regions.

(i) *International Resort Tourism*

The rapidly widening literature on tourism in developing countries has perhaps contributed the most cogent 'stages' model. Noronha provides a stage model of the form of - "discovery by a few tourists; local entrepreneurs providing facilities in response; institutionalism or mass tourism with control by outside agencies" (25). This, of course, need not be inevitable, especially in the cases where the government develops completely new tourism projects, in which case the second stage and even the first may be omitted (e.g., Cancún, Mexico).

This approach really links with resort-based tourism rather than the type of tourism to be considered here, though tentative connections will later be made. It has also been applied to Mediterranean tourism: a similar stage model has been devised by Miossec, drawing above all from his work on Tunisia. Here he names the stages "pioneer, multiplication, organisation (dualism and specialisation)", and finally "saturation", in which natural space is minimised and the creation begins of the kind of phenomena which tourists are trying to flee (26). The first three stages relate to those in Noronha's scheme but the final one is an addition, and this has been dealt with in the Spanish case by Gaviria who says that the large and externally-financed developments are now often too uniform and lacking in infrastructure for tourists' interest (27).

All this can be placed in Trias' original dichotomy quoted previously - the first stage represents discovery by a small, generally rich, leisured or intellectual elite and the later ones represent a transition towards mass tourism. The saturation stage has been reached in the opinion of Gaviria on much of the Spanish coast, which has important consequences for rural tourism in Spain in that the original elites who discovered the coast have had to find inland locations to find their satisfaction. As these elites were primarily foreign, this has resulted in a sizeable foreign penetration into some of the study areas - so that this present study is not entirely limited to domestic tourism.

(ii) *Domestic, rural or mountain tourism*

The antecedence of domestic and rural tourism can also be seen in the leisure practices of a small elite in some cases. Valenzuela Rubio in his study of tourism growth in the Sierra de Guadarrama north of Madrid cites the antecedence of tourism there in pursuits of health, alpinism and education among the aristocracy of Madrid, for whom summer

in the country had become an institutional idea in the early years of this century (28). Kalaora, in an article about past and present uses of, and attitudes to the forest of Fontainebleau, sees the origin of leisure activities there in ideas of 19th century romanticism which gave birth to a new taste for nature and aesthetics, and a high society tourism which took the form of ostentatious consumption (29). Similarly Vitte describes the origin of tourism in L'Aquila province of Italy with the Club Alpin Italien in 1863 and then the popularity of the area for bourgeois second homes. With its proximity to Rome, better road access enabled tourism to increase greatly there in recent years (30).

Most of these examples come from the rural hinterlands of capital cities (e.g., Paris, Madrid and Rome, quoted above) but Andalusia, too, has lesser examples. In the 1920s and 1930s tourism in Andalusia was only the prerogative of retired aristocrats whose first destinations tended to be the large cities and art centres of Sevilla, Córdoba and Granada. The rural areas to be considered here only attracted a limited number of artists and writers (for example, Gerald Brenan in the Alpujarras) whose aim was to escape totally from their home environment and any mass tourism flows associated with it; or, as Baillon puts it, a purist upper class attitude in which mountains are held to be the source of life, where one can transcend everyday matters (31). Gallego Morrell says the antecedence of the modern, highly-capitalised winter tourism in the Sierra Nevada lay in the "discovery" of the mountains by young people from Granada in the 1950s and 1960s (32). In this case it is not necessarily the richer classes forming the first stage in the tourist penetration of an area.

At present, all industrialised nations have large seasonal migrations of people to rural areas in holiday periods. The vast majority of these flows relate to domestic tourism as the rural areas concerned

are not generally visited for their inherent interest but as a means for relaxation and practising outdoor leisure pursuits. The degree to which such domestic tourist movements have developed in each country can partially be related to the traditions developed in the first stage of tourism. Later stages have seen the democratisation of this previously exclusive phenomenon, and to some extent this would involve imitation of the patterns evolved by the elites.

Much of the literature on domestic tourism has come from French geographers and planners, perhaps reflecting what Goss describes as a French tradition of domestic tourism, based on the status of acquiring property among higher classes of French society, and the long summer holidays now offered by most employers (33). Rambaud, in a paper concerning tourism and the urbanisation of the countryside in France, considers that domestic tourism had become a mass-consumption item in France by 1963, and between 1965 and 1970 the number of second homes in France increased by 30% (34).

These trends have been reflected in other countries too. Mormont writes that in Belgium, whereas coastal domestic tourism was the main growth area in the 1950s, rural areas received most of the increase in the 1960s (35). In Ontario, according to Clout, "going up to the cottage" is now considered as a normal residential activity, set apart from "vacationing" (36). In Spain, too, many rural areas are now beginning to experience the second stage of tourism development, and according to a recent article by Bote Gómez on this theme, rural tourism in Spain now has a great quantitative and qualitative importance; he estimates that in 1973 3-4 million Spaniards over 14 had a rural holiday, and an even greater percentage of the total population under 14 did so (37). For Holy Week and at weekends, rural areas are now more popular destinations than the coast. The national periodical *Cambio 16* estimates that in 1978 25 million domestic tourists spent

533 million pesetas. The section of the Third Plan devoted to tourism has a very limited section on domestic and rural tourism - reflecting the government's concentration on large coastal tourism, but it does furnish the following figures estimating the rise of domestic tourism from 1972-1975:

Table 1. THE GROWTH OF DOMESTIC TOURISM 1972-1975

Year	Number of nights (millions)
1972	16
1973	18
1974	21
1975	24

Source: Presidencia del Gobierno, Comisaria del Plan de Desarrollo Economico y Social, *III Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social, Turismo y Información y Actividades Culturales*, p. 74.

This Spanish rural/domestic tourism has therefore grown out of what has always been a small current to the countryside, and it is characterised above all by its informal nature with 57% of participants not staying in official accommodation (39). Therefore, very few Spanish rural areas could be said to have reached the third stage of tourism development ('organisation'), in which it becomes a capitalised phenomenon - and as García-Olalla points out, it has still not reached dimensions large enough to be included in rural planning (40). Furthermore, this type of tourism represents little expenditure in the local economy and relates little to the cultural attractions of the area - in fact the *Cambio 16* article quoted above stresses the Spaniard's ignorance of the national heritage, a problem which Ministerial publicity is now trying to correct.

(iii) *Rural tourism, migration and urban growth*

The thrusting of many rural areas into popularity for tourism can mainly be explained by events in urban areas rather in the rural zones themselves. In other words, their transition through the stages of tourism occurs with very little connection to the rural economy itself. Ortega Valcârcel estimates that 95% of domestic tourism in Spain originates from urban areas, and that 30-40% of the entire Spanish urban population go away on holiday, whereas the same proportion for Madrid has been calculated as 63% (41). Of this 63%, 95% took their holidays in Spain, reflecting the favourable climate and unfavourable exchange rates there.

This reflects the popularity of rural areas as an alternative to city life, and with urban growth this alternative becomes ever more necessary as cities grow and free time increases. Also, many Spaniards still do not have holidays - the IET survey revealed that only 25% of the Madrid working class went away on holiday in 1970 - so there is every reason to suppose that this phenomenon will increase considerably. The high density of urban living in countries such as France and Spain, particularly in the largest cities, where a vast proportion of people in all income groups tend to live in blocks of flats, has further contributed to this need to 'escape'. This relationship between rural tourism and urban population density does not follow in all cases, however; Burton suggests that suburban people living at relatively lower population densities are the greatest recreationists. This conclusion is brought out in many studies of British and North American cities recreation patterns.

Therefore, while no reliable relationship can be measured between urban population density and rural tourism, it is clear that the growth of the latter has been driven forward by urbanisation, and that larger cities have proportionally larger percentages of their

populations taking vacations. A further factor which must be mentioned, particularly with reference to Spain, is the annual return of emigrants to rural areas from the large cities; this movement, clearly of an informal nature, has formed the basis for domestic tourism in large depopulated parts of the country. Perhaps, also, the reaching of the 'saturation' stage of tourism on large stretches of the Mediterranean coastline has caused many people who previously went to the coast to change to rural areas in their search for the unspoilt.

Spatial Models

There has been little bringing together of recreation and tourism work with the ideas developed in regional science and location theory, though a useful structure is suggested by Rajotte in an article concerning domestic tourism and recreation in Quebec (43). The most easily conceptualised spatial model is one of the concentric zones around large cities, which he defined as recreation zones. Conversely, 'tourism' does not form such well-defined spatial patterns, being more nodal in character.

This distinction, though perhaps not rigidly defining the difference between 'recreation' and 'tourism', as Rajotte suggests, is important in that it stresses that the mere term 'tourist' is inadequate, as there are a variety of aims involved in vacations. A similar distinction is used by Ortega Valcárcel in his survey of second homes in Spain - he distinguishes 'espacios periféricos' and 'espacios no periféricos', the former being the recreation space of an individual city, whose tourism patterns are a result of forces there. The examples of the Sierra de Guadarrama of Madrid, and of the Aquila province in Italy, as well as part of the Sierra Morena to be studied here, fall into this category. Distance-decay relationships can be found for numbers of second homes in such areas; the main form

of transport is the car, and often trips are made each weekend, so obviously journey time must be minimised. In some places this form of rural tourism has been taken a stage further with the second homes becoming first homes. Mongensen describes this phenomenon on the east coast of Zealand (Denmark) which is easily reached from Copenhagen (44). Also, in this study, the same phenomenon is occurring in the small villages of the Aljarafe plateau to the west of Sevilla. In these cases, the definitions 'tourism' and even 'rural' are becoming debatable; however, none of the case studies to be made here fall into this category. This distance-decay model will be taken further in the discussion of tourism in the Sierra Morena in Part 2.

The size of the concentric tourism zones would be expected to be geometrically larger the bigger the city because space and life quality tend to decrease in cities above a certain size. In a questionnaire survey of people in different city-size groups, concerning which aspects of their environment they thought most important, those in larger cities rated their rural surroundings to be of greater importance than those in smaller ones (45). Thus, one could hypothesise a geometric rather than a simply arithmetic relationship between city size and size of concentric recreation zones.

The second type of tourism mentioned by Rajotte takes a nodal form and relates to particular centres of attraction far removed from the influence of any one urban area. Most of the case study areas to be analysed here fall into this category. In the next section a classification of tourism types will be attempted for Andalusia. Meanwhile, a distinction will be made between three types of spatial model, following Ortega Valcárcel: peripheral, non-peripheral and coastal. The latter, too, has an influence in some of the villages in the study areas, which are beginning to receive tourism in the form of coastal day trips - obviously in this case distance from the coast is

the main controlling factor.

The above discussion permits a basic classification of tourism according to spatial and temporal models, and the treatment of the case studies in Part 2 will be made with this framework in mind. The table below summarises the spatial and temporal models, attempts to bring them together, and mentions examples of each stage from Spain:

Table 2. STAGES OF SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL MODELS OF TOURISM, WITH EXAMPLES

Temporal Model	Spatial Model		
	Non-Peripheral	Peripheral	Coastal
Pioneer	discovery by outsiders	individual house renovation	discovery by outsiders
Organisation	small local entrepreneurs	*casas de labranza*	small scale entrepreneurs
Specialisation	Spa resorts	estates of chalets	mass tourism
Saturation	some Alpine ski resorts	urbanisation of countryside	continuous development

Source: Own elaboration; spatial model from J. Ortega Valcárcel, *Residencias secundarias y espacio del ocio en España*, Departamento de Geografía, Universidad de Valladolid, 1975, p. 27; temporal model from J-M Miossec, "Un Modèle de l'espace touristique, *L'Espace Géographique*, no. 1, 1977, pp. 41-48; p. 46.

NOTE: This table is reproduced, as Table 17 in Part 2, where the actual case studies made in Part 3 are inserted.

2. *THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN SPANISH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL CHANGE*

In this study, the aim throughout is to treat tourism in the context of the rural economy of the regions to be examined. Therefore, having looked at tourism in the study areas and relating it to the conceptual framework already outlined, in Part 3 the current problems of the rural economy will be dealt with and the effects of tourism there studied.

Before embarking on the detailed case studies, the importance of tourism in the national economy of Spain and in the regional economy of Andalusia will be examined - Andalusia being one of the poorer regions of Spain and at the same time one with one of the greatest proportions of tourism. The purpose of this section is to show how Spanish government policy has consistently favoured the establishment of international coastal tourism, and how this has contributed to the economic development of Andalusia in particular. Then a comparison will be made between international and domestic tourism and their economic effects, accompanied by an analysis of the distribution of tourist accommodation in Andalusia as a whole.

Contribution of tourism to the Spanish economy

The importance of tourism to the majority of Mediterranean countries, whose coastlines account for 50% of the world's tourism according to Bornet (46), cannot be overstressed. According to Palomino, in 1970 three million Spanish people lived off tourism, and in that year the direct input into the economy was of the order of 1600 million pesetas. As early as 1964 according to Naylon (47), the number of tourists visiting Spain was half the country's native population, and tourism has provided the bulk of finance for development plans. Indeed, tourism is one of the largest and fastest increasing

branches of activity in most developed countries - it contributes more to the U.K. balance of payments than any other (48). But recently, the recession of the 1970s has led to a halting in the rapid increase in tourism or even a decrease in demand in some cases. This has led to the realisation that Spain's balance of payments is excessively dependent on tourism - the greater quantity of this being international tourism, which has been most susceptible to recession, when it is often substituted by domestic tourism.

Contribution of tourism to the Andalusian economy and its spatial distribution

It is on the regional scale rather than the national where the economic importance of international tourism, and the accompanying recession, are most felt, and perhaps nowhere more so than on the Costa del Sol in Andalusia. Andalusia has been largely unaffected by the industrial boom experienced in Spain in the last thirty years, so that income from tourism has been especially significant. In fact, as tourism is a labour-intensive activity, and as the consumer travels to the source of supply (unlike any other major economic activity), tourism has a more diffuse employment and investment pattern and can be an important motor of development in peripheral regions and countries. For example, in the Western States of the U.S.A., recreation is an important proportion of economic activity (49); it tends to concentrate in areas of low industrial employment and thus compromises to some extent the decision to concentrate investment. Being labour intensive, it could be one of the most effective redistributive tools.

The early growth of seaside tourism in Britain tended to concentrate in towns which had not experienced growth in industrial or port functions (50). Similarly, before tourism, the Costa del Sol (except for Málaga) was a sparsely-populated coastline with a number of poor fishing villages. While the economic effect of tourism in Spain

has mainly been considered in terms of the balance of payments, it has also played a role in correcting regional imbalances; the present population of tourist areas is often as dense as that of industrial areas in Spain (51).

The table below shows the importance of tourism in the Andalusian economy in relation to that of Spain as a whole, the rate at which it has increased in both cases, and the proportion of the total output accounted for by tourism:

Table 3. INCREASE IN INCOME GENERATED BY TOURISM 1962-1973: SPAIN AND ANDALUSIA

	Total Income Generated		Income Generated: Tourism		
	Millions of pesetas (1)	Index	Millions of pesetas (2)	Index	(2) as % of (1)
Spain					
1962	752,931	100	32,064	100	4.2
1973	3,730,202	495	176,244	549.7	4.7
Andalusia					
1962	98,353	100	3,803	100	3.9
1973	474,693	482	22,398	589	4.7

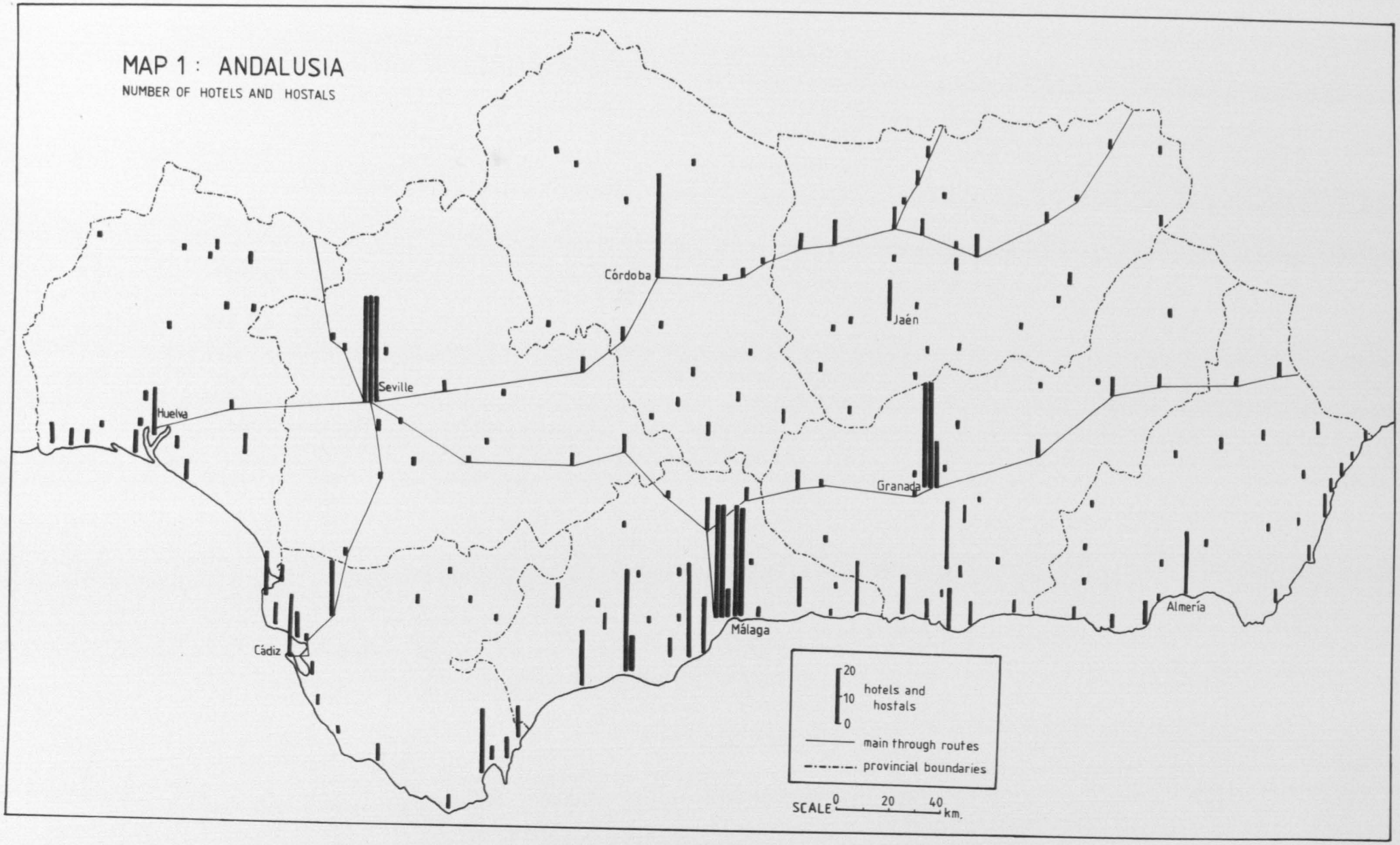
Source: Cámaras de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Andalucía, *Estructura Económica de Andalucía*, Jaén, 1978; p. 694 and p. 696.

The table shows that whereas tourism formed the same percentage of total GDP in 1973 in Andalusia and in Spain as a whole, the growth of tourism in Andalusia had been marginally greater since 1962 (when it was a smaller percentage of GDP than the national average). Therefore, tourism growth in Andalusia has been more dynamic than in Spain as a whole, though growth overall has been less rapid.

Having established this, the pattern of tourism within Andalusia

will be examined, using data on a municipal level and provincial totals. Map 1 shows the distribution of tourism for the whole of Andalusia, measured by number of hotels or *hostals* as defined by the Ministerio de Comercio y Turismo and listed in the 1979 edition of the *Guía de Hoteles*. Obviously this map only shows one aspect of tourism - it does not show the large amount of accommodation in apartments and camping sites, nor does it consider second homes which are important in some of the study areas here as well as on the coast. However, it is the best overall estimate that can be made for the whole of Andalusia, there being no reliable overall data on second homes and rented property. The addition of official data on apartments and camping sites would bring out the dominance of the coast even more, as about 99% of these types of accommodation are to be found there.

A quantitative breakdown has been made of the data mapped in Map 1, in order to classify it into six 'types' of tourism. These are: coastal, city or large town (over 25,000), main roads (with hotels for stopovers in transit), spa resorts, mountain areas and others. Each municipality has only been put into the first class to which it applies in the order specified above. A dataset containing three indices of tourism, one being that used in Map 1, another being the 'índice turístico' calculated by the Banco Español de Crédito, and the third coming from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística's publication *Localización geográfica de los alojamientos hoteleros*, has been drawn up for each municipality in Andalusia with a score other than zero on one or more of these indices. This dataset also includes the income per head of each municipality in 1975, its 1975 population and an index of population change since 1950. Finally, there is a breakdown of tourist accommodation by different classes of hotels based on information derived from the Delegaciones Provinciales de


MAP 1 : ANDALUSIA
NUMBER OF HOTELS AND HOSTALS
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
Málaga
Almería
Cádiz
20
10
0
hotels and hostals
main through routes
provincial boundaries
SCALE 0 20 40 km.

Turismo in each of the eight provincial capitals, but this is not comparable between one province and another as the data provided varies in completeness from one province to another. The dataset is summarised in Appendix 6.

Using the breakdown and correlation functions of the SPSS package program, this dataset has been analysed to point out various basic characteristics of tourism in Andalusia. The total number of hotels, and the other two indices of tourism, have been broken down into the six categories mentioned above in Table 4 below and the mean income per head population and population change are also shown.

These figures show, above all, how tourism is concentrated on the coast, and secondly how it is also concentrated in cities and large towns. Furthermore, the figures suggest that tourism is correlated very much with population growth in Andalusia. Clearly, the richest class is the coastal municipalities, and the role of tourism in bringing about this situation is obvious, as the coast has little industrial development, except in the provincial capitals, and limited agricultural wealth. The second richest and second fastest-growing class shown is cities and large towns which account for 91.7% of the remaining tourist index. Within this category a very large proportion (85.6%) is accounted for by the four inland provincial capitals, which are some of Spain's greatest historical and cultural tourist attractions (Sevilla, Granada, Córdoba and, to a much lesser extent, Jaén).

The rest of the classes account for only 14.2%, 2.3% and 6.9% of the three indices respectively. Most of this can be accounted for in two special categories: firstly, hotels by the side of main roads which cater mostly for stopovers in transit, and secondly spa towns where unusual concentration of hotels occur in otherwise non-touristic regions (three of these - Tolox, Lanjarón and Carratraca, occur in areas to be studied here). Only half of the remaining 5% can be accounted for by mountain-area tourism. The other half is spread

Table 4. TOURISM, POPULATION AND INCOME CHARACTERISTICS OF ANDALUSIA

Type of resort (1)	Number of municipalities	Number of hotels (2)	Tourism Index (3)	Number of beds (4)
Coast	53	609	9,179	18,535
Cities & Towns	49	402	3,278	9,156
Main roads	49	73	132	653
Spa resorts	6	34	70	946
Upland	57	29	65	234
Others	85	31	30	209
Totals	299	1,178	12,755	29,733

Type of resort (1)	Mean income per head (5)	Mean 1975 population (6)	Mean population change 1950-75 (6)
Coast	127,000 pts.	32,189	+ 5.49%
Cities & Towns	96 "	43,356	+ 2.96%
Main roads	80 "	8,559	+ 1.00%
Spa resorts	82 "	3,361	- 0.17%
Upland	74 "	3,281	- 1.60%
Others	78 "	4,663	- 1.30%
Averages	89 "	16,232	+ 1.28%

Sources: (1) Own elaboration: (2) Ministerio de Información y Turismo, *Guía de Hoteles*, 1979: (3) Banco Español de Credito, *Anuario del Mercado Español*, 1973: (4) Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Localisacion Geografica de los Alojamientos Hoteleros*, 1977: (5) Banco de Bilbao, *Renta Nacional de España*: (6) Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, *Censo de la Población de España*, 1950; *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes*, 1975.

diffusely in small towns in lowland Andalusia.

In other words, with the exception of the ski resort development in the Sierra Nevada and the spa resorts, there is hardly any tourism as defined by these indices in rural Andalusia, because the main forms of tourism to be found there are of an informal nature and are not recorded in official statistics. There has been no overall attempt to quantify this tourism and, as a result, treatment of it by writers on Spanish tourism has been limited to a few exploratory descriptive and prescriptive articles.

Most writers on tourism in Andalusia deal with coastal tourism and its effects. Villegas Molina's survey of Andalusia states that the Costa del Sol of Málaga accounts for 50% of hotels, *hostals* and campsites for the whole of Andalusia (51). Mignon estimates that there are 65,000 jobs in tourism on that coast, and that since the inception of tourism on a large scale the population has risen from 50,000 to 150,000 (52). The employment structure there is very unbalanced between sectors, as may be expected - 60% of the labour force of the Costa del Sol municipalities are in tertiary activities. According to a survey by PADIMA, tourism is the second most important sector in the province of Málaga, accounting for 15% of production, or 22% if indirect production is added (53).

Tourism has therefore revolutionised the economy of the Costa del Sol of Málaga since its inception in the late 1950s. Towards the end of the 1960s it began to spread to other Andalusian coastal areas, and writers have been optimistic about it becoming established as a motor of development in these formerly remote regions. A report by the Sindicato de Almería (1970) refers to tourism as the 'trampoline for development' where other possibilities are scarce (54). A recent survey by the Cámara de Comercio de Andalucía (1979) states that the most rapid growth in tourism in the 1970s has in fact occurred on the coast of the

provinces of Huelva and Almería. By the end of the 1970s it could safely be said that no coastal municipality in Andalusia has been unaffected by the tourist boom (55).

But in recent years, this boom has shown signs of receding and the tourist industry has suffered considerable problems. In addition, it has not integrated as much as was hoped into the wider provincial economies of Andalusia, and many regions remain virtually unaffected by it. The final part of this introductory section will look for the reasons behind these occurrences and compare the development of this tourism, largely international, with the general characteristics of domestic tourism, and thereby draw up a plan of requirements for a study of Andalusian rural tourism.

3. *PRESENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPANISH TOURISM INDUSTRY AND ITS EFFECTS*

Coastal Tourism Enterprise: concentration, overdependence and decline

Not only is Andalusian tourism highly concentrated on the coast, but it is also highly international in character, and to a large extent controlled by interests outside Andalusia. In this way it has developed in a manner apart from the local economy, so that some local writers go so far as to say that "tourism has caused a division in our economic history" (56), and Siguán says that tourism growth on the coast has accentuated disparities between regions within Andalusia (this is graphically illustrated in figures on population change in eastern Andalusian provinces, where the coastal provinces have increased and the inland ones decreased in population. The highest increase is Málaga (11.9%) and the biggest decrease is Jaén (-10.2%)(57)). The concentration of tourism is most starkly seen within the province of Málaga, which has benefitted more than any other province from it. A study by the

Banco del Norte estimates that 87% of the municipalities in the province have some of the lowest levels of income per head in the whole of Spain - equivalent to those in many Third World countries - so clearly tourism has been very limited in its spatial effects.

Torres has referred to the Costa del Sol as a 'disintegrated dual economy', in that the tourist development has integrated little into the provincial, largely agricultural economy, and often the two are in direct competition for land on the same narrow coastal strip, with tourism usually winning (58). To some extent, though, tourism has made use of covered unemployment in agriculture in these inland municipalities, as will be seen later; a few of those nearer the coast have virtually become dormitory suburbs for the large resorts and now reflect a higher degree of prosperity.

Thus, though tourism has been the most dynamic activity in Andalusia over the last twenty years, it has left much of the region unaffected. The obvious reason for this is that the main attractions for most tourists in Spain are sun, sand and sea, but another vital factor is the overwhelmingly international nature of the Spanish tourist boom, both in terms of its enterprise and its principal custom. This could be traced right back to the beginning of the 'boom' in the case of the Costa del Sol, with the 'discovery' of the fishing villages there by the English population of Gibraltar, representing stage 1 in the temporal process of tourist development already outlined. Mignon estimates that of the 2.5 - 3 million visitors who come to the Costa del Sol every year, about three quarters are foreign (59).

The subsequent stages of multiplication and organisation have been dominated by outside interests, with (according to Esteve (60)) other governments dominating the Spanish tourism ministry, tour operators dominating hotels and tourists dominating tourism workers. While there has been large employment of people not only from the coastal

towns but also of migrants from inland towns and villages, the ownership and control of the tourism enterprise has remained consistently outside Andalusia and often outside Spain. The profits from tourism are rarely ploughed back to encourage local activities.

The international character of Spanish tourism has recently created severe problems in the industry, firstly in the sense that decision making is not in the hands of local authorities, and therefore they cannot control it so that it follows the best possible course for the integrated advance of the local economy. Secondly, it has meant that the effects of the recession of the 1970s have been serious: Torres states that tourism on the Costa del Sol is one of the sectors which is most sensitive to recession. The 1975 report by the Organisación Sindical de Málaga on tourism concluded that it had been a bad year - the main problems being oversupply of accommodation, steep rises in hotel prices and labour costs, a decline in foreign visitors, especially North Americans, and less average spending per head by the tourists who came (61).

Both of these factors have led to considerable criticism by Spanish authors of what had earlier been seen as "el milagro turístico" (the tourism miracle) by Palomino and many other Spanish sources (62). The 1970s recession hit the Costa del Sol severely and the effect has been felt most strongly in the construction industry, spreading the impact to the dormitory villages and sources of emigration inland, where most of the construction workers came from. The effects of the recession have perhaps been felt most severely in these places.

The recession possibly served to aggravate and bring to a head a situation which was worsening due to other factors as far as balanced development of Andalusia was concerned. The industrialisation and general rise in the standard of living in Spain during the last two

decades has been the most rapid in Europe, and with this the costs incurred by international tour operators in Spanish tourism enterprise have risen dramatically: no longer can they exploit Spanish tourism possibilities the way Third World countries are exploited by foreign capital. In fact (according to Benavente) the Spanish government has fixed prices at an underdeveloped country level until recently, in order to encourage foreign tourism (63). Now that Spain's standard of living nears that of northern European countries, the latter's tour operators have found cheaper destinations, such as Yugoslavia or Greece, or further afield on the African coast.

A further criticism of Spanish coastal development has been made by many Spanish authors, and can also be related to the foreign enterprises who tend to dictate the course of development there. Faced with increasing costs and oncoming recession, they have had to place their overall policy emphasis on keeping the price of their package tours to a minimum, both by supplying the goods in bulk and by reducing the quality. This policy has certainly kept up the number of tourists visiting Spain (in 1973 there were 34.6 million according to Villegas Molina (64)), but has meant that the appeal is reduced to the lower end of the tourism market which some authors have referred to as 'bargain basement' tourism. Such tourism involves highly-organised charter flights and package tours, and little supplementary expenditure by tourists at their destinations, where the money would be more likely to penetrate the local economy. Also, it had developed on a large scale during the boom, but with minimal attention to service provision (sewage, lighting, water, waste disposal) by the foreign entrepreneurs, causing considerable planning problems in the larger centres such as Torremolinos, which receives 1-2 million visitors in summer (65).

Referring back to the temporal model of tourism development,

it could be said that the saturation point has been reached in the larger resorts. At the same time, the previous stage of specialisation has not been passed through, except perhaps in some of the more exclusive resorts, but instead the initial process of multiplication has got out of hand. Villegas Molina and other authors argue for a more selective tourism, bringing more money per head into the local economy (66).

Domestic and Rural Tourism Characteristics in Spain

Nearly all the rural, inland municipalities of Andalusia do not have tourism as a major economic activity, but several factors, mostly extraneous to the rural economies of the areas affected, are now contributing to an unprecedented rise in tourism there, both of a domestic and an international nature. The rise in domestic rural tourism has been the most spectacular, being related to the rapid rise in the standard of living in Andalusia, allied to higher levels of car ownership, longer holiday entitlements, and more urbanisation leading to a greater need to escape from city life. International tourism has affected rural areas on a more limited scale. Certain villages near the coast have for the past twenty years or more received small influxes of foreign tourists on day trips, but now a more stable, permanent international presence has occurred in some of these. The phenomenon has been called 'anti-tourism' by Gaviria - a colonisation of interior villages by foreign artists, writers or retired people, who have often moved there from the coast, which has become too urbanised for them (67). Similarly, many Spanish visitors to rural areas often used to go to the coast and have moved for the same reason.

It would be incorrect to say that Spanish domestic tourism is confined to inland areas, even more than to say international tourism is restricted to the coast. In fact, the artificial keeping down of

prices by international tour operators has benefitted Spanish holidaymakers as well, as hotel prices have risen slower than the general rise in the standard of living. During the crisis of international tourism, Torres reported that the gap in demand had largely been filled with domestic tourists, and that since the crisis tourism had been recovering well, with the rise in domestic tourism on the Costa del Sol being spectacular (68). Palomino in 1970 estimated that 25% of the visitors to the Costa del Sol were Spanish; he also stated that 48% of the flights and 42% of the passengers passing through Málaga airport were those of Iberia and Aviaco, the domestic airlines (69). Therefore, the rise in domestic tourism in Spain has had a profound effect both on the established coastal tourist industry and on many interior areas which previously held little or no tourist attraction. This study, therefore, while being primarily concerned with domestic tourism, will also consider international tourism where it has impinged upon the study areas; but it will not consider coastal domestic tourism. Secondly, the rural areas considered are all mountain or upland regions; in Andalusia rural tourism is almost exclusively restricted to these because of their cooler summer temperatures and, to a lesser extent, their scenic attraction.

Apart from the fact that it is much more domestic in character, rural tourism differs in several other important ways from coastal tourism. Valarché, in a consideration of domestic rural tourism in France, says that it is "one of the most resistant sectors to recession" (70), this statement is in direct contrast to that of Torres, quoted earlier when he said that Costa del Sol tourism was one of the most sensitive sectors (71). In a recession, international tourism is often substituted by domestic tourism as a cheaper alternative, so the latter may even have increased.

Although the rise in domestic tourism has been a more steady one, relatively unaffected by external economic factors, it has entered rural areas in an unplanned manner as a deficient and unintegrated resource use (72). As in coastal tourism, the enterprise has largely come from outside the areas themselves, though rather than being from large firms of tour-operators based abroad it has come mainly from town-based individuals, buying or renting property for their family holidays. An important exception to this is initiatives made by returning emigrants in their place of origin.

Rural tourism in Spain is also more seasonal in character than coastal tourism, and this is an important reason why large-scale enterprise has only become involved to a limited extent. It is rarely an economic proposition to build large tourist facilities in a rural area where the entire tourist season is concentrated into the two summer months when Spanish firms traditionally grant leave. Also, rural tourism is considerably more dispersed and few places exert enough attraction for large scale development. An exception to this seasonality is found in those municipalities nearest to large cities, where weekend, Christmas and Easter tourism occurs as well as summer tourism, and several city-based property enterprises have built estates of chalets.

The informality of rural tourism is the main difference, however. A study of domestic tourism by a sample of Madrid's population revealed that 57% of the sample did not go to formal accommodation but to friends' or relatives' homes or to their own second homes (73). Also, this tourism is a largely sedentary form (A survey by IET showed that over 50% go to one fixed place (74)) and the activities carried out are unrelated to the surrounding environment. In summary, therefore, rural tourism, like coastal tourism, is poorly integrated with the local economy, though the reasons for this are different. One common

strand relating all these arguments is the influence of Spanish government policy on the progress of tourism. This will be considered in the next section.

Institutional themes in Andalusian tourism development

The process of internationally-dominated coastal tourism can be related to the emphasis of the Franco administration on market forces and efficiency. The income from tourism was needed to cure the deficit in the balance of payments, to finance technological improvement and to put on a good face abroad (75), and imperialism was therefore let in to exploit Spain as an underdeveloped country. Foreign concessions were constantly granted and planning kept to a minimum to keep prices down. The public sector did not follow up the initiatives made by the private sector, leading to a lack of basic services in the tourist resorts. Gaviria sees Spanish tourism as inseparable from urbanisation, with rural areas being unable to generate either the demand or the supply; public initiative has not provided the impetus to make rural areas tourism propositions for private investment (though the government's establishment of a string of *paradores* (hotels) in inland areas is a notable exception)(76). Apart from this, rural tourism does not receive special mention in the volume of the second Plan (1967) on tourism (77). Publicity, too, according to an article in the magazine *Cambio 16* has been too sun-dominated, though recent propaganda by the Ministerio de Comercio y Turismo goes against this trend (78).

Tourism policy, therefore, has not led to the integrated development of the coastal regions concerned and has led to very little spread into the interior. Indeed, Lewis and Williams, writing about Portuguese policy, say that the government tried to keep tourism separate from local culture in order not to disrupt it (79). This sort of international tourism contains very little 'local colour' and does not

stimulate local craft industries (Gaviria cites an absurd case in which hotels in Benidorm did not provide orange juice despite oranges being the main crop in the surrounding ares (80)). According to Rodríguez Alcaide and Titos Moreno, Andalusia imports 50% of its resources while only 37% of its produce is exported. Tourism has done little to remedy this situation (81).

While rural areas have been neglected in tourism planning, they have also lost out in other aspects of planning, which has been very urban-industrial oriented, severely neglecting agriculture and traditional rural industries. The lack of capitalisation of Andalusian agriculture is statistically very striking. Salas quotes the highest income per hectare of any Spanish province as 20,389 pesetas/hectare (Tenerife), whereas that of Jaén in Andalusia is only 1,788 (82). Similarly, the consumption of agricultural fuel in Valladolid province is greater than that in the whole of Andalusia, despite the fact that Seville alone is the second largest agricultural producer in Spain. All this means that Andalusian rural areas do not possess an adequate planning base to cope with the new problems caused by the sudden rapid growth of tourism there. Palomino blames tourism blight on the coast on unprepared local authorities, central government and speculation; the same is beginning to occur in several rural areas too (83). Siguán points out that of 1,020 municipalities which had been covered by *Planes de Ordenación* (land use plans) in Spain by 1970, all had been in the northern half of Spain except for the Campo de Gibraltar, which was developed more for strategic reasons anyway (84).

Furthermore, rural Andalusia does not have the administrative structure nor the necessary consciousness to cope effectively with the present increase in rural tourism to the benefit of the rural economy, which takes the form of an open-ended metropolitan demand being placed on a finite local supply. One problem here is the excessively small

size of municipalities. Pezzi Cereto cites the case of the province of Granada where, in 1960, 107 out of 198 municipalities had under 2,000 inhabitants and their town halls could not afford to provide even the basic needs of the community (85). In 1970, with further depopulation, this situation had become even worse, with 117 municipalities out of 194 having less than 2,000 inhabitants. While a few had merged, local rivalries made this very difficult to enforce.

Secondly, socio-political attitudes in rural Andalusia tend to be against development, with apathy in public participation and submission to authority (86). This is perhaps the biggest problem in planting integrated schemes for rural tourism development, and it stems from the consistent neglect by central and provincial authorities of rural areas, leading to a mistrust of any further initiatives from that direction. Whereas in urban areas industrial growth has led to the creation of an innovative white-collar middle class, there is no such group in Andalusian rural society. However, as shall be seen, some hope for innovation lies in groups of emigrants from some areas who have acquired sufficient capital to innovate and who, if given the chance, would return to their place of origin. Siguán reckons that most Andalusian emigrants never fully integrate in the cities to which they move, and that they only moved because their precarious position as *jornaleros* (workers employed on a day-to-day basis) forced them to (87).

Except for a few small initiatives by returning emigrants, the only enterprise in tourism in rural areas has come from cities, but the efficacy of these initiatives has been severely compromised by the inefficient, bureaucratic structure of government. The problem there is control by a large number of ministries, each with absolute power in its own sphere - a situation which has obviously hindered balanced development.

In addition, local authorities in Spain have had to function according to the national interest, which has also stifled local initiatives. In addition, regional plans have often not been effective because they were planned as part of a non-existent National Plan. Nieto cites the case of the 1956 laws on land legislation which were passed for various provinces and municipalities, but no overall national plan existed within which to put these into effect (88).

Such initiatives as there have been in tourism from the central government have often been inappropriate, incomplete or too late. Nieto says of the Balearic Islands that "when the government classified the municipalities by the ones most affected by tourism, there was little left to save" (89). Also, this plan only considered tourism, with no mention whatever of agriculture. The first tourism plan for a mountain area in Andalusia, that for the Sierra Nevada, plans large modern ski resorts which do not provide benefits for the villages themselves (89). Other ministries' work on mountain regions, such as the IRYDA plan for the Sierra Norte de Sevilla, do not contain any mention of tourism. None of these plans provide for integrated rural development.

A comparison of tourism development in mountain areas of Austria and Switzerland is striking. In these countries the administrative structure is much more favourable to rural advancement, and an integrated tourism/agricultural system has evolved in Alpine villages. A further problem in Andalusian upland regions is that their original rural economy is not a balanced one, as it is in the Alps, but a system unadapted to its environment from the outset. This has occurred due to complex historical reasons that will be briefly explained in Part 3.1.

4. *SCOPE OF THIS STUDY*

The rest of this work is divided into three parts, with the following needs, as suggested by the above, in mind:

Part 2 - To measure and describe rural tourism and its participants. Very little is known about interior tourism in Spain (90) and in this context the term 'tourist' is inadequate - there is a variety of types and aims involved (91).

Part 3 - To study the integration and effects of tourism in the rural economy, and the attitudes of local people towards it.

Part 4 - To suggest policies for the successful integration of tourism in the rural economy. As seen from the consideration of coastal tourism, it in no way guarantees balanced development, and in the fragile declining rural economy of Andalusia, it is vital that the planning mistakes made on the coast are not repeated and that the local people are involved in tourism as much as possible.

NOTES - Preface

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2 Nash (1977), p. 15

3 Burton (1967)

4 Law and Warnes (1980)

5 Naylon (1967), p. 34

6 White, J. (1974), p. 216

7 White, J. (1974), p. 218

8 De Marien and Titus (1971), p. 14

9 Schnell (1975), p. 74

10 Bornet (1974), p. 14

11 Organización Sindical de Málaga (1975), p. 7

12 Instituto de Estudios Turísticos (1977b), p. 357

13 Rogers (1977), p. 85

14 Turnock (1977), p. 51

15 Coppock and Duffield (1975),p. 27

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16 Preau (1973), p. 565

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18 Suárez Japón (1979), p. 86 (quotes from R. Lignon, "Une Nouvelle forme de dialogue ville-campagne", *Révue de Options Mediterranées*, 3, 1970, pp. 11-12)

19 White, P.E. (1974), p. 3

20 Kujawa (1976), p. 21

21 Rajotte (1975), p. 44

22 Haywood (1975), p. 97

23 Trias (1971), p. 67

24 Ortega Valcárcel (1975), p. 19

25 De Kadt (1976), p. 5 (quotes from R. Noronha, *Social and Cultural Dimensions of Tourism: a review of the literature in English*, World Bank Working Paper, 1977, section 4)

26 Miossec (1977), p. 42

27 Gaviria (1978), p. 54

28 Valenzuela Rubio (1977), p. 225

29 Kalaora (1979)

30 Vitte (1975), p. 513

31 Baillon (1980)

32 Gallego Morell (1977), p. 80

33 Goss (1973), p. 451

34 Rambaud (1967), p. 312

De Marien and Titus (1971), p. 16

35 Mormont (1979), p. 33

36 Clout (1974), p. 104

37 Bote Gómez (1980)

38 Cambio 16 (1978) p. 66

39 Instituto Español de Turismo (1977a), p. 342

40 García-Olalla (1979), p. 2

41 Ortega Valcárcel (1975), p. 53

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42 Burton (1967)

43 Rajotte (1975), p. 44

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44 Mogensen (1979)

45 Flament (1975), p. 615

46 Bornet (1974), p. 7

47 Palomino (1972), p. 17

Naylon (1967), p. 24

48 Midland Bank (1973), p. 8

49 Kujawa (1976), p. 18

50 Farrant (1980)

51 Villegas Molina (1975) p. 114

52 Mignon (1979), p. 66 and p. 65

53 PADIMA (1978), p. 243

54 Organización Sindical de Almería (1970), p. 282

55 Cámara de Comercio de Andalucía (1978), pp. 697-8

56 Suárez Japón (1979), p. 87

57 Siguán (1972)

Villegas Molina (1975), p. 118

58 Banco del Norte (1972)

Torres and Cuadrado (1970), p. 270

59 Mignon (1979), p. 59

60 Esteve (1979), p. 9

61 Organización Sindical de Málage (1976), p. 11

62 Palomino (1972), p. 76

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68 Torres and Cuadrado (1970), p. 242

69 Palomino (1972)

70 Valarché (1979), p. 1

71 Torres and Cuadrado (1970), p. 268

72 Abreu y Pidal (1980)

73 Instituto de Estudios Turísticos (1971), p. 100

74 Instituto Español de Turismo (1977b), p. 361

75 Esteve (1979), p. 6

76 Gaviria (1978), p. 15

77 Presidencia del Gobierno (1964), pp. 58-62 - discusses different forms of tourism in Spain, but does not isolate rural tourism as a separate category

78 Cambio 16 (1978)

Examples of the Ministry of Tourism's publicity to this end include their advertisements in English magazines with the caption 'Discover the real Spain" and other in Spanish publications with the title "España, sin ir más lejos" (i.e. without going abroad).

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83 Palomino (1972), p. 19

84 Siguán (1972), p. 56

85 Pezzi Cereto (1973), p. 716

86 Lopez Ontiveros (1969), p. 676 (quotes from M. Ramirez, *Algunas consideraciones sobre actitudes socio-politicas en Andalucía*)

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90 Ortega Valcarcel (1975), p. 9

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PART 2

Nature of Andalusian Rural Tourism

PART 2

1. *ASPECTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF RURAL TOURISM*

Definitions and nature of rural tourism

Although writings on rural tourism are now numerous, there is a distinct lack of literature on the general characteristics of this type of tourism . This is because much of its growth has been very recent and generally of an informal and private nature, so that it has been difficult to categorise in space, time or function. Being on a small scale and generally of an unspectacular nature, it has attracted little attention from governments and academics alike on a national scale. There has, however, been much work carried out on the scale of individual villages, valleys or sub-regions, describing the growth of rural tourism there and considering its integration into the economy at this very local scale. Some of this work will be reviewed here, particularly on the sections dealing with initiatives in tourism and the planning applications.

However, in this study, rural tourism in selected parts of a large region is to be dealt with, with a view to deriving general relationships between tourism and the economy of peripheral rural regions. Before entering a detailed survey of the case study regions, it is necessary to have a framework of definitions so that the discussion of tourism in Andalusian mountain regions can be easily related to other work.

There is no one accepted definition or description of rural tourism because of the lack of overall treatment of the subject - most of the definitions used have been made either by local rural planners in circumstances suited to their own area, or by national statistical sources where the definitions are often not reliably applicable to

rural tourism alone. Rural tourism does not have the unifying focus of either coastal tourism (sun, sand and sea) or large city tourism based on cultural and historical attractions. In the USA, Kujawa estimates that 90 per cent of all tourism enterprises are small businesses, and so this must be even more true of rural tourism (1). Here, much enterprise is by individual families negotiating privately with local landowners or developing their own land, so that it is not recorded in official statistics and perhaps also overlooked in some considerations of rural tourism.

Rural tourism, then, is highly dispersed in space and in units of enterprise. The first problem is to divide it into a number of parts for analysis, and at a later stage it can be fitted into the spatial and temporal framework. De Kadt suggests various ways in which tourism could be classified - by tourists' characteristics, by organisation, by type of facilities, or by motivation (2). Regarding tourists' characteristics and motivation, there is inadequate overall survey to be able to place these in concrete categories. Indeed, one could hypothesise a uniformity in the motivation and characteristics of rural tourism - as García Olalla points out, people tend to satisfy the needs which they cannot with other forms of tourism - in other words it is a generally passive form of tourism, a form of retreat in which the activities carried out are relatively unrelated to the attractions of the area (3). Most of the categories of motivation suggested by de Kadt would not generally apply to rural tourism - for example those of identity with local culture and brochure-selected holidays. One could divide Spanish rural tourism into three types, however: returning emigrants, relaxation tourism and permanent settlement on retirement. These three types would be difficult to separate statistically as they all occur side by side and could easily be double-counted.

A division of rural tourism by organisation could be used to

separate out the exceptional and highly organised winter sports tourism which has affected the Sierra Nevada in Andalusia and may in the future impinge on the Alpujarras study area. It would also identify spa-based rural tourism, though this is geographically very limited in its impact. The classification to be adopted here in Part 2 will be a breakdown according to the type of facilities - a simple division according to the standard of accommodation offered and the type of ownership. This leads to the following categories, with their definitions, relating to Spain, though they should be categories that are easily transportable to other areas:

1. Hotels and *hostals* - two categories of hotel accommodation rigidly defined by the Spanish Ministry of Tourism. The number of these can be determined from their *guía de hoteles* every year (4).

2. *Fondas* and *casas de huéspedes* (inns and guest houses). These are only rarely officially recognised establishments, and are only listed (incompletely) by some of the provincial offices of the Ministry of Tourism.

3. *Casas de labranza* (farm houses) - the Spanish ministry of tourism also publishes a farm holiday guide similar to the British one or the French guide to *gîtes ruraux*. This lists the amount of farmhouse accommodation by municipality (5).

4. Second homes, divided into old houses and new purpose-built chalets; either in the urban nucleus of the village, or in an isolated position, or in a new urbanisation of chalets.

5. Returning emigrant families, who would stay in their own home or with relatives.

6. Other categories, such as camping, caravan sites and apartments, are virtually non-existent for the purposes of this study.

Apart from the first of these categories, it is impossible to gain an exact picture of the supply of these types of accommodation from

official data sources, and in this study the information has been gained almost entirely at local level. The guest houses are only sporadically recorded, and the *casas de labranza* book appeared to conflict with data provided at local level, which included in many cases rented accommodation not considered under the Ministry scheme; in a few villages, it was reported that some or all of the accommodation listed in the Ministry information had ceased to exist. Therefore, the Ministry book has not been used as a source in this study.

With second homes, the data problem is greater as there is no means of recording them in isolation in Spain. Ortega Valcárcel, in his pioneering study of second homes in Spain, produced a map of their distribution, which is useful on the national scale in indicating their high concentrations on the coast around Barcelona and Valencia, and in the Sierra de Guadarrama around Madrid (6). But on a local scale, this data becomes virtually meaningless; although it is derived from a census category labelled 'secondary residences', it does not refer solely to second homes used for leisure purposes, but also to country homes owned by local families which are used for part of the year when crops are harvested. These houses (*cortijos*) are still very widespread in rural Andalusia and would account for a large proportion of the census category concerned.

The classification adopted here, then, is one which has proved successful in looking for data at local level - town hall officials being able to distinguish between hotels, guest houses, rented accommodation, second homes and returning emigrant families, and to be able to estimate their numbers. In most of the municipalities concerned, with populations of under 2000 inhabitants, this data was based on personal knowledge. The meanings of the categories were clearly expressed in the questionnaires, and therefore problems of definitions of official statistics on second homes were avoided. Cribier, in an

article on second homes in France, states that three different definitions have been used by the main data collecting agencies there, and all of them include certain types of secondary home which are not associated with rural tourism (7). De Wilde says (with reference to Belgium) that the official definitions of second homes are too vague to tell whether they relate only to homes of tourism and leisure use, so that the data is unreliable (8).

Another problem involved in describing rural tourism is the rapidity and unpredictability of change (9). At the time fieldwork was conducted, the last census of buildings, which included the 'secondary residence' data, was in 1970, so even if it was accurate it would largely be of historical, not current interest, as many of the villages concerned had hardly begun to evolve tourism functions then.

The divisions of rural tourism used here are those which evolved during fieldwork as those most easily definable at local level and at the same time easily comparable with official data from other areas. The fitting of rural tourism capacity defined in this way into the hypothesised spatial and temporal framework already discussed will enable a more meaningful comparison to be made between Andalusian rural tourism and other more developed areas so that forecasts of future developments can be made.

The field study areas have been chosen with the hypotheses that each one represents a certain stage in these frameworks. However, there is one other general definition that must be considered here; that of altitude. This study is not merely of rural tourism but rural tourism in mountain regions. In Andalusia it is concentrated in upland areas because, apart from their greater scenic attraction, they have significantly cooler temperatures during the summer months, when temperatures in Seville and Córdoba can reach 50°C. Owing to the unusual topographic characteristics of Spain, where 56% of the land area is above

600 metres yet flat, it is difficult to define mountain areas as those above a certain height. Abreu y Pidal states therefore that 600 metres is too low to define them, but some of the villages studied here are well below that limit but have a very accidented municipal topography which gives them problems of accessibility and agriculture that are typical of mountain areas (10). Therefore Giroud's definition can be used here - areas over 600 metres or municipalities where agricultural land extends over a height range of over 400 metres, or where the agricultural environment is similar to the other two categories (11). With the exception of some parts of large municipalities in the study areas, all would be included in this definition. However, the aim is not to conduct an overall survey of every mountain village in Andalusia but to isolate certain parts of greater interest.

History and growth of rural tourism

The majority of rural tourism in most European countries is a relatively new phenomenon, and much of it takes the form of a summer and weekend retreat for city-dwellers, within easy access of the city centre. In Mediterranean countries the recent increase has been especially marked for several reasons. Firstly, the increasingly high density of living in cities has contributed to a need to escape from the stress there and live in more spacious surroundings. Secondly, the rural exodus to large cities has meant that many city-dwellers have personal links with rural areas and return there each summer: and thirdly, increasing crowding on the coast has driven some holidaymakers away from there. In the past, however, the popularity of the Mediterranean coast has been reflected in domestic tourism demand which follows the trends set by international tourism. It is wrong to say that the informal sector of tourism is only advancing in rural areas - on the Costa del Sol 81 per cent of accommodation is accounted for by private dwellings and flats (12).

The history of rural tourism in southern European countries is

shorter than that of northern Europe or North America where, as some authors point out, summer in the country has become an institutionalised idea. In this context, Clout sees countryside leisure areas as 'highly specialised ecological extensions of the city', presumably suggesting that these areas have now become integrated with the regional economy and have evolved a balanced local system of rural activity, though this continually increases in area with increasing accessibility (13). Rajotte can therefore define concentric recreation zones around Quebec, and many other cities at a similar latitude can be said to have a well-defined and highly organised recreational hinterland (14).

It is not intended to review such cases here, though when forecasting future developments in case study areas they will provide useful parallels. Historically, rural tourism in Spain has been very limited in its effects. García Olalla points out that there has always been a flow to the country, but only in the last ten years or so has it become a significant factor in rural development (15). Discussion of early rural tourism in most European countries stresses how primarily it was an élite form of tourism and how it tended to concentrate in particular nuclei which developed a reputation in such circles. Many case studies bring out this first stage; - for example, De Wilde's study of Belgium states that before the Second World War all second homes were situated in one vogue place in his case study area, while most tourism then was hotel tourism, unlike today; the hotels being situated in three communes (though they are mostly closed now, being too near Brussels to attract guests) (16). Similarly, in eastern Switzerland, early tourism was concentrated in hotels in resorts made fashionable by the patronage of the Edwardian aristocracy (17). Similarly, Spanish geographers have seen early trends in rural tourism in hinterlands of large cities - for example, the antecedence of second homes in *casas reales* around Madrid and, to a lesser extent, Valencia; but this phenomenon did not occur in

other parts, for example Galicia and Andalusia, where there was no tradition of *casas reales* (18).

In the historical transition of tourist areas from élite to mass, the first stage is not easily identifiable in Andalusia. In the questionnaires carried out in the town halls of the 150 villages studied (this will be elaborated in the next section) a question was asked about when the first summer visitors came to the village (excluding returning emigrants). The results of this are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE FIRST SUMMER VISITORS CAME TO STUDY AREA MUNICIPALITIES

Number of years	Number of municipalities
0	31
1 - 5	26
6 - 10	21
11 - 15	22
15 - 20	12
Over 20	9
No Response	25

Source: Author's questionnaire in town halls

The majority of the villages have now registered the presence of summer visitors, but only a few have had them for more than ten years. Of these, often the response was that they have come in equally large numbers since before the Civil War or even earlier, thus isolating certain villages with a notable antecedence of domestic tourism. These special cases are partly accounted for by the *balnearios* (spa resorts) which achieved their reputation in the nineteenth century (see Fig. 1), and a few which attracted visitors from early on by virtue of their scenic beauty and proximity

Fig. 1: CARRATRACA (Montes de Málaga)

A popular spa resort in the nineteenth century, Carratraca was one of the first upland Andalusian villages to attract visitors. The pseudo-Moorish old town hall pictured here dates from this period, but is now disused as the village's importance has diminished considerably.

to a main route (for example, those villages in the Sierra de Huelva on the Seville to Lisbon road, some of which also gained a reputation as second home resorts for English management at the Rio Tinto mines).

Pioneering growth in rural tourism in Andalusia has not necessarily been of an élite native class. The earlier quoted example of 'discovery' of the Sierra Nevada by young people from Granada (19), and the subsequent buying of houses in other areas by retired foreigners, provide exceptions. However, in many of the rural areas to be considered here, the first manifestation of 'tourism' is the new houses built for summer use by returning emigrants, which are notable in most of the villages (20). In the environs of Madrid (21) and in France (22), early mass tendencies in domestic tourism can be related to accessibility brought about by railway station construction, providing nuclei for later growth. Furthermore, the growth which occurred at this stage was of a piecemeal, disorganised nature - as Barbier says (of French rural areas), early on, the only way of obtaining a second home was to build it oneself (23).

These trends may be said to represent the beginnings of a mass rural tourism which is seen today in many rural regions, in which the basic motive of the visitors is a search for the greatest contrast to the city (24). Now that the basic facilities of electricity, water and sewage disposal have been installed in nearly all villages and hamlets in the study areas, provided that they have convenient access to large cities, they have become suitable zones for city leisure pursuits, in a manner which Flament has termed a "rediscovery and re-evaluation of space" (25).

Therefore, although most of the villages studied had not registered tourism 15 years ago, many could now be said to be in a mass tourism stage. Table 6 shows the answers to a question posed in town halls on how fast tourism had developed there in the past ten years:

Table 6. RATE OF TOURISM GROWTH IN STUDY AREA MUNICIPALITIES IN THE PAST TEN YEARS

Rate of increase	Number of municipalities
Decrease	2
Same	9
Slight	41
Rapid	82
No tourism	23

Source: Author's questionnaire in Town Halls

The local administrations can rarely exercise control as to which stage they wish to stay at in tourism growth. The desires of a mass urban demand tend to dictate against balanced rural development as desired by local communities, and also against the conservation of traditional landscapes as desired by the pioneering tourists there. Conflicts can therefore be identified both between mass city-based tourism and the local economy, and between the former and some types of first-stage élite tourism (a case of this is documented by Chaudefaud and Dalla Rosa for the Iraty Forest in the Pyrenees, which began as a hunting and fishing reserve for the leisured class of Bayonne and is now popular among walkers and campers who conflict with the original minority interest group (26)). Where the original minority interest is strong, it may develop a campaigning line more in sympathy with the conservation of the local economy (as in the Alpujarras case study area) and more effectively resist mass tourism development - but this interest may not necessarily agree with that of the local population either. However, these conflicts are usually resolved by the dominance of the most powerful group - the city based visitors; the argument to solve, therefore, is how this trend can best be managed in the interests of the other groups.

Characteristics and attractions of rural tourism

The overwhelmingly domestic nature of rural tourism is its most striking characteristic, both in Spain and elsewhere. Vitte states that in L'Aquila province in Italy 97 per cent of tourism is domestic, and is generally characterised by an ignorance of the cultural heritage of the area (27). The second characteristic is one that relates primarily to the peripheral type of rural tourism, the motivations for which are generally passive (as revealed in the survey of second home owners in estates near Seville, to be discussed in the final section of Part 2).

This peripheral type of rural tourism, in the hinterlands of large cities, is the fastest growing type of rural tourism in Andalusia. Spanish writers stress the low cost of holidays taken in such areas - Bote Gómez says the largest proportion of rural holidays in Spain are taken by people in the lower social groups, while a study of the vacation habits of a sample of Madrid's population revealed the same, but also said that only 25 per cent of the lowest social class took a holiday at all, so there is reason to suppose that this type of tourism will increase rapidly (28).

A third major characteristic, relating especially to peripheral rural tourism, is its family-based nature; large families cannot afford hotels or other formal accommodation (29). According to Clout, the main occupants of second home estates are young middle-class families with children, and according to Cribier retired second home owners are rare because people over 60 never had a second home before (30). In addition, Harvey states that farmhouse holidays tend to appeal above all to large families with young children because of their relatively low cost and large amount of open space (31). Fourth, the vast majority of accommodation is non-hotel based: Vitte estimates 99 per cent in L'Aquila province in Italy; Bote Gómez estimates around 80 per cent for Spanish domestic tourism as a whole (32), and in the Andalusian mountain areas studied

here, the equivalent proportion is approximately 94 per cent. Table 7 shows proportions of accommodation in each of the categories defined in the previous section.

Table 7. PROPORTION OF ACCOMMODATION IN STUDY AREAS ACCOUNTED FOR BY VARIOUS CATEGORIES

Study Area	Percent of accommodation accounted for by					
	Hotels	*Hostals*	*Fondas*	Rented Accom.	Second Homes	Returning Emigrants
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	0.3	1.2	5.7	5.7	11.7	75.7(1)
Montes de Málaga	0.5	1.2	2.4	4.0	71.6	20.3(2)
Axarquía	0	0	1.6	3.5	33.1	61.7(1)
Alpujarras	3.0	6.9	4.0	7.5	11.6	66.8(1)
Sierra de Huelva	0	1.7	1.6	13.2	19.8	63.7
Sierra de Sevilla	0	0.2	2.2	8.0	43.6	46
Sierra de Córdoba	0.3	0.6	1.0	0.6	40.3	57.2
Sierra de Segura	0.7	2.9	2.2	6.8	7.4(3)	80 (1)
Totals	0.6	1.8	2.6	6.0	34.2	54.7

Source: Author's questionnaire in town halls.

NOTES: (1) Data were not provided for 18 municipalities in these areas; the number for these were derived from the ratio of returning emigrants to total population for the other municipalities in each study area.
(2) Data were not provided for Istán, Mijas and Benalmádena; however, these are the three municipalities with the strongest tourist industry, so it is assumed that emigration would have been minimal, and thus no addition is made to this figure.
(3) Data were not provided for Cazorla: as this cannot be reliably estimated by extrapolation, it has been omitted.

The dominance of private accommodation within the non-hotel sector is also striking, especially if returning emigrants are included, which further reduces the connection of tourism with the rural economy. When questioned about the type of visitors coming to their municipalities, most of the officials in the study areas replied that tourism consisted mainly of long stay visitors who came year after year during the summer months,

at Christmas, at Easter and often at weekends also. Asked if any visitors came for the day to visit the village, 13.2 per cent replied negatively and 58.5 per cent stated that such flows were insignificant. However, the spread of this form of residential tourism now affects almost all villages and hamlets in major urban hinterlands - now that they are all provided with basic domestic services; as tranquility is one of the main aims of such visitors, the smallest and most depopulated centres often provide the most attraction.

In non-peripheral areas rural tourism takes a different form. Though the movement of returning emigrants to their villages of origin is still important in summer, and in many cases formed the first movement of summer visitors, the outsiders who come are smaller in number and more heterogenous in their origins. As they travel further to their destination, they tend to have chosen it more for the intrinsic value of the landscape. In such areas, a major attraction is that they have been relatively untouched by modern tourism so that a minority tourism of a conservative nature, with an active interest in the conservation of the rural economy, tends to develop. Here, the importance of tourism between one village and another is more variable. The participants may in some cases be foreign, often retired, who pass the whole year in the village and take a more active part in its affairs. These trends are especially notable in villages which are easily reached from the coast, where such clientele may consist of people driven inland by excessive urbanisation on the coast itself. These people often become small scale entrepreneurs in the villages and thus bring about a much more cosmopolitan form of rural tourism, a fact which is brought about even more by the presence of significant numbers of day visitors from coastal resorts.

Seasonality of rural tourism

The highly seasonal nature of domestic rural tourism is one of the greatest obstacles to its growth as a large scale, highly capitalised

enterprise, and thus merits special consideration here. Indeed, it has been written about extensively by local authorities and tour companies connected with rural tourism - even on the Costa del Sol, where the climate is one of the most favourable in Europe for the greater part of the year. Villegas Molina's survey of tourism in Andalusia highlights the problem of seasonality, which results in limited permanent employment possibilities and thus stresses the need for tour operators to encourage tourism in one form or another, by way of conferences or special interest holidays, for example (33). The problem is stressed even more in coastal areas largely patronised by a domestic clientele; for example, Fourneau states that it is the main barrier to the further development of tourist-related activities on the Costa de la Luz (provinces of Huelva and Cádiz) (34).

Rural tourism in Spain is particularly seasonal in character for several reasons, the most important one being the timing of holidays in factories or offices which close down for a month in the summer, giving all their employees a vacation at the same time. In Spain this month is usually August, and in France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland it is usually July and August, so that emigrant families often return from these countries to their villages then. A large proportion of rural tourism is accounted for by lower middle social classes who can only take holidays at these times, as well as a week or so at Christmas and Easter. According to Clout, 75 per cent of French domestic holidays are taken in August, for the same reason (35). In this study, local officials were asked at what times of the year visitors came to the village and the responses are summarised in Table 8.

A sample survey of the Spanish population estimates that 77 per cent took their leave all at once during July and August, and states that in almost all these cases this was conditioned by the vacation time offered by their place of employment (36). This study also quoted

figures on the seasonality of holidays, asking people in which month they went on holiday (see Table 9).

Table 8. SEASONALITY OF TOURISM IN STUDY AREA MUNICIPALITIES

Length of tourist season	Number of municipalities
One month	63
Two months	35
Two months and weekends	15
Three months or more	13
All the year	4
No response	27

Source: Author's questionnaire in Town Halls

Table 9. MONTHS IN WHICH HOLIDAYS TAKEN BY SPANISH DOMESTIC TOURISTS

Month	1972 survey (1)	1973 survey
June	8 %	3 %
July	41	26
August	59	56
September	17	9
Rest of year	18	6

Source: Instituto Español de Turismo, "Estudio de motivaciones para el turismo en España", *Estudios Turísticos*, 55-56, 1977, pp. 157-172; p. 166.

NOTE: (1) The 1972 data does not add up to 100 as second holidays were also recorded

The difference in occupancy rates of a coastal zone (the western Costa del Sol), in a mountain zone with winter sports (the Pyrenees) and in spa resorts (the only other category provided, but their occupancy pattern is similar to the study areas here) is shown in Table 10.

Table 10. OCCUPATION RATES OF HOTELS IN DIFFERENT RESORT TYPES

Resort Area	Index of Occupancy (August=100)						
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Costa del Sol (Málaga)	77	75	95	92	99	94	94
Pyrenees	66	65	82	93	99	94	106
Spa resorts	14	12	18	18	20	71	94
	A	S	O	N	D		
Costa del Sol	100	93	95	80	77		
Pyrenees	100	103	83	68	70		
Spa resorts	100	95	31	18	15		

Source: Ministerio de Información y Turismo, Direccion General de Promoción del Turismo, *El Turismo en 1967*, Madrid 1968, p. 129.

The concentration of domestic tourism in the summer months is reflected in the fact that 46 per cent of all tourist nights spent in Spain from May to September are in hotels, but for August alone this proportion is only 10.1 per cent (37). This is because of the much greater importance of non-hotel accommodation in domestic tourism, a situation which is aggravated by the short season militating against commercial tourism enterprise. R. Brown estimates that second homes are used on average 130 days a year at Lake Latonka, Pennsylvania, the value being slightly higher than in this study because weekend use is more common in his case (38). García Olalla calculates that for all accommodation covered by the Spanish Ministry of Tourism's *casas de labranza* scheme (whose clientele is mostly Spanish), the occupancy rate averages 90.7 days per year (39).

The season can sometimes be more favourable in the villages nearest to large cities which receive visitors most weekends as well as in summer (40). In other European countries, the transition of second homes in peripheral rural regions to first homes has been widely documented -

for example, in villages near Brussels which can easily be reached from the city centre by motorway (41). However, this trend has not yet occurred in the study areas in Andalusia because they are as yet inadequately linked to the large city centres, though it can be seen in nearer places such as the Aljarafe plateau to the west of Seville. Villages which become attractive for retirement by foreigners also benefit from a longer season, but in Andalusia these are restricted to a few near the southern coast. These benefit not only from permanent inhabitants but also from visits throughout the year by other retired people living on the Costa del Sol. In these villages, tourism has generally had a much more profound effect, both because they have a longer season of their own and because coastal tourism provides an input for funds in the form of day trips, and an outlet for the villages' labour on the coast itself. However, further inland and at higher altitudes the season is much more restricted, both by greater remoteness and by a cold, wet winter climate. The western upland regions of Andalusia (Sierra de Huelva, Sierra de Cádiz and Serranía de Ronda) are amongst the wettest in Spain, despite the fact that they are virtually without rain during the summer months (see Table 11). In some villages of the Alpujarra Alta, on the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada, winter attraction is considerably reduced by lack of sunshine owing to their position in steep valleys (42).

Another way in which mountain areas elsewhere have extended their season is by developing winter sports functions. Vitte states that summer and winter tourism account for an equal part of annual visitors to L'Aquila province (37 per cent each), despite the fact that the region is not particularly well-endowed for skiing, being close enough to Rome to attract skiers in winter (43). However, lower mountain areas obviously do not benefit in this way and the Sierra Nevada is the only Andalusian range high enough for it. While a considerable winter sports

Table 11. RAINFALL FIGURES FOR SELECTED STATIONS IN ANDALUSIA

Location	Altitude (metres)	Rainfall (mm.) J	F	M	A	M	J
San Fernando (coast) (1)	20	72.2	56.4	78.2	43.0	31.9	5.7
Ubrique (Sierra de Cádiz) (1)	337	171.2	172.8	199.9	102.4	83.3	15.4
Cueva de la Pileta (Sierra de Cádiz) (2)	1020	284.1	299.6	188.9	106.3	81.0	74.1
Sevilla (1)	10	53.5	63.4	64.3	54.2	37.2	18.2

	J	A	S	O	N	D	Totals
S. Fernando	1.7	3.5	25.9	69.7	77.7	107.6	573.5
Ubrique	2.7	5.6	39.5	111.5	117.1	169.0	1190.4
C. Pileta	0.1	2.0	31.5	183.8	205.5	211.9	1668.8
Sevilla	1.4	2.7	6.0	68.4	85.5	75.2	534.5

Sources: (1) Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, *Situación actual y perspectivas de desarrollo de Andalucía Occidental*, Madrid 1974, vol. 1, p. 57 and p. 59: (2) F. Rodriguez Martinez, *La Serranía de Ronda, Estudio Geográfico*, Caja de Ahorros de Ronda, Ronda 1977, p. 101 and p. 109.

complex has been built there, the activity takes place away from the village centres, and demands specialist expertise and large scale capital input, so that cases of winter sports developments being set up in an integrated manner with the participation of local people are rare, and the Sierra Nevada is certainly not one of them. In addition, highly capitalised ski resorts tend not to be particularly attractive in summer, being situated at high altitudes in treeless terrain with their installations becoming eyesores. Obviously this sort of Alpine-style development is not the answer for the areas to be studied here, though plans for

winter tourism on the Sierra Nevada's southern slopes will be considered in relation to the Alpujarras. There are some cases of multi-seasonal tourism; for example, in the southern Tirol (Austria) not only is there a thriving summer and winter tourist season, but also smaller scale movements to the region in the spring for the Alpine flora and in the autumn for the tranquility (44).

The encouragement of off-season tourism is clearly one of the most important considerations to be borne in mind in the final section of this work; a place which only receives visitors for two months of the year cannot afford to develop tourist facilities, without which more people will not come. While winter sports may not be viable, there are considerable possibilities for encouraging specialist off-season tourism based on outdoor activities for groups, or for encouraging international clientele. Once a longer season has been established, the way is opened for greater investment in the villages, for which there would always be interested parties in the form of returning emigrants with a desire to re-establish their involvement with their area of origin, or by people from elsewhere in Spain or abroad wishing to develop a small rural business. As Turnock says in an article on Romanian mountain tourism, "summer tourism alone is not viable in some mountain areas" (45), and with the lack of a strong economic base elsewhere, it alone cannot guarantee the prosperity of Andalusian villages. A longer season would enable more commercial and labour-intensive forms of tourism to exist; - hotels especially show a low rate of return if the season is very short, and so they are rare in rural regions, with the consequent loss of employment possibilities.

Publicity and enterprise in rural tourism

Being small scale and widely spread, rural tourism tends not to attract large commercial enterprise except in the case of winter sports. It follows, therefore, that there is little publicity for it, and

custom is largely derived from informal contacts made between the visitor and the place visited, or else there is a direct family connection involved. In that publicity gives rise to outside domination of tourist enterprise as the size of the supply grows, then the lack of it could be said to be beneficial, as it ensures that rural tourism is kept at a scale suitable for the small sizes of the recipient villages and populations (46). However, many writers state that the lack of publicity is a fundamental barrier to the greater contribution of tourism to the local economy; many of the officials in the case studies lamented the lack of capital to invest in and publicise the tourist potential. The situation becomes a vicious circle in that existing facilities are often over-subscribed in the summer months anyway, so would only benefit from off-season publicity. General publicity might only aggravate this situation, but the argument was that in the long run it might stimulate more tourism enterprise in the rural areas: however, as the organisations making the enterprise would be the same as those making the publicity, it is difficult to see how such a process could be instigated.

Writers on rural tourism have stressed that the lack of publicity for rural areas in general has caused the existing clientele to be unaware of the historical and cultural attractions of the region, so these tend to decline (47); also, many potential short-stay visitors pass through the area (48). However, there are signs that the attractions of some rural areas may become more widely known in tourist literature. Benavente mentions the importance of the distribution of publicity leaflets by former emigrants from Cazorla in the large cities of Spain in attracting visitors to the Sierra de Cazorla (province of Jaén), which contains some of the most impressive upland scenery in southern Spain (49). Chaudefaud and Dalla Rosa mention that publicity is becoming important in tourism growth in the Iraty Forest in the Pyrenees as people are attracted there from the Basque coast resorts for day

visits (50). Similar trends are occurring in the villages behind the Costa del Sol, though much of the enterprise and publicity in these cases relates to small tourist businesses set up by foreign people who have moved there from the coast.

The over-emphasis on the need for publicity by officials in rural areas may stem from frustration at their municipalities being left behind by commercial growth in urban and coastal areas. It is a dangerous misconception that rural tourism of any sort can be a development panacea (51), and a policy of this sort could encourage the wrong sort of publicity and tourism growth at a scale incompatible with the potential of the local economy to supply its needs.

The potential of a rural area to attract tourism often depends on its proximity to urban centres rather than its intrinsic attractions or its publicity. Proximity creates a mass tourist demand whereby large scale enterprise can move in with its publicity machinery. Thus, in the four villages of this study that are closest to Seville, several *latifundios* (large estates) have been transformed into *urbanizaciones* of chalets which are widely advertised in the city and are easily accessible from there. Officials in villages further away from Seville often stated that such development would occur in their municipalities too, if only the road were better. However, the improvement in roads and increase in accessibility and tourism may not be directly related after a certain point; Vitte states that the building of a motorway through L'Aquila province actually reduced its tourist potential as more people went straight through without stopping (52).

The important conclusion to be made here is that any tourism publicity for rural areas should relate to a modest level of tourism which can be provided by existing local enterprise, though the latter does not usually have the resources or organisation to publicise its own wares widely. This role must therefore be passed to government at provincial

or national level, and the Spanish government has made important initiatives in this regard. One of the most notable is the *vacaciones en casas de labranza* (farm holidays) scheme, organised jointly by the Ministries of Tourism and Agriculture, in which details of families renting accommodation in rural areas are given in a national handbook (53). Another is the chain of state hotels (*paradores*) set up by the Ministry of Tourism, mostly in areas little visited. These are widely publicised internationally as well as in Spain itself, and therefore attract small flows of foreign tourists to rural areas too. An important section of the final part of this work will consider the ways in which attributes of rural regions can best be marketed for tourism.

Summary

There is not one single rural tourism market but a set of uncoordinated markets (54). The simplest way to divide these up for analysis is by the type of accommodation, as will be done in the next section: hotels, *hostals*, *fondas*, rented accommodation including *casas de labranza*, second homes and returning emigrants. This type of division is perhaps the most meaningful economically as the different types of accommodation generate very different amounts of revenue in the local economy (55).

After these have been considered in turn, the growth of rural tourism will be considered from an historical model and the types of antecedence or pioneering rural tourism in Andalusia considered. Mormont suggests three types of rural tourism markets that have developed (with reference to Belgium): firstly, the older bourgeois one (mostly second homes); secondly, a newer artisan one (mostly camping); and finally a market based on demand for rural artisan goods (56). While the categories may not be exactly the same, it will be possible to extract three broadly equivalent trends in the Andalusian case.

In the next section, on the location of rural tourism, spatial models will be developed, based on the threefold distinction made by Ortega Valcárcel of Spanish tourism - peripheral, non-peripheral and coastal (57).

2. *RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF RURAL TOURISM IN ANDALUSIA*

A. *Selection and description of case study areas*

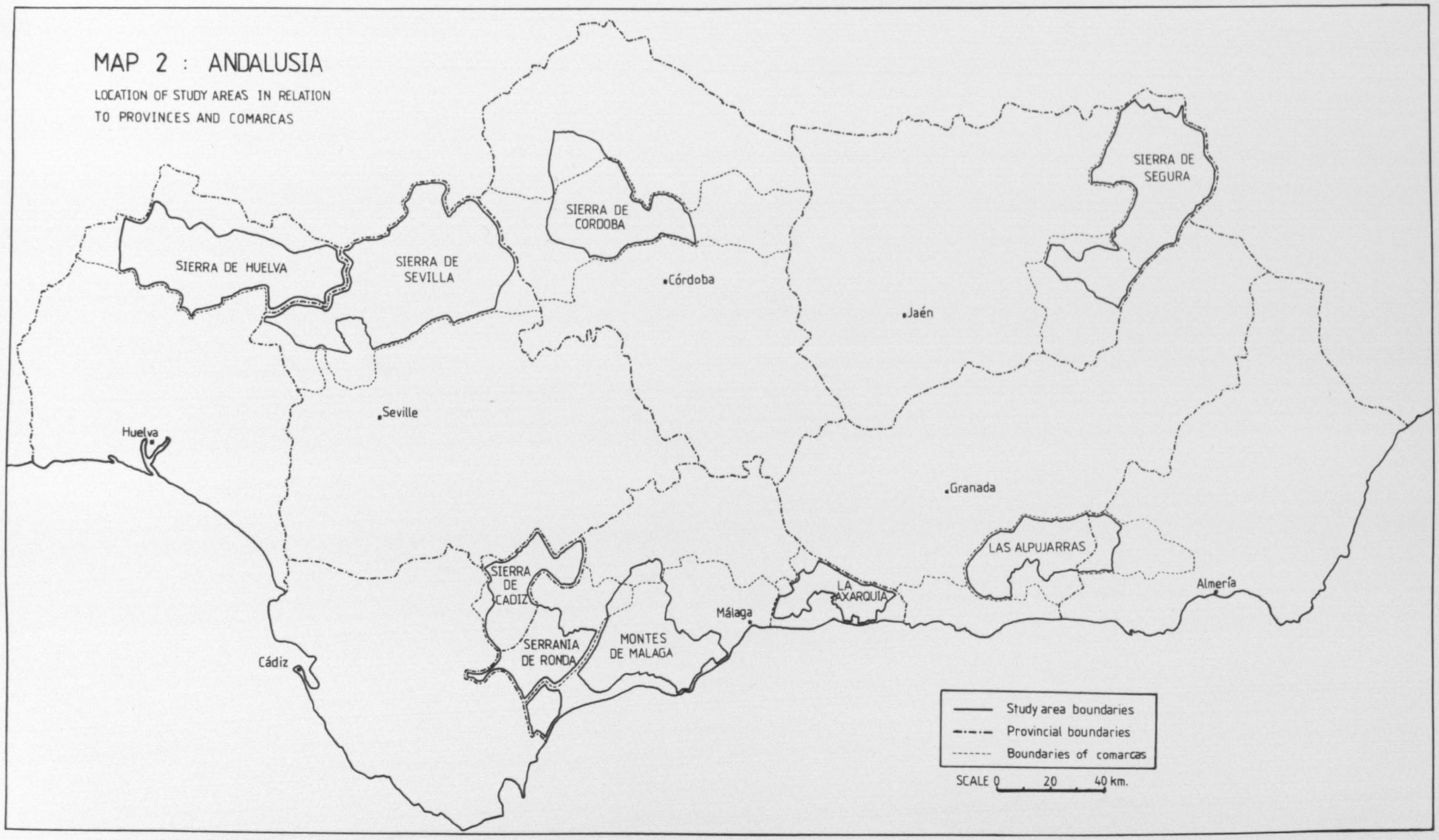
Rural tourism in Andalusia is here discussed with reference to eight case study areas containing 150 municipalities, nearly all of which could be defined as upland areas in all or part of their municipal districts, according to the definitions set out in the last section. While a wide spread of locations is taken for analysis, this study does not aim to be an overall survey of rural upland tourism in Andalusia. Given Giroud's definition of an upland area (58), it would be an impractical and unnecessarily time-consuming process to judge whether the agricultural land within each municipal boundary varied in height by more than 400 metres or if the average height was more than 600 metres, or if the agriculture of the municipality was similar to those which are. This would include many regions of little importance for tourism and of little potential - notably large parts of the arid plateau of eastern Andalusia. Whilst all the municipalities chosen would form part of 'upland Andalusia' as defined in this way, the isolation of eight study areas from this total has been made according to homogeneous regional divisions within provinces with certain distinctive characteristics, and according to hypotheses made about the types of rural tourism that these areas might represent in the overall spatial and temporal frameworks; the aim being to identify villages and regions reflecting as many different stages and permutations of these models as possible.

The divisions within provinces on which the study areas were based are called *comarcas*. There is no one official definition of these; they vary according to the purpose for which they were drawn up, either representing service areas of provincial towns, or regions with a certain homogeneity in their agriculture. The latter type is used here, coming from the *comarcalisación agraria de España* drawn up by the Ministry of Agriculture (59). These divisions tend to reflect well the boundaries between upland and lowland and thus the case study areas co-incide well with them. Map 2 shows the 55 *comarcas* of Andalusia in relation to the eight study areas.

Land above 600 metres in Andalusia is mostly found in two chains of relief, the Sierra Morena in the north and the Betic Cordillera in the south, and four of the case study areas are in each of these (In addition, between the two is the Sub-Betic Cordillera, but this is of minimal importance for tourism, except around the provincial capital of Jaén).

The Betic Cordillera. This extends throughout southern Andalusia parallel with the coast, from the province of Cádiz in the west to Almería in the east. It contains the highest land in Andalusia and the most accidental terrain, making communication a problem. The following case study areas have been selected here:

1. Sierra de Cádiz and Serranía de Ronda. This comprises two *comarcas* in the provinces of Cádiz and Málaga respectively, each with similar physical and human characteristics. It is those parts of both provinces which are most remote from the provincial capitals and indeed until the 1960s this was one of the most isolated parts of Spain. Therefore, there is no antecedence of tourism here and no large-scale peripheral tourism. However, there is considerable potential for tourism, and this will undoubtedly increase when coastal access is improved during the 1980s; there is little indigenous economic activity


MAP 2 : ANDALUSIA
LOCATION OF STUDY AREAS IN RELATION TO PROVINCES AND COMARCAS
SIERRA DE HUELVA
SIERRA DE SEVILLA
SIERRA DE CORDOBA
SIERRA DE SEGURA
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
LAS ALPUJARRAS
SIERRA DE CADIZ
SERRANIA DE RONDA
MONTES DE MALAGA
Málaga
LA AXARQUIA
Almería
Cádiz
Study area boundaries
Provincial boundaries
Boundaries of comarcas
SCALE 0 20 40 km.

to resist it, and there is also a plentiful supply of water in some parts. The municipality of Ronda itself is excluded from the study area as Ronda itself exerts an urban tourist attraction. In addition, the municipalities of Prado del Rey and Puerto Serrano on the western edge of the Sierra de Cádiz are excluded, as they are predominantly flat and not of great tourist interest.

2. Montes de Málaga. This is the only study area that does not fit easily into one *comarca* division, being part of the Guadalhorce *comarca* in the Ministry of Agriculture divisions, but without the Guadalhorce basin itself and without the coastal towns. This area consists of that part of the Betic Cordillera between the Serranía de Ronda and the Guadalhorce Basin, with an extension down to the coast. The purpose of choosing this area is to study the penetration of coastal tourism, both in a day trip form and in a more permanent form, into the interior; all the municipalities here are to some extent influenced by it. In addition, the south-eastern part is in the peripheral zone of Málaga itself. Therefore, while this area has less geographical unity, it illustrates several important trends in rural tourism and contains some interesting individual case studies.

3. La Axarquía. This area corresponds to the *comarca* of Vélez-Málaga and characterises a lower but still highly accidented part of the Betic Cordillera. Again, the municipality of Vélez-Málaga itself, and the coastal towns, are exluded, as is coastal tourism in the municipalities of Torrox and Algarrobo. The area forms a hinterland to the eastern Costa del Sol; it is less developed than the western coast, which fronts the Montes de Málaga region above, and the effect of coastal proximity is less marked here.

4. Las Alpujarras, containing some of the highest villages in Spain and with one of the most distinctive local architectural styles. It is still too isolated to attract large scale tourism, but some of the most

attractive parts are drawing small flows of domestic and international visitors, which illustrate well some aspects of the pioneering stage of tourism. The Alpujarras historically extends as a cultural unit into the province of Almería in the east, so part of the Alto Andarax *comarca* is included here.

The Sierra Morena

5. Sierra de Huelva. Here tourism along the main road from Seville to Lisbon is examined. The villages in the far north of the province are excluded as they have no significant tourist flows, and so is the frontier town of Rosal, where the Sierra Morena gives way to the Portuguese Alentejo Basin. The Sierra de Huelva receives significant flows from Seville and could be said to be more in Seville's hinterland than that of Huelva itself, with which it is very poorly communicated. It also receives passing tourist traffic between Spain and Portugal.

6. Sierra Norte de Sevilla. Again this is in the zone of influence of Seville and together with the Sierra de Huelva it illustrates the most extensive elaboration of the spatial development of tourism around a large city. This zone has few intrinsic attractions so its tourism can primarily be related to distance from Seville. Some of the most southerly municipalities are omitted as the population and area is mainly outside the Sierra Morena.

7. Sierra de Córdoba. Here, a comparison can be made between the spatial development of rural tourism around Seville and Córdoba. The municipalities chosen here do not match the *comarcas* exactly, but are those which fall on the main road north out of Córdoba. There are no particular tourist attractions in this part of Andalusia and all the tourism here is focussed on the Córdoba-Badajoz road, and is carried out by citizens of Córdoba itself.

8. Sierra de Segura. This is in the far north-eastern corner of Andalusia, is remote from any large centres of population, and is very

Table 12. AMOUNT OF TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN STUDY AREAS

Area	No. of municipalities	Population 1975	No. of hotels	No. of *hostals*
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	32	76,132	1	5
Montes de Málaga	19	97,124	3	9
Axarquía	22	41,126	0	0
Alpujarras	32(1)	34,762	10	29
Sierra de Huelva	20	37,663	0	7
Sierra de Sevilla	13	41,013	0	1
Sierra de Córdoba	7	31,158	1	3
Sierra de Segura	14	48,348	4	11
Totals	159	358,978	19	65

	No. of *fondas*	Rented accommodation	Second homes	Returning emigrants
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	51	132	241	1,755(2)
Montes de Málaga	38	167	2,481	844(3)
Axarquía	8	45	350	782(2)
Alpujarras	37	179	232	1,694(2)
Sierra de Huelva	15	315	394	1,523
Sierra de Sevilla	22	206	947	1,199
Sierra de Córdoba	10	15	898	1,528
Sierra de Segura	20	36	86(4)	1,504(2)
Totals	201	1,095	5,629	10,829

Source: Author's questionnaire in town halls; population figures from Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes*, 1975.

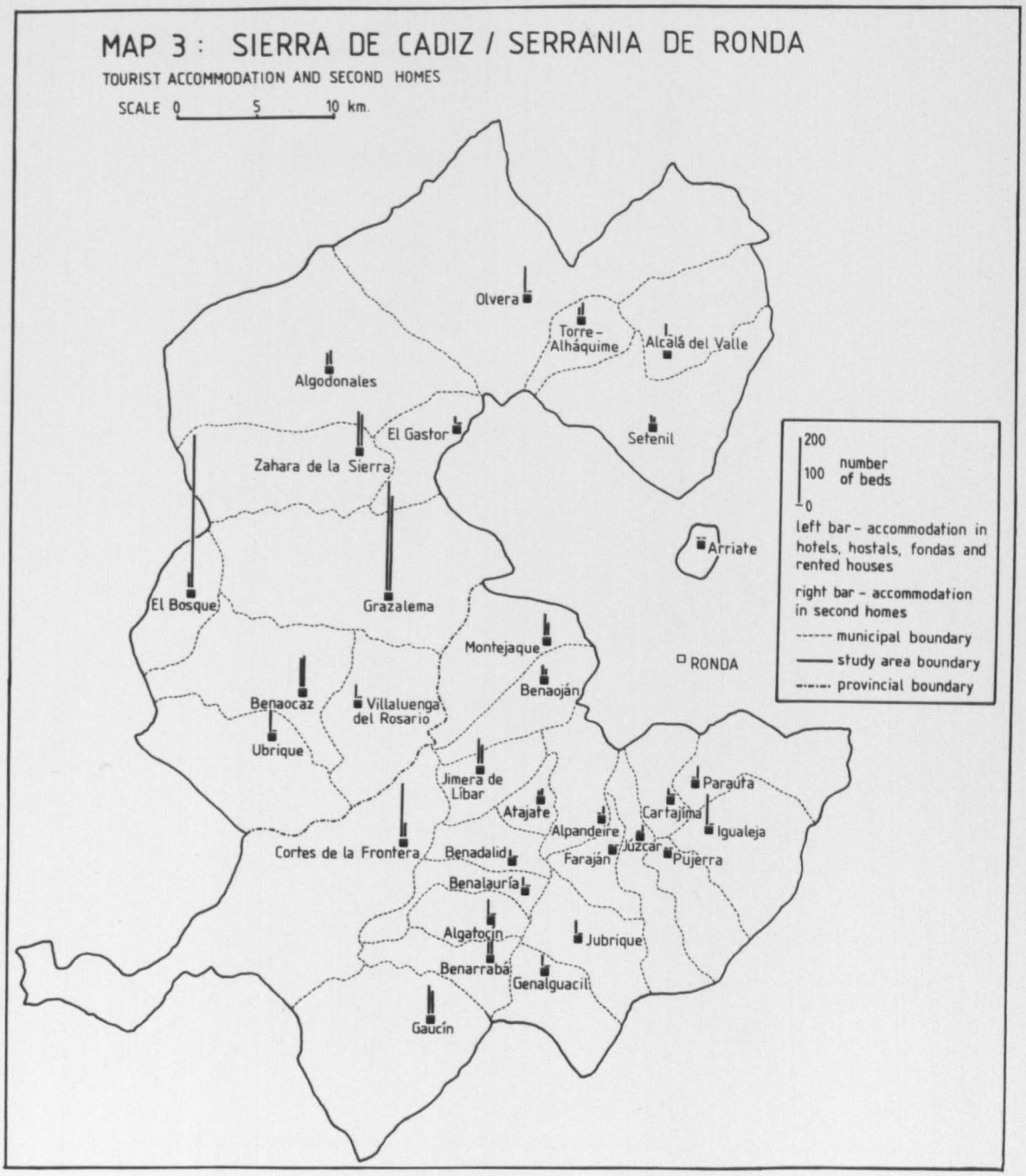
NOTES: (1) Some of these municipalities have since merged (see Appendix 2 for details).
(2) Data were not provided for 18 municipalities in these areas; the number for these were derived from the ratio of returning emigrants to total population for the other municipalities in each study area.
(3) Data were not provided for Istán, Mijas and Benalmádena; however, these are the three municipalities with the strongest tourism industry, so it is assumed that emigration would have been minimal, and thus no addition is made to this figure.
(4) Data were not provided for Cazorla: as this cannot be reliably estimated by extrapolation, it has been omitted.

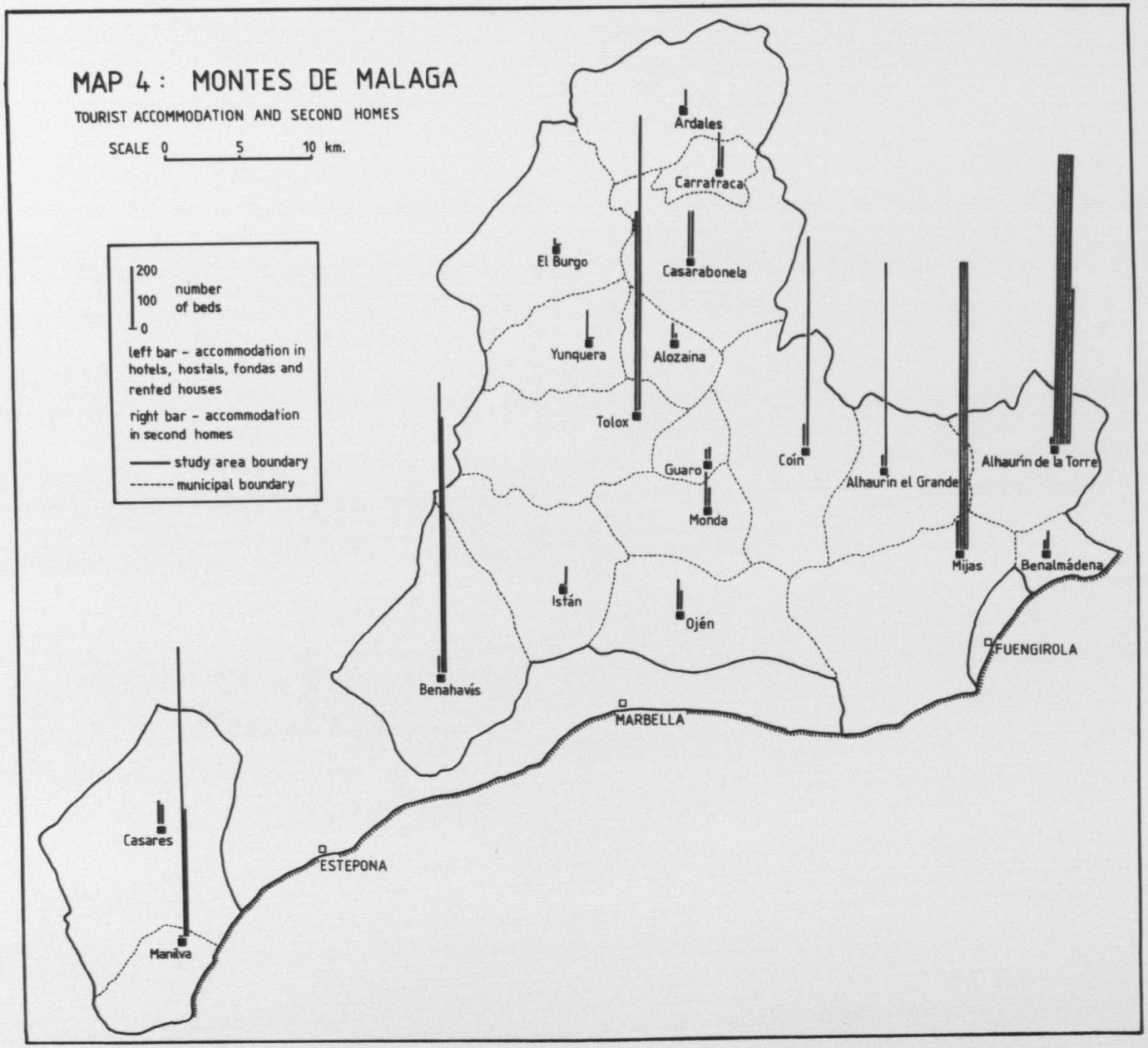
little known or publicised for tourism. However, it has considerable potential for tourism, including outdoor forms such as hunting and fishing. It has also seen the establishment of a cultural organisation among its emigrants which is beginning to take responsibility for setting up and publicising tourism in a zone which might otherwise remain off the beaten track. The municipalities of Cazorla and La Iruela have been added here; Cazorla presents an interesting case in that its patronage by Franco and other political figures, and the construction of a state *Parador*, earned it a greater publicity, though this has not been significantly followed up by local enterprise.

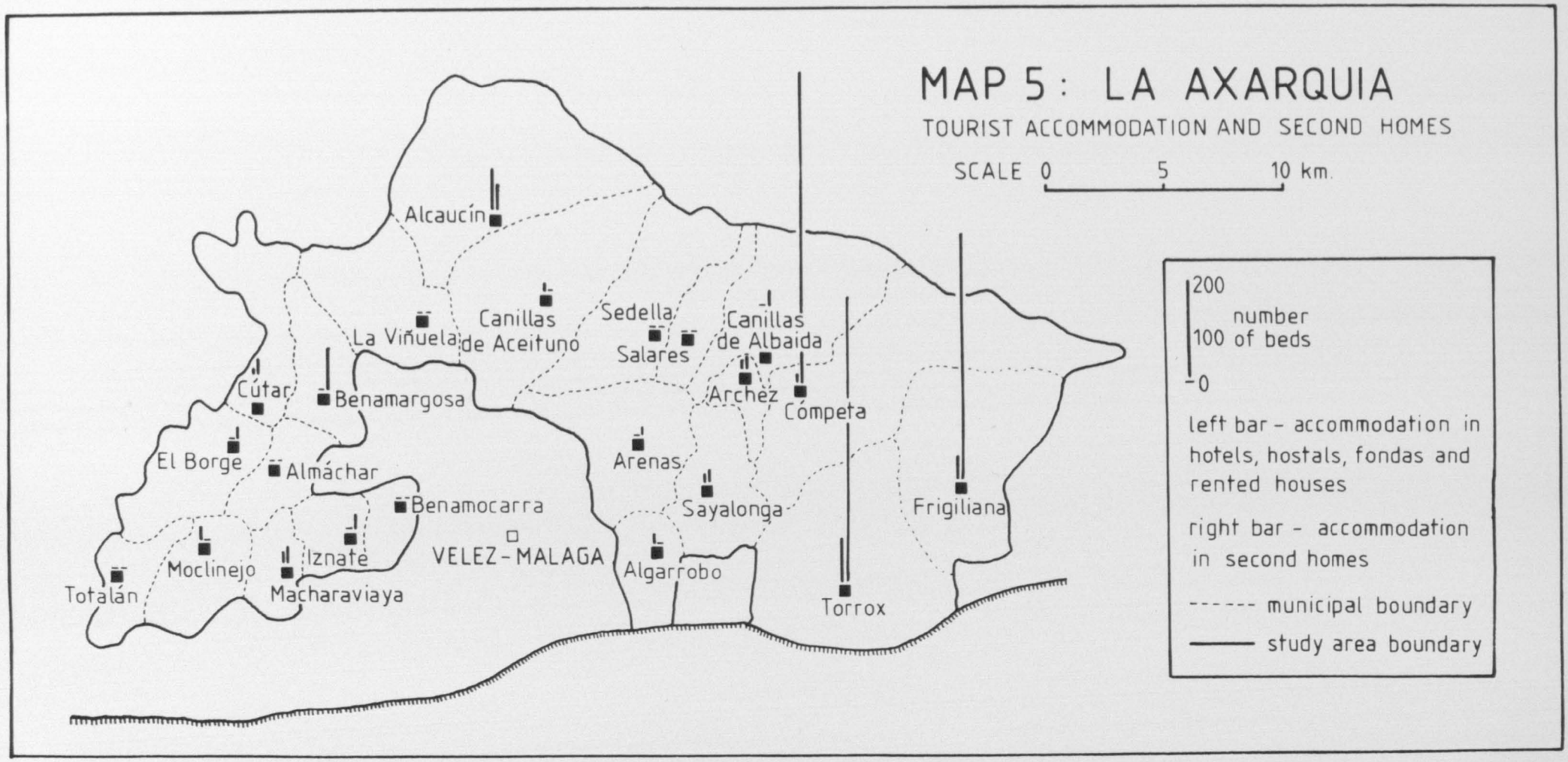
Table 12 provides summary information for each of the study areas. Key maps of the eight study areas follow indicating the municipalities included in them, and any other settlements which are mentioned in the text, and indicating additionally the amount of tourist facilities in each.

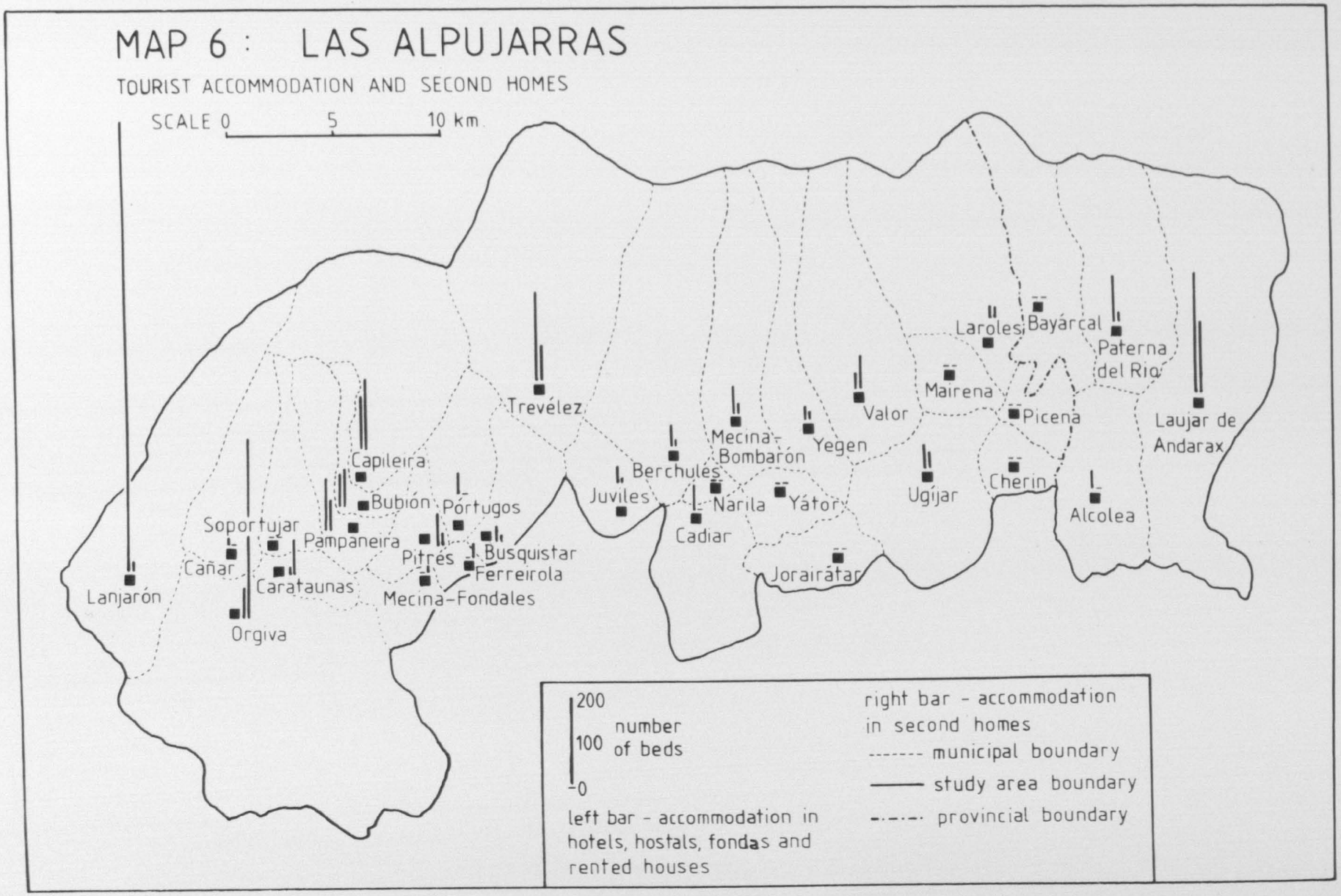
Field survey methods and analysis

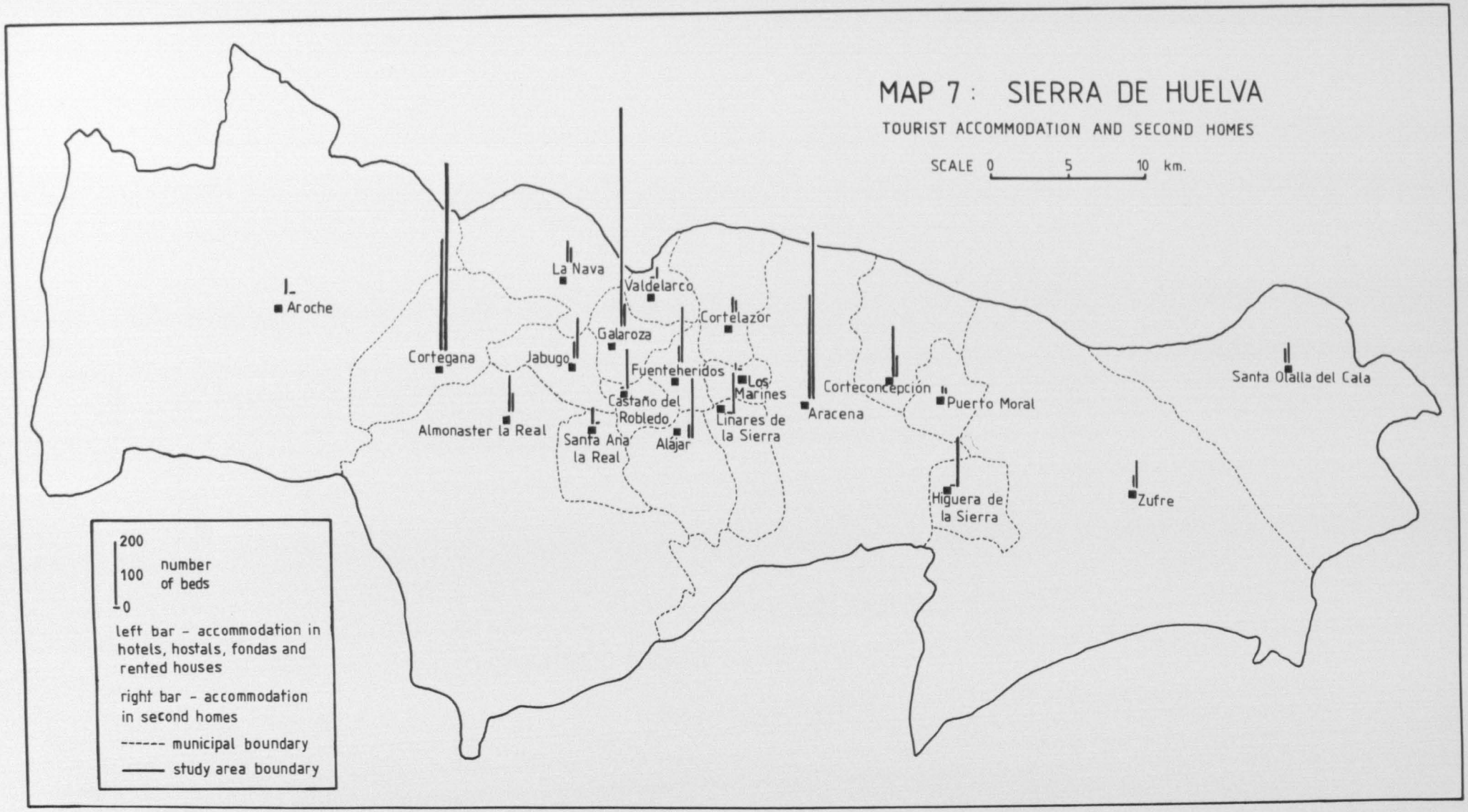
The basis for the tourism data tabulated and mapped was a questionnaire survey in the town halls of each of 150 municipalities. The questionnaire is given in full in Appendix 1 in Spanish and English. In the vast majority of cases the method adopted was personal interview of the mayor, *secretario* or, in some of the larger municipalities a lesser official, supplemented by fifteen postal questionnaires sent to villages where inadequate data had been obtained the first time or which had not been personally visited. The personal interview method was preferred to the written answer method because it provided a greater flexibility of response, and expansion of the basic questionnaire in certain cases where particular points merited being pursued further. Thus, while the questionnaire extracted some basic information which can be quantified and will be analysed, it also attracted large amounts of qualitative information, particularly in those villages most affected by

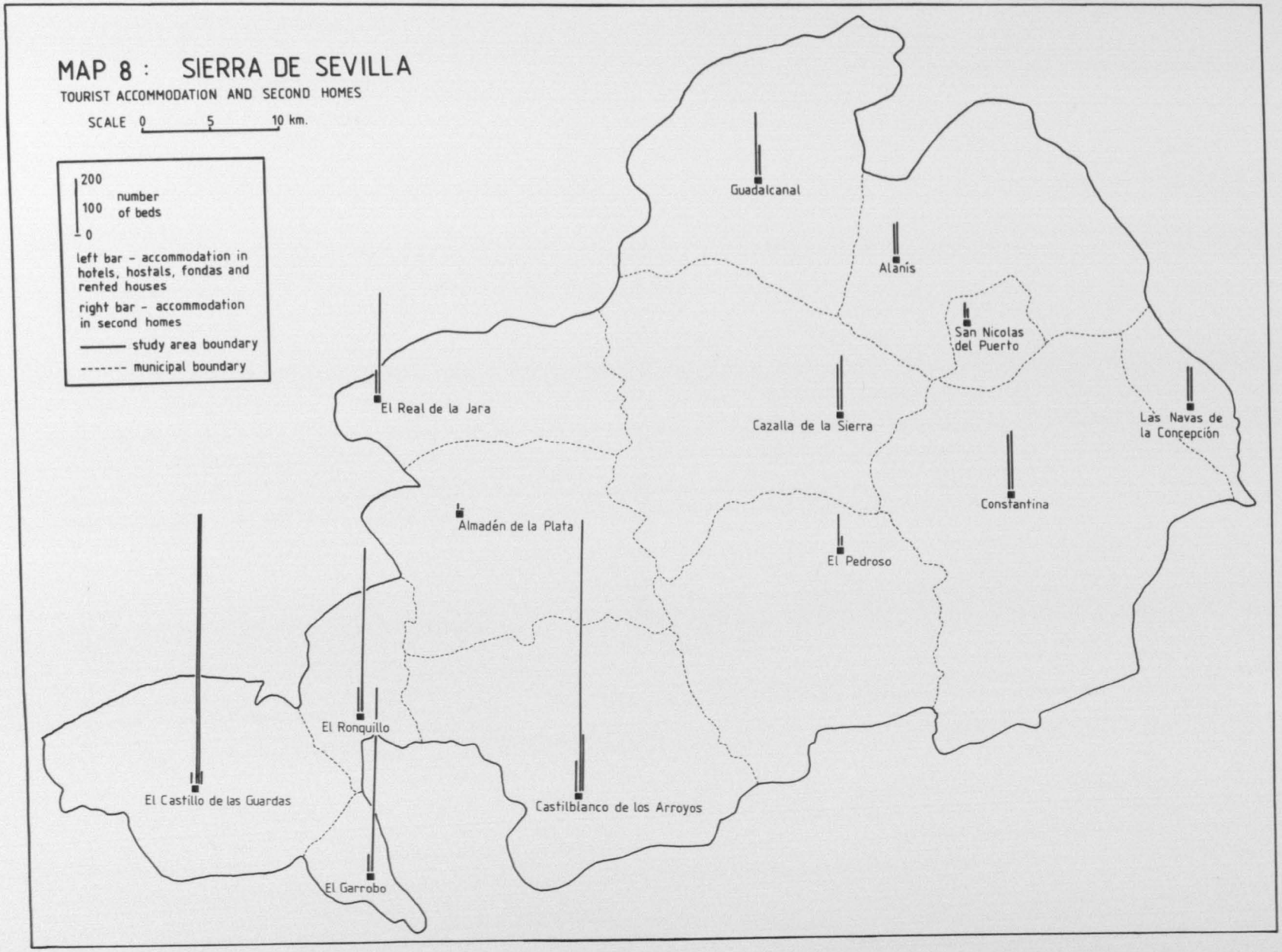

MAP 3 : SIERRA DE CADIZ / SERRANIA DE RONDA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
Olvera
Torre-Alháquime
Alcalá del Valle
Algodonales
El Gastor
Setenil
Zahara de la Sierra
Arriate
El Bosque
Grazalema
Montejaque
RONDA
Benaocaz
Villaluenga del Rosario
Benaoján
Ubrique
Jimera de Líbar
Parauta
Atajate
Cartajima
Alpandeire
Igualeja
Cortes de la Frontera
Benadalid
Faraján
Júzcar
Pujerra
Benalauría
Algatocín
Jubrique
Benarrabá
Genalguacil
Gaucín
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
municipal boundary
study area boundary
provincial boundary

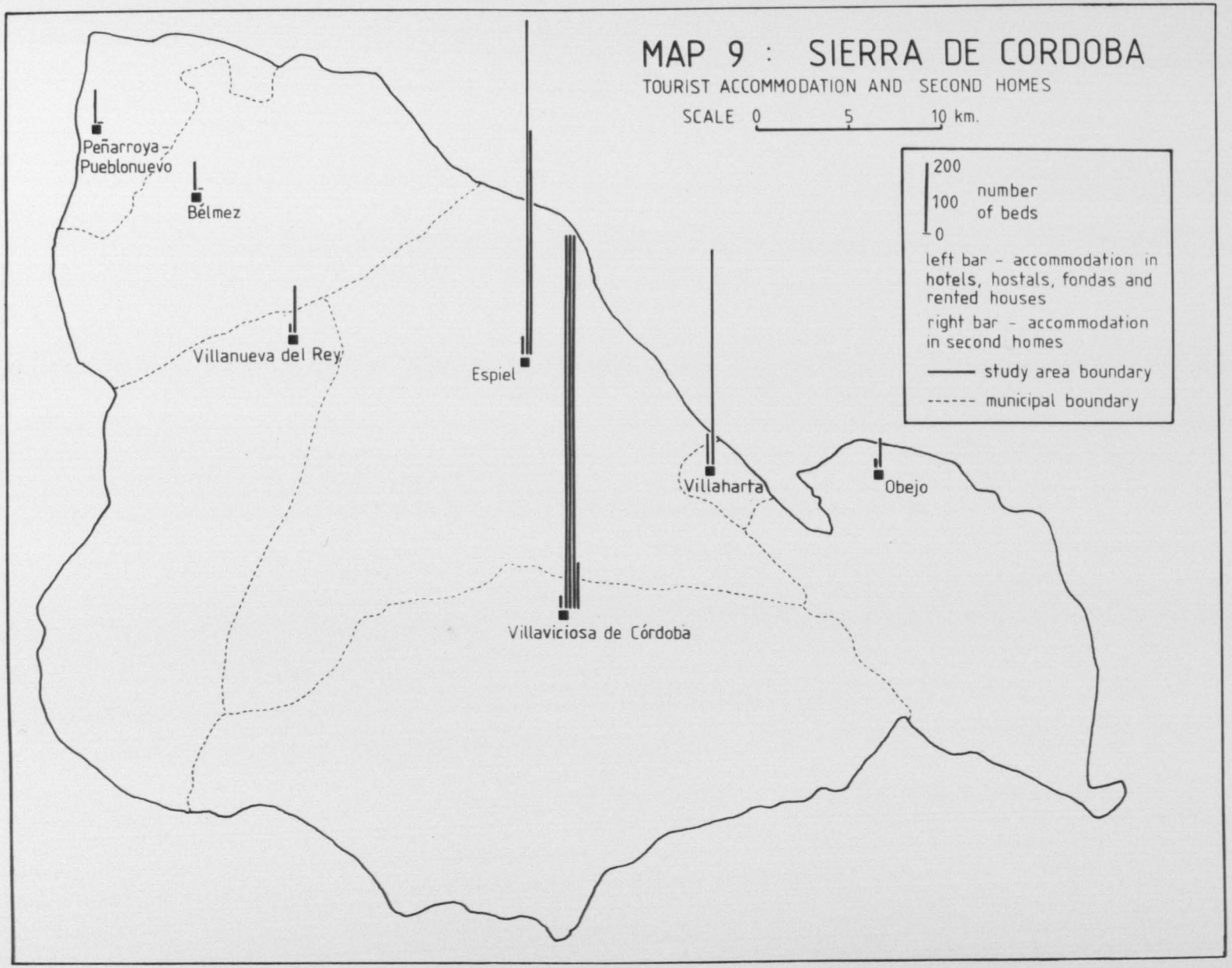

MAP 4 : MONTES DE MALAGA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
study area boundary
municipal boundary
Ardales
Carratraca
Casarabonela
El Burgo
Yunquera
Alozaina
Tolox
Coín
Guaro
Monda
Alhaurín el Grande
Alhaurín de la Torre
Mijas
Benalmádena
Istán
Ojén
FUENGIROLA
Benahavís
MARBELLA
Casares
ESTEPONA
Manilva

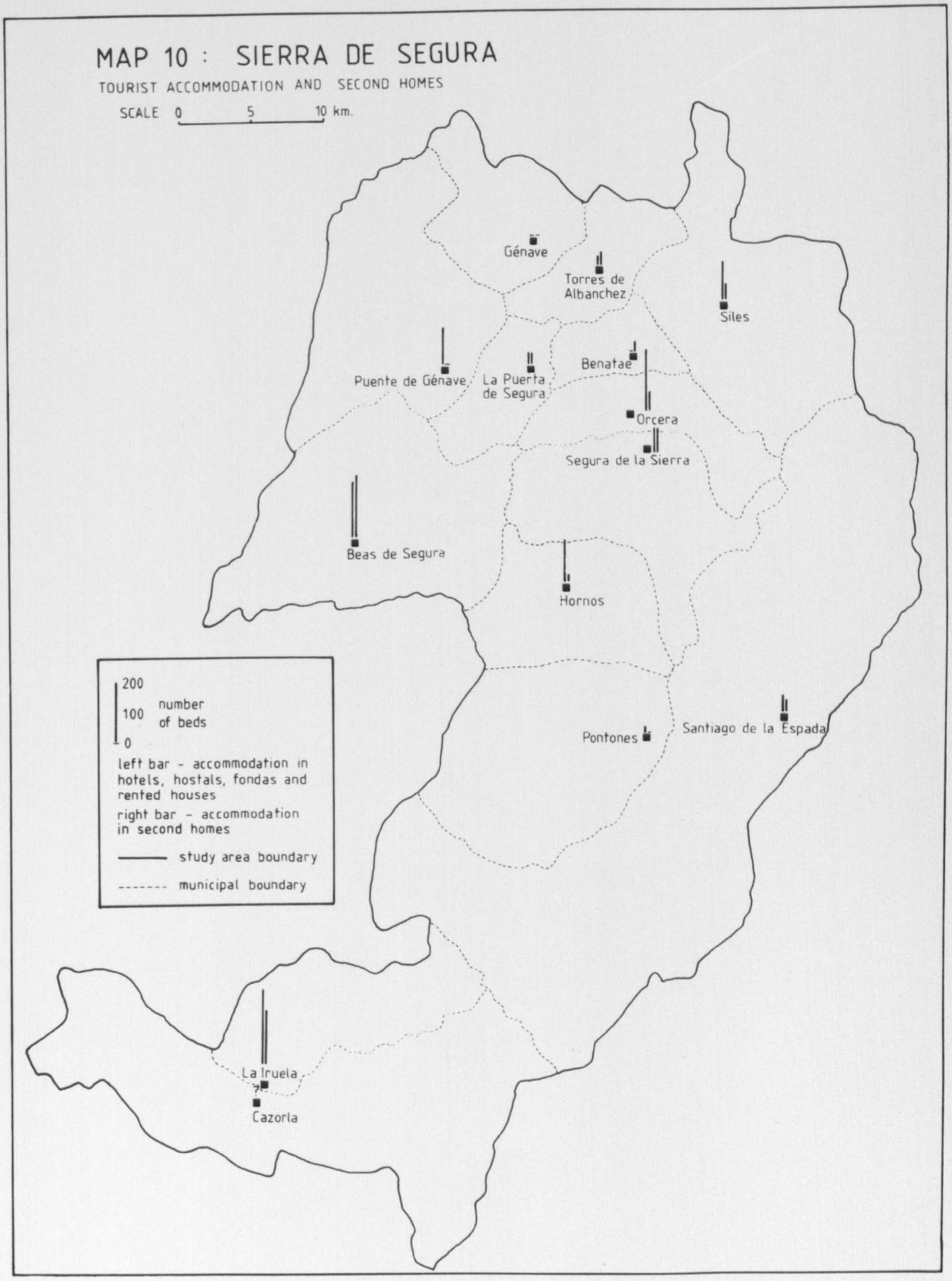

MAP 5: LA AXARQUIA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
200
number
100 of beds
0
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
municipal boundary
study area boundary
Alcaucín
Canillas de Aceituno
Sedella
Canillas de Albaida
La Viñuela
Salares
Cútar
Benamargosa
Archez
Cómpeta
El Borge
Almáchar
Arenas
Benamocarra
Sayalonga
Frigiliana
VELEZ-MALAGA
Iznate
Moclinejo
Algarrobo
Totalán
Macharaviaya
Torrox


MAP 6 : LAS ALPUJARRAS
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
Lanjarón
Orgiva
Cañar
Soportujar
Caratáunas
Pampaneira
Capileira
Bubión
Pitres
Pórtugos
Mecina-Fondales
Busquistar
Ferreirola
Trevélez
Juviles
Berchules
Cadiar
Mecina-Bombarón
Nárila
Yátor
Yegen
Jorairátar
Valor
Ugíjar
Mairena
Laroles
Bayárcal
Picena
Cherin
Paterna del Río
Alcolea
Laujar de Andarax
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
municipal boundary
study area boundary
provincial boundary


MAP 7 : SIERRA DE HUELVA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
Aroche
La Nava
Valdelarco
Cortelazor
Galaroza
Cortegana
Jabugo
Fuenteheridos
Los Marines
Castaño del Robledo
Almonaster la Real
Santa Ana la Real
Alájar
Linares de la Sierra
Aracena
Corteconcepción
Puerto Moral
Santa Olalla del Cala
Higuera de la Sierra
Zufre
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
municipal boundary
study area boundary


MAP 8 : SIERRA DE SEVILLA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
study area boundary
municipal boundary
Guadalcanal
Alanís
San Nicolas del Puerto
El Real de la Jara
Cazalla de la Sierra
Las Navas de la Concepción
Constantina
Almadén de la Plata
El Pedroso
El Ronquillo
El Castillo de las Guardas
Castilblanco de los Arroyos
El Garrobo


MAP 9 : SIERRA DE CORDOBA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
study area boundary
municipal boundary
Peñarroya-Pueblonuevo
Bélmez
Villanueva del Rey
Espiel
Villaharta
Obejo
Villaviciosa de Córdoba


MAP 10 : SIERRA DE SEGURA
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
Génave
Torres de Albanchez
Siles
Benatae
Puente de Génave
La Puerta de Segura
Orcera
Segura de la Sierra
Beas de Segura
Hornos
Pontones
Santiago de la Espada
La Iruela
Cazorla
200
100
0
number of beds
left bar - accommodation in hotels, hostals, fondas and rented houses
right bar - accommodation in second homes
study area boundary
municipal boundary

tourism, which will be the subject of special case studies later. In municipalities with a settlement pattern dispersed over several centres, supplementary enquiries were made in the smaller centres of people working there, generally in shops or bars, who were likely to have more accurate information about tourism there than the officials in the town hall in the main village. In villages with particularly strong tourist flows, supplementary information was also gained from people likely to have the most contact with tourists, such as hotel, shop or bar owners. Details of the precise sources of information and methods used are set out in Appendix 2.

Appendix 3 shows the standard quantitative information which was gained from each questionnaire and a list of headings under which qualitative information was arranged. It also shows published data which is available at municipal level (for example, population and building census data, agrarian census data), with details of the sources, and a number of indices generated from the questionnaire and published data. This dataset forms much of the basis of Parts 2 and 3 of this work - Part 2 analysing the tourism variables themselves and Part 3 examining the way in which tourism related to aspects of the rural economy, and therefore considering the population, agricultural and other variables as well.

The quantitative data has all been fed into a file on the University of Keele computer and the indices mentioned above were all calculated and printed by simple Fortran programs. Some further analysis was conducted on this dataset using procedures from the interactive SCSS package: in particular the facilities for breaking down single variables into categories and for correlation between variables. As a wide variety of information is stored in this dataset, it is not proposed to analyse it all at once, but parts of it will be considered in the relevant parts of the discussion which follows. In the fifteen villages

selected for detailed case study in Part 3, further investigations were made involving interview of local people and tourists, and these will be described later.

B. *Broad distinctions of rural tourism types in study areas: Long Term, Short Term and Winter Tourism*

Before looking in detail at the relative importance of different types of tourist accommodation, a broad distinction can be made between all these types, which all cater for a long-term, sedentary form of visitor, and tourism in the form of day trips from large cities or coastal resorts, or transient tourism, and also winter sports. The bulk of the discussion here will concern residential rural tourism as this is by far the most important, but it is worth briefly looking at the other types first.

Long-term tourism

In some northern European countries rural tourism has become popular for second and even third annual holidays whilst coastal tourism has continued to increase in importance for first holidays. Flament says this is the case for France, where rural tourism actually decreased in importance in the early 1970s with the opening of new coastal resorts in Languedoc and elsewhere (60). However, he also states that rural tourism is becoming increasingly popular for supplementary holidays, taking a larger proportion of the market than coastal tourism. In Spain, however, second and third holidays have not become widespread as yet, in fact it is only recently that large proportions of the population have been able to take first holidays, and many still do not even do that. In Spain the bulk of families who participate in rural tourism are either emigrants returning to their family or second-home owners, and in both these cases a considerable outlay would be involved. A family returning to Andalusia from Catalonia in the summer, for example, would

be unlikely to be able to take any other vacation, while an Andalusian family with a second home would be likely to use it as much as possible, including at weekends and in festive seasons.

The strong family and second-home based nature of Spanish rural tourism has militated against the growth of commercial tourist facilities in the country districts and has limited the extent of casual short-stay tourism by Spaniards and foreigners alike; because of the lack of accommodation this is mainly in the form of day visits, and even in this case lack of provision of restaurants and souvenir shops limits the amount of revenue that such tourism could generate (Vitte also states this to be a major problem (61)). However, rural Andalusia is not without historical, cultural and scenic attributes to attract this form of tourism, and this potential could justify the installation of tourist facilities that would otherwise be uneconomic. In this context a question was asked of local officials as to the type of visitors which came to the village, the most convenient division being returning emigrant families, families spending the summer in the municipality, and people coming for the day only. The distinction between these groups is clear cut - the first two generally returning year after year, and the second usually being restricted to passing visits due to the lack of accommodation. Table 13 shows the number of villages which responded affirmatively to the presence of each of these three types of tourism.

Virtually all the villages studied recorded flows of returning emigrants to the village in summer, the main flows of emigrants being to Catalonia, Germany, France and Switzerland, and the return to Andalusia nearly always taking place during July and August. The only municipalities which did not register such flows were those very near the western Costa del Sol, which acts as a sufficient employer of village labour to replace emigration; and also the town of Alhaurín de la Torre, marginal to the Montes de Málaga and containing several

important industrial establishments in its own right and a rich agricultural hinterland. Apart from these special cases, the presence of returning emigrants was remarkable in its uniformity over all the study areas. Flows of summer visitors were likewise evenly spread over villages in the hinterlands of large cities, but elsewhere they became more concentrated, for reasons to be discussed later.

Table 13. PRESENCE OF VISITORS IN STUDY AREA VILLAGES

Type of visitor	Region	Municipalities	
		Number	% of total
Returning emigrants	Betic Cordillera	101	96.2
	Sierra Morena	54	100
Summer visitors	Betic Cordillera	81	77.1
	Sierra Morena	52	96.3
Day visitors	Betic Cordillera	101	96.2
	Sierra Morena	37	68.5
Total number of municipalities	Betic Cordillera (1)	105	100
	Sierra Morena (2)	54	100

Source: Author's questionnaire in Town Halls

NOTES: (1) Betic Cordillera includes the Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda, Montes de Málaga, Axarquía and Alpujarras case study areas.
(2) Sierra Morena includes the Sierra de Huelva, Sierra de Sevilla, Sierra de Córdoba and Sierra de Segura case study areas.

Short-term tourism

However, a positive answer regarding the presence of day visitors was less common, particularly where significant flows of cars, or coach parties, were concerned. The only villages radically affected by this are those inland from the Costa del Sol.

(i) Coastal hinterland: the best example being Mijas, where the town hall estimated that there were 40 souvenir shops and 15 per cent of the population living directly off tourism, much of their income coming from

day visitors, and a further 50 per cent employed in construction. Even in this region, however, the effect of day visitors falls off rapidly. Coach tours regularly visit the next line of centres inland (Coín, Monda, Alhaurín el Grande), and though a considerable traffic of day visitors was reported in these centres there was very little in the way of facilities catering for them. Reasons for this will be discussed later, but authorities in these centres felt that mass day tourism did not bring significant revenue into the villages and was not to be actively promoted. Furthermore, these particular centres were better off than most of rural Andalusia, owing to their proximity to the rich agricultural land of the Guadalhorce Basin and also a number of industrial activities, so that their inhabitants do not need to supplement their income with tourism enterprises. However, further west in the smaller villages of Casares, Benahavís, Istán and Ojén, there is virtually no agricultural or industrial development and the labour force is mainly employed on the coast. However, as most of them prefer to work in their own village, the presence of day visitors from the coast was more encouraged, although limited in extent so far and in some cases declining because of the slowing down of coastal tourism growth. Tourism is perhaps more crucial for the future of these four villages than any others in Andalusia and they have been made the subject of a special case study in Section 3.

Beyond these villages, and behind the eastern Costa del Sol, the influence of day visitors becomes negligible, though most town halls reported minimal flows. The size of day tourist flows to the interior is difficult to measure, but an estimate of them can be gained from information ventured by some of the town halls in the province of Málaga shown in Map 17.

(ii) Urban Peripheral Areas: most of the villages in the study areas

are too remote from the provincial capitals to exercise much attraction for day trips. In the municipality of El Castillo de las Guardas (Seville) sizeable flows of day visitors were reported to the former mining area which now offers the nearest outdoor swimming facilities to Seville. In the province of Córdoba, considerable flows were reported to Villaviciosa for the hunting season in autumn, but most day tourism occurs in the municipality of Córdoba itself.

(iii) Villages of special scenic or historical interest: some villages in the remoter parts of the study areas attract significant day tourist flows and have developed limited facilities for them. The most notable example is perhaps Aracena in the Sierra de Huelva, where the cave (Gruta de las Maravillas) is estimated to attract 140,000 visitors a year (62). Similarly, certain villages in the Alpujarras are attracting tours from Granada and from the coast at weekends. A. Perez estimated that in Bubión (one of the most visited villages) 2-3 coaches came every weekend in summer 1979 as well as 80-140 cars, and a much smaller number at other times (4 cars on winter days, 12 on summer days) (63). However, González Montero states that the Alpujarras are too far from Granada to attract much greater daily flows of visitors and have too few facilities for longer run tourism, so therefore it would not be economic to exploit the tourism possibilities to the full there. This is the situation in which many of the more isolated, albeit most scenic, parts of the study areas find themselves.

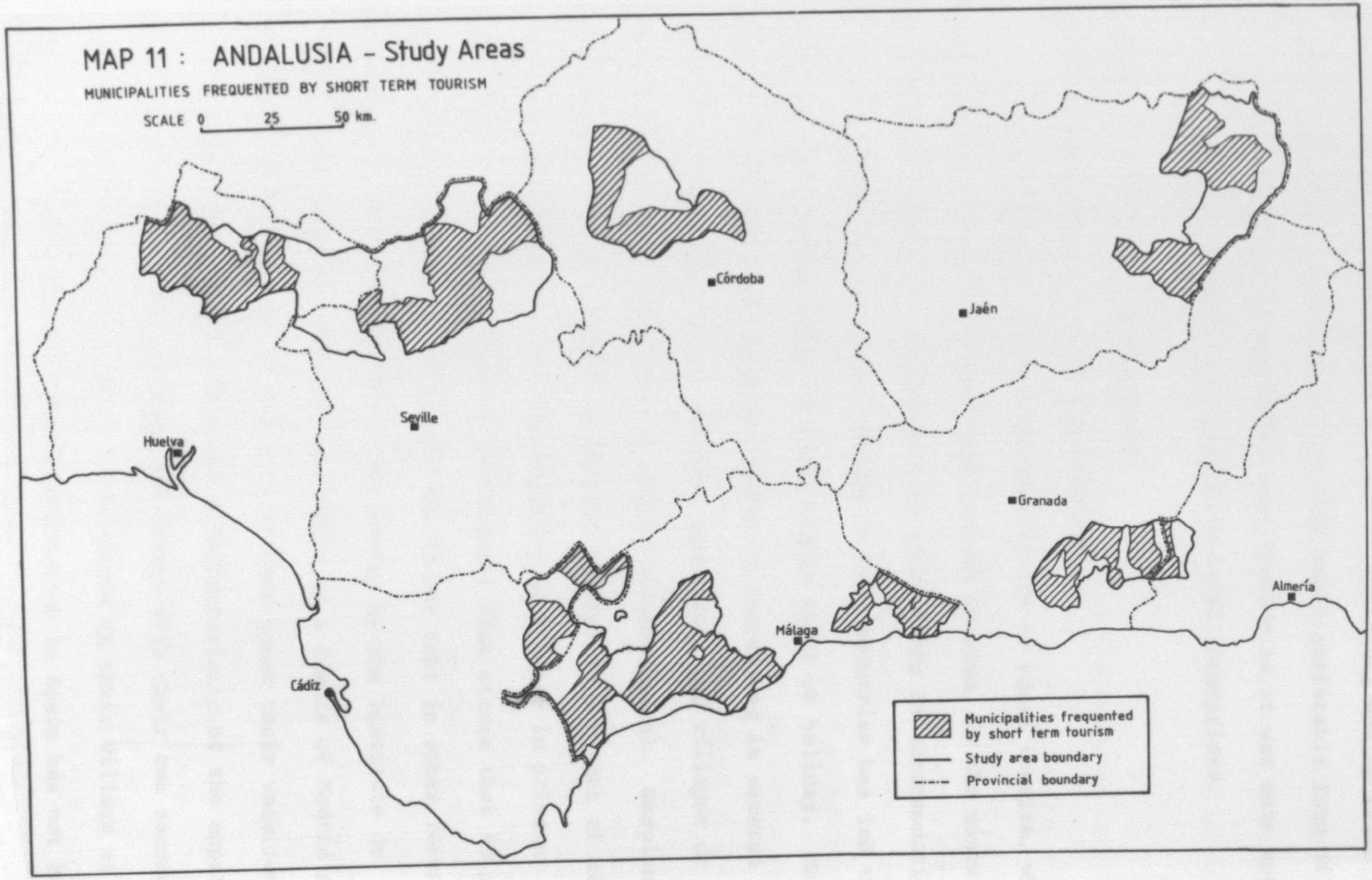
(iv) Transient tourism: The Sierra Morena study areas have some important routes passing through them on which a number of small inns and restaurants have grown up to provide for passing traffic. This, of course, is not merely tourist traffic but mostly commercial traffic between Andalusia and the rest of Spain. However, the presence of main roads through these regions could provide an important stimulus to tourism there.

All these forms of short-term tourism are of limited importance in relation to long-term tourism in the study areas, with which the rest of Part 2 will be concerned. However, they will again be touched on in the case studies in Part 3: short-term tourism has important effects on the local economy which are different from those of long term tourism, one being that it tends to lengthen the season. Billet mentions that transient tourism in Ticino (southern Switzerland) has significantly lengthened the season and allowed facilities which would otherwise be uneconomic to be set up. Map 11 shows those villages in the study areas which receive short term tourism.

Winter tourism

As mentioned previously, the only part of Andalusia affected by this is the Sierra Nevada and development there has so far been restricted to the northern slopes, owing to their proximity to Granada and their greater suitability for skiing. However, winter sports have increased recently in Europe, with their democratisation and a greater number of second holidays being possible (64), and plans are currently underway for large scale foreign-financed development on the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada in the higher parts of the Alpujarras municipalities. The sunnier and greener southern slopes would also be attractive for outdoor summer tourism pursuits (walking, hunting, fishing and hang gliding) as well as winter tourism based on Nordic skiing. Whereas most winter sports regions are unattractive for second home development, the company involved in this project hopes to build a complex of chalets based on summer and winter tourism (65). This will obviously have a large impact on the local economy of several Alpujarras villages, and will be examined further in Part 3.

The only other place where winter tourism of any sort was held to be important was in certain villages near the Costa del Sol which


MAP 11 : ANDALUSIA - Study Areas
MUNICIPALITIES FREQUENTED BY SHORT TERM TOURISM
SCALE 0 25 50 km.
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
Almería
Málaga
Cádiz
Municipalities frequented by short term tourism
Study area boundary
Provincial boundary

reported that they received regular visits from foreign residents on the coast. This affected only the lower, more accessible villages where the climate remains mild and sunny for most of the year, and in these villages restaurant owners said that this was a preferable form of tourism in comparison to the summer mass tourism as it was more spread out and brought more money per visitor to local enterprises.

C. *Types of long term rural tourism*

The minor importance of hotel accommodation

One of the most salient characteristics of rural tourism, which distinguishes it from city-based and coastal tourism, is the minor importance of hotels in comparison with other forms of accommodation. The recent rapid rise in rural tourism in many countries has led to hotels taking a lesser share of total nights spent on holiday. Mormont notes that in France and Belgium tourism is increasing in several new forms such as camping, social tourism, apartments and *villages de vacances familiaires* (complexes of rented accommodation). Desplanques mentions that whereas in 1961 in Abruzzo (Italy) 75 per cent of nights were spent in hotels, in 1975 the majority were spent in private villas (66). The second Spanish Development Plan states that 48 per cent of nights were spent in hotels and 52 per cent in other forms of accommodation (67). Furthermore, the survey by the Instituto de Estudios Turísticos on the vacation habits of a sample of Madrid's population estimated that 50 per cent of them spent their vacations in family accommodation (68). This was a characteristic of the upper and lower ends of the social classes, the former with their own second homes and the latter often going to relatives in their village of origin. The growth of non-hotel accommodation in Spain has not been limited to rural tourism; Mortes Alfonso states that 81 per cent of accommodation on the Costa del Sol is accounted for by private dwellings and flats (69).

In the case study areas hotels and *hostals* (lower grade hotels) figure very weakly, accounting for only 2.4 per cent of the total accommodation there and comprising only 3.6 per cent of total Andalusian accommodation in hotels and *hostals*. Table 12 shows the number of hotels and *hostals* in each of the study areas. These establishments, numbering 72 in total, can be accounted for by the following specialised cases:

(i) The spa resorts (*balnearios*) of Tolox, Carratraca and Lanjarón account for 43 per cent of the establishments. These three resorts date from the late nineteenth century and thus enjoyed their heyday in the time when hotel accommodation was more common; also they attracted a high class clientele who could afford this. Now they present a somewhat anachronistic tourism structure, and a survey conducted among the hoteliers of Lanjarón in late 1979 concluded that it had been a universally poor season for them, with a sharp fall in the number of visitors. This mainly reflects the decline in popularity of the curative methods of thermal resorts with advances in modern medicine, but it can also be related to the decline in the popularity of hotels with other forms of accommodation becoming cheaper and more flexible. In Tolox, the popularity of the resort had been maintained partly because accommodation has diversified into apartments, and partly as the curative properties of the waters here (liver and kidney diseases) are still sought after. Carratraca, meanwhile, has declined considerably as its curative properties (skin complaints) are very little sought after.

(ii) Villages with particular tourist attractions: Aracena, El Bosque, part of the Alpujarras and Cazorla account for a further 29 per cent of hotels and *hostals*. Cazorla has an antecedence of tourism going back to before the Civil War, as mentioned before, and the other places have small but regular flows of tourists, mostly Spanish, to their hotels because of their scenic interest. Such cases are rare but where they

exist they provide important stimuli to greater promotion of tourist facilities.

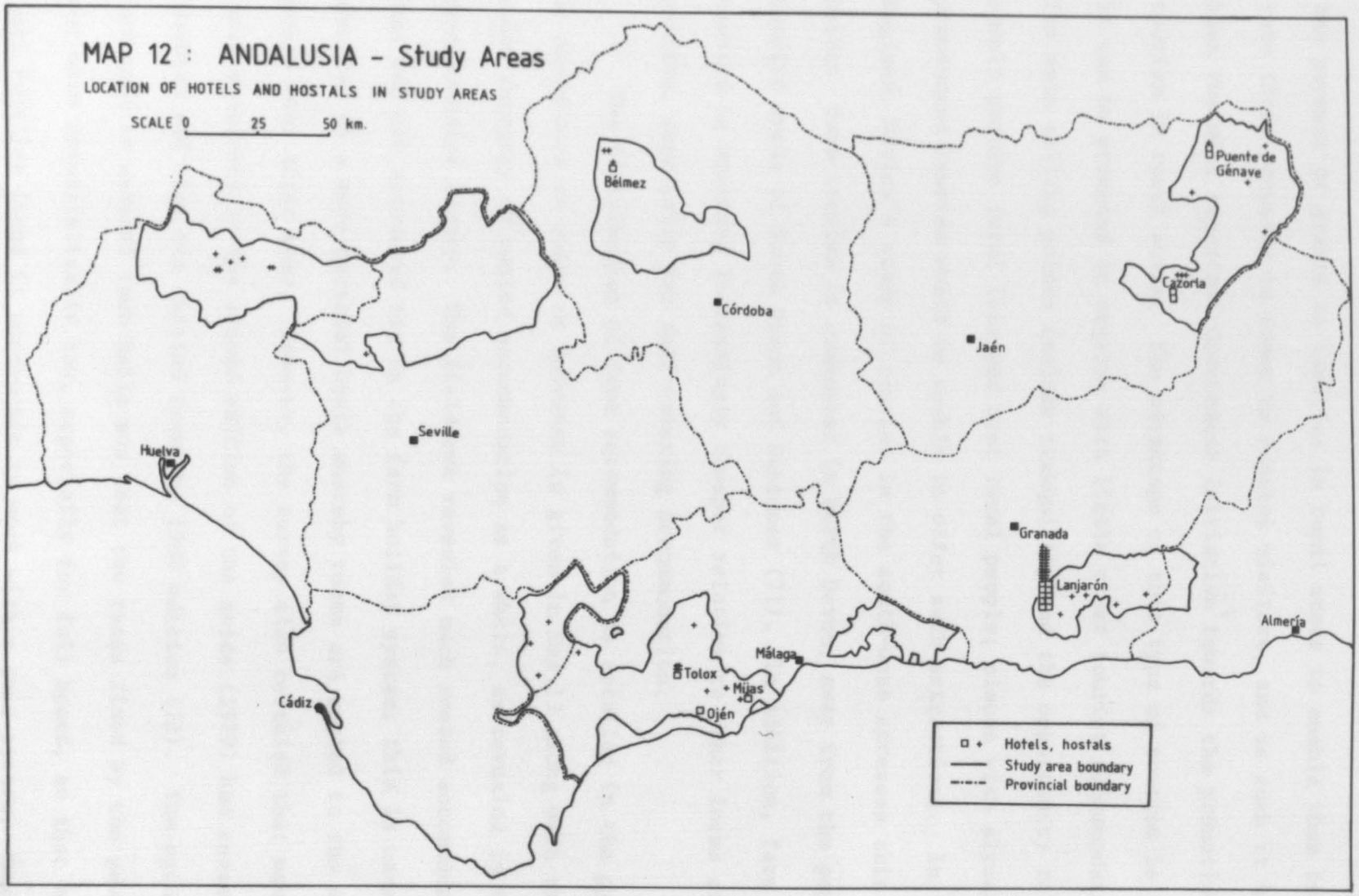
(iii) The remaining 28 per cent of the hotels and *hostals* are isolated examples mainly occurring on or near main roads or servicing some of the larger centres. Map 12 indicates the location of all the individual establishments.

In general, therefore, the short season has inhibited the development of hotels, the exceptions being where the season is lengthened by the presence of passing tourists, or in spa resorts where a large number of visitors is guaranteed each year. Even in many of these hotels, the most cosmopolitan of all tourism types, it is often the case that in the summer months they are filled by the same visitors year after year, so that there is little or no space for casual visitors except in the off season. In many rural areas, the increasing renting of rooms by local people is of growing concern to hoteliers (70); the regular custom of the latter is largely derived from people who have been going to them for years; and as they are now getting old they will soon not come any more and will not be replaced.

Hotel and *hostal* accommodation is supplemented by the *fondas* or village inns, of which most municipalities have at least one. They do not generally derive the majority of their revenue from tourists but from commercial travellers or visiting workers, so their pattern does not bear any direct relation to tourism flows. The proportion of accommodation accounted for by them in the study areas is given in Appendix 3.

Rented accommodation and farmhouse holidays

Several European countries, including Great Britain, France, Spain and Finland have Government-organised schemes of farm holidays, organised with the combined aims of giving city populations an opportunity to find out more about rural life, and for farmers to supplement

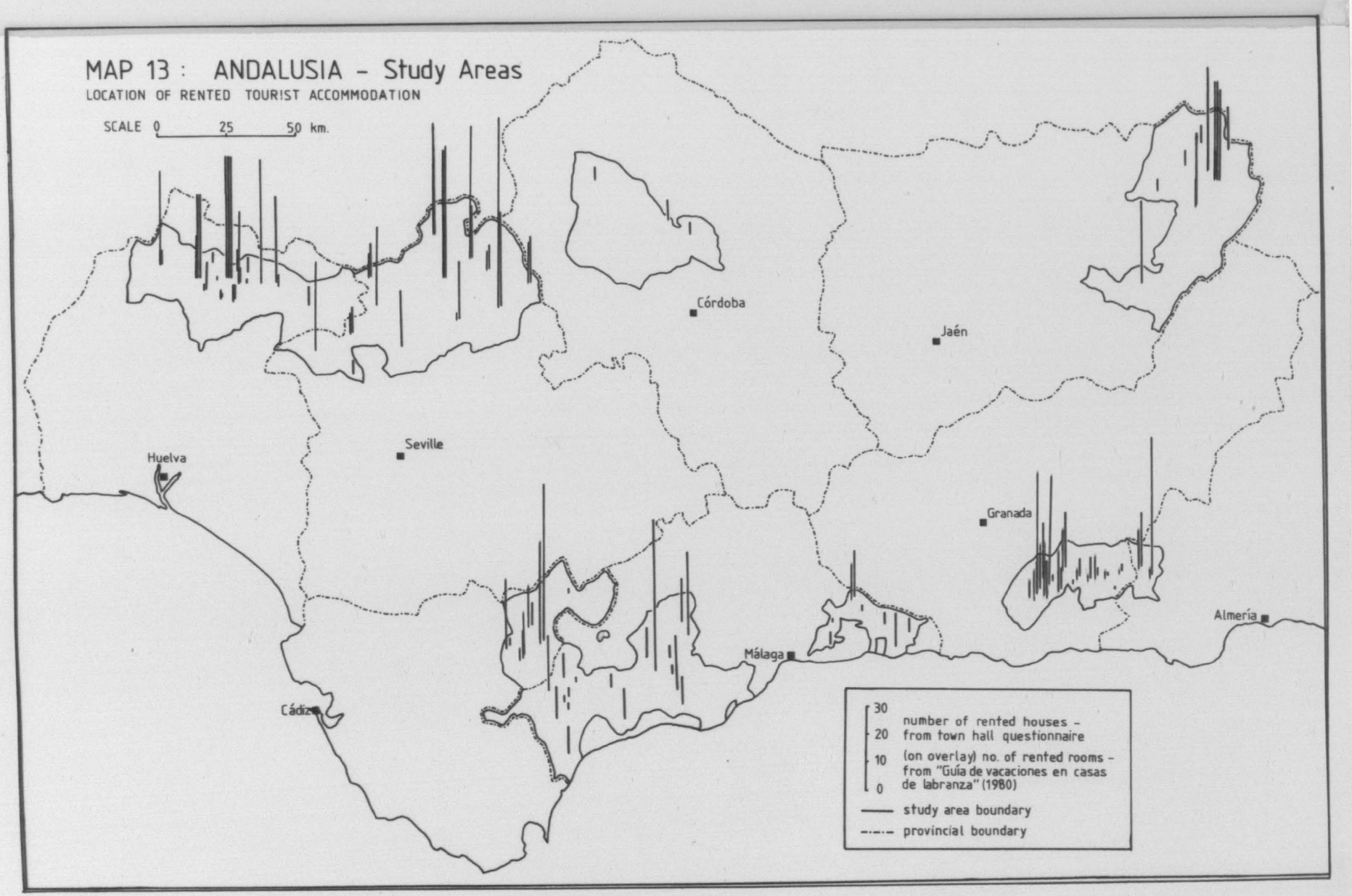

MAP 12 : ANDALUSIA - Study Areas
LOCATION OF HOTELS AND HOSTALS IN STUDY AREAS
SCALE 0 25 50 km.
Bélmez
Puente de Génave
Cazorla
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
Lanjarón
Almería
Málaga
Tolox
Mijas
Ojén
Cádiz
Hotels, hostals
Study area boundary
Provincial boundary

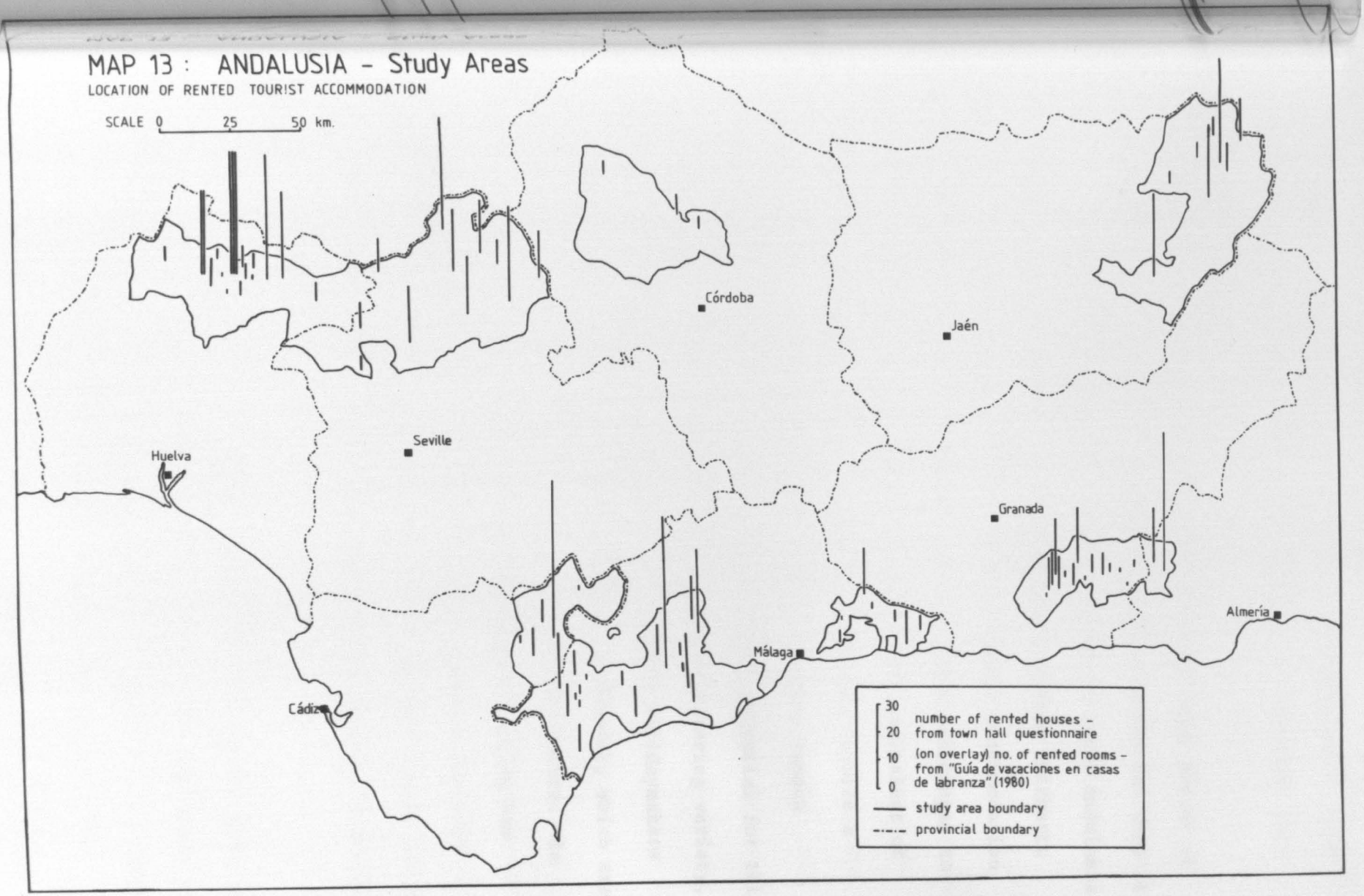
their income, which is particularly vital in marginal upland areas. The Spanish scheme of *vacaciones en casas de labranza* is a joint initiative from the Ministries of Agriculture and Tourism and involves the payment of grants to families in rural areas to enable them to renovate their property in order to receive visitors, and as such it has been the most important Government initiative towards the promotion of tourism in rural areas. The advantage of this type of tourism is that it can be promoted in regions with little other tourist accommodation. Its main selling points include tranquility and the opportunity to sample genuine rural life and meet local people; places with already pronounced tourism would be unable to offer such attractions. In England, Davies's study of tourism in the south-west stresses this point: farm tourism is commonest in North Devon, away from the popular tourist areas of South Devon and Dartmoor (71). In addition, farm tourism is becoming increasingly cheaper relative to other forms of tourism, especially for self-catering accommodation.

The distribution of farm accommodation as detailed in the *guía de vacaciones en casas de labranza* is given in Map 13 along with the wider category of rented accommodation as a whole, as revealed in the questionnaire survey. The fieldwork revealed much rented accommodation that was not accounted for in the farm holiday system; this is usually operated on a more personal basis whereby rooms are rented to the same people year after year. However, the survey also revealed that many cases mentioned in the second edition of the guide (1979) had ceased to function and they are omitted from the 1980 edition (72). The opinion expressed in several town halls was that the rates fixed by the government were unrealistically low, especially for full board, so that most local families found it uneconomic to work within this system. Many families had received the modernisation grant but had stopped letting rooms or houses after one season. At present, the farm holiday

VOLUME CONTAINS CLEAR OVERLAYS

OVERLAYS HAVE BEEN SCANNED SEPERATELY AND THEN AGAIN OVER THE RELEVANT PAGE


MAP 13 : ANDALUSIA - Study Areas
LOCATION OF RENTED TOURIST ACCOMMODATION
SCALE 0 25 50 km.
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
Almería
Málaga
Cádiz
30
20
10
0
number of rented houses - from town hall questionnaire
(on overlay) no. of rented rooms - from "Guía de vacaciones en casas de labranza" (1980)
study area boundary
provincial boundary


MAP 13 : ANDALUSIA - Study Areas
LOCATION OF RENTED TOURIST ACCOMMODATION
SCALE 0 25 50 km.
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
Almería
Málaga
Cádiz
30
20
10
0
number of rented houses - from town hall questionnaire
(on overlay) no. of rented rooms - from "Guía de vacaciones en casas de labranza" (1980)
study area boundary
provincial boundary

accommodation listed in the guide has become more areally specialised, with some villages renting out large amounts of accommodation. This reflects local organisation of tourism initiative, an important consideration to be looked at later.

The mere fact that some villages can provide a large amount of accommodation under this scheme illustrates the great potential that it could have if it were developed throughout the whole of rural Andalusia. A study of the tourist potential of inland Málaga province (hitherto very sparsely developed) estimated that there is enough accommodation available, mostly in the form of disused *cortijos* (farm buildings) to provide enough farm holiday accommodation to house the equivalent of 5 per cent of the local population. However, this would require a large amount of aid to provide essential services to such remote buildings (73). In other words, there could be great potential for this kind of tourism, particularly of the independent self-catering variety, if the accommodation is improved sufficiently; Spanish holidaymakers tend to demand the basic facilities of electricity and water, which are unlikely to be provided in many sites in the foreseeable future. In some areas, a rise in demand for a more rustic form of lodging has occurred among northern European people who have bought up isolated farms for retirement (this will be discussed under second homes), but so far this has not been significantly reflected among Spaniards themselves.

Second homes

Jacobs referred to the increase in the number of second homes in North Wales as "the quiet revolution". This reflects the importance of second homes in the overall housing and tourism framework of the region, but also indicates the unspectacular way in which this position has been achieved. The increase has been gradual over the last fifteen years, mostly taking place by individual purchase of property rather

than the construction of large estates of new chalets. As such, the increase has been generally unnoticed, its effect being spread in a very dispersed manner; also, official recording of the phenomenon is minimal, so that publicity is also reduced. Many second homes are inherited rather than bought, and would thus escape official recording even if there were any (74). Bought second homes are increasing in most countries, though they are restricted to certain areas only.

In most European countries, second homes are increasing at a rapid rate - by 25,000 a year in Britain, according to Goss (75). In France the increase in second homes has been especially great because of the slow rate of urban building and improvement, the history of rural-urban migration, the tradition of domestic tourism, the hot dry summer, the long summer holidays and the lack of rural planning controls. All these factors mentioned by Goss can equally be applied to the Spanish context, though here growth had lagged behind France because of the lower standard of living, so second homes can be expected to continue to increase rapidly.

As seen before, there is no reliable official source on second homes in Spain, and this section of the study especially relies on the data gained in the town halls. In the study areas the official *segunda residencia* statistics mentioned earlier are almost meaningless in the tourism context because they do not take into account any municipality with less than 25 secondary homes, and most of those listed refer to agricultural buildings, and as such the data related more to the level of rural depopulation than that of tourism. Also most of the second homes recorded in this study would not appear in the official data, the latest of which appeared in 1970. A further problem is that, for reasons of tax evasion, second homes are not recorded officially anyway, and town halls turn a blind eye to this as they generally favour them in their municipality (76). The data collected in the town halls has

been divided into two categories - families of returning emigrants and other second homes. The second has been mapped in the original maps of the eight study areas.

Families of returning emigrants often stay with relations in the villages rather than having a second home, while some stay in what was once their first home and others have built themselves new second homes. While officials generally gave estimates of the total number of returning emigrant families, they could not split this up into these three categories. The pattern of returning emigrants is fairly uniform throughout the study areas and any anomalies in the ratios of returning emigrant families to permanent ones could be more due to the inaccuracies in the data given than to any other reason, so the figures will not be analysed further. However, they are important in assessing the total flows of visitors to the study areas in the summer which are shown in maps 3-10 and which will be used in Part 3 to estimate the seasonal increase in population in these regions every summer. Returning emigrants also have an important effect on the architectural landscape of villages otherwise unaffected by second homes; often the first new constructions for many years in villages are homes built by emigrants for their summer use. This, again, will be considered in Part 3.

The rest of this section will concern the other part of the data given, concerning second homes owned by people with no family connection with the village. In Andalusia these are increasing rapidly in mountain regions, not only for the reasons outlined previously but also because of the lesser summer heat there compared with the cities. Furthermore, Flores reports that second homes are increasing in the Sierra de Huelva because the coast of that province is becoming saturated and the tranquility sought after can often not be found (77).

An analysis of the location of these second homes will follow

in the next section, but here an important trend regarding the changing type of second home can be considered, that is, the growing predominance of new, purpose-built second homes over old ones. This trend is not only to be seen in Spain. While Barbier states that in the Basses-Alpes region of France there are five old second homes to one new, Brier says the prefabricated chalet is growing in popularity, introducing an exotic architectural form into many French rural areas (78). In England, Downing and Dower suggest a turning point has been reached, with increasing numbers of new second homes, which have become more numerous than old ones (79). In Spain this trend has been aggravated by the lack of selling of old properties, usually because they are kept for returning emigrant families; or in some villages, where property has already been bought up by outsiders, local owners will no longer sell. The latter situation has occurred in the Alpujarras villages of Capileira, Bubión and Pampaneira, where originally a greater amount of second home buying was enabled because fewer emigrants returned in summer. The relationship between emigration and tourism will be touched on in Part 3 with reference to this particular case.

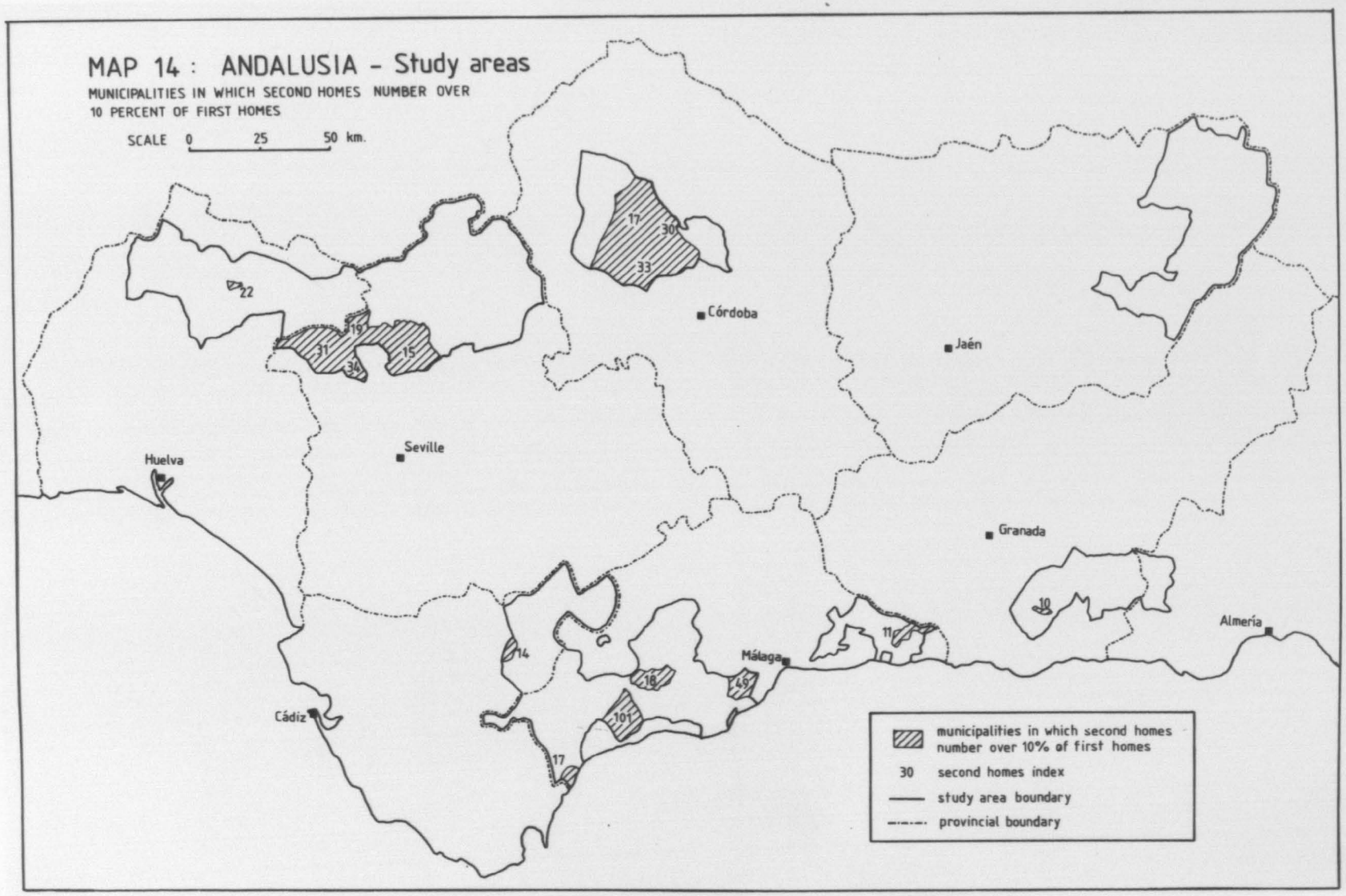
New second homes are mostly concentrated in those municipalities near large cities or the coast, where they have grown up in estates - as will be seen in the next section. However, the largest concentrations of second homes relative to first homes tend to occur in smaller more remote municipalities, partly due to depopulation making available a large number of houses and partly due to the demand for a cooler climate and pleasant surroundings. In Switzerland, Grafton reports that in some mountain communes there are three times as many second homes as first homes (80). In the study area municipalities a similar calculation has been made but here, as second homes are a much newer phenomenon, there are only 15 out of the 150 municipalities studied

where second homes equal over 10 per cent of first homes, and these are shown in Map 14. The reasons for these concentrations and the processes behind them will by analysed in the next section. Though concentrations of second homes are seen in the vicinity of Seville, Ortega Valcárcel states that the ratio of second homes to the population there is much lower than in any other major Spanish city, so there is every reason to expect more growth in the municipalities concerned. He suggests the reason for this is that demand has in the past been directed towards the coast (81).

Other types of tourism: camping, caravanning, hunting and fishing

Camping and caravanning are as yet insignificant in the study areas though they are increasing in Spain as a whole due to their low cost and the growing popularity of outdoor activities (82); however, in the IET survey of the holidays taken by a sample of Madrid's population, it was also judged to be insignificant (83). The literature from other countries' rural areas highlights the problems of uncontrolled camping and caravanning; surveys of tourism in the Welsh mountains stress the aesthetic problems caused by caravans parked by the roadside in many places and report that their presence in some areas is restricted by planning laws (84). Similarly, unrestricted wild camping can have bad ecological effects on the landscape, as has been pointed out with reference to the Sierra de Segura (85). The future will no doubt see an increase in these forms of tourism, and it would be preferable if the relevant authorities could anticipate demand by providing sites for them before too much damage is caused.

Conversely, many of the study areas have enjoyed a reputation for hunting, and to a lesser extent fishing, since before the Civil War. Before the advent of widespread summer houses in the Sierra Morena, hunting was the only major attraction there for outsiders, and at


MAP 14 : ANDALUSIA - Study areas
MUNICIPALITIES IN WHICH SECOND HOMES NUMBER OVER
10 PERCENT OF FIRST HOMES
SCALE 0 25 50 km.
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Huelva
Granada
Almería
Málaga
Cádiz
17
30
33
22
19
31
34
15
14
18
49
101
17
11
10
municipalities in which second homes number over 10% of first homes
30 second homes index
study area boundary
provincial boundary

present hunting reserves occupy a large proportion of the land area. Most of the land is owned by private individuals and companies, however, so it is not a resource which can easily be exploited either for local people or for the general public. However, as the main hunting season for the most common species occurs in autumn, hunting clientele could become important in lengthening the visitor season if the resources were managed more effectively.

Summary: nature of Andalusian rural tourism

Clearly, the most salient characteristic of Andalusian rural tourism is its informal nature, which will have important repercussions when its relationships with the rural economies of the study areas are considered in Part 3, and future integrated planning looked at in Part 4. Hotel tourism has greater local economic effects though it tends to be more concentrated, more disruptive, and more demanding of outside labour than other types, while second homes involve very little local economic effect, but need not be disruptive to the local way of life. In addition, conflicts may develop between different types of tourism. In the parts of this study which follow, it will be stressed how important the type of tourism is to integrated local economic advance, and that the types of tourism increasing most rapidly in many municipalities (i.e., second homes) are not necessarily those which could be the most remunerative to the inhabitants. In addition, an important factor to bear in mind is the origin of enterprise in rural tourism which, if outside the local sphere, may bypass the local economy; this is almost inevitably the case with second homes.

3. *LOCATION OF RURAL TOURISM*

Importance of location in tourism development

This section will consider in detail the spatial distribution of tourism in rural Andalusia and the factors controlling this

distribution. While many studies have been made of general levels of demand, little attention has been paid to the location of rural tourism, and this should obviously be the prime subject of a geographical work on the subject. While some studies analyse the location of tourism from a demand side, counting traffic at nodes and using questionnaires at important road junctions to gauge the number of person/nights, this study analyses tourism from the supply side, looking at the amount of accommodation in each village, as derived from questionnaire surveys in town halls, and relating that to other factors.

The analysis here is based on the datasets set out in Appendix 3 as are the indices generated from this data. In addition, analysis of the whole of the dataset and indices has been made using SCSS package program procedures, especially those of BREAKDOWN and CORRELATION. The former has been used extensively to compare the characteristics of one variable from one case study area to another, or to break one variable down according to the value of another. The latter has been used to correlate two variables where a relationship has been hypothesised, though for most of the variables considered here some kind of auto-correlation would occur, rendering such correlations spurious. In addition, the simple procedure UNIVARIATE has been used to calculate mean values of certain variables for each region Use of the high-powered SCSS procedures, such as multiple regression and factor analysis has been precluded by the wide range in size of the 150 cases in the dataset, the extremes of population being 200 and 20,000 approximately. Even the supposedly population-independent variables such as the index of visiting tourists as a proportion of local population, could arguably be related to population as well because the smaller villages often have a higher proportion of tourists. Because of these size-dependent variables, a regression or factor analysis would not reveal any new information about the relationships between the variables because their

size-dependent inter-relationships cannot be eliminated.

For many villages in this study, location largely determines opportunity for tourism, that is, the tourism received is largely outside the village's control. Whereas 25 years ago tourism was largely confined to the towns and the coast, now the increasing desire of tourists is to return to a natural environment. A majority of rural tourism, labelled 'peripheral', is related directly to distance from the city of origin of the tourists, or from the coastal resort where the tourist stays. However, in the remaining areas of 'non-peripheral tourism' such a simple distance relationship cannot be derived, and the tourist potential of a village will depend more on its altitude, scenery and historical interest. In this section, the first part will deal with the general locational characteristics of rural tourism, before moving on to consider peripheral and non-peripheral tourism in detail. The dividing line between these two can often be drawn with precision - as Burton points out, generally speaking, the best recreational facilities are poorly located with respect to population centres - so that peripheral tourism often grows up in areas of little intrinsic attraction (86). One major factor which would severely limit this kind of spatial analysis is that of inheritance, whereby people choose a particular place to visit for social, not locational or landscape reasons (87). However, in this analysis, the separation of returning emigrants from other visitors would isolate this factor effectively. In this section, therefore, a model for peripheral tourism, and some ideas regarding non-peripheral tourism, will be derived, and finally these will be integrated with the temporal approach, to enable suggestions to be made about the future of rural tourism in Andalusia.

Modelling of rural tourism location

Attempts to simulate the location of rural tourism have met with only limited success owing to the large number of factors involved. Location differences are not only due to distance from city centres or the inherent attractions of the surrounding landscape (which are difficult to quantify anyway and would involve a large subjective element) but also to factors relating to the previous rural economy of the region: amount of depopulation and therefore amount of available accommodation, prices of land and housing, and so on. The main work on simulating growth of tourism has been on the much smaller scale of an individual resort, for example a paper by Burby, Donnelly and Weiss on the growth of second homes on a Michigan lakeshore (88). The authors pointed out that the locational factors for recreational residences were very different to those for first homes, but that their locations were not easily predictable simply by amenity factors. They reported that decisions of landowners before development were the most important influences. The random sale of residential lots had given rise to an irregular pattern of building unrelated to the best sites. The only pattern that could be distinguished in this process is that the poorer landowners tended to sell out first. Therefore, not only can one not define recreational place utility well, but having done so, it is not a very useful concept in predicting the actual location of tourism that will follow. On the scale of this study, the detailed simulation approach adopted by Burby, Donnelly and Weiss is not suitable, though in the pages that follow, it is hoped to derive some general, mostly qualitative, relationships and go some way to explaining the present distribution of rural tourism.

Peripheral rural tourism: urban and coastal tourism hinterlands

Several of the field study regions were chosen with the idea of

developing a model of urban and coastal tourist hinterlands. These are the Sierra de Córdoba, Sierra de Sevilla, and to a lesser extent the Sierra de Huelva, as urban hinterlands, and the Montes de Málaga and Axarquía as coastal hinterlands.

A study of second homes in the USA revealed a strong correlation between states with the most second homes and those with the most first homes, suggesting that, at least for that form of tourism, urban hinterlands were the prime locating factor (89). In his study of second homes in Spain, Ortega Valcárcel defines a ring of tourism for cities of over 200,000 people; based on a maximum of three hours' driving time, he suggests that the tourism peripheries of Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and Bilbao extend to 100 km., although with fast and direct roads this could extend as far as 200 km. (90). In smaller cities such as Vigo, Valladolid and Zaragoza, the equivalent distance is around 30 km.. This would suggest that the area of the hinterland increases geometrically with the size of the city, a fact that is suggested by the increasing stress and higher density of living in a larger city. Clout indicates that the comparative zone for Paris is 160 km., whereas for other French cities above 100,000 people it is 100 km. and for smaller ones 50 km. (91).

From this data, an estimate of the tourist hinterlands of the eight Andalusian capitals can be made, according to their population (see Table 14). The municipalities affected by tourism from these cities are shown in Map 15. The areas do not coincide exactly with the circles generated because tourism is attracted particularly towards upland and coastal areas. In the four coastal provincial capitals (Huelva, Cádiz, Málaga and Almería), the coast exerts a strong influence, and it is normal to find that families from these cities have second homes or apartments on the coast very near the city itself. In the inland capitals, the bias is towards upland areas because of their

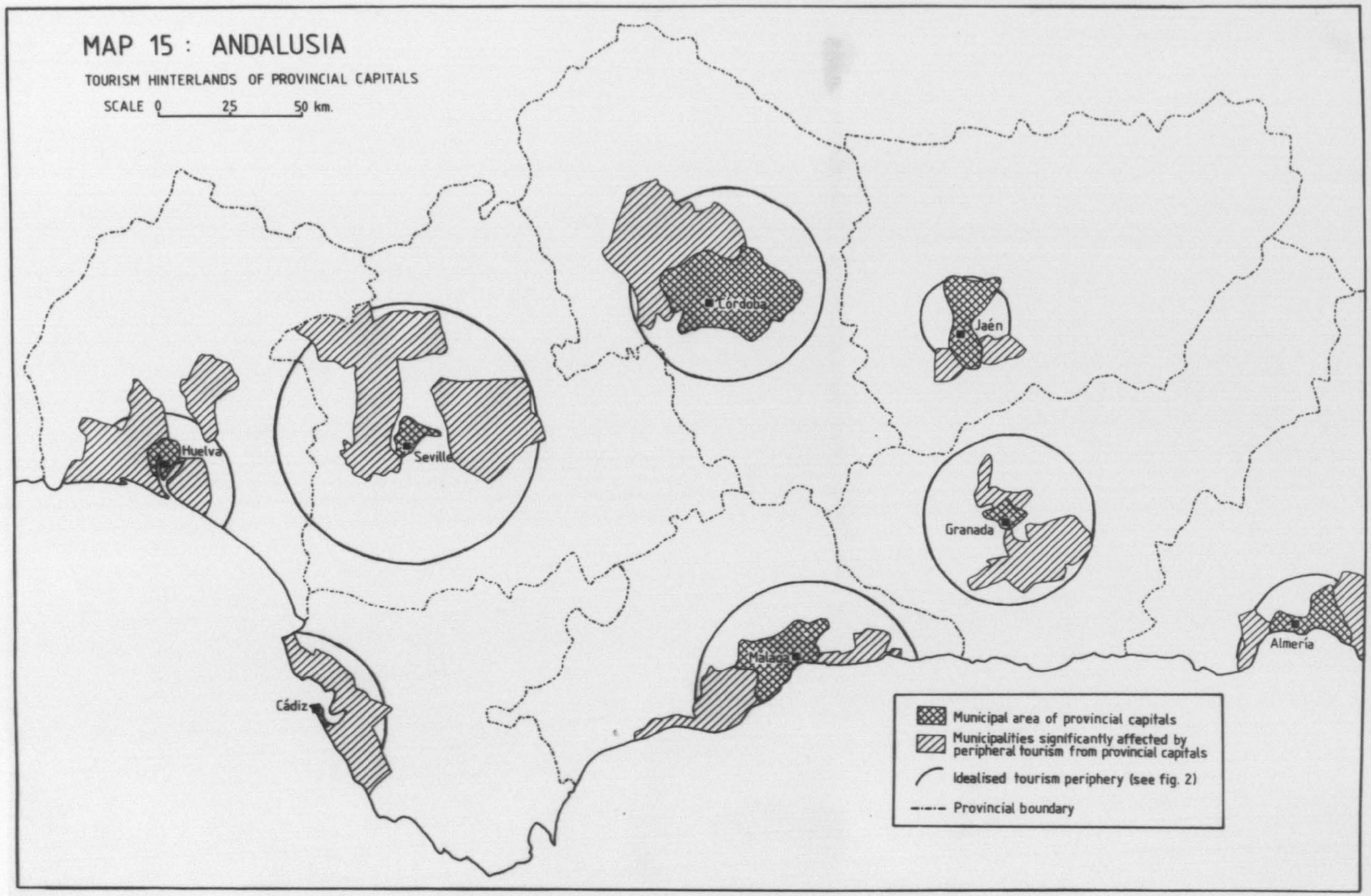

MAP 15 : ANDALUSIA
TOURISM HINTERLANDS OF PROVINCIAL CAPITALS
SCALE 0 25 50 km.
Huelva
Seville
Cádiz
Córdoba
Jaén
Granada
Málaga
Almería
Municipal area of provincial capitals
Municipalities significantly affected by peripheral tourism from provincial capitals
Idealised tourism periphery (see fig. 2)
Provincial boundary

Table 14. TOURIST HINTERLANDS OF ANDALUSIAN PROVINCIAL CAPITALS

	Population 1975 (1)	Radius of tourism hinterland (2)
Almería	121,302	25
Cádiz	142,242	30
Córdoba	255,250	35
Granada	214,091	30
Huelva	111,238	25
Jaén	84,114	15
Málaga	411,131	40
Seville	590,235	45

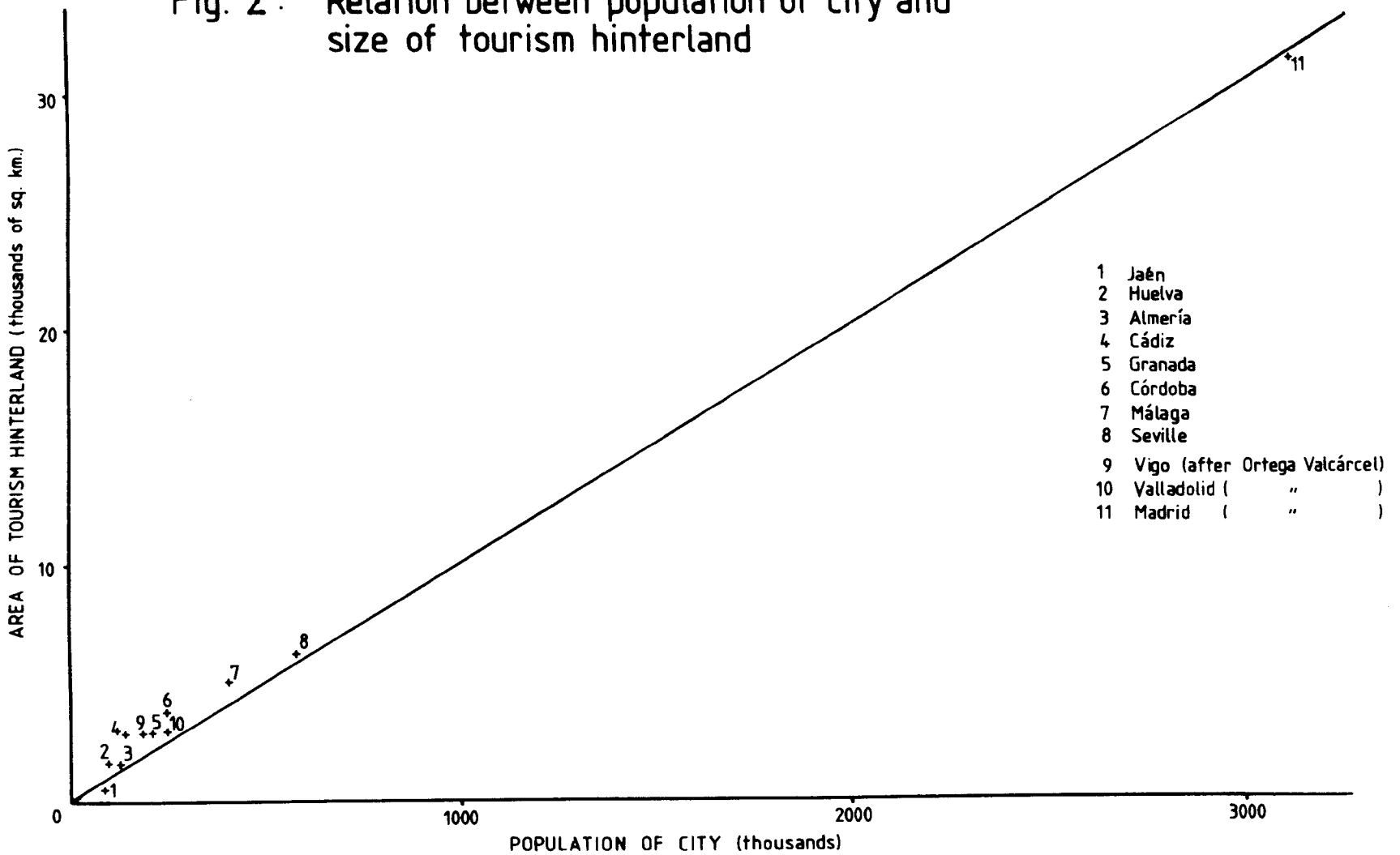
Sources: (1) Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes*, 1975: (2) Author's elaboration, based on Map 15.

NOTE: The radius is derived from the distance between the city and the furthest municipal capital marked in Map 15.

lower summer temperatures. An approximation to the zones of influence of the coastal capitals could be gained by shifting the circles seawards by 20 per cent of their radius; this would allow for the pull generated by the coast and the contraction of distance brought about by coastal proximity.

Apart from some municipalities near Málaga, parts of the Sierra de Sevilla and the Sierra de Córdoba are the only sections of the case study areas falling into the urban hinterlands described above. These will serve to illustrate characteristics of rural tourism near large cities, though the effects of proximity to Seville or Córdoba are felt in nearly all the Sierra Morena municipalities studied, albeit in a less distinctive form. When a correlation was made between distance from Seville and the number of families visiting each municipality,

Fig. 2: Relation between population of city and size of tourism hinterland



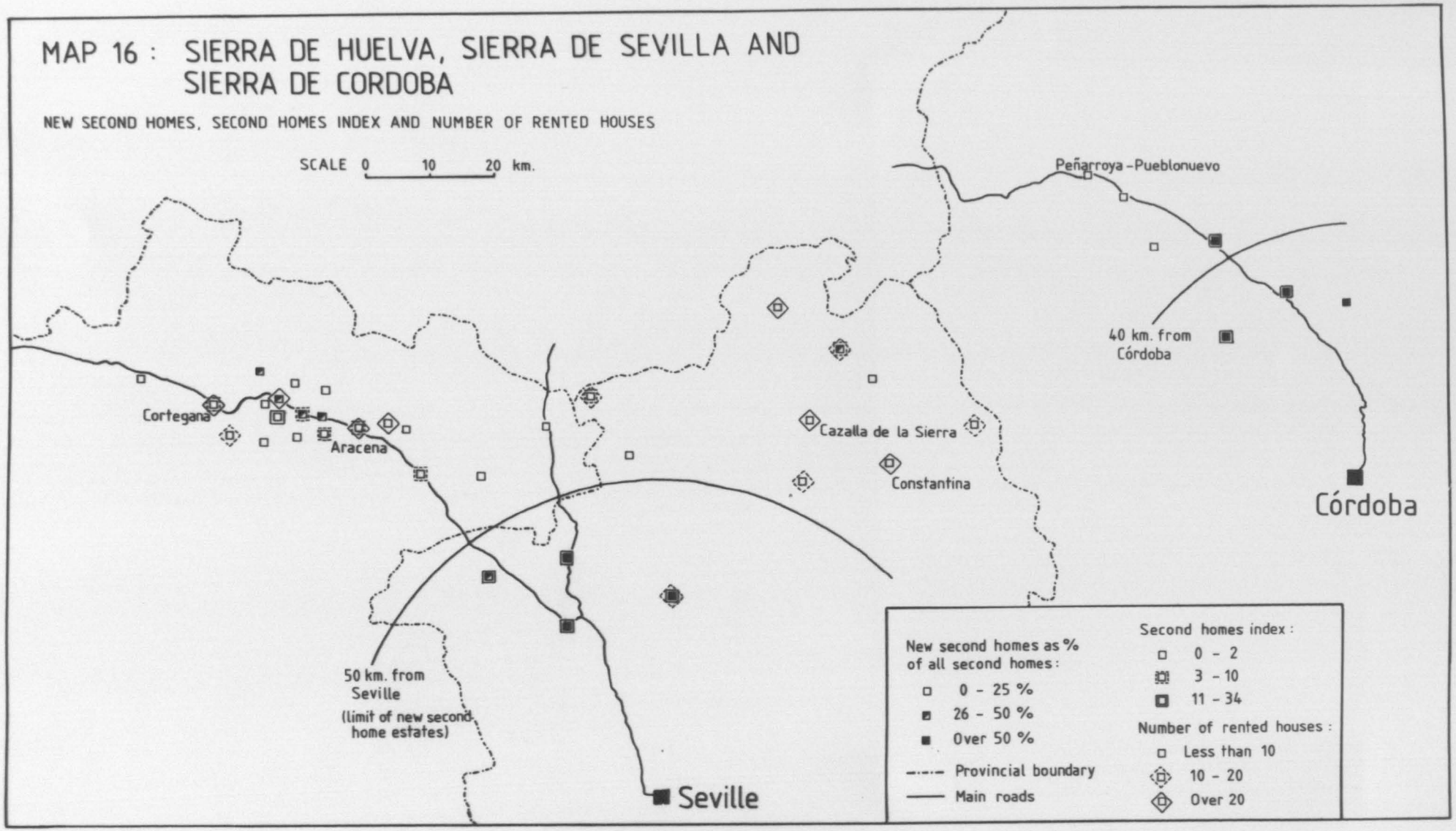
correlations of -0.639 for the Sierra de Sevilla and -0.407 for the Sierra de Huelva were gained (both significant at the 0.05 level), suggesting that the influence of Seville can be felt in the latter area as well. The relationship would have been greater if account had also been taken of the sinuosity of the roads. The extreme curvature and poor state of the road from Huelva to the Sierra de Huelva explains why none of the municipalities there reported any significant flows of visitors from the provincial capital. The area is more accessible from Seville, which is also the largest city in Andalusia and thus exerts a dominant influence on the Sierra de Huelva too. Similarly, the effect of distance from Córdoba is marked for the *sierra* there; even now there is little tourism beyond 40 km. from the capital, as Córdoba is a smaller city than Seville, the *sierra* is closer to it, and the main road is very tortuous.

No other significant relationships were noted, though it is suggested that altitude plays an important part; indeed, if the number of visiting families was correlated with altitude for all the municipalities within 100 km. of Seville, a correlation would be expected. These factors would lend weight to a fairly diffuse pattern of tourism as no particular centres exert much greater attraction than others, and as the main aim of this type of tourism is to escape from the crowding in the city. Thirty-eight of the 40 municipalities surveyed in the Sierras de Huelva, Sevilla and Córdoba reported the presence of summer visitors who were not former inhabitants. The last five to ten years has seen their spread from the larger villages on the main roads to the smaller, more remote ones, and it is often here that the highest ratios of second to first homes occur; for example, one of the highest ratios (23%) is found in Castaño del Robledo, the smallest and highest village in these study areas. The other ratios of second to first homes, along with

information regarding new second homes and rented accommodation, are given in Map 16.

Further observations can be made by looking at the types of accommodation used by visiting families. This can be conveniently divided into old renovated second homes, new purpose-built chalets, or rented houses. The three show markedly different patterns and have different social, aesthetic and economic effects on the host municipalities. As Map 16 shows, a large number of new second homes have appeared in the municipalities closest to Seville and Córdoba (a very significant correlation of -0.765 was noted between *new* second homes and distance from Seville or Córdoba). A large proportion of these chalets occur in estates situated near the main roads, and the earliest of these was built 15 years ago. Purpose-built chalets show a fundamental difference in location to rented or renovated second homes, in that they form nuclei completely separate from existing villages. The officials in the villages of El Castillo de las Guardas, El Garrobo, El Ronquillo, Castilblanco de los Arroyos, Villaharta and Villaviciosa de Córdoba, which possess nearly all the estates so far built in the Sierra Morena, thus reported little mixing between outsiders and locals and, surprisingly, little commercial benefit, or even negative commercial change in the villages. This is due to a new hypermarket within easy reach at Camas, near Seville, where second home owners, and local people too, do their shopping. (These effects are expanded in the case study in Part 3).

The pattern of estates is obviously primarily related to distance from Seville or Córdoba, as entrepreneurs will only be able to sell large numbers of plots at high prices relative to other types of accommodation in the area if they are easily accessible not only for the summer but also for weekend use. The mushrooming of this form of land use can also be related to existing landholding patterns. Valenzuela Rubio points


MAP 16 : SIERRA DE HUELVA, SIERRA DE SEVILLA AND SIERRA DE CORDOBA
NEW SECOND HOMES, SECOND HOMES INDEX AND NUMBER OF RENTED HOUSES
SCALE 0 10 20 km.
Peñarroya-Pueblonuevo
40 km. from Córdoba
Cortegana
Aracena
Cazalla de la Sierra
Constantina
Córdoba
Seville
50 km. from Seville
(limit of new second home estates)
New second homes as % of all second homes:
0 - 25 %
26 - 50 %
Over 50 %
Provincial boundary
Main roads
Second homes index:
0 - 2
3 - 10
11 - 34
Number of rented houses:
Less than 10
10 - 20
Over 20

out that in the Sierra de Guadarrama the first estates grew up in lower areas characterised by large holdings, whereas higher up the predominance of small holdings has restricted such development. That part of the Sierra Morena currently experiencing tourist urbanisation is one of *latifundios*, often with owners in the city, and supporting very extensive badly-paying pastoral activity or hunting grounds, so that second home development is becoming lucrative here.

At a distance of over 50 km. from Seville such development has not yet occurred, and nearly all summer visitors stay in the villages themselves in bought or rented dwellings. Predominance of rented over bought homes seems to occur with increasing distance from Seville; presumably rented ones are used less often, maybe only in the summer, and not at weekends. Valenzuela Rubio says that the days of rented holiday homes are numbered and new second homes are the main new phenomenon. It is expected that many new second homes will continue to appear as there is no National Park or similar legislation to limit them, but in the villages themselves it is unlikely that local people will sell property, so that renting of homes will continue to be important in centres where it is so now.

In the category of old renovated second homes the main trend is towards greater dispersion, with even the *aldeas* (hamlets) having a significant number of second homes. This is partly due to the non-availability of homes in the more popular centres on the main roads, and partly due to the recent installation of piped water supplies in nearly all settlements. While Spanish city folk seek a country retreat for escape and relaxation, they still seek the basic facilities.

Given a simple extrapolation of demand trends, one would expect an increase in the number of second homes, especially new ones, above all other forms of tourism. There must exist a considerable untapped demand in the large cities according to the IET survey, which showed that

30 per cent of their sample of tourists already had a second home, but that given extra money, a further 25 per cent would try to acquire one (92). But supply will be the limiting factor in future rural tourism growth. Thirty-eight out of the 40 municipalities studied declared that there was no free bed in the village in July and August, which suggests that much of the rise in demand will be channelled into new second homes and leisure complexes. The degree to which these move further out from the city will depend primarily on improvements to the relevant main roads.

Another type of peripheral rural tourism can be found in the Málaga municipalities near the coast. The spread of coastal tourism into the interior has occurred in several forms, but the area affected has been limited by the highly accidented relief of the Betic Cordillera which rises steeply from the narrow coastal strip along most of the coastline of Málaga and Granada provinces. Communications through this barrier have been difficult and even now the only two major routes are the Málaga - Antequera and the Granada - Motril roads.

The most obvious way in which coastal tourism affects the interior is by day trips - either organised coach tours or individual visits - and surprisingly few villages have been significantly affected by these. Map 17 shows the approximate number of coach tours or individual visits passing through the villages in the Montes de Málaga and Axarquía case study areas, where such data was given by local authorities, also there are numerous scheduled bus services from the coast which travel each way at times suitable for tourist visits. This kind of tourism would be expected to give rise to different functions to residential tourism, notably restaurants and souvenir shops. The number of these in the villages concerned is also indicated in Map 17.

It can be seen that these flows are generally very small, especially in the Axarquía to the east of Málaga (see Fig. 3). This reflects

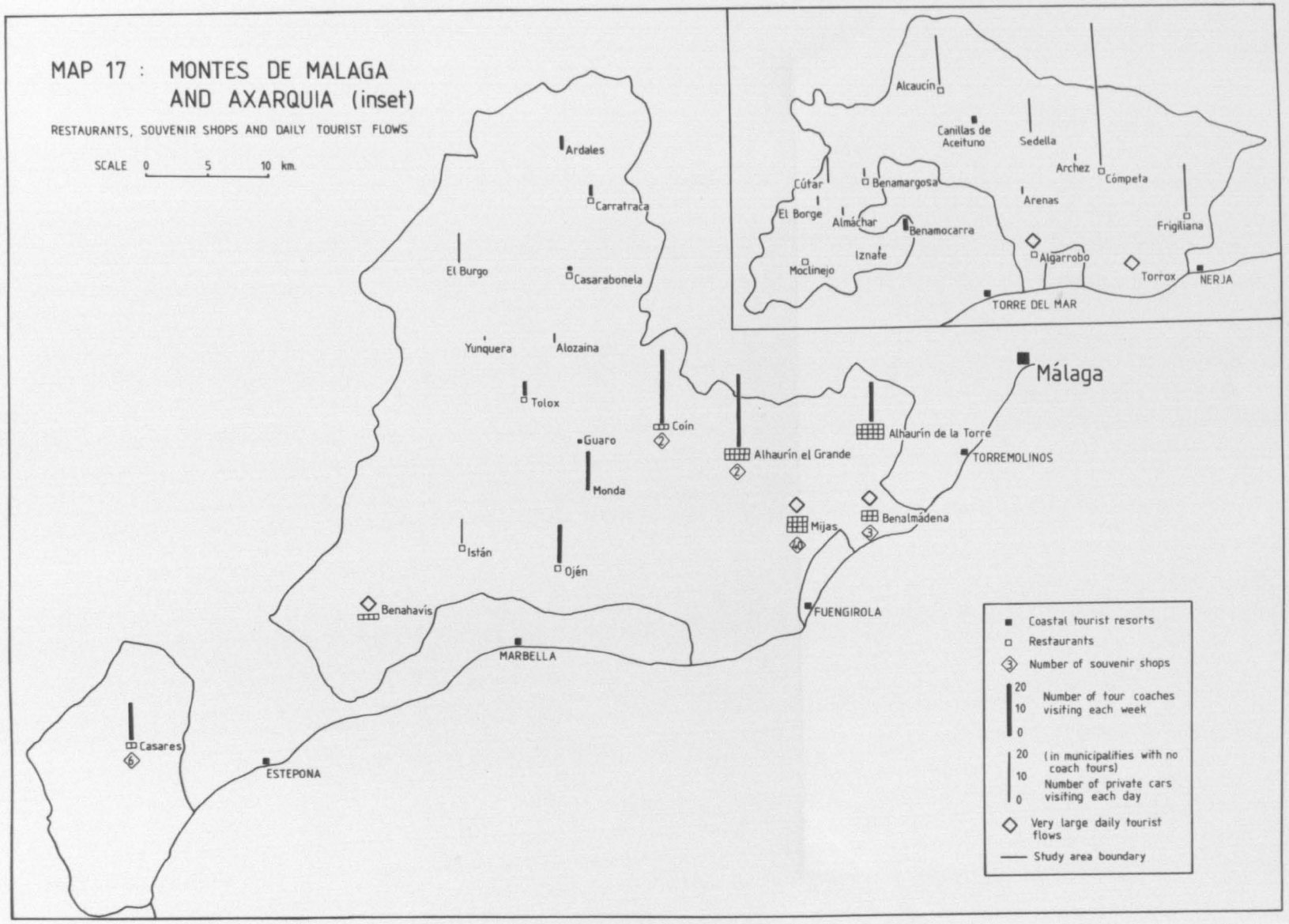

MAP 17 : MONTES DE MALAGA AND AXARQUIA (inset)
RESTAURANTS, SOUVENIR SHOPS AND DAILY TOURIST FLOWS
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
Ardales
Carratraca
El Burgo
Casarabonela
Yunquera
Alozaina
Tolox
Coín
Guaro
Monda
Alhaurín el Grande
Alhaurín de la Torre
Málaga
TORREMOLINOS
Mijas
Benalmádena
Istán
Ojén
Benahavís
FUENGIROLA
MARBELLA
Casares
ESTEPONA
Alcaucín
Canillas de Aceituno
Sedella
Archez
Cómpeta
Cútar
Benamargosa
Arenas
El Borge
Almáchar
Benamocarra
Frigiliana
Iznate
Algarrobo
Moclinejo
Torrox
NERJA
TORRE DEL MAR
Coastal tourist resorts
Restaurants
Number of souvenir shops
20
10
0
Number of tour coaches visiting each week
20
10
0
(in municipalities with no coach tours)
Number of private cars visiting each day
Very large daily tourist flows
Study area boundary

Fig. 3: VELEZ-MALAGA (Axarquía)

The limited inland diffusion of tourism east of Málaga is well illustrated here. While a large resort of international repute has grown up at Torre del Mar (background), the town of Vélez-Málaga, four kilometres inland, is virtually devoid of tourism functions.

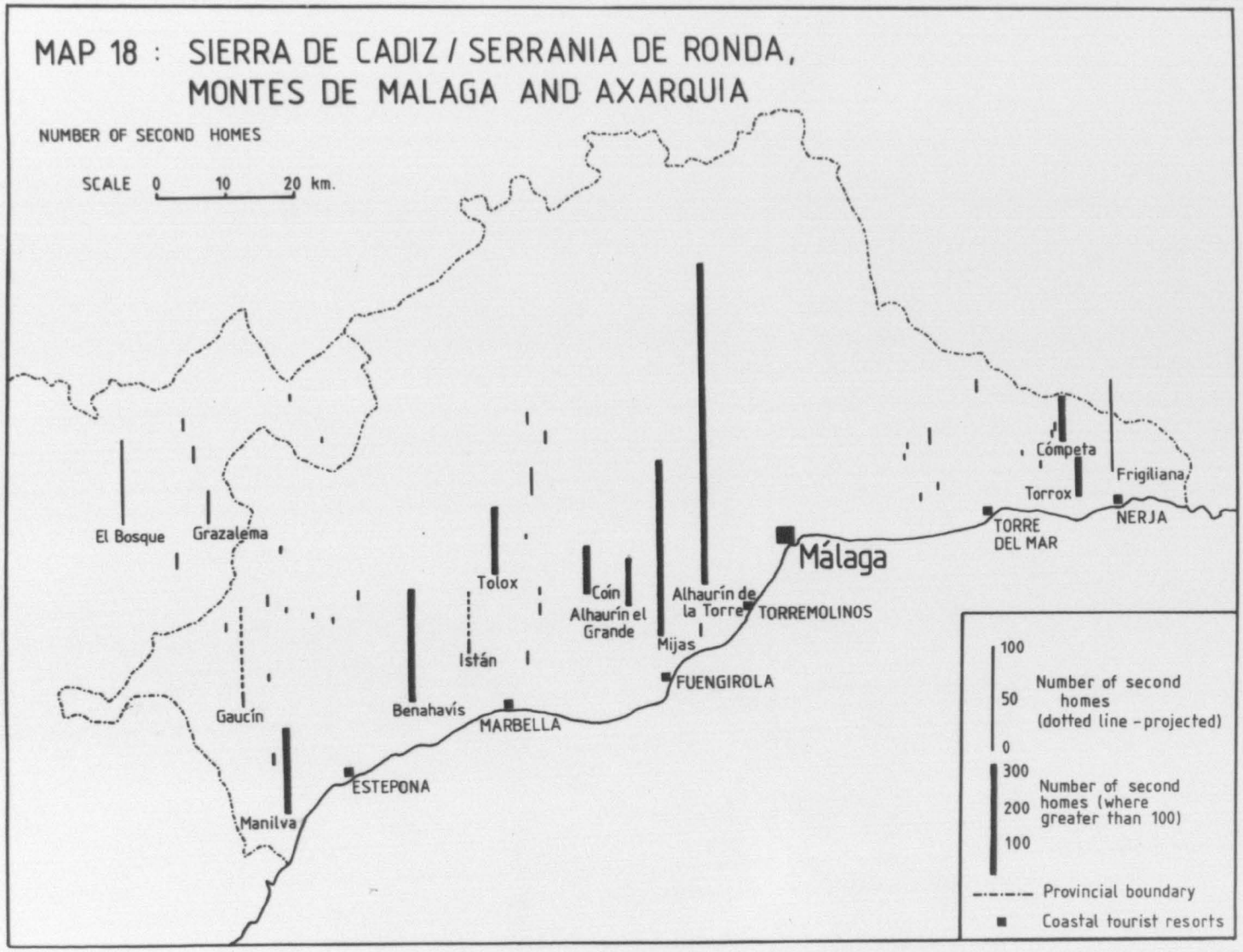
the strong coastal orientation of international package tourism, so that if excursions are made, they tend to be limited to one or two short visits to a 'typical village'. The prime destination for such a visit is Mijas, which is most accessible to the most popular part of the coast and is advertised extensively there. Beyond Mijas, the next possible route passes Ojén, Monda, Coín and Alhaurín el Grande, but the number of tourist functions here is negligible, and despite the large number of passing visitors, the importance of tourism is small. Elsewhere, the inland penetration of this form of tourism is severely limited by lack of access, though new road construction between the coast and the Serranía de Ronda will have far-reaching effects on several villages there.

Indeed, even before the completion of these new roads, the influence of coastal tourism has been felt in Gaucín, the southernmost village of the Serranía de Ronda, where a Belgian company has bought 30-40 houses which it is keeping empty until greater coastal accessibility allows selling at profit (see Fig. 4). This is the second form of coastal peripheral tourism, involving the buying up of property in inland municipalities by companies or individuals, many of whom are foreign and based on the Costa del Sol. The best example of this is Cómpeta (in the Axarquía), where a Danish company has bought about 100 farmhouses, and has resold them in Denmark, mostly to retired people.

So far only the two villages mentioned above have been affected by this phenomenon, but it will undoubtedly spread to neighbouring ones. The role of local initiative in co-ordinating local landowners with an external buyer has been important in both cases mentioned above and explains the concentration of second homes (or potential second homes) in Gaucín and Cómpeta, which is clearly seen in Map 18. Further concentrations are noted in Alhaurín de la Torre and Alhaurín el Grande; this is largely new chalet development for families from Málaga but also represents significant numbers of retired people from northern Europe.

Fig. 4: GAUCIN (Serranía de Ronda)

At the southern end of the Serranía de Ronda, with an impressive view over the Straits of Gibraltar (background), Gaucín stands to benefit greatly from short term tourism when a new road is built from Manilva, on the coast. Already it has been affected by speculative property buying and can be included in the residential tourism hinterland of the coast.


MAP 18 : SIERRA DE CADIZ / SERRANIA DE RONDA, MONTES DE MALAGA AND AXARQUIA
NUMBER OF SECOND HOMES
SCALE 0 10 20 km.
El Bosque
Grazalema
Gaucín
Manilva
ESTEPONA
Benahavís
MARBELLA
Istán
Tolox
Coín
Alhaurín el Grande
Mijas
Alhaurín de la Torre
FUENGIROLA
TORREMOLINOS
Málaga
TORRE DEL MAR
Torrox
Cómpeta
Frigiliana
NERJA
100
50
0
Number of second homes (dotted line - projected)
300
200
100
Number of second homes (where greater than 100)
Provincial boundary
Coastal tourist resorts

This residential form of tourism involves a longer or even permanent presence of visitors in the villages and tends to be more welcomed than transitory package tourism. The effects of both types will be considered in Part 3 as well as the characteristics of the rural economies of the villages where they are occurring, for the present pattern is not merely a reflection of distance from the coast but represents a complex interplay between this and factors of local initiative and of availability of land and housing stock for tourism. In other words, the growth of this kind of tourism need not occur entirely independently of local factors and once the relationships with the local economy have been studied, the ways in which villages can actively promote tourism can be identified.

Non-peripheral rural tourism - concentration

The regions of Sierra de Cádiz/Serranía de Ronda, Alpujarras and the Sierra de Segura have been selected to illustrate characteristics of this type of tourism. Here, it is much more difficult to derive a general spatial model than with peripheral tourism, though some general relationships are suggested. The two main trends running through the literature concern the attraction of altitude, water and forests and the concentration, initially at least, of this type of tourism in certain villages. This concentration complicates the calculation of any spatial model of tourism here. The most obvious such model that might be derived in this context is one relating tourism to altitude - Valenzuela Rubio suggests that such a relationship exists but cannot be derived because of the specialisation of tourism in certain villages (93). In this study, too, no significant correlation between tourism and altitude was derived.

If a comparison were made between the mountain areas dealt with here and some of the lower Andalusian upland areas the effect of

altitude would be apparent - for example, the lower, seaward part of the Alpujarras is virtually devoid of tourism despite its proximity to the coast, because it is not high enough to have significantly cooler temperatures nor a regular water supply. A similar comparison has been made by Daumas between the limestone Pre-Pyrenees and the Pyrenees themselves; in the former there is virtually no tourism (except by returning emigrants) because there is no greenery, freshness, water, splendour, hunting, fishing or winter sports, as there is higher up (94). The case study areas selected here reflect most of these characteristics, so it is mainly by virtue of their altitude that they are attractive to tourism at all. However, higher altitude also works against certain kinds of tourism, notably the more permanent variety, because of the cold winters and the high diurnal ranges in the higher valleys (95). Table 15 and Map 19 show the number of second homes and other accommodation in the villages of the western Alpujarras and their altitudes.

While there are a lot of second homes in the highest villages (Capileira and Trevélez, for example), there is a second peak in Orgiva, the municipality covering the Guadalfeo Basin, the lowest land in this study area, where many farm buildings have been bought, mostly by foreign retired people and often for permanent habitation. The relationship between tourism and altitude is more clear for hotels and rented accommodation than for second homes, but it is not a simple one; there are several other reasons for this concentration, as will be seen later.

Flament argues that the presence of trees and water are the most important locating factors for upland tourism, and this should be especially true in Andalusia where both are rare in large parts (96). Map 19 shows a concentration of tourism in the western part of the Alpujarras, partly due to the greater precipitation and greenery in

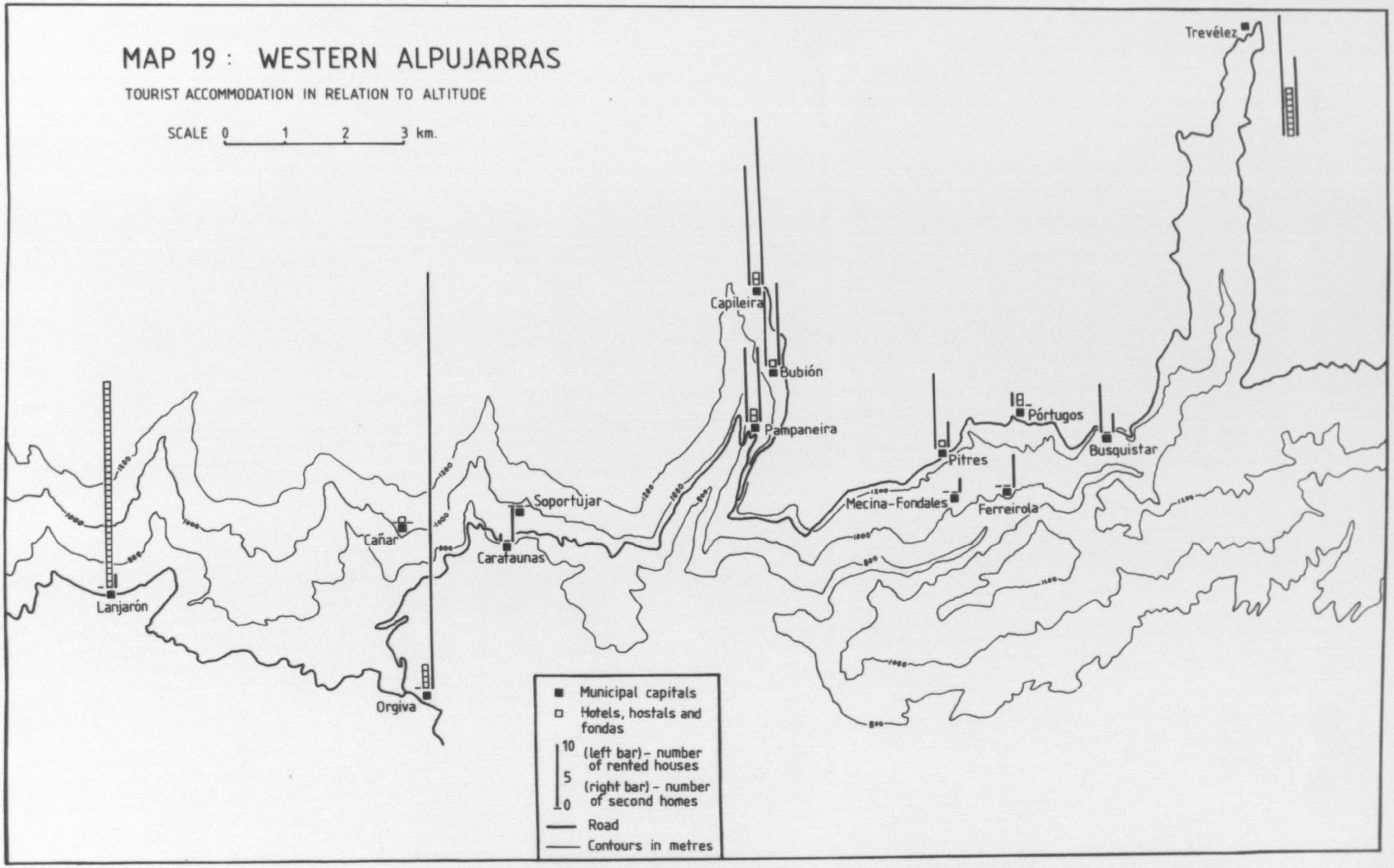

MAP 19 : WESTERN ALPUJARRAS
TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN RELATION TO ALTITUDE
SCALE 0 1 2 3 km.
Trevélez
Capileira
Bubión
Pampaneira
Pórtugos
Busquistar
Pitres
Mecina-Fondales
Ferreirola
Soportújar
Cañar
Carataunas
Lanjarón
Orgiva
Municipal capitals
Hotels, hostals and fondas
10
5
0
(left bar) - number of rented houses
(right bar) - number of second homes
Road
Contours in metres

Table 15. RELATION OF TOURISM TO ALTITUDE - WESTERN ALPUJARRAS

Municipality	Altitude (metres)	No. of Second Homes	Hotels, *hostals* & *fondas*	Rented Accom.	Accom. Index	Second Homes Index
Trevélez	1476	13	8	20	15	3
Capileira	1436	29	2	20	15	8
Pórtugos	1303	0	2	2	10	0
Bubión	1300	14	1	12	14	7
Pitres	1295	4	1	12	10	1
Busquistar	1100	3	0	8	5	1
Pampaneira	1058	12	2	12	17	6
Cáñar	1014	0	1	0	2	0
Ferreirola	1000	5	0	0	0	7
Soportujar	940	0	0	0	0	0
Mecina-Fondales	930	2	0	0	0	1
Carataunas	800	12	0	1	2	10
Lanjarón	659	2	34	0	25	0
Orgiva	454	70	4	0	1	4

Source: Author's questionnaire in town halls. For derivation of the accommodation index and second home index, see Appendix 3.

that part (see Figs. 5 and 6). Similarly in the Sierra de Cádiz and Serranía de Ronda, the concentration of tourism in El Bosque and Jimera de Líbar (see Map 3) was felt by the authorities there to be largely due to the wooded terrain around the former and the river Guadiato in case of the latter. The future of tourism in the Serranía de Ronda may well impinge on the forest and water factor, with the southern part being much more attractive in this regard. Here, it is the lower villages which have the most tourist attraction, while the highest ones (Cartajima, Parauta) the officials were pessimistic that any form of tourism development was possible because of the lack of water and the extremely bare terrain. Even in those with greater water availability and more wooded terrain, the officials indicated

Fig. 5: BUBION (foreground) AND CAPILEIRA (Alpujarras)

These villages, situated in the Barranco de Poqueira at the foot of the highest road in Europe, which descends from Pico Veleta (background), are particularly attractive to tourism owing to the luxuriant and dramatic scenery of the surrounding area.

Fig. 6: LAUJAR DE ANDARAX (Alpujarras)

The landscape of the Alpujarras becomes progressively drier from west to east, and the amount of tourism diminishes. Laujar de Andarax, however, is a fairly popular weekend destination for families from Almería as it forms a gateway from an arid province into the Sierra Nevada.

that tourism was concentrated away from the villages themselves, in the valley of the river Genal, not affecting the villages much at all (see Figs. 7 and 8).

In all these cases it is difficult to quantify the degree to which these landscape factors control location of tourism. In the local officials' questionnaire survey, they were asked what reasons lay behind the popularity of that village for tourism. As seen in Table 16, the main answers revolved around altitude or scenery.

Table 16. ATTRACTIONS OF STUDY AREA VILLAGES FOR TOURISM (NON-PERIPHERAL AREAS)

Region	Scenery	Tranquility	Climate	Hunting, fishing, walking
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	9	6	6	3
Alpujarras	9	8	8	6
Sierra de Segura	4	5	2	6

	Historical Monuments	Water	Access
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	4	4	2
Alpujarras	1	3	1
Sierra de Segura	3	-	-

Source: Author's questionnaire in town halls.

NOTE: More than one response was given in most cases

However, the effect of access is still noted in the case of El Bosque, the nearest upland village to Jerez and Cádiz, and perhaps also in the decline of tourism eastwards from Lanjarón (the nearest to Granada and the coast road) in the Alpujarras, except in the far east where proximity to Almería becomes important.

While a relationship can be seen between the most popular

Fig. 7: PARAUTA (Serranía de Ronda)

Unlike in the Alpujarras, the highest villages in the Serranía de Ronda are not the most popular tourist destinations nor those with greatest potential for tourism. Parauta, the second highest at 799 metres, is surrounded by bare limestone scenery with little water, and its economy is based on little more than the collecting of chestnuts around the village.

Fig. 8: GENALGUACIL (Serranía de Ronda)

Though accessible by a tortuous and as yet unsurfaced road, and at a relatively low altitude, Genalguacil is situated in the most scenically attractive part of the Serranía de Ronda on the valley side of the Rio Genal, one of the best trout rivers in Andalusia. Recreational use of this area will undoubtedly increase when a new road from Estepona is completed.

tourist villages in these areas and altitude, water and landscape, case studies of such villages will reveal that this was not entirely the case, and specific localised factors were connected with the availability of enterprise and housing stock for tourism. These are far less obvious in a general appraisal but they will help to explain the concentration of tourism in several nuclei in these regions, by means of case studies of these nuclei in Part 3. Bornet states that concentration is an important characteristic of isolated mountain tourism; for example, in Bavaria, 68 per cent of nights are spent in 20 communes; in Vorarlberg, 53 per cent in 3 communes; and in Grisons (Switzerland) 66 per cent in 10 communes. He also states, however, that this concentration tends to decline with better accessibility, and crowding and price increases in the originally favoured nuclei (97). The concentration is notable in the Sierra de Cádiz, with 59 per cent in El Bosque and Grazalema; in the Alpujarras with 67 per cent in the western portion, between Lanjarón and Trevélez inclusive, and in the north-east of Jaén, with a significant concentration in Cazorla. As tourism is a relatively new phenomenon it has not spread much to other centres. Bote Gómez says that many villages are not fully exploited for tourism in Spain - particularly for the day visit and casual short-stay variety, which tends to follow a few well-publicised routes (98). This is particularly noticeable in the Barranco de Poqueira villages of the Alpujarras, as mentioned previously, and the further growth of villages originally favoured for tourism will occur once facilities to receive visitors are built in these centres; and they will continue to grow in importance until a saturation point is reached and surrounding villages begin to receive more visits.

The present pattern of tourism in non-peripheral areas cannot be explained in an overall manner at the regional scale as has that of peripheral tourism. The tendency towards initial concentration

followed by dispersal, noted by many writers on rural tourism, is more due to less tangible factors operating at the scale of individual villages and valleys and it is at this level that they shall largely be considered.

Summary - dynamic aspects of tourism location

Before explaining these patterns in detail, the original spatial and temporal framework of rural tourism set up in Part 1 can be returned to, and the study areas placed in it. This will serve as a reference point for the detailed case studies and for the forecasting of future tourism patterns.

In both peripheral and non-peripheral tourism, spread over a wider area has been documented, but the process is different in each case. With the former, a gravity model can be envisaged with zones of tourism radiating from the city; as this form of tourism is based on several visits a year, journey time is to be minimised. Such a model has been elaborated best in the hinterland of Seville where in Map 16, 3 zones were distinguished at increasing distances from the city. Map 20 represents a simplified form of this, the zones operating only in the upland districts, and being extended along main roads. A connection can now be made between the zones and the stages in the temporal model, the hypothesis being that the nearer the concentric zone to the city, the later stage in the temporal model it represents. Thus the three zones in Fig. 9 could represent the pioneer, multiplication and organisation stages. Taking the data on the years since summer visitors started coming to the villages of the Sierra de Sevilla and Sierra de Huelva, Map 21 shows the suggested location of these zones 10 years ago.

Merely on the basis of this example, it would not be possible to derive a mathematical model of the outward growth of these zones, though a comparison of the present zones of Seville and Córdoba might

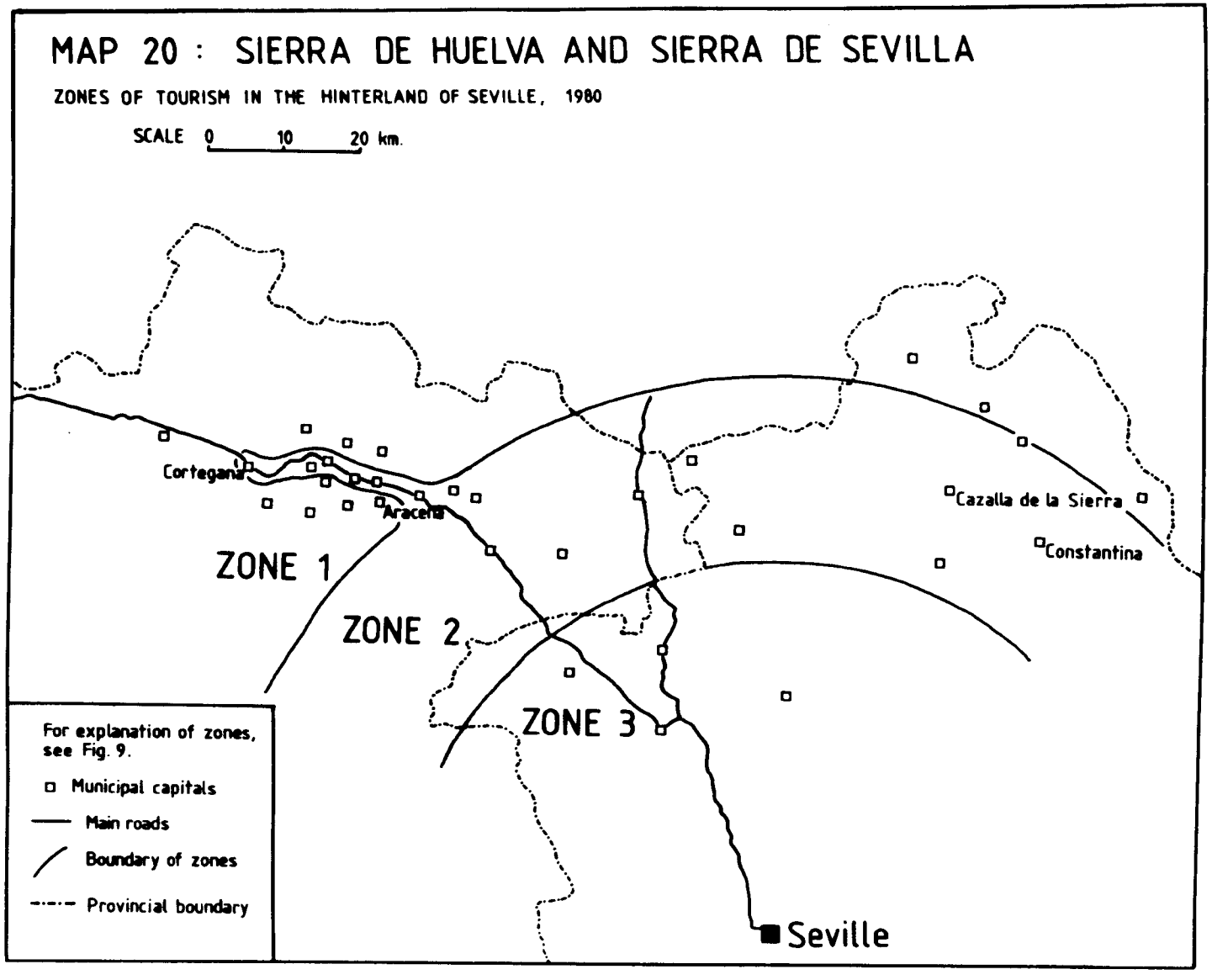
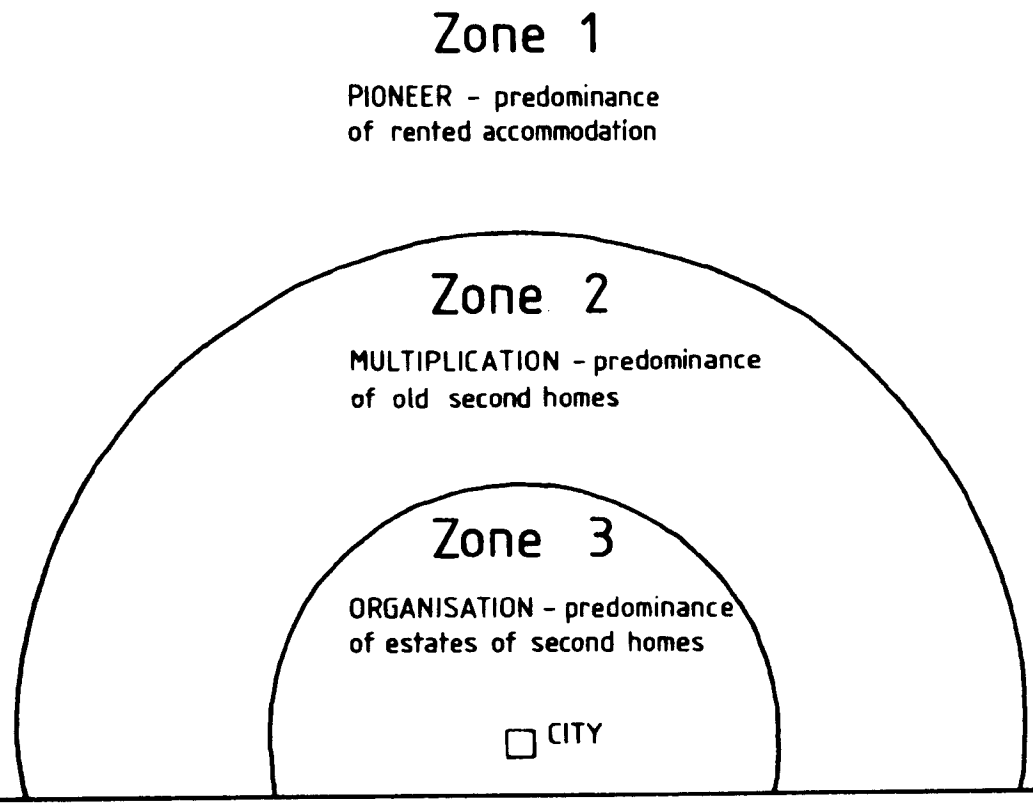
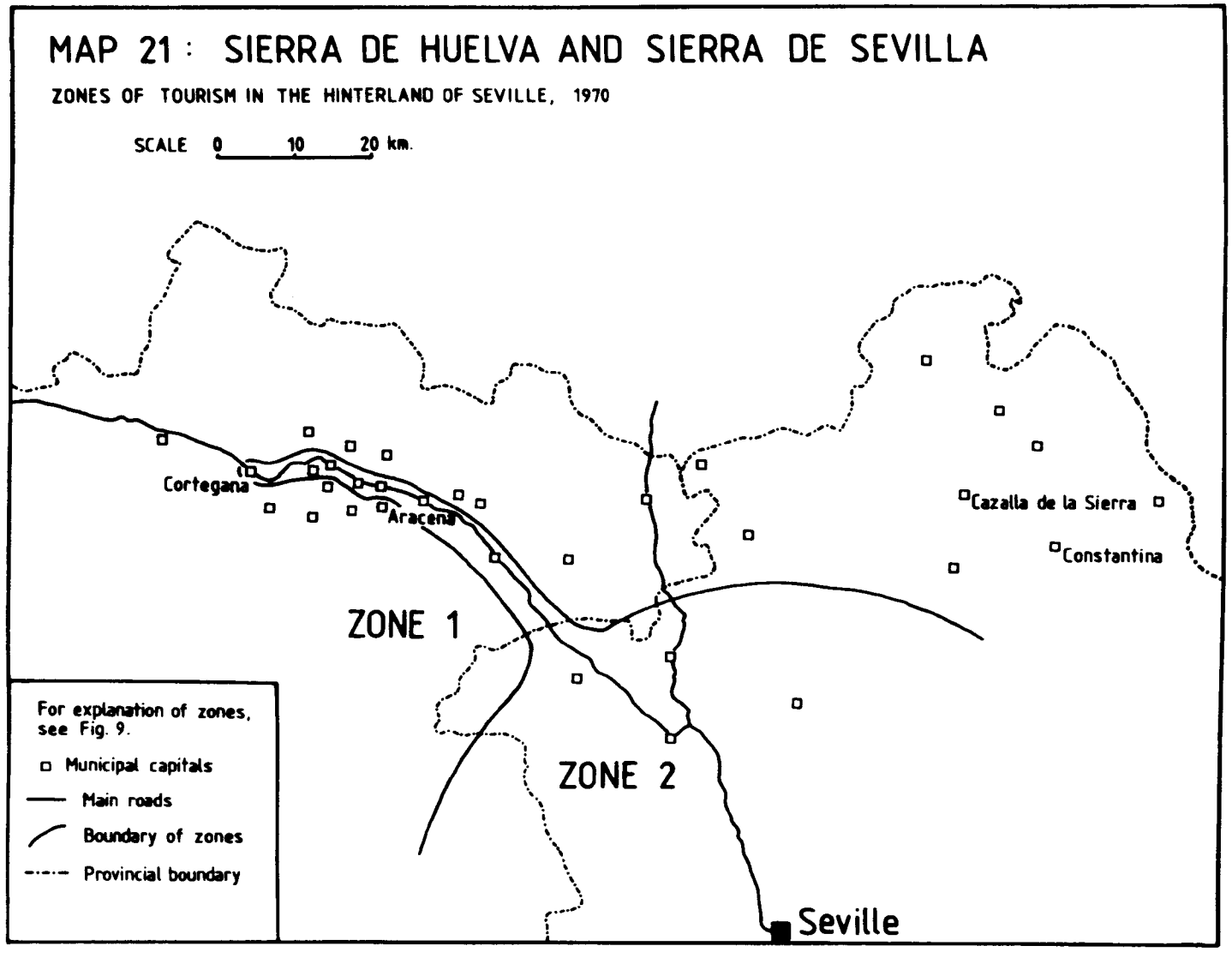

MAP 20 : SIERRA DE HUELVA AND SIERRA DE SEVILLA
ZONES OF TOURISM IN THE HINTERLAND OF SEVILLE, 1980
SCALE 0 10 20 km.
Cortegana
Aracena
Cazalla de la Sierra
Constantina
ZONE 1
ZONE 2
ZONE 3
Seville
For explanation of zones, see Fig. 9.
Municipal capitals
Main roads
Boundary of zones
Provincial boundary

Fig. 9 : Peripheral tourism - idealised model of tourism zones in the hinterland of a large city




MAP 21 : SIERRA DE HUELVA AND SIERRA DE SEVILLA
ZONES OF TOURISM IN THE HINTERLAND OF SEVILLE, 1970
SCALE 0 10 20 km.
Cortegana
Aracena
Cazalla de la Sierra
Constantina
ZONE 1
ZONE 2
Seville
For explanation of zones, see Fig. 9.
Municipal capitals
Main roads
Boundary of zones
Provincial boundary

enable a relationship between city size and size of the present zones to be derived: the relevant data is given in Table 14, and the curve plotted in Fig. 2 (following p. 88).

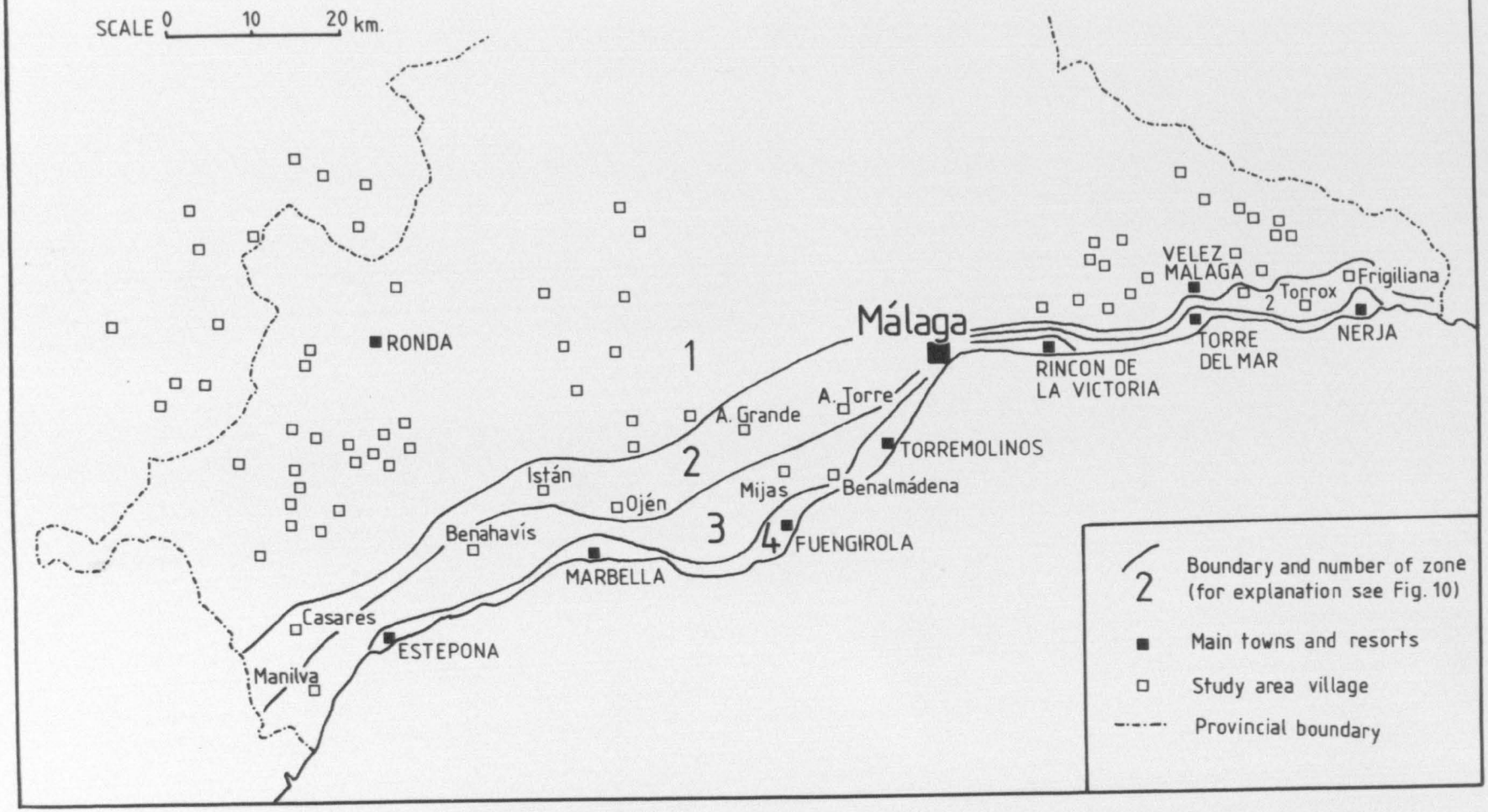
Peripheral coastal tourism presents a special case here, and two types of hinterland can be defined with no dynamic connection; firstly, day visits from the coast which can be mapped in concentric zones according to the number of visits made, the inland penetration of these zones varying according to the intensity of tourist development on the coast. These are shown in Map 22 and again the villages affected can tentatively be placed in the temporal categories. A speculative addition here is the fourth temporal stage of saturation, on the coast itself, development having become almost continuous along large sections of the Costa del Sol.

The coastal saturation is important for the second type of coastal tourism hinterland, that of the long stay or even permanent variety, because this in many cases comes about as an escape from saturation on the coast. Again the villages of Mijas and Benalmádena could be said to have reached the specialisation stage, with growth of specialised retail functions for foreign residents, and the like. Beyond these, this coastal hinterland can be considered along with the *non*-peripheral tourism model: it does not form concentric zones, rather it shows repulsion from the coast, and as seen in the previous section, tends to become concentrated in certain villages. Map 24 shows the extent of this type of tourism now and Map 25 the position ten years ago.

This sort of pattern can also be applied to the non-peripheral tourism regions; as tourism is a new phenomenon here, most of their villages are in the pioneer category with certain ones representing the multiplication stage - El Bosque in the Sierra de Cádiz, Cazorla, and the Barranco de Poqueira villages in the Alpujarras, where spread is

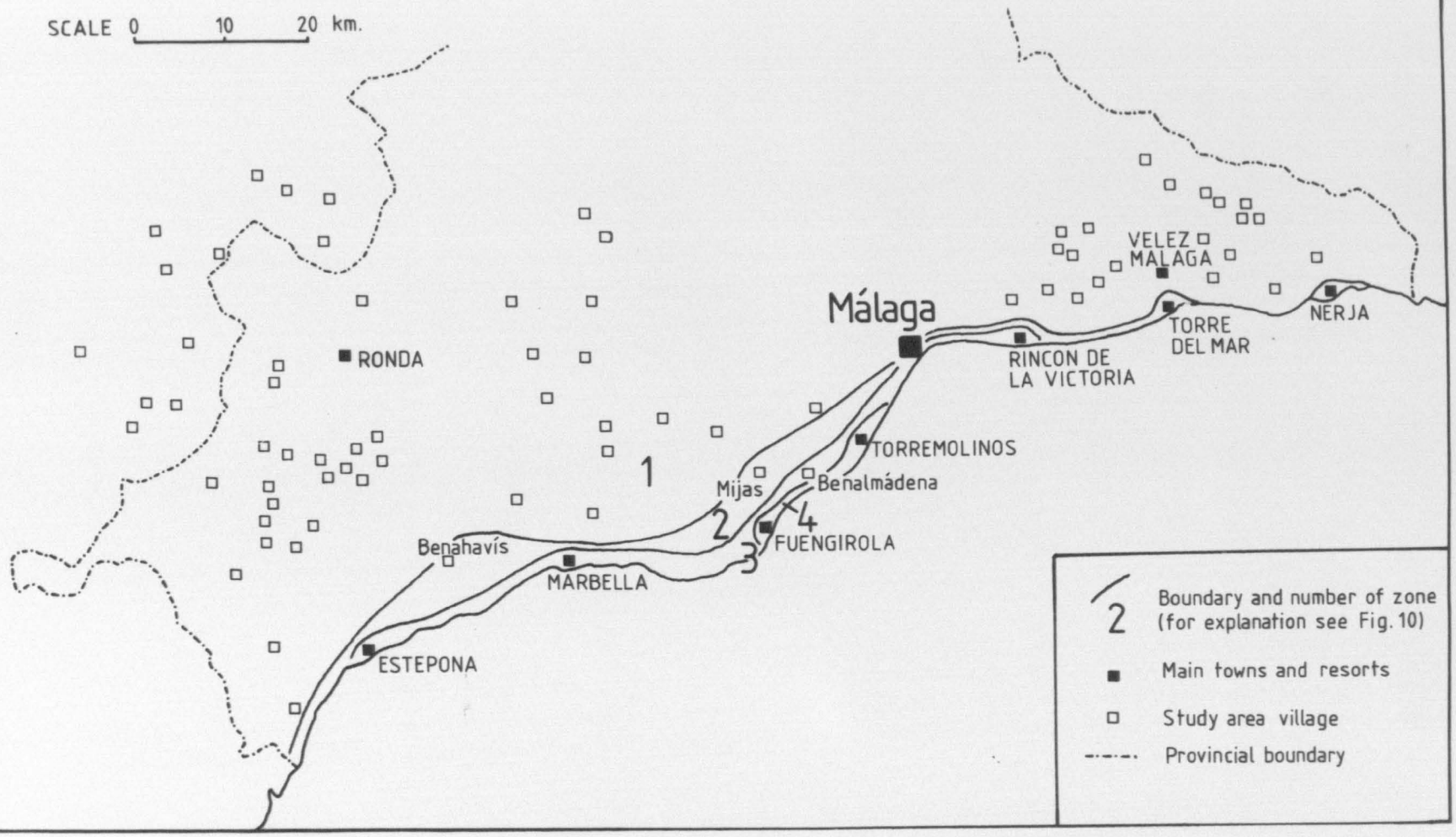
MAP 22 : SIERRA DE CADIZ / SERRANIA DE RONDA, MONTES DE MALAGA AND AXARQUIA

ZONES OF TOURISM IN THE HINTERLAND OF THE COSTA DEL SOL: DAY VISITS, 1980



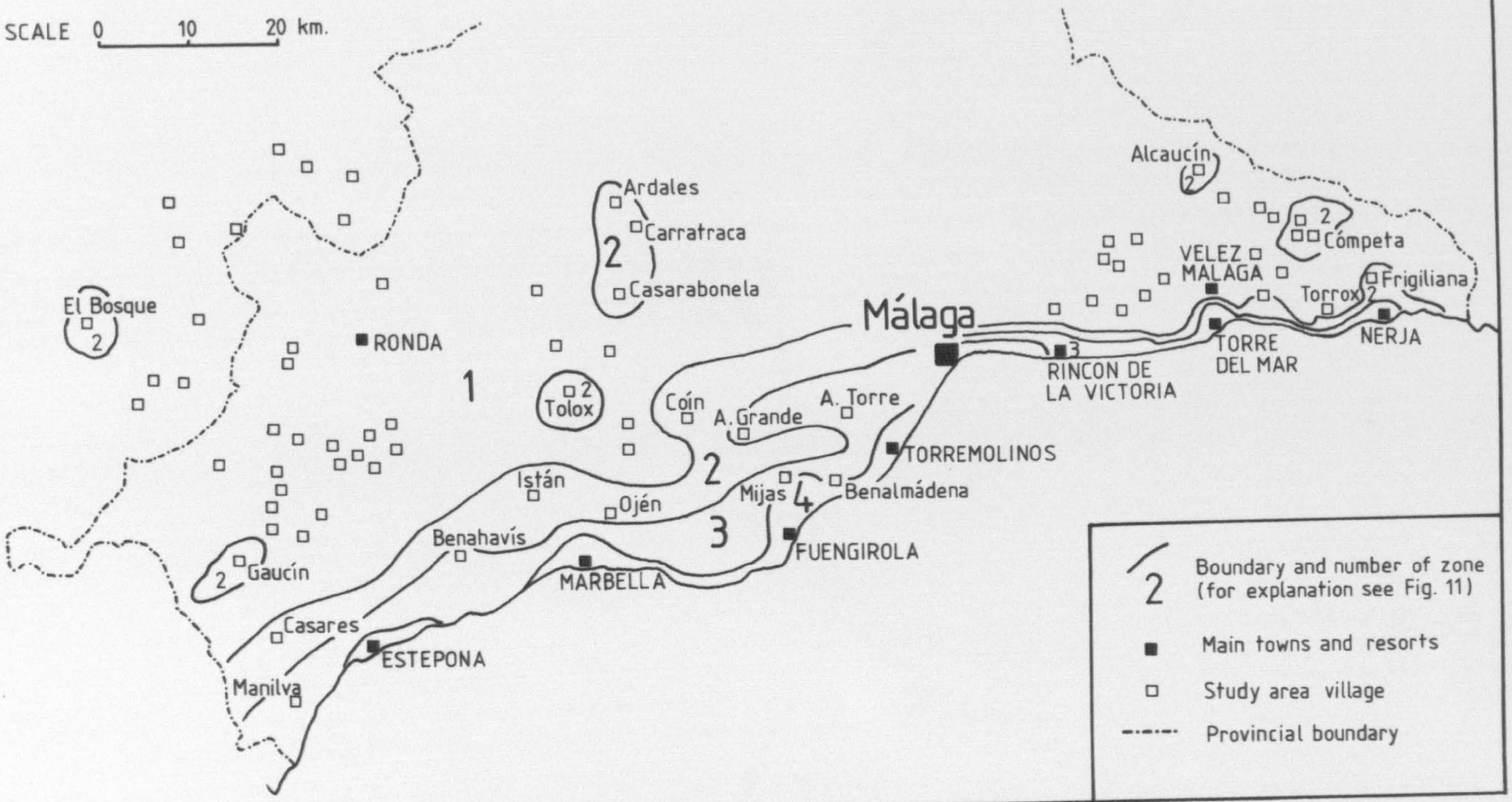
MAP 23 : SIERRA DE CADIZ / SERRANIA DE RONDA, MONTES DE MALAGA AND AXARQUIA

ZONES OF TOURISM IN THE HINTERLAND OF THE COSTA DEL SOL: DAY VISITS, 1970



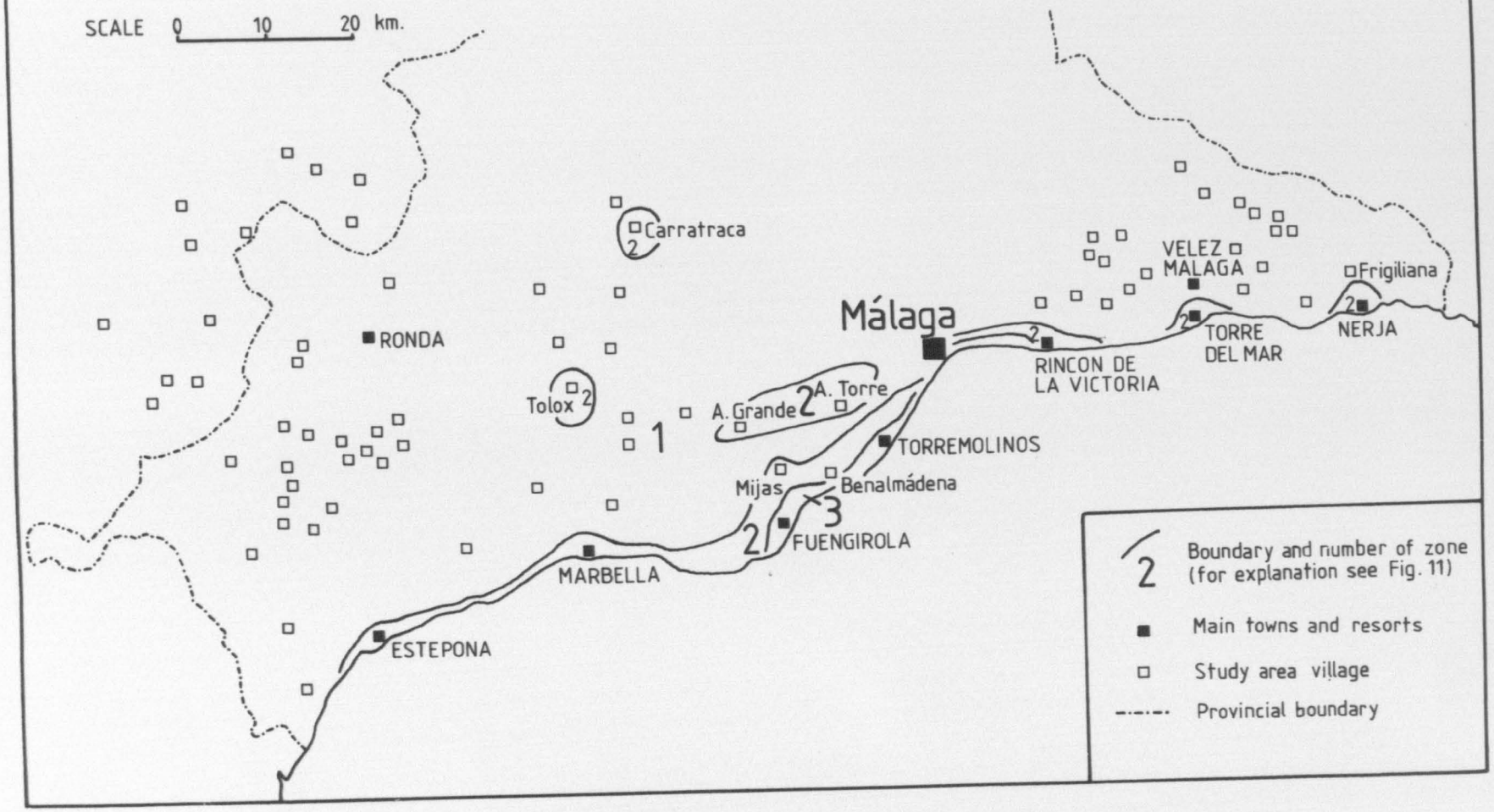
MAP 24 : SIERRA DE CADIZ / SERRANIA DE RONDA, MONTES DE MALAGA AND AXARQUIA

ZONES OF TOURISM IN THE HINTERLAND OF THE COSTA DEL SOL : RESIDENTIAL TOURISM, 1980



MAP 25: SIERRA DE CADIZ / SERRANIA DE RONDA, MONTES DE MALAGA AND AXARQUIA

ZONES OF TOURISM IN THE HINTERLAND OF THE COSTA DEL SOL: RESIDENTIAL TOURISM, 1970



occurring to adjacent centres. The spa resorts of Lanjarón, Carratraca and Tolox represent isolated cases of specialisation. The idealised model for non-peripheral tourism diffusion is presented in Fig. 11; tourist development starts in several nuclei and radiates from there. In this case there is no one focus for initial spread, and the model says nothing about how the initial nuclei come into being. This is as far as the discussion can be taken at this level.

To explain how these nuclei develop, and to analyse the characteristics and effects of tourism at each stage in these models, it is necessary to take various detailed case studies representing different stages. Table 17 is a reproduction of Table 2 in Part 1, and sets the case studies that will be made in Part 3 in their context of spatial and temporal models:

Table 17. STAGES OF SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL MODELS OF TOURISM, WITH CASE STUDIES

Temporal Model	Spatial Model		
	Non-Peripheral	Peripheral	Coastal
	Alpujarras	Sierra Morena	Málaga
Pioneer	Pitres Pórtugos	Galaroza Higuera de la Sierra	Parauta Alcaucín
Multiplication	Trevélez Barranco de Poqueira	Puerto Moral Corteconcepción	Casares Ojén Istán
Specialisation	Lanjarón	El Garrobo El Castillo de las Guardas	Benahavís
Saturation	-	-	(Mijas)

Source: See Table 2.

The later stages in the temporal model have not yet been reached in rural Andalusia, but the assumption is made in Part 4 that they will be reached in certain areas while others escape. Before embarking on the

Fig. 10 : Peripheral coastal tourism - idealised model of tourism zones for day visits inland

Zone 1

PIONEER - occasional visits by car

Zone 2

MULTIPLICATION - coach tours, cafes and bars serving food

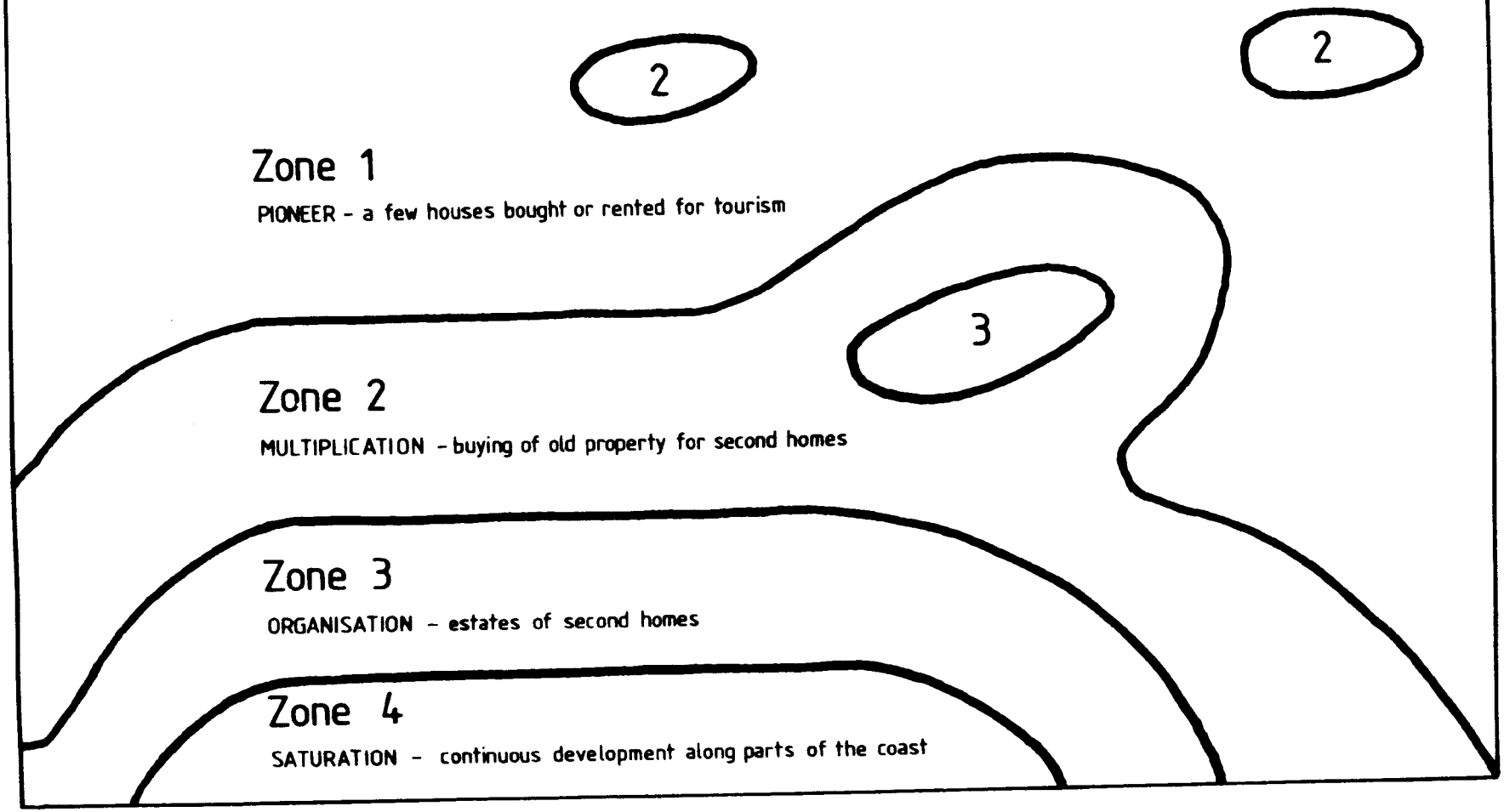
Zone 3

ORGANISATION - souvenir shops and restaurants, tourist-related crafts

Zone 4

SATURATION - continuous development along the coast

Fig. 11 : Peripheral coastal tourism - idealised model of tourism zones for residential tourism



detail, however, three more items can be dealt with at a general level, namely, the origin of tourists, initiative in rural tourism and the attitudes of tourists in rural areas.

4. *THE ORIGIN OF RURAL TOURISTS*

Income and urbanisation levels in origin areas

The origin of tourists, both geographical and social, is of great importance in determining their frequency of visits, their activities and their pattern of spending at their destination. Tourism generally takes the form of a seasonal migration from richer to poorer areas and many writers stress that larger cities and higher social classes have greater percentages of their populations taking vacations (99). Flament suggests that large cities have larger tourist flows because conditions of life there have deteriorated (100); Ortega Valcárcel says that in Spain, Bilbao has the highest index of second-home ownership because of the need to escape periodically from the air pollution there (101). Mirloup suggests that the index of second home ownership is twice as high in Paris itself as in its suburbs (102). Schnell suggests that the more industrial a city, the more weekend tourism it has (103). In Spain, a further important factor explaining the rise of second homes in Spanish cities is that 70 per cent of city dwellers there rent their flat so that their only opportunity for property ownership is in the country.

Though a positive relationship between city size and amount of tourism is suggested both by the above remarks and by the preceding discussion on peripheral tourism in Andalusia, it does not follow that the more crowded and unpleasant the urban environment the more tourism can be expected by its residents. Kalaora suggests that the opposite is the case - that those with the most need go away least; that tourism

is socially determined, being a form of ostentatious consumption (104). Clout says that those suburbs with the most second-home owners tend to be middle-class ones with a low population density (105). Law and Warnes, in a discussion of migration to retirement in Great Britain, say that most such migrants come from desirable areas, so that push factors relating to bad housing in urban areas are unimportant (106). This evidence indicates that the city size/tourism relationship is explained more by the higher standard of living in larger cities than by the poorer living conditions. Nevertheless, with the democratisation of tourism, wider social classes are becoming involved and so the higher density of living in large cities may be becoming a significant factor in increasing further the share of tourism accounted for by people from large cities. This would be especially true of rural tourism, which provides the best escape from such conditions; with the continuing rise in urbanisation levels, this points to a further large increase in rural tourism.

Localisation of origins

A striking characteristic emerging from the many studies of rural tourism is how its participants are largely restricted to an adjacent town or region: Schnell states that 78 per cent of recreation time is spent in the home region, and rural tourism often does not involve movements out of it (107). The origin areas are thus those which are most accessible (108) and often there is a large prevalence of townspeople from the local provincial capital, as seen, for example, in Soulier's study of the Hérault uplands in southern France, where most of the visitors came from Montpellier (109). Brier points out that upland areas generally have a more local attraction than coastal ones for second-home owners in France (110). Similarly, a questionnaire survey of second-home owners in the municipalities of El Castillo de las Guardas and El Garrobo (to be described in Part 2.6) revealed that 90

per cent of the respondents lived in Seville or in one of the municipalities just outside it. However, in more remote areas a wider spread of origins of visitors is found (111). This all confirms the ideas developed in the peripheral and non-peripheral models, and the general survey of the literature indicates that most case studies of tourism deal with a peripheral area where most of the tourists come from one city. Even in the case of non-peripheral tourism the early tourism growth is often by people from the nearest town (for example, people from Granada visiting the Sierra Nevada and the Alpujarras) but extra-regional visitors increase as the reputation of the area and access to it increases (112). In some peripheral areas such a widening of origins does not occur as they do not possess any particular attractions to draw people from any great distance.

The other important link between origins and destinations in rural tourism is that brought about by emigration. Often very specific flows develop between individual villages and destinations, and these flows are repeated every summer when the emigrants return. The main destinations for emigrants from the Andalusian villages studied here were Barcelona, France and Switzerland, and in many cases not only do emigrants return but also friends they have made in these places. Redclift reports that tourism in the remoter parts of the Pyrenees began with emigrants returning from Barcelona and modernising their homes in the villages (113). The questionnaire survey of chalet owners revealed that personal contact was the main way in which people heard about their chalet in the first place, either through friends who already had chalets there or through friends who had family connections with the area. Personal contacts provide the main publicity for such areas, there being little publicity and large scale enterprise, and this often leads to unusual concentrations of visitor origins, either relating to distance or to emigration patterns. Allon Smith reports a similar

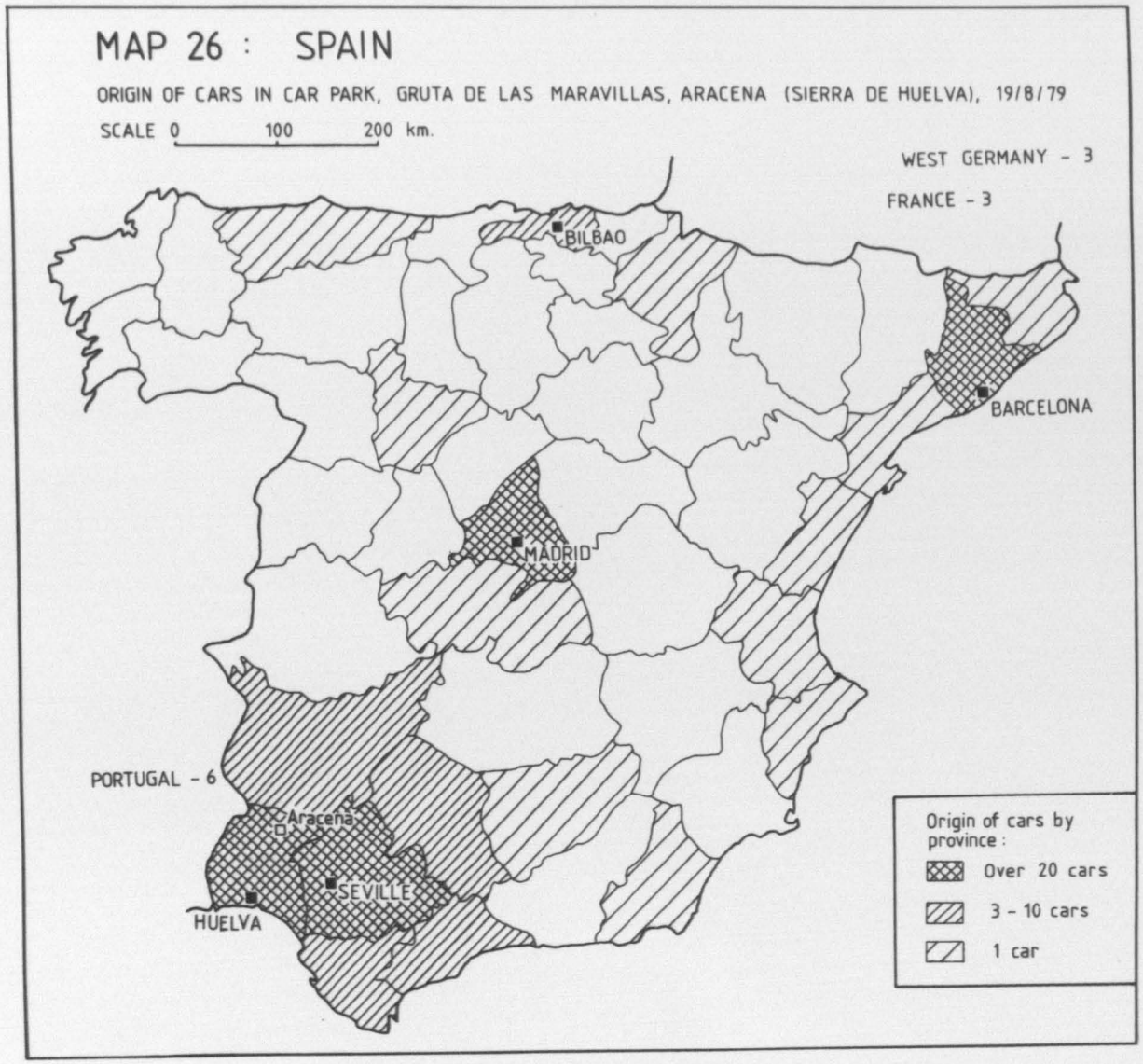
phenomenon relating to retirement flows from one specific city to one specific rural area in Britain, and explains this largely in terms of information flow, arising first from ethnic links between the two (114). A study by Barbier of origins of tourists in the Basses-Alpes *département* in south-east France showed that 88 per cent of them came from the south-east also, and related this to emigration to Nice and other coastal centres. Only 6 per cent of the visitors came from Paris, in contrast to the large flows from Paris to the Côte d'Azur (115).

Owing to the heterogeneity of rural tourism in the study areas, it would be difficult to gain a quantitative estimate of the origins of all the visitors to them, especially as they are widely dispersed and their vacation residences are not officially recorded. Nevertheless, Map 26 contains data collected in Aracena (province of Huelva) which illustrates a typical distribution of tourism in a place with peripheral and non-peripheral characteristics. It was collected in the car park of the Gruta de las Maravillas just outside the town on a Sunday afternoon in August 1979.

The large number of registrations from Madrid and Barcelona reflects the flows of returning emigrants and their friends, while another large proportion of registrations are accounted for locally by Seville and Huelva provinces (this car park would not be frequented much by permanent inhabitants). This local bias would be even higher elsewhere in the Sierra Morena, as Aracena is one of the major tourist attractions in upland Andalusia, so the fact that even here 47 per cent of visitors were local (from the provinces of Huelva and Seville) shows up well the parochial nature of Spanish rural tourism.

5. *RURAL TOURISM ENTERPRISE*

Many writers have stressed that the lack of large-scale tourist facilities is more due to the lack of enterprise in rural areas than to


MAP 26 : SPAIN
ORIGIN OF CARS IN CAR PARK, GRUTA DE LAS MARAVILLAS, ARACENA (SIERRA DE HUELVA), 19/8/79
SCALE 0 100 200 km.
WEST GERMANY - 3
FRANCE - 3
BILBAO
BARCELONA
MADRID
PORTUGAL - 6
Aracena
SEVILLE
HUELVA
Origin of cars by province :
Over 20 cars
3 - 10 cars
1 car

any shortage of land, labour or even capital. This state of affairs relates closely to the depopulation suffered in many European rural regions in the past hundred years, selectively depriving them of the most enterprising parts of their populations. With such a weak local economic base, the enterprise necessary to exploit fully the tourism potential of a rural area must be largely external, and the extent to which outside enterprise controls tourism in an area depends largely on the strength of the local population. White contrasts the weak rural economy of the Upper Engadin with the stronger one in the Lower Engadin (eastern Switzerland), and explains the resulting tourism in terms of this; in the former only 40 per cent of the owners of tourist functions are local, whereas in the latter almost 100 per cent are (116). However, the amount of outside control of tourism may also depend on location; outside enterprise would not risk investing in a rural area before it had developed a certain reputation, but an upland area near a large city would be likely to develop tourist facilities regardless of the strength of the local economy, and the rapid rise in tourism that such areas have seen has often led to the exclusion of local people from participation. Similarly, winter tourism, requiring large specialised capital input, is very difficult to finance locally.

The nature of enterprise in rural tourism is vital in explaining the way in which it integrates into the local economy, and in non-peripheral regions goes some way to explaining the initial concentration of tourism in certain villages. The first initiative here is usually a local one and whether or not such initiatives occur depends on power structures in each village. In general, tourism should be an ideal type of activity for enterprise by rural populations: Kujawa says that 90 per cent of tourism enterprises in the USA are small buisnesses (117) and Bote Gómez points out that rural tourism is generally at a small scale without standardised equipment, so that

even small municipalities can afford to take the initial initiative to provide it (118). It is not an activity which necessarily benefits from economies of scale; in fact, as most visitors are seeking tranquility and escape, the opposite would be the case.

Nevertheless, writers on the Andalusian areas considered here, as well as the majority of local officials questioned, lament the lack of enterprise of any sort. Gallego Morell states that little has been done to exploit the superb tourist potential of much of the Sierra Nevada (119); similarly Suárez Japón says that in the Sierra de Cádiz lack of promotion of tourism is holding back the development of the area's potential (120). Where local enterprise does appear, it is often the result of a large seasonal migration to build up funds (121); but migration in Andalusia has generally been permanent rather than seasonal, lessening the flows of funds back to rural areas. However, the first new construction in many of the villages studied is second homes built by emigrants for summer use; but these people usually continue to maintain their economic base outside the area and thus do not become involved in rural enterprise. Depopulation, though, often leaves behind a large amount of vacant property and in an area attractive to tourism this begins to be bought up informally, as a result of personal contacts between local people and visitors. This process may form the first stage of outside domination of tourism, unless some form of local leadership is established to control it. Nearly all the Andalusian villages studied here have the potential to develop tourism, but what is lacking is an organisational impetus to get it going and to co-ordinate it in the best interests of the village's economy. Reasons for the lack of this impetus, and examples of cases where it has occurred, will now be briefly examined.

Local Initiative in Rural Tourism

Where local political organisation is strong, tourism can

contribute significantly to the earnings of an upland farm. In this context, a Council of Europe report cites Kitzbuhel (Austria) and Berchtesgaden (Bavaria) where tourism has evolved entirely around old farm businesses and it is very difficult for outsiders to buy land (122). Bonneau points out that in France such local initiative generally emerges in areas which have not experienced much depopulation, whereas in depopulated areas, villages tend to be renovated by outsiders (123). Detailed case studies of local initiative in rural tourism stress the role of the local community in sorting out its problems and that of a local leader in co-ordinating this development. A good example of this is Richez's study of Ceillac-en-Queyras (French Alps) where the communal organisation worked over a long period to rationalise the land-holding pattern to enable tourist facilities to be built under communal ownership; the role of the mayor in organising this process is stressed throughout (124). Later, the commune collaborated with neighbouring ones to promote the tourist potential of the region. This rationalisation procedure is vital as it means that landowners do not have to sell land until they know the tourist value of it. Such local control leads to much local employment as many families can rent rooms to visitors.

However, the sort of development described by Richez has generally not occurred in upland Andalusia. Chapman, in a discussion of similar phenomena in southern Italy, explains this not so much in terms of inherent lack of initiative among local communities, but more due to the political and economic relations between north and south, and the progressive economic starvation of the latter by the former, whereby the enterprising elements of the south's population are attracted by a higher standard of living in the north (125). Anthropological studies of rural Andalusian problems highlight this situation. Despite

the fact that communities are still very closely knit - in one village in the Alpujarras 96 per cent of the population can trace links to one another - the nuclear family is by far the most important unit and these are strong individualists (126); furthermore, they believe that they cannot improve their lot themselves (127). In addition, owners of large estates (*latifundios*) are generally not local and are not interested in innovation as they generally have more remunerative financial interests elsewhere. A survey of part of the Sierra de Segura stressed the lack of an influential minority to establish collective action at the local level (128). The local community, previously strong, is an insignificant decision-making unit except for irrigation decisions, and municipalities are very small and autarchic - restricting the ability to finance projects locally. Gregory argues that even returning emigrants make little investment in their place of origin, because it is only the less-educated ones who retain their links (129).

The exceptions to all this are the nuclei of tourism in the non-peripheral regions, and it is here that some genuine local initiative has taken place. This has partly been brought about by the Government's initiative with the *vacaciones en casas de labranza* programme, one of the most important functions of which is to plant the idea of local initiative (130). In Spain, this is a particularly great problem owing to the mistrust of any action taken from outside the community (131), an attitude which has largely arisen because of the failure of past administrations in Spain to take a genuine interest in rural development, exploiting the regions simply in the interests of greater industrialisation in the core. As mentioned before, the scheme has met with success in only a few villages, as the grant was attractive to many families, being cheaper than a bank loan, but the work involved in supplying accommodation was often not acceptable.

The 1980 Spanish farm holiday guide contains a similar amount of

accommodation as its predecessor, but more concentrated in certain villages: for example, in the Alpujarras there were 38 establishments in 12 villages, whereas now there are 70 in 7, the majority of these being in Capileira, Bubión and Pampeneira. The success of tourism in these villages is partly due to the co-ordination and policy developed between their mayors, and the presence of an *administrador de fincas* who put local families in touch with people interested in buying or selling accommodation, and who has formed local labour into a construction co-operative. Other examples of local enterprise are by returning emigrants; this generally requires there to be some tourism already in the region so that a certain reputation has been established. This might lead more enterprising emigrants to return permanently; this has happened in the cases of the new *hostales* at Pampaneira and Pórtugos in the Alpujarras. It also leads to greater consciousness of their origins by emigrants; those from the Sierra de Segura have formed a cultural organisation which is publicising the area's natural and cultural attractions. This could be a vital stimulus to the tourist development of a remote area, but again it has come up against the usual problem; the local people are reluctant financially to back the organisation in its attempt to build a hotel at Orcera, the regional centre; they prefer to save rather than invest (132). These factors have often led to the failure or stagnation of otherwise viable local initiatives - for example, the *Mancomunidad Turística de la Sierra de Huelva*, which has not advanced far beyond the production of picture postcards, mainly due to the lack of co-ordination between town halls. This is all the more regrettable as here, in the hinterland of Seville, tourist demand is likely to rise whether or not local initiatives are taken, and if they are not tourism will inevitably be outside-dominated.

Outside domination of tourism

One need only look towards the Costa del Sol to see one of the prime examples of this. Galan, Martín, Ruiz and Mandly stress how most of the planning there since the mid-1960s has been by tour operators, with a resultant emphasis of the qualitative over the quantitative, and colonisation of the local labour force by outside initiative (133). In the western Costa del Sol, 90 per cent of four- and five-star hotels are foreign owned (134). While rural tourism could never achieve the same scale of mass movements that coastal tourism does, because tourism developers seek stability and security for their enterprise, there are many examples of outside enterprise being the dominant agency in promoting it. This is particularly the case with winter sport, which requires a large amount of exterior finance and expertise. Thus, tourism in much of the French Alps has led to little local employment; however, even this specialised form of rural tourism can be managed to the advantage of rural communities, as can be seen in parts of Austria and Switzerland.

Generally, the poorer the receiving area, the less control of tourism there is; and this is certainly the case in rural Andalusia. Local authorities generally favour letting in outside initiative, as it is generally the only hope of development there is, whether or not local labour is used. Once this happens the beginnings of a 'dual economy' are set up. In L'Aquila province of Italy (an area with more widespread tourism than those studied here), 65 per cent of hotel owners were outsiders while the other 35 per cent, though local, were formerly in commerce, creating a wider gulf between themselves and the agricultural sector. Furthermore, 80 per cent of workers were from outside the commune in which they worked and 60 per cent were from outside the province (135). Tourism is not yet far enough advanced in rural Andalusia to make meaningful comparisons with the Italian

situation, but it may go the same way. In Mijas 85 per cent of apartments rented to tourists are owned by foreigners (136) (See Fig. 12). In the Alpujarras some of the small tourist enterprise is from outside, particularly in the artisan line, as there is no tradition of craft industry here (young people have come from Madrid and from abroad to make good for tourist consumption). When outside interests come in, not only do they purchase land for tourist development, but also buy as much land speculatively as they can, thus forcing up the price of land. There is generally no local framework to prevent this, and in some cases the growth of local pressure groups is caused by increasing resistance to this phenomenon once it has become well-established. Also, much of this process is carried out informally (in Bubión, Alpujarras, the *administrador de fincas* reckoned that only 3 per cent of land deals made between locals and outsiders were made formally through him), so that it does not come to the attention of local authorities until well-advanced. As prices are initially very cheap, once a reputation is established, land can change hands very fast.

In the Sierra Morena municipalities near Seville, outside initiative has come in a more organised manner and on a larger scale, as owing to their proximity to the city a rapidly rising tourism demand is assured. Most of this demand has been channelled into large estates of chalets built by Seville-based concerns which have bought hitherto under-exploited *latifundios* from owners probably based in Seville too. Nearly all the tourism here is second homes, involving virtually no local employment creation (except in their construction) and little commercial benefit for the villages as the tourism development occurs in separate nuclei. Here, the local economy is bypassed completely and the effect of tourism in creating local pressure groups and thereby involving the local economy has so far been absent in the

Fig. 12: MIJAS (Montes de Málaga)

Situated in the immediate hinterland of the most popular Costa del Sol resorts, Mijas is by far the most visited of any village in this study. Though tourism is the main source of employment in the village, many of the 40 or so tourist-oriented shops, such as this art gallery, are owned and run by outsiders, often foreign.

Sierra Morena.

Incentives and controls of tourism

While there are no restrictions on tourism growth in most Andalusian villages, the lack of incentive at central or provincial level is severely holding back the integration of tourism into the local economy. With the prevailing local attitude of powerlessness and lack of innovation, and the tendency of outside enterprise to avoid ploughing back benefits to the local economy, integrated advance will clearly require incentives from the public sector. However, even in France, where the politics of regional identity and protectionism are amongst the strongest in Europe, Gibergues, Pechberty and Sarrut report that there is a lack of central grants to local people to improve housing to the standard of *gîtes ruraux* (farmhouse holiday accommodation) and say that if more were available there would be great scope for improvement (137). But it is often not enough to pump money into the areas; it may not be used for the purposes intended without an official being present to administer it locally. Such an official, known as an *animateur rural*, is often found in French rural areas, which are also eligible for aid, 60 per cent locally underwritten, to promote development (138). Mormont points out, however, that rural tourism was the last to benefit from this type of aid (139).

In Spain there is no similar general mechanism whereby rural areas can receive aid for economic development. Bote Gómez says that state aid in rural areas is dispersed and unco-ordinated and it must be decentralised to be effective (140). A successful, but isolated, example of provincial rural enterprise is El Bosque (Cádiz) where the *Diputación Provincial* (County Hall) of Cádiz built a *hostal* in 1971 (141), which has since stimulated local initiative, and a marked concentration of tourist facilities is found in this village (see Map 3 and

Fig. 13). The official policy here was to create a focus of activity, not to encourage overall integrated development of the Sierra de Cádiz.

Many writers have signified the need for more public planning and investment in Spanish tourism, even on the coast, where there is a lack of finance for infrastructure in the very urbanised touristic municipalities (142). There is a lack of provision of elementary facilities by private initiative. In the remoter regions, there is a lack of finance for any development as private enterprise is generally unwilling to invest. Here the role of the state must be one of encouragement of investment - as in El Bosque, but over a wider area. This need not take the form of costly outlays by government, which it may be unable and unwilling to undertake, but should be based on co-ordination of existing enterprise and publicity of the potential. Villegas Molina says the hunting and fishing facilities of Andalusia should have an international reputation, but do not for lack of publicity (143).

A further problem in Spain concerns the lack of state control of tourism growth; this is particularly evident on the coast, where private enterprise has mushroomed ahead of infrastructure provision. In rural areas the lack of any local or regional plan means that there is no structure within which to set controls on land use. Under Spanish law, large-scale development must be preceded by a *Plan de Ordenación* but as mentioned in Part 1, Andalusia has been neglected in this planning, having only one, the Campo de Gibraltar plan, in 1970. There is little hope that such planning will occur in the near future in most of the case study areas - and without such a plan, changes in land use cannot be controlled. Even the Sierra de Guadarrama near Madrid, the Spanish upland area most affected by rural tourism, has no such plan, and anarchic second-home development has resulted.

Fig. 13: EL BOSQUE (Sierra de Cádiz)

The village forms an isolated nucleus of tourism in the otherwise little developed Sierra de Cádiz. Tourism began here with the setting up of the Hostal Las Truchas by the Diputación Provincial de Cádiz in 1971, and private enterprise has followed this up with an estate of second homes, part of which is shown here. Again, the wooded terrain relative to the rest of the *sierra* was a particular attraction here.

A question was asked concerning incentives and controls to tourism in the case study areas. Regarding government aid, the majority said that there were little or no possibilities of obtaining any, while the rest usually mentioned the *casas de labranza* scheme; but, surprisingly, many of these said that nobody in the village had bothered to take advantage of it - hence the need for more than merely financial grants. Regarding the origin of tourism initiative, the responses are broken down statistically in Table 18.

Table 18. ORIGIN OF INITIATIVES IN TOURISM IN CASE STUDY AREAS

Area	Number of Municipalities		
	No Initiatives	Outside Initiatives	Local Initiatives
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	20	5	8
Montes de Málaga	5	9	9
Axarquía	13	5	5
Alpujarras	13	2	13
Sierra de Huelva	10	5	5
Sierra de Sevilla	4	8	1
Sierra de Córdoba	3	4	-
Sierra de Segura	9	1	3

Source: Author's questionnaire in town halls

The question about tourism control was generally judged to be irrelevant in the context of the villages concerned; controls were only reported in 11 villages and the need for controls felt in only 4 more: even in the most developed Sierra Morena municipalities, the officials did not feel that control was necessary, taking the view that tourism was the only new activity coming there, and that any new activity should be encouraged. The only major case of control is that of Capileira, Bubión and Pampaneira, where a *Plan de Ordenación* has been

drawn up, largely financed by the company which plans to develop the mountains above. Here the stimulus towards establishing such controls came partly from outside - not only financially but also from the foreign residents in the villages, who resist encroachment on traditional building styles more than local people. Their conservative attitude, together with the growing demand for land in the villages, has heightened the local people's own awareness of the resources around them, giving them a more positive attitude to its attributes. Similarly, the other villages where controls on development apply, such as Casares, Benahavís, Mijas and Benalmádena, are generally those with certain outside conservative interest.

Summary

Siguán states that the brake on rural development in Spain is that in country areas no initiative is felt to be worthwhile (144). The reasons for this are deep rooted in the political ideology of past governments, which favoured rapid industrialisation in urban areas, and any state activity in rural regions was carried out to this end, making rural populations sceptical of any further government initiative, whatever its aims. However, with the growing demand for rural vacations, it is clear that initiatives in rural areas will increase, and this increasing rural attitude may encourage the mistakes made on the coast to be repeated, with a free rein given to outside enterprise, resulting in a random, unplanned pattern. Part 4 will return to this problem, reviewing planning literature on rural tourism and suggesting ways in which the inevitable rise in tourism can be most effectively used to boost the economies of the recipient regions. A more selective type of tourism should be encouraged to best exploit local resources.

3. *ATTITUDES AND GOALS OF TOURISTS*

Peripheral tourism - the urban attitude to the countryside

There is a significant difference in the requirements of urban families in different countries when they take their annual summer vacation, but in the case of peripheral rural tourism, the countryside is seen as something to escape to, not to conquer or learn about, and so the activities carried out by visitors bear little relation to the rural economy of the recipient areas. Also, in many countries, this type of tourism is based on the desire to acquire property as an investment, so that much of the demand is channelled into second homes - again involving minimal participation by the local economy.

Both these characteristics are especially true of Spanish rural tourism. Acquisition of property is important for Spanish urban dwellers, 75 per cent of whom rent their city residences, most of which are flats with limited room to pursue particular interests and hobbies. In addition, the families usually prefer to be provided with basic facilities (water supply, electricity, drainage) in their second home, and often also like the social life with neighbouring second-home owners. This would point to a purpose-built estate of chalets as an ideal location, preferably with easy access to the city centre.

These ideas were tested by a small questionnaire survey made of heads of families in second homes (mostly in estates of chalets) in the municipalities of El Castillo de las Guardas and El Garrobo, near Seville. The content of the questionnaire is given in full in Appendix 1, and the responses tabulated in Appendix 4. Clearly this survey can only claim to deal with the attitudes of a small group within the entire population of rural tourists. A total of 24 interviews were carried out, and the answers to most of the questions were remarkably standardised, so it is felt that this small sample is representative of the entire population of estates of chalets. The small sample was made

necessary by the difficulty of access to the estates, which are private grounds. A similar survey of other groups of tourists would be made difficult because there is no one location where they are all concentrated together; however, it is suggested that some of the answers obtained here can be applied to peripheral tourists in general.

Of the 24 families interviewed, 23 were from Seville and one from Germany, staying in a house owned by a family from Seville who used to live in Germany. Sixteen said they spent the weekend and two summer months there, the rest spending nearer one month in summer. Only two reported having any relatives in the Sierra Morena. The major attractions of the location proved to be the countryside, climate and tranquility, with only four mentioning the *fiesta* in the village as important. The question on activities carried out while on holiday confirmed the hypothesis that little local contact was involved: the primary activities mentioned were relaxation (7), working in the gardens (7), reading and painting (4) with, again, only four mentioning visits to *fiestas* or other excursions. Another interesting point here is the large number who follow active pursuits during their vacation. This may take the form of growing fruit and vegetables for personal consumption, or construction activity in the house and garden; either way it reduces the potential for local commerce and employment creation. Many second-home owners have only modest incomes and their chalet is perhaps the largest outlay in their life; for such people the cultivation of fruit and vegetables would be a significant addition to their income, and they of them cannot afford local labour to do domestic work.

The estates where the interviews were made varied in age from one to fifteen years and most of the respondents were the first occupiers of the chalets and had previously taken their vacation on the coast

or not taken a vacation before. Only 5 had previously visited the Sierra Morena, again suggesting that most of the visitors were not there because of the area's own particular attractions but because of the availability of properties close to Seville. Nearly all the respondents obviously said they preferred a quiet holiday; perhaps the continued growth of cities helps to explain the movement of people from crowded coastal resorts to the country. This need for escape and tranquility and property has led to a re-evaluation of space in the Sierra Morena. Flament says that urban dwellers are beginning to see their surroundings as increasingly important (145).

Nineteen out of the 24 respondents said they visited the village *fiesta* every year and 15 said that they had regular contacts with local people. Thirteen said they did their shopping in Seville or in the hypermarket at Camas just outside Seville. Another 4 mentioned a shop in the estate or a travelling salesman, leaving 7 who mentioned village shops - though often they stressed that most of the food and all other goods were brought with them from Seville. Local commercial benefit would seem to be minimal. Finally, the importance of personal contacts in the purchase of chalets proved important even here in one of the most commercialised sectors of accommodation; 12 respondents said they heard about their chalet originally through friends; of the others, 4 mentioned advertisements and 4 said they saw it first on a passing visit.

Clearly it is inappropriate to talk about 'tourists' in the rural context; in the case of peripheral tourism this term could be misleading - the people interviewed above are not so much tourists as seasonal residents. Their tastes and activities must be taken into account in discussing the future of a region; this type of visitor is generally unconcerned with the economic and cultural background of the area and so this tourism would rarely be a motor of development (except where there is a particular attraction such as the caves at Aracena).

However, the number of regular visitors in these municipalities near Seville is amongst the largest in upland Andalusia and they, together with local people, would provide a large enough threshold for setting up sporting and leisure facilities of interest to both groups (for many young people especially, the lack of entertainments for visitors in rural areas leads to boredom). While there is little hope for integrated local development here, there is scope for building on the existing tourism.

Non-peripheral tourism

This is a smaller-scale tourism, with people visiting a region more for its inherent physical and human attributes than simply because it is in a good position, and therefore this tourism can have a much greater effect on the rural economy. Valenzuela Rubio makes a distinction between the attitudes of alpinists - the first people to visit upland areas - and domestic tourists in general, who seek a nucleus of urbanity and home comforts (146). Some of the people visiting the remoter non-peripheral areas could be placed more in the first category. Chaudefaud and Dalla Rosa argue that tourists come to the Forest of Iraty (Pyrenees) to understand the natural elements, therefore they will not follow passive pursuits; they argue that these are the rural tourists of the future (147). However, detailed surveys of tourists' behaviour often reveal that most of them do not penetrate deep into the rural environment, preferring to keep to main routes and those parts of villages nearest the main road (148). Many visitors to such an area come for a day or a few days and considerable numbers of souvenir shops and restaurants cater for them. These establishments stress typical products of the region, a characteristic absent in the peripheral regions.

Some of the more permanent tourists in such areas have

different attitudes and goals, especially the foreign ones. A large number of Scandinavian visitors have property in the Alpujarras, often acquired for them by a Danish-based company. The company is involved in building a complex of dispersed chalets in the mountains and has also bought abandoned small farms to sell to Scandinavians, for whom the idea of buying and restoring an isolated house in Spain is very appealing. In addition, a number of individuals, both Spanish and foreign, have bought properties, especially in the higher villages. These are mostly in the remoter parts of the villages, where houses have been vacated by local people; for this type of visitor, isolation is desired and so different parts of the villages are affected. Although a formal questionnaire survey was not conducted in this group, several detailed interviews were made during the case study surveys, and these revealed a strong interest in the rural economy and its conservation - an attitude which has to some extent rubbed off on to the local people. Some of these visitors take up some form of rural craft activity if they live there permanently. Those that were interviewed considered themselves a separate group from other visitors and from the local people, with whom they find it hard to assimilate despite their efforts to do so; however, Nieto cites a similar case, of a larger permanent foreign community who stay socially apart from local people despite professing to have contacts (149). Three distinct communities can develop here, each with different attitudes - the more permanent visitors seeing the local economy as a museum piece to be kept clean and conserved, not as an evolving system, as compared with the local inhabitants and the short-stay visitors and outside tourism enterprises. These interest groups can be identified well in some of the Alpujarras villages and also in several villages near the Costa del Sol, so this discussion will be amplified in these case studies. As

accessibility improves in these villages, the danger increases that a previously small-scale tourist presence becomes converted into a speculative large-scale enterprise, with companies buying up properties in bulk and forcing up prices of housing.

NOTES - Part 2

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6 Ortega Valcárcel (1975), pp. 36-37

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12 Mortes Alfonso (1967), pp. 48-49

13 Clout (1974), p. 101 and p. 103

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23 Barbier (1965), p. 89

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26 Chaudefaud and Dalla Rosa (1973), p. 9

27 Vitte (1975), p. 517

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31 Harvey (1972), p. 485

32 Vitte (1975), p. 517

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33 Villegas Molina (1975), p. 113 and p. 115

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75 Goss (1973), p. 451

76 Pérez Blanco (Diputación Provincial de Sevilla), pers. comm.

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PART 3

Tourism and the Rural Economy in Upland Andalusia

PART 3

1. *THE RURAL ECONOMY OF UPLAND ANDALUSIA*

The marginal state of the agricultural economy, and depopulation

Although almost all European upland regions have problems of economic marginalisation relative to lowland areas, the situation in which Andalusian rural areas find themselves is worse, as their present agricultural economies do not make the best use of available resources. There are some specific reasons for this, related to the case study areas, but it is also necessary to look at certain historical and political factors.

The most intensive land use in parts of rural Andalusia was achieved during the Moorish occupation around the fourteenth century, with sophisticated irrigation systems operating in many areas; in the Alpujarras at this time there were 64,250 inhabitants spread over 155 nuclei of population (1); in 1975 there were only 47,566 people in less than half the number of nuclei. In this case especially, the expulsion of the Moors and subsequent repopulation had dire effects on the rural economy, which has never really recovered its previous level. The colonists of the Alpujarras, who came from Castile, Galicia and the Guadalquivir valley, numbered only 1,362 inhabitants and only occupied 38 of the 155 nuclei. These people transferred agricultural practices developed on lower, flatter areas to the Alpujarras; this explains the predominance of wheat growing there, and the general lack of upland mixed farming systems in Andalusia, such as are found in the Alps and Pyrenees. The rural economy of the Alpujarras evolved as far too grain-dependent, leading to much erosion, deforestation and abandonment of terrain, while that of the Sierra Morena became highly specialised in livestock, and never really recovered from a disastrous outbreak of livestock disease in the early twentieth century.

Since the Reconquest, then, upland rural economies have been characterised by a lack of innovation in an already ecologically unstable system. This lack of innovation can be traced to the dominance of large, often absentee, landowners throughout this period, with the result that all other agricultural holdings were little above subsistence level. This inequality began with the Reconquest, when conquered terrain was divided between wealthy families, and above all, between Church and State. When the latter became increasingly in debt during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it auctioned off its holdings with the result that landholding families increased further their share of land ownership; also the new urban bourgeoisie acquired land to enhance their social reputation - but reducing the control of local people over their municipal land. Previously the village poor were allowed to use church and municipal land for their livestock in times of need, but after this, when land passed into the hands of private owners, they were deprived of this privilege and became further marginalised.

The whole process can be seen as a transition from over-energetic to under-energetic forms of land use (2). As remote upland areas become more accessible and relate more to the national and international market economy, their own system becomes progressively more abandoned in the face of competition from larger, more efficient enterprises. Agricultural products cannot compete, either in quality or quantity, with those from elsewhere. Billet argues that in the Alps, three hectares was once an economic exploitation, whereas now only holdings greater than 11 hectares are viable (3). In the province of Jaén, Guarnido reckons that 28 hectares of dry farming land are required for making a living, or 9 hectares of irrigated land (4). This has meant that most of the farms in Spanish upland areas have been rendered uneconomic, given that the majority of land is held by a few large landowners. Table 19 shows the number of agricultural holdings in the study areas in 1962 and 1972;

Table 19. NUMBER OF FARMS IN THE STUDY AREAS, AND THEIR SIZES, IN 1962 AND 1972

Study Area		Size of Farm (Hectares)					
		0-1	1-5	5-20	20-100	Over 100	Total
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	1962	1,426	3,590	1,888	637	253	7,794
	1972	562	3,260	1,732	638	254	6,446
	Index(1)	39	91	92	100	100	83
Montes de Málaga	1962	2,575	6,204	2,031	419	151	11,380
	1972	1,308	7,542	2,212	519	145	11,726
	Index	51	122	109	124	96	103(2)
Axarquía	1962	2,118	4,709	1,329	153	35	8,344
	1972	1,901	5,490	1,585	135	26	9,137
	Index	90	117	119	88	74	109(2)
Alpujarras	1962	3,394	4,215	1,050	205	53	8,917
	1972	2,348	3,626	261	412	67	6,714
	Index	69	86	25	201	126	75
Sierra de Huelva	1962	1,197	1,781	971	554	326	4,829
	1972	507	1,451	1,034	558	336	3,886
	Index	42	81	106	101	103	80
Sierra de Sevilla	1962	196	992	1,344	758	501	3,791
	1972	254	729	678	535	470	2,666
	Index	130	73	50	71	94	70
Sierra de Córdoba	1962	181	435	582	523	308	2,029
	1972	97	490	615	466	278	1,946
	Index	54	113	106	89	90	96
Sierra de Segura	1962	3,079	5,175	2,954	817	154	12,179
	1972	1,855	5,176	2,969	745	184	10,929
	Index	60	100	100	91	119	90

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo Agrario de 1962* and *Censo Agrario de 1972*

NOTES: (1) The index reflects percentage change in the number of farms between 1962 and 1972 (1962 = 100).
(2) Increases in the number of farms in these two study areas are accounted for by the expansion of irrigation in the Guadalhorce Basin and the coastal plain, parts of which fall within the study areas.

Table 20. AMOUNT OF LAND ACCOUNTED FOR BY FARMS IN DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES IN THE STUDY AREAS, 1962

Study Areas	Area(hectares) and percentage of total area accounted for by farms in the following size categories(hectares)					
	0-1	1-5	5-20	20-100	Over 100	Total
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	737	7,942	18,084	29,841	99,167	155,771
	1	5	12	19	64	100%
Montes de Málaga	1,569	14,698	18,314	15,989	83,645	134,215
	1	11	14	12	62	100
Axarquía	1,005	11,050	11,453	3,919	24,923	52,430
	2	21	22	8	48	100
Alpujarras	1,459	9,475	9,829	6,793	70,889	98,445
	1	10	10	7	72	100
Sierra de Huelva	465	4,534	9,643	25,993	157,654	198,289
	0	2	5	13	80	100
Sierra de Sevilla	89	2,226	14,006	33,325	219,195	268,841
	0	1	5	12	82	100
Sierra de Córdoba	72	561	6,506	22,033	109,256	138,428
	0	0	5	16	79	100
Sierra de Segura	1,520	12,577	29,569	31,078	148,568	223,312
	1	6	13	14	66	100
Totals	6,916	63,063	117,404	169,051	913,297	1,269,731
	1	5	9	13	72	100

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo Agrario de España*, 1962

clearly a large proportion are under the viable size, and many had been abandoned in this ten-year period.

Table 20 gives the acreage of land covered by different sizes of farm and illustrates well how much of this land is concentrated in large holdings. The present situation is one of a decreasing number of small holdings which are often not even viable for subsistence, and a static number of under-exploited large holdings.

Moreno Ojeda says that in the *comarca* of Cazalla de la Sierra (province of Seville, municipalities of Cazalla de la Sierra, Alanís and Guadalcanal), 12 per cent of agricultural enterprises are small livestock-rearing ones which only occupy 9 per cent of the area, and a further 75 per cent are holdings largely dominated by olives, accounting for 8 per cent of the total cultivated area. Both these groups are below the viable size defined above (5).

Furthermore, the degree of parcellation of holdings is great, reducing further their viability, as shown in Table 21.

Table 21. PARCELLATION OF FARMS IN STUDY AREAS, 1962

	Number of farms	Number of parcels
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	7,794	17,338
Montes de Málaga	11,380	28,905
Axarquía	8,344	27,335
Alpujarras	8,917	26,446
Sierra de Huelva	4,829	15,925
Sierra de Sevilla	3,791	8,442
Sierra de Córdoba	2,029	4,464
Sierra de Segura	12,179	57,949

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo Agrario de 1962*

Rey has seen both the period of highest population density in the nineteenth century, or later in some parts, and the present period of decline, as being times when export exceeded production of energy in the system (6). In the former period, which he calls over-energetic, land use was too intensive for the fragile upland ecosystem, with resulting removal of nutrients and abandonment of terrain. A combination of physical and economic factors has brought about the present under-energetic land use; it not only reflects export from the system by depopulation, but also export by government policies designed to

exploit upland areas in the interests of major urban and industrial zones.

This is a particularly useful idea when looking at upland Andalusia. In the Alpujarras, for example, the agricultural system used during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to considerable deforestation and erosion. More recently, the main government initiatives here have not concerned the agricultural economy, but the exploitation of the area for forestry and hydro-electric power, representing an outflow of energy from the area. Similarly, in the Sierra de Segura much land is exploited for forestry for the Valencia furniture industry, or for hunting, for which privilege people pay 300,000 pesetas to the Instituto para la Conservación de la Naturaleza. These activities have severely reduced the amount of pasture available, and have caused a disappearance of local wood-using industries, leading to a crisis in the local economy (7). The general decline in the rural economy has brought with it a downfall in the traditional communal methods of administering irrigation systems and sharing equipment. Without such arrangements, most holdings become even less viable. There is not enough energy left in the system to concentrate the remaining holdings and make them economically viable; the holdings are not large enough to merit mechanisation (8). The predominance of extensive, under-energetic forms of land use also militates against employment. In the Sierra Morena, much land is taken up with eucalyptus forest, hunting reserves and very extensive pastoral land with very little employment potential (9).

There is very little industrial employment in these regions either, nor is there a well-developed base of rural craft industry; this can partly be related to the discontinuity in their evolution caused by the Reconquest (see Fig. 14). Furthermore, much of the

Fig. 14: UBRIQUE (Sierra de Cádiz)

Traditional craft industry is rare in the study areas; the only significant employer is the leather industry of Ubrique, which provides approximately 78 per cent of industrial jobs in the Sierra de Cádiz and Serranía de Ronda. However, it now bears little relation to the upland economy as hides are imported from northern Spain; the produce is sold in coastal tourist markets and large cities, and the largest factories are owned by companies based outside Andalusia.

twin base of the Andalusian rural areas' economies - mining - has now been exhausted or rendered uneconomic by imports; the only mining areas of much importance now are Rio Tinto and Peñarroya-Pueblonuevo. In other parts of the Sierra Morena, previously important mining activity has virtually ceased, and as a result, some of the highest unemployment levels anywhere in Spain are found in such places (for example, 78 per cent in San Nicolás del Puerto, province of Seville, where iron ore mines have recently closed). This mining activity did not lead to industrial growth, however. Table 22 shows the amount of industrial employment and capacity in the study areas, comparing it with that in Andalusia as a whole and calculating the ratio of industrial employment to total population in each.

In fact, the percentage of industrial employment in Andalusia as a whole is considerably below the rest of Spain; according to López Ontiveros, no other region has as uniformly low values of income per head as Eastern Andalusia (10). Agricultural employment is still considerably above the levels envisaged in the Third Development Plan (1972-75). However, for many farmers the work available is only seasonal - the cereal harvest in the Alpujarras in summer, or the olive harvest in Jaén in winter, - and the insecurity and unremunerative nature of such seasonal labour has led to much abandonment of holdings. In the Alpujarras there is only three months' agricultural work per year for most farmers, which is not enough to provide capital for new developments (11). The adverse material conditions of life involved in such work relative to those in a city have accelerated this process and have led to almost universally high rates of depopulation in the study areas during the last thirty years (see Fig. 15). In the Sierra Morena, only 30 per cent of the productive area is now cultivated (12).

Compared to other parts of Europe, depopulation began late in southern Spain, beginning after the displacement of population brought

Fig. 15: GRAZALEMA (Sierra de Cádiz)

Land in the higher parts of the Betic Cordillera has never provided much income above subsistence level and now would not provide even that without an unacceptable amount of work, so depopulation has been considerable. Possibilities for innovation in farming are severely limited in this highly rugged terrain, so the villages must rely on other sources of income if they are to maintain a realistic standard of living.

Table 22. INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT IN ANDALUSIA AND IN CASE STUDY AREAS

	Potencia Instalada (1)	Industrial Employment	Persons per Industrial Job
Andalusia	1,484,897	343,703	17.8
Western Andalusia (2)	1,046,218	199,708	17.3
Eastern Andalusia (3)	438,679	143,995	18.7
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	3,509	2,829	27.0
Montes de Málaga	4,426	2,781	31.0
Axarquía	779	395	104.1
Alpujarras	1,047	479	72.6
Sierra de Huelva	1,354	687	54.8
Sierra de Sevilla	2,751	1,189	34.5
Sierra de Córdoba	3,168	1,144	27.2
Sierra de Segura	2,325	1,036	46.7

Source: Ministerio de Industria, unpublished data, 1977. Population figures from Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes*, 1975.

NOTES: (1) Installed Capacity in kilowatts
(2) Provinces of Cádiz, Córdoba, Huelva and Seville
(3) Provinces of Almería, Granada, Jaén and Málaga
(4) Benalmádena is excluded as most of the industry here is coastal.

about by the Civil War and continuing as the previously autarchic upland areas became increasingly linked to the wider urban-based economy. In the Alpujarras, the highest populations were achieved in the 1950s, whereas in the Sierra Morena the peak of economic growth, based on mining and pastoralism, was from 1870-1930 (13). Table 23 shows the

Table 23. DEPOPULATION IN ANDALUSIA AND IN THE STUDY AREAS, 1950 - 1975

	Population 1950	Population 1975	Index (1950=100)
Andalusia	5,692,129	6,116,443	107.4
Western Andalusia	2,885,529	3,253,921	112.8
Eastern Andalusia	2,806,600	2,862,522	102.0
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	84,578	76,132	90.0
Montes de Málaga	90,441	97,124	107.3(1)
Axarquía	47,391	41,126	86.8
Alpujarras	52,437	34,762	66.3
Sierra de Huelva	49,543	37,663	76.0
Sierra de Sevilla	65,040	41,013	63.1
Sierra de Córdoba	56,070	31,158	55.6
Sierra de Segura	72,797	48,348	66.4

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de la Población Española,* 1950, and *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes,* 1975.

NOTE: (1) The increase in population is accounted for largely by growth on the coast, in the municipalities of Mijas and Benalmádena.

extent of depopulation in the study areas between 1950 and 1975.

Depopulation has been especially marked in the dispersed populations, which have diminished from 138,495 to 111,803 in the study areas between 1950 and 1970 (14), reflecting the fact that very few families live directly and permanently off the land any more (see Table 24). This depopulation has resulted in a very deformed population pyramid

Table 24. CHANGES IN DISPERSED AND NUCLEATED POPULATIONS, 1950 - 1970

	Dispersed			Nucleated		
	1950	1970	Index (1950 =100)	1950	1970	Index (1950 =100)
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	21,335	14,304	67	63,243	64,569	102
Montes de Málaga	29,528	35,695	121(1)	60,913	57,441	94
Axarquía	14,125	11,131	79	33,266	30,635	92
Alpujarras	9,036	6,194	69	43,401	31,256	72
Sierra de Huelva	13,018	12,274	94	36,525	29,370	80
Sierra de Sevilla	9,622	4,994	52	55,418	38,647	70
Sierra de Córdoba	5,461	3,588	66	50,609	32,370	64
Sierra de Segura	36,370	23,623	65	36,427	30,921	85
Totals	138,495	111,803	81	379,802	315,209	83

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de la Población Española,* 1950 and 1970

NOTE: (1) The marked increase in dispersed population here is due to growth in residential tourism in the hinterland of the Costa del Sol. This reduces the overall index of depopulation of dispersed population substantially.

with few people in the 0-5 or the 20-40 age groups and two out of three people not of working age (15). Roux estimates that in the Sierra Morena, 54 per cent of people running agricultural enterprises are over 55 years old; many of these do not have a successor to their holdings, so that further abandonment is likely, even if depopulation has halted (16). This process sets in motion a cumulative decline in the standard of living relative to urban areas, as the size of settlements progressively dwindles and it becomes difficult to provide elementary services to the remaining people and as the size of municipalities becomes too small effectively to finance or take any innovative action (17).

A consequence of all this is a large number of empty houses. The Census of Buildings of 1970 distinguishes between first homes,

secondary homes and empty houses, and the numbers in each of these categories is shown in Table 25. Secondary homes in this context do not generally refer to those of tourist occupation but to subsidiary dwellings used during harvest or summer grazing - they are particularly common in the vine-growing region of the Axarquía and in the higher, predominantly pastoral regions such as the Alpujarras and the Sierra de Segura. With the continuing decline in farming, these buildings, too, are tending to fall vacant.

Table 25. PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND VACANT HOMES IN THE STUDY AREAS

	Primary Homes	Secondary Homes	Vacant Homes
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	23,544	1,774	2,479
Montes de Málaga	22,218	2,489	3,114
Axarquía	11,327	4,069	949
Alpujarras	9,947	702	1,635
Sierra de Huelva	11,809	1,090	1,512
Sierra de Córdoba	8,764	632	2,143
Sierra de Segura	13,889	1,979	2,152
Totals	112,808	14,958	14,879

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de los Edificios en España*, 1970

An archaic social system and attitude to land

In an article entitled "Andalusia - A Spanish California", Mortes Alfonso stresses the great human potential of the region, which must be seen as a source of innovation and a consumer market with much future growth potential (18). Indeed, in the study areas there is adequate land and labour (lying idle for much of the year) to form the basis of new economic activity. However, to form such an optimistic

view of their future is to misunderstand certain characteristics of their economy and the relationship between it and the rest of the country. The continued decline in economic activity in these areas is not the result of exhaustion of natural or human resources, but a lack of enterprise to exploit them. Here, the reasons for this lack of enterprise are examined.

Anthropological studies of rural areas stress the attachment to land, communitarian ideals and social Darwinism ideas inherent in a traditional mountain community: structures which have resulted in the economy becoming more and more behind the times because they hold the people to land (19). Before depopulation began, there was a remarkable degree of homogeneity in many mountain villages, with emigration rare as poverty was equal elsewhere (20). Land use, though fragmented, was democratic in that each family had similar areas of each type of land. The success of the village economy was based on reciprocation under social pressure; in other words, any family in need could be helped out by the communal organisation. However, this communal organisation created a static economy; communal land ownership, with livestock having free range over it, restricts any form of development. In Trevélez (Alpujarras), the population size has remained unchanged for one hundred years and the rural economy has not altered despite income from returning emigrants, according to Liszewski and Suliborski (21). Furthermore, complicated systems of inheritance result in less efficient forms of tenure, leading to an increased wastage of energy in the system and restricting mechanisation.

The above remarks would relate to the higher upland regions of Andalusia, such as the Alpujarras and the Sierra de Segura, where each farmer has on average ten hectares (22), and, in the municipality of Santiago-Pontones (province of Jaén), 82 per cent of the population

are still in agriculture (23). Other regions, notably the Sierra Morena, have a much more latifundist system; there the average size of landholding is 800 hectares (24). In both these extreme cases, however, large-scale depopulation has occurred. In the Sierra Morena, historically, there has been a lack of communication between the *latifundios* and *minifundios*, going back 100 years or more, resulting in a large number of landless labourers depending on the *latifundios* for work. With the large rise in the cost of wage labour (Roux says that it was 450 per cent between 1962 and 1972, because of the almost feudal labour relations which previously existed (25)), the *latifundios* can no longer afford to employ many workers, leading to the emigration of many landless labourers. In the province of Málaga, the largest numbers of emigrants have come from the latifundist Antequera Basin, for this reason (26). Furthermore, the owners of the *latifundios* in the Sierra Morena have not replaced wage labour by capital or family enterprise, and their holdings are not being transformed into modern enterprises (27). However, the largest percentage depopulation has been in the smaller municipalities of minifundist regions, such as the Serranía de Ronda and the Alpujarras, where holdings are often too small even to provide for subsistence. Even in other parts, where holdings are slightly larger, notably in the Montes de Málaga and the Axarquía, the irrational continuance of a dry-farming monoculture has reduced the viability of most holdings, the main products (raisins, almonds and olives) hardly competing even in the provincial market.

Whereas the original rural economy could be described as static and non-innovative, the effects of this rapid depopulation have removed the capability of that system to maintain itself. Though the predominantly minifundist system of the Alpujarras does not lead to the social tension encountered in areas of more unequal land tenure (28), the

prevailing attitude to land there restricts innovation. On the one hand, there is still a strong attachment to land - the fact that many emigrants retain their holdings makes consolidation very difficult, and perpetuates the inefficiency of the remaining farms (29). On the other hand, there is a disinterest in land when it comes to exploiting it commercially; in the province of Jaén in general, Guarnido says that in most holdings, olive trees are too old for optimum yield and ought to be replaced (30). Furthermore, the Andalusian saving spirit goes against all forms of investment in the system. This has led some authors to predict the almost complete depopulation of some of the smallest minifundist municipalities, such as Castaño del Robledo and La Nava (province of Huelva), where the populations of 500 and 782 in 1950 diminished to 244 and 505 in 1975, below the threshold for most services (31). A similar situation has been reached in the more latifundist areas, where very little employment is created, and the remaining population is with small subsistence holdings.

What remains of the agricultural community is generally aged and without heirs to properties. As such, the prevailing attitude is one of hopelessness with regard to the perpetuation of the system, with few internal moves towards collectivisation or towards a more rational mix of crops. Often crops with no realistic market value are grown simply because it is traditional to do so, and there is no incentive to change. The attitude of Government to such areas has further reduced incentive; the continual exploitation of rural areas for the needs of urban-industrial regions, and the neglect of traditional systems has made the people indifferent to, even suspicious of, any further outside initiatives. An isolated example of considerable government expenditure to bring about integrated rural development - the Rio Mayor scheme in the province of Cuenca - did not stop young people from leaving the land,

despite the availability of newly irrigated land to work (32). Clearly, more than monetary investment is required to change the attitude of the local population; the areas are increasingly becoming labour reserves for elsewhere as they lack an indigenous class of small entrepreneurs (33).

Daumas argues, with reference to the Limestone Pyrenees, an area physically similar to much of upland Andalusia, that the traditional economy is in decline because it has not locally specialised and therefore produces nothing of significant distinction or value on outside markets. In rural Andalusia, the prevailing attitude of impending stagnation of the rural economy has led to a decline in crafts as well as in farming, reducing further any potential specialisations which the area could exploit in a national market.

Pressures on the traditional way of life

The last thirty years has seen the gradual attrition of the local economic base with its exposure to the wider national and international economy, leading to a breakdown in its coherence and reduction in innovation. Further pressures are being exerted on this system, not only in terms of the increasing undesirability of agricultural work and rewards in relation to work elsewhere, but also from State use of rural areas for forestry, water storage and electricity generation and, most important for this study, the growing leisure demand, primarily emerging from the city.

A decline in artisan activity has mainly been brought about by the greater assessibility of rural areas, making it easier for cheap imports to come in (34). The specialised pastoral economy has almost come to a standstill in many upland regions, as many young people are no longer prepared to live the isolated existence required on the summer pastures, and nobody can afford to pay them the wage rates now demanded as the

price of the product has not increased accordingly (35). In the Alpujarras, young people generally leave the farming system as it requires work at all times except when eating and sleeping (36). However, in most cases, this work is highly seasonal in nature and many remaining farmers combine it with another occupation, such as a small commercial outlet (72 per cent in the province of Jaén (37)). In the more accessible rural areas, such as the coastal periphery of Málaga and the western Alpujarras, some advances have been made in irrigated, export-based activities (38). The *Plan de Ordenación* for part of the Alpujarras concludes that the future of the region lies in the creation of new activities, though this is made difficult as 90 per cent of the population is still dependent on agriculture (39). The same conclusion is reached by Bueno in his critique of the Government's aid to the Rio Mayor scheme in the province of Cuenca (40). Dalla Rosa argues that injustices created by past aid have made the economy more uncommunicative and that as aid generally goes to individuals, it creates further disparities. Young farmers in his study area in the Pyrenees generally rejected this aid, saying it was biased towards the largest and most efficient producers (41). In other words, monetary aid alone does not help to create new activities. Heran states that reinvestments by emigrants in the Serranía de Ronda are unproductive and inflationary; these cannot be expected to boost diversification either, but with barriers being put up to emigrants from such areas entering France and Germany in the early 1970s, such a need becomes more vital every year (42).

Examples of direct Government aid on the scale of the Cuenca scheme are unknown in upland Andalusia, where state activity has concentrated on developing forestry and water storage potential. Many authors point out the damaging effects which these activities have had on the rural economy. Daumas says that hydro-electric power schemes

have resulted in the flooding of the best farm land in the valleys of the Limestone Pyrenees (43); similarly, the exploitation of the Alpujarras for hydro-electric power is not revitalising the rural economy (44). López Gómez points out how reforestation has further undermined the pastoral economy of the Sierra de Atienza (province of Guadalajara) by seriously depleting grazing reserves (45). In the Sierra de Segura, García argues that the State, which can buy and exploit land without permission from local authorities, has brought about further emigration and reduction in pastoral land (46). The main aim of the State here is, through the arm of *ICONA* (*Instituto para la Conservación de la Naturaleza*), to exploit the forestry potential of the land, not to conserve nature or support the local economy - the organisation is run by engineers who are not trained in these concepts (47).

Therefore it can be seen that further development of the rural economy depends on the politics of capital and the State making unpopular political decisions to back enterprises with low income-earning potential. As Mortes Alfonso states, there are still considerable mineral and agricultural resources in upland Andalusia (48), but to exploit them requires great investment, which at present is not forthcoming. All this leads to considerable pessimism regarding the future of the rural economy, and one must agree with Roux that it lies mostly in speculative hands; in terms of anarchic forestry repopulation by the State, conversion of the latifundios to hunting grounds, and the growth of urban leisure (49). Given the apparent lack of potential for improvement in the agricultural economy, and the poor record of forestry and hunting activities in stimulating local employment, one is forced to look towards tourism as a means for promoting rural development. The rest of this study deals with the past, present and possible future success, or failure, of tourism in this context.

2. *RELATION OF TOURISM TO THE RURAL ECONOMY*

A. *Character, advantages and disadvantages of tourism in upland areas*

Rural tourism is, by definition, a more dispersed form of economic activity than most other types, and as such it is frequently relied upon to boost income and employment in regions increasingly disadvantaged by socio-economic concentration in urban-industrial nuclei. However, as the demand for rural tourism emanates largely from urban areas, it represents the superimposition of a different economic and social system, and the extent to which this integrates with the pre-existing rural economy depends on the strength and organisation of the latter. While there is almost invariably land available for tourism, there may not necessarily be sufficient labour, transport facilities or capital to establish it. In Part 2 the present distribution of tourism in upland Andalusia was studied with reference to the characteristics of demand, whereas here the tourism potential of different types of rural economy is studied.

Although the potential for tourism of any rural area will be largely determined by its location and physical characteristics, the strength of the rural economy will be important in determining the type of tourist facilities that emerge. Gaviria discusses the ideal type of rural economy for tourist innovation: this would consist of small properties, a tradition of emigration, a strong commercial and artisan sector, some small industry and urban nuclei of over 3,000 inhabitants (50). These traits were more characteristic of Catalonia, the Levante and the Balearic Islands, where the first developments in Spanish coastal tourism were made at a small scale, using local enterprise. In Andalusia and the Canary Islands, these preconditions were not so strong, and therefore coastal tourism only took off at a large scale with the injection of large amounts of foreign capital, with many souvenirs being

imported from other parts of Spain. In rural Andalusia, the condition of the rural economy has severely militated against tourism, owing to the lack of co-operative or individual enterprise, the lack of industry or dynamic urban centres, and the generally small size of administrative units. The *II Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social* (1967-70) indicates that the main problems facing rural tourism are the lack of infrastructure and lodgings, and bad roads into the interior, rather than any lack of demand (51).

Bonneau argues that the physical characteristics of a place are less important than the strength and nature of the rural economy when the place is over fifty kilometres from a city; as beyond this distance, demand is not automatically guaranteed, and it is up to local enterprise to generate it (52). In the hinterland of the Costa del Sol, tourism is very poorly developed despite the impressive scenery, proximity to the coast and to the city of Málaga. The unintegrated way in which coastal tourism grew here gave rise to a lack of infrastructure provision; above all, poor communications between the coast and the interior (53). In the interior itself, only 25 per cent of municipalities had petrol stations in 1977 (54). López Ontiveros argues that eastern rural Andalusia has never seen the development of a white-collar middle class, which has led to less innovation capacity (55).

In most rural areas, accessibility imposes severe restrictions on tourist potential, with development restricted to land near roads. In the Limestone Pyrenees, Daumas says that the interfluves, which have suffered 80% depopulation, have no tourist potential because they are too isolated and lacking in water; a similar comment is made by Roux with reference to the Sierra Morena (56). In higher regions, the now abandoned pastoralists' huts are rarely used for second homes because of isolation, and cannot be integrated into the rural economy (57). However, virtually all Andalusian villages are now accessible by

surfaced roads, so that the above limitations would only apply to some dispersed settlements rather than to actual municipal nuclei. An attempt was made to relate the present pattern of tourism with some data relating to the rural economy in each village in the study area, but again, because of the wide variety in populations and sizes of municipalities, few significant overall correlations were achieved here, but some interesting individual cases can be reviewed and discussed.

Even if significant correlations are made here, it would be difficult to determine causality in this context. The variables which are correlated in the following discussions, and the hypothesised relationships between them, are as follows:

1. Tourism variables: the number of visiting families, the number of second homes, plus the number of returning emigrant families. These are expressed as a proportion of the whole population or housing stock of each municipality, in order to make them independent of population.

2. Other variables:

Income per head - perhaps a higher income per head would be more favourable to the establishment of tourism, in that it would permit greater local investment. Once tourism had become established the relationship should be progressively strengthened.

Population change and vacant homes - the more depopulated municipalities may be more attractive for tourism, owing to greater tranquility and more vacant homes: on the other hand, those which have kept population may have greater innovation capacity. Certainly, after tourism has become established, a rise in population and a decline in the number of vacant homes would be expected.

Unemployment rate - tourism would be expected to reduce this, though often not by much.

Agricultural change - Again, those municipalities with the largest decline in farming would have more land available for tourism, while in those with a strong agricultural base the population may not need to rely on other activities to supplement their income, and may even discourage tourism. Once tourism has become established, a decline in the number of agricultural holdings may be expected, as tourism usually offers a more remunerative land use.

Industrial employment - This may be negatively related to tourist potential at first, but may increase with tourism as ancillary industries are set up to supply it.

Details of the sources and derivation of these variables are given in Appendices 2 and 3.

The causality suggested above would appear to be far more obvious once tourism has become established than before, and relationships concerning the effects of tourism on the rural economy will be considered later. Here, we are concerned with the way in which the rural economy determines tourist potential and, following on from that, whether those areas which are in greatest need of a new economic activity are in fact those which most readily receive tourism.

As mentioned in Part 2, the most obvious relationship noted was between tourism and distance from cities so that, in the case of peripheral tourism especially, the amount of tourism received bears little relation to the characteristics of the rural economy. This often leads to tourism booming in villages which do not need it and which do not, therefore, make efforts to promote it. For example, Alhaurín el Grande and Alhaurín de la Torre, near Málaga, have large second home estates, but the officials in their town halls argued that there was full employment already from agriculture and industry, so they were not interested in tourism.

Further afield, the nuclei of tourism in non-peripheral areas

owe their establishment to some of the factors suggested here rather than simply scenic attributes. In the Axarquía (province of Málaga) a relationship can be seen between the concentration of second homes in Cómpeta, and the high index of vacant homes and depopulation in that municipality; particularly the outstanding decline in dispersed population (see Table 26 and Fig. 16). A further pre-requisite for second home development here however was the presence of outside enterprise; because of the high depopulation in Cómpeta, local enterprise was lacking.

Table 26. RELATION BETWEEN SECOND HOMES AND DEPOPULATION: THE CASE OF COMPETA (AXARQUIA)

	Cómpeta	Axarquía
Second Home Index (1)	11	3
Dispersed Population Index 1970 (1950=100) (2)	1	79
Nucleated Population Index 1970 (1950=100) (2)	80	92
Vacant Homes Index (3)	11	8

Sources: (1) Own elaboration from questionnaire in town halls
(2) Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de la Población Española*, 1950 and 1970
(3) Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de los Edificios en España*, 1970.

NOTES: (1) Second homes as a proportion of first homes.
(3) Vacant homes as a proportion of first homes.

Similarly, in the Alpujarras reasons can be found for the concentration of tourism in the Barranco de Poqueira villages (Capileira, Bubión and Pampaneira). The larger number of second homes in the Poqueira villages as opposed to the Ferreira villages (Pitres, Pórtugos, Mecina-Fondales and Ferreirola) can be explained partly by the different emigration patterns of these villages. In the Poqueira villages,

Fig. 16: COMPETA (Axarquía)

The Axarquía region is unusual for Andalusia in that it has a large amount of dispersed settlement. Much of this consists of groups of small farms and seasonally inhabited buildings used during the grape harvest, but with depopulation, many of these have been abandoned permanently. Dispersed settlement (foreground) and its subsequent abandonment has been especially marked in the municipality of Cómpeta; a relationship can be suggested between this and the large number of second homes here.

emigration has mainly been to Catalonia, where emigrants have generally integrated well into the community and have not kept their properties in the villages, whereas in the Ferreira villages emigration was directed abroad, where emigrants integrated less readily and kept up greater links with their villages. This, according to Pérez, explains the larger number of second homes in the Poqueira villages than in the Ferreira ones (58) (as indicated in Table 27).

Table 27. SECOND HOME INDICES FOR SELECTED VILLAGES IN THE ALPUJARRAS

	Second Home Index
Barranco de Poqueira	
Capileira	8
Bubión	7
Pampaneira	6
Valle de Ferreira	
Pitres	1
Pórtugos	0
Mecina-Fondales	1
Ferreirola	7
Alpujarras - Average	2.4

Source: Own elaboration from questionnaire in Town Halls

These two isolated examples are the only cases where a definite causal relationship can be implied between the rural economy and the amount of tourism resulting. However, the availability of housing in these cases did not by itself set the pre-conditions for tourism growth; this required the presence of enterprise, either from outside or locally, as was seen in Part 2.

In other words, the greater part of tourism has occurred independently of the strength or otherwise of the rural economy. The question that must now be asked is whether the areas receiving the most tourism

are those most lacking in other economic activity and which most need the extra input to their economy, although as nearly all the officials interviewed in this study mentioned the need for new economic activity it would be difficult to isolate areas of special need. The main advantage of tourism in this context is its dispersed nature, allowing benefits to be spread more widely and also permitting better integration of tourist activity with the local economy, which could not absorb large, concentrated facilities.

As mentioned before, no overall quantitative relationships can be noted between aspects of the rural economy and tourism growth; even if they could, it would be difficult to isolate the subsequent effect of tourism on the former. Therefore, further consideration of this issue will be limited to the case studies. In general, though tourism can either lead to the rejuvenation or extinction of an already declining rural economy (59), Veyret and Veyret argue that there has been too much narrow economic consideration in rural tourism planning; rather than being part of true management of the areas and seeking the preservation of a man/nature balance, it has taken the form of colonisation, in which rapid change is induced by outside agents, leading to the creation of a bi-cultural community (60). The new tourism may draw little on the traditional agricultural community for support and therefore evolves independently of it, creating a new innovative middle class and arising in a generally spontaneous and disordered manner. Brier argues that seaside resorts are more integrated with tourists' lifestyles than are rural areas - the problem faced by rural areas in this context is a lack of tradition of receiving tourism (61).

The euphoria of the 1960s over the potential of tourism to revitalise rural areas has now been tempered by some failures, according to a Council of Europe survey (62). The former attitude led to the belief that tourism of any sort was desirable, though now the need

for a more selective approach is appreciated. Part 4 will consider the planning issues in such an approach, but first the detailed effects of tourism on different aspects of the rural economy must be considered.

B. *Effects of tourism on rural communities*

Impacts of tourism can be divided into economic and social changes, though the latter tends to be the dominant route and the social repercussions of this are often neglected (63). In agreeing with Soulier's comment that generally a mountain area benefits from tourism (64), one is considering benefit chiefly in terms of greater input to the local economy's tax base and the stimulation of commerce, rather than overall gain for the whole community. Reiter argues that tourism often gives local people only the most menial tasks, interrupts peak agricultural work and makes them more dependent on control from above (65).

One major effect of tourism is increasing inequality in a rural community; those with land suitable for urbanisation benefit (66), as do those with commercial enterprises. Demeuldre refers to a duality between agriculture and tourism, in which those involved in commerce, together with people from outside, become a new middle class and isolate farmers from benefitting from tourism (67). As tourism develops in scale, it usually falls increasingly into the hands of outsiders, and farmers become increasingly more marginalised as tourism pushes up the standard of living and new products are introduced (68).

In Spanish coastal areas receiving mass tourist flows, a number of subsidiary industries have been created to provide for them, for example, souvenirs (69). However, on many parts of the coast, the souvenirs sold to tourists and the excursions and activities planned for them represent what Nieto describes as a "phoney folk culture" which is imported from elsewhere and bears little or no relation to the local

community (70), which is again bypassed. This phenomenon may have potentially serious results in rural Andalusia owing to the lack of a strong artisan sector there: there is very little integration between Andalusian coastal tourism and the interior villages (71). The only function of such villages appears to be as dormitory settlements for the workforce in the lower echelons of the coastal tourist industry (mostly in construction, in which employment is now decreasing as the boom in tourism subsides) (72).

In remote communities with an important presence of retired immigrants or other outsiders, these groups often become influential in the running of the local economy: Downing and Dower say that second home owners often take up local leadership functions in Welsh villages, and in general lead to a decline in the vitality of the local economy as they protect their own interests and make little use of local services (73). In other cases they may have a more positive effect. Moore documents a case in the Canary Islands where a group of retired Swedish residents was instrumental in motivating the local people to set up small tourist enterprises (74). However, the usual result of this sort of presence in a village is the establishment of another kind of 'exotic' craft-based function with a strong conservative element; again this may isolate the agriculturally-based rural economy.

Conflicts between tourism and the local community inevitably occur where different social or national groups are involved, with different aims. While the urban mass seeks leisure space, the rural mass seeks complementary economic activities and a rise in income (75). Tourism does not provide the ideal answer, as it often concentrates too much in one place once it becomes 'industrialised' (76) and as it is seasonal in nature, which may result in an under-optimal use of land (Rey cites the Pyrenees, where a two-month winter sports season has resulted in the abandonment of many farms, which are deprived of water (77)).

Also, tourism represents an irrational land use, in the sense that tourists do not manage or pay for the resources that they use. Confrontation usually occurs, therefore, between urban-originated mass tourism and an inadequately protected agriculture-based rural economy; and an extensive pastoral enterprise will not pay relative to leisure use for a large holding (78), nor will a small holding pay in comparison to working in tourism, usually away from the village itself.

Authors have argued that the strongest conflicts occur both in the most isolated, depopulated areas, which are often the poorest, and also in those areas nearest to cities, which often have the most intensive farming (79). In a very depopulated area, the remaining population may be too old to benefit, whereas in areas with a strong rural economy there are people with enough capital to innovate (80). However, in the latter case, conflicts occur where individuals sell land or innovate in tourism without reference to the traditional community structure. Redclift cites a case in the Pyrenees where this process led to so much disagreement that town hall meetings were discontinued and the traditional *fiestas* were no longer supported (81).

Tourism, once developed, can have far-reaching effects on the attitudes and outlook of host populations: Pacione describes this change, among Spanish coastal tourism workers, as being one of "gañarse la vida", "vivir al día"; in other words a change from a more subsistence-based economy with a closely-knit egalitarian community, to one in which individual enterprise and the profit motive become more important (82). Many local officials were at pains to point out that this kind of change had not occurred in their villages and that the tourists who came were mostly regular visitors who integrate well into the rural community. However, this situation cannot cope with the present increase in demand, and sooner or later some sort of initiative must be taken.

Where this initiative originates from elsewhere, as is frequently the case in peripheral tourism, the resulting outlook of the local people is that little can be done by them to provide for tourism. Bravard says that large scale exterior-financed winter sports resorts in the French Alps have brought about resistance to tourism amongst the local population who know that they will not benefit (83). If initiative emerges locally or through returning emigrants, tourism can foster a new awareness of the value of the rural economy and a new attachment to land, especially if it has tourist potential (84).

However, in Spain it is rare that tourism has encouraged upland agriculture; while it may stimulate conservation of local architectural styles and traditional crafts, the farming system does not usually contribute much to the tourism market. As a major proportion of the population of all the case study regions is still dependent on agriculture, integrated rural development is unlikely to result unless tourism growth has some feedback to the farming sector. The effects of tourism on different aspects of Andalusian upland economies will now be considered, with reference to information gained from town hall questionnaires. Following this, a more detailed survey of the attitudes of local people towards tourism will be made with reference to specific villages where the ideas mentioned in this section can be quantified.

Population

Most authors agree that the recent increases in rural tourism are not a cause of depopulation in the sense that outsiders buy up property and force local people out (85). In addition, no general overall relationship can be derived between the amount of depopulation and amount of tourism in Andalusian rural municipalities. However, drawing on examples from elsewhere, certain links can be identified: the rise in population with tourism and the consequences for age structure; the

seasonal change in population numbers; and changes in the social characteristics of the population due to tourism.

The first of these effects, the rise in permanent population, can only be identified in places where a resident tourist presence has become established or where immigrant labour has come in to work in tourism. This effect is rare in the study areas and where it has occurred, the change has been too recent to be reflected in official statistics; however, on the Spanish coast it is very marked. Nieto states that the 1970s was the first decade of this century in which there was no emigration from the Balearic island of Formentera; in fact there was considerable immigration of construction workers and professionals connected with tourism, as well as of retired residents (86). Torres reports that because of the coastal tourism boom, the province of Málaga showed population gain between 1960 and 1975, unlike any other Andalusian province - however, all the inland municipalities except Ronda and Alora lost population (87). The greatest population growth in Andalusia occurred in coastal municipalities; for example, Benalmádena (province of Málaga) experienced 259% growth from 1960 to 1970 and Vícar (province of Almería) growth of 432% (88). Mignon estimates that 65,000 immigrants have come to the Costa del Sol to work in tourism, and the total increase in population there in summer amounts to some 600,000 (89).

The effect of tourism on age structure can work in two opposing ways. The presence of a permanent population of outsiders can accentuate the existing aged population pyramid of rural areas as most of the former tend to be retired (90), but also a well-developed tourist industry can bring in new young population to work in it - a Council of Europe report suggests that there is a less marked concentration of old people in villages where tourism began more than ten years ago (91).

The first trend can be noted in Cómpeta and Orgiva, where foreign companies have bought farms on a large scale and sold them to retired people; but apart from these, the effect would only be slight. In other villages, particularly those near the coast, the effect of immigration of outsiders could be one of rejuvenation, in that the immigrants are often younger people undertaking small commercial or craft-based enterprises, though except in Mijas the numbers involved would have no significant effect on the population pyramid. Apart from this, there has not been any large-scale immigration of workers in tourism inland, as any labour required can easily be supplied locally.

Far more important is the seasonal increase of population in the summer. A study of the coastal resort of Chipiona (province of Cádiz) estimates that the summer population is five times as great as the winter population (92). While the differential is not as great in the case study areas, the seasonal increases in population are very significant and every village studied reported flows of visitors. Table 28 shows the size of the summer populations (divided between outsiders and returning emigrants) in relation to the permanent populations. In the main rural tourism areas of France, the population more than doubles during the summer tourism season (93); Gibergues, Pechberty and Sarrut report population rises of between two and three times in their study areas in the Massif Central of France (94).

Converse to this trend is seasonal migration from upland villages to the coast to work in tourist-related functions. Such flows are strong in the immediate coastal hinterland of the Costa del Sol, involving a large proportion of the population of Istán, Benahavís and Ojén, where people often find it cheaper to stay in their villages and commute to the coast rather than live on the coast (95), and they usually keep up a small holding in the village as well. Elsewhere such

Table 28. FLOWS OF SUMMER VISITORS TO STUDY AREAS IN RELATION TO PERMANENT POPULATIONS

	Permanent Families (1970	Summer Visitors (Families)		Summer Visitors as % of Permanent Population
		Outsiders	Returning Emigrants	
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	20,254	456	1,755	10.9
Montes de Málaga	23,984	4,120	844	20.7
Axarquía	11,531	407	782	10.3
Alpujarras	10,129	1,460	1,694	31.1
Sierra de Huelva	12,592	894	1,523	19.1
Sierra de Sevilla	11,852	1,068	1,199	19.1
Sierra de Córdoba	10,044	1,099	1,528	26.2
Sierra de Segura(1)	14,215	253	1,504	12.4
Total	114,601	20,586		18.0

Source: Own elaboration from town hall questionnaires. Permanent families from Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de la Población Española*, 1970.

NOTE: (1) Cazorla is excluded from these figures as no data were provided by the Town Hall.

migration was also reported to be significant - notably in the Serranía de Ronda where very few people now live directly off the land, and in the Sierra de Segura, where peak agricultural work occurs in the winter at the time of the olive harvest, thus releasing a large seasonal labour force. However, Idáñez de Aguilar reports that the number of people emigrating seasonally from the Sierra de Segura in summer, numbering one or two per family, is by far outnumbered by the returning emigrants who come back in whole families (96).

A study by Heran indicated considerable flows of seasonal migrants from the Serranía de Ronda to the Costa del Sol for the period 1970-1975, with 407 migrants going there from five villages (Alpandeire,

Cartajima, Parauta, Benalauria and Jimera de Líbar) (97). A supplementary question was made during the town hall interviews in the Serranía de Ronda concerning this issue, and virtually all the officials suggested that there had been a decline in the number of seasonal emigrants to the Costa del Sol because of the slowing down of the boom there, which has drastically reduced employment in the construction industry. Estimates made in summer 1980 by officials in the five villages studied by Heran earlier indicated that present flows were merely a quarter of those quoted by him, though this may exclude some families who had moved permanently to the coast.

Considerable study has been made by anthropologists of the effects of immigrants on rural communities. Valenzuela Rubio argues that it widens the view of the world in previously closed communities, instilling urban values and lifestyles (98). Where a highly organised form of tourism dominated by external capital is set up, Butler suggests that a servile attitude, a loss of dignity and a disregard of local observances occurs in the community (99). Where this happens, the gap widens between a declining local economy and a booming tourist industry; in Mallorca during the last twenty years, the population pyramid as a whole has been getting younger whereas the agricultural population has been getting older (100). If tourism is to halt rural depopulation, therefore, it must be integrated with the rural economy. It is suggested that the phenomenon of return emigration and tourism at first may have heightened depopulation by spreading knowledge of the attractions of cities, but with the increasing unemployment there in the 1970s the views of returning emigrants became ones of greater disillusionment, while an increasing number of tourists became interested in, and often involved with, the local economy. Perhaps a turning point has been reached in the population trends in certain villages.

Agriculture

The decline in the number of agricultural enterprises in upland Andalusia charted previously is not generally due to the mechanisation of agriculture (101) or to the growth of tourism, but to deep-seated structural problems among the factors of production - excessively small units of land, an ageing labour force and a lack of capital and enterprise to innovate. So far, tourism in the case study areas has only involved a small proportion of the population, these tending to be the ones with some commercial outlet anyway, so that farmers are not affected.

Other studies of tourism in upland regions, particularly of the large winter sports resorts in the Alps, stress the large and unequal competition for land which results (102), and the large-scale abandonment of farms when farmers see the benefits to be gained from going into tourism (103). In Zermatt, one of the most prestigious Alpine ski resorts, only 1 per cent of the permanent population is engaged in agriculture, according to Bornet (104). Nevertheless, Veyret argues that upland farming systems are vital for the maintenance of suitable surfaces for skiing and of the kind of pastoral views which tourists like to see; therefore tourism and agriculture are not in opposition here, and the drastic reduction in the number of farmers would have occurred anyway.

On the Costa del Sol, tourism has again led to a reduction in the number of people and a decline in the amount of land involved in agriculture; however, here, the agricultural system is more viable than in upland areas, as a wide variety of crops can be grown in the narrow coastal strip. Mignon says that tourism has never integrated into the smallholding system here, and the profits from tourism are not reinvested in agriculture (105). In addition, the remaining holdings are often

worked in combination with a seasonal job in tourism or construction, an arrangement which severely militates against innovation in agriculture. Also, agriculture here is seriously hampered by land speculation: Mignon suggests that 20-30 per cent of agricultural land along the Costa del Sol is either for sale or waiting to be sold, and is therefore not productive (106). Considerable land-use conflicts occur on the narrow coastal strip, where tourism in the form of dispersed apartments uses up valuable agricultural land. Torres suggests that the only way that agriculture can compete with tourism for land is by modernising itself, abandoning marginal land and specialising in high-value, intensive crops (107). While there has been potential for intensification, the boom in tourism has meant that all revenue has been reinvested in this latter, and also that water is not available for irrigation. However, there have recently been signs of change in the agricultural sector. Mignon reports that outside investors have put money into the production of early fruit and vegetables mostly for the tourist market - though he adds that this has not provided much employment for the local agricultural labour force (108). In the municipality of Mijas, most extensively affected by tourism, the cultivation of avocado pears, again mostly for the tourism market, has become widespread and can compete effectively with tourism as a land use (109).

In the case study areas, large-scale land-use changes from agriculture to tourism have only occurred as yet in some municipalities close to provincial capitals, in particular those in the Sierra Morena nearest to Seville. Here, extensive pasture has been converted into estates of second homes, but none of the local officials questioned expressed concern over this process, because the land was already virtually unproductive for agriculture. They did not feel that there was any need to restrict speculative developments in tourism. Elsewhere,

officials reported that there was little or no effect either way between tourism and agriculture: tourism does not stimulate upland farming as it provides little demand and takes vital time away from farmers (110). Veyret and Veyret argue that it is difficult to see any relation between upland agriculture, based largely on pastoral activity, and tourism as it is not traditional to produce items which would have a potential tourist market (111).

Generally the rural tourism market is too small and the units of production too dispersed to allow any selling of farm produce beyond the level of the individual establishment. The major products of the case study areas are sold, mostly through local co-operatives, to regional markets, where they compete, often unfavourably, with goods from elsewhere. In the Alpujarras it was reported that the presence of significant numbers of foreign visitors had created a demand for exotic food products, such as strawberries and mushrooms, though this demand was provided for by a travelling salesman from Granada (112). Once tourism has become well-established, there is obviously potential for growing new crops for that market, but given the lack of connection between the two sectors, such innovation rarely occurs. Veyret and Veyret argue that large commercial organisations, not local people, benefit from food sales to tourism; but also in the villages themselves, the families who reap commercial benefits from tourism are usually those who were previously involved in village commerce, thus further isolating the farmers (113).

Bonneau argues that the combination of agriculture and tourism is made difficult because banks demand high interest rates for tourism investment, so this cannot easily be made from income from agriculture (114). Though there is not much scope for selling produce to tourists, many farmers have benefitted by renting out accommodation. García-Olalla estimates that a farmer can derive income of 15,460 pesetas

(1979) from this, and Tauriala reckons that 10-20 per cent of farm income can be earned from this source (115). The main problem is that the peak of work in both activities often occurs simultaneously, so most farmers only rent self-catering accommodation which requires less work. The additional income from renting accommodation can make a significant difference to a family's revenue from a marginal upland farm, and this policy should be encouraged.

Housing

As nearly all the study area villages have suffered depopulation during the last thirty years, there has been considerable vacant housing. Much of this has been kept by families who emigrated, and is now used by them during the summer when they return to their village. The first, and most widespread change to be observed is the renovation of houses by returning emigrants, or even the construction of new houses.

While second homes were reported in 112 of the 159 villages studied, they rarely reached levels which authors consider to be critical. Pérez estimates that 20 per cent of houses in Capileira (Alpujarras) are owned by foreigners (116); this is probably one of the largest proportions to be found. Table 29 shows the number of first and second homes in the study areas and the average ratios between the two, together with details of the highest to be found in each area.

In considering the effect of residential tourism on housing, it is necessary to distinguish between old and new second homes. Table 30 represents a breakdown of Table 29, showing the average ratios of old and new second homes for each study area, as well as the villages with the highest and lowest ratios.

Most of the old second homes are in the urban nuclei of the villages. This largely reflects the highly concentrated nature of

settlement in upland Andalusia and also the gregarious nature of Spanish rural tourism. Old second homes are the most widely distributed form of rural tourism, as empty houses have been available at very low cost in nearly all the study area villages. However, the new demand for housing has given it a new value and scarcity, so that at present there are very few empty houses in the summer. A question was included in the local officials' questionnaire concerning whether there was unsatisfied demand from outsiders for houses in the village and whether there were any empty houses in summer, and if these were for sale. The responses to these are set out in Table 31.

Table 29. RATIOS OF FIRST TO SECOND HOMES IN THE STUDY AREAS

	First Homes	Second Homes	Second Home Index Average	Second Home Index Highest Value
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	24,237	241	1.0	14 El Bosque
Montes de Málaga	34,068	2,481	7.3	101 Benahavís
Axarquía	14,446	350	2.4	11 Cómpeta
Alpujarras	11,668	232	2.0	10 Carataunas
Sierra de Huelva	14,856	394	2.7	22 Castaño del Robledo
Sierra de Sevilla	14,310	947	6.6	34 El Garrobo
Sierra de Córdoba	12,057	898	7.4	33 Villaviciosa
Sierra de Segura(1)	14,961	86	0.6	2 La Iruela

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires. First homes from Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, *Estadística de servicios de las entidades locales en España*, Madrid 1977.

NOTE: (1) Cazorla is excluded from these figures as no data were provided by the Town Hall.

Table 30. OLD AND NEW SECOND HOMES IN THE STUDY AREAS

	Old Second Homes	Old Second Homes Index	
		Average	Highest Value
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	118	0.5	7 Benaocaz
Montes de Málaga	571	1.7	17 Manilva
Axarquía	173	1.2	10 Cómpeta
Alpujarras	166	1.4	7 Capileira, Bubión
Sierra de Huelva	340	2.3	22 Castaño del Robledo
Sierra de Sevilla	332	2.3	13 El Castillo de las Guardas
Sierra de Córdoba	46	0.4	2 Villanueva del Rey
Sierra de Segura(1)	13	0.1	1 Benatae

	New Second Homes	New Second Homes Index	
		Average	Highest Value
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	123	0.5	14 El Bosque
Montes de Málaga	1,910	5.6	98 Benahavís
Axarquía	177	1.2	7 Frigiliana
Alpujarras	66	0.6	10 Carataunas
Sierra de Huelva	54	0.3	3 Fuenteheridos
Sierra de Sevilla	615	4.3	34 El Garrobo
Sierra de Córdoba	852	7.1	32 Villaviciosa
Sierra de Segura	73	0.5	2 La Iruela

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires.

NOTE: (1) Cazorla is excluded from these figures as no data were provided by the Town Hall.

Table 31. OUTSIDE DEMAND FOR HOUSING (AND ITS AVAILABILITY) IN THE STUDY AREA VILLAGES

	Responses (E.H. - Empty Houses) (D - Outside demand for houses)					
	E.H. no D	No E.H. no D	E.H. & D	E.H. not for sale & D	No E.H. & D	No response
	Number of villages					
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	7	7	2	2	10	4
Montes de Málaga	0	3	2	0	13	1
Axarquía	5	3	2	1	10	1
Alpujarras	7	0	3	0	15	4
Sierra de Huelva	0	1	2	6	9	1
Sierra de Sevilla	0	2	1	0	10	0
Sierra de Córdoba	1	1	0	0	5	0
Sierra de Segura	0	0	0	2	3	7
Totals	20	17	12	11	75	16

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires

The table indicated that there is demand from outsiders for houses in 63 per cent of the villages studied, and furthermore that in 58 per cent of the villages, this demand is unsatisfied. It is suggested that this situation has arisen because local families have become reluctant to sell surplus accommodation as it is used by relatives in the summer. With the increase in demand for such housing from outside, local families have held on to property even more as they see its value rising. This has effectively restrained the market for old second homes in most of the villages, and the unsatisfied demand is channelled into second homes or

rented accommodation. Because local families have tended to keep accommodation for relatives returning in the summer, the complaint was rarely heard that outside buying of property had led to a shortage of accommodation for the permanent population; in fact the only place where it was mentioned was in the Poqueira villages of the Alpujarras where both Spanish and foreign people have bought property and speculation has begun to occur. A large amount of property was made available here originally because of the lower rate of seasonal return emigration in these villages, and this has virtually all been bought up. With the increase in tourism in the villages there is now more work available and some local people have returned only to find no houses available except those being sold and resold between outsiders at inflated prices. In addition, the restricted sloping sites of the villages and the restrictions imposed on construction have limited the scope for building new houses. It is anticipated that a similar situation may arise in other villages, particularly where property companies have begun to buy houses on a large scale, and new economic activities become established, though no local official questioned elsewhere expressed much concern about this. The effect of tourism on housing was felt to be favourable in that it led to the renovation of properties - though people did not go as far as to say that tourism had improved the villages' appearance, because traditionally Andalusian villages are very well-kept. Furthermore,the buying up of houses by outsiders does not keep young people away; this is more due to the lack of employment opportunities (117).

Dispersed old second homes are less common and Table 32 is an estimate of their numbers based on questionnaire information. In practice, even the accommodation mentioned in the Spanish Farm Holiday Guide turned out to be in the villages themselves rather than being genuine farm accommodation of the type found in Britain or France.

Table 32. DISPERSED OLD SECOND HOMES IN THE STUDY AREAS

	Dispersed Old Second Homes	Outstanding Municipalities	
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	14	Jimera de Líbar	5
		Parauta	5
Montes de Málaga	230	Alhaurín de la Torre	25
		Alhaurín el Grande	30
		Coín	120
Axarquía	136	Alcaucín	10
		Frigiliana	15
		Torrox	20
		Cómpeta	77
Alpujarras	80	Orgiva	70
Sierra de Huelva	30	Linares de la Sierra	10
Sierra de Sevilla	20	Constantina	15
Sierra de Córdoba	14	Villanueva del Rey	9
Sierra de Segura	5	Segura de la Sierra	3
Total	529		

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaire.

Despite the much greater depopulation recorded outside urban nuclei, the buying up of dispersed properties has been modest, mainly because of the lack of electricity and water. Many villages reported that hardly anybody lived outside the urban nucleus now, though isolated buildings were often used periodically for agricultural purposes. The only place where many farmhouses have become second homes are in the municipalities of Cómpeta and Orgiva where Scandinavian enterprise has been involved, and in Cómpeta concern was expressed in the town hall that as each farm was purchased by a Scandinavian the land went out of cultivation. Farms have also been bought in large numbers, mostly by retired foreigners, in

the Guadalhorce lowlands in the municipalities of Coín, Alhaurín el Grande and Alhaurín de la Torre, because of the tranquility and proximity to Málaga and the coast. Here, the farmland is very productive and restrictions have been set on land purchase by outsiders.

However, the stock of dispersed buildings with second home potential is much greater than those in villages, and it could be argued that it is better that second homes should be away from villages as there is less competition with local housing needs there (118). Also, conversion to second homes is often the only chance of renovation such properties have (119). Nevertheless, the sale of a farm building is generally accompanied by the sale of surrounding land with it, making it a more expensive and less desirable proposition for a second home (120), so it is unlikely that there will be much growth in this activity in the near future. A PADIMA report suggested that there was a large long-term potential for tourism growth in inland Málaga province based on isolated farm dwellings, especially in the Axarquía where there is much abandoned dispersed settlement (121). The effect of this would not be a cause for concern in upland areas, owing to the widespread abandonment of farms and farm buildings.

It is generally argued that old second homes are preferable to new ones, which introduce exotic architectural forms (122) and do not respect local building styles (123). This is especially true in Andalusia where second home ownership has become a mass-consumption item, and the owners do not possess enough income to build in line with local styles. A renovated old home has become more expensive than to build a new prefabricated chalet (124). New second homes are increasingly becoming the norm in peripheries of large cities. Table 33 shows their numbers and the proportion of all second homes accounted for by new ones.

Table 33. NEW SECOND HOMES IN STUDY AREAS

	New Second Homes	Per cent of all Second Homes
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	123	51.0
Montes de Málaga	1,910	77.0
Axarquía	177	50.6
Alpujarras	66	28.4
Sierra de Huelva	54	13.7
Sierra de Sevilla	615	65.0
Sierra de Córdoba	852	94.9
Sierra de Segura	73	84.9
Total	3,870	68.8

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires

The largest proportion of new second homes is found in the Sierra Morena study areas, which form the peripheries of Seville and Córdoba, and in the Montes de Málaga, where estates of chalets have been built near the coast and near Málaga. In some of the Sierra Morena municipalities nearest to Seville and Córdoba (El Garrobo, El Ronquillo, Espiel and Obejo) new second homes made up 100 per cent of all second homes. Paradoxically, the urban nuclei of these villages are amongst the least affected by second home buying. Demand has been diverted into the new estates which were built up to fifteen years ago, and into more picturesque villages further afield. From the housing point of view, these new estates would seem advantageous as they divert demand from the villages and keep property prices down there; also they do not interrupt the architecture of the villages as they form completely separate nuclei. Though the development of these estates is anarchic and unplanned, local officials did not feel any need for control as the land they occupied had little other potential.

Landscape

The lack of central planning in rural tourism in Spain has led to several serious consequences for the rural landscape, which have only recently come to attention. The first sign of concern of this sort was about coastal tourism, where the processes have been operating for over twenty years. Writers such as Gaviria began to question the *laissez-faire* attitude of central authorities towards tourism, whereby development of any sort was encouraged. Torres stresses the anarchic occupation of ground which has occurred on the Costa del Sol, and the absence of land-use plans (by 1979 only three municipalities on the Málaga coast had one) (125). In rural areas it is unlikely that land-use plans will appear in the near future due to cost, and strong tourism demand in competition with a weak agricultural economy can often lead to everyone wanting to sell land to tourism (126) and a disordered sprawl of tourist functions resulting (127). Several writers on the case study areas have already expressed similar views. Pérez says that there are no guidelines set out for the construction or siting of new homes in the Alpujarras, so that traditional settlement forms and building types are not safeguarded (128). In the Sierra de Cazorla, apartment blocks have been built with no state legislation regarding position or style (129). Often, the worst planned tourist developments occur in the less-favoured resort areas because of the total lack of regulation there (130).

The increasing trend in rural tourism is towards new complexes of accommodation and leisure facilities; though this adds an exotic element to the landscape, it steers change away from the villages themselves (131). It also concentrates tourism in a number of estates rather than allowing random development of new building in areas with the best landscapes. The predominantly residential nature of much of

Spanish rural tourism also means that activities of tourists are concentrated in and around the home, so that use of land outside the estates is minimised. A Council of Europe report suggests that motorised tourism of the day-trip variety can be the most ecologically damaging as it is not tied to one locality (132). Spanish families often travel into the country for picnics at weekends but the distances travelled are seldom great; this phenomenon was only mentioned in some of the municipalities nearest to Málaga (Totalán, Macharaviaya, Alhaurín de la Torre). There are no facilities for tourists in such places, so that ecological and aesthetic damage occurs by the roadside (133).

The buying up of properties in villages has had little effect on their physiognomy until new houses are built around the edge of the village (134). The modern second homes are generally constructed indifferently to the skyline and landscape (135). Fourquier describes French new second homes as "pastiches of pseudo-regional architecture" (136). In the study area villages it was generally agreed that the aesthetic effect of tourism was good in that previously derelict properties had been renovated. The more damaging effects of construction of new properties are often restricted to the more accessible parts of the villages which are frequented by passing visitors (see the case study of the Alpujarras). For many properties both within and outside villages, the alternative to tourism is dereliction (137).

Employment

As tourism is the only major economic activity in which the consumer travels to the source of supply, it shows an employment pattern markedly different from many other functions and it is often found in peripheral regions with high unemployment levels. Rural tourism should be a particularly successful way of ironing out employment disparities

Fig. 17: TOLOX (Montes de Málaga)

The popularity of Tolox as a spa resort has given it greater prosperity than the surrounding villages. This is strikingly reflected in the size and style of buildings in the village; traditional stone houses of two stories have often been replaced by three or four storey blocks constructed with modern building materials.

because of its dispersed nature, though in Andalusia employment generated from rural tourism is as yet minimal. The employment effect of tourism has been almost entirely restricted to the coast and to provincial capitals; though it has reduced unemployment in Andalusia as a whole, it has created a new polarisation of economic activity and further marginalised rural regions.

Many authors argue that tourism is an ideal form of employment-generating economic activity for peripheral regions because small-scale establishments can benefit and because of its labour-intensive and largely unskilled nature. Against these advantages are the seasonality of employment and the uncertainty in the tourist industry from one year to the next, as it is particularly vulnerable to economic fluctuations. This latter problem has been particularly serious in the province of Málaga during the last five years, during which the boom in coastal tourism has levelled off and employment, particularly in the construction industry, has been reduced. According to Naylon, unemployment in Andalusia is highest in Málaga province (138), much of which is still unaffected by tourism, though in some of the inland municipalities over half the labour force has worked on the coast. Torres reports that many of these workers are now forced back into agriculture either in their own plot or in the Guadalhorce Basin (139). As far as the study areas are concerned, then, the coastal Andalusian tourist industry has been a much smaller and less reliable source of employment than have Catalonia, France or Germany.

With uncertainty surrounding this employment likely to continue and the desire expressed by most of the villagers interviewed to remain and work in their village, the main concern here should be with employment generated *in situ* by tourism. Three questions were asked concerning employment in the local officials' questionnaire; the first

on employment structure in the municipality, the second on unemployment, and the third on employment in tourist-related or craft functions. A broad tabulation of the responses to these questions is given in Tables 34 to 36, though precise figures could rarely be given as often commercial or craft activity is combined with agriculture, and also unemployment is highly seasonal in character.

Table 34. EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN STUDY AREA VILLAGES

	Number and names of villages		
	70% or over in agriculture	40% or over in construction	50% or over in industry (type)
Sierra de Cádiz/ Sierranía de Ronda	28	2 El Bosque Grazalema	3 Benaoján (meat) Olvera (various) Ubrique (leather)
Montes de Málaga	13	5 Benahavís Benalmádena Istán Manilva Mijas	1 Tolox (tourism)
Axarquía	20	1 Torrox	
Alpujarras	29	0	2 Lanjarón (tourism & water bottling) Trevélez (meat)
Sierra de Huelva	16	1 Linares de la Sierra	2 Cortegana (various) Jabugo (meat)
Sierra de Sevilla	10	1 Castilblanco de los Arroyos	2 Constantina (various) Guadalcanal (tiles & bricks)
Sierra de Córdoba	4	0	3 Espiel (mining & power station) Peñarroya-Pueblonuevo (mining) Villaharta (power station)
Sierra de Segura	14	0	0

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaire

Table 35. UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE STUDY AREA VILLAGES

	Unemployment Rate (1)
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	18.5
Montes de Málaga	6.6
Axarquía	5.7
Alpujarras	13.6
Sierra de Huelva	15.8
Sierra de Sevilla	19.2
Sierra de Córdoba	3.7
Sierra de Segura	15.6

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires. Data were not provided for 56 municipalities: this rate is calculated on the basis of data from the other 103.

NOTE: (1) This is derived from the percentage unemployed of the total population divided by six (an approximation of the working population).

Table 36. TOURISM AND CRAFT RELATED EMPLOYMENT

	None - no. of villages	Tourism employment		Craft employment	
		No. of villages	No. of employees	No.of villages	No.of employees
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	26	1	30	5	68
Montes de Málaga	7	5	135	7	75
Axarquía	15	1	15	2	10
Alpujarras	23	6	525(2)	2	8
Sierra de Huelva	17	1	200	3	86
Sierra de Sevilla	11	2	20	0	0
Sierra de Córdoba	7	0	0	0	0
Sierra de Segura	13	1	3	0	0

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires.

NOTES: (1) Excludes employment in coastal tourism
(2) 500 of this total work in Lanjarón

This data would suggest that there is unused labour in most municipalities, but that agriculture remains the main economic activity. Tourism employment is generally of a small, commercial, family nature and often only occupies those families who already had a commercial outlet. Only in a few cases are there enough hotels and restaurants to employ people outside the family, and in such cases labour is found locally (see Fig. 18).

The future for large-scale employment in tourism in rural Andalusia depends largely on the kind of tourism which proves most popular. Much of the present increase in rural tourism is being channelled into new estates of second homes, which stimulate no employment locally except for one or two guards, apart from the initial labour used in their construction. At present the extreme seasonality of Andalusian rural tourism inhibits initiative there, so that tourism enterprises mostly remain purely local family concerns.

Prices and Municipal Budgets

A major problem of tourism in isolated rural areas is the strain which it imposes on municipal budgets; this is especially true where the main form of tourism is second homes, which put very little back into the local economy but make considerable demands on services and administration. Brier suggests that second homes only represent a strain on municipal budgets where they total over 20-25 per cent of all homes (140) - a figure only reached in seven of the municipalities studied here. In fact, in many of the municipalities essential services like water, sewage and electricity are not yet provided for all the first homes, and new estates of second homes generally have to install their own systems. Therefore, in a question posed to local officials on this issue, they did not mention tourism as being a strain on municipal budgets simply because the budgets were usually not large enough

Fig. 18: MIJAS (Montes de Málaga)

Mijas is one of the few villages where there are tourist-related shops and restaurants which are large enough to employ people other than merely the owner and his family. However, the goods sold in the souvenir shops largely originate from outside the region; the exception being a few hand-made products, largely the work of outsiders who have settled in Mijas itself.

to permit any spending on tourism anyway.

A far more widespread effect of tourism was reported as being the rise in property prices, especially in peripheral areas receiving mass urban-originated demand. Table 37 summarises the responses of local officials to a question concerning the impact of tourism on prices of property.

Table 37 . EFFECT OF TOURISM ON PRICES OF LAND AND PROPERTY

	Number of villages		
	No effect	Slight increase	Large increase
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	30	1	0
Montes de Málaga	10	3	6
Axarquía	18	2	2
Alpujarras	23	6	3
Sierra de Huelva	8	4	8
Sierra de Sevilla	8	3	2
Sierra de Córdoba	1	6	0
Sierra de Segura	14	0	0

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires

It appears that an unprecedented rise in the price of housing and property has occurred in many of the study areas, though in many cases the officials did not attribute this to tourism but rather to the increase in the standard of living which has affected the whole of Spain during the past two decades, compounded with demand for property from returning emigrants (141). Where property-price increases were atrributed to tourism, it is difficult to isolate that part of the increase which is due to tourism from that part which represents the general rise in prices. Also, it is difficult to estimate the

original value of property or land, as if it has passed from generation to generation within the village it is never assigned a realistic market value until a sale to tourism takes place (142).

Quantitative replies to this question were therefore rare and unreliable, but suggested that a general rise in land prices of two or three times had occurred during the last ten years, suggesting that any rise on top of that could be blamed on extra demand from tourism. Some spectacular statistics have been given in this context both by officials in the case study areas and in other works. A study by David on prices of land around a lakeshore in the United States suggested that land developed for recreation increased in price by 150 per cent during a period in which the rate of inflation was only 14 per cent (143). Downing and Dower state that house prices in Denbighshire, a rural area of north Wales popular for second homes, have risen faster than the Welsh average (144). Redclift suggests that as soon as land is bought for chalet construction in a Pyranean village, its value becomes eight times as great (145); Vitte indicates a twelve-fold rise in the price of land in l'Aquila province in Italy (146). Renard suggests that rural land can sometimes become as much as fifty times more valuable if it has tourism potential (147). Rises in prices from 40,000 to 1,500,000 pesetas in five years for a house in Corteconcepción (province of Huelva); from 25,000 to 1,000,000 in five years in Bubión (Alpujarras) and from 300 to 6,000 pesetas per square metre of land in Alhaurín de la Torre, near Málaga, were reported in town halls.

Rises of this magnitude are as yet rare in the study areas, but they obviously represent a transformation of land from one economic system to another, a feature which can severely unbalance the local economy. Such rises only occur where speculation has begun between outside buyers, but with the existing weak local administrative

control over property transactions, it would be impossible to prevent this process from spreading. Friedl's study in the Pyrenees indicates that local people have not been able to adjust to the new evaluations of land made by tourism, realising the land has a much greater value than its agricultural output would produce, but not being able to benefit themselves from this other than by selling it (148). The crucial factor here is whether locals sell their land or not; if they do not, and a framework exists whereby they can develop tourist facilities, they stand to benefit considerably.

Industry and Services

The comment was often made in questionnaire responses that industrial growth would be preferable to tourism because of the uncertainty and seasonality of employment in tourism. On the coast, tourism has stimulated many related economic activities such as food processing, furniture and hotel and restaurant supplies; but inland tourism has not appeared on a scale large enough to stimulate ancillary industry. The main prospect here is for the establishment of rural craft industries, though the case study areas are traditionally lacking in such activities.

A question was asked of local officials as to the industries present in the villages, and the results are summarised in Table 38. This shows the strong primary basis of economic activity in the study areas, with most of the industries described relating to agriculture, forestry or mining. There are no cases of an industry being set up to cater for tourism, though there are certain traditional activities which could exploit the local tourism market. Obvious examples are the water-bottling plant at Lanjarón (Alpujarras), the meat producers at Jabugo (Sierra de Huelva), Benaoján (Serranía de Ronda) and Trevélez (Alpujarras); also the leather industry at Ubrique (Sierra

Table 38. INDUSTRY IN THE STUDY AREA VILLAGES

	None	Agriculture & Forestry	Mining	Food & Drink	Manufacturing
	Number of villages				
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	17	4	0	4	7
Montes de Málaga	13	2	0	0	4
Axarquía	17	5	0	0	0
Alpujarras	25	1	1	1	4
Sierra de Huelva	12	3	4	1	1
Sierra de Sevilla	2	6	2	3	1
Sierra de Córdoba	3	1	3	0	0
Sierra de Segura	8	3	0	1	1
Total	97	25	10	10	18

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires

de Cádiz). However, in all these cases, despite the growing presence of tourists in the villages concerned, the vast majority of the produce is exported and little effort has been made to sell it locally or advertise it as distinctive of the region.

In some municipalities, co-operatives have been set up to increase employment, particularly of young women. Again, these have not been established with any relation to the promotion of tourism, though some of the items produced could be sold to tourists as distinctive regional goods (an example of this is the textiles co-operative in Ugíjar (Alpujarras), whose products are sold throughout the region, though it was not originally set up with the tourism market in mind). As yet, rural tourism has not formed large enough flows to encourage complementary economic activities.

Conversely, there are cases in which rural tourism actively discourages industry. Valenzuela Rubio mentions this to be the case in

the Sierra de Guadarrama, near Madrid, where second-home owners have begun to have influence in local politics and resist any attempts to bring industry into the area to boost local employment (149). However, rural tourism has not become as widespread in any of the study areas as it has in the Sierra de Guadarrama, and there is plenty of space as yet for both activities to coexist. On a small scale, the presence of outsiders can stimulate local initiatives in industry or commerce by passing on skills (150). This may be especially true where outsiders become interested in reviving local craft industries.

Those activities which most readily benefit from tourism are construction and the retail trade (151). The effect on the construction industry is very difficult to gauge because with the increase in the standard of living recently experienced in Spanish rural areas and also the seasonal return of emigrants, a large increase in building has occurred in most villages. While local officials often reported considerable employment in construction, little of this was said to be related to tourism; certainly it would not provide for any permanent employment.

While the increase in commercial activity is obvious in the more popular villages, in the form of restaurants and souvenir shops (the numbers of these have already been given in Part 2), the degree to which existing commercial outlets benefit is often minimal. Brier suggests that rural retail outlets only benefit precariously from tourism as city people retain city-based buying habits and only buy irregularly from local shops (152). Table 39 categorises the responses to a question made to local officials concerning commercial benefit from tourism.

It is interesting to note that in some of the municipalities closest to Seville, which have some of the greatest numbers of tourists, local officials suggested tourism had had a negative effect

Table 39. COMMERCIAL BENEFIT FROM TOURISM IN CASE STUDY AREAS

	None	Slight	Significant
		Number of villages	
Sierra de Cádiz/ Serranía de Ronda	20	9	3
Montes de Málaga	8	7	4
Axarquía	14	8	0
Alpujarras	24	2	6
Sierra de Huelva	7	6	7
Sierra de Sevilla	4	7	2
Sierra de Córdoba	4	1	2
Sierra de Segura	11	1	1
Total	92	41	25

Source: Own elaboration of Town Hall questionnaire

on commerce in the villages because not only did the second-home owners do their shopping at a hypermarket near Seville, but the local people had also become more aware of this source and had organised coaches to visit it. Tourism of the second homes estates variety would be expected to have least commercial effect as it is situated away from the villages anyway.

3. *CASE STUDIES AND LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEYS*

A number of villages were chosen as being indicative of certain distinctive types of rural tourism. By looking in detail at the pattern of tourism in these villages, a further insight can be gained into the nature of peripheral, non-peripheral and coastal hinterland tourism as defined in Part 2. The villages studied here are some of those which have experienced the most tourism, and therefore patterns found in them may later be repeated in others. The following discussion of tourism in these villages is supplemented by a survey of attitudes of the people in the same villages, where again some interesting contrasts come to light. Map 33 in Appendix 5 gives the location of all the case study villages.

A. *Nature of tourism in case study villages*

Peripheral Tourism Six municipalities were chosen in the Sierra de Huelva and Sierra de Sevilla case study areas, as representing stages of tourism development at increasing distances from the city of Seville, along the route from Seville to the Portuguese frontier at Rosal de la Frontera. These six municipalities represent the three zones outlined in Map 20 and can be divided as follows:

(i) *El Castillo de las Guardas and El Garrobo* These villages, at 49 and 39.5 kilometres from Seville respectively, fall into the first zone of rural tourism defined in Part 2 - within 50 kilometres of Seville and with new second homes predominating. Map 27 and Table 40 show the distribution of tourist accommodation in these two municipalities, most of which is concentrated in estates of second homes. The villages themselves are hardly affected by tourism, as shown in Fig. 19 and Fig. 20: neither has any rented accommodation and neither has any commercial function related to, or significantly benefitting from, tourism. The only locally run commercial establishments which benefit from tourism are the bars and general stores in the *aldeas* (hamlets) of Valdeflores and Arroyo

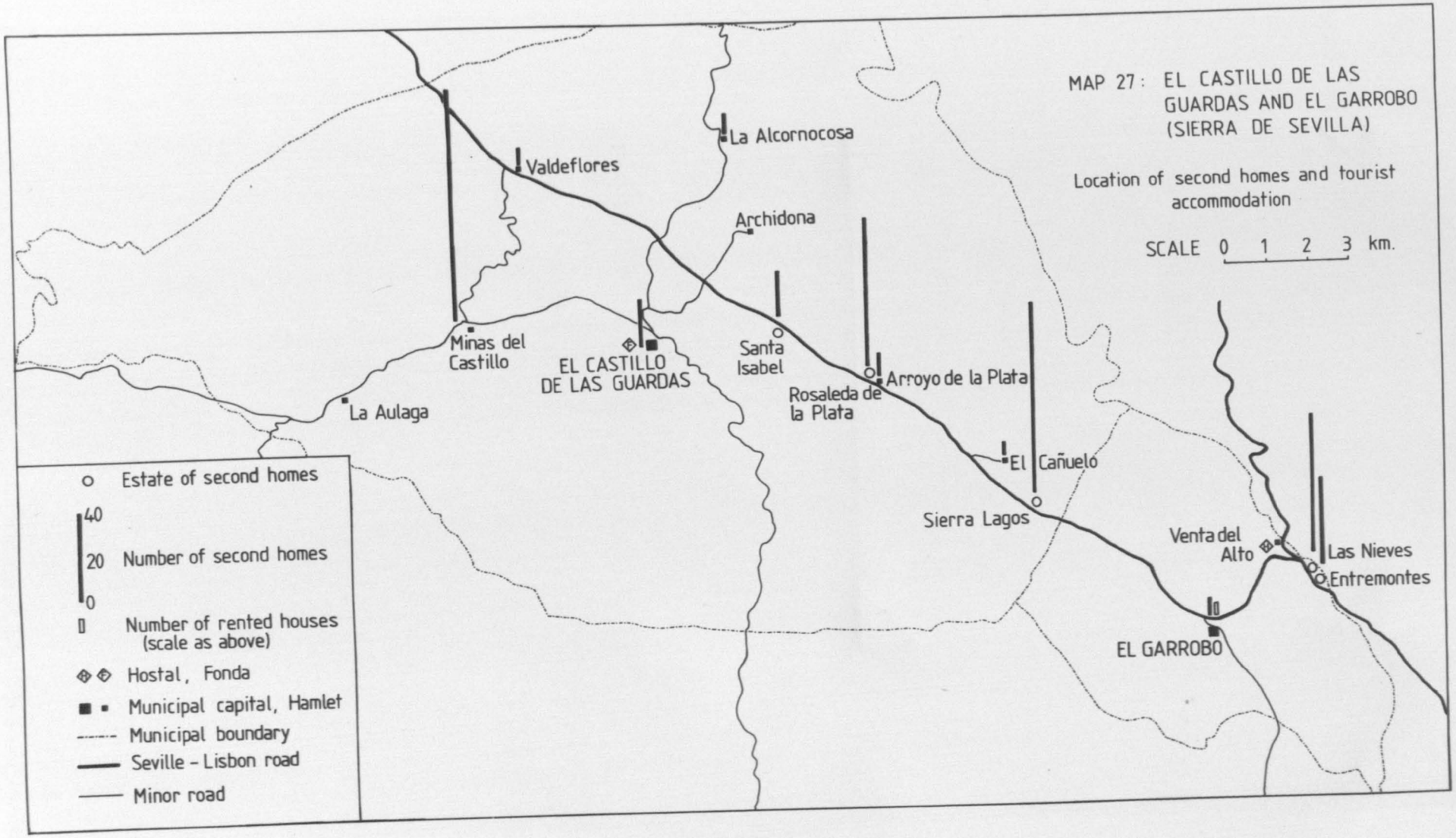

MAP 27: EL CASTILLO DE LAS GUARDAS AND EL GARROBO (SIERRA DE SEVILLA)
Location of second homes and tourist accommodation
SCALE 0 1 2 3 km.
La Alcornocosa
Valdeflores
Archidona
Minas del Castillo
EL CASTILLO DE LAS GUARDAS
Santa Isabel
Rosaleda de la Plata
Arroyo de la Plata
La Aulaga
El Cañuelo
Sierra Lagos
Venta del Alto
Las Nieves
Entremontes
EL GARROBO
Estate of second homes
40
20
0
Number of second homes
Number of rented houses (scale as above)
Hostal, Fonda
Municipal capital, Hamlet
Municipal boundary
Seville - Lisbon road
Minor road

Fig. 19: EL CASTILLO DE LAS GUARDAS (Sierra de Sevilla)

Despite being two of the nearest upland villages to Seville, El Castillo de las Guardas and El Garrobo (overleaf) remain virtually untouched by tourism, the only signs of it being a few new second homes on the edge of the villages. Tourism in these municipalities is largely concentrated in estates of second homes, and visitors to these have little economic impact on the villages.

(see also Fig. 20 overleaf)

Fig. 20: EL GARROBO (Sierra de Sevilla)

This is the nearest upland village to Seville, being only 37 kilometres away. However the village itself has no tourism whatever and retail outlets there have diminished recently as local people increasingly travel to Seville for their shopping, as do families in the surrounding estates of second homes.

Table 40. TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN CASE STUDY VILLAGES: PERIPHERAL TOURISM (SIERRA MORENA)

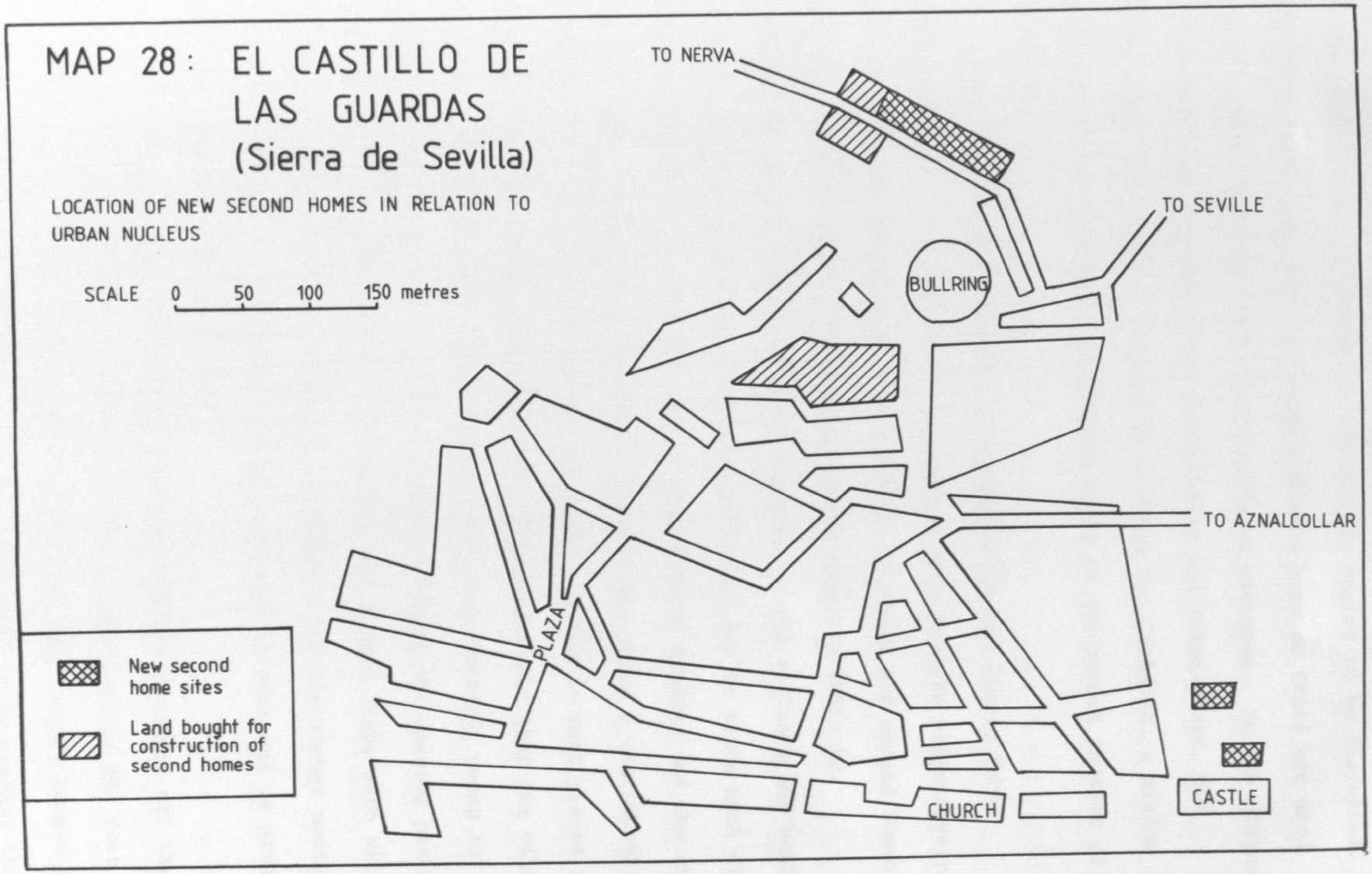
Municipality	Number and percentage of beds in: *Hostals* & *Fondas*		Rented houses		Old second homes		New second homes	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
El Castillo de las Guardas	13		0		875		1159	
El Garrobo	28		25		0		678	
Total - First Zone (1)	41	1.5	25	0.9	875	31.5	1837	66.1
Higuera de la Sierra	0		0		138		12	
Corteconcepción	0		156		54		0	
Puerto Moral	0		5		12		0	
Total - Second Zone (2)	0	0	161	42.7	204	54.1	12	3.2
Galaroza - Third Zone (3)	41	5.4	656	87.3	18	2.4	36	4.8

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires

NOTES: (1) Less than 50 kilometres from Seville
(2) 50 - 90 kilometres from Seville
(3) Over 90 kilometres from Seville

de la Plata, which are frequented by passing traffic.

The estates of second homes occur along the main road, so as to be most readily accessible from Seville. The predominantly latifundist, underexploited land holding structure has facilitated the transfer of land to this use. In the village of El Castillo de las Guardas, a number of new second homes have been built around the edge, as shown in Map 28. These chalets are located in prominent positions on the roads in and out of the village, in the belt of smallholdings immediately around it, many of which have fallen into disuse and been sold. The sites also command


MAP 28: EL CASTILLO DE LAS GUARDAS (Sierra de Sevilla)
LOCATION OF NEW SECOND HOMES IN RELATION TO URBAN NUCLEUS
SCALE 0 50 100 150 metres
TO NERVA
TO SEVILLE
BULLRING
TO AZNALCOLLAR
PLAZA
CHURCH
CASTLE
New second home sites
Land bought for construction of second homes

impressive views over the surrounding area, and the chalets thus dominate the village skyline; there are no controls over building here and the traditional nucleation of the village begins to be disrupted. There have never been any old houses available here as these are used by local people who come back from Seville at weekends. In the *aldeas* of the municipality, where more depopulation has taken place, old second homes are common - especially in Minas del Castillo, a mining settlement which is almost depopulated owing to the recent closure of the mines.

(ii) *Higuera de la Sierra, Corteconcepción and Puerto Moral*

These villages, at 77, 88 and 85 kilometres from Seville respectively, fall into the second zone of rural tourism, in which old second homes form the dominant type of accommodation, as shown in Table 40. Tourist presence is almost entirely confined to the villages and hamlets; there are as yet no estates of new second homes, nor is there much dispersed settlement. A contrast can be seen between Higuera and the other two villages. Higuera is one of the few villages where a considerable antecedence of summer visitors was reported; whereas in most places flows only began in the 1970s, the *secretario* in Higuera said that the village has been a popular summer resort since early this century, owing to its position on the main road and its altitude. During the ensuing period, many of the villagers emigrated to Seville and formed links with city inhabitants who now return regularly to Higuera for the summer months; therefore at present tourism is stable from year to year and no prospect for its expansion was envisaged.

Corteconcepción and Puerto Moral are smaller villages off the main road, where tourism has only begun to be important in the last six or seven years. Since then it has occupied the many vacant houses in the villages, and though supply was still reported to be greater than demand in summer 1979, a great price rise in land and property had

occurred in Corteconcepción; from 40,000 to 1,500,000 pesetas for an average house - higher than the price in Seville. As in El Castillo de las Guardas, the building of new second homes has begun in plots of land near the village - in this case between the two nuclei of Corteconcepción and Puerto Gil, near the town hall (see Map 29). The situation here is less balanced than at Higuera, as tourism has come into the remoter villages much more rapidly, and land has been bought up before local people come to realise its potentialities. Considerable speculation in land was reported on plots in Corteconcepción. As much of the premium land has already passed into outside hands, these will be the landowners who will benefit most from the future increase in demand. In this zone, second home buying has spread into the smallest *aldeas* (see Fig. 21); many previously vacant houses have been bought up by outsiders, again isolating the local economy from tourism and meaning that new demand will be channelled into new buildings.

(iii) *Galaroza* At 102 kilometres from Seville, this village is the best example of the third zone of rural tourism, in which rented accommodation predominates (see Table 40 and Fig. 22). Here demand for accommodation is not as great, so inflated offers for property are less common. Only two or three houses have been bought by outsiders despite a tradition of receiving summer visitors going back to the 1930s. Tourism here would appear to have remained much more in the hands of local people than it has in villages nearer Seville; although this may not be the result of a conscious decision on their part, it would enable future tourism development to occur under local control and to the greater benefit of the village. Whether or not such development occurs is largely out of the hands of the villagers - it depends much more on improvements in accessibility to Seville and Huelva. The town hall also reported that the fiesta in Galaroza had become an important regional cultural event, attracting tourists as well as returning emigrants.

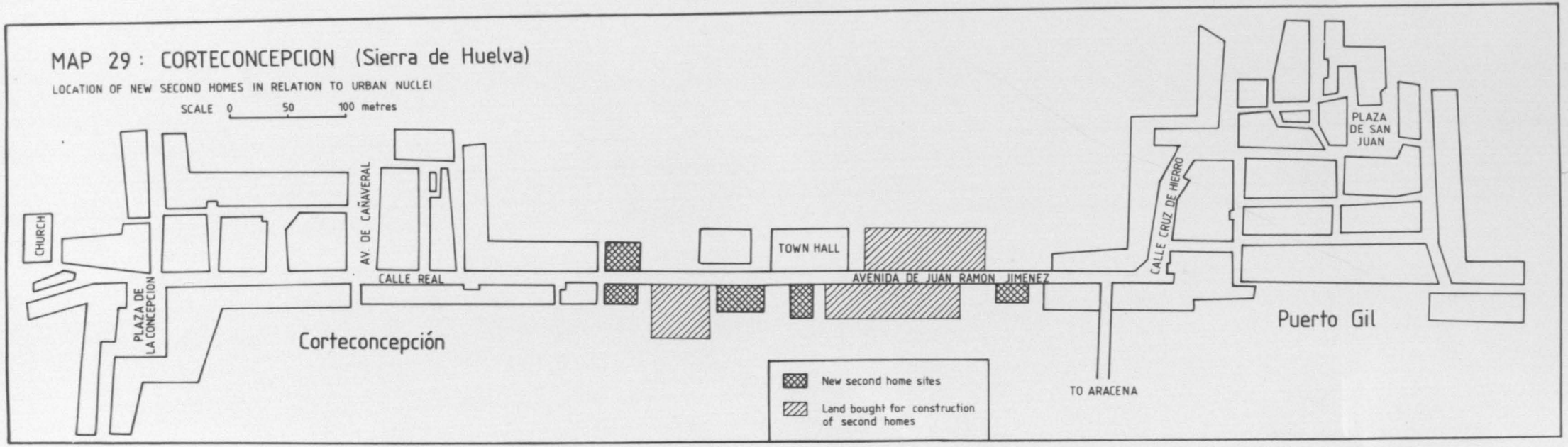

MAP 29 : CORTECONCEPCION (Sierra de Huelva)
LOCATION OF NEW SECOND HOMES IN RELATION TO URBAN NUCLEI
SCALE 0 50 100 metres
CHURCH
PLAZA DE LA CONCEPCION
AV. DE CAÑAVERAL
CALLE REAL
Corteconcepción
TOWN HALL
AVENIDA DE JUAN RAMON JIMENEZ
CALLE CRUZ DE HIERRO
PLAZA DE SAN JUAN
Puerto Gil
TO ARACENA
New second home sites
Land bought for construction of second homes

Fig. 21: JABUGUILLO (Municipality of Aracena, Sierra de Huelva)

Jabuguillo is one of six *aldeas* (hamlets) in the municipality of Aracena, and in 1979 five of these had at least one second home in them. Now that water supply and electricity have been provided in even the remotest hamlets, and housing is no longer available for purchase in many of the most popular tourism villages, second home demand has spread to virtually all settlements.

Fig. 22: GALAROZA (Sierra de Huelva)

Galaroza has a strong tradition of renting accommodation to visitors dating back to the 1930s, and therefore the local people benefit more from tourism than in villages near Seville. There is very little accommodation for sale to outsiders, partly due to the almost total lack of dispersed settlement, and the fact that any empty houses in the village are kept for seasonally returning emigrants.

Non-peripheral tourism Seven municipalities in the Western Alpujarras were chosen as representing this type of tourism. These villages, on the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada, possess some of the most impressive scenery and most distinctive architectural styles in Andalusia, but communications are still very tortuous, which restricts large scale flows from adjacent towns. Map 30 shows the location of the villages, and Table 41 shows the amount of accommodation of different types there.

Table 41. TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN CASE STUDY VILLAGES: NON-PERIPHERAL TOURISM (ALPUJARRAS)

Municipality	Number and percentage of beds in:							
	Hostals & *Fondas*		Rented houses		Old second homes		New second homes	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Trevélez	104	36.7	101	35.7	48	17.0	30	10.6
Capileira	26		101		151		23	
Bubión	13		60		84		0	
Pampaneira	57		60		18		54	
Total - Barranco de Poqueira	96	14.8	221	34.2	253	39.1	77	11.9
Pitres	13		60		24		0	
Mecina-Fondales	0		0		12		0	
Ferreirola	0		0		30		0	
Pórtugos	41		10		0		0	
Busquistar	0		40		18		0	
Total - Valle de Ferreira	54	21.3	116	45.7	84	33	0	0

Source: Own elaboration from Town Hall questionnaires


MAP 30 : LAS ALPUJARRAS
LOCATION OF CASE STUDY VILLAGES
SCALE 0 5 10 km.
TREVELEZ
CAPILEIRA
BUBION
Capileirilla
PORTUGOS
BUSQUISTAR
PAMPANEIRA
PITRES
Atalbéitar
Ferreirola
Mecina - Fondales
Orgiva
Cádiar
Ugíjar
Study area boundary
Boundary of case study village municipalities
Case study villages and hamlets
Other villages and hamlets in study area

(i) *Trevélez* Despite its greater distance from the Granada-Motril road, Trevélez exerts considerable tourist attraction owing to its distinctive *jamón serrano* (ham) and the fact that it is the highest village in Spain (1476 metres). As the climate is fairly cold and wet for much of the year, tourism is limited to the summer months; accommodation is mostly in *fondas* and rented houses, which are used for short stays, rather than in second homes. Local involvement in tourism is therefore much greater than in peripheral villages, as most of the lodgings are run by local families, and there is also greater scope for commercial benefit by selling hams and craft goods to tourists. The town hall reported that seven shops and eight *fondas* exist in the village and derive most of their custom from tourism.

An interesting spatial division of tourism has occurred in Trevélez. The village is built in three parts on a steeply sloping site, as shown in Fig. 23. The lowest part, or *barrio bajo*, has the road passing through it and thus is visited most regularly by passing tourists. The shops and *fondas* are concentrated here (Fig. 24). Commercial functions used by the villagers such as the branch of the *Caja Rural* (savings bank) are concentrated in the middle part (Fig. 25) where most of the population lives. The *barrio bajo* is avoided by local people because it experiences temperature inversion, especially in winter. The *barrio alto*, at the top, is the most remote and is inaccessible by car. Many of the houses have been abandoned, and it is here that most of the second homes are found (Fig. 26). A polarisation of two kinds of tourism is seen at opposite ends of the village; a small group of second home owners who seek to escape from other tourists, and a large transient tourism flow.

(ii) *Barranco de Poqueira* The three villages of Capileira, Bubión and Pampaneira are the most visited in the Alpujarras as they are at the

Fig. 23: TREVELEZ (Alpujarras)

As well as being the highest village in Spain, Trevélez has a reputation throughout Spain for its distinctive *jamón serrano* (ham). The river below is famous for trout, and Pico Mulhacén, the highest mountain on the Spanish mainland, can be reached on foot. The village is divided into three *barrios* (neighbourhoods) at different levels; the highest one (*barrio alto*) is seen top left.

(see also Figs. 24-26 overleaf)

Fig. 24: TREVELEZ (Alpujarras) - *Barrio Bajo*

The lowest *barrio*, pictured here, is clustered around the road and contains all the services catering for the short stay visitor; several bars and *fondas* as well as shops specialising in *jamón serrano*. This *barrio* is avoided by the local people because of temperature inversion.

Fig. 25: TREVELEZ (Alpujarras) - *Barrio Medio*

Commercial functions catering for the local people are concentrated in the *barrio medio*, which is also the hub of village social life. The church and town hall are situated here. Apart from a few rooms rented to visitors, tourist functions are non-existent here, as property is not for sale and the steep site of the village discourages short term visitors from penetrating the upper *barrios*.

Fig. 26: TREVELEZ (Alpujarras) - *Barrio Alto*

This is the most remote and depopulated *barrio*, and it is inaccessible by car. No modernisation of homes has occurred here and so it is one of the best examples of typical Alpujarras architecture. This is the most attractive *barrio* for second homes, as property is more readily available and the surroundings are more peaceful than lower down.

bottom of the route over the Sierra Nevada to Granada. They are situated on steeply sloping sites, which restricts growth; also, in a rare example of locally inspired building controls, the three town halls have agreed on restrictions on siting and style of new constructions - a move unparalleled in this area. As in Trevélez, much tourist accommodation is in *fondas* and rented houses, but there are also more old second homes. These are located in the remoter parts of the villages, which have largely been abandoned by the local people. There is a small foreign community now living in the lower part of Capileira and it forms a conservative element in the village, preserving houses in their traditional form (see Fig. 27). Some people in this community are permanent inhabitants and have developed small craft-based functions which add to the tourist attraction of the villages. Elsewhere, homes have been modernised by Spanish outsiders and returning emigrants (see Fig. 28); while elements of the traditional architecture are respected according to the codes set out by the town halls; the difference is obvious. Again, a contrast between second home buying in the remotest parts of the village and evolution of commercial functions in the most accessible part can be noted. All three villages have *fondas*, souvenir shops and restaurants along the roadside; these are all the result of local initiative; for example, the *hostal* in Pampaneira (see Fig. 29) was built two years ago by a returning emigrant who had built up the capital by working in Germany.

Outside initiative has appeared in these municipalities in the form of a Swedish-owned company, Sierra Nevada Sur, S.A., which is seeking approval for development of chalets and skiing facilities above the villages. This would use terrain which is now of little pastoral importance and would not affect the villages themselves directly, though indirectly an increase in day trip tourism would be

Fig. 27: CAPILEIRA (Alpujarras)

This house is an example of traditional Alpujarras architecture; very Moorish in character and unique in Europe. Several such houses in the lower part of the village have been abandoned by local people and purchased by outsiders, often foreign, who like to preserve them in their traditional form.

Fig. 28: CAPILEIRA (Alpujarras)

Most Spanish second home owners and returning emigrants prefer to modernise old properties once they have bought them. Certain architectural features, particularly the flat roof, must be retained according to the codes set out by the town halls of the Barranco de Poqueira villages; however the difference in the finish of the walls, and the addition of a garage, are obvious changes.

Fig. 29: PAMPANEIRA (Alpujarras)

The *hostal* in the foreground is an example of local initiative in tourism; it was built in 1971 by a local entrepreneur who had built up sufficient capital while working in Germany. It is by the roadside in the most accessible part of the village, where there are several new buildings which do not reflect the traditional architectural norms of the village.

expected, from which the local people would be in a good position to benefit. The main limitations which would be set to such a development are ecological; the upper slopes form the catchment area for water feeding irrigated agriculture and hydro-electric power in the Barranco de Poqueira and any large modification of drainage could have major effects on runoff.

(iii) *Valle de Ferreira* The villages here have a much smaller tourist presence; while this is partly the result of less impressive scenery, it is also explained by the fact that less empty houses have appeared on the market as emigrants have kept their property (153). The villages are usually omitted on day tours of the Alpujarras, so that the market for souvenirs and food is reduced. The tourism which is received here is of a more stable nature, with the same people, mostly Spanish and friends of villagers, returning every year. It is unlikely that these villages will be able to achieve the same reputation for tourism as the others, but there is more potential for expansion of other kinds, notably craft-based industry, as less restrictions on development apply. In the hamlets Mecina-Fondales, Ferreirola and Atalbéitar, below the main road, a number of families have bought second homes; again the tendency towards the remoter settlement areas is noted.

Coastal Hinterland A distinction has been made here between places receiving day visitors from the coast and places attracting more permanent tourism in the form of overspill from the coast. The benefits to the villages concerned tend to be greater and more extended than in non-peripheral regions as many of the visitors live either on the coast or in the villages throughout the year. Hence, a greater number of tourist-related functions have evolved, though in some cases they are owned and run by people outside the villages.

It is impossible to divide the case study villages considered

here into those receiving day visits and those with more permanent tourism, as both types are represented in most of them. However, a division can be made between those in the immediate coastal hinterland and those which are further inland. Table 42 gives the amount of accommodation of different types in these villages.

Table 42. TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN CASE STUDY VILLAGES: COASTAL HINTERLAND (PROVINCE OF MALAGA)

Municipality	Number and percentage of beds in:							
	Hostals & *Fondas*		Rented houses		Old second homes		New second homes	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Casares (1)	26		50		54		0	
Benahavís	0		50		75		1797	
Istán	0		0		0		54	
Ojén	49		50		30		30	
Total - Immediate Coastal Hinterland	75	3.3	150	6.6	159	7.0	1881	83.0
Parauta	0		0		30		0	
Alcaucín	0		85		54		0	
Cómpeta	13		0		594		66	
Total - Remoter Coastal Hinterland	13	1.5	85	10.1	678	80.5	66	7.8

Source: Own elaboartion from Town Hall questionnaires

NOTE: (1) Accommodation in the coastal part of the municipality has been omitted

(i) *Immediate Coastal Hinterland* - Casares, Benahavís, Istán and Ojén. These villages are situated between eight and eighteen kilometres inland from resorts along the Western Costa del Sol, between

Marbella and Estepona, one of the most popular and exclusive tourist areas of the Spanish coast. Day trip tourism is dominant in these villages, though in the municipalities of Casares and Benahavís, which have a coastal section and which come within three kilometres of the coast respectively, development of new second homes is widespread, with about a hundred in each. The ownership of tourist related functions in the villages is mostly local, though in Benahavís three out of six shops and restaurants were owned and run by foreigners. However, tourism functions in the villages provide insignificant employment in comparison with coastal tourism, which occupies the majority of the labour force in these villages, except in Benahavís, where tourist flows are greatest and there is also considerable employment in chalet construction; here it was reported that all the population can obtain work within the municipality.

Employment in tourism in these villages is far greater than in any others in this study, and with the exception of Casares the relief of the municipalities is highly dissected with extremely poor soils, so that agriculture is virtually non-existent. In Behahavís the rural economy was originally based on collecting scrub vegetation for charcoal but this was rendered uneconomic before tourism began, and the village now lives entirely off the latter (see Figs. 30 and 31). The income generated from working in coastal tourism has been ploughed back into the villages in the form of larger, modernised houses so that architecturally they are less typical than those further inland, though traditions such as white painted walls and decorated ironwork are emphasised. Therefore, while the populations of these villages will continue to benefit from tourism, it would be unrealistic to expect them to be conserved as museum pieces as those in the Alpujarras might be.

(ii) *Remoter Coastal Hinterland* - Parauta, Alcaucín and Cómpeta. Tourism further inland and originating from the coast is dependent on

Fig. 30: BENAHAVIS (Montes de Málaga)

Benahavís is situated eight kilometres inland from the most exclusive stretch of the Costa del Sol. It is in a steeply sloping valley with very little farmland; the traditional agricultural economy was based on the collection of wood from the surrounding scrubland for charcoal. This activity has now ceased completely, and the village lives entirely off tourism, with no conflicts with other land uses.

(see also Fig. 31 overleaf)

Fig. 31: BENAHAVIS (Montes de Málaga)

There is enough employment in tourism within the municipality for all the inhabitants of Benahavís, and three out of the six restaurants are locally owned. However, the village is no longer architecturally a typical mountain community - there are many exotic styles of building and several foreign residents.

initiatives being made to develop and publicise it; as the coastal tourist is generally unadventurous, he will not venture far inland unless a specific establishment is to be visited. Alcaucín and Cómpeta, both in the Axarquía, have restaurants set up by local initiative (see Fig. 32); their owners said that the most important part of their custom came from retired, mostly foreign, people who came throughout the year from the coast because the weather is cooler in summer and brighter in winter at the higher altitude. It is noticeable that there are no restaurants, *fondas* or souvenir shops in any other village in the Axarquía - the success of such an establishment would depend on its building up a reputation among coastal clientele. The region is not high enough to generate its own tourism (as in the Alpujaras), and it is too near the coast to merit providing its own accommodation.

Cómpeta also has a large permanent presence of Scandinavians, who have bought farms through a Danish intermediary, and at Parauta an isolated chalet development called Navas de San Luis has recently been built in a remote part of the Serranía de Ronda. The future of such villages may lie in this type of tourism which is attractive to northern Europeans, who wish for a quiet place to stay in a warm climate, but at the same time like to visit the cosmopolitan facilities of the coast periodically. Like urban peripheral tourism, this does not directly involve the village community and does not stimulate local culture and commerce as much as the more transient and craft-based tourism of the Alpujarras.

Fig. 32: ALCAUCIN (Axarquía)

This is one of the highest villages in eastern Málaga province and one of the few there with a reliable year-round water supply. The picture shows a restaurant which has recently been set up by a local family; its main custom originates from foreign residents along the eastern Costa del Sol. The village gained much needed publicity from the setting up of a recreational site by ICONA, the Spanish Forestry Commission, and now several families rent rooms to visitors, whereas other villages in the area have little or no tourism.

B. *Attitudes of local people towards tourism*

Many authors attempt to explain the lack of tourist development in some upland areas, or the lack of local control of it in other more popular regions, in terms of ingrained characteristics of the local population which restrict innovation. While the responses to the questionnaire survey in this study would bear out such an explanation, especially for the Sierra Morena villages, such local attitudes cannot simply be explained away in terms of inherent rural backwardness as there are complex historical and political reasons for them.

A Council of Europe report suggests that isolated mountain communities are introspective and conservative, restricting innovation in tourism (154). The nuclear family is the fundamental unit of self-help (155), and there is often no organisation of local collective action (156) or any one person with sufficient authority to lead (157). The idiosyncracy of farmers has made it difficult for outsiders to change the order of work in Andalusian mountain areas (158) and there is a kind of mental underdevelopment regarding the benefits which could be gained from new systems. Added to this is the tendency of Andalusian farmers to save rather than to invest (159). In general, locals are ignorant of tourism possibilities (160); it is not so much a case of them being against tourism as their not knowing what it is and therefore being unwilling to invest in it (161).

In Spain, political factors have compounded the problem of rural isolation from new innovations. The Franco government's concentration on the industrialisation of the economy led to large emigration flows from Andalusian rural regions and led to a commonly held view amongst the remaining population that emigration was the only solution (162). A mistrust of all official initiatives, often going right down to the town hall level, is commonly found in rural areas too, and arises from the failure of past initiatives to benefit much of the population. A survey by ETEA

in Santiago de la Espada (province of Jaén) revealed that the local people questioned saw no government plans as effective there and that only their own efforts could yield results (163). However, Marchioni's work in the Axarquía suggested that the local people there believed that no development could succeed purely by local initiative (164). Rural elites, too, have often spread their interests outside the local economy and have become largely urban-based, taking little interest in the exploitation of their resources at home. The effect of emigration has been to reduce revolutionary power in the countryside (165) and to cause the remaining rural populations to see themselves as underdeveloped in comparison to relatives who return periodically from cities, having adopted urban lifestyles and values. This attitude must further reduce their motivation to invest in the local economy. Avocat sees the most grave problem in rural tourism growth as whether the local population will, or even wants to, integrate into tourist developments (166).

In upland Andalusia, then, the prevailing view of local people tends to be that they are powerless to benefit from tourism, though they are not against it as it provides a source of novelty in a declining rural system. In most of the villages studied, tourism is a fairly small-scale phenomenon and tourists are often identified by local people as individuals. On the coast, however, ethnic stereotypes are formed of tourists and attitudes become exaggerated, with local people and tourists acting like 'performers on a stage' (167). Local people here often realise the benefits that they, as individuals, can make from tourists, and actively exploit these possibilities (168). One point stressed frequently in the mountain regions of Andalusia was that this sort of attitude was not yet prevalent; local people do not financially exploit tourists and a better relationship exists between the two groups.

Within rural areas, some differences can be seen between attitudes in different villages. In general, tourism was welcomed in the regions

investigated in this study because little other hope for increasing economic activity could be seen. Variations in this attitude occurred either where villages had already been subjected to a significant flow of tourists, or where the rural economy was sufficiently strong to provide full employment without tourism. The former situation may be the case in some of the Alpujarras villages and those behind the Costa del Sol, where people have become more aware of the benefits to be gained from tourism. The latter case is rare in upland Andalusia - in the areas dealt with here it may only be true of the municipalities of Coín, Alhaurín el Grande and Alhaurín de la Torre, which possess rich farmland in the Guadalhorce Basin as well as significant industry. In general, Clout argues that it is the less remote rural areas which object most to tourism, citing the Paris Basin as an example; here, as in the Guadalhorce Basin, there is adequate economic activity already, and the kind of coastal-based tourism to be expected in such areas adds little to the local economy and may even disrupt it (169).

In less prosperous areas, local objection to tourism is unlikely to be strong enough to resist it, though attitudes can vary significantly from one group to another, and during tourism growth these can become dangerously polarised and lead to disintegration of the rural economy. In general, people in small rural communities want to start small scale tourism, more to halt depopulation than to make money (170), but those who can most readily benefit from this are families with pre-existing commercial outlets, who can expand them to provide for tourism. The agricultural economy, often in a severely depressed state, can offer little or nothing to visiting tourists, and many farmers already see themselves bypassed by tourism.

The way in which tourism is introduced into a village is crucial to the development of favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards it by the bulk of the population. If the local power base is strong, with

firm leadership, tourism can lead to the revival of local customs and a new pride in, and enthusiasm for the continuance of the rural economy (171), greater receptiveness towards the introduction of new techniques (172), and greater attachment to land as its value increases (173). Palomino argues that tourism in Spain can lead to 'less stereotypes held and more understanding between cultures; peace and civilisation' (174): however, where tourism develops largely as a result of outside initiative, the local community can 'feel submerged, with local integration no longer being a topical theme' (175), and local people may develop a 'servile attitude, lose their dignity and disregard local observances' (176). Bravard argues that after much tourism, local communities are more against it because they realise that their municipal budgets cannot cope with it (177). The local community may also find itself marginalised socially in these circumstances - on the Costa del Sol, Gaviria points out that tourists and locals socialise in different centres and so local communities are little affected by tourism (178). The villages chosen for detailed survey in this study were selected so as to illustrate some of the extreme cases to be found in upland Andalusia.

Local Attitude Surveys

In the summer of 1980 a questionnaire survey was conducted in the villages described in the previous section in order to judge local attitudes to tourism at various stages of its development. Table 43 shows the number of questionnaires conducted in each municipality together with the number of people approached who did not respond. The justification for choosing these particular villages for analysis has been described previously. The number of questionnaires conducted in each village or hamlet is related approximately to their populations. The high response rates (89 per cent for the Sierra Morena and 93 per cent for the others) were achieved by conducting the questionnaires

Table 43. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: NUMBER AND LOCATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES CONDUCTED

Municipality and subdivisions	Number of questionnaires	Number of refusals
PERIPHERAL TOURISM - SIERRA MORENA		
El Castillo de las Guardas	19	3
Minas del Castillo	5	-
La Aulaga	3	1
Valdeflores	4	-
La Alcornocosa	3	-
Arroyo de la Plata	4	-
El Cañuelo	1	-
Archidona	1	-
El Garrobo	14	5
Puerto Moral	5	-
Corteconcepción	15	-
Galaroza	35	9
Las Chinas	2	-
Navahermosa	3	-
Higuera de la Sierra	31	-
NON-PERIPHERAL TOURISM - THE ALPUJARRAS		
Capileira	8	2
Pampaneira	6	1
Bubión	5	-
Pitres	6	-
Capileirilla	2	-
Atalbéitar	2	-
Ferreirola	1	1
Mecina-Fondales	3	-
Pórtugos	4	-
Busquístar	7	2
Trevélez	13	1
COASTAL HINTERLAND - MALAGA PROVINCE		
Alcaucín	6	1
Parauta	6	-
Benahavís	8	-
Istán	10	-
Ojén	10	-
Casares	15	-

verbally; some of the respondents were illiterate and many others become reserved or suspicious at the sight of official-looking forms. As most of the responses were simply positive or negative, the coding of responses into categories has been easy, though in some cases subtle shades of meaning have been detected in the replies, and additional response categories have been made.

The survey was initiated in the Sierra Morena villages where the number of questionnaires conducted was approximately 2 per cent of the 1975 population. In the hamlets of El Castillo de las Guardas, the survey was concentrated in seven of the twelve centres, to reduce travel time, as several of them only merited one questionnaire. A systematic house to house survey was ruled out because of the large number of vacant properties, and a street survey was preferred, in which interviews were conducted mostly out of doors, spread evenly around the village. In addition, people in charge of commercial outlets, plus selected 'gatekeepers of local opinion' such as the town hall secretary, were interviewed. Therefore, while the survey was not systematic enough to enable statistical extrapolation to be made to the entire population, it is felt that many important points clearly emerge and a more systematic sampling frame based on house numbers or electoral lists would not have yielded any better results.

In the Alpujarras and Málaga province the number of interviews conducted was reduced slightly to around one per cent of the 1975 population and spread over twice as many municipalities. This was not originally intended, but was found to be a practical necessity because a larger proportion of the populations were not in the villages themselves when the surveys were made, as many work on the coast or in the fields all day in summer. The interviews here were purposely biased towards people with commercial functions and gatekeepers of local

opinion. However, the responses of farmers and retired people are fairly uniform and predictable, and in these villages it is the people in commerce who will be those to become most involved with tourism in the future, so that their attitudes would seem to be more relevant to study. Again, this survey does not purport to estimate the attitudes of whole community, but singles out particular views held by different groups in different villages, thereby giving some guide as to the future of tourism in these places.

The questionnaire is set out in full in Appendix 1, and Appendix 5 contains a list of the survey villages, number of questionnaires conducted, and a table of the responses.

Results of Survey

Questions regarding personal status were kept to a minimum in this questionnaire in order to concentrate on opinions about tourism; the only data collected concerned age group and occupation, which can be related to opinions given. Tables 44 and 45 show the age groups and occupations of the residents.

Table 44. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

Age Group and sex	Sierra Morena	Alpujarras	Málaga
Male, under 30	25	10	10
Male, 30 - 60	27	17	16
Male, over 60	38	18	10
Female, under 30	16	5	9
Female, 30 - 60	26	4	10
Female, over 60	8	3	1

Table 45. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	25	17.2	22	38.6	1	1.8
Industry (including construction)	17	11.7	4	7.0	3	5.5
Commerce	19	13.1	12	21.0	32	58.1
Services	24	16.6	6	10.5	7	12.7
Home	26	17.9	1	1.8	2	3.6
Retired	16	11.0	5	8.8	3	5.5
Students	5	3.4	4	7.0	2	3.6
Unemployed (1)	5	3.4	4	7.0	2	3.6
No response	8	5.5	3	5.3	5	9.1
Total	145	100	57	100	55	100

NOTE: (1) Respondents rarely gave their occupations as unemployed as most had periodic work on the land or in government funded construction work

The occupational structure of the Sierra Morena sample should be fairly representative of the whole population, except that many of the respondents in other categories are seasonally unemployed. In the other two areas, a deliberate bias against retired people and housewives was made as their views became fairly predictable. In the Alpujarras, the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture may be even higher than 38.6 per cent, while the proportion in commerce may be less than 21 per cent as a deliberate bias towards respondents in tourist-related functions was made. This was evident again in the Málaga municipalities, though the proportion in agriculture is very low here as most of the people work on the coast.

Question 1 asked the respondents if they lived in the village permanently. 8.5 per cent answered that they did not, but were working temporarily there or visiting for a period of time. If the

respondent was a regular visitor to the village, his or her opinion was still sought, though the number of visitors interviewed was not large enough to separate opinions between visitors and permanent inhabitants.

Questions 2 and 3 were designed to find out whether local people thought annual flows of tourists and returning emigrants to their village were significant, and whether these flows had much effect on it. Tables 46 to 49 give a breakdown of the responses to Question 2, which simply asked whether many tourists and returning emigrants came to the village in summer, and whether there are any second homes or rented tourist accommodation in the village. A chi-square statistic is given alongside each table; this indicates whether or not a significant difference exists in the responses between the three study areas.

Table 46. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: PERCEPTION OF TOURISTS IN VILLAGE (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 2A)

Presence of Tourists	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Significant	52	35.9	44	77.2	34	61.8
Few	53	36.6	8	14.0	12	21.8
None	40	27.6	5	8.8	9	16.4
No response	(0)		(0)		(1)	

Chi-square value 30.85 - significant at 0.01 level

Table 47. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: PERCEPTION OF RETURNING EMIGRANTS IN VILLAGE (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 2A)

Presence of Returning Emigrants	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Significant	83	68.6	46	80.7	18	54.5
Few	26	21.5	11	19.3	12	36.4
None	14	11.6	0	0	3	9.1
No response	(24)		(0)		(12)	

Chi-square value 11.34 - significant at 0.05 level

Table 48. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: PERCEPTION OF SECOND HOMES IN VILLAGE (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 2B)

Presence of Second Homes	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Significant	69	51.5	34	61.8	12	33.3
Few	32	23.9	13	23.6	11	30.6
None	33	24.6	7	12.7	13	36.1
No response	(11)		(3)		(19)	

Chi-square value 8.5 - not significant at 0.05 level

Table 49. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: PERCEPTION OF RENTED TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN VILLAGE (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 2B)

Presence of Rented Accommodation	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Significant	66	50.4	33	60.0	7	24.1
Few	37	28.2	17	30.9	9	31.0
None	28	21.4	5	9.1	13	44.8
No response	(14)		(2)		(26)	

Chi-square value 17.15 - significant at 0.01 level

It is interesting to note that despite the almost universal presence of tourists in the villages studied, there is still a significant proportion of their populations who answered that no tourists come to the village; as high as 28 per cent in the Sierra Morena. This indicated how marginalised certain sections of the population can be to tourism. This percentage was smaller for the other two areas, where tourists are more conspicuous.

Returning emigrants were more uniformly noted by the respondents, as in most cases relations and friends would be involved, though in the Málaga villages, only 50 per cent of respondents thought such flows were significant, presumably because more people there work on the Costa del Sol rather than emigrate. Second homes and rented accommodation were judged to be significant by around 50 per cent of the Sierra Morena sample (compared with 36 per cent for tourists) and 61 per cent of the Alpujarras sample (compared with 77 per cent for tourists), suggesting that these are the more usual forms of tourism in the Sierra Morena, and that tourists staying in these have less impact on the local community. In the Málaga villages, however, they were judged to be less significant; here such accommodation is concentrated on the coast away from the villages themselves.

Questions 3 and 4 were designed to find local opinions on the effect tourism has had on the villages. The first part asked simply if summer visitors changed the atmosphere in the village, to which the replies were generally positive (see Table 50). For positive replies, a supplementary question was asked, as to whether the change in atmosphere was good or bad; here only ten respondents in the whole survey replied that it was worse. It seems, therefore, that tourism was generally welcomed by the local community, though the chi-square value indicates a significant difference between the study areas. It is in the most isolated villages (the Alpujarras)

where the greatest effect of tourism was noted, while the lowest was in the more accessible Málaga villages, where it is much more unusual for people to actually stay, because they are so near the coast.

Table 50. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: CHANGE IN VILLAGE ATMOSPHERE DUE TO TOURISTS (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3A)

Change in Atmosphere	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Significant	80	56.7	48	85.7	25	46.3
Slight	22	15.6	5	8.9	16	29.6
None	39	27.7	3	5.3	13	24.1
No response	(3)		(1)		(1)	

Chi-square value 25.03 - significant at 0.01 level

The next questions focussed on the effect of tourism on the appearance of the village, employment and standard of living in the village and on commerce. The results of these are set out in Tables 51 to 53.

Table 51. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: EFFECT OF TOURISM ON APPEARANCE OF VILLAGE (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3D)

Change in Appearance	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better	68	51.5	40	74.1	32	61.5
Better, but not due to tourism	8	6.1	6	11.1	6	11.5
Same (1)	41	31.1	6	11.1	14	26.9
Worse (1)	3	2.3	2	3.7	0	0
No response	(12)		(3)		(3)	

Chi-square value 10 - significant at 0.05 level

NOTE: (1) These categories have been combined for the chi-square test

Table 52. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: EFFECT OF TOURISM ON EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3E)

Effect on income and employment	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better for all (1)	14	10.7	16	29.6	31	56.4
Better for those with commerce or property to rent only (1)	5	3.8	4	7.4	1	1.8
Little benefit	33	25.2	15	27.8	2	3.6
No benefit (2)	65	49.6	15	27.8	19	34.5
Negative effect (2)	14	10.7	4	7.4	2	3.6
No response	(14)		(3)		(0)	

Chi-square value 44 - significant at 0.01 level

NOTE: (1) These categories have been combined for the chi-square test.
(2) These categories have been combined for the chi-square test.

Table 53. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: EFFECT OF TOURISM ON COMMERCE (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3F)

Effect on commerce	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More commerce	41	29.5	29	52.7	22	40.7
Slight increase	14	10.1	3	5.4	6	11.1
Same	68	48.9	21	38.2	19	35.2
Less commerce	16	11.5	2	3.6	7	13.0
No response	(7)		(2)		(0)	

Chi-square value 13.79 - significant at 0.05 level

Question 4 aimed to find out which groups benefitted from tourism in the opinion of local people; in particular whether they themselves did or whether the benefits accrued to people elsewhere. The results of this are set out in Table 54. Significant differences in the

distribution of replies between the study areas were noted for all four of these questions.

Table 54. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: GROUPS WHICH BENEFIT FROM TOURISM (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 4)

	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Everybody in village	12	9.1	2	3.6	13	24.1
Commerce only	22	16.7	35	62.5	19	35.2
Construction (1)	7	5.3	2	3.6	0	0
Few people (1)	14	10.6	2	3.6	4	7.4
People from elsewhere	19	14.4	2	3.6	6	11.1
Nobody	58	44.0	13	23.2	12	22.2
No response	(12)		(1)		(1)	

Chi-square value 43.69 - significant at 0.01 level

NOTE: (1) These categories have been combined for the chi-square test

The most favourable opinions regarding the aesthetic effect of tourism came from the Alpujarras villages, with 74 per cent agreeing that tourism had led to some improvement. It is in these most isolated villages that the greatest material change has occurred; in the other villages much of the change has occurred away from the centres of population. The most favourable employment and income response is in the Málaga villages, which not only benefit from tourism *in situ* but also provide a considerable workforce on the coast. The least favourable effect is in the Sierra Morena, where visitors generally make minimal demands on locally produced goods and services. Commercial benefits again seem to be greatest in the Alpujarras villages; elsewhere opinions are sharply divided, with some arguing that tourism has decreased commerce as larger outlets open up on the coast or in the city, which are used by visitors and then increasingly by local people.

The responses to question 4 again show the effect coastal tourism has had on the Málaga villages, in that 24 per cent suggested that everybody benefitted from tourism, against 9 per cent and 3.6 per cent in the Sierra Morena and Alpujarras. However, 44 per cent in the Sierra Morena and 23 per cent in the other two areas stated that nobody benefitted at all, again suggesting that tourism has failed to penetrate large sections of the rural community. Surprisingly few answered that people from elsewhere benefit, seeing that the idea was suggested in the wording of the question and is a central theme taken up by writers such as Gaviria who have dealt with tourism in southern Spain. These rural communities have not generally become politicised enough to reflect the attitudes which are widely held elsewhere in Andalusia, that funds are being drained from the region as outside concerns increasingly develop interests there, particularly in tourism.

Questions 5B and 5C were directed at farmers and no worthwhile results were gained in the Sierra Morena and Málaga villages, where very few people live entirely off the land now. In the Alpujarras, only two farmers stated that tourism in any way disturbed farming, while 20 suggested that they could sell produce to tourists, notably potatoes and beans.

Question 5D asked if the respondent had much social contact with tourists and the results are set out in Table 55.

Table 55. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: SOCIAL CONTACT WITH TOURISTS (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 5D)

	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Regular contact	51	38.1	23	31.8	22	42.3
Occasional contact	29	21.6	16	29.1	16	30.8
No contact	54	40.3	16	29.1	14	26.9
No response	(11)		(2)		(3)	
Chi-square value 3.75 - not significant						

A fairly uniform pattern of responses occurred here between the study areas. The slightly higher percentage of respondents who said they had no contact with tourists in the Sierra Morena is to be expected, given that more of them were retired people and housewives, who are more restricted to the home. However, the fact that nearly a third of all the respondents in the other areas said they had no social contacts with tourists again emphasises the isolation certain parts of the population have from outside influences.

Question 5E asked if respondents would rent rooms to tourists; in many cases this was a hypothetical question as they did not have any, though the answers give some idea of the interest held by local people in innovation in tourism. It was made even more hypothetical in some cases, where the respondents said that there was no accommodation in the entire village for renting to tourists. This has been classified as a separate category in Table 56 below:

Table 56. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEYS: OPINIONS REGARDING RENTING ACCOMMODATION TO TOURISTS (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 5E)

	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Would rent (1)	45	35.7	20	37.7	15	30.6
Would rent but little accommodation available (1)	30	23.8	21	39.6	13	26.5
No accommodation to rent	21	16.7	4	7.6	10	20.4
Would not rent	30	23.8	9	17.0	11	22.4
No response	(19)		(4)		(6)	

Chi-square value 6.39 - not significant

NOTE: (1) These categories have been combined for the chi-square test

As less than a quarter of the respondents said that they would not rent rooms, it appears that the majority of the population are at least aware of the benefits to be gained from tourists. However, of the rest, over half qualified their answer by saying that there was little or no accommodation available to rent, so that local initiative in tourism could be limited more by lack of supply rather than lack of interest. No significant difference was noted between the study areas here.

The concluding section of the questionnaire deals with the local people's future expectations and opinions regarding tourism in their village. Question 6 asked them if they favoured an increase in tourism, and whether they would prefer to see it in the village itself or outside it. The results of this are shown in Tables 57 and 58.

Table 57. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: OPINIONS ON FUTURE TOURISM GROWTH (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 6A)

	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More tourism	83	58.9	25	44.6	39	75.0
Indifferent (1)	7	5.0	1	1.8	4	7.7
No more tourism	51	36.2	30	53.6	9	17.3
No response	(4)		(1)		(1)	

Chi-square value 13.46 - significant at 0.01 level

NOTE: (1) This category has been omitted from the chi-square test

Table 58. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: OPINIONS ON LOCATION OF FUTURE TOURISM GROWTH (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 6B)

	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tourism in village	97	75.2	42	80.8	39	73.6
Indifferent (1)	7	5.4	0	0	6	11.3
Tourism elsewhere	25	19.4	10	19.2	8	15.1
No response	(15)		(2)		(1)	

Chi-square value 0.18 - not significant

NOTE: (1) This category has been omitted from the chi-square test

In the Sierra Morena and the Málaga villages, most of the population favoured more tourism, the main reason being that it gave more life to the village. A significant difference was noted in the Alpujarras villages, which appear to be those most affected by tourism so far, where the enthusiasm for more development had fallen to 44 per cent of those interviewed: the view commonly held by those who did not favour more tourism was that it would disrupt village life and ruin the appearance of the village. However, in the second part of the question, 80 per cent of the Alpujarras sample preferred to see tourism growing in the village itself rather than outside it, because they would not stand to benefit in the latter case.

Question 7 asked if some kind of planning was necessary to encourage tourism in the village. This question had a particularly large null response rate, because many of the respondents felt powerless to comment on such a question and did not understand, nor have any say in the bureaucratic process whereby planning decisions are made. Of those who did reply, 60 per cent in the Sierra Morena and 80 per cent in the other two areas did see the need for planning but about a quarter of these emphasised the need to plan for greater employment rather than just tourism. The smaller numbers in favour of planning in the Sierra Morena may be due to the way in which tourism has grown there and the feeling that further growth will be inevitable.

Question 8 asked if the respondent thought that tourism would improve his or her standard of living in the future. The results of this are displayed in Table 59; here the results between study areas were remarkably uniform with about two-thirds of respondents feeling that they would benefit from tourism in the future.

Finally, the respondents were asked if they intended to emigrate from the village; only 17 out of the total of 257 people questioned said they had definite plans to do so.

Table 59. LOCAL ATTITUDE SURVEY: OPINIONS ON EFFECT OF TOURISM ON RESPONDENTS' STANDARD OF LIVING (RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8A)

	Sierra Morena		Alpujarras		Málaga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tourism will improve standard of living	44	41.5	22	43.1	17	42.5
Tourism may improve standard of living	25	23.6	11	21.6	10	25
Tourism will not improve standard of living	37	35.0	18	35.3	13	32.5
No response	(39)		(6)		(15)	
Chi-square value 0.32 - not significant						

Summary

The overall impression gained from this survey is of a static, ageing population who, while generally being in favour of tourism growth in their villages, felt themselves becoming increasingly marginalised from the national economy and not seeing themselves playing much part in future tourism growth. This picture is especially true of the Sierra Morena, where local initiative in tourism has been minimal. It seems that in the future local populations will not possess the power or maybe even the will to resist any form of development that an outside enterprise may set up, the general view being that any new activity would be welcome.

The Alpujarras villages have seen some local initiative and control of tourism, mainly arising from the town halls and from outsiders who have settled there. Consistently higher percentages of respondents replied positively about the effects of, and prospects for, tourism here than in the other areas. This would suggest that the positive attitude taken towards tourism by certain members of the community has begun to be reflected in the population at large, which is more aware of the benefits to be gained from tourism. One of the most outstanding

results of this survey was question 6A in which a greater section of the Alpujarras sample were *against* more tourism, reflecting also that they are more aware of the negative aspects as well as the positive ones.

Some further chi-square tests were conducted on this data to see whether certain responses varied significantly with occupation or age group. The only significant result occurred between age group and contact with tourists (question 5D); here a chi-square value of 15.06 (significant at the 0.02 level) was obtained. As expected, retired people and housewives had significantly less contact with tourists than did any other group, and people in commerce had significantly more. No significant relationships were noted between age or occupation and opinions about tourism in the future; though it would seem obvious from the preceding comments that certain groups are likely to benefit at the expense of others. It is suggested that those groups who stand least to benefit from tourism take an over-optimistic view of tourism as it appears to be the only source of additional income for their community, whereas those who stand most to benefit have already had more experience of tourism, and realise some of its shortcomings as well.

NOTES - Part 3

1 Bosque Maurel (1968), p. 100 - quoting Fr. J.J. Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, 1872

2 Rey (1980)

3 Billet (1973), p. 511

4 Guarnido (1976), p. 60

5 Moreno Ojeda (1978)

6 Rey (1980)

7 García (1979), p. 7

8 Mignon (1980)

9 Roux (1975), p. 46

10 López Ontiveros (1975), p. 641

11 Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers. comm.

12 Murillo *et al.* (1971), vol. 3, p. 265

13 Aparicio Pérez *et al.* (1979), p. 50

M. Flores (Huelva), pers. comm.

14 Figures relating to dispersed population in isolation are not yet available for later dates .

15 ETEA (1977), p. 172

16 Roux (1975), p. 45

17 López Gómez (1980)

18 Mortes Alfonso (1967), p. 41

19 Reiter (1978), p. 145

Richez (1972), p. 51

20 Freidl (1972), p. 145

21 Liszewski and Suliborski (1976), p. 67

22 Rey (1980)

23 ETEA (1977), p. 54

24 Murillo *et al.* (1971), vol. 3, p. 265

25 Roux (1975), p. 41

26 López Caño (1973), p. 68

27 Roux (1975), p. 42

28 A. Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers. comm.

29 ETEA (1977), p. 173

30 Guarnido (1976), p. 90

31 Moreno Alonso (1979), pp. 136-138

32 Bueno (1979), p. 27

33 Geddes (1979), p. 32

34 López and Majoral (1980)

35 Fel (1980)

Mignon (1980)

36 Ruckertz (Sierra Nevada Sur, S.A.), pers. comm.

37 Guarnido (1976), p. 76

38 Bosque Maurel (1968)

Ayuntamiento de Mijas (pers. comm.)

39 Aparicio Pérez *et al.* (1979), p. 85

40 Bueno (1979), pp. 27-28

41 Dalla Rosa (1980)

42 Heran (1979), pp. 127-128

43 Daumas (1980)

44 Aparicio Pérez *et al.* (1979), p. 82

45 López Gómez (1980)

46 García (1979), p. 7

47 Idáñez de Aguilar (Jaén), pers. comm.

48 Mortes Alfonso (1967), p. 40

49 Roux (1975), p. 46

50 Gaviria (1978), pp. 54-55

51 Presidencia del Gobierno (1967), p. 54

52 Bonneau (1979), pp. 65-66

53 Confederación Española de las Cajas de Ahorros (1975), vol. 4, p.350

54 PADIMA (1978), p. 318

55 López Ontiveros (1969), p. 676

56 Daumas (1980)

Roux (1980)

57 Fel (1980)

58 A. Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers. comm.

59 Vitte (1975), p. 512

60 Veyret and Veyret (1961), p. 6

Moore (1970), p. 19 and p. 26

61 Brier (1970), p. 48

Veyret and Veyret (1961), p. 12

62 Council of Europe (1978), p. 12

63 White (1974), pp. 1-2

64 Soulier (1970), p. 163

65 Reiter (1978), p. 145

66 Wisner (1980)

Renard (1980)

67 Demeuldre (1974), p. 196 and p. 200

Nieto (1976), p. 91

68 Veyret and Veyret (1961), p. 8

Ayuntamiento de Capileira, pers. comm.. The mayor indicated that since outsiders had come to live in the village, a regular visit was made by a travelling salesman selling exotic fruit and vegetables, such as strawberries and mushrooms.

69 Gaviria (1978), p. 56

70 Nieto (1976), p. 103

71 Fourneau (1979), p. 162 and p. 176 - referring to the effects of tourism on the Costa de la Luz (province of Huelva) on interior villages.

72 An example from the present study is Istán (province of Málaga), where nearly all the workforce work in Marbella, on the coast.

73 Downing and Dower (1973), p. 30

74 Moore (1970), p. 24

75 Bueno (1979), pp. 20-21

76 Bonneau (1979), pp. 67-68

77 Rey (1980)

78 Roux (1980)

79 Coppock (1977a), p. 12; (1977c), p. 197

80 Vitte (1975), p. 520

Veyret and Veyret (1961), pp. 9-10

81 Redclift (1973), p. 9

82 Pacione (1977), p. 46

83 Bravard (1980)

84 Friedl (1972), p. 155

85 Coppock (1977c), p. 199

Jacobs (1973)

86 Nieto (1976), p. 46

87 Torres (1979), p. 18

88 Cámara de Comercio de Andalucía (1978), pp. 714-715

89 Mignon (1979), p. 65

90 Bernard and Auriac (1979), p. 118

91 Council of Europe (1978), p. 75

92 Lacroix, Roux and Zoido (1979), p. 219

93 Chambres d'Agriculture (1974), p. 4

94 Gibergues, Pechberty and Sarrut (1970), p. 179

95 Torres (1979), pp. 29-30

96 Idáñez de Aguilar (Jaén), pers. comm.

97 Heran (1979), p. 120

98 Valenzuela Rubio (1977), p. 170

99 Butler (1975), p. 88

100 Bisson (1972)

101 Bradshaw (1972), p. 71

102 Brier (1970), p. 97

103 Veyret (1976), p. 164

104 Bornet (1974), p. 89

105 Mignon (1979), p. 67 and p. 94

106 Mignon (1972), p. 99

107 Torres (1979), p. 51

108 Mignon (1979), p. 94

109 Ayuntamiento de Mijas, pers. comm.

110 Gibergues, Pechberty and Sarrut (1970), p. 184

111 Veyret and Veyret (1961), p. 9

Kendall (1980), p. 37

112 Ayuntamiento de Capileira, pers. comm.

113 Veyret and Veyret (1961), p. 6

114 Bonneau (1979), p. 67

115 García-Olalla (1979), p. 7

Tauriala (1979)

116 A. Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers. comm.

117 Brier (1970), p. 99

118 Downing and Dower (1973), p. 37

119 Fourquier (1970), p. 40

120 Aparicio Pérez *et al.* (1979), p. 158

121 PADIMA (1978), p. 330

122 Brier (1970), p. 51 and p. 53

123 Downing and Dower (1973), p. 32

124 De Wilde (1968), p. 23

125 Torres (1979), p. 61

126 Council of Europe (1978), p. 65

127 Nieto (1976), p. 86

128 A. Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers.comm.

129 Idáñez de Aguilar (Jaén), pers. comm.

130 Organisación Sindical de Almería (1970), p. 177

131 Pérez Blanco (Diputación Provincial de Sevilla), pers. comm.

132 Council of Europe (1978), p. 81

133 Valenzuela Rubio (1977), p. 234

134 Soulier (1970), p. 155

135 Brier (1970), p. 51

136 Fourquier (1970), p. 40

137 Jacobs (1972), p. 64

138 Naylon (1975), p. 18

139 Torres (1979), p. 56

140 Brier (1970), p. 97

141 Siguán (1972), p. 85

142 A. Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers. comm.
Valenzuela Rubio (1977), p. 253

143 David (1969), p. 212

144 Downing and Dower (1973), p. 31

145 Redclift (1973), p. 10

146 Vitte (1975), p. 522

147 Renard (1980)

148 Friedl (1972), p. 155

149 Valenzuela Rubio (1977), p. 216

150 Moore (1970), p. 24 - his case study was of a Canary Island village where a group of retired Swedes were instrumental in motivating the local population to develop tourism functions.

151 Council of Europe (1978), p. 46

152 Brier (1970), pp. 101-102

153 A. Pérez (Administrador de Fincas, Bubión), pers. comm.

154 Council of Europe (1978), p. 32

155 Alcalá-Zamora (1977), p. 108

156 ETEA (1977), p. 167