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**The heterogeneous nature of second homes: the case of the Alpujarra,
Granada Province, Spain**

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Abstract

This paper builds on the current recognition of the uneven geography of the second home phenomenon. Where other studies have attempted local scale analysis of second homes there has been a tendency to characterise localities as homogeneous and a failure to fully recognise key geographical variations in the composition of second home characteristics within local areas. This analysis will demonstrate the importance of understanding the distinct place specificity of this composition including, crucially, the significance of the 'residual' category of second homes. Using data from the Spanish housing census together with local field observations, this place specific heterogeneity is examined in the municipalities of the predominantly mountainous rural setting of the Alpujarra region in Granada province, southern Spain. The wider relevance of the study area relates to its demographic history of rural depopulation combined with its popularity as a second home residential tourism destination as well as more recent localised patterns of counterurbanisation.

Introduction

The study of second homes has become an important part of the literature on the human geography of many types of area. However, the focus remains primarily on rural areas and those experiencing significant leisure and tourism development where the impact of the second home phenomenon on local housing markets, community structure, service provision and the environment is especially acute. This is reflected in the widening academic range of the literature with the early research from within the academic discipline of geography (for example, Wolfe, 1951; Clout, 1972; Coppock, 1977) broadening out to encompass a variety of different disciplines and critical perspectives. These include, planning (Gallent, 1997; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2001; Shucksmith, 1983), housing studies (Paris, 2009; Barke, 2008), rural development (Rye, 2011), environmental management (Gartner, 1987; Kaltenborn et al, 2008) and, especially, tourism and leisure studies (Hall and Müller, 2004; Müller, 2011; McIntyre et al, 2006; Tuulentie, 2007;). Inevitably, therefore, the range of approaches to the second home phenomenon has widened considerably as different research traditions and conceptual paradigms have been brought to bear upon the issues raised. The purpose of the present study is to draw attention to some important features of second home development and change in a specific rural area which, in their search for 'universality' of application, broader conceptualisations may overlook. Underpinning our interpretation is a field-based conviction that, whilst recognising the importance of global processes of change on the second home phenomenon, we need to also investigate how these global processes (e.g. increasing levels of international tourism and financial mobility) interact with local factors (e.g. rural depopulation, local housing markets, levels of return migration, community cohesion) in specific places and how these change and develop over time to produce a local diversity of outcomes in terms of the geography of second homes.

Our study area is the Alpujarra region in Granada province, southern Spain (Figure 1) and our purpose is to identify different trajectories of change in second homes in a region that is usually categorised as possessing uniform characteristics. Typically, these include a harsh peripheral Mediterranean mountain region with a long history of chronic depopulation and agricultural decline (Carrascosa Salas, 1992) with their attendant economic, social and environmental consequences (McNeill, 1992). We will demonstrate that within this relatively small region a wide range of different

processes operate which impact upon the second home phenomena in different ways in different localities, processes which do not conveniently fit into some of the broader conceptualisations of the second home phenomenon. Crucially, we argue that it is at this local scale that variations and change in the number, proportion and type of second homes really matters. It is at the municipal (village) scale that the impact on housing markets, services and community cohesion is most keenly felt.

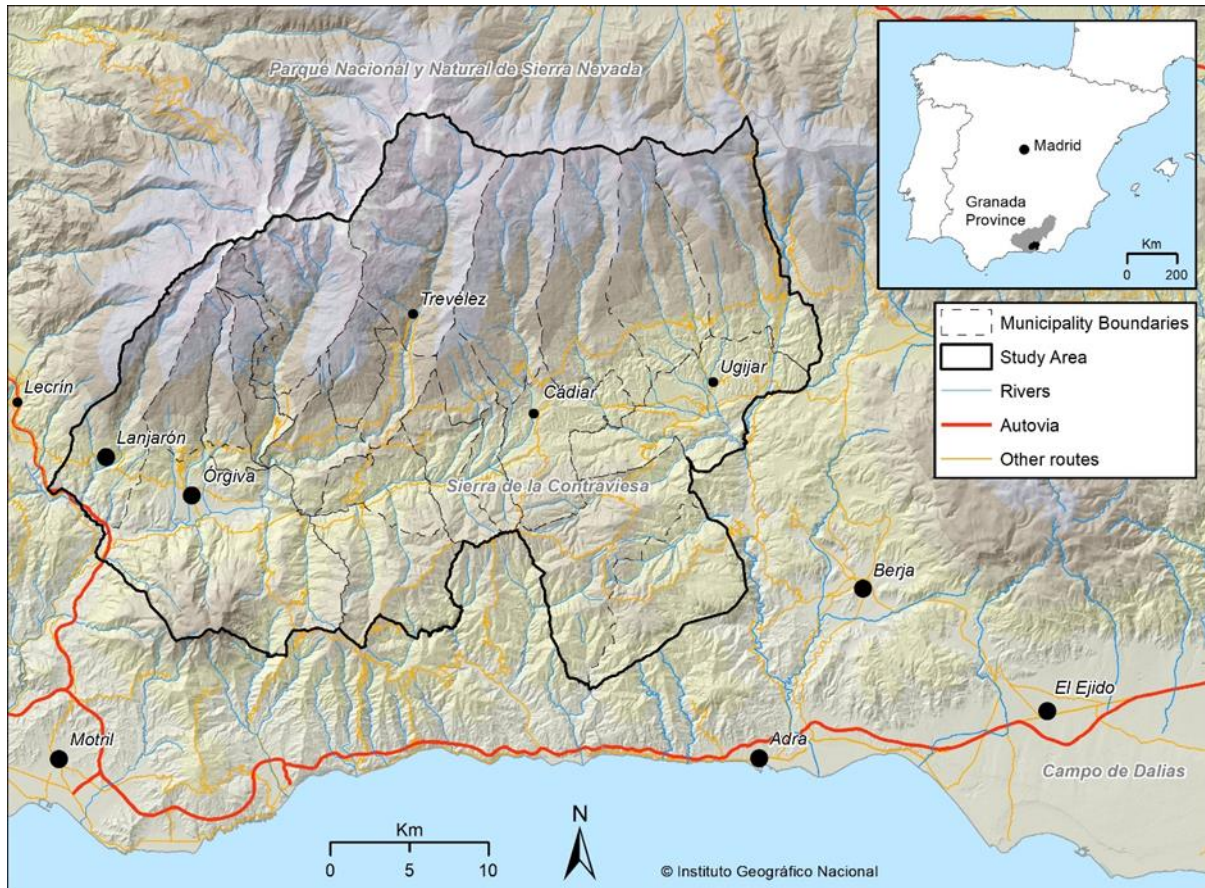


Figure 1: Location map of the Alpujarra Granadina study area.

Perspectives on Second Homes

A significant contribution to the study of second homes since the 1990s has broadly been within the field of tourism studies and, more specifically, residential tourism (Perles-Ribes et al, 2018). While increased personal mobility, the widespread availability of global telecommunications technology and the growth of international tourism have been major contributors to the increased significance of second homes in some parts of the world, these are not the sole contributors to the growth of the phenomena in all areas. In a region such as the Alpujarra, such a perspective adds only partially to our understanding of the processes at work (del Pino Artacho, 2014). Such a conceptualisation is based on the notion of second homes as a demand-led, consumption- based phenomenon. Whilst a powerful explanation of much of the growth in second homes in the developed world, even within the latter, changes in the numbers, proportions and types of second homes also relate to non-consumption factors.

Second homes are also often viewed rather adversely in rural areas (Coppock, 1977; Gallent, 2014; Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013), mainly because of the impact on local housing markets introduced by wealthier incomers. But in remote rural areas, second homes may play a more positive role even if their creation is, initially, a consequence of negative factors. Many rural environments are now much less reliant on primary production, are significantly connected to the wider world and more physically mobile. In the Spanish rural context, many second homes result from substantial rural to urban migration from the 1950s onwards and whilst some families retained a base in their village of birth this created a rural housing surplus with many vacant properties in various stages of dereliction (Barke, 1991). But continuing connections have led to return migration, 'roots' tourism, counter-urbanisation and second home tourism (Rhoades, 1978; Rodriguez et al, 2002). In the absence of these trends, many rural areas would have experienced terminal decline (Collantes and Pinilla, 2011; Collantes et al, 2014).

Some research on second homes from a tourism/mobilities perspective has also argued that second home owners should no longer be used as the 'scapegoats' for rural decline (Marjavaara, 2007; Müller and Marjavaara, 2012) and that in some parts of the world '*second homes mainly fill vacancies in the housing market caused by rural restructuring and decline*' (Müller, 2011:139). In this interpretation rural second homes are a consequence rather than a cause of rural problems and in some rural areas that have experienced decades of depopulation and declining services and ageing populations, second homes are far from being a *curse* and can be re-cast as contributing to future sustainability. We argue therefore that it is important to recognise the specificity of the geographical context in which second homes are located when evaluating their impact.

Furthermore, the simple dualistic concept of the primary and second home dichotomy has been questioned (Perkins and Thorns, 2006; Paris, 2009; 2010; Barke, 2008.). Research on the increasing mobility and interconnectivity of contemporary lifestyles, sometimes referred to as the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Halfacree, 2012), has demonstrated the meanings and place-based emotional attachments that second home owners develop towards their properties, suggesting that we need to re-evaluate the 'secondary' status of second homes and instead focus research on 'multiple dwellings' (McIntyre et al 2006; Quinn, 2004; Halfacree, 2012;). Many second home owners report being more deeply emotionally attached to their 'second' residence than their so-called 'primary residence' (Quinn, 2004; Perkins and Thorns, 2006; Tuulentie, 2007). The latter may be a 'primary' residence only because it is a functional necessity for the purpose of **access to** work whereas the former is somewhere they actively want to live. Ironically, for some second home owners, the 'second' home may in fact be more permanent than the 'primary' (i.e. at this stage of the life-cycle, more frequently inhabited) dwelling, which may well change several times during the lifecycle anyway whilst the second home remains a constant and may be passed on from one generation to the next (Flemlaeter, 2009; Kaltenborn, 1997a; Müller, 2002). In addition, in some of the remote rural areas of southern Europe, that have experienced decades of mass out-migration, primary dwellings may in effect become second homes out of necessity as residents take up temporary residence elsewhere for the purpose of work, but maintain a property in their village of origin to which they eventually return. This residual second-home phenomenon, as will be demonstrated, is common in the villages of the Alpujarra as elsewhere in southern Europe (González et al, 2008; González, 2009; Mowl et al, 2020).

We must recognise therefore that the concept of ‘second homes’ is fluid, with the form, function, significance and meaning varying from place to place and subject to change over time. This has made universally agreed definitions problematic and the identification, for research purposes, of second homes and second home owners in the field somewhat elusive. However, for ease of comparison and to facilitate measurement of change over time and spatial variations within the study area, we employ the definition of second homes (*viviendas secundarias*) used by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE – National Statistical Institute) in the population and housing census, in which a secondary dwelling is identified as:

‘A family dwelling is considered secondary when it is only used part of the year in a seasonal, periodic or sporadic way, and does not constitute the regular residence of one or several persons.’ (INE, 2013).

Second homes in the Alpujarra Granadina: Growth and Spatial Pattern

Figure 2 places the aggregate significance of second homes in our study area in context. Second home ownership in Spain is high (Ortega, 1975; Fresno, 1983; Martinez, 2003; Barke, 2008; Casado Diaz, 2004; Colás and Cabrerizo, 2004; Cabrerizo et al., 2007; Colás et al., 2007) but within the Alpujarra Granadina just over one quarter of all dwellings are second homes (Mowl et al, 2020). Furthermore, the dynamism of the processes at work is indicated by the fact that the number of second homes increased by 974 (25%) between 2001 and 2011. But the absolute numbers suggest different processes. The 2011 census enumerated 420 ‘new’ second homes, built since 2001 in the study area (INE,2013), signifying that the remaining 554 of the additional second homes created (2001-2011) must have been from pre-existing housing stock or conversions from primary to second homes. Superficially, these ‘sources’ of second homes could imply active demand in the case of the former but a degree of abandonment of permanent dwellings in the case of the latter. As we shall demonstrate, the story is more complex than this.

Figure 2: Population and housing change in Spain and the Alpujarra, 2001-2020.

% increase	Spain	Alpujarrra Granadina
Total Population (2011-2020)	+1.4	-8
Total Population (2001-2011)	+14.6	-0.5
Number of dwellings (2001-2011)	+20.3	+6
Number of households(2001-2011)	+27.5	+5
Second homes (2001-2011)	+0.8	+25
% of second homes in 2011	14.6	26.2

Source: INE, 2013;2021

Aggregate statistics mask considerable variations within the area. Earlier work (Viedma, 1989) drew attention to the varied spatial pattern of second homes within-Granada province, but this study was based on change between 1960 and 1981,–prior to the significant expansion of second homes in the 1990s and the economic crisis in 2008. However, this research noted the Alpujarra as a distinct area in the province, experiencing growth in its number of second homes and highlighting the importance of ‘urbanites’ moving into the area in the late 1970s and 1980s, attracted by its distinctive scenic

beauty and unique architecture. Particular attention was drawn to the relatively accessible western part of the Alpujarra and second home development in the Poqueria valley, in Pampaneira (see Figure 3), Bubion and Capileira.



Figure 3: Pampaneira in western Alpujarra. (Source: Authors, Sept. 2012)

Figure 4 shows the distribution of second homes by municipal area, recorded at the latest (2011) census, expressed as a proportion of the total dwellings. Although second homes are clearly widespread, the spatial pattern is uneven with the extremes being represented by Bubion in the west of the area with 62% of all dwellings being second homes, and Torvizcon in the central southern part with only 13.6% in this category. The peripheral *municipios* in the study area tend to have a lower proportion than the average, especially to the east and south. Viedma's earlier findings are supported by Bubion's near neighbours in the north-west – Capileira, Pampaneira, Soportujar, Carataunas and La Taha – which possess a higher than average presence of second homes, but, indicating a wider geographical spread, this is also a feature of the north eastern *municipios* of Juviles, Berchules, Alpujarra de la Sierra and Válor. As expected, the second homes phenomenon is a highly significant and growing feature of the human geography of the Alpujarra region, albeit one that varies in significance from place to place.

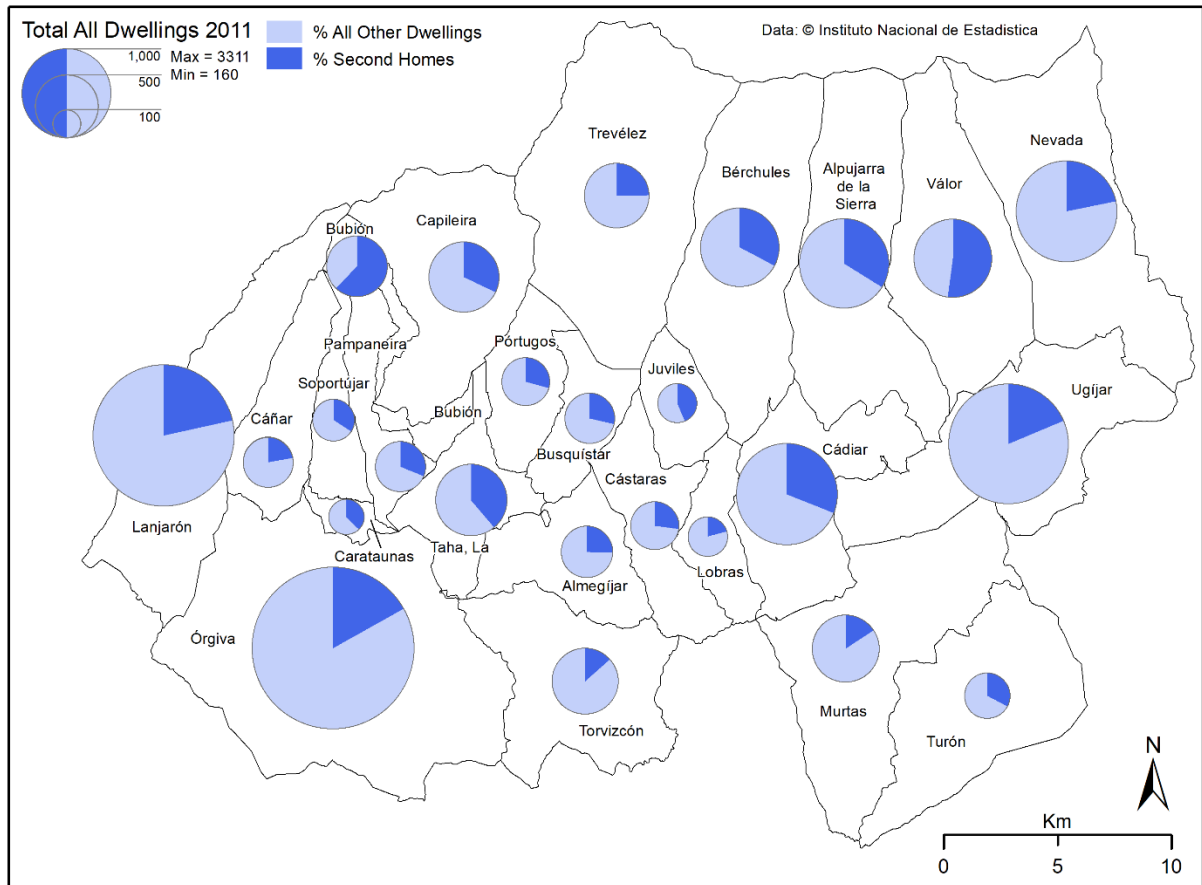


Figure 4: Second homes as percentage of total dwellings, 2011

An important aspect of potential diversity within any area concerns trajectories of development and change. The local geography of change in second homes, 1991-2011 illustrates this. Some *municipios* (Capileira, Lanjarón, Lobras and Torvizcón) have actually experienced a decline in both the absolute number and the proportion of second homes (Figure 4). However, these four examples encapsulate entirely different scenarios. They show the same trend but for entirely different reasons.

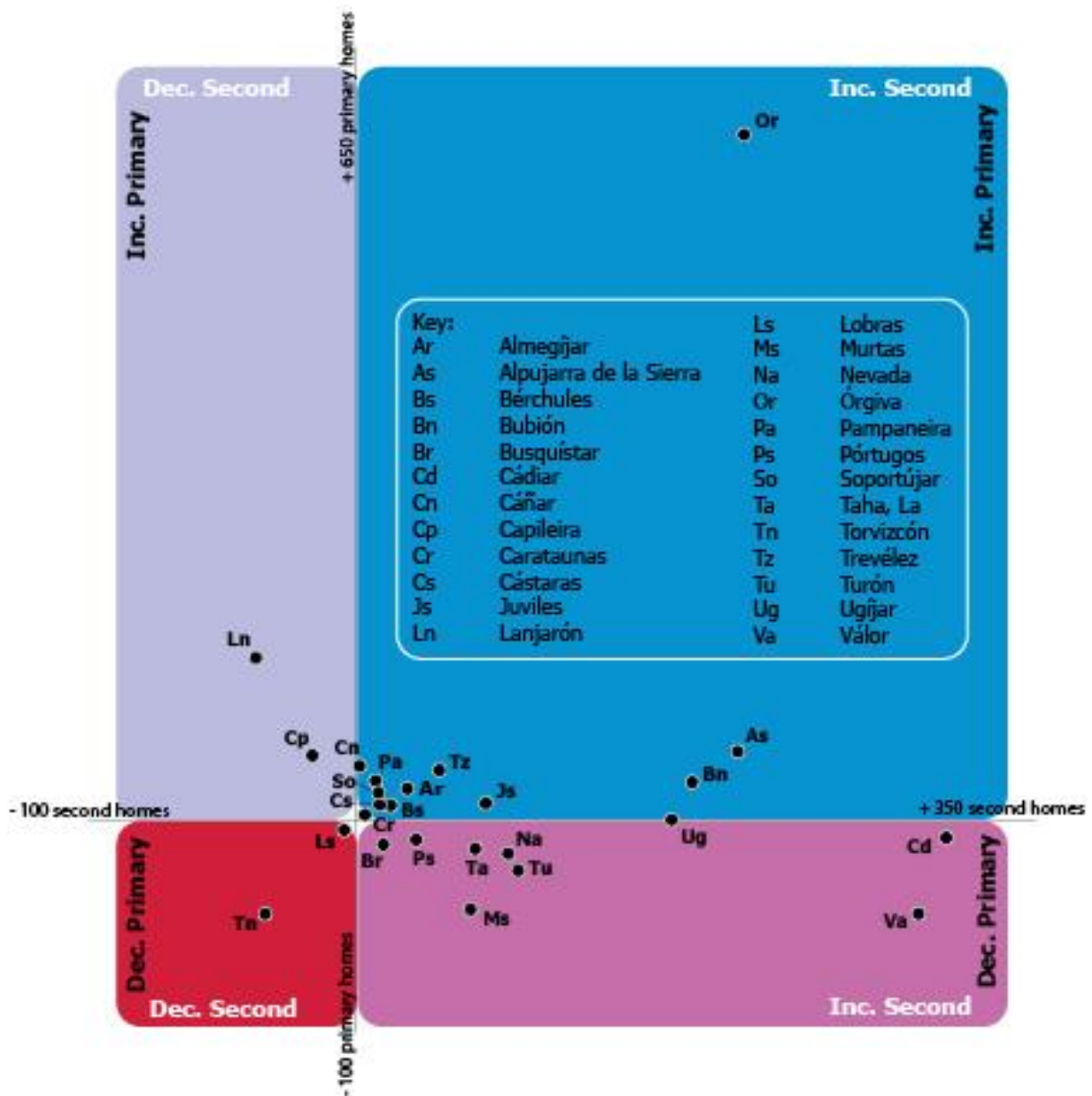


Figure 5: Absolute change matrix for number of primary and second homes in Alpujarras Municipios 1991-2011

To start unpacking these complex changes for the whole of the study area, Figure 5 shows the changing relationship between the absolute number of primary dwellings and second homes by *municipio* between 1991 and 2011. It simply categorises the *municipios* in terms of increase or decrease in the absolute numbers of primary dwellings over the period compared to the increase or decrease in the number of second homes to produce a matrix with four types of outcome. Whilst the majority of *municipios* demonstrate an increase in the absolute number of second homes (apart from the four mentioned above) it is clear that, far from being a convergent experience, there are different trajectories of change. Twelve *municipios* show an increase in the number of both primary

ñdwellings and second homes – a somewhat unexpected outcome in a region characterised by overall population decline. A further nine show a rather more anticipated pattern of decline in the number of primary homes but an increase in secondary dwellings. Only two (Lobras and Torvizcon) show a decrease in both categories whilst the remaining pair of Lanjaron and Capileira experienced an increase in the number of primary dwellings but a rather unexpected (especially as both have a significant tourism component to their local economic structure) decline in the number of second homes. One possible explanation of this is that former second home-owners have become permanent residents over the intervening period, a prospect that is all the more likely due to the substantial access improvements to the western Alpujarra made in recent years.

However, the majority of *municipios* (21 out of 25) have experienced an absolute increase in the number of second homes with some (e.g. Válor, Cadiar, Bubion, Alpujarra de la Sierra, Juviles, Ugijar, Murtas, Turon) even seeing their number more than double over this twenty year period. There are also two *municipios* (Válor and Bubion) in which the number of second homes now exceeds primary dwellings! As one might expect, the larger settlements or towns (i.e. Lanjaron, Orgiva) tend to have higher than average ratios of primary to secondary dwellings but so do some much smaller *municipios* such as Torvizcon and Murtas. The former is one of the few *municipios*, along with Lanjaron, Cañar, Pampaneira and Capiliera, that has ‘bucked the trend’ and seen its ratio of primary to secondary homes actually increase rather than decrease over this period.

Type of second homes

Simple crude percentages of second homes tell only a small part of the story. Different municipal areas may have a similar proportion of second homes but the characteristics of these may be dissimilar. Figure 6 illustrates this point for the two *municipios* of Lanjaron in the extreme west of the area and Nevada, in the extreme east. These two *municipios* have almost exactly the same proportion of second homes, 21.5% and 21.8% respectively. However, the composition and trajectory of change in second homes is very different in these two places.

Figure 6 Characteristics of Second Homes in Lanjaron and Nevada *Municipios*, Alpujarra Granadina

	Lanjaron	Nevada
% Second Homes, 2011	21.5	21.8
Second Homes per 100 inhabitants, 2011	14.3	24.0
% change in number of Second Homes, 1991-2011	-8.6	+40.0
% Second Homes in ‘good condition’, 2011	90.5	58.9
% change in number of Second Homes and Vacant properties in ‘unsatisfactory or worse’ condition, 1991-2011	+81.2	+486.2

Second homes appear to have grown more rapidly in Nevada than in Lanjaron, however, this may be a negative trend rather than a positive one. The impact of second homes at the local level is better

indicated by relating their presence to the number of inhabitants in that locality. Despite these two *municipios* possessing virtually the same overall proportion of their housing stock as second homes, a ratio of 24 per 100 inhabitants for Nevada compared to 14.3 in Lanjaron suggests that their impact is likely to be much greater in the former. Another dimension of contrast is indicated by the structural condition of the second homes (these data are collected by the census). The vast majority in Lanjaron are in 'good' condition compared to only just over half of those in Nevada. If we add the number of vacant properties to the number of second homes in 'unsatisfactory or worse condition', the contrast in change in the two *municipios* is especially marked. We are justified in this because of the highly ambiguous relationship between some second homes and apparently 'vacant' dwellings. We may categorise such dwellings as 'residual'. (see Mowl et al, 2020 and Figures 7 and 8 below). Lanjaron does show increase in such dwellings in poor condition over the 1991-2011 period, but the equivalent figure in Nevada is enormous, indicating a very different trajectory of change. Thus, two municipal areas with apparently the same proportion of second homes in their total housing stock show **crucially** different trends and structural features.



Figure 7: Ruined older property in Nechite, Válor *municipio*. (Source: Authors, Sept. 2012)



Figure 8: '*fin de semana*' property in Laroles, Nevada *municipio* (Source: Authors, April 2014)

In an area such as the Alpujarra these considerations are especially important as there is a wide variety of second homes each with very different characteristics and use and therefore local impact. As with other relatively remote mountainous Mediterranean areas, a significant proportion of second homes are the physical remnants of recent decades of emigration and depopulation with some migrant families nonetheless retaining a foothold in their place of origin. The extent to which this category of second homes are maintained and actively used varies significantly. Some properties gradually drift into abandonment and eventual ruin (see Figure 7) whilst others are used more regularly for holidays, fiestas and family events. In contrast is the broad category of recreational second homes, the type most commonly discussed in the second homes literature. In the Alpujarra region many second homes fall into the '*fin de semana*' category and are regularly used weekend retreats (see Figure 8) for people who live and work during the week in the not too distant cities and larger towns of the region (Granada, Almeria, El Ejido, Motril). A further type of second home in this recreational category, which has become increasingly common in the region is the non-locally owned holiday home (see Figure 9). Whilst some of these are foreign owned by mainly northern Europeans, many are owned by relatively wealthy families from elsewhere in Spain who also have no familial ties to the village. A variant of this category is the new, purpose-built holiday home (see Figure 10), aimed specifically at a particular segment of the holiday home market. Finally, there are those dwellings, which despite being privately owned residences operate essentially as commercial ventures when not occupied by the owners and are advertised and let as holiday homes through various means including platforms such as AirB&B (see Figure 11). Clearly, there is some overlap between these last two categories of holiday home and properties may transition from one to the other. All of these different types of second homes (illustrated here from just one *municipio*) have different patterns of usage and therefore place different types of demands on local businesses and services.



Figure 9: Well-maintained, Barcelona-owned, non-traditional, new build second home in Laroles, Nevada *municipio*. (Source: Authors, April 2014).



Figure 10: New Build 'vacant' properties in Picena, Nevada *municipio*. (Source: Authors, Sept. 2012).



Figure 11: Holiday home/AirB&B in Laroles, Nevada *municipio* (Source: Authors, April, 2014).

The Spanish census does not collect data on the type of second homes present in municipalities (e.g. residual, *fin de semana*, holiday, commercial holiday lets etc) but we can infer some evidence of this from proxy measures in the census, such as year of construction and condition of building. Residual second homes that are rarely used are more likely to be in poor condition than those visited regularly at weekends or invested in as holiday homes. The latter are much more likely to be in good condition. The condition of second homes is therefore an important measure of their significance for the local economy as it indicates factors such as level of investment, degree of maintenance and regularity of use. However, in reality, the distinction between a poorly maintained and rarely visited residual second home and an abandoned, derelict vacant property is a very subtle one and, as we have seen, it may be difficult to differentiate between the two. At what stage is a property judged to be abandoned and 'vacant' as opposed to a 'second' home in 'bad' condition or ruins (see Figure 12)? The former may, in fact, be the end point of a continuum of gradual abandonment. Census takers employ local knowledge about ownership and visitation rates in this categorisation but this is likely to be highly variable between and within local areas. However, the distinction may actually not be all that important as both categories essentially represent the same thing, namely older residual, surplus housing stock in very poor condition and applying the term 'second home' to one and 'empty' to another may actually be extremely arbitrary. We are therefore justified in adding together second homes in 'unsatisfactory or worse' condition with vacant properties in 'unsatisfactory or worse condition' to create a category of 'residual' dwellings, many of which may still serve some functional recreational purpose, albeit only rarely.



Figure 12: Ambiguous older property in Atalbéitar, La Taha *municipio*. (Source: Authors, Sept. 2012)

Figure 13 maps just two dimensions of ‘type’ albeit ones that indicates an ‘active’ second home scenario in contrast to residualisation. Other broad dimensions of heterogeneity could relate to age of property and non-structural factors such as origins of owners, length of visits, purpose of ownership (e.g. own use, to rent out as source of additional income, investment purposes, emotional, familial factors). However, in keeping with our overall theme, there are notable variations between municipalities shown in Figure 13. The *municipios* of Lobras, La Taha, Nevada, Ugijar and Cadiar have a large proportion of properties that are not well maintained and seem likely to fit the ‘residual’ second home category. Significantly, all of these *municipios* have small and quite remote satellite settlements and observational evidence from regular field visits (see Note) suggests that many of these less well maintained, and probably ‘residual’ second homes, are more likely to be found in these settlements (e.g. Mecina Fondales, Ferreirola, Atalbéitar, Picena, Jubar, Jorairatar, Yator, Timar and Nariles). Villages that have a relatively high proportion of these properties are most likely not only ones which have experienced historic out migration but also those which have been less successful at either encouraging native return migration and roots tourism (Gonzalez et al., 2008; Alvarez, 2010) or attracting non-native second home residential tourism leading to regeneration and gentrification. Specific features of the local geography such as difficulty of access (not necessarily related to distance but to quality of roads and extremes of gradient) play some part in shaping these patterns.

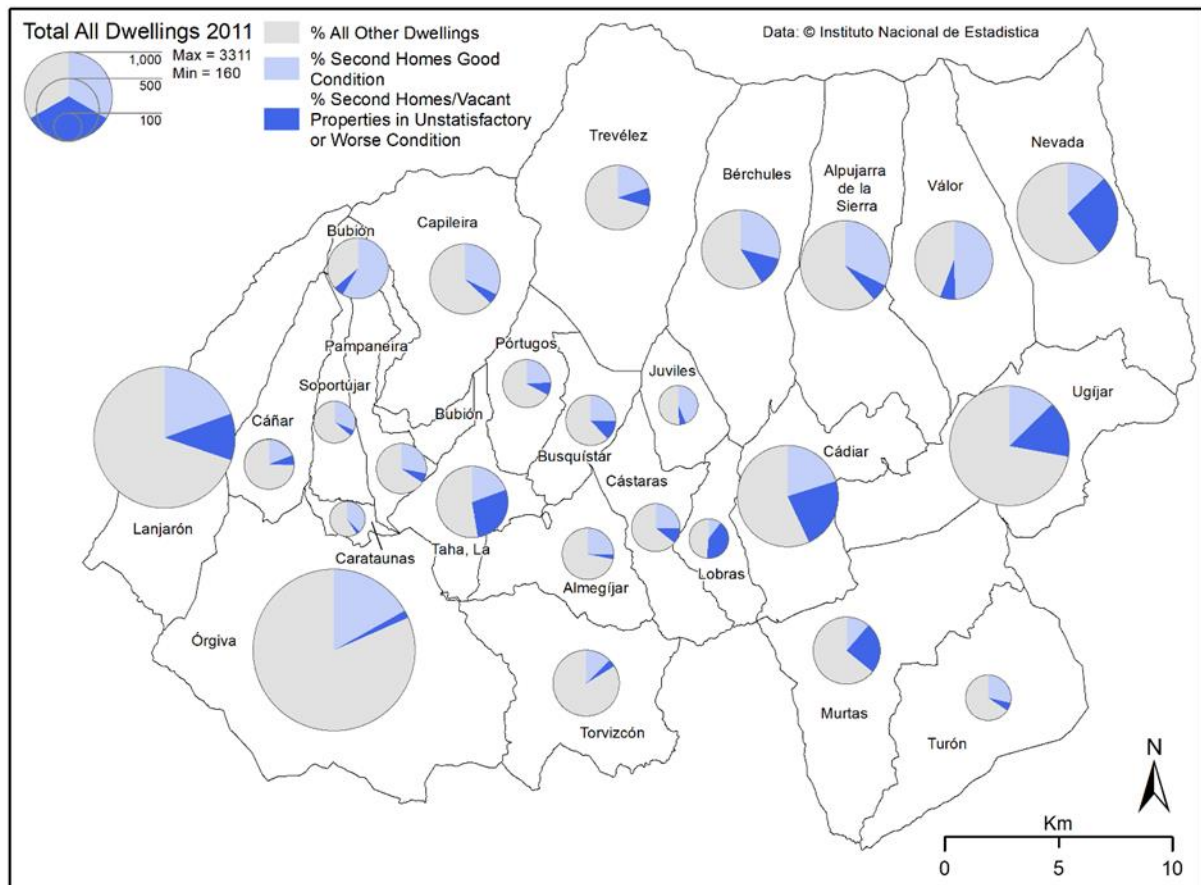


Figure 13: Second Homes in 'good' condition and Second Homes plus Vacant in 'unsatisfactory or worse condition' as % of Total Dwellings, 2011

However, the theme of diversity is re-emphasised as some *municipios* have quite high proportions of second homes in good condition but also high proportions of 'residual' dwellings. For example, although a relatively small number, Lobras has 50% of its second homes in good condition but also 41% of the second homes plus vacant properties ('residual' as we are defining them) are 'Unsatisfactory or worse'¹. Nevada has 59% of its second homes in good condition but 26.5% in the 'residual' category, Murtas has 72% of second homes classified as good but 24.6% of all dwellings are residual. Equivalent figures for La Taha are 50% and 28%. Clearly, these are not mutually excluding categories and diversity of second homes is also apparent within individual *municipios*. Hence our argument that this local scale of analysis is important when exploring the second home phenomenon and understanding its impact on rural communities.

Whilst 2021 census data is not yet available, our recent field observations suggest that the trends identified in this paper have continued and probably intensified up to the present. In particular, the abandonment of dwellings in smaller 'satellite' settlements has continued with only a limited number continuing to function as 'residual' second homes. Meanwhile, concentration of 'active' second home development into larger, reasonably well-served villages, has persisted with some evidence of new build/renovated second homes in such settlements. However, many larger, purpose

¹ This municipio though actually consists of two distinct small settlements, Lobras and Tímar, and our local fieldwork suggests that the majority of these 'residual' dwellings are actually concentrated in the latter which has a much smaller population (only about 20 people), has no services and is more remote.

built 'holiday home' developments dating from the 1990s and early 2000s remain empty and increasingly derelict (see Figure 14).



Figure 14: 'Holiday home' development in Golco, Alpujarra de la Sierra municipio (Source: Authors August, 2020).

It is also apparent, based on data from the local municipal registers, that the population of the area has continued to decline since 2011, falling by 8% overall from just over twenty-five thousand in 2011 to just below twenty-three thousand by 2020. Again though, as illustrated in Figure 15, this decline has not been experienced in all parts of the region. In fact, three municipios (Orgiva, Capileira and Carataunas) in the western Alpujarra have actually seen an increase in their resident populations whilst in all the other municipios, regardless of their size, the resident populations have fallen by between 4% and 29%. Whilst this decline has afflicted both small and relatively large municipios, it is worth noting that four out of the five smallest municipios (Lobras, Juviles, Turon and Castaras) have all experienced population declines of more than 15%. Significantly these small settlements with very few or no local services are all located in the less 'touristy' central and eastern Alpujarra and although they all have a significant number of second homes we suggest that this depopulation will create an increasing number of 'residual' second homes and empty dwellings in these settlements.

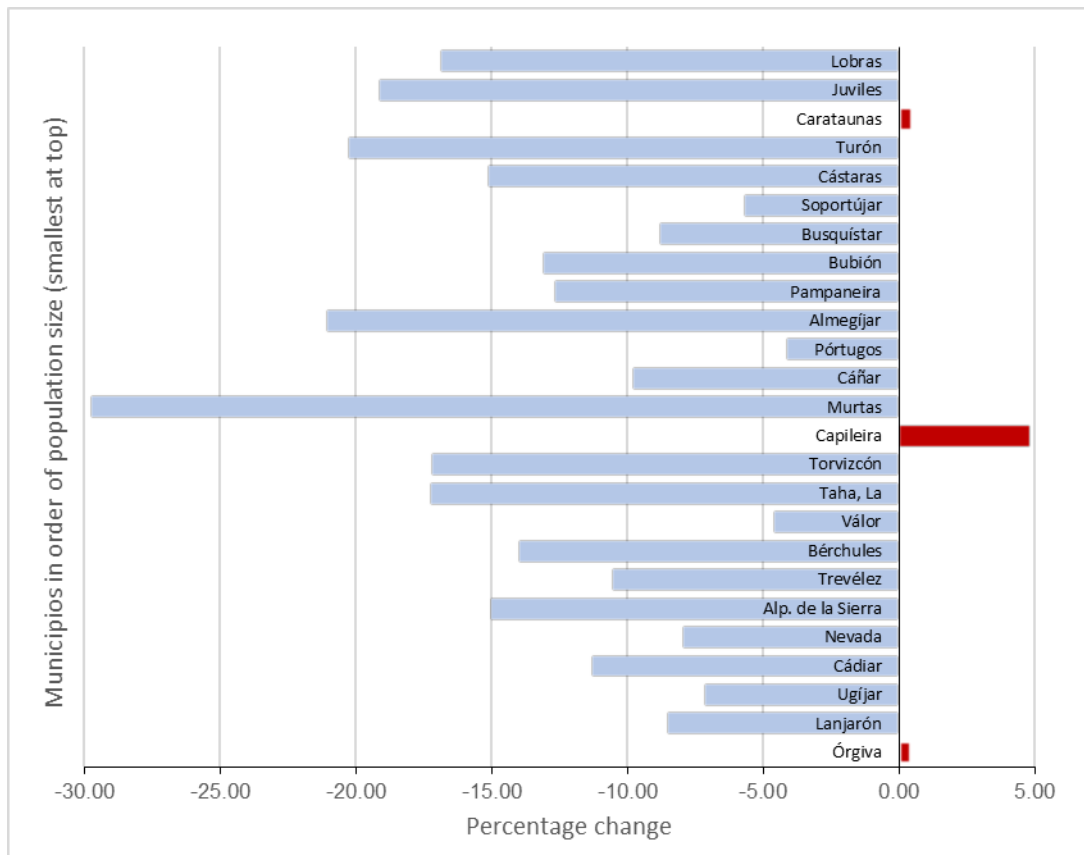


Figure 15: Percentage population change for Alpujarra municipios, 2011-2020 (INE, 2013, 2021)

Conclusions

The wealth of regional case studies on second homes and multiple dwellings has demonstrated the importance of recognising the specificity of the geographical and cultural contexts in which they exist. Yet, this copious literature generally fails to recognise the wide diversity manifest within the same geographical area. This is a feature of considerable practical interest as an increase in second homes impacts significantly on local housing markets, service provision, economic activity and community integration. Furthermore, there are potentially varying degrees of impact created by different types of second homes and their associated owners. Diversity is therefore not just a feature of academic interest. Within superficially similar areas, quite different things may be going on.

Our research also emphasises the importance of a dynamic perspective on second homes. In this context, the concepts associated with a 'multiple dwellings' approach have much to commend them. That is, recognising the weaknesses of a solely binary approach to the phenomenon and a rather simplistic categorisation into 'primary' dwelling and 'secondary' dwelling. In some cases, the distinction between primary and secondary home may become quite blurred for the owners themselves. We are aware of cases in our study area where the roles of 'primary' and 'second' homes have switched, particularly in the latter stages of a career or upon retirement. Over time, the initial second home may acquire a greater emotional attachment than what is technically defined as the 'primary' home.

Furthermore, we also argue that these detailed local scale analyses of the changing geographies of second homes can help deepen our understanding of how the demographic, socio-economic and cultural characteristics of places are in a state of flux, shaped by changing flows of people, resources and capital investment, all themselves operating at a variety of interconnected spatial scales.

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Note

The research reported here has been informed by annual undergraduate Geography field visits to the area from 2005 to 2019, focussing primarily on aspects of rural change in the three villages of Yegen (Alpujarra de la Sierra), Valor and Laroles (Nevada). Three extensive field surveys, focussed specifically on second homes and the condition of the built environment, were also carried out in 2012, 2015 and 2018. On these occasions the principal village in each municipio was visited by the researchers along with a number of subsidiary settlements. Semi-structured Interviews were carried out with second-home owners and/or mayors in the villages of Pampaneira, Castaras, Pitres, Torvizcon, Orgiva, Juviles, Lobras, Mecina Bombaron, Yegen, Ugijar, Válor, Laroles, Mairena, Picena and Murtas. Along with detailed field observations, the latter were fundamental in alerting us to the significance and ambiguous nature of ‘residual’ properties in the context of second homes.

