

CHANGES IN LAND MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY: LAND DYNAMICS IN MÁLAGA. LA AXARQUÍA: WHICH LAND MANAGEMENT? BETWEEN A DISPERSED DEVELOPMENT AND NEW CROPS FARMING

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I. INTRODUCTION

I. 1. Methodology

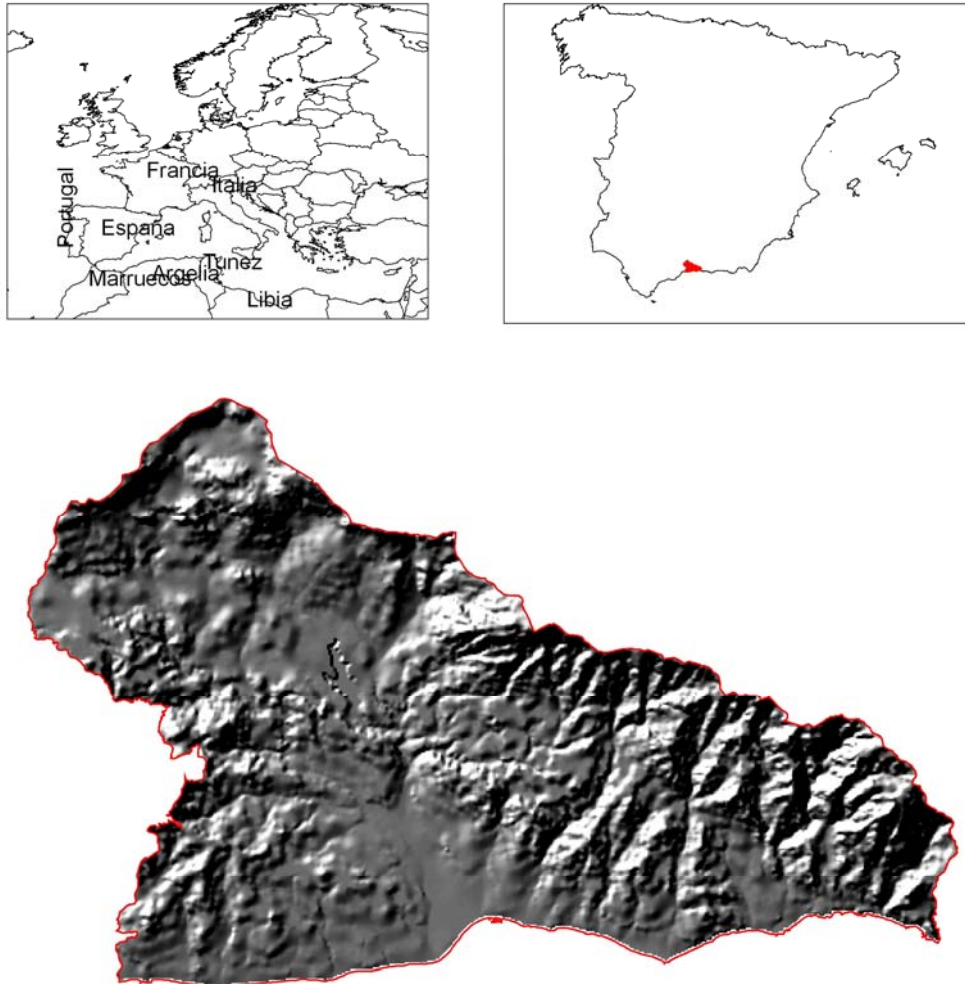
La Axarquía's (Figure 1: Province of Málaga, Autonomous Community of Andalucía, Spain) land changes are seen together by a driving thread: land's conversion into a resource, that is, the change of space's agrarian functions into a residential function that is not directly linked to production, a change that is, however, common on Mediterranean banks. Our approach would need a time scale ranging from 1950 to 2006. However, we have centred on the 1970-2006 period, integrating changes experienced from 1950 to 1970 in our analysis. Our study has taken into account some other specific analyses of different members of the HUM 776¹ Group Research Team, under the following guidelines:

- Definition of the starting situation.
- Identification of change agents at different scales.
- Reaction/participation of inhabitants to/in changes.
- Social and land display of changes.
- Situation of the studied space within the European Planning Observation Network.

¹ The Geographical Analysis HUM 776 Group was founded by Dr. Eusebio García Manrique in 1989. Since then it is one of the consolidated groups accredited by the General Council for Universities of the Government of Andalucía. It is located in the Geography Department of the University of Málaga. Its head researchers are Dr. Eusebio García Manrique (1989-2002) and Dr. Carmen Ocaña Ocaña (since 2002). This text is an example of group work, and authors want to thank Drs. Blanco, Galacho, Larrubia, Luque, Mérida, Natera, Navarro and Vías for their valuable contributions, quoted in References, which have been essential for this text.

Analytical scales combine sub-municipality, municipality and county levels and they are put into context within the provincial, state and European Union reference frameworks.

Figure 1. Location of studied area

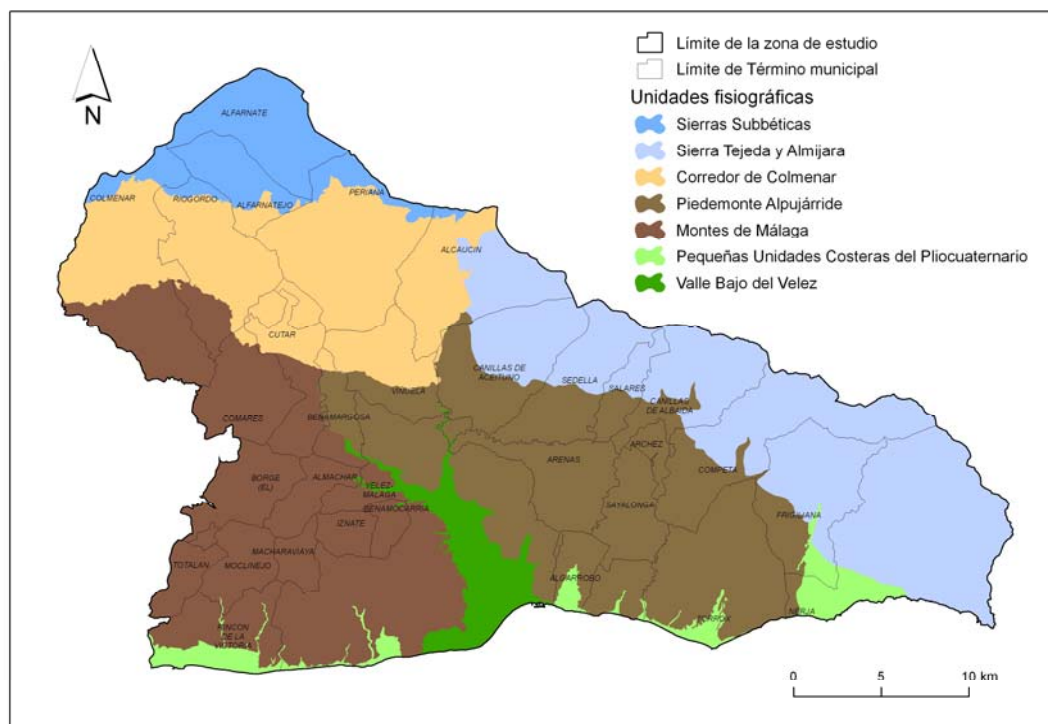


I.2. The studied area. Land components: A Mediterranean model of trading capitalism

Toponym Axarquía describes in Arab the relative location of this land on the Eastern side with respect to the city of Málaga and its hinterland. Historically it has been ruled from different units (Tierra de Vélez, Señoríos, Tierras de Málaga), but its population has achieved a common sense of county entity, which we have circumscribed to 31 municipalities (1025 km²) amounting to 184,389 inhabitants en 2006. In Table 1, next to Figure 2, we present the land components of the studied area. To understand the meaning that this physiographic composition has for social-economic organisation we have to add its combination with the climate component. The height of the Tejeda-

Almijara ranges makes possible plenty of rains (up to 1000 mm per year); this wealth is regulated by its carbonated composition and it translates into a network of springs that feeds the hydrographic network and has enabled irrigation. Besides, its situation shelters the hills from NW winds, resulting in the mildness of its climate.

Figure 2. Land Units



Source.: *Evaluación del potencial turístico del medio rural*. 1FD97-1663 Project. Final Report. OCAÑA (2005)

These mild temperatures are shared by the other sector of the Costa del Sol of Málaga, and are the key for its early entrance in the European market: sweet wines, raisins and other dry fruits, and sugar cane formerly, tourism and extra-early and sub-tropical crops today.

In fact, present underlying social-economic organising model comes from the 13th century; since then and until 1880 the “tratta Della fruta” takes the dry fruits grown in the slated slopes to Northern Europe ports. Thus, both under their Muslims and Christians rulers, the logic of the administrative organisation/physical lie/usages relationship was the same: differently productive spaces are opposed at a distance that enables their exchanges with their capital town, present Vélez-Málaga.

There was also some coasting market and traffic along the coast² as well as some light

² Do not forget that Cervantes landed at the port of Vélez when he returned from captivity in Algiers.

fishing, the only activity that linked the population to a very unsafe coast.

It is this reliance on an archaic trading capitalism, governed from the capital town, what has shaped La Axarquía's land capital in 1950, the year we have taken as the milestone because landscape in that moment answered to an economic logic still based on farming activities and supplied the foundations on which the shift towards a residential area logic will take place at the beginning of the 21st century.

Table 1. Relation between land units and administrative organisation

LOCATIO N	LAND UNITS				MUNICIPALI TIES	HISTORICAL RULE	
	NAME (in text)	UNIT	PHYSICAL FEATURES				
			Lowest & highest height (m)	Lithology, <i>Geological Unit</i> (Sistemas Béticos)			
HINTERLA ND	Subbético & Corredor de Colmenar	Subbético	500-1000	Limes, Loamy- limes, Jurassic to Cretaceous <u>Subbético</u> <u>Ultrainterno</u>	Alfarnate	Tierra de Vélez	
					Alfarnatejo	Tierra de Vélez	
					Alcaucín,	Tierra de Vélez	
		Corredor de Colmenar	200-700	Clays, Loams, Sandstones. Cretaceous to Lower Miocene <u>Unidades Intermedias</u>	Colmenar	Señorío	
					Periana	Tierra de Vélez	
					Riogordo	Tierra de Vélez	
	Montes de Málaga	Montes de Málaga	100-1033	Filites, Slates, Grauwacs, Quarzites <i>Precambrian to</i> <i>Jurassic</i> <u>Manto Maláguide</u>	La Viñuela	Tierra de Vélez	
					Almáchar	Tierra de Málaga	
					Benamargosa	Tierra de Málaga	
					Benamocarra	Tierra de Vélez	
					El Borge	Tierra de Málaga	
					Comares	Señorío	
					Cútar	Tierra de Málaga	
					Iznate	Tierra de Vélez	
					Macharaviaya	Tierra de Málaga	
					Moclinejo	Tierra de Málaga	
	Piedemonte Alpujárride	Sierras Tejeda & Almijara	700-2065	Marbres <i>Triassic</i> <u>Manto Alpujárride</u>	Totalán	Tierra de Málaga	
					Árchez	Señorío	
					Arenas	Tierra de Vélez	
					C.Aceituno	Señorío	
		Piedemonte Alpujárride	0- 700	Schists <i>Precambrian to a</i> <i>Carboniferous</i> <u>Manto Alpujárride</u>	C.Albaida	Tierra de Vélez	
					Cómpeta	Tierra de Vélez	
					Frigiliana	Tierra de Vélez	
					Salares	Tierra de Vélez	
	COAST	Costa	Valle Bajo del Vélez	0- 100	Alluvials (Holocene), Sandstones, Conglomerates, Slimes & Clays (Pliocene)	Sayalonga	Señorío
Sedella						Señorío	
Algarrobo						Tierra de Vélez	
			Pequeñas Unidades Costeras del	0- 200	Alluvials & cones (Holocene), Conglomerates &	Nerja	Tierra de Vélez
						Rincón de la Victoria	Tierra de Málaga
					Torrox	Tierra de Vélez	

		Pliocuaternario		Pink slimes (Pleistocene), Conglomerates, yellow sands & limes (Pliocene)	Vélez-Málaga	Tierra de Vélez
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We can summarize the elements brought by the model as follows:

1. A land occupation that links settlement to economy through farming and a prevalence of irrigated smallholding exploitation on the coast (GARCÍA, 1981) and of ownership and exploitation for the rest of the county. Data for 1962³ show that 26% of exploitations were less than a hectare, with just 2.25 of the total area. In relation to this, 70% of the plots were less than a Ha.

2. This exploitation in smallholdings and the need to be close to the working place explain habitat distribution. A large mixed settlement combining centres with minor entities and dispersed housing, is linked to some farm specialities that needed living close to the working place. Grapes, both for wine (presses) and for raisins (raisin makers), and the maintenance of a complex network of irrigation ditches had organised farm locations on middle ranges (Montes de Málaga, Piedemonte Alpujárride).

Most of the municipalities of 1950 (and even today) did exist in Muslim Nazaries times and, after the Christian conquest, they were left to be settled by the Mudejar (Muslim) population, except for the coast and both banks of the Vélez river. There was not, then, a break in settlements. In 1950, La Axarquía displayed a place hierarchy linked to its historical evolution, structured in one *ciudad* (town) (Vélez Málaga, with 11,788 inhabitants in the core centre), 26 *villas*⁴ (small towns), 11 *lugares* (villages), 8 *aldeas* (hamlets), 6 *barriadas* (quarters) y 162 *caseríos* (small villages), apart of a large number of dispersed buildings (usually single-family housing) (see Table 2).

To keep a whole view of the period, we have to keep in mind some features of the dispersed and compact settlement: homes did not have water supply or sewage.

Table 2. Evolution of housing number per land unit from 1950 to 2006

	Housing Number	Housing Density	Evolution (yearly average %)	
1950	32,067	31.28	1.73	

³ The first Agrarian Census was taken in 1962. Since the rural exodus was unchained at the end of the '50s, it is thought that the situation mirrored in this Census represents the land ownership distribution for 1950.

⁴ Terms “ciudad/town”, “villa/town”, “lugar/village” and “aldea/hamlet” are the categories given in the Nomenclátor, and they refer to specific assignments given to each core in a certain historical time.

1970	43,131	42.08		4.08
2006	106,408	103.81		

Source. Nomenclátor 1950, 1970 & 2006 (See Sources)

Transportation was on pack animals or on foot (see text chart) over bridle paths. Consumption was for sustenance, with the minimum acquisition of clothes and household goods. Food was supplied (save for fish, that was brought on pack animals from the Coast) on the own exploitation; even in dry-farming dispersed settlements legumes and vegetables were grown in minute plots (similar to bocage family orchards) close to dwellings. Cereals were also grown in the scanty flat areas of the schist ranges and were ground in the own estate with animals.

3. This economic organisation is shown visually at two levels. One for large land units (see Table 3): cereals, located basically on Corredor de Colmenar; hill tree crops, which were dismantled by the vine crisis but which still present plenty of dispersed settlements over the hills of Montes de Málaga and of Piedemonte Alpujárride; the self-supply vegetable crops of the small hill irrigated plots on Piedemonte Alpujárride or Valle del Vélez, where citrus fruits did spread previously to the orange “invasion” of the '60s when motor vehicles were introduced, where many populations are settled; and finally, the most regular sugar cane-growing plots on coast fringes. The other level, that of micro-holdings, acts on the above and intensifies the diversity of landscape elements.

4. A local human capital paralysed by traces of trading capitalism. Although smallholding shapes a social group that spreads homogeneously on space, the easy access to ownership did not mean a similarly easy control access to value gains of farming activities. The oligarchy of Málaga (with a clear trading tradition and with plenty of foreigners from wine destination countries) controlled grapes growing and must trading as well as dry fruits handling previously to their export, through bartering practices which increasingly reduce farmers autonomy through loans that, in many cases, ended mortgaging the land.

It is then clearer the economic fall that spread after the filoxera crisis: land owner-farmers or the exploitation heads were not able to control their fate, and became not agents but passive subjects of the decisions taken in the nearby land-organising capital city, showing a fatal passivity.

Fifty years after the filoxera crisis, both statistics and oral information (see text chart 1)

disclose the social-economic delay that go with that organisation. Thus, the only municipal data of 1950 Census, referring only to the municipality of Vélez Málaga, show a population with an almost null mobility (just 3% of them were born in other places), who is very young even for their time context, with a low qualification level (27% of literacy and just 0.75% with studies over primary school) and precariously living from farming (75% of employment).

Table 3. Distribution of farmed surface per crop mass (Ha.) in the county of Vélez-Málaga 1920-2005

USES & CROPS	1950	1983	2005	
	Has	Has	Has	Variation in relation to 1950
Registered area	105,473	108,731	106,905	1,432
Non-farmed area	51,794	51,705	47,984	-3,810
Unproductive area	4,344	5,646	12,867	8,523
Farmed area	49,335	51,381	46,054	-3,281
Dry farming area	44,597	42,692	31,468	-13,129
Irrigation farming area	4,738	8,688	16,505	11,767
CROPS				
Dry farming almond trees	5,115	7,151	5,897	782
Dry farming vineyard	10,640	13,262	3,742	-6,898
Dry farming olive trees	10,804	14,338	17,752	6,948
Dry farming fig trees	0	0	27	27
Other dry farming tree crops	0	0	143	143
Total of Dry farming tree crops	26,559	34,751	27,561	1,002
Dry farming cereals & fodder	13,629	4,417	3,222	-10,407
Dry farming legumes	0	2,974	712	712
Dry farming fallow	0	4,288	0	0
Total of Dry farming herbaceous crops	13,629	11,679	3,934	-9,695
Other Dry farming crops	352	296	451	99
Irrigation Citrus fruit trees	3,355	639	1,389	-1,966
Irrigation fruit trees	159	1,076	5,405	5,246
Irrigation olive trees	498	914	2,172	1,674
Irrigation vines	0	0	3	3
Avocado tress	0	593,5	4,131	4,131
Cherimoya trees		89	190	190
Other irrigation tree crops	745	0	5	-740
Total of Irrigation tree crops	4,757	2,718	13,295	8,538
Irrigation cereals, legumes & fodder	5500	488	486	-5,014
Irrigation tubers	0	2,351	2,533	2,533
Irrigation sugar cane	1,358	657	18	-1,340
Irrigation vegetables	1,860	2,217	4,385	2,525
Irrigation strawberry	0	242	12	12
Irrigation flowers	0	98	88	88
Total of Irrigation herbaceous crops	3,746	6,053	7,529	3,783

SOURCE: Justicia Segovia, A (1988) "La Axarquía malagueña y la Costa Oriental. Dos espacios agrarios contrapuestos. Edición Arguval. Málaga. SIMA (2005) Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación. Taken from Larrubia y Navarro (2007).

Day labourers are the social base; they amount to 75% of the people employed in Vélez-Málaga, a number much higher than that of province employed people (54%). It is

difficult to set precisely the limit between a small owner and his family helpers and a day labourer, due to the already mentioned lack of exploitations. The high concealed unemployment (the registered unemployment is very much reduced, 2.3%) hides a distressing personal and family situation reflected in Text Chart no. 1, based on a personal witness of that time. What it is crystal clear is the null female participation in paid employment, with a global rate of 47.89, a male rate of 94 and a female rate of 6.01 %.

It is worth to point out the scarcity of other activities in Vélez-Málaga: the industry only employed 6% of employed people, the construction sector employed 2.57%, while the trading sector of the capital town amounted to 4%. The only sub-sector that reached 10% of employed people was public services and domestic service.

It is not surprising that, in this context, the Stabilisation Plan of 1958 triggered a strong rural exodus the outcome of which is clearly seen 12 years later, in the following heading.

Text Chart 1

Surviving in '40s-'50s: from Vélez to Torre del Mar

Mr. Juan's father worked in a grape press-winery of Vélez-Málaga, grape pressing and bottling must. His mother died in the Civil War and his father married for a second time. When Mr. Juan was 10 years old (early '40s), the winery closed down and his father decided to change and get a job as a fisherman. They had to go daily from Vélez-Málaga, where they kept their address, to the small fishing port of Faro de Torrox, at 14 km of distance, on foot at night. Their trip did not insure them a salary. They took a share in the catch, and if they did not fish, they returned home with nought. At the most, the boat owner may give them "a potato or noodle stew, with no bread" as lunch. The crew was numberless: there were many people in the same situation than Mr. Juan and his father, and they travelled, barefoot, to prevent wearing out their rope-soled shoes. If on the road they picked some fruits to eat, they risked being shot. The species they fished were sardines and mackerels; sardines were sent to the "Salting factory", where catches were centered and commercialised, taking them to Málaga.

When he returned from the Military Service (on early '50s), Mr. Juan decided to settle in Torre del Mar, where he had met his wife to be, Ms. María. Authorised by the Navy Command, responsible of the coastal public land, he built his home as other fishers did on the beach: walls were of cane, mud-covered and whitewashed; roof was made of think trunks, covered by water-proof canes. There was no water supply or sewage; women washed their clothes on a "chorro" (a small natural spring) that ended nearby.

These were the people living in the spatial segment that, 20 years later, was to become the most coveted.

II. THE FIRST CHANGES: THE DECADE OF THE '70s. THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA REJECTS, THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA WELCOMES.

Different works explain the changes experienced by this land in the '60s and '70s⁵. In this sense, the work on the Andalusian Mediterranean coast (García y Ocaña, 1981) displays La Axarquía's transitional character. The new agrarian uses that fought against the then-early tourism in Almería and Granada were greenhouse crops and sub-tropical crops, respectively. However, on Western Costa del Sol, on the fringe between the capital city of Málaga and the Campo de Gibraltar, it was tourism, promoted by the airport location on the West of Málaga, the use that destroyed every agrarian activity on the coast. The issue now is, how did La Axarquía receive these changing factors?, as it was located in between both fronts.

We have chosen 1970 as the milestone because we think it is the only year that can explain this special acceptance and reaction. From the demographic point of view, the most significant information is that emigration had drained the high natural growth from 1950 to 1970 (Carvajal, 1981). Table 4 presents the evolution per land units. It is clear that the strong growth of Costa scarcely balances the losses of the different hinterland areas.

Table 4. Population evolution per land units 1950-2006

	1950		1970		2006		Yearly average growth		
	Inhab.	Density	Inhab.	Density	Inhab.	Density	1950-70	1970-06	1950-06
Costa	55,06	166	69,03	209	142,47	430	2.31	12.13	14.43
Subb. & C. Colmenar	23,67	81	17,56	60	15,634	54	-2.35	-0.74	-3.09
Montes de Málaga	17,37	123	15,18	108	12,81	91	-1.14	-1.24	-2.38
Piedemonte alpujárride	15,66	60	13,78	53	13,47	52	-1.09	-0.18	-1.27
Total Axarquía	111,76	109	115,56	113	184,389	180	0.31	5.60	5.91

Source: Censos de Población. See Sources

⁵ At the county level, Justicia (1988) focuses on how the dynamics of post-Developmental agrarian economy was “two speed”: with a dynamic coastal fringe versus the abandonment and stagnation of hinterland. At the province level, Gómez (1989) approaches changes in mountainous ranges from a landscape and environmental point of view. At the level of the Andalusian Mediterranean Coast, two different works by Mignon (1981) and by García y Ocaña (1981) study the changes experienced by the previously mentioned farming society, although the second work refers to the reaction of inhabitants to tourist activity. At the Autonomous Community of Andalucía level, a work by Ocaña y García (1989) rises the question that Development focused on the population living in the areas that suffered the economic changes leading to the diversification of economic activities: the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts and province capital towns.

This is how population settlements in La Axarquía lost their relatively ubiquitous character. In 1950, the population was divided 50-50 between the Costa and the Hinterland, although it was not a homogeneous distribution because, even though the Costa area was only a third of the county total, that third already sustained 60% of the population in 1970. However, the Coast in La Axarquía has not suffered the strong in-flows that have filled the Western Costa del Sol so fast, and it does not present a similar tourist profile.

Unfortunately data from 1970 Census have even less local information than those of the 1970 Census. Provincial data and a exploitation of the 1975 Local Inhabitants Registration in relation to the municipality of Colmenar (Gómez, 1982) show changes in occupation with no re-qualification of occupied people, which confirm Ocaña and García's (1989) approach: the population of Málaga took part in the activity changes linked to tourism without undertaking a re-qualification of human resources, because the two sectors, where changes took place, hostelry and construction, only needed an unqualified working force for the most basic levels, since middle and higher levels were covered by people from other places.

As already mentioned, these changes affected La Axarquía's land organisation indirectly. Changes can be summarized in three vectors:

- The functional relationship between habitat and agrarian activity in the areas of slope tree crops became disorganized.
- Sugar cane farming fell in crisis and the new technologies of other intensive crops began to fight to occupy the same.
- Residential tourist uses began to appear.

The inhabitants of La Axarquía did behave very differently in each case.

II.1. The disorganized functional relationship between habitat and agrarian activity in the areas of slope tree crops

According to Gómez (1989), the already mentioned demographic dynamics is a variable that interacts with agrarian practices. Thus although dry farming is unable to generate earnings and the absence of any alternate activities are conditions that encourage a general out-going migration in every Andalusian rural zones from 1950 to 1975, that emigration is compatible with agrarian practices that are highly profitable or that can be

carried out with machinery, but not with agrarian practices that are not very profitable and only need human workers, as is the case of the slope tree crops: dry fruits and full-bodied wines, the demand for which was already falling.

Therefore, this reason explains the unlike evolution of crops (Table 3). The most illogical part of the process is that said abandonment took place with no structural adjustment. An observation of the evolution experienced by estates from 1962 to 1972 shows, apart from different signs in each municipality, an increase of 10.8% in the number of exploitations per county. This is a relevant fact because it implies that land ownership had spread even more among inhabitants and that rural exodus is not linked to uprooting.

It is linked, however, to a relevant re-adjustment of living. Although motor vehicles were already present in urban areas, their progress in rural areas is slower because motorbikes are more numerous. But it is not enough to maintain a dispersed habitat. The lack of progress related to working qualifications is compatible with a deep modification in living and consumption habits. The population is already thinking that isolation is a very negative factor: it prevents their access to essential services such as school, universal health care and, above all, urban-shaped consumption and amusement. Every new service endowment is concentrated on head towns, while their population goes from the previous two thirds to amounting to 72% of the total. The registered entities are reduced to less than half from 1950 to 1970, at the expense of the hinterland. And the dispersed settlement gets relocated: the hinterland is unpeopled while the coast gets to accept 62% of the county population. Another information on the two speeds that are deconstructing the county. Transportation on pack animals was given up fast and it implied the abandonment of inland farmhouses and dispersed settlement, which became derelict. Settlement places seemed to be less ubiquitous; however, the number of buildings per km² (adding those of compact entities and those of dispersed settlement) increases from 13.4 to 16.7, which makes reference to the third vector: the start of tourist activities. The location of the coast entities that act out this growth takes us to the following headings.

II. 2. The crisis of sugar cane and the new technologies for intensive crops

Since the expansion of the new intensive technologies took place basically in the '80s and '90s under new change factors, see Table 3, it will be studied in depth in the following item. The sugar obtained from sugar cane lost competitiveness due to the

progress gained by beet sugar, and its fall gave place to a progressive dismantling of the growing and grinding structures, located on the first coast line. However, the exploitation system on third parties hampered its transformation on tourist land because part of the old tenants remained on site growing vegetable crops. When land owners worked the exploitation directly, sugar cane lost its place to new usages that competed, at the same time, for the same land segment: the coast.

II.3. The start of residential tourist uses

La Axarquía has not taken much part in the intense land changing process from agrarian uses to urban-tourist uses experienced in the province of Málaga. Its being far (in time-distance and not in space-distance terms) from the Airport of Málaga promoted a model far from the flight+hotel or apartment formula arranged by tour-operators and which translated in the fast and dense building of hotels and apartment towers next to the beach on the Torremolinos-Fuengirola-Marbella area.

We can see its evolution through the towns that grew the most between 1950 and 1970. They are unconnected places, on which an almost residential tourist activity, with very few hotels and very different agents, is concentrated: the cases of Rincón de la Victoria and Torre del Mar.

Rincón de la Victoria became the beach destination preferred by families from Málaga (it is 20 km from Málaga, but its main Cala del Moral beach is just 14 km). At first they went to the beach with their recently bought car (a new family leisure activity), and then they built their Summer single-family detached house there. In 1950 the average of buildings per place was 163, but in 1970 they were 360. Real-estate agents bought the estates at the end of the '60s, when nobody was aware of the increased profitability of sand orchards. The small property size encouraged building small and low-height residential estates and promotions, which very soon will start looking for the “vista” linked to the much cheaper slatey hills close to the Costa.

On the contrary, in Torre del Mar, the coastal population closer to the head-town of Vélez, the number of buildings moves from 705 to 1201, but the number of housing increases from 901 to 4562, that is, a ratio de 3.79 apartments per building, which represents the first instances of present compact concrete curtain of 12/15 storied-towers on first beach line. In the attached Text chart there appear this change as seen by our

witnesses. But, who made possible the change of this part of our Costa?. A real-estate promoter born in this municipality and whose family links with a high office of Franco's Government in the '60s opened to him the doors to the funding and permits to build these high towers that replaced the little fisherman houses, many of them built as told in Text Chart no. 1. These towers reproduced the little-quality and tall buildings that were embodying the urban growth of Spanish towns. They did not have any green areas or services, far from Marbella's glamour or the quality given to the towers that Sofico was building on Western Costa del Sol Occidental at that same time. Who bought them? They met the Spanish demand, a tourist with a lower purchasing capacity and paid holidays who wanted to enjoy the practices so praised by every communication means: Sun and Beach and every amusement related to them. Madrid, Jaén, and Málaga inhabitants were the first tourists of La Axarquía Costa, and the number of stores and bar-restaurants grew with them. Land owners played a double function in this process. The first towers were built almost on the sand. The Navy Command had already assigned to the Town Council of Vélez the land built over by fishermen basically, although there were also some orchards and other buildings. Owners sold their small properties and, obviously, they did not have capital enough to share building the new towers. Then, they invested part of their gains in the new businesses and establishments demanded by the new occasional inhabitants. The small store or the small traditional-cuisine restaurant did not need either of any qualifications. If we add to the above, the immigrants coming from La Axarquía hinterland to build the new skyscrapers, we have the basis of the new social fabric.

Completely unlike is the case of the final link in this chain: Nerja. Perhaps related to the discovery of the Caves in 1959, the Spanish Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1966 chose this population to locate a Parador Nacional (a public-funded Inn Chain) and it has been since then linked to an image of quality tourism, reinforced by the yearly celebration of a Festival of Music and Dance since 1961 (Luque and Galacho, 2007) in the Caves.

Text Chart 2

The Developmental Policy lived from the seaside

At the end of the '60s, Mr. Juan and Mrs. María's life had improved much. Their work implied a larger and more regular economic compensation. He had two works. He purchased a small boat and, after working for his employer, he continued fishing for himself with the idea to improve their home. He was able to pay the bricklayers that re-made in brick the walls and put another floor up. His family (the two parents and their five children) had a better life. Fishing was still plenty and, even better, prices obtained had increased according to the demand. Young catches were not sanctioned and the increasing number of local and, specially, of Western Costa del Sol restaurants meant a good demand. For them tourism was still a good invention.

III. WHEN LAND TURNS INTO A RESOURCE

If in the previously analysed 20 years, the most relevant changes were the result of negative processes (out-going migration) and not to the introduction and expansion of new activities, in the 30 years going from 1970 to nowadays, a series of very different factors are going to happen and to overlap causing deep and wide modifications of the social-economic organisation of La Axarquía.

This study of the social-economic changes taking place on the Spanish Mediterranean area took as its starting point a framework in which the agrarian system (food production) is the nexus between population, economy and land. The point of arrival is another framework in which landscape traces of the former productive system have become one of the main factors for its economic demand. In the initial situation, the county (that is, a radius of 50 km approximately) was the scale for population interaction, while in the final study, La Axarquía's urban system is linked to spaces distant from 100 to 5000 km, to spaces to which La Axarquía was already linked by trade since the Low Middle Ages, but not with present short-termed actions and people flows.

In this sense, ESPON (ESPON 2003) presents a good idea of European land system. In that work, Costa del Sol is mentioned specifically as one of the areas that most contribute to demographic growth of the whole European Union and it is described as a FUA (Functional Urban Areas). ESPON's description of Mediterranean FUAs discloses the complex and new social-productive relationship that is a characteristic of the Mediterranean coast of Málaga: "Tourism is concentrated in the Mediterranean coastal regions, showing a specific pattern of functional division of labour at EU level". The problem is, what is this specific pattern of functional division of labour at EU level?. In

this section we first describe factors for change and then we present the change itself.

III.1. The factors for change

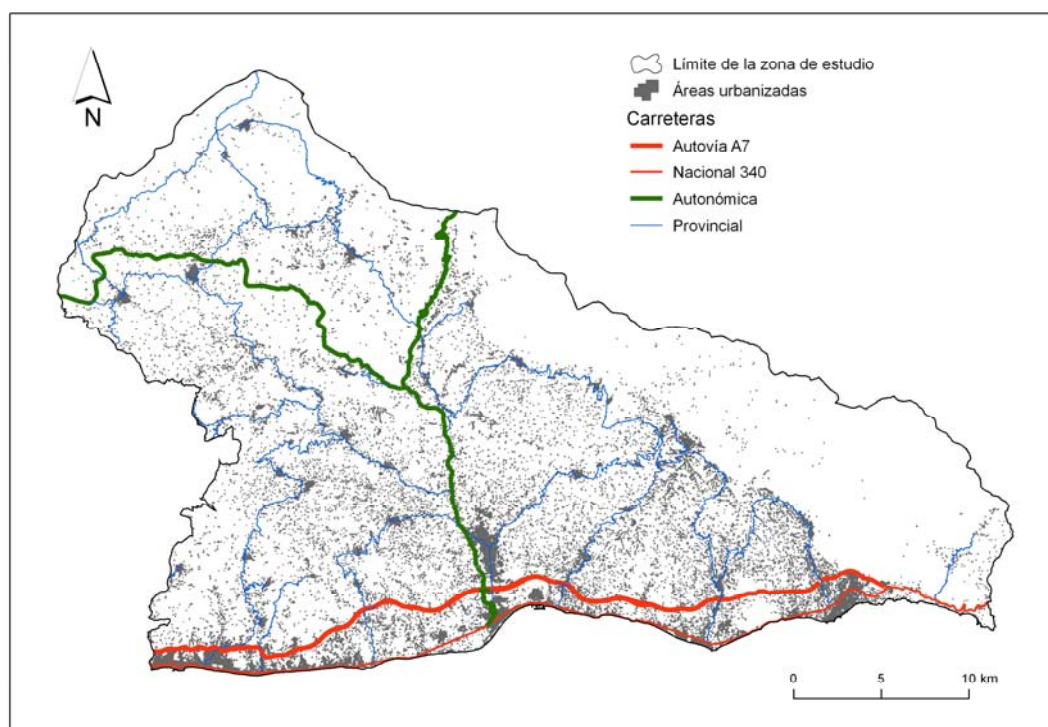
A first set of factors appeared during the 1973 Crisis, a milestone that started new social-spatial relations in the world. One of these factors happened just before the crisis and it can be considered as a consequence of the previous stage. New tourist places appeared that are fully unconnected to the previous ones. Two of these new tourist places are Torrox-Costa and Algarrobo-Costa; they are another area built up with towers (5500 apartments in less than 5 years) in this case by a German promoter (Nogués, 2007) who started working in 1972. It meant that the model of foreign mass Sun-and-Beach tourism already prevailing on Western Costa del Sol had got into La Axarquía. As pointed out by Luque and Galacho (2007) from information by Almeida, the favourable tax treatment given to housing purchasing in Spain contributed to have the apartments purchased by German citizens and, therefore, to establish their fidelity to the destination. At the end of the '70s, the “discovery” of populations with special aesthetical values, such as Cómpeta and Frigiliana, took place by individuals with a then-peculiar profile although similar to the British pioneers who settled in the Mediterranean Andalucía, of which Gerald Brennan may be the proto-type. They were bohemians looking for an alternate way of life who came escaping from mass coast tourist (something their famous citizen did not have to do 50 years ago). Cómpeta is close to Nerja (around 15 minutes from it) and Frigiliana is just on the middle of the Piedemonte Alpujárride road going from Algarrobo to Torrox (see figure 3), which helps to explain their election from among La Axarquía's hinterland municipalities. As told later on, these populations are pioneers in the residential uses that will prevail in early 21st century.

The second factor for change in the early '70s is the diffusion of greenhouse and sub-tropical crops. In his DEA project (2004) Langlade has made a model on the diffusion of greenhouse crops on the two most relevant villages: Algarrobo and Torrox. In this model, drawn from his talks with farmers, the income from the emigration to Europe was invested in new technologies and in the enlargement or acquisition of the exploitation, in a context of the 1973 Crisis and of the European market boom of extra-early vegetable/orchard products. Later on, we are going to refer to its relationship with other variables such as infrastructures and landscape changes. At this moment, we want to point out its chronology and the fact that actors are local agents that make use of

different resources: their own traditional expertise and the funding capacity and/or innovation that they had acquired during their migrating process. We think that this is the basic difference with Western Costa del Sol: farmers are able to make tourist uses compatible with their farming exploitation, even if it is a part-time exploitation.

The third set of factors is a consequence of the incorporation of Spain to the European Union (in 1986) and of the regional policies followed by the new Spanish regional administration authorities (a State of Autonomies). One of these factors is the European FEDER funds financed infrastructure improvement of roads and water supply. In relation to water supply, as pointed by Langlade (2004), although the Vélez river regulation project was started in the '70s, the La Viñuela dam was not completed until 1990 and water channels were not finished until 1998-2000. However, every innovating farmer had looked for other supplies (wells that pumped water from the coastal alluvial aquifer), although they were not enough for sub-tropical fruits expansion. Thus, this new water supply implied that a restriction on hill crops was overcome but it also opened the possibility for residential settlement on hills and its diffusion to the coast. Road infrastructures were to help these changes much (see figure 3).

Figure 3: Road Network and Urban Development. 2006



Two roads are most relevant as changing instruments of social-economic organisation of La Axarquía. One is the so-called “Carretera de Arco”, provided for in the General

Road Plan of Andalucía (1987); it links the Vélez river valley with the Corredor de Colmenar up to the N-331 highway, the axis that connects Málaga coast and the Spanish inland. Its different sections were completed in the first five years of the '90s, and it implied an important reduction of distance-time between some populations of the Corredor and of the Piedemonte Alpujárride (Alcaucín, in concrete, part of its land is over Flysch river area) and the populations in Montes de Málaga, such as Benamocarra and Iznate, close to the Vélez river valley. The other road is the A-7 highway, the alternate to the coastal N-340 road. Its first completed section in 1992 linked Málaga and Rincón de la Victoria; its other sections were completed progressively until it reached Maro in 2004. The new road was laid through schist hills at just 2 - 3 km from the coast, and its construction increased visibility and accessibility of hill residences, opened new permanent housing possibilities on the old second-home area of Rincón de la Victoria. Málaga's Ring Road was carried out at the same time, and both roads cut down the time taken by the trip to the Airport from the capital city. Consequences were immediate because real-estate promoters were acquainted with their lay-out and different depending on the municipality. Municipalities closer to Málaga were caught and integrated into the metropolitan area (Montosa, 1997); Rincón de la Victoria and Alhaurín de la Torre, its Western twin, are the populations with the largest increase of inhabitants in the last decade. This increase took place around La Cala del Moral and Torre de Benagalbón and it expanded towards the closest villages on the Vélez river valley, Benajafé. For populations far from the capital city, these roads implied the full insertion of La Axarquía into long-radius movements which, up till then, had been channelled through the airport and had limited European tourists to Western Costa del Sol as the place where they could visit on other seasons (Galacho and Luque, 2007).

The so-called Costa del Sol conurbation took shape along the '90s; the analysis of its working requires making use of another factor: New spatial behaviours.

We are going, however, to analyse other factors derived from the Spanish incorporation to the European Union: Agrarian policies. Although farming in La Axarquía is not going to be specially favoured by Guarantee Funds (or Product Direct Subsidies), as shown by Table 5 on differences on farming income according to Blanco and Larrubia (2007), but by markets opening, the area however will profit from rural development programmes. La Axarquía is integrated into a “No. 1 Target Region” and it took part from the very beginning of the rural development LEADER programmes, since entities

were shaped from the municipalities (Larrubia y Navarro, 2001) included in the county. As in many other cases, rural tourism was the main beneficiary, as local inhabitants (specially those of hinterland villages) took an active part in this manner to direct towards their home-villages the activity that they thought the best promoter of economic betterment: tourism. Women were specifically the promoters of this innovation, as they did in other areas of the province (Nieto, 2004) and in Spain (Cánoves et al. 2001). In 2005 La Axarquía concentrated 42% of rural tourist establishments of the province of Málaga (Luque and Galacho, 2007). These authors also show that this activity was well spread all over every municipality, although with a small number of places and establishments in each population.

To these policies we have to add another wide factor favoured by the already mentioned infrastructures improvements: the easy traffic of people, capitals and goods. It is clear that, after the difficult political transition period, the Spanish incorporation to the European Union implied the consolidation of the market for the already mentioned new crops: extra-early and sub-tropical crops, which require a a highly-purchasing demand as well as some fast communication channels, after the road cold transportation was included. Data on Table 5 are explicit: they explain farming survival, although it is increasingly threatened by the casual reduction of gain margins and by the temptation to sell the land for urban development, as Langlade points out.

Table 5. Crops profitability

Crops	Farmer earnings ¹ (Euros/ha)	Production value (Euros/ha)
Greenhouse	63250.86	77776.97
Orchard	9050.31	14334.13
Sub-tropical fruits	6812.40	8925.02
Citrus fruits	6094.96	7783.10
Irrigation fruits	3606.07	5950.02
Irrigation olive trees	1887.17	2404.04
Dry-farming olive trees	1007.89	1352.27
Vineyard	494.33	901.51
Dry-farming olive-fruit trees	745.25	850.43
Olive-fruit trees & natural vegetation mosaic	372.62	425.21
Vineyard & natural vegetation mosaic	247.16	450.75
Dry-farming fruit trees	249.42	450.75
Dry-farming herbaceous vegetables	79.83	348.58

¹ Business earnings plus two thirds of working force expenses

Source: Delegación de Agricultura de Málaga and surveys to La Axarquía's farmers and OCAs experts. Taken from Blanco and Larrubia (2007)

With respect to capital traffic, although it existed before the Spanish incorporation to the European Union, according to the synthesis drawn by Auriolés (2007, p. 50), a cycle started in 1994 in which “real-estate became a shelter for those capitals that wanted to locate in the new Euro-Europe and that came in mass to Spain and, specially to the province of Málaga... Helped by the tax and normative harmonisation process in parallel to domestic market realisation, to the fall of interest rates, to the outstanding strength of Spanish mortgage market and some other circumstances..”. However, this proposal requires a demand at least partial of this real-estate product, and this is the new factor already referred to: a change of social-spatial behaviour.

There is no doubt that this is the most complex factor and that there are many analytical theories; however, because of space restrictions, we have just selected those theories that, in our opinion, most directly contribute to explain those changes. On one side, Harvey's term “landscape marketing”, as presented by Galacho and Luque (2007). On the other, the “New Economics” theory, advanced by Moreno (2007 p. 125) to explain a new location pattern related to the so-called “habitat as an economic resource” and which converges with the new trends of tourist demand expressed in the New General Plan for a Sustainable Tourism in Andalucía appearing in LUQUE Y GALACHO (2007). In its turn, this option is feasible thanks to the diffusion of certain technological progresses (new Information Technology) or economical changes (low-cost flights, Auriolés (2007), or technical and market changes, such as the diffusion of *four-wheels-drive* vehicles, encouraged by new post-industrial spatial practices.

As a whole, they involve a progressive loss of relevance for the variable of proximity in relation to daily life decisions. Taylor experience scale expands, then, almost in an indefinite manner while the Mediterranean mountainous land recovers the perviousness it had before the brief period of industrial society.

As already stated in other works (Gómez, 2001), these processes are linked to changes in space uses, related to another relevant social modification, the social value given to environment quality, which includes mistaking rural and natural space.

In spite of the discussion in between geographical discourse and popular discourse, of recent concepts such as globalisation or sustainability, the contents of this new concept have not been analysed much. We can make use of another ESPON document (2007) to precisely define this attraction factor: “Some attractive rural areas, especially those

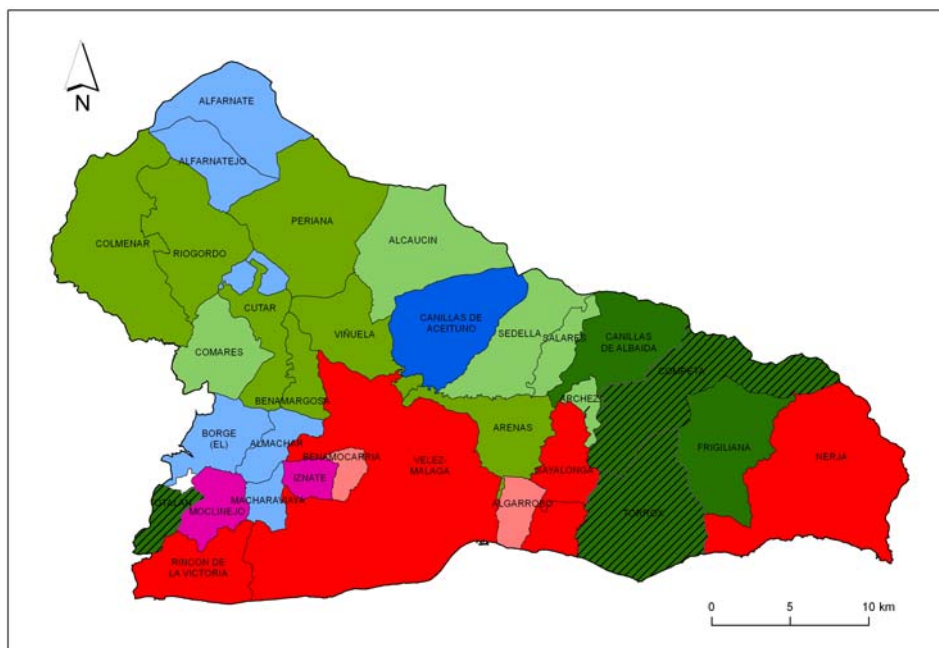
along the southern coastlines and their hinterland, are likely to develop into European retirement zones”, and “Some rural areas are likely to gain substantial population densities and economic diversification, linked to their proximity to large towns or their attractiveness for residential and tourist functions. These are spread ... and in Mediterranean regions with a favourable climate”.

In this sense, we have to read another change in land organisation due to regional policy: the concept of protected natural space results from accepting environmental values in terms of bio-diversity protection⁶, and in 1999 the regional government declared the creation of the Natural Parks of the Tejeda, Almiraj and Alhama Ranges. For Luque and Galacho (2007) this declaration is a new advertisement for tourism and an image of life quality.

III.2. Change evidences

In figure 4 there appear the demographic behaviour from 1981 to 2005, expressed in terms that combine natural and migratory dynamics. In our opinion, this variable is the best that presents social-spatial changes in La Axarquía.

Figure 4. Demographic dynamics: 1981-91/2001-2005



⁶ Later on we are to approach another consequence: the legal restriction on young catches. Although it was to solve the serious problem of fish depletion due to intensive fishing, it also restricted drastically fishermen earnings.

LEGEND: EVOLUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS						
Types of demographic dynamics in each period			1981 to 1991			
			GROWTH	RESERVE	DEPLENISH D RESERVE	DEPLENISH
			Natural + Migratory + Actual: +	Natural + Migratory – Actual+	Natural + Migratory – Actual –	Natural – Migratory – Actual –
2001 to 2005	GROWTH	Natural + Migratory + Real +				
	DEPLENISH	Natural – Migratory – Real –				
	SUCTION WITH GROWTH	Natural – Migratory + Real +				

*ruled section: zero natural dynamics

- As a result of the destruction of agrarian economic foundations and the consequent out-going migration, negative natural dynamics and other weak growth did spread, which intensified aging, the sequel of migration, and the last stage of the demographic transition experienced by the whole nation.

- As a consequence of the new spatial behaviour of post-industrial inhabitants, there appeared intense and fast attraction dynamics linked to the diffusion of tourist residential urban development. They turned the aforementioned negative natural dynamics into positive actual growth. These new immigration flows are made up by people in their non-reproductive life cycle and they do launch natural dynamics again, except in Rincón de la Victoria, included in Málaga metropolitan area.

- Its spatial distribution reflects its close dependence of roads and the recent evolution of tourism (figure 3). Thus, factors that explain the existence of one or another type is proximity to the best roads and old residential use in hinterland villages instead of their physical proximity to Costa. According to this assumption, Piedemonte Alpujárride is revitalised since the '80s under two vectors: the front opened by Frigiliana and Cómpea in the '70s, already mentioned, and the arrival of the highway to Nerja (2004). On the other hand, villages/populations on the so-called “Carretera de Arco” only revitalised in the '90s.

Luque and Galacho (2007) refer to the influence of immigrants from North European countries on this new dynamics and to the increased number of foreigners residing in La Axarquía. Thus, in hinterland villages, foreigners have gone from being 3.44% of total inhabitants in 1996 to be near 17% in 2006; in the coast, values have gone from 7.29% in 1996 to 16.5 in 2006. Most foreigners come from the European Union (of the 15 members); while in the coast they have risen from 4.7% to 8.4 from 1996 to 2006, in the hinterland, values have gone from 2.7 to 13.4 for the same years, which mirror the

regressive natural dynamics that magnifies immigrant volume in hinterland villages, although it is limited in absolute terms.

However, the most relevant evidence of demographic growth can be found in the building of new residences.

Statistical translation of the de-structured urban mass that has thickened and consolidated between the coastline and the hills is not significant. If we classify them by head-centre size, Vélez-Málaga keeps the first position with 35,076 inhabitants, followed by Nerja with 18,823 and Rincón de la Victoria with 13,905, and by Torrox with 5,486 and Algarrobo with 2,489 inhabitants. However, if we keep in mind that, in those municipalities, head-centres amount only to 36 to 51% of municipal inhabitants, the loss is very evident except for Nerja, where 92% of its inhabitants are concentrated in the head-core. In between these populations, there are other entities with similar numbers, such as Torre del Mar with 18,290 inh., La Cala del Moral with 10,721, Torre de Benagalbón with 5,543 or Algarrobo Costa with 2,566. This urban continuous ranges from Algeciras to Cabo de Gata with very similar features; its configuration has increased density differences between county sectors (see Table 4).

As a whole, the number of buildings erected on La Axarquía's land amounted to 54,550 in 2006, cipher that implies an average yearly increase of 2.76%, one point higher than the average reached from 1950 to 1970 (1,6%). This acceleration of urban development, however, goes with other habitat differences related to population entities and dispersed settlement. To take into account those differences we have carried out two measures; one of is to measure the actual load of buildings on land under any type of settlement, and it is presented in Table 2. The measure is to estimate the level of dispersion on land, disregarding buildings located in head-centres but adding buildings existing in concentrated or dispersed populations entities. In Table 6 there appear the variables used: evolution of entities number and load of buildings per km².

Table 6. Evolution of dispersed buildings outside municipal head-centres

	Costa			Hinterland		
	1950	1970	2006	1950	1970	2006
Number of entities	39	22	44	145	68	80
Buildings per entity	148	330	452	109	66.3	77.93
Buildings per Km ²	20	29	60	9.9	8.9	10

Source. Nomenclátor 1950, 1960, 1970.

The table shows that, in quantitative terms, urban diffusion problems locate in coastal municipalities while hinterland ratios are much more stable. Thus, although the number of entities is much increased from 1970 to 2006, from 90 to 124, it is however a cipher much lower than the 184 entities accounted for in 1950. The distribution of these entities and their load of buildings in absolute terms among coastal and hinterland municipalities is in proportion to the differences in inhabitants seen.

With respect to densification, from 1970 to 2006, the load of housing per km² has almost three-folded, going from 42 to 103. However, this densification concentrates on the Costa, which has 79% of the total of present housing and has broken the traditional model of single-family detached houses, with an average of 2.66 housing per building in concentrated entities.

The profile of the new inhabitant is related to a discontinuous housing occupation. Thus, housing registered as main places of residence only amount to 50%, while second homes amount to 33% and empty housing is 16%. Relationship between occupation level and land units show that Subbético and Montes de Málaga are the areas where places of residence are most significant (around 72%), followed by Piedemonte Alpujárride (55%) and lastly, the Coast (46%). This location pattern confirms the mentioned intra-county differentiations: Piedemonte Alpujárride is the advancing front of dispersed settlement linked to European inhabitants. Besides, there is a clear connection between occupation level and concentrated or dispersed settlement or entity. The percentage of second homes and empty housing is higher in a dispersed settlement, notwithstanding its hinterland or coastal location. Thus, in hinterland municipalities, second homes and empty housing amount to 43 and 12 % respectively of the total dispersed settlement housing, while in coastal municipalities those values are 47 and 15%. On the other hand, concentrated entities housing show a more specific behaviour per population. In Costa, except for Rincón de la Victoria (once again), the main place of residence has not much relevance (36%); its settlement experiences a significant seasonal use (40% of second homes) or as investment (23% of empty housing). Piedemonte Alpujárride, on the contrary, is the preferred place of residence outside head-centres with 87% . Lastly, in Subbético and in Montes de Málaga, the situation is not well defined and they present relevant percentages of second homes (around 18%) and empty housing (between 8 and 13%).

In brief, the marked complexity of situations reflects the diversity of land residential

functions. As there are not recent statistical sources that enable verifying the actual distance work practice of the new “global citizens” registered, we can approach to the possible categories linked to the specific pattern of functional division of labour at EU level through data of the 2001 Census, on Natera (2001) and Galacho and Luque (2007) works:

- With respect to seasonal foreign residents, the analysis of Costa del Sol Tourist Observatory Data carried out by Luque and Galacho (2007) points out to a conversion process from tourist to resident: an examination of motivations show that the motivation that is growing the most in Nerja is fidelity to destination (13.95%), within a general loss context for other stimuli such as climate, beach, ambiance or peacefulness. It can be deduced, then, that tourist subjects those values to his/her “incardination” in destination. They are the inhabitants of concentrated entity housing in Piedemonte Alpujárride.

- With respect of Spanish nationals, according to the study by Natera (2001), already in 1991 Málaga city employment field extended to the municipalities of Piedemonte Alpujárride, while populations such as Vélez or Nerja have their own fields (with one or two municipalities). Recently, 2001 Census data (with very detailed municipal information) enable differentiating between hinterland and coastal municipalities. In general, there are a feature combination common to the Costa del Sol conurbation and another combination for hinterland municipalities; therefore, global La Axarquía data do not imply general county behaviours.

Features of coastal inhabitants present a higher percentage of higher studies and training levels (11,6%) and, therefore, of executives, technicians and support experts (28%), and, on the contrary, a low percentage of non-qualified workers (17%). However, 38% of employees have temporal jobs while 21% of the active population is unemployed, of which 50% are women. With respect to activities, the sector of public and private services monopolizes 60% of employed people, of which hostelry workers are just 2 points below the corresponding percentage of Costa del Sol (from Manilva to Nerja).

Hinterland variables are clearly different: only 5% of degree holders, higher professional levels are only 16% and, on the contrary, non-qualified workers increase up to 33%, temporal employees amount to 57.6% and unemployment rises to 35% of active population, of which 56% are women. Construction (26%) and farming (25%)

absorb most employees. However, there are some features where differences are lessened: activity rate (67% in the coast and 61% in hinterland), female incorporation to employment (40.8% and 41.5%).

What is the function of farming in this new “functional division of labour”? The mentioned work by Blanco y Larrubia (2007) provides relevant aspects on this sense. Thus, there are a large set of exploitations with negative margins (see Table 5), linked to the contiguity of cultured and non-cultured plots and to a part-time farming practice that explains this anti-economic survival. This multi-activity is old (since the end of the '70s: Gómez and Carvajal, 1985) and it is the other dimension of the employment field detected by Natera (2001).

In brief, there are two categories of residents: coastal inhabitants, with more urban and better-qualified features, who combine environmental conditions similar to those of tourists who have an occupation in town. They live in the main places of residence in concentrated entities focused on Rincón de la Victoria and in the entities of Vélez that are closer to the municipality. Hinterland inhabitants keep their place of residence in their home-populations and they have low-qualified but highly demanded employments, in the construction and non-qualified service jobs, located both in the city or in Costa, employments which are compatible with their farming exploitation. They live in the main places of residence in head-centres.

Therefore, a double rupture is deduced: the rupture of the traditional county organisation seen in the first heading, and the rupture of the social-economic uniformity seen from 1950 data.

On the other hand, the work by Galacho and Luque underlays the recovery of the dispersed settlement by families that did leave it years ago, a new vector of dispersed urban development encouraged by different factors: maintaining the property or part of it, the foregoing plot fragmentation and emulating the new inhabitants. The professional expert knowledge of basic building techniques linked to their new activity (construction) and, obviously, their being the owners of the land provide them with the two most expensive building inputs: land and working force. Little by little, they build their new homes, often disregarding the traditional patterns to introduce the modern dispersed settlement standards as well as other alien uses such as the swimming pool, so different from the shady alberca (small reservoir), an essential element for irrigation and

fresh water supply.

In the next and last heading, we are going to present the elements that are governing these changes and their entailed conflicts, as well as some possible scope limits for these transformations.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: HARMONIZATION AND CONFLICTS

Whether they come from Frankfurt or from some district of Málaga, the new inhabitants of La Axarquía are attracted by the same factor: “environmental quality”, presented in heading III1.

We can make an analogy between Dematteis and Governa's (2006) concept of “land capital” and La Axarquía's answer capacity to meet new spatial behaviour requirements of its population.

The first element, what Dematteis and Governa (2006) define as “stable capital accumulated in infrastructures and equipment”, appears in the foregoing insertion within the metropolitan area/Costa del Sol conurbation encouraged by the mentioned new infrastructures.

Within the supra-county context, the elements that these authors called as “conditions and renewable and non-renewable natural resources” and “material and immaterial historical patrimony” refer to the landscape factor, a landscape with a higher number of traditional rural elements than in Western Costa del Sol, a landscape that has become the differentiating element of La Axarquía, within the context of Costa del Sol.

If this premise is accepted, the key factors in change process are landowners attitude and urban development planning, because landscape management and dispersed settlement diffusion depend from them. They are, then, the factors governing changes. In this sense, some other elements mentioned by Dematteis and Governa help us to arrange the analysis. In reference to local cognitive capital, the stormy relationship between tacit and explicit, formal and informal knowledge is in the case of La Axarquía

very difficult to value. 2001 Census data teach us that formal training and professional qualification are not well spread. However, this scarce qualification level goes with a large efficiency in hostelry services, as shown by visitors satisfaction (gathered by Luque and Galacho from the Report drawn by the Government of Málaga in 2004): landscape and inhabitants attitude are highly valued, not just in relation to client care and treatment, but quality/price relation is also assessed, which implies an adequate hostelry “know-how”.

There is, then, another element of the social capital, studied by Mérida and Natera (2007), which reveals the very favourable attitude of local inhabitants with respect to housing and new occupants. This behaviour has two components: one, the preference for the home-town where they carry a more peaceful life; second, the identification of tourism and construction as the activities with better perspectives when they are asked about development proposals. They are determined to give facilities to the construction sector and therefore, both social actors and survey subjects think positively about foreigners purchasing properties. Since smallholding and property diffusion (two features that still exist according to 1999 Farming Census data) enable selling a part of the property while maintaining the remainder, both elements are compatible. Thus, another handicap for county development (lack of popular initiatives) is solved and although most survey subjects trusted inhabitants to create wealth for the village, there is also a relevant group of people who trusts external investors (particularly in hinterland municipalities). It implied the perpetuation of their dependence on the outside, a situation existing since the 14th century.

The land capital element that Dematteis and Governa state as “Institutional capacity, understood as the institutions (Town Council, rural development groups, provincial, regional or state administration representatives) competence to act” is present in urban development planning. The conversion of land residential occupancy into a resource implies an ownership transfer (social capital) and its legal regulation by urban development planning (institutional capacity). However, the legal regulation that ought to have caused it is conspicuously absent. According to Galacho and Luque (2007) urban development diffusion on the coast and hinterland took place through a model of uses replacement or superposition and not through a compatibility model. In La Axarquía and in the whole province of Málaga, local building permits have been granted many times to erect farming tools huts, and almost always without any town council urban services or utilities development (a question specially serious with respect

to water sewage and treatment), against legal provisions of Directive 91/271. It is the neighbours and residents who look after the maintenance of the old bridle paths, an expensive task because of their vulnerability before strong Mediterranean rains.

We could raise the paradox that opposes the maintenance of “land capital” original values as attraction elements to their decay or loss precisely because of the demand generated by their attraction; however, as pointed out by Luque and Galacho (2007), urban development diffusion has not translated, at least in 2003, in a reduction of tourist satisfaction.

At this analysis, it could be thought that social harmonisation exists on these social-spatial changes, however, the entry of urban uses in rural environments brings the following set of conflicts that are threatening the continuity of this new model.

A first conflict springs from the consequences of present inefficient management of urban planning, because in every new planning the conservation of present landscape and cultural values-generating agrarian uses is in danger. In this context, the *saltus* spaces are the only ones that consolidate their use because they are safeguarded under the Natural Park declaration, although any dispersed urban development may start at its border (see figure 3). The conflict does not have an easy solution, as deduced from the disputes between local social capital and regional administration. When the regional authorities attempted to re-direct this anarchic urban proliferation, they found themselves before the almost total resistance of local authorities and their populations.

A second conflict, also pointed out by Galacho and Luque (2007), grows from the unsustainability of land use practices derived from dispersed settlement: water consumption has shot up, a badly-solved sewage network is polluting the few and seasonal rivers and flows onto the sea; commuting traffic from and to residential and work and leisure zones jams highways in peak hours and increases “greenhouse” effects. It is clear that this occupation means has not the same abiotic assimilation capacity than traditional dispersed settlement.

A third conflict lays on the relations among the following aspects: sustainability, aesthetic values, profitability and European Union agrarian policies. According to works by Blanco and Larrubia and by Ocaña, Gómez and Blanco (2004), profitable crops are not always characterised by their aesthetic and environmental values: while sub-tropical fruit crops help to colour the schist hills of Montes de Málaga and of

Piedemonte Alpujárride, greenhouse crops are linked to a negative environmental value. On the other hand, micro-landplots are linked to crop diversity (mosaics of dry-farming fruit trees, olive trees and vines) and to *ager* disarray as shown by the partial abandonment of hill exploitations and the presence of dispersed spots of thickets and *Quercus*, as well as the checkerboard-like land division of the Corredor de Colmenar are elements with a high aesthetic value, together with the negative exploitation margins. From the environmental point of view, both the profitable option when carried out in levelled terraces, that is, breaking up the slope without any protection, and the non-profitable option carried out on schist hills without any traditional levelled terraces, imply strong erosive processes and their survival is difficult within the framework of eco-conditioned agrarian policies. Therefore, in La Axarquía, resident-valued “environmental quality” does not agree with the “environmental quality” of experts.

Text chart 3

When not everybody progresses

The decade of the '80s was very hard on Mr. Juan and Mrs. María's family. Their little house, with the other few houses that remained on the first beach line, in the middle of the now boisterous tourist city, was tiny among the towers that surrounded it. Middlemen came soon to talk to them. They wanted to exchange it for an apartment in the new ten-floor building that was to be erected in such a succulent empty area. They accepted the offer, but there was a trick: they ought to pay for the mortgage. In short, they were cheated. Therefore, they had to pay once again for the home they had worked so hard for. Moreover, the new fishing regulations (two of their sons were also fishermen) translated in strict restrictions of young catches. The former economic solvency was lost, and they quitted this occupation that, at first, was the only that bounded them to their home on the beach. Mr. Juan and Mrs. María are retired and they now watch the sea from their apartment. The Mediterranean Sea that is as hazardous as it was for Ulysses.

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