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TECHNICAL INFORMATION

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SECOND HOME OWNERS AS TOURISM TREND-SETTERS: A CASE OF RESIDENTIAL TOURISTS IN GRAN CANARIA

Olga Hannonen[1]

ABSTRACT

This study examines German-speaking second home owners on Gran Canaria, Spain as an example of one of the growing groups of non-conventional tourists. International second home ownership has been increasing rapidly over the last decades with Spain and particularly the Canary Islands being a hot spot for residential tourism. Despite the maturity of the destination, there are few studies on second home tourists on the Canary Islands. Moreover, while second home tourism, including its international forms, has been present as a distinct type of tourism, academic attention has not sufficiently compared and counterposed mass and residential tourism. The aim of this paper is to investigate distinctions between second home and mass tourists to define the features of non-conventional travellers in light of the contemporary growth of alternative ways to engage in recreation. This paper argues that second home tourism reflects the emerging tourism trends of "home stay tourism" and "living like a local" that will reshape the nature of mass tourism as well as receiving destinations. In order to understand the features of rapidly growing alternative or non-mass tourists, this paper examines the experiences of German-speaking second home owners on Gran Canaria. The results reveal a number of distinctive features that collectively help to understand contemporary non-conventional tourists.

Keywords: Second Home, Residential Tourism, Mobility, Gran Canaria.

JEL Classification: L83, Z32, Z39.

1. INTRODUCTION

International second home ownership and residential mobility have grown rapidly since the 1980s. Socio-political factors like globalisation, individualisation, increased international experiences and mobility, ease of movement, the digitalisation of real estate, flexibility of working lives and increases in global relative wealth (Müller, 1999; Gustafson, 2009; O'Reilly & Benson, 2009) are often mentioned among the main reasons for growth. Driven primarily by climatic reasons and lower costs of living, many individuals have permanently or semi-permanently, moved to Mediterranean and Atlantic islands and coastal regions (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004). Academics have written extensively on such residential mobility from northern European countries to southern Europe (see, among others, Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas & Rojo, 1998; O'Reilly, 2000, 2007; Gustafson, 2002, 2009; Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Breuer, 2005; O'Reilly & Benson, 2009; Åkerlund, 2013). These studies focus on the issues of motivations, socio-demographic characteristics, visitation patterns, activities, integration, and production of lifestyle mobilities, social distinction of residential tourists and their spatial distribution, as well as the categorisation and conceptualisation of the phenomenon of lifestyle migration.

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Spain is the most popular country in Europe due to its warm climate, developed tourism infrastructure and lower cost of living. A significant number of foreign property owners are found on the Costa del Sol, Costa Blanca, and the Canary and Balearic Islands (Gustafson, 2008). While some migrate permanently, others perform seasonal or temporary movements between their home and Spanish residences. This article focuses on the latter category – residential tourists or second home owners - by examining German-speaking property owners on the island of Gran Canaria, Spain.

The Canary Islands became a tourist destination in the 1960s. The islands have the longest history of retirement settlements in Europe. They are a popular location for both mass and residential tourism (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Garín-Muñoz, 2007; Gran Canaria Patronato de Turismo, 2017, 2018; ISTAC, 2017). Breuer (2005: 319) explains the popularity of the Canary Islands by their special status: "The subtropical climate of the Canaries cannot be found on the South European mainland nor on the islands of the Mediterranean. Senior residents find the frost-free mild winters particularly attractive, with their average temperatures of at least 15°C, in the coastal regions close to the ocean." Thus, the Canaries occupy a special place not just within the European context, but also within the Spanish context.

The number of tourist arrivals has been increasing on the Canary Islands. The share of tourists who stay in their own accommodation on Gran Canaria has grown significantly from 2% in 2015 to 10% in 2017 (Gran Canaria Patronato de Turismo, 2017b, 2018). In absolute numbers this means up to half a million visitors. Yet these second home owners are largely neglected by local tourism development strategies (Gran Canaria Patronato de Turismo, 2017a).

Additionally, despite the maturity of the destination, studies on residential tourists on the Canary Islands are few in number. They include a qualitative study of Swedish retirement migrants (Gustafson, 2002, 2009) and a quantitative study of German residents on the islands (Breuer, 2005). These two studies, as well as the present paper, discuss the motivations, activities, behaviours, mobility patterns, and expectations of residential tourists. The focus here is specifically on the contradistinction of German-speaking property owners in relation to mass tourists.

Large-scale tourism has taken an increasing share of the global tourist market since the 1970s. This development has been almost universally criticised through, among others, the development of alternative forms of tourism in reaction to mass tourism (Harrison, 2012). While second home tourism, including its international forms, has been practiced as a marginal type of tourism, academic attention has not sufficiently compared nor counterposed forms of mass and residential tourism. It goes without saying that the number of international mass tourists is on the rise. However, alongside mass tourism the commercialisation of homes for tourism purposes in the form of home stays has spiked during the last decade. This paper argues that second home tourism reflects the emerging tourism trends of "home stay tourism" and "living like a local" that will reshape both the nature of mass tourism and receiving destinations (Guttentag, 2015). In order to understand the features of rapidly growing alternative or non-mass tourists, this article examines the experiences of German-speaking second home owners on Gran Canaria. In particular, it focuses on the motivations, self-identifications, perceptions, attitudes and activities of residential tourists.

2. A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Numerous studies examining residential mobility from northern European countries towards southern Europe have created an abundance of terminology and great confusion in defining, classifying and conceptualising such movement. While some authors use certain terms interchangeably without significant distinction, others attempt to explain the logic behind specific vocabulary alternatives.

Terminological choice is often contextual and subjected to a particular pattern of residence (residents vs tourists), the mobility in question (migration vs tourism) and self-identification of residential tourists. Among others, O'Reilly (2000) distinguishes between the following categories of north-to-south movers: *full residents* (permanent residents in Spain who do not consider ever returning to their previous home country); *returning residents* (mainly retired, registered as legal residents who live in their southern destination most of the time, but spend a few months in their country of origin); *seasonal visitors* (visitors during the winter months, not officially registered); and, *peripatetic visitors (*second home owners who visit more or less regularly) (see also Gustafson, 2008). These categories are neither mutually exclusive nor fully inclusive. If one would add ownership as a classification variable, the number of categories would significantly increase.

In addition to the ambiguous classification of residential tourists, the conceptualisation of the phenomenon has also led to academic pluralism. O'Reilly and Benson (2009: 2) argue that umbrella concepts, such as retirement migration, leisure migration, (international) counter urbanisation, second home ownership, amenity-seeking and seasonal migration, fail to address the full complexity of a wider phenomenon. Thus, they introduce *lifestyle migration* as a conceptual framework "to examine both the similarities and differences within this growing trend as well as to begin to draw attention to its location in wider structural and historical forces and its local and global impacts." They define lifestyle migration as "the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life" (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009: 2). Such a concept is indeed broad enough to encompass a wide variety of movements. Huete, Mantecón and Estévez (2013: 331) argue that "the term 'lifestyle migration' has proved to be too imprecise, since it does not determine clearly which variables characterise the lifestyle migrants."

Hall and Müller (2018: 4), on the contrary, suggest that second home tourism is an umbrella concept, and other terminology, such as lifestyle mobility, lifestyle migration, heterolocal lifestyles, multi-local living, multiple dwelling, and residential tourism, refer to "roughly the same phenomenon." They point out that the term "residential tourism" is often used in southern locations and refers to seasonal mobility "bringing retired North Europeans and North Americans to destinations with more pleasant climatic conditions." In addition, O'Reilly (2007) notes that the term concerns property ownership and short-term residence. Moreover, the wording "residential tourist" is often used by estate agents, council officials, the Spanish tourist board, local newspapers and some Spanish academics (O'Reilly, 2007). Contrasting other second home research, residential tourism addresses urban apartments rather than rural cottages, which dominate in many other parts of the world (Hall & Müller, 2018: 4). The north-to-south dimension, Spanish context and types of recreational residences (apartments) constitute the case here. The term residential tourism "aims at highlighting the blurring of boundaries between primary and secondary homes and home and away" (Hall & Müller, 2018: 9). Following Hall and Müller's (2018) categorisation, second home tourism/ mobility and residential tourism/mobility are the main terms employed in this paper to define ownership-related mobilities of German-speaking individuals on Gran Canaria.

3. RESIDENTIAL TOURISM AND SECOND HOME OWNERSHIP

Second home tourism has always been considered as a minor form of tourism. Located at the margins of the tourism discipline, second home owners were not fully accepted as tourists due to the recurring character of their trips, use of a second home as a primary residence, and developed emotional meanings and attachments to a second home (Jaakson, 1986; Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998; Hall & Müller, 2004). Second homes represent “a search for more flexible lifestyle” and “an escape from certain aspects of modern life” (Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998: 133).

Simultaneously, tourism and the tourism industry have undergone significant changes that are linked to wider individual lifestyle choices. As Gustafson (2002: 899) points out: “In today’s world, people sometimes move around in ways that question traditional identifications and categorizations based on, for example, tourists and tourism.” With the growth of the sharing economy and alternative ways to work and travel, contemporary tourists are increasingly interested in “being at home” and “going local” while travelling to various destinations. Second home tourism has been on the forefront of these changes providing ways to engage in recreation activity that contrasts mass tourism.

The growth of second home tourism is linked to a number of social transformations over the last 50-60 years (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009). Increased mobility and ease of movement due to a change in the mobility regime in Europe is one of the most significant transformations. In his study on German second home owners in the Swedish countryside, Müller (1999: 39) states that given the European Unions de-emphasis on internal borders, “the location abroad should not play any significant role”. The process of European integration has indeed had an impact on the proliferation of second home tourism (Hannonen, 2016), and “the establishment of the European Union can be read as an institutional symbol for the ongoing internationalization” (Müller, 1999: 40).

The increased connectivity between places mostly due to the growth of budget airlines has profoundly modified tourism consumption: “mass tourism has ceased to be confined to a radius of a few hundred kilometres around the areas of departure. Many people in Northern Europe have winter vacations in the Canary Islands, Costa del Sol, Majorca, Morocco, Tunisia, Greece, or Cyprus” (Claval, 2013: 318). Second home owners utilise these affordable routes to the south of Spain and the Canary Islands, which provide easy access to their foreign home (Casado-Diaz et al., 2004). Among other significant factors inducing international mobility are the proliferation of information on the Internet, the digitalisation of real estate, as well transnationally operating estate agencies that make information about foreign housing markets more readily available (Gustafson, 2009: 69).

Second home tourists are “former mass tourists” who return to the same location. Repetitive visits are a sign of high loyalty to the destination (Hannonen, 2016). Permanent attachment to a place abroad through a second home and recurring visits differentiates attitudes towards the second home area, consumption patterns and behaviours from mass tourists at the same destination. Concerning German tourists in Spain, habit persistence is one of the main features explaining their ongoing demand for tourism (Garín-Muñoz, 2007). As the present study confirms in section 5.1, previous visits and positive experiences are among the main factors in destination choice.

Although second home tourism constitutes a minor share in the spectrum of tourism types, it has experienced significant international growth in Europe during the last decades. Some evidence from the most favoured destination regions and social security administrations in northern countries confirms this growth (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004). Older adults are becoming more and more active travellers, and form the largest group of international second home owners. According to six surveys conducted with northern European seasonal residents in nine southern European areas, the average age of respondents was 66.5 years (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004). While some of the surveys specifically targeted individuals of older age (e.g. Breuer, 2005), empirical investigations in this study confirm this age interrelation with second home ownership (see Table 1 in section 4).

Among the most common motives for residential tourism are climate and other environmental factors, health reasons, lifestyle, cost of living and other lifestyle related advantages (Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas & Rojo, 1998; Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004). When studying German seasonal residents on the Canary Islands, Breuer (2005: 325) defines the following key motives for coming to Gran Canaria: climate (85.6%), health problems (52.5%), easy access by air (40,5%), crucial event in life (22%), cost of living (7%), and children/family (2%). Air connectivity is crucial for the Canary Islands, and has been emphasised in previous tourism studies as an important advantage: "many skilfully obtain very cheap flight tickets on the frequent charter planes" (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004: 366).

Motives for second home ownership are a set of constant needs (Jaakson, 1986; Hall & Müller, 2004; Lipkina, 2013). This standard set of motives acquires specific connotations when applied to certain national groups in distinct second home locations (Lipkina, 2013). Second home purchases by German nationals in Spain contrasts to that of those in Sweden (see studies by Breuer, 2005 and Müller, 1999). Emphasising, for example, climate in the first case and understating it in the latter. Thus, personal reasons also play an important role in choosing a particular destination (Lipkina, 2013). As Müller (1999: 40) accurately states: "The decision to buy a second home abroad depends on individual preferences and ambitions." This is why the nationality of the property owner is not the defining factor in the choice of destination, especially given the freedom of mobility in the EU.

Previous studies on foreign residents in Spain suggest some spatial overlap, but perceptual differentiation between second home owners, mass tourists and locals. While most of the residential tourists settle in or next to mass tourist zones, they remain somewhere 'in-between' tourists and local residents (Gustafson, 2002; Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Breuer, 2005; Åkerlund, 2013). Such spatial distribution of residential tourists has been observed in an earlier study on German residents on the Canary Islands: "the German senior residents are concentrated in those coastal areas of the Canary Islands which are also preferred by international tourism" (Breuer, 2005: 317). Casado-Diaz, Kaiser and Warnes (2004: 355) explain this settlement pattern by "the importance of previous holidays in the destination area as a conditioning pathway." Nevertheless, despite their close spatial proximity, the two groups of tourists remain rather separated. Gustafson (2002: 902), in his study on Swedish retirees in Spain, notes that "[i]n their everyday life in Spain, they [Swedish retirees – O.H.] do not unequivocally belong either to the local Spanish community or to the tourism community." Breuer (2005) supports this assumption and concludes that second home ownership is a phenomenon of its own, not a stage between mass tourism and permanent relocation or migration.

Residential tourists express a rather clear distinction from mass tourists through their visitation patterns, activities, service use, as well as through direct differentiation and even "rejection of the label 'tourist'" (Huete, Mantecón & Estévez, 2013: 334). Gustafson (2002) documents somewhat critical attitudes towards mass tourists by foreign retirees. Among the most common concerns are the inability of mass tourists to discover the "real" place and immerse themselves in the culture due to the limited time of their visits. This partly explains the rise of the "home stay tourism" and "living like a local" trends in tourism, which aim at moving beyond surface experiences of a destination. While residing alongside mass tourists, second home owners tend to use different services and go to alternative locations (Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas & Rojo, 1998; Gustafson, 2002). As Gustafson (2002:

906) summarises: "Visits to "touristy" settings highly increase the risk of being so defined; the respondents described their avoiding such places and instead searching for genuine Spanish settings unaffected by the industry." Moreover, residential tourists replicate their everyday routines during their stay in second homes. They are active users of local services, markets and grocery stores.

4. METHODOLOGY

Most of the studies on north-to-south residential tourism are conducted either by northern European investigators, so called "sending" countries or local researchers from "receiving" countries (Gustafson, 2008: 473). Such differentiation often reflects "the bias of national research funding bodies" rather than the investigator's interest (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004: 355). To overcome this feature Gustafson (2008: 473) suggests a methodological turn that would systematically integrate "sending and receiving society perspectives and scholars." This study conforms to this suggestion and overcomes previous methodological approaches by combining both local and foreign perspectives. The project on residential tourists on Gran Canaria is carried out in cooperation with a local researcher, Dr. Teresa Aguiar Quintana from the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, while the author comes from the University of Eastern Finland. Needless to say that both researchers have somewhat of an outsider's perspective on the phenomenon, as they do not have any links to German-speaking countries, nationals or language. This provides an objective perspective on the phenomenon, while it also poses certain challenges in conducting fieldwork.

The main methodological challenge in conducting research with foreign second home tourists is accessing them. As many researchers studying lifestyle migration and residential tourism have noted, specifically in the Spanish, the exact numbers of second home owners are difficult to grasp (Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas and Rojo, 1998; O'Reilly, 2000; Gustafson, 2002, 2008). Owners usually have residences in their home country and in Spain, between which they move in a highly flexible manner. Most of them, and in this case as well, do not apply for residence permits, thus they are invisible in Spanish population statistics. While a previous study on German residents on the Canary Islands provides some approximate numbers of residential tourists based on an estimation from the German consulate (Breuer, 2005), in this study the consulate refused to make even a rough guess, except for the official number of residents. The number of permanent German residents on Gran Canaria has decreased from 9358 individuals in 2010 to 5967 in 2017. The number of other German-speaking nationals, Austrians and Swiss, is even less, and the exact numbers are not reflected in the official statistics.

The main selection criteria in this study was to target German nationals who own property on Gran Canaria, but who do not reside there permanently. Applying the snowball technique to recruit respondents for interviews, some of the suggested respondents turned out to be Austrian and Swiss nationals. This is the result of language affiliation rather than national bonding. Previous studies have demonstrated that German nationals avoid national associations, such as societies, clubs etc, but have more private intra-national social contacts (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Breuer, 2005). This makes it difficult to gain access to second home owners, even when applying the snowball technique. For this reason, information about the research has been published in the local German language magazine "Viva Canarias", and some of the respondents were recruited with the help of the editor. Information about the research was also shared through the German Consulate in Las Palmas. Leaflets in English and German were distributed in restaurants, German bakeries and beauty salons. Other ways of finding second home owners included the utilisation of local contacts – hotel managers, restaurant owners, a car mechanic, and even by stopping foreigners on the street. Local contacts, however, proved to be the least useful channel of recruiting respondents. This demonstrates that despite the high amount of foreign owners on Gran Canaria, local and foreign populations do not socialise much with each other.

The Canary Islands' retirement settlement has the longest history in Europe along with Tuscany and Malta. Inhabitants aged 75 years or more account for approximately 30% of the European retirees (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004). This age group is, however, a limitation of this study as some senior second home owners could not be reached due to the issue of a language barrier. Many of the respondents expressed this concern, emphasising that other older German-speaking couples do not necessarily speak English and consequently they could not recommend them for an interview.

The interviews were conducted in the spring of 2017 and 2018. The data collection is still in progress, but to date 14 interviews have been conducted. In five cases respondents have moved to their properties permanently. To meet the aim of this paper permanent residents are excluded from the analysis. The eligible respondents consist of five couples and three females (Table 1). The interviews were conducted in English with German-speaking property owners in St. Augustin and Maspalomas in the municipality of St. Bartolome de Tirajana on the island of Gran Canaria. The names of the respondents have been removed to preserve anonymity.

Table 1. Background information on respondents

PARTICIPANT #	GENDER	AGE	OCCUPATION	HOME CITY	HOUSEHOLD INCOME PER MONTH	YEAR OF PURCHASE
1	M; F	75; 70	Pensioners	Hanover, Germany	2-4.000€	1981
2	F	76	Pensioner	Düsseldorf, Germany	2-4.000€	1997
3	F	53	Business owner	Cologne, Germany	4-6.000€	2007
4	M; F	65; 65	Investor, pensioner	Vienna, Austria	4-6.000€	2010
5	M; F	69; 65	Pensioners	Vienna, Austria	6-8.000€	2006
6	M; F	71; 70	Entrepreneur, housewife	Bern, Switzerland	6-8.000€	2002
7	M; F	64; 59	Pharmacy employees	Hannover, Germany	6-8.000€	2010
8	F	77	Pensioner	Nuremberg, Germany	2-4.000€	1987

Source: Own Elaboration

The interview guide included the following sections: the process of property purchase, travel between the two homes, use of services, integration into the local community, sustainable life, and background information. The interviews have been analysed thematically, focusing on the answers to the questions below concerning motivations for second home purchase, expectations, activities, positive and negative changes, and integration.

5. SECOND HOME OWNERS ON GRAN CANARIA

5.1 Motives and expectations

Coming first as tourists to Gran Canaria, second home owners employ rather 'touristic' motives for their property purchases. Motivations bridge the categories of mass tourists and second home owners. When asked about their decision to buy property on Gran Canaria, and in their specific region, the respondents repeatedly provided the following answers: "Nice weather, best climate" (#3), "weather, people" (#1 and #7), "oh, why… because it is nice weather in winter" (#2), "because we like it here, the weather, the sun, the sea" (#5).

Climate is the main reason that Gran Canaria continues to attract new second home owners. It is a constant that spans the different time periods of second home purchases (see Table 1). It is also a defining factor in differentiating between Gran Canaria and other south European locations for possible second home location:

> "We realised in winter it's [south of France – O.H.] not good enough. And then we thought the best thing to do is to go further south, and this is the most southern point of the European Union. So, we're kind of having home here as well. What we do like here is the beautiful weather, very nice people, very, very nice people, and on top for us is the democracy you get" (#4).
>
> "The climate is better, in winter it can be in Costa Blanca frio [meaning cold – O.H.]. You don't have to heat the apartments" (#1).
>
> "In winter it's much better here. In central Europe it's not possible in winter to go on vacation, only if you go skiing" (#5).

In relation to climate and warm weather, other additional benefits, such as good connectivity and a seaside location, were often mentioned:

> "We wanted to be in a warm place and near the sea" (#3).
>
> "It is the best weather here and it takes only three hours by plane, so it is quite close" (#2).

Surprisingly enough, health reasons or health problems that are the second most popular motive for residential tourism in Spain (Casado-Diaz et al., 2004; Breuer, 2005) were not mentioned by any of the respondents. Another peculiar feature in this case study is the freedom or flexibility that second home ownership is connected to. While previous studies pay little attention to this motive, it is a significant aspect of this case. The flexibility was one of the reasons the respondents preferred ownership over renting:

> "We can put our things in here. And we decide it very shortly: on Monday we say and next Sunday we go to Gran Canaria. This is only possible if you have a property" (#5).
>
> "We wanted to be independent on the dates when coming and leaving" (#4).

Individual preferences and ambitions play important roles in residential tourism (Müller, 1999). They depend on personal experiences and values that do not have a shared national or cultural stance. For example, an Austrian couple (#4) had a very peculiar reason for site selection for their second home on Gran Canaria:

> "We chose this island because of the capital. We always lived in big capitals […] we were afraid that if you go to Tenerife or something like that, we will not have

> a big city to go for concerts and something like that. Las Palmas is about 400 000 people and it's one of the main things."

Another couple (#1) expressed a rather affectionate reason behind their choice, which is also very personal: "We have travelled to Thailand, to many places, but we fell in love with Gran Canaria" (#1).

Asking about expectations is another way that helps to differentiate second home owners from other tourists. However, answers to the questions "What are you waiting for when you travel here?", "What are your expectations when you come here?", and "What is the best and most important part of being in your Gran Canarian home?" all bring us back to the "sun and sea" connotation:

> "Climate, people, walking, restaurants, relaxing atmosphere because of local people's character" (#1).
>
> "Well, it is safe … the weather, the sea, it is safe, climate … climate mostly" (#2).
>
> "The sun, the weather […] The weather will be good, people will be nice, they are always friendly. In Austria, when the weather is cold, people are not so nice. Here people are greeting on the street, they are very friendly, I like it" (#5).
>
> "To run away from the winter" (#4).

In addition to expectations of good weather, the answers also emphasise the cultural side of visits – local people – as an important expectation and motive. This is something that mass tourists lack (Gustafson, 2002) but which second home owners take advantage of.

5.2 Tourists or locals?

The aim of this paper is to compare and counterpose mass and residential tourists. Thus, one of the key questions concerning the dissociation of second home owners from mass tourists addressed their own perceptions. Unlike other studies that completely reject the categorisation of second home owners as tourists (Gustafson, 2002; Huete et al., 2013), the results of this study reveal mixed perceptions. We asked: "How do you perceive yourself on Gran Canaria, are you tourists or locals?"

> "As locals" (#3).
>
> "I perceive myself as part of the local community in Gran Canaria" (#1).
>
> "I think local." Later in the conversation, she gave a more explicit statement: "I am not a tourist; I have my own house here" (#2).
>
> "We are more tourist, of course" (#5).
>
> "I don't feel like a tourist, it is like my second home" (#8).

The answers contain both sides of the local-tourist nexus, including the 'in-between' option. In one case (#7) spouses self-identified differently, one as a local and the other as a tourist. It is important to note that self-categorisation as a local or a tourist is not dependent on the length of second home ownership. For example, respondents #3 and #5 purchased their properties one year apart (Table 1), but have opposite perceptions.

The following example shows that self-identification as a tourist or a local does not depend on property ownership nor the length of ownership, but on rather universal criterion:

> Author: How do you perceive yourself in Gran Canaria, are you tourists or locals?
> Respondent: "Neither, nor". (#4)
> Author: You don't feel like tourists here?
> Respondent: "No, we don't. We feel at home within the European Union. We would be tourists if Spain was not a member of the European Union. Thank God it is, then we feel at home". (#4)

Personal perceptions along with motivations and expectations do not provide strict or definite differentiations between mass and residential tourists. There are, however, numerous points in interviews, such as "We want to sleep in our own beds" (#4, also #6) or "we are like at home […] we come home" (#6), that indicate a rather clear distinction of second home owners from mass tourists.

Respondents also shared their own understandings of how they differ from mass tourists:

> "They [tourism business – O.H.] don't have to pay for us, for advertisement, to motivate us to come. Because the tourist office, they have a budget for advertisement […] But we are coming for five months every year, we have convinced ourselves. We don't cost the country any money" (#4).

In addition and similar to findings in other studies, residential tourists tend to choose alternative sites for recreation (Rodríguez et al., 1998; Gustafson, 2002):

> Author: Do you visit natural sights, for example, Roque Nublo?
> Respondent: "No, too many tourists. If we do sights, we usually go to smaller cities, Arucas, Teror…". (#4)

Thus, spatial distinction between mass and second home tourists is also present in this research case.

5.3 Second home owners vs tourists

One of the most vivid distinctions between second home owners and mass tourists is their visitation patterns. While the present sample allows for only modest generalisations, the difference in frequency and length of stay is obvious. In contrast to mass tourists, who stay an average of 7.87 days on Gran Canaria (Gran Canaria Patronato de Turismo, 2018), second home owners represent a different dynamic. Respondents provided explicit descriptions of their visitation patterns that indicate both repetitiveness, longer stays and high flexibility: "Two times a year. In winter eleven weeks (from October to January), then go to Germany for four weeks and come back to Gran Canaria for eight more weeks until the end of March" (#1).

This couple (#1) does not have children or family to take care of in Germany, but they go back for some compulsory things like, for example, to clean and maintain their house. Another respondent (#8) mentioned even shorter visits: "Two or three weeks two times a year, in spring and winter," explaining her visits by a busy life back home. Other examples of flexible visitation patterns include:

> "I am not here during the whole winter, one month, eight weeks, sometimes twelve weeks, just how I like it. Three-four times a year. Maybe in winter it is two months, sometimes I come only for two weeks, it depends, you know, just how I like it. No plan." She continued that, "sometimes I come with my grandchildren in August, when they are on holiday" (#2).

> "Two or three months, for two or three weeks, sometimes four weeks. We are free now, we don't work. Last year we have been here in October. Sometimes I came for one week, then came my husband, we stayed together two weeks, then I went home and he stayed two weeks more. Five-six months altogether in one year" (#5).

There is a strong seasonality to visits, but they are personally crafted to meet the needs and desires of second home owners. Only a few respondents stay the entire winter, while the majority make shorter visits throughout the year.

5.4 Activities, plans and relationships with the place

Second home owners resemble 'slow' tourists in terms of their pace of life on Gran Canaria. They are not pressed for time while in their second homes, and take time to engage in various activities. We asked: "What do you normally do here? What kind of activities do you prefer?"

> "Well, it depends, if it is very hot I prefer to stay here [on the patio outside the apartment block – O.H.], and if there is not much sun, last week I went to Mogan. Very nice from Puerto Rico by ship to Mogan. I left my car in Puerto Rico and took a small boat to Mogan to have coffee there, just like that. You can do quite a lot of things in here, more than in Germany, because you have always difficulty with the weather" (#2).

> "Very lazy, three hours in the sun, we make a trip or go shopping. We get up late" (#5).

> "Here I have time to work with my hands also. [...] Here I have the possibility to cook. In Switzerland the kitchen is hers [...] but here it is allowed" (#6).

The answers demonstrate different activities in first and second homes. Relaxation, which is a 'touristic' motive, is an important part of second home owners' daily routines. A second home is a place for vacation-like lifestyles.

The future plans of second home owners are ambiguous. Some of the respondents would like to retire to their Gran Canarian home, while others do not have clear plans. It is important to note that most of the respondents have already reached the retirement age, but they keep on moving back and forth between their first and second homes. This questions the idea of plans to move permanently to a second home as it is unclear when individuals see themselves as retired. Regarding future plans, the following questions were asked: "What are your future plans? Would you like to move permanently to your Gran Canarian home? Why?"

> "Yes, we want to stay in Gran Canaria" (#1).

> "Permanently, not. If we are so old that we cannot fly, we sell it. Kids are not interested, they have their own lives" (#5).

> "We want to spend six months in the future" (#7).

A permanent move involves some degree of uncertainty for second home owners. After residing on Gran Canaria for many years, they are still strangers to the local system and society:

> "I thought about it [retirement in Gran Canaria – O.H.] several times... [...] I thought about this because taxes are much lower here […]. If we move here and become permanent and pay taxes, then we lose our medical insurance in Vienna, and we don't know how it works here. First, we paid it all the way there, and then we cannot just move here" (#4).

It is interesting to note that second homes on Gran Canaria have a generational connotation. Only a few respondents mentioned that their children will take over their properties – mostly those, who are approaching the retirement age themselves, while most of the respondents do not have anyone to pass on their property to.

Regardless of future plans in relation to their recreational residence on Gran Canaria, second home owners have formed a special relationship with the place. Firstly, they are generally critical of the increasing number of tourists, environmental issues and new developments on the island that are among the consequences of mass tourism.

> "Puerto Rico [a holiday resort in the south-west coast of Gran Canaria – O.H.], I think it changed to the worse, so many houses. Twenty-five years ago there were only some houses, bungalows near the beach, that was all, and the mountains, there was nothing at all. Now it is all built, you don't see anything but houses in Puerto Rico, and I thought it looked much nicer, like a small village" (#2).

Another respondent is also terrified by tourism development in Puerto Rico: "San Agustin, people say, it is for old people, it is calm and for old people. Not nice is Puerto Rico, it is a catastrophe. All the mountains are like a beton [meaning concrete – O.H.], a catastrophe" (#8).

> "Here in San Agustin it is ok, but on Playa de Ingles it is too much. We bought here, not in Playa de Ingles" (#6).

> "I think there is a difference between a tourist and a tourist. Some are only in the hotel, and in the pool, and on the beach. For them, all other is not interesting. […] People, who are going in all-inclusive hotels, they are not interested in other things" (#5).

All-inclusive hotel developments oriented towards mass tourists coming in on packaged tours were criticised by another respondent (#2). She shared her concerns about the damage done to the local community, such as the subsequent closure of local restaurants. Second home owners, on the contrary, are active contributors to the local economy. Through their longer stays, they utilise local services and support local retail businesses.

Secondly, a special relationship with place is also reflected in attitudes towards second homes on the Canary Islands. None of the respondents rent out their property when they are not present. However, a few other users of their second homes include their children and sometimes other relatives or friends.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the distinctions between second home owners and mass tourists to define the features of non-conventional tourists in light of the contemporary growth of alternative ways to engage in travel and recreation. To explain the dissociation of second home owners from mass tourists, the motivations, expectations, self-identification, perceptions and activities of German-speaking residential tourists on Gran Canaria have been analysed. The results reveal a number of distinctive features that collectively help to understand non-conventional tourists.

First, the motivations of second home owners are rather 'touristic'. They come to Gran Canaria for the sun and sea, which are the top motives for mass tourism in Spain (Garín-Muñoz, 2007). The climate and warmer temperatures are a significant factor for choosing Gran Canaria over other destinations in southern Europe or around the world. They provide the possibility for year-round visits with guaranteed good weather. This finding supports earlier studies on residential tourists on Gran Canaria (Gustafson 2002; 2008; Breuer, 2005). However, unlike many other studies on seasonal residents and retirees in southern Europe, the seasonality of visits in this research case is rather fragmented. While the majority of the respondents primarily come in late autumn, winter and early spring, only a few stay uninterruptedly for more than two months in their second home. Another distinct feature from previous studies is health issues, which turned out to be a less important motive for second home ownership on Gran Canaria. The absence of this reference to health and healthy lifestyle might also be a consequence of a rather small study sample.

The destination choice is also determined by good connectivity with mainland Europe, and ease of travel due to EU-internal mobility. Both the connectivity of the destination and property ownership provide high recreational freedom and flexibility for residential tourists. Flexibility and flexible lifestyle as an alternative to commercialised mass tourism (Kaltenborn & Clout, 1998) have not been emphasised in other studies on residential tourists. In this case it came to the forefront of overall motivations. Flexibility differentiates second home owners from mass tourists as it does not appear in the motivations of mass tourists (ISTAC, 2017). It also enables individually crafted holidays that are not dependent on tour packages, accommodation availability and prices.

Second home owners tend to have mixed perceptions of their status, taking the position of 'in-between' locals and tourists. While they reside in developed touristic areas in the south of Gran Canaria, they avoid 'touristic' places and are rather critical of recent tourism developments on the island. Thus, second home owners utilise local rather than touristic services to a greater extent. This 'in-betweeness' is also reflected in the future plans of the respondents as some do not plan to move permanently to their second home, so they will maintain their current position between tourists and locals. The expectations and motivations of second home owners emphasise the importance of local culture and people for second home owners. The lack of deeper knowledge of local realities is in turn a criticism of and differentiation from mass tourists.

Alternative tourism, or anti-tourism, has to some extent been trendy among second home owners for several decades. While performing touristic motivations and behaviours, they tend to distance themselves from mass tourism. This is one of the main features of the contemporary trends of "home stay tourism" and "living like a local". Contemporary non-conventional tourists prefer alternative ways of exploring and experiencing their travel destination. While contemporary non-conventional younger tourists do not actively engage in property ownership, they choose modern alternative accommodation options and this trend may indicate that once they reach retirement age the demand for foreign recreational residences might be even higher than among older adults today. This study with German-speaking owners has demonstrated the diversity of mobility patterns and relationships with second homes on Gran Canaria. The results provide an important explanation of the values and attitudes of such non-mass tourists. This is necessary to understand contemporary tourists and tourism, especially in light of the growing sharing economy and alternative ways of engaging in recreation. However, to fully reveal the extent that growing non-conventional forms of recreation play in relation to tourism, there is a need for more complex research and cross-comparison between alternative forms of tourists and tourism.

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END TO DREAM? BRITISH RETIRED RESIDENTS IN SPAIN AND THEIR RETURN PATTERNS

Jordi Giner-Monfort[1]

ABSTRACT

Academic production on residential tourism and retirement migration historically focus on movements of arrival in receiving countries. This assumes both the uni-directionality of migrations and the importance of analysing immigrations from the host society point of view. Other types of migratory flows or mobility such as re-emigrations, return movements or transnationalism are left aside from the academic agenda. One of the factors that difficult the analysis of issues such as re-emigration or return migration is the arduousness of capturing these movements in migration statistics. Even when we have access to such sources of information, their interpretation must be very prudent, since numbers do not always reflect real migrations. In this paper, we focus our analysis both on the British population living in Spain, their arrivals and, mainly, out-migrations. Moreover, the result of the referendum of 23th May 2016 could be key to understanding future exit movements. We will use the Residential Variation Statistics (RVS) developed by the National Statistics Institute (INE) to try to shed some light on this topic.

Keywords: International Migration, Return Migration, Mobility of Retired Migrants, Immigration Law.

JEL Classification: F22, F29, J69, K37

1. INTRODUCTION

Britons are one of the largest foreign population groups in Spain, just after Moroccans and Romanians. In fact, the Mediterranean coast of Spain is one of the territories with a higher concentration of British citizens apart from the Commonwealth countries (Finch, Andrew & Latorre, 2010; Chislett, 2017). Their presence, mainly on the Mediterranean coasts and islands, dates back to the first years of Francoist regime's opening, first as tourists, and later as residents. Nevertheless, British settlements in Spain date back to the 19th century and even before in some locations (Grayson, 2001). British citizens in Spain usually described as a privileged group in the eyes of the host society, in comparison with immigrants from other nationalities who have arrived with labour or economic motivation (Leonard, 2010; Lundström, 2014). In the end, the society applies privilege schemes in which it does not mean the same arriving as a tourist, an expat or a lifestyle migrant than arriving as a migrant worker. We must add the fact that they are perceived as a whole as coming from a developed country and, therefore, with a higher income level than Spaniards (Nash, 1970). Moreover, the relevance of the "tourist" label that most of the Spanish host society uses for almost every north European settler must be taken into account. The combination of these previous factors is key to understanding the arrival, settlement and social integration of those collectives in the first decade of the 21st century.

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Arrival processes are very well documented on the migration academic literature, but it is not possible to say the same with return processes or other types of migration (King, 1978). First, because these other sides of the migration process are less controlled, both by the Administration and the Academy. For example, while the Spanish administration actively control the numbers, characteristics (and legal situation) of those migrants who arrive, there is a lack of control in the register of out-migration. Second, because most of the migration routes in recent history are from South to North. This affects the analysis of migration processes from the point of view of the sending country, which only recently has started to study these movements. Third, because it is very common to perceive migration as a unidirectional and finalist movement, where subsequent moves are not expected after first settlement.

Return movements are one of the possible scenarios once a migration has been performed (Cerase, 1974; Gmelch, 1980; Cassarino, 2004). In the case of the British citizens in Spain, there has been an academic agreement on the minor importance of the phenomenon. This agreement seems to be based on the fact that most of the migrants are retired and emancipated, thus all their needs are covered and do not depend on a uncertain issue as having a job. Moreover, they usually verbalize their desire to stay in Spain until their last day and show behaviours that might lead to believe that they will (i.e. selling their properties in the home country and buying a new one in the receiving country or establishing solid social networks, as well as importing their pension, etcetera). Despite these facts, from 2012 the number of return movements of British citizens from Spain have increased as seen on the media (Govan, 2014; Robinson, 2017; Zafra, 2018). On the other hand, the result of the referendum of 23th May 2016 could unleash future exit movements. Depending on the type of agreement and to what extent it affects Briton's everyday life, the number of returns could be very significant.

2. METHODS

The first thing every migrant -labour or not- must do when they arrive to Spain is to register in the local *Padrón Municipal* (from now on, the Register), even when they are in an irregular situation. This procedure will give them a minimum bunch of rights, like the access to public health or education services. In fact, everyone who is living in Spain for more than six months need an inscription in the local Register by law. Nevertheless, not everyone who lives in Spain is registered at all. It is well known that under-registration is very common, especially among the European citizens, most notably in the case of Britons (Rodríguez, Lardies & Rodríguez, 2010; Ródenas & Martí, 2016). Amidst the reasons behind the under-registration it is possible to find the desire to retain economic or social advantages, as social benefits or pensions paid in pounds, maintain the legal link with the home country or remain invisible to the host country administration and its regulations. In the end, under-registration affects the host municipality as well as its finances and the public services coverage rate, which depend on the amount of people effectively registered.

The main difficulty is how to reach the real number of residents and returnees. For example, the British Embassy in Spain estimates that the total residents are much higher than the numbers on the Padrón (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006; Rodríguez, Lardiés & Rodríguez, 2010). Of course, the approximation to return movements is affected both by the under-registration and the lack of control on out-migration by the local administration, something that has been solved in the last years with the requirement to confirm residence for those UE citizens without a residence permit. While there is no way to track the movements of British citizens who live under the radar, it is possible to look at those who once were registered. In the last case, they are monitored when performing an internal migration and if they inform the local authorities in Spain, when the movement is towards an international destination.

What it is not possible to analyse is all those external migrations, which were not informed –not only for British citizens, also for the Spaniards who left the country looking for a job. The database *Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales* (Residential Variations Statistics, from now on *RVS*) also look at the migration destinations, crossed by sociodemographic variables as age, sex or nationality. The RVS compile the data on the Register so it is highly reliable for internal migrations and arrivals, but not so trustworthy for out-migrations since it depends on how individuals inform the administration. In any case, the RVS is the best available tool now to monitor migrations towards and from Spain, and the one that collects the higher number of cases.

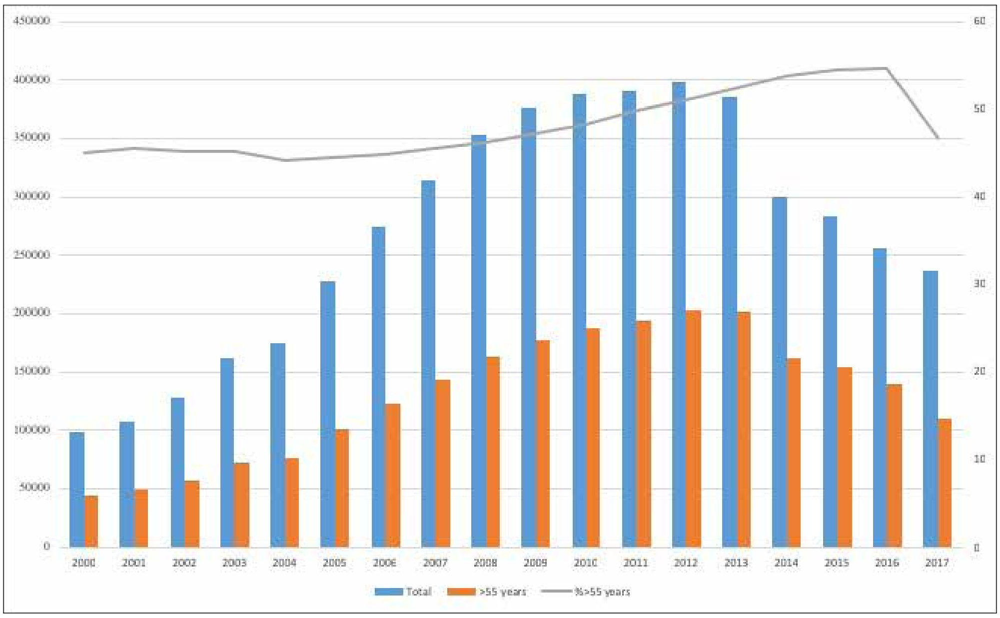
What we try to unveil is the amount of return migration performed by British citizens from Spain in the last years, paying particular attention to the latest available data and trying to establish the profile of the returnee. The update of RVS microdata have a year and a half gap, so that the 2017 microdata are not yet available. These data pretend to be the first to show whether the result of the Brexit referendum has influenced the number of returns from Spain.

3. RESULTS

The number of registered people from the United Kingdom in Spain has been growing from the 1950s. In 2012, it reached its peak number in the midst of the economic crisis: 397,892 British residents registered (Figure 1). From that moment on, however, the number of British residents began to decline, reversing a trend that had been positive historically. The reasons behind this demographic contraction are in the registration system itself, but also in the fact that migrations -mostly international retirement migrations- usually end with a return to the country of origin, as we will try to explain.

Migrations from the United Kingdom are couples over 55 years of age. High average age is a typical factor of these migrations, to the extent that around 50% of the British population in Spain is over 55 years old. They are usually located outside the labour market and settled in new dwellings far from urban centres, usually in newly built housing estates or *urbanizaciones* (Membrado, Huete & Mantecón, 2016). They are generally couples with a medium-high purchasing power, although from the first decade of the 21st century onwards, younger families with a lower purchasing power began to arrive looking for a job. In general is a population with difficulties to learn the language of the host society, in part because there are many facilities to insert themselves into what could be called a vicarious society, making intensive use of ethnocentred services such as bars, pubs, supermarkets, professional services, etcetera (Betty, 1997; O'Reilly, 2000; Simó, Herzog & Fleerackers, 2013; Huete, 2016).

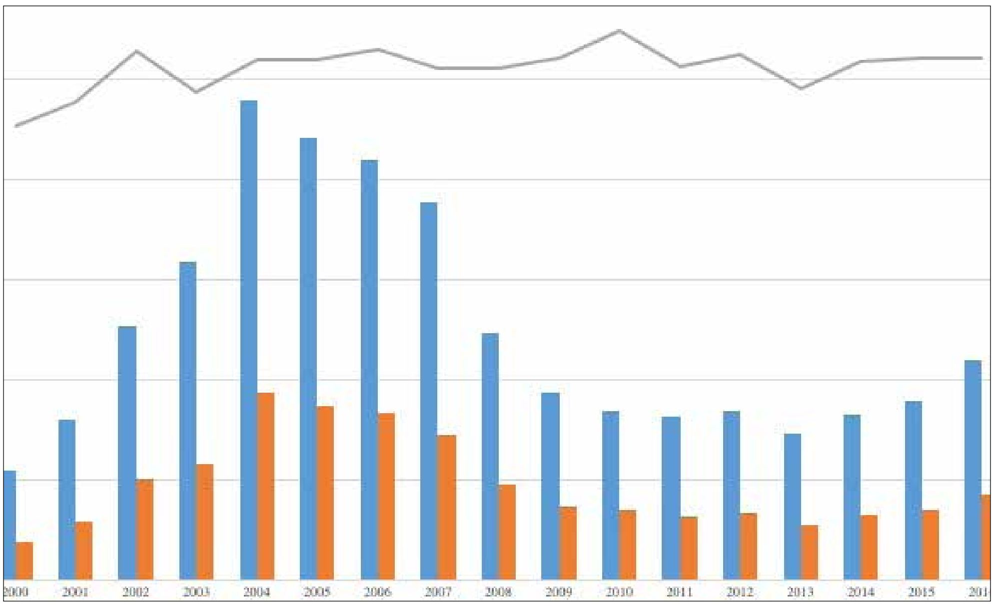
Figure 1. British citizens registered, 2000-2017



Source: Own elaboration from INE, *Continuous Register Statistics* (2018)

These data give us an idea of the importance of the British immigration flow at this time. We fund the reasons for this increase in the progressive liberalisation of movements in the European Union; the income differential with the Spanish population; the position of power of the pound sterling at that time; the sunny climate and the existence of a large holiday housing stock resulting from the housing bubble (Membrado, Huete & Mantecón, 2016). It has to be underlined that the real estate sector has obtained huge benefits with the sales associated with these movements, mainly based on the purchase of newly build houses and properties. We should not forget that in some areas, such as Valencia or Murcia, there have been violations of the town planning laws with the aim of building as many houses as possible, even at the risk of being illegal.

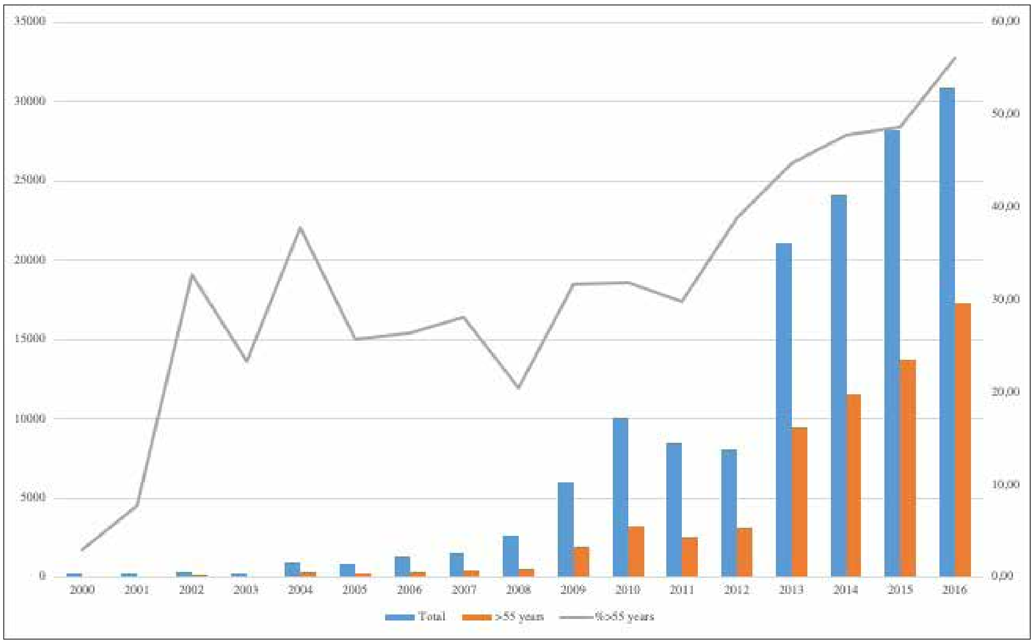
Figure 2. Arrivals of British registered citizens, 2000-2016



Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* (2017)

Thus, before the crisis, immigration flows were predominant. However, as noted before, it is also necessary to analyse emigration movements, both labelled as return and those that fit into other categories (i.e. re-emigrations). We left from our analysis the other types of mobility, such as transnationalism, not covered by official statistics. In the present case, we will first attend to the out-migration movements taken as a whole, that is, without differentiating the destination of the population that declares to leave the country -or in other words, that leaves the Register. Between 2000 and 2016, 145,327 British nationals left the Register, 64,987 of whom were 55 years of age or older (that is, 45%). The out-migration movements are irregular on time, as can be seen in figure 3: on the first period, from year 2000 to 2008, out-migration practically does not exist. From 2009 to 2012, there is a period of moderate out-migrations, around 5,000 to 10,000 each year. Finally, from 2013 to 2016 there is a period characterised by a very high number of registered exits from Spain. 2013, is the first year in which the number of out-migrations are higher than the number of arrivals, a trend that continues in subsequent years despite the increase in arrivals in recent years. It should be noted that the percentage of the population over 55 years in the total' number of departures is rising, which far exceeds its relative weight at the time of arrival. This figure peaks in 2016, with 56% of the population aged 55 and over emigrating from Spain, explained by the fact that people who leave the register do so after a few years of residence. Taking into account that their age of arrival is around 42 to 44 years in the period from 2000 to 2016 that means that their average age of leaving the country will necessarily be higher. More specifically, the average age at the time of departure from Spain, independently of the destination, is between a minimum of 38 in 2008 and a maximum of 54 years in 2016.

Figure 3. Exits of British registered citizens, 2000-2016



Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* (2017)

Part of the registered out-migrations relates to return movements, but another very important part is not linked to them. As we mentioned before, most of the out-migrations have been caused by the purging of the Register established in 2012 via the confirmation of residence. Until that year, no one record the emigration movements if there was not an effective communication from the migrants themselves. The Register database was not updated at that time, since most of the older Britons that have already moved from Spain without noticing the town hall were still inscribed. The arrival movements reflected in the Register since there is an interest in accessing the rights associated with registration. However, no one record the exit from the country for such a long time, so there was a stock of residents who at some point had left Spanish territory but never left the Register. This lack of control was more evident for the EU population. To the contrary, non-EU citizens had more documentary obligations (renewal of permits, confirmation of residence, etcetera), which increased control over their stay in Spain as well as over their movements. But since 2012, every Briton -in fact, every UE citizen- registered in Spain without the permit of residence received a letter urging to confirm the residence at the correspondent town hall's Register. The local registers had three years to update the UE citizens inscription, and that is why exits peak from 2013, most notably those performed by Britons older than 55 years. In the end, the purge has caused a large population loss in some municipalities, mainly in Alicante and Málaga, and a huge decrease on the local finances.

Our hypothesis, at this point, is that out-migration increase due to returns recorded since the years prior to the application of the confirmation of residence, interpreted as losses produced in previous years. In some cases, we are probably dealing with a gap of 10 to 20 years, reflected in an average age of the group that would be considerably older than it should be, as we will see later. The opposite option, i.e., to assume that the modification of the registration rule has left out a large number of people who are now outside the Register, does not seem very reasonable. First, because part of the population is old and uses public health services, to which they have access thanks to the health card derived from registration. The families use public education centres and other public resources. It is true that access to public health services is possible through the European Health Insurance Card (EHIC). Even though, some autonomous communities, such as Valencia, have placed limits on the irregular use of EHIC (without registration for more than six months), which makes it more difficult to live under the radar. Furthermore, it should be considered the legal uncertainty that residence without registration can generate for older persons in an unfamiliar environment with a limited linguistic integration level, as some authors have pointed (Betty, 1997; Gustafson & Laksfoss Cardozo, 2017).

116,065 out of the 137,776 people who left the Register between 2000 and 2016 are not associated with a known destination in the RVS. This does not mean that they are not returnees, but based on what has been argued above, it is evident that a large part of them will be. Only 22,535 people have left the Register towards the United Kingdom in this period, as shown in table 1, 10,169 if we select those with 55 years and more. The main destination throughout these years is the United Kingdom, which accounts 94.5% of known destinations. For Britons above 55 years the percentage of return migrations is 96.3%. In both cases implies a pattern of residential variation more centred on return than other forms of migration. The second most important destination in both cases is towards other European countries, mainly France, Germany, Switzerland, Ireland, Netherlands and Portugal). The third main destination is America, followed by Asia. By countries, United States is the first non-European destination, especially for the younger adults and the second destination is Australia followed by China.

Table 1. Residential variations (out-migrations) by destination, 2000-2016

DESTINATION	TOTAL	> 55 YEARS
Total	137,776	63,396
Unknown destination	116,065	52,832
United Kingdom	20,535	10,169
Other European destinations	714	276
America	197	60
Asia	141	33
Africa	41	13
Oceania	83	13
Main countries		
France	127	65
United States	109	34
Germany	109	54
Switzerland	59	17
Ireland	89	20
Netherlands	66	22
Australia	75	10
Portugal	44	24

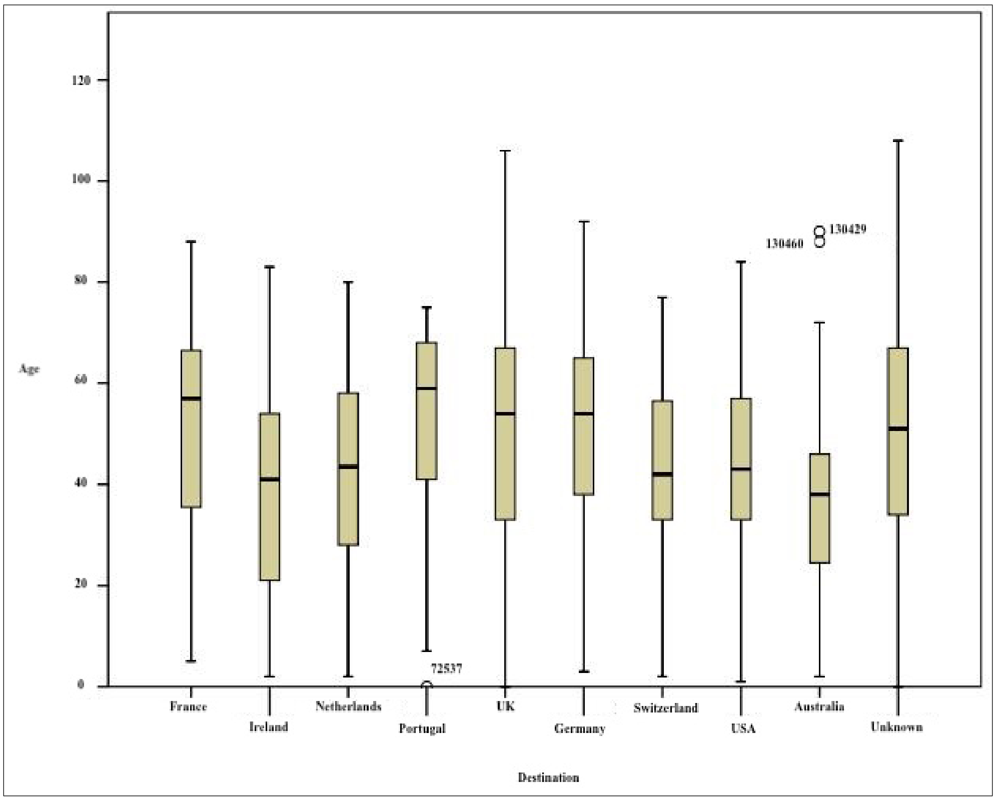
Source: Own elaboration from INE Residential Variations Statistics (2017)

These patterns show clearly two types of out-migrations:

1. the departures of the young adults, living in Spanish big cities, not necessarily on the coast, maybe working for multinational companies with facilities for mobility towards other countries;
2. the exits of retired people, mainly towards the UK as return migrations, even though some of them choose other European or American countries probably to follow with their retirement plan or to be close to their families.

Figure 4, present the variation of age distribution in each destination. The highest age medians correspond to exits towards the United Kingdom, with less dispersion in the case of out-migrations to unknown destinations. The upper range in both cases makes us suspect that some of these exits were not recorded correctly. For example, there are too many individuals over 100 years performing return migrations. These are an example of migrations not recorded on time that emerged from the purge. On the other hand, the distribution of departures to other destinations is around much younger medians, about 15 years younger and with less noticeable amplitudes (i.e. Australia or Belgium). Exits towards an unknown destination present an age structure so similar to that of out-migrations towards the United Kingdom that it is highly probable that most of them are returns as well. These data point in the direction of a return-oriented behaviour among the older British population, even though in different surveys they do not declare clearly their intentions to return (Warnes et al., 1999; King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Giner-Monfort, Hall & Betty, 2016). Furthermore, the structure of exits towards France, Germany and, especially, Portugal reveal a possible retirement re-emigration. In any case, the numbers are not very high.

Figure 4. Age at the moment of residential variation (exits) by destination, 2000-2016

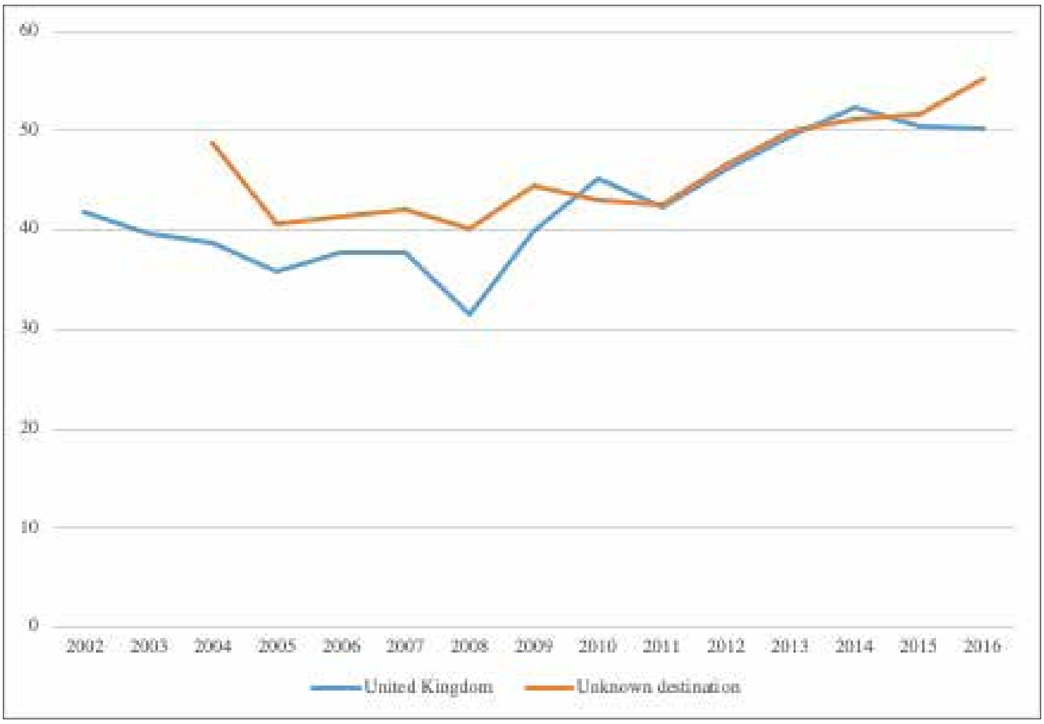


Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* (2017)

The evolution of the average age of out-migrations has been upward. In the case of return movements, a maximum of 52.3 years reached in 2014, while in the case of those of unknown destination the maximum reached in 2016 with 55.3 years. While waiting to know the data for 2017, it is worth noting the upturn in 2016 related with migrations without a known destination. As we mentioned earlier, this would be the first year not fully affected by the Registry's purging, and despite this, the increase in the average age is the second most important since 2012. This could be pointing precisely to an effective increase in the return of retirees.

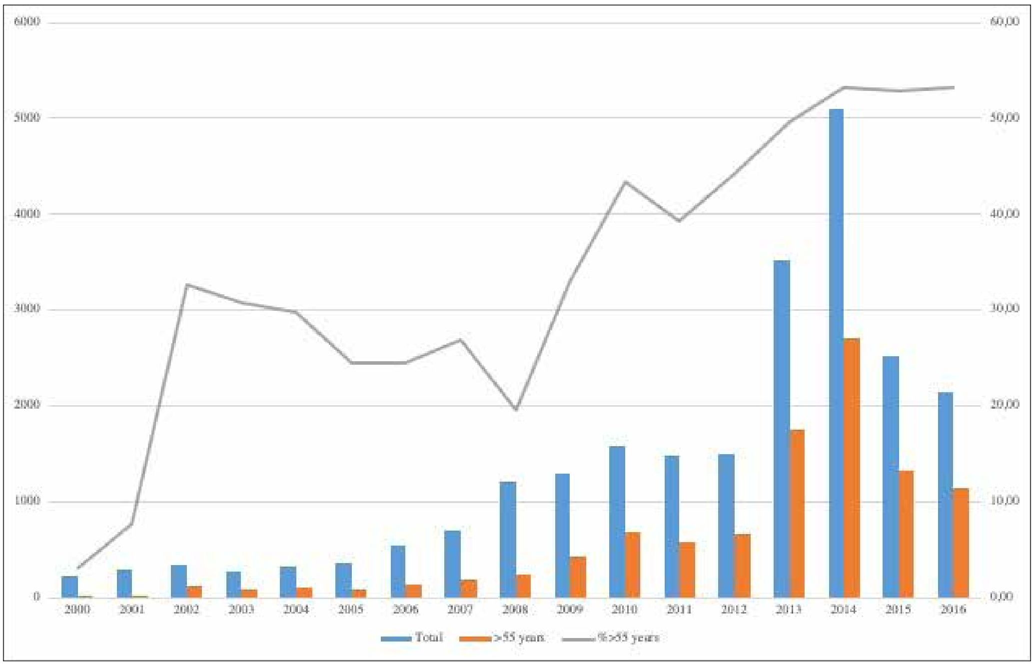
As shown in figure 6, 37% of the out-migration movements towards the United Kingdom are recorded between 2013 and 2014, 43% if we take those over 55 is taken as a reference. Assuming this information as the most reliable, and that the person responsible for the Register in each municipality has recorded a return as what in fact is a return, the figure is very small in general (only 5 people would return for every 100 arrivals in the same period), and very concentrated in a few years. On the other hand, we can see that the outcome of Brexit referendum affects data for 2016. However, the short time between the vote and the end of the year suggests that the effect on return movements will be minor. A return migration should be considered as something that requires a minimum planning, sometimes involves selling the property and, even in the case of performing a return, it is not always properly updated in the Register.

Figure 5. Average age evolution (return and unknown destination), 2002-2016



Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* (2017)

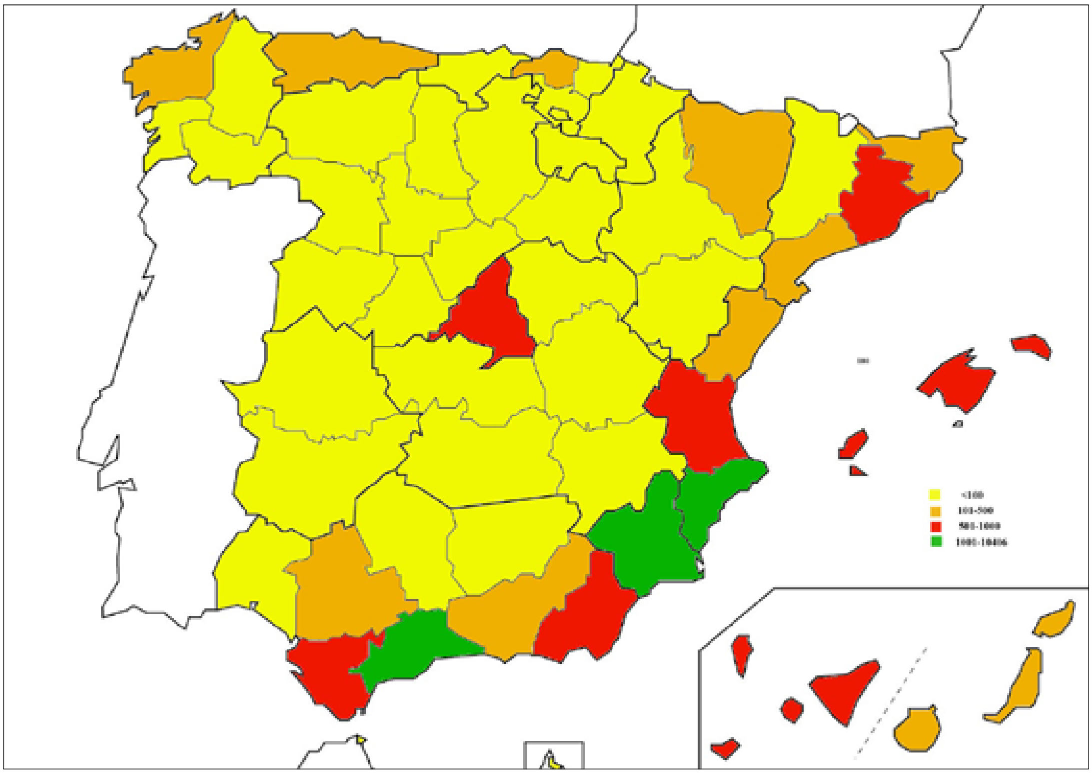
Figure 6. Return migration of British registered citizens, 2000-2016



Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* (2017)

Figure 7 present the resulting territorial distribution, taking into account only the movements labelled as returns in the RVS, that is, the withdrawals from the Register with destination United Kingdom. Most of the returns of the British population are concentrated in the Mediterranean strip, the major capitals and islands and, to a lesser extent, on the northern coast. Alicante is, in fact, the territory from which more British population has left towards the United Kingdom in the period (10,265 people, compared to 3,016 in Málaga and 973 in Murcia). Alicante is also the territory where we find more British population, followed by Málaga and Murcia, so it is normal to find more return migrations where there are more residents registered. Barcelona and Madrid register more returns as these cities concentrate the majority of young workers, with different mobility patterns from those of retirees.

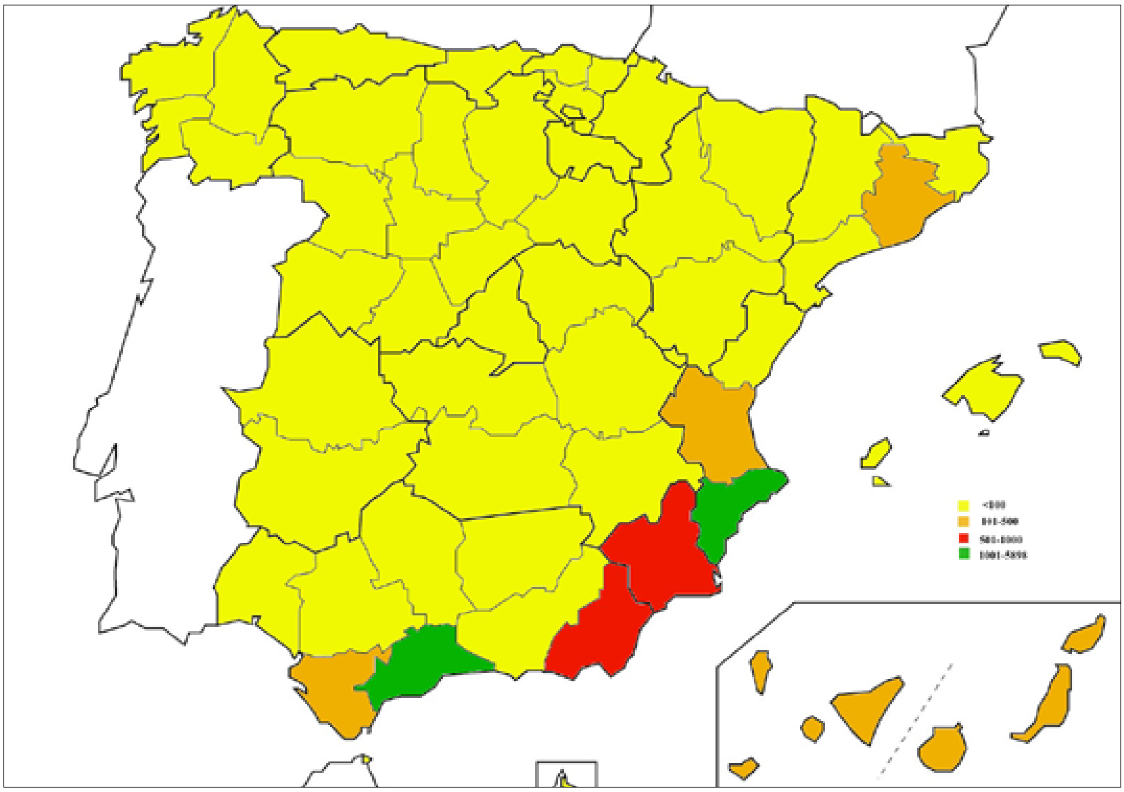
Figure 7. Registered return migration of British citizens by provinces, 2000-2016



Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* data (2017)

The same map for the population over 55, however, offers a different reality. Figure 8 shows that the capitals are disappearing as sending territories, which can be explained by their power to attract labour migration, that is, lower average ages. The northern coast also disappears as sending territory, but not the islands. Return is concentrated again in the Mediterranean strip, which is where lives most of the retired population, following the model of lifestyle migrants. Once again, Alicante is the province from which most British population has left in the period, in this case with 5,871 people, that is, 57.7% of total returns in Spain. However, between 28% and 35% of the British Spanish population lived in Alicante from 2000 to 2017. This means a higher rate of return than would be expected if all Spanish territories contributed equally. On the other hand, the highest percentage of aged population returned is that of Murcia, with 69.5%, followed by Almeria, with 60.2% and Alicante, with 57.2%. The percentage for Málaga is 45.4%, much lower than the rest of the territories, which implies that their British registered returnees are much younger.

Figure 8. Registered return migration of British citizens aged 55 and more by provinces, 2000-2016



Source: Own elaboration from INE *Residential Variations Statistics* data (2017)

With this information, we might ask what effects may have UK's exit from the EU. A few months before Brexit becomes effective, the uncertainty is very high. There are contradictory reports in the media every day about health coverage, freedom of movement or residence permits. The effects of this uncertainty on a population with an high average age, an underdeveloped level of social integration, dependent in large part on their nationals for their daily lives and in some cases with outstanding payments for the purchase of properties, can be devastating depending on which is the final deal between United Kingdom and European Union. Furthermore, the social service system in Spain is underdeveloped in terms of assistance, compared to the British one, in part due to the importance of family care. In short, it is quite common to find cases of some help, which end in the local social services, and sometimes require a special return procedure involving different administrations (Hall, 2011; Hall & Hardill, 2014, Hall, Betty & Giner, 2017). Such situations could worsen in the future, depending the reached type of agreement on coordination between administrations and the right of access to public services.

The publication of 2017 RVS will give us a first glance of the immediate effect of the outcome of the UK's exit referendum from the EU, but its consequences prolonged in time, depending on the agreement reached between the EU and the UK. If we compare the raw data of the Register on 1 January 2016 with the same date for 2017, there is a difference of 15,716 people, i.e. a population decline of 6%, 5% for the population aged 55 and over. Therefore, in view of the data, and pending the availability of the latest edition of the RVS, it does not appear that the outcome of the UK's exit referendum from the EU has altered an already existing negative trend.

We need to interpret the data with caution. Firstly, because the intention to return does not materialise in a short time, especially when we are dealing with the elderly population. The majority of British residents in Spain own the homes in which they live. Some people took a mortgage but others sold their properties in the UK in order to pay the new property in Spain. Trying to sell the Spanish properties to return to the UK is still difficult today without making a loss, even when economic crisis is supposed to be out. Furthermore, returning to the United Kingdom, to a physical environment with which probably there has not been relation for years, with a family scattered throughout the world and without sufficient funds to establish by themselves may not be easy or quick (Hall, 2011; Hall & Hardill, 2014; Ahmed & Hall, 2016; Giner, Hall & Betty, 2016; Walsh, 2018). It is also true that in spite of all the modifications introduced in the management of the Register, most of the returns are not registered and may appear years after their materialization when their registration expires. Thirdly, we expect that the return will vary depending on the agreement on crucial issues such as freedom of movement, health care, the fluctuation of the pound or the import of pensions, which may be of great importance for British retirees. On the other hand, it must be considered that some of the Britons living in Spain, even with those socioeconomic conditions, could steel feeling Spain as their home and resist to return to United Kingdom (Miller, 2018).

4. CONCLUSION

Although the numbers can be very scandalous on the media, we must analyse the return data carefully. The RVS is not the perfect tool to analyse return migration, but it is still the best and the one that gathers the most cases. What is clear is that there exists a trend of return of former British migrants from Spain, and that this trend is as old as migrations are. It is important to stress this statement because the possibility of return among lifestyle migrants has always been undervalued both academics and administrations.

Despite the movements to purge the registry, return is the main destination of British emigrants from Spain. These movements have been of greater importance since 2013, but against forecast, also after the end of the registration control phase. Thus, in 2016 there are still more departures of British residents from the country (more than 30,000) than arrivals (more than 20,000). In this way, 2017 data will be key to better interpreting population movement after the Brexit referendum

Even though it is difficult to establish an official number of returnees, it would be useful to monitor the return intentions of British residents in Spain. Previous estimations put the intention of return between 10 and 30% of the population. What we can know from the statistics is that the percentage of returnees must be even higher. Otherwise, the mortality figures, which as mentioned above, do not affect under-recording, would be much higher. About 3,000 British people die in Spain each year, about twice as many as in 2000, despite the fact that the number of residents is more than twice as high, we assume that many of them will have aged in this period.

The application of Brexit, soft or not, could unleash different situations, both in Spain and United Kingdom. In Spain, it could trigger a depopulation, mainly in areas as Marina Alta and Baix Segura, both in Alicante, especially in towns like Llíber or San Fulgencio, where British are the majority. Moreover, those who remain in Spanish territory would face a status loss and a decrease in quality of life depending on which rights conserved after the Brexit deal. Even in the case of returning to the United Kingdom, reintegration into the British society could be hard, especially for those who have been residing in Spain for a long period and, therefore, have lost some of their citizenship rights. Having to demonstrate that they are residents in the United Kingdom, through a proof of address and the Habitual Residence Test, can be such a hard process, even for British people. In the end, Brexit could transform previous migrant flows within the EU space into tourist flows, less engaged in terms of residence, property and time of staying but also with less rights, which could diminish the number of British arrivals, as it has been happening since 2017.

Finally, there is a need to amend the statistics system in order to increase internal control in the European Union. It is not only a question of quantifying or facilitating research, but also of controlling administrative registrations and cancellations. Without this control, it is easy to commit a fraudulent use of services and social benefits, with a subsequent overloading of public services, especially in overburdened tourist areas such as the coastline. All of the above can facilitate a kind of social and economic dumping from northern Europe to southern Europe.

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GOVERNANCE NETWORKS AND SECOND HOME TOURISM: INSIGHTS FROM A SUN AND SEA DESTINATION

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ABSTRACT

Second home tourism obtained in recent years a relevant attention in Portugal and was identified by the national tourism plan as one of the strategic products for the country. In the Algarve its weight is relevant for the tourism dynamics. The study presents a qualitative analysis to identify the perspectives and tensions between different actors in this Portuguese region. A network analysis offers an interesting output of the cooperation dynamics among these actors. The results are helpful to understand second home tourism trajectories and present useful information for future strategies and plans for regional development. Effective governance in second home tourism may offer an opportunity for increasing the destination's attractiveness, both for tourists and investors.

Keywords: Algarve, Governance, Municipalities, Second Home Tourism, Social Network Analysis, Stakeholders, SWOT.

JEL Classification: O02, R03, R05, Z03

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last years, tourism has gained worldwide importance. Currently tourism is responsible for about 10.4% of GDP (UNWTO, 2018) experiencing six decades of continuous increase. In Portugal, tourism has increased even in the last years during the period of crisis. The revenue of tourism has increased, except in the peak year of the economic turmoil (INE, 2010, 2014). Furthermore, second home tourism has an important participation in this relevance. Local lodgings in Portugal and in the Algarve ascend to 88.640 and 10.868 beds respectively (INE, 2018).

Algarve is one of the most important tourism destinations in Portugal and in Europe, in particular because of the "sun and sea" product. Golf and second home tourism are also very relevant products (Turismo de Portugal, 2013). The region remained the main destination of tourists, representing 30.7% of overnight stays, 5,3 p.p. above of Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, the second one (INE, 2018). Currently, this region represents around 22.2% of accommodation establishments and 36.8% of the capacity in Portugal (INE, 2018).

This article focuses on the second home tourism because of its potential impact in the development of the Algarve. Second home tourism is particularly important as it influences not only the tourism market, but also other activity sectors such as real estate, construction, and financial services. It involves many economic sectors in different phases of its implementation. Following, this article's research aims to answer two questions: *a) What*

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is the perception of stakeholders of second home tourism about governance in the Algarve?; b) What are the linkages and centralities of different stakeholders in the regional governance of second home tourism in the Algarve?

This article is organized as follows. The second part of the article is mainly theoretical and descriptive. The literature review pays attention to second home tourism and governance, with the conceptual discussion of second home tourism, and theories regarding governance and the tourism system. Than we present the general governance framework of second home tourism in the Algarve and the key stakeholders. The third part discusses the methodological aspects of the empirical study. The fourth part presents the main results of the analysis, the SWOT matrix and the social network. At the end, we present some conclusions, summarizing research results and its limits, the contribution for future studies in this domain, and key policy implications.

2. SECOND HOME TOURISM AND GOVERNANCE

2.1 What is Second Home Tourism?

Second home has its origins in ancient civilizations where the transportation facilities were less developed to attend the demand of leisure outside primary homes from the richest groups. The early stages of second home were initiated centuries ago in ancient Egypt when the prominent people moved to rest in their villas, away from the routine of the urban centre. In the Hellenistic Greece, in the centuries III and II B.C., the wealthy classes travelled to other locations looking for comfort, tranquillity, and leisure (Cárcel, 2005).

According to Müller and Hoogendoorn (2013), the study of second home tourism starts with the investigation of Ljungdahl in 1938, about the second home market in Stockholm before the World War II. However, according to Almeida (2010), only after Coppock' study "Second Homes: Curse or Blessing" this topic obtained more visibility from research community.

After the early-stages of second home studies, many researchers have tried to develop a definition for second home tourism; however, we still find different understandings. Almeida (2010) refers that one of the oldest definitions comes from Barbier in 1969, used by Olmedo and Gomez in 1989, as the accommodation belonging to a person who already has a main residence and who usually resides in a city or at least away from this villa, visiting it on a weekend or holiday. Complementing the previous definition, Andreu (2005) pointed out that following the common definition of tourism (as a phenomenon of moving to places that are different from the usual environment, to which the person travels for less than one year), to occur second home tourism, the visitor must stay less than six months. If the owner spends more than six months, he can be considered a resident. Following the previous ideas, Santos and Costa (2009) pointed out that UNWTO and Eurostat suggest that to define usual environment it is necessary to consider two dimensions, the distance and the frequency of travels. However, the attribution to define the limits of usual environment varies considerably between different regions and countries.

Mazón and Aledo (2005) showed that second home tourism is an economic activity where the main objective is to develop urbanization, frequently in coastal areas. Mazón (2006), cited by Almeida (2010), pointed out that old people usually buy or rent a residence looking for places with mild weather and a good quality of life. In Latin America, to Ferreira and Silva (2008) second home tourism market is a type of real estate market that does not take into account the public financing and local economy. For these authors, the second home tourism market is more concerned about building segregated spaces and looking for capital through investors. In addition, Gomes, Souza and Silva (2013) also defined second home tourism as a market to attend the demand of four different economic sectors: construction, real estate, financial agents and the tourism sector. In this tourism market, the demand is not only the tourism, leisure or second home, but also the search for new areas of investment as a way to reduce the risk of the income concentration in a single market.

The definition of second home tourism market focus mainly the supply side, however the demand side is a key component. As stated by Almeida (2010), the demand is a driving force of the development of any tourism product and crucial to define the type of development that can occur.

Above all, it is an economic activity associated with tourist' fidelity over a destination, normally in a seasonal basis. Besides involving other sectors for its development, during the process of buying and later purchase of the property, each market involves some actors that interfere in the steps of the second home tourism development.

> The term "second home tourism" does not have a consensual definition, so in this study the authors understood it as *a movement of tourists where the focus is a property purchase for a second residence, for tourism purposes, leisure or idleness or for economic purposes, to generate income through rent or as an investment for sale after it is built.*

2.2 Governance and the Tourism System

Governance means a complex kind of management, which involves public or private, profit or non-profit organizations. It is a result of the involvement of different actors in the decision-making process. Governance shifted the attention from strictly economic aspects of the State to a broader view, which involves social and political dimensions of public administrations. We cannot evaluate governance only for the results of government policies but also for how the government exercises its power. The motivation behind the growing interest in governance relates to four reasons (Oman & Arndt, 2010):

1. International investment, a requirement for good governance so that investors feel comfortable with a lower perception of risks on invested resources;
2. The end of the Cold War with interest to develop the social and the economic reality of the market-oriented countries;
3. The failure of political reforms in developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s;
4. The need of new economic institutions due to the difficulties in measuring the work of formal and informal institutions.

In terms of good governance, the OECD-DAC (2003) developed a definition, which means that governance relates to democracy and law enforcement, to efficient public services, and to transparency. Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2010) proposed six dimensions to measure the existence of good governance in countries and/or regions. The Table 1 summarizes this contribution.

Table 1. Dimensions of Governance

DOMAINS	DIMENSIONS
The process through which governments are selected, monitored, and replaced	Voice and Accountability
	Political stability and absence of Violence/ Terrorism
The capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies	Government Effectiveness
	Regulatory Quality
The respect of citizens and the State for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them	Rule of Law
	Control of Corruption

Source: Own elaboration, adapted from Kaufmman, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2010)

Through the six dimensions presented above, we can note that these extend beyond the government itself, going also beyond the purely economic sense, however encompassing the quality of public services offered to the population and their participation in the government management. The development of governance proposes among other things an increase in decisions of social participation, transparency and new types of accountability mechanisms of the actors involved. The governance's understanding considers that actors and institutions interaction create the social reality.

The way of economies function transcends the role of product markets involving a large set of institutional dimensions. The institutions' understanding is often a complex definition that includes the individuals - such as firms, the public sector and social norms - habits and routines or legal frameworks. In this article, we tend to follow the distinction as underlined by Hodgson (2006) that institutions and actors are different entities, even if they are dependent on each other; they have distinct roles in the social realm. North (1990) defines institutions as "rules of the game". These rules, developed through human interactions divided into two kinds of restrictions, formal and informal. Formal are laws and constitutions, while the informal are norms of behaviour, conventions and self-imposed codes. Even if rigid, institutions adjust to suit the changes in society. Institutions restrict behaviours, but also shape them. The existence of rules, even hindering the players in the game, can also create bases for those involved so that they can be able to make choices to reach a desired outcome.

Governance and government are related but they regard different phenomena with specific aspects. Ferrão (2013) differentiates a regional policy focused in the government and in governance. Government regional policies regard regulatory planning (regulation of use, occupation and transformation of the soil). The prevailing institutional relations are mainly vertical relationships of command and control between different levels of government (central, regional, sub-regional/metropolitan, municipal). Intervention spaces are the administrative spaces. The strengths of this type of policies are associated with the democratic legitimacy of elected governments, consecration of legal rights and responsibilities, and linking public and private entities. Weaknesses are associated to rigidity, bureaucracy, interagency and political party conflict s, and a mismatch between scale of the problem and intervention space. Governance-based regional policies focus the place-based governance, with strategic coordination and integration policies. Prevailing institutional relations are mainly horizontal relationships between actors, partnerships, and networks. Intervention spaces are ad-hoc spaces related with functional dimensions. Its strengths are the socialization of the decision-making process with deliberative democracy processes, efficiency and effectiveness of policies because of higher adaptation to the problem and intervention areas, involvement of key actors, negotiated decisions; new forms of identity, and a higher social acceptance of policies. Weaknesses of regional policies focused in governance are the lack of democratic legitimacy, the fragmentation of decision processes, dilution of responsibilities, instability of governance systems, reversibility, ways to claim oligarchic systems, and populist decisions.

At regional scale, governance is even more challenging. Regional governance requires that complex aspects are managed such as the challenges of making meaningful relationships with different types of actors or with different goals and interests, requiring the focus of multiple interests rather than the interests of multiple stakeholders (Rover, 2011; Barnes & Foster, 2012). In regard to previous understanding, Janssen-Janssen and Hutton (2012) complements that currently with the rise of new dynamics in the context of policy and planning, solutions involves public interventions, coordination of the role of actors and collective policies has emerged, which the authors defined as "metropolitan awareness". In addition, it is noteworthy that the geographical concept of city, or metropolitan area, and metropolitan government rise to a different view, particularly in the Europe Union, where cities have become increasingly fragmented administratively, without limits, the so-called urban-functional areas or metropolitan areas (Ferrão, 2013).

The European Association of Development Agencies critically listed four reasons for the fragmentation of governance in European regions:

1. The overlap of the intervention plans. Regionalisation within countries indirectly results in a piling up rather than a transfer of power and responsibility, as well as in an accumulation of controls;
2. The growing compartmentalisation of communities and national policies. There is no super-ministry of economic development, neither at European nor at member-states level. Each ministry or administration embarks upon its own policies, implemented in given territories by each department's privileged networks, without consideration for the need to be congruent in the enforcement of policies at local level;
3. The multiplication of operators. New bodies are being set up all the time—with freedom of association used as an excuse—for the purpose of stimulating new activities and re-integrating the socially excluded into mainstream economic life;
4. The boom in the number of support programmes. For each new problem, the public administration develops new support instruments instead of adjusting or reformulating the objectives of existing programmes. Each programme is geared toward—or taken up by—structures of a specific type, some of which are even set up for the sole purpose of inveigling the subsidies attached to them.

Ferrão (2013) proposes some measures, in addition to Saublens (2000) and the definition of OECD-DAC (2003), which could mark out a process of democratization of governance and mitigate possible problems caused by governance:

1. The reformulation of the mission and of public administration's powers by strengthening citizenship objectives, public interest and efficiency of public policies;
2. The institutionalization of decisions made under new forms of governance, both upstream (framework provided by existing political structures and standards) and downstream (integration of decisions on binding instruments and rules or guiding);
3. The need of accountability on the part of the entities involved and democratic control capacity on the new metropolitan governance modes.

Summing up, some contributions to a better comprehension of governance may come from the development of the regional level, due mainly because of the success in providing its effectiveness through the Structural and Investment Funds of European Union. On the other hand, as exposed by Ache (2000), Dallabrida (2007), Barnes and Foster (2012), regional governance happens in the regions, where the actors know the local reality creating some solutions with stakeholders.

2.3 Governance of Tourism

In the case of Tourism governance, the complexity is also huge. Tourism is a fragmented sector, with several types of actors and specific institutions that interact with each other, in some activities that only occur where the service is provided, being formed largely by small and medium enterprises (Pinto & Cruz, 2011). According to Ritchie and Crouch (2003) a tourism destination distinguishes several types of areas, a country or a macro-region consisting in several countries, a region, a town or a unique place with attraction capacity. Its development and management occur among the main actors of the tourism destination, developing clusters to improve benefits for the regional economy and for the host community (Bordas, 1994). Second home tourism encompasses many players in its development process. It is crucial to understand which stakeholders are involved. A stakeholder is an individual, a group or even an organization that can interfere in the governance interests and choices, in firms or in any other kind of organization. Freeman and Reed (1984), states that there are two types of stakeholders, the wide sense (stakeholders that may have influence in the realization of the organization's objective or be affected by organizational goals) and the narrow sense (stakeholders on which the organization depend for its existence). Freeman and Reed (1984) and Donaldson and Preston (1995) pointed out that organizations aim to attend the interest of its stakeholders.

To illustrate how the tourism activity occurs in three different environments, the systemic approach to tourism is relevant, as it aggregates actors and institutions directly or indirectly engaged in the development of the tourism sector and in the improvement of the territory as a tourism destination. Ritchie and Crouch (2010) and Pinto and Cruz (2011) underline that to be competitive a tourism destination must be able to adapt through governance mechanisms of the tourism system. For these authors, the key integral parts of the tourism system are key stakeholders such as customers, companies working for the tourism sector, intermediaries of tourist services, the local public sector, in addition to the competitors seen as co-operators, but also all the institutional frameworks that shape individual behaviours.

Leiper (1990), Ritchie and Crouch (2010), and Pinto and Cruz (2011) point out that the tourism system is a transversal and open system, influenced and constrained by the system's external actors. It is an open system with clear delimited frontiers. According to Bieger (1998) a tourism destination is a "strategic business unit" that needs to be managed and coordinated by a tourism organization composed by actors of the local tourism market. Rithcie and Crouch (2010) propose a model regarding the several dimensions of involvement of a tourism destination where each component of the system has specific functions, and together develop a suitable environment for tourism.

3. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study aims to present the perspective of different stakeholders regarding the development of second home tourism in the Algarve and its influence on their own activities. Therefore, this research brings considerations about the current situation of second home tourism market and its regional characterization about governance.

The techniques used to answer these research questions are both qualitative and quantitative. Veal (1997) refers that a qualitative approach helps to fill gaps where the knowledge is insufficient as long as the researcher accepts that the actors of research are not only objects of study but also active subjects, that they should define the concepts, and can help to consolidate tensions between theory and research results. The quantitative research measures the outcomes and results based on the analysis of raw data, focusing the objectivity of results, where the researcher can measure the information to describe the causes of a phenomenon.

The article used the Algarve's case study (NUTS-II/III region in Portugal) to provide, as stated by Yin (2009), a deep understanding of reality. We cannot apply directly the results of case studies to different contexts, but they are powerful instruments to inform on specific phenomena and to formulate hypotheses that lead new research (Triviños, 1987; Donald & Pamela, 2003). We use a descriptive and exploratory approach in order to understand the phenomenon.

In this research, we also used primary data obtained in the interviews conducted with legal representatives of the actors considered key stakeholders in the tourism system in the Algarve. To select the group of representatives we create a preliminarily list of possible respondents. Then we interviewed the stakeholders until we reached the saturation point, where answers were already repetitions of ideas expressed in previous interviews. The authors divide the representatives in entities from public and private sector, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 2. List of Representatives interviewed

Private Sector	Association of Commerce and Services of the Algarve Region (ACRAL)
	Association of Hotels and Tourist Properties of the Algarve (AHETA)
	Association of Industrial Car Rental Companies (ARAC)
	Association of Hoteliers and Similar Employees of the Algarve (AIHSA)
	Algarve Business Association (NERA)
	André Jordan Group
	Caixa Geral de Depósitos
	Faro Airport
	Garvetur
	Neoturis
	Vilamoura
Public Sector	Algarve Tourism Region (RTA)
	Commission for Coordination and Regional Development of the Algarve (CCDR)
	Municipalities Association of the Algarve (AMAL)

Source: Own Elaboration

The authors applied the interview between September and October 2015, with fourteen representatives of key stakeholders (six associations, two public firms and six private firms). The interviews, digitally recorded, focused the development of second home tourism, governance in second home tourism market as well as access to information, cooperation and networks. We divided the semi-structured script in four parts: (i) characterization of the interviewee; (ii) perspective about second home tourism; (iii) governance within the second home tourism; (iv) access of information, cooperation and networking.

To analyse qualitative data, we used a "soft" version of content analysis and discourse analysis. Firstly, we perform a SWOT analysis to organize the collected information in terms of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. Secondly, we used social network analysis (SNA) to quantify and illustrate the qualitative information regarding the linkages and cooperation among different actors.

4. GOVERNANCE AND SECOND HOME TOURISM

4.1 Insights from the Interviews

The interviews involved 14 people (12 men and 2 women) from several organizations of the Algarve. 7.1% of the interviewees have finished primary school, 78.6% have a higher education degree and 14.3% a master degree. According to the field of expertise, it was possible to define that 42.9% had background in Management, while 28.6% in Engineering, followed by Law (14,3%) and Economics (7,1%). The interviewees were the president or vice-president of the organization (50%); directors or engineers (14,3%) and management or sales staff (7,1%). Among the interviewees, the average of working time in the organisation was 13 years.

The interview focused initially in the perception of the actors about the influence of second home tourism in the Algarve. The results reveal that there is a steadiness in the perception of second home tourism development in Algarve. There was a balance in the type of evolution, with seven respondents referring growth, while the other six cited moderate growth. On growth prospects, the main arguments were on the issue of tax regimes developed by the national government to attract foreign people.

The respondent's focus that the increase pointed out in the statistics is somewhat an unrealistic growth in the statistics is an unrealistic growth. The President of an association refer *"Statistics say that second home tourism has grown exponentially in a short period of time, but that's not quite true, because second home tourism did not exist before in the statistics, which led to the legalization of these beds, the number did increase in terms of statistics"*. This highlight is also in the speech of enterprise group representative, who underlined that *"(...) there are areas within Algarve that are beyond the critical dimension and others that are still not there... therefore, the future needs to qualify offer, in size and quality, adding innovation, integrating and complementing the hotel supply to prevent loss of capital and credit. In addition, there is a need for tourism promotion so that the equipment can survive"*.

The prospect of moderate growth reflected by the crisis, when the banks recover the financed property. However, commercial banks - due to the European Central Bank's regulations - will soon have to dispose of these properties as stated by another respondent "*(...) as the European Central Bank's conditions increasingly pressure the countries' politics; banks will have to clean the balance sheets and will have to put these properties on the market. By placing these properties on the market, they will boost second home tourism*". However, the interviewees highlighted the excessive construction in Algarve, which motivates the moderate growth of second home tourism. Because of the excess, supply has become a problem due to lack of people to buy, as highlighted by the President of an enterprise association "*Algarve at this point did not absorbs the excess of supply that has been generated. Therefore, it would be a mistake to build exaggeratedly, with so much to be sold, therefore, what exists begins to degrade, and degradation means losing value. Something we do not want that happen to the Algarve*".

On the positive side, the respondents focused on the revenue created through economic activity, which also brings more investment, job creation, and more tax collection. This leads to a greater visibility of the destination throughout the year and consequently reducing seasonality. One of the respondents referred that "*Tourists are like the country's ambassadors; therefore, their constant visits continue to disseminate Algarve for free between their circle of friends and family*".

Around 28.5% of respondents believed that second home tourism has no negative impacts. The highlight is the speech of the president of an enterprise association, who said, "*The second home tourism is a complement to the tourism that already exists, which means that it diversifies the offer*". The representative of Algarve Tourism Board said that second home tourism possesses challenges to overcome such as offering more sports and health services and developing better public-private partnerships in the promotion of the destination, while maintaining qualification of human resources, improving internal and external accessibility, integrated landscape, urbanization and adapting legislation to meet needs of the sector. The negative points highlighted were seasonality, excess of second home property offer, less innovative second home tourism, and an excessive component of real estate (instead of tourism). About these issues, the representative of an enterprise group underlined "*The second home tourism has to be increasingly integrated with the hotel supply. It cannot just be a building. It must have a range of associated quality services and this can only be achieved by a high occupancy rate throughout the year*".

The respondents refer as main opportunities the new business generation, the attractive tax system for foreigners, unemployment' reduction, attraction of tourists in the low season period, more taxes resulting from business, jobs and acquisition of property. In terms of perceived threats, the respondents refer the cluttering between public actors, possible boom of construction, adoption of second home tourism enterprises based only in real estate and without connection with other tourism system activities. Table 2 present the SWOT matrix that summarizes the perception of representatives of second home tourism stakeholders.

About the governance of second home tourism in Algarve, more than half of the respondents said that governance has been positive. However, it is worth highlighting that one of the respondents believed that governance exists only for large real estate companies, having the State developed mechanisms to manage the territory. As for the perception of how to improve governance, is possible to understand that it is difficult to articulate the many sector stakeholders. The bank representative interviewed believes that "*The effort has to be set, not let certain responsibilities that directly impact on tourism be only the municipality's responsibility* ". Complementing this vision, the representative from the tourism board pointed out that "*One should create a working group to define a strategy to develop specific products for this market*". Other issues mention the exchange of information for both tourists and entities related to second home tourism, and oversight in tourism so that investors feel safer on their investment, as well as money raise coming from taxes from the government.

Assessing the current legislation, seven respondents pointed out that the legislation evolved greatly in recent years and now meets the current reality. However, four respondents did not answer this question for lack of informed opinion. On the issue of participation of companies or associations, ten respondents said that participation was present in the development of recent legislation. As for accountability in the Algarve tourism, it is clear that there is no heterogeneity in responses, as there is a gap of information for the population and for businesses to have access to the data. Corroborating this perception, an interviewee underlined "(...) *that there is a need for awareness, education and enforcement*". Regarding the transparency of public administration and companies linked to tourism in Algarve, half of the respondents perceive transparency positively. However, there was criticism from the president of an enterprise association on how government uses the public funds. The cooperation to improve transparency dimension also reveals another worrying sign, as five of the 14 respondents seem not understand in which way they can measure or evaluate it and above all what means a practice of transparency.

Table 2. Second Home Tourism SWOT, according to Stakeholders of Algarve

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
S.1. Economic activity generation	W.1. Does not realize negatives
S.2. Fixing of tourists in the region	W.2. Seasonality
S.3. Biggest attraction of investments	W.3. Houses of oversupply for second residence
S.4. Tax generation	W.4. Not innovative residential tourism and do not focusing on tourism
S.5. Health services	W.5. Wait banks make available real estate
S.6. Climate	W.6. Bureaucracy
S.7. Job creation	W.7. Competition with hotels
S.8. Greater visibility throughout the year and therefore reducing seasonality	W.8. Money that does not enter the country
S.9. Greater diversity of leisure and sports activities	W.9. Lack of supervision of local lodging
S.10. Tourists become destination ambassadors	W.10. Recent legislation
S.11. Boost to tourism and conventional hotel market	W.11. Number of flights is fragile
S.12. Safe and alternative investment	
S.13. Safety	
S.14. Urban environmental quality	
S.15. Critical mass appeal	
OPPORTUNITIES	**THREATS**
O.1. Generating new business	T.1. Cluttering between public players
O.2. Tax regime	T.2. If there is a new BOOM buildings
O.3. Foreign attraction in the low season period	T.3. The non-reinforcing air routes
O.4. Generate more taxes for the government	T.4. Possible residential tourism enterprise betting only on real estate
O.5. Potential of the banks put the real estate sale	T.5. Possible security problem
O.6. Reducing unemployment	T.6. World economic situation
O.7. Support for low cost	T.7. Tax increase
O.8. Infrastructure utilization by the population	T.8. In case the taxes system is modified
O.9. Low cost of living compared to major source markets	T.9. Dependence of possible economic problems in issuing destinations
O.10. Attract tourists to reside	T.10. Mischaracterization of fate
O.11. Create greater sustainability for tourism	T.11. Stagnant real estate
O.12. Development of PENT	T.12. Governments and businesses some wondering that this type of tourism is the engine of development
O.13. Competing destinations who disappeared	T.13. Other competing destinations
O.14. Favouring small businesses	T.14. Seasonality of perception by entrepreneurs
O.15. Incentives for retirees living in Portugal	T.15. Possible disaster on the coast
O.16. Potential customers that exist in Europe	T.16. Possible fall in promoting the destination
O.17. Make the destination more attractive	T.17. Pressure on public services, particularly health

Source: Own Elaboration

Public and private sectors evaluate positively the access to information by public administration and companies linked to tourism in Algarve. In this aspect there is information coming from both institutional spheres, public and private, however, there is a gap on the information in other languages. Among the most common practices to obtain relevant knowledge and information are the attention paid to changes in the legislation to inform the appropriate changes, availability of documents related to the activities, and participation in associations, that provide information to members. Regarding the organisations working together to improve access to information, almost all respondents said they disclose it periodically. On the issue of R&D investment, 10 of 14 respondents reported having protocols with the University of the Algarve. Among the other four respondents claimed they do not invest in research, two representatives of the entities claimed that the entity held investments. However, due to the crisis, investments were closed in this area.

4.2 Algarve's Second Home Tourism Regional Governance Network

Networks are crucial to understand the governance dynamics, the centrality and the interdependence of the key stakeholders in a specific system. SNA describes a method to comprehend the internal structures within social linkages. This approach is fundamental to present social relations between groups, individuals or organizations, in order to discover patterns of relationships between the involved actors (Freeman, 2004). Groups of nodes and lines represent the core elements for the analysis of social networks. The nodes represent formal entities, which are the stakeholders in this study, while the lines represent the connections of nodes with other nodes, showing the existing relations (Scott, 2013).

In the SNA connections can be divided into centralized or decentralized, dense or sparse, individual or global, and if these links are directional or non-directional (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Additionally, there are distinctions in the types of connections. Here, the differentiation between strong and weak relationships represents the intensity of relations between nodes (Granovetter, 1973). Strong ties represent longer-term and deeper relationships based in trust and strong social capital, but weak ties are often critical by inserting in the networks innovation and non-redundant information. Nodes representing the actors can disappear from a system and create a structural' hole (Burt, 1992). This occurs when a node that holds the role of gatekeeper, i.e., is the only link to another set of nodes that disappears from the network, leaving the remaining entities that were connected to the core of the network as isolated and disconnected nodes from the rest of the system. Structural holes reveal power structures and imbalances regarding decision-making of particular actors to others.

In the interviews, based in the questions about the significant relationships, we identified the main connections of the organisations to other second home tourism stakeholders. Using SNA, we illustrate the connections cited in the interviews. As perceived in the figure below, the tourism board and an enterprise association, show up as the main entities in the sector according to the interviewees. The SNA has the following visual understanding described in the table below. Colours represent the public and private side while the shape regards specific types of organisations (Table 3).

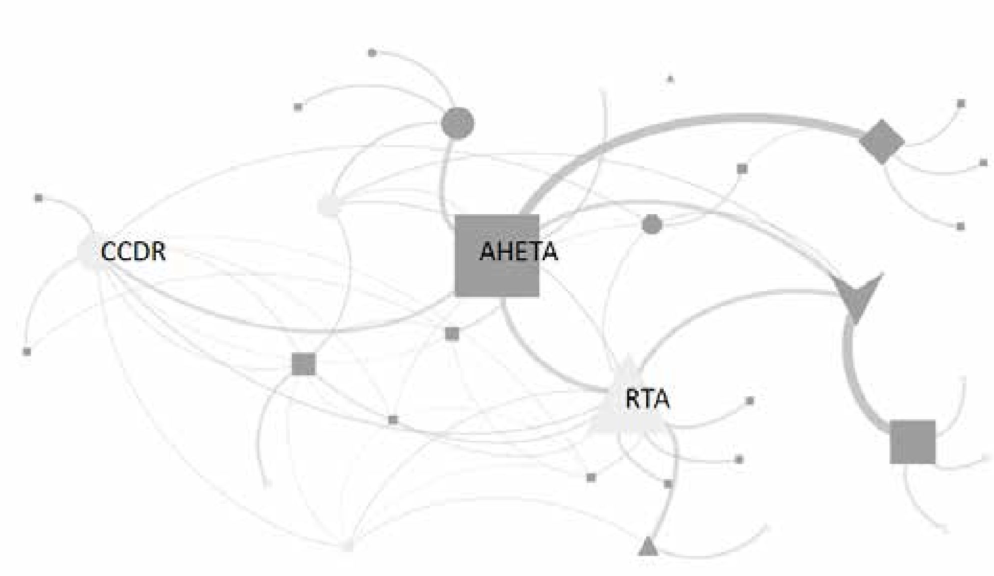
Table 3. Legends of social network analysis of stakeholders

Sector	Colour	Type	Shape
Public Sector	Light grey	Public Association	Rectangle
		Planners	Triangle
		Research	Diamond
		Public Touristic Promotion	Octagon
		Legislator	Circle
Private Sector	Dark grey	Private Association	Rectangle
		Real Estate market	Octagon
		Financial Market	Diamond
		Planners	Triangle
		Private Touristic Promotion	Circle
		Airport	Arrow

Source: Own Elaboration

SNA, presented in Figure 1, shows how the 14 entities relate by creating a clear core network of regional second home tourism. Algarve Tourism Board (RTA), AHETA (association) and CCDR Algarve (regional authority) have many connections; these entities have the greatest exchange of information among the respondents (cf. appendix). The main reason that causes these entities to have many links are its relative importance in production of information within the sector, and therefore being key actors in tourism. In the case of AHETA, their weekly report released to the community about the activity of its members is particularly relevant. The RTA is the main tourism promoter of the region, and CCDR is the developer of strategic plans and policies for the region.

Figure 1. Social network analysis of stakeholders of second home tourism market in the Algarve



Source: Own Elaboration

It is also worth mentioning that the University of the Algarve (UAlg) appears in the results of the interviews as an entity that is important, even having limited direct connection to the core of second home tourism stakeholders. Its function relates mainly to specialized technical services offered to the regional entities.

5. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to present the perception of stakeholders regarding the second home tourism in the Algarve. It managed to capture the perception of different actors of second home tourism. Through this study is possible to understand the reality of the sector, according to specific views of various actors. The results point out that almost half of the interviewees believe that this product will increase. Among the most cited strengths are the ones related to economic factors. The negatives reveal a worrying issue. A considerable part of the respondents did not perceive negative impacts from second home tourism. This could represent a risk for planning and the development of this market on the part these actors play, as they will neglect potential problems. As a possible reflection of the lack of planning, among the top negative points, four relates to the lack of planning. The interviewees identified as opportunities the economic factors. However, it is worrying because the respondents do not refer environmental factor besides it is one of the key attractors of tourists to the region. Threats range from tourism planning, financial threats, accommodation, to the lack of cohesion among the public managers, which we can relate to the existing problems of the destination. It is worth mentioning here that the concern of the respondents highlights the preoccupation that must exist between the public and private entities for the possibility of second home tourism as another engine for the development in the region.

Regarding governance issues, it is clear that the relation between public administration and second home tourism has improved in recent years by developing legislation that addresses the current reality, land use planning and by reducing the distortion and avoiding excesses. However, it is still perceived that public management has a lot of room for improvement and it needs to be improved fast as it is known that the institutional change, promoted by the government are slowly absorbed, causing the destination and entrepreneurs to fail in generating income. We need to give a particular attention to some sensitive issues - such as approval of new projects, excessive bureaucracy and conflicts of interest - that are bottlenecks and discourage the implementation of projects that can bring job creation and dividends for the municipalities. However, as noted before, it is necessary to pay attention to the environmental factors, which are important to attract tourists to the region. It is relevant to highlight the lack of cooperation among the sector stakeholders. They need more connection in order to attract investment, wider dissemination of the destination and greater capacity to maintain the competitiveness.

The network analysis helped to underline that central actors have in common their function as knowledge and information providers, either through plans developed, scientific knowledge, or the provision of tourism information.

In conclusion, it is clear that second home tourism is an alternative and complementary product in the Algarve, especially because of its contribution to the generation of income for the local population and the decrease in seasonality in the region's "sun and sand" tourism. A higher integration between the stakeholders, including collaborative networking and governance, may be crucial for the consolidation at international level of this tourism product. The development of tourism and - in general - of the Algarve, may benefit, from better governance, with accountability and transparency in the design, implementation, monitoring of activities, projects and plans. This dimension requires a significant improvement in the near future, as it is a central bottleneck of the regional governance and can reduce the possibilities of success of the region, the attraction of investment, and the consolidation of the tourism system as a whole.

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ANNEX 1

Table A.1. Closeness Centrality x Betweenness Centrality x Neighbourhood Connectivity – More Central Actors

	Closeness Centrality	Betweenness Centrality	Neighbourhood Connectivity
AMAL (Inter-municipal Community of Algarve)	0.411	0.007	766.666
UAlg (University of the Algarve)	0.411	0.019	733.333
ATA (Algarve' Tourism Association)	0.469	0.080	7.4
Faro Airport	0.476	0.245	7.0
AIHSA (Association of Hotel Industry and Similar of the Algarve)	0.429	0.081	657.142
CCDR (Commission for Coordination and Regional Development of the Algarve)	0.484	0.156	5.8
RTA (Algarve Tourism Board)	0.556	0.386	484.615
AHETA (Association of Algarve Hotels and Tourism Enterprises of the Algarve)	0.526	0.352	5.875

Source: Own Elaboration

AIRLINE ROUTES AND SECOND HOME TOURISM. THE FRENCH MARKET IN THE ALGARVE

Cláudia Ribeiro Almeida[1]

ABSTRACT

The new routes and services provided by low cost carriers enable the emergence of new tourist destinations in Europe and the development of new market segments that value the cheap and easy air accessibilities. One of the best examples is second home tourism (normally associated with residential tourism) that grew in recent years, mainly in tourism destinations in the south of Europe and Mediterranean. One of them is the Algarve that receive nowadays new second home owners coming from several countries, mainly because of the region' great weather conditions, security and air accessibilities. France is one of the new second home market in Algarve, mainly because of the new Non-Habitual Residents (NHR) regime, that provides to new residents a very attractive tax benefits for their 10 years living in Portugal, as well as the new routes provided by low cost carriers since 2016 to eleven airports of France.

Keywords: Low Cost Carriers, Residential Tourism, Algarve, French Market.

JEL Classification: L85, L93, Z32

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, air transport significantly increased the number of flights, routes, destinations and passengers, heavily contributing to the process of airspace liberalisation. This process led to a shift from a management model with heavy state intervention to a competitive market model, allowing the entry of low cost carriers. These carriers have enabled consumers to enjoy a wider range of supply and low airfares (Costa & Almeida, 2018).

In Europe, this process began in 1987 in the United Kingdom and Ireland, and strong growth allowed these carriers to capture quickly a large market share (Costa & Almeida, 2018). In Portugal, low cost carriers started in 1997 at the Faro and Lisbon airports with Air Berlin and Ryanair, and, in 2011, low cost carriers transported approximately 37% of the total number of air passengers in Portugal (INAC, 2012).

Low cost carriers provides new accessibilities at a low fare across Europe, developing in the last decade new routes and frequencies from some markets to tourism destinations. This situation allowed the development of new tourism segments, like for example the second home tourism. As stated by Graham & Dennis (2010), low cost carriers provide a convenient access to second home owners, which, according to Almeida (2010), value the direct routes across the year from their country of residence to the destination where they have their second home. One of them is the French market that besides having new tax benefits for buying a second home in Portugal, have new routes and frequencies along the year to the Algarve offered by several airlines and with cheap fares.

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The main aim of this article is to analyse the dynamic of the French second home market in the Algarve, with references to the performance of Faro airport (passengers and routes) since 2006, with a deep analysis of the French routes, as well as data collected through some Associations and Real estate enterprises that work directly with French buyers.

2. AIR TRANSPORT

Tourism and air transport have a strong reciprocal and symbiotic relationship (Duval, 2013). Air transport is the main mean of transportation worldwide. In 2014, more than half of all tourists travelled to some destination by air (54%), while the rest travelled on surface transport (46%) - whether by road (39%), rail (2%) or water (5%) (UNWTO, 2015).

As stated by Almeida (2017) the "new mobility" achieved in Europe due to the development of low cost carriers is amazing and a sector like tourism knew a great increase, new demand and above all the development of new tourism destinations around the continent. Today it is easy to fly around Europe from point A to point B due to the dynamic of low cost carriers, their new routes, innovative offers with flexible and creative services.

The liberalisation of air transport in Europe twenty years ago set the stage for the development of low cost carriers' business model that rapidly spread along the Europe, offering new opportunities and challenges for destinations and related business enterprises, like the ones of the tourism sector. As stated by Castro and Fraga (2017), low cost carriers have an important role to tourism development in several countries as they attract considerable tourist flows.

Donzelli (2010) refer that low cost carriers introduced a new business model into the aviation sector, based on higher levels of operational efficiency mixed with low fares. For Siciliano and Vismara (2007) this situation led to a shift in air travel, nowadays seen as a commodity, resulting in increasing traffic.

The emergence of low cost carriers changed the way people travel and make choices (Boniface & Cooper, 2009). Clave et al. (2015) refer that the availability of low-cost routes in Europe does not appear to have limits and in the tourism sector there seems to be no doubt that both mature and emerging destinations benefit from the larger number of tourists using low-cost carriers.

For Dobruszkes (2013), low cost carriers become the main mode of travel in Europe, creating a new demand in new market segments, not served conveniently by the installed airlines. Low cost carriers intensified price competition, stimulating demand for short-haul air travel, leading to a phenomenal growth of short breaks or weekend holidays across Europe. The tourism boom originates new infrastructures and the high prices of real estate (Lei & Papatheodorou, 2010).

Besides the benefits that low cost carriers brought to regional airports that experienced a substantial increase in their traffic growth, many destinations found a new way to diversify, de-seasonalise and boost tourism product, as low cost carriers reduce seasonal fluctuations in traffic flows, making off-season travel to a region more attractive. This led to the improvement of the quality of these products and the attractiveness of a region for tourism and other industries (European Union Committee of the Regions, 2004).

One of the consequences of the development of new routes and frequencies of low cost carriers along the year is the attraction of second-home owners to mature tourism destinations, as for example Algarve located in the South of Portugal (Almeida, 2011). This is mainly due because second homeowners value point-to point travel, low fares and above all the number of frequencies along the week between their origin countries and their second home region as found in the research of Almeida (2010) regarding second home tourism in the Algarve.

3. SECOND HOME TOURISM

Cárcel (2005) emphasises that the early stages of second home initiated some centuries ago in Ancient Egypt, when prominent and rich people rested in their villas away from the routine of the urban centre. In the Hellenistic Greece, in the third and second centuries BC, the wealthy classes travelled to other locations looking for comfort, tranquillity, and leisure.

According to Müller and Hoogendoorn (2013), the first studies of second home tourism start with Ljungdahl in 1938. The author conducted an analysis of the second home market in Stockholm before World War II. However, as stated by Almeida (2010), the thematic only caught the attention of academia after the study by Coppock – "Second Homes: Curse or Blessing", in 1977.

The literature review provide us one of the first definitions that were presented by Barbier in 1969, as the accommodation belonging to a person who already has a main residence and usually resides in a city or at least away from this villa, visiting it on weekends or holiday (Almeida, 2010).

More recently, Mazón and Aledo (2005) consider second home tourism as an economic activity whose main objective is to develop urbanization, frequently in coastal areas, where retired people generally purchase accommodations. Mazón, 2006 cited by Almeida (2010), pointed out that old people usually buy or rent a residence looking for places with mild weather and a good quality of life.

Along the years, several definitions of second home tourism or residential tourism came across but none of them is consensual, as it depends on a country-specific context or even from political or sociological point of view. In this article, we use our own definition that we recreate with the fusion of Almeida (2010) and Gomes, Pinto and Almeida (2017) definition for second home tourism:

> *Property purchased as a second residence to use seasonally, for tourism, recreation, leisure or for economic purposes. Can be set in a tourism resort in plural property with complementary services and entertainment equipment or in a local accommodation registered properly in order to generate income through rent or as an investment.*

Wong and Musa (2015) refer that most retirees reside in their own countries, but some privileged few prefer to migrate and live overseas. Müller and Hall (2004) states that second home for retirement coined a new description in international human mobility and dwelling. It enables the achievement of better life quality (Balkir & Kirkulak, 2009) and the fulfilment of self-actualization need (Wong & Musa, 2014).

A study conducted by Almeida (2010) about residential tourism in the Algarve found that during the year a second home owner can travel to the destination 4,7 times, normally with another person, using in 87,5% of the cases a low cost flight as it provides a direct route from their home country. The main reasons for buying this second home in the Algarve were the climate of the region (79,4%) and the airline accessibilities with direct flights (52,9%).

As stated by Almeida (2010) some of the main reasons to buy a home abroad are the good climate of the destination; good accessibilities (land and air accessibilities); maturity of the tourism destination and their security index, as well as the level of activities, services and above all golf courses in the destination.

4. METHODOLOGY

In order to evaluate the importance of the existing airline routes from France to the Algarve and their impact in the second home market, the author analyse in deep data provided by several sources. First we analyse the growing trends in terms of movement of passengers at Faro Airport (AHETA, 2009, 2012, 2015, 2018) and the available routes to some European Markets and more deeply to France, offered along the year (November 2017 until October 2018) (ANA, 2018a, 2018b).

Second, we analyse the data related to the performance of the Algarve in terms of overnights (AHETA, 2018; Turismo de Portugal, 2018) and also some other details related to the Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index for 2017 (World Economic Forum, 2017).

To analyse the performance of the French market the author focus the analysis in additional data provided by several Associations and Real Estate Agencies operating in Portugal.

5. CASE STUDY

5.1 The Algarve as a tourism destination

Located in the southern area of Portugal's mainland, bordering Spain on the east, Alentejo region in the north and the Atlantic Ocean on the south, Algarve is the most popular tourism destination in Portugal and famous in Europe due in particular to the "sun and beach" product. As stated by Portuguese Tourism Board (Turismo de Portugal, 2013), besides sun and beach, golf and second home tourism are also very relevant products in the Algarve.

In Portugal residential tourism only gained a relevant importance in 2007, when the Portuguese Tourism Board refer in the Strategic Tourism National Plan that Public Administration has acknowledged the importance of second home tourism to attract foreign investment, through tax incentives and visas for foreigners who buy houses in Portugal (Turismo de Portugal, 2007). Until that year the term residential tourism never appear in official documents and it was mainly related to people that have a second home (nationals or foreigners) in some tourism areas, like the Algarve, and rent their houses without the knowledge of the fiscal services. Since 2007, Portugal create the new strategic product and new legislation that allow the owners to register their second homes and rent them along the year with the payment of a tax per reservation to the fiscal services.

Ten years later and with a new strategy named Tourism 2027, Portuguese Tourism Board (Turismo de Portugal, 2017) brings to discussion new products besides the ones that were presented in 2007 (Turismo de Portugal, 2007) with some changes for the role of residential tourism. Tourism 2027 points out that Residential tourism is not anymore an isolated product, and is included in "*Living – Live in Portugal*" (Turismo de Portugal, 2017). As stated by the Portuguese Tourism Board, "Living" is an emergent active of Portugal (Turismo de Portugal, 2017).

Portugal is a country searched by international citizens to live due to the quality of life, climate, gastronomy, value for money and above all security (Turismo de Portugal, 2017), being considered by World Economic Forum (2017), the number 1 in the Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index in the component *Safety and Security – Index of terrorism incidence.*

This leads to a growing trend for investment in real estate, from international citizens that choose Portugal to live, offering a new atmosphere to several areas of the country, as for example Algarve (Turismo de Portugal, 2017).

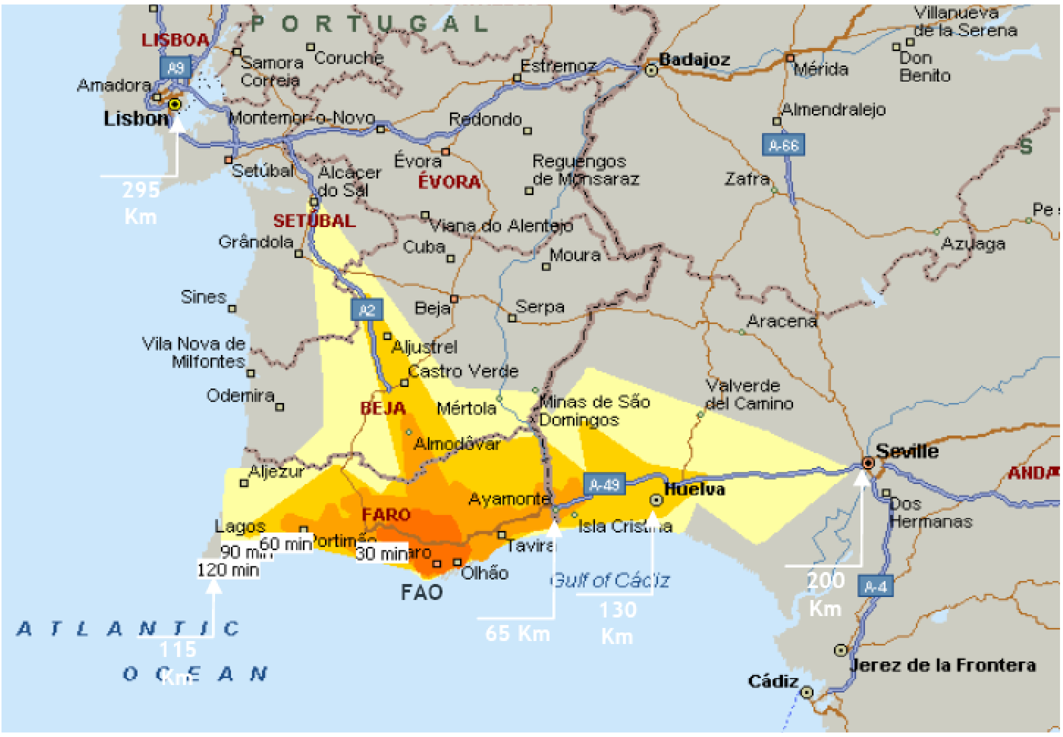
The Algarve region represents in 2017 around 20,6% of official accommodation establishments and 35,6% of the official total beds capacity in Portugal (Turismo de Portugal, 2018).

Second home tourism is particularly important because it influences not only the tourism market, but also other activity sectors such as real estate, construction, and financial services. As stated by AHETA (2018), the Algarve register in 2017 around 20 million overnights in official accommodation, around 4.3 million guests. When we add the second homes and family and friends home to this number, we reach 7.4 million guests and the equivalent of 37 million overnights. This data shows the importance of second home tourism to the region and above all for economic and sociocultural purposes, as it generates impacts in the destination and in the host community.

5.2 Faro Airport

Faro airport serve the southern region of Portugal (Algarve), with the focus on international tourism traffic. According to Fonseca (2007), this airport has a catchment area of approximately 395,000 people within 60 minutes. If we add the area of Huelva, Spain it amounts to 535,000 people. A distance up to 180 minutes this figure may reach 1,286,360 people (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Faro Airport Catchment Area

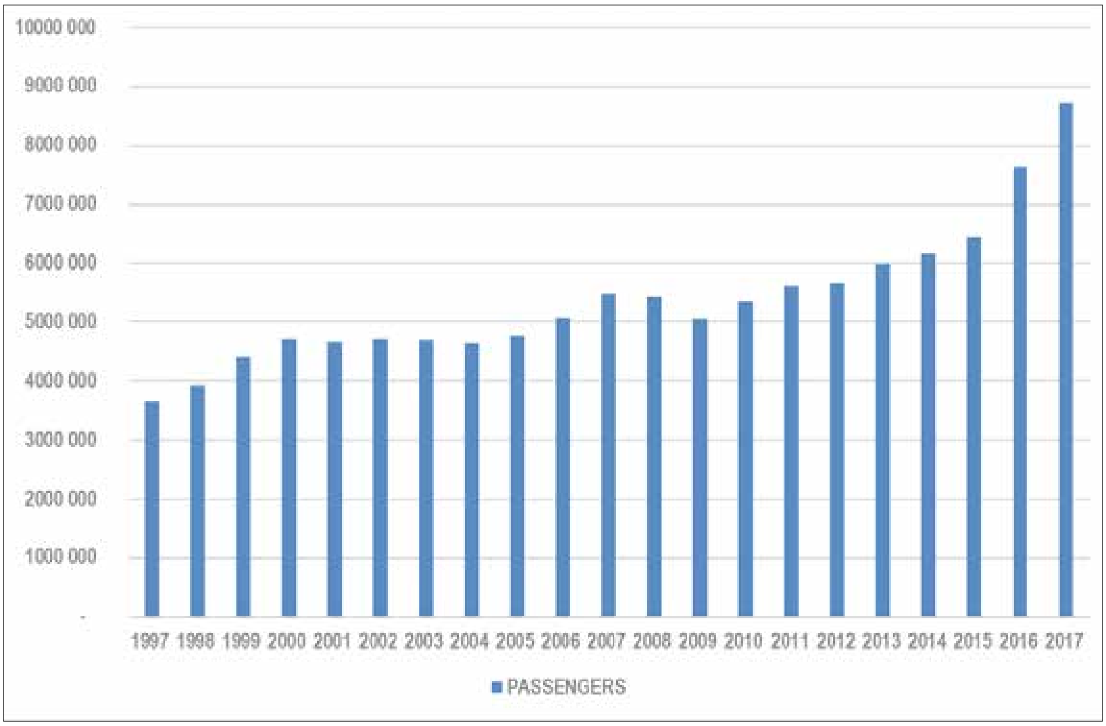


Source: ANA (2008)

Faro airport presented over the 53 years of operation, an increase in the number of passengers handled, accompanied by changes in its infrastructure in the early 70's, in the late 80's, in 2000 and more recently in 2016 and 2017. These recent changes allowed the increase of this airport capacity to nine million passengers per year. All changes that occurred in the terminal and other infrastructure allowed the airport to ensure a better level of service to airlines, passengers and other customers, enabling the development of traffic flow and consequently the tourism in the Algarve.

Since its opening, Faro airport is mainly a tourism airport that receives around 90% of incoming traffic from several countries of Central and Northern Europe with a seasonal operation. Until the mid 90's the main traffic was charter and in a huge seasonal operation between June and late September, mainly associated to the big European Tour Operators, like TUI, Thomson or Thomas Cook. From the mid 90's, and after completed the deregulation of air transport in Europe, the traffic structure changed due to start-up of low cost carriers and a decrease of the charter flights. Since 1997, trafic volume grew from 3.66 million to 8.7 million passengers in 2017 (Figure 2). Today low cost carriers represent more than 70% of the airport traffic.

Figure 2. Number of passengers at Faro Airport (1997/2017)



Source: Almeida (2010); AHETA (2012); AHETA (2015); AHETA (2018)

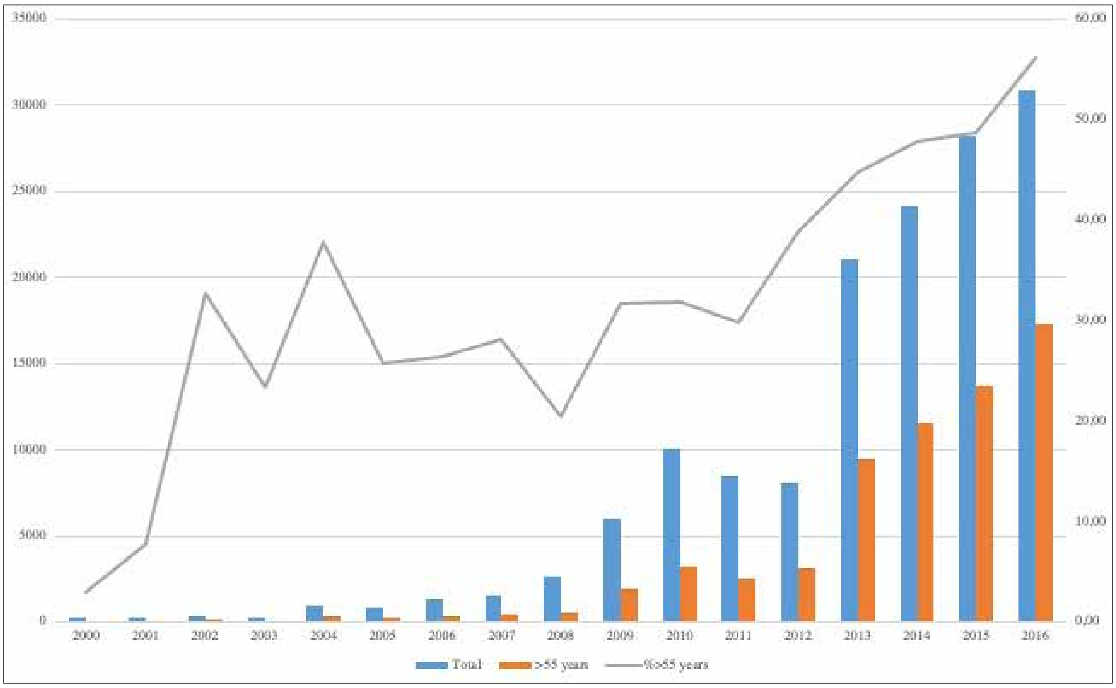
During the first decade of the 21st century, Faro airport witnessed a complete change in the predominant transport model, with a decline in charter operations and the emergence of the low cost carriers. This change took place on the supply side, i.e. essentially, airlines did little more than adapt the low cost model quickly and efficiently to the intrinsic structural characteristics of tourism in the Algarve in response to consumer demands (greater flexibility) and hence this did not result in a significant leap in the overall volume of visitors using this airport.

Consequently, a more accelerated and sustained growth take place by stimulating an increase in demand, based on a diversification of markets as well as on innovation and differentiation and by promoting the tourism products that the region and its economic agents have to offer.

The inauguration in March 2010 of the first operational base of Ryanair at Faro, create an enormous challenge for the mobilising capacity of regional economic agents (Almeida, 2011). It provides new routes to the Algarve, new frequencies along the day, new investment in services at the Airport and in the region due to the higher number of passengers (e.g. rent a car, transfer enterprises) and above all the creation of an outgoing market that was not so frequent in the Algarve.

By the end of 2010 Ryanair reach the first position in passengers handled at Faro Airport with a growth of 123,5% compared to the previous year (1.392.702 passengers). By the same period, Easyjet dropped for the second place, with less 1,9% passengers than in the previous year (1.148.730 passengers). The growing trend of Ryanair is evident, and in 2016, Ryanair reach around 28,8% and Easyjet around 19,7% of the total amount of passengers at Faro Airport. Together these two airlines transport only to Faro Airport in 2016 around 48,5% of the total traffic (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Number of passengers (%) at Faro Airport – Ryanair and Easyjet (2005/2016)



Source: ANA (2016)

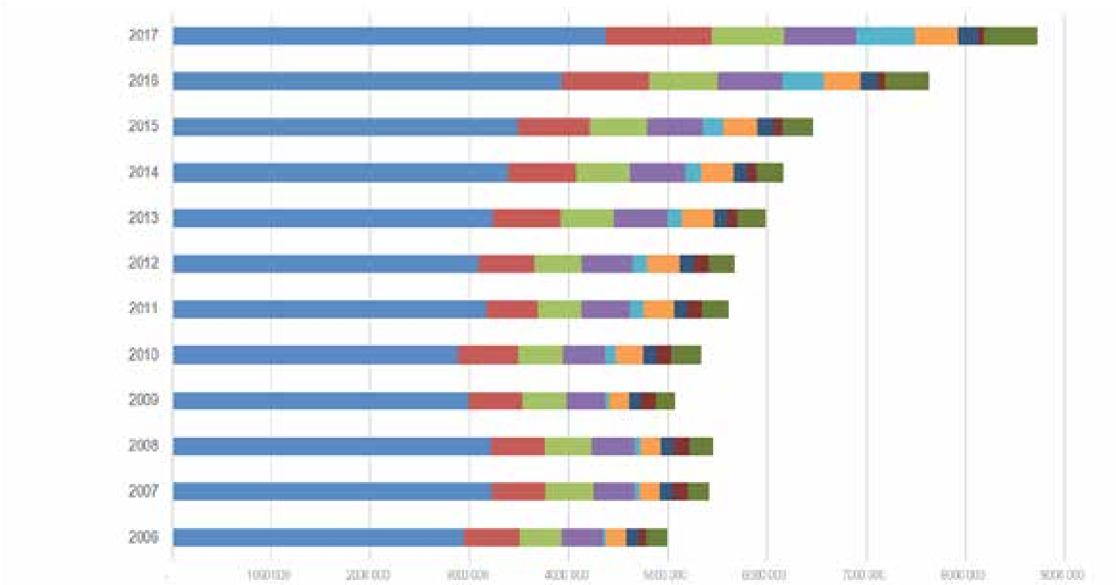
The operation of low cost carriers at Faro Airport led to the provision of new routes and flights to new regions of Europe throughout the year, allowing a significant improvement in the accessibility and development of new tourism market segments, as for example the residential tourism. This market segment is associated with people that travel abroad all over the year to stay in their second home. These clients appreciate the accessibility to the destination provided mainly by low cost airlines (Almeida, 2010).

4.3 The French market in the Algarve

For many years the Algarve receive mainly tourists coming from UK, Germany, The Netherlands and Ireland, which represent together for several years more than 80% of the total traffic at Faro Airport.

Data provided by AHETA (2009, 2012, 2015 and 2018) show that this trend is not the same in 2017 for the eight main markets, as France gained some advantage over the Portuguese market (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Number of passenger per market at Faro Airport (2006/2017)



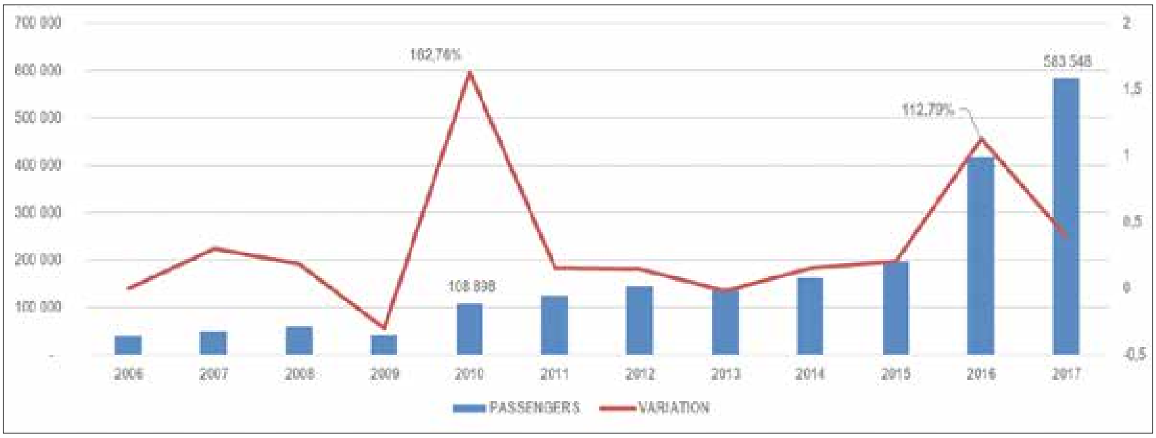
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
UK	2946 817	3225 397	3216 847	2992 380	2885 167	3180 056	3394 597	3233 002	3388 578	3482 533	3930 503	4388 771
Germany	563 431	542 226	539 637	537 425	602 321	518 272	562 600	688 791	687 716	721 261	881 889	1073 763
Ireland	419 564	483 408	474 080	455 373	448 176	440 342	468 793	523 695	546 302	587 702	684 389	728 995
The Netherlands	412 167	416 066	435 763	378 893	426 851	492 643	520 860	548 117	545 996	563 386	660 298	727 749
France	38 509	59 134	59 315	41 444	108 898	125 756	144 211	141 278	162 695	196 330	417 762	583 548
Portugal	196 636	192 753	193 382	194 756	281 918	310 974	334 213	329 538	331 439	348 736	369 790	438 973
Belgium	118 266	130 756	133 944	127 628	125 846	128 826	136 535	129 657	131 506	150 151	171 997	196 748
Spain	85 859	156 228	162 332	154 304	154 732	163 582	147 683	100 959	92 694	105 539	75 503	68 577
Others	210 579	213 526	238 706	190 434	302 457	266 232	263 157	288 431	280 247	308 077	438 843	539 016

Source: AHETA (2009); AHETA (2012); AHETA (2015); AHETA (2018)

Figures from AHETA (2018) show a moderate growing trend of the French market between 2006 and 2008, with a decrease in 2009 mainly due to the economic downturn. In 2010 it starts to grow again, finishing 2017 with 583.548 passengers (Figure 5).

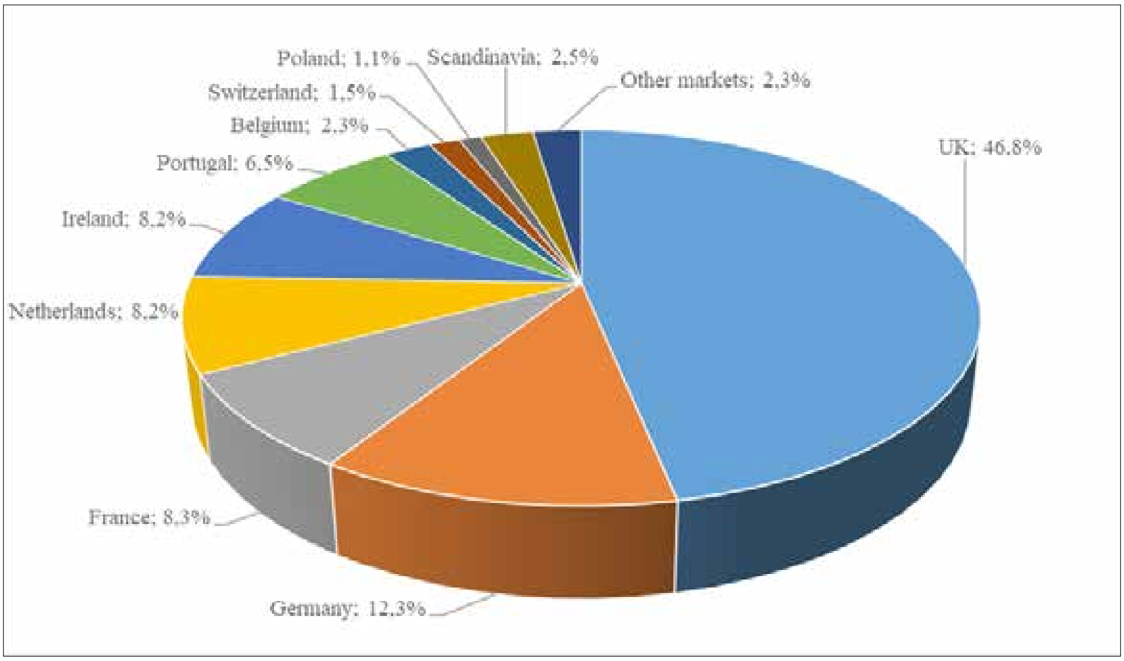
Latest data provided by ANA (2018a, 2018b), show that French market is between *Winter IATA* 2017/2018 and *Summer IATA* 2018, the third market in terms of frequencies per week (8,3% of the total), beating the Irish and Dutch market (Figure 6).

Figure 5. Number of passengers and Annual variation for French market at Faro Airport (2006/2017)



Source: AHETA (2009); AHETA (2012); AHETA (2015); AHETA (2018)

Figure 6. Total number of frequencies (%) per market at Faro Airport (Winter IATA 2017/2018 – Summer IATA 2018)



Source: ANA (2018a); ANA (2018b)

The opening of new routes from eleven French airports to Faro Airport (Bordeaux; Lille, Lesquin; Lyon, St Exupery; Marseille; Nantes; Nice; Paris, Beauvais-Tille; Paris, Charles de Gaulle; Paris, Orly; Strasbourg and Toulouse, Blagnac) can explain the growing trends of the French market in the Algarve mainly since 2016. Besides that Portugal create the Non-Habitual Residents (NHR) regime for international citizens in 2016 that provides to new residents a very attractive tax benefits for their first 10 years living in Portugal. One of the markets that were more attracted to this new regime were the French citizens, that are investing in real estate in Portugal. This situation besides being very attractive for these citizens brought new investments to the Algarve, not only in terms of second home market but also in the opening of new enterprises (e.g. Real Estate enterprises specialized in French market), creating a new dynamic in the region.

According to INE (2018), between 2012 and 2017, the French citizens bought around 19.000 houses in Portugal, in part Portuguese emigrants and their descendants that live in France. Only in 2017, French citizens bought 4.929 houses in Portugal, mainly old houses to rebuild located in historical areas, being the foreign market with more purchases, followed by UK (2.597 houses) and Switzerland (1.320 houses). In total the French market invest around 546 million euros in 2017.

APPII (Portuguese Association of developers and real estate investors) states that one of the main secrets for the success of the French market in Portugal is the huge presence in the Real Estate Fairs in France in the last years. This strategy along with the information that appear daily in the website of Maison au Portugal brings new investments to the country (Barros, 2015).

According to Françoise Conestabile, the President of the Portuguese delegation of the Association Union des Français de l'etranger (UFE), this association receive everyday several messages from French people asking details and information about Portugal. This Association have branches in Portugal, located in Caldas da Rainha, Lisbon and Portimão that organize several activities for seniors and retired French that desire to discover the country (Lusa, 2015).

One of the main Real estate Agencies operating in Portugal, *Century 21*, states that in 2014 they sold in Portugal 1545 houses for the international market, being the French market the main buyer with 47% of the total transactions, followed by UK (28%) and Belgium (16%) (Barros, 2015). In 2017 the French market represent to *Century 21* more than 50% of the total amount of international purchases, followed by Brazilians (16%) and Chinese (13,2%) (Lusa, 2018a).

AlgarveProperty.com (2015) refer that French buyers belong to several social classes (medium, high-medium and high classes), want to invest in different types of properties (apartments or villas) and are attracted by the good atmosphere of the country, the food, the residents, lifestyle and above all the good climate.

According to Hugo Nascimento (Ambitur, 2018), a product manager of Algarve Tourism Association, the French market is one of the fastest growing markets in the Algarve. In 2017, the French market grew around 25% over the previous year. In the first semester of 2018, the French tourist grew around 17% over the previous year.

Hugo Nascimento refer that for many years the Algarve only receive flights from Paris and in 2018 the region is connected to the main airports of France, which allow the development of the market (Ambitur, 2018). Data collected though Faro Airport allow us to understand that from November 2017 to March 2018, Faro Airport received the flights from nine airports of France. This number increased during the period of April to October 2018 to eleven airports. In this period of analysis the months with more frequencies per week from French routes were the month of August (75) and July (74). The months that registered less frequencies per week were January and February (19).

Table 1. Number of frequencies per week in French routes to Faro Airport (Nov 2017 - Oct 2018)

ROUTE	NUMBER OF FREQUENCIES PER ROUTE/PER WEEK											
	2017		2018									
	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SET	OCT
Bordeaux	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	6	6	6	4	5
Lille, Lesquin	2	2	2	2	3	4	5	5	5	6	5	4
Lyon, St Exupery	3	2	2	2	3	6	7	6	8	8	6	6
Marselha	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	4	5	5	5	3
Nantes	1	1	1	1	2	5	7	7	8	8	7	6
Nice	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3
Paris, Beauvais-Tille	3	2	2	2	3	4	5	4	5	4	4	5
Paris, Charles de Gaulle	3	4	3	3	4	3	4	4	5	4	4	4
Paris, Orly	6	5	5	5	8	22	21	21	26	27	21	20
Estrasburgo	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Toulouse, Blagnac	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
TOTAL	**22**	**20**	**19**	**19**	**30**	**56**	**65**	**64**	**74**	**75**	**63**	**59**

Source: ANA (2018a); ANA (2018b)

The enterprise L'Hirondelle, a regional migration agency in France, is one of the responsible for the growing numbers of French market in Portugal. The objective of this enterprise is to capture the attention and interest of French seniors and retirees through Portugal as an extended vacation destination or even a definitive installation. According to L'Hirondelle' President, until the end 2014 around 200 thousand retired French people lived abroad, and in 2015 some 800 thousand new French people desire to do the same, being the Algarve one of the main destinations. According to Afonso (2015), the French market is not exclusively composed by seniors or retired people, but also by entrepreneurs, investors and Portugal' lovers that want to invest in the country, to create their own enterprise and enjoy a calm lifestyle in a region like Algarve.

Recently the Groupe Terrésens, a french specialist in tourism real estate market, announced the construction of a new real estate development – *Alto Lake Side*, located in the Alvor village, near a golf course, with the focus on the high level construction and 148 luxury T1 to T3 apartments (Idealista, 2018).

France is in 2018 the number one in terms of housing market in the Algarve. In the last couple of years, the Algarve registered also a growing number of new Real Estate agencies mainly focus in French market, and normally opened by French people that know the habits and customs of their home country fellows.

6. CONCLUSION

The growing number of low cost carriers operating across Europe brought a new dynamic to several tourism destinations, which besides new air accessibilities know also new developments in terms of tourism segments. Residential tourism is one of the tourism segments that developed the most. Residential tourists prefer direct flights along the year from their home country to the destination where they have bought their second home.

In the Algarve new routes from French airports allow the growing trend of this market in the region, mainly since 2016, when Portugal create a new legislation that allows international citizens to benefit from a very attractive tax for their first 10 years living in Portugal, being one of them the French citizens. These two factors allow not only the growing number of passengers from France to the Algarve but also a record number of second home purchases in 2016 and 2017, making France the main foreign market in real estate sector in Algarve.

This trend allow us to understand the importance of the air accessibilities provided by low cost carriers to the development of the second home market. According to Almeida (2010), this is one of the main motivations to buy a second home abroad as low cost carriers besides having direct flights along the year offer cheap fares, followed by the good climate, security of the country, quality of life and above all the maturity of the region in terms of infrastructures and services. The air accessibility brought by low cost carriers in Europe is changing countries, regions and tourism destinations across the continent.

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