

## RURAL EXODUS IN AN ANDALUSIAN VILLAGE

### PRELIMINARY CASE STUDY OF CAZALLA DE LA SIERRA IN SEVILLE PROVINCE

Hisako KURIHARA

In Spanish society internal migration is one of the most remarkable social changes brought about by the rapid economic growth since the 1960s. Internal migration in recent decades has greater significance than that in previous decades because of the affected volume and spatial expansion. Roughly 378,000 Spaniards have changed their residences each year in the fifteen years between 1962 and 1976.<sup>1</sup>

Reflecting the increasing concern on this important issue, migration is an especially attractive area of study for various disciplines, and excellent research works have been published.<sup>2</sup> One of the major interests in these migration studies has been focused on spatial mobility. More detailed study on mobility is made possible by the availability of data which have been officially published by Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas since 1961. These data make it possible to outline the features of spatial mobility on the basis of the administrative unit of the province. The most conspicuous features are the concentration of immigration flows into a few urban industrialized regions: the metropolitan areas of Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao. Barcelona has received by far the largest number of immigrants, roughly one hundred thousand in each year. On the other hand, though rural exodus is found over all Spain, Andalusia, Extremadura, Castilla Vieja and Leon are identified as the major emigration areas. For example, seven hundred thousand persons have left Andalusia in the fifteen years between 1960 and 1975.

Needless to say, migration takes place within a complex socio-economic framework. There has been much discussion about the mechanism of migra-

---

1 Total number of migrants fluctuates yearly. The greatest number is registered in 1964. After 1964 moderate numbers continue until 1973, when migrants increase again by receiving repercussions of the decline of international emigrants. Puyol Antolin, R., *Emigración y desigualdades regionales en España*, Editorial Magisterio Español, 1979, pp. 78-79.

2 The studies on Spanish internal migration until the early 1960s are surveyed in detail by Horacio Capel. Los estudios acerca de las migraciones interiores en España, *Revista de Geografía*, Barcelona, I, Num. 1, 1968, pp. 77-101.

tion. Internal migration is related to regional structure in Spain, which has been characterized by unbalanced regional development. Rural-urban migration is explained by this imbalance: in 1975 the disparity of provincial per capita income was 234 percent between the highest province (Vizcaya) and the lowest (Caceres).<sup>3</sup>

Migration study has been done at various spatial scales, but study at the micro-spatial level has not sufficiently advanced because of restriction of current statistical data. Statistical data on migration at the municipal level are not available, and it is especially necessary that such data be collected. This article aims at the analysis of migration in a municipality which has experienced rapid and intensive rural exodus and suffered its various influences. The analysis originates in the case study of a rural village – Cazalla de la Sierra – in Sierra Morena of Seville province. The case study was carried out in January 1981.<sup>4</sup>

Cazalla de la Sierra is located 89.0 km north of Seville city and is connected with the city by railway: the trip by train to Cazalla de la Sierra station takes one hour. But it takes another twenty minutes to get by autobus from the station to town (*pueblo*). Residential distribution concentrates in the *pueblo*, as in other Andalusian villages; 82.6 percent of the total population dwelt in the *pueblo* in 1970. It is said that this tendency of concentration becomes more remarkable as the urban way of life diffuses in the process of modernization. The urban area has expanded along the main road to the station, increasing the contrast with the surrounding rural landscape covered by olive trees. The following description is focused on the analysis of flows, patterns and consequences of migration in Cazalla de la Sierra.

### I Migration of Population

As Table 1 shows, Cazalla de la Sierra has experienced a drastic decline of population since the 1960s; it lost 35 percent of its population during the 15 years from 1960 to 1975.<sup>5</sup> This high percentage is due to the especially rapid decrease in the late 1960s (from 10,316 in 1965 to 6,695 in 1970). Heavy population losses characterize the northern municipalities of Seville province as well as Cazalla de la Sierra. Fourteen municipalities in Sierra Morena lost more than 20 percent of their population between 1960 and

<sup>3</sup> Garcia Barbancho, A., *Disparidades regionales y ordenación del territorio*, Ariel, Barcelona, 1979, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> There have not been the case studies on Cazalla de la Sierra except the excellent research by Isidro Moreno: *Actitudes y Valores ante la emigración en una comarca de la sierra Sevillana* (the report in the symposium on "Emigración en España" which is celebrated in *la Segunda Reunión de Antropólogos Españoles*, 1974).

<sup>5</sup> The administrative office of Cazalla de la Sierra enumerated 6659 of population in 1979, but this figure does not present the real total population because it does not include migrants who did not transfer their residential cards.

1970, though the rate of decrease ranges from 20.0 percent in Constantina to 42.6 percent in Alma den Plata. On the other hand, in the same period Seville province has experienced population growth of 7.5 percent.<sup>6</sup> Large increases were confined to the areas surrounding Seville city. A major factor provoking the remarkable decline of population in Sierra Morena is associated with migration flow. Figure 1 illustrates the percentage of net migration<sup>7</sup> to total population of 1970.<sup>8</sup> It shows that negative net migration (emigration) is found all over Seville province, but the percentage of emigrants to total population are particularly high in the northern parts of Sierra Morena. In ten municipalities of Sierra Morena emigrants account for more than 40 percent of total population. Among them Cazalla de la Sierra and two other municipalities show a marked rate of more than 60 percent. According to the famous study of G. Barbancho in which net migration since 1900 is estimated for each decades and in juridical areas,<sup>9</sup> net migration in Cazalla de la Sierra had been negative in the 1920s, and in absolute terms it had doubled in the next decade. Although this indicates that Cazalla de la Sierra has been an emigration area since the early decades of this century, the emigration in the 1960s is unprecedented because of its intensity. It can be concluded that the very strong emigration in recent decades has accelerated the depopulation process in Sierra Morena.

Table 1 Evolution of population (Cazalla de la Sierra)

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population
1857	7,605	1900	7,782	1940	10,230
1860	7,268	1910	8,044	1950	11,375
1877	8,247	1920	9,686	1960	10,301*
1887	8,558	1930	10,004	1970	6,695**

Sources: Censo de Poblacion. Poblacion de Derecho.

\*1965: 10,316

\*\*1975: 6,549

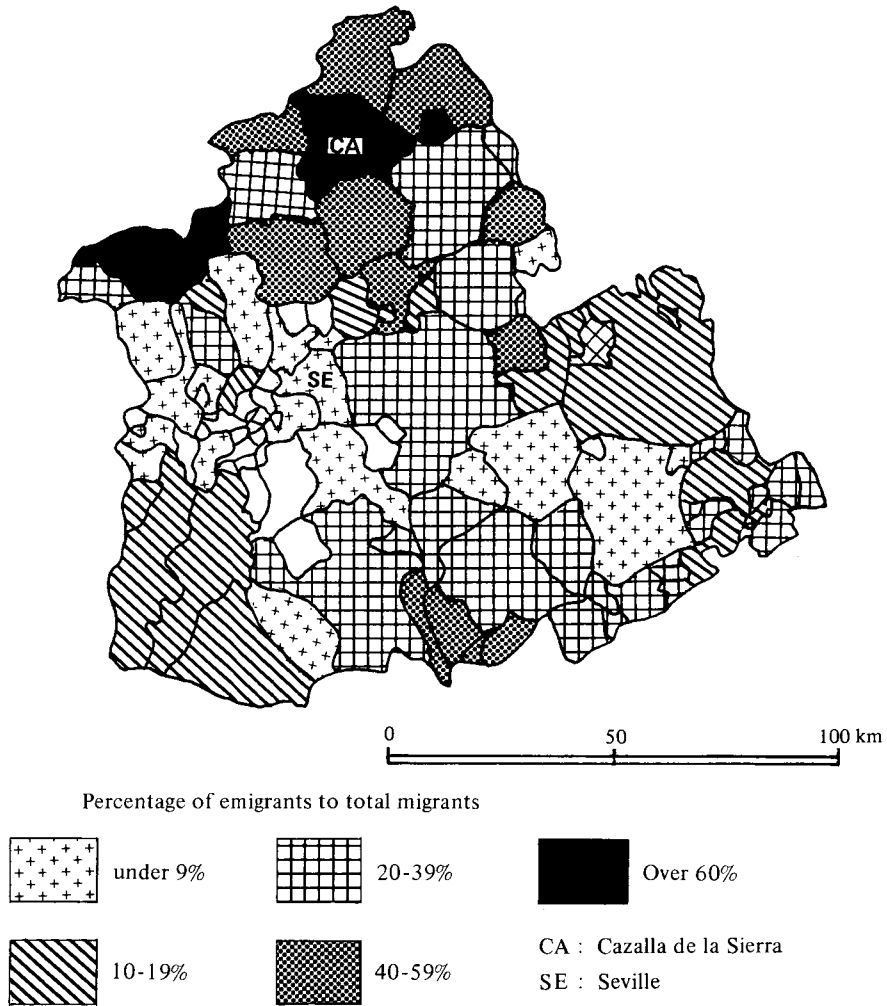
<sup>6</sup> In the same period the national average growth rate was 10.0%, that of Andalusia 1.3% and that of Western Andalusia 3.6%.

<sup>7</sup> In Spain local and regional net migration is estimated by the so-called residual method, subtracting natural change from total population change.

<sup>8</sup> The percentage of Seville province is -8.6%.

<sup>9</sup> Garcia Barbancho, A., *Las migraciones interiores españolas: Estudio cuantitativo desde 1900*, Instituto de Desarrollo Economico, Madrid, 128p. + 23 tablas.

Fig. 1 Emigration of Seville Province during 1961 and 1970



Data estimating migrants by origin and destination are available only at the provincial level. In Seville province, the ratio of interprovincial emigration was 75.6% between 1962 and 1975. This indicates that long-distance migration is predominant.<sup>10</sup> Data for 1963 to 1975 show that Barcelona is the most important destination, absorbing a large part of emigrants from Seville Province. In 1963 it gained 68.1 percent of total emigrants, while

<sup>10</sup> Puyol Antolin, R., *ibid.* pp. 104-105.

Madrid was of less importance (7.3 percent in the same year). The share of Barcelona in the 1970s, gradually decreased contrasting with the increase of the share for provinces such as Las Palmas and Baleares, where the tourism industry has remarkably developed in recent years. These findings show a migration pattern similar to that on the national scale: migration gains are concentrated in the major urban and tourist areas; these gains are very great and are matched by strong depopulation in rural areas. For Cazalla de la Sierra, available data are restricted to three years between 1961 and 1963.

**Table 2 Social features of emigration in Cazalla de la Sierra (1961-1963)**

	1961	1962	1963
Total number of cases	25	54	84
Family emigration	8	15	25
Composition of age groups			
under 9 years old	5	19	20
10 – 19	9	8	35
20 – 29	15	29	55
30 – 39	6	20	19
40 – 49	2	6	19
50 – 59	9	4	14
over 60 years old	6	5	4
Social status			
Farmers	1	1	3
Agricultural workers	12	26	35
Artisans	3	10	4
Employee	3	1	6
Services	2	1	6
Domestic affairs	10	19	47
School children	10	19	33
Children	3	4	11
Pensioner	5	1	—
Unknown	1	8	16
Destination (num. of cases)			
Barcelona	15	33	51
Madrid	2	7	7
Seville (capital)	3	5	16
Gerona	4	1	—
Others	1	8	10

Sources: List of Bajas de Padron of Cazalla de la Sierra.

Registration to transfer residential cards is not always enforced. Therefore available data reveal only a part of the real migration flow, and do not give cue to survey the long-termed migration pattern. But they have a certain value because they include family composition, ages and occupations of emigrants. They provide an example to survey migration differentials (see Table 2). Emigrants had tripled in these three years. When emigrants were classified into a family pattern and a single person pattern, two-thirds of total emigrants were included in the former pattern. Single persons were most likely to be young adults age 21-29. The principal destinations were Barcelona, Seville and Madrid, though Barcelona was predominant, as well as Seville province. Those who went to Madrid were mostly single persons. In terms of occupation, agricultural workers were the highest-percentage group; most of them were males of younger adult age groups. In 1963 this group amounted to 33 of 55 included in the age group of 20-29 years. In addition these data suggest that an exodus of craftsman had begun in the early emigration stage and resulted in the disappearance of various traditional craftsman in 1970s.

Lastly we must mention two other migration patterns: seasonal and international migration, although these patterns are not of relevance in identifying particular features in Cazalla de la Sierra. Statistical data on seasonal migration in Seville Province, which are compiled by the Provincial Delegation of the Ministry of Labour, cover only three years, from 1977 to 1979.<sup>11</sup> Taking the case of 1979, the total number of seasonal migrants was 8,998, and 56.3 percent of them were males. Comparing the distribution by male and female of each age group in these three years, young adults (under 30 years old) were roughly 55-57 percent males and 63-73 percent females. The over-45 age group followed a similar pattern. The residential places of migrants are concentrated in the municipalities of central and southeastern Seville. Only a few migrants resided in the municipalities of Sierra Morena (in 1979 only 10 in Constantina and 4 in Cazalla de la Sierra). These data also list destinations of migrants by province. In 1979 Jaen and Cordoba were the destinations of 62 percent of all migrants' destinations and Navarra, Malaga, Baleares and Barcelona follow them. Though data on occupations of migrants are not available, the high proportion settling in Jean, Cordoba and Navarra seems to suggest that many of the migrants move in order to engage in agricultural activities. International migration has been found predominantly in the Seville Metropolitan area which constitutes 70.0 percent of all migrants in 1961-1976.<sup>12</sup> In the northern mountainous area this international migration has been less common, even compared with the southern mountainous area.

<sup>11</sup> These data calculate only migrants whose transportation cost is officially subsidized, so that the real number of seasonal migrants is much higher.

<sup>12</sup> Drain, M. and E. Kolodony, *L'exil pour metier bilan de l'emigration de la province de Seville vers l'etranger de 1960 a 1976*, C.N.R.S., No. 397, Aix-en-Provence, 1980, p. 34.

The pattern of internal migration is not always the same as that for international migration. It seems that international migration does not prevail in less developed areas suffering the heaviest rural depopulation.

The findings above mentioned suppose that the heaviest rural exodus in Cazalla de la Sierra is associated with the problems of agricultural structure. The next section will focus on this topic in order to interpret the major factors conditioning the migration pattern.

## *II Agricultural Structure*

The principal economic activities in Cazalla de la Sierra are derived from the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector in this area is characterized by low productivity and imbalanced distribution of productive means. First let us refer to agricultural land use in this area in order to survey the actual level of agricultural productivity. Farm land (35,352 hectares) is classified into two different categories: arable land (6,206 hectares) and forest land mixed with grazing land (28,974 hectares). The latter covers more than 80 percent of total farm land, which is a compound of mountainous land (31.1%), oak land (26.7%) and pasture land including weed land (21.8%). Thus a large part of farm land is characterized by extensive land use. On the other hand, arable land accounts for only 17.6 percent of the total, extending narrowly along valleys and depressions. 71.4 percent of this arable land is utilized for olive culture, 21.1 percent for grain farming, 3.5 percent for irrigated gardening (*huerta*) and fruit gardens, and 2.2 percent for viniculture. Therefore olives are the most important commercial product. According to data on agricultural land use by agricultural region in Seville province, olive monoculture locates mainly in Estepe (61.7%), Alfarafe (43.1%) and the southern mountain region (38.6%) [figures refer to percentages of total arable land]. In the northern mountainous region olive culture accounts for 28.7 percent of total arable land. But the main difference between the northern mountainous region and other regions is clearly shown in the small proportion of olive culture on irrigated area in the former region, which is explained by the delay of capital investment in this sector. Of the areas included in the northern mountainous region, Constantina and Cazalla de la Sierra have higher percentages of olive culture. The development of olive culture in Seville Province had been accelerated by the olive boom in the 1830s in Andalusia. This corresponded historically to the transition of the socio-economic structure to a modern capitalistic production system. In the latter half of the 19th century, as the various restrictions on agricultural production were alleviated, olive culture was extended even to land newly brought under cultivation. The favorable economic conditions at that time contributed to the development of olive culture; these included the increasing demand for Spanish agricultural pro-

ducts in foreign markets. M. Drain indicates that construction of railways affected to the areal extension of olive culture in Seville Province.<sup>13</sup>

According to historical data for 1844-1848,<sup>14</sup> Cazalla de la Sierra, with Constantina, was one of the important vinicultural areas in Seville Province. Viniculture in Cazalla de la Sierra accounted for 6 percent of total arable land. In contrast, olive culture at that time accounted for less than 30 percent. This shows that olive culture became more economically important than viniculture in the last half of the 19th century. Presently viniculture has no economic value except for private consumption.

It has been frequently argued that the competitive power of olive products in the market was weak in Seville Province because of inferior quality. This problem had already been pointed out even when olive culture had started to expand. Olive production is now facing a general crisis caused by decreased demand in both national and international markets. Marginal productivity of olive in 1978 is 2500 kilogramme per hectare in plain area and 1900 kilogramme per hectare in mountaneous area with steep inclines.<sup>15</sup> This crisis is most severely felt in marginally productive areas such as Cazalla de la Sierra, where improvements to raise productivity have only recently been accomplished, if at all. In addition to the fall of demand, the rise in production cost in the 1970s, which is mainly attributed to the raise of labour wages in the agricultural sector, strongly affects areas where labour input is most needed. A study investigating profitability in 1959-1978<sup>16</sup> found that total productive cost to realize 100 profit per 1 hectare is 355 for mountainous areas with steep inclines, 305 for mountainous areas with moderate inclines and 205 for plains areas. Labour cost to total productive cost ratio in each areas is 300, 217 and 142. These results clearly show that the decline of profitability is greater in mountainous areas with steep inclines than in any other areas and that labour cost comprises 84.5 percent of total cost in these steep mountainous areas, contrasting with 69.3 percent in plains areas. It can be said that olive production in marginal areas (including Cazalla de la Sierra) is facing a severe economic situation. In Sierra Morena, grain farming as well as olive production is characterized by lower productivity. Taking wheat as an example, average productivity in Andalusia is 21.3 kilogramme per hectare, while that in Sierra Morena is 5-8 kilogramme per hectare. Comparing this with the figure for the central plain of Seville, the profitability of Sierra Morena is only one-third that of the Seville area.

<sup>13</sup> Drain, M., *Les campagnes de la province de Seville: Espace agricole et société rurale*, Thèse d'Etat, Lille III et Paris, 2 Vols. p. 749.

<sup>14</sup> Bernal, A.-Miguel, *La lucha por la tierra en la crisis del antiguo regimen*, Taurus, Madrid, 1979, pp. 151-195.

<sup>15</sup> Grupo Estudios Rurales Andaluces, *Las agriculturas Andalusia*, Ministerio de Agricultura, 1980, p. 284.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 281-313.



These disparities in agricultural productivity between Sierra Morena and other regions has become wider with the progression of commercialization in the agricultural sector. Agricultural regions without competitive power in the market have been reorganized in marginal locations, and Cazalla de la Sierra is no exception.

The analysis below is focused on the distribution of productive means in Cazalla de la Sierra.

**Table 3** Distribution of land holdings in 1962 and 1972

Size of exploitation (hectareo)	Number of holdings		Percent of total number of holdings	
	1962	1972	1962	1972
less than 9	248	159	33.8	39.6
10 – 19	92	62	12.5	15.4
20 – 29	31	29	4.2	7.2
30 – 49	46	34	6.3	8.5
50 – 69	36	21	4.9	5.2
70 – 99	19	17	2.6	4.2
100 – 149	18	12	2.5	3.0
150 – 199	9	7	1.2	1.7
200 – 299	16	9	2.2	2.2
300 – 499	17	10	2.3	2.5
more than 500	17	18	2.3	4.4
without land	185	24	25.2	6.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>734</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: Censo Agrario de Espana Ano 1962 and 1972.

Referring to the two Agricultural Censuses of 1962 and 1972, it is first possible to point out the imbalanced distribution of landholdings among peasants – see Table 3. Peasants with land amounting to less than 50 hectares<sup>17</sup> accounted for 56.8 percent of the total number of peasants in 1962 and 70.7 percent in 1972, but held only 13.3 percent of total farm land in 1962. In contrast, while peasants with landholdings of more than 500 hectares were

<sup>17</sup> It is considered that 50 hectares is the minimum size to support a peasant family in Cazalla de la Sierra.

only 2.3 percent of the total number in 1962 and 4.4 percent in 1972, they occupied 36.2 percent of total land in 1962. Medium-sized holdings are relatively rare; most landholdings fall into the two categories of small holdings and large holdings, though, needless to say, these characteristics are realized everywhere in southern Spain.

Concerning ownership of landed property, the two censuses only indicate the aggregated figures for each municipality. In Cazalla de la Sierra land was divided into 77.6 percent proprietary land, 18.5 percent leased land (*arrendamiento*), 1.1 percent tenant land (*aparcería*) and others in 1962. In 1972, 82.9% was proprietary land, 16.2% leased land, and 0.8% tenant land. According to a study on Cadastre, in the northern mountainous area of Seville proprietors with landholdings of less than 49 hectares account for 62 percent of total land owners and 9 percent of total land, while those with land of more than 500 hectares account for only 7 percent and occupy 45 percent of total land.<sup>18</sup> The same conclusion can also be reached through Cadastral findings: a large number of small land owners and a concentration of land in the hands of large land owners.

Agricultural structure in Cazalla de la Sierra is characterized by minifundium based on small fragmented landholdings and latifundium based on large landholding, though this is generally recognized as a remarkable feature in Andalusia.<sup>19</sup> Therefore the question which concerns us is: what relation does this agricultural structure have to the remarkable rural exodus in this area? As abovementioned, a large number of peasants lack the productive means to earn an adequate livelihood. This can be more clearly assumed by evidence that peasants with landholdings of less than 9 hectares accounted for 33.8 percent of total peasants in 1962 and 39.6 percent in 1972. Moreover, a quarter of the peasants had no land at all in 1962. This indicates clearly that proletarianization in agricultural sector has proceeded to large extent. It is the rapid decline of this class that has been the most remarkable change in the ten years from 1962 to 1972, as Table D illustrates. The proportion to total peasants falls from 25.2 percent to 6.0 percent. Table D also shows that the number of peasants with land of less than 9 hectares has been reduced. The decrease in these two groups accounts for almost 75 percent of the total reduction of the peasantry between 1962 and 1972 and resulted in the de-

<sup>18</sup> Martin Ruiz, P., Comentario sobre "Sierra Norte" Sevilla y su Plan Mejora, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> In Cazalla de la Sierra four types of farmers are classified: 1. Farmers with more than 500 hectares used extensively. Their activities are based on stock-farming of 60-100 head of cattle, 700-1000 sheep, 100-200 goats and 150-200 pigs. They need about five employed workers along with family labourers. 2. Farmers with 300 hectares of land. Their activities are mixed stock-farming and olive culture. The former is a compound of 10-20 head of cattle, 150-200 sheep, 60-100 goats and 50 pigs. Work is done by family labourers and 1 or 2 employed workers. 3. Farmers with 50 hectares of land. Their activities are mixed olive culture and stock-farming of 5-10 cows for fresh milk production, 30-60 sheep and 10-20 pigs. 4. Farmers with about 80 hectares of land for olive culture. Antonio Moreno Ojeda, *La Agricultura en la Comarca de Cazalla de la Sierra, Cazalla de la Sierra, 1977.*

crease in the total number of peasants from 734 to 402. These findings testify that the rapid rural exodus in the 1960s is associated with features determined by agricultural structure, though this is indicated in the anterior section analysing residential cards of migrants.

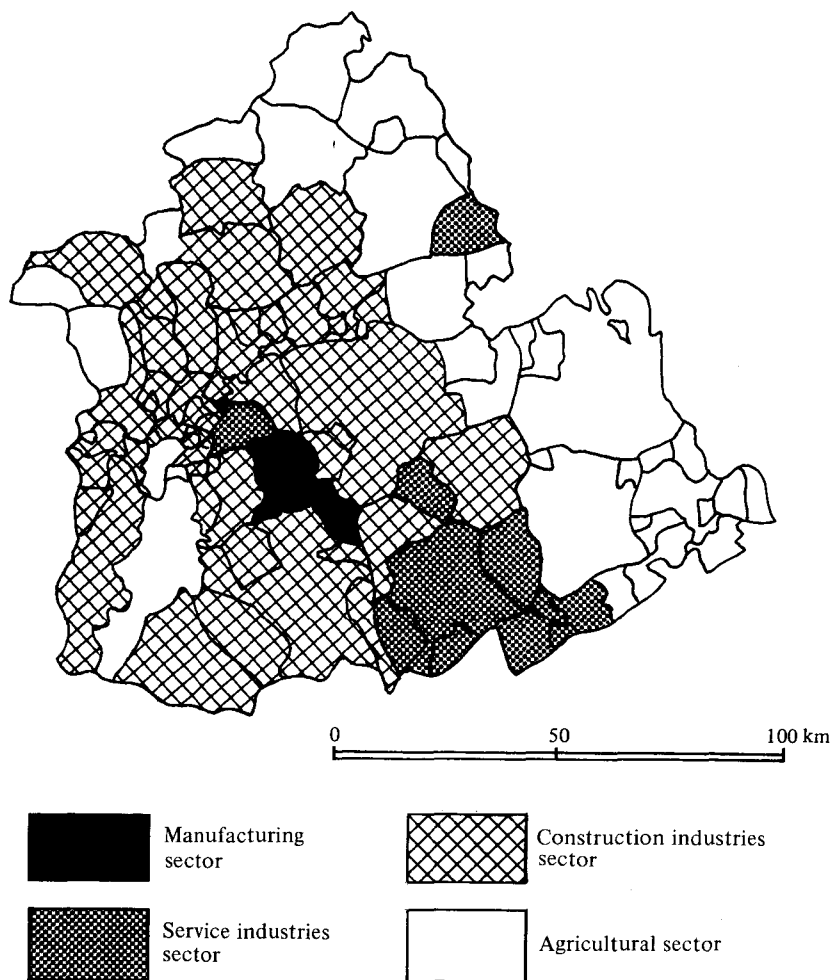
Another factor accelerating rural exodus is the lack of employment opportunities in this area. There are not enough employment opportunities to absorb the existing number of labourers except in the agricultural sector. But labour demand in the agricultural sector fluctuates seasonally according to the agricultural calendar. Labour demand falls heaviest in the three months when the olive crop is harvested, from October to December, and in the May sowing period. It bottoms out in March, April and July. Referring to data on ratio of labour demand to labour supply in 1978, in the northern moun-

**Table 4** Transfer of rural and urban properties in Cazalla de la Sierra (1960-1978)

Year	Rural land properties			Numbers of transferred houses
	Numbers of transferred lots	Numbers of solders	Numbers of adquisitors	
1960	6	5	5	8
61	14	9	9 1 (3)*	
62	72	36	44 1 (1)	4
63	8	5	5	10
64	18	12	14	13
65	28	15	9	16
66				7
67	9	7	3	14
68	16	8	8	23
69	4	2	4	9
1970	13	1	1 1 (8)	17
71	6	3	3	
72	6	4	4	4
73	29	16	15	4
74	25	7	7 2 (14)	29
75	4		1 (4)	11
76	28	4	12 5 (10)	31
77	16	8	12 2 (2)	39
78	20	14	12	

\* Parenthesized figures are numbers of lots.

**Fig. 2** Distribution of Industrial Sectors calculating the most unemployments



tainous area the average rate of annual sufficiency of labour force is 44 percent, and only 53 percent even in the three months from October to December when labour demand reaches its peak. In months of insufficient labour demand it covers only 37 or 38 percent. This means that a large number of agricultural labourers in this region are not touched by wage employment for several months in a year. The situation is confirmed by another statistical source enumerating unemployed workers in 1979 (see Figure 2): unemployed workers in northern parts of Sierra Morena concentrate mainly in the agricultural sector (in Cazalla de la Sierra 175 of 294 unemployed workers are included in this

sector). Given a situation of persistence of under- and unemployment, wage disparities between the agricultural sector and other sectors stimulate the population mobilities among industrial sectors and regions.

### *III Impact of Rural Exodus*

Needless to say, rapid depopulation caused by rural exodus has affected the existing socio-economic structure in Cazalla de la Sierra. The following analysis describes some aspects of its impact by dealing with the issues of population structure, occupation group, land property transfer and municipal finance.

Rapid depopulation since the late 1960s has had a major effect on population structure. Age distribution by ten-year age groups has changed radically between 1960 and 1975. It is clear that the percentage of elderly age groups (over 60 years old) has risen from 12.6 to 19.8. On the other hand, the share of infant and child age groups (under 10 years old) has fallen sharply (from 28.9 percent to 16.1 percent). According to population censuses, the birth rate has shifted from 18.00 permil in 1960 to 12.67 permil in 1975. The parish baptism registrations record a similar tendency. The number of infants christened in 1975 was half that of 1960 (from 199 to 101). The reduction is remarkable especially since the late 1960s, even considering that in recent years baptism is frequently received in Seville City. Marriages have followed a similar pattern, declining in number from 79 to 56 during the same period.<sup>20</sup> The drops in birth rate and number of marriage are perceived as a consequence of the fact that the impact of depopulation has fallen mainly on the younger adult age groups.

Concerning on the change of occupational structure, it is most remarkable that agricultural workers has been reduced as a percentage of total active population, although it still has the highest proportion. The range of occupations has become narrower: evidence from the census of 1975 shows the disappearance of traditional handicraftmen.

The record of transfers of land property is a basis for the study of social relations presented through land acquisition. For this purpose all cases during the eighteen years between 1960 and 1979 of transfers of both rural and urban property rights were surveyed (Table 4).

The evidences of Table 4 show the following: a large part of rural land property is transferred by transaction rather than by heritage; numbers of transacted lots were smaller in the late 1960s when this area had marked the

---

<sup>20</sup> The average age of marriage has also lowered from 30.2 to 27.1 for male and from 28.2 to 25.1 for female during 1960 and 1975.

heaviest rural exodus; fragmentation of landholding shows that the number of acquirers is larger than that of sellers; small-sized lots near the *pueblo (ruedo)* are most frequently transacted. Furthermore, taking the case of 1979 in order to survey the social characteristics of land acquirers, it is possible first to suggest that a considerable part of them are dwellers outside Cazalla de la Sierra. Residents of Cazalla de la Sierra number 52 and residents of other municipalities 4 (one each from Cordoba, Jerez de la Frontera, Guadalcanal and Magdalena). The remaining 18 acquirers are not listed on taxation cards in Cazalla de la Sierra. It cannot be determined from these data alone whether or not these are emigrants who have left their land in Cazalla de la Sierra. Martin Ruiz points out that a considerable amount of land is acquired by outside dwellers with the intention of land speculation in Sierra Morena. These land speculations raise a serious problem that is deteriorating the agricultural environment.

Occupations of land acquirers dwelling in Cazalla de la Sierra are listed as following: 2 public officials, 2 employees, 4 farmers, 11 agricultural labourers, 1 plasterer, 1 carpenter, 10 industrialists, 1 pan-baker, 2 commercialists, 1 owner of an enterprise, and 17 persons without occupations. These figures present the interesting result that the number of those identified as middle class is nearly double that of farmers and agricultural labourers. Land acquisition by the middle class is frequently mentioned as a tendency which has been historically observed in Andalusian rural villages.

Concerning the transfer of urban real estate (houses), it is considered that houses are used as weekend and summer vacation homes, relating to the development of tourism in Sierra Morena. But the tourism in Sierra Morena has not advanced more sufficiently than in Sierra Betica of Southern Andalusia. Although in Cazalla de la Sierra the number of transacted houses is growing in recent years, the promotion of tourism has been limited because of the shortage of water in the summer, etc.

Finally, rapid depopulation also has a significant impact on the financial base of local government. Comparing the financial structure of 1975 with that of 1960, the direct tax in revenue account has conspicuously dropped its proportion from 22.4 percent to 9.0 percent. The indirect tax has also declined, from 12.7 percent to 2.2 percent. Dependency on other financial sources has increased in the proportion: the central government share has increased from 22.9 percent to 36.6 percent, and other institutional sources, contribution has risen from 36.1 percent to 47.9 percent. This evidence shows clearly that the local government of Cazalla de la Sierra has weakened in financial autonomy in these fifteen years. This fact is significant because of its relevance to reinvigoration of the political autonomy at the municipal level. Concerning financial expenditures, it is clear that labour cost has risen and put pressure upon other administrative services.

*IV Conclusion*

This article has been directed to the study of rural exodus and its consequences in a mountainous village. It is intended to provide empirical data rather than to discuss theoretical issues. In order to make clear the comprehensive aspects of migration, in future enquiry it is necessary to collect data on individual behavioral aspects of migrants and to integrate those results into a macro socio-economic setting.

In recent years the change in economic environment caused by the economic crisis of 1972 has been affecting internal migration. Stagnation of the Spanish economy reduces employment opportunities, and unemployment rises among those remaining in rural areas. It is said that in Cazalla de la Sierra the largest number of labourers experienced in recent years engaged in cropping olive in 1979. This is also one of the subjects which must be surveyed in future research.

I must thank those who have helped in my research, especially the local government of Cazalla de la Sierra, which gave me permission to gather data, and Professor Zoid Naranjo of Seville University, Martin Ruiz of the provincial delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Professor M. Drain of University Marselle, who have given me many intellectual aids.

*Bibliography*

- Acosta Sánchez, José: *Andalucía Reconstrucción de una identidad y la lucha contra el centralismo*, Editorial Aragama, Barcelona, 1978, p. 252.
- *Andalucía Hoy. Actas I Congreso Historia de Andalucía*, Diciembre 1976, Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Cordoba, 1979, p. 445.
- Barrios, M.: *Cartas del Pueblo Andaluz*, Barcelona, Ediciones 29, 1973, p. 255.
- Baron, E.: *El Final del Campesinado*, ZYZ, Madrid, 1971, p. 214.
- Bernardo de Quiros, C.: *El Espartaquismo Agrario y Otros Ensayos sobre la Estructura Economica y Social de Andalucía*, Ediciones de la Revista de Trabajo, Madrid, 1973, p. 365.
- Bosque Manuel, J.: *La Distribución de la Explotación Agraria en Andalucía*, *Anales de Sociología* 4/5, 1968-1969, pp. 8-17.
- Bosque Manuel, J.: *Andalucía: Estudio de Geografía Agraria*, Aljibe, Granada, 1979, p. 196.
- Brenan, G.: *Al Sur de Granada, Siglos XXI*, Madrid, 1974, p. 334.
- Burgos, A.: *Andalucía ¿Tercer Mundo?*, Ediciones 29, Madrid, 1971, p. 211.
- Capel, H.: *Los Estudios acerca de las Migraciones Interiores en España*, *Revista de Geografía (Universidad de Barcelona)*, I, Num. 1, 1968, pp. 77-101.
- Capelo, M.: *Fundamentos del Desarrollo Economica de Andalucía*, C.S.I.C., Madrid, 1963, p. 349.
- Cardelús, J.: *Movimientos Migratorios y Organizacion Social*, *Peninsula*, 1979, p. 314.
- Carandell, L. y E. Barrancha: *La Andalucía de la Sierra*, Cuaderno para el Diálogo N° 4,

- Edicusa, Madrid, 1974, p. 62.
- Capelo Martinez, M.: La Promoción Regional y la Emigración, *Anales de Moral Social y Economica* 8, 1965, pp. 118-126.
  - Carrion, P.: Los Latifundismo en España, Ariel, Barcelona, 1932, p. 439.
  - Cazola Perez, J.: Mentalidad “Modernizante”, Trabajo y Cambio en Retornados Andaluces, *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociales* n° 11, 1980, pp. 29-53.
  - Cuenca Toribio, J. M.: Andalucía: Una Introducción Historica, Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorro Provincial, Cordaba, 1980, p. 266.
  - Castillo Castillo J.: La Emigración Española en la Encrucijada, Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas, Madrid, 1980, p. 270.
  - Cuevas Alonso, J. de la: Causas de los Movimientos de Población en España, *Anales de Moral Social y Economica* 8, 1965, pp. 47-84.
  - Diaz del Mora, J.: Historia de las Agitaciones Campesinas Andaluzas, Alianza-Universidad, 1967, p. 518.
  - Dominguez Ortiz, A.: Alteraciones Andaluzas, Madrid, Narcea, 1973, p. 237.
  - Drain, M.: Les campagnes de la province de Seville, *Espace agricole et societe rurale*, These d’Etat Lille III et Paris, 2 Vols., 1977, p. 749.
  - Drain, M.: Población, Realidad y Posibilidad de la Empresa Agraria, En *Estudios General sobre la Economía de la Provincia de Sevilla*, Tomoll, 1973, p. 167.
  - Drain, M. et E. Kolodony: L’exil pour metier bilan de l’emigration de la Province de Seville vers l’etranger de 1960 a 1976, C.N.R.S., n° 397, Aix-en-Provence, 1980, p. 34.
  - Estudios Socioeconomico de Andalucía, Madrid, Instituto de Desarrollo Economico, 3 Vols., 1970-1971.
  - Garcia Barbancho, A.: Los Movimientos Migratorios en España, *Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales*, 33, 1960, pp. 7-85.
  - Garcia Barbancho, A.: Los Movimientos Migratorios en España II, *Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales*, 43, 1963, pp. 47-89.
  - Garcia Barbancho, A.: Las Migraciones Interiores Españolas: Estudio Cuantitativo desde 1900, Instituto de Desarrollo Economico, Madrid, 1967, p. 128, 32 tablas.
  - Garcia Barbancho, A.: Problemas de Migración, *Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales*, 58, 1967.
  - Garcia Barbancho, A.: Disparidades Regionales y Ordenación del Territorio, Ariel, Barcelona, 1979, p. 269.
  - Garcia Barbancho, A.: La Población Andaluza, Instituto de Desarrollo Regional, Universidad de Granada, 1980, p. 58.
  - Gregory David, D.: La Odisea Andaluza, una Emigración hacia Europa, Tecnos, Madrid, 1978, p. 270.
  - Grupo, E.R.A.: Estudios Rurales Andaluces, Ministerio de Agricultura, Secretaría General Tecnica, Madrid, p. 509.
  - Haubert, M.: Pobreza y Riqueza de los Andaluces, Instituto de Desarrollo Regional, Universidad de Sevilla, 1979, p. 440.
  - Higuera Arnal, A.: El Alto Guadalquivir: Estudio Geografico, Instituto de Estudios Gienneses, Departamento de Geografía Aplicada del I.J.S.E. Zaragoza, 1961, p. 191.
  - Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Migración y Estructura Regional, Madrid, 1968, p. 111.
  - Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Nomenclator 1970, Sevilla, 1970, p. 34.
  - Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Censo de la Población de España segun la Inscripción Realizada el 31 de Diciembre de 1970, Provincia de Sevilla, Tomo II-41, p. 54.
  - Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Características de la Población Española, Padron Municipal de Habitantes, 1975, Andalucía, 1977.



- Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Población de Derechos y de Hechos de los Municipios Españoles, Padron Municipal de 1975, 1977, p. 208.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Migraciones Interiores en Españas: quinquenio 1971-1975, 1978, p. 152, 22 mapas.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Encuesta de Equipamiento y Nivel Cultural de las Familias, Vol. IV, Migraciones Interiores, Metodos y Resultados 1970-1975, 1977, p. 175.
- INE en Colabolación con el Ministerio de Agricultura y la Organización Sindical Censo Agrario de España Año 1962, Cuadernos Provinciales n° 41 Sevilla, 1964, p. 67.
- INE en Colabolación con el Ministerio de Agricultura y la Organización Sindical Censo Agrario de España Año 1972, Sevilla, Serie A y B, 1973.
- Jimenez Nuñez, A.: Bibliografía de un Campesino Andaluz, Servicio de Publicaciones de Universidad, Sevilla, 1978, p. 214.
- Lara Sánchez, F.: La Emigración Andaluz: Analisis y Testimonios, Ediciones de Torre, Madrid, 1977, p. 239.
- Lopez Ontiveros, A.: Emigración, Propiedad y Paisaje Agraria en la Campiña de Cordoba, Ariel, Barcelona, 1974, p. 607.
- Luque Baena, E.: Estudio Antropológico Social de un Pueblo del Sur, Editorial Tecnos, Madrid, 1974, p. 251.
- Madoz, P.: Diccionario Geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España sus Posesiones de Ultramar, Madrid, 13 Vols. 1848.
- Martin Ruiz, P.: Comentarios sobre la Comarca “Sierra Norte” de Sevilla y su Plan de Mejora, IRYDA, Ministerio de Agricultura, p. 94.
- Martin Ruiz, P.: Evaluación de los Resultados Parciales de la Actuación del IRYDA en la Comarca Sierra Norte de Sevilla, IRYDA, Mimeo, 1980, p. 81.
- Martinez Alier, J.: La Estabilidad del Latifundio, Ed. Ruedo Iberico, Paris, 1968, p. 419.
- Malefakis, E.E.: Agrarian Reform and Peasant Revolution in Spain, Origin of the Civil War, Yale University Press, 1970, p. 469.
- Bernal Miguel-A.: La Propiedad de la Tierra y las Luchas Agrarias Andaluzas, Ariel, Barcelona, 1974, p. 181.
- Bernal, Miguel-A. et al.: Clases dominantes et societe rural en Basse-Andalusie, Publicaciones de la Casa de Velazques, 1977, Fac. 111.
- Miguel Artola y otros: El Latifundio, Propiedad y Explotación ss. XVIII-XX, Ministerio de Agricultura, Secretaría General Tecnica, 1978, p. 197.
- Miguel A. de: Movilidad Social y Geografica en España, Anales de Moral Social y Economica 8, 1965.
- Murillo Ferrol, F.: La Emigración y el Sistema Valorativo, Anales de Moral Social y Economica 8, 1965, pp. 131-147.
- Nadal, J.: La Población Española, Siglo XVI a XX, Ariel, Barcelon, 1966, p. 223.
- Ortega Alba, F.: El sur de Granada, 2 Vols., Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Cordoba, 1974, p. 181, p. 251.
- Osuna, M.J.: La Novena Provincia Andaluza, Ediciones 29, Barcelona, 1973, p. 193.
- Perez Diaz, V.: Emigración y Cambio en la Sociedad Rural, Revista de Trabajo 17, 1967, pp. 93-107.
- Perez Díaz, V.: Pueblos y Clases Sociales en el Campo Español, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1972, p. 310.
- Perez Diaz, V.: Estructura Social del Campo y Éxodo Rural, Ed. Tecnos, Madrid, 1966, p. 231.
- Ramínez, M.: Algunas Consideraciones sobre Actitudes Sociopolíticas en Andalucía, Anales de Sociologia 4/5, 1968-1969, pp. 62-75.

- Rodrigues Martinez, F.: La Serranía de Ronda. Estudios Geografico. Caja de Ahorros de Ronda, Malaga, 1977, p. 359.
- Rodriguez Osuna, J.: Población y Desarrollo en España, CUSPA, Madrid, 1978, p. 178.
- Roux, B.: Crisis Agraria en la Sierra Andaluza, Ed. de Instituto de Desarrollo Regional, Publicaciones de Universidad de Sevilla, 1975, p. 274.
- Salustiano del Campo y otros: La Cuestión Regional Española, EDICUSA, Madrid, 1977, p. 325.
- Salustiano del Campo: La Política Demografica en España, Cuadernos para el Diálogo, Madrid, 1974, p. 236.
- Salustiano del Campo: Analisis de la Población de España, Ariel, Madrid, 1972, p. 192.
- Siguan M.: La Emigración y su Influencia sobre el Desarrollo del Campo, Revista de Estudios Argo-Social, nº 58, pp. 49-71.
- Siguan M.: El Medio Rural en Andalucía Oriental, Ariel, Barcelona, 1972, p. 251.
- Situación Actual y Perspectivas de Desarrollo de Andalucía Occidental, Confederación Española de Caja de Ahorro, Madrid, 4 Vols., 1974, 1972.
- Manuel Tuñón de Lala: Luchas Obreras y Campesinos en la Andalucía del siglo XX, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1978, p. 297.
- Vazques, J.M.: Sociología Religiosa de la Migraciones Interiores, Anales de Moral Social y Economico 8, 1965, pp. 157-180.