

## SECOND HOMES USERS IN SPAIN. REGIONAL PROFILES

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The geographical analysis of population should give priority to the established relations between people and their territory. That is why their interest should be focused on the population transformation processes, in the case of migration, especially spatial and residential mobility. In this context it is important to elucidate the features that define multiple residential location (that is, the increasing «diffusion» of the residential location and its «multiplication» in space, especially because of the expansion of second homes).

Second homes expansion in Spain is more developed than in surrounding developed countries. At the beginning of this decade, the quantity in stock housing was considerable as well as the percentage of families owners. According to the Spanish Population and Housing Census of 2001, 16% of family houses were used as second homes and 15% of the resident homes as such housing.

Even though part of second homes demand in Spain is owed to foreigners from central and northern Europe, especially around the Mediterranean coast, most demand for these kinds of residences comes from the internal market, that has experienced a considerable growth in recent years: the proportion of households with second homes in 2001 was superior by three percentage points to that of 1991 (15% compared to 11.9%).

In the Spanish case, several structural factors have contributed to this spread. The morphology of our cities leaves little margin to satisfy the increasing demand for low residential density, partly leading to second home relocation in another territory. Moreover, housing in Spain has become the principal investment channel of many families. Additionally, because the social involvement of families in Spanish society has an important role, second homes become a more condensed element inward social nets. We can also add the demand from foreign buyers.

It is of demographic and geographical interest therefore to raise the basic question of the population distribution from a new angle: «frequented territories» instead of «place» of residence. Furthermore, understanding the reasons for secondary residences possession become fundamental. We know that in Spain there is a significant influence of certain socio

demographic and urban factors in the acquisition of second homes. Thus, owning a vehicle, living in a great city, having enough income, no house financial loads bound, being in an advanced life cycle family phase, and especially living in a compact and dense residential environment are factors that are related to ownership of a secondary residence. Nevertheless, the regional differences have not practically been studied.

In this framework, the contribution is to explore two main questions. The first one: Is it worth considering the existence of differential patterns beyond a clear structural Spanish model? The second is derived from the previous one: whether or not this differentiation is regional in form? The answer is positive. First of all, we present a logistic regression model analyzing the main influences of Spanish socio-demographic, territorial and urban factors in second homes ownership based on the 2001 Spanish census.

In this model, the most determinant variable for a household to own a second home is the number of building floors of the located residence. The larger the number of floors, and thus higher density of urban surroundings, the more likely is second home ownership. The second main variable is in owning a vehicle. Disparity was of such magnitude that the probability of owning a second home with more than one private vehicle was approximately three times greater from those who did not have; furthermore, those households that had more than one private vehicle practically had twice the ownership of second homes than the others. The third factor to consider is age. In 2001 this residential practice was more common in homes with mature phases of the family life cycle, especially in those where the reference person age was between 45 and 64 years.

As for the level of studies, the fourth determinant variable results from the level of instruction of the person of reference. The following main variable is the Autonomous Community (CCAA) of habitual residence. The homes with a higher probability to own second homes belong to Murcia's Community (0.211), followed for Valencian's Community, Aragon and Madrid (0.196, 0.184 and 0.175 respectively). In contrast, the lowest probability was corresponding to Canary Island and Cantabria (0.109 and 0.100), finding proximity with Navarre, Andalusia, Galicia and Extremadura (four underneath 0.130). In seven remaining CAAC two groups were distinguished. The first one was shaped by Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Castile and Leon, La Rioja and Asturias homes, which registered superior probabilities to own second homes according to the Spanish average (0.147). Castile-La Mancha and Catalonia were in much less values.

The following main variable is the tenancy regime which follows an interesting distinction between houses owned outright and those still subject to a mortgage. The latter were less likely to own second homes. Thus, the probability of having a secondary residence tenants and owners with mortgages was 0.112, compared to 0.166 of the owners by inheritance, 0.168 of the owners without compromised payments and 0.191 of households that enjoy transferred residence. As for house size, the larger is the main house, the greater is the likelihood of owning a second home. Moreover, it is important to indicate that this variable could bring an explanation of socioeconomic elements which cannot be controlled in the education and socioeconomic level variable. The compensation hypothesis would predict that, controlling income and social position variables (which in turn control the quality and housing status), the simple effect of the housing available space would maintain an inverse relation with the possession of second homes, which is not supported by these results.

Other explanatory variables are the size of municipality and household socioeconomic category. As regards to the first one, the results clearly show that as major demographic size of municipality of habitual residence, more likely would homes have a secondary residence. This way, municipalities with less than 5,000 inhabitants showed a probability of 0.127 compared to 0.201 of large urban municipalities with over 500,000 inhabitants. The socioeconomic status of the household is the one that appeared less determining. Taking as reference the lower category homes, belonging to any other category increases the likelihood of having a second home. Therefore, there was a direct relation between socioeconomic status and second home possession, but lower than expected.

Definitively, the main housing number of floors, a vehicle possession, and a reference person age were the three determining factors in order to have a second home in Spain. This was the dominant pattern throughout Spain and autonomous regions. In general, factors related to the urban context and socioeconomic statuses are the most important factors.

Nevertheless, the statistical modelling differentiated by CC.AA has allowed to establish the propensity in disposing a secondary residence showing significant territorial differences, beyond a common Spanish explanatory framework. The principal residence regional adscription influences clearly on the propensities of latest studies. Regional differences can be systematized in three levels: 1) valuable disparities in standardized intensity in regard to second home possession, 2) hierarchic reorder of the causal determination of geo demographic variables, and 3), with less importance, behavioural disparities inside each variable category.

In regard to the differential intensity, while in Spain one in seven households had a second home in 2001, in Murcia, Aragon and Valencia the ratio was one in five homes, and in Extremadura, Canary Islands and Cantabria one in ten. Indeed, the propensities of the most favourable ones double the communities with lesser intensity. These results imply that individuals or households from the same individual characteristics (demographic, social and economic structure) would have different propensities in their regional affiliation. Development level and outlander model role seem to be the main factors to explain this phenomena; they deserve a specific investigation beyond the exploration of individual factors we have developed here.

More interesting are the different variants on behalf of the variables order in relation to the basic model. In general, communities with greater intensity of second home possession (Valencia, Madrid, Basque Country and Catalonia), and with more pronounced metropolitan influence, exchange hierarchical positions between building floor number and the municipality size, in favour of this last. In other words, the influence of urban context is more important than the immediate urban context. In these communities, socio economic variables (like educational level) lose some importance. By contrast, in communities less prone (Andalusia, Galicia), factors that approximates to the socioeconomic status tend to gain more importance, in other words, social differentiation on behalf of second home is more pronounced. Variables whose role is more stable in all regional models are: the own vehicle possession, the main person age and tenancy of main house. The less stable, are precisely the territorial and urban type.

The internal work of categories is practically identical in all communities. We only find some differences in the municipality size dimension. In some northern communities

(Galicia, Aragon, Castile and Leon), smaller municipalities population is more prone to have a second home than the one that inhabits in rural or intermediate larger municipalities. In these cases, the extreme rurality is also a favourable factor, as well as an elevated urbanization development.

Definitively, the existence of regional differentiation in factors that influence the individual tendencies in owning a second home in Spain, is confirmed. Communities with greater economic development and important tourism sector tend to have more secondary residence owners. The urban and metropolitan residence has a strong influence and there is less social differentiation in accessing this form of shared residence (controlling for other individual variables, including socio-economic status).