

Religious Events as Special Interest Tourism. A Spanish Experience

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Resumen: Este artículo contribuye al desarrollo de la comprensión teórica en el campo de la gestión del turismo religioso, considerando el Peregrinaje del Rocío como paradigma alternativo de análisis, el cuál se ha constituido en un destino capaz de recibir un gran número de viajeros (peregrinos), en un período corto de tiempo (3 días), sin causar daños en el medio ambiente, tanto ecológico como social, debido a sus características antropológicas como forma de viaje que dan prioridad a la experiencia humana más que al consumo de mercado. Así, el modelo investigado en este artículo a través del concepto de “capital social” es oportuno debido a la confluencia en el análisis de diversas ciencias sociales (antropología, economía y sociología) y de la teoría y de la técnica del turismo, concluyendo que el mantenimiento de la autenticidad y de la continuidad de esta forma de turismo religioso se debe planificar no en base a un modelo de bienes inmuebles como así ha sido hasta ahora, sino en la “no estacionalidad” y en la mejora de la regulación de la calidad de los servicios proporcionados.

Palabras clave: Turismo religioso; Eventos especiales; Comunidad; Desarrollo local; Capital social; Autenticidad

Abstract: This paper contributes to the development of the theoretical understanding in the field of religious tourism management by considering the Pilgrimage of the Dew as an alternative paradigm of analysis, which has been constituted in a destination able to host a very large number of travellers (pilgrims), in a very short period of time (3 days), without damaging the environment, ecologic and social, due to the own anthropologic characteristics of this form of travelling that gives priority to the human experience more than the market consumption. Thus, the model researched in this paper through the concept of “social capital” is opportune due to the confluence in the analysis of different social sciences (anthropology, economy and sociology) and from the theory and technique of tourism, concluding that the maintenance of the authenticity and sustainability of this form of religious tourism should be planned not on the basis of a real state model as currently, but on the unseasonality and a much better and regulated quality of the services provided.

Keywords: Religious tourism; Special event; Community; Local development, Social capital; Authenticity

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Introduction

Religious tourism as a special interest event has a highly complex impact on local communities. According to Cohen (1984), during their stay in the destination, tourists interact with local residents and the outcome of their relationship is changes in the host individuals' and host community's quality of life, value systems, labour division, family relationships, attitudes, behavioural patterns, ceremonies and creative expressions. In particular, socioeconomic impacts of tourism include influx of people and related social degradation, impacts on local communities and on cultural values. By assessing the 'Pilgrimage of the Dew', located in the South of Spain (the Village of the Dew belongs to Almonte City Hall, inside the Doñana National Park in the province of Huelva), a description of both quantitative and qualitative socioeconomic measurements of the impact will be presented. These measurements give religious tourism an opportunity to confirm itself as a local agent for development. In particular, the socioeconomic research of tourism, following to classic authors as Cohen (1984), tends to focus on four major thematic areas: the tourist, tourists and hosts, development and structure of the tourist system, and fundamentally, the impacts of tourism on local communities.

Such impacts are analysed from an economic but also from a cultural perspective, and it is on this last where a debate has raised around the issue of authenticity. Studies have been carried out, both theoretical and empirical ones, in order to create a framework which is divided into four platforms (Jafari, 1984; Lea, 1988): the optimistic conceptualisation, the pessimistic or warning, the adaptancy, and the knowledge-based with systematic and detailed studies that examines tourism as a holistic and multidiscipline approach. Indeed, currently tourism 'is considered as a 'mega-system' that generates and receives in a context of interdependence of structures and forces' (Jafari, 1989), where is quite difficult to separate the cultural and economic dimension, but on the contrary, to tie up these related concepts each other. Hence, the case of the Pilgrimage of the

Dew is a paradigm as factors, such as the cultural impacts and the authenticity, are the origin of a particular model of economic impact: the anthropologic and social aspects generate a flow of tourists, organisation and sustainability very significant of this phenomenon, whereas the tourism industry remains in a very precarious situation. In fact, it can be considered as an opportunity to study the movements of travellers and their planning from the theory of tourism. As a result, the Pilgrimage of the Dew is considered as a paradigm from the theoretical framework of the 'adaptancy platform', which is the starting point of this study pursuing alternatives of tourism development, based on local participation and adaptation to the environment, taking as well into consideration the multidiscipline perspective of the 'knowledge-based platform'.

Cohen (1984) states that tourism is 'a modern form of pilgrimage, as the trip is also something sacred'. Consequently, the authenticity of the Pilgrimage of the Dew determines its model of intermediation and hospitality, located basically in the domestic scope (collective houses, friends and relatives, journeys in horse-carts and private cars, supply from the place of origin, etc.), outside the market activity, in a post-industrial society, but that produces another practices only understandable in this socioeconomic environment. Talking about pilgrims and tourism as a pass-through rite (Turner, 1973; Cohen 1988) is also in the case of the Dew about a community rite not contaminated by the marketing, the mixture and the theatre sense of post-modernism. It is a searching of the social and ethnic roots, face to the lost of references of the contemporary society. However, this pilgrimage has economic impacts, understandable just from appropriate concepts of this community, such as the social capital or the sustainable development. Moreover, and not less important, this model of tourism development allows a slightly but consistent set up of alternative tourism activities in conjunction with festivity.

In this context, this research provides an alternative paradigm of analysis to the development of the theoretical understand-

ing in the field of religious tourism management by considering the Pilgrimage of the Dew from the confluence of different social sciences (anthropology, economy and sociology).

Socioeconomic dimension of cultural and religious tourism

Cultural and religious tourism, together with other alternative forms of tourism strengthens the local economies and contributes to sustainable development. In fact, tourism as a development agent is an idea that it has been maintained since its origins with mass tourism. During the 60's and 70's tourism was considered as a modernisation factor in Third World countries and economically poor areas, and from the 80's in the local development framework, as an strategy for the creation of employment and the growing based on the territory harmony, the initiative and the sustainability, promoted from the local and international institutions, such as the European Union (since the Delors Survey and the Employment White Book).

Religious tourism can have wider longer-term benefits as a local development agent, both in the eyes of visitors and residents, and lead to a sustained enhancement of cultural and art facilities in the region. Holh and Tisdell (1995) confirm that tourism could develop the education. Clearly, developing the tourism industry once required minimum training for most jobs, but education is important if one wants develop a long-term tourism, and special training programs could help to produce adequately skilled local labour. This belief is shared by Jafari (in Richards, 1993), where cultural and religious tourism can develop as a local agent of development, the quality of life both in urban and rural settings. The degree to which sociocultural impacts are experienced by host communities may depend on a number of factors, including the number and type of tourists, the nature of tourism development in the area, and the pace of development.

From the above, is clear that cultural and religious tourism activity is an element for local development, based on the idea that each territory has interesting potential resources able of being offer, and as they

are endogen resources, it results coherent the structure of a local tourism supply which acts in the middle term as an important factor of development (Pardellas and Padin, 2004). In this sense, there are two approaches in finding the research idea. On one hand, from a scientific-academic perspective, this study explores in depth the nature of cultural and religious tourism. On the other hand, this study seeks to analyse the socioeconomic impact and the structure of the expenditures produced by this kind of tourism, from an anthropological, economical and sociological point of view.

Research Methodology

This research combines several techniques: (1st) participative observation, (2nd) in-depth interviews which were carried out from the 10th to 13th of May 2005, and (3rd) management of secondary statistics resources. A case study has been used as the form for this research as it ensures the explanation of the Pilgrimage of the Dew as a local development phenomenon.

A case study contributes to a better understand the phenomenon researched by studying single examples. In this current research, a case study was applied in the 'the Brotherhood of Ronda'. Indeed, taking a Brotherhood as a case study seems to be appropriate as most of the tourism activity flows are structured around the Brotherhoods in one side, and the visitor in the other side; moreover there are qualitative differences in the private and collective expenses that are produced in the groups of pilgrims from large distance, and those of the close Brotherhoods.

It is not simple to detract the expenses and incomes in the case of an activity as the Pilgrimage where most of the consumption is not marketed, and where the majority of the employment and the private incomes are informal (there is no declaration of the tourism renting, no regularisation of the spontaneous and temporary employment). All time, this economic activity is heavily related with the rites and traditions, so that, it seems appropriate to start from a method proper of the social anthropology, that is the participative observation. To that end, the authors were participated in the life of the Village of the Dew,

and outside it, for three days.

Some semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out. Those interviews were conducted either one-to-one or in focus groups of three to five pilgrims, and according to aspects related to the expenses which allows us to elaborate different patterns such as the performance of the travel (private, collective, tourism), place of origin of the pilgrims (long, medium or short way), the size of each Brotherhood (large, medium or small), the kind of consumption (household, private), and the employment (public, household, private). The interviews lasted from 30 to 60 minutes.

The third technique used for this research with the intention of combining the deductive and the inductive method, from the general to the particular and vice-versa, has been the use of empirical data measuring the economic impact through the direct study of business and employment related to the tourism activity (i.e. secondary statistics of expenses and incomes of the City Hall Almonte; management of secondary statistics sources about Almonte economy; management of secondary statistics sources about other models of religious tourism in Europe; management of primary sources about the expenses and incomes of the Brotherhoods; management of primary sources about private expenses and consumptions; management of primary sources about collective expenses and consumption from the Brotherhoods)

Pilgrimages

The pilgrimage is a phenomenon much earlier from tourism, as modern concept which establishes the movements of visitors within the mass consumption society, where the travel is set up as a form of leisure. Although, it can be considered with the qualification of tourist the flows of travellers which main motivation is the achievement to receptive sites with religious character, however this phenomenon exceeds the features from most of the tourism products as the link is done between pilgrims and consumers. So, on this particular point lies the difficulty to study the socioeconomic impact of religious pilgrimages; in another words, to apply the usual assessments of tourism economy as most of

the consumption is not traded, and the preservation of the cultural and spiritual richness is preferred from others criterions such as lucrative profit. Thus, religious tourism plays a sure role on the preservation of cultural heritage and its environment.

However, it must be taken into consideration that the survival of pilgrimage destinations, although it cannot be fixed just the tourism logic of profit's maximisation, will depend on the use of proper tools for tourism planning (incomes study, carrying capacity of an attraction, etc.), in order their developments will be produced in sustainable basis, and meanwhile, will be compatible with the economic and social life of the local area and so for their survival.

Cultural and Religious Tourism in Spain

Concerning cultural tourism, there is a combination of cultural values and economic factors which have achieved that this kind of tourism is one of the most worthy. In fact, cultural tourism represents one of the major future growth activities of global tourism demand for this new millennium. In fact, during the 1990s, cultural tourism was identified as one of the major future growth areas in Europe (Zeppel and Hall, 1992). The WTO (1993) estimated that 37% of all international trips would have a cultural element, and this figure would be increased annually by 15% yearly. The growth of demand for cultural tourism is also supported by the evolution in tourism patterns, which show a clear tendency toward shorter stays and a greater fragmentation of holidays. The shortening of vacations multiplies shorts visits, focussed mainly on urban and cultural tourism.

In particular, tourism authorities in Spain have been aware about this tendency and give priority to promote cultural tourism. As it well known, Spain is a successful tourist destination. However, the fact of being identified as a beach product has led to problems of seasonality and geographical concentration (Boniface and Cooper, 2001). This fact has made the authorities react, and they are now on the way to developing new products and to diversifying the Spanish tourist supply. To reach this objective, they are developing different plans to im-

prove the quality of destinations ('Planes de Excelencia y Dinamización') and within the objectives of these plans, cultural tourism is considered as a priority bet for the future (Güemes, 2001). It cannot be forgotten that Spain is the country with the largest number of named World Heritage Sites and that it possesses more than 7.500 properties declared of cultural interest (known as BIC: 'Bien de Interés Cultural') (Marchena, 1998). In fact, the market share of Spain in cultural tourism is 8,2%, and Spain receives 8,5 millions of cultural tourists per year, which almost 60% are foreigners. These ones, account for 12% of the total foreign tourism incomes, and 7,7% of the currency incomes (Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, 2001).

Even this apparently cultural tourism richness, Spain does not have a strong image of cultural tourism destination such as France or Italy. According to Serra and Pujol (2001), this can be attributed two main reasons: the strong image of a "sun and sea" destination and the non-existence of the heritage product (although the resource exist). Therefore, the current efforts of the national government are focused on the establishment of a plan ('Plan de Impulso al Turismo Cultural e Idiomatico') that includes within its measures the development of [cultural] tourism and a bigger use of the national [culture] (Güemes, 2001).

In this context, the main reasons of the development of cultural and religious tourism in Spain could be classified into two blocs, as follows:

From the supply side:

1. The post-modern market requires a big differentiation of products that cultural and religious tourism attains in order to increase their share in a high competitive and segmented market.
2. The secularisation of the Spanish institutions establishes a difference between particular confessions and the valorisation of cultural heritage, so for the interest of all kind of creeds and ideologies.
3. Public Authorities are really interested in this kind of tourism which requires less natural resources, less pollution (more quiet leisure, less noise) and regarding the pilgrimages less harmful for

local customs.

4. Moreover, cultural and religious tourism conciliate two fundamental aspects for Public Authorities, as the preservation of heritage and local development.

From the demand side:

1. The social uniformity of the globalisation makes more desirable of praising everything that maintains the local identity.
2. The high sequences of changes and the shortness that suffers the contemporary society provokes that human beings look for traditional references and authenticity.
3. The increase of the cultural level from the population influences also in the demand of cultural tourism.
4. An important part of the middle class looks for a more elitist leisure as a way to rise its human capital, but as well as a way of differentiation and prestige.
5. The growing commodification of culture has led it to the mass consumption of shows instead of as a source of knowledge.
6. The burst out of regional and local values as well as the return of religious values are with no doubt another post-modern characteristics facing the globalisation and the uproot.

Tourism experts Claudine Chaspoul and Martine Lunven (1993) state four different perspectives of religious tourism where the demand lies on:

a) *The spiritual perspective:* religious tourism is a mean for the individual to approach God:

- Some tourists are believers and the pilgrimage and spiritual retirement are part included in their practice of faith.
- Some tourists are really attracted by an emotion, a place, a climate and its atmosphere, that allow them a dialogue and a consolidation of their faith during their trip or visit.

b) *The sociological perspective:* Religious tourism is a mean for the believer of knowing better the history of the religious group which belongs to, and to tie up its links with the community.

c) *The cultural perspective:* The visit to places of cult and sanctuaries is a mean for the individual, both believer and not believer, to understand the religions present

in the societies (from a historical, sociological, symbolical, ethnological, cultural and even political point of view).

d) *The geographical perspective:* managers of the religious tourism destinations observe modifications on the flows and they are adapting to the evolution of the tourism market. These variations, according to Montaner Montejano (1996), are being concretised in specific points which lead us to the necessity of an in-depth study of the demand and the analytical breakdown of the supply, in order to connect the functions that serve as much as the spiritual perspectives, as the sociological, geographical and cultural ones.

Hence, the nature of religious tourism could be defined according to the World Tourism Organisation (WTO, 1985) as 'the movement of persons due to essentially cultural motivations as study travels, travels to festivals and another artistic events, visits to places and monuments, travels to explore the nature, the art, the folklore and the pilgrimages'. That is, it deals with not only exclusively visits to monuments, but a wider concept.

The most important cult religious centres in the Christianity scope attract up to 25 millions pilgrims (the 15% of the migration believers of this religion). According to Robles Salgado (2001), there are near 8 million, 6 million visiting Rome and the Vatican to Lourdes, between 4 and 5 million to Fatima and 2 million to Guadalupe in Mexico. In other words, the sanctuaries play an important role in the movement of travellers with religious motivations, but also it means that the Dew as a particular receptive centre achieves numbers of visitors pretty significant, with more than 1 million of visitors during the Pilgrimage, without the estimation of those who come in other period of the season.

Religious tourists spend their money on a wide variety of goods and services. They purchase accommodation, food and beverage, transport, communications, entertainment services, goods from retail outlets and tour/travel services just to name a few. This money may be seen as an injection of demand into the host economy, i.e. demand that would otherwise not be present. However, the value of tourist expenditure represents only a partial picture of the eco-

nomic impact. Martínez Roger (2003); Goeldner, Richtie and McIntosh, (2000); and Swarbrooke (1998) indicate that economic impacts of tourism could be classified as follows:

- *Direct effects:* those generated as a direct consequence of the tourism activity.
- *Indirect effects:* those produced meanwhile tourism expenses penetrated in the rest of the economy.
- *Induced effects:* monetary flows that have not been directly originated by tourism expenses, but that are related with the activity.

Furthermore, Sanabria (2002) considers that the tourism activity presents also some negative impacts, such as: territory consumption, consumption of natural resources, i.e. water, energy, materials; generates pollution, both visual and acoustic. However, the positive impacts facilitate economic development, create employment, attract visitors keen to natural and cultural heritage, and even generate opinions and actions to stimulate the preservation.

Thus, cultural and religious tourism is considered as strategic activity for the employment, the production, the generation of value, etc., because of its spreading out in the whole economic system. In this sense, this tourism activity affects not only the economy of the region but also directly the quality of life the residents.

Cultural and Religious Tourism as a Local Agent for Development

Cultural and religious tourism sustainability for local development has become an increasingly important strategic goal for most destinations. It is commonly accepted that constructive partnerships between industry, local residents and their representative governments are a necessary condition for sustainability (Middleton, 1997). Destinations have to preserve their future and search for sustainable development strategies and techniques. Cultural and religious tourism destinations are regularly dependent on cultural/heritage resources, which are linked to the economic strength of local communities. To sustain cultural and religious tourism, the needs and values of residents, service providers and visitors will be measured in combination with the careful plans to facilitate ac-

ceptable levels of contact between residents and visitors (Derrett, 1996). When tourism is sustained, it will provide an economic incentive to preserve natural areas for low-impact use (Hassan, 2000). In fact, cultural and religious tourism constitute an important strategic value for local and regional development, a kind of tourism which highly respects the environment, both rustic and urban, so posing less of a threat to the destination and local population.

The nature of the development of religious tourism is linked with cultural tourism in its socio-spiritual dimension, although it differentiates in this kind of tourism, in the fact that there are inherent differences in the rites, the costumes and the ethical criterions which configure a particular structure of the stay, the economic tissue and the distribution of the expenses.

Social Capital as Theoretical Framework of this Research

Social Capital is a concept of relatively recent use. Two decades ago, nobody practically spoke of social capital, whereas today, it is an essential word of social sciences. Specially, economists and sociologists use this concept frequently and have impelled a voluminous literature around this term. In this context, the diversity of definitions of capital social is wide and large. Taking as reference the definition proposed by Putnam (1993), one of the greatest experts in this matter, social capital can be defined as the set of norms, relations and social networks sustained in the cooperation and the interpersonal confidence. The presence of this type of characteristics is, consequently, beneficial for the life in society.

Like other forms of capital, the social capital is productive, allowing the attainment of certain objectives that would be impossible achieved in their absence. Thus, it is evident that a civic association (for example, of neighbours or parents of students) whose members express confidence relations and mutual cooperation will obtain better results than another one in which they do not take place any type of relationships. In addition, the participation in this type of associations seems ready to maintain relations of cooperation and re-

ciprocity with other people beyond the "space" of such association.

The social capital maintains a close relation with another concept more rooted in social sciences: the "political culture". From the definition mentioned before, it can be concluded that the social capital has a subjective component that includes values and attitudes shared in a community. The same author, Putnam, speaks of "civic community" - where citizens actively participate in the public issues and in the search of the collective interest.

Moreover, the concept of the social capital has remarkable connections with other theoretical traditions, mainly, with the school of the rational election. In this sense, the idea that the existence of social networks, civic commitment and associative life in a society, it will depend on which the individuals find rational to participate and cooperate. Several reasons try to explain why this participation and cooperation can be beneficial to maximize the personal well-being or utility (Jordana, 2000; Herreros, 2002):

- On one hand, personal relationships facilitate useful information. For example, they can save time in going directly to the original source of information.
- On the other hand, to form social part of associations and networks provides important relational benefits. For instance, to have a good agenda of contacts allows to find a job or to perform businesses much quicker.

On this point, this paper will investigate the relationships produced by tourism in the Pilgrimage of the Dew through the social capital as theoretical framework

The measurement of the socioeconomic impact of "the Pilgrimage of the Dew"

The economic study of cultural events is a complex process, as it is composed by a supply of cultural and tourism attractions of diverse nature which require a specific analyse depending on their essence. For the study of the impact of cultural tourism, normally it is established the relationship between "*1st the private expenses, 2nd the institutional incomes*", which it is subtracted the institutional expenses (i.e. event programmes, infrastructures, endowments and equipments with their mul-

tiplication effect).

The problem in the case of the Dew is that most part of the private expenses are not marketed in the receptive centre, neither the institutional expenses are exclusively domain of local authorities while more public authorities are getting involved ('Junta de Andalucía', 'Consejería de Salud', 'Consejería de Medioambiente', etc.).

The quantification of this specific pattern of tourism consumption is highly complex. Moreover, as the Dew is a village which belongs to a municipality ('Almonte') with two more important urban centres with different features ('Matalascañas' as a receptive tourism centre of 'sun and beach', and 'Almonte'), it is quite difficult to obtain disaggregated data. Due to this lack of official statistics, the study of the socioeconomic impact in the area has been performed from the perspective of the direct indirect industrial tourism structure, as well as the expenses and incomes proper of tourism:

1. Approach to the private tourism expenses *in situ* (individual and collective in the case of the Brotherhoods).
2. Description and study of the direct and indirect tourism industry.
3. Comparison of the receptive model with the other centres of religious tourism.
4. The incomes of the local corporation of 'Almonte' as the cultural phenomenon of the Dew.
5. The expenses of the local corporation of 'Almonte' as the same concept as above.

On the other hand, culture is becoming a good which can be used, consumed and subsequently it generates richness (commodification of the culture). On this point, the socioeconomic impact could be materialised and studied from the tourism value of the destination, from two interesting perspectives for the economy:

1. The socioeconomic impact of the tourism structures (direct and indirect) already existing.
2. The potentiality as a tourism attraction which provides future opportunities of richness generation, consisting in the maintenance of the relationship between the growth and the development. This relationship is quite associated in economy on three concepts:

- Carrying capacity of the receptive centre
- Preservation of the environment (natural and cultural)
- Contribution for the regional development

The phenomenon of the Dew has crossed the religious borders and has become a tourism phenomenon also, with its socioeconomics impacts and as a local development agent. In this sense, the Dew has awake the interest of academics for understanding and explaining an event that is lived yearly by believers and agnostics as an expression of religion or as a gathering party respectively.

Obviously, the religious tourism has different interpretations depending on the country where similar events are taking place: Italy, Bosnia, Poland, France, Portugal, etc. However, González and Murphy (1999) point out that the phenomenon of the pilgrimage to the Village of the Dew acquires unusual dimensions in this kind of phenomena and it is surrounded by tourism interpretations that go beyond the most elemental religious feeling. Following are the mainly socioeconomic impacts that have been detected:

1. Few local residents in comparison with the floating population of the high season. Then, the economic opportunities of the area are limited as the tourism activities outside the pilgrimages dates (The Dew and the Small Dew basically, as Christmas more recently). The population registered in the Village of the Dew is 15.300 persons.
2. There is a very important number of visitors and above all tourists (which overstay at least one night) concentrated in a very short period (from two days to one week).
3. Flows very concentrated on time (during the pilgrimages) and on the space (in the Village).
4. This concentration on time and space affects to the expenses detracting (most of the supplies are acquired outside the Village).
5. The cult is done in a double context (The sanctuary of the Dew and the places of origin from the Brotherhoods), so that it detracts the expenses on place and the inclusion in the commercial circuit of the

- Village from the supply and the traditional elements which accompany to the pilgrim (horse, horse-wagons, traditional clothes, etc.).
6. Lack of hotel supply in the Village. But higher supply in rural accommodations, even so it is not quite significant in the area for such important combination of receptive centres:
 - a- Sun and beach tourism in 'Matalascañas'
 - b- Ecotourism in 'Almonte' and 'Las Marismas'
 - c- Religious and cultural tourism in the Dew
 7. Very considerable supply of non-hotels accommodation of private and particular character (it is not realised through a state agent).
 8. Large prevention health network, but there is no care centres neither free hostels, low-cost hostels or youth hostels.
 9. There is no popular food centres. Particulars of private character provide this service to the Brotherhoods. In fact, this is one of the peculiarities of the receptive system of the Dew: the hospitality is done by the visitors, in a group basis, which have their own Brotherhoods' houses. Tourism that does not belong to the network of the Brotherhoods is minority and can feel itself isolated, even as a 'foreigner' with regard to the lack of complementary supply or alternative where to stay. That is the food and beverage centres and the accommodation are private, so the consumption is not charged and exclusively for members of the Brotherhoods and not tourists.
 10. There are more than 341 lodges inhabited and 1.826 free lodges (the last data available corresponding to 1996), so in total 2.167 in the Village of the Dew. The free lodges are used by the Brotherhoods and particulars as provisional residences and many of them are rented with very high prices in short periods (during the Pilgrimage and Christmas). This last point implies important issues from a economic and tourism point of view:
 - a- There is a hotel lodge not regulated, with no licence so no incomes for local authorities.
 - b- There is no richness induced in the area due to the fact that some owner are not from the Village.
 - c- It affects negatively to the construction sector and the employment.
 - d- It avoids the use of another kind of lodging that complement the supply accommodation of the area and that reverts economic and employment effects above all outside the high season of the Dew.
 11. Regarding the employment:
 - a- Development of contracts with local authorities:
 - Health services
 - Environment protection services
 - Fire services
 - Cleaning path services
 - Civil engineering services
 - Security services
 - Parking services
 - Cleaning services
 - b- Enlargement of the commerce and private services staff:
 - Food and beverages services
 - Tourism services
 - Local shops

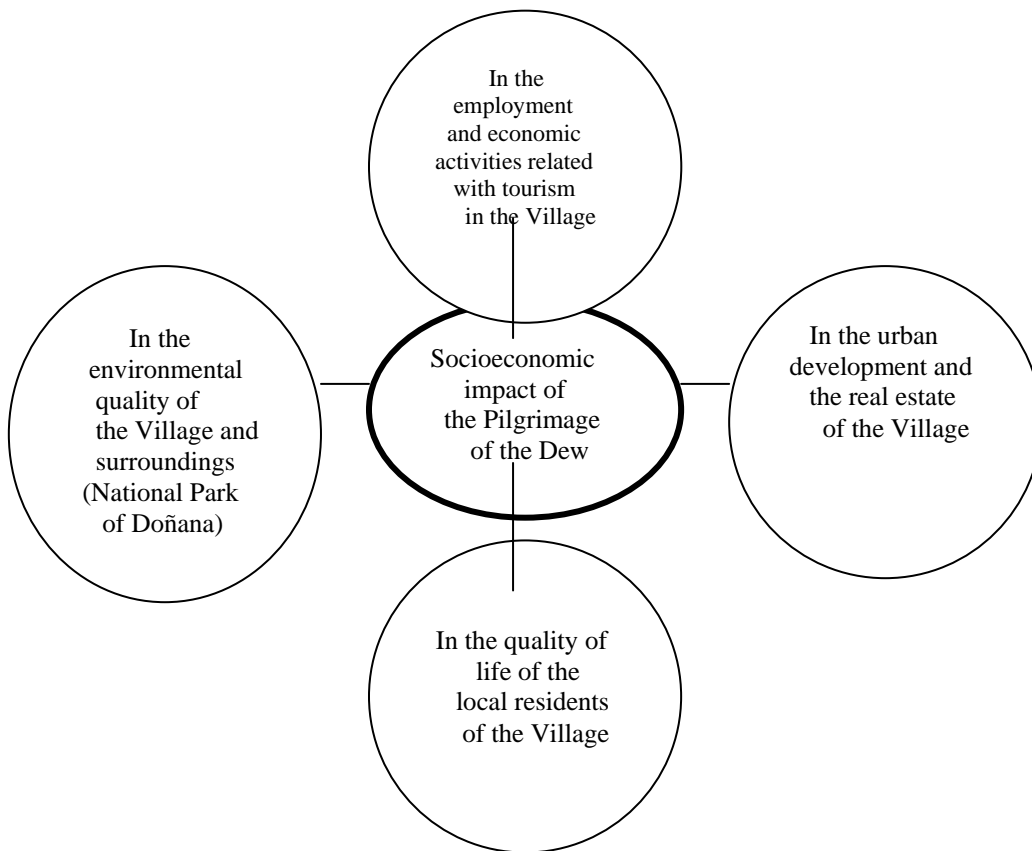
The above socioeconomic impacts can be summarised into the Figure 1.

The Main Socioeconomic Impacts of the Dew

The main impact of the pilgrimage to the Dew is reflected in the diversification of the economic activities developed in the Village of the Dew, as a reply to the incipient tourism development that has gone in parallel to the transformation process of the Pilgrimage during the last thirty years.

In this sense, the tourism model corresponded to the 'Almonte' City Hall as a destination, it can be said that there are three types of tourism models which receive visitors flows: sun and beach tourism located mainly in 'Matalascañas'; nature tourism with greenways around 'Doñana' and religious tourism focused in the Village of the Dew with cultural resources and attractions.

Figure 1. Socioeconomic impacts of the Pilgrimage of the Dew in the area (Own Elaboration).



In particular, the religious tourism model of the Village of the Dew is based in the organisation of tourism and consumption flows which are spotlighted around the cult of the Virgin and depending on the suitable season for the celebration of popular events. Some characteristics of this *sui generis* tourism model of the Dew are:

1. Visitors travel in group basis (in Brotherhoods or family and friends groups).
2. The activities are orientated towards the traditions and the interpersonal relationships.
3. The food and beverage supply is brought from the places of origin as the traditional clothes, horse-dressing and mobile houses which are not regulated.
4. Small tourism business, often familiar commerce with difficulties for the marketing and planning of their products in the Village of the Dew.
5. Accommodation of low class categories with not enough offer of staying infrastructures to facilitate the service to

visitors above all during the peak seasons.

6. The stay is done basically through private accommodations in property or above all renting character.
7. The hotel infrastructures and similar are used just by approximately 1,1 per 1.000 visitors during the time of tourism high season.
8. The hospitality services (food and beverages) are quite insignificant. Only 1,3% approximately of the pilgrims used this kind of tourism supply.

Tourism Expenses Analysis

With regards to the socioeconomic effects of religious tourism, these will depend on three basic economic operations: the expenses of private consumption; the incomes of Public Authorities; and the reinvestments of profits coming from tourism. In this paper, it will be just mentioned the assessment of private expenses as they are the most direct socioeconomic effect of reli-

gious tourists in the Village and they are quite structured around the traditions. A study of the global incomes or reinvestments generated by the Village will be quite inaccurate due to the lack of global information. The private expenses cover a

variety of items that can be classified into three groups: private expenses per pilgrim; private collective expenses per Brotherhood (1.000 pilgrims); and private expenses per visitor with nothing booked in advance.

Expenses	Dollars (2005)	%
<i>Trip (rent a wagon)</i>	80 (1.140 / 14 persons)	6
<i>Private accommodation</i>	510	37
<i>Food & Beverage</i>	320	23
<i>Clothes & Complements</i>	150	11
<i>Presents, candles, rosaries, etc</i>	65	5
<i>Others</i>	250	18
TOTAL	1.375 \$	100

Table 1. Weekly private expenses per pilgrim of one Brotherhood. (Source: Own Elaboration)

Expenses	Dollars (2005)	%
SUPPLY AND BELONGINGS	6.550	28
<i>Food</i>	3.050	
<i>Beverage</i>	2.290	
<i>Wagon Flowers</i>	1.140	
<i>Others</i>	70	
ACCOMMODATION TAXES	4.860	21
<i>Contribution</i>	920	
<i>Accommodation in the camping area</i>	890	
<i>Removal of the toxic wastes</i>	3.050	
STAFF EXPENSES	5.900	26
<i>Drummer</i>	1.330	
<i>2 Cookers</i>	2.290	
<i>Cleaning responsible</i>	760	
<i>Waiter</i>	760	
<i>Fireworks responsible</i>	760	
TRIP EXPENSES	5.720	25
<i>Oxes + wagons</i>	3.430	
<i>Tractor</i>	2.29	
TOTAL	23.030 \$	100

Table 2. Weekly private expenses per Brotherhood (Source: Own Elaboration)

Expenses	Dollars (2005)	%
<i>Trip</i>	30	2
<i>Hotel</i>	990	64
<i>Food & Beverage</i>	270	17
<i>Typical clothes & Shoes</i>	180	11
<i>Parking</i>	90	6
TOTAL	1.560 \$	100

Table 3. Weekly private expenses per visitor with nothing booked in advance (by car from Madrid with three more persons, in a twin room of a 2** Hotel) (Source: Own Elaboration)

Above Tables (n° 1, 3 and 3) enable to state that the pilgrims and the Brotherhoods are those who consume the less in the Village, just 37% of the expenses for the pilgrims (see Table 1), and 21% of the expenses for the Brotherhoods (see Table 2). As it has been said earlier, most of the supply is brought from the places of origin, except the private accommodation. Whereas, it is the visitor with nothing booked in advance who generates most of the richness and employment in the area, as they arrange regulated and marketed services and they do not obtain the supply from origin with 98% of their consumption, except the trip (see Table 3).

Nevertheless, visitors with nothing booked in advance are a minority tourism group as the offer of hotels and similar is quite reduced regarding the number of visitors with just 3.980 beds whereas the influx of visitors is 250 bigger. Only 0,4% of the visitors use hotel accommodation. In that way, it must be noted that a hotel development can be dangerous for the landscapes and the carrying capacity.

Most of the tourists arrange their stay through private accommodation which determines a receptive model and impacts in the local development very concrete: most of the incomes coming from the private expenses are those which have been produced through the private accommodation. In other words, the big majority of pilgrims are lodged either in property houses, houses of friends and relatives, or rented houses. Hence the tourism incomes are not direct and the employment effect instead of being done in the sector of tourism (hospitality and agencies) in particular seasons, it is done in very concrete periods in the construction sector.

This particular religious tourism effects from the Dew puts forward a deficit for the creation of employment in the private sector, in the incomes coming from the tourism sector for Local Authorities and the marketing of the consumption of the area. This feature of private accommodation of the Dew is a common reality in the Mediterranean tourism areas, but with the double concern of having as well a private consumption and supply of food and beverages.

Conclusion, recommendations and further research

The purpose of this study is to explore the socioeconomic impacts of the special event 'Pilgrimage of the Dew' in the geographical area of 'Doñana', with particular focus in the nature of the unit production generated and the employment created, within the analysis of the religious tourism framework and its special characteristics.

From the conceptual framework, two domains are identified: on one hand, the dimension of cultural and religious tourism; on the other hand, cultural and religious tourism as a local development agent. Results suggest that the dimension of cultural and religious tourism is an important contributor for local development, because it provides a valid and reliable tool to articulate the local economy and the geographical territory in a sustainable basis. The main goal of cultural and religious tourism is not the entertainment, but a greater integration into the costumes, the roots and the authenticity. In this point, this integration is based on the social capital, a socially constructed concept which in the case of the Pilgrimage of the Dew articulates the day-to-day life during the celebration and maintains its attractiveness and sustainability through an organization well organized (Plan of the Dew) among local authorities and citizen society. Thus, the social networks are key elements of this Pilgrimage, and that trust is also part of it or, at least, a close proxy for it, where the anthropologic features of this form of tourism model give priority to the human experience more than the market activity. However, the real economic impact of this kind of religious tourism is done, basically in a seasonality level (during the three days celebration) and more through the real state sector (renting and construction) than the employment segment, which has been reverted in itself and in the local economic growing with serious accounting and expansion difficulties. Consequently, there is a 'vicious circle' which restrict the growing of commerce and supply services in the Village, as the products are brought from outside so those offered in the Village are quite expensive for surviving. In this

sense, the employment generated around the Pilgrimage of the Dew is occasional and precarious. Occasional as most of the jobs offered are associated with the days of the Pilgrimage's celebration, and precarious as it is developed under inappropriate conditions regarding work security, wages and legal contracts.

Although this Pilgrimage gathers more and more visitors, the Village of the Dew has not yet become a full tourism destination, specialising itself as a target of religious tourism. Accessibility problems and the lack of a regulated rural accommodation supply are obstructing a tourism development "*comme il faut*". In fact, the poor tourism services in the Village are more related to nature motivation than religious one. General speaking, both kind of tourism (nature and religious) are not interconnected, although the pilgrims are strongly motivated by the nature, the tourism religious flows have their own logic and dispense with the complement supply, even hotels, offered by nature tourism. Indeed, the 'Almonte' Municipality should clearly define its objectives about the reclassification of the Village as a tourism destination, capable of being marketed as a unique product, taking advantage of the synergy that supposes the celebration of the Pilgrimage of the Dew. This reclassification should be orientated to the regulation of economic activities developed in the Village with the intention of maximizing the profits of all stakeholders involved in these economic activities, in particular tourism activities. Hence, it might be eradicated the submerged economy that currently solves the unemployment issue during a very concrete period of the year, but not in a sustainable basis. Measures to facilitate the regularisation of accommodation rents should be encouraged in order to achieve regulated tourism activities (rural houses, hotels or similar) with minimum quality standards services able of being accounting, and which revert revenues to local authorities, despite there are preconceptions from the pilgrims vis-à-vis the territorial tourism development, attributable to an old-fashion thinking where they consider territorial tourism development might damage the landscape and the spirit of the Dew. Certainly, it seems more convenient to plan

and regulate the territorial tourism development, as tourism is already set up and therefore to achieve a sustainable development of the area.

The current study results reported in this paper have limitations, and caution should be used in any generalization of the findings to other religious attractions. However the results of this study provide a basis for the further development and refinement of an instrument to assess the socioeconomic impacts and the role as local development agent of religious tourism. In this point, the authors consider that more research about the context of religious tourism in the Dew is needed. The issue of the demand of religious tourism in outside the season of Pilgrimage has been relatively under-researched in the past. More attention should be paid to the profile and motivations of the tourists coming to the Village outside the periods of pilgrimages. Research is required to clarify the concept of carrying capacity in the Village, that is the use of a range of indicators (demographic, urban, consumption of natural resources, and sociologic), which analyse deeply the risks for the nature of the Dew as a tourism attraction, either in its ecologic dimension as in its cultural one. Finally, more research about the socioeconomic role of woman in the performance of the Dew should be encouraged. Woman participates equally in the event of the Dew as the man, but she does not have the same employment opportunities.

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