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- Carlos Sunyer
- Lola Manteiga

The Concept of Cultural Landscapes

The first in Spain to evaluate the landscape as heritage were geologists in the early years of this century. Amongst these, Eduardo Hernández Pacheco and Hugo Obermeyer stand out. They had a marked influence on the establishment in 1918 of the first two Spanish National Parks, Covadonga Mountain and the Valley of Ordesa. Despite the fact that a natural landscape was the object of these cases, there was a certain tendency to consider cultural aspects as well. A sentence in a speech by King Alfonso XIII in the National Park of Covadonga in 1918 sums up the philosophy underlying its creation:

> "*We are going to create something that is unique in the world: uniting the art of Nature to Religion and to History at the place where a nation was born*".

Some time afterwards, in 1927, the Royal Decree on Places and Natural Monuments of National Interest was passed. This established protection for those "elements of the landscape that are extremely picturesque or extraordinarily beautiful, and especially if their value is increased by association with legend, tradition or history". Both the King's speech and the Royal Decree underline the idea of associating the natural landscape with cultural or historical elements. The later may therefore be regarded as the first step taken towards the concept of a "cultural landscape" by Spanish legislation.

More than 50 years ago, Dantín Cereceda (1942) developed a classification of Spain on the basis of natural features. Later, Lautensach (1965), using the German concept of a cultural landscape, devised a land classification system using cultural criteria in relation to the Iberian peninsula's humid and dry climatic regions (Figure 6.1). Nevertheless, these and other attempts at moving towards a definition and classification of cultural landscapes had little effect on conservation work.

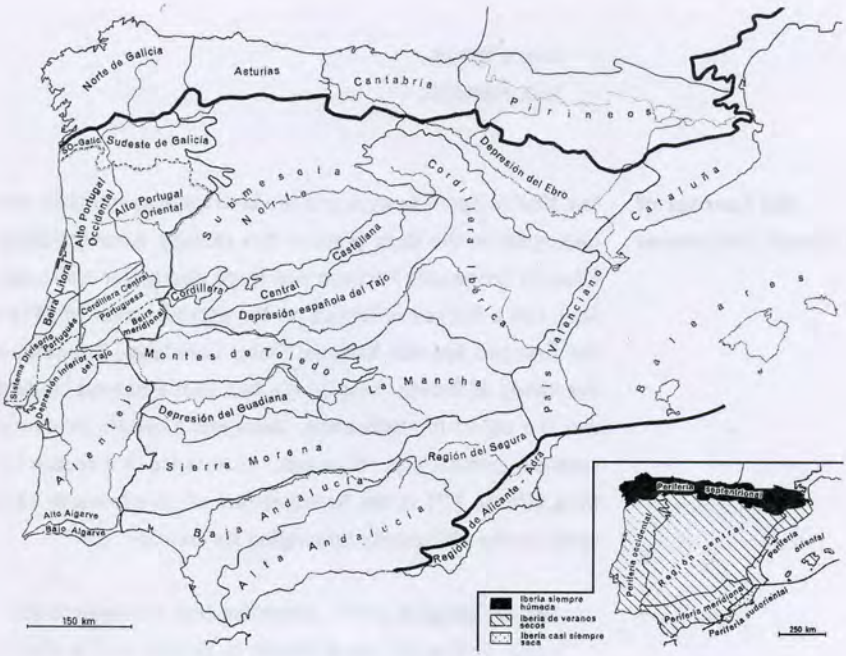

Figure 6.1. **Proposed classification of cultural landscapes in the Iberian peninsula**

Source: Lautensach (1965)

In 1970, Vila Valenti and Capel spoke of an agricultural landscape as the formation of an area by agricultural activities. Given that Spain has been and continues to be an eminently agricultural nation, defining landscape in this way offered an attractive perspective on defining cultural landscapes. Drain (1979) also spoke of cultural landscapes in the sense of agricultural landscapes, while Solé Sabarís (1987) used the term to refer to geographical regions, arguing that the latter result from the actions of man on natural landscapes or regions. Solé Sabarís refers to "agricultural areas" as being the true units into which the cultural landscape is divided". They are defined as "territorial units having well-defined features and characterised by a certain homogeneity in the natural landscape and forms of life".

Thus, tacitly but nevertheless comprehensibly, cultural landscapes in Spain are perceived within the context of the agricultural landscape. It is, however, important to distinguish between the modern concept of a cultural landscape and "historical landscapes". The former may be defined as a landscape that has been brought about in a relatively short period of time, usually as the result of the intensification of agricultural techniques. The latter type of landscape has its origins in long-term historical processes which are generally linked to extensive usage of the land. As well as their cultural value, historical landscapes therefore also tend to be of high environmental value.

The agricultural division of Spain undertaken by the Ministry of Agriculture (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1978a, 1978b) created territorial units that grouped municipal boundaries sharing common natural, economic and social characteristics. In practice, this forms an approach to what could be called "territorial units of cultural landscapes". This division was carried out on the basis of land-use indicators that quantified information on the physical environment, since agriculture tends to be mainly extensive and highly dependent on this. The areas defined by these indicators therefore give an idea of both human use of the land and the potential uses made possible by the natural environment. It is due to this that the landscapes defined in this classification are very close in conceptual terms to those regarded as cultural landscapes. Landscapes studies today are therefore based on this division.

In 1989, the Conservation of Natural Areas and Wild Flora and Fauna Act defined landscape in a broad sense. It did so through the concept of a "protected landscape", defining this as "those places in the natural environment which, due to their aesthetic and cultural values, deserve special protection".

However, although there remains no generally agreed definition of a cultural landscape at either the national or regional level, the concept of a cultural landscape is currently the subject of increasing interest. Two recent events in particular have helped to make cultural landscapes an topical issue. First, in 1992,

the regions of Andalusia, Languedoc-Rosellón and Véneto adopted the Mediterranean Landscape Charter. This defines landscape as:

> *"the tangible expression of the spatial and temporal relationship between individuals and societies and their physical environment, shaped to varying degrees by social, economic and cultural factors. The landscape is therefore the result of a combination of natural, cultural, historic, functional and visual elements"*.

Second, the Fifth Meeting of the IUCN Working Group for the Conservation of Landscape took place in Mallorca in 1994. In this meeting, a draft list of threatened cultural landscapes in the Balearic Islands was presented. This list included eight specific types of cultural landscape in the region.

Draft list of threatened cultural landscapes in the Balearic Islands

Source: Morey (1995)

- *Irrigations in Pla de Sant Jordi (Mallorca)*. Lowland irrigation area of 2,500 ha. Water pumped by 1,200 windmills, many abandoned.
- *Traditional dry crops (Mallorca)*. Cereal crops with fruit-trees. Occupies the main part of the island and is threatened by tourist development.
- *Terraces (Mallorca)*. Stone terraces occupying one-third of the Tramuntana range, mainly in deep slopes. Main crops are cereals and fruit (almonds, olives etc.), but due to the lack of profitability many holdings are being abandoned, leading to erosion and the deterioration of the terraces.
- *"Possessions" (Mallorca)*. Estates of about 100 ha, including crops and wild areas and with a main farmhouse. Until recently these were self-sufficient management units, but are now being abandoned and used for rural recreation.
- *"Llocs" (Menorca)*. These are also self-sufficient management units, but their architecture, management practices and land use differ to the "Possessions".
- *Semi-natural pastureland (Menorca)*. These are one the main land uses in Menorca. The strong winds and the British influence in the eighteenth century encouraged the development of pastureland for cattle, which today is under threat from the effects of

the EU Common Agricultural Policy.

- Rural areas of Ibiza. Unlike the rest of the Balearic Islands, the population of Ibiza occupies a large number of small holdings, each with its own crops and fruit trees. The increase in tourism is negatively affecting traditional architecture and the maintenance of agriculture.
- Landscape of Formentera. The entire island of Formentera has been included as a treatened cultural landscape because it remains largely beyond the influence of mass tourism.

The History of Spanish Landscapes

The first effects on the landscapes of the Iberian peninsula date back to the period 3000–500 BC with the first cultivation of grain. Agriculture developed strongly throughout this period along the Mediterranean coasts and on the Balearic Islands, where Greek, Etruscan, Phoenician and Carthaginian colonies prospered. The vine and the olive were already cultivated by 1,200 BC and mining operations transformed the landscape in some areas.

During the period 500 BC–500 AD, the development of extensive infrastructure projects (reservoirs, roads, aqueducts) took place together with further agricultural development by the Romans. The Roman plough was introduced and irrigation was extended; the most abundant livestock were sheep and pigs. Mining had a great impact on the landscape, which can still be seen to this day. Later, tribes from central Europe arrived, developing agriculture still further and dividing up the lands. Some estimates conclude that forests were reduced by 50 per cent during this period (Bauer, 1992).

The Middle Ages were characterised by Arab domination, especially in southern Spain (711–1492). They developed agriculture and introduced new crop species (cotton, citric fruits, cane sugar, aubergine) and cultivation techniques (such as terraces), and also built large-scale irrigation works. Another characteristic of the Middle Ages were the wars of reconquest, which destroyed great areas of forest. The peoples from the conquered lands came under the rule of the nobility, and it

was in this way that the prevailing demographic pattern of the south arose, with a widely distributed rural population living in isolated villages under aristocratic rule. During this long period of war, sheep farming was of great importance, because it permitted mobility and could exploit natural resources without the need for permanent settlements.

It was then, in 1273, that the Mesta was created, a livestock association with great power which to a great extent determined the evolution of Iberian landscapes. Little by little, pastureland was created in both the plains and the mountain areas, both areas being linked by an extensive network of stock routes called *cañadas*. In this way, a transhumant system arose whereby the livestock grazed the pastures of the plains the winter and, in the hot, dry summer months, mountain pastures. Permanent agriculture thereby became less important, and at the same time the forest area declined considerably.

In the period 1500–1800, the discovery of America led to the introduction of new crops (potato, corn, tomato). Also, because of the expansion of the navy, the demand for timber caused a further decline in the area of forest. It is estimated that in 1585 the merchant navy, fishing and war needs used 3 million tonnes of timber, which is equivalent to about 120,000 hectares of forest (Bauer, 1991).

In 1826, the Mesta was discharged and in 1827 a policy of disentailment began through which about 7 million hectares of land was transferred to private hands. From then on, further destruction of forests took place through expanding the area of permanent agricultural land: in the period up to 1939, the area farmed increased by 6 million hectares.

Until the 1960s, farming was mainly extensive and animal traction was dominant. Since then, however, the structure and environment of the countryside has radically changed. In the regions with the least favourable productive conditions, there was an exodus of rural populations to the city, and many provinces suffered serious depopulation. At the same time, the widespread introduction of butane gas accelerated the aban-

donment of woodland for the production of firewood, which allowed some regeneration of forests in many areas. However, in the most suitable areas agriculture was intensified together with the increased use of modern farm machinery, the replacement of traditional crop varieties by more productive varieties, the abandonment of the rotatory fallow system, the break up grazing land and transforming thousands of hectares by irrigation.

Together, these developments combined to cause a substantial loss of Spain's cultural and landscape heritage. This process is still continuing and is even accelerating through the impact of more recent factors, such as rural tourism which in many areas is leading to further agricultural abandonment in favour of a service economy.

Changes in the Landscape

Although landscapes have always been subject to a constant process of transformation, the rate of change speeded up considerably in the 1950s with the widespread introduction of agricultural mechanisation and the exodus of rural populations from the countryside.

Abandonment of the Countryside

Over the past twenty years, the active agricultural population of Spain has fallen by 70 per cent over and above the losses that occurred since the 1950s (UPA, 1994). Although agricultural, grazing and forest land make up 80 per cent of Spain's territory today, only 30 per cent of the population live in these areas (MAPA, 1996).

This migration, together with the ageing of the rural population, is not only resulting in the abandonment of thousands of hectares of agricultural land, it is also leading to a loss of traditional agricultural knowledge and practices. In these areas, traditional infrastructure such as stone walls, paths, terraces and irrigation channels are degrading, together with traditional forms of resource management (transhumance, tree-pruning etc.). The natural vegetation is tending to evolve towards forest, while some areas are now being used for cultivating

fast-growing species, such as pine and eucalyptus. As a result, valuable cultural landscapes are being abandoned and are deteriorating. It is to be expected that this loss of cultural landscape will continue over the coming years.

Agricultural Intensification

From the 1970s, the mechanisation of farming has increased by 280 per cent (MAPA, 1993). There are now more than 3.4 million hectares of land under irrigation (MAPA, 1995), 5.4 million hectares have suffered the effects of land consolidation (MEH, 1994), and hundreds of kilometres of rivers have been canalised. Also the introduction of new crops and afforestation have had a signifiant impact on the landscape, not only as a result of changes in land use, but also because farmers have had to abandon their traditional farming practices.

This tendency towards the disappearance of historical cultural landscapes continues. For example, by 2005 it is planned to bring more than 157,000 hectares under irrigation (MAPA, 1995a), while 352,135 hectares are hoped to be the subject of land consolidation schemes (MEH, 1994). The EU Common Agricultural Policy is also promoting further intensification and land-use changes.

Tourism

Tourism has increased substantially over the last four decades (Barrero, 1995). While this has been concentrated primarily in coastal or in mountainous areas, rural tourism is also increasing. Tourism usually has two main effects on the landscape: on the one hand, the land is abandoned as agriculture gives way to service industries, while on the other there is the construction of infrastructure for the tourist industry, such as roads, winter resorts and hotels. The policy of this important economic sector is to continue growing, with the inevitable result that pressure on the landscape will increase in the near future.

Infrastructure

There are currently more than 1,000 large water reservoirs in Spain, and the National Hydrological Plan calls for the construction of a further 272 (MOPTMA, 1993). From 1980 to 1993,

an average of 440 kilometres of high-capacity road were built each year (MOPTMA, 1994), and hotel accommodation increased by 23 per cent between 1980 and 1990. The number of apartments increased by 38 per cent over the same period, while camp sites increased in number by 110 per cent (Barrero, 1995). In spite of the fact that most of this infrastructure fell under the control of national plans, it lacked strategic planning that took account of the synergic and acumulative effects of these developments. The result has been a notable deterioration of the environment and the landscape.

Hydrology

The use of groundwater for irrigation and agricultural intensification has resulted in the drainage of 60 per cent of spanish wetlands in recent years. Eighteen aquifers, covering 13,023 square kilometres, are overexploited (MOPTMA-MINER, 1994). The effects of the recent drought and deforestation in some areas have also had an important impact, causing serious biological losses and further simplification of the landscape.

Landscape Protection

Spanish administrative competences for landscape protection are allocated between national, regional and local government and a diversity of legislation exists. However, certain competences are in the process of transference from central to regional government, and not all regions have the same powers of landscape protection. Legisation therefore differs between the regions.

The first national legislation on the landscape was passed in the form of a Royal Decree in 1927 (see above). This offered the possibility of protecting certain areas due to their landscape, and especially if they had valuable historical associations.

Other national legislation relating to the protection of landscapes include:

- Royal Decree 2994/1982 on the restoration of natural areas affected by mining activities (this Decree has been modified in some regions)

- Law 16/1985 on the Spanish historical heritage
- Law 25/1982 on mountain agriculture
- Royal Decree 1131/88 on environmental impact assessment.

However, nowhere in this legislation is the meaning of landscape, the criteria for its valuation or the instruments for its protection defined.

Mention should also be made of the Soil Act of 1992 which set up the possibility of protecting the soil against urban development on the basis of its landscape values. This power is the competence of local governments and is exercised through the land-use planning system. Again, however, there is no mention of a landscape definition or of instruments to implement the policy.

A legal definition of a "protected landscape" does, however, exist. Law 4/1989 on the conservation of natural areas and wild flora and fauna defined protected landscapes as being those sites within the natural environment that, due to their aesthetic and cultural value, deserve special protection. Several regional governments (Murcia, Castilla-Leon, Catalonia and Asturias) have also adopted legislation that alludes to the concept of a protected landscape. Although this definition includes cultural landscapes, the lack of a clear definition for this term has meant in turn that it also lacks legal status.

Of the 466 protected areas in Spain, only five are protected landscapes, while nine are natural areas of national interest (Fernández, 1995). All of these areas are defined on the basis of their natural landscape (mainly geological values), with the single exception of San Juan de la Peña which was selected for its historical value. The total area covered by these zones constitutes no more than 0.2 per cent of all the protected areas within the country. In general, this form of protection is very rarely used.

Although the Mediterranean Landscape Charter contains a declaration of intent for the conservation of these landscapes, to date no effective action has been taken to this end.

It is clear that interest in cultural landscapes is still very much a minority concern which is not seen as being of much importance, probably because there are still huge areas of cultural landscapes in Spain. Even in national strategies, landscape protection is not taken into account, as for example in the National Strategy for the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Biological Diversity (MOPTMA, 1995) and the ENCINA strategy, which constitutes the sectoral elaboration by the Ministry of Agriculture of a strategy for sustainable development integrated into rural development (Tió & Troya, 1996; MAPA, 1996).

The ENCINA strategy

Source: Tió & Troya (1996), MAPA (1996)

The ENCINA strategy is to guide the Ministry of Agriculture's actions towards sustainable development. It provides for the setting-up of programmes focusing on promoting the conservation of the natural environment by means of a balanced and dynamic development of rural areas, bringing together production, social and ecological functions. For this purpose five goals have been defined, each accompanied by a set of objectives. These goals are:

- Adapt the exploitation of resources to their natural recovery rate
- Improve the transformation and production processes and increase product quality.
- Reach and maintain a biodiversity conservation status in which all its elements are viable
- Involve producers and consumers in ensuring the success of the above objectives
- Develop a system of environmental indicators in order to evaluate the status of natural resources and the efficiency of natural processes.

No explicit policy relating to cultural landscapes therefore exists. Indeed, cultural landscapes as such are excluded from the main Spanish conservation policies. Nevertheless, agricultural policy may be able to contribute to the conservation of cultural landscapes through the maintenance of extensive farming methods. This could be achieved through the implemen-

tation of the agri-environment measures of the EU Common Agricultural Policy (Regulation 2078/92). To date, most of the plans drawn up under the Regulation have been designed for the conservation of animal species and natural areas. However, by focusing on the survival of extensive agricultural systems, they also serve to conserve cultural landscapes. In this case, the policy instruments employed are mainly economic in nature. Due to the huge areas of cultural landscapes in Spain and to the nature of the processes affecting the landscapes, financial support measures only offer a short-term solution that is limited to relatively small areas.

It must be emphasised in this respect that the zonal plan for the cereal steppes of Castilla-Leon covers 1.2 million hectares, within which eleven Important Bird Areas are located. At least 685,522 hectares should be subject to specific support measures, but by 1995, when the programme had been running for two years, only 49,983 hectares (4.1 per cent of the whole area) had been included in the scheme (MAPA, 1995b).

Financial support measures may also be dangerous in the long term if they are not accompained by other policies focusing on appropriate sustainable forms of indigenous development and market-based solutions. In this respect, the ENCINA strategy, adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture, represents an interesting approach that could be taken up and further developed by other sectoral authorities.

Examples of Cultural Landscapes

Dehesas

The dehesa is a highly stable agro-silvipastoral exploitation system that developed under conditions of low rainfall and high summer temperatures. It produces a savanna-like landscape with a combination of open and wooded habitat types. The average size of a dehesa is about 500 hectares and includes tree species, principally oaks (mainly *Quercus ilex*, but also *Quercus suber* and *Quercus faginea*) at densities of from 10 to 66 per cent (Montoya, 1988) and Mediterranean scrub. Dehesas are found on undulating land, with soils that are not very productive, and in areas of low population density.

The most important produce of dehesas is livestock, mainly traditional breeds of cattle, sheep and pigs. Agriculture is also important for the production of cattle feed and forest products, such as cork and firewood. In traditionally managed dehesas, tree management is adapted for the production of acorns, which constitute an important source of food for pigs. In some areas, mainly those with some Mediterranean scrub, game is also an important source of income, particularly red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) and wild boar (*Sus scrofa*).

Traditionally, livestock was moved to mountain pastureland during the summer, when the grass dries out, but today livestock is often kept in the dehesas for the whole year and fed with the cereal produced on the estate. The dehesa is therefore an extremely complex system extending over a very large area; each type of production is closely related to all the others and this in turn requires specialised kinds of management.

From 1950 to 1970 dehesas underwent a serious crisis due to a combination of several factors. The Iberian pig, which is a basic element within the productive network of dehesas, suffered a drastic reduction in numbers due to the appearance of porcine plague in 1959, which in turn led to a grave deterioration in these lands. The response was an increase in the spread of intensive agriculture and, as a result of this, thousands of hectares were ploughed up or cleared. This coincided with the increasing mechanisation of the Spanish countryside, which further encouraged the use of intensive production techniques. New livestock breeds were introduced at higher stocking densities, and cattle often replaced sheep.

This was also a time during which thousands of hectares were brought under irrigation, including many former dehesas (such as the Badajoz Plan irrigation scheme). Simultaneously, traditional practices, such as transhumance, were abandoned while others became rarer, such as traditional rotations and the exploitation of woodland for firewood and acorns. As a result, it is estimated that between 1951 and 1981 37–49 per cent of the dehesas were lost (Campos, 1984).

Dehesas currently cover about 5.8 million hectares (Campos, 1992), mainly in the southwest quarter of the peninsula. Porcine plague has been eradicated and pigs have recovered in number, while in some areas woodland is increasingly being managed to produce charcoal or firewood. Some of the traditional breeds of livestock have again prospered, such as merina sheep and retinta cattle. Nevertheless, the most important product of dehesas – livestock – is dependent on Common Agricultural Policy support measures, so that cattle densities, breeds and the way they are managed are determined by these measures. This in turn is a major factor in shaping cultural landscapes.

Dehesas, together with the adjacent areas of Mediterranean forest, have a high conservation value due to their structure and management practices. Dehesas support very diverse bird populations, with 46 bird species depending partially or totally on this habitat. Of these, 29 are in decline in Europe (Tucker & Heath, 1994), including important populations of the Spanish imperial eagle (*Aquila adalberti*), the black vulture (Aegypius monachus) and the black stork (*Ciconia nigra*). Dehesas are also very important for wintering bird populations because of the warm climate during winter and the high winter productivity (Tellería, 1988); they provide the most important overwintering areas for the common crane (*Grus grus*) – 60,000–70,000 every winter – and are also important for mammals, including the lynx (*Lynx pardina*) and the mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*).

Extensive Cereal Crops

Extensive cereal crop landscapes are characterised by a mixed usage of farming and grazing, based of cereals, leguminous crops and sheep. This kind of landscape is dominant in the central part of the country with a flat topography, low rainfall (250–800 millimetres a year), hot summers and cold winters. There are almost no trees, woodland being restricted to the river banks. The total area of this landscape is estimated at thirteen million hectares, of which four million are left each year as fallow (MAPA, 1994).

Extensive cereal/grassland landscape in Ilanos de Cáceres (Carlos Sunyer)

Soils are so poor that they have traditionaly been cultivated in a rotation of once every three years, and the landscape is therefore dominated by a mixture of crops and fallow and grazing areas. Winter stubbles are extensively grazed by sheep. This practice keeps down scrub and increases fertilisation; in the summer sheep are traditionaly moved to mountain pastures.

Extensive cereal crops are important for the conservation of steppe bird populations, with five species unique to the EU and very important populations of vulnerable or globally threatened species such as the great bustard (*Otis tarda*), the lesser kestrel (*Falco naumanni*) and the little bustard (*Tetrax tetrax*) (Tucker & Heath, 1994).

According to a comparative study of three areas of extensive non-irrigated farming, from the end of the 1950s to the end of the 1980s changes took place in land use which affected from 30 to 45 per cent of all land, the main cause being the decline in agriculture (Gutíerrez et al., 1993). The changes which took place in these zones may be extrapolated to most Spanish non-irrigated arable land.

Given that abandonment is a gradual process, it is very common to find landscapes that are similar to traditional ones but in

which cultivated fields are intermixed with those left fallow and other fields containing communities of plants at different stages in their succession, depending on grazing patterns. These new landscapes are often of great importance for biodiversity, especially in terms of bird life.

The main pattern of change is for these landscapes to be abandoned along their marginal areas, while their most productive areas are liable to be brought under an intensified form of agriculture. The Common Agricultural Policy has had an enormous influence on this process, together with the EU Structural Funds. Thousands of hectares have lost part of their cultural value due to land consolidation and irrigated projects. Although a revitalisation of these areas has to some extent taken place during recent years through the effects of EU agri-environment measures, other Common Agricultural Policy measures are limitig this process by working in a counter-productive way.

Drovers' Roads

The marked seasonal differences in rainfall and temperature and the extensive mountainous zones in many parts of Spain have acted as an important factor in livestock management practices. These factors have forced the development of a livestock system based on seasonal movements, from the lowland pasture areas in winter to the mountain pastures in summer. The system is known as transhumance and was developed to make optimum use of natural resources.

In 1273 the Concejo de la Mesta was created, an aggregation of livestock associations with the purpose of defending the rights of livestock, including transhumance. An extensive network of cattle tracks was developed to channel these movements; known as drovers' roads, they cross almost the entire country, running from north to south. The network of drovers' roads in Spain extends to 125,000 kilometres and has a surface area of 425,000 hectares (FEPMA, 1991). The entire system was equipped with drinking places, resting places and other facilities.

The network of drovers' roads is therefore an important part of the landscape; it has a very special identity, and also links

Traditional summer grazing area in the Sierra de la Paramera

(Carlos Sunyer)

different cultural identities that are found around the country. Transhumance also resulted in the formation of habitats of ecological value and incorporates many ecologically important management techniques that are not found in sedentary livestock production.

However, as a result of agricultural intensification and modern transport systems, transhumance is being abandoned, and the intrusion onto drover's roads by infrastructure works and purchase by private land owners constitute serious threats. However, some initiatives are now being taken to conserve the system. For example, the 2001 Project, co-financed by the EU Life programme, is an NGO initiative aiming to draw attention to the cultural and ecological value of transhumance. Every year since 1993, a herd of 2,500 sheep are moved from their winter dehesas to the northern mountain pastureland along the drovers' roads. During their journey south, the sheep are herded through Madrid city along the roads that have been part of the route for centuries (Garzón, 1976).

Conclusions Several conclusions can be drawn from the Spanish experience on cultural landscapes:

- Spain possesses a very diverse range of cultural landscapes, many covering very large areas. A rigorous classification of these landscapes has not yet been drawn up.

- Several factors threaten the cultural landscapes of Spain. The most important of these are the progressive abandonment of the countryside in some areas, the spread of intensive farming in others, large-scale infrastructure developments and the growing pressure from the tourism sector. The EU Common Agricultural Policy, together with the Structural and Cohesion Funds, are exerting a major influence in this respect.

- There is little concern in Spain about cultural landscapes, probably because they are still a common resource.

- As a result, there is no specific policy covering these landscapes, nor are they taken into account by the most recent strategic plans drawn up by the Ministry of Public Works and the Environment, or the Ministry of Agriculture.

- There is no agreement on the definition of "cultural landscape", although it is generally understood to unite natural and cultural values. For historical reasons cultural values are closely associated with agricultural landscapes.

- The concept of a "protected landscape" is included in legislation, and this specifically includes cultural landscapes. Nevertheless, the fact that this definition has been so rarely applied (and always in relation to natural landscapes) means that it has little legal significance.

- Nevertheless, the agri-environment measures taken under the Common Agricultural Policy present an opportunity for the conservation of cultural landscapes, mainly because they have drawn the attention of policy-makers to the urgent need to promote rural development and conserve nature.

In this sense, the ENCINA strategy of the Ministry of Agriculture is a positive initiative, although it does not take into account the conservation of landscapes.

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