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RECENT SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE SPANISH MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS: A CASE STUDY OF IBIZA

HISAKO KURIHARA

The Spanish Mediterranean region has experienced remarkable change over the past few decades with the development of the tourism industry. Ibiza, which is one of the Balearic Islands, is one of the islands affected. The tourism industry on Ibiza as well as in other regions developed in the early 1950s but it was in the 1960s that tourism became an important part of the economy of this island. This suggests that on the one hand foreign tourists increased gradually as the Spanish Government began to make active efforts to promote tourism after the return of Spain to the international community with her admission to the United Nations in 1955 and her full membership in the OECD and in the World Bank in 1958. On the other hand, the demands of mass-tourism in the industrialized countries of north-western Europe was increasing rapidly as a consequence of the economic development of these countries. Many papers have been published on the process of development of the tourism industry. The few papers focus on analysing the effects produced by the development of tourism in the main areas of tourism. These effects include increased immigration as a result of the increase in job opportunities in tourism industries, rapid growth of population, land use change and anarchic exploitation of tourism areas. The areas affected by the tourism industry are not limited to such tourism centers, but studies made of the peripheral areas or the frontiers of tourism are rather few. I have chosen to analyse the situation in the peripheral areas around tourism centers and I expect that the situation will be much different from that in the centers. It is necessary to observe how the effects of tourism development have trickled down to the peripheral areas if one is to grasp the total picture of tourism development. The specific purpose of this paper will be to look at recent changes in a traditional rural area caused by the development of tourism. But first, let me describe briefly the process of the development of tourism on Ibiza before proceeding with the analysis. My case study was made in the parish of San Mateo, the most traditional rural area on Ibiza. The field survey was made between October and December, 1977.

I The development of tourism on Ibiza

The indicators used to study the process of development of tourism on Ibiza were: the number of the tourists, the number of tourists grouped by nationality and the number of beds. From a survey of the evolution of these indicators, the
following points emerged: first, the number of tourists has grown about 600 percent from 1954 to 1976. In 1961, the number of tourists exceeded the total population on Ibiza. The rate of growth rose more sharply after the mid-1960s. The rates of growth in 1968 and 1971 were especially high. The number of tourists reached a culmination in 1973, and thereafter has been in decline. This decline is in part a reflection of the economic stagnation in the industrialized western European countries after 1972. This fact makes clear the dependent character of the tourism industry which is directly affected by the demand of tourism in other countries.

Fig. 1  Number of tourists on Ibiza

Source: Ministerio de Información y Turismo, El Turismo en Baleares, año 1976

Secondly, from the number of tourists grouped by nationality, we see that English tourists have replaced French tourists since 1957 and accounted for 52% of the total number of foreign tourists in 1970. This concentration of English tourists on Ibiza from early in the development of tourism there is the more interesting when we compare it with the case of the rest of Spain in which French tourists predominate. There is a tendency for given tourism areas to cater to concentrations of a single nationality tourist and undoubtedly the travel agencies are
at least partly responsible for this. The second most predominant foreign tourists on Ibiza have been West German since the early 1960s when they also cut into the number of French tourists. In 1970, English, West German, French, Danish, Swedish and Swiss tourists made up 80% of the total. The concentration of northwestern Europeans coming to Ibiza reflects the needs of tourism in those countries: brilliant sun shine, beautiful sandy beaches and the low cost of living.

Thirdly, the number of beds have increased since 1958. Although the number of hotels was one-fifth of the total number of beds in the early 1960s, this figure reached one-third in 1970. The recent increase in the number of beds can be attributed to the construction of hotels and these hotels have tended to become larger, some with more than 200 rooms. The Municipality of Sant Antoni Abat has long been the most important center of tourism on Ibiza, but new developments have been extending into the Municipalities of San Josep and San Juan Baptista since the mid-1960s.

If we consider other factors such as the installation of infrastructures or social and political conditions, we may distinguish four stages in the development of tourism on Ibiza.

The first stage was before 1936 when the Civil War began. Hotels had been constructed in the 1930s and by 1936 there were 4 hotels in the Municipality of Ibiza, 2 hotels in the Municipality of Sant Antoni Abat and 2 hotels in the Municipality of Santa Eularia. Although the guide book written by A. Perey Cabrero had been published in 1909, Ibiza was not yet well known outside of Spain in this period. The second stage was from 1940 to 1958. 1940 marked the end of the Civil War and 1958 was the year of the inauguration of Ibiza International Air Port. The most important event in this period was the creation of the Organization for the Promotion of Tourism (Fomento de Turismo de Ibiza y Formentera). This organization was important in promoting tourism on Ibiza and Formentera. In the years before 1950 when Spain was isolated internationally, most tourists were Spanish, but thereafter the number of foreign tourists gradually increased.

The third stage was from 1959 to 1966. In this period the number of foreign tourists increased rapidly due to the success of activities to promote tourism. For instance, constraints on foreign tourists were loosened by the simplification of customs formalities. At the same time, the devaluation of the peseta, as a part of the Plan for Economic Stability of 1959 made a vacation in Spain cheaper for foreigners. In this stage English tourists replaced French tourists and since then have been the most numerous of the foreign tourists.

The fourth stage was after 1967. In 1967 the number of tourists to visit Ibiza by the chartered air service exceeded the numbers coming in by regular flight service. This was the opening of the charter tourism era on Ibiza.

II The life-space of the parish of San Mateo

The parish of San Mateo is located in the north-western part of Ibiza Island. It takes forty minutes from Ibiza City to the front of the parish church. Around
the church there is nothing except a bar and a few farm houses. The agricultural land of the parish consists of a narrow plain extending along the main road leading to Ibiza City and the polje of Aubarca. Farm houses are scattered around the bases of hills and the contrast between their plastered walls and the green hills draws the attention of visitors.

![Map of Municipalities and parishes of Ibiza](image)

1 Sphere of daily life

The parish of San Mateo lies within the administrative district of the Municipality of Sant Antoni Abat. The boundaries of municipalities in Ibiza were last drawn in 1833, but the territories of the parishes had already formed by 1785 when the island was divided into 16 parishes. It has been generally said that four cuartones, which correspond to the four fiefs which were created after the Reconquista of 1235, were very important for the demarcation of municipal boundaries. In his excellent study of this subject, however, J. Mari Cardona verifies that the boundaries of municipalities do not correspond exactly with the division of cuartones. In the case of Sant Antoni Abat, the boundary does not correspond with the cuarton of Portmany as is commonly assumed but, rather, incorporates parts of the three cuartones of Portmany, Balanzat, and Pla de Vila. The boundaries of municipalities are more closely related to the territories of the parishes than to those of the cuarton. One can see that they were arbitrarily decided in such a way that each municipality included four parishes. The social and economic relations between the parishes was not taken into consideration. Take the example of the parish of San Mateo in this respect. Even now San Mateo has more economic and social ties with San Miguel than with Sant Antoni Abat. One of the reasons is the
lack of communication with Sant Antoni town. The road between them passed through Ibiza City and it takes over one hour to travel. This lack of communication has fostered a weak sense of responsibility to the municipality. This tendency may be observed in other areas of Ibiza as well, and responsibility to Ibiza Island as a whole is commonly presented as rivalry against Majorca Island or Menorca Island. People have a sense of themselves as Ibicenco or Ibicenca, but their next identification is not with the municipality but with the parish. This might be explained by the facts that the sphere of daily life corresponds with the territory of the parish and that religion plays an important role in daily life. The many rites and the fiesta of the guardian saints are the only factors socially unifying inhabitants of the rural areas of Ibiza. The parish of San Mateo is presently divided into seven vende: Cea’s Turs, Aubarca, Sa Noguera, Miguel Cires, Benimaimo, Es Raco and Besarra, as shown in figure 5. These vendes perform the religious and political functions of control and administration. However, we may not regard the parish or the vende as a unit with material substance that supports the rural community, because in San Mateo there is no material base such as communal land. The forest as a communal pasture was long ago parcelled off into individual lots. Furthermore, the social organizations necessary for cooperative agricultural production do not exist. Further investigation on this point is necessary as it will serve to make clearer the nature of the rural community on Ibiza in comparison with those on other Mediterranean islands.

2 The settlement pattern

The settlement pattern on Ibiza is remarkable for the predominance of dispersed settlements compared with those on Majorca and Menorca. The prefectural Governor of Balencia Islands, who made a report on Ibiza in 1875, stated that there were no concentrated settlements except Ibiza City and the port of San Antoni Abat. Vila Valenti points out that Ibiza City historically monopolized the religious and economic powers to the exclusion of the rural areas; this is exceptional among the Mediterranean islands. The following figures express clearly the degree of dispersion in settlements in 1970: The percentage of the population living outside the center of each municipality is 15.5% in Ibiza City, 53.9% in Sant Antoni Abat, 88.9% in San Josep, 96.9% in San Joan Baptista and 82.1% in Santa Eulària. We can not yet explain exactly how these dispersed settlements were formed on Ibiza Island, but we may point out some factors which may have encouraged dispersion, for instance, the difficulties of water acquisition, the danger from epidemics among concentrated populations, and the fragmentation of land by equalized inheritance. We do not have all the historical materials that might have explained how these factors worked together to form the present situation. But, although we cannot concretely trace the process of the settlement of Ibiza, we can say that the dispersed pattern has its origins in the period just after the Reconquista. It is only since the second half of the 18th century, however, that the settlement areas extended and acquired their present configuration. San Mateo has long suffered from some common problems of pre-
modern societies such as danger of external aggression, epidemic disease and famine when the harvest is poor. These factors restricted population growth and also, as a consequence, the extension of settlement areas. The population has gradually increased since the second half of 18th century; from 713 inhabitants in 1786, 791 inhabitants in 1806, 812 inhabitants in 1826, 946 inhabitants in 1846 to 988 inhabitants in 1866.  9

Another feature of the settlement pattern in San Mateo is the absence of a settlement in the polje of Aubarca. The polje of Aubarca was reclaimed in the second half of the 19th century when advanced techniques for drainage and land-clearing became known. 10 But even after this polje was reclaimed, there was no transference of the settlement from the lower hillsides to the center of the polje. It has been explained that farmers did not want to use the fertile land for dwellings, 11 but in addition to this it is necessary to note another reason. The hills had an economic value in the agricultural production of those times, providing, as they did, firewood and pastureland.

In San Mateo as well as in other rural areas of Ibiza, the farm houses have distinct names. Place names, topographical terms, the names of plants or animals, words referring to occupations, etc. would be added to ca’n, ca’s, or cana corresponding to casa en, casa el and casa la in Castilian. With the increase of the farm houses, the terms have become more and more diversified. 12

III Agrarian structure of San Mateo

1 Land holdings

We lack reliable statistical sources for understanding the land holding system of San Mateo. The Rural Cadastre describes respectively the name of the holder, the area and use to which each piece of land is put, the value of agricultural products and the land tax of each land parcel. The difficulty of knowing the land holding structure is often ascribed to the fact that the Cadastre does not give exact information on the legal relations between land-holder and land-owner. 13 And there are other problems. Also, it is difficult to know the total holdings of a farmer when he has parcels scattered in different census tracts (poligonos). Because of these limitations in the Rural Cadastre, we shall survey of the land holdings in the Municipality of San Antonio Abad by using the Agricultural Census of Balearic Prefecture to know the main characteristics of land holdings in this area. 14 In this municipality, about 90% of the cultivated area is owned by the farmers. Small-sized farms of under 5 hectares (ha.) make up 30% of all farms. Farms of 5–10 ha., 10–20 ha., 20–30 ha. and over 30 ha. make up 22.2%, 27.4%, 11.3% and 9.1% of the total respectively. Farms under 20 ha. amount to high 80%. If we regard farms of 20 ha. as the average family-sized farm, agriculture in this area may be said to be based on a land tenure system in which small and family-sized farms predominate. The predominance of small, owner-cultivated farms is common on Ibiza and is the characteristic feature of
Ibiza Island compared with the land tenure system of Majorca and Menorca Islands where large-sized farms exist considerably.\textsuperscript{15} Researches up to day not yet fully explained why small and family-sized farms have historically predominated on Ibiza Island.

Fig. 3-1 Land use map of the Aubarca Polje (Kurihara 1978)
2 Land use

The land use described in the Cadastre is considerably different from the results obtained by observation. Trees such as almond, algarroba or fig and cereals are raised together in such a way that cereals are cultivated under these trees. According to the Cadastre, fig trees occupy the largest area. But this does not reflect exactly the actual land use. As illustrated clearly in figure 3, the principal pattern of land use is the combined cultivation of cereals with almond, algarroba, fig and olive trees. Irrigated land, *huerta*, is only found in the immediate vicinity of farm houses. Land with higher economic value is found near the center of the polje, where almond or algarroba trees are cultivated. Land with less economic value is found out in the peripheral areas of the polje, where all trees are cultivated in an unpruned condition. Cereal crops are rotated between wheat and
barley-fava — chickpea, and then left fallow. In this area the most important commercial products are almonds and algarroba, which were both introduced into the Balearic Islands during the second half of the 18th century and thereafter contributed greatly to the agricultural development of this region. Before the introduction of these trees, the agriculture of these islands was a self-sustaining economy with the main products being cereals, grapes and olives. In consequence, agricultural productivity was relatively low and the economic level in the rural areas long remained underdeveloped. In the last half of the 18th century a series of efforts to improve the traditional economic structure was attempted by La Sociedad de Amigos del Pais on Majorca. This institution was created under the influence of the policies to modernize the economic structure of Menorca Island under the occupation of Great Britain. This institution encouraged the production of cash crops to elevate the economic level in rural areas and to this end introduced almond and algarroba trees. On Majorca Island almond trees were planted in newly reclaimed areas in the west and algarroba trees were planted on land formerly devoted to olive trees. On Ibiza there was a similar organization, La Sociedad Economica, fomented by M. Caetano Solar. We do not know when these trees were first introduced to San Mateo, but in the Census of 1860 investigated by Urech Cifre the areas of tree cultivation in the Municipality of Sant Antoni Abat was recorded. According to this census, the largest area was planted in fig trees. Olive, algarroba and almond trees followed. By the time of the Agricultural Census of 1962, however, the largest area was recorded as devoted to algarroba trees. Over this period of about 100 years, the area devoted to olive and fig trees slightly increased from 300 ha. to 400 and 500 ha. respectively. Land planted in algarroba trees rose from 281 ha. to 1742 ha. and almond tree areas also rose sharply from 132 ha. to 1452 ha. This indicates that traditional products such as fig and olive trees have been gradually replaced by algarroba and almond trees. This is also verified by the itinerary of Luis Salbador, who explored the Baleaic Islands and left very valuable descriptions of rural conditions there in the mid 19th century. He says that in San Mateo there were only a few farm houses around the church of this parish, and that the ground was covered with limestone, big rocks lying about here and there. The nearby hills were similarly rocky and fig and olive trees were the predominant crop. As a map of land use shows clearly, olive trees are cultivated in the hills or on the slopes on the periphery of the polje of Aubarca, whereas algarroba and almond trees are mainly concentrated in the center of the polje. It may be said that this land use reflects the process of reclamation of the polje. The reclamation of the center of the polje has proceeded with the planting of almond trees. The increase in land devoted to both of these trees has greatly contributed to economic progress in this area.

Needless to say, water for irrigation is the key to agricultural development in the Mediterranean regions. It is said that, although wells have been dug, they have not reached subterranean water. Aljibe for gathering rain water are used as reservoirs for irrigation or other agricultural ends. Drinking water is reserved in cisterna. Recently an association to buy water from San Miguel was organized by seven farmers living in the south-east part of the polje. But this is only possible for farm
families near San Miguel. With this water, they can produce various vegetables in their huerta and store them for self-consumption in winter season. The most notable change in agriculture on Ibiza, however, has been expansion of irrigation. Farm equipped not only with electric pumps but also with sprinkling systems have been gradually increasing lately. This means that intensive agriculture has been developing as especially observed in the suburban area. In the huerta, potatoes are the most common crop and they are exported. In addition special kind of vegetables such as artichokes and pasture land, increasing the area cultivated. This is one of the effects of tourism development. In San Mateo this agricultural development is not seen because of the scarcity of water. Here, agricultural production is still maintained in traditional ways with the greatest proportion of the agricultural product going to self-consumption. The backwardness of this area may be attributed to the lack of water for irrigation.

Finally, let us look at a typical farm unit in San Mateo. The farm land was obtained by inheritance. Equitable inheritance is customary law in Catalonia and is commonly carried out here too. The eldest son has the right to half of the land but it comes with the obligation to support his parents. Nowadays, because of the excessive fragmentation of land which results, there are few cases in which sons divide land among themselves. Farm land includes cultivated land and mountainous land which previously had importance as pastureland or as a source of firewood, but now its economic value in agricultural production is negligible. Olive trees are mostly planted in the mountainous land, whereas almond and algarroba trees are planted in cultivated areas. Cereals are sown under trees in the cultivated areas. The land is tilled at the end of October or early in November when the rainy season begins, and it is prepared for sowing cereals. Recently tractors which have been purchased by the association are being used to till the land. Cereals are harvested in May and this is the busiest season in the farmers’ year. Algarroba and almonds are harvested in August or September and this time is the second busiest season. Except for almonds and algarroba which are cash crops, most farm products are for self-consumption. The use of chemical fertilizers or tractors tends to raise the cash expense of farming and so technology needs to be complemented by a cash income from a cash crop, seasonal agricultural work, or some family member engaged in the tourism industry.

IV Social change in San Mateo

The aim of this section is to analyze the social changes which San Mateo has experienced as a consequence of the tourism development on Ibiza Island since the 1950s. We shall describe some characteristic changes in the employment structure and the demographic structure.

1 Changes in the employment structure

The most remarkable changes in the occupation structure are the decrease in
the agricultural population and the increase in the number of people engaged in tourism. The Register Book of 1950 enumerated 514 persons engaged in agriculture (272 persons who engage in agriculture full time, 10 shepherds, and the rest persons who help in agricultural work). Since that time the agricultural population has continuously decreased and had fallen to 187 by 1975. Farmers engaged in full time agricultural work have sharply dropped to 62 and shepherds have disappeared. This means that farmers have decreased to a quarter of their former number in these last 25 years. We may regard this as the most important change because it reflects the facts that agricultural production has lost its significance in San Mateo and that the traditional ways of production have been transformed. If we take into consideration the fact that a large percentage of farmers were old in 1975, this trend can be expected to grow stronger in near future. (farmers over 40 years of age were 73% of the total in 1975).

People engaged in the tourism industries are generally male under 30 years old. There were no such people in 1950, but there were 3 persons engaged in transportation services, 2 persons engaged in hotel services and 1 person engaged as a waiter in a restaurant in 1960. By 1975, the kinds of jobs had become diversified with a corresponding increase in the number of persons engaged in tourism industries. There were 8 persons in transportation services, 21 persons in hotel services, 5 persons in commerce, 1 person in airport service and 1 person in a tourist agency. This change implies that the development of tourism has induced the growth of related industries and enlarged opportunities for employment. Ibiza Island has been transformed into a region which attracts immigration from other regions. In consequence of the development of tourism, the Balearic Islands and the Canary Islands, as well as the urbanized and industrialized regions, have been receiving the internal migration flow in Spain.

We should note not only the increase in employment, but also changes in employment. Employment in hotel or transportation services, as shown in the case of San Mateo, is by no means stable because it is seasonal, i.e. limited to the tourism season from May to October. Besides, these jobs are characterized by low payment and hard work. This is a consequence of the nature of international tourism which is based on the difference in wage levels between Spain and the north-western European countries. In other word, the condition of labourers in the tourism industries are determined by this international economic structure.

2 Changes in the demographic structure

An even more notable change than that in the employment structure is the rapid decrease of population and the transformation of its age composition. Data in the Register reveal that the population and the number of families increased gradually from the second half of the 18th century, as shown in figure 4. But both began to decline in 1950. Population had fallen sharply to less than half the 1950 number by 1975.

An examination of the family structure may suggest reasons for this rapid population decline. The total number of families decreased from 236 to 157.
Changes in family structure become most evident, however, when we direct our attention to family size. If we subdivide families into four categories (I. 1 person, II. 2—5 persons, III. 6—10 persons and IV. over 11 persons), some interesting features emerge. In 1950 the number of families in categories I, II, and IV respectively were 12, 157, 64 and 4. In 1975 they are 43, 99, 15 and 0. The overall decline of II, III and IV is remarkable in contrast with the increase of I. If we put the number of families with only two persons in a separate category, we find 49 in 1976. It is apparent that family size has grown smaller and smaller.

The survey of age composition indicates that the age group under 20 years of age has gone down in the same 25 year period from 41.5% to 27.9%, whereas the age group over 60 years of age has risen from 12.6% to 26.2%. It may be assumed from this that the rapid decrease in population has occurred as a joint result of both emigration of whole families and of the younger generation. The rapid decline was accelerated by the combined effects of these two factors.

Fig 4.1  Evolution of the numbers of population and families of San Mateo

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We can observe some consequences of this rapid emigration from San Mateo. As figure 5 shows, 91 farm houses were vacated between 1950 and 1975. Of these, 67 were vacated after 1960, and the desertion rate has been ever more rapid recently. The number of unoccupied houses seems to be higher in vende such as Sa Noguera where the conditions of agricultural production are unfavourable and accessibility to a transportation system is lacking. Another consequence is the
change in age composition. The age group under 34 has declined and age group under 4 years of age has experienced the largest decline of all, from 12.7% to 6.0%. In contrast with this, the proportion of persons in the age group over 60 years of age has risen from 12.6% to 26.2%. It becomes clear that this percentage of 26.2 is extremely high when we compare it with 13.9% in the municipality of Sant Antoni Abat. This aging of the population has been caused not only by improvements in medical conditions, but also by the emigration of the younger generations. The population pyramid for 1975 illustrates the unbalance in age distribution and the impossibility that the population will grow by reproduction in biological sense (Fig. 4). Finally emigration from rural areas such as San Mateo affects the overall distribution of population on Ibiza. The dispersed distribution pattern has been moderated gradually by a trend toward concentration of population in the main towns. In the municipality of Sant Antoni Abat, for instance, the portion of dispersed population to the total population dropped from 79.6% to
53.7% between 1950 and 1970. This is mainly due to the development of Ibiza as a tourism center.

According to the Register, 121 persons left San Mateo in 1950, 14 left in 1960 and 7 in 1975. The Register of 1960 gives the places of residence of the absentees as Lima, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Asunción, Ibiza City (4 persons), Santa Eulària and Majorca (3 persons). Emigration to Latin America cities is generally by the elder generation whereas the rest is by the younger generation. This may allow us to assume that the emigration to Latin America represented one of the migration patterns that prevailed before the advent of tourism in San Mateo as well as in other areas of Ibiza Island.

Of the marriage system, we know that the marriage age is different for males and females. For the former it is from 30 to 34, while for the latter it is from 25 to 29. It is characteristic that the marriage age for both men and women are relatively high. This trend has not changed between 1950 and 1975. The celibacy rate of males over 40 years of age has slightly decreased from 11.9% to 7.3%, but that of females has remained more stable around 19.0% during the period under review. Demographers have often referred to the high celibacy rate in Spain. They regard this as a premodern feature of Spanish society, by which the population maintained a stable size. Religion also played an important role in stabilizing the population size of this less-developed country. In order to give a clearer picture of this problem, it is necessary to investigate other economic and social factors. We will only note here that a high celibacy rate is seen in San Mateo.

3 Other changes

Another remarkable change in San Mateo caused by the development of tourism on Ibiza Island is the increase in foreign ownership of farm houses. As of today an Italian, a German and an American have bought houses and remodeled them into villa residences. Also one Catalán has done this. In addition, some unoccupied houses have been rented to hippies who have increased in number since the 1960s with the development of tourism though most of them live in Ibiza City. Even in this remote rural area we can see this phenomenon which is perhaps as much an expression of the influence of the tourism industry as the more direct penetration of tourism in terms of the construction of hotels, restaurants and others in tourism centers. The turnover of land from agricultural to non-agricultural uses indicates that a new stage in the development of tourism has been reached, beyond that stage in which San Mateo was only a spot for day excursions. If we consider that tourism development in Mediterranean regions includes the direct or indirect acquisition of land by foreign capital, we may understand more clearly the nature of these new trends as new forms of the spatial exploitation of tourism.

The inhabitants of San Mateo are very conscious of the radical changes for their life. For instance, the improvement of their communication system completely changes the relationship of San Mateo with Ibiza City. Electric facilities are going to be installed, at least to the houses near the parish church. All these
changes are partially caused by the development of tourism, but also they are being realized as general improvements in the standard of living of the people, whose demands for modern living facilities have been increasing as their contact with the exterior world grows. But there still remains a great disparity between the living standards of urban and rural areas, of centers and peripheries of tourism and the countries tourists come from and the countries receiving tourists. It is precisely on the disparity of living standard and income level that the prosperity of the tourism industry is based.
V Conclusion and some problems

In this paper we have described the traditional way of life in rural areas and the changes caused by the recent development of tourism, taking the case of the parish of San Mateo. We have explored the profound transformation San Mateo has suffered since the 1950s, as observed in the rapid decline of the whole population, the decrease of the agricultural population, the increase of the population engaged in tourism and tourism-related industries, and the redistribution of age composition. Recent changes such as the turnover of land use indicates that San Mateo is entering into a new stage in relation to the development of tourism on Ibiza. We comment, if not sufficiently, upon the nature of the economic development initiated by the development of tourism. In the following, we shall refer to some problems in relation to the development of tourism.

With the enhancement of value in tourism areas of Ibiza Island, rural areas are also valued just because they are “rural” or have “exotic customs”. This is supported by the idea that one purpose of tourism is to liberate people from urban bureaucratic society. San Mateo has gained “value” just for this reason. One of the problems arises, however, from the fact that tourism development brings with it the destruction of rural areas and as this proceeds there is a tendency for the tourism area itself to become devalued.

Tourism development proceeds to rearrange space in order of its value as a tourism area. The rearrangement of space is intimately related to the development plan in that the plan produces space with tourism value. The municipality of Sant Antoni Abat prepared a “Plan General de Ordenación Urbana” in 1977 which framed the general land use policy for that municipality. One object of this plan was to set up official controls against the anarchic exploitation of tourism areas by the private sector, but the main object was to produce new tourism areas through rezoning. In this plan, land in San Mateo is zoned as a rural and mountain district, and also designated as a conservation area. Though the Ley del Suelo legislated in 1956 basically determines the Plan General de Ordenación Urbana in each local government, it has no means whatever to put it into legal operation and thus the possibility for development by the Plan Parcial exists. In this sense, San Mateo is not completely out of the danger of anarchic development.

Finally, our interest is drawn to the problem of the process of regional decision-making in relation to tourism development. An event that recently shook Ibiza Island was a large demonstration opposing the plan, prepared by the municipality of San Josep, to develop the salina into a tourism area. This opposition movement was the first to be organized on Ibiza to publicly express objection to the exploitation of tourism. It is said that the Spanish Government will soon allow the local election of members to municipal assemblies. When this happens, it will be possible to treat more fully this problem of how regional plans are formulated and how tourism development plans are affected thereby. It is a matter of course that this change toward local participation reflects a dynamic transformation of Spanish society in these last two years.
Note


(2) Jorge Demerson: Las Iglesias de Ibiza, Amigos de Ibiza, Ibiza, 1974, p. 79.


(8) (5) Isidoro Macabich, ibid., p. 10.

(9) Arxiu Històric de la Pobòrdia, Relació anual que los parroquians debian mandar al Obispado. Parroquia de San Mateo, año 1786, 1796, 1806, 1816, 1826, 1836, 1846, 1856, 1866, 1876.


(11) (5) ibid., p. 10

(12) The origin for this custom of naming each farm house is commonly explained as follows. Many people share the same family name and there is not much variety in the choice of Christian names either. (Antonio Costa Ramón: Apuntes sobre los Apellidos en las Islas Pitiusas, Boletín de la C. O. C. I. N. de Palma de Mallorca, No. 644—645, 1964) When the population was small, it was sufficient to identify individuals by adding the place name of his or her dwelling to the each person's name. But this method has become less functional with the increase of population and the need for another way of identifying people has become pressing recently. (4) Ibid, pp. 83—84.


(14) Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Censo Agrario de España, 1972, Serie A-Primeros Resultados, Baleares.


(20) Casimiro Urech Cifre: Estudios sobre la Riqueza Territorial de las Islas Baleares, Palma de Mallorca, Gussp, 1969, pp. 544—545.


(23) In the Municipality of Sant Antoni Abat, the natives outside that municipality account for 55.5% of the total population in 1975. The immigrants from 1960 to 1975 make up 58.0% of the natives outside that municipality and they came mainly from Andalusia (34.1%), other municipalities of Ibiza (25.5%), and Meseta (12.5%).


