

PERIPHERAL TOURISM — A CASE STUDY IN IBIZA†

By KEIICHI TAKEUCHI* AND HISAKO KURIHARA**

I. *Tourism and Economic Development in Spain*

Among West European countries, the growth of international tourism has been most remarkable in Spain. Following the long period of seclusion due to the civil war and the Second World War, the 1950's quickly began to show a rapid expansion in the number of foreign visitors with an annual increase of about 15%. After 1959, in conformity with the internationalization of the Spanish economy and especially as a result of the stabilization of the peseta, the real tourism boom began. Between 1958 and 1963 there was a 145% rise in the number of tourists arriving in Spain, compared with France (60%) and Italy (32%).¹ Spain had anticipated 16 million foreign tourists in 1965; the actual figure was more than 30 million (30.01 million in 1976).

The expenditure incurred by the Spanish tourist abroad is much less than that incurred by the foreign tourist in Spain. Together with the remittance from the Spanish emigrants abroad, this invisible export, therefore, now contributes greatly to the balance of payment, offsetting a loss on the visible trading account caused by the increasing import of consumption and capital goods. The value of the invisible earnings from tourism is always around 80% of that of commodity exports, this percentage being about the highest in the world, exceeded only by the Bahamas and Bermuda.

There are various discussions on the reasons for this quite phenomenal growth and popularity of Spain as a tourist destination.² The French have always formed the predominant national group visiting Spain (9,476,064 in 1978), constituting about one third of the foreign tourists. They are followed by the Germans (3,890,843) and the British (2,982,207). It is rather difficult to consider that the French visit Spain for the sunshine and the sand, these being two of the most important attractive factors for mass tourism, because they have similar touristic spots in the Midi. But the French were pioneers of mass tourism in Spain and, in the 1960's, the British tour operators followed the French popular fashion of taking "holidays on the Costa Brava" in organizing charter tourism in Spain. Low prices neces-

* Professor (*Kyōju*) of Social Geography

** Assistant (*Joshu*) of Social Geography

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¹ J. Naylor, *Tourism—Spain's Most Important Industry*. *Geography*, Vol. 52, 1967, pp. 23–40.

² H. Robinson, *A Geography of Tourism*. London 1976, pp. 299–301.

sarily always form a powerful factor in generating tourist flow.³ The French tourists first exploited such low prices on the Costa Brava at every level.⁴ Although costs in Spain have gone up quite appreciably since the late 1960's, it is still true to say that they compare very favourably with those in other West European countries. Because tourism as commodity is produced through intricate advertising and organizational activities of tour operators and recipient parties (hotel and other tourism facilities), in order to analyze the formation of the "low-cost Spain" fashion, we have to realise that the strategies of tour operators of the countries generating tourists account for a great deal, as does the behavior of public and private sectors concerning tourism in Spain. For tour operators, Spain has, though less than Italy, a traditional fame since the period of elite tourism, which always constitutes an important factor in launching tourism on a mass scale. At the same time, in the 1950's and 1960's, many sectors of Spain formed a sort of pleasure periphery⁵, another one of the imperatives for tourist industries, which had always to offer a "discovery". From the analyses of the leaflets and other advertising material⁶, there looms up a vision of a low-cost Spain boasting off sunny coasts, exoticism and security maintained under the Franco regime. In Spain the existence of vast undeveloped spaces of great scenic beauty makes easy the concentration of tourism facilities in certain zones, which, thus, allows maximum efficiency for this labour intensive industry. Foreign capital investment is not very notable in the tourism industries of the Mediterranean countries including Spain. It would be more accurate to say that, in order to realize maximum profit, tour operators of northwestern Europe prefer to act as wholesale dealers rather than to export capital to the countries toured. The tourism industries of Spain, therefore, depend a great deal on foreign tour operators for the decision making of the spatial organization.⁷

Tourist activity is largely concentrated in a few areas of Spain, more particularly the Mediterranean coast and islands. With the exception of Madrid, the capital and itself a centre of attraction, the Meseta makes only a small contribution to the tourist trade. The Mediterranean coast lands and the Balearic Islands are the principal destinations for many tourists and stopovers at these places account for more than half of all the nights spent by tourists in Spain. The Costa Brava, the Costa Blanca, the Costa del Sol and Costa de la Luz are becoming, with astonishing rapidity, rivals of the French Riviera. Located in these districts are also many installations for social tourism, such as youth hostels, school colonies, etc.⁸ The Balearic Islands (Majorca, Menorca, Ibiza and Formentera) which are the most important tourism districts, having about a quarter of all the hotels of Spain, are visited firstly by Britons (970,616 in 1976), followed by Germans (778,938 in 1976) and Frenchmen (249,793 in 1976). But when we examine the composition of the nationalities to be found

³ Many analyses have been made of the low-cost of living in Spain. For instance: J. Cals, *Turismo y turística en España: Una aproximación*. Barcelona 1976, pp. 197-198.

⁴ J. Cosgrove and R. Jackson, *The Geography of Recreation and Leisure*. Hutchinson, 1972, p. 27.

⁵ We use the term "pleasure periphery" according to the conceptualization of L. Turner and J. Ash in *The Golden Hordes, International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. London 1975, pp. 319.

⁶ See, in this regard, M. Gaviria, *España a go-go. Turismo charter y neocolonialismo del espacio*. Madrid 1974, especially pp. 77-96.

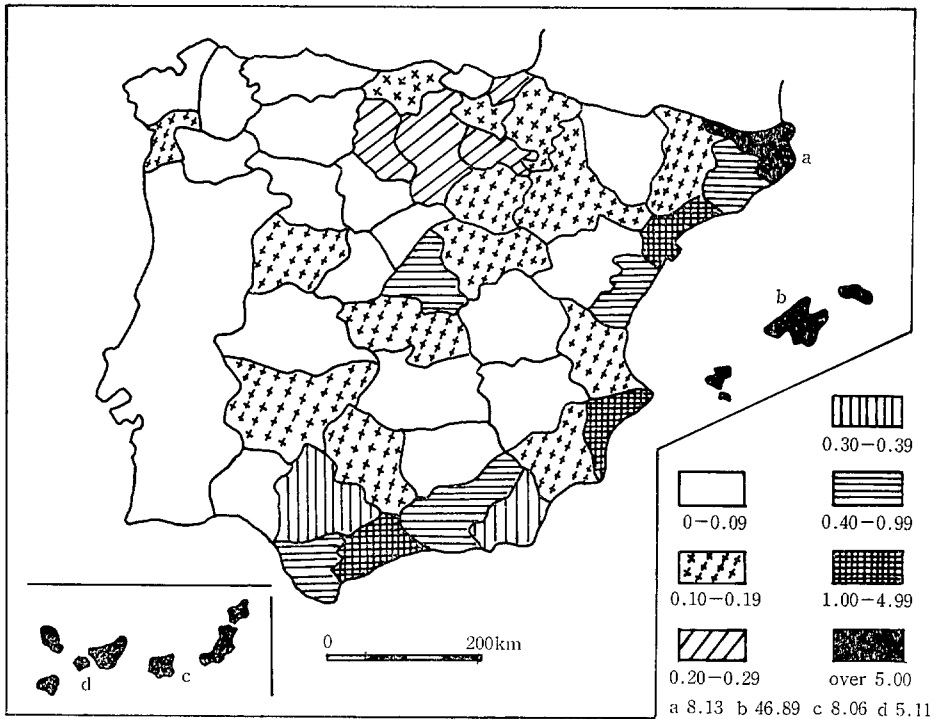
⁷ We can say on this phenomenon the delocalization of decision, of men and even of landscape as called by A. Reynaud. (Éléments pour une épistémologie de la géographie du tourisme. *Le tourisme dans l'espace littoral*. [Travaux de l'Institut de Géographie de Reims, 23-24]) 1975, pp. 5-12.

⁸ U. Zahn, *Der Fremdenverkehr an der spanischen Mittelmeerküste. Eine vergleichende geographische Untersuchung*. (Regensburger Geographische Schiften 2), 1973, pp. 45-46.

in each municipality, we find a large variety; in some municipalities the Germans predominate and, in others, the Dutch.⁹ This is a typical expression of the delocalization of decision-making, of men, and of landscapes; each tourism area has a close relationship with a determined tour operator or with a determined chain of tour operators and each area comes to specialize in accepting a determined nationality in order that its tourists feel ease in adapting to the Spanish environment while still maintaining their proper life style and using their

FIG. 1. IMPORTANCE OF TOURIST ACTIVITIES IN EACH PROVINCE

—The ratio of the number of nights spent by foreign tourists to the number of inhabitants in 1976—



Sources: I.N.E., *Viajeros en Hoteles y Acapamentos, Resumen Anual 1976*, Madrid, 1977.
I.N.E., *España, Anuario Estadístico, año 1977*.

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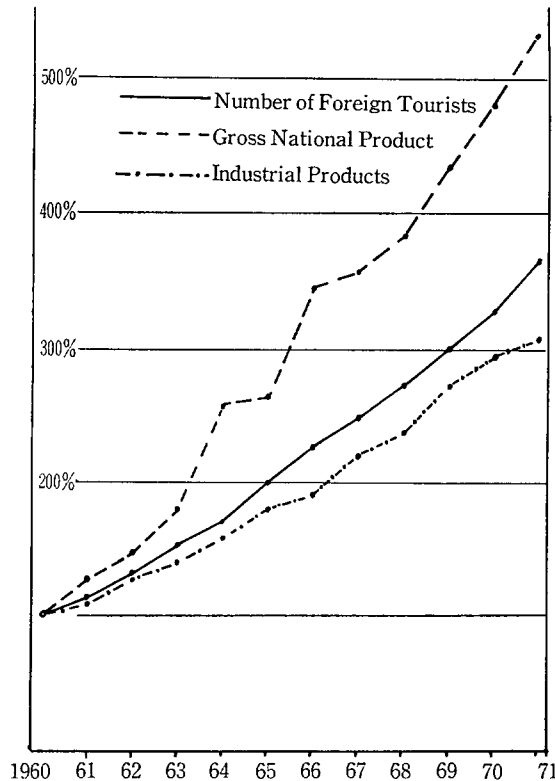
In analysing the reasons for the rapid development of tourism in Spain we must take into consideration the government's role, although, as Naylor argued,¹⁰ it is debatable how much of Spain's success in attracting visitors is due to the government's organization and expansion of facilities under its National Tourism Plans of 1953 and 1959. After 1962

⁹ U. Riedel, *Entwicklung, Struktur und räumliche Differenzierung des Fremdenverkehrs der Balears. Erdkunde* 26, 1972, pp. 138-153.

¹⁰ J. Naylor, *op. cit.* p. 27.

plans for tourism were incorporated into the five-year "Plan de Desarrollo Economico y Social." Direct financial encouragement has been instituted in two ways; first, an offer of credit to private and local governments for such purposes as hotel and restaurant construction, and the creation of infrastructures etc.; and secondly, investment in public works, such as the construction of yacht harbours or water works for tourist areas. According to the calculations of H. Zahn, in 1969 the total amount of investments and subsidies for the development of tourism (930 million pesetas) corresponds to only 1.09% of the net earnings in foreign currencies from tourism and that of credit (2330 million pesetas) to only 2.7%. These figures are certainly very small and we have to note also that such governmental expenditure for the encouragement of tourism may also have had some effect on the growth of internal tourism. Besides these direct measures, however, we should note many governmental measures which have contributed indirectly to the development of tourism. These are, for instance, the construction of roads, the increase and improvement of administrative services including price control, and the execution of town planning, and especially the adoption of zoning regulations, etc. The improvement in Spain of administrative services directly and indirectly concerning tourist activities is remarkable when we

FIG. 2. DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN TOURISTS AND ECONOMY IN SPAIN (1960=100)



Source: G. Stäblein and G. Stäblein-Feidler, *Faktorenanalytische Untersuchungen zur Fremdenverkehrsgeographischen Struktur der Provinzen Spaniens*. in C. Schott (ed.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeographie der Mittelmeerländer* (II), Marburg / Lahn, 1973.

compare the situation in this country to that in Italy. The Italian tourism industries, which were the largest on the Mediterranean after 1945, have lost their pride of place to Spain and are losing tourists to other Mediterranean countries. This is partly due to the contradictory logic inherent in tourism; with the success of Italian authorities in facilitating mass tourism and in taking advantage of tourism development in order to aid the growth of the national economy, the richer, snobbish, more adventurous traveller is now moving to quieter climes where distance and high costs keep the masses away; and the masses, very sensible of price hikes, are shifting their destinations to tourist areas of less developed countries. But it was caused also by the general deterioration of administrative services in Italy during the 1960's.

There are many documents in which the Spanish authorities consider tourism as a suitable machine for developing backward areas. Certainly, the manufacturing industries are already crucial to the economies of some Spanish regions, but several regions where tourism is a major activity are down towards the bottom of the income per head table. As shown in Fig. 3, the growth rate of tourism in Spain was much higher than that of both the gross national product per capita and the total industrial production during the 1960's. In fact, over the period 1962-71, provincial per capita incomes have increased relatively more in Spain's seven main tourist areas than in the three industrial zones of Barcelona, Madrid and Basque.¹¹ But whether in tourism industries government help might achieve a better distribution of income among poorer but undeniably beautiful areas of Spain is another question. If we define a tourist centre as an area having concentrated facilities for tourists, we would find such areas to be superficially very limited, occupying only a very small portion of the tourism districts or the districts toured. But it is, properly, into these restricted central areas that the most part of the amount spent directly by the foreign tourists on the purchase of goods and services (some 8,000 million US \$) finds its way. The multiplier effects of tourism are rather difficult to measure, even economically, with any degree of accuracy. As M. Peters comments, even for those economies where there is a high import and leakage content, the multiplier reaches to around 1.5.¹² We can easily suppose that much of these multiplier effects become absorbed by the highly industrialized regions of the country. Here remain the questions concerning the peripheral areas of tourism which must constitute a part of the tourist zone, for it is in these peripheral areas that the tourist finds not merely nature but "scenery" with an elaborate transportation system available. It is in these areas that the tourist centres most heavily siphon off the labour forces and the capital accumulation allocated to the development of the tourism industries. In tourist centres, the ultimate integration of tourism into the local community is attained when the local people discover the convenience and desirability of using facilities designed originally for tourists.¹³ In the peripheral tourism areas, such integration is still at an initial stage and, while there may already be considerable variations in the degrees of integration, what does exist in actuality is a conflict intrinsic in tourism, that is, land use competition, segmentation of the local community and difficulties in contact between the tourist population and the members of the local community. All these phenomena occurring in the peripheral areas of newly developing tourist districts or pleasure peripheries we term peripheral tourism.

¹¹ This is A. Inchausti's argument cited in Chapter 15, written by J. Naylor in *Regional Development in Western Europe*, (H.D. Clout ed.), London 1975, p. 308.

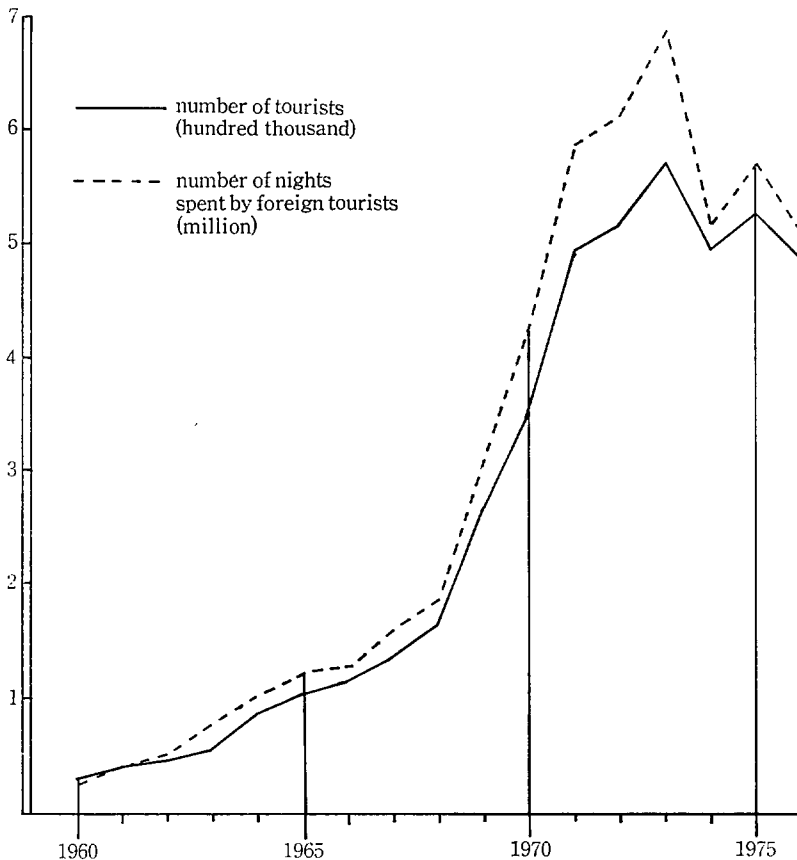
¹² M. Peters, *International Tourism*, London 1969, p. 240.

¹³ D. MacCannel, *The Tourist, A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, London and Basingstoke 1976, p. 169.

II. *Development of Tourism on the Island of Ibiza*

The development of tourism on Ibiza started, as in the other Balearic islands, in the 1950's with the so-called "reopening of Spain to international society." However, in comparing this island with others in the same group, we can point out some characteristics proper to this island alone:

FIG. 3. NUMBER OF TOURISTS IN IBIZA



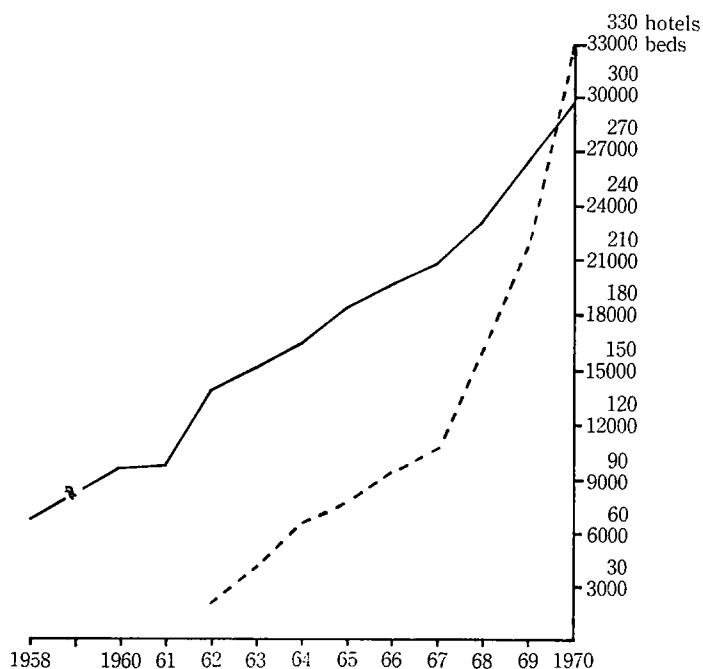
Source: Ministerio de Información y Turismo, *El Turismo en Baleares*, año 1976.

1) While Majorca had still a certain tradition of an elite tourism before World War II, Ibiza was first discovered by British artists in the 1950's followed by hippies and pseudo-hippies in the 1960's. The process of the formation of tourist districts in Ibiza was very typical of the expansion of tourism towards the periphery. The pretentious artists and hippies in the early stages of the development of new tourist districts functioned worldwide

as the shock troops of mass tourism. As very often any touristic element tends to make its first location its final location, becoming a fixed element, the hippies' way of life has become a mode, and now constitutes one of the attractions of Ibiza, especially of the town of Ibiza; knitting and making lace for the hippie bazaar of this town are becoming lucrative part-time jobs for the women of the peasant families of the island.

2) The growth rate of tourism industries on Ibiza is striking even if compared with that of other rapidly developing tourist districts. The number of tourists had swelled about sixty times in 1976 compared with that of 1954. In 1961, the number of tourists surpassed the local population. The inadequacy of inter-island shipping and water shortage problems had tended to handicap tourism development in the islands other than Majorca, but after the opening of the Ibiza airport, there came a real boom. Besides the airport, many infrastructures such as water works and roads have been realized by the central and

FIG. 4. INCREASE IN HOTEL CAPACITY IN IBIZA AND FORMENTERA



Source: R. Valles Costa, *Contribución al Estudio del Turismo en Ibiza y Formentera*, *Boletín de la Cámara Oficial de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Palma de Mallorca*, no. 676-677, 1977, p. 119.

provincial governments. The Organization for the Promotion of Tourism (Fomento de Turismo de Ibiza y Formentera) has worked rather efficiently for advertising the name of Ibiza. By virtue of the advantageous loan system, the number of hotels and beds have been increased in response to the demand. The number of beds augmented more rapidly than that of hotels, indicating an increase in the average hotel size.¹⁴ Though the imple-

¹⁴ R. Valles Costa, *Contribución al estudio del turismo en Ibiza y Formentera*. *Boletín de la Cámara Oficial de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Palma de Mallorca*. No. 676-677, 1972, pp. 107-168.

mentation of the through going zoning regulations (Plan General de Ordenación Urbana) which are necessary for the conservation of tourism resources and for the creation of tourist centres (concentrations of hotels, restaurants, bars and other facilities) has got rather behind,¹⁵ each of the five municipalities of the island has also taken measure for the development of the tourist areas. Since the massive introduction of chartered flights in 1967, a tremendous increase in the number of tourists visiting Ibiza was registered, reaching a peak in 1973. The decline after this may reflect the economic stagnation of the industrialized western European countries, indicating that tourism is a rather fickle business as a recession in an advanced economy prevents an increase in the number of holiday makers. Tourism, though, is not more fickle than some other sectors of the world trade.

3) As for the nationalities of tourists, on the island of Ibiza Britons predominate absolutely (more than half) followed by Spaniards until 1969 and Germans since 1970; while in Formentera the Germans predominate, in Menorca the Spaniards, and in Majorca the Britons and Germans register almost the same large shares of the tourist percentage. This shows the close relationship of the tourism industries of this island with the tour operators of the United Kingdom. But there is rather little foreign capital invested in the tourism industries

TABLE 1. PREFERENCE OF PERCENTAGES ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY

	English	Scandinavian	German	French	Spanish	Others
Balearic Islands	47%	46%	37%	14%	4%	28%
Peninsular Spain and Canary Islands	53%	54%	63%	86%	96%	72%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

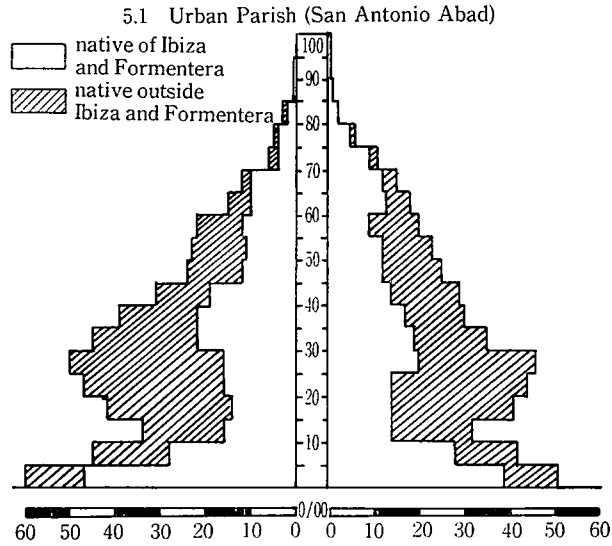
(E. Mayer, *Die Balearen. Sozial—und wirtschaftsgeographische Wandlungen eines mediterranen Inselarchipels unter dem Einflusse des Fremdenverkehrs.* Stuttgart 1976, p. 56.)

of Ibiza. Most of the owners of tourist installations are of merchant or landed proprietor origin on Ibiza. There is a certain number of British employees in hotels and restaurants but foreign owners are rare on Ibiza island.

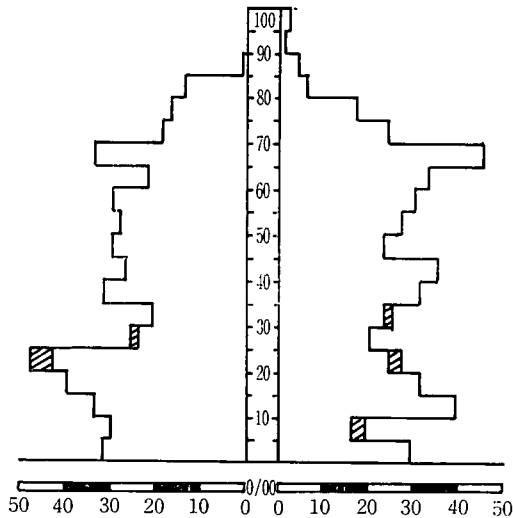
4) Before the transformation caused by the development of tourism the settlement system of Ibiza was characterized by the predominance of dispersed type of settlement; the only urban nucleus was Ibiza, which consisted of a walled medieval town on the hill, the old fisher's settlement underneath and some extension of the built-up area in the northeastern direction since the beginning of this century. The centres of the four rural municipalities were very small, each with a church, sometimes fortified, and a few buildings having administrative and commercial functions. Other rural parishes (beside municipality centres, there were twelve rural parishes) had no nucleation. Generally, in the midst of fields containing isolated houses the parish church was found accompanied by only one or two shops. The development of tourism has caused not only a rapid extension of the town of Ibiza but also the creation of new urban nuclei especially in San Antonio Abad and in Santa Eulàlia. Besides these creations of tourist urban nuclei not having any particular historical origin, we have on the other hand, the development of tourism following a historical pattern, that is, a dispersed form of settlement. There are found on Ibiza, more than on any other island

¹⁵ The municipality of San Antonio Abad which is the second tourist centre of the island after the municipality of Ibiza adopted the "Plan general de ordenación urbana" only in 1977.

FIG. 5. POPULATION PYRAMIDS OF URBAN AND RURAL PARISHES, 1970
(El Municipio de San Antonio Abad)



5.2 Rural Parishes (Santa Inés and San Mateo)



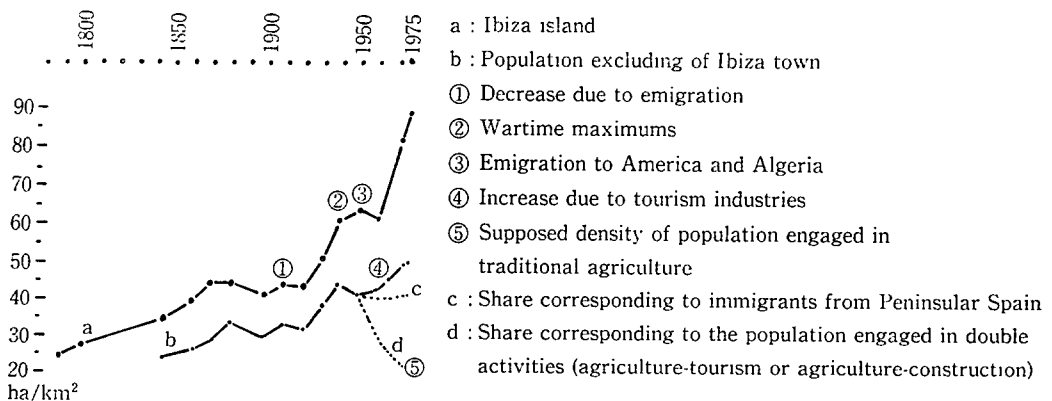
Source: B. Barcelò Pons, Población y Turismo en el Municipio de Sant Antoni Abat, *Boletín de la Cámara Oficial de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Palma de Mallorca*, no. 683, 1974, p. 75.

of this group, isolated hotels, hostels and restaurants, and it is becoming the mode, also, that foreigners there escaping from "civilization" buy or rent the farmhouses left vacant by the emigrant peasants. Still they are tourists of a sort, living on allochthonous resources, whatever names—hippies, artists, ecologists or communitarians—they may be called.

5) During the quinquennium 1960–65 and thereafter, the population of all the Balearic Islands showed net in-migration increase.¹⁶ But during the quinquennium 1955–60, only Majorca registered a positive balance of migration. On Ibiza, only San Antonio Abad had a 5.3% in-migration, while in other municipalities including Ibiza town the number of emigrants was much superior to that of immigrants. The immigration has been due mainly to the direct and indirect effects of the tourism industries. More than half of the immigrants comes from southern and southeastern Spain, Andalusia and the Provinces of Murcia and Alicante, where the population decreased remarkably between 1960–70.¹⁷ The lag in population inflow on Ibiza shows undoubtedly the delayed development of tourism there in comparison with Majorca. But to consider the influence of tourism industries on population dynamics, it is necessary to analyse on the municipality and the parish levels; in this regard on the island of Ibiza all the municipalities showed population increase during 1965–70, while Majorca and Menorca, besides other prosperous tourist centres, still have municipalities experiencing a population decrease. Even on Ibiza, the contrast in the same municipality between the parishes becoming tourist centres and those showing stagnation or depopulation is sometimes very sharp as in the case of Municipio San Antonio Abad which we shall examine later.

Because immigrants from the Spanish peninsula are mostly of the younger generation, a population increase in a tourist centre means a rejuvenation in the age structure of the population.¹⁸ But if we take into consideration only the indigenous population (native to

FIG. 6. CHANGING POPULATION DENSITY OF IBIZA



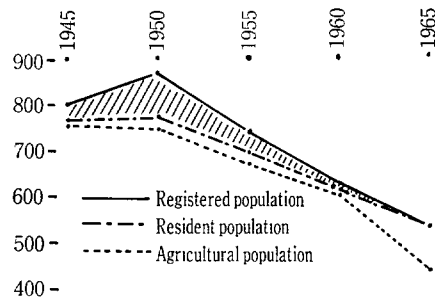
Modified from J. Bisson, *La terre et l'homme aux îles baleares*, Aix-en-Provence, 1977, p. 66.

¹⁶ Here we rely on the population data elaborated by B. Barceló Pons. (*Evolución reciente y estructura actual de la población en las Islas Baleares*. Madrid, 1970).

¹⁷ E. Mayer, *Die Balearen, Sozial und wirtschaftsgeographische Wandlungen eines mediterranen Inselarchipels unter dem Einflusse des Fremdenverkehrs*. (Stuttgarter Geographische Studien. Band 88) Stuttgart 1976, p. 143.

¹⁸ J. Bisson, *La terre et l'homme aux îles baléres*. Aix-en-Provence, 1977, pp. 357–372.

FIG. 7. POPULATION OF THE PARISH SANTA INES
(El Municipio de San Antonio Abad)



Source: Bisson (1977), p. 259.

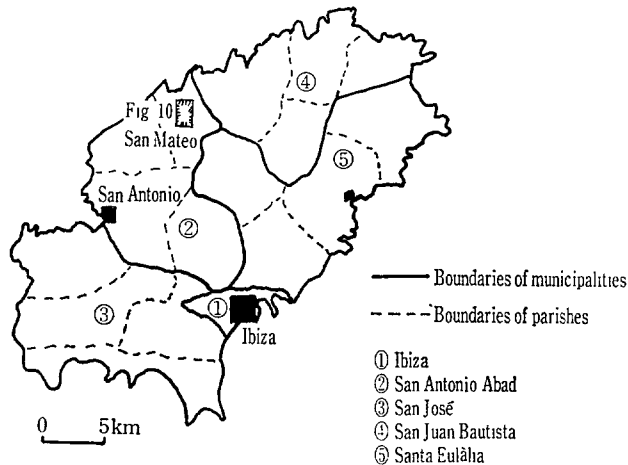
the island), we find an exodus of the younger generation. In the case of the municipality of San Antonio Abad, this trend is more marked in the urbanized tourist centre than in the peripheral rural areas (Fig. 5). A relatively developed centre sends out the young generation as emigrants to the more developed industrial zones of Barcelona or abroad and at the same time absorbs the emigrants from the poorer countrysides of the Spanish peninsula. At the periphery of the tourist district, as we shall see later, the peak of the rural exodus occurred around 1950 (Fig.7) and, henceforth the emigration rate decreased. Although there are still emigrants coming from rural areas, a considerable part of the younger generation is engaged in non-agricultural activities or in two-fold activities, agriculture-construction or agriculture-tourism, residing, sometimes only seasonally, in rural areas.

6) It is certain that the general effect of the mass abandonment of agriculture in the Balearic islands is an increasing social fallow, instead of intensification of the agricultural management at the hands of those who remain. But in Majorca, especially in the *huerta*, we can observe the development of intensive specialized agriculture (vegetables and fruits) in consequence of the increased demand due to the tourism industries, together with the development of food processing and other small-scale industries. On the island of Ibiza such intensification of and specialization in agriculture is rather limited, being found only in the surrounding zone of Ibiza town in the form of vegetables and fodder cultivation. Also the development of manufacturing industries as a multiplier effect of tourism is very limited on Ibiza. This lesser attainment of specialized agriculture and manufacturing industries in Ibiza is not due merely to a developmental lag in the tourism industries between Ibiza and Majorca, but also to the difference in the initial conditions of Ibiza and Majorca. At least since the last century, as the biggest island of the Balearic island group with its administrative centre at Palma, Majorca has always been the centre of innovation and the diffusion of new ideas and technology. Let us consider the economic conditions of Majorca in the 1920's. At that time, tourism was at an embryo stage. Economic conditions, however, were certainly more advanced, as far as agricultural productivity was concerned, and more advanced, too, in the supply of infrastructure and in industrialization; hence, they were more sensible in provoking multiplier effects of tourism activities than the economic conditions of Ibiza in the 1950's.

III. *The Traditional Aspects of the Parish of San Mateo*

The parish of San Mateo is located in the northwestern part of the island of Ibiza. It takes forty minutes by bus from the town of Ibiza to the front of the parish church. As in the case of the rural parish of Ibiza, the church is surrounded by only a bar and a few farmhouses. The cultivated land extends in a narrow plain along the main road connecting the town of Ibiza with the *polje* of Aubarca. The farmhouses are scattered around the foot of the hills and the contrast of their plaster walls against the green hills draw the attention of the visitors in the area. All the parishes of Ibiza are connected with Ibiza by well-paved roads and are visited by tourists even if there are no specific tourism facilities. San Mateo

FIG. 8. MUNICIPALITIES AND PARISHES OF IBIZA



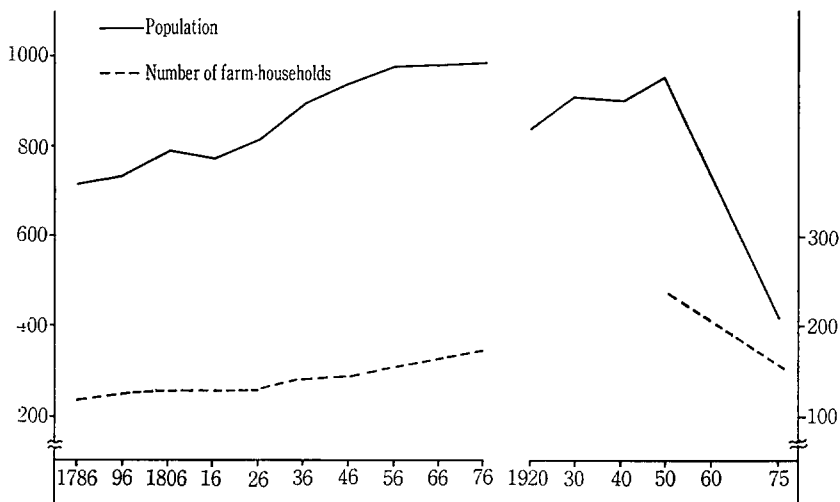
maintains apparently its traditional outlook and way of life, but when one observes a little more attentively, he notices the increasingly deserted fields and many abandoned farmhouses, some of which are inhabited by hippie style foreigners. All of Ibiza now already constitutes a tourist district, San Mateo being one of the peripheral areas of the tourism industry of Ibiza.

The parish of San Mateo belongs, administratively, to the municipality of San Antonio Abad. The boundaries of the municipalities on the island of Ibiza were decided ultimately in 1833, but the territories of the parishes were already formed in 1785¹⁹ when this island was divided into sixteen parishes. Historically four *cuartones* which correspond to the fiefs created after the *Reconquista* of 1235, might be important for the demarcation of the municipality boundaries. In his report of his research on this subject, however, J. Mari Cardona verifies that the boundaries of municipalities do not simply correspond with the boundaries of the *cuartones*.²⁰ He asserts rather that the demarcations of the municipalities were determined in close relation to the layout of the parish territories in such a way that each munic-

¹⁹ J. Demerson, *Las iglesias de Ibiza*, Ibiza 1974, p. 79.

²⁰ J. Mari Cardona, *La conquista Catalana de 1235*, Ibiza 1976, pp. 311-317.

FIG. 9. POPULATION OF SAN MATEO (1786-1975)



Sources: Arxiu Historic de la Pabordia, Relacion annual que los Parrocos debian mandar al Obispado, año 1786, 1796, 1806, 1816, 1826, 1836, 1846, 1856, 1866 and 1876. Padron de habitantes, año 1950, 1975, Municipio de San Antonio Abad.

ipality included four parishes. The social and economic unity of the municipality had not been taken into consideration since the time of its establishment.

Even now San Mateo has economic and social ties more with San Miguel than with San Antonio Abad. One of the reasons is the lack of good road connections with San Antonio Abad. It is necessary to pass through the town of Ibiza and it takes more than one hour by car. This social and psychological distance from the municipality centre has brought on a lack of a sense of belonging to the municipality. Such examples are found also in other municipalities of Ibiza. However, the inhabitants' sense of belonging to Ibiza is very strong; this is expressed especially in strong feelings of rivalry with Majorca and Menorca. Second to their consciousness of being *Ibicenco* or *Ibicenca*, they identify themselves as belonging to the parish and, in general, the municipality has meaning for them merely in an administrative sense. The spatial extension of the daily life of the peasantry corresponds with the parish. The many rites and the fiesta of the guardian saints are not only religious affairs but also important social functions forming the collective representation of the inhabitants.

The parish of San Mateo is now divided into seven *vendes* which are subdivisions of an originally ecclesiastical nature but at the same time have been of political and social significance. Economically, the parish and *vende* have had no more significance than that of a neighbourhood community. The parish or *vende* may function in the term of mutual assistance but there is no material base for this such as communal land, the regulation of irrigation or communal pasturage. The forest might have had significance as a communal pasture but we have no documents testifying to the existence of such a custom in the past. The *vende* by no means constitutes a unit of a land holding; each of the dispersed farmhouses hold some numbers of fragmented plots, dispersed all over the parish territory. Sometimes a part of a holding is found outside the parish the peasant belongs to, but generally this is

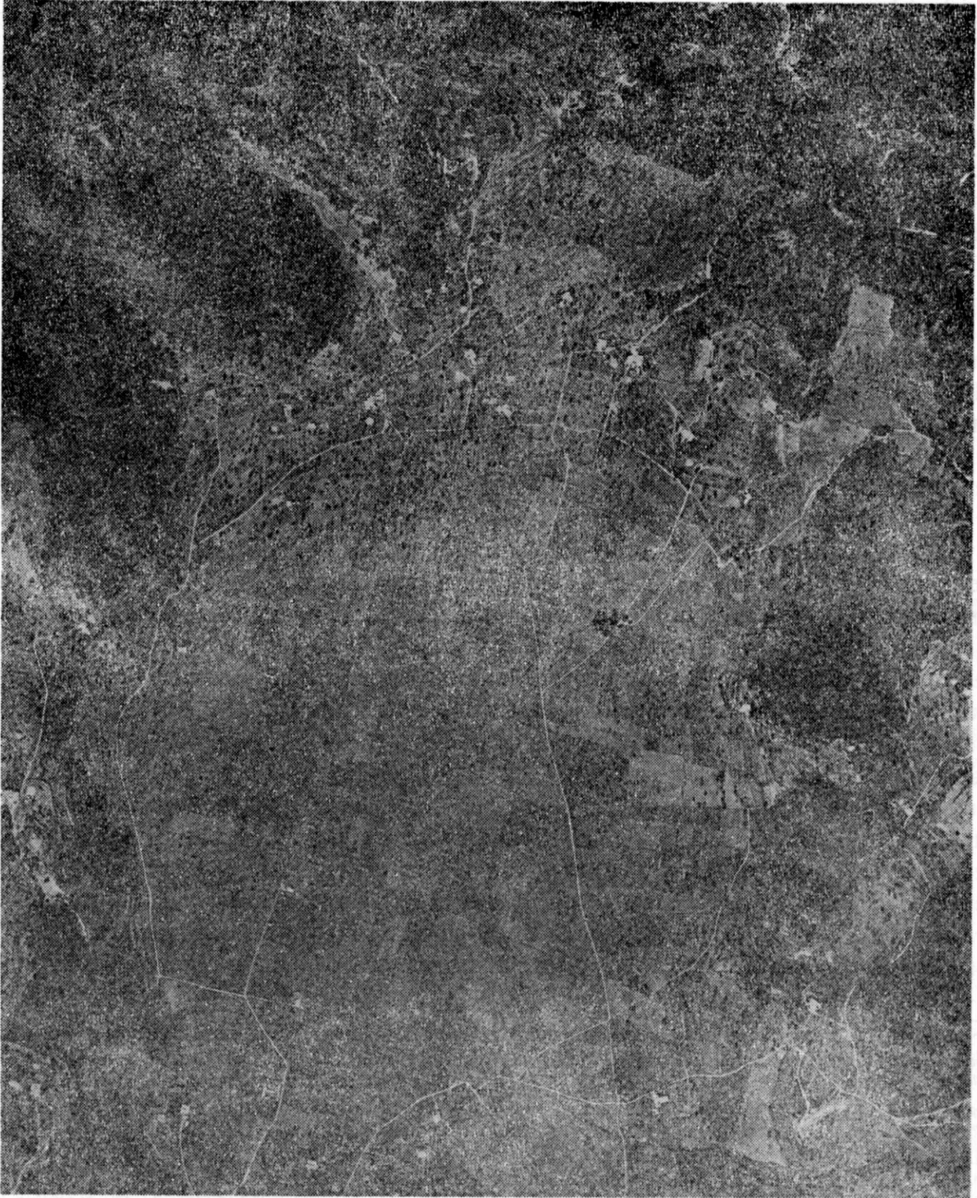
FIG. 10. LAND USE MAP OF THE AUBARCA POLJE (Kurihara, 1978)



a relatively recent type of occurrence.

As in other parts of Ibiza, the rural landscape of San Mateo is characterized by the scattered farmhouses without nucleation, the overwhelming predominance of small ownership without latifundium structure and the prevalence of non-irrigated fields (*secano*). Because of the lack of written records, it is impossible to reconstruct the process of the forma-

FIG. 11. AUBARCA POLJE



(Photo. by Geologia y Fotografia Aere S.S.A. Madrid)

tion of this rural landscape of San Mateo. From an analysis of family names, we can suppose that the origin of actual settlement may be traced back to the 13th or 14th centuries.²¹ Since these times, especially in the remoter areas from the town of Ibiza such as San Mateo, the land had been occupied mainly by tenants for life. There had been no moment of nucleation under the initiative of landlords playing the role of *pobladores* in Ibiza.²²

San Mateo has long suffered from certain inherent factors in premodern society such as the danger of external aggression,²³ epidemic diseases and famine in the years of poor harvests. At least until the 18th century these factors has restricted the population growth and in consequence the extension of settlement areas has been limited. The population has gradually increased since the second half of the 18th century; 713 inhabitants in 1786, 791 inhabitants in 1806, 812 inhabitants in 1826, 946 inhabitants in 1846 and 988 inhabitants in 1866.²⁴

At present, the *polje* of Aubarca is the most important cultivated area of the parish with its vast expansion of fertile soil. The *polje* was reclaimed during the second half of the 19th century after the introduction of new agricultural techniques in drainage. Even now the *polje* is surrounded by farmhouses located at the foot of the hills. The absence of houses at the bottom plain of the *polje* is explained partly by the farmers' behavior to maximize the land use of the fertile *polje*, but also by the fact that even now, in winter, the *polje* is not completely free from flooding. Also the proximity of the *polje* to hilly land made it convenient for collecting firewood.

In San Mateo as well as in other rural areas of Ibiza island, the farmhouses have distinctive nicknames. The place names, topographical terms, names of plants, animals, occupations and others are added to *ca'n* or *ca's*. This custom is perhaps derived from the necessity of distinguishing certain family names from others.²⁵ As for the land ownership among the peasantry, about 90% of the cultivated land of the municipality is owned by the farmers. The small-scale farm household holding land below 5 ha. constitutes 30% of the total number of farm households. The farm household of the scale of 5–10 ha., 10–20 ha., 20–30 ha. and over 30 ha. represent respectively 22.2%, 27.4%, 11.3% and 9.1% of the total number. Thus the farm households having less than 20 ha. represent 80% of the total number of farm households. These are the farm households relying exclusively on family labour and the predominance of the owner-cultivator of family size management is a common feature of the island of Ibiza, in sharp contrast with the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few city dwellers, which is comparatively common in Majorca and in Menorca. The so-called mixed cultivation is the most common pattern of land use here. Trees such as

²¹ A. Costa Ramon, *Apuntes sobre los apellidos en las islas Pitiusas, zona rural de Ibiza y Formentera. Boletín de la Cámara Oficial de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Palma de Mallorca*, No. 644-645, p. 179.

²² In this regard, see J. Bisson, *op. cit.* pp. 65–68. J. Vila Valentí, *Ville et campagne dans l'île d'Evisa, Méditerranée*, 3, 1962, pp. 51–65.

²³ Even in 1806, San Mateo was invaded from the sea by Berber pirates. (I. Macabich, *Historia de Ibiza*, Vol. II, Palma de Mallorca 1966, p. 10.)

²⁴ The parish of San Mateo was established in 1785 separately from the Parish of San Miguel.

²⁵ In San Mateo, many people have the same family or Christian names. According to the Register Book of 1950, the Christian names of men are Antonio, Bartolomeo, Francisco, José, Joan, Miguel, Vincente and those of women are Antonia, Catalina, Eulalia, Francisca, Isabel, Josefa, Maria and Margarita. The predominant family names are Bonet, Bufi, Costa, Planellas Pratz, Rierra, Roig, Serra, Torres and Tur. 80% of the total family names are Torres, Tur, Costa, Rierra, Bonet, Serra or Roig. In consequence, most individual full names are combinations of the above-mentioned Christian names and family names.

the almond, algarroba or fig and cereals are cultivated in the same parcel. The most common form of crop rotation is a three-year cycle consisting wheat or barley, fava or chick-pea followed by fallow. The most important commodity products of agriculture are almond and algarroba. Almond and algarroba were introduced into the Balearic Islands in the second half of the 18th century and thereafter contributed to the agricultural development of the inland regions. It is impossible to know the precise date of the introduction in San Mateo of these arboricultures. According to Urech Cifre, in the municipality of San Antoni Abad in 1860, the largest expanse of cultivated land was dedicated to fig trees. Comparing this with the data of the Agricultural Census of 1962, we note first of all a remarkable increase in land planted with algarroba and almond trees; from 281 ha. to 1742 ha. are for algarroba and from 132 ha. to 1452 ha. for almond. Over the space of a century, olive and fig cultivation registered a slight increase in the extent of the land allocated to their cultivation, expanding from 300 ha. to 400 ha., and from 300 ha. to 500 ha., respectively.²⁶ In this way, the weight in arboriculture has shifted from olive and fig to algarroba and almond during the past one hundred years. Also Luis Salvador observed in San Mateo around the end of 1860's the dominance of fig and olive trees.²⁷ At present, olive trees are cultivated on the hillsides or along the fringe of the polje of Aubarca, whereas algarroba and almond trees are mainly planted in the centre of the polje. It may be said that these methods of land uses reflect the reclamation process of the polje.

It is needless to point out here that water for irrigation is the key to agricultural development in the Mediterranean regions. In San Mateo it is impossible to get underground water. Neither was there possibility of *feixes* as in some parts of island.²⁸ *Aljibe* which gather surface water to accumulate in an underground tank is used as a reservoir for irrigation or other agricultural purposes. Drinking water is reserved in *cisterna*. In recent years an association formed for the purchase of irrigation water from San Miguel has been organized by seven farmers. These farmers live in the southeast part of the polje, i.e., near the border of San Miguel. By using this water, they produce the various vegetables in the *huerta* mainly for self-consumption purposes. Here on this small *huerta* we cannot observe intensive agriculture involving such items as early potatoes, vegetables and fodder cultures which are expanding in the area between the town of Ibiza and the centre of San Antonio Abad. Difficulty in obtaining irrigation water has to be the main reason for this backwardness but at the same time we cannot neglect the vicious cycle of underdevelopment, i.e., insufficient provision of infrastructure, the lack of capital formation, the poverty of the inhabitants and labour shortage in the agricultural sector which causes in its turn agricultural backwardness.

²⁶ C. Urech Cifre, *Estudios sobre la riqueza territorial de las Islas Baleares*, Palma de Mallorca, 1869, pp. 544-545.

²⁷ L. Salvador, Archiducque, *Die Balearen in Wort und Bild Geschildert*, Ersten Band, Die Alten Pitaisen, Leipzig 1860, p. 202.

²⁸ G.M. Foster, The Feixes of Ibiza, *The Geographical Review*, 1952, pp. 227-237.

IV. *Changing Rural Society and Peripheral Tourism*

The equalized inheritance system which comprises a customary law in Catalan is, in principle, carried out commonly in San Mateo. The eldest son has the right to succeed to half of the inheritable property with the obligation of supporting his parents. Nowadays there are few cases in which they divide land among sons upon the death of their father as they wish to avoid the excessive fragmentation of the land. The farm land included the cultivated land and hilly and mountainous forest land. The latter, which was previously important for pasturage and as a source of firewood, now has no economic value. This means that land resources and hence the space concerning economic activities are shrinking rapidly. Agricultural techniques in arboriculture have not shown significant progress in the past several decades. Arboriculture carried out with only rudimentary techniques requires intensive seasonal labour input. The harvesting season coincides with the tourist season. The impact of tourism in this peripheral area has resulted in the deterioration of the productivity in the labour intensive sector of agriculture. Cereal cultivation, which is generally carried out beneath cultivated trees (mixed cultivation) has also shown regression in the past twenty years, mainly due to the abandoning of cultivation in marginal land, in consequence of emigration and occupational change. On the other hand, only recently the introduction of tractors, owned by the relatively wealthy or by associations of small peasants have appeared on the scene. The diffusion of agricultural machinery is restricted mainly by the unavailability of capital in the hands of the farmers but also by the mountainous conditions of the land utilized in mixed cultivation. In the agriculture of San Mateo the proportion of commodity production is rather small, the rest being oriented towards subsistence. The use of chemical fertilizers and tractors has been restricted, in this respect. To cope with the cash need, some peasants are driven to seasonal employment or to part-time jobs. The Register Book of 1950 enumerated 514 persons engaged in agriculture (272 persons were engaged in agriculture whole-time, ten persons were shepherds and the rest were those who assisted in agricultural work). After that time, the agricultural population continued to decrease and fell to 187 in 1975. The number of whole-time farmers has sharply dropped to sixty-two and the shepherds have disappeared. In this way the number of farmers has decreased to a quarter of their former number in the past twenty-five years. This decrease is an expression of a process in the course of which agriculture is losing its importance as a productive activity in the economy of San Mateo. As in the case of the declining industry, a large number of the farmers were advanced in age in 1975 (the farmers over forty years of age represent 73% of the total number of farmers). The population engaged in tourism industries generally consists of males under thirty years of age. There was no such people in 1950, but in 1960 found three persons engaged in transportation services, two persons engaged in hotel services, while one person worked as a waiter in a restaurant. In 1975, the kinds of jobs become diversified with an increase in the number of persons engaged in tourism industries. There are eight persons in transportation services (mainly taxi drivers), twenty-one persons in hotel services, five persons in commerce, one person in airport services and one person in tourist agency. This change implies that the development of tourism has induced the growth of the related industries and enlarged employment opportunities; in the

process, Ibiza has been transformed into a region which attracts the population from other regions. We should note not only the increase in employment opportunities but also the changes in the kind of employment. Besides these residents who are engaged in tourism-related activities, there are some non-residents registered, who are mostly engaged in tourist activities in the town of Ibiza or on other islands. In regards to the economy of San Mateo, knitting and also the fashioning of *souvernirs* on the part of the housewives and girls play a not insignificant role. We cannot measure exactly the deepness and extension of the spread effects of tourist activities in this rural society which apparently maintains its traditional aspects.

At the same time we cannot overlook another aspect of these tourism-related and tourism-affected activities; most of these kinds of work are unstable or seasonal, with short term labour contracts; the standard of income from these works is rather low, especially of marginal work such as souvenir-making and the work of unskilled labourers in hotels and restaurants. The low wage level is a due consequence of the nature of international tourism because it is based on the difference in wage levels between Spain and northwestern European countries. In other words, the conditions of labourers in tourism-related and tourism-affected industries are determined by this international economic structure.

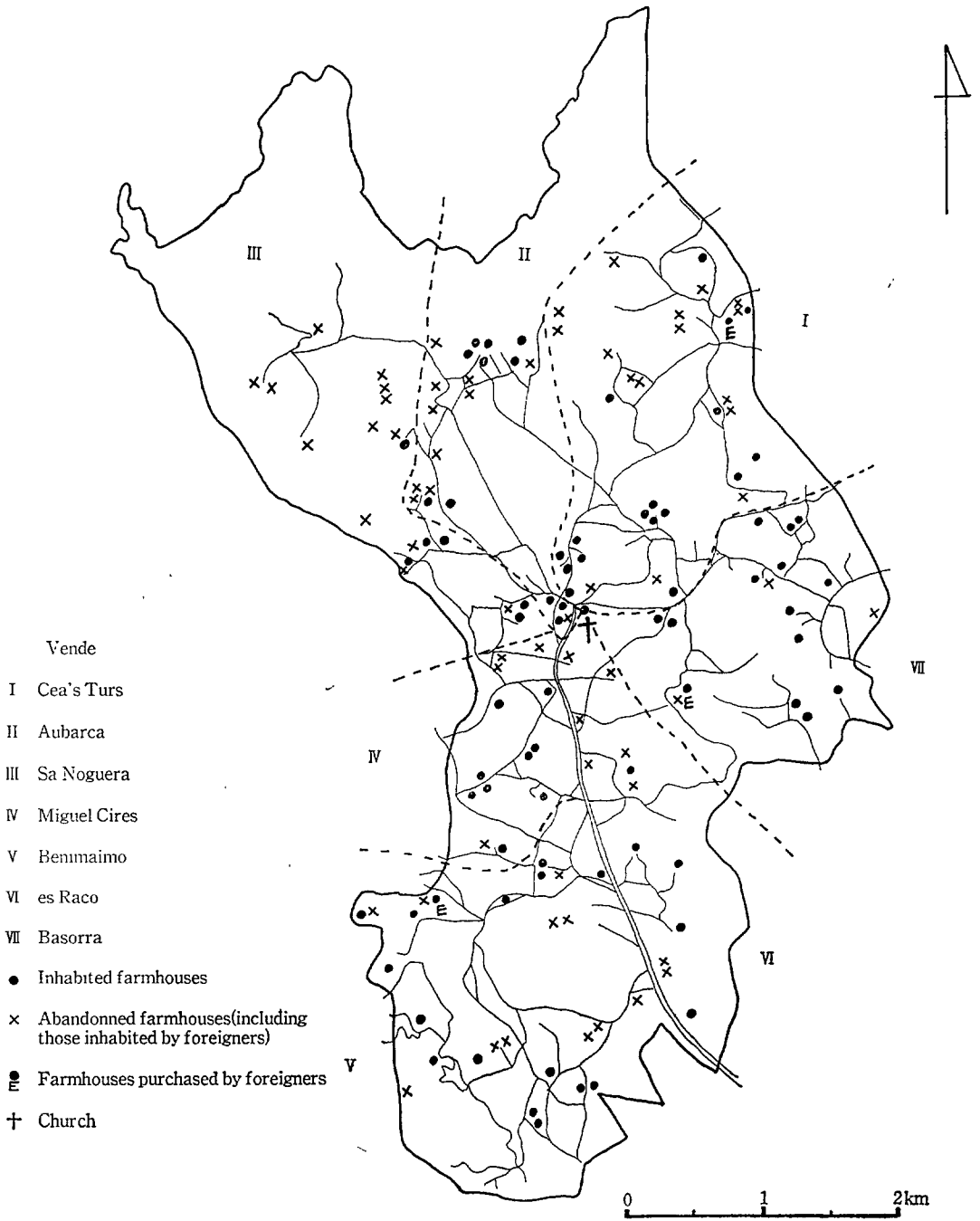
In addition to the changes of the employment structure, more notable changes are the rapid decrease of population and the changes in its age composition. From the data of the Register Books, we can observe that the population and the number of families have increased gradually since the second half of the 18th century as shown in Fig. 9. But both began to decline after 1950. The population had fallen drastically to less than a half up by 1975.

The examination of the family structure prompts us to further consideration of the process of this rapid population decline. The total number of families has decreased from 236 to 157. For the convenience of analysis, we classify the family size into four categories: (1) 1 person, (2) 2–5 persons, (3) 6–10 persons and (4) over 11 persons. In 1950, the numbers of categories (1), (2), (3), and (4) were, respectively, 12, 157, 64 and 4. In 1975, they are 43, 99, 15 and 0. The overall decline of (2), (3) and (4) is remarkable in the contrast with the increase of (1). If we take into account the number of the families composed of two persons which are included in category (2), we get 49 families in 1975. It seems apparent that the family size has become smaller and smaller with the rise in the average age of the population.

The age group under twenty years of age has lowered its percentage from 41.5 to 27.9, whereas the age group over sixty years of age has risen from 12.6 to 32.2 between 1950 and 1975. The present-day age composition shows the results of the massive exodus of the younger generation and of whole families as well. Emigration is not so remarkable at present in this peripheral tourist district but the population decrease will continue mainly due to the increasing number of deaths among the aged group. Anyhow from this population pyramid of 1975, we can see clearly that at least for a generation, natural increase will remain negative.

As a consequence of the population decrease, ninety-one farmhouses have been left vacant from 1950 to 1975 (Fig. 12). Among these, sixty-seven have been unoccupied since 1960, and the rate of desertion has been more accelerated recently. The rate of the unoccupied houses seems to be higher in *vendes* such as Sa Noguera where the conditions of

FIG. 12. DISTRIBUTION OF FARMHOUSES IN SAN MATEO (Kurihara, 1978)

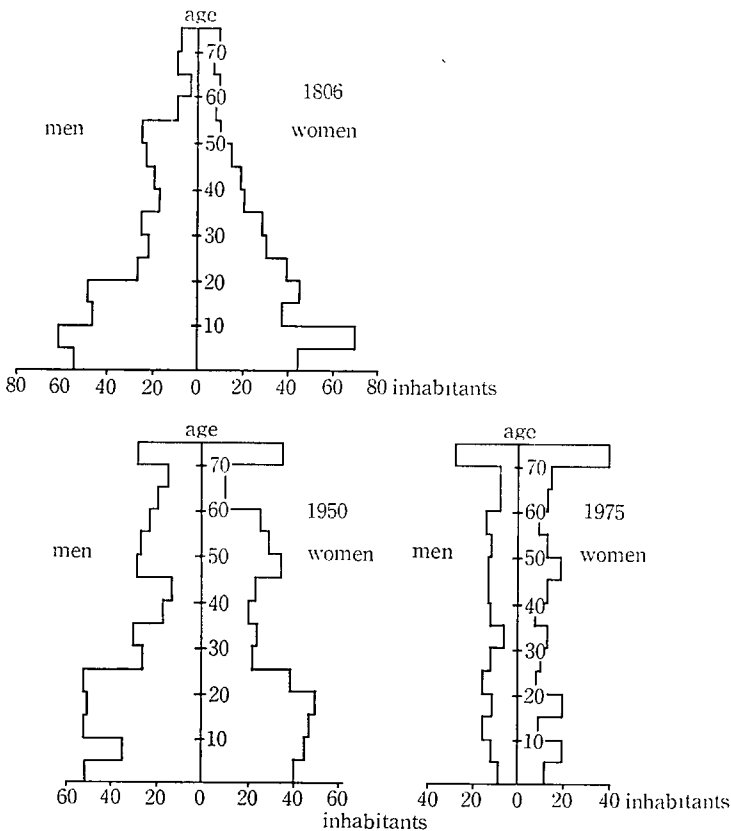


agricultural production are unfavourable and where there is a lack of accessibility to the transportation system.

The deterioration of agricultural production, the population decrease and tertiarization of the population, especially of the younger generation, have not proceeded without having a profound influence on the social features of traditional San Mateo. The parish church still plays a significant role as a social node of community life, partly because the parish church is situated at the centre of the parish, that the church constitutes the terminal of the paved road from the town of Ibiza (hence all the mail for the parish people is left at the church) and that the Sunday mass is the only occasion on which the inhabitants of this dispersed settlement come together.

For the younger generation, however, the sphere of daily life is not limited to the parish territory; for them all the corners of the island are easily attainable. The sense of belonging to the parish is becoming weak, though the island of Ibiza still has significance as a geographical unit in the space perception of the people. Also the number of the inhabitants

FIG. 13. POPULATION PYRAMIDS OF SAN MATEO



Sources: Arxiu Historic de la Pabordia, Relacion anual que los parrocos debian mandar al Obispo, Parroquia de San Mateo, año 1806. Padron de habitantes, año 1950, 1975, Municipio de San Antonio Abad.

has so decreased that the parish constitutes no real social unit. As a neighbourhood community, the parish is too large under the condition of a scattered pattern of settlement. As an institutional unit, there is not a very strong social tie uniting all the members of the parish; in fact, even in regards to Sunday mass, there are at present only about twenty people who regularly attend.

The foreign ownership of the farmhouses is not so common in San Mateo as in some parts of Majorca, but we have to take into consideration the fact that this phenomenon is often more frequent in the peripheral areas than in the centre of the tourist district. Imagine a life without electricity, which is still real for most parts of San Mateo (only a few houses near the church have had the benefit of public electricity since Christmas, 1977). Up to 1977 four farmhouses of the parish were acquired by foreigners and several others are rented by "hippies." The predominance of the small peasantry proprietorship which characterizes the island of Ibiza puts up a weak resistance against this kind of tourism penetration in the sphere of the real estate business. People evince unwillingness and suspicion towards this kind of tourism intrusion but there is no collective reaction against it.

Last, but not least, is the fact that the big spurt of the tourism industries of Ibiza had been realized under a very centralized political system. Since the death of Franco in 1975, with the increasing trend toward regional autonomy, there may or may not have been a certain amount of change in the system of decision-making in which the priority was always given to the maximum growth of the national economy and to the improvement and the stabilization of the balance of payment, rather than to the prosperity of regional economy or the well-being of the local inhabitants. It would be impossible to expect, however, too much change in these regards, because there exist always, as prime motives of the development of international tourism, the gap in income level and living standards between tourist-generating countries and the countries toured on the one hand, and on the other the structural built-in relationship of dependency of the peripheral areas on the tourist centres. Peripheral tourism in the geographic sense is not peripheral in the economic sense, but it constitutes an indispensable segment of tourism, representing spatial differentiation in the process of the expansion of tourism districts.