

Tourism capitalism and island urbanization: tourist accommodation diffusion in the Balearics, 1936-2010.

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ABSTRACT: The Balearic Islands are one of the main tourism regions in Europe, and tourism has been the structural capitalist activity of urban growth there since the 1950s. Mapping tourist accommodation in the Balearics might help spatially explain the important socio-spatial transformation of a small archipelago in the Western Mediterranean. This paper analyses the diffusion of tourist accommodations as the main vehicle for urbanization since the 1950s. The tourism production of space has gone in parallel to economic cycles with particular urban expressions related to the different regimes of accumulation. Over time, as access to sea, air, and road transport, availability of investment capital, and institutional support has changed, so too have the directions of urban tourism development in the islands.

Keywords: Balearic Islands, diffusion, economic cycles, Spain, tourism, tourist accommodation maps, urbanization

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Introduction

Urbanization occurs differently on different kinds of islands. Islands specializing in tourism services may feature distinctive urbanization patterns due to the dynamics of this particular industry, which involves a coincidence between spaces of production and consumption. The spatial factors affecting islands play a variety of roles here, both increasing the amount of coastline (which has proven so attractive to mass tourism) and conditioning the means of transport and access to tourism sites. Yet, transport and access are not absolutes across time, and changes in transport infrastructure both on and off the island affect how and where tourism-based urban development takes place. Just as tourism cannot take place in isolation from questions of access, the availability of internal and external capital and supportive institutional frameworks play a strong role in any such development.

The field of island studies has paid considerable attention to the various drivers of tourism development. Recent papers, for instance, have considered how different models of transport and access are intertwined with local cultural difference, tourism development, and population distribution in islands and archipelagos (e.g., Grydehøj & Hayward, 2014; Baldacchino & Ferreira, 2013). This research focus makes sense, since small islands have proven remarkably popular as tourism destinations worldwide and could even be considered laboratories for understanding global tourism dynamics (Apostolopoulos & Gayle, 2002; Gössling, 2003; McElroy, 2003). Since the Second World War and the resulting era of decolonization, many peripheral or semi-peripheral island economies have embraced tourism, which has in turn become both an important driving force of urbanization as well as a main strategy for urban competition in the global context (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Judd, 2003). Tourism urbanization has become one of the most interesting fields in urban studies due to the peculiarity of consumption cities (Mullins, 1991). These dynamics coalesce within tourist islands such as the Balearics, where practically all space has been functionally urbanized under the influence of tourism. Here, the concepts of the city and urban space should be considered as distinct from the city's physical features (i.e. built-up land) and should rather be understood from a broader perspective, in line with that of Lefebvre (2000), as a space of urban social relations performed under tourism capitalism.

The present paper takes a specifically urban approach to the issue of island tourism development. It focuses on Spain's Balearic Islands to examine how tourism capitalism over the course of seven decades has resulted in differential patterns of urbanization on the archipelago's four inhabited islands: Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, and Formentera. It will be argued that these patterns of urbanization are rooted in spatio-temporally specific conditions of capital availability, transport infrastructure, institutional framework, and international tourism capital logics. This topic is approached through an analysis of development of tourist urban spaces through the spatio-temporal expansion of accommodation in the archipelago, considering it as the landmark of capital accumulation and the driving force of the urban process. Although the number of tourist beds is just one measure of the size of a tourism industry, and while urbanization involves more than just lodging (even on a tourism-specialized island), the concrete location of tourist accommodation and the production of tourist zones is a useful means of analyzing the spatial process of capital accumulation and its crisis, in a way that monetary measures like GDP cannot achieve.

The Balearics offer an interesting case for comparison with other island and archipelago tourist destinations, precisely because their capitalist structures are concentrated exclusively on tourism. Spain is one of the world's tourist destinations, ranking third in terms of international tourist arrivals in 2012 (with 57 million arrivals) and sixth in terms of tourist accommodation: 4.5% of the world's 20 million hotel rooms and similar establishments are located in Spain (UNWTO, 2014). The Balearics are central to the Spanish tourism economy, being the second-largest Spanish tourism region in terms of international visitors (10.4 million international tourists annually) and the largest in terms of tourist accommodation, accounting for 36.4% of Spain's rooms (UNWTO, 2014; IET, 2013). The calculation of the Tourist Penetration Index in 2001 of 0.627 (Bauzà, 2006) suggests that the Balearics are among the most important tourism islands globally (McElroy, 2003).

Before the touristic specialization of the Balearic economy, each of the three main islands had an urban system based on a coastal and walled city that concentrated most economic, commercial, military, and political activities, inherited from Arab times: Palma in Mallorca, Ciutadella in Menorca, and Vila in Ibiza. Nevertheless, during the British dominion of Menorca in the eighteenth century, the capital was displaced towards Mahón, which had a better natural port. For this reason, Menorca is the only island with a binary urban system. In Mallorca, the Catalan conquerors settled villages in the hinterland in relation to agricultural production, whereas in Ibiza there was no consolidated settlement but instead scattered housing in the rural region (Artigues, Bauzà, Blázquez, González, Murray & Rullan, 2006).

In the Balearics, tourism specialization has been the driving force of recent urban change. In just half a century, the archipelago has experienced a rapid transformation characterized by the construction of coastal tourist resorts and the intensification and extensification of the urban process. As a result, the proportion of land covered by the urban fabric has risen from 32.3 km² in 1956 (1% of the Balearics' surface), to 309.8 km² in 2006 (6.2%) (Murray, Blázquez & Pons, 2008; Pons & Rullan, 2014).

Insertion into global capitalism through tourism specialization has triggered important changes in the archipelago's social and urban structures. Firstly, the Balearic population has increased from 419,628 inhabitants in 1950 to 1,100,503 in 2011. This growth has been related both to the baby boom of the 1960s and to important migratory fluxes from the Spanish mainland in Fordist times and from the Global North and South in neoliberal times. Secondly, the archipelago's socio-economic structure has changed dramatically during this period, with a constant decline in the agriculturally active population, which dropped from 40% in 1955 to 1% in 2011. This has been paralleled by an increase within the construction and service sectors, rising from 37% of the active population in 1955 to 83% in 2011. This dynamic has significantly affected the spatial organization of the islands, which have witnessed a radical transformation of their historic cities, with the arrival of rural islanders and migrants as well as the construction of residential areas for the working classes who are directly or indirectly employed in the tourism industry. The enlargement of the archipelago's cities was forced by a tourism-led industrialization, as occurred in 19th-century British cities due to the industrial revolution (Murray, 2012).

This paper aims to explain spatial transformation in the Balearics due to tourism urbanization through the diffusion of tourist accommodation. A brief discussion of location theory in general and hotel location in particular and attempts to relate them to the economic geography of tourism, is then followed by a description of the methodology and sources used for mapping tourist accommodation. The results of the research will then be highlighted, ending with preliminary conclusions from this research project.

Theories of location and tourism spaces

Since the quantitative revolution of the 1950s, location analysis has become a central issue in geography. Many works on economic or industrial location have investigated land transformations in terms of quantifiable economic factors, aiming to guide spatial planning and forecast optimal locations for economic activities under the logics of mainstream economics, as Massey (1973) has consistently criticized. Recently, the New Economic Geography (NEG) (Krugman, 1991) has revived the question of location within the economic geography debate. Nonetheless, critical geography has developed a solid statement on the production of the city,

focusing on the dynamics of capital and its spatial expression (Harvey, 2006). In a different vein, Christaller (1963) was an early proponent of tourism geography, applying his centre place theory to the analysis of tourism and relating tourism location to peripheral areas. In the 1970s, development theory impacted tourism geography, encouraging an understanding of tourism activity in terms of power inequality and centre-periphery relations (e.g., Turner & Ash, 1979).

Location, however, should be understood in a dynamic sense, and the temporal dimension – that is, the spatio-temporal diffusion of economic activities – is vital. It is key to highlight long economic cycles, also called Kondratieff cycles, in order to understand global economic change (Schumpeter, 1964 [1934]). Gormsen (1981) developed an interesting spatio-temporal model to analyze the dynamic evolution of coastal tourist resorts, which is strongly linked to business cycles. According to Gormsen, four distinct tourism peripheries could be described, each appearing in different economic periods. Moreover, Butler (1980) developed the TALC (Tourist Area Life Cycle) model to explain tourist resort evolution, establishing different stages over time but all specific to the resort area.

Britton (1991), however, criticized tourism geography for ignoring geographical theoretical development outside of the sub-discipline. He thus proposed a new agenda for more rigorous theoretical and critical development. In this light, Ioannides and Debbage (1998) underlined the need for supply-side analysis and greater focus on production, bearing in mind the particularities of the tourism industry, especially the coincidence of the spaces of production and consumption. Furthermore, some authors have proposed moving past the TALC theory and have revisited this tourist resort model in relation to other theoretical bodies, with the economic cycles theory (Haywood, 1998) and the restructuring theory (Argawal, 2006) being two examples.

A focus on the supply-side is essential for understanding the geography of tourism regions, and accommodation is one of the tourism industry's key elements (Ioannides & Debbage, 1998). As a result, hotel location analysis has become an important research area within tourism geographies. Currently, economic locational analysis has gained traction with the development of geographical information systems (GIS) and sophisticated modeling. For example, Yang, Luo, and Law (2014) have reviewed hotel locations worldwide, identifying three main models, which can be divided into other categories: theoretical models (tourist historic city, mono-centric, agglomeration, multi-dimensional); empirical models (spatial statistical, zoning regression, discrete choice, simultaneous equation, individual evaluation, hotel success); and operational models (checklist method, statistical prediction, GIS).

Nevertheless, much research on hotel location seeks to explain business locational decisions without truly considering the spatial transformations resulting from them. Within the Spanish context, Urtasun and Gutiérrez (2006) have studied hotel spatial distribution in Madrid with the aim of understanding hotel location criteria (price-competition versus geographical-competition), and Cirer (2011) has studied Ibiza with the aim of defining tourism zones as clusters of tourism activity.

Methodology and sources

Although the Balearics have experienced rapid tourism transformation, most analysis and data belong to the demand-side approach. Apart from a few exceptions (Cirer, 2010; Murray, 2012), not much research exists on the diffusion of tourist accommodation (supply-side). In order to fill this informational gap, the research project on which this paper is based has developed a consistent tourist accommodation database, going back to 1931 when the first official Spanish Hotels Catalogue was published. The soundness of the data has been tested against previous works.

The selection of intervals is consistent with the periods of tourism development in the Balearics as outlined by local academics: the first boom (from the 1960s to the Fordist crisis); the second boom (from the late 1970s to the crisis of the late 1980s); and the third boom (from the mid-1990s onward) (Rullan, 1998). A literature review has thus been essential for selecting this study's disruption years and intervals.

The first period is from the early 1930s, a time of early tourism expansion. Data has been collected from the year 1931, with the beginning of the Second Republic, and 1936, the start of the Civil War. The second interval is from 1951-1959, as 1951 was the year of international acceptance of the Fascist regime, and 1959 corresponds to the approval of the Spanish Stabilization Plan. The third period is from 1966-1972 and corresponds to the 1960s boom and the moments leading up to the Fordist crisis. Fourthly, the 1980s saw the construction of further accommodation and since then the regional government of the Balearics has published annual tourist accommodation data for each island. Finally, the 1990s ushered in a new development period, for which data has been available on a municipal scale as the local tourism administration started an official catalogue of tourist accommodations in 1996.

The tourist accommodation database was based on the Spanish Hotels Catalogue published by Spanish Tourist Authorities (1932-1991), while the Balearics' Tourist Accommodation Catalogue was sourced from Balearic Authorities (1996-2010). GIS was then used to geo-reference tourist accommodation for the selected years. Afterwards, density maps were developed with a Kernel model of densities (ARCGIS), which calculates a magnitude of the variable analyzed (tourist beds) per unit of surface area (km²). The calculation of Kernel density gives greater weights to the points located closer to the core than to ones farther away. Finally, a decreasing function according to distance is interpolated. The result is a smooth distribution of the values (Moreno, 1991).

Spatio-temporal diagrams have been elaborated to facilitate analysis of tourist bed diffusion following generalized isorhythmic maps or trend surface maps, according to Morrill's examples (1970) on patterns of spatial diffusion. The abscissa's axis (x) presents the Euclidean distances from each island airport, considered as the diffuser focus; while the ordinate axis (y) shows the timescale (1936-2010). Values have been interpolated following the spline method, which estimates values according to a mathematical function that minimizes overall surface curvature and thus results in a smooth surface that integrates all input points.

Figure 2 represents the flow of tourist beds, and the stock is represented in Figure 5. Tourism hotspots can be distinguished when crossing the spatial dimension with the temporal one. Six maps have been developed in order to reflect the different tourism stages and major land transformations due to tourist accommodation diffusion (Figures 2 and 4).

Both the maps and diagrams present diffusion rings according to distance from each island's airport. Mallorca's rings are: Mca1 (Palma Bay: Palma, Platja de Palma, Cala Major); Mca2 (Calvià, Lluçmajor, Deià, etc.); Mca3 (Andratx, Sóller, ses Salines, etc.), Mca4 (Santanyí, Manacor, Alcúdia, Pollença, etc.); Mca5 (Sant Llorenç, Son Servera, Capdepera, Artà). Menorca has three rings: Men1 (Maó, es Castell, Sant Lluís, Alaior); Men2 (Alaior, es Mercadal, es Migjorn); Men3 (Ferrerries, Ciutadella); and finally, Ibiza and Formentera (called the Pityuses Islands) also have three rings: Pit1 (Eivissa, Sant Josep); Pit2 (Sant Josep, Sant Antoni, Santa Eulària); Pit3 (Santa Eulària, Sant Joan and Formentera).

Spatio-temporal diffusion of tourist accommodation in the Balearics

The availability of capital for investment in a particular economic activity is the initial condition needed for the implementation and diffusion of that activity. This, however, is insufficient since a favourable institutional framework is also essential for realizing the investment, and investment can only be materialized with a proper technical innovation that makes that investment feasible. The sequence, then, is as follows: capital availability, favourable institutional framework, and technical innovation. Coastal tourism has not been alien to this sequence, and it implies a radical spatial transformation, with the expansion of tourism fixed capital that shapes the urban space.

In the nineteenth century, coastal tourism began in the North and the Baltic Seas and was enjoyed by political and economic elites of the Industrial Revolution (Gormsen, 1997, pp. 40-41). As the capitals accumulated during the First Industrial Revolution were producing the first coastal tourist resorts in Northern Europe, the first travellers were reaching the Mediterranean coasts. Precisely during that period, the first Romantic travellers arrived in the Balearics, such as George Sand, Frederick Chopin, and the Archduke Ludwig Salvatore of Austria (Barceló, 2000; Seguí, 1996). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tourist accommodation was scarce and was mainly addressed to urban visitors, who spent short-stays in hostels while long-stay visitors stayed in private properties (Cirer, 2009).

Between the 1920s and the Spanish Civil War, tourism gained relevance in the Balearics, and the archipelago had already found a place on the European tourism map. Capital surpluses accumulated during the inter-war period stimulated tourism expansion on the Northern Mediterranean coast, where new resorts emerged like the Italian and French Rivas (Löfgren, 1999). In the Balearics, capital from Northern Europe and the archipelago itself were invested in tourism facilities. Furthermore, the implementation of pro-tourism policies and important transport development proved essential to the rise of Mallorca – and to a lesser extent, Ibiza – as a tourist destination.

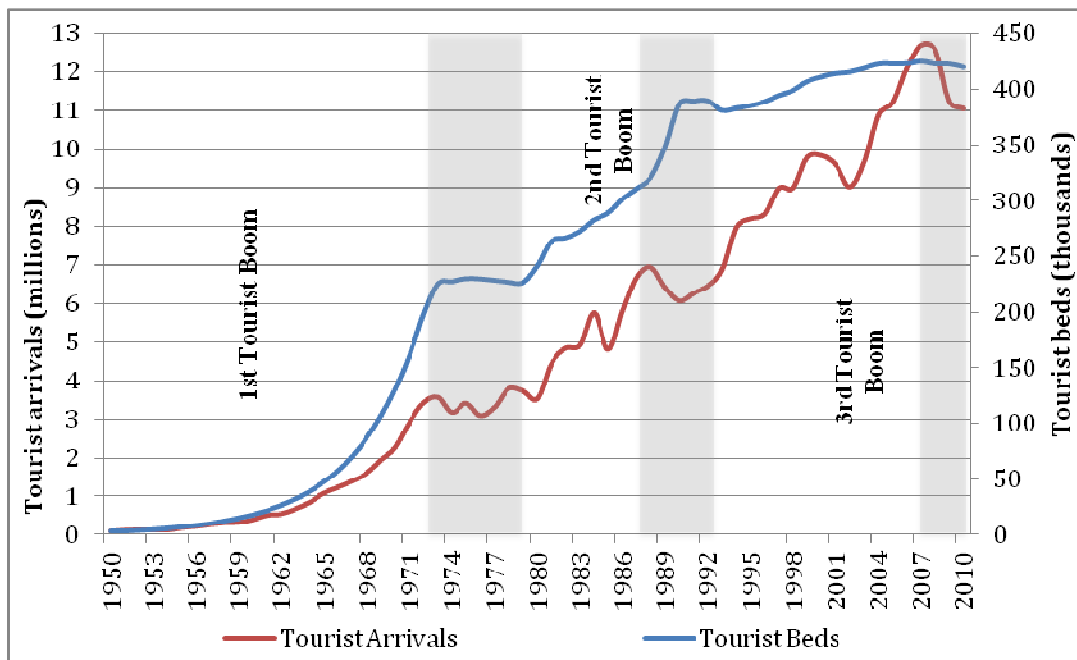
During that time, middle class European tourists arrived on the islands, mainly Mallorca and Ibiza, where they spent long stays. Examples include the writer Gertrude Stein, and the artist Santiago Rusiñol in the neighbourhood of El Terreno (Mallorca) (Barceló, 1963) as well as the philosopher Walter Benjamin on Ibiza (Valero, 2004). Most tourists lodged in hotels (e.g. Hotel Victoria or Hotel Formentor in Mallorca; Grand Hotel Ibiza or Hotel San Antonio in Ibiza) though some also stayed in rented private properties (Buades, 2004; Cirer, 2004). This period also saw the developments (e.g. Cala d'Or) and projections (e.g. Santa Ponça) of coastal urbanization, aimed mainly at foreigners (Seguí, 2001). Nevertheless, the main tourism district, El Terreno, was a planned extension of Palma, and planning already considered tourism to be a key element of the 'urban growth machine'. Subsequently,

especially in Mallorca, the first tourist resorts represented districts stemming directly from the extension plans of existing cities or were simply organic expansions of these cities (Artigues et al., 2006).

The 1936 map (Figure 3) reflects the early development of tourism supply and its location. The main tourism area was a western extension of the city of Palma as a result of the economic dynamics of urban space. The western side of the Bay of Palma was also close to the main gateway to the island, the port of Palma. That initial tourism was the seed for subsequent growth. After the pause between the second half of the 1930s and the 1940s due to warfare and the political and economic isolation of Franco's dictatorship, the 'Great Transformation' of the tourism industry began (Pack, 2006).

So far, most studies on the evolution of tourism urbanization in the Balearics have worked with aggregated data at an island or archipelago level to explain the main tourism growth waves that correspond to the global economic cycles as a result of the archipelago's insertion within Spanish and European capitalism (Rullan, 1999; Picornell & Picornell, 2002). As a result of these works, the tourism evolution of the Balearics has been conceptualized as follows: a first phase in the 1960s (i.e. Fordism), a second in the 1980s (i.e. transition to post-Fordism), and a third since the mid-1990s (i.e. post-Fordism) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Evolution of tourist arrivals and tourist accommodation in the Balearics (1950-2010). (Grey areas represent periods of crisis).



Sources: (Murray, 2012; Balearic Tourism Agency, 2014).

The first tourism boom

The warming of economic and trade relations between western capitalist powers and the Spanish fascist regime gave oxygen to the Spanish dictatorship and created investment conditions in Spain suitable to foreign capital (Viñas, Viñuela, Eguidazu, Pulgar & Florensa, 1979). Apart from the construction of a pro-tourism institutional framework, Spanish labour costs were much lower than Northern European ones, and climate conditions were absolutely better for 3S (Sun, Sand and Sea) mass tourism. The rapid growth of major metropolitan industrial zones and Mediterranean coastal tourist resorts reflects the parallel process of industrialization and tourism specialization of the Spanish economy (Capel, 1975).

According to [Figure 2](#) and the 1959 map ([Figure 3](#)), the earliest hotels clustered in resorts were located at the closest distance to Palma (Mca1). Palma's port and airport could be considered the emission sources of innovation. Therefore, it is in the vicinity of these transport nodes that tourism development occurred. In the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s, just before the global crisis, tourism investments grew steadily and spread to areas near the existing resorts (see 1972 map in [Figure 3](#)).

In Mallorca, the main tourism hotspot was still the Bay of Palma (Mca1) although some new resorts were constructed farther away, such as Santa Ponça and Peguera in Calvià (Mca2), 20 km west of the airport; the northern bays of Alcúdia and Pollença, and the eastern coast (e.g. Calas de Mallorca) (Mca4), some 40-50 km from the airport; and the far east side of Mallorca (Mca5) (e.g. Cala Millor and Cala Rajada). The main urban-tourism gaps in Mallorca corresponded to the areas located 25-35 km from Palma (Mca3), where the steep mountains of the Northern Mountain Range, and the aridity in the South, were major obstacles to tourism development. Mass tourism in Ibiza began during this period, with the major tourist resorts of Sant Antoni (Pit2) on the west side of the island and Platja d'en Bossa (Pit1) and Santa Eulària (Pit3) in the east.

Mass tourism as an expression of Fordism was responsible for the production of the world-famous resorts of Platja de Palma, Magaluf, and Sant Antoni, amongst the most emblematic intensively-built Fordist tourism resorts. In brief, mass tourism investments shaped the Fordist city in the 1960s. Tourist resorts, planned or otherwise, were built as districts expanding out of the cities of Palma and Ibiza. These urban spaces, however, were devoted strictly to consumption, implying a disruption of previous urban logics. Morphologically, these districts were built not only as urban extensions (e.g. Platja de Palma in Mallorca and Platja d'en Bossa in Ibiza), but also as discontinuous districts not too far from the cities (e.g. Magaluf in Mallorca and Sant Antoni in Ibiza).

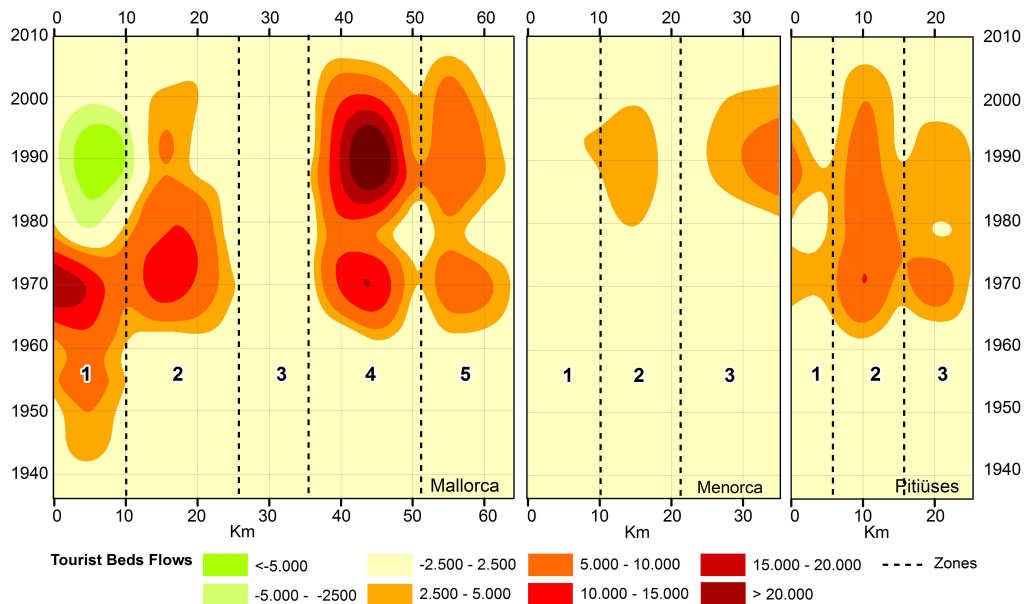
The economic stagnation after 1973 is reflected in [Figure 2](#) with two exceptions: the tourism areas of Calvià (Mca2), where the opening of the highway in 1976 helped delay the reduction of accommodation investments, and Sant Antoni in Ibiza (Pit2), where the construction of tourist beds continued its expansion over the bay, mainly on account of the opening of Tanit Hotel (740 beds). Moreover, residential tourism became remarkable in specific villages like Deià in the Mallorcan Northern Mountain Range (Waldren, 1996), with distinguished foreign residents such as the poet Robert Graves. There were also the examples of Ibiza and Formentera, attracting young hippies as residents or for long stays (Rozenberg, 1990). These visitors became the 20th century interlocutors who revealed the secrets of the islands to Europeans.

The second tourist boom

The collapse of the European welfare state led to neoliberalization and its corollaries, i.e. the rise of finance capital and a tendency toward oligopoly. In the tourism sector, this is reflected in the greater influence gained by financial institutions, and the formation of large transnational corporations (e.g. air carriers, hotel chains, tour operators) (Buades, 2006).

The rhythm of construction of tourist beds in the Balearics slowed down during this crisis, and in 1978, there were 226,883 beds, just 0.8% more than 1973. However, a restructuring process was underway in the accommodation sector, resulting in the disappearance of many small companies, with the survivors now ready for the new boom period (Sastre, 1995). Thus, after a new growth period coinciding with Spain's entry into the European Union in 1986, tourist accommodation grew to 386,952 beds, 60% higher than in the early 1980s. The first and second maps of [Figure 4](#) reflect the geography of tourist accommodation generated in this second tourism boom.

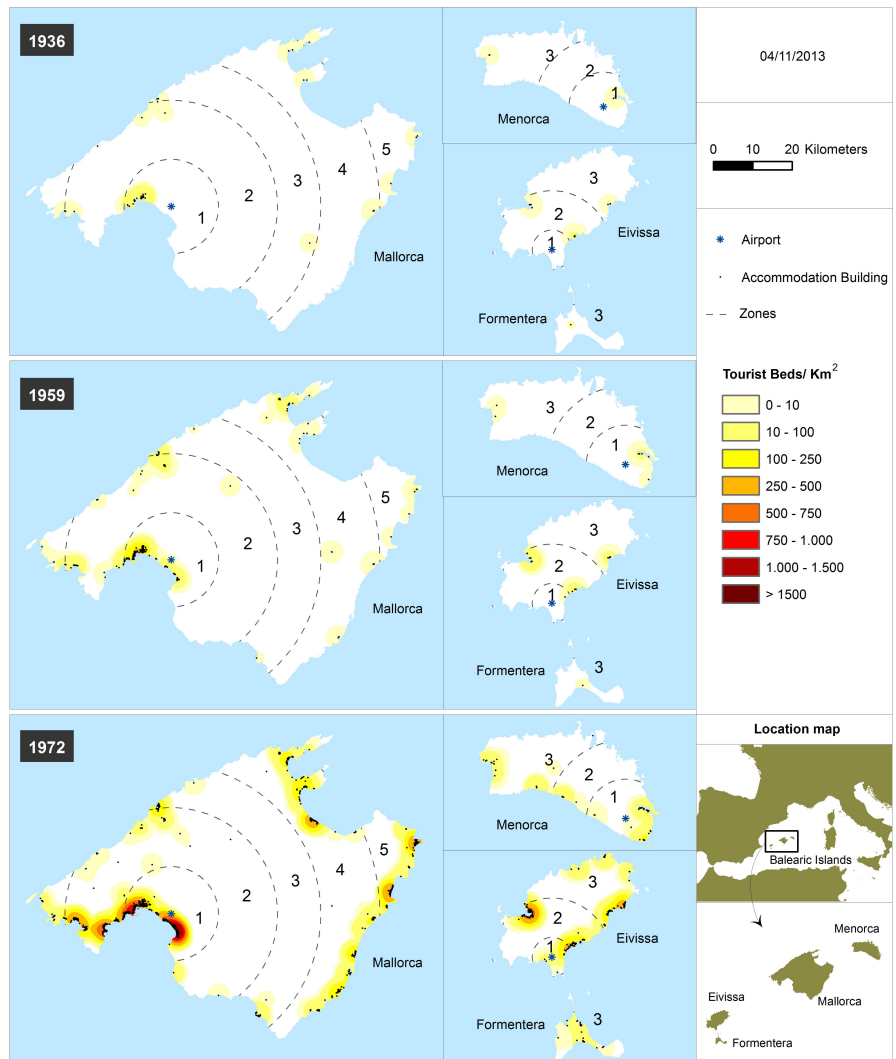
Figure 2: Flow of tourist beds in the Balearics (1936-2010).



Source: own elaboration from tourist accommodation database.

The restructuring of the 1980s was not just a matter of market structure but also affected the consolidated resorts that had been built in Fordist times. [Figure 2](#) (Mca1, 1980-2000) reflects this urban transformation, where old hotels near Palma, which had formerly expanded westward, now abandoned their tourism activity and were converted into residential dwellings, as Fordist-era lodging was showing signs of deterioration. Therefore, already in the 1980s, the 20-year-old resorts began presenting symptoms of decline: This fast pace of deterioration is a peculiar anomaly of urban tourism space relative to other kinds of urban space. Menorca, however, was fully integrated into the Balearic tourism model, and the eastern tourism areas of the island (Mca4 and Mca5) were consolidated (see maps 1985 and 1996 in [Figure 4](#)).

Figure 3: Tourist Accommodation in the Balearics (1936, 1959 and 1972).



Source: own elaboration from tourist accommodation database on tourist.

When the Balearic tourism areas started to saturate, Balearic hotel chains began their expansion overseas, first to other Spanish coastal areas and then to the Caribbean (Buades, 2006). Latin America has been the focus of Spanish investments abroad, and hotel chains have been important agents of Spanish globalization, a process propelled by neoliberalism and Spain's integration into the EU (Guillén, 2005).

During the 1980s, with the beginning of democracy, social pressure halted planned tourism developments along virgin beaches (e.g. es Trenc). Nonetheless, most coastal municipalities attempted to build their tourism districts as copies of the first Fordist resorts. Tourism legislation and the introduction of new tourism production strategies made their mark in the urban space in terms of low density areas and apartment blocks, instead of hotels, as the main units of production. As a result, the urbanization process shaped what could be defined as

the tourism coastal city. Built-up land along the coast was interrupted only by protected nature areas or areas where mass tourism construction was physically unfeasible. This non-built-up land played the same function as parks in the core city.

The third tourism boom

This stage corresponds to the neoliberal phase of the world economy, characterized by deepening finance-led dynamics (Brenner, 2006; Harvey, 2005). During this period of growth in macroeconomic indicators such as GDP, legal tourist accommodation construction was nearly static, with just 35,336 new beds opening between 1992 and 2007, that is, at a rate of a mere 2,358 beds/year, half the 5,006 beds/year registered between 1978 and 1990 (Figure 1).

The reduction in tourist accommodation construction was mainly a response to restrictive regulations aimed at limiting new tourist beds, which began coming into force in the mid-1980s. The largest Balearic hoteliers supported most of these laws in order to limit competition while expanding their activity in the rest of Spain and internationally. Balearic globalization, with hotel chain investments overseas, thus concurred with the institutional blocking of tourist accommodation growth in the archipelago.

This, however, did not affect other urbanization and housing. In the second half of the 1990s, after social conflicts and protests, urban growth was constrained by new regulations. The Balearic Government passed the Director Plan of Tourist Supply of Mallorca in 1995, the Plan of Ibiza and Formentera in 1997, and an Island Master Plan for Menorca in 2003. Furthermore, two important laws were approved in 1999: 6/1999 Act of Spatial Planning Directives and Fiscal Measures of the Balearic Islands, as well as the General Tourist Act 2/1999 of the Balearic Islands. While the first of these practically put in place a *numerus clausus* for the construction of new tourist accommodations, the second limited future urban growth on each island to 10% or 12%, allowing only such growth that was contiguous to existing urban areas.

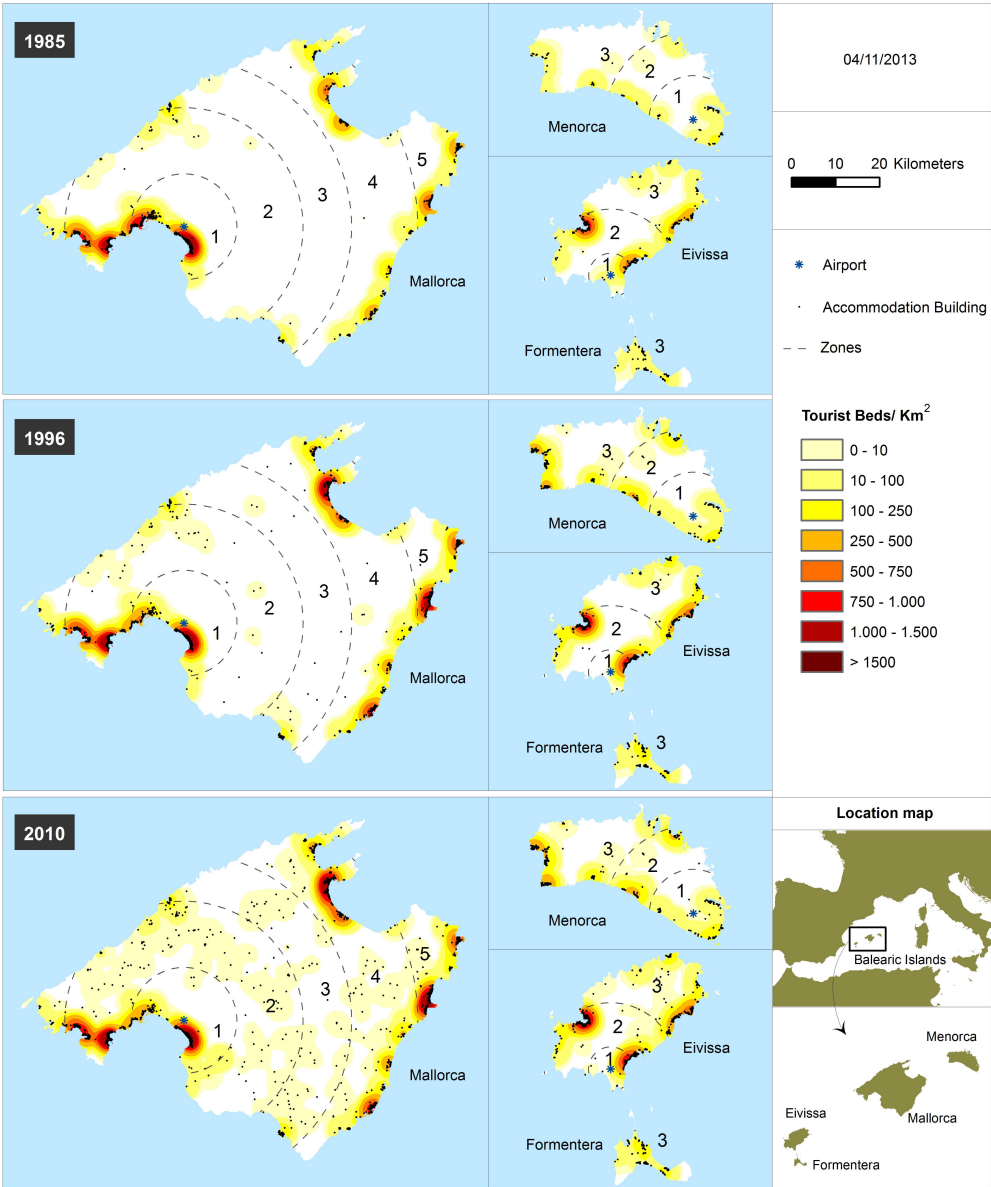
With tourist accommodation construction restricted (the second half of the 1980s) and urban growth seriously limited (the second half of the 1990s), economic growth was fuelled mainly by the real estate sector, stimulated by easily available lines of credit. The maps of tourist accommodation of 1996 and 2010 are thus very similar, with the exception of the higher presence of rural tourism accommodation, which had barely existed one decade earlier (third map in Figure 4). That said, since the restrictive tourism laws did not affect high-quality hotels, large corporations invested in luxury hotels (e.g. Hilton Sa Torre), and within the process of gentrification of the historic cities, many buildings were turned into hotels (Vives, 2011). In the 1990s, the Fordist tourist resorts became obsolete and were affected by large-scale urban renewal projects under the neoliberal agenda, affecting places like Platja de Palma, Magaluf, and Platja d'en Bossa (Artigues, Bauzà, Blázquez, González, Rullan, Vives & Yrigoy, 2013).

During this period, the Balearics became well known among international elites, who bought luxurious houses on the islands: Michael Douglas in Valldemossa and Boris Becker in Artá, now both denounced as illegal constructions (Seguí, 1998). The spread of foreign investment in second homes was a cornerstone of the Balearic real estate.

In summary, during neoliberal times, the tourism city spread along the coastline and also expanded inland. Meanwhile, coastal tourist resorts presented several types of urban morphology, from Fordist areas to luxurious residential urbanizations. The rural tourism areas also presented several aspects, from rural hotels to large properties owned by foreigners. This

process was fuelled by the construction of large road transport infrastructures that resulted in spatio-temporal compression (Bauzà, 2013). Today, every island is a metropolitan region affected by a tourist influx that flows through the transport hubs of historic pre-tourism cities.

Figure 4: Tourist accommodation in the Balearics (1985, 1996 and 2010).



Source: authors` own elaboration from tourist accommodation database.

The stock of tourist accommodation in 2010

The map for 2010 (third map in [Figure 4](#)) reflects the current tourism-urban space, defined by lodging location, and [Figure 5](#) represents the stock of tourist accommodation over a period of 74 years. These figures depict the different spatio-temporal enclaves that have transformed the tourism-urban geography of the Balearics into that of tourist city islands.

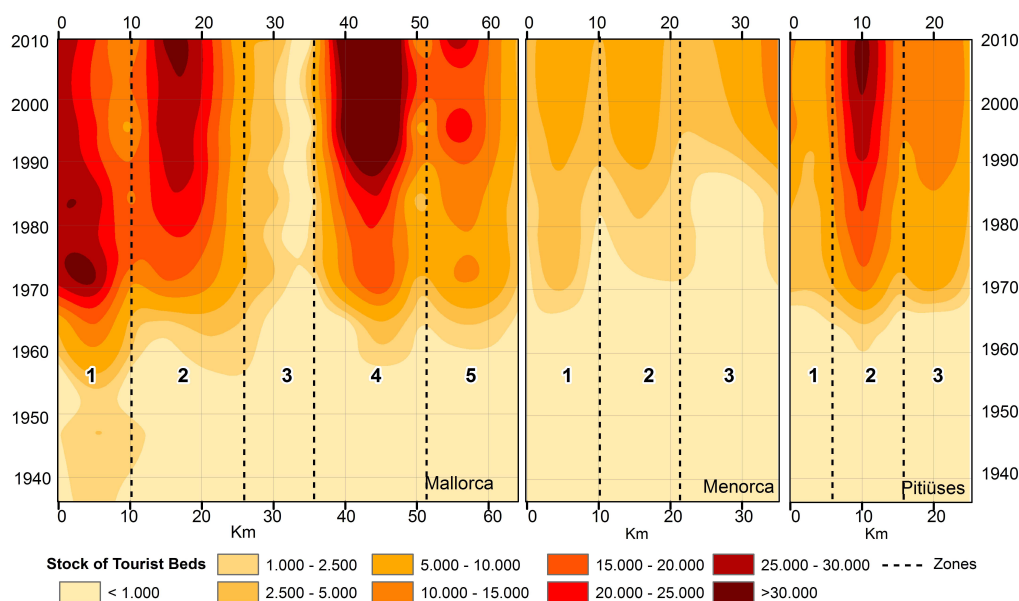
Mallorca is the island with the highest tourism land transformation. In terms of tourist accommodation density, only the resort of Sant Antoni (Ibiza) is similar to Mallorcan resorts. On the other hand, Menorca, due to its late incorporation into mass tourism (Second Tourism Boom), has lower tourist accommodation densities and tourist resorts in the form of urban sprawl.

Four main tourism areas can be described in Mallorca: 1) Within a 10 km radius of the airport (Mca1) are the contiguous tourism areas of Palma, including Platja de Palma (still the most important Mallorcan resort) and the western side of the Bay of Palma, where some tourist accommodations have been converted into residential uses. 2) Within the ring 10-25 km from the airport (Mca2) are the resorts of Calvià, which also started in the 1960s but consolidated in the 1980s and 1990s. 3) Within the ring 35-40 km from the airport (Mca4) are resorts constructed in the 1980s in the northern bays, particularly the Bay of Alcúdia, and on the southern side of the east coast. 4) Within the ring 50-60 km from the airport (Mca5), the two most important resorts are Cala Rajada and sa Coma-Cala Millor, which were already prominent in the 1970s. 5) Finally, there is a zone 35-45 km from the airport (Mca3) with a very low tourism supply, even in the coastal areas, principally due to the abrupt mountain areas of the Northern Mountain Range (e.g. Escorca) in the north and protected natural areas like es Trenc in the south.

Menorca has three prominent tourism areas. However, as mentioned above, they have relatively low densities compared to those of the rest of the archipelago. The first area is around Mahon (Men1), the eastern capital of the island, where the first large hotels were built in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The second corresponds to the 10-20 km ring (Men2), with resorts like Fornells on the north side as well as Sant Tomàs and Son Bou in the south. The development of this second area began in the 1980s. Finally, the coast of Ciutadella (Men3) features development that is both more recent and more intense than that elsewhere on the island.

Finally, Ibiza and Formentera are also classified into three areas. The first comprises the area around the island capital and airport (Pit1), and its development started in the 1970s, becoming fully established in the 1990s. The second, within a 10 km radius from the airport (Pit2), is the Bay of Sant Antoni, the most important island resort, featuring constant growth in tourist accommodation. Finally, Santa Eulària and Formentera (Pit3), 20 km from the airport, represent a third area in which greater distance and communications difficulties have influenced the development of tourism supply, particularly on the island of Formentera, which is accessible only by boat.

Figure 5: Stock of tourist accommodation beds in the Balearics (1936-2010).



Source: authors` own elaboration from tourist accommodation database.

Conclusion

Most analyses on the supply-side of the geography of tourism in the Balearics have focused on the regional scale. This scale of resolution has been useful for understanding the general process of diffusion of the tourism-urban space in the archipelago. Nonetheless, a more detailed analysis reveals particularities within every island and in particular periods.

This paper is a first attempt to develop a detailed analysis of the spatio-temporal diffusion of tourist accommodation in the Balearics from the 1930s to the present, stemming from the exact location of every lodging unit. Tourism has been the driving force for the urbanization of the Balearics, and the complex urban dynamics and resulting tourism-urban spaces can be tracked following the spatio-temporal diffusion of lodging location.

Since tourism demand is external to the islands, the spread of urban-tourism spaces initially started close to the main gateways, first next to the seaports and later next to the airports. Transport infrastructures that connect the Balearics with the rest of the world have historically played a key role in the economy of each island. Because of the importance of those gateways, the cities in which they are located have been the sites from which expansion of tourist accommodation and wider urban development have diffused. The later development of improved road networks has guided further urbanization in different directions from the historic city-based transport hubs.

The timings of transport infrastructural construction are crucial, as is evident from a comparison with different urbanization patterns on islands that developed as tourism destinations at an earlier stage (e.g., in the era of rail travel; see Grydehøj & Hayward, 2011) or later stage (e.g., in the era of long-haul plane travel; see Jarvis & Peel, 2010). By the same token, within the Balearic archipelago, the production of tourism areas differs depending on

the timing of airport construction, presenting Menorca as a different pattern of tourism urbanization with lower densities, mainly due to its later incorporation into mass tourism. The urban-tourism process skipped the Fordist phase of urban development that had occurred on the other islands.

Transport infrastructures are basic to the production of the insular city, and the tourist city cannot be understood without the construction of airports and the spread of air transport. Because of this, the Balearics have become closer to the main metropolitan areas of Northern Europe, and the archipelago has been conceptualized as their leisure neighbourhood (Salvà, 2005). All of this, however, has been feasible during a period of cheap and abundant oil; should that change, the situation would be dramatically altered (Heinberg, 2003).

Periods of rapid tourist bed construction have coincided with a business-friendly institutional framework that has attracted (especially foreign) capital. The first period was just before the crisis of the 1970s, as a result of Franco's so-called *desarrollismo* economic policies; and the second period in the early 1990s was a result of Spain's integration into the EU. These two spurts of growth were re-enforced by urban and spatial plans approved during the dictatorship or new plans that retained the basic growth parameters inherited from the fascist regime. Institutional arrangements and choreographies of power are essential when analysing the evolution of the production of island space. The tourism cities of the Balearics are a result of a long period during which strong political power relations and large amounts of capital available for investment in fixed capital combined to produce urban tourism spaces.

Meanwhile, the institutional arrangements during the last growth period, from the mid-1990s to 2008 (the third tourism boom), focused on restricting new tourist beds, except for those of five-star tourism categories and rural tourism lodges. This tourism policy was pushed by a capitalist lobby in order to preserve its interests and to avoid the negative effects of excessive competition. Simultaneously, the big hotel chains expanded their activities into new coastal resorts worldwide, particularly in the Caribbean. One result has been a slowing of the creation of new urban clusters outside the existing urban areas in the Balearics, which could potentially lead to a new phase of consolidation and densification.

Two vectors can explain the current map of Balearic Islands' tourist accommodation supply: 1) the physical conditions of space, including both natural factors and public infrastructure, and 2) the institutional framework and socioeconomic factors. Both vectors coincide in cases like Platja de Palma and Magaluf (Mca1), which have the highest tourist bed densities. In the absence of both factors, tourism supply is completely absent, as is the case for most of the mountainous areas of the Northern Mountain Range of Mallorca or the Ibizan mountain range, es Amunts. The presence of natural conditions with no favourable institutional framework crystallizes in sandy beaches with very little tourism supply (e.g. es Trenc and sa Canova on Mallorca; Platja de ses Salines on Ibiza; and Formentera). Favourable institutional conditions with adverse physical ones materialize in some urban developments of Mallorca and Ibiza located in mountainous areas, where developments have not fully materialized.

Meanwhile, the Fordist urban tourism spaces experienced a continuous decline and have various projects under reconstruction, so that post-Fordist or flexible tourism-urban logics have spread throughout the archipelago. As tourism has become a dominant activity, surplus value extracted from the land is mainly related to the tourism-urban rationale that affects the so-called rural land as well. Therefore, the rural has been placed under the urban logics of accumulation, and the insular space functions globally and holistically as an urban space. On

the other hand, the historic cities are increasingly affected by tourism dynamics, with tourism having become the key policy for urban renewal and gentrification.

In conclusion, seven decades of tourism development in the Balearics have left an important footprint on each island, and tourism has become the main driving force to the urban process. Already in the 1970s, Quintana (1979) argued that changed socio-spatial dynamics meant that the Balearics were fully urban. Over time, the whole archipelago – even its rural areas – has been structured under the urban logics of accumulation that are linked to tourist capitalism. The Balearics have become part of the European sunbelt, dominated by tourism and leisure. The islands of the Balearics represent a number of distinct forms of island tourism development and, as a result, of island urban development.

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