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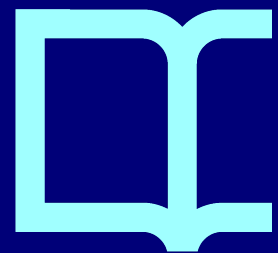
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Social Involvement and Adaptation to the 1960s Tourist Boom on Ibiza.

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Abstract

It is common to see that the academic analysis carried out on many accelerated tourism growth processes includes qualifications such as ‘dependent development’, ‘social and cultural impoverishment’, ‘destruction of social networks’, etc. In this article we present a detailed analysis of one of the fastest and most dramatic tourist booms in the Mediterranean, which occurred on the island of Ibiza in the 1960s. Our conclusions are that Ibizan society was not impoverished by it, nor did it reluctantly accept a tourist expansion promoted and imposed by external forces. In fact, it was intensely involved in a process of economic change that was essential to overcome the inadequacy of its traditional economic model. The sudden and powerful changes completely rearranged the island's social structure, but the Ibizans were able to adapt to them and accept both the benefits and the costs of the implementation of mass tourism.

Keywords

Tourism development, Social adaptability, Structural change, Innovation, Ibiza.

Introduction

Our article presents a case study that demonstrates very positive local attitudes towards the initial development of mass tourism on Ibiza (Eivissa). It shows that it was in no way imposed by external forces on a backward society – as is sometimes suggested – but was instead a development option adopted with widespread conviction in an advanced society; albeit one belonging to a state with profound political and social problems.

The first part of this article is a historical analysis of the rapid process of economic change in the 1950s and 1960s. The island had been engaged in a process of economic modernization even before 1900, and it was fully integrated in international markets by the 1920s. The outward-looking socio-economic model was set back by the Great Depression of 1929 and Ibizan entrepreneurs turned to tourism to maintain their position in the international context, opening new hotels from 1930 onwards. Between 1936 and 1951 the wars and the international isolation of the Spanish state reduced the island's economy to misery but, from 1951 onwards, tourism revived with extraordinary vitality, completely changing the economic and social structure of the island.

The second part examines some fundamental effects on the island's society. As well as actively participating in its development, Ibizans had to adapt to the sometimes-unforeseen consequences of mass tourism, by finding new mechanisms of social reproduction to replace the traditional ones. The profound social changes are analysed qualitatively, using the doctoral research and fieldwork – between February 1970 and August 1971 – of one of the authors of this article (Cooper, 1976). Accompanied by his wife, he studied the society of Ibiza from a position immersed in it (participant observation) using the sociological methodology of community studies in a historical context. His overt fieldwork role was that of a student or writer, and he used both the islanders' own language (Eivissenc, a dialect of Catalan) and the state language (Castilian Spanish) to understand their viewpoints and how the sudden changes caused by mass tourism had affected them.

The key informants in the town (Vila) and country (Sant Josep), plus their spouses and kin, included professional people (primary village teachers and secondary ones in the town, the village priest, public employees, etc.); entrepreneurs and employees (non-touristic and touristic); and farm-owners (e.g., a gentleman landowner, a peasant artisan neighbour, a cash-poor non-literate inland peasant farmer and a peasant coastal farmer/fisherman – also non-literate – who had become wealthy by selling barren land

in individual plots). These informants soon multiplied to form a new diverse social network. The private fieldwork journals mention many casual contacts, as well as some 280 relevant identified informants, comprising 38 professionals or public employees; 35 landowners/peasant farmers and/or fishermen; 49 small businessmen or artisans; 42 employees (tourism, building, etc.); 41 foreigners (residents, “hippies”, and a few tourists); 75 others (housewives, teenagers, retired, etc.).

Literature review

When tourism is forcibly [and even when not forcibly] introduced into a new place, it always causes significant impacts, creating “tensions between the local as a tourist destination and the local as a place where the citizens live, work, relax ...” (MacCannell, 2016: 344). These impacts force the local population to respond, to adapt, to adopt an attitude towards the new situation (Canosa et al., 2018: 379; Slabbert et al., 2021: 819).

The analysis of residents’ attitudes towards tourism development has prompted so many academic papers that there are now also many review articles on the topic. Harill (2004) comments that it is difficult to establish scales of development and quantitative measuring techniques that can apply to different destinations. Woosnam (2012: 317) proposes that “very few consistent findings (i.e., independent variables significantly influencing or predicting residents’ attitudes) have been put forth within the literature”. In line with Harill (2004) he concludes that it is not possible to carry out consistent analyses that embrace large geographical areas or destinations with different circumstances. Sharpley (2014) detects another problem: existing research is dominated by studies set in English-speaking countries, with few in the Mediterranean or Caribbean. He criticises the use of Social Exchange Theory (SET), proposed by Ap (1992), as being a linear and rational model that does not contemplate the socio-cultural context nor the temporal dynamic involved in residents’ perceptions. And he concludes that “the value of the research remains primarily case-specific” (Sharpley, 2014: 47).

Almeida et al. (2015) and Özekici and Ünlüönen (2019), highlight the heterogeneity of methodologies used and the scarcity of qualitative and longitudinal studies. They comment that there is no consensus over the identification of the variables that determine the attitude of the host community. The first authors conclude: “This discrepancy in results may be attributed to the population characteristics unique to all the places where the studies are conducted.” (Almeida et al., 2015: 39). In line with

Sharpley (2014), McKercher et al. (2015: 63) emphasise the dynamic nature of the impacts of tourism. In any case, “the association between attitude, lifecycle and place change is complicated and nuanced”. A newer study, Hadinejad et al. (2019), finds that in recent years there have been few changes in articles that analyse residents’ attitudes and that the predominance of quantitative methodology and SET has continued, despite the lack of consensus.

In this academic context, the scarcity of case studies devoted to Spanish destinations is not surprising. Mantecón, who focuses on the province of Alicante, emphasises the existence of an overwhelmingly favourable opinion over the development of tourism: “The majority of the interviewees believe that the weight of positive socio-economic impacts is, by far, superior to any of the negative impacts that may be identified.” (Mantecón, 2008: 135). “Only 4.5% of the interviewees say that they dislike the presence of tourists.” (Mantecón, 2012: 260).

There are various studies of residents in the Balearic Islands that also highlight their generally favourable attitude towards tourist development. “In summary, there is a general perception that local residents’ welfare is better now than it was 20 or 50 years ago (61%)” (Aguiló & Rosselló, 2005: 931). “In any case it is important to highlight that the main results show a clearly positive opinion of the benefits [...] for the economy of the Balearic Islands” (Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007: 198). “Perceived benefits surpass costs [...], more than 80 per cent of residents on both islands [Mallorca and Tenerife] consider tourism [...] beneficial or very beneficial to their communities” (Garau et al., 2014: 580). “Compared with the rest of the Balearic Islands, Ibizans are the ones who show the most agreement that tourism has improved the quality of life” (Ramón, 2012: 482)

Finally, our own article is intended to help fill the principal gaps detected by the cited review articles following Butler’s recommendation to use “a more factual approach, examining tourism in the context of the world in which it exists” (Butler 2015: 25).

The importance of a long historical perspective

Antecedents

The products of the Ibizan primary sector – mainly almonds, carobs, and salt – were increasingly exported during the first third of the twentieth century to European and American markets. This new model was shaken when the Great Depression started in

1929 and the prices of Ibizan exports plunged. However, the local entrepreneurs soon found a solution in tourism to absorb investments that were no longer profitable in agriculture or commerce (Cirer, 2021b). From 1930 onwards, the construction began of a new type of hotels, targeting the European middle classes. There were establishments of all kinds: cheap pensions, such as the *Mediterrània* or the *Hotel Balear*, and medium-high category hotels, such as the *Isla Blanca* or the *Gran Hotel Ibiza* in Ibiza town (Vila), the *Portmany* in Sant Antoni, the *Buenvista* in Santa Eulària and the hotel *IFA* on Formentera (Cirer, 2017; Ferrer, 2016; Planells, 1984; Ramón, 2001; Serra & Yern, 2005). By 1934, the island could offer a variety of modern hotels and complementary businesses: bars, restaurants, travel agencies, vehicle rentals, etc. The Ibizan population, in general, applauded the initiative of the tourism entrepreneurs, who acquired a remarkable position of social leadership (Cirer, 2021b; Thompson et al. 2011).

But the accelerated development of Ibizan tourism was aborted when the Spanish Civil War started (July 1936-April 1939) and was followed by the Second World War (September 1939-September 1945). During the Civil War, a significant number of Ibiza's more entrepreneurial inhabitants were killed, forced into exile, or reduced to impotent silence (Parrón, 2000; 2001; Serra & Sitjes, 1981).

From 1940 onwards, the Franco regime imposed an autarkic economic policy, which compounded the international isolation of Spain for many years. These circumstances were especially crippling for an island so dependent on international trade, causing a profound depression, and leading to a temporary revaluation of subsistence farming (Ginard, 2002).

Even so, tourism never lost its attraction for the Ibizan entrepreneurs, who looked to it to bring the island out of its misery. The ending of the Second World War enabled the emblematic *Gran Hotel* in Ibiza town to reopen to the public in June, 1946, under the new name of *Hotel Ibiza*. Various other hotels, restaurants and travel agencies reopened with the same optimism, which soon came up against the sad reality imposed by the autarkical state policies. Basic supplies of food, electricity, etc. were inadequate, but the most serious problem was the lack of suitable transport to and from the island. It was almost impossible to make reservations on the old, overcrowded, once-or-twice-weekly ferries, described by a well-known travel writer (Lewis 1959: 211).

Moreover, tourists faced a bureaucratic maze of mandatory visas, permits and exchange controls to come to Spain at that time and they were expected to conform to the rigid morality of National Catholicism, which hampered the free enjoyment of sun

and beaches (Lannon, 1999: 79; Planells, 1984: 276; Romero, 1996: 21-22). In contrast, the Ibizan authorities, apart from some in the capital town, were often tolerant over tourist behaviour that they should theoretically have prevented (Lewis 1959: 222; Planells, 1984:272).

The revival of tourism on Ibiza in the 1950s

On Ibiza, tourism started reviving in 1951, when Sant Antoni received more than 2,000 tourists, stretching the resources of the few hotels that had reopened. The following year, the entire hotel capacity of the 1930s was made available again and, in 1953, new hotels started to open: the *Bahia*, the *March* and the *Tanit* in Sant Antoni, *Hotel La Cala* in Santa Eulària and the *Ebeso* in Ibiza town.

Tourism, therefore, grew rapidly in the 1950s, but it was limited by intractable problems such as the inadequate Ibiza-Barcelona shipping links and the non-existence of an airport on the island (Pou, 1964). The maritime communications that had existed in 1936 were only partly restored even in 1949, with vessels of inferior speed and capacity compared with those of fifteen years previously (Zornoza, 1961; Pou, 1964). And the decisive improvement in transport that came finally in 1958, when Es Codolar Airport was inaugurated, was the result of an island civil initiative, in the face of the public administration's inefficacy:

At that time, the administration was unlikely to carry out this kind of public works if the population did not collaborate. And it collaborated enormously. [...] The *Fomento del Turismo* [an association to promote tourism on Ibiza], opened a subscription fund to raise money, but many individuals also made contributions in kind. They provided gravel trucks, paid the salaries of workers, offered free transport to the workers, etc. (Ramón, 2001: 74).

The response of the tourism sector was immediate: at least seven new pensions and three new hotels opened in 1958, and tourist arrivals rose by 32% during that year.

Tourism becomes the dominant economic activity

Agriculture had experienced spectacular growth during the 1950s. Not only had traditional almond and carob exports recovered, but a new strictly commercial product had been added: the English potato. (Vilà, 1963). At first, tourism might even be viewed as an important new source of demand for local agriculture, because of the inadequate transport links with the Peninsula for perishable food supplies to the new hotels. When

it suddenly became possible to replace the venerable sailboats that transported goods from the Iberian Peninsula, the hoteliers started to buy food at lower prices from Catalonia and Valencia (Pou, 1964). And private consumers soon followed suit.

The surge in the tourist sector caused enormous salary increases between 1959 and 1967: almost 25% annually (Alenyar, 1990a: 28). Many young people consequently left farming for touristic occupations. In the municipality of Sant Antoni, for example, 62% of employees worked in the primary sector in 1960, compared with only 24% in 1970 (Barceló, 1974: 77).

In the annual report on Ibiza's economic state in 1961, Enrique Ramón Fajarnés, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, referred to tourism with satisfaction as the main source of island wealth' (Ramón, 1962). But, only a year later, he would express concern that the extremely rapid growth of tourism was over-stretching the island's resources and threatening the traditional economy (Ramón, 1963).

The growth would have been even faster if the airport had been able to receive all the tourists who wanted to come to the island. The construction of a longer runway – essential for new jet aircraft – required the expropriation of a large area of top-quality agricultural land and the demolition of several peasant farmhouses. The cost seemed too high to the Spanish State and the complicated procedure to compensate the rural proprietors threatened to delay the airport expansion for many years. Once again, it was the Ibizan civil society that found a solution: the *Fomento del Turismo* contacted the owners individually and guaranteed them the payment of feasible amounts within a reasonable period (Ramón, 2001). In this way, the Ibizans devised an incongruous but ingenious legal solution, with a private local association acting as guarantor of the Spanish State to compensate a large group of private owners. In addition, the incident shows the extent to which Ibizans trusted in tourist growth: the acceptance by expropriated farmers of the guarantees shows extraordinary faith in the subsequent ability of the associated entrepreneurs in the *Fomento del Turismo* to meet the payments. On 15 July 1966, Ibiza Airport opened to international traffic and the last major obstacle that had prevented Ibizan tourism from growing without limit had disappeared.

The tourist boom of the 1960s

By 1970, tourism had occupied nearly all the island's beaches. The newer hotels were bigger and of higher quality. Most tourists staying in them had standardized two-week

holidays, used air transport, and booked through a tour operator that offered a single integrated package. By the mid-1960s, these companies had become the hub of Ibiza's tourism business by dominating the issuing markets. They extended their influence into the receiving market, Ibiza, by providing finance for the extremely rapid hotel expansion of the second half of the 1960s. They gave Ibizan hoteliers remarkable advances on hotel rooms that did not yet exist. Between 1967 and 1971, some 25 hotels – most of them large – were built in this way. And, thanks to this construction boom, the number of tourist overnight stays was multiplied by sixteen between 1960 and 1970, a growth rate of double that of Mallorca (Vallés, 1972: 154). In 1971, Ibizan hotels offered 32,000 tourist accommodation places, which were occupied by almost half a million visitors (Figure 1).

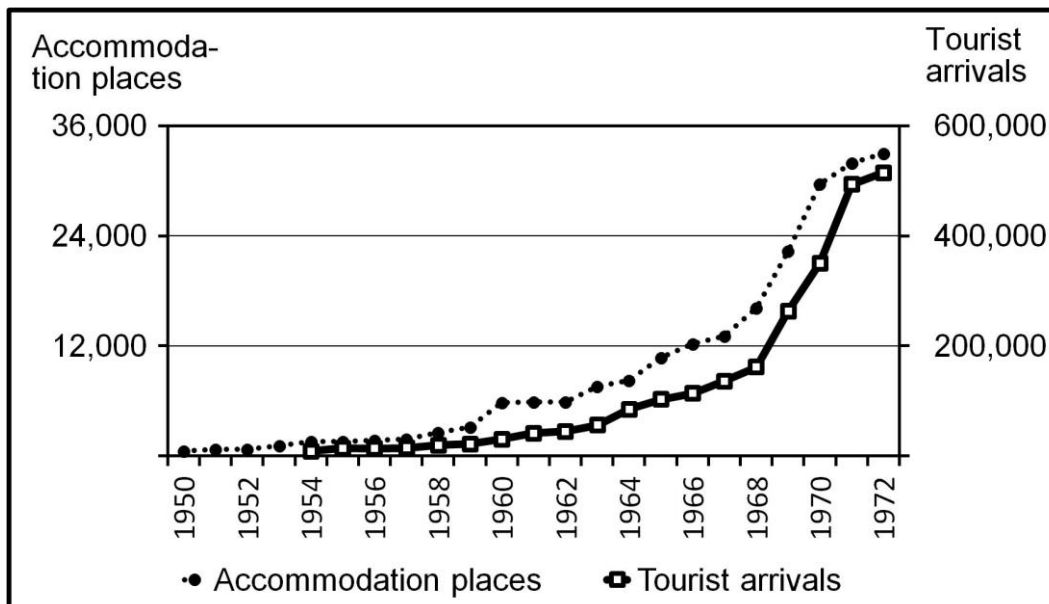


Figure 1. Evolution of the number of tourist places and the number of tourists arriving in Ibiza.

Source: Chamber of Commerce

A society revolutionised by the tourist boom

The commercialization of land and its social implications

The peasant farmers had multiple skills including building (Villangómez & Cooper, 2016: 91) and they traditionally collaborated in the building of new houses in any chosen location, with no permits needed. In the touristic period, as a result, they have resisted attempts to impose rigorous planning restrictions on the land, with the complicity or passivity of the local politicians and administrators, mostly from local families themselves.

The development of tourism also overturned the economic and social criteria for the value of property, which had been linked previously to its agricultural productivity. Mass tourism produced a totally new market for coastal land, which was not included in the traditional commercial circuits. Rocky or sandy plots, with low or zero agricultural value, unexpectedly became the most highly prized properties (Cooper, 1976: 362-367).

One writer mentions a repair garage as one of the nerve centres of trade in touristic land, with the owner acting as an intermediary between farmers and tourism entrepreneurs (Castro: 2003: 200). Another writer says that land prices could multiply tenfold in a few years: an estate in the remote isolated valley of Sant Vicent, acquired for £60 in the mid-fifties, was worth £600 six years later (Brown, 2008: 93). And her washerwoman (the work of poor people) became rich overnight by selling some wasteland at a high price.

Tourism not only redefined land itself as the central form of property on Ibiza, devaluing the activity of farming and multiplying the value of coastal land; it also inverted the valuation of many existing inheritances. In such cases, the great beneficiaries were no longer the heirs but their sisters and younger brothers, who also enjoyed more freedom from family obligations (Cooper, 1976: 373-4).

Development of social networks in support of tourism

Land ownership, especially on the coast, could be made profitable in three ways. Firstly, by selling it whole or in parts. The second option was the construction of a small business such as a bar, restaurant, or souvenir shop, with a modest amount of capital. The third option was to use the land as payment to become a partner in a hotel, apartment-block, etc. In all cases, the social network of acquaintances and family members was normally used to establish the necessary relationships to find a buyer for the land, suppliers for bars and shops and capitalist partners in hotels. In these networks there were different 'specialists' such as those in charge of looking for outsiders or foreigners interested in buying plots and those who had good relations with the

administration and obtained official credits or expedited the numerous bureaucratic procedures to open a bar or hotel (Castro 2003; Ramón, 2001).

At first, the members of these networks were all natives of the island, except for a few outsiders who were mostly Catalan speakers (Catalans and Mallorquins, above all) since the intermediation in these processes of accelerated growth requires close relationships of trust (Levien, 2015, p. 83). The networks expanded and interrelated, so that almost all Ibizans soon had access to more than one network, thus expanding their power by incorporating bridging social capital (Wynne, 2007).

The sale of land plots (or sometimes an unwanted traditional farmhouse) to outsiders or foreigners provided the basic finance needed for the construction of hotels in the first half of the 1960s. Many land sellers were quickly recruited and converted into capitalist partners of the underfinanced companies that built large hotels and apartment blocks: in this way, the initial informal relationships were transformed into formal commercial relationships (Cirer, 2021a). It was possible to reach very high levels of investment thanks to all these mechanisms (Table 1).

Table 1. Gross investment in the construction of tourist accommodation places on the islands of Ibiza and Formentera in millions of pesetas (1988 value):

	Investment
1965	2,732.7
1966	7,727.3
1967	13,143.2
1968	12,716.0
1969	18,054.2
1970	22,514.1
1971	13,407.1
1972	7,980.0

Source: Alenyar (1990b: 291).

Local entrepreneurs, the cornerstone of tourism development on Ibiza

There were relatively few companies on Ibiza at the end of the 1960s and most of them operated under the name of their owners. Hence it was possible to identify the origin of most of the entrepreneurs operating on the island. At that time, all business owners were obliged to register with the Chamber of Commerce, so this entity maintained a census of island entrepreneurs. The list of forenames and surnames for 1969 was analysed, classifying the names into two initial categories: “Ibizans” or “non-Ibizans”. In the few uncertain cases, they were assigned to the “non-Ibizan” category.

In the same way, the category “non-Ibizans” was subdivided into ‘peninsular people’ and “foreigners”. Finally, a fourth category ‘public limited company’ (PLC) was added for companies listed under their corporate name alone.

The results of this analysis of the list of members of the Chamber of Commerce appear in the following tables 2 and 3:

Table 2. Distribution as a percentage of the ownership of businesses on Ibiza from the data of the Chamber of Commerce for the year 1969.

Business type	Ibizans	Peninsular People	Foreigners	PLC
Accommodation (hotels, etc.)	64	12	10	14
Food businesses (shops, etc.)	83	12	2	3
Other businesses (shops, etc.)	64	22	8	6
Restaurants, cafés, etc.	66	20	13	1
Transport (car hire, ferries, etc.)	67	30	2	1
Entertainment (+ other services)	50	25	14	11
Construction	70	19	4	7
ALL TYPES	68	21	7	4

Table 3. Distribution as a percentage of hotel ownership based on data from the Chamber of Commerce for the year 1969.

Hotel type	Ibizans	Peninsular People	Foreigners	PLC
First and second-class hotels	50	6	13	31
Third-class hotels, pensions, etc.	72	15	9	4
ALL TYPES	64	12	10	14

These tables verify that the penetration of external capital on Ibiza in 1969 was low. The number of public limited companies complicated the analysis for the highest category hotels but the predominance of local capital is still evident. These data, then, corroborate the fieldwork research at the start of the 1970s: most of the tourism entrepreneurs were Ibizans (Cooper, 1976: 338).

The new employees in the world of tourism

The rapid growth of tourism created a powerful demand for employees of all kinds, with major consequences for both the economic and the social structure on Ibiza. The entrepreneurs were Ibizans and preferred to choose employees firstly from their closest relatives or acquaintances and secondly from other local-born people. In this way, the

traditional network links were maintained, renewed, and modernized in the form of employment contracts. At the same time, these sociocentric contractual preferences tended to relegate non-Ibizans to the periphery of the labour market. In the 1950s, therefore, when the island's economic situation was still bad, Ibizans occupied almost all the tourism jobs. This was possible because of the accumulation of human capital in the 1930s: many of the waiters, chefs and receptionists of that time were still alive and took part in the tourist revival. When it became possible to build new hotels, the first construction workers were also Ibizans, in many cases 'recycled' peasant farmers (most of whom had some traditional building skills) who divided their working year between the land and construction.

The main labour problem for hotels was a lack of skilled employees, especially those with language skills. This led to the emergence of a new type of temporary emigration by ambitious young Ibizans. They emigrated to England, France, or Germany for a year or more, to learn a foreign language and gain experience as waiters, barmen, etc. On returning to Ibiza, they could expect to find a managerial position in the new hotels. They also acquired great prestige within their social circles due to their linguistic competence, and they helped to form the nascent island tourist technostructure.

Another important unexpected social effect of the expansion of tourism was the rapid integration of Ibizan women into the world of employment. In the municipality of Sant Antoni, for example, the number of women employed increased almost 400% in ten years: from 156 in 1960 to 591 in 1970 (Barceló, 1974: 76). The demand for workers was so high that employers put aside their traditional scruples and massively hired women as waitresses, cleaners, receptionists, clerks, etc. (Cooper, 1976: 142). Tourism also served to erode other traditional gender inequalities in Ibizan society. And the same effect is well documented for other emerging tourist destinations, even for those with very traditional cultural environments (Korça, 1998).

When tourism began to boom in the early 1960s, the demand for labour soon outstripped the island's own human resources, and the hotel and construction entrepreneurs started looking for workers in the South of Spain, where there was a serious problem of structural unemployment. An empty bus would leave Ibiza on the ferry and return laden with workers (Zornoza, 1964: 174). The strong demand for labour did not take long to generate an extraordinarily high positive migratory balance and to increase the island population (Table 4).

Table 4. Intercensal population growth and net migration. 1950-1970.

	Ibiza and Formentera. Intercensal pop. growth (%)	Ibiza and Formentera. Net migration (five-year period)
1950-55	-4.04	-2,295
1955-60	1.67	-327
1960-65	7.39	1,308
1965-70	13.74	3,165

Source: Barceló (1990: 146; 152)

These are official census data only: a very large number of seasonal touristic immigrant workers were not registered in any official statistics. The most reliable Balearic demographer estimates that there used to be about 5,000 unregistered temporary workers in summer on Ibiza (Barceló 1974: 67).

The new immigrants mostly had low levels of skill but found jobs easily in construction or in hotels: as waiters, buttons, room cleaning staff, etc. In the Balearic Islands, only 11% of tourist workers had received secondary or higher education, 55% primary education and 34% none (Monserrat, 1994: 52). The hiring of staff from outside the island was especially common in the establishments farthest from the towns: for example, the director of the hotel *S'Argamassa* stated in 1968 that only 10% of its 154 employees were Ibicans (Diario de Ibiza, 22 December 1968).

Circumventing institutional obstacles

An advantage of immersive research is that it can detect hidden or implicit social behaviour, invisible to researchers from an external viewpoint: the level of institutional corruption, for example. We should not forget that the most important stage of tourism development took place in a political environment dominated by the Franco regime, while it was fully established and had not yet begun its rapid later disintegration.

Just after the Second World War, the regime had little affection for anything from outside Spain: “all cosmopolitanism was intrinsically unpatriotic” (Sanchis, 2015: 260) and there was “a profound mistrust of other countries” (Viñas, 1980: 65). From 1953 onwards, the regime’s ultranationalism began to evolve and, with it, Franco’s own attitude towards coastal tourism. But the official tourist administration still tried to attract tourists to inland Spain by promoting bullfighting, flamenco, and castles. Sun and beach tourism was thought to require little investment; an attitude still widespread among the regime’s hierarchs in the mid-1960s (Bote, 1998; Correyero, 2014: 15-17;

Galiana & Barrado, 2006: 75; Fuster, 1963; Pack, 2009: 75). The lack of official interest resulted in delays in the construction of vital infrastructures for coastal tourism like airports, both on Ibiza and elsewhere: those of Girona and Alicante, for example, were not inaugurated until 1967 (Utrilla, 1996).

Because of these structural institutional obstacles, local tourism entrepreneurs needed imaginative informal solutions: we have already seen how they contrived the large investment of the building and expansion of Ibiza airport. But the setting up of tourist enterprises of all sizes was subject to similar political and administrative problems, so the island society needed to resort frequently to informal practices that involved the use of the Ibizan social networks. These always included good contacts within the administration who could obviate or shorten the procedures. The informal practices included exchanges of favours, turning a blind eye, finding loopholes in the rules, and giving “tips” (bribes).

These informal solutions had disadvantages: in bypassing any administrative controls over construction they created the well-known problems of disorderly development (Ferrer, 2015). The most notable case during the fieldwork was the *Insula Augusta* hotel, constructed on a site that endangered aircraft landing at the nearby airport. The almost-finished building had to be dynamited in February 1971 to avoid the airport’s closure. The demolition was applauded by almost everyone, except, of course, the hotel’s owners. This was also the first important breach of public confidence in the intentions and actions of some members of the emerging business class on the island. But the main motivation for the public protests against the hotel was the fear – often echoed in the press– of any *mala propaganda* (“bad publicity”, in this case about a “dangerous” airport) that might kill the golden goose of tourism on Ibiza: there was still a worry that the boom was fragile or only temporary (Cooper, 1976: 286-293).

Diversification, fragmentation, and social compartmentalization

As tourism developed, the island’s population became divided into distinct subpopulations. Firstly, native Ibizans, secondly Spanish-speaking immigrants, and thirdly resident foreigners (including the subgroup of “hippies”). Finally, of course, there were the tourists.

The presence of mass tourism generally prompts a local population to insulate themselves to a certain extent and for new businesses to appear that are exclusively designed to satisfy the needs of the tourists. This happened on Ibiza, of course, but

there, in addition, exclusion mechanisms operated among the subpopulations, with each tending to concentrate its presence in certain shops, bars and entertainment or leisure venues. During the fieldwork, it was also found that the Ibizans were often reserved with the newcomers in interactions outside of the professional relationships. In such situations, they often adopted a distant but amiable attitude that incorporated, even so, a remarkable tolerance towards those who “have other customs”.

The relaxed and flexible attitude towards temporary visitors was generally shared even by older people. The common people had their own sets of values, not infrequently at variance with the “official” ones, including a pragmatic attitude and robust humour over sexual matters. With their own language (Eivissenc) and strong oral (especially in the country) and literary (mostly in the town in the past) traditional cultures as well, the islanders could adapt to the presence of outsiders as and when they themselves so desired, with little risk of losing their own cultural identity.

Social acceptance of tourism

During the fieldwork in the early 1970s, both the town and country people on Ibiza usually spoke in terms of a temporal dichotomy: things had either happened ‘before’ or ‘after’ the arrival of mass tourism – at some moment that was undefined but approximately in the early 1960s. In general, Ibizans of all ages tended to speak negatively about their way of life before tourism; they referred to the years of wars, hunger, ‘misery’, emigration, illiteracy, and ignorance; especially in the country areas, in which ‘there were more quarrels due to conflicts of interest’, together with ‘backward’ or even ‘savage’ attitudes and behaviours. (Cooper, 1976: 193-4).

In economic terms, the past – based as it was on exploiting the limited island resources of land and salt – could often be seen as a zero-sum game, in which those accruing above-average incomes could do so only at the expense of other people. Once tourism arrived, on the other hand, Ibiza entered a new boom era – based on exploiting almost unlimited outside resources. The resulting bonanza was like a massive ‘lucky dip’ from which everyone could obtain fat prizes, with some becoming peseta millionaires overnight (a million pesetas was equivalent to about £6,000 at that time). Of course, being a member of a family with capital already accumulated or having direct links to the Franco regime represented a great initial advantage. And individual skills, astuteness or chance would still enable some people to extract extraordinary benefits, but any envy that this might provoke among those less fortunate or capable no

longer implied that it was unfair or harmful to others. Tourism was a source of wealth available in some measure to everyone.

The fieldwork also detected a broad social consensus about the volume of benefits from tourism and their distribution: ‘almost everyone has benefited’. Even in the case of those whose relative wealth or status had initially declined, for example the heirs of inland farms, there were many new opportunities available and Ibizans prided themselves above all on their adaptability. This social consensus helps to explain the very proactive, though not uncritical, attitude towards tourism of the vast majority of Ibizans in those years. It also allowed them to relativize and minimize any perceived negative consequences of tourism development noted at that time, such as the massive presence of foreigners and immigrants from different cultures, sewage leaks, water salinization, an increase in accidents and delinquency, etc.

The nostalgia for former times found in some societies undergoing accelerated changes was rare on Ibiza. The exceptions included some of the foreign residents and some writers, mostly non-Ibizan, especially those with a neo-colonial or “plantation economy” vision of mass tourism, together with a few members of the old urban and rural elites on Ibiza who had lost their former high status and had neither adapted to the changes nor derived any palpable benefit from the tourist revolution. In complete contrast, most ordinary Ibizans showed a remarkable commitment to modernisation, which went beyond merely economic considerations and incorporated what a social anthropologist called an “esprit moderniste” (Robertson, 1964: 7) in a case study of the neighbouring island of Formentera. At that time, then, it was difficult to identify on Ibiza the “Space purification” processes typical of enclave tourism (McFarlane, 2019: 134).

The fierce confrontation that occurred in the 1950s between a significant part of the Ibizan people and their local-born bishop, Antoni Cardona Riera, epitomises the desire of most Ibizans for radical changes and their collective pursuit of economic and social progress. The bishop was a member of the traditionalist sector of the Catholic Church that was closest to the Franco regime and most reactionary towards the social changes that tourism was bringing (Borthen 2010; Fajarnés, 1985; Marí, 1985; Nash, 2020). His intransigence led him to resign in 1960.

Conclusion

The accelerated expansion of mass tourism was a process that took place on Ibiza in the twenty years 1951-1971. Then, after the first of a few temporary setbacks owing to adverse international circumstances, tourism continued to grow fast until the crisis due to the Covid-19 virus, from which it is already rapidly recovering. Tourism monopolizes the economy of Ibiza and Formentera, exploiting all the accessible island coastline, and some of the Ibizan tourist companies have grown into true multinationals (Cirer, 2020). In this article, therefore, we have examined the beginnings of a process that has been an enormous success in terms of capitalist economic development. We have analysed some basic aspects of the evolution of Ibiza's economy and society during the two decades that defined the change of model, and then we have focussed on the resulting social situation in the early 1970s.

Our results make it evident that no “invasion”, “colonization” or “rape” of a traditional society was involved in this process – as various writers have suggested – but that the new Ibizan society, already well developed by 1970, constituted a selective synthesis of traditional and modern, local, and exotic elements. The island had not become a physically and culturally impoverished place, dominated and exploited by people from outside but rather a place where a vibrant civil society had started the engine of change, with an acceleration too rapid to be safely controlled but which could at least be directed approximately in the direction desired by most local people. The control of the process was not by public entities in this case, but was in the hands of social networks interconnected by common interests and values in the vital presence of a previous accumulation of social capital that allowed Ibizan society to act collectively (Bourdieu, 1986; Irving, 2010; Rodriguez & Vanneste, 2019; Wynne, 2007)

During the fieldwork, it was found that most Ibizans considered that the implementation of tourism had been a change without economic losers, a bonanza or huge ‘lucky dip’ in which everyone had the opportunity to participate with more or less fortune. This was possible thanks to the existence of island traditions that included immersion in international markets, frequent dealings with outsiders, emigration, and the ability to absorb and adapt innovations from abroad. The multiple skills and flexibility required for farming, fishing and salt production in subsistence polyculture had also made adaptability a core value. As a result, both town and country Ibizans were capable and eager to take up new business opportunities or employment and to participate in capitalist accumulation processes. The development of tourism on Ibiza, therefore, was not the primary cause of a new capitalist order there, but rather the

facilitating factor in the revival and radical transformation of a commercial society that the Spanish and international circumstances between 1936 and 1950 had plunged into an extreme depression. Once the early 1930s outward-looking economic model had been revived, Ibiza would use tourism as the main instrument of expansion of the same model. Unsurprisingly, then, tourism was seen as a form of salvation at a moment when the traditional resources – agriculture, fishing, and salt – had become totally inadequate.

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