AN ANALYSIS OF SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

AND ADAPTATION TO TOURISM ON IBIZA

by

Ronald James Cooper

A Dissertation Submitted in the University of Oxford

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Exeter College June, 1974
ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND ADAPTATION TO TOURISM ON IBIZA

1. RESEARCH AIMS

The thesis attempts to answer - within certain stated limits - the following empirical question:

"Within the context of Ibiza's historical development since the thirteenth century, how has tourism affected the social structure and organisation of the island?"

2. RATIONALE

There has been little serious work - especially by sociologists - published on international tourism; which is, nevertheless, a world phenomenon of considerable economic and social importance. And most studies to date have tended to concentrate either on the origins and organisation of tourism itself, or on its macro-economic effects. This thesis, in contrast, examines the sociological impact of tourism on a small area and community, in the depth that this limitation makes possible - but not neglecting relationships between the local, national and international levels. The choice of Ibiza as the locale for the study was determined by a number of factors which included the island's size, its relative lack of manufacturing industry (which permitted the partial analytical separation of different factors of change), and its recent and massive international touristic development.
It is thus hoped to make a contribution towards a "sociology of tourism": in particular, to provide a clearer understanding of tourism as an agent of modernization in predominantly-rural countries or regions. It is also hoped to make some contribution to the field of "Mediterranean sociology": firstly, since despite the importance of tourism in most Mediterranean countries its effects have rarely been mentioned by Mediterranean sociologists; and, secondly, since to the author's knowledge this is one of the first studies of its type of a community in the Catalan culture area, although there have been various community studies in other parts of Spain.

3. METHODS

The methods included participant observation during some eighteen months of fieldwork on Ibiza in 1970 and 1971, an extensive use of local Castilian and Catalan published sources, and some use also of local unpublished data.

Ibisan society is analysed by means of the general techniques and institutional divisions of the "community-study method". But, since the thesis is specifically a case-study of social change, a greater depth of historical analysis is included than is usual in community studies. In fact, the material is presented as a series of complementary diachronic portraits of Ibisan society since the Catalan conquest of the island from the Moors in the thirteenth century: an approach which, it is suggested, might be labelled "historical functionalism".

For this purpose, the island's history is divided into three major periods: (i) "the traditional period", from the thirteenth to the late eighteenth century, approximately; (ii) "the intermediate period", from the late eighteenth century to the 1950s; and (iii) "the touristic period", from the 1950s to the present. The three periods are distinguished partly
for convenience of analysis; but they are also bounded by definite empirical "turning-points" in Ibisan history, even though there is a certain amount of temporal and conceptual overlap.

For reasons of time and space alone, some aspects of Ibisan society (e.g., family and kinship; socialisation and education; religion and world-view; leisure patterns) are given only incidental coverage; but those aspects which are discussed in detail include settlement patterns and population movements; economic organisation and institutions; administration and political institutions; and stratification.

4. FINDINGS

As in any community study, much of the interest lies in the complex sociographic details which constitute the body of the thesis, and which cannot usefully be condensed into a very brief summary:

"On first reading . . . any good community study, the ordinary reader is likely to be overwhelmed by the mass of detailed facts included. Observations pile upon observations so that the guiding themes are not introduced until the final chapters, if they are made explicit at all . . . the reader has to allow his impressions of the social structure to grow gradually - quite as does the field worker in the original situation. Details have to be mulled over as their meaning changes with shifts in context, and general comparisons must be treated by renewed inspection of the reported data."


However, this property of community studies is not used as an excuse for inconsequential or random description; and the thesis gradually builds up a systematic general picture of the development of Ibisan society, bringing out the contributions of both endogenous and exogenous factors to the processes of change on the island. For example, it emerges that there were powerful forces for urban-industrial development on Ibiza during the "intermediate period": a growing rural labour-surplus; an expansion of external trade and of communications in general; a spread of
the cash nexus and of market-farming; and aspirations towards the capitalistic exploitation of the surplus labour in manufacturing by local entrepreneurs, under the influence of developments elsewhere. But it is also seen that various of the island's circumstances ran counter to these forces, thus limiting its economic and social development prior to tourism: in particular the small size; the mountainous terrain and scattered rural settlement pattern; the continuing influence of the established pattern of subsistence farming and of the quasi-feudal social order on the island; and the economic disadvantages (especially the state's alienation of the vital Ibizan salt industry from the commonalty of islanders) which arose from the island's subjugation (together with the rest of Catalonia) to centralized Castilian rule in the eighteenth century.

At each stage, the contribution of tourism to the recent development of the island's society is examined in relation to these preceding circumstances and processes. It is seen that the very ecological, geographical and social circumstances which formerly limited the processes of modernization on the island were particularly propitious for the development of mass tourism, given the development elsewhere of cheap air transport. Moreover, it appears that in many ways tourism has acted as a "facilitating factor" in recent social changes: e.g., it has "facilitated" the drift away from the land by providing alternative employment without the need for emigration; it has combined with endogenous factors - such as the traditions of individualism and familism, and local entrepreneurial tendencies - to produce a new capitalist order on the island; and, in general, the associated influx of wealth and business opportunities have enabled many of the islanders to realize long-established, but formerly impracticable, aspirations.

Various controversial issues about the effects of tourism are also dispassionately examined with reference to the Ibizan case, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative material. For example, the distribution of the new wealth and incomes among native Ibizans, other Spanish people
and foreigners is carefully analysed: it emerges that - as yet, at least -
the major economic benefits accrue to the native islanders, and that they
are quite widely distributed among them (partly because of features of the
tourist boom itself, and partly because of the pre-existent relatively-narrow
range of wealth among the Ibisans); but that extensive direct participation
by outsiders in the island's economy is also an important (new) feature.

Thus, it appears that many of the current changes are not attributable
to tourism alone; and that a simple "before and after", dichotomous
presentation would be seriously in error. Several common models of the
effects of tourism are critically examined in the light of the Ibisian case,
including those which postulate "acclimatization" or societal "convergence".
It is found that there are certain elements of accuracy in these models,
particularly with regard to the rapidity and comprehensiveness of the
current changes on Ibiza: but, in general, it is necessary to stress that
the effects of tourism, at least on Ibiza, are those of "selective contact
change" rather than those of "directed contact change"; and that any
convergence is modified by the continuing importance of the island's
particular circumstances and socio-cultural background. In short, it is
suggested that - far from being the product of the "invasion", "colonization",
or "rape" of the traditional local society (in the words of various
commentators on the effects of tourism in Spain) - the new Ibisian society
is a selective "synthesis" of traditional and of modern, of local and of
exotic, elements.

However, a number of distinctive features of tourism as an agent of
modernization are also detected:

(i) There are various features associated with the direct, cross-cultural,
personal contact which characterizes tourism: firstly, it makes the social
impact particularly rapid and comprehensive; secondly, the massive presence
of outsiders creates unusual demands on the local administration, which -
combined with the other corollaries of international involvement and fast
communications - produces very strong pressures for administrative changes in places like Ibiza; and, thirdly, there may be noted the creation of a plural society, the growth of cultural relativism, and the distinctive effects of tourism on local patterns of exchange, interaction and hospitality.

(ii) There is the economic dominance of the tertiary sector in largely non-industrial areas like Ibiza, where mass tourism has typically developed. In such cases, service industries replace manufacturing industry as the "leading sector" in economic development; thus producing a distinctive form of economic organisation, in which the following features may be noted: the loosely-hierarchical structure of employment in hotels; the seasonality of employment; the emphasis on leisure and entertainment; the absence of large, homogeneous labour-forces; "windfall gains" and temporary wealth-inversions (because of the inversion of the values of coastal scrub-land and inland farm-land); and the wide range of opportunities for self-employment or for small-scale (as well as for large-scale) entrepreneurial activities.

(iii) In general, tourism has a different effect on settlement patterns and on the environment than has manufacturing industry. Thus, it tends to produce smaller nucleated settlements (in the absence, at least, of derived industrial growth). And any suggestion of pollution (e.g., by sewage) or of "environmental damage" (e.g., by "ugly", large hotels) is more likely to prompt self-limiting reactions either from the local authorities and businessmen, or from the tourists themselves.

(iv) Tourism has a distinctive impact on rural-urban differences. Whereas large-scale manufacturing industry has tended to be primarily located in towns or associated with their growth; mass tourism has characteristically represented a movement away from urban-industrial environments, and it has a direct impact on rural areas which is generally greater than its impact on existing large towns. This leads to various apparently-contradictory features of the effects of tourism: on the one hand, for example, the presence of urban tourists tends to introduce
Gesellschaft features into rural life; while, on the other hand, many of the tourists positively evaluate the Gemeinschaft features of the areas which they visit and thus contribute to their revaluation by the local people. When the local economic boom is also brought into consideration, it may be seen that while, on the one hand, tourism tends to produce "urbanity" (though not necessarily "urbanization") in rural areas; on the other hand, it provides powerful forces both for the continued differentiation of such areas and for regional demands for greater autonomy from metropolitan authorities.

Finally, it is suggested that the divergent viewpoints on tourism which are often found may be related to the social positions and environments of the people concerned. Thus, in general, the effects of tourism on Ibiza have been disliked by some local and non-local people belonging to the non-commercial branches of the middle- and upper-classes - particularly by those local people whose relative wealth and status have tended to decline as a result of tourism, and by those outsiders or local people who distastefully associate the current changes with urban-industrial development elsewhere and with the rise of "vulgarity". In complete contrast, the overwhelming majority of Ibians (including - interestingly - the older generations of country-people) associate the past with economic "misery" and with socio-cultural "backwardness"; and they are actively (though not uncritically) assisting in the transformation of their own society which has been made possible by mass tourism.
Among the many people who have helped me, I should like to thank the following in particular:

-- For consistently helpful, patient and undogmatic supervision:
  Bryan B. Wilson.

-- For advice and encouragement prior to the fieldwork:

-- For specialist information and advice on Ibiza:
  Juan Calvera Vehi, José Costa Ramón, Isidoro Macabich Llobet, Enrique Ramón Fajarmés.

-- For especial help in learning esivissenc (the Ibizan dialect of Catalan):
  Josep Marià Serra, Pere Planella Marià, Marià Villangómez Llobet.

-- For access to unpublished records and other help:
  The mayor and staff of the municipality of San José, the parish priest of San José, the staffs of the Cámara de Comercio and Fomento del Turismo in Ibiza-town, the airport meteorological staff.

-- For access to a private collection of works on Ibiza:
  Juan Tur de Montis y de Ayguavives.

-- For varied assistance, and for drawing the diagrams:
  Patricia A. Cooper.

-- For the hospitality which made the thesis possible:
  My neighbours and friends on Ibiza.
CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION 1
  1.1 Research Aims 1
  1.2 Perspective and Methods 9
  1.3 The Island 18

CHAPTER 2. THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN 30
  2.1 The Typical Image of the Spanish "Pueblo" 30
  2.2 Ibiza and the Other Balearic Islands 31
  2.3 The Town 33
  2.4 The Village of San José 38
  2.5 The Development of the Country Settlement Pattern 44

CHAPTER 3. POPULATION 55
  3.1 The Aftermath of the Reconquest 55
  3.2 The Traditional Period 58
  3.3 The Intermediate Period 61
  3.4 The Touristic Period 67

CHAPTER 4. MIGRATIONS 72
  4.1 External Migrations 72
  4.2 Internal Migrations 80
CHAPTER 8. THE STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION 241

8.1 The Traditional Period: The Feudal Relationships 241
8.2 The Intermediate Period: Integration into the State of Spain 246
8.3 The Modern Formal Administrative Structure 248
8.4 Systematic Administrative Problems 251
8.5 The Impact of Tourism 262
8.6 Current Changes in Formal Administration 264
8.7 The Informal Structure of Administration 274
8.8 The Airport and the Hotel: A Case History 286
8.9 Current Changes in Informal Administration 294

CHAPTER 9. THE AUTHORITIES AND THE PEOPLE 299

9.1 The Background 299
9.2 The Islanders Divided: Authorities Versus Folk 302
9.3 The Effects of Tourism 315

CHAPTER 10. THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOMES 330

10.1 The Background 330
10.2 The Wealth Created by Tourism 333
10.3 Modes of Access to the New Wealth 336
10.4 Financial Losers? 384
10.5 The New Structure of Wealth and Incomes 386

CHAPTER 11. SOCIAL STRATA 391

11.1 The Traditional Period: Social Estates and Slavery 391
11.2 The Intermediate Period: Status Groups 398
11.3 The Touristic Period: Classes and Pluralism 404
CHAPTER 12. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

12.1 Summary Table

12.2 Tourism and Other Factors of Change

12.3 Tourism as a "Facilitating Factor" in Social Change on Ibiza

12.4 Modernity on Ibiza: Convergence or Synthesis?

12.5 Modernity on Ibiza: Acculturation or Adaptation?

12.6 Special Features of Tourism as an Agent of Modernization

12.7 Divergent Viewpoints

APPENDICES

I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI

LIST OF REFERENCES

ADDENDA TO THE LIST OF REFERENCES
TABLES

1. Degree of Concentration and Dispersion of Population in 1960 31
2. Migratory Balances 85
3. Trends in Active Population and Sectoral Distribution (Province of Baleares) 89
4. The Sectoral Distribution of Active Population: Ibiza and Formentera (1965) 90
5. Land Use on Ibiza in 1860 and 1960 92
6. Farm Sizes 115
7. The Age-structure of the Primary Sector (1965) 122
8. The Evolution of Tourism on Ibiza and Formentera (1954-1972) 139
9. The Composition of Tourism on Ibiza in 1972 139
10. The Age-structure of the Tertiary Sector (1965) 142
11. Manufacturing Industry on Ibiza and Formentera in 1965 143
12. The Age-structure of the Secondary Sector (1965) 145
13. The Net Value of Production (by Sectors) in Baleares 146
14. The Tourist Boom: Some Socio-economic Indicators 335
15. Estimated Foreign Capital Investments in the Spanish Tourist Industry (1968-71) 341
16. The Distribution of Business Ownership on Ibiza in 1969 344
17. The Distribution of Hotel Ownership on Ibiza in 1969 347
18. The Distribution of Hotel-ownership by Municipalities in 1969 348

20. The Per Capita Income (Pesetas) of the Six Highest and the Six Lowest Provinces in Spain in 1967 379


22. Total Population in Each Municipality 453

23. Percentage of Population in Each Municipality 453


25. Tourism on Ibiza (1954-1972) 459

26. Municipal Budgets (San José) 464
| FIGURES |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. Location     | 19 |
| 2. Municipal Boundaries | 19 |
| 3. Villages, Roads and Physical Features | 21 |
| 4. Town Districts | 35 |
| 5. Topography of the Town | 36 |
| 6. The Nucleus of San José | 41 |
| 7. San José: Parish and Municipal Boundaries | 43 |
| 8. The "Clustering" of Settlement in San José | 54 |
| 11. The Proportion of Population in Each Municipality | 82 |
| 12. The Total Population in Each Municipality | 84 |
| 13. Tourism on Ibiza (1954-1972) | 137 |
| 14. Municipal Budgets and Tourism | 265 |
The broad question considered in this thesis is as follows: "Within the context of Ibisa's historical development since the thirteenth century, how has tourism affected the social structure and organisation of the island?" This chapter will explain the sociological rationale behind the question and the methods adopted, concluding with some background information on Ibisa.

1.1 RESEARCH AIMS

(a) Towards a "sociology of tourism"

The social phenomenon of tourism has been rather neglected by scholars until very recently. The tendency for serious works on tourism to open with a long exposition of its magnitude and significance is a clear symptom of this neglect. One economist, for example, estimated that for 1967 in the developed countries of Western Europe and North America: "expenditure on tourism is between 4 to 7 per cent of private consumption expenditure." Total world expenditure on tourism in the same year was some £26,000 million, of which nearly one-quarter, £6,000 million, was spent on international tourism. The rate of growth of tourism was nearly twice that of world national incomes (PETERS, 1969: 27). And, as a proportion of the total value of world exports, international tourist receipts rose from 3.4 per cent in 1950 to 6.3 per cent in 1965-1966, so that: "International tourism
has become the largest single item in foreign trade." (PETERS, 1969: 21-22)

As Peters cautions, these figures can be regarded only as rough estimates, but they certainly demonstrate that tourism is of international importance, for economists at least.

In this thesis I hope to show that tourism also merits more attention from sociologists. There is no mention of it in most standard readers on social change, nor in those specifically confined to social development or modernisation. More surprisingly, there has been little interest shown in tourism by Mediterranean sociologists and anthropologists - as may be ascertained from anthologies such as PITT-RIVERS (1963); PERISTIANY (1965) and PERISTIANY (1968).

One major reason may be that mass tourism is a recent phenomenon in terms of academic time: clearly it takes some time for a number of studies to emerge and be collated. But another reason appears to be the limiting influence of established academic fields of interest. Sociologists, for example, have tended to concentrate on "classical" determinants of social change, such as technological innovations and the development of manufacturing industry; population pressures and urbanisation; bureaucratization and the growth of nation-states. Anthropologists have long been interested in contact change processes, but have tended to focus on acculturation rather than on the type of social changes which are analysed here. European anthropologists (including Mediterranean students), exploring the application of fieldwork techniques to their own or neighbouring societies, have emphasised the "folk" aspects of European society - in whose study tourism (since it changes them) appears more as a "destructive" force than as an interesting object of study.¹

¹Prior to the fieldwork, I discussed my research plans with the Spanish ethnologist, D. Julio Caro Baroja. While showing a courteous interest, his comments on the effects of tourism on Spain were mainly antagonistic, apparently for the reason given here. Cf. also the comments by Carr, quoted below.
However, there are now some signs of a growing interest among sociologists and other social scientists. A German sociological study of the development and structure of tourism appeared in 1960 (reviewed by MAYR, 1961). More relevant to my own work, there is a recent case study—mainly economic, but with points of interest to a sociologist—of the effects of tourism in the Caribbean (BRYDEN, 1973): there are some illuminating contrasts with the effects on Ibiza, because of the very different historical backgrounds and social structures. Reference will be made later to several studies completed or still in progress on Ibiza and neighbouring islands. And the effects of tourism are at least given mention in the research papers on European communities in BAILEY (1971) and BAILEY (1973). Further references may be found in the studies cited in the bibliography and, no doubt, there may be some relevant studies with which I am not acquainted.¹

Most of the more serious studies to date² have concentrated on the development, structure and organization of tourism, or else on its macro-economic effects. This thesis, in contrast, focuses on the sociological impact of tourism (including "mass tourism", "foreign residents" and "hippies") on the host region. As explained below, it is a case study of the social

¹There is no shortage of publications on tourism by tourist boards and other interested bodies: the British Tourist Authority, for example, publishes a quarterly research newsletter (BRITISH TOURIST AUTHORITY, 1971- ). Most studies and publications by such bodies have professional rather than academic aims, but their statistical information and insights can be of value to the sociologist. There is much useful information, for example, in the massive work by FERNANDEZ FUSTER (1967), which is used as a standard reference text in Spanish "Schools of Tourism" ("Escuelas de Turismo"), and it also contains an international bibliography on various aspects of tourism. Finally, an interesting brief general survey of tourism has been published by Penguin Books (YOUNG, 1973).

²Exceptions include ROBERTSON (1964) and BRYDEN (1973), as well as the current studies on Ibiza mentioned below. There are also two current studies outlined in the Development Studies Research Register UK (INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX, 1971 and 1972). One, by W.K. Williams, apparently considers the social implications of tourist development in Dominica, West Indies. The other (completion date 1974) is to be a thesis on "Tourism and Development in the Seychelles", by P.C. Lloyd.
changes caused or otherwise influenced by tourism - within a limited area, but with the depth that this makes possible.

There is a definite need for case studies of this type. There are frequent generalisations on the effects of tourism by journalists. And, in discussing my own work, I have found that most people have quite definite - but sometimes divergent - views. Not long ago, a B.B.C. report on Nepal contained a reference to "the inevitable effects of tourism". Now, any suggestion of "inevitability" in the area of social change should immediately attract the attention of the sociologist.

Moreover, tourism can arouse strong sentiments. A review of a recent book on a mountain village near the "Costa del Sol" contains the summary comment that: "Rape is the only word to describe what is happening: rape of a landscape, rape of a society." While he acknowledges the economic benefits stressed by the villagers in the work under review, the critic puts forward a number of generalisations which I have come to recognise as elements of a fairly common negative conception of tourism. He refers, for example, to "Modernisation via foreign investment," and later quotes a suggestion that the local people may shortly be "entirely at the service of the foreigner." Tourism is labelled an "assault" and is said to be "hitting, and hitting hard, the most static and self-enclosed of Spanish societies: the Andalusian pueblo. . . ." Finally: "Mass tourism destroys the charms of the society that attracts it; it is self-defeating." (CARP, 1973).

The general popular view of tourism held by native Ibiscans in 1970-1974 was almost an exact contrast. With the partial exception of the professional and landed élite, the islanders had a strongly negative view of their

---

1 Gross generalisations of this type are clearly untenable. The effects of, say, half-a-million tourists per year (the number visiting Ibiza in 1972) on London or Oxford would scarcely be comparable with those of the same number on St. Ives - or on Ibiza. This thesis also argues that more subtle distinctions of context than community size and rural-urban differences must be taken into account, such as variations in local history and socio-economic structure.
traditional way of life. Past poverty and periods of economic "misery" (misèria) go a long way towards explaining this negative view of the past.

There was a new saying in San José:

"Si deixen de venir es turistes a Eivissa, no hi ha prou pins a Sa Talaia per sa gent penjar-se!" (eivissenc): "If the tourists stop coming to Ibiza, there are not enough pines on Sa Talaia for the people to hang themselves!"

And even the threat of a reduction in the amount of tourism on the island, because of the closure at night of the airport during a number of months in 1970-1971, was sufficient to arouse serious popular anger — expressed in wall slogans, the damaging of a mayor's car, and popular discussions of direct action to demolish the hotel which was the cause of the closure.

But the negative view of the past also contained non-economic elements, and it was complemented by a generally positive outlook on the new way of life. Even the oldest country people would often say that the Ibisans were formerly "atrassats" (backward) or "salvatges" (savages), whereas they were now "més civilitsats" (more civilised). Such comments were made in a variety of contexts, including the economic sphere, courtship and marriage, the use of weapons, religious beliefs, and the former lack of knowledge about the world outside the island or even about the more distant parts of the island itself.

Analytical description, rather than evaluation, is the aim of this thesis. But, within the controversy over the advantages and disadvantages of tourism, there are numerous empirical issues and unsupported hypotheses which the sociologist can usefully examine. Case studies may contribute to a many-sided and more dispassionate assessment of the tourist phenomenon. And they may also help to explain why such divergent viewpoints exist.

The effects of tourism on the host region are, of course, only one aspect

\[1\] Eivissenc is the islanders' name for the local dialect of Catalan. Sa Talaia (The Watchtower) is the island's highest mountain, and it overlooks the village of San José. Hanging was the commonest traditional suicide technique on Ibiza.
for the sociological study of tourism. I refer occasionally to contrasting effects (e.g. depopulation) on areas outside the main tourist foci, but their detailed study is outside the scope of this thesis. Questions about the development and organisation of tourism are also ignored, except when they directly concern the impact on the Ibisans. The possible peculiarities of the Ibisan case are mentioned (and, conversely, I have indicated some possible generalisations), but case studies or surveys of other areas are needed for a more complete picture. Finally, as explained below, I have had to omit some aspects of the social changes on Ibiza, in order to consider the others in reasonable depth.

Despite these necessary qualifications, I hope that the thesis makes some contribution towards a "sociology of tourism".

(b) The sociology of social development and modernization

Detailed attention is given to the evolution on Ibiza of economic organisation, political organisation and stratification, which have been central themes in the sociology of development. It emerges that in many ways the impact of tourism on Ibiza has been similar to that of the "classical" determinants of social development mentioned above (p. 2). But in other ways tourism has had effects which are not usually taken into account in developmental theories which concentrate on manufacturing industry and urbanisation.

Some aspects often included in modernisation studies are omitted here.

---

1 It may also be noted that the genesis and organisation of mass tourism are themselves attributable to processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and bureaucratization in the "developed" countries.

2 E.g.s. the sectoral order of economic development, rural-urban relationships, the occupational structure, social interaction and hospitality.

3 E.g.s. family and kinship, sexual roles, socialization and education, religious attitudes and world-views.
but detailed attention is given to changes in economic and political institutions, attitudes and values.

(c) Mediterranean sociology

Ibiza falls squarely into the province of "Mediterranean sociologists". It belongs to "the lands heir to the Phoenicians, the classic Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens, and the Byzantines." There are therefore many resemblances to other communities in the same broad cultural area.

But numerous differences may also be observed. In particular, the settlement pattern on Ibiza is very different from that described in most Mediterranean studies. There was - and to some extent still is - an unusually clear dichotomy between the capital town and the country. The country settlement pattern was one of total dispersion until quite recently, in striking contrast with the frequently-studied nucleated village communities - modelled along the lines of larger towns - which are found elsewhere.

1 ARENSBERG & KIMBALL, 1965: 92.

2 Such resemblances are naturally most notable with reference to other parts of Catalonia, because of the derivation of the essential features of Ibizan culture from the Catalan conquest of the thirteenth century and subsequent historical ties with mainland Catalonia (although, of course, Castilian influences have also been very important, especially since the eighteenth century). In this context it should be noted that, since the thesis is a case-study of a particular area, there is no consistent attempt to provide comparisons with the rest of Catalonia, although such comparisons are in fact made fairly frequently. In other words, statements about Ibizan society and culture should not be taken to imply uniqueness. On the other hand, they should not be taken in isolation (i.e. without reference to writings on other parts of Catalonia, some of which are mentioned in the thesis) as necessarily describing Catalan society and culture in general, since significant differences do exist between Ibiza and the mainland of Catalonia, despite the historical links. Indeed, such differences even exist between Ibiza and the other Balearic Islands, and are important to an understanding of the relationships between them, as is made clear later.
The traditional folkways of the country islanders seem particularly "unusual" in the light of other studies of Spanish communities. Some examples - such as modes of inheritance, neighbouring relations and hospitality - may be found in the body of the thesis, and brief incidental accounts are also included of some other points of especial ethnographic interest.

Detailed ethnography per se is not the major concern of the thesis, but it may make some contribution to Mediterranean sociology in this respect. It was, to my knowledge, one of the first studies of its kind in the region of Catalonia. Various aspects of the distinctive historical development and social structure of a part of that region are described in some detail from a sociological standpoint. Among other things, for example, attention is given to Ibiza's relationship with the nation-state of Spain, forces for centralization and decentralization, integration into the national and international economies, and the changing community ethos on Ibiza. These themes have featured in various other Mediterranean studies (Cf., for example, the essays in PITT-RIVERS, 1963).

And it may be expected that the analysis of the role of tourism as an agent of change should also be of interest to Mediterranean sociologists, especially set as it is into the broad local historical context.

The terms "nation-state" and "national" are used for convenience with reference to Spain as a whole in various places in this thesis, but certain reservations must be made about this usage. Catalan nationalism and/or separatism have been notably less important on Ibiza (and, for that matter, on the Balearic Islands in general) than in mainland Catalonia. Most Ibizans have both a primary "Ibisan" identity and a secondary "Spanish" identity, but surprisingly few have any real sense of belonging to Catalonia. So the use of "national" with reference to Spain as a whole does not seem so contentious in a thesis on Ibiza as it might in one on, say, Barcelona or the Basque area. Even so, I have in some cases preferred to use the term "state" in isolation, bearing in mind the importance of regional nationalisms in Spain. The point has been well-put as follows: "... Spain is for most Spaniards a nation-state, invoking in them a sense of solidarity that no other group affiliation produces; for important minorities, it has been and is likely to remain only a state with whose authority they comply in their behaviour, attributing to it more or less legitimacy, depending on their attitudes toward the regimes exercising power within Spain's borders and the coercive capacities of those regimes. For those minorities Spain is a state, but not their nation, and therefore not a nation-state." (LINZ, 1973: 36. Cf. also LINZ & MIGUEL, 1966.)
The choice of Ibiza as the locale for a study of tourism - though partly fortuitous - was based on a careful assessment of research requirements. An earlier visit (in 1963 as a tourist: how else?) had left an impression of its aptness, later supplemented from a few of the many published descriptions. The following advantages may be noted in particular:

(i) As it is an island, the community boundaries are unusually clear, which is useful for statistical and other purposes. Ibiza is a true "pàtria xîca" (little fatherland). Its historical isolation led to a clear differentiation of its indigenous population and culture from those of mainland Spain (as will become apparent later, this is true to some extent even in the case of mainland Catalonia despite the ethno-linguistic link and other historical ties) - this makes it easier to identify different elements in the complex plural society created by tourism.

(ii) There was a very limited amount of industry prior to tourism, and the town-country differences were unusually clear. These circumstances, combined with those in point (i), make it easier to analyse the effects of tourism without constantly confusing them with those of prior processes of industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization, even though total analytical separation is not the object (even were it possible).

(iii) Ibiza is small enough to be usefully studied by one person, and yet - as point (i) indicates - it is large enough in sociological terms to provide material on the differential impact of tourism on people of widely-varying social status.

(iv) The development of tourism on Ibiza has been very recent, rapid, and massive. This creates certain disadvantages such as difficulties in obtaining up-to-date statistics. It also means that some of the effects described here may be of a temporary nature, as I point out when aware of this. Nevertheless, there is the over-riding asset that informants of all ages can give oral accounts based on fresh memories.
A number of other people have chosen Ibiza (or neighbouring islands) for similar reasons, although their studies vary greatly in depth, methods and themes. Recent writings bearing on the effects of tourism include ROBERTSON (1964), PERGAL (1968), BARCELÓ PONS (1970), GIL MUNOZ (1970 & 1971), and there are several more in preparation. None, however, covers the same ground as this thesis - although I owe a considerable debt to BARCELÓ PONS for much of the statistical information, especially in the earlier chapters.

My work falls within the broad tradition of "community studies". This tradition of course comprises a wide variety of aims, methods and perspectives: a variant of the "case-study" approach is adopted here. Thus, the case-study of social changes on Ibiza is intended to exemplify and illustrate within a strictly limited context some of the general social processes associated with tourism, and also to explore their interaction with pre-existing local circumstances and other factors contributing to social changes on the island.

Despite the variety of approaches in community studies, there may usually be detected in them a roughly similar analytical framework of a global functionalist nature, in which major social institutions are examined in turn, gradually building up a more-or-less comprehensive (given the inevitable incompleteness of any such work) portrait of the community. My original intention was more limited: I hoped to focus my attention on those aspects of Ibizan society most affected by tourism. But, as I should no doubt have foreseen, the reality on Ibiza forced me into a more global approach, at least during the fieldwork. I was immediately told that tourism "has changed everything" ("ha canviat tot"). The field-notes soon took on a familiar pattern, breaking down conveniently into fairly standard divisions: population and settlement patterns; economic organization and institutions; administration, political institutions and stratification; family, kinship and generations; socialization and education; religion and world-view; leisure patterns.

To have included here a discussion in depth of all of these aspects would have resulted in a thesis of at least twice the stipulated length, taking into account the historical approach outlined below. For reasons of
length and time alone, therefore, I include a full coverage of only the basic demographic, economic, administrative and stratificational aspects, with only incidental material on the omitted aspects (which I hope may eventually be written up elsewhere).

Community studies have provided a meeting-point for sociologists and anthropologists in the study of "complex societies". Both the functionalist perspective and the set of techniques known as "participant observation", usually associated more with social anthropology than with sociology in the past, have taken on more sociological characteristics in their application to complex societies, in which long-standing literate historical traditions and an abundance of documentation make any tendency towards ahistorical functionalism (or even mere synchronic sociography) patently inappropriate.

There is a useful account of participant observation in the reader by McCALL & SIMMONS (1969), to which there is little for me to add. However, one special problem of participant observation in tourist zones is worth noting. Any fieldworker expects some difficulty in gaining a satisfactory degree of acceptance in the community. But, in tourist zones like Ibiza, the indigenes need to develop mechanisms for insulating their lives to some extent from the mass of "outsiders", so that the fieldworker meets a dispiriting initial indifference to his presence, in marked contrast to the curiosity (even if it is not necessarily friendly curiosity) which he may arouse elsewhere. In establishing a viable role he must be able to avoid such alienating role-categories as "tourist", "foreign resident", "hippy" and "journalist", as well as more common ones such as "administrator" or "spy". ¹

For these reasons, as well as to communicate with the older country people,

¹Another less serious (but sometimes embarrassing) fieldwork problem was the affluence of the islanders, which made it difficult for me to reciprocate their generosity. Fieldworkers can sometimes return favours by giving lifts in their car, for example, but this was rarely appropriate on Ibiza. In fact, my car was bonded by the customs after nine months, after which I was often on the receiving end in this respect too, although I did eventually find ways of reciprocating in most cases.
I found it essential to learn the Ibisan dialect of Catalan as well as Castilian Spanish. This was sufficient to distinguish me from almost all other "outsiders", including foreigners, migrant Spanish workers (mostly Castilian-speaking) and officials (also typically Castilian-speaking).

And I extended the fieldwork from the planned twelve months to some eighteen months (February, 1970 to August, 1971), excluding a month's break early in 1971. I have returned to Ibiza only once (for several weeks in 1972) since the end of the fieldwork, but I have kept in touch to some extent through correspondence and through relatives visiting the island on holiday.

I also had an opportunity to return a little hospitality to some members of an Ibisan rural family, when they came to England in 1973 for the wedding of one of the family to an English girl (a tourist guide on Ibiza).

This wedding and the visit to England - on a Spanish-operated package-tour - illustrate an important difference between modern Ibiza and the isolated rural areas often studied by social anthropologists: it is now just the opposite of a "forgotten isle". And, even though the majority of islanders were non-literate until quite recently, there has been a literate minority

---

1 Further details of the gradual development of rapport with the islanders will be used as illustrative material in the section on hospitality.

2 Coined for the Balearics by Vuillier (1897), the label was popularised in subsequent travelogues, especially by Boyd (1911) who reserved it for Ibiza, Mallorca having become better-known. Chamberlin (1927), who mentioned improved communications and technological innovations on the islands (such as a few motor-vehicles and a limited amount of electricity), no longer found the title "forgotten isle" appropriate. Nowadays, Formentera is the only major island which sometimes qualifies for it.

3 Official statistics on literacy in Spain are of little value. The situation on Ibiza in 1970-1971 was broadly as follows: The townspeople were generally more literate and numerate than the country people. In the country, few of the grandparental generation could read or write, and many of them were monolingual (especially the women), or could understand Castilian Spanish only with difficulty. The middle generation varied in literacy, and they often used Catalan constructions in their Castilian speech. The younger generation were mostly literate (and to some degree numerate). They were orally bilingual, and could read and write Castilian correctly - most older people sending me letters have them written for them by their children. On the other hand, the younger islanders appeared to have a narrower vocabulary of typically Ibisan words, and they often used Castilian forms when speaking in the dialect. Only a handful of islanders could write Catalan - it was often asserted by country people that the dialect was impossible to write, even though some of the native teachers are now attempting to revive its written use on Ibiza.
of administrators, priests and other people for centuries. No study of the social changes there could afford to ignore the wealth of historical data (much of which has been published, even though the editions are usually limited and difficult to obtain elsewhere), nor the numerous contemporary accounts of Ibiza, both by native islanders and outsiders.¹

There are also official statistics on many aspects of life on Ibiza, especially on its demography and economy, and I have made frequent use of them. Nevertheless, their use often presents difficulties, in view of the important differences between Ibiza and the much larger island of Mallorca, whose characteristics determine the magnitude of any figure relating to the Balearic province as a whole.² Moreover, many of the available statistics are not recent enough to reflect the changes produced by tourism accurately.³ Accordingly, I have made a practice of not relying exclusively on the statistics at any point; instead, I have used them where possible (both during and since the fieldwork) to test observations, and to check the (sometimes contradictory) oral and written accounts of islanders and others.

The social history of Ibiza is described in more depth than is usual in anthropological reports or community studies.⁴ More than most, therefore, this study conforms to STEIN’s comment that community studies “actually fall

¹Frequent reference is made to such accounts. But two points must be kept in mind for their correct interpretation. The outsiders’ accounts are of very variable accuracy. And the native accounts generally present the viewpoint only of an elite minority of Ibisans — the administrators, priests and other people of high status.

²At the time of writing, only the first volume (published 1973) of each series of the 1970 Spanish census is available, and the more interesting data will be contained in the subsequent volumes.

³The surface area of Ibiza is 441 square kilometres, whereas that of Mallorca is 3,440 square kilometres. Their respective populations "de derecho" (by right), according to the 1970 census, were 42,456 and 438,656.

⁴A comparable exception is the study by LISON-TOLOSANA (1966) of an Aragonese community, which I found helpful in orienting my ideas prior to fieldwork.
into a kind of limbo between sociology and history." (STEIN, 1960: 3)

This has seemed an appropriate way to study the effects of tourism on Ibiza, since it counters the common tendency to view rapid social changes from an over-simple "before-and-after" perspective. By this I mean a division of the society in question into two portraits - the "old" and the "new" - in which the former is usually seen as "traditional" and static, and the latter as "modern" and dynamic. The changes due to tourism were, in fact, frequently alluded to in this way by the Ibizens themselves: older people, for example, would tell me "He vist dos móns!" ("I have seen two worlds"). But, when questioned further, they normally began to recall changes prior to tourism as well. Thus, although its use as a first approximation by people relying on their memories and attempting to convey radical changes to an outsider is justifiable, this dichotomous conception distorts the historical reality of social change on Ibiza. Important - though generally more gradual - changes were taking place long before tourism became a significant factor.

Even when the simple "before-and-after" error is avoided, it is still easy to foreshorten the past, by giving brief background outlines and then describing current events in great detail: this approach tends to give the partly-false impression of a progressively faster rate of change as the present is approached.¹ For these reasons, I have started my account as early as the thirteenth century, including quite extensive historical details (which is not regarded in most cases as mere "background material") for each major aspect of change, even at the risk of some repetition. In this way, I have tried to build up a set of complementary diachronic portraits.

¹While this impression may often be largely correct, it can be exaggerated in this way. And other periods of rapid social change may be found in Ibiza's history. For example, there was the period just after the Catalan reconquest in the thirteenth century, used as a starting point in this account. There were also radical changes during the eighteenth century, which I have treated as marking the division between the "traditional" and "intermediate" periods, defined below.
of different but related aspects of Ibigan society. The impact of tourism can thus be seen in the context of pre-existing processes of change, and also in that of any historical or cultural Ibisan peculiarities which might otherwise render any generalisations of little value for comparisons with other areas. Perhaps "historical functionalism" would be an appropriate label for this approach.¹

From another angle, the material in the thesis may be regarded as a tourism-based set of "dramatic incidents within their historical and geographical setting," whose study has been suggested as "the way forward for British community studies" (FRANKENBERG, 1966: 293). This approach has been deliberately adopted in the case of a crisis over the closure of Ibisa's airport during my fieldwork - used here to illustrate changes in administrative norms.

Turning to a rather different question, it is important to note that the changes on Ibisa may be seen from a variety of viewpoints. For example, there are a number of largely-separate plural groups on the island, including native Ibisans, migrant workers, foreign residents, "hippies", and tourists. Each has its own typical view of the tourist phenomenon. For instance, the foreign residents and "hippies" - and even those temporary visitors who see themselves as "travellers" rather than as "tourists" - are generally disparaging about "tourists", and some of the foreign residents prefer to live inland or in isolated coastal areas, well away from the main tourist foci. Nevertheless, I usually treat all groups of "outsiders" as part of the general phenomenon of tourism on Ibisa, though drawing distinctions where necessary.

In general, I incorporate only two viewpoints into the thesis. The first is that of the sociological outside observer, which determines the issues under discussion and shapes the broad outlines of their analysis:

¹"Functionalism" is understood here in a fairly broad or eclectic sense.
for example, I have analysed divisions and other aspects of Ibizan society which the islanders themselves (particularly those of high status from whose ranks most indigenous writers have come) consistently tend to gloss over in the presence of unassimilated outsiders, or in print. At the same time, I have followed an inductive method both during fieldwork and when writing, progressing from particular observations and other data to hypotheses of increasing generality. The focus on the effects of tourism provides a necessary filter for the otherwise endless data. But care has been taken to avoid selecting or ordering the data to fit any rigid theoretical framework or personal preconceptions - in fact my own outlook on the effects of tourism was quite radically modified by the fieldwork experience. And I have tried throughout to present the material in such a way that alternative interpretations might be possible where the evidence is inconclusive or ambiguous.

The second major viewpoint incorporated in the thesis is that of the native Ibizans - the "insider's viewpoint". Since the islanders' subjective interpretations of the changes are an important part of the island's social reality, I have indicated their viewpoints throughout, with a liberal use of their written and oral comments. I write "viewpoints" because of (social class and other) variations: such differences are indicated where appropriate, but general statements of Ibizan views normally refer to those of the general populace rather than to those of their leaders or administrators.

This last point raises the question of the representativeness of my fieldwork. I was accompanied and assisted by my wife, but clearly it was not possible to study adequately over 40,000 people in a year and a half. Following our arrival on Ibiza, we lived for some six weeks in a lodgings-house up in the old walled town, gradually exploring the rest of the town and the island. Eventually we settled in a new rented flat in the village of San José (described in Chapter Two). At first sight, the choice of a
village with an inland nucleus may seem strange, but there were the following reasons:

(i) The village was small enough for us to get to know a fair cross-section of people. It was also the capital of a municipality, with a municipal hall and school, i.e. it had a full complement of officials.

(ii) Although the village nucleus was inland, the parish boundaries enclosed a large area of scattered dwellings, including a stretch of coastline undergoing touristic development. There was also a thriving tourist trade in the village nucleus, used as a stopping-point on coach-tours of the island. And, apart from these developments, many of the villagers were employed in tourism or were otherwise affected by it.

(iii) Thus the effects of tourism and the older rural style of life could both be studied at the same time. In most respects, San José was intermediate between the crowded resorts of San Antonio or Santa Eulalia and the isolated cliff-bound villages like San Mateo, in the north of the island, which had lost population as a result of tourism in other parts of Ibiza.

(iv) The capital town was in a unique position relative to the other communities on Ibiza, and would have to enter into any study there. I had frequent occasion to visit the town (e.g. for library-work) - once a week or more throughout the period of fieldwork - and San José was conveniently placed. I was also able to establish and maintain contacts in the town without living there after the initial six weeks, whereas this would have been difficult in a country area.

(v) I also visited other parts of the island quite often, so was able to gain at least general impressions about them, supplemented by reference to written descriptions of the island, past and present.

I have not followed the common practice of writing a village study, since it would not do justice to the island society as a whole. Instead, I have written about both the capital town and the country, using illustrations from San José where appropriate. Nevertheless, I have tended to write at
greater length on the country, since in some ways the impact of tourism has been more dramatic there than in the capital. Unless otherwise specified, any general references are to the country and, more precisely, to San José.

In view of the differences between villages, this is an important point to remember: a study based in, say, San Mateo might well give a different overall impression of tourism, even though many similar items would be found.

Finally, I have sometimes used the "ethnographic present", especially in passages comparing past and present features, to avoid the continual repetition of the phrase "In 1970-1971 ...". In other words, the present tense refers to 1970-1971, unless otherwise specified or apparent.

1.3 THE ISLAND

(a) Geographical outline

Ibiza is an island of the Balearic archipelago in the western Mediterranean. There are only four major islands in the group: Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza and Formentera, in the order of decreasing size. Apart from their geographical links, the islands are jointly administered as a single

---

1 There are minor variations in the island dialect from one part to another. Quotations and sayings are given verbatim. Elsewhere, the forms used are either those of San José or else more general forms, depending on the context: e.g. famili or famfins; aigo/aigu or aigua; mijoral or majoral. Castilian intrusions may also be noted in places: e.g. cuento instead of conte.

2 "Ibiza" is the Castilian form of the island's name. The Catalan name is "Ibissa". In general, the Castilian form of the names of the islands, official divisions and villages is used here, since it is at present the most common written form. Names of hills, bays and other features are usually given in their dialectal form, however, since there is not normally any established Castilian form for them. (See, for example, Figure Three, below)

It is customary to underline all foreign words and phrases in the English text. But, in order to distinguish between Castilian and Catalan forms, only the latter are underlined here (whether they are in literary or in dialectal Catalan). Extended quotations set apart from the text are not underlined, but they are distinguished by means of the labels "Castilian", "Catalan" or "ivissenc".
province from the provincial capital of Palma de Mallorca, but it is important to be clear at the outset that their historical, economic and socio-cultural characteristics are quite different in many respects.\footnote{See, for example, \textit{MAYER} (1967) or \textit{CARO BAROJA} (1946: 426) for a discussion of the major differences and resemblances.}

Ibiza and Formentera form a subgroup - some distance away from the other major islands - sometimes called the Pithyuse Islands, a name given to them by the Greeks, meaning "the pine islands".

Figure One shows the location of Ibiza. The island lies between longitude $4^\circ 50'$ and $5^\circ 20'$ east of Madrid, and latitude $38^\circ 50'$ and $39^\circ 7'$ north. This is 52 miles east of the Spanish coast near Denia, 45 miles south west of Mallorca, and 138 miles north of the African coast. The island is of a roughly oblong shape, with the long axis running from south-west to north-east. It is about 25 miles long by 12 miles wide at the axes, with a total surface area of 220 square miles, including that of the small, mostly uninhabited islands surrounding it.

Geologists consider that Ibiza and the other Balearic islands (with the possible exception of Menorca) constitute a prolongation of the mountains in the mainland province of Alicante which jut out into the Mediterranean at Cape Nao near Denia.\footnote{See, for example, \textit{HOUSTON} (1964: 192 and 634-5).} Almost the whole of Ibiza is covered with small mountains, largely of calcareous rocks, terminating in high cliffs with occasional small coves, known as cales. The few relatively flat areas include a half-moon-shaped strip of clay soils and long sandy beaches around the capital town of Ibiza\footnote{The capital town and the island as a whole share the same Castilian name, Ibiza, where this may cause confusion, I distinguish them as Ibiza and Ibiza-town.}, and smaller but fertile zones around Santa Eulalia and San Antonio. (See Figures Two and Three) The highest mountain is \textit{Sa Talaia} (1559ft.) in the parish.
FIGURE 3. VILLAGES, ROADS AND PHYSICAL FEATURES

KEY

Salt lagoon

401Δ Peaks over 280m (height in metres)

Cliffs

Beach

5 km
of San José. The mountains appear to be scattered all over the island, but they fall roughly into two main folded ranges in the south and north, with relatively broad valleys linking the towns of Ibiza, San Antonio and Santa Eulalia.

The 106 miles of coastline (including that of the off-shore islets) are quite varied, but with high cliffs around the greater part of the island. The only extensive accessible beaches and low coastline are in the southern and eastern parts of the island, except for the coast near the bay of San Antonio. To the east of San Antonio only a few small coves interrupt an imposing line of cliffs which bar access to the sea along most of the northern side of the island (See Figure Three). This has had important consequences for the distribution of tourist developments on the island, as well as for earlier settlement patterns. The three most accessible large bays are the sites of the only three large nucleated settlements: Ibiza, San Antonio and Santa Eulalia.

The spontaneous vegetation is dominated by Aleppo pines (Pinus halepensis). The pines occupy about half of the uncultivated land, and a quarter of the island's total surface, giving it a green, fertile appearance from the sea. The other half of the uncultivated land is covered with garrigue: low, stunted, evergreen shrub vegetation and rough pasture, predominantly composed of short junipers (mainly Juniperus phoenicia) and drought-resistant plants and aromatic herbs such as Cistus, rosemary and thyme. The upper parts of most of the hills are wooded, giving way lower down to scrub, and then to cultivated terraces, with more intensive cultivation of the land in the valleys and in the narrow gulleys on the hill-sides, which only occasionally contain surface-water. The amount of irrigated land on the island is increasing, but dry-farming still predominates, with a mixture of fruit trees (carobs, almonds, figs, olives, vines, apricots and others, in decreasing numerical order) and cereals (wheat and barley) with some légumes as well.
Ibiza has a typical Mediterranean climate with mild winters and warm summers. The winter temperature rarely falls below freezing-point and any frosts which do occur are normally of very short duration. The summer temperatures do not go much above 30°C, the yearly average being about 17.5°C. The rainfall is very variable - this has made the occupation of farming perennially unreliable, which has strongly influenced the islanders' response to tourist developments in recent years. The total annual rainfall tends to fluctuate between about 450 and 700 mm, but most of the rain falls in the autumn from September to November, with occasional storms during the spring and a more or less total drought during the summer months of June, July and August.¹

(b) Historical outline

Historians are undecided about the existence of an indigenous population on Ibiza prior to its occupation by the Carthaginians (or Phoenicians). The most thorough local historian to date, MACABICH, is convinced that it was already inhabited, because of various archeological finds and a reference in the Ora Maritima of Avenius. However, there is no trace on Ibiza of megalithic remains like those of Mallorca and Menorca.²

The capital town of Ibiza was founded by the Carthaginians about 650 B.C. The following description of the island in the pre-Christian era is that of Diodorus of Sicily, who used Timeus (340-250 B.C.) as his source:

"Después de la isla mencionada está la llamada Pithusa, que lleva esta denominación a causa del nombre de los muchos pinos que..."

"After the island mentioned is that called Pithyusse, which bears this name because of the many pines which..."

¹Sources for the material in this section: SERRAS UBACH (1961), DICCIONARIO GEOGRÁFICO DE ESPAÑA (1959), and BARCELO PONS (1969).

de la multitud de pinos que en ella crecen. Está en medio del mar y dista de las columnas de Hércules tres días y otras tantas noches de navegación; un día y una noche bastan para llegar a Libia y sólo un día de viaje la separa de Iberia. En extensión es igual a Corfú y es de mediana fertilidad; tiene poca tierra de viñedos y olivos ingertados en los acebuches. Y las lanas que en ella se producen son reputadas bellísima por su suavidad. La entrecortan campos risueños y colinas y tiene una ciudad que se llama Ebusos y es colonia de los cartagineses. Tiene también puertos dignos de mención y grandes murallas y un número considerable de casas admirablemente construidas. La habitan bárbaros de todas clases, principalmente fenicios. La colonización de esta isla tuvo lugar después de ciento sesenta años de la fundación de Cartago."


From such descriptions, as well as from the abundant archeological remains, it appears that Ibiza was important, prosperous and cosmopolitan throughout the classical era. With the fall of Carthage, Ibiza entered the Roman Empire with considerable autonomy, having the status of a confederate city until 70 A.D., when changes by Vespasian brought about a greater degree of Romanization of the island. It continued to have strategic naval importance. There were a variety of industries including lead-mining, the production of salt by the evaporation of sea-water, and the manufacture of purple dye and pottery, as well as farming and fishing. Among the island's exports, the ceramics were especially celebrated since it was believed that the island soil of which they were made possessed the property of repelling all snakes and venomous animals. Pliny also praised the exported dried figs.

The island was taken by the Vandals in the fifth century A.D. With their defeat by the Eastern Empire in 535 A.D., it became part of Byzantine Spain. The following centuries brought numerous raids from Africa, and the
Moorish conquest was completed by the tenth century A.D. Some of the classical industries appear to have declined or vanished later, but the island's economy seems to have continued along broadly similar lines throughout the various different dominations, as is indicated by the following description by the eleventh-century Arab writer, Al Makkari (with the exception of what he says about the sheep and olive trees, almost certainly in error):

"Ibiza... provee gran parte de... "Ibiza... provides much of Africa de leña y sal. La isla es muy poblada e industriosos sus habitantes; produce toda suerte de granos y frutos, pero el ganado lanar no se multiplica; tienen cabras y se alimentan de su carne. Uvas, almendras, higos, son de los artículos que los naturales cultivan y exportan a la cercana isla de Mallorca. No crecen en la isla los olivos, no son conocidos en ella, y reciben de Andalucía el aceite. Como en Ibiza hay mucho bosque, la principal industria de sus vecinos consiste en hacer carbón que embarcan para Barcelona y otros puntos del Mediterráneo."


In the thirteenth century, James I of Aragón undertook the reconquest of Mallorca, but left that of Ibiza and Formentera to the Archbishop-elect of Tarragona, Guillem de Montgrí, who received the feudal title to the islands in return. The main town was defended by three walls and a castle, but was taken fairly rapidly by the Catalan attackers, aided according to local tradition by a brother of the Moorish sheik, acting in revenge for a grievance. The island was completely in the hands of the Christians by the 8th of August, 1235, an occasion which is still annually celebrated. Montgrí was accompanied by the Infante de Portugal, D. Pedro, and the Comte de Rosselló, D. Nuño Sans, who each received a portion of the island as feudatories of Montgrí. The island was divided into four parts (quartons) and, after some years had passed, two of them
were the property of the Mitre of Tarragona, one belonged to the king, and the last went to the Tarragonese Archdeaconry of Sant Fructuós.

The conquerors promptly replaced the Moorish mosque at the top of the hill on which the town was built, with a Christian Church of St. Mary. From the thirteenth century until the nineteenth, the island was administered as a single parish and a single municipality. The conquerors had given the Ibizans a bill of franchises based on that granted to Mallorca by James I. Their more important rights included representation in island government and in legal proceedings, immunity from judicial torture, and exemption from any military service other than in defence of Ibiza. There were also a variety of provisions designed to protect persons and property against possible abuses by the more powerful, although these provisions were not always fulfilled in practice.

During this period, the island's salt-works were vital to its economy, providing an acceptable currency for external trade which could compensate for crop failures. The salt was the common property of all of the islanders, by concession from the conquerors. In the eighteenth century, however, the salt-works were expropriated "by right of conquest" by Phillip V, because the islanders had supported the losing side in the War of Succession. In view of their evident need, he later gave them an annuity in salt as a charitable gesture. But this ceased to be paid in 1849, and the state sold the salt-works to a private company in 1871.

The constant danger of attack by pirates added to the general insecurity of Ibiza after the reconquest. In the sixteenth century, the defences of the town were accordingly strengthened with new massive walls, which are still intact. Watchtowers appeared all around the coast, and some of the scattered farmsteads also incorporated defensive towers. Country churches were built as fortified refuges apart from being places of worship. The Ibizans also took to piracy themselves, bringing back booty and slaves from the Barbary coast. The Iban corsairs reached the height of their
strength in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and there is
a monument in the port of the town to celebrate them, which relates in
particular to the capture in 1806 of the English pirate vessel "Felicity"
by a much smaller local vessel.

The island's feudal system of government, with its relative autonomy,
gave way to greater administrative integration with the rest of Spain in
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1782, the island was made a
diocese, the church of St. Mary became a cathedral, and a number of new
parishes were created. Other reforms, together with safer trading conditions,
better communications, the disentailment of ecclesiastical property and the
suppression of feudal tithes and other dues (see Appendix VII, below),
contributed to a period of growing prosperity. But this commercial prosperity
was not always shared by the lower classes in the town nor by the peasants,
for whom there have been times of great hardship. Many young men were forced
to emigrate during the past one hundred years, as the island population became
excessive for its economic resources, especially during general economic crises.

Although Ibiza remained mostly on the margins of the Civil War (1936-39),
its effects there were profound (For a fuller account of the war and its
aftermath, which cannot be adequately covered in a historical outline of this
type, see Appendix VIII, below.). The island's tiny garrison initially declared
for the Nationalists, but it surrendered without any effective resistance to
a large Republican expeditionary force on 9th August, 1936. Following the
disastrous defeat of the subsequent Republican attack on Mallorca, and
an air-raid by Nationalist bombers on Ibiza-town, the Republicans abandoned
Ibiza on the 13th September, 1936, accompanied by a number of islanders.
The island then remained in Nationalist hands until the end of the war,
being used - like the larger island of Mallorca - as a military base. The
Ibizans played a largely passive role in these events, but of the small active
minorities on either side many died - almost all by execution rather than in
combat. These political killings are the most-remembered feature of the war,
contributing greatly to subsequent apparent political indifference.

The Civil War was followed by intense hardship on Ibiza (as elsewhere), and the next few years are usually called simply "Sa Misèria" ("The Misery"). The island's agriculture began to recover during the 1950s, but was soon to be replaced by tourism as the island's economic base. However, the Civil War and its aftermath have had continuing significance in developments on Ibiza, as in the rest of Spain, both directly and indirectly. The direct effects include in particular the increased receptivity of the islanders to tourism and its consequences because of the disintegrative impact of the war on the traditional social order (despite the victory of right-wing forces generally identified with traditionalism) and because of the negative memories of the economic "misery" preceding the touristic period. The indirect effects stem largely from the continuing existence of a political régime which emerged from a bloody civil war. This troubled contemporary political background to the social changes discussed in the thesis should be borne in mind throughout, although it is not given especial emphasis because of the focus on tourism and other factors including the choice of Ibiza for the fieldwork, the broad historical perspective adopted in the analysis, and the method of inductive generalization from participant observation mainly at the popular level. (See Appendix VIII.)

(c) Historical periods

For the analysis of social change on Ibiza, it is sometimes helpful to divide the island's history since the reconquest into three major periods.¹

¹This idea, which has proved very useful in ordering the historical data in the thesis, was suggested to me by the historical divisions used in VILA VALENTI (1963). The question of "watersheds" or "turning-points" in history is of course always problematic, and it would be possible to make further divisions (e.g. pre- and post-civil war), but those chosen seem to be appropriate for most of the purposes of this thesis.
(i) The "traditional" period: - From the reconquest in 1235 until the
last part of the eighteenth century, approximately.

After the reconquest, the island developed a well-defined and relatively
static social order, derived from and related to the feudal system of
mainland Catalonia. This period came to a gradual end with the constitutional
changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(ii) The "intermediate" period: - From the end of the traditional period
until the 1950s.

These constitutional changes, together with the increasing ease of
communication in the western Mediterranean and the industrialization of
western Europe, led to important modifications of Ibizan society during
the intermediate period. The period was in fact characterized by a
generally more rapid rate of social change than that of the traditional
period, and this is well illustrated in the following comments on Ibiza
in 1897:

"... van borrándose allí, como en todas partes, los relieves
distintivos de cada pueblo, de comarca, provincia o reino. La
caridad y rapidez de las comunicaciones, el constante
transiego de personas y mercaderías, de las grandes industrias, nos va
tomando al cosmopolitismo más prosaico, y es de creer que la
descripción de costumbres actuales "... there, as in all parts, the
distinctive features of each village or district, province or kingdom,
are being rubbed out. The ease and rapidity of communications, the
constant movement of persons and merchandise, the multiplicity and
expansive force of the great industries, are taking us towards
the most prosaic cosmopolitanism, towards the most monotonous
uniformity; and it is to be believed that the description of present customs

4. It should be noted that the kingdom of Aragón, the principality of Catalonia
and the kingdom of Valencia differed from the other medieval Iberian
kingdoms - and notably from that of Castile - in having a well-developed
feudal system. Whereas the parliamentary institutions of Castile emerged
from the Middle Ages weak relative to the monarchy, those of the former
areas shared legislative powers with the Crown and were reinforced by
complex legal restrictions on the arbitrary use of power, at all levels.
This fundamental constitutional difference has been an important factor in
the persistent difficulties encountered by the Castilian state in attempting
to assimilate these areas. (See LINZ, 1973: 38-49, and passim. Cf. also
the observations of GELTSCH, 1971: 132, and fn. 19, p. 157.)

2. See, for example, the early chapters in LARR (1966).
"will become within fifty years as historical as those of the Germans or of the Celts."

(Castilian, NAVARRO, 1901: 8-9)

(iii) The "touristic" period: From the 1950s to the present.

Leaving aside their evaluation of the changes, NAVARRO's words were prophetic to a much greater degree than he could have expected. Changes due to technological innovations from elsewhere have been noted by other visitors to Ibiza in the intermediate period. But there was a further turning-point in the island's history yet to come, but foreshadowed by NAVARRO's "ease and rapidity of communications" and "constant movement of persons . . .". Mass tourism commenced on Ibiza in the 1950s, intensified in the 1960s, and has assumed astonishing proportions in the early 1970s, with concomitant social changes affecting all aspects of life on the island.

It should be noted that these three historical periods overlap to some extent, both temporally and conceptually, but they are still useful for the analytical purposes of this thesis.

---

1. "In 1923, on my return visit to the islands, I found that the introduction of electric lights and automobiles had resulted in great changes."
   (SOLBERG, 1928: 94).
CHAPTER 2

THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

2.1 THE TYPICAL IMAGE OF THE SPANISH "PUEBLO"

The best-known studies of Spanish communities to date have all been of nucleated settlements, which are consequently often thought to typify Spain:

"... it is an ancient tradition that every family possesses its house inside the town, and this tradition is common to the greater part of Spain, whose empty countrysides bear witness to it."

(PITR-RIVERS, 1961: 6)

"In the very use of the word pueblo can be traced its underlying connotation of a sense of compactness: of groups of people drawn together and compressed into communities by external pressures..."

(KENNY, 1966: 9-10)

"The small town lines the road and forms an almost perfect rectangle. It is a 'Gassendorf' or a 'Strassendorf'. The pattern of houses seems to obey a clearly-defined plan, being closely set together so that the town could be shut at night by means of two gates at either end of the main street."

(LISON-TOLOSANA, 1966: 2)

"Although its small size distinguishes Valdemora in some ways, neither its territorial boundaries nor the number of its inhabitants serves to limit the Valdemorans' universe... Valdemorans are almost city people rather than villagers..."

(FREEMAN, 1970: xiv)

One anthropologist has, indeed, suggested that this type of settlement typifies southern Europe in general:

"These compact settlements are characteristic of most southern European societies... Throughout the Mediterranean the community with the highest prestige is the city, and each of the rural villages and towns in its own way imitates the crowded urban settlement pattern. The ideal
of a country home far from the crowded streets of village or town - so familiar to the north European or North American, is totally foreign to the south European."

(BOISSEVAIN, 1969: 7)

2.2 IBIZA AND THE OTHER BALEARIC ISLANDS

Table One shows that the settlement pattern on the Pithyuse Islands, Ibiza and Formentera, is quite different both from that of the communities described above and from that of the Balearic Islands proper¹, Mallorca and Menorca.

TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISLAND</th>
<th>POPN. IN NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS (Per Cent)</th>
<th>POPN. IN DISPERSED SETTLEMENTS (Per Cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mallorca</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menorca</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibiza</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formentera</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On the largest island, Mallorca, the provincial capital city of Palma exerts a strong influence over the rest of the island, and it contains just under a half (47 per cent in 1965) of the total island population. However, there are six other cities and forty-four nucleated towns of some size on Mallorca, apart from smaller nucleated settlements. The great majority of Mallorcans thus live in nucleated settlements, conforming to the

¹The Balearic label was not extended to the Pithyuse Islands until the late Roman period.
The same is true of Menorca, although on this island the major urban functions are shared between the two large towns of Ciudadela and Mahón.

On Formentera, by way of contrast, there were no nucleated settlements of any significance until the recent development of tourism there. The island has been administered from the capital town of its larger neighbour, Ibiza, ever since the reconquest. It was repopulated by Ibisans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after a period of depopulation due to the constant danger of pirate attacks. And, in fact, it represented until very recently little more than an extension of the Ibanian countryside, although the few miles of water separating the two islands were sufficient to give rise to some slight differentiation after the repopulation.

During the traditional period, at least, the pattern on Ibiza was quite simple. There was a single nucleated town, containing between a quarter and a half of the total island population, which monopolised all of the urban functions on the island.¹ The rest of the Ibisans lived in farmsteads scattered throughout the countryside, with no nucleated settlements, not even hamlets, although small nuclei did develop later around some of the country churches. In contrast with the situation described by Pitt-Rivers² in Andalusia, there was a complete dichotomy between town and country on Ibiza.

The dichotomy is still of some importance today, despite the considerable changes in the intermediate and touristic periods. In 1960, of the 37.9 per cent of the island population shown in Table One to be living in nucleated settlements, no fewer than 32.6 per cent belonged to the

¹The administrative pre-eminence of the town is illustrated in the coincidence of its Castilian name with that of the whole island. The islanders themselves have two separate names - "Eivissa" (the island) and "Sa Vila" (the Town) - but the latter name still indicates the town's uniqueness.

²"The dichotomy between the agricultural and the urban classes which has dominated English history down to the present day is one which cannot be made. Here everyone, conceptually at any rate, is a town-dweller. How he gets his living is another matter." (Pitt-Rivers, 1961: 49)
capital town, which illustrates the relatively small growth of nuclear settlements elsewhere.

The town-country differences are still reflected in life-styles and attitudes. Rather than everyone being "conceptually at any rate ... a town-dweller", about a third of the Ibizens are "gent de vida" (people of the town), while the rest are "peacios" (peasants). The former live "a vida" (in the town), and the latter "en es camp" (in the country).

This distinction is of vital importance for the sociological analysis of Ibiza, since the islanders to some extent still belong to two separate, though related, communities, with different identities, allegiances and cultures. In many ways, the life and culture of the townspeople in fact has resembled that of towns on the mainland of Spain more than that of rural Ibiza, although tourist developments have caused an important convergence of the two cultures on the island in recent years.

2.3 THE TOWN

The topography of the island's capital appears to have changed relatively little from its foundation in the seventh century B.C. until the present century. The Christian conquerors in the thirteenth century A.D. took over the existing town from the Arabs, merely converting the mosque into a Christian church. The ancient town walls were replaced in the middle of the sixteenth century in a rather belated response to the Turkish threat. The most important walls, still standing today, were those which completely enclose the steep hill on which the castle, cathedral and imposing houses of the island gentry stand, with the houses of persons

---

1 Some of the younger country people, who have never worked the land, and the businesspeople and employees in the village nuclei (especially in San Antonio and Santa Eulalia) now fall somewhere in between the two categories.
of progressively lower rank and occupation squashed together further
down. Between the walls and the sea was a humble quarter containing mainly
seamen, fishermen and their families. The respective statuses of the two
parts of the town were indicated in their names, Dalt Vila (High Town) and
Sa Marina (The Marine 'Town'), which are still in use.

The major functions of the town during the traditional period were
administrative and military. Its growth and topography were strictly
controlled to these ends by the island's governors. Thus, in 1684,
fifty country families were given help to move into the walled town in
order to replace those townspeople who had died in the plague epidemic
of 1652. In contrast, some of the houses and even churches outside the
walls of Dalt Vila were demolished on various occasions to prevent their
providing a foothold for enemies attacking the town. The last of these
demolitions took place in 1756.¹ For similar reasons, the growth of the
town was controlled in other ways. No market-place was allowed to be
established in Sa Marina until 1797. The number of peasants migrating
to the town was limited by periodic expulsions. For example, this happened
in 1746, 1820, and 1832. On the last occasion, the number of country-born
people found to be living in the town was only 152, of whom 68 were
returned to their native country parishes while the rest were allowed
to remain in the town. (MACABICH, 1966-1967: vol. II, 46)

During the nineteenth century there was less danger of attacks, and
in the present century (during the civil war) there were mass evacuations
of the town by people fleeing from air-raids, and many people temporarily
moved out into the country. (FAJARRES CARDONA, 1958: 167-169) The
invention of modern guns, aircraft and bombs has reversed the relative
security of town and country on Ibiza, as elsewhere, thus depriving the

The "high" town, Dalt Vila, has progressively declined in importance and prestige during the present century, and most notably during the touristic period. Apart from the loss of its defensive role, the high town's expansion is completely prevented by the massive surrounding walls, the steep narrow streets are mostly impassable for motor vehicles, and better sanitation and public amenities are available outside the walls. At the top of the hill, the castle and the cathedral still retain a group of houses belonging to gentry as neighbours, while lower down may still be found the seminary and the city-hall (s'Ajuntament). But, mingling with the other houses are new art-studios, bars, restaurants, and a number of cheap pensions frequented by young tourists and "hippies". Some members of the old gentry families still live up in Dalt Vila, but others - especially those with professional or commercial occupations - have moved out into modern apartments in the new part of the town which adjoins the area around Vara de Rey, a wide tree-lined avenue which is now the town's central meeting and strolling place.

Figure Four shows the various old and new districts of the capital town, while Figure Five indicates their topography in more detail.
Outside the city walls\(^1\), the old district of **Sa Penya** contains a large number of small densely-packed houses in streets as narrow and steep as those of **Dalt Vila**. These merge into the taller, more modern buildings of **Sa Marina**. These two districts, bordering the harbour, still house a fairly large number of fishermen and seamen. In **Sa Marina** there are also the fish and fruit markets and a variety of small shops, businesses and artisans' workshops. The zone around the avenue of **Vara de Rey** has taller buildings again, built in the present century, and containing larger shops and businesses, administrative offices, banks, cinemas, and so on. All three districts also have a large number of bars and restaurants, frequented by both tourists and local people, although there is a high degree of voluntary segregation of different types of clientele. The "**New Town**" is a large, mainly-residential area of high concrete blocks of apartments, whitewashed to blend in as far as possible with the older buildings. The new buildings have progressively covered over the old "**feixes**."\(^2\) Further out still from the old town is a rural-urban fringe which contains a mixture of farmland, scattered dwellings, a variety of light industries mostly related to construction, and the island's electrical power-station. There is also intensive touristic development of the coast on either side of the town, although this falls outside the limits of Figure Five.

The transitions from the traditional to the intermediate period, and from the intermediate to the touristic period, are thus reflected in the

---

\(^1\)The island capital is usually called the "Town" (**Vila**), and I have generally followed this practice, since the English word "town" seems much more apt than "city". However, the town was granted the official title of "City" (**Ciudad**) by royal seal, following the creation of the island diocese in 1782. (**CASTILLO GUASCH, 1967: 33**)

\(^2\)The "**feixes**" are fertile plots of land, irrigated by a special capillary action, in a marshy zone reclaimed for farming in this way by the Arabs. Details are given in **FORSTER** (1952).
development of the town: the former in the growth of the commercial and administrative district around Vara de Rey; and the latter in the suburban, industrial and touristic developments outside the older parts of the town. The touristic period, however, has also seen a transformation of the older districts, whose formerly quiet and sober streets now have a continual atmosphere of Carnaval. A multi-coloured polyglot crowd throngs through the narrow streets of the old districts. They sit at tables on the pavements drinking "Cuba libres", "Gin-tonics", and other exotic mixtures. Tourists wearing bikinis and "hippy" girls in semi-transparent muslin blouses with no brassières stroll past, mingling with townspeople in suits or the latest Spanish fashions (though usually looking relatively informal by comparison with their counterparts in towns on the mainland), and with country people taking produce to the market, some of the older women wearing the traditional pigtail and full flowing dress which are fast disappearing. An old Ibizan rhyme seems to have come unexpectedly true:

"Carnestoltes dotze voltes 
  i Nadal de mes en mes,
  cada dia fos diumenge 
  i sa Corema mai vengués!"

"Carnaval twelve times 
  and Christmas every month,
  would that each day were Sunday 
  and Lent should never come!"

(Sivisseno)

2.4 THE VILLAGE OF SAN JOSE

The village nucleus of San José (Sant Josep) is about fourteen kilometres away from the capital, in the south-west of Ibiza. There is a main road, surfaced a decade ago, which connects it to both the capital and to San Antonio. Leaving the capital, the road goes straight out through the rapidly-growing new suburb of Santa Cruz, composed of tall whitewashed blocks of flats flanking a hill by the sea, known as Puig d'ea Molina (Hill of the Windmills) because of the old stone windmills on top, formerly used for grinding grain. The hill is honeycombed with ancient tunnels and graves which formed part of a Punic-Roman necropolis, and at its foot is
a museum displaying archeological finds. After two and a half kilometres, passing through a fringe area of scattered recent development, the road forks. The left-hand road follows the flat coastal zone of irrigated farms and windmills used to pump up water, with tall modern hotels breaking the long shore-line at intervals, then it passes through the village of San Jorge on the way to the modern airport, while another fork leads to the parish of San Francisco and the salt-lagoons. The right-hand road skirts the coastal plain for a few kilometres, and then winds upwards past the "Cova Santa" ("Holy Cave"), a small cave with attractive formations which is now used as a show-cave and a site for barbecues for coach tours. The cave lies within the municipality of San José (which commences near the fork), and is exploited by San José villagers, although the parish boundary is not reached until the tenth kilometre stone, at Ca'n Jordi. The road goes on climbing gradually between pine-clad hills, with scattered farm-houses, occasional general-purpose shops-cum-bars, called botigues, and a few other dwellings, until it reaches the col in which the small nucleus of the village of San José is situated, with more hills all around and the summit of Sa Talaia, the island's highest mountain, to the left. After passing the village church and square, the road curves sharply down towards the bay of San Antonio, whose hotels may be discerned in the distance.

The parish and village of San José were eighteenth century creations, like numerous others on the island. Prior to the eighteenth century, the scattered inhabitants of the area would have looked either to the neighbouring church of San Jorge or to that of San Antonio, both constructed in the fourteenth century. The church of San José was built under the directions of an architect by reminyoles of local country people. The work

1 One rural church was initially built for each of the four rural "quartons". (VILLANGOMEZ LLOBET, 1956: 36)

2 Co-operative working parties. In the words of the first parish records, the church was built by "axi homens com dones, vells y jovens, mestres y peons, grans y petits" ("both men and women, old and young, masters and peons, adults and children"). (MACABICH, 1966-1967: vol. III, 352)
was interrupted several times, but was finally completed in 1732. A century and a half later (in the 1880s), there were still only eight or nine houses clustered near the church, including those of the curate, and of a primary schoolmaster and mistress, and the municipal hall.

During the touristic period, however, and especially during the past few years, a sizeable village nucleus, called by local people "s'arravall", has developed near the church (See Figure Six). There are some 1200 people living in the whole parish. Of these between two and three hundred live in the village nucleus, while the rest live scattered all over the mountainous parish.

There are marked differences between most of the people of the village nucleus ("se gent de s'arravall") and the peasants (pesses, i.e. those who both live in the country and work the land), even though they are mostly josaic (natives of Sant Josep) and are kin of the scattered families. The nuclear village families (apart from the authorities and professional people) almost all make a living from shops, bars, trades or crafts: i.e. from small businesses of one kind or another. Some of the people living on main roads away from the main nucleus also have small businesses, but they are much less common among the scattered population in general. This is indeed the reason why the nuclear villagers and the main road businesspeople originally abandoned the traditional settlement pattern; in particular the nucleus is the meeting-point of the parish (and it also lies on a major road used for tourist excursions), with clear commercial advantages. The relationship of the village nucleus to the surrounding countryside is essentially similar to that of the

---

1. FAJARNES CARDONA (1958: 85)
2. SALVATOR (1886-1890: vol. II, 200-201)
3. 1216 in 1971, according to the municipal census figures.
4. 206 in 1965, according to the municipal Padrón.
FIGURE 6. THE NUCLEUS OF SAN JOSE

B Bar
Ba Bakery
Bk Bank
Bu Butchery
C Carpentry
Ci Cinema
D Bus Depot
F Forge
G General Store
H Haberdashery
M Municipal Hall
& Civil Guard Post
NS "The Nun's School"
P Post Office
R Restaurant
S Souvenir Shop
SS State School
Su Doctor's Surgery
T Taxi
† Church

KEY
--------------------
Metalled road
Unmade track
Footpath

100m.
capital town to the island as a whole, and this is not only true in the
economic sphere. Just as the people of the capital town were the first
Ibians to adopt new ways from the mainland, so the nuclear villagers of
San José were the first to leave aside the traditional peasant costume
and to adopt new fashions and ideas from the town (and - to a lesser extent -
from foreign residents and tourists). In general, the people of the nucleus
- and even more so those of San Antonio and Ibiza-town - are said to be
"more with it" ("més espavilats").

The name "San José" (or "Sant Josep") is used for three entities:
the village (es poble or el pueblo); the parish (sa parroquia or la parroquia);
and the municipality (es municipi or el municipio). For most purposes
the boundaries and membership of the village and the parish may be considered
the same¹, but the municipal boundaries are quite different, covering a
much larger area, as is shown in Figure Seven.

The primary loyalty of the josepins is to their village, es poble,
but their personal networks, interests and daily activities are increasingly
spreading outside the village boundaries. Despite the island's small size,
natural boundaries have played an important part in delimiting areas of
social interaction, and the poor roads and rough mountainous terrain until
recently confined people to comparatively small zones for everyday purposes.
The municipality of San José includes the whole of the island lying west
of a line from Sa Platja d'en Bossa (the beach to the west of the capital)
to a point just to the west of the nucleus of San Antonio. The line roughly

¹In most parts of Ibiza the boundaries of the parish (the church community)
and the poble (the popular community) coincide closely, since the parish
churches have formed effective social hubs for the scattered farmhouses.
The situation of San José, however, was complicated earlier in this century
by the creation of a new parish, that of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, which
is still popularly known by its secular name of Es Cubells. Some people who
are technically in the parish of Es Cubells attend the church of San José
and think of themselves as josepins. But this qualification may be
disregarded for most purposes.
follows the natural boundary of a tangled group of mountains which separates the two roads leading from Ibiza to San Antonio. The mountains form an extremely effective barrier shutting off the area to the west of them from the rest of the island. There are a number of footpaths and poor cart-tracks which are used by the inhabitants of the steep-sided valleys among the mountains, but the only convenient ways for the people of San José to leave their municipality are through the towns of Ibiza and San Antonio. Until the recent introduction of metalled roads and motor vehicles, even a journey to Ibiza entailed a long jolting ride along a narrow track, or — for the poorer people — several hours walking. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the older people in San José still refer vaguely to the area north-east of the municipal boundary as "over yonder" ("per aquests amunts"), and have a stock of stories which illustrate the allegedly uncivilised
and hostile character of the people who live there, especially those of San Juan and San Carlos at the far end of the island. The affluence created by tourism has, however, enabled most of the families in San José to acquire one or more motor vehicles, thus opening up the rest of the island to them. Whereas the old people recollect that a journey " fora cortó" ("outside the quartó") used to be quite an adventure, the younger villagers think nothing of it, and they have begun to take holidays on the mainland of Spain or in foreign countries (often at the end of the tourist season), although the latter still seems an adventure to most of them.

2.5 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The origins of the totally-dispersed pattern of the traditional period are not entirely clear. One geographer has dismissed the question by referring to the island's smallness (MAYER, 1967: 204). This may well explain the absence of more than one large town, especially if the island's topography is taken into account, but it fails to explain why the country population did not cluster into nucleated villages as on Mallorca, on the mainland, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. PITT-RIVERS has commented that:

"The parts of the country where the agricultural population lives entirely in central communities rather than in farms upon the land corresponds very roughly to the distinction between 'dry' and 'wet' Spain."

(PITT-RIVERS, 1961, 6n.)

Now, from the point of view of rainfall, Ibiza is the driest of the Balearic Islands, and it must therefore be included in 'dry' Spain, thus constituting an apparent exception to this rule. However, DEFONTAINES & DURLIAT (1957: 177-178) have pointed out that the accidented relief of Ibiza gives rise to many small springs and suitable points for wells, which are thus dotted all over the island, contrasting with the scarcity of water
sources on the flat island of Menorca (despite its higher average rainfall). This circumstance has perhaps prompted the form of land-use found on Ibiza, which involves small parcels of land farmed with a subsistence polyculture. Mountainous areas of Mallorca, which resemble Ibiza on a larger scale, have a similarly dispersed pattern of settlement in contrast to most of the rest of the island.

The historical development of settlements on Ibiza is fairly well documented. The town was founded as a coastal fortress by the Carthaginians, and there is no mention of any other population nucleus on the island in classical times. The Christian conquerors of the thirteenth century A.D. took over the pattern of scattered farms from the Arabs. Subsequently, according to HOUSTON (1964: 639), dispersion and nucleation on the Balearic Islands have alternated with the times of peace and insecurity respectively, but in the case of Ibiza it appears that a high level of dispersion was maintained throughout the traditional period, although it is true that some of the more exposed parts of the island were abandoned in periods of insecurity.

The persistence of dispersion on Ibiza in recent centuries may be linked to the system of land tenure. On Mallorca and Menorca the townspeople managed to accumulate large land-holdings which were farmed by share-farmers, but on Ibiza the land owned by the townspeople remained limited largely to the southern part of the island, and most of the island has been exploited by owner-farmers ever since the reconquest. (WYNN, 1967: 203)

During the intermediate period, there was a small amount of nucleation in some country areas on Ibiza. This was largely due to the efforts of the island's authorities who, under the influence of the national "despotic

\[1\] Details, including the Latinized Arab names of the farms, are given in a document in the Cathedral Archives of Ibiza which relates the division of the island among the Christian conquerors. The Latin text is published in MACAIGH (1966-1967: vol. I, 237-240. See also p. 173)
enlightenment" of the eighteenth century, regarded the scattered settlement pattern as a fundamental obstacle to any kind of progress:

"las islas de Ibiza y Formentera se hallan en el día en el mismo atraso y quisá mayor que cuando fueron conquistadas por las armas de Aragón a los Sarracenos, es imposible es ... que se puedan hacer grandes adelantos en un país bastante extenso, que no cuenta con más población reunida que la de la capital ... ¿Cómo es posible que cunda la ilustración entre gentes que sólo se reúnen los días festivos al tiempo de oir misa?"

(Castilian. GIBERT, 1845: 264)

The building of a number of country churches in the eighteenth century was mentioned above. Other tactics for educating the country people into the national orthodoxy were also tried. For example, towards the end of the eighteenth century, a fountain and an avenue of trees were set up in Santa Eulalia, using convict labour, in order to attract people to settle there. The country people were suspicious of the scheme, however, shrewdly fearing that it was a trick designed to remove their freedom, enforce them to pay taxes and to obey the law against smuggling, and prevent them from carrying arms to defend themselves (MACABICH, 1966-1967: vol. I, 517).

Some people did eventually settle there, but even half a century later a report on Ibiza by the "Jefe Político de la Provincia" ("Political Chief of the Province") complained that there were only about fifty houses in the nucleus of Santa Eulalia and just over twenty in the port of San Antonio (GIBERT, 1845: 250). The process of nucleation had gone further by 1930, by when there were some 700 people in the nuclear village of San Antonio, about 350 in that of Santa Eulalia, and about 100 in that of San Juan. (VILA VALENTI, 1963: 100)

1 The reforms attempted by the authorities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries combined the genuine desire to "enlighten" the peasants with that of reducing them to a more governable condition.
During the touristic period, the changes have been more complex:

(i) The development of the capital town and the growth of a rural-urban fringe around it have been described above.

(ii) The villages of San Antonio and Santa Eulalia have grown into towns and they are now tourist centres comparable with the capital. Their new development is partly nucleated and partly dispersed (mainly along the coast). But even in the case of the dispersed coastal development there is a strong tendency for groups of hotels, chalets, shops and holiday businesses to cluster together in suitable places such as Cala Llonga and Es Canar (near Santa Eulalia) or Cala Vedella (near San José), where sizable holiday resorts are growing up.

(iii) “Urbanizaciones”, or “villa” developments, have appeared at suitable points all around the coast of the island, and a few have even appeared inland, for example at San Rafael. They consist of a large piece of rough land, usually of no use for farming, which is developed in parcels of from 600 to 2,000 square metres. An approach road, electricity and water are generally made available, after which the plots (or sometimes finished buildings) are sold individually, mostly to foreigners. The result is a gradual growth of a cluster of “villas” (“xalets”), which in some cases is producing a residential holiday resort, attracting shops and other services, although most of the urbanizaciones are only partially developed as yet and they tend to become ghost villages in winter.

(iv) Other foreigners, and also some of the wealthier townspeople, have bought land-plots (usually, but not always, on the coast) from individual farmers. There are many new isolated dwellings on such plots, even though farmers usually try to sell a number of plots in the same place.

(v) The population movements associated with the new island economic base of tourism, which have led to the growth of the towns of Ibiza, San Antonio, and Santa Eulalia, have had varied effects on the settlement.
patterns elsewhere on the island.

In parts of Ibiza which few tourists have visited as yet, such as the municipality of San Juan and portions of the other municipalities which are isolated from the main tourist foci, the old pattern of dispersed farmsteads has persisted, although there are also a few hotels, urbanizaciones, or isolated villas in most places.

All over the island, however, there has been a transfer from farming to other occupations linked directly or indirectly with tourism. Many of the younger people, in particular, show a strong antipathy towards farming. Such people have no compelling reason to continue living in isolated farmhouses, and they find it more convenient to move close to their new place of work. Hence there has been a generalised drift away from the more isolated country dwellings (this drift was apparent before tourism, though to a lesser extent), and many of them are now in ruins - although the more recently abandoned "finques" (farmsteads) are taken care of since the islanders have discovered that they may be sold for high prices to foreigners, because of their generally picturesque appearance and location.

The result has been severe depopulation in some inland villages such as San Mateo where the population fell from about 1,000 in 1960 to 522 in 1970; that is, it almost halved in a decade. The parish priest there told me that there was a tendency for whole families to leave for San Antonio or Puig d'en Valls, an important new residential-industrial area in the rural-urban fringe of the capital town. He commented sadly that he had just married two young couples in the parish church and that after the ceremony they had both left for Puig d'en Valls, whence they would return only occasionally to visit their relatives.

Other villages, such as San José, come somewhere in between the extremes of San Antonio and San Mateo. The nucleus of San José not only has some tourist trade of its own, but also is conveniently situated between Ibiza and San Antonio. Many of the younger villagers have jobs in hotels,
restaurants, or other businesses, mostly in or near Ibiza or San Antonio. Some of them live where they work, but at present most of the jobs are seasonal, lasting for about seven months of each year, so that during the autumn and winter months the young people usually return to their parents' homes in San José, helping them out with farming and household tasks in return for their keep. Even during the summer season it is not difficult for the members of a San José family to keep in touch, and some people commute to work from the village. There is thus not the same incentive as in San Mateo for young people and whole families to move permanently to the towns or coastal resorts, although this has occurred in a few cases.

There are several factors contributing to the prosperity of San José by comparison with San Mateo. Some have already been mentioned. In addition, the village of San José is the municipal capital of a large portion of the island, and the horizons and commercial interests of the villagers have spread out of the parish and into the lucrative coastal areas near the two main towns, whereas San Mateo has only a dirt road linking it to its municipal capital of San Antonio, with no comparable opportunities for commercial expansion outside the parish boundaries. There is an atmosphere of opportunity and growth in San José which contrasts strikingly with that of isolation and abandonment in San Mateo. The schools of San José are overcrowded and are being extended, whereas the four single-sex primary schools in the San Mateo area are being amalgamated into two mixed-sex schools because of a lack of pupils. The nucleus of San José is growing rapidly in size and importance, whereas that of San Mateo boasts only a church, a general store and a handful of houses.

(vi) The importance of new roads in the changing pattern of settlement should already be apparent. Whereas prior to tourism the island's roads were unsurfaced and mostly unusable by cars, there are now tarmac roads radiating out from Ibiza-town to each of the country municipal capitals, and a few minor roads are also being surfaced. Another major influence
has been the gradual spread of electricity supply lines (there are none in San Mateo). Both road-building and electrical supply have depended almost entirely, so far, on the prosperity produced by tourism. This is clearly shown by the location of new facilities, which have been largely limited to tourist foci. Consequently, their initial impact has been to reinforce the attraction of isolated country dwellers to such areas, and also to encourage the formation of nucleated or clustered settlements which may share the facilities more cheaply than could dispersed dwellings.

The island's increasing wealth may gradually diminish this effect, and at present a network of minor roads and electricity lines is progressively linking-up many formerly isolated areas, mainly on the coast but also in some places inland. In San José many people are now building new homes slightly away from the main roads and from the village centre, in contrast with the trend of a few years ago. The increasing noise and traffic are mentioned as the reason, together with a traditional feeling that to keep your house a reasonable distance apart from that of your neighbours and kin decreases the chance of quarrelling. Nevertheless, the effect of the new pattern is still one of clustering, rather than one of total dispersion along traditional lines.

(vii) An important factor whose effects have mostly yet to come is that of administrative development planning. Until now, the development

---

1. Plans for a coastal road all around the island have existed for some time. The primary aims would be to provide road access to the many bays which may at present be reached only with difficulty, or by sea, and to enable tourists to travel around the island on excursions - this is difficult at present because of the radial road system which conforms to pre-touristic requirements. Secondary aims would include the linking-up of the isolated villages, thus enabling them to participate in the tourist boom, from coach excursions at least. The coastal road would undoubtedly modify the new patterns described in this section. But there is some scepticism among Ibi.ans over its realization (as also over plans for the electrification of isolated areas), since most of the new facilities so far have been posterior to tourist development rather than prior to it as would be the case here.
of new buildings has been almost entirely according to the whims of private enterprise. But fears of "the destruction of the landscape" ("la destrucción del paisaje") have prompted the preparation of detailed planning regulations, limiting each different form of development to areas thought appropriate by the planners.¹ The plans are still being debated, but there seems every likelihood that they will be implemented. Planning regulations in the past have tended to be ignored by the island officials and developers but, for reasons discussed in a later chapter, a stricter check on loopholes and evasions is now usual. The likely result of the plans as they stand is an increase in the growth of nucleated settlements both on the coast and inland, with a gradual decrease in the proportion of scattered farmsteads and a certain amount of compensating increase in scattered villas and other non-farm dwellings (although these are limited to some extent by the new regulations).

(viii) The various trends outlined in points (i)-(vii) are rather difficult to summarise, since in some ways they conflict one with another. However, there is no doubt that tourism has radically affected the settlement pattern on the island, and two major points arise from this analysis.

Firstly, there have been important qualitative changes. The old settlement pattern, like the radial layout of the roads, was related to the former economic base of agriculture: each family in the country had its home on its own plot of farmland (except in the case of share-farmers); each scattered dwelling was linked to the parish church by means of tracks and footpaths leading from one house to the next; and the churches in turn were linked to the single large town, with its unique markets and port linking the island to the exterior. The new settlement patterns are built over the old, and they therefore retain some of the older

¹There is a diagram of the new planning zones in IBIZA INSIGHT (No. 92, week ending May 6, 1971, p.2).
characteristics. But the new economic base of tourism determines the style and location of the new buildings. Just as tourism itself is based on modern technology, so are the new buildings. There has been a curious blending of traditional Ibanian architectural styles with the use of concrete blocks and modern imported designs. A wide variety of settlements is growing up all over the island, contrasting with the former simple dichotomy of town and country. Rich foreigners have built luxurious villas on crumbling cliffs with approach roads carved precariously by bulldozers - to the alarm and astonishment of many of the older islanders, for whom "una casa ès per sempre" ("a house is for always"), and who may recall when a great landslip occurred near the place involved. Coastal urbanizaciones have appeared on hillsides considered completely worthless by the island farmers in the past. As the islanders themselves change their occupation the location and style of their own dwellings is changing considerably, although there is again some persistence of the traditional features in the new houses.

Secondly, there have been important changes in the pattern of dispersion and nucleation. The changes do not show up very clearly in official statistics. In fact, BARCELO PONS (1970: 74) gives figures which show an apparent increase in the dispersion of settlement on Ibiza between 1950 and 1960, which may seem to be contrary to the points made above. However, I would argue that these statistics are rather misleading. Their main source of distortion is that the new urbanized and semi-urbanized areas near the capital and elsewhere were included as disseminated settlements, as BARCELO himself points out. The urbanizaciones and resorts are also included in the disseminated category, as of course are the isolated houses of foreign residents and others. There are also a large number of secondary dwellings of a dispersed type: for example the more prosperous villagers in San José have built themselves secondary homes in their favourite bays to use for weekends or for renting to tourists.
During the summer months. With the various exceptions mentioned, the overall most notable trend appears to be towards more nucleated settlements. The growth of the nuclei of San Antonio and Ibiza are the clearest examples. But, to include the other cases, a more appropriate term for the new predominant forms of settlements might be "clustered settlements" rather than "nucleated settlements". Even the town of Santa Kulalia does not truly conform to the ideal nuclear settlement envisaged by the eighteenth century planners. But it is certainly a "clustered" settlement rather than a totally-dispersed one. The same is true of the urbanizaciones and new resorts. Even the foreign residents seeking seclusion, and the country people who do not choose to move into a village nucleus, tend to create small clusters of new dwellings near roads and electricity supplies. And, finally, the "clustering effect" in and around the nucleus of San José is clearly demonstrated in Figure Eight.

---

1 According to the 1970 Census of Dwellings (I.N.E., 1973), there were 2691 family dwellings in the municipality of San José. Of these, only 1504 were primary dwellings, while 748 were secondary dwellings, and 401 were vacant at the time (the census was carried out in winter) - and 38 were listed as "others" ("otras").

In interpreting these figures, it may be noted that some of the secondary dwellings are traditional secondary farmhouses, called "pahisses".
FIGURE 8. THE "CLUSTERING" OF SETTLEMENT IN SAN JOSE

Note: No houses other than those specified in the key are included.

**KEY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>Ruined or deserted houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔΔ</td>
<td>Houses built after 1950.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⊙⊙</td>
<td>Houses being built 1970-71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land over 200m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Km.
CHAPTER 3

POPULATION

3.1 THE AFTERMATH OF THE RECONQUEST

The strategic position of Ibiza and the other islands led to their successive occupation by a variety of peoples prior to the thirteenth century (see the historical outline in Chapter One, above), and influences from these earlier eras may still be detected on the island. However, the present Ibizan traditions and popular culture are derived mainly from the Catalan conquest. The first language of the islanders is a dialect of Catalan (which contains archaic usages no longer found on the mainland, as well as differences of vocabulary and minor variations of grammar, which have arisen from local evolution over the centuries\(^1\)), although most of them can now also speak the official state language, Castilian, with variations in fluency among the country people.

The Catalans were themselves apparently of mixed origins.\(^2\) And there seem to have been considerable cultural variations among those settling on Ibiza, prompting a ruling in 1264 by Guillem de Montgrí, seigneur of Ibiza, that henceforth any land continuously and peacefully occupied for ten years thereafter belonged to the occupier and his heirs. The text refers to the

\(^1\) There was no text on the dialect at the time of my fieldwork, but I found the following works helpful: GILI (1967), MOLL (1968), and MOLL (1969).

Apart from some private tuition, I attended extramural classes in the dialect at the secondary school in Ibiza-town, from 1970-71. Material used in the classes has since been published in VILLANGOMEZ LLOBET (1972).

\(^2\) See VICENS I VIVES (1962: 22-25).
"inhabitants of diverse places or kingdoms [who have] come to these lands," and says that the regulation was needed to stop frequent disputes over land, which arose from "the diversity of the customs" of the settlers.

The most reliable evidence suggests that most of the Arab inhabitants left Ibiza after the reconquest, but some of them seem to have remained (as was also the case on Mallorca), continuing to farm their land. They were supplemented from time to time with other Arabs captured by Ibisan corsairs, and it is clear from contemporary documents that the need for more manual labourers was an important incentive for the development of Ibisan piracy. The following is an extract from a letter authorising Ibisan raids on the North African coast which was sent by the King of Mallorca to Ramon Muntaner, his Ibisan lieutenant, in 1335:

"Per los feells nostres los jurats e prohomens de Aviga ... missatgers ... proposaren que totes les obres rusticals ques fan en la dita illa se fan per mans de ca'tius com altres personas franças no si tropian, e que es fina assi usitat que algunes corsaris anaven en terra de moros que ne no eran de pau a cativar e de ago fonch aquella illa en conreus e pagiesia augmentada."

"On behalf of the loyal jurats and prohomens of Ibiza ... messengers ... propounded that all the rustic works which are done on the said island are done by the hands of captives as other free persons were not to be found for them, and that up to now it has been usual for some corsairs to go to the land of Moors not at peace in order to capture and thus was that island increased in cultivations and peasantry."

Great care is needed in interpreting such statements. One author has taken part of this quotation out of context to mean that the Ibisan peasants were all slaves during the early period after the reconquest. 

1"habitants de diversos lochs o regnes venguts en aquelles".
2"la diversitat de les costums". From an extract from the "Libro de la Cadena" in the Historical Archives of Ibiza, published in MACABICH (1966-1967: vol. I, 278)
4Catalan document in the Historical Archives, published in ibid., 297-298.
5"Durante un largo periodo, los campesinos constituyen incluso una clase carente de ciertas libertades; una parte de esta clase está constituida por musulmanes sometidos tras la Reconquista, que posteriormente serán reemplazados por cautivos." (Castilian. VILA VALENTI, 1963, 98)
Other evidence shows that this is quite incorrect. It was common for such pleas to outside authorities to be couched in hyperbolic language, and the number of "catius" (captives) and "esclaus" (slaves) appears to have been very small compared with the total country population. In 1654, for example, there were 150 slaves on the island (which had a total population of 10,250 inhabitants in 1652). And yet, in a plea against a royal order to sell all of these slaves and remove them from the island, the Ibisan officials pleaded that the slaves "are necessary for everything, because of the lack of service on this Island, since by no means may be found persons willing to serve for a salary . . .". Further details, here and elsewhere, indicate that most of the slaves belonged to the wealthiest officials and absentee landlords in the walled town, who found them useful for tasks abhorrent to the free islanders, such as executions, the burial of persons dead in epidemics, and personal service, as well as for general labouring purposes. The majority of farms, then as now, were worked by the owners, few of whom were wealthy enough to purchase slaves, although some did let out farms to share-croppers. All that the letter from the king to Muntaner really suggests, in fact, is that there was a lack of free islanders willing to serve others, not that there was a lack of free country people. And this was scarcely surprising in view of the regulation giving ownership to anyone settling on new land for ten years.

The status of the slaves was variable. They were permitted to retain

1"son necesarios para todo, por falta que hay en esta Isla de servicio, pues no se hallan de ninguna manera personas que a sueldo quieran servir ..." (Document cited in MACABICH, 1966-1967: vol. I, 446-447).

Note that the reason for the king's order was the threat to island security posed by even such a small number of slaves - one escaped slave had recently acted as a guide for a Moorish raiding party - and for this reason alone the number of slaves could never have been very large, much less constitute the majority or all of the peasantry, who were much more numerous than the townspeople during most of the traditional period.

2Some details of the status and treatment of slaves are given in MACABICH (1966-1967: vol. IV, 263-266).
their own religion, but conversion to Christianity was rewarded by manumission. The result seems to have been a gradual process of replacement, emancipation and assimilation into the lowest strata of free islanders, especially in the country districts. The distinctive country culture on Ibiza thus has overwhelmingly Catalan origins, but incorporates other elements as well.

Sometimes the piracy in the Mediterranean diminished the Ibisan population rather than adding to it. For example: "The 31st of August of 1383 was a day of mourning in Fortmany (now San Antonio), with nineteen taken captive and the burning of several houses." Many similar reports tell of the raids by African pirates on the island during the centuries after the reconquest, which rendered the neighbouring island of Formentera and unprotected parts of the coast of Ibiza too dangerous for permanent habitation, with a consequent reduction in the effective amount of land available for cultivation.

3.2 THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD

The dominant demographic features of the first centuries after the reconquest, then, were a low population density and a shortage of manpower, in contrast to former eras as described in classical and Arabic documents. Apart from the effects of piracy already mentioned, the general uncertainty of sea communications and the availability of salt for bartering in external trade helped to consolidate a subsistence style of farming on Ibiza, concentrating heavily on cereal crops for home consumption. The

---

1The last recorded instance of slavery on Ibiza (also the last in Spain) was as recent as the 1820s - see MACALICH (1965-1967: vol. II, 214 et seq.).

2"Día de luto fue en Fortmany el 31 de Agosto de 1383, que costó diez y nueve cautivos y la quema de varias casas, según ... " (Quadrado, Islas Baleares, 1327-28, quoted in MACALICH, vol. I, 288).
cereals (especially wheat) were not well suited to the island's soil and climate, and poor harvests were quite common. When the crops failed, the Ibisans were forced to import cereals from various Mediterranean ports at high prices (and with the risk of losing vital supplies to pirates during the voyage).

Epidemic illnesses were also important until about the middle of the seventeenth century. A document of 1534 uses "the time of the great mortality"¹ as a point of reference; another in 1381 talks of "diverse mortalities and famines that have been here"²; while in 1402 there was an outbreak of plague of which it was claimed that "if the epidemic had lasted another month, the island would have remained deserted".³ Existing documents mention 230 different surnames of islanders in the thirteenth century, and 328 in the fourteenth, but many of these lineages disappeared later, although some of the old names have persisted as house-names and hence also as personal nicknames.⁴ (According to the census of 1934, when the island's population was many times larger, the total number of first surnames on the island was 97, of which 56 were found exclusively in the town, so that there were only 41 different first surnames in the country.)⁵ These figures eloquently illustrate the closed and isolated nature of Ibisan society until very recently.

In 1392, an ecclesiastical visitor reported that there were only about 500 families on the island, divided roughly equally between the

---

¹ "del temps de la gran mortalitat enga" (Cited in MACABICH, 1966-7, vol. I, 113)
² "diverse mortalitats e fams, que aquí son estades" (Cited ibid.)
³ "se il progredire del morbo fosse durato un altro mese, l'Isola sarebbe rimasta deserta" (Cited ibid.).
⁴ Nicknames are in general use on Ibiza because of the shortage of other names, even being included in postal addresses. For an account which lists some 500 nicknames, see CASTELLO GUASCH (1963).
⁵ See COSTA RAMON (1964).
town and the country (MACABICH, 1966-7: 1, 291n.). Nevertheless, the island's population grew intermittently during the following period, reaching 10,250 in the year 1652. In the same year, there was a plague epidemic which killed 711 Ibisanos. Of these, 523 were from the less than 1,000 inhabitants of the walled town, 70 were from the extramural town, and 118 were from the country districts. This was the last major outbreak of plague on the Balearic Islands. In 1669, there were still only 9,596 Ibisanos, but from then on the island's population grew more continuously, although slowly at first.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the shortage of manpower had become a surplus. This situation was often advantageous to the merchants and landlords of the town, but it meant poverty and even starvation on occasion for some of the peasants. It also led to a reversal in the migratory trend: instead of settlers arriving on Ibiza, indigenous islanders began to emigrate. A set of complaints about the island's oligarchic rulers, sent by the peasants to the king in 1690, stated that:

"Es notorio, señor, que son ya más de ciento y cinquenta Personas, que desertando sus haciendas, y abandonando Parientes, han salido huyendo de la Isla, y se han pasado a España y a otras partes por evitar las repetidas plagues que en la Isla hacen, queriendo más mantenier su miserable vida con el afán de su trabajo en agenas Provincias, que morir desesperados en su propia Patria, al intolerable cuchillo del hambre, y al sordo dolor del desabrigó y desnudos."

(Castilian. SUÑER, 1690: 430)

This was only the beginning of a process of emigration from Ibiza which was to reach very large proportions in the nineteenth century. Emigration

1 MACABICH (1966-7, I, 412-413) and MACABICH (1945: 257).

2 Mallorca was even more severely affected than Ibiza, having 22,241 dead from a population of about 100,000. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 49)
thus gradually replaced epidemics and famines as the principal factor limiting the island's population. ¹

Various large-scale events also affected Ibiza, in common with the other Balearic Islands. The union of Castile and Aragón, and the discovery of America, directed much trade away from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and this trend was reinforced by the growth of Turkish naval power in the western Mediterranean. The resulting decline in opportunities for trade and in the safety of ships in the Balearic area from the mid-sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century led to a relatively static order on Ibiza during this period. The economic condition of Ibiza was further worsened by the reprisals against the Catalans after the War of Succession (1701-14), particularly by the state's seizure of the Ibizans' communal salt lagoons.

3.3 THE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The benevolently despotic reforms-from-above ideas of the "Ilustración" ("Enlightenment") reached the Balearics towards the end of the eighteenth century. A "Sociedad de Amigos del País" ("Society of Friends of the Country") was founded in Palma in 1778, and it achieved the suppression of laws which had been damaging the Balearic economy, also gaining permission for the islanders to trade with the American colonies. Other important changes included the introduction of new agricultural techniques and crops, with almonds in particular becoming a vital cash-crop in later years:

¹ Although the intensive emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Chapter Four, below) was a symptom of poverty on Ibiza, and provided an external outlet for pressures which might otherwise have stimulated greater changes in the rather static social order, it may be noted that the emigration also contributed to the island's economy and to social change there both by the creation of external contacts and through returning emigrants. (Cf. Carr, 1966: 10-11, and passim). The proportion of emigrants who returned was never very large, but they included some who had "made good" and had become wealthy by Ibizan standards. Such people were economically and mentally well-equipped to take up local entrepreneurial activities - or, if older, to join the island rentiers - introducing an outside stimulus into the incipient commercial classes: in this context, it is interesting to note that the most prominent commercial family in San José is that of a returned transatlantic emigrant. (Cf. Ginés, 1968: 7.) The creation of new external incomes (e.g. remittances to dependents or relatives) and a reduction in local under-employment may also be mentioned, although it is difficult to assess the significance of such points because of the lack of detailed information on them.
"Tanto Mallorca como Ibiza deben al almendro sobre todo la elevación del nivel de vida de sus poblaciones rurales ... y la apertura de mercados exteriores - lo que Menorca había conocido un siglo antes gracias al estímulo de la presencia inglesa."

"Both Mallorca and Ibiza owe to the almond above all the elevation of the standard of living of their rural populations ... and the opening-up of exterior markets - which Menorca had known a century earlier thanks to the stimulus of the English presence." (Castilian. BIS 30 H. 1964: 65)

In 1784, the first bishop of the new island diocese of Ibiza compiled a report on the state of the island (ABAD Y LA SIKARA, published 1907). The following year, a Junta was appointed to carry out an extensive series of reforms. These met with opposition from some Ibizens (F. JARMES CARDONA, 1961: 21), and a report to the government in 1845 spoke of a general lack of improvement and continued poverty (GIBERT, 1845). There is reason, however, to suspect that this report (and others) underestimated the changes which had taken place, mistakenly comparing the island with more advanced regions rather than judging its contemporary state by reference to its past condition.

Anyway, whatever the causes, the rate of growth of Ibiza's population increased notably after about 1787, and this relatively rapid growth continued until about 1860 (See Figure Nine). Apart from the reforms, there were the improved trading position and the safer and more regular sea communications of the nineteenth century. There was also the previously-mentioned disentailment of land. Many such comments on Ibiza and Formentera's apparent changelessness have been made. Even in 1964, in a study of social change on Formentera, an anthropologist could carelessly assert of the peasant farmers that:

"Their most distinctive cultural features are their agricultural tools and techniques, utterly devoid of any modern technological influences and directly comparable to Europe as a whole a millennium ago."

(ROBERTSON, 1964: 35)

But it should be noted that below, in Chapter Five, it is shown that extensive - though gradual - changes in methods and crops took place on the Pityuse Islands between 1860 and 1960 at least. It seems probable that such changes had received an important stimulus from the energetic reformers of the enlightenment period, since the changes were broadly of the type which they had instigated or recommended.

There was a mail-boat service between Ibiza and Alicante from 1789 onwards. Seventeen Ibizan vessels visited the port of Palma in 1801. From 1830 onwards, there was a monthly service between Ibiza and Alicante, and communications have improved fairly steadily ever since. See RON MUNZANKER (1964).
FIGURE 9. POPULATION ON IBIZA AND FORMENTERA (1650-1970)

(Based on figures in Appendix One)
of ecclesiastical property in 1835 and following years. And Ibiza and the other islands were used as places of political exile during the nineteenth century, commencing with French prisoners and refugees from the War of Independence in 1810. The exiles brought all kinds of new - and frequently disruptive - ideas to the island, as well as providing temporary additions to the population. Between 1787 and 1857, then, the population of the Pithyuse Islands rose from 13,637 to 23,791 inhabitants (See the table in Appendix One).

Less favourable circumstances in the second half of the century, culminating in the loss of the colonial trade at the end of the century, severely affected the Balearic Islands. After 1860, the population on Ibiza first returned to a slower rate of growth and then actually declined as emigration assumed large proportions. There were various disease outbreaks during the century but their effect on the population was small by comparison with that of emigration.

The populations of the town and country were not affected in the same way, however. Emigration took place to some extent from both. But, whereas the town's population declined fairly steadily from about 1877 to 1920, that of the country districts rose almost continuously between 1840 and 1940. One reason for this difference was the development of new agricultural techniques (such as new pumping methods for irrigation) and the fruition of new crops, especially the almonds. Another reason was, probably, the greater dependence of the townspeople during this period on outside influences - the relative isolation of the country districts has since disappeared, of course, although the country people still retain a larger measure of self-sufficiency. (See Figure Ten)

The population of Ibiza as a whole has grown unevenly during the present century. (See Figure Ten) From 1900 to 1920, the total increase was only 3.9 per cent, because of emigration and an influenza epidemic of 1918 which severely affected all of the Balearic Islands. The population
FIGURE 10. BREAKDOWN OF POPULATION ON IBIZA (1840-1970)

(Based on figures in Appendix One)
in fact declined between 1910 and 1920. At about this time, however, the introduction of technological and other changes began to reflect in various ways on the island's demography. The improvements in techniques of production reinforced the island's more favourable general economic position. And there was a progressive decline in infant mortality rates during the present century. The changing balance of births, deaths and emigrations was shown by an increase of 17 per cent in the population between 1920 and 1930.

This rate of increase was apparently maintained in the following decade, with a rise of 18 per cent from 1930 to 1940. But this figure obscures the notable demographic effects of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. On Ibiza, as elsewhere in the Balearics, the high death rates and low marriage and birth rates of the war years were temporarily hidden by the immigration from the mainland which was provoked by the conflict.

The civil war and the immediately following world war brought Ibiza's external trade to a more-or-less complete standstill, creating a severe economic crisis which lasted from 1936 to about 1947, the period of "San Misèria". Following the civil war, then, there was a sharp decline in the rate of growth of the population, as the temporary immigrants left — followed by a growing stream of Iban emigrants. The population underwent

---

1 Among the temporary immigrants were Nationalist soldiers, including both Spanish and Moroccan troops, who were stationed on Ibiza (there was a barracks in the San José area).

2 For a careful statistical analysis of Ibiza's external trade, especially during the present century, see MOLL MARQUES (1961). This author summarises the recent evolution of the island's economy as follows:

"... de 1922 a 1930 hay una fase de inestabilidad; de 1931 a 1935 una consolidación de la economía; de 1936 a 1947 una época de profunda crisis, y de 1948 hasta la actualidad una prosperidad creciente, que a partir de 1956 toma carácter de verdadera fiebre, que hace temer que no se trunque demasiado bruscamente."

(Castilian. MOLL MARQUES, 1961: 76)"
an absolute decline in the decade from 1950 to 1960. However, the economic improvement from about 1948 onwards, and the growing tourist boom in the second half of the 1950s eventually made themselves felt, producing the dramatic reversals in demographic trends which are described below.

3.4 THE TOURISTIC PERIOD

(a) Births

The number of live births on Ibiza rose fairly steadily from 465 in the year 1936 to 714 in the year 1965. The crude birth rate (i.e. births per thousand population) also rose during this period, from 14.28 per thousand (in the quinquennium 1955-60) to 17.08 per thousand (in the quinquennium 1960-65). Even so, Ibiza still had the lowest birth-rate of any of the Balearic Islands - except for the anomalous island of Formentera - and these in turn had a lower birth-rate than did Spain as a whole. Similar considerations apply to fertility figures (the number of births per thousand women between the ages of 14 and 49): in 1965, the fertility of Ibiza and Formentera was 68.5 per thousand, that of Mallorca was 71.5 per thousand, and that of Menorca was 87.2 per thousand.

1Most of the figures in this section are taken from (or in some cases are calculated from) the statistics collated in BARCELLO PONS (1970). Those for the period since 1965 are from the 1970 national census of population (I.N.E., 1973a).

2The number of live births on Formentera fell from 37 in the year 1956 to 24 in the year 1965. This does not necessarily indicate any demographic decline there, however. Women from Formentera, and from the country districts on Ibiza, have started having their children in clinics in Ibiza-town, rather than continuing to have them at home with the help of the traditional "llevarera" (amateur country midwife). These children are misleadingly registered as born within the town municipality. For this reason, the registered birth-rate on Formentera and in country districts of Ibiza has tended to drop in recent years, but the true picture seems to be one of increasing birth-rates in both town and country districts (with a few exceptions).
Birth-rates in the Balearics as a whole had begun to decline significantly from about the year 1870 onwards, anticipating the decline in the rest of Spain. In the present century, the birth-rate declined intermittently from 25.98 per thousand (in 1900) to 19.71 per thousand (in 1965). The figures for Spain as a whole were 33.8 per thousand (in 1900) and 21.1 per thousand (in 1965). The lowest birth-rates in this century on the Balearics were reached during the years of the civil war and the following decade, with a minimum of 13.45 per thousand (in 1950), comparing with 20.0 per thousand for Spain as a whole in the same year - the difference reflects the extreme poverty of the islands during the post-war years.

Conversely, the rise in birth-rates on Ibiza and the other islands since about 1950 reflects both the increased prosperity from tourism and the relatively high fertility of the women who have immigrated to Ibiza from the mainland.

(b) Deaths

Mortality (deaths per thousand population) on the Balearic Islands has progressively declined in the present century, from 21.04 per thousand (in 1900) to 9.96 per thousand (in 1950). Since 1950 it has remained fairly stable at about 10 per thousand. Mortality in Spain as a whole was considerably higher than in the Balearics in 1900 (28.8 per thousand); and it remained higher until about 1950; but it has since been lower - in 1965, for example, the national mortality was 8.4 per thousand while that of Balearics was 10.62 per thousand.

The major factor in the decline of general mortality on the Balearic Islands, as elsewhere, has been the parallel decline of infant mortality (the percentage of deaths during the first year of life in relation to the total number of infants who survive the first twenty-four hours),
because of improving sanitary conditions, especially in the towns; better medical techniques, and the installation and increasing popularity of birth clinics in recent years. Thus, infant mortality was 18.5 per cent in Spain as a whole, and 9.4 per cent in Palma de Mallorca (no figure is available for the province), in 1901; whereas that of Spain was 13.65 per cent, and that of Baleares was 7.52 per cent, in 1925; and the respective figures had fallen to 2.89 per cent and 2.16 per cent in 1965.

There were two important exceptional fluctuations in death-rates in the present century. The first was associated with the influenza epidemic of 1918, when the death-rate temporarily doubled on the Balearics. The second was during the civil war. In the four years from 1936 to 1939, the official statistics included 2,752 "violent or accidental" deaths in the province, which compares with an average of 129 per annum over the preceding three years. Even so, these figures undoubtedly provide an underestimate of the number of killings and political executions on both sides, since some such deaths were not officially registered at the time, being put down as due to other causes, or else entered gradually in the years following the war. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 88) Both during the influenza epidemic and during the civil war the official death-rate on the Balearic Islands rose temporarily above the birth-rate - the only times this has happened during the present century.

The influence of tourism on the islands' mortality seems to have been rather small, in contrast with the effects on the birth-rates. Mortality on Ibiza was 8.93 per thousand during the quinquennium 1955-60, and 8.97 per thousand for the quinquennium 1960-65. It has been similar for all of the municipalities on the island, and in all has been less than 10 per thousand.

There may be various conflicting factors operating on the death-rates.

---

1 The figures in this paragraph are from I.N.E. (1951).
on Ibiza in recent years. The immigrants from the mainland are mostly relatively young and healthy, which would tend to depress the overall death-rate. Medical facilities on the island are also gradually improving as it grows more prosperous. But the number of deaths from accidents may be increasing, because of those on the roads. In 1969, for example, there were 104 notified road accidents on Ibiza, which caused 140 injuries (many of them classified as serious) and 19 deaths (VIDAL JUAN, 1969: 41); and each year the pressure on the island's narrow and tortuous roads increases.

(a) Total population

The changing balance of births and deaths described above was the major factor influencing population change on Ibiza over the past hundred years, until about 1960, although the influence of emigration was also quite important for total population figures. Between 1900 and 1960, Ibiza's population rose by 46 per cent. This compares with 42 per cent for the province of Baleares, and 64 per cent for Spain as a whole.

The proportion of the population on the Balearics to that of the whole of Spain declined in every decade between 1900 and 1960 (except from 1930-40, when the immigration from the mainland due to the civil war obscured the general trend), showing the influences of both emigration and the relatively low rate of natural increase (births minus deaths) in the province. In contrast, the population of the Catalan-speaking provinces of eastern Spain as a whole rose by 77 per cent between 1900 and 1960.

In other words, the population of the islands prior to 1960 was showing a steady loss relative to the rest of Spain, and much more so relative to the mainland part of Catalonia.

There was an abrupt reversal of this trend after about 1960. Between 1960 and 1965, the Ibizan population increased by 9.6 per cent; that of
Baleares increased by 10.6 per cent; and that of Spain by only 4.3 per cent; while that of the Catalan region swelled by 13.0 per cent. Between 1965 and 1970, the population on Ibiza grew by an extraordinary 19.2 per cent, while that of the province as a whole grew by 13.5 per cent. Thus the population on Ibiza grew much faster than that of Spain as a whole after about 1960, and the difference increased steadily over a decade. In the first five years of the decade, Ibiza's population growth was similar to that of the Balearic Islands as a whole but, from about 1965 onwards, it was considerably faster. This reflects the slight levelling of the tourist boom on Mallorca during this period, in contrast with its intensification on Ibiza.

While there have been changes in the rate of natural increase in recent years on Ibiza, their effects are clearly swamped by the massive switch in the direction of migrations, which is described in the next chapter. There had been a migratory current in Spain towards the Catalan area (including Mallorca) at least since 1920, at first because of the industrialisation of the region, and later because of the concentration of tourism there. Ibiza and Menorca failed to attract immigrants prior to 1960 because of their lack of industrialisation, but since then the massive influx of tourism has made Ibiza in particular an immigrant focus on a par with the most prosperous mainland provinces of Catalonia, as becomes clear below.
CHAPTER 4

MIGRATIONS

4.1 EXTERNAL MIGRATIONS

Prior to about 1920, a broadly similar pattern of emigration appears to have taken place from all of the islands. While there had been some emigration from Ibiza in times of hardship during previous centuries, it assumed large proportions only in the second half of the nineteenth century. After visits to Ibiza in 1867 and 1875, a careful investigator reported that very few vessels called there, with correspondingly few visitors, and that (even then) immigration and emigration were both of "little importance" on Ibiza and Formentera. The same author gives statistics which show that between the quinquennium 1865-67 and the quinquennium 1878-82 the average age at death increased on Ibiza from 31.89 years to 34.37 years, while that on Formentera rose from 44.67 years to 53.42 years. The change reflects the beginning of the progressive decline of infant and general mortality, which affected the other islands at about the same time (BARCKLO PONS, 1979: 113). The resulting increase in the rate of growth of their population was not matched by a corresponding increase in employment possibilities, even on Mallorca (where some

1The term "external migrations" refers to migrations to-and-from either individual islands or the province, according to the context.

2SALVATOR (1886-90: vol. I, 52 and 58). The estimate that neither emigration nor immigration were significant at the time was based on a comparison of "de derecho" (by right) and "de hecho" (in fact) population statistics.

3Ibid., p.167.
industrialization was beginning). There was some compensatory progressive decline in birth-rates, probably due to a combination of the low marriage rate or high age at marriage associated with rural poverty and a gradual increase in the use of contraception, as well as the loss of young men either temporarily (as seamen) or permanently (as emigrants). But it was not sufficient to prevent the formation of a surplus of population whenever there was an economic crisis of any kind.

In 1881, the "Real Sociedad de Amigos del País de Mallorca" ("Royal Society of Friends of the Locality of Mallorca") informed the government that emigration from the islands was not systematic, but took place in years of scarcity, usually after droughts; and that it mostly consisted of males, bound for Algeria. (cited in BARGELÓ PONS, 1970: 113) In 1889, there was an intense wave of emigration directed towards Argentina, Chile and the Antilles, as well as to Algeria. It was apparently provoked by

From oral accounts (both in the town and country), it seems that there was some knowledge of contraceptive methods ("fer mérita per no tenir infants") on Ibiza from at least 1920 onwards (i.e. from the time when the oldest informants were of marriageable age). There were also "old women who gave advice and medicines" ("ies que donaven consent i medicines") both on "how to be together without having children" ("estar junta sense tenir infants") and on abortions ("abortos"). But both practices were sins (pecats), and were "strongly forbidden" ("molt privats"). Almost as important a deterrent (and perhaps more so for some people) was the fear, founded on examples, of 'harming oneself' ("perjudicar-se"). Informants mentioned various methods including coitus interruptus ("aguantarse"), condoms ("ondons"), vinegar douches ("dutxes"), and the rhythm method ("estar junta certs dies rates"). They made references to periods ("ses regles") as a means of knowing when pregnancy has occurred. They also said that contraceptive pills ("pastilles") were increasingly coming into use (usually by doctors’ prescription), and they added that contraception was no longer considered to be so much of a sin as having more children than could be adequately fed, clothed and educated. They were agreed, however, that formerly there were many people who did not know about contraception, or were inhibited by moral scruples or fears (conversely, and ironically, the clerical insistence on the theme may have contributed to the spread of information and interest in contraception - for example, I was told that one priest had for some time made brides promise not to use any such techniques, during the pre-marital religious counselling). The present position in San José seems to be that most couples have the desired number of children (usually not more than four, often less) as soon as possible after marriage (both from a desire to have children and to allay the insistent enquiries of older friends and relatives); but they then stop having them, and their small families contrast notably with the larger families of their parents - and the even larger families of their grandparents (despite the higher mortality). These changes were very clear in the various genealogies which I investigated.
a combination of overpopulation and new taxes, but the persuasiveness of labour-contractors from the South American republics also played a part. Whole families got caught up in a kind of emigration fever, even selling their land at low prices in order to go and seek their fortune elsewhere. On a single day, the 6th September, 420 emigrants left for Chile from the port of Palma de Mallorca. After a short period of diminished emigration, there was a further wave between 1891 and 1895, because of the collapse of the wine trade with France and the loss of trade with the Antillas owing to the colonial war. In this period, 2,034 people left the Balearics for Algeria, 458 for the South American republics, and 2,204 for the overseas colonies, while many others crossed to the mainland of Spain.

One author has calculated that, between 1887 and 1900, a total of 28,296 persons (or an annual average of 2,177) emigrated from the province, which made it the third highest province in Spain in terms of emigration at that time (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 114). Emigration continued into the present century, but it diminished for the Balearics as a whole towards 1925, because of the reversal of the migratory trend from about 1920 onwards in the case of the largest island, Mallorca, which was beginning to benefit from its industrialisation and also from a growing tourist trade which had not yet reached the other islands. In fact, Mallorca gradually became a focus for immigration, in common with the Catalan provinces on the mainland. (Even so, there was an interim period of emigration from the larger island as well during the post-war years before the renewed growth of tourism - which suggests a high level of saturation of the island's population relative to its natural resources, making it sensitive to any general economic fluctuations.) The provincial capital of Palma has attracted immigrants throughout the present century, both from outside the province and from the other islands, as well as from the rural districts of Mallorca itself. Numerous people in San José still have relatives in
Palma as a result. And one Ibizan living there has estimated that there were from 3,000 to 5,000 Ibizans living on Mallorca in 1961. (CASTELLO GUASCH, 1961: 30)

Since about 1920, then, the situation on Ibiza has been quite different from that on the larger island. Whereas the intense emigration had lasted for less than half a century on Mallorca, it continued for much longer on Ibiza. As a result, a kind of "tradition of emigration" became established. As far as most of the older people on Ibiza can remember, emigration appears to have been a permanent feature of island life before tourism started to take effect. They say that, until about the mid-1950s, "almost all the young men" ("casi tots es jovans") used to emigrate, indicating that emigration was no longer considered an exceptional, periodic event, even though the rate fluctuated from time to time.

One Ibizan has observed (in the 1950s) that:

"La emigración ibicenca tiene dos nombres alucinadores: la Habana y Argel. Golpes de imaginativos de la riqueza parten hacia las dos ciudades."

"Ibizan emigration has two fascinating names: Havana and Algiers. Batches of people imagining they may become rich leave towards the two cities."

(Castilian. FAJARRE CARDONA, 1958: 289)

Formerly the destinations of Ibizan emigrants had been similar to those described above for the Balearics as a whole. Then, until the civil war in 1936-39, North America became an important focus of attraction, as well as Mallorca, the mainland of Spain, North Africa and South America. After the war in Europe, the expanding economies of various western European nations, especially that of Germany, also began to attract Ibizan emigration until the late 1950s.

Ibizans give various reasons for the emigration. The most basic reason was the excess of population over available resources. Most of those who left had good cause, and their numbers increased after any spell of economic scarcity or "bad years" ("anys dolents") in agriculture. However, there is no doubt that (apart from any personal or other motives)
some of the emigrants were adventurous or ambitious youths and families, who left Ibiza with the illusion of one day returning with their pockets full of gold pieces. Some young men left fiancées on Ibiza to try their fortunes overseas, and one such man has told me that, in the 1920s, "everyone was talking about going to Cuba" ("tothom parlava d'anar a Cuba").

The attractions of emigration were also enhanced by the relative worldliness and prosperity of those emigrants who returned to Ibiza from time to time. The young men "de fora" ("from outside" - i.e. returned emigrants) were easily recognisable by their "jacs" (tailored jackets), which contrasted with the "camisoles" (loose-fitting blouse-like jackets) worn by the country youths formerly. The country girls were impressed by this exotic sign of affluence, it seems, and they easily "had their heads turned" ("se xiflaven") by these smart young men.

Few of the earlier emigrants were sufficiently literate to communicate more than very infrequently (e.g. with a priest to draft the letter) with their relatives and friends on Ibiza, and in some cases there was a complete loss of contact after a while. Gradually, however, communities of ex-patriate Ibisans became established in a number of places. This meant that the islanders who emigrated later on not only often had the advantage of being literate (and with literacy usually went the ability to speak Castilian Spanish), but also could count on help from established emigrants. In this way, emigration seems gradually to have become a regular, and fairly well understood, possibility for any youth who could not find satisfactory employment on Ibiza; and it was no longer the desperate measure or great adventure of former decades.¹

¹The flow of information back to Ibiza was also undoubtedly an important factor in widening the horizons of those islanders who remained there. It also contributed to changes in the islanders' dress and folkways, for example the courtship customs which had changed considerably prior to the civil war, and long before tourism had had any significant effect. The returned emigrants included both old people who would contribute little beyond some exotic stories, and young people who would play an active part in island life, with a fertile potential for innovations.
Although the worst of the post-war "misery" was over by about 1947, the island's subsequent economic recovery did not halt the surge of emigration until about a decade later. Then, however, the growth of tourism led to an abrupt reversal of the direction of migration. Whereas a net balance of 883 people emigrated from Ibiza during the quinquennium 1955-60, a balance of 1,845 immigrated during the following five-year period. In other words, while there was an annual average loss through migration of 5.13 per thousand population from 1955 to 1960, there was an annual average gain from migration of 10.19 per thousand population from 1960 to 1965. (BARGELLO PONS, 1970: 118). From the rise in Ibiza's population between 1965 and 1970 - 19.2 per cent (see p.71, above) - it is quite clear that the migratory current further increased during that period.

Since 1960, then, many people have gone to Ibiza in search of work. They are mostly from the southern mainland of Spain, speaking a different first language from that of the Ibizens, and having different customs as well as being in general easily distinguished from the native islanders by their features and appearance. They have no difficulty in finding employment on the island, because of the very rapid rate of growth of tourism. But they tend to be collectively disliked by the Ibizens for a number of reasons, but basically because they are "forestayers" ("outsiders"), and because their norms for face-to-face interaction are not the same as those of the islanders - which gives rise to irritations and misunderstandings. (The relationships between Ibizens and the several categories of immigrants are discussed in more detail in a later chapter.)

Relatively few of the Ibizens who emigrated prior to the tourist boom have returned to the island, despite fairly common impressions to the contrary. There are still some 2,000 Ibizens (by birth and descent) living in Argentina, for example, with a closely-knit community of about 1,000 in the Santa Fe area alone. On the outskirts of Santo Tomé, a smaller city near Santa Fe, there is a kind of Balearic oasis inhabited
almost exclusively by emigrants from Ibiza and the other islands. Its main avenue is called "Baleares", and the main occupation is irrigated farming. Of the hundred or so islanders there, most are from the parish of San Miguel or neighbouring parishes on Ibiza, which illustrates the importance of the links with the home village in stimulating further emigration once the pioneers were established.¹

The Santa Fe Ibizens have maintained regular contact with one another, and with Ibiza, by establishing a "Casa de Ibiza" ("House of Ibiza"), a centre for reunions of various kinds or simply for meeting other members of the ethnic group.² A few emigrants have returned permanently from Argentina to Ibiza in recent years, but it seems unlikely that the majority will follow them, since they are mostly well-established in Argentina. The same applies to many emigrants in other places overseas, such as North America.³

Even so, the number returning does seem to have increased in the past few years as the tourist boom has gathered momentum - both because of the increased opportunities for employees and entrepreneurs alike and because there are now cheap tourist flights to the island from all parts of Europe and North America. An appreciable number of emigrants have therefore returned from the mainland of Spain, from Europe, and from North Africa, in particular; while others return for holidays from North America (or, less often, return to live on Ibiza). Those who return after many years away (some people have returned after thirty or forty years absence) usually have an enormous surprise when they find a bustling,

²"Casas de Ibiza" also exist in Palma de Mallorca, Barcelona, and other places. There are regular reports of the activities of the groups in Mallorca and Santa Fe in the DIARIO DE IBIZA.
³An additional factor likely to inhibit the return of emigrants in North America is the language difference - the children of some emigrants from San José in North America apparently have little knowledge of the island, or of its languages.
affluent and cosmopolitan Ibiza in place of the quiet, frugal and insular society they remember leaving. One San José emigrant recently sent his North-American-born daughter for a holiday in the village, giving her a transistor radio to take with her so that she could show the people of San José the wonders of modern technology - which created much amusement when she arrived there. ¹

In conclusion, it is clear that there is a delicate balance of population and economic resources on Ibiza. A setback in the tourist boom would rapidly create a renewed population surplus, provoking first a decline in immigration, then the exodus of most of the present immigrants, followed eventually by some of the indigenous islanders - probably mainly in the direction of England and other European countries. The Ibizans are fully aware of this, which accounts for the extreme sensitivity of the island newspaper towards any unfavourable Spanish or foreign reports on Ibiza, and also for the continual efforts of the island's business associations to achieve a diversification of the countries whence come the tourists. Nevertheless, mainland Spaniards and even foreigners are at present going to Ibiza to seek "pieces of gold", and tourism has thus totally reversed ² the secular trend of the island's external migrations, at least for the time being.

¹ As far as I know, there is no especial label on Ibiza for returned emigrants like the Spanish term "indiano". They do sometimes have individual ex-emigrant nicknames, however - e.g. "en Fidel Castro" (for one from Cuba) and "en Pujol moro" ("en Pujol the Moor": for one from North Africa).

² A possible "exception" is a new form of short-term emigration related to tourism. A few enterprising young Ibizans go to England, France or Germany for up to one or two years, in order to learn the foreign language and find out more about such jobs as waiting or bar-tending. On their return to Ibiza they can expect rapid promotion in hotel-work or other touristic jobs. Two San José men (in their twenties) have become "maîtres d'hôtel" (head-waiters) in this way, to my knowledge. They derive great prestige among their peers from their linguistic ability, which stimulates others to follow their example. This phenomenon may not continue for long, however, since there is an established colony of English and other foreign residents on Ibiza, and it is becoming quite easy to learn foreign languages without leaving the island.
4.2 INTERNAL MIGRATIONS

Because the overall material gains are so obvious, it is easy to overlook the contrasting ways in which tourism has affected different parts of Spain. Since the vast majority of tourists head for the beaches and coastal resorts, there has been an intensification of the former drift from the land, with the creation of "ghost villages" in some places. The Spanish government has found in tourism an ideal solution to its balance of payments difficulties and general economic problems. Consequently, its economic policies and legislation have been directed towards the promotion of tourism, with a relative (although not complete) neglect of rural and agrarian problems. This has further reinforced the rural exodus. Again, although the government has carefully controlled prices and facilities offered to tourists, so that Spain has undercut and outbid all of the other western European countries in recent years; a general policy of laissez-faire has applied to the location and nature of touristic buildings and businesses so far, even though there are signs that this is beginning to change.

The result on Ibiza, as elsewhere, has been an economic free-for-all, with largely-uncontrolled development taking place in some parts of the island, and almost no development in others. It is true, of course, that the island's natural features have played a fundamental part in the location of tourism (see the geographical outline in Chapter One), but their effects have been strongly reinforced by laissez-faire administration. The provision of crucial public amenities such as electricity, surfaced roads, piped water supplies and telephones has so far been almost entirely limited to those parts of the island which have attracted a large number of tourists - this has greatly increased the attractiveness of these zones relative to the neglected areas, both for native islanders and for the vast majority of tourists.
The first major hotel development began in San Antonio in the second half of the 1950s, soon followed by development in and around the capital town of Ibiza. The development spread to Santa Eulalia during the 1960s. And there was some development within the municipal boundaries of San José, especially on the coastal borders of the municipality near the capital and in the bay of San Antonio. Thus the only municipality which has so far not been developed touristically is that of San Juan. There has been a very small amount of hotel-building in the area in the past few years, but the high cliffs have limited it to a few rather small coves (Portinatx, Sa Cala de Sant Vicent, and Es Port de Sant Miquel) - with the striking exception of an ambitious luxury hotel perched on a cliff-top at Na Xamena, near San Miguel.

At the beginning of the present century, just over a quarter of the island's population lived in the capital town.¹ This proportion remained fairly steady until about 1930, after which it increased for about twenty years, because of a drift from the land in the country municipalities. (See Figure Eleven) During the 1950s, the trend was temporarily reversed by the greater impact of the post-war "misery" on the landless townspeople than on many of the country people who were relatively self-sufficient and who often managed to conceal some of their grain and stock to prevent its being requisitioned. Thus the proportion living in the town fell between 1950 and 1960, while that living in each of the country municipalities increased slightly. Since 1960, however, the proportion of the island's population living in the town has increased steadily, reaching 37.6 per cent in 1970. This increase has been due in part to a renewed drift from the more isolated parts of the country municipalities, but a more important factor in the past decade has been the large influx of migrants from the mainland, attracted by the ancillary

¹For the proportions living in town and country in earlier centuries, see Appendix One.
FIGURE 11. THE PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

(Based on figures in Appendix One)
industries, commerce and administrative employment (all largely concentrated in or near the capital) as well as by hotel work (which the capital shares more equally with several other municipalities).

The proportion of the island's population living in the municipality of San Antonio also increased throughout the decade 1960-1970. But the proportions in the other three country municipalities decreased during the first five years, 1960-1965, because of the effects of both internal and external migrations to the more rapidly developing zones. In the following five years, 1965-1970, the proportion in Santa Eulalia increased in response to the development of the bays of Santa Eulalia, Cala Llonga, and Es Canar. In contrast, the proportions in the municipalities of San José and San Juan continued to decline throughout the decade (in accordance with a long-established, though discontinuous, trend - see Figure Eleven). The decline in San Juan was quite dramatic - from 14.9 per cent (in 1960) to 7.6 per cent (in 1970).

Figure Twelve shows the situation in a slightly different light. Although the proportion of the island's population living in San José declined, the actual number of people living there increased throughout the decade 1960-1970: i.e. the "decline" was only relative to the more rapid expansion of San Antonio and Ibiza (and later Santa Eulalia). In contrast, the decline in the actual number of people living in San Juan has been as marked as the decline in the proportion living there. In fact, the population of San Juan is now lower than it was in 1900, which is very striking in view of the large increase in the island's overall population.

The demographic factors underlying the differences among the five municipalities are made clearer in Table Two. The table shows, for the two quinquennial periods 1955-60 and 1960-65, the migratory balance¹ for

¹The "migratory balance" = the change in total population minus the "natural increase". (The "natural increase" = births minus deaths)
FIGURE 12. THE TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

Based on figures in Appendix One.
each municipality and for the island as a whole.

**TABLE 2**

**MIGRATORY BALANCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1955-60</th>
<th>1960-65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibiza</td>
<td>-386</td>
<td>+1,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>+145</td>
<td>+744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San José</td>
<td>-166</td>
<td>+218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Juan</td>
<td>-176</td>
<td>-227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Sulalia</td>
<td>-300</td>
<td>-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island Total</td>
<td>-883</td>
<td>+1,843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BARCELO PONS (1970: 293)

The figures for the island as a whole show the contribution of external migrations to the population changes described above. The differences of magnitude among the various municipalities reflect both the uneven distribution of external migrations and also the effects of internal migrations. However, the differences of sign among the municipalities clearly indicate the existence of substantial internal migrations.

The table confirms the impressions given by Figure Eleven and Figure Twelve, although it may be noted that Santa Sulalia did not receive a positive migratory balance for the period 1960-65 whereas San José did, despite the declining proportion of island population in the latter over the decade as a whole.

From the three indicators used here it is apparent that the internal migrations due to tourism on Ibiza form a microcosm of changes which are

---

The division into municipalities in this section is necessary to make use of official demographic statistics, but it should be noted that (though useful for indicating magnitudes) they do not show some important aspects of the changes. In particular, there are substantial migratory currents within as well as across the municipal boundaries, with a general decline in inland or cliff-bound coastal farming areas. In the flourishing municipality of San Antonio, for example, the cliff-bound village of San Mateo is undergoing extremely rapid depopulation (see pp. 48-50, above).
occurring for Spain as a whole. There has been an extraordinary economic and demographic boom in the touristic zones and a complementary decline in inland or other rural areas unsuited to intensive tourist development. It is also true, however, that tourist development has gradually spread from one part of Ibiza to the next, so that the position of the less developed zones may eventually change in absolute, if not in relative, terms. The further spread of metalled roads and other public amenities on the island may also tend to counter the present internal migrations to some extent at least.
CHAPTER 5

FARMING AND FISHING

5.1 GENERAL ECONOMIC OUTLINE

Ibiza's economic history prior to tourism has been outlined in a scattered fashion in previous chapters, and this section merely attempts to draw the threads together.

Ibiza was apparently prosperous and cosmopolitan in Punic and Roman times, with both agriculture and a number of industries - including salt manufacture, which continues today; and lead mining, ceramics and dye manufacture, which later fell into disuse. The island also seems to have been prosperous during the Arabic period, which saw the introduction of important innovations in agriculture such as new techniques of irrigation.¹

After the thirteenth century Catalan reconquest, Ibiza entered a long lean period. It was in a dangerous position between the Arab-dominated and Spanish Christian parts of the western Mediterranean. Its sparse population was insufficient for both effective defence of the island and labour-intensive agriculture. The Ibizans were thus forced to practise subsistence farming throughout the traditional period. The island's usually inadequate production of wheat was supplemented with grain from elsewhere, purchased with Ibizan salt. But any development of trade or industry beyond the essential minimum was inhibited by the effective isolation, which led to the consolidation of a traditional socio-economic

¹See FOSTER (1952) and SCHISLER (1964).
order. By the end of the eighteenth century, Ibiza had a much higher
density of population than did Spain as a whole. But a census report
of 1799, after indicating that about one twentieth of the families on
Ibiza were engaged in industrial manufacture, said that all of the
manufactured goods ("efectos manufacturados") were consumed either on
Ibiza or on neighbouring Formentera (BARCELÓ, 1964: 211). The report also
mentioned a severe shortage of wheat, and said that barley, cotton, and
various nuts and fruits were being exported.

Many of the traditional features persisted right through the intermediate
period up to the beginnings of tourism. But the decline of piracy and
the subsequent improvements in trade and communications brought about
substantial changes. There had formerly been a limited amount of
ship-building (of wooden vessels of various types) on Ibiza (both for
piracy and trade), and this became a flourishing industry between about
1770 and 1850, after which it gradually declined.¹ There were a number
of attempts at establishing quite large-scale manufacturing industries
on the island during the nineteenth century, but these eventually came to
nothing - for reasons which are discussed later. There were also notable
changes in agriculture. The traditional subsistence polyculture could
now give way to a greater emphasis on exchange and the development of
cash crops suited to the island's conditions, such as almonds and carobs.
This process was encouraged by Ibisan administrators from the end of the
eighteenth century onwards. They tended to be dismayed by the lack of
immediately-obvious results, as well as by the unsurprising resistance
of the peasant farmers to sweeping innovations from above, so that they
seem to have generally underestimated the real changes in their periodic
reports on the state of the island. Official statistics themselves show

¹ An almost complete list of vessels built on Ibiza, together with other
details, is given in COSTA RAMON (1944).
that important long-term changes took place between 1860 and 1960 at least. And a perusal of descriptions of agriculture on Ibiza, published at intervals over this one hundred year period, shows that the process was fairly continuous, with (for example) a gradual substitution of new tree crops for cereals and traditional tree crops.

Communications continued to improve in the present century. Mechanical innovations increasingly began to penetrate the Iblisan countryside, particularly after the civil war (which gave young Iblisan conscripts an opportunity to compare local techniques with those used elsewhere, as well as creating an unstable socio-economic situation which placed a premium on ingenuity and adaptability). The impact of the civil war on the economy of the Balearic Islands as a whole is shown dramatically in the table on the sectoral distribution of labour, below. There was a large temporary increase in the proportion of active population, due to immigration from the mainland; a recession in industry; and a correspondingly large increase in the numbers working in the primary sector.

The civil war in fact temporarily interrupted a general trend in the Balearics towards a greater amount of employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, caused (like the trend elsewhere in Western Europe) by a combination of increasing industrialisation and less labour-intensive farming methods, but greatly intensified by mass tourism in recent years.

TABLE 3
TRENDS IN ACTIVE POPULATION AND SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION
(PROVINCE OF BALEARES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Sector</th>
<th>Secondary Sector</th>
<th>Tertiary Sector</th>
<th>Proportion of Total Population Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>42.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BARCSLO PONS (1970: 163)
All figures are in percentages
A notable feature of the history of the Balearic Islands is the time-lag between the introduction of innovations in the mainland, then Mallorca, then Ibiza, and finally Formentera. Industry and tourism on Ibiza are no exceptions to the rule. As described above, there was very little industry on the island prior to tourism, apart from that of small scale artisans. Consequently, there had been very little transfer of employment from the primary to the other two sectors until the past twenty years. Even in 1965, the proportion of active population in the primary sector on Ibiza and Formentera (45.6 per cent) was almost double that on Mallorca (26.2 per cent) and Menorca (22.7 per cent). The following table on the sectoral distribution of employment on Ibiza and Formentera in 1965 does show, however, the emergence of substantial secondary and tertiary sectors. This was due almost entirely to tourism, which has promoted the development of construction and other ancillary industries on Ibiza, apart from having a direct effect on the tertiary sector.

**TABLE 4**

THE SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE POPULATION IBIZA AND FORMENTERA (1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active Population</th>
<th>Percentage in Each Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Sector</td>
<td>7,468</td>
<td>45.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Sector</td>
<td>4,217</td>
<td>25.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Sector</td>
<td>4,697</td>
<td>28.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BARCELO PONS (1970: 178)

BARCELO PONS (1970: 174 and 178) has suggested that the persistence (in 1965) of a high proportion of islanders engaged in agriculture on Ibiza

---

1 The denotations of the terms "primary sector", "secondary sector" and "tertiary sector" (as used here) are explained in Appendix Two.
and Formentera is related to the high degree of dispersal of the country population and also to the relatively even distribution of farmland by ownership (described below). He states that in 1965 there had been little movement from the primary to tertiary occupations on the part of the islanders themselves, saying that the new jobs from tourism had mostly been filled by peninsular immigrants. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 174) However, this is certainly not true of Ibiza in 1971, whether or not it may have been so in 1965. It is now difficult to find young adults whose primary occupation is farming, and the active population in agriculture is ageing very rapidly. The figures from the 1970 Census are not yet available but, even for 1965, Barcelo's own figures indicate that only 30.7 per cent of active males between 20 and 29 years of age, and only 16.6 per cent of active females of the same ages, were then employed in the primary sector. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 206) These figures indicate that a considerable transfer of young people from the primary to other sectors had already taken place by 1965. No-one acquainted with Ibiza in 1971 could doubt that this process has intensified over the past few years.

While the dispersal of the country population and the relatively even division of ownership may have had some effect, it seems fairly certain that the major differences in the 1965 figures for Mallorca and Ibiza are attributable to the time-lag in the development of mass tourism and industry on Ibiza.

Leaving aside questions about statistics, there can be no doubt that mass tourism on Ibiza has brought about one of the most fundamental changes in the island's economic history. Until about twenty years ago, the island was almost entirely dependent on the primary sector. But now Ibiza is commonly said to have a "monocultivo del turismo" (an economy based on a single "crop", i.e. tourism). While this is still an exaggeration, tourism has certainly replaced farming as the island's basic economic activity, and all others are now of secondary or ancillary importance, at least for the present.
### 5.2 THE PATTERN OF LAND USE

#### TABLE 5

**LAND USE ON IBIZA IN 1860 AND 1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>1860 Area in Hectares</th>
<th>1860 % of Total Area</th>
<th>1960 Area in Hectares</th>
<th>1960 % of Total Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultivated Land</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dry Farming:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals/Légumes</td>
<td>16,526</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>9,375</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almonds</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5,584</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carobs</td>
<td>1,729</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7,989</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2,201</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olives</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vines</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Fruit</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (dry)</td>
<td>20,874</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>26,522</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wet Farming:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (wet)</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1,427</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (cult.)</td>
<td>21,331</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>27,949</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uncultivated Land</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Forest</td>
<td>1,717</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>14,791</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krial</td>
<td>15,323</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>4,006</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monte bajo b</td>
<td>11,676</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>7,213</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Lagoons</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>3,998</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>1,693</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (uncult.)</td>
<td>33,240</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>27,704</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Areas Surveyed</td>
<td>54,571</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>55,653</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Uncultivated land, rough grazing or waste.

bScrub or matorral.

**Sources:**

Urech Cifre, Casimiro: Estudios sobre la riqueza territorial de las islas Baleares dedicados a las Cortes constituyentes (Palma, F. Guasp, 1869); and Catastro de Riqueza Rústica (Ministerio de Hacienda) - extract published in ESTADISTICA (1963).

Table Five shows the pattern of land use on Ibiza in the years 1860 and 1960, for which detailed data are available. There are some differences between the classifications used in the two sources, so that cautious
interpretation is required. But the table does show some notable changes over the hundred year period between the surveys, and these are elaborated in the following sections as a useful basis for understanding the impact of tourism on previous trends in farming on Ibiza.

5.3 THE USE OF UNCULTIVATED LAND

About half of Ibiza is uncultivated land, roughly equally divided between pine forest and garrigue. In some parts of Spain, the forest land forms part of a common patrimony as in the Sorian village of "Ramosierra" described by Kenny (1966). But the thirteenth century division of Ibiza among the conquerors and their successors resulted in virtually all of the land being privately owned, including the pine forest. Each inherited farm or plot of land normally included a mixture of terraced fields, garrigue and forest.

In the past, the uncultivated land was a major economic resource. An eleventh-century Arab writer, Al-Makkari, reported that Ibiza "provides most of Africa with wood and salt" and that "the principal industry of its inhabitants consists in making charcoal which they embark for Barcelona and other points in the Mediterranean" (fuller quote given above, Chapter One). The trade in wood and charcoal remained important until the beginning of tourism in the 1950s. There was periodic concern over the excessive felling of trees, and permission now needs to be given by forestry officials. The pines were particularly important, providing raw wood, charcoal, resin and tiles (strips of pine-wood used as torches). In the early 1960s, some 3,000 metric tons of raw pine-wood were still being produced annually, of which about one-third was converted into fruit-crates, most of the wood and crates being exported to the citrus-fruit area of Gandía on the mainland. The savina (Juniperus phoenicia) was also exploited (some 20,000 of its straight saplings being sent each year to Mallorca, in addition to those used
on Ibiza), the main use being as stakes for young fruit trees. The forest and garrigue were also exploited in numerous other ways. Lime was made in kilns. Bees were kept in stone hives among the pines. Rabbits and birds (trapped and shot) provided the luxury of a meal with meat. Various uncultivated plants (e.g. wild greens, asparagus and fungi) and herbs (e.g. rosemary, thyme, basil, and fennel) added nourishment and flavour to their food and drink. In fact, the uncultivated land provided the self-sufficient country people with materials for their houses, furniture, boats, fuel, medicines, clothing, tools and machines; as well as enhancing their diet.

According to Table Five, above, there was an enormous increase in the land area classified as pine forest (pinar) between the two surveys - from 5.2 per cent of the total area of uncultivated land in 1860 to 53.4 per cent in 1960, despite a drop in the total area uncultivated. The increase in pine forest was apparently at the expense of those areas classified as erial, monte bajo and barren (nulo). Some allowance must be made for possibly different methods of classification. But some increase in the pine forest in the recent period is apparent from the oral accounts and my own observations in the San José area. One day, for example, an elderly man tried to point out a small shrine on a nearby hill-top, but he was unable to do so because of the pines covering the hill - he was very struck by this, saying that not many years previously the hill-top had been completely bare of trees. Moreover, almost all of the pines in the San José area are short and slender - this is partly due to the thinness of soil there, but also testifies to their recent growth in most cases. The following quotation refers to the sale of a large pine tree in the

---

There is even a factory in the capital town which produces traditional Ibiza herbal liqueurs (e.g. "fricsola" and "hierbas ibicencas"), both for local consumption and for export.

2 Most of the machines used by the farmers were made almost entirely of wood and stone until quite recently (some are still in use) - including water pumps, flour mills, olive presses and wine presses.
San Miguel area in the early 1950s:

"... i havia de tenir més de dos palms al cap més prim. Els pagesos Parlaven de la futura víctima amb indiferència. Sabien que s'acabaven els grans pins, que cada cua necessitava molt de temps per a fer-se, però no veien això els diners que en donarien."

"... and it must be more than two palms wide at the thinnest end. The peasants... Spoke of the future victim with indifference. They knew that the great pine trees were coming to an end, that each one took a long time to grow, but they had eyes only for the money which they would be given for it."

(Catalan. VILLANGOMEZ LLOBET, 1956: 72)

At the time this was written, however, the trend in the exploitation of the pine forest had already reversed. The market for soft wood of the quality produced from the Ibisan pines (Pinus halepensis) was declining, as cardboard and plastic replaced it for crates and similar purposes. Pressure lamps (quinquèa) and, later, electricity (still generally referred to simply as "la llum" - "the light") replaced teules and other traditional forms of lighting. In recent years, butane gas has been replacing wood and charcoal for heating and cooking. Some of the traditional wooden fishing boats (llauts) are still being made, but iron, steel, plastic, fibre-glass and other artificial materials are progressively taking over the many former uses of wood on Ibiza. These changes form part of a long slow process during the intermediate period, in which the subsistence life-style of the islanders gave way to greater involvement in trade and exchange.

The country people still make some use of the forest and garrigue. The stone bee-hives are still in use in some places. Straight saplings are cut for estalons (stakes), and small savines are used as Christmas trees. Hunting is a favourite pastime. There are excursions to the woods in the autumn to look for the elusive and highly-prized pabrassos (Lactarius

1 A measure still in common use in the country, the pala (roughly the span of an outstretched hand) is generally counted as one-fifth of a metre.

Note also the (typically) divergent viewpoints of the peasants and the author (who was then the local school-teacher, and is a highly-respected literary figure on Ibiza).
sanguiflum), and other plants and herbs still give the islanders' cuisine a distinctive traditional savour. But tourism has greatly accelerated the transition referred to above and, in particular, it has completely removed the financial incentive for exploiting the natural products of the uncultivated land. This land has, in fact, undergone a fundamental change of function - from economic production to the provision of scenery and recreation. Other factors (especially the technical innovations) have contributed to the change, but the new functions are derived directly from the affluence and new attitudes introduced by tourism.

5.4 DRY FARMING

Dry (seco) farming is the predominant form on Ibiza, as on the other Balearic Islands, and it involves more than nine-tenths of the total area under cultivation. The following paragraphs contain brief descriptions of

4 There was a large forest-fire in the San José area during the period of fieldwork. It lasted for several days, destroying a large expanse of fairly dense forest which contained some of the largest trees in the area. The authorities took it very seriously (a number of houses were threatened by the blaze), and a special aeroplane was brought over to the island to help the troops fighting the fire. The mayor of San José officially requested local men to assist. Technically, they were legally obliged to comply with the request, but in fact only a small number turned up (including the staff of the municipal hall, some other local men and a few foreign residents and hippies). I was told that, formerly, all of the able-bodied men in the district would have taken part, but that now nearly all of the younger men were too busy working in hotels and other touristic businesses, from which they could not take time off to fight forest fires, even had they so wished. There was no shortage of sight-seers, however, who included both islanders and tourists, forming a long line of parked cars on the nearest main road. At the scene of the blaze, the men were grumbling that not even the owner of the trees being saved had bothered to come to help! They added that, anyway, the trees were no longer worth anything by comparison with the earnings from tourism. It was now too much trouble to sell wood. They had to send for the "delegat d'es bosco" (forestry official) to decide which trees might be sold - and even then a tax had to be paid for each tree felled - besides which, they said, it was very hard work.

2 Mass tourism is often criticised (mainly by urban people), both in England and in Spain, for "destroying" the countryside. But there is no doubt that it is in fact contributing to the restoration of Ibiza's forest land in several ways: firstly, by removing the economic need to fell as many trees as possible; secondly, by stimulating an aesthetic appreciation of the local scenery; and, thirdly, by prompting local officials to introduce planning regulations, for a mixture of aesthetic and economic reasons.
the major dry farm crops, clarifying the data in Table Five, above. Similar sections on irrigated farming, livestock farming and fishing follow. They reveal the dramatic effects of tourism (as well as those of prior factors) on the primary sector - which are not apparent to the casual visitor to whom the island's countryside presents seemingly changeless features: terraced fields, unpruned trees and old peasant women with straw hats, pigtails and traditional dresses.

(i) Ground crops: - The proportion of cultivated land used for cereals and legumes (the most important ground crops) dropped by more than half between 1860 and 1960, according to the data in Table Five. This drop reflects the transfer from subsistence to market crops during the intermediate and touristic periods.

Wheat (es blat) is one of the most traditional crops on Ibiza. Nevertheless, it is recognised by the country people to be the most demanding and difficult ground crop, and agriculturalists consider the island to be generally unsuited to wheat-growing because of its dryness (particularly during the critical months of April and May). But Ibisan farmers continue to grow wheat for several reasons. Perhaps the most important of these is that many country people still bake their own bread in special round traditional stone ovens, and they prefer this bread to that produced by the commercial bakeries which now exist. Barley (a'ordi) is better suited to the island's climate, since it ripens earlier in the year. Ibiza produces a substantial surplus of barley, which it exports to the national market (wheat, in contrast, is imported). Beans (ses faves) are also quite well suited to Ibisan conditions, and they provide a very

1 Statistics of Ibisan wheat yields (low) and national comparisons are given in BARCELÓ PONS (1970: 193).

2 New houses, however, usually have modern electric- or gas-ovens, which are not suitable for bread-making. And some of the younger islanders favour labour-saving devices and convenience foods, which they can now afford to buy. Thus the area used for wheat may be expected to decline further (though not simply for the former economic reasons).
useful crop to alternate with the traditional cereals, since they improve
the soil, adding humus and nitrogen.¹ There are a variety of other
ground crops on Ibiza, but they are of less importance.²

Cereals and légumes are grown on Ibiza mainly on terraces dotted
at fairly regular intervals with almond, carob and fig trees. While it
produces a picturesque landscape, this practice is condemned by Spanish
agriculturalists on the grounds that it diminishes the possible yields
and that it impedes the use of machinery. Agricultural advisers are
attempts to discourage the production of wheat, in general, and are
promoting the alternation of barley and légumes where the land is suitable.
Some of the farmers in the San José area have adopted this system, although
very few can offer clear reasons for it. Other farmers, however, appear
to have abandoned the traditional systems of rotation³ without adopting
a new one, sometimes sowing the same crop for several years running.

There is also a tendency to abandon ground crops altogether, since
they are demanding on labour (even when machines are also used). Each year
at present, more land is being left uncultivated for this reason, although
some young people in the San José area do help their parents on the farms
in winter and during the harvest in summer (if they can find some free time).
If the abandonment of ground crops were accompanied with increased care of
the tree crops, the cash yield would be little affected (or might even
increase), but this is not the case at present.

In short, the farming of cereals and légumes on Ibiza is at present

¹However, the beans suffer from the devastating attack of a parasitic plant
(as magraneta) in many parts of Ibiza. The only known cure is rather
complex, and the traditional weed-killing methods of ploughing, harrowing and
leaving the land fallow do not kill the parasite. (SERRES IBACH, 1962: 9-11)

²There is a table showing the relative importance of the various ground

³The commonest traditional system was a three- (or sometimes four-)
field pattern ("a terzos" - "by thirds"), rotating mainly wheat, barley and fallow.
beset with problems, stemming partly from the difficulties in changing from subsistence to specialised market farming and in learning and accepting new techniques, but crucially enhanced by the increased affluence (and the consequent shortage of young farmers and farm labourers) produced by tourism.

(ii) Tree crops: - Almond trees (metiller) at present cover about one-fifth of the total cultivated land on Ibiza. In early spring, the countryside is dominated by their pale pink blossom. They are mentioned in ancient references to Ibiza. They are also the main ingredient of the country people's salsa de Nadal (Christmas sauce), a traditional dish offered to visitors over the Christmas period. And numerous people assured me that: "Antes d'es turisme, es metille es sempre era sa riquesa d'Ibissa.» ("Before tourism, the almonds were always the riches of Ibiza."). Nevertheless, they were not in fact of major economic importance until comparatively recently. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Sociedad de Amigos del País strongly promoted the cultivation of almonds on the Balearic Islands, but it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that they began to be extensively adopted on Ibiza (See Table Five). Most of the almonds are exported, forming a very important source of cash income prior to tourism. And an agriculturalist has stated that the almond tree is perfectly suited to the ecological conditions of the island (SERRIES URBACH, 1961: 146). However, the tree requires careful and regular attention if it is to survive, and both the present "Agente de Extensión Agraria" (Official agricultural adviser) and agriculturalists from the "Promoción Profesional Obrera" (an organisation on a national scale, which gives peripatetic courses on a variety of topics for adults) - who were giving courses on the care of tree-crops in each village on Ibiza in turn during the period of fieldwork - separately estimated that about half of the existing almond trees on the island are either dying or else are in imminent danger. (Some dead trees, and others with unpicked fruit can be seen in the vicinity of San José.) There are two
main reasons. Firstly, competition in the world market keeps prices too low for Ibisan farmers, because of the relatively low yields obtainable by their traditional methods. And secondly (again), the shortage of labour due to tourism is a crucial difficulty, especially for elderly farmers.

Unlike the almond, the carob (es garrover) is a robust tree which gives regularly good yields without requiring much attention. (Self-seeded carobs may be seen in the fringes of the woods around San José.) Most of the island's production is processed and exported (principally to England). The rest is used mainly as a local (equine) animal food. There was an enormous increase in the proportion of land used for carobs on Ibiza between 1860 and 1960 (See Table Five). The impact of tourism is likely to be less marked than in the case of the almond, since the carob will survive even if completely neglected. Market factors are therefore more crucial, and they have so far been quite favourable to carob production on Ibiza.

The fig trees (es figueres) on Ibiza have a striking appearance, because of the curious traditional alternative to pruning generally used for fruit trees by the local farmers. As each branch becomes so long that there is a risk of its breaking under its own weight, wooden props (estalons) are inserted. The tree therefore spreads out horizontally, often getting very large, with dozens (and occasionally even a hundred or more) of the wooden props. Agriculturalists condemn the practice for wasting space and for

1 One senyor (gentleman, i.e. one who does not need to work with his hands) in San José had lost his ajoral (share-farmer), and had been unable to find a replacement. In the summer of 1969, therefore, he offered half of the tree crop (a mitges, by halves: the traditional payment for merely collecting a tree crop was una part de quatre, one part in four) to anyone who would harvest it on his 80-hectare farm. But the crop was not collected, and went to waste. Other land-owners in the area are having similar difficulties, since the collection of almonds takes place at the height of the tourist season.

2 The carob is less appreciated than the almond on Ibiza. Its fruit look like long black broad beans when ripe, and they have a curious sweet flavour. Many Ibisans had, unwillingly, to eat them or use them for flour after the civil war, so that "mener carroves" (eating carobs) symbolises "misery" to them.
preserving poor wood (SARRRES UBACH, 1961: 147). But the green umbrellas of the fig-trees are attractive and photogenic for tourists, and they provide shade in the summer. In any event, figs have been largely replaced by other, preferred, pig foods in recent years, and there has been a consequent decline in their market value. The shortage of labour also affects their care and harvesting, and it is not uncommon to see figs left to rot on the trees. Thus, a combination of modern farming methods and tourism has reversed the former trend towards the expansion of fig growing on Ibiza (Table Five shows that the area occupied by figs had almost doubled between 1860 and 1960).

Two other traditional crops are now of much less importance. The olive (s'olivera) grows naturally on Ibiza, but the fruit is badly affected by grubs. The trees, once established, are given almost no attention by the farmers. The rather bitter olives are consumed by the farmers themselves, either pickled or in the form of oil. The oil is produced locally in huge traditional wooden presses (trulls), whose use is still rewarded in kind (at least in San José). The olive, of considerable use to subsistence farmers, now has very little economic significance, and most of the olive oil used on Ibiza is imported. On Ibiza, the grape vines (ses vinyes) are rarely planted in serried ranks as elsewhere. Instead, single lines of grape vines adorn the edges of a few of the terraces, almost like hedges. The grapes are pressed and converted into wine by traditional methods. The wine is consumed almost entirely by its producers, who take considerable pride in it, sometimes keeping it for feast-days in the event of a small yield. This is increasingly the case, and most local people blame a sustained drought for the decline in wine production, but the convenience of fairly cheap (though not in any way similar in taste) wine bought from shops is also a factor.

---

1 Dried figs have been exported from Ibiza for human consumption since classical times, but their major use has been as food for the island's pigs, of which each farm had (and usually still has) at least one, to be killed in the autumn, providing meat and sausages throughout the winter. Any surplus of figs was exported to the national market.
5.5 IRRIGATION

Water is a treasured commodity on Ibiza. Its use in farming can transform the yearly net cash yield of a piece of land from 3,200 to more than 50,000 pesetas per hectare - a sixteenfold increase (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 203-4). The feixes near the capital town are rapidly vanishing beneath new apartment blocks as the town expands, but elsewhere small plots of irrigated land (regadiu) are being made wherever water can be found. Less than one-tenth of the total cultivated area on Ibiza is irrigated at present, but the proportion is rising steadily.† This statistic may tend to under-represent the importance of irrigation on Ibiza, if the much higher yield of irrigated land is taken into account. Thus, in 1962, only 7.2 per cent of the total cultivated area was irrigated but, of the 4,897 farms on the island at that time, no less than 2,125 (43 per cent) were irrigated. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 192)

Most irrigated land on Ibiza is used for ground crops, which include potatoes, maize, alfalfa (and other forage plants), together with a wide variety of vegetables of lesser importance such as tomatoes, lettuce, peppers, caviiflowers, aubergines, radishes and peanuts. Fruit trees (especially apricots and citrus fruits) are also of importance, and are favourably suited to the island's conditions.

This type of farming can be very profitable, with resulting incomes which compare favourably with those derived from tourism. However, it is also more technically demanding than traditional dry farming. The problem from the viewpoint of an agronomist, struggling against the traditional techniques of the Ibisan peasant farmer, has been expressed in the following eloquent cri de coeur:

† The area under irrigation in the Balearics as a whole rose from 15.8 thousand hectares in 1960 (BARCELO PONS, 1969: 25) to 16.7 thousand hectares in 1970 (MINISTERIO DE AGRICULTURA, 1973).
The human element may well be the most important factor influencing irrigation farming on Ibiza at present, as Serres says. But the position of irrigation at present also provides a curious illustration of the complex group of factors affecting modern farming on Ibiza - as is shown in the paragraphs which follow.

The expansion of irrigation has resulted from the diffusion of technical innovations. The Arabic methods of raising water - by capillary action in *ses feixes*, and by *afines* (mule-driven wooden pumps) elsewhere - were used throughout the traditional period. Since the mid-nineteenth century, they have been progressively displaced (although the traditional methods are still in use in places) - first by wind-mills and then by a succession of different types of motor-driven pumps, of which rotary electric pumps are the latest. Many wells are still dug laboriously and dangerously by hand, with the use of explosives if necessary. But in 1971 a modern high-speed drilling rig was imported and it began sinking very deep wells inland. A very large number of new wells are appearing each year.

---

1The vision contained in the quotation is of a new set of fruit trees cultivated along traditional lines (i.e. unpruned, and using *catalones*), which this author systematically criticizes elsewhere.
Tourism has affected the situation in several ways. Firstly, it has greatly increased local demand for vegetables and fruit, and it has provided many more farmers with the necessary capital (e.g.s. from land sales or seasonal employment) to invest in electricity, wells and new irrigation systems. But, secondly, it has also created a massive alternative demand for water - both to supply the homes and new bathrooms of the suddenly affluent islanders and, perhaps more crucial, to provide for the large requirements of package-tour hotels and other commercial enterprises. In fact, Ibiza is consequently facing its first ecological crisis.

By 1970-71, housewives in the capital town could no longer use the tap water for drinking - and their standard joke was that they no longer needed to put any salt in the soup, because it was provided free in the tap water. At the same time, the farmers in the fertile area of San Jorge were finding that the water from their wells was becoming increasingly saline. The same thing was happening in all of the low-lying areas of Ibiza - i.e. in those areas with the most intensive irrigation farming. Meanwhile, around the village of San José, high above sea-level, the ancient wells and springs had progressively dried up, and new wells were having to be sunk deeper each year. The village people usually blamed "the drought" ("la sequía") for this, but some also blamed the new hotels for using so much water - and it does seem likely that the drying-up of the wells around San José is related to the salination of the wells nearer sea-level.

The problem has prompted several hydrological studies of the island. A team from the "Servicio Hidrológico de la Delegación Provincial del Ministerio de Obras Públicas"¹ came to the conclusion that the massive

amount of water now being pumped to the surface is depleting the island's fresh water reserves faster than they can be replenished by rainfall.

The significance of this finding was summarised as follows, by the island's newspaper:

"Al parecer, según las previsiones del Plan Provincial de Ordenación de Baleares, la isla de Ibiza puede seguir creciendo al ritmo actual solamente hasta el año 1975 ... Poco crecimiento la queda, pues, a nuestra isla. ¿Razón del plazo tan corto? Según los técnicos redactores del Plan, los recursos de agua serán insuficientes pasado 1975. El agua puede suponer, pues, un colapso total en el crecimiento de nuestra isla."


Similar problems of salination of wells are being encountered on the larger island of Mallorca, it seems (BAHCKLO PONS, 1970: 191). Thus, with an irony which is familiar elsewhere, the technical innovations - which have made both tourism and (consequently) increased irrigation possible on the islands - are also leading to a possible ecological imbalance there. The difficulties, of course, should not be exaggerated, and various solutions have been proposed including more "scientific" exploitation of the natural water reserves and the establishment of desalination plants. And, at present, planning restrictions are being introduced on the siting and water-supplies of new hotels, while further restrictions on the drilling and use of private wells have also been proposed. But the cost of fresh water on Ibiza is still likely to increase rapidly in the near future, perhaps limiting the development of irrigation farming, and reducing its present yields in areas affected by salination (and, of course, the implications are not confined to farming).

All this also illustrates the interdependence of different aspects of change on Ibiza: e.g. the diffusion of technical innovations, the increased involvement in a market economy, the growth of tourism, changes
in local demand and investment, the introduction of new forms of administration and planning restrictions, and the ecological balance (without mentioning other aspects such as education - the increasing complexity of farming puts a premium on both general skills such as literacy and particular skills like modern pruning methods or the use of plastic tunnels for growing early tomatoes).

5.6 LIVESTOCK FARMING

Very few farms on Ibiza have more than a few animals of any given type. Even sheep and goats are rarely kept in flocks of more than twenty or so. Thus, the pattern of the traditional period of each farm keeping enough animals for its own requirements of meat and draught animals has persisted, despite the appearance of commercial butchers and the official advice on "rationalization". In addition to the larger animals, most country families (and in the past some town families as well) keep hens, rabbits and pigeons, among other things.

The number of draught animals on Ibiza has been declining over the past half-century in accordance with the trend elsewhere, because of the gradual mechanization of farming (which the labour-shortage and affluence due to tourism have greatly stimulated). Although the local agricultural adviser argues that they could be profitable, the number of sheep and goats is also declining - looking after them was traditionally a job for children (now at school) or the elderly (now otherwise fully occupied unless they are invalids). The all-edible pig has lost the central importance

---

1 There were the following animals on farms on Ibiza in 1955: 813 cattle, 15,563 sheep, 8,571 goats, 5,984 pigs, 1,659 mules, 223 donkeys, and 2,195 horses, according to BARCELO PONS (1970: 381).

2 Some families in San José also keep pheasants, of curious origin. A few years ago, a foreign resident bought some pheasants and employed a local man to rear them, after which they were released into the woods to provide game. The local men apparently made short work of them, but the man rearing them had also reared some for himself, then sold them to acquaintances, who have since reared more in their backyards, safe from the local shotguns.
which it had in subsistence farming, when the matances (pig-killings — literally just "killings") at the end of the autumn were the highlight of the farming year, with a long round of neighbourly hospitality and feasting. But both pigs and cattle can be tended in a small space, with reasonable economy of labour, and both local and world demand for their meat has risen in recent years, so that the number of pigs and cattle on Ibiza is tending to increase.

In general, the market situation is therefore favourable for livestock farming on Ibiza at present. There has been some consequent increase in the numbers of pigs and cattle, but a number of factors have inhibited any rapid expansion so far. First, although tourism has provided more available capital, the heavy initial investment and the slow returns which characterise modern livestock farming deter investors who can find more attractive opportunities more directly related to tourism. Second, there is the shortage of labour and its high cost relative to other parts of Spain. This cost-disadvantage in Baleares has been increased by government policies on meat prices, according to ANGUERA SANSO (1969: 47-8). And, third, the small-scale, essentially complementary nature of livestock farming on Ibiza, based on traditional subsistence patterns, makes competition in the national market difficult. There has been little restructuring so far, and the even distribution of land and the typical pattern of owner-farming make restructuring difficult — although it may take place slowly, as new generations inherit land in which they have little interest (except for its cash value).

5.7 FISHING

Fishing might be expected to be of prime importance to an isolated island like Ibiza. But, at least since the thirteenth century, it has been only a complementary occupation. The main reason in the past was
probably the piracy in the western Mediterranean, which made fishing a
dangerous activity. Even by the end of the nineteenth century, however,
there were still only about five hundred full-time fishermen on Ibiza,
using about 120 fishing vessels (NAVARRO, 1901: 89). Most of them lived
in the district of Sa Penna in the capital town. By 1958, their number had
once more dwindled to 358 (MASSUTI, 1961: 57).

Although there were few full-time fishermen, however, almost all of
the country people (in the San José area at least) were part-time
fishermen, often making their own boats. Some of the country people had
a small house in one of the caleas (bays), where they could stay during
the fishing season which followed the grain harvest, returning to their
farms to collect the almonds and olives towards the end of the summer.
After the autumn ploughing and sowing came the season for fishing for
squid (calamars). Although it was only a secondary activity for most
country people, then, it provided an important element of their diet, since
meat-eating was a luxury and was confined mainly to the winter months and
early spring, following the autumnal matances.

During the present century, artificial fibres and motors have largely
replaced the natural fibres, sails and oars; but the fishing techniques
on Ibiza are otherwise much the same as in previous centuries. This is
scarcely surprising, in view of the ageing population of fishermen on the
Balearics in general: in 1958, only 18 per cent of the fishermen in the
province were under 30 years of age; 48 per cent were between 30 and 50;
and 32 per cent were over 50 years old (MASSUTI, 1969: 51). Very few
young people are following in their fathers' footsteps on Ibiza, and many
older men have recently abandoned fishing for hotel work, or to take
tourists out for boat excursions.

A shortage of fish has also developed in recent years. The Balearic
waters have been over-fished for some time, despite the traditional local
techniques and the dwindling popularity of full-time fishing among the
islanders. The principal reason seems to be the large catches of trawlers, especially those from the mainland. This, at least, is the argument of most local people. The officials, while partly in agreement, also put some blame on a number of techniques employed mainly by part-time country fishermen: in particular the use of nets in shallow water; fishing with dynamite\(^1\); and aqua-lung fishing (introduced by foreign visitors, but now also practised by some local youths, with great success).\(^2\)

Most of the men in San José (of all ages) still go out fishing, with their traditional llauts (small fishing vessels) and xalanes (rowing boats), or in newer craft of commercial make. The number of such boats is increasing rapidly, and there is a shortage of suitable spaces for the traditional cubical boat-houses on the coast around San José. But they now go fishing almost entirely for pleasure, and not for the former economic reasons.\(^3\)

Even though the price of fish in the Balearics is higher than in any other Spanish province (Mассuti, 1969: 58), tourism has thus altered the primary function of fishing (like that of the forest) on Ibiza from the provision of food or income to recreation. It may also be noted that in the case of fishing, as in the use of fresh water, modern techniques are threatening natural resources - although this problem is not so particular to Ibiza, nor so directly related to tourism, as is the water shortage.

\(^1\)This has long been a popular technique. See e.g. Benavides (1932).

\(^2\)All of these methods are illegal, with heavy penalties for dynamite fishing (imprisonment), lesser penalties for aqua-lung fishing, and unofficial toleration of the traditional net-fishing.

\(^3\)The attitude of the older islanders to recreation still often reflects the economic emphasis of the past, however. After an excursion fishing or looking for pabrellas (edible fungi), a large haul prompts the comment that "we have had lots of fun!" ("hem fet molta de vega!"), while a small catch prompts the opposite comment, however pleasant the excursion. And they are astonished to learn that English anglers often return fish to the water instead of eating them. Conversely, non-productive recreations which cost money (e.g. dancing in night-clubs) are regarded as "tirar sous" ("throwing away money"). The younger islanders, however, (especially those in full-time employments of a non-farming nature) tend to dissociate pleasure from production to a much greater extent.
5.8 CONDITIONING FACTORS

Various factors influencing the changes on Ibiza have been mentioned in preceding sections. Here, an attempt is made to disentangle the major factors affecting farming in particular, although some of the points have wider implications as well. The most important causes of the changes discussed in this chapter may be summarised under three heads:

(i) the expansion of communications,

(ii) technical innovations, and

(iii) mass tourism.

During the traditional period on Ibiza, none of the three was of much significance for the purposes of this analysis. In the intermediate period, the expansion of communications was initially most important, followed by the diffusion of technical innovations in the town and country on Ibiza, with these innovations becoming very important in the country during the present century. The touristic period has seen the continuation (and intensification) of the first two factors, but it has been dominated by the third causal factor - the development of mass tourism.

The preceding sections of this chapter have described the various products of the primary sector on Ibiza and the impact on them of the three causal factors. This section describes the major circumstances on Ibiza which have conditioned the changes brought about by tourism in particular. It is seen that, although the island's circumstances cannot be considered causal factors (since they are, by definition, static), they have helped to shape the changes and to determine their magnitude (e.g., where tourism has developed on the island, and the magnitude of the transfer of young people from farming to other occupations - which could, for example, be alternatively filled by immigrants).
(a) Ecological factors

(i) Climate: - An alleged change in the island's climate was one of the commonest reasons mentioned to me on Ibiza (especially by country people) for the decline in agricultural production in recent years, particularly in the case of traditional dry farming crops such as cereals, figs, vines and almonds. It was said that in recent years there had been an unusually severe drought. It was not worth planting seeds and watching the young plants shrivel in the sun. This was why all the young people were leaving farming, it was added (although other reasons were also put forward). It was the almost invariable explanation for the decrease in home-made wine. People in San José mentioned the drought as the primary reason for the drying-up of local wells and springs, and one man even attributed the disappearance of the old custom of dancing at these communal water sources (the dances took place on certain feast-days in the summer) to the drought. In other words, the islanders were attributing a causal significance to the climate (or rather the alleged change in the climate) comparable to that of tourism.

To test their explanation, I obtained rainfall figures for the period 1955-1970 from the meteorological office at the island's airport. The results are given in Appendix Three. My interpretation of the evidence is that the islanders tend to use an alleged climatic change as a convenient neutral explanation of agricultural decline. The rainfall figures show no notable alteration in the past decade.

They do confirm, however, the climate's perennial unreliability. Although the lack of extreme temperatures makes the island suitable for the cultivation of a wide variety of crops, the intermittent and unreliable rainfall - concentrated generally, but not invariably, in heavy storms in the autumn and early spring - makes the harvest of all crops irregular and uncertain. Moreover, the Ibisans' belief that the climate has changed
may well be converting an objectively static factor into a subjectively causal factor, further stimulating the rural exodus of people of all ages, for example.

Thus the climate is definitely an important circumstance conditioning the changes in the island's economic structure. Firstly, its unreliability limits the profitability of dry farming, while its dryness restricts the expansion of irrigation. Secondly, there are the psychological effects of its unreliability. Any bad year, even though not abnormal, tends to have a stronger (and more lasting) impact than the intervening average or good years. And the climate may thus become a subjectively dynamic factor. And, thirdly, although the climate is not very favourable for farming, it is extremely well suited to tourism (excepting the consequent scarcity of fresh water), constituting one of the island's chief attractions.

(ii) Soil and topography: - The soil is an important limiting factor for agriculture on Ibiza. A detailed analysis is given in Serres Ubach (1961: 142-3). The general level of intrinsic fertility is rather low. With careful husbandry - in particular the use of appropriate fertilisers and sufficient water - the fertility may be raised to a fairly high level on many parts of the island, but these requirements are rarely met in practice. Hence the Ibisan farmers start with a heavy handicap when their produce has to compete in the same markets with that from more fertile (or more scientifically exploited) regions.

On the other hand, the island's geological characteristics (like the climate) are as advantageous to tourism as they are disadvantageous to farming. The mountainous profile and the thin soil on the higher ground have limited the area under cultivation to about a half of the surface area - while this reduces agricultural production, it enhances the island's scenery, with its rolling pine- and grass-covered slopes, impressive cliffs, and picturesque coves (although, of course, the high cliffs have so far been an economic disadvantage to the northern part of the island); its open terraced fields; and its scattered lime-washed farmsteads.
(iii) Geographical location: - Ibiza's geographical position has been at some times favourable and at other times unfavourable to the island's economy. When trade in the Mediterranean has flourished, then so usually has Ibiza. When there has been piracy or war, however, the island has suffered drastically, since it has never been fully self-sufficient even with the traditional subsistence style of farming (because of the poor yields of the traditional cereals and the reliance in the past on the island's salt production). In general, the island's location has been an economic disadvantage since the Catalan reconquest: first, by limiting communications until recently (and thus also limiting the island's agricultural market, as well as producing a time-lag in technical - and in other - changes); and second, by putting any industrial development at a transport cost disadvantage compared with the mainland.

In contrast, Ibiza's geographical position is well suited to the exploitation of mass tourism. It is sufficiently near (by air) to the prosperous western European nations for cheap package holidays, and yet it has the attraction to them of being an exotic Mediterranean island. Its insularity is itself an asset, both because tourists at the present time are attracted by islands for romantic reasons and also because of the very transport difficulties that were formerly a disadvantage. The tourists normally fly there, spending their allotted span of holidays entirely on the island (with the exception, perhaps, of a boat trip to Formentera). Ibiza consequently has the longest average length of stay of any tourist area in Spain.

The piracy in the western Mediterranean period during the traditional period had three major economic consequences for Ibiza: Firstly, it curtailed communications and trade. Secondly, it made coastal land unsafe to cultivate and also inhibited fishing. Thirdly, it diverted scarce labour from production to defence.

It is also true, of course, that piracy provided a source of income for those Ibizans engaged in it, but in general the disadvantages to the island's economy outweighed this advantage.
(b) Social factors

(i) The settlement pattern: - Sa vila (the town) has been (and, for many purposes, still is) the only nucleated settlement of any importance on Ibiza. It also possesses the only major port. Consequently, almost all contact with the exterior (whether administrative, commercial or cultural) has taken place either in or through the town. When the dispersed pattern of settlement in the country is also taken into account, the full measure of the former isolation of the country Ibisans may be appreciated. The major economic consequences have been as follows:

Firstly, the trade of agricultural produce with the exterior has taken place through intermediaries (middlemen) in the town and elsewhere, with a consequent loss to the peasant farmers - in fact the same thing applied until very recently to the sale of farm produce in the town itself.

Secondly, the general lack of inter-family cooperation among the peasants has tended to be magnified on Ibiza by the dispersal of dwellings, which has limited effective cooperation to small groups of close neighbours or kin. And the poor intra-island communications have inhibited the diffusion of technical innovations in agriculture. (This effect has been reinforced by the mistrust of middlemen and officials of all kinds, including agricultural advisers.)

However, various factors have diminished the effects of the settlement pattern in the present century, including improved communications, transport and literacy. And mass tourism is now having a decisive impact. It has provided the necessary wealth to develop metalled roads and electricity, which are gradually linking-up the most isolated corners of the island. And it has provided an overwhelming amount of contact with people from alien cultures, which has radically affected the mentality of even the older country people, making them generally more receptive to innovations of all kinds. Thus, the settlement pattern was an important circumstance limiting
changes of all kinds during the traditional and intermediate periods, but the impact of tourism (in particular) has largely overcome the restrictive influence of the settlement pattern in recent years.

(ii) The division of the land: Table Six shows the distribution of farms by size on Ibiza, in 1963, together with the contrasting distributions on the other major islands.

**TABLE 6**

**FARM SIZES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Farms (Hectares)</th>
<th>Ibiza</th>
<th>Formentera</th>
<th>Mallorca</th>
<th>Menorca</th>
<th>All Islands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 0.9</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>9,925</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td>12,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 4.9</td>
<td>1,389</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>13,301</td>
<td>4,553</td>
<td>15,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9.9</td>
<td>1,126</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>4,993</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>6,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 19.9</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2,396</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>3,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 29.9</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 49.9</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 69.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 to 99.9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 199.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 or over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4,231</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>32,533</td>
<td>3,375</td>
<td>40,839</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "EXPLOTACIONES AGRARIAS ... " (1963)

On Mallorca and Menorca, the land is unequally divided - there are large numbers of minifundia (very small farms); substantial numbers of large or very large farms (latifundia); and relatively few farms of medium size. In contrast, the land on Ibiza is fairly evenly divided, with a predominance of small to medium-sized farms, of between 5 and 100 hectares; these comprise 57.9 per cent of the total number of farms.

---

1 The even land division on Ibiza dates back to the traditional period. Thus a census carried out in 1797 showed Ibiza to be the most equally divided province (the island had provincial status at that time) in the whole of Spain, according to FAJANES CARDONA (1961: 23).
on Ibiza, taking up 87 per cent of the island's surface area. Only 0.5 per cent of farms are larger than 100 hectares, covering only 5.1 per cent of the surface area.¹ The division of land on Ibiza, then, is very equitable by comparison with the other Balearic Islands, and with the rest of Spain.

In some parts of Spain, the farms have been split up (through the processes of inheritance and exchange) into numerous, often separated, small plots, which makes cultivation more time-consuming and also impedes mechanisation. According to the agricultural census of 1962, the average size of the plots on Ibiza and Formentera was 6 hectares, and the average number of plots per farm was 1.9. Some 52 per cent of the farms on Ibiza were made up of a single piece of land. In other words, the problem of fragmentation was of little importance.

Nevertheless, the average size of the farms on Ibiza, 11.5 hectares, is quite small. And 41.7 per cent of the farms (covering only 7.9 per cent of the total area) are of less than 5 hectares. The farm-sizes also include both cultivated (irrigated and dry) and uncultivated land: in all, about half (50.2 per cent) of the land surface on Ibiza is cultivated, although some use is also made of the forest area.² BARCELO PONS (1970: 203-4) has calculated some figures for the average cash yields of farmland in the Balearics as a whole. In 1962, the average net income per hectare of dry land was 5,234.7 pesetas (about £19.57); while that for irrigated land was 51,570 pesetas (£207.6). The yield of an average-sized Ibisan dry farm (11.5 hectares) was thus about £220 per annum; while 3 hectares of

¹The figures in the text are derived from the I Censo Agrario de España (1962). Those used here are taken from BARCELO PONS (1969). (It may be noted that they differ very slightly from the tabulated figures, which are from a different source.)

²In general, there is an inverse relationship between the size of each farm and the quality of its land - i.e. the larger the farm, the greater the proportion of garrigue and forest land. There is a table showing this relationship in BARCELO PONS (1969: 21).
Irrigated land would yield about £920 per annum.¹ In interpreting these estimates, it must be borne in mind that they refer to 1962, and also that the cost of living for an Ibizan peasant farmer is much lower than that for people in other occupations. Even so, they indicate that the net income of most of the farms on Ibiza at present is rather small, giving only a poor living to a limited number of islanders.

For farming to compete successfully with tourism-based occupations considerable amalgamation of the existing farms would be necessary. Some amalgamation does take place through sales and other exchanges. This has been more than offset in the past by division through inheritance. But, with an increasing number of young people turning to other occupations, more rapid amalgamation through sales might be expected to occur. (In the past, there was intense competition among young people wishing to become miorales, or share-croppers, whereas the owners of all but the best farms now find it difficult to obtain miorales of any age.) However, there are various factors which inhibit the restructuring of farmland at present:

Firstly, there is the boom in land prices in general. Although most of the tourist development has been on coastal land, no part of the island is very far from the sea, and the owners of any piece of land which has any conceivable potential for building development are naturally reluctant to sell it for farming at a relatively low price. The result is that much land, which might otherwise be incorporated into larger and more viable farming units, is now too expensive for this purpose.²

Secondly, the shortage of farm labour also inhibits amalgamation. Young

¹The English equivalents are calculated on an exchange rate of 167 pesetas = £1.

²The new planning regulations may well change this situation by curtailing the touristic development of farming land - thus producing a dual (or multiple) price structure for land sales, depending on the planning categories.
Ibisans in general prefer non-farm occupations, although the seasonality of touristic employment does leave some of them free to help out on their parents’ farms in the winter. At the same time, most Ibisans are reluctant to accept “peninsulares” (“peninsular people”, i.e. those from the mainland of Spain) either as tenant farmers or as majors, since they regard them as being generally unreliable. Moreover, the tourist season has tended to get longer in the past few years, further reducing the availability of young islanders for farmwork, and thus making it increasingly difficult for the older people to continue to cultivate even the smaller farms.

Thirdly, and perhaps paradoxically, the older people are often reluctant to sell good farmland. They are quite willing (for the right price) to sell es marge (rough land bordering farmland), "ses roques vora la mar" ("the rocks by the sea"), or terrenos dins es boso (land plots in the woods). But they still recall vividly es anys de es misèria, the years after the war, when the self-sufficient farmers suffered less than some of the normally better-off townspeople (whose money could not buy food which was not for sale). They also remember the times when “tots es jòvens anaven a Cuba” ("all the young men were going to Cuba"). And they wonder what will happen if there is a recession in the tourist trade: what will all the young men sense cap ofici (without any trade or craft) do then? Thus many older people tend to keep what cultivated land they possess, even when they cannot work it themselves nor find others to work it for them.

It is possible that if the tourist trade continues to flourish the young people involved in it, who inherit small pieces of farmland, may increasingly tend to sell them (since the younger people tend to lack their parents’ attachment to the security of owning land). Especially if this trend is combined with a dual price structure derived from planning restrictions, it may lead to an increase in farm size. But, for the present, there are rather few signs of a restructuring of farm boundaries, and the small size of present holdings is an important factor contributing to the decline in farming.
(iii) **Techniques:** In general, the techniques used by Ibanian farmers have been slow to change, by comparison with farmers on the mainland of Spain or with those in other European countries. Nevertheless, important gradual technical changes have been introduced over the past hundred years, although the innovations have been most marked during the past two decades. Although its outward appearance and family basis have not changed much, Ibanian farming has undergone a profound transition from subsistence to cash farming, and its present state—with its combination of the traditional and the modern—is thus the result of an (incomplete) process of adaptation to increased involvement in the national and international markets.

Until recently, the rate of technical change was (just) sufficient to maintain the viability of farming on the island (though not to provide employment for all of the increasing population)—however slow it has appeared to officials and agricultural advisers. But tourism has drastically interrupted this gradual process. The competition for labour between the tertiary and primary sectors of the economy is forcing the pace of technical change in farming to an impossible speed. For example, even if small terraces of trees and ground crops in association are not the most efficient form of land-use, it takes time to transform them. And it tends to be expensive. Again, there is little point in using a tractor if it has to be driven in small circles around trees. And much farm machinery is too expensive to be worthwhile (or even possible) for any but the largest island farms. It would therefore be an over-simplification to attribute the present agricultural problems on Ibiza to the "resistance to change" which is commonly said to characterize peasant farmers. It would be more accurate to explain these (in part) in terms of the extreme rapidity of change required by mass tourism. Given time, far-reaching innovations can (and have been) introduced into Ibanian farming—but time is at present lacking.

This is not to deny some importance to "resistance to change" (providing
the concept is carefully analysed). It may be either non-rational (as in the eyes of most officials) or rational (as in the eyes of the farmers themselves). A possible example of the former is the mistrust of advice from "forasteros", which limits the influence of agricultural advisers (even this mistrust has a rational basis: apart from the fallibility of such advisers, there is the legacy of long-standing conflicts of interest between peasants and non-peasants on Ibiza). But most of the resistance has some rational explanation. For example, during my fieldwork, a team of advisers - from the "P.P.O." (Promoción Profesional Obrera) - were trying to introduce new methods of pruning trees, especially for almonds. A few of the wealthier farmers allowed the experimental pruning of some of their trees. But a common response among the smaller farmers was that it seemed to be ridiculous to cut off fruit-bearing branches. They thought that some of the most drastically-pruned trees might die. In any case, they said, it was certain that the trees would bear little or no fruit for several years. On reflection, they were prepared to wait and see the outcome of the pruning. Now, all of these considerations were quite rational, but any adverse results - for whatever reason - could easily discredit the new methods. In fact, the reaction of (the older) island farmers to technical innovations is characterised more by a form of almost academic caution than by non-rationality. The caution is based partly on an essentially non-literate approach to new information (it must all be tested in the context of personal and local experience), and partly on economic grounds (the poorer farmers cannot afford to experiment with their livelihood for the sake of uncertain future improvements).

The reaction to technical innovations also depends on whether traditional or new crops are involved. For example, a permanent local agricultural adviser said that most of the people who came to him spontaneously for advice were hortolans (farmers of irrigated land). He encountered very little interest in his advice on the care of traditional dry farming crops -
even though he spoke Catalan and was a patient, unassuming man who thought of his work as long-term and was a strong partisan of the Ibisan peasant farmer. Once again, these reactions were rational, if cautious. The methods used in the cultivation of almonds, figs and cereals have been practised — more or less successfully — for hundreds of years, and any innovation thus needs a very convincing demonstration of its value. In general, there is much less resistance to innovations whose value is more immediately apparent, such as agricultural implements and machines¹ — the difficulty in this case is usually financial.

Young people generally tend to be more receptive to innovations, for reasons of indifference, even when they have no active urge to experiment with novelties. They have been less socialised into established folkways than have older people, and they have less involvement in the status quo, as well as finding learning easier for biological reasons. On Ibisa, they have also been exposed to school teaching (involving the more or less authoritarian inculcation of information which is not testable in the light of personal and local experience) to a greater extent than older people, and are thus more accustomed to receiving new ideas from books or from "forasters" (outsiders). The age-structure of farmers on Ibisa is therefore an important factor in the processes of change. The age-structure of the primary sector is therefore shown in Table Seven (for the year 1965). The figures are unfortunately rather out-of-date, since the volume of tourism on Ibisa has greatly increased since 1965, and the transfer of labour (especially that of young people) has now gone much further. However, the figures for Mallorca are included for comparison, and they show the type of age-structure towards which Ibisa was moving in 1965. In any case,

¹Even so, mechanical innovations are not accepted uncritically. For example, hand-reaping is said to be more thorough, because weeds can be left out; and motor-driven flour mills are said to burn the flour because of their higher speed. Both reaping-machines and the motor-driven mills are used, however, because of their labour-saving qualities.
Table Seven does indicate the increasing preponderance of older people in farming (and fishing) on Ibiza - with the correspondingly greater resistance to innovations that this implies.

**TABLE 7**

**THE AGE-STRUCTURE OF THE PRIMARY SECTOR (1965)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Ibiza</th>
<th>Mallorca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 19</td>
<td>41.91</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>30.66</td>
<td>16.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>42.75</td>
<td>17.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>50.61</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64</td>
<td>60.28</td>
<td>39.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64+</td>
<td>77.76</td>
<td>29.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>47.63</td>
<td>22.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 - 19</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64+</td>
<td>32.87</td>
<td>38.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BARCELLO PONS (1970: 206)

Thus, the relationship of tourism to technical innovations on Ibiza is fairly complex. On the one hand, it creates an enormous pressure on farmers to adopt less labour-intensive techniques but, on the other hand, it attracts away the very young people who might implement the necessary changes. It also provides new wealth which could be used to acquire machinery, but at the same time it provides more attractive investment possibilities in other sectors. As far as the present farming techniques are concerned, they are undoubtedly an important factor limiting the competitiveness of farming relative to tourism, but changes in the techniques will necessarily be gradual even if this entails the abandonment of farming on many of the smaller or less fertile plots, as has happened to some extent already.
(iv) **Social status** - There are two aspects of social status on Ibiza which particularly influence the present economic position of farming. The first is the very low status which is traditionally accorded to farmers, despite the importance of the occupation prior to tourism. The farmer is still seen as a "peasant" ("pea'te") however modern his techniques: for example, those farmers who use plastic covers to produce early crops have been nick-named "plastic peasants" ("peasoes de plástico"). Conversely, the "gentleman" ("senyor") is by definition the exact opposite of a farmer; he does not soil his hands. Thus, by taking up semi-manual or non-manual occupations in hotels and offices, country people may achieve a new social status somewhere in between that of the peasant and that of the gentleman.

The second aspect is that of age-status. In the traditional farm family structure, the final authority always rests with the older people who own the land until they die, even though it may be divided up among their children beforehand. In the past, the transition to adulthood was often delayed by poverty - since full adulthood was only achieved on marriage, which depended on the possession (or guarantee of later possession) of land. Thus young people of both sexes may achieve an effectively higher age status through taking up a non-farm occupation, to which the traditional criteria do not apply. Their independent income also enables them to resist their parents if they wish to, and it gives them the freedom to marry when and whom they choose.

These circumstances clearly provide powerful stimuli for young people to leave farming for other occupations, whatever the respective financial rewards.

---

1 See CALVERA (1972: 34).

2 Country spinsters (fadoras) are still generally referred to as "girls" ("allotes"), rather than as "dones" ("women" or "wives") - whatever their age. The country bachelors (fadrins) have had more freedom, after puberty, and "boys" ("allest") thus become "youths" ("jóvens") in their teens and twenties, before becoming "men" ("hansens") on marriage - but the dependence on the land is even more critical in their case; since attractive girls might marry upwards.
In the woods around San José it is quite common to come across old terraces among the trees, sometimes even right on the crest of a hill. They are evidently the remains of periods of very thorough exploitation of hill land, later abandoned. But, between 1860 and 1960, the general trend was one of increasing cultivation of the land on Ibiza: the cultivated proportion rose from 39 per cent in 1860 to 50 per cent in 1960.

As recently as fifteen to twenty years ago, new farmland was still being made in some places, by felling the trees and burning the scrub. The touristic period has seen a complete reversal of this trend. Around San José, as elsewhere on the island, there are now increasing areas of cultivable land lying in disuse. Not all of this land has been abandoned, of course, since land is sometimes left fallow for two years, or even longer. But, each year, the farmers who receive an income from some activity associated with tourism tend to leave larger areas fallow. The abandonment process often commences with the poorest, hilliest land, but it also includes quite large areas of relatively fertile flat land, or valley land.

In the Balearics as a whole, the proportion of land under cultivation fell from 56 per cent in 1962 (BARCELÓ PONS, 1969: 24) to 53 per cent in 1970-71 (MINISTERIO DE AGRICULTURA, 1973).

Professional people writing about the present state of farming (and fishing) on Ibiza generally mention the problems described in this chapter, but they often end on an optimistic note. For example, they argue that the ageing population of the primary sector will contribute to an eventual

---

The process was known as "fer rota". Peas or other crops were then sown on the fresh ground, which gave particularly good yields for the first few years. One 37-year-old San José man, who described how he had done this on getting married, is now a small transport entrepreneur. Young people in the area tended not to know what the term "fer rota" meant, when asked.
restructuring along less labour-intensive lines. Or, that land, which is being abandoned for agriculture, may be profitably employed for grazing sheep or cattle. Or, that some technical innovations are being gradually accepted, especially in the cultivation of hortaliases (vegetables, grown on irrigated land), which is very important, since the produce of irrigated land accounts for about three quarters of the total net cash yield of farming in the Balearics (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 202), despite the rather small proportion of land under irrigation. Or, that tourism has greatly increased the local demand for agricultural produce (and fish), so that farming is now more profitable in absolute terms than it was formerly, even if it compares unfavourably with touristic earnings.¹

All of these things may be true, or may come true. It seems probable that in the long term a balance may be struck between farming and tourism on Ibiza — perhaps involving a more capital-intensive cultivation of a smaller area of land, by a minority of islanders. But farming on Ibiza is, for the moment, in a state of "crisis" — a word which enters into most descriptions of Ibisian farming since the early 1960s. By about then, the real total net income in the primary sector of the Balearics as a whole had actually begun to decrease (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 202). The technical innovations had led to an increase in real net income per capita, but the average income per capita in the primary sector in 1964 was only about two-fifths of that in the tertiary sector, and the position has probably not improved since. In fact, the position of farming in general on Ibiza has definitely worsened in the past few years, even though some observers still find room for optimism — e.g. CALVERA (1972). This chapter has amply illustrated the complex state of disorganisation in which Ibisian farmers at present find themselves — a state which they themselves tend to express in hyperbolic comments, of which the following are typical:

¹Comments like these are made, for example, in the various sources cited in this chapter.
In the light of the analysis in the preceding section, it would be simplistic to conclude that mass tourism alone has been responsible for the disorganisation and (at least temporary) decline of farming on Ibiza in recent years. The effects of tourism on farming are in no sense inevitable: they depend on the state of farming and, in particular, on its profitability and attractiveness relative to touristic employment.

Prior to tourism, farming on Ibiza was a barely viable pursuit. It had only partially adapted to market requirements, and there was a precarious balance between population and resources on the island. It was, moreover, a very low-status occupation. There are thus two major forces stimulating the transfer from farming to tourism on Ibiza:

(i) A "push". Since farming seems an undesirable occupation to many Ibizens, and has been unable to provide for the growing population, there is a strong pressure for them to seek other occupations. In the past this often meant emigrating, but there are now alternative jobs on the island.

(ii) A "pull". Tourism is providing very attractive alternatives to farming. It is difficult to assess the relative importances of the "push" and the "pull", but they are undoubtedly both contributing to the situation described in this chapter.

---

1 The term "not worked" here has the double implication that not only is land being abandoned, but that also the soil is not worked with as much care as before.

2 These last two comments were made by farmers in San José who had relatives in hotel work - and the statements were true even for quite large farms.
In the traditional period, opportunities for capital accumulation were very limited on Ibiza. Wealth and prestige depended on the possession of land. The authority of the seigneurs and their representatives derived from their title to the island, while the countervailing authority of the Jurats (Jurors: elected representatives of the three lay estates of feudal Ibiza) stemmed from the occupation and usufruct of the land. The passage of time led to an increased sub-division of land-holdings (mainly owner-farmed). Thus there could be little capital accumulation through land-ownership.

The other major source of wealth on the island during this period - the salt industry - was collectively administered, and the salt itself was common property. Some monetary capital might be accumulated from commerce (and/or piracy), administrative abuses, money-lending (despite laws against usury), or the hoarding of stocks for sale in times of high prices (rapid inflation - particularly of the local currency - was quite common in the traditional period) - all of these activities (and periodic attempts at suppressing them after protests) were fairly common (MACABICH, 1966-67: vol.I, passim). But the dangerous situation in the western Mediterranean, and the restricted use of money on Ibiza, placed quite narrow limits on such forms of accumulation.

---

1 See also Appendix IX, below.
In the intermediate period, the increase in external trade and the use of money on Ibiza made capital accumulation more feasible. From the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a boom in ship-building - Ibiza’s first major industry other than those of the classical era and the manufacture of salt. Between 1765 and 1860, over 400 vessels were built, with a total tonnage of more than 22,000 tons (Costa Ramon, 1961: 42). By the end of the nineteenth century, a small number of wealthy commercial families were emerging in the town, together with a large number of smaller traders and businessmen.

A contemporary account described the state of commerce as follows:

"El comercio en Ibiza no se hace en grande escala, pero es asombroso el número de tiendecitas que se ven, principalmente en la marina. Banqueros no hay más que dos, división de una sola casa y familia. Estos mismos y otros pocos más, hacen el negocio de los frutos del país; almendras, algarrobas, frutas, cortesa y madera de pino: y reciben géneros de importación como harina, arroz, petróleo y algún otro. Pescado se exporte poco, pues han fracasado hasta ahora cuantas tentativas se han hecho para montar en grande ese negocio, bien utilizando vapores dedicados al exclusivamente, bien por medio de la congelación."

"Commerce on Ibiza is not done on a large scale, but it is astonishing the number of little shops which may be seen, principally in the marina. There are no more than two bankers, a division of a single household and family. These, and a few others, conduct the trade of the local country produce: almonds, carobs, fruit, pine bark and wood: and they import goods such as flour, rice, oil and a few others. There is little exportation of fish, because all of the attempts so far made to establish this business on a large scale have failed, whether using steam-ships exclusively for this purpose, or by means of freezing."

(Castilian, Navarro, 1901: 94)

The reference to attempts to develop fish-exports on a large scale is interesting in that it suggests the existence of a spirit of capitalist enterprise in the town of Ibiza during the latter part of the intermediate period. This capitalist spirit was well illustrated in the various attempts of the nineteenth century to exploit the silver-bearing lead deposits in an area situated between Santa Eulalia and San Juan. Both local companies and outside interests participated in these efforts, which required large amounts of capital, raised in some cases through public issues of shares. In 1879, nine lead mines were in operation,
while ten others were being explored, employing in all some 200 men.

"Existía, como es natural, gran expectación pública, predominando el escepticismo y el recelo; que vinieron a convertirse luego en una colectiva fiebre minera que llegó a contagiar a casi todas las capas sociales isleñas."

"There existed, as is natural, great public expectation, with scepticism and mistrust predominating; which presently gave way to a collective mining fever which eventually infected almost all the social levels on the island."

(Castilian. CASTELLO GUASCH, 1962: 36)

At one stage samples of cinnabar (red mercuric chloride) were discovered, providing fresh hopes of riches to the island's speculators, whose enthusiasm was satirised in the following rhyme, among others:

"Cinabrio per s'Argentera, cinnabar in the Argentera, cinnabar in the Figueral, cinnabar per s'Alameda cinabrio p'es mercat."

Various lead mines were in operation for a number of years, but they all encountered flooding problems, and there was also a fall in lead prices towards the end of the nineteenth century. Attempts to overcome the flooding failed, and mining operations came to a halt in 1909. Since then, other schemes to reopen the mines have all come to nothing, largely for want of available capital - a 1925 study estimated that about a million pesetas were then necessary, which seemed a large sum to risk on a venture which had failed so often before - although there still exists a Sociedad Anónima Minas de Ibiza.

Despite the limited scope, fierce competition and sweated labour apparently characterised businesses on Ibiza during the intermediate period - as is illustrated in a graphic contemporary account of the development of stocking manufacture at the end of the nineteenth century (NAVARRO, 1901: 86-88). The industry was originated by an outsider who

---

1The "Argentera" and the "Figueral" were two important mines. The other lines refer to popular meeting-places in the town.
saw a source of cheap labour in the island women. After a few years, this man managed to become "uno de los principales capitalistas de Ibiza" ("one of the principal capitalists on Ibiza": NAVARRO, 1901: 86). Local businessmen were quick to copy the idea. They imported stocking machines from the mainland and showed "muchachas necesitadas" ("needy young women") how to use them, supplying the necessary materials and paying 50 céntimos per dozen pairs of finished stockings. The stocking makers (ses calceteres) could produce up to three dozen pairs a day if they worked hard, and the six reals which they could thus earn seemed excellent to them, even though the stockings would be resold at twice the price on the mainland. The catch was that they were not paid in cash, but in goods from the businessman's shop. He chose what to give them, sometimes off-loading unwanted goods at prices above their current retail value. The women, in order to obtain food or other requirements, then had to resell the goods at low prices to other shop-keepers, so that their effective salary was about half - or sometimes less than half - of the nominal amount. Even so, the trade flourished at first, and a company called "Calcetera Hispánica S.A." established a factory which employed several hundred female workers and attracted "muchas familias" ("many families" - FAJARNES CARDONA, 1958: 149) from the country to the town. (Local people have told me that it closed down again fairly soon because the island women did not like working under factory conditions.)

The most important company operating on Ibiza until recently was clearly the Mallorcan-based "Salinas de Ibiza" (NAVARRO, 1901: 88), to which the state had sold the salt-lagoons in 1871. This company later bought the salt works on Formentera as well, becoming in 1898 the "Salinera Española, S.A.", under which name it still operates. (VILA VALENTI, 1953: 383). The story of salt production on Ibiza comprises

---

Old men in San José can still recall working "de sol a sol" (from sunrise to sunset) for a jornal (day-wage) of seis reals (six reals, a total equivalent to one and a half pesetas).
an important part of the transformation of the island's economy from one of traditional modes of exploiting local resources to one of free market capitalism (modified to some extent by government intervention). In the traditional period, the salt was the common property of the islanders. And its collection during the hottest summer months (neatly fitting in between the agricultural harvests) was a corporate effort in which "all the natives of both islands, providing they are fit" took part. The rather complex administration of the salt works was in the charge of the Universitat ("University" - an elected island government, with representatives of each social estate). But, in 1715, Phillip V expropriated the salinas "by right of conquest" ("por derecho de conquista"), following the War of Succession. The control - and most of the economic revenues - of the economic corner-stone of Ibiza thus passed into the hands of the state, and this was a crucial step in the assimilation of the island into the national economy of Spain. The islanders' interest in salt production naturally waned - despite its continuing importance as a source of work - and production declined (VILA VALENTI, 1953: 390). Finally, in 1871, the state sold the salinas of Ibiza to private enterprise for the sum of 1,162,020 pesetas (SALVATOR, 1886-90: vol.II, 175). About fifteen years later a number of reforms were carried out, and production has since been at a higher level than in previous centuries (VILA VALENTI, 1953: 392) - with the exception of the civil war period, when production temporarily ceased. But the salt lagoons completely lost their historical corporate significance to the islanders. They continued to employ a hundred or more men full-time, with an additional seven or eight hundred temporary workers during "the harvest" ("la recollida"). (VILA VALENTI, 1964: 40) But the jobs were exhausting and unpleasant and, as tourism has provided

1"todos los naturales de una y otra isla, con tal de que sea gente robusta" (Martín de Callar, 1798, cited in VILA VALENTI, 1961: 40-41).
alternative employment, the number of men willing to work in the salinas has progressively declined. The company has responded by increasing its use of machinery, especially during the 1950s, so that it now only employs about eighty-five men, and it no longer requires a large casual labour force in the summer.

The accounts of the numerous attempts at establishing quite large business enterprises before the civil war are interesting for several reasons. They corroborate other evidence (both documentary and oral) of the poverty prior to tourism of many of the Ibiscans, especially wage-labourers. They also demonstrate the impact of capitalist developments elsewhere on the island during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - notwithstanding its predictable lateness and limited scope. But perhaps the most notable feature of such enterprises is that they all eventually failed. (There were various types of enterprise other than those mentioned here: for example, factories were built in the nineteenth century to produce sodium sulphate and sodium carbonate from the island's salt, but neither was successful. - VILA VALENTI, 1953: 391)

Capitalism thus failed to gain more than a relatively minor role on Ibiza prior to tourism. The island's "backwardness" in this (and similar) respects has been a frequent subject in commentaries by outsiders over the centuries, and the following explanations are fairly typical:

"The Soil is fertile; but there is wanting to improve it the Industry and Labour of the Inhabitants, who being covetous of the Profits of the Salt, which is equally distributed amongst them, neglect to cultivate the Fields." (DAMETO Y MUT, 1716: 54)

Until the recent mechanisation, the salt-collection was a back-breaking job which entailed carrying heavy loads across salt slush. There was also a serious risk of contracting malaria - the area still abounds in mosquitoes today, and the disease existed on Ibiza until the 1940s, though now eliminated. (ROIG BINIMELIS, 1944)

The island's only unqualified industrial success was the salt production - which was not initially a capitalist enterprise, and which in some ways resembled agriculture in its techniques and organisation, prior to the recent mechanisation. Its uniqueness was shown by the local habit of referring to it simply as "s'empresa" ("the Company") - and the stocking factory was similarly called just "sa Fàbrica" ("the Factory").
"Ibisa, now lies abandoned to arms without vigour, diminished in population, lacking in agriculture, without knowledge of industry, without practising commerce, and in every way poor."

"With such rich products and with such advantageous proportions, it is astonishing to see the poverty of the island, born out of the negligence of its inhabitants, and of their disinterest in agriculture, industry and commerce."

(Castilian, VARGAS Y PONE, 1787: 13 and 9-10)

"The island is fertile to such a degree that we may presume to say that its fertility is prejudicial to it, because, being assured of sustenance, its inhabitants live carelessly and they do not use their ingenuity as they would, if the land were arid and obliged them to work in order to live. The lack of manufacturers, artists, businessmen, and other classes which abound in all (other) parts, is an effect of its fertility."

(Castilian, ARANAZ Y BARRERA, 1859: 11)

"In general, all the natives of Ibisa are indolent, moderate, and lacking in ambition; it could be said that their spirits are as limited as the land which they live in, which is, for the immense majority of them, the entire known world."

(Castilian, NAVARRO, 1901: 111)

A common feature of all these descriptions is the notion that Ibisan are lazy, frugal, ignorant and unambitious. The islanders' alleged indolence was thus used to account for the island's chronic economic

---

1 The reference here is partly to the salt production which, it may be noted, no longer belonged to the islanders and was then undergoing a decline. This author writes elsewhere of the extreme laziness of the Ibisans, and says that they had even threatened to assassinate a Valencian living on the island, for working too hard and trying to introduce new methods.

2 Similar allegations have been made against many poor peasant regions. It is interesting to compare these comments on Ibiza with others, for example, about Ireland - whose economic conditions and political relationship with Britain bear some resemblances to the situation of Ibiza and its relationship with mainland Spain. See HUTCHINSON (1970: 510).
difficulties, but this seems to be a complete confusion of cause and effect. No-one visiting the island today could doubt their willingness to work hard, nor their entrepreneurial abilities - now that they have been given such ample scope by tourism. Thus, it seems more accurate to attribute the former restricted development of capitalism on Ibiza to other factors, mainly geographical or political (which are also sometimes given mention by the authors cited above).

6.2 THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF TOURISM ON IBIZA

Because of Ibiza's isolation in the embattled and pirate-dominated western Mediterranean during most of the traditional period, there were few visits to the island of a friendly nature, even from officials or soldiers (the defence of the island being left to the popular militia).

In the intermediate period, with the improvement in communications, there was a gradual increase in the number of visitors. A few officials and soldiers visited Ibiza in the course of duty. There were occasional visits by foreign ships calling to pick up salt - the sailors apparently met a generally cool reception by the Ibisans, who nicknamed them "Jeans."

---

1 These factors have been described above, in Chapter Five (section 5.8), in a different context. In the traditional period, the piracy was particularly important. Later, the subjection of Catalonia to Castile affected the island's trade, and brought about the loss of the salt revenues. At all times, moreover, the location of Ibiza placed any manufacturer producing goods for sale on the mainland at a serious transport cost disadvantage - this alone suffices to explain the lack of success of some ventures. The scattered settlement pattern was also a serious hindrance to the development of factories prior to the recent increase in metalled roads and motor vehicles. (The organization of the stocking manufacture on a putting-out basis illustrates this difficulty - and a variety of items are still made in this way, the most important being embroideries, brocades, made both for export and for sale to tourists.) Finally, the local market for manufactured goods has been limited by the island's small size, scattered population, even land division and subsistence farming tradition.

2 See above, p.62, fn.2.
after the common French name. But, for a long time, there were relatively few voluntary visitors to Ibiza which (like Mallorca) was used during the nineteenth century as a place of exile for political prisoners - Ibiza in particular had a reputation for backwardness and barbarity, which has taken many years to diminish. Nevertheless, there were occasional visits by particularly adventurous travellers, who sometimes arrived in private yachts, and were mainly wealthy foreigners - known as "milors" by the islanders (Navarro, 1901: 18-19). And the year 1909 even saw the publication of the first tourist guide to Ibiza - a scholarly work by comparison with modern guides, since it was written for a small, select readership (Pérez-Cabré, 1909). By the 1930s, there were sufficient visitors for the first hotels to be built: the "Gran Hotel", "Hotel Isla Blanca", and "Hotel Española" in Ibiza-town; the "Portmany" in San Antonio; and the "Buenavista" in Santa Eulalia.

This modest prelude to mass tourism was interrupted, first by the Spanish Civil War and then by World War Two. By 1947, there were still only 23 hotels and boarding-houses on Ibiza and Formentera combined, most of them being small boarding-houses ("Casas de Huéspedes"). (Zornoza Benmabeu, 1964: 170) By 1964, however, there were 150 hotels, which included

1 For example, the following second-hand appraisal of Ibiza was contained in a traveller's guide published in 1910:

"Ibiza ... is one of those spots which can afford no sort of justification for its existence. It is a mere backwater, a stagnant pool of humanity, interesting, though, as a place buried beneath prejudices and customs hundreds of years old." After a few sensational paragraphs on the wild and dangerous manner of courtship and the use of guns, the author concludes:

"Altogether it must be as difficult to make yourself happy at Ibiza as at any spot on or off the planet."

(Calvet, 1940: 104-106)

2 Tourism (like most other things) developed rather earlier on the larger island of Mallorca, where it was sufficiently important by 1905 for local businessmen to set up a society for its promotion. In 1929 (when tourism was still fairly unimportant on Ibiza), the Mallorcan Chamber of Commerce already were referring to it as "la industria quim que más prospera y de mayor rendimiento" ("the industry which is perhaps the most prosperous and giving the greatest yield" - cited in Barceló Pons, 1970: 226).
9 hotels "de primera clase" ("first class"), 14 "de segunda categoria" ("second class"), 5 "de tercera" ("third class"); 5 "Pensiones de Lujo" ("luxury boarding-houses"), and 15 "Pensiones de Primera Clase" ("first class boarding-houses"). During the following six years, the number of hotels and similar establishments almost doubled - to a total of 295 in 1970. Moreover, the hotels built in recent years have tended to become progressively larger, so that the hotel development has been even more rapid than these figures indicate. The total number of hotel beds on Ibiza alone, in the 281 hotels there in 1972, was 33,026. (MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO ..., 1973) This means that there were then about three hotel places for every four of the island's population.

But the meteoric rise of tourism on Ibiza is more clearly shown in Figure Thirteen. The rate of increase was particularly dramatic after 1967, when the annual number of visitors and that of overnight stays both more than doubled in just two years.¹ The importance of Ibiza as a tourist source has also increased relative to Mallorca and the other Balearic Islands in recent years. Thus, in 1960, only 7.5 per cent of the total number of tourists visiting the province of Baleares were staying on Ibiza; by 1965, the proportion had risen to 9.4 per cent; and by 1970, it had reached 15.4 per cent.

¹The effects of this extraordinary boom are still working themselves out, and there is unfortunately rather little detailed statistical material available for the period since 1965. Many of the figures in the thesis therefore relate to the years prior to 1965, and they consistently under-represent the impact of tourism on Ibiza at present. This does not mean that they are not useful, but it should be kept in mind for their correct interpretation.

Moreover, it should be noted that all of the statistics relating to tourism on Ibiza involve a systematic under-estimate, since they include only those tourists who stay in registered hotels and boarding-houses, and they exclude those in transit and those staying in villas, on campsites, etc. However, this under-estimation is less significant for recent years in view of the massive volume of package tourism which is included in the statistics.
FIGURE 13. TOURISM ON IBIZA (1954-1972)

(Based on figures in Appendix Four)
The post-war development of tourism on Ibiza has depended both on local factors and on a number of national or international events and processes. (BARCELÓ PONS, 1969a) Up to about 1950, many of the visitors to the Balearics were Spanish nationals from the mainland. But the ending by the United Nations of the political and economic ostracism of Spain which had followed the civil war introduced a new phase of tourism on the Balearic Islands, in which foreign tourists progressively became the dominant element. In 1958, the airport of Ibiza was opened for passenger services and, in 1959, the Spanish government introduced a new policy of price stabilisation and simplified customs and exchange-control procedures. These changes, together with the increasing affluence of the industrial nations of western Europe, brought about a rapid increase in the number of tourists visiting Ibiza during the 1960s.¹ And the organisation of charter flights and package-holidays largely accounts for the enormous increase over the past few years.² (Publicity, both by local and national professional organisations, has also probably played some part—how much is difficult to assess.)

The following tables, Table Eight and Table Nine, show the evolution of the composition of tourism by nationalities on Ibiza and Formentera from 1954 to 1972, and the detailed composition on Ibiza in 1972.

¹Ibiza airport was opened for national civil traffic in 1958 exclusively for the companies "Iberia" and "Aviao". The runway was of compacted earth, and it could not be used after rain or at night. In 1961, the runway was improved and asphalted. In 1962, the airport was opened to charter companies—excluding the Spanish charter companies "Spantax" and "Tassa", and several foreign companies. But each foreign flight had to call at another Spanish airport first, for police and customs checks. In 1964, after further improvements, the airport was opened for night flights. The present international airport of Ibiza was only opened on 15 July, 1966, since when direct foreign flights have been possible, as well as regular foreign services by "Iberia" and "BUA". (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 22 Dec., 1971: unnumbered)

²The changes in the organisation and composition of tourism since the war are also reflected in an increase in the average length of stay on Ibiza: from 8.9 days in 1960 to 11.9 days in 1965—the longest average in Spain (BARCELÓ PONS, 1970: 234).

There has also been a progressive widening of the class spectrum of visitors to Ibiza: the aristocratic "milors" of the nineteenth century were followed by middle-class Spanish and foreign tourists in this century, and the process has culminated in the proletarian package tourism of recent years.
### TABLE 8

THE EVOLUTION OF TOURISM ON IBIZA AND FORMENTERA (1954-1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British a</td>
<td>2,029</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1,482</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2,643</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>8,132</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aIn the sources, the term "Ingleses" ("English") is used to include all people from the British Isles, other than those with Irish passports.*

**Sources:** JOTAZOR (1961: 48-9) and MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO ... (1973)

### TABLE 9

THE COMPOSITION OF TOURISM ON IBIZA IN 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Number of Visitors</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>245,113</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>127,708</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>52,976</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>17,115</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>14,678</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>10,882</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>10,379</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>10,358</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>8,607</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>5,877</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>2,609</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1,947</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>1,545</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish-American</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europeans</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>332</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceanics</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless/Unknown</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>515,052</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO ... (1973)
Table Eight shows that the number of tourists visiting Ibiza and Formentera from nearly all of the western European countries has increased rapidly since 1954, although there has been a general preponderance of northern Europeans, heading south towards the sun. Apart from a number of changes in the rank order, the overall pattern has remained similar — with two (related) exceptions. First, the proportion of French tourists declined from 32.5 per cent in 1954 to only 2.9 per cent in 1972. And, second, the proportion of British tourists grew from 25 per cent in 1954 to 46 per cent in 1972. These changes almost certainly reflect the basic dependence of the Ibisan tourist boom on methods of transport: the relatively low French figures may be attributed to the accessibility by car from France of mainland Spain and other European countries — there is consequently little incentive to fly to Ibiza or travel there arduously from Barcelona. The British, surrounded by the sea, are in an exactly contrary position, and for them cheap air-travel provides the easiest way to visit sunnier climes. Since this is the only way that large numbers of people can visit Ibiza, the British predominance is not surprising. Most other European countries fall somewhere in between the French and British positions in this respect, and their geographical locations are generally reflected in their rank order in Table Eight and Table Nine.

Table Nine also shows the very wide range of nationalities of the tourists visiting Ibiza. They come from literally all over the world. Nevertheless, the British at present have an undisputed pre-eminence in Ibisan tourism (although it may be noted that the proportion of Germans increased from 15.2 per cent to 26.6 per cent of the total for Ibiza and Formentera between 1970 and 1972). This has had important cultural consequences for Ibiza, and English is by far the commonest foreign language spoken by the islanders. (In the main holiday resorts, the waiters quite often address any foreigner in English as a matter of course — and there have even been complaints by islanders in the local newspaper that this has
happened to them by mistake.)

At an economic level, the predominance of British tourism has been a source of anxiety to Ibisan businessmen. Tourism is often regarded as a fickle phenomenon (although this may, in fact, be no truer of tourism than of most other commercial products), so that the businessmen would like to avoid becoming too dependent on any one market. Their concern has been enhanced by a tendency to denigrate Ibiza in the British press and magazines; sometimes for objective reasons (e.g., complaints of misrepresentation in brochures, unfinished hotels and the like); but often for reasons of snobbery - the disdainful comments reflect a middle-class distaste for package-tour scenes ("Fish and chips in Spain"), and the abandonment by the cognoscenti of the places which they had "discovered" a few years earlier. The British predominance also enhances the bargaining power of the major British travel operators vis-à-vis the Ibisan hotel-owners. Such considerations have prompted a campaign to diversify the origins of tourists on Ibiza as much as possible by way of advertisements and exhibitions in various parts of Europe (and even in America). The campaign has largely been the work of the local "Fomento del Turismo" (an association of almost all of the island businessmen who are in any way connected with tourism), and it illustrates the serious, long-term approach to tourism of the business people on Ibiza (as also elsewhere in Spain).

Table Ten shows the age structure of people employed in the tertiary sector (See Appendix Two) on Ibiza in 1965, with that on Mallorca included for comparison. There is a marked contrast with the age structure of the primary sector (See Table Seven on page 122, above). Several factors contribute to the more youthful structure of the tertiary sector: firstly, its recent development and new recruitment; secondly, the attraction of young islanders away from the primary sector; and, thirdly, the recruitment of young immigrants from the mainland of Spain. The age structure of the tertiary sector is broadly similar to that of the secondary sector, which
is described later. There is a strong contrast, however, in the figures for female employment between the tertiary sector and both of the other sectors: a large percentage of the active females in each age group, especially the younger ones, are employed in the tertiary sector. This is because the service industries offer a variety of jobs which fit well with traditional women's roles, and because there is less resistance to their recruitment into a relatively new, uncrystallised field of employment.¹

### TABLE 10

**THE AGE-STRUCTURE OF THE TERTIARY SECTOR (1965)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Ibiza Males</th>
<th>Ibiza Females</th>
<th>Mallorca Males</th>
<th>Mallorca Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 19</td>
<td>25.19</td>
<td>40.13</td>
<td>38.37</td>
<td>53.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>24.84</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>49.28</td>
<td>50.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>24.89</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>36.93</td>
<td>45.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>19.70</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>36.93</td>
<td>45.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64</td>
<td>16.01</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>28.28</td>
<td>32.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>26.05</td>
<td>57.75</td>
<td>36.98</td>
<td>44.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Percent. of Active Persons in Each Age Group (Out of the Total in the Tertiary Sector)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Ibiza Both Sexes</th>
<th>Mallorca Both Sexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Totals** | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Sources: BARCELÓ PONS (1970: 245-246)*

¹However, the increasing employment of women (in combination with other factors) has had important effects on the relationship between the sexes on Ibiza. In the past, the country women in particular spent most of their time at home, and they tended to be demure or reticent in public contexts, with all important decisions being (publicly at least) taken by the men. But Ibisan women are now becoming far less self-effacing. There are even public inter-village football matches between teams of girls and young women: these have caused some ribald comments, but no public opposition. During the period of fieldwork, it was possible to watch individual women (of all ages) undergo quite dramatic changes of personality: in a typical case, one woman in her early forties (from one of the scattered farm houses) took a part-time job changing linen in a hotel - after a short time, she symbolically discarded the traditional dress of a "pagsa" (peasant woman) for that of a "senyora" (gentlewoman; i.e. standard urban Spanish clothing); and a voluble and extraverted new woman emerged from the former subdued one.
The degree of industrialisation of the province of Baleares is still below the average for Spanish provinces (BARCELÓ PONS, 1970: 207), because of the various factors described above. And Ibiza is the least industrialised of the three largest islands, with only about one quarter (in 1965) of its active population employed in the secondary sector. Nevertheless, the importance of the secondary sector has increased steadily in recent years, in response to the new demands created by tourism. The structure of manufacturing industry on Ibiza and Formentera in 1965 is shown in Table Eleven.

**TABLE 11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Number of Establishments</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Number</th>
<th>Average Number Employed Per Firm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Paper, Graphic Arts</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>4.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather, Shoes, Rubber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction, Glass, Ceramics</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water, Gas, Electricity</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BARCELÓ PONS (1970: 208-209)

The table shows the clear predominance of two types of industrial activity: firstly, food manufacture; and secondly, construction (and allied activities such as wood and metal crafts). Although the figures are for 1965, they give a good idea of the present state of industry on Ibiza. There has been a predictable increase in both the number of firms and output over the past few years, with the food and construction
industries maintaining their importance and accounting for much of the more recent growth as well.1

The size of most firms is small, with an average of 6.55 employees per firm. The larger firms are mainly those concerned in construction, and if that category is excluded the average number of employees is only 4.2 persons per firm (1965). Most firms, then, employ under five people, and few employ more than twenty.

Table Twelve shows the age structure in the secondary sector (See Appendix Two) on Ibiza in 1965, with Mallorca included for comparison.

TABLE 12
THE AGE-STRUCTURE OF THE SECONDARY SECTOR (1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Percentage of Active Persons in the Secondary Sector (Out of the Total in Each Age Group)</th>
<th>Percent. of Active Persons in Each Age Group (Out of the Total in the Secondary Sector)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibiza</td>
<td>Mallorca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 19</td>
<td>32.90</td>
<td>37.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>31.54</td>
<td>13.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>32.41</td>
<td>12.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>24.50</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64</td>
<td>20.02</td>
<td>10.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>6.23</td>
<td>29.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>26.32</td>
<td>19.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BARCELO PONS (1970: 221-222)

This table may be compared with Table Seven (page 122) and Table Ten (page 142), above. The age structure of the secondary sector is broadly similar to that of the tertiary sector, and the same factors (see page 141)

---

1 I have examined the register of island businesses for 1969, at the Ibisan Chamber of Commerce, but the data are not used for comparison here, since the classifications are sometimes ambiguous, and my interpretation of them might differ from that of Barceló, whose figures are used in this section.
affect it, although the proportion of female employees is rather lower.

In the short term, tourism has thus been responsible for an important ancillary boom in the secondary sector, mostly concentrated in or near the capital town of Ibiza. But almost all of the industrial activities on the island are closely related to tourism, and the long term prospects are rather uncertain. A recession in tourism, or even a ceiling to the boom, would provoke a contraction in parts of the secondary sector. The construction industry would be particularly adversely affected, as it is dependent on continued expansion. The materials industries would also be affected to some extent, but the food producers would probably be little affected (there is a large excess demand on Ibiza for food and building materials, which is at present met by importation). So far, the volume of tourism has increased each year, with the result that the capital generated by it has been reinvested almost entirely either in tourist facilities or else in directly-related industries. When the boom levels out, some of the new capital may become available for other forms of investment, possibly leading to some growth of the manufacture of goods not related to tourism - but this has happened only to a very small extent as yet.

6.4 THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCES OF THE THREE ECONOMIC SECTORS

Table Thirteen shows the relative importances of the three economic sectors on the Balearic Islands in 1962 and 1964, in terms of production. By 1962, the tertiary sector already accounted for more than half of the total net value of production ("el valor añadido neto") in the province. This compared with about one quarter from the secondary sector and just over one fifth from the primary sector. The 1964 figures show the rapid continuation of the process of economic transformation from farming to tourism. And, in interpreting them, it must be remembered that the number
of tourists visiting the province quadrupled between 1964 (848,705) and 1972 (3,418,647). (MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO ..., 1973) In other words, the tertiary sector now completely dominates the economic life of the Balearic Islands. The secondary sector has also expanded in response to the increased demand, but has so far failed to meet it, the excess being covered by imports to the province. The primary sector has undergone a decline, both relatively and absolutely. (The statistics relating to the province as a whole are determined by the characteristics of Mallorca, which is by far the largest island. Nevertheless, the figures in Table Thirteen give a good indication of what has happened over the past decade on Ibiza as well.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sector One</th>
<th>Sector Two</th>
<th>Sector Three</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2,571</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>3,070.5</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>2,464.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>4,106.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The values are all expressed in millions of pesetas (adjusted for 1962).
b The percentages differ from those in the source, which are incorrect.

6.5 TOURISM AND CAPITALISM ON IBIZA

Consider the following definition of "capitalism":

"The term refers to a form of industrial society in which the greater proportion of life has the following characteristics: the concentration of the means of economic production (capital) and the control of capital is in the hands of private (i.e. non-governmental) owners; resources and wealth are acquired through the operation of the free market; labour is performed by formally free workers who sell their services on the market; and, the maximization of profit is the goal and stimulus of economic activity.

In what might be termed classical capitalism the economic functions
of society are served by numerous, highly differentiated and relatively small producers. Each producer, either wholly or in part, owns and controls his enterprise and bears the full risk and benefits of his activity. Control and co-ordination of the many activities and decisions of both producers and consumers are achieved through the operations of the free market in which what is supplied, in what quantities and at what price are largely determined by demand on the part of the consumers and by competition between producers. Essential to such a system is a monetary unit which acts both as a source of wealth and as an accounting medium measuring the profit and loss of the enterprise."

(HUGHES, 1970: 23)

In the light of this definition, the material of preceding sections reveals the existence of a long cumulative process of change on Ibiza, in which the characteristics of an economy determined by subsistence requirements and regulated by traditional norms have been gradually replaced by the characteristics of "classical capitalism". In the traditional period the island economy had very few of these characteristics. In the intermediate period many of the essential features of a capitalist economy were present, including the common use of money for exchanges, private ownership, a largely free market, formally free workers selling their labour, and so on. But agriculture still dominated economic production on the island, whose economic arrangements - particularly in the country - retained many traditional features such as subsistence crops and payment in kind, according to traditional norms. It seems that there was no shortage of a capitalist spirit on the island, but for various reasons industrial manufacture remained very limited. Such industry as there was did fit quite well the definition of "classical capitalism", but it was almost entirely restricted to the capital town, and it was often dependent on the activities of the primary sector, while it was in any case only of secondary importance to the island's economy.

These considerations underline the radical nature of the economic transformation wrought by tourism. Even in recent years, the growth of manufacturing industry has been almost entirely ancillary to tourism, with a predominance of construction and allied trades (which are sometimes treated as belonging to the tertiary sector). But, for the first time, the whole
Ibisan economy is now characterised by private enterprise capitalism.

6.6 TOURISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic transformation of Ibisa may have important implications for other rural "traditional", or semi-traditional, areas visited by tourism (or with touristic potential). The point is that tourism seems particularly apt for the capitalist development of such areas, which have formerly tended to remain on the fringe of major economic development elsewhere. There are two main reasons for the special aptness of tourism:

(i) Tourists from the affluent industrial nations tend to be attracted by areas which are, by virtue of their geography, both scenic and lacking in large-scale manufacturing industry.

(ii) An especial feature of "service industries" in general is that:

"Many of them are performed with the help of much less capital equipment than is required for manufacture or agriculture..."

(Clark, 1957: 375).

Thus the factors which inhibited previous economic development on Ibisa have not affected the development of tourism adversely - in fact, the opposite is true. And the initial exploitation of tourism has been possible even for people with very little capital. The starting capital may be as low as the 10,000 to 20,000 pesetas (£50-120) needed in 1970-1971 to set up a small beach "kiosko". During the period of fieldwork, many small ventures of this type were started (although few required quite so little capital), and there were plenty of further opportunities - although signs of saturation of space or resources were appearing in some places.¹

¹At the same time, tourism on Ibisa has provided many large-scale investment opportunities, of course. A large modern hotel could cost anything from about 50 to 150 million pesetas in 1970, and these sums are usually raised through companies. Tourism has also resulted in a greatly-increased demand for services such as electricity, water, butane gas, petrol, transport and telecommunications - which require very large initial outlays, and are typically the province of state monopolies or very large corporations.
The following question arises from this analysis: can tourism provide a new path to economic development for "underdeveloped" areas?

Models of development have generally stressed manufacturing industry as an essential basis for large-scale capitalist development. For example:

"The takeoff is defined as an industrial revolution, tied directly to radical changes in methods of production, having their decisive consequence over a relatively short period of time. . . . the rapid growth of one or more new manufacturing sectors is a powerful and essential engine of economic transformation."

(ROSTOW, 1964: 289)

It has sometimes been suggested that agriculture might form the "leading sector" (ROSTOW, 1964: 288) in economic development, involving the use of new crops and techniques; but until very recently the possibility that the "services industries" might play this role was hardly considered.¹ Now, when "International tourism has become the largest single item in foreign trade" (See pp. 1-2, above), the possibility can no longer be ignored.

The implication is that tourism may provide a mode of development in which the order of the sectors of growth is reversed. Rostow has made the following useful distinction among:

"(a) Primary growth sectors, where possibilities for innovation or for the exploitation of newly profitable or hitherto unexplored resources yield a high growth rate and set in motion expansionary forces elsewhere in the economy;
(b) Supplementary growth sectors, where rapid advance occurs in direct response to - or as a requirement of - advances in the primary growth sectors, e.g., coal, iron and engineering in relation to railroads . . .
(c) Derived growth sectors, where advance occurs in some fairly steady relation to the growth of total real income, population, industrial

¹There are several possible lines of criticism of models of the Rostowian type. For the limited purposes of this section, however, the Marxist criticisms in terms of the importance of international or national inequalities and neo-colonialism (e.g. FRANK, 1970: 39-47) may be disregarded, since the fact of economic growth on Ibiza is undeniable - and the question of distribution is discussed later. Nor do the arguments which stress the different conditions of underdeveloped countries from those of industrial countries at the times of their past "takeoff" (e.g. NYRDAL, 1971: Ch.2, "Differences in Conditions") affect the major point under consideration here - the emphasis on manufacturing industry (which is shared by some of Rostow's critics).
production or some other overall, modestly increasing parameter.
Food output in relation to population, housing in relation to family
formation are classic derived relations of this order."

(ROSTOW, 1964: 288)¹

Although Rostow has stressed that there is no one set sequence of development,
he sees the primary growth sectors as being essentially confined to
manufacturing. But, if this limitation is dropped, similar concepts may
be applied to recent developments in Spain, e.g.:

"Tourism is perhaps the only sector of economic activity in which the
principles of free trade still apply. More important, it is now possible
for underdeveloped countries to improve their economies, not by increasing
exports via low-cost production, but by the transfer of internal demand
from the countries sending out tourists to those receiving them. Tourism
is becoming an activity of equal importance to industry as a primary
basis for economic development and a permanent element in a country's
economic structure. . . . For economies like that of Spain tourism is
fundamental, and an awareness of its role is essential to an understanding
of the country's rapid economic growth and future prospects."

(NAYLON, 1967: 23)

The detailed analysis of Spain as a whole lies outside the scope of
this thesis, but some insights may be drawn from recent developments on
Ibiza, where there has been a particularly high concentration of tourism.
On Ibiza, tourism has clearly provided a primary growth sector. It has
also stimulated rapid supplementary growth in other service industries,
construction, food manufacture, electrical supplies and communications.
On the other hand, the supplementary growth has so far failed to meet the
full demands of the primary growth sector, so that the island's imports of
raw materials and manufactures have risen very sharply. (Some figures are
given in a later chapter.) And there has so far been rather little
derived growth on Ibiza - on the contrary, there has been a contraction
in agriculture; and little capital has been diverted into forms of manufacture
other than those which cater directly to the tourist boom.

¹ Rostow's three "growth sectors" should not, of course, be confused with
the three "sectors" of the economy, which are used to divide economic
production into different categories for analysis. (See Appendix Two)
The questions put forward in this section can therefore only receive a partial answer as yet. There is no doubt that tourism has transformed the Ibisan economy from a semi-traditional to an essentially capitalist basis, integrated into national and international markets. The tourist boom has also brought unprecedented sustained affluence, at least for the present. But it is not possible to say as yet whether the island's rapid economic growth constitutes a "takeoff into sustained growth" in the Rostowian sense. There seem to be three major possibilities:

(i) A war, an European financial crisis, or some other eventuality might cause a sharp recession in tourism (as occurred, on a lesser scale than would now be the case, during the civil war and second world war). Any major crisis of this type would clearly have severe repercussions on Ibisa as long as the island remains so dependent on tourism. On the other hand, such crises affect other sectors of the economy as well as tourism, and Ibisa (prior to tourism) has been severely affected by them in the past, so that the island's vulnerability cannot entirely be attributed to its reliance on tourism.

(ii) The market for Ibisan tourism will continue to expand as more people travel abroad, and as some begin to take more than one holiday per year. So far, the events have followed this pattern, and there appears to be room for further expansion for some time to come.

(iii) However, sooner or later, the tourism on Ibisa must reach a ceiling through saturation of either the demand or the island's resources (for example, difficulties over water supplies have already been described). When this happens, the level of tourism could begin to decline, causing a contraction in the island's economy. But it may well stabilise at a certain level, if the main factors stimulating Ibisan tourism (in particular the desire for a sunny break away from urban-industrial life and work) continue to operate. In this case, supplementary and derived growth might both become more important as more capital became available for them.
Under any circumstances, derived investment on Ibiza itself may tend to be limited by the factors described earlier (in Sections 5.8 and 6.1 in particular), so that the island's economic fortunes may rise and fall with tourism. But there is no obvious reason why this should apply to Spain as a whole. Throughout most of the present century, Spain's balance of payments showed a deficit (the exception being the period of neutrality during the first world war). In 1959, the income from tourism exceeded the foreign trade deficit, and since then tourism has been by far the most important source of foreign exchange earnings, equalling or exceeding the value of all exports. Tourism has thus provided the necessary currency for the importation of goods required for industrial development: about half of recent imports were raw materials and capital goods to meet the requirements of the government's development plan. (NAYLON, 1967: 33-34) The peseta has achieved an unprecedented hardness, and there can be no doubt as to the rapid growth in national affluence (although, of course, it is very unequally distributed). Whether this will be sustained, either through the continued expansion of tourism or through the greater derived competitiveness of Spanish industry and agriculture in international markets (or both), remains to be seen. But if it is, as seems likely, then the customary models of economic growth and development will need some appropriate modification.
The first tourists in a peasant region encounter the hospitality traditionally accorded to all non-hostile strangers. In most parts of the Mediterranean they have received a friendly welcome, with spontaneous gifts and courtesies. Quite rapidly, however, the natives have been forced to develop new categories of strangers, and those identified as "tourists" are generally treated in a unique new manner which combines elements of relationships as diverse as those of host-guest, servant-master, entertainer-spectator, proprietor-client, salesman-buyer, and even farmer-crop. The tourists, finding this less agreeable than the traditional hospitality, tend to regard the natives as "money-grabbers" or "cheats" with double standards. And the first-comers often become disdainful, saying that the area has been "spoilt" by all the "package tourists", whereupon they start looking for fresh places where the process may be repeated.

These particular changes are peculiar to tourism, and one purpose of this chapter is to examine changes of this type. It also attempts, however, to set them into the context of broader changes in exchange values, norms and practices on Ibiza, some of which have been taking place for centuries, even though they have often been greatly accelerated by tourism.

There are many parallels between the current social changes on Ibiza and the changes attributed to urbanisation and industrialisation by nineteenth century sociologists. An interesting aspect of tourism, however,

---

1See, for example, JOHNS (1973).
is that it typically extends such changes to rural areas - both through
culture contact with the predominantly urban tourists and through the
fundamental changes in communications and the local economy produced by
mass tourism. Indeed, the processes described in this chapter might
be summarily viewed as an assimilation of traditional exchange procedures
on rural Ibiza to modern urban ones. It is notable that any urban-industrial
development on Ibiza (apart from the construction of a number of hotels
and related service installations) is incidental in this respect - i.e., it
is not a necessary part of the process. The chapter consequently concentrates
on rural Ibiza, although many points apply in some measure to the capital
town as well.

7.1 "SOCIAL EXCHANGE" AND "ECONOMIC EXCHANGE"

"Social exchange" has had varying connotations among sociologists and
anthropologists. The theoretical ramifications of the concept have been
explored at length by Blau (1964), whose work is used for reference and
comparison in this chapter. But, for reasons which are discussed in
Appendix Five (q.v.), the following definition of "social exchange" (which
is wider and more flexible than that of Blau) is used here:

"Social exchange" refers to any exchange of goods, services, and/or
socio-psychological rewards (such as gratitude, affection, esteem,
deference, obedience, etc.) to which the following criteria apply:
(i) The significance of the exchange goes beyond the instrumental
value of the things exchanged; and
(ii) The social relationship between the parties to the exchange both
affects the exchange and is affected by it to a significant extent
(the "social relationship" may include kinship or other social ties,
non-rational affective links and positions in the order of social
inequality).

An advantage of this definition is that it may be applied not only to
gifts and favours but also to trade relationships. The other features of
social exchange in Blau's usage, which are listed in Appendix Five, are not
taken for granted here, as they require empirical verification. The
distinction between social exchange and economic exchange remains clear, however, since the latter typically refers to rationally-conceived exchanges of goods or services at an agreed specific exchange value, or price, with no further social significance for the participants.

Reference is made in Appendix five to the difficulty of categorizing some types of exchange on Ibiza, such as bartering practices which share features of both social and economic exchange. The problem may be resolved, however, by viewing the two concepts as ideal types, and as polar extremes on a continuum, as in the following diagram:

```
(PURE)  "love"  "disinterested"  "interested"  barter  cash  cash  (PURE)
SOCIAL  friendship  friendship  sales  sales  ECONOMIC
EXCHANGE  |            |            |  on  |  in  |
Ibiza  U.K.  |

(The things exchanged are purely expressive, or mere tokens - "It's the thought that counts")
```

It is thus possible to refer to a particular exchange as being "more social" or "less social", "mainly economic", and so on. It is also possible, using this definition of social and economic exchange, to describe changes over time and place, or between generations - buying land from a young man on Ibiza may differ sharply from buying it from an older one, for example.

7.2 THE TRADITIONAL IBIZAN "THEORY" OF EXCHANGE

Stripped of their more esoteric terminology, most of the major ideas about social exchange (and about its relationship with social

1 Cf. SAHLINS (1968), esp. pp. 144-147.
inequality) which are in vogue among sociologists would be readily
intelligible to Ibsan peasants. They would, moreover, seem more familiar
to the Ibsans than to their English or American counterparts. Probably
the most fundamental reason for this difference is that only very recently
- with the growth of tourism - has the cash nexus become predominant on
Ibisa. Even now, many exchanges retain a "more social" character than in
England. These points are elaborated in the following sections, but first
it is important to note that there is a fairly systematic popular theory
of exchange relationships on Ibisa, which is quite explicitly applied to
everyday social interaction by the local people, especially by those living
in the country.

While on the one hand many "economic" exchanges are "more social" on
Ibisa than in England, it is also true on the other hand that even the most
"obviously" affective relationships are viewed partly in terms of exchange,
in a more rigorous manner than in England. For example, there are two
distinct meanings of "amic" ("friend") in common use: the term can refer
either to an affective bond or to a link of influence or obligation. To
call someone "un amic meu" (a friend of mine) may imply either type of bond,
although both are usually involved to some extent. When the stress is on
the affective link, a superlative form may be resorted to - "és molt amic meu"
(he is very much my friend) or "som molt bons amis" (we are very good
friends). But - in case the meaning is still ambiguous - some other comment
may be added such as "és molt simpàtic" (he is very likeable) or "li estima
molt" (I like/love him).²

¹The tourism itself is another factor making for explicit norms of exchange
on Ibisa at present, because traditional values and norms are frequently
being questioned - i.e. made conscious or explicit.

²The word "estimar" is itself of interest: its commonest connotation is
"to like or love". The word "voler" (to will/wish/want) is not used in this
sense, unlike the Castilian term "querer" (to want/love). There is another
word for love - "amor" - but this is rarely used except as a noun - "l'amor".
"Estimar" may also mean to esteem, estimate or evaluate, which underlines the
close link between affection and exchange in Ibsan eyes.
Though interpreted less casually, the concept of friendship is much wider than in England, embracing "acquaintances" as well (this does not imply that such distinctions cannot be made in Ibizan Catalan, of course). But to say that two people "no son amics" ("are not friends") does not usually mean that they are unacquainted: rather, it suggests that they know one another and have quarrelled. To have quarrelled is regarded as a serious - though not uncommon - state of affairs, and the relationship is explicitly hostile, with little attempt at dissimulation. "No se tracten" (They do not treat with one another) is a significant way of expressing this. It implies that people who are not amics not only do not speak to one another, but have no dealings of any kind, unless they are unavoidable. Conversely, the country people on Ibiza have preferred whenever possible - though tourism has brought changes - to do business and to deal with people who are known, liked and trusted. Their attitude in this respect contrasts sharply with the common English notion that business should be kept apart from friendship and pleasure.

The generally "social" character of exchange on Ibiza is also evidenced by the importance given to confiança (trustworthiness). BLAU has suggested that:

"Social exchange is distinguished from strictly economic exchange by the unspecified obligations incurred in it and the trust both required for and promoted by it."

(BLAU, 1964: 8. My italics. See also Appendix Five.)

Confiança is a prime consideration in all dealings among older people on Ibiza. During the fieldwork period, for example, I looked at numerous pieces of land for sale, on behalf of other people, and the following friendly warnings were constantly reiterated to me:

"És pareix que en X és un home de confiança ... però mai convé fiar-se massa!"  "It seems to me that Mr. X is a man of trustworthiness ... but it is never appropriate to be too trusting!"

"No és de fiar, aquest."  "This man is not to be trusted."
Since no-one wants to deal with an untrustworthy man, confiança is also a vital component of personal reputations on Ibiza, much more so than in places where economic transactions are of a transitory, impersonal type. Although different people may view the same person in varying lights, there are some objective criteria of confiança, which may be used to assess persons about whom some information is known, but who are not close acquaintances. Any evidence of unreliability of whatever kind naturally diminishes confiança. But the most frequent reason given for regarding someone as untrustworthy was they had quarrelled with someone else - "están abarrallats" ("they are in a state of having quarrelled"). Quarrelling (excluding minor arguments or rows) is generally seen as "una cosa de gent que no té raó" (a thing involving people who lack reasonableness). To quarrel occasionally may have little effect on a reputation, especially if as culpa (the blame) can clearly be laid at the other's door. But of anyone who quarrels with any frequency, or without clear cause, it is soon said: "No és molt de raó, aquest." ("He's not very reasonable, this one."); or, more strongly, "Aquest és un home rar/molt rar/molt especial!" ("His one is an odd man/very odd/very peculiar!"). Quarrels among neighbours and kin are naturally both comparatively common and the most deprecated. The most serious stigma attaches to siblings who have quarrelled (usually over inheritances): "Són germans però no són amics. Està molt lleig, això!" ("They are brothers but they are not friends. That is very 'ugly'!"). In Ibisan eyes it is best to avoid financial transactions with such evidently untrustworthy people, or at least to treat them with caution ("anar alerta").

Trust is also closely related to reciprocity, which is practised on Ibiza with a degree of precision and concern which can appear exaggerated to an English person (there are certain exceptions - e.g. relationships with sick people and not-infrequent cases of disinterested generosity). During the period of fieldwork, my wife and I were gradually drawn into a cumulative set of exchange relationships, and we soon found it necessary
to think about reciprocity very carefully, in order to avoid giving offence. This was only partly due to the difficulties common to all newcomers to a community. The Ibizans take similar care among themselves, even over quite minor details. In a group of young people with whom we were friendly, for example, the acceptance of a cigarette by anyone who had none to return would be accompanied by a cheerful (but implicitly embarrassed or apologetic) joke: "Sempre anam de gorres, maltres!" ("we always go around with our caps!" - i.e. begging). Anyone who fails to reciprocate soon acquires a reputation for being *oric/oricany* ("stingy" or "mean") - or, more commonly, "cagat" (literally "shitty", figuratively "mean"). More serious failings worsen the reputation: the person becomes a "caradura" ("hard face") or "descarat" ("one who has lost face"). Finally, it may be decided that "no té mica de vergonya!" ("he has no shame at all!") or "és un perdut." ("he is a 'lost person'!" - this expression and that which precedes it are also often applied to sexual misbehaviour). And, of course, such a person "no és de fiar" (is not to be trusted).

1 "Honour" and "shame" and related concepts have figured very prominently (and, indeed, have perhaps been over-emphasized) in Mediterranean studies. (See, e.g., *PELSTIANY, 1965.)* Their relationship with courtship, sexual behaviour in general, and differences between the sexes, has usually been the major theme in such studies, whereas the main concern of this section is with economic behaviour. However, this may be an appropriate point at which to mention that traditional courtship patterns and sexual values on Ibiza show interesting divergences from the patterns found in Mediterranean studies in general, as also from those in other parts of Spain so far described.

In San José, the traditional style of courtship was referred to as "courting with many" (*festetjar amb molts*). Courtship in couples (chaperoned or otherwise) is a fairly recent innovation to the dispersed country dwellers, and there is still no tradition of a "paseo" of the type found elsewhere. In the past, groups of suitors - combining courtship with recreation - would *meet* at a girl's house on agreed evenings and on feast-days, taking turns to court her (under strict rules of etiquette), while the rest played cards and chatted amongst themselves or with the parents, at the far end of the room. Suitors would also take turns to accompany nubile girls to and from church, under the discreet gaze of the following parents.

The folk concept of sexual honour on the island is generally much less rigid than those described in *PELSTIANY (1965)*, even though it appears to have been modified to some extent over the centuries by the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, which has long opposed the rural style of courtship, with only partial success. The influence of the church has been more notable in "public" sexual behaviour and values than in their "private" counterparts. Thinly-disguised sexual innuendo and bawdy *rhymes* are an important aspect of
Not only is the need for reciprocity more carefully recognised in everyday interaction on Ibiza, it is also applied more explicitly to social institutions such as the family, marriage, and inheritance, in which the mutual rights and duties are much less vaguely conceived than in England. Taking inheritance as an example, whereas in England wills are seen as being subject almost exclusively to the wishes of the testate (who may leave his possessions how and to whom he chooses), on Ibiza there are elaborate regulations, based on local tradition, which restrict both the possible beneficiaries and the portions which they may receive (even though this does not prevent anyone from disposing of his property in other ways.

Rural humour on Ibiza, and women are not expected to feign ignorance or embarrassment in "private" contexts, such as gatherings of relatives and friends. Indeed, there are traditional forms of bawdy song in which men and women alternated - either after each verse (cangons de porfeci) or else after each song (cangons puntoses) - becoming progressively more sexually suggestive about the "opponent", or accusing them of grossness in other ways, e.g. in urinating. Night courtship or bundling (anar de finestres) was also a common practice, though not with the overt knowledge of the girl's parents. The desired outcome of the initial process of courtship "with many" was betrothal to one of the youths, after which the others would leave the field. If a girl particularly favoured one of the suitors, he might call on her discreetly at night: especially if early marriage seemed assured, some girls would "lie" (joure) with their betrothed (promes), without waiting for the church's authority. Such customs and values are more reminiscent of those described for rural Wales (RESM, 1951: 82-90) - again in an area of scattered dwellings - or those of rural Scandinavia (e.g. TALANDON, 1970: 176-78), although it should be noted that LISON TOLOJJA (1969: 23) has mentioned rather similar arrangements and attitudes in Galicia, in northern Spain.

These traditional sexual values on Ibiza also help to explain the generally tolerant attitude adopted towards unorthodox sexual behaviour by foreign visitors (nudism on Ibizan beaches, for example, has caused much more scandal and outrage in the mainland press than among the islanders themselves) and the relatively smooth acceptance by older people of new modes of courtship among the younger islanders, influenced by tourism.

I know of no satisfactory writings on courtship and sexual values on Ibiza, past or present. There is no shortage of inaccurate or bowdlerised descriptions, and useful but incomplete information may be found, e.g., in MacLEND (1966-67: vol. IV, passim). This may be partly due to the tendency for rural islanders to present an account of courtship to literate outsiders which conforms more closely than the reality to official (church) mores. I hope, however, to be able to write up some of the fieldwork material on these and kindred topics elsewhere, since their detailed treatment in this thesis (given the limitations of space and the focus on economic and stratificational themes) would not be appropriate.

The island's special inheritance arrangements are incorporated in the regional appendices to the national civil code: see CODIGO CIVIL ...

during his lifetime). Each child on Ibiza has a birthright (legithma), but the larger part of each estate is customarily left to one child alone, "the heir" ("s'hereu"). The choice of an heir is usually made well before the parents die, the reason being that inheritance is seen explicitly as a mutual exchange - and not as a one-sided gift as is often the case in England. In return for the inheritance, the major beneficiary - s'hereu - is expected to remain in the parental home until the parents die, supporting them and caring for them if they become ill, whereas the other children are absolved of this responsibility. In contrast, while it may be observed that benefactions in England often take into account attentions paid to the dying person, there is no definite rule about such posthumous expressions of gratitude comparable with the Ibizan arrangements.

The close and well-recognised link between social relationships and exchanges on Ibiza (whether they are "social" or "economic" exchanges in BLAU's usage) is also illustrated by traditional attitudes to trade. Any person who profits from trading with other islanders is liable to be criticised. Botiguers, for example, the owners of una botiga (a typical all-purpose country store-cum-bar), frequently come under attack for selling something for a peseta or two more than someone else nearby. In this case it is an apparently excessive profit which is being criticised: of a repeated offender it is said that "A ca'n Tal, abusen molt!" ("At so-and-so's store, they 'abuse' a lot!" - e.g. taking advantage of a main-road position to charge higher prices). But in general the idea is clearly that it is wrong to benefit at the expense of your fellows, and all trade for profit among islanders tends to be looked upon as undesirable and demeaning. To prosper

1Cf. the more general observations of WOLF (1966: 47):
"Economic interests are directly opposed, and are not counter-balanced by more personal involvements. . . . Hence, where we find peasants involved in network markets, we also find that the merchant or storekeeper - even when he resides in the village - continues to be regarded as a stranger and outsider. He belongs to the peasant's negative reference category."
through industry in farming or in a craft is praiseworthy (although even in these activities an unusual degree of success would tend to provoke criticism, in view of the island's limited resources). But to become wealthy as an intermediary (intermediary, or middleman of any kind) brings mistrust and hostility, even though these are commonly accompanied by some grudging admiration. This has, in fact, been an important systematic source of tension between town and country on Ibiza in the past, since the most common reason for visiting the town was to trade surplus produce with professional intermediaries. Even now a joking warning may be given to a country person heading towards the town: "No vaiguis a vila - es de vila són molt vius/putes!" ("Don't go to town. The townspeople are very 'alive'/'whores'!") i.e. they will 'fleece' you). Several families in San José, who had become wealthy from humble origins, also came in for a lot of criticism of this type. A common instance at present is that of people who have profited from dealing in land inherited by others. Thus, one man had found it necessary to emigrate to America, but later returned and - after acquiring some initial capital from a small village bar - became very wealthy through astute buying and selling during the earlier years of the tourist boom, and was mayor of the village for some time. People commented that he was "molt viu" ("very astute") and sometimes praised his energy as mayor, but they also alleged that he had become rich through cheating ("trampes"). He had, they said, bought coastal land "a plassos" (by deferred payment in instalments - a common arrangement in private sales of costly items on Ibiza), and he had shortly afterwards resold plots "a's contat" (for immediate cash) at much higher unit prices, before paying off the outstanding debts at the original price. Similar criticisms were made of another man who had arranged to sell a piece of land for a ten per cent commission - but who had in fact taken about forty per cent - this was possible since the owner was non-literate and did not speak Castilian, so that he and the foreign buyer could communicate only through the go-between.
The strength of feeling aroused by such activities may be gauged from the following situation. One day I had been offered a piece of land for sale and was standing talking to the owner and a close Ibo acquaintance of mine, when "en X" (a successful go-between) came by. As soon as the latter was out of ear-shot, the owner started telling me how en X had offered to buy the same piece of land for the asking price - but the owner had refused because he believed that en X only wanted the land "per fer negoci" ("to do business", i.e. to resell the land together with an adjoining piece which he already owned, at a profit). My friend confirmed the story, and the two men spent some time going into details of en X's career, in order to explain the owner's attitude. This incident was remarkable in two respects: firstly in that the owner was apparently prepared to suffer financially, and - at least - preferred to sell to a foreigner than to en X; and secondly because my friend (who mentioned the relationship in an apologetic fashion) was a first cousin of en X (first cousins or "cousins germanos", literally "brother cousins", are seen as close kin on Ibo) - and yet neither he nor the owner hesitated in criticising en X to me.

There are now many people on Ibo engaged in business or in making commissions ("fer comissid") - commissions, especially in land-sales, are a long-standing practice on the island. Providing such people are scrupulous, they may not be criticised. Nevertheless, their motives are always suspect and they are in danger of being called "interessat" (literally "interested": a highly derogatory label which implies that the person concerned only does favours when he stands to benefit himself). More explicitly, it may be alleged that: "Només mira en es sous, aquest!" ("This one only looks at the money!") or "Sempre vol cobrar!" ("He always wants to be paid!").

Exchange of any kind in a close-knit community is thus a potential source of tension, but it is also a contributory factor in many friendships. This is particularly true of the exchange of services rather than material
goods. When someone performs the service of a go-between in a sale, for example, the seller is usually expected to offer a commission which is often accepted - but it may also be refused, in which case the service becomes a favour ("un favor"). This is frequently made explicit by the person refusing the reward, who says: "No, gràcies. No l'he fet per guanyar/per interès. L'he fet per fer un favor, només." - sometimes adding, "Perquè som amics." ("No, thank you. I have not done it for gain. I have done it just to do a favour - because we are friends."). The recipient of the favour will normally press the other to accept some form of reward, since it is felt improper to accept any favour too readily and the hesitation serves to acknowledge the importance of the favour. The same applies to the acceptance of a reward, which may be accepted after some demurring - in which case any obligation is discharged. If no reward is accepted, then an acknowledged debt of gratitude remains, and the friendly relationship is thereby enhanced providing that a return for the favour is forthcoming at some later date. A token return may be made immediately in the form of "una cope" (a goblet, usually of brandy, which is both cheap and quickly drunk), but this serves to smooth over the acceptance of the favour rather than to discharge the obligation. Such favours are of many kinds, and they often form part of a cumulative series - that is, each favour tends to be more valuable than the one which it reciprocates, so that the friendship relationship becomes progressively stronger until it balances out at some level acceptable to both parties.

This, of course, is "social exchange" in the narrow sense used by BLAU and others. The general features of this type of social exchange on Ibiza are clearly similar to those described by BLAU (see Appendix Five); although it is important to realise that they, again, are more carefully observed and applied by Ibizans than by most English or American people. One point made by BLAU needs some qualification, however: the norm of deferred reciprocity in social exchange is frequently broken.
on Ibita. I was often surprised at first - because my preconceptions included the norm of deferred reciprocity - by the haste and insistence with which people generally returned or reward favours. A pattern soon emerged, however: reciprocity was deferred to a degree roughly proportionate to the level of intimacy of the participants. This principle is not particularly notable in societies, like those of England or North America, where exchanges may be divided fairly clearly into two separate categories ("economic" or "social"); since in these societies all "social" exchanges are likely to take place between associates of sufficient intimacy for there to be some expectation of deferral. On Ibita, on the other hand, not only is the distinction between social and economic exchange less clear-cut, but also there are now many immigrants and foreign residents (as well as short-stay tourists) whose presence confuses the traditional exchange relationships among neighbours and friends. If one of these newcomers (e.g. myself) does a favour for a native islander, the latter will often try to reward him or else return the favour post-haste - this reaction appears to stem not so much from any hostility towards outsiders as from the possibility that the newcomer may leave before the obligation can be discharged. This seems, however, to be merely a striking example of a fairly general principle of social exchange.¹

Turning briefly now (the topic plays a more important part in later chapters) to the link between friendship and social standing or influence; each person on Ibita - especially the male head of a household - is seen as having a certain amount of "influência" (literally "influence", but the Ibitan term is used more often than is the English term, and of people in more humble social positions). The amount of his influence depends (according to this way of looking at influence - which interprets influence

¹Dr. B.R. Wilson has commented (in a personal communication) that he has noticed a similar desire to reciprocate immediately with strangers in rural Germany. Cf. also the comments on reciprocity and kinship distance in SAHLINS (1968: 149-158).
of all kinds, including e.g. that derived from wealth or occupation, in terms of personal relationships) on the extent and strength of his personal network of amics (acquaintances) and, in turn, on their influència. In fact the terms "influence" and "friends" are sometimes used interchangeably, as in: "Aquest té molta d'influència."/"Aquest té molts d'amics." ("This one has much influence."/"He has many friends."). Such personal networks may include persons of quite different social standing and, where this is the case, any affective link is usually subordinate to the calculation of mutual advantage. It would be easy to draw parallels between the operation of influence in England and that on Ibiza, but there is an important difference of degree. Perhaps the most obvious English parallel is the concept of the "old school tie" networks - but these are characteristic of the upper social strata only, whereas the significance of influence on Ibiza extends to people of all social positions.

Reference is made in Appendix Five to the static character of many writings (e.g. those of Blau) on exchange relationships. This section likewise has mostly contained a static (though comparative) analysis of traditional exchange relationships on Ibiza. But it is only intended to set the scene for the descriptions of social changes which follow. The present tense has been used since the traditional features still hold true for many exchanges on the island. But there have been considerable changes, especially during the past few years of the tourist boom: the traditional popular "theory" of exchange has been modified for exchanges between islanders; and it simply cannot be applied to many exchanges which involve immigrants, foreigners and tourists.

1 Other English examples, such as "string-pulling", might be adduced against the distinction made here - nevertheless, I have no doubt that such a difference exists, on the basis of fieldwork observations. In fact, this is perhaps why exchange theory has had more widespread application in anthropology than in sociology: in Parsonsian terms, the more particularistic a society is, the more important and pervasive the operation of influence.
7.3 CURRENCY DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASH NEXUS

A progressive increase in the use of money and the spread of the cash nexus to almost all types of exchange have been fundamental sources of change in the characteristics of exchange on Ibiza, as elsewhere. But the process was much slower than on the mainland - until recently, when mass tourism has brought it to an accelerated conclusion.

Coins were minted on the island as early as Punic and Roman times, and many surviving examples may be seen in the local museums. Small copper coins were also minted on a number of occasions during the traditional period, after the thirteenth-century Catalan reconquest. This local coinage suffered from periodic bouts of rapid inflation, and it could not be used elsewhere, silver money being required for external trade.

The use of coinage nevertheless remained very limited throughout the traditional period. The family being the basic unit both of production and of consumption, many families themselves produced almost everything they required, using subsistence farming methods and home handicrafts. Even in the town, many people owned a feixa (a fertile irrigated plot near the town) or a finca (farm) in the country (worked by a share-cropper), and hence received most of their food from the land. There was only one market-place - "la plaça" ("the square") - on the whole island. The goods were sold to the public through stall-holders, and there were no weekly direct-sale markets of the type found on Mallorca. This economic arrangement was reflected in the spoke-like layout of the main roads on Ibiza, radiating out from the capital town to each of the major village centres. Peasants might therefore take any surplus goods to the town, purchasing any requirements at the same time, before plodding homewards. But the unfavourable bargain likely to be obtained from the stall-holders was an inducement to barter.

---

1 There are descriptions of the early Ibisan coins in MACABICH (1966-67: I, 68) and in MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION (1969: 68 et seq.).
goods privately whenever possible.

External trade was limited to the periodic purchase of grain (especially wheat) and a few other goods. Because of the chronic shortage of money on the island, the usual currency for this trade was Ibsan salt (its usufruct still being common to all Ibsans by a concession of the seigneurs in 1267): "Se compra todo con sal . . ." ("Everything is bought with salt . . .") say the accounts of the Jurados (the elected island administrators) in 1683, for example. (Cited in MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 405)

During the intermediate period, from the latter half of the eighteenth century, the increase in external trade brought about an increase in the supply of money on Ibsa, and there was a corresponding decrease in the importance of barter:

"Esta facilidad de comercio, que en otro siglo no existía, ha traído abundancia de moneda, la que apenas se conocía en los siglos pasados en la Isla, en los cuales no se vendían los géneros por dinero constante, sino que se permutaban unos géneros por otros. De aquí venía la frase vulgar, que usaban en sus Contratos: 'fem quelcom', expresión propia de esta país, que significa baratar una cosa por otra, como almendras por trigo, higos por aceite y otras cosas semejantes."  

"This facility of commerce, which formerly did not exist, has brought an abundance of coinage, which was almost unknown on the Island in past centuries, in which goods were not sold for constant money, but rather were some goods exchanged for others. Hence came the popular expression, which they used in their Contracts: 'fem quelcom', an expression peculiar to this place, which means to barter one thing for another, such as almonds for wheat, figs for oil and other similar things."


Even so, the changes of the intermediate period were very slow and limited by comparison with those of the touristic period. A common comment made to me by middle-aged and older people in San José was: "Ara es jóvens només gasten, però antes es sous se guaridan perquè n'hi havia pocs." ("Nowadays the young people just spend, but previously money used to be saved because there was little of it."). When I asked what was meant by "antes", I was usually told "Ya una vint o treinta anys." ("About twenty or thirty years ago.") - or, more explicitly, "Antes de venir es turisme"
"Before tourism came". Some country families still have "onces d'or" (literally "ounces of gold") - old gold coins handed down through several generations. Even the poorer families would have a little golden jewellery in traditional island styles (similar patterns may be seen among Punic relics), to be worn proudly on feast days. These would be parted with only in cases of great necessity. The family's store of coins and other valuables was commonly hidden somewhere about the house - in cushions, under the bed, or in the wall, for example - and hence the phrase still used jokingly when a house is left empty: "Qué heu adressat es sous?" ("Have you put away the money?). The more sophisticated country people ("es más espavilat") now have a bank account, and sometimes have more than one. Apart from the small hoard of valuables, whose sentimental value tended to limit their practical utility, the amount of cash saved in the intermediate period was necessarily small by present-day standards, in spite of the greater thrift referred to by the older people. Asking about various of the wealthiest farming families in the San José area, I was told that, at one of the richest houses, the family (twenty or thirty years ago) "quissés tenien mil pessetes o una cosa així - però una casa abon tenien gine centes ja era prou rica!" ("might have had a thousand pesetas or something like that - but a house where they had five hundred was still quite rich!).

The dramatic changes in this respect during the touristic period may be appreciated from current changes in terminology. The terms "ric"/"molt rica" ("rich"/"very rich") are usually reserved for families who are (or were) rich in the sense that they own farmland. Where monetary wealth is concerned, the newer terms "millonari"/"multimillonari" ("millionaire"/"multimillionaire" - in pesetas, hence not uncommon) are more often used; and they are normally used of individuals rather than of families. Thus, farmers who have amassed wealth through land-sales, and entrepreneurs of all kinds who have made money from tourism, are "millonaris"
rather than "rius". Alternatively, it may be said that "aquest té molts de bitllets" ("this one has many [bank]-notes"), and the phrase is often accompanied by a gesture miming a bank clerk counting money. The changes in terminology thus epitomise the transfer from land to capital as the basis of wealth on Ibiza, and the conclusive adoption of monetary exchange - which has resulted from the vast expansion in the local supply of money produced by tourism. 

7.4 THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS IN INTERNAL TRADE

The exchange of goods by sale or trade is commonly thought of as being typically "economic" exchange (see, for example, BLAU, 1964). In Appendix Five, however, it is stated that all forms of exchange on Ibiza - especially prior to tourism - contained a strong "social" element. This section elaborates this idea with reference to internal trade, and describes some major changes introduced by tourism.

Barter was the most characteristic form of internal trade on Ibiza in the past. In principle, barter differs from monetary exchange only in that at least two sets of goods are involved in a single transaction, without any intermediate asymmetric exchanges which employ an intrinsically worthless currency. The exchange values of different goods could be defined as precisely in a barter economy as in a monetary one - although the list would necessarily be far more complex, since each good would have as many "prices" as there were other goods available for exchange.

A rider must be added, however. The following sections contain examples of existing exchange arrangements and other practices which obviate the use of money. Payment in kind is still quite common in the country. And barter still occurs even in some exchanges related to tourism, such as the transfer of land for the building of apartment blocks or hotels. In general, though, such practices tend to be limited to country people and with few exceptions are declining fairly rapidly. The cash nexus predominates completely in exchanges involving strangers and tourists.
But, in practice, barter on Ibiza has typically involved a process of bargaining (regateig or regatetjan). The exchange values are initially unspecified (cf. BLAU's criteria of social exchange, cited in Appendix Five), even though the participants may have a good idea of the eventual outcome. Depending on the importance of the transaction and the personalities of the participants, the bargaining process may be more or less protracted; but it normally involves a considerable amount of social interaction, which contributes to social ties (or to hostility if the conclusion is not satisfactory to either participant) - and the exchange itself is also affected by the pre-existing social relationship. These are, of course, the criteria used above to define "social exchange" - even though the principal aim of barter is economic.

Most exchanges among Ibizans (even in the country) now involve money rather than barter, but some of the traditional "social" features persist.

After I had been on Ibiza for nearly a year (by which time I was reasonably fluent in the dialect and had a working knowledge of local bargaining procedure), I bought a second-hand scooter from a local man. The transaction, of which an outline follows in the form of a simple situational analysis, illustrates both the survival of some traditional features and the introduction of some new ones (firstly, because of the use of money; and, secondly, because of the participation of a foreigner, though admittedly not a very typical one).

---

**BUYING A SECOND-HAND SCOOTER ON IBIZA (December, 1970)**

**EVENTS**

I mentioned casually¹ to a few friends and close neighbours that I was thinking of buying a cheap (barat) second-hand scooter, because my car had been bonded. Did they know of any?

After several unfruitful leads, an X put me on to a suitable scooter. An Y, "who works with an Z on the lorries", apparently had a scooter in good condition.

**COMMENTS**

¹"casually", because the degree of urgency of buyer and seller affects the bargaining.

²This happened about ten days after we had made the first enquiries, which had provided some idea of the current values.

An X, an unmarried man of about thirty, was quite well-known to us, and we were on friendly terms, though not close. We
which he said he would sell for 8,000 pesetas. En X said that he had told en Y that we would not want to pay that much. What, he had asked, was "s'ultim preu" (the final or lowest possible price)? 7,000 pesetas, had replied en Y; but en X had pressed him further, saying that he thought we still would not pay so much - would en Y accept 6,000 ptas. in cash ("a's contat")?

-- "No va dir ni que si ni que no."3

En X said that he thought that the price was reasonable. But he offered to look in at Ca sa Vespa ("the Vespa shop") for us, when he was in town the following day, to see if there were any cheaper or better scooters there - he added that it was preferable for him to go, as they would charge a higher price to a foreigner, probably.

A week later, he came to see us, saying that there was nothing suitable in Ca sa Vespa. He opined that we might get en Y to accept as little as 5,000 pesetas by haggling: "Aquí tenim el estum de recatetjar [sic]."4

About a fortnight later, en X and I went to en Y's house. After an exchange of greetings and some initial conversation, en X commented that: "Aquest senyor té interès en sa vespa." He also explained that we had gone to en Y's house rather than to ca'n Bernat, because I was not sure that I should recognize him.6

There was a short discussion of the state of the scooter, in which en Y played down its condition, saying that he had bought it and not touched it since. I said that it really did not seem bad at all, although neither of us made any comments which might seriously damage our bargaining position.7 Then, en Y suggested that I should try the scooter. While I was away (en X later informed me), en Y asked en X what price he had told me, and he replied "6-7,000 ptas." On my return, there was a renewed discussion of the state of the scooter, much as before.

were, however, very friendly with his father, as also with en Z - his brother-in-law. En X had also had a number of English lessons from us - without charge - although he had offered payment as a matter of course. En Y, the scooter owner, was known to us only by sight.

3"And he said neither yes nor no." i.e. any further debate would have to be with me in person.

4"Here we have the custom of bargaining." Typical island practices are often introduced with this phrase. Note the advice on bargaining, and the warning about foreigners being charged more for goods whose prices are not fixed. This disclosure was neither to the credit nor to the financial benefit of the islanders. And yet the bonds of acquaintance and unreciprocated favours (the English lessons) were easily enough to overcome ethnocentric loyalties. In fact, such advice is not infrequently given to those foreign residents who are on friendly terms with indigenous neighbours - though less often to tourists, of course.

5"This gentleman is interested in the scooter." . . . "gentleman", because foreign and respectfully dressed. Note also the careful use of words - "is interested in", not "wants to buy".

6In fact, the main reason for going to the house was convenience: I could have asked for en Y in the bar. Some reason is felt necessary for visiting people's homes, however. Many such transactions are carried out in ca'n Bernat, the largest village bar - we met there later to arrange the legal details.

7At first sight paradoxical, it is quite common for the seller on Ibiza to play down the merits of what he is selling in this way (especially in the sale of land). The reasons seem to include a feeling that it is improper to boast and the consideration (sometimes made explicit) that any exaggerated claims might lead to later ill-feeling. The resulting behaviour is the Gemeinschaft equivalent of the Gesellschaft technique known as "the soft sell".
Eventually, I asked: "I com és de preu?" ("And what sort of price is it?")

"Bueno, per vostè ... jo la vendria per set mil pessetes." ("Well, for you ... I would sell it for seven thousand pesetas.")

I "considered" this, before replying:

"Per altres és una mica cara ... per cinc mil sì que la compraría ... i al contat, però set mil ..."-- "Per cinc mil no la puc vendre ... bueno, pot pensar-s'ho si vol ... a què li pareix si rebaix cinc centes - sis mil cinc centes?"

I still looked dubious, until en X interposed - what about 6,000? I repeated this to en Y, who countered:

"No sé ... bueno, però per vostè no ve de cinc centes pessetes, és ver? No li importaria cinc centes més o menys?"

"Això sí que és cert! Som estudiant i per jo val cada pesseta." ("That is definitely not so! I am a student and for me each peseta counts.") - I laughed.

"(Laughing too, less formal)"

"Però no té famili ni fills per guardar com jo."-- "Però sí que teco una dona, a no mes sobra res."-- "I ella no treballa?"

"Sí que treballa dins la casa, però no guanya res. Ídó, quedem amb això? - A sis mil?"

"Ídò bé." -- "But you don't have a family nor children to look after like I do."

"But yes I have a wife, and we don't have too much of anything." -- "And she doesn't work?"

"Yes she works in the house, but she does not earn anything. So, shall we leave it at that? - At six thousand?"

"All right, then."

The exchange finally agreed, we went on talking for some time, and then arranged to meet in the large bar, Ca'n Bernat, where we could arrange "es paperes" (the documents) and could also find the local spare-time insurance agent. On the way back to the village, en X asked me if I was satisfied with the deal, and I said that I was and thanked him for his efforts. He dismissed the thanks, commenting that he thought the price was fair. He added that he had no "interés" in the transaction: there were some people who would act as "intermediaris" only to make a thousand pessetas in commission (per fer mil pessetas), but he had done it just to do a favour (per fer un
Although he did not mention them, it was clear that this favour was at least partly in return for the English classes, and this ancillary social exchange served to strengthen our relationship.

A few days later, I stopped on the scooter at \textit{en Z}'s house, when \textit{en Y} happened to be there, helping repair a lorry. I was asked how the scooter was going - and \textit{en Z} and his wife teased \textit{en Y} about the deal, saying jokingly to me that no doubt he would have charged me a lot for it. I said no, I was quite happy with the price - and \textit{en Y} commented, reddening slightly: "\textit{En Ron sap bé que li he cobrat igual com si hagués nasgut aquí! No és ver?}" ("\textit{En Ron [i.e. myself] well knows that I have charged him the same as if he had been born here! [Looking to me for confirmation] Isn't that so?}"). I agreed. The others commented that, anyway, I was "already an Ibisan" ("un eivissa, ja"), and the conversation passed on to something else. Despite the joking tone, it was clear that \textit{en Y} would have been highly embarrassed if it had become known that he had charged me a high price, and the jokes tested him. For this reason, great secrecy surrounds exchanges on Ibiza. It may be noted that neither \textit{en Y} nor I mentioned the price paid - even though it was satisfactory to us both - in the rather public situation just described. It was quite possible that \textit{en Z} knew the price already, however, from his brother-in-law - since secrets are confidences among intimates.

On numerous occasions during the fieldwork, the need for secrecy was explicitly emphasised. For example, a man showing me the way to his neighbour's house one day stopped some way off (out of sight in the dark), saying: "Jo li esperaré aquí, per si vol parlar d'un secret." ("I will wait for you here, in case you want to speak about a secret."). The "secret" (used simply in the sense of anything private or confidential) referred to a piece of land for sale. People selling land often emphatically asked me not to disclose the price to anyone else, and one man even made this a condition of selling. This was even more notable when the asking price
was low; probably because it is considered more damaging to be seen as "bambo" ("soft" or "silly") than as "viu" ("sharp" or "smart"). Discretion in public is, in general, an important component of "confianga" (trustworthiness) on Ibiza: those lacking such discretion are said to "tonir molt de cuentu" ("have a lot to tell") and are not to be trusted with confidential matters of any kind.

The scooter sale thus involved a complex set of social interactions. The initial inquiries provided an occasion for talking to a number of people, who were then able to do me a small favour by letting me know of any scooters available. En X was able to return a favour. En Y and I were both satisfied with the exchange and thereafter had an amicable casual greetings relationship, which could have developed further had we been of similar ages or interests. There was an exchange of drinks in the bar, and I became acquainted with several other people such as the spare-time insurance agent. While some similarities may be found, the sale of a scooter in England is typically quite different: the buyer responds to a small advertisement, goes to the house of a total stranger, inspects the machine and asks about the price (perhaps trying to beat it down, but in an impersonal fashion), concludes the deal, and thereafter does not see the seller again. On Ibiza, there are variations in the practice of bargaining, but the general features of the scooter sale are fairly typical of exchanges of goods between islanders.

As well as an increase in the use of money, however, there has been an enormous increase in the number and importance of retail shops on Ibiza, which began in the intermediate period and has accelerated in the touristic period. Buying goods from professional retailers is usually a precise, very "economic" form of exchange. Hence the development of retail trade represents an important change in the typical characteristics of exchange on the island.

Retail business practices often conflict with traditional norms of
exchange, giving rise to tensions which may prompt criticisms of retailers of the kind described above (p. 160). Significantly, there are a number of common practices which serve to reduce the hostility between seller and buyer:

(i) Small services, which involve the use of time rather than expensive materials, are often performed free of charge to acquaintances, even when someone is acting in a professional or business capacity. This converts the exchange from an "economic" one to a "social" one, of course.

(ii) The vendor (and less commonly the buyer) often rounds off payments to ignore relatively small amounts of change — always to the disadvantage of the person doing it. This serves to emphasize the seller's general personal lack of "interès", and it also enables him to return a small favour to the buyer (who has done him a favour by buying his goods).

(iii) Very often, the price of goods is reduced by the seller spontaneously at the time of purchase. This practice, known in general as "rebaixar" ("to reduce, lower"), is expected in nearly all second-hand exchanges (compres d'ocasió); but it is also common in shops, both in town and country. A "rebaixa" is expected by relatives and close friends of the seller; but it is quite frequently extended to anyone — even unknown foreigners — whose appearance and manner please the seller. Regular patronage of a shop also establishes an expectation of a rebaixa — and the owner of a bookshop felt it necessary to apologize to me on one occasion when he did not offer me a reduction (because he had had to order the book especially, paying postal charges). This practice has similar functions to those of (ii).

In their spontaneous or casual forms, such practices are only possible in small family businesses — where the owner and the seller coincide or are, at least, closely related. There are now several supermarkets on Ibiza.

1 Such practices are, of course, not peculiar to Ibiza. Nevertheless, they are strikingly common there.
where it is obviously difficult for the assistants to make spontaneous personal concessions. And there are many other shops which are intermediate in size and type. The general tendency seems to be for selling on Ibiza to become progressively more formal, leaving out personal considerations. Thus, for example, the "descuento" (Official Spanish: "discount") is tending to replace the "rebaixa" (Local Catalan: "lowering"). In other words, special offers and discounts (which are applied indiscriminately to all customers and are fixed in advance) are tending to replace reductions based on diffuse personal relationships. The main functions of the "descuento" (which are only secondary functions of the "rebaixa") are the material ones of stimulating sales and promoting brand-loyalties in the customers.

One overall pattern of change in trading characteristics should now be fairly clear: a long-term transition from "more social" to "less social" forms of exchange - due until recently to the growth of commerce and the development of monetary exchange. Tourism has greatly accelerated this process, because of the economic boom and the occupational changes described in earlier chapters. In fact, the "traditional Ibisan theory of exchange" applies only to a limited extent to the younger islanders. They tend to be amused or impatient about the particularistic approach of older people. Friendship is seen more in terms of companionship and less in terms of exchange, favours and influence; and the same may be said of marriage. Even among older people, the scope for influence is being reduced by such changes as the increasing bureaucratisation of administration and the growth of universal standard paper qualifications for employment. Trustworthiness is much less important in economic exchanges, since many people are involved in trade with strangers and tourists, so that the notion of trust is often irrelevant. Moreover, since there are no social ties with strangers, the islanders' notions of fair dealing are attenuated and they sometimes (though by no means always) make the most of the strangers'
ignorance (the reverse also occurs, e.g. in land sales). Trade for
profit, and monetary gains in general, are taken more for granted. Roughly speaking, the attitudes of the younger people on Ibiza to trade and exchange in general fall somewhere in between those of the older islanders and those of (say) the majority of English people.

But tourism has not simply accelerated a pre-existing process of change. Above, both the slower development of monetary exchange and the existence of multiplex social ties were cited as reasons for difficulties in applying BLAU’s ideas to Ibiza. Monetary exchange now firmly predominates. But the multiplex social ties still exist; and they will continue to do so, because of the limited size of the island’s population, with its very high degree of intramarriage and its complex kinship networks. Thus exchanges of goods among native islanders retain some traditional social features, as we have seen. In other words, there are now two sets of exchange norms operating side-by-side, one of which applies to outsiders and the other to natives or to "adopted" natives.

This situation gives rise to problems, as might be expected. On the one hand, any suggestion of a dual price system upsets the tourists (and is usually illegal, anyway). But, on the other hand, the local people can hardly be expected to pay the inflated prices and tips which seem cheap or at least acceptable to the tourists. Moreover, the whole ethos of exchange is different in the two cases. Suppose an ordinary foreigner (i.e. one with little or no knowledge of the island’s dialect or customs) had bought the second-hand scooter. There would have been a relatively brief transaction, with little social contact and no bargaining in most cases. The islander would probably ask his top price as usual - and be

---

1 A curious point in this respect (which is considered more fully later) is that there is little or no criticism of local people who earn large profits from the tourist trade, since the profits are not derived from other local people and are therefore not seen as damaging them: this is an important stimulus to current (as compared with pre-touristic) commercial activities.
paid in cash with no haggling. The first time that this happens, the Ibisan is surprised, and may discuss it with his friends, but this course of events soon gets taken for granted. It has had automatically inflationary results in areas which are not covered by the government's price controls, such as land and house sales. During the fieldwork period, one San José man raised his asking price for some land plots from 100 ptas. per sq.m. to 130 ptas., and finally 150 ptas. Each price was paid without hesitation by foreign buyers, so that the seller decided that he would either go on raising the price each time he sold a plot or else would hang on to the land to let it appreciate still further — in any case, he would no longer consider bargaining. At this point, the dual exchange system begins to break down. Suppose an islander wants to buy a large piece of farmland. If he is lucky, the land may be far enough from any tourist development for the owner to offer it at a feasible price. If, on the other hand, there is any possibility of tourist development or of selling the land in plots for building, the owner will want a very high price for it, since there is no effective distinction between farmland and building land at present (until the new planning regulations come into force).

Various mechanisms operate to insulate the two types of exchange. For example, exchanges of land are quite common in the San José area — a piece of forest land may be bartered for a smaller piece of farmland for instance — in which no money changes hands and no exact price is involved. And the present difficulties of farmers trying to acquire new land may be palliated by the new planning regulations, which will tend to create price differentials between land classified as agricultural and other types of land. Again, retail shops on Ibiza tend to be divided into those which cater mainly for tourists and those which stock only goods which are likely to be required by islanders (including foreign residents). And there is a similar division of bars and places of entertainment.

Such insulating mechanisms are often surprisingly effective, and it is
possible for islanders to have very little contact with outsiders if they so wish - a point which is clearly not appreciated by those people who think of the Costa Brava, Ibiza, and other mass tourist resorts as being completely overwhelmed and "spoilt" by package tourism. Indeed, the "packaging" of tourism is itself one such insulating mechanism, which enables visitors to be guided into carefully selected and presented channels, meeting the islanders almost exclusively in their professional roles, and thus having remarkably little impact on other local people.

The insulation is by no means perfect, however. And tourism has consequently modified local exchange procedures - despite the continuing close-knit nature of the indigenous society - both faster and further than would otherwise have been the case.

7.5 PROPERTY AND PRIVACY

All exchanges of goods entail some notion of "property". But the concept of property varies from place to place and from time to time. And there have been considerable changes in the present century on Ibiza, because of three major dynamic factors:

(i) The continued assimilation of Ibiza into the nation-state of Spain. In particular, the application of a national Civil Code to the island, which formerly maintained - as did other parts of Catalonia - a civil legal tradition distinct from that of Castile.

(ii) The Civil War. In particular, the misogària (misery) and the mistrust and hostility which arose out of betrayals and reprisals among rivals in the same community.

(iii) Tourism. In particular, the phenomenon of foreign residents and land-owners, now numbering several thousand, who have notions of property and privacy which differ from those of the native islanders.

In the past, the legal concept of property on Ibiza was based on
Roman law (as in the rest of Spain); but the popular interpretation of it depended on island traditions, accepted in the courts as a valid form of common law loosely referred to as "dret foral" or "derecho foral" (i.e. law based on furs or fueros - medieval regional privileges). These island traditions were originally imported from Catalonia in the thirteenth century, modified to fit local circumstances, and gradually adapted as the present socio-legal order emerged from feudalism.

The most crucial form of property for social organization on Ibiza has been land-ownership (especially of rural land), to which this section is therefore restricted. Private ownership has long been the only form on the island of any significance. The conquerors and their immediate successors completely divided up Ibiza on a feudal basis. (The neighbouring island of Formentera remained undivided for some centuries, because of the frequent presence of hostile pirates; but it was eventually re-settled and split up among private owners too.) There is thus virtually no common land on Ibiza, in contrast with some other parts of Spain.¹

In principle, then, the whole island is split up into small private domains, which may be enclosed or used for any purpose (or disposed of) which does not contravene the few legal restrictions which are contained in the Civil Code (CODIGO CIVIL ..., 1966: articles 348 et seq.). But, in practice, there are numerous customary limitations and mutual privileges accorded to neighbours some of which are legally binding, while others depend on mutual tolerance.

The scattered settlement pattern means that access to others' land is often a necessity. Everyone must at least be allowed to cross the

¹The only important exceptions are the foreshore and the beds of the larger streams, which are public property administered by the State (CODIGO CIVIL, 1966: article 407), which issues permits for their use and taxes individuals making any special use of them. The only other exception is a rocky hill outside the old walled city, es Puig d'es Soto, on which settlement was prohibited for reasons of military security.
properties between their house and the parish church. The island is therefore covered with cobweb-patterns of paths and cart-tracks, which branch out from each of the old parish churches and link up one house to another. To deny such access would be unthinkable, except in a case of great hostility. To avoid even the possibility, the paths are recognised as rights-of-way in the foral law, being referred to as “caminos de ir a Misa” or “camins d’anar a Misa” (“paths for going to Mass”) in local public documents. (SAEZ MARTINEZ, 1922) Of varying widths, sometimes walled on either side, and zigzagging from one house to the next, they appear to have arisen through habitual usage but, once established, they become rights-of-way which the land-owner may not obstruct.

Rights-of-way produce much heated argument in England, because most land is enclosed by hedges, walls, ditches and barbed-wire fences - with consequent problems in maintaining access rights. On Ibiza, on the contrary, there has been very little enclosure. There are occasional walls up the side of hills, which serve to clear rubble and act as windbreaks; and there are sporadic walled enclosures (now often in disuse), but these were corrals for sheep and goats rather than private areas. Boundaries between fields are traditionally marked only by special stones (“fites”), set inconspicuously into the ground at intervals. The fields (feixes) tend to be quite small with wide margins; but the farmers are well aware of the boundaries and, if they plough slightly over the edge, they may draw a boundary furrow (“un solo de partida”) across the terrace, to indicate it. But to the casual observer most of the island looks like common land, and it is possible to walk almost anywhere, the only obstacles being crops, terraces and undergrowth (in the woods).

The islanders themselves have a proverb to express this openness of property: “Passa de pages no fa mal a res.” (“The passage of a peasant does no harm to anything.”). They do have a strong respect for the privacy of the home; and cultivated crops are treated as private property - though few
would object to the loss of a handful of figs or other fruit. But there the 
traditional notion of privacy ends. As well as customary rights of access, 
the right to make use of any uncultivated product (except for trees) is 
also taken for granted. In some parts of Spain the scrubland and forests 
are reserved areas, but on Ibiza the woods are regarded as common land 
for hunting purposes, and the sport is practised by men of all classes. 
The trees are regarded as private because of their (former) economic 
importance - by analogy with cultivated crops. But birds, rabbits, 
pabrasos (an edible fungus), and the wild asparagus which grows along 
the field-margins in the spring, are free to all.

The characteristic openness of property on Ibiza contributes greatly 
to its social atmosphere of calmness and mutual tolerance, which has been 
the subject of comments by numerous visiting authors. The atmosphere 
still exists. But there are significant pressures for change.

I was told that before the civil war it was customary in San José 
to allow animals to roam unhindered grazing the stubble between St. John's 
Day (24th June), or the end of the grain harvest, and the start of sa sembra 
(the autumn sowing, which depends on the weather). The poverty and mistrust 
of the civil war apparently changed this custom: during the bitter post-war 
years, I was told, it was a case of "Cada uno a su casa y con los animales 
atados" ("Each one in his own house and with the animals tethered"). My 
informant - a literate, well-to-do land-owner - also mentioned the revised 
post-war civil code as having altered property rights on Ibiza. Previously, 
he said, it had been inconceivable for anyone to shut off his property 
from other people or from their animals - but the new civil code made this 
possible. The tensions of the civil war have now greatly relaxed, and 
people once again allow their animals to roam more freely in the summer 
(although goats are often hobbled, and their owners do not usually let them 
stray far). And people make use of their neighbours' land in other ways. 
For example, I was walking through some woods with the owner one day, when
we came across a number of bee-hives: these belonged to a neighbour, but the owner had no objection to this use of his woodland, for which no payment was expected. Nevertheless, the civil war and the application of a national civil code which does not fully recognize the island's traditions mean that traditional rights have sometimes become mere matters of mutual tolerance, dependent on good-will among neighbours, rather than being taken for granted.

Against this background of partly-eroded local traditions, the presence of foreign residents and tourists provides a stimulus for further changes. The wealthy foreign residents— who include such well-known figures as Ursula Andress, Terry Thomas, Diana Rigg, Clifford Irving, and others— often desire exotic seclusion. Thus, in an interview about her Ibiza house, Diana Rigg typically stressed its out-of-the-way position and referred to her "private" beach (T.V. Times, 1969-70). And, although all of the foreshore is legally public property— as in the whole of Spain— there have been a number of attempts on Ibiza (both by individual foreigners and by development companies) to cut off access to bays and coastline, making them effectively private. Where all the adjacent land is owned by the same individual or company, this is not difficult— especially since the bays are often fringed on either side by cliffs. One company shut off a stretch of rocky but attractive coast near San Antonio during the period of fieldwork. In early spring, we had been there with a group of young people from San José to grill fresh fish ("tornar gorrets"— a traditional excuse, like the English picnic, for an open-air excursion) over an open fire on the ideal flat sandstone slabs at Sa Galera. In the summer, we returned— to find that guards (mainland immigrants) had been installed at the approach roads, newly-tarmaced and running through an extensive "urbanización" (villa development area). Their instructions were to keep out all cars other than

---

1 In 1961, a special appendix of civil law for the Balearic Islands was added to the national civil code. This concedes the over-riding legal force of the local traditions— but the explicit provisions are limited to marriage contracts and inheritance only.

2 See p. 180, fn. 1, above. N.B. also p. 7, fn. 2, above.
those of the villa-owners, thus denying anyone else road access to the
bays of Sa Cala. Irritated local people had approached the civil
guards in San Antonio (who have removed "Private" notices from beaches on
occasion), but they apparently could do little about it. It must be
emphasized, however, that only relatively small, unfrequented parts of
the island's coastline have so far been affected by this foreign form
of "privatisation". Local concern is therefore not very great at present -
if significant areas are made "private" the Ibisan reaction will undoubtedly
become stronger, and the actions of local authorities are likely to become
more forceful accordingly.

Other cultural differences (apart from differing attitudes towards
privacy) can cause friction between foreign residents (or tourists staying
in villas) and the native islanders. On the one hand, the foreigners may
be upset when goats eat their newly-planted garden flowers. They are
frequently annoyed by the slowness of local workmen and by the "inefficiency"
of island tradespeople. And their life is beset with innumerable problems
over communicating and in obtaining everyday objects ("everyday", that is,
in their country of origin). On the other hand, the islanders can find
it irritating to have to spend much of their time trying to communicate
with foreigners who know only a few words of Castilian Spanish. They also
find it difficult to understand the impatience of foreigners: "Patience!"
("Patience!") is a common Ibisan response to grumblers of any kind. This
is especially true of house-building - after all "Una casa és per sempre"
("A house is for ever"), and Ibisans often spend several years having their
own houses built on a carefully-selected site.

1 This particular urbanisation has made a special feature of its privacy and
exclusiveness in attracting clients. See MAHON (1972).
2 1975 postscript: - It appears that the municipal corporation of San José has
taken successful legal action to prevent the similar privatization of a bay
in that area.
3 For a first-hand account of the problems (and compensations) for foreigners
settling on Ibiza, see CLERE (1968).
The taking of fruit is another source of irritation to some local people: the open fields, dotted with fruit trees, appear very inviting to tourists and "hippies" who associate privacy with fences. On one occasion, for example, a local farmer and I were watching as a middle-aged man in short trousers emerged from a German-registered car, collected a quantity of grapes, and happily drove off. The farmer (who had less than enough grapes for a year's supply of home-made wine) was annoyed, but did not intervene - explaining to me that he would "be too embarrassed" ("tendría masas espátz") to complain. There has, moreover, been a general increase in thefts on the island in recent years. The small size of the island, the close-knit community, and the consequent relative ease of detection were powerful deterrents in the past. The difficulty of leaving the island without being caught at the dock or airport still inhibits major crimes such as bank robberies; but the presence of so many transient people makes petty thefts very hard to prevent. The thieves in many cases are outsiders: Ibicençans often ascribe thefts in general to outsiders, generally blaming southern mainland Spaniards for crimes such as thefts from unoccupied villas, and "hippies" or "gypsies" (gitanos) for shop-lifting and the taking of crops. But young islanders are also sometimes involved (in for example the robbery of unoccupied villas or the theft of scooters and motor-bikes), and older Ibicençans acknowledge this by commenting that "Els joves d'ara són més pillos" ("Young people are more dishonest nowadays"). Another common observation is that in the past people could always leave their door unfastened, whereas now it is necessary to lock the house up whenever it is left.

In general, the different attitudes to privacy, the conflicting interests, and the misunderstandings among the present mixed population on Ibiza provide a stimulus for fence-building. One man in San José even made the building of a fence a condition for selling a plot of land to some foreigners, because he feared friction over the goat-flower relationship.
Barbed wire has made only a limited appearance on Ibiza as yet, but its use may well spread. I came across various instances of native Ibisen who had adopted "foreign" devices to ensure privacy. In one place, someone had obtained a permit to sink a well in the bed of a stream which was used to irrigate a group of well-kept "horts" (vegetable plots) - the idea being to sell the water in lorry-loads. The owners of the horts were alarmed that this might affect their water supply, and they took various steps to prevent the sinking of the well, which included a chain across the only track giving access to the gully - with a notice saying "CAMINO PRIVADO" (PRIVATE ROAD). In another place, a man objected to his neighbours driving their car along a cart-track over his land - so he put a barbed-wire fence around the land, forcing them to use a less convenient route up a steep slope.

There are also occasional signs that imported attitudes which clash with traditional views may lead to some redefinition of privacy. One afternoon, for example, two local men appeared on the beach at Cala Vedella carrying guns and five thrushes on a stem of rosemary. A young Ibisan woman (belonging to an entrepreneurial family with certain social pretensions) showed her disapproval of this traditional pursuit by commenting: "Pobres tords!" ("Poor thrushes!") - which provoked the unusual and significant retort: "No era damunt lo seu!" ("It was not on your land!").

There are, then, numerous pressures for various kinds of "privacy" to become more important on Ibiza. And tourism has undoubtedly had some effect on the overall ethos of property and privacy. But the major conclusion of this section should perhaps be the converse one. The Ibisen have traditionally achieved privacy by building their homes some way apart. Many foreign-owned homes follow this pattern, and (at present, at least) the relationships between the new plural groups on the island are characterized more by mutual tolerance and cultural relativism than by systematic frictions. In fact, the traditional "privately-owned-but-open" form of property on Ibiza has so far proved very resilient, despite the pressures for change.
7.6 NEIGHBOURS

Within the memory of the grandparental generation Ibiza was segmented into a number of small communities - roughly on a parish basis - with rivalry or even animosity between the different parishes. Parish endogamy was strongly preferred and, before the civil war, it was usual for young men who wished to court a girl in another parish to go there in a group ("una colla") or at least in a pair - for reasons of self-protection as well as for company on the walk. The scattered farmsteads and rough tracks limited effective neighbouring relations to just a few of the nearest houses - the neighbours would, moreover, often be close kin because of the patterns of marriage and inheritance. At the same time, the isolation of each farmstead made neighbouring relations with the nearest houses much more important - both socially and in terms of emergencies - than would be the case in any nucleated village, where there would be a wider choice of close associates and where succour would be more easily obtainable. Even today, consequently, the country people on Ibiza place an unusually great emphasis on being "bons vesins" ("good neighbours"). This section, then, explores what being bons vesins meant in the past, and how neighbouring relationships are changing because of tourism and other factors.

(a) Affection and altruism: the "peace in the boom"

Neighbouring relations have provided a fruitful field for exchange theory in rural sociology. The exchanges of labour at times of intense activity, the lending and borrowing of equipment, and so on, furnish much fuller material for exchange analysis than do the less-involved relationships in towns. This chapter has already emphasised the explicit, scrupulous nature of exchange norms on Ibiza, which seems fairly characteristic of peasant communities in general. However, there is a danger in studies
like this that qualities such as altruism (disinterested generosity, with
no expectation of a return) and affection (liking, unalloyed with psychological
dependence or ulterior motives) may be neglected or incorrectly dismissed,
because of the tautological tendencies of exchange theory, especially when
the concept of "reciprocity" is used uncritically. For instance, observations
of altruism may be explained away in terms of hypothetical reciprocity -
"you would do the same for me" - even when actual reciprocation is unlikely,
as in the case of a dying man. Such arguments are particularly difficult
to assess when intangible "psychological rewards" like affection, gratitude,
defereence or subservience are invoked to compensate for an observed imbalance
in a relationship.

In most Mediterranean studies, there is a striking lack of reference
to affection, together with a notable emphasis on individualism and the
pursuit of self-interest. For example, the word "affection" does not appear
in the index of a recent collection of empirically-based essays on
neighbouring and community relationships in various Mediterranean countries
(BAILEY, 1971).

Why is this? One explanation might be that current theoretical
interests in sociology have tended to distort field reports. And this
possibility is, indeed, acknowledged in one study:

"In the analysis of family relationships and attitudes towards the law I
have concentrated upon the negative aspects, that is on tensions and
conflicts only mentioning in passing the positive ones."

(LISON-TOLOSANA, 1966: vii)

Another explanation could be that the observations - though selective -
are accurate, and that the communities concerned are indeed characterized
by a lack of affective relationships among any but the closest of kin, and
by egoistic or familialistic relationships among neighbours. The following
quotation is particularly interesting in that it is (a translation of) a
comment made by a Spanish Pyrenean villager about his own local
community:
"The people (vecinos) have no kind of understanding of the meaning of association; they feel only suspicion, envy, and mistrust between themselves; therefore individualism reigns supreme, although they understand that this system does them harm."

(ADAMS, 1971: 167)

Such observations are by no means limited to Mediterranean peasant communities, of course, as the following comments on /Kung bushmen illustrate:

"Their security and comfort must be achieved side-by-side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and spouses."

(MARSHALL, 1970: 94)

For the Mediterranean, however, these descriptions of egoism, familism and mistrust have been succinctly summarized in the concept of "amoral familism"; seen by BANFIELD as typifying the ethos of the Italian village of "Montegrano"; the defining principle being:

"Maximise the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family: assume that all others will do likewise."

(BANFIELD, 1958: 85)

Returning to Ibiza, I find a striking contrast between my own fieldwork experience and that described by many other Mediterranean students. It is, of course, difficult to compare intangibles which are prone to subjective distortion - and I wonder how the same experience might be described by the authors just quoted - but I feel reasonably certain that there are major differences between the ethos of San José and that of Montegrano (at least as described by BANFIELD). Ibizens (compared with people in other parts of Spain) tend to be very reserved with newcomers, but both among themselves and with accepted newcomers they display great affection and a warm-hearted generosity for which altruism often seems the only appropriate word - all of the standard caveats notwithstanding. This affection and generosity is by no means limited to the immediate family, nuclear or extended; it embraces both neighbours and particular friends (such as those formed during military service or - in recent years - at school, and even
those formed by chance acquaintance). While it is trivially true that the participants must derive (or have derived, or expect to derive) some satisfaction from any relationship if it is to be maintained; to ignore the affective component would seriously stultify neighbouring relationships on Ibiza - as would any attempt to reduce them to a model like that of BANFIELD. And the affective component requires more than a passing reference; there is much variation among different families and neighbourhoods, but the importance of affection is often clear. It frequently acts as an independent variable, deciding for example whether or not a difference of interests is resolved amicably - or becomes the basis of a long-standing cumulative hostility. Again, while the principle of reciprocity is usually scrupulously followed by neighbours, there are exceptions which include a great deal of spontaneous generosity of a disinterested nature. Moreover, the concept of "bons vesins" includes expectations of such affective relationships and disinterested behaviour, in addition to the mutual services described in the next section. Neighbours who are over-zealous about rights, duties, reciprocity, and so on, are condemned in the proverb: "Bon abogat, mal vesl" ("Good lawyer, bad neighbour"). Companionship is also a very important component of both friendship and being bons vesins. Apart from frequent convivial reunions to celebrate feast days or family events, there is a large amount of casual visiting. Men often (though by no means always) meet out-of-doors or in a bar; while women more often visit one another at home, keeping each other company by doing household tasks together or embroidering. My wife was soon drawn into this pattern of visiting in San José and, when I left her alone for a few days on two occasions, the neighbouring women immediately offered to put her up or else for one of them to sleep in our house with her "to keep her company" ("par fer-li companyia").

1 An instructive contrast is provided by the account of neighbouring relations in "Auguste", a French Pyrenean village, by BLAXTER (1971).
Nevertheless, I have given ample evidence elsewhere that most of the typical features of amoral familism do exist on Ibiza. There is no shortage of envy (enveja); mistrust (recelo/mala fe); individualism (ser individualistes); lack of ability to cooperate (no sebre anar junta); self-interest (interés/mirar per ello); venality (mirar en es sous/sempre volar cobrar); bribery (donar propinbas); bad gossip (murmular); deceit (engany); mutual avoidance (no tractar-se); quarrels (baralles); rancor; and so on. In fact, I can see parallels on Ibiza with almost all of the negative points made about peasant communities by other authors. And yet, the overall impression is quite different. Why?¹

BANFIELD (1958: Ch. VIII, "Origins of the 3thos," 147-161) hypothesizes that the ethos of Montegrano stems from the poverty and insecurity of its people, reinforced by their particular culture and socialization. In

¹The topics under discussion in this section are difficult to present satisfactorily because of the necessary reliance on fieldwork "impressions". I am satisfied, at least, that in 1970-71 there was an identifiable phenomenon of shared good fortune among many native Ibizans - which I have called "the peace in the boom" - even though reservations are necessary, e.g. in terms of relative deprivation possibilities (which would be very important if, say, the immigrant peninsular workmen instead of the native islanders were the subjects of this study). The easiest way of illustrating the "peace in the boom" is by way of a contrast. For this contrast, the past state of Ibiza itself may be used, but for the consideration of cultural as well as economic variables the study by BANFIELD seems to provide a particularly appropriate foil.

However, this use of BANFIELD's material is not intended to be an endorsement of his work, which appears to be open to criticism on various counts. First, it seems extraordinary that an anthropologist writing in the late 1950s should choose a patently ethnocentric title like "The moral basis of a backward society." Second, BANFIELD's fieldwork is possibly not very reliable. His knowledge of Italian was in his own words "non-existent to start with and rudimentary later" (BANFIELD, 1938: 10), and the period of fieldwork was only nine months (in 1934-55). Much of his material relies on possibly unrepresentative interviews, conducted by his wife and by an Italian student, with about 70 persons, mostly peasants living in or near the town itself. His techniques in general seem to be the converse of my own - whereas in this thesis I have tried to proceed inductively from fieldwork observations towards tentative generalizations, BANFIELD presents apparently clear-cut hypotheses and then uses selective data to illustrate them - "since our intention is not to 'prove' anything, but rather to outline and illustrate a theory which may be rigorously tested by any who care to do so, we think our data - meager though they are - are sufficient." (BANFIELD, 1958: 11) In general, the material in BANFIELD is presented in a "black-and-white" fashion which would raise doubts in the mind of anyone acquainted with the typically variegated and often apparently contradictory phenomena.
Montegrano there was "misèria" at the time BANFIELD was writing. ¹ There was a relatively high death rate among the peasants. The individual's affective support, at least according to BANFIELD, was limited to the nuclear family, and children were socialized into selfish individualism. Very few families were extended, apparently, perhaps because of the circumstances of land tenure. Since the nineteenth century evolution from feudalism, the characteristic pattern had been one of hired labour (as opposed to either rented land or share-cropping) on the few large farms, while the majority of farms were too small to support more than a nuclear family.

On touristic Ibiza, these conditions are largely reversed. The economic boom has eliminated absolute poverty among the native islanders, and they are as healthy and long-lived as most western Europeans, if not more so. There is a much larger proportion of medium-sized farms than in Montegrano, and correspondingly less land is taken up by both very small and very large farms. The relatively even land division is accompanied

¹BANFIELD (1958: 63-67). Note that the same word "misèria" is used on Ibiza to refer to past poverty.
by a predominance of owner-farming, combined with share-farming (now giving way to renting in some cases). The kind of servility of peasants towards land-owners and the tax-collector which is described by BANFIELD (1958: Ch. IV, "Class Relations," 69-82) would have been unthinkable on Ibiza in the past, much less today. As for the family on Ibiza, it is usually vertically extended through three generations; and it may also be extended horizontally to include unmarried "allotés" ("girls") of any age or generation, as also invalid males. The unmarried adult males may also remain at home but, as each gets married or receives his birthright, he usually sets up house elsewhere (until recently many emigrated, of course); with the exception of the hereu (heir) and his family of procreation, who remain in the parental home. At any time, then, there is a mixture of nuclear family households and "stem" family households on Ibiza - although there are variations on this simple pattern, depending on individual family traditions, the size of farms, and so on. And the individual's affective support is by no means limited to the nuclear family, even in households where the husband is not an heir; for example, children are frequently left in the care of grandparents, aunts and uncles. The affective support and security of the individual are also enhanced by other Ibanian customs. Each person has a godfather (padre) and a godmother (padrina) who normally enjoy a close relationship with their godchild (filhos or filhola), and who are expected to become surrogate parents if the godchild is orphaned. Even when both parents are alive, a child may be informally adopted by a reasonably wealthy childless couple or by a maiden aunt: in return for "collecting" ("recolher" or "andar") the child and enjoying its company and care in old age, the adopters make it their heir, so that the child's natural parents are thus relieved of a financial burden while remaining in close contact with the child. Such arrangements are quite common on Ibiza; even though the touristic affluence makes them less necessary than they once were, and it is said that the godparent-godchild relationship used to be much more
important than it is now.

There are, then, clear differences both in economic and in cultural terms between Montegrano and Ibiza — past or present. But the contrast is not entirely clear-cut. There have been periods of misèria on Ibiza too; and legitimaris (mere birthright-holders) in poor families were exposed to great hardships at such times, unless they could become majorals (share-farmers). Not surprisingly, the practical economic ethos also appears to have been different in times of poverty. Old people in San José frequently told me that "back in past years" (anys enrera) the Ibisans ("maltyos"; i.e. "we") were "savages" ("salvatges") or very backward (molt estrasses) or ignorant (ignorants). Such comments were used to preface negative remarks about the past, in a variety of contexts — including that of the economic ethos at times when people had been "very poor" (molt pobres). There was usually a standard caution that "Sempre n'hi havia de bons i de dolents, i sempre n'hi hauré" ("There were always both good and bad people, and there always will be") — because non-literate older Ibisans are wary of making concrete generalizations, especially of a negative nature. But then I would be told, for example, that people had been "més crig qu'ara" ("meanner than now") — this comment was usually followed by stories of hoards of gold coins found in the walls of such-and-such a house after the miserly owners had died. Reference was often made to the changed nature of courtship and marriage: there used to be many more marriages "per interessos" ("for economic interests"); and quite young children were occasionally betrothed by agreement between their parents, it seems. In fact, economic barriers to the marriage of young couples in love are a very common romantic theme in traditional Ibian ballads. These often revolve around the opposition of the parents to a poor match; but there are also indications of a generally more economic conception of marriage in the past — and the following typical extract from an Ibian song shows why this was so, in the words of a young man to a girl
whom he admires but does not want to marry:

"Jo som un pobre pages qu'he de treballar per viure, i encara que em faciu riure aixímateix no em dareu res."

(Ibisseno)

Finally, I was told that there were formerly "més baralles per mor d'interessos" ("more quarrels because of divergent interests"). All of these negative comments about the past on Ibiza are especially interesting in view of the general tendency of old people elsewhere (shared by rather few Ibisans, usually those from families which were quite well-endowed even prior to tourism) to view the past with nostalgia.

In most community studies, the negative real or practical norms are found to be accompanied by positive ideal norms - which are commonly thought of as unattainable in an imperfect society, and as therefore in need of modification for practical purposes. On Ibiza, such ideal norms are embodied in many folk parables and children's stories; in which divine or magic intervention often rewards and punishes behaviour - especially in times of hardship, when people are being tested by their adverse circumstances. The following parable, for example, is interesting in that it emphasizes the need to adhere as closely as possible to the ideal norms, even in great poverty. It is thus symbolic of a very different approach to socialization from that described by Banfield.

**AN IBIZAN PARABLE: "THE BASKET WITH NO LID"**

It had been a terrible year, which is still remembered as "The Bad Year" ("S'Ajar Dolent"). There was much misèria in the neighbourhood. One cold winter's night, an old woman, sa Jaia Taronges, sought shelter from the

---

1 Cf. the remarks about behaviour in the post-war misèria, on page 182 above.

2 This version is a short English paraphrase of "Sa barseta sense tapadora", which is one of a collection of Ibisan folk stories published by Castello Guesch (1955: 9-20). The paraphrase does not attempt to capture the typical polished grace of the full original folk tale.
storm. At one house after another the occupants feigned deafness (di fan es scrd), until finally she tapped at the door of a poor invalid widow and her eight-year-old son, N'Agustinet. The boy let her in and they shared their few crusts willingly with her. On leaving, she asked the boy if he would do her yet another favour; that of looking after a puppy for her, in an old lidless basket. He agreed, though afraid that they would not be able to feed it very well; don't worry, the old woman ("as jaia": old woman, or witch) told him, because he prefers sleeping always in the basket - to eating. Presently, they discovered that whoever slept with his head resting on the basket had all of his dreams come true while he slept. The young boy and his mother naturally dreamt of eating, and each time awoke well fed. After a while, their good nature overcame their cautious initial resolution that "Ara, no ho temis de dir a ninat!" ("Now, we mustn't tell anyone about this!"). They allowed first their neighbours' children and then an adult man to try it. This man promptly went along to see as jaia Taronges; but she refused his request for a similar basket, saying that he had refused her shelter from the storm and that, anyway, the baskets would be no good to him. The man knocked her down and stole five or six baskets - only to be attacked and robbed in turn by his neighbours, who were waiting nearby. Each new possessor of a basket then tried it out, with disastrous results. One man dreamt that his hoard of gold coins was being stolen; another that the Moors were carrying off his large flock of sheep; and so on. Others tried, with similar consequences; until they eventually returned the baskets to as jaia Taronges, begging her pardon. Times improved, and N'Agustinet also returned his basket, with thanks. And from then on ("I de llavors es ened"), all poor people have found the doors of the neighbourhood open to them.

Now, then, should the evidence be interpreted? It seems that cultural differences may play some part in the contrast between Montegrano and Ibiza; and that the egoistic and familistic behaviour on Ibiza may have been attenuated to some extent by its culture and social structure, even in times of misèria. But the material state of the people does appear to be one crucial variable. In other words, I would hypothesise that each peasant community has ideal and real norms (subject to cultural variations, but with some general features as well); and that the real norms tend to resemble the ideal norms to an extent determined partly by the poverty or prosperity of the majority of families in the community. If this is correct, the current ethos of mutual tolerance, goodwill, affection and generosity on Ibiza is due quite largely (though not entirely, by any means) to the extraordinary economic boom created by tourism.

This is not, of course, intended to deny any importance to other factors (such as social inequality and variable social mobility) which may
give rise to feelings of relative deprivation among some people, however prosperous they are - and there is little difficulty in finding examples of relative deprivation on present-day Ibiza. And there are some new sources of friction due to tourism. But, the over-riding impression is one of a sense of shared well-being, which inhibits jealousy in economic matters: for example, I was surprised by the usually easy-going attitude towards "competing" businesses on the part of many Iban entrepreneurs - until it occurred to me that with such a rapid rate of growth of demand there was little cause for rivalry, as there was more than enough custom for everyone. Moreover, the islanders' current prosperity is enhanced in relative terms by their former poverty, especially in view of the period of misère which immediately preceded the tourist boom. The resulting economic ethos on Ibiza at present is what I have referred to as "the peace in the boom".

Since booms are by nature temporary, so may be some of the accompanying features. But it seems unlikely that the economic ethos of Ibiza will revert to its former state - partly because of the basic occupational changes, and partly because of certain features which are peculiar to a tourist boom. For the first time since the ending of piracy, Ibanans can become rich without exploiting other Ibanans (or emigrating). The common resentment of those who profit at the expense of their fellows has already been described. However, if anyone becomes a "multimillionaire" by selling some of his own (inherited) land to foreigners, or through a business patronised almost exclusively by tourists; why should he be criticised? In other words, the "peace in the (tourist) boom" involves more than mere prosperity: there has been a change in the basic economic "game" on Ibiza - from a "zero-sum game" to a common bonanza or "lucky dip". While the greater "luck" (or astuteness) of some may still be envied by others less fortunate, it is less easy to consider it harmful or unjust to fellow Ibanans. (It may be noted that these considerations go a long way towards accounting for
the general ready acceptance of tourism by the vast majority of Ibisans—which I found surprising at times, in view of some of the apparent disadvantages.)

Finally, whatever the reason for the importance of affective links on Ibisa, it should be borne in mind when interpreting the instrumental behaviour described in the following sections and elsewhere in the thesis.

(b) Instrumental neighbouring relations: individualism, sharing and cooperation

Despite the statements made in the previous section, there is a very strong tradition of individualism on Ibisa, especially in the country. People occasionally used the term to explain local behaviour to me, saying: "Aquí som individualistes" ("Here, we are individualists"). And they frequently used one of the numerous proverbs which express individualistic attitudes:

*Cada un viu sa seua vida*  
Everyone lives his own life
*Cada un a ca seua cuina i pasta així com vol*  
Each person in his own home cooks and makes the dough to his own liking
*Val màs anar tot sol que mal acompanyat*  
It's better to go alone than badly accompanied
*Cada un prea per la seua ànima*  
Everyone prays for his own soul
*Cada un per ell i Déu per total*  
Each man for himself and God for all!

The spirit of individualism pervades all of the economic institutions of the country people. The dispersed settlement pattern contributes to it—and, in turn, is influenced by it (even though the settlement pattern also enhances the importance of being *bons vesins*, as is described above). People told me in a variety of contexts that they preferred to live some distance apart—though within the same neighbourhood as their family and close friends, if possible. The following sketch was drawn for me by someone attempting to explain the scattered settlement pattern. It shows the preferred positions of new houses on a farm divided through inheritance.
The new houses are set, each on its own plot, in the most distant positions from one another.

- "La casa madre" (the parental house), now occupied by the heir (s'herewu).
- The houses of as legitimaria (sons or daughters inheriting birthrights only).

While there are variations on the pattern in practice (because of different individual family traditions and relationships, and also because of the varying terrain on Ibiza); this explanation does serve to illustrate the fundamentally individualistic (or familialistic) basis of Ibizen culture; each nuclear family (or extended family in the case of s'herewu) preferring to keep its distance, with each family thus living on its own land rather than clustered together in a nucleated village. (The man who drew the diagram could give no reason for the preference beyond saying "Es la costumbre de aquí": "It is the custom here.")

There are two rather different aspects of individualism. On the one hand, the term refers to "self-centred feeling or conduct, egoism" (CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY). This is the sense discussed in the previous section: as we have seen, the economic ethos on Ibiza is one of individualism (in this sense) tempered by various cultural factors and now also by prosperity. In practice, people are expected to be helpful to others as long as they do not significantly damage their own interests thereby. On the other hand, "individualism" also refers to a "social theory favouring free action of individuals" (CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY). In this sense, its opposites are not altruism (a basis for individual or familial action), but rather socialism or communism (bases of economic and political organization).
The traditional individualism (in the second sense) on Ibiza was clearly reflected in the islanders' responses to the issues of the civil war. Most of the Ibisans were largely indifferent to the political issues themselves, although there was some division of allegiances among an active minority which broadly followed class lines. During the short-lived invasion (unresisted except by the civil guards and a rather small number of civilian nationalist recruits) by the republican forces, the rich peasants, priests and other right-wing islanders had to hide in the woods - a number were captured and imprisoned in the castle in Dalt Vila, and some were executed by the republicans before they left the island. And some of the majorals accepted the argument of the "rojos" ("reds") that the land which they had share-farmed was now theirs by right and that it no longer belonged to the "amo" (owner or boss) - later suffering for their credulity. But other majorals continued to give the traditional share to the "amo", even in some cases supplying food and helping to conceal the whereabouts of owners in hiding. And, in general, the local responses to innovatory political ideas like those of the republicans were markedly unenthusiastic compared with those in other parts of Spain.

The traditional individualism has also been important in shaping the current forms of economic and social organisation which have emerged from the tourist boom, illustrated here in terms of the neighbouring relationships of sharing and cooperation.

Sharing (tenir a mitges; partir; compartir) acts as a substitute for exchange: it is a way of spreading the benefits from scarce resources or goods to more than one user. From an asocial economic standpoint it may often seem to be the most efficient way of exploiting resources or using goods, as in the case of cooperative farming which may produce scale economies. But in view of the individualistic outlook of Ibisans it is not surprising that they tend to look with disfavour upon all forms of sharing: for them, sharing is at best a measure of necessity. Their reasons usually relate to
the potential for conflict which is inherent in any agreement over sharing: there may be different interpretations of the agreement, different habits of use and care of goods, quarrels over the cause of any damage and its repair, and difficulties over continued sharing when the participants have quarrelled for some unconnected reason. Such arguments against sharing may be summed up in the common proverb: "Cada un vol es corder de sa coua" ("Everyone wants the tail-out" - i.e. everyone wants the best portion).

Despite this attitude, Ibizans were forced by poverty in the past to adopt various forms of sharing - which did in fact often provoke quarrels. To avoid such quarrels as far as possible, complicated sets of oral and written norms evolved around the commonest forms of sharing. In other words, the traditional dislike of sharing produced a general pressure towards either more contractual arrangements or more separate private ownership. The contracts used to be based in most cases on an oral agreement (un accord de paraula); but now, with increased literacy and diminished informal social control ("Sa gent d'ara no són tant de paraula"/"People nowadays are not so much men of their word", say the older people; and of course the trustworthiness of strangers is an unknown quantity), there is an increasing preference for written agreements - in the words of a proverb: "On hi ha papers, no monten barbes" ("Where there are papers, beards [i.e. men] do not lie").

Tourism has had two main effects on sharing arrangements on Ibiza. On the one hand, the associated affluence has made it possible for many people to dispense with the sharing of certain goods and resources. But on the other hand, a new form of sharing has emerged: many islanders are now involved in capital-sharing ventures as business partners. Such arrangements often involve kin, but they are clearly contractual in type. Thus the role of tourism in this respect is largely that of a facilitating factor: it has enabled the pressure from the dislike of sharing to become effective, both in producing more contractual arrangements and in promoting more separate
private ownership. These points are amplified in the following accounts of common forms of sharing on Ibiza, and their recent modifications. ¹

(i) The sharing of land: - The most important form of land-sharing was that of the majoral system, which involved an unequal partnership between the amo (owner or boss) and the majoral (share-farmer), and in which there were both shared and opposed interests. The resulting set of norms (which became embodied in standard verbal agreements) was quite complex. ²

The effects of tourism have been various, but the major result has been a rapid reduction in the number of majoral agreements, which are being replaced either by the abandonment of farming or by the renting of land. Even where majorals continue, the old arrangements are being considerably modified in order to accommodate the better bargaining position of today's majorals, whose sudden scarcity makes them valuable.

The hunting, stubble-grazing, etc., described in section 7.5 above, are also forms of communal sharing of land resources, which still persist, but which are under the influence of various pressures towards stricter interpretations of land boundaries and privacy.

Other types of land-sharing arose through inheritance. For example, one elderly man in San José told me of an old custom called "delme i promella." ³ This was apparently an arrangement in which the trees and fruit on a piece of land belonged to someone other than the owner of the land. My informant described how he had owned some trees in this way: they had recently been cut down by agreement, and he had shared the wood with the owner of the land because neither knew to whom it belonged (he had later

¹ The concept of "facilitating factor" is also discussed in Appendix Ten, below.
² The standard majoral arrangements are described in Código Civil 1966-67.
³ The term "delme" usually means "tithe." I was unable to discover the meaning of "promella" (which might alternatively be spelt "proméia", "proméia", "promes", etc.). The custom is not mentioned in the foral law appendix of the national civil code; nor was it known to two island lawyers interested in foral law whom I consulted. It seems that numerous such customary arrangements have died out unnoticed, even in quite recent years: see Código Civil 1946: 325.)
been told that it was his, he said). The rationale for the arrangement was that it provided a fair division of an inherited farm. The custom had fallen into disuse, apparently, and some younger neighbours who were present said that they had never heard of it, but they made the significant comment that it would be "molt empipo" ("very irritating") for both parties.

(ii) The sharing of buildings: Some of the oldest existing country houses on Ibiza are divided into two dwellings, joined back-to-back. They may now belong to people from separate families, but they often seem to have belonged at one time to brothers. This apparent deviation from the norm of living some way apart may have arisen from the need to band together for defence against piratic incursions - many of the larger houses of this type have a tower in the middle, as an inner refuge and vantage point. Such an arrangement would now be very unusual.

Unmarried women and invalid males on Ibiza have a traditional right (dependent on their parent's will, however) to retain a separate room with a lockable door in the parental home after their parents' death. They are also entitled to free use of the kitchen, reception room, well, etc., the set of privileges being referred to legally as "el estatge" (See SAEZ MARTINEZ, 1922a). The intention is to alleviate the lot of unmarried women and invalids, who might otherwise be turned out of the parental home by an unfeeling heir. The custom still exists, but it is clearly becoming less relevant to an increasingly affluent Ibiza.

There are some new forms of "house-sharing", however. In the most rapidly-developing parts of the island, the price of building-land had risen to 4,000 or 5,000 pesetas per square metre (about £25-30) by 1970. And even where the price per square metre is lower than this the total amount for a building plot can be quite large for an island entrepreneur. Consequently, a common arrangement is that the building is shared between the builder (or his clients) and the original land-owner - who receives one or more storeys of the building instead of money for his land. Such
arrangements are made both for some of the large apartment-blocks built in the capital town and for smaller buildings such as the four-storey block of flats where we lived during the fieldwork in San José. In this new type of sharing arrangement it is a building rather than a dwelling which is being shared, of course - and the arrangement is normally on a formal, legal footing. The larger new buildings are also often owned by a group of partners: for example, the enterprising schoolmaster in San José shared a new block of flats in the town with his brother and two other partners. This is an example of the capital-sharing mentioned above, which applies to all kinds of business venture, as well as to real estate. It is interesting that such arrangements - like the traditional forms of sharing - are spontaneous products of necessity (in this case large capital requirements, beyond the means of individuals): i.e., as the scale of business ventures on Ibiza increases, there is a tendency for new capitalist arrangements to emerge spontaneously from the traditional base of private property and economic individualism, quite apart from the importation or imitation of such arrangements elsewhere.

(iii) The sharing of water: - The water from major streams or gullies is public property, open to common use or private exploitation by permit. Many gullies are intensively cultivated in small irrigated plots called horts (or plots de canal - in smaller gullies on private land). The water is carefully channelled and distributed by agreement, each man being able to draw water only at stipulated times. However, there is no equivalent of the Valencian water courts; and disputes like that described by PITT-RIVERS (1961: 141-154) in Andalucía seem to have been relatively rare on Ibiza - probably because of the relative simplicity of distribution and the lesser importance of the irrigated plots on Ibiza.¹ The general

¹One such dispute, involving a clash between traditional and newer forms of water-use, has been described above (page 186), however.
The effect of tourism has been to diminish further the importance of the small gully horta; both because of the greater affluence and because of new irrigation techniques which make it possible to cultivate land more convenient than that in the steep-sided gullies.

In the past many households in San José depended on the public wells and springs for their domestic water-supply; although the better-off families might have a sufficient supply from private wells or from underground storage tanks of North African origin. The public sources were kept in good repair by the nearest neighbours; and they were an important focus for reunions prior to the civil war, with dances at each major well or spring on certain summer feast-days. But during the past two decades the touristic affluence has enabled almost everyone to provide themselves with wells (pous) or underground tanks (gistermes); during the period of fieldwork, the peaceful silence of San José was frequently shattered by a nearby blast, as one of our neighbours had a new well excavated or an existing well deepened. It is convenience, rather than the dislike of sharing, which has produced the main pressure for change from communal sharing to private water-supplies; but tourism (or the associated affluence) is again a facilitating factor.

The present water-supply system on Ibiza is in a chaotic state; with new wells being bored almost randomly and sometimes to great depths in totally unsuitable places; depending entirely on the whim and financial state of the land-owner (although a water-diviner or - less often - an engineer

---

1There are two types of storage tank: gistermes, filled by rainwater from the roof of a house; and aljubas (note the Arabic etymology), filled by rainwater from an era (threshing circle) or other exposed area of rock.

2Nevertheless, in a case in San José where a number of neighbours are sharing the water from a new well, there has already been friction over the arrangement. And a farmer sharing a safareig (a water-tank above ground, used for irrigation) with a neighbour commented that it was a poor arrangement, adding that he would soon be building a separate one even though no dispute had as yet arisen.
is usually consulted). Perhaps partly as a result of this, there is a serious water-shortage on the island, as described above. In San José, nearly all of the traditional public wells are dry, and many private wells are giving a steadily reduced supply as other wells are excavated which draw water from the same underground stream or "vein" (vena). During the period of fieldwork, however, new regulations were being prepared to prevent random private drilling and to ensure adequate public supplies. In this case, then, increased public control by official administrative bodies is likely to supplant the increased private ownership which is now replacing the traditional sharing arrangements. Again, it may be noted that, although this is a familiar sequence of events elsewhere, these particular changes on Ibiza are the result of spontaneous local adaptations to changing circumstances.

(iv) Other forms of sharing: The sharing of goods (as opposed to resources) is relatively rare on Ibiza, as might be expected. Consumer goods are almost never shared. Two of our neighbours did share a recreational fishing-boat a mitges (by halves); but they fell out over it while we were there, because the engine needed extensive repairs and one of them did not want to pay half of the cost as he had been unwell and had therefore made little use of the boat for some time. The recent increase in affluence has naturally further reduced the incidence of such sharing.

One new form of communal sharing relates to the foreshore and beaches. Usually deserted except by fishermen in the past, they are now a focus for continual activity, recreational and commercial. The island is characterised by high cliffs and small coves in most parts, so there is little room for the separate development of such activities as swimming, diving, speedboating and water-skiing. On the shore, enterprising local people have established

1973 postscript: A long pipeline is being laid from a new water-source discovered by hydrological engineers, to provide a continuous supply for hotels and houses in the San José area, although I do not know any exact details.
numerous bars, restaurants and stalls for hiring boats, beach mattresses, parasols and the like. Such diverse activities offer considerable potential for conflicts, especially as the space for new developments becomes increasingly limited. But this is a national problem, and there are now complex regulations over the use of beaches; which specify for example the number and size of businesses for a certain area of beach, the distance from the shore at which skiing is permitted, and so on. All of these arrangements, it may be noted, are the province of official administrative bodies.

Turning now to the question of cooperation; Ibisans make curiously contradictory statements about cooperation on the island. Perhaps the commonest assertion is that there is no tradition of cooperation there; and reference is often made to individualism as the explanation, either in the form of one of the proverbs cited above (page 197) or in the blunt statement that "Maltrou es pagesos no saben anar junta" ("we peasants do not know how to cooperate").¹ But other Ibisans dissent from this self-assessment, arguing instead that:

"Hemos oído decir a veces que el payés ibicenco era poco sociable. De que no hay tal cosa prueba lo varias costumbres que aún se observan."  
"We have sometimes heard it said that the Iban peasant is rather unsociable. That this is not the case is proved by various customs which are still observed."

(Castilian. CASTILLO GUASCH, 1967: 106-107)

The following paragraphs attempt to resolve these contradictory opinions by examining some of the customs referred to in the quotation, and by tracing their adaptation in recent years under the influence of tourism.

(i) Lending (deixar. prestar) and borrowing (emprar); - The borrowing of tools is very common in peasant agricultural communities, and it provides an important source of favours (favour) and mutual services among

¹This was said to me; and a similar statement is quoted by CALVERA (1972).
neighbours. Ibiza is no exception. Most commonly borrowed are those relatively expensive things which are not needed continuously; such as small threshing machines, draught animals, wine or vinegar presses, and the like. Being free-handed and willing to lend is an important facet of being bon vesins, and there is no exact reciprocity. But lending and borrowing are closely related to status, so that people try to avoid being too often on the receiving end - hence the proverbial advice: "Si has d'emprar alguna cosa, empra-la a tu mateixa!" ("If you have to borrow (or lend) anything, borrow it from (or lend it to) yourself!").

Casual reciprocity is not feasible in the case of very large or expensive machines, which were until recently owned by only very few farmers; so that it was customary in the past, as now, to pay for their use (usually by payment in the goods being processed: olive oil, flour, etc.): "Ses eines se deixen, però es trulls i es molins se pagen" ("Tools are lent, but (olive) presses and mills are paid for"), I was told. Newer large machines, such as tractors, bulldozers (used very frequently for clearing new tracks and roads), and harvesters, are hired for cash by the hour - for similar reasons.

Once again it may be seen that the traditional values of individualism provide a pressure for individual private ownership whenever possible; while the touristic affluence has acted as a facilitating factor. Although a considerable amount of borrowing still occurs among neighbours on Ibiza; there is a general tendency for each family to acquire its own equipment - or else to hire it - in preference to borrowing; even though the result may be an excess of equipment and goods over the island's objective requirements (viewed from an asocial economic standpoint). And in this respect, again, the traditional patterns of social exchange are tending to

1 Cf., for example, WILLIAMS (1956: Ch. VII, "Neighbours", 140-154).
give way spontaneously to economic exchange.

(ii) Working parties (as reminyoles): - Two main types of working party were common on Ibiza until recently: on the one hand, there were gatherings to carry out work for the good of the community; and, on the other hand, there were (usually smaller) working parties for private benefit.

The first type of gathering, or "reminyola", was the traditional Ibisan method of undertaking all major public works: the harvesting of salt; the making and repair of roads; the construction of the city walls and the defence of the island; the building of new churches (see, e.g., page 39, footnote 2, above) and the like, all prompted a communal effort of a largely voluntary nature (though not infrequently encouraged or even more-or-less-organised by office-holders or other persons of influence). The commonest task of this type in recent times was the construction and maintenance of dirt footpaths and roads, which is used here to illustrate the general changes which have occurred. The dirt roads often passed through difficult terrain, needing frequent repairs after storms; and they were traditionally the joint responsibility of all those who used them with any frequency. In the case of established tracks, each household would be expected to help maintain those running nearby, as also any nearby well or spring. But for any major repair or new track a number of men (anything from a handful to a hundred or more) would get together on a pre-arranged day.

The last major undertaking of this type in the San José area seems to have been the building of a long and precipitous road which contours the mountains between San José and Cala d'Horts; where a large area of coastal farmland was formerly inaccessible to carts, being farmed largely from "pahisses" (rudimentary secondary farmhouses, inhabited only occasionally or for part of each week by the farmer, usually without his family). This very large reminyola happened some twenty years ago. Many men took
part, coming from a wide area of the parish, and they were regaled by the women of the neighbourhood with the traditional "bunyolada" (doughnut feast) - doughnuts, melons and home-made wine.

At present, many of the smaller tracks are still maintained by local people, but the metalled roads are the responsibility of the authorities (at municipal, provincial or state level, according to the designation of the roads). Tourism has had two effects:

Firstly, a direct effect. The need for better roads has led to the metalling of many roads, as well as to the construction of new ones - thereby increasing the scope and responsibilities of the local authorities.

Secondly, an indirect effect. For various reasons, which include the new construction techniques, increased affluence and changes in occupations, the islanders now see all of the roads and tracks as being the responsibility of the authorities. With few exceptions, they are increasingly unwilling to keep up public tracks on a voluntary basis; and their unwillingness is reinforced by the common destruction of the surfaces of dirt roads by heavy construction lorries. Many tracks are consequently in a poor condition at present.

The mayor of San José, who was prior to the present one, instituted a compromise between voluntary and municipal action by organizing groups of neighbours to repair the tracks around the village. But the present mayor would find it extremely difficult to do this, even were he able to find the time himself. And, even if time and voluntary labour were forthcoming, it would clearly be very hard to finance and organize the building of major modern roads with the large road-machines and bulldozers which may be seen operating in many places on the island. Consequently, the reminvcoles for road-works are a thing of the past: a combination of technical innovations and social changes have transformed this activity from a cooperative neighbourhood effort to wage-labour employed by a public bureaucracy.
With few exceptions\(^1\), the same may be said of other types of public cooperation on Ibiza. For example, the response to a serious forest fire during the period of fieldwork is described in a previous chapter (Chapter 5, page 96, footnote 1): while some local people took part in it voluntarily, most were conspicuous by their absence - and the main burden fell upon the military servicemen garrisoned on the island.

The *reminyoles* for public works and emergencies were examples of cooperation in its strictest sense (the *bunyolada* served more as refreshment for the workers than as payment). However, it may be noted that this cooperation was the product of necessity rather than choice - and the islanders have directly stimulated the changes in organisation by their frequently-reluctant participation in communal works. The commonest forms of cooperation were of a rather different nature (although the term "*reminyola*" is sometimes extended to them, especially in the case of house-building): they were the second type of working-party mentioned above, i.e. reunions for private benefit.

Whenever someone had a large task to undertake, which was beyond the normal capacity of their household, it was customary for them to pass the word around inviting people to come and help on a certain day. In such cases, some form of payment was definitely expected. The payment was sometimes in kind - so much wheat-grain for reaping a field of wheat, so much barley for a field of barley, and so on. But very often it took the

\(^1\)1973 postscript: I have learnt of two such exceptions since the end of my fieldwork. The first concerned the crash of an aeroplane near San José, in which many people died: the villagers apparently turned out en masse to look for survivors and to help clear up the terrible mess. There was an enormous funeral procession in the village, and a public collection followed for a shrine to be erected on the site of the crash. The second, less dramatic, *reminyola* was for urgent alterations to the village state primary school, following the closure of the local "nuns' school". The schoolmaster informs me that the work was carried out by a group of parents with building skills, on an unpaid voluntary basis. These exceptions are important in that they illustrate once again the resilient nature of certain traditional facets of Ibisan life in the touristic period, which is largely due to the (continuing) small close-knit native population and the insularity which mitigates the impact of tourism. However, the exceptions do not gainsay the general trend described here.
form of a large traditional meal (*una dinada*) which would follow a
standard menu, its length and nature depending upon the amount of work
and the time of year. It is important to realise (as was emphasised to
me by various islanders) that the food was the primary inducement for
many poorer people in the past; and it was definitely seen as payment
rather than simply as incidental refreshment - as is illustrated in the
proverb:

"Lo que no es paga amb diners es paga amb dinades"  "What is not paid for with money is
paid for with feasts".

(Sivisensa)

The commonest gatherings of this type were as follows:

* Sa duita:* - The invited neighbours made various journeys with their
carts to collect the stones for a new building, afterwards being given
a large meal based on *una arrossada* (a rice dish which is standard on
feast-days, but which was formerly quite a luxury for many people) and
*una fritanga* (a mixture of fried meats which was also a luxury dish,
usually reserved for feasts).

* Sa llaurada and sa segada:* - These were gatherings of neighbours for
ploughing and reaping, rewarded by a meal, payment in kind, or reciprocity.

* Sea matanos:* - Each household killed one or more pigs each year in
the late autumn to provide salted meat and sausages throughout the winter
months. Quite a large gathering would take place (with as many as a hundred
or more people attending in some cases): those invited included kin
(normally up to and including "fills de cousins", the sons of cousins),
close friends, and a variable number of neighbours (depending on the
family tradition and their wealth). The work lasted all day amidst
progressively growing cheerfulness and ribaldry (with many sexual double-
entendres between the men and women during the shared task of sausage-making
in the afternoon); and it culminated in a massive feast in the evening,
which used to be enhanced by the visit of *desfressats* (disguised local
youths - often the suitors of the host’s daughters - who would enact a
Rabelaisian farce for the company, before removing their masks and having some food in the kitchen).

_Ses filades_ (yarn-spinnings), _sa desfeta de sa daosa_ (the stripping of the corn, cobs), _sa massada de pinyons_ (the extraction of the edible nuts from roasted pine cones), were all occasions which called for further reunions of neighbours at one house after another; to carry out otherwise tedious tasks in a convivial way with copious wine, doughnuts and melons prompting joking, story-telling and mirth until late at night. In these latter cases, the food and drink were more refreshment than payment; and reciprocity was achieved usually through the subsequent return of the favour in kind.

The effect of tourism on these customs may readily be imagined from what has already been said: they have all either died out or are in the process of disappearing. Various dynamic factors of change existed prior to tourism: especially important were the growth of monetary trading (e.g., the substitution of butcher-retailers for _matana_-cycles; and of wage labour for payment with food, in kind or by reciprocity) and the introduction of less labour-intensive farming methods (e.g., reaping-machines). But, even so, there were many such working reunions until very recently.

We were invited to a _matana_ in 1970, at which more than fifty people attended the _dinada_: the day's events and atmosphere were very much in the traditional mould, except that there was no _desfressada_ (there was, however, practical joking and horse-play among the younger people towards the end of the evening). However, such gatherings are now less usual: many households still kill their own pigs and have a traditional meal in

---

1Typical scenes would be the "extraction" of a tooth with monstrous implements by a man clowning the role of a dentist; or one man in grotesque female attire "giving birth", while another man played the part of a _llevenera_, or country midwife. Practical jokes, such as the use of stink-bombs, were also popular - though not always with the host, who would normally take care to ascertain discreetly the identity of the _desfressats_, before allowing them into the house.
the evening; but few people are invited, often just sufficient members of the immediate family to manage the work. Increasingly, people are taking their pigs to the professional butcher-retailer in the village nucleus. Tourism has, in fact, dealt the coup de grâce to these customs; firstly through the occupational changes (younger people are not interested in farming), and secondly through increased affluence (the old practices are either no longer necessary or else may be performed by machines and wage-labour). Putting this another way, the pre-existing technological and trading innovations were dynamic factors of changes which were nevertheless inhibited by the static factor of island poverty - until the poverty was removed by tourism, the facilitating factor (in this respect at least) which has released the pressures for modernisation on Ibiza.¹

Returning briefly to the initial question of whether or not Ibisan peasants cooperated in the past, it may be observed that they did so in the sense that they often worked in groups with a convivial spirit. However,

¹The changes discussed in this section have more significance, of course, than the mere disappearance of some "quaint" customs, which tends to impoverish the guide-books. Apart from having the effects on exchange relationships which are noted in this section, they have radically altered the ambience of everyday life on the island. Whereas work and pleasure (and to some extent courtship) were inextricably linked in the old working parties, they have now been largely separated. The matances, in particular, were high-lights of the year; and all such household reunions also had the important social function of enabling young people of opposite sexes to meet in an informal atmosphere. To avoid any nostalgic bias, it is important to note that neighbours do not necessarily see any less of each other today (in fact, the reverse may well be true). Nor is there any lack of convivial occasions: there are numerous religious and family feast-days which are celebrated by reunions, and some of these seem to have increased in size and lavishness - in part simply because people are able to afford more, but perhaps also partly in compensation for the decline of work-reunions. There are also some new customs emerging such as that of inviting neighbours to an arrossada (rice-meal or "paela") in the host's boat-house-cum-beach-hut, or in a beach-restaurant (usually one belonging to the host, a relative or a friend). But, even so, there can be no doubt that the relationship between work and pleasure on Ibiza has altered and is continuing to alter - with work becoming more instrumental and pleasure being increasingly associated with leisure. Working in the past could be brutal and materially unrewarding, but this was partly offset by the making of fun ("far vege"), especially in the case of group work. Young Ibians (and most older ones) have little or no doubt that their working lot has improved; but when the old customs of reminyoles, matances and xacotes (parties to celebrate such events as the return of an emigrant or the recovery of a very sick person) are being recalled, the older men tend to reflect that "Asa omens, om pareix que fadem más vege" ("Back in years past, it seems to me that we had more fun").
the principles of payment or reciprocity were quite explicit, and there was a general reluctance to participate in endeavours which offered little apparent advantage to the individual participants. In other words, this type of cooperation (with the possible exception of reminvoles for public works and emergencies) is in no way comparable with modern socialistic or communistic concepts of cooperation, in which people are expected to work for the common good (under the influence of a new "socialist mentality") rather than for private benefits. Hence, perhaps, the common confusion over the question.

7.7 HOSPITALITY

(a) The background: first-hand accounts of Ibizan hospitality

In a touristic area, it is very difficult to decide at first sight which present features of hospitality are due to the presence of tourists, and which are derived from long-standing traditions. Some clues may be found in the written descriptions of past visitors. But caution is required, since such accounts tend to be the work of rather unusual people - often either visiting officials or wealthy foreigners who were socially very distant from the majority of the islanders because of their different social status, quite apart from their being outsiders. In the case of Ibiza, however, such accounts are quite relevant since, as one official visitor pointed out in 1897, "Por no negarlo en redondo, diré que son poquissimos los forasteros que, á no ser con carácter oficial, abordan á Ibiza ... " ("There are extremely few if any outsiders who visit Ibiza, except on official business ... ").¹ This statement was made by

¹NAVARRO (1901: 17). This statement is corroborated by the description of all foreigners resident on Ibiza in 1838, which is given in McCABICH (1966-67: Ti, 63).
D. Victor Navarro, a native of Valencia, who spent some time on Ibiza in his official capacity as property registrar. While there, he wrote a lengthy account of the local way of life in a style which is sufficiently systematic and analytic to compare favourably with some modern "community studies". His work is admittedly marred by numerous minor ethnographic errors, which have provided ammunition for very hostile criticisms by Ibizan commentators such as Macabich (1966-67), who takes particular exception to Navarro's long and unflattering account of the islanders' hospitality - Macabich attributes its negative quality to the provincial jealousy of a Valencian who did not know how to make himself agreeable to the Ibizens. The following summary and quotations give some indication of Navarro's reception on the island at the end of the last century. (It should be noted that in the same chapter and elsewhere Navarro does praise various facets of the Ibizan character, such as their honesty and amiability in general.)

"Ahora, y en acatamiento a la mas severa imparcialidad, he de dissipar la falsa y vanidosa aureola de hospitalidad con que gratuitamente se adornan los naturales ..."

"Now, and in adherence to the strictest impartiality, I must dissipate the false and vain aura of hospitality with which the natives gratuitously adorn themselves ..."

"Forastero sera hasta que se muera." "The outsider will remain one until he dies."

(Ceremonious visits are paid by those who need the official's services, and in the town people with whom he has spoken will acknowledge him in the street, but this is all.)

"... tal vez llegueis a franquear con alguno a quien veais diariamente en el casino, en su tienda, o en la plaza, pero no esperéis que su efusion pase de las palabras, ni llegue a la cordialidad. ¿Visitas? Las de cumplido. ¿Invitaciones? Ninguna. ¿Obsequios? De ninguna clase ... Nadie os abrirá la intimidad de su hogar." ¹

"... perhaps you may get to talk casually with someone whom you see each day in the casino, in his shop, or in the square, but do not expect his effusion to develop beyond words, nor to arrive at cordiality. Visits? Those prescribed by etiquette alone. Invitations? None. Gifts? Of no type at all. ... No-one will open up the intimacy of their home to you."

¹ Navarro (1901: 14-18).
As for the country people...

"Los payeses todos son muy atentos si os encuentran en el camino: No dejarán de saludaros, si es de día: no os echarán de su casa si entrais en ella: pero ¡invitaros? No. ¿Ofreceremos algún obsequio? Tampoco. Se desata la tempestad, pasais por la puerta de la casa, toda la familia os ve desde el porche donde se halla reunida al abrigo de la lluvia: si quereis guareeros, entra sin esperar a que os inviten, porque esperaríais en vano. ¿Pasais de largo? Ni una voz, ni un ademán se alzarán para deteneros. Os mirará pasar sin lástima, sin interés, hasta sin curiosidad: con la misma indiferencia que ven caer el hilo de agua... Y si esto ocurre en tiempo malo, calculad lo que será en el bueno. La autoridad más respetable, y más respetada, es para el payés el Juez del partido: pues aun habiéndose dado a conocer, respondiendo a preguntas de un molinero, a la puerta de un molino, no merecimos la honra de que se nos brindara una silla para descansar después de un largo paseo, ni se nos invitase a entrar en el edificio."

Navarro also describes the reception of the occasional foreign visitors to the island. He mentions the foreign boats calling to collect salt - mainly Russian or Norwegian ones - and says that despite the economic benefits rendered to the island by these visitors:

"Los motejan con el nombre francés de Jeans, los sahieren, se mofan de ellos, las turbas de chiquillos los siguen cuando desembarcan, causándoles mil molestias, y hasta se organizan batidas para perseguirlos como si fuesen bestias dañinas, cuando al influjo del vino de España pierden la serenidad y el aplomo y, Faustos de nueva especie, se empeñan en encontrar Margaritas por las estrechas callejas de la Marina."¹

¹Navarro (1901: 18-19).

"They label them with the French nickname 'Jeans', they sarcastically criticise them and make fun of them. Hordes of small children follow them when they disembark, causing them many annoyances, and posses are even organised to chase them like harmful animals, when they lose their serenity and self-possession under the influence of the Spanish wine and, new versions of Faust, attempt to find Daisies in the narrow alleyways of the Marina."
Nevertheless, it appears that the sailors' disorderly conduct is not the whole explanation of the islanders' behaviour, since similar things might happen to other wealthier foreign visitors:

"... distinguised viageros que con sus yates (que los ibisenos llaman milores) han recaelado en la isla... han tenido que tomar los botes a toda prisa, porque los albidos, las risotadas insolentes, las pullas de mal gusto, y otras manfiestaciones no más cultas de la turba de chiquillos, mugeres, y aun hombres, que les rodea y persigue desde que ponen pie en tierra, les hace desistir de todo proyeto de conocer y visitar la poblacion y la campiña."  

My impression is that Navarro's account, with its circumstantial details, is honest, though undoubtedly subjectively-coloured. Several decades previously, a "distinguished voyager" of the type mentioned by Navarro had left a longer and more accurate (though rather less systematic) description of life on Ibiza. This was the Archduke Ludwig Salvator, who came to the island with the advantage of having already spent some time living on Mallorca. The Archduke did not describe Ibisan hospitality as such in detail, but his reception may be gathered from various of his observations. Navarro had the misfortune of mistakenly believing that to visit the country people with local dignitaries like the Judge would be to his advantage. The Archduke, more sensibly, went accompanied by a peasant who had taken up residence in the town, and who acted as his guide, helping to prevent cultural misunderstandings.

In general, observed the Archduke, anyone of good intentions was "well received and given generous hospitality" at any time of day. The Archduke, unlike Navarro, was received into their houses and given food by

1NAVARRO (1901: 19). All of the passages from Navarro are in Castilian.  
the peasants. At the same time, however, he was very struck by their self-esteem and by their relative lack of deference towards him (a stranger of obviously high social status):

"La estimación de sí mismos, o mejor dicho, el sentimiento de su dignidad personal que tan íntima conexión tiene con el orgullo, se halla, entre los ibicosos, extraordinariamente desarrollado."

(Castilian. SALVATORE, 1886-90: I, 204)

The Archduke appears to have half-liked this Ibanian pride, while being rather taken aback by it; as on one occasion when he was given better food than was his Ibanian guide, who was frankly annoyed:

"No ha de extrañar que este enojado, pues aunque pobre, me tengo por tanto como V."

(Castilian. SALVATORE, 1886-90: I, 205)

He also found a strong initial barrier of reserve on the part of the islanders, together with mistrust and fear of his note-taking and drawings, which were only dispelled by the explanations of his local guide. The following passage shows very clearly the initial reserve of the peasants; their slowly-growing confidence; their (initially-concealed) amusement and curiosity over their exotic visitor; and finally their spontaneous generosity and hospitality "when one has managed to gain their trust":

"En mi trato con los labradores ... tuve repetidas ocasiones para observar lo muy supersticiosos que son y la facilidad con que se dejan ibuir por las preocupaciones más absurdas. No pocas veces me vi, durante mis excursiones, en la necesidad de tranquilizarlos, por el temor que manifestaban de que con mis dibujos y apuntes ...

(For non-literate people on Ibiza - as elsewhere - there was (and still is among some older people) a strong association between "bad books" ("llibrots") and witchcraft.)
premedite I don't know what evils and witchery against them and their country. Frequently they would tell me:

"We are already so unfortunate and so poor; it is two years since our olives have given us even a drop of oil: we have to pay the taxes, and now this new calamity is falling upon us. Who knows what will happen to our island because of these notes? It is clear that we are very bad and God is punishing us for our sins." But, little by little, I began insipiring more confidence in them, thanks to the reflections made them by another farming-man domiciled for some time past in the capital, who accompanied me on these excursions and was already cured of all worry. Presently, they would not tire of examining each one of my pieces of clothing, nor of contemplating with a certain air of admiration the mechanism of my pocket watch, beseeching me incessantly with all kinds of questions, and showing themselves very pleased when they succeeded in satisfying their curiosity. That which most preoccupied them, was to know the price of each object. Many asked me what the waterproof coat that I was wearing had cost me, showing the greatest surprise on being told that I no longer knew the price exactly; but their astonishment rose sharply, when I spoke to them of the size of some cities in my own country and of the vastness of the public buildings and palaces.

Having been born on Ibiza and spent all of their lives there in most oases, they liked to judge other countries by their own beautiful land, prompting me always to compare the things of which I spoke to them with those which they knew and which were more familiar to them.

When one has managed to gain their trust, one does not take long to find out that those country people are in essence the greatest people in the world, finding in their very ignorance a certain attraction, and it may even be said, something like the candor of children. I never left them without remaining good friends, and more than once some of them came to the city, from the most distant
Numerous other visitors to Ibiza have recorded their impressions of the hospitality on the island, but none in the depth and with the attention to detail of the Archduke and Navarro, to whose accounts they add rather little. Some details therefore follow of the experience of Iban hospitality of my wife and myself in 1970-1971, in the presence of mass tourism.

After our arrival on Ibiza we stayed for some six weeks in the capital town, while getting to know the island as a whole and while choosing a suitable place to live for the rest of the period of fieldwork. During the initial period we met quite a number of local people on a superficial basis; but we received very little hospitality of any kind - the exceptions included one family where the father was ill and welcomed our company; several people who had commercial reasons for being friendly (e.g. an estate agent); and an old countrywoman who worked in the pension where we were staying, who was rather cut off from her family for much of the time, and who enjoyed the company of someone interested in her recollections and language (she spoke rather little Castilian). People in shops, cafes and similar places were generally courteous and sometimes helpful, although at times they showed impatience or irritation over our lack of local knowledge. Presently, we moved to San José, thereafter living in a newly-built flat. Our landlord was affable and helpful, putting himself out to furnish the flat to our needs - including a new desk and bookcase which were tailor-made by a local carpenter, at no extra cost. The preparation

---

1. See, for example,Vuillier (1897); D'Este (1907); Boyd (1911); Chamberlin (1927); Paul (1937); Shor (1957).
of the flat itself took far longer than we were initially told. This, we found later, was typical of most business dealings on Ibiza - as were also our initial (foreigners') impatience and the landlord's cheerful insouciance over both the delays and our impatience. Within a few days of our arrival in the village, our immediate neighbours made us gifts of home-grown fruit and other things, and the family nearest to us promptly invited us to go and watch their television in the evenings. By this time, my understanding and use of the island's version of Catalan had reached a stage where I could communicate quite well even with those country people who did not speak Castilian Spanish - and this was an enormous help, as it provided a continual focus of astonishment and interest for new acquaintances which partly counteracted the general local (superficial) lack of interest in foreigners.

After our first few weeks in the village, however, my wife and I both noticed an apparent increase in local coolness and reticence towards us - including on the part of most of the villagers who had initially seemed quite friendly. My cautious attempts to discover whether any damaging rumours were circulating about us were unsuccessful. Going into the largest village bar was a rather disquieting experience, like entering a club to which we did not belong: there was almost none of that characteristic overt friendly curiosity which I have come across in other parts of Spain (and in other countries) less frequented by tourism. Instead, there was an impression of covert appraisal by some people and of apparently total indifference on the part of others - coupled with formal courtesy when necessary. Because of the need for a fairly broad fieldwork perspective, I found this worrying for the first month or two, even though I was being provided with ample material by the comparatively few people whose initial hospitality had continued and was beginning to develop into neighbourliness or friendship. It was not until about a year later (when I had almost forgotten these initial difficulties) that a close Ibisan friend remarked
that he remembered the first time that we had entered the village bar: he and his friends had speculated about our activities in San José because one of the more important village people had started a rumour that we were "spies", despite my various precautions against the arousal of such suspicions.

But gradually the local reserve gave way to warmer relationships with a widening circle of neighbours, acquaintances and friends. From the time of our arrival in the village, we received frequent small gifts of vegetables, fruit, home-baked bread, sausages, and a variety of local specialities to try (such as "orellletes", or aniseed-flavoured pancakes; "fiaons", or mint cheesecake; "macarrons de Sant Joan", or a pasta dish flavoured with cinnamon and lemon which is eaten on St. John's Day; and so on). During the first summer, we were taken out fishing on various occasions and we were also invited to massive meals on the beach. In the late autumn we were invited to a matanza (pig-killing), and we took part in both the work and the feasting, which lasted from breakfast until nearly midnight - this was the first time that we had been invited to a full evening meal in the home of a villager. Most of the other foreign residents in the area left to spend Christmas in their native countries, but we stayed on Ibiza and - having by then a fairly wide range of acquaintances - were swept up in the gargantuan round of local visiting, drinking and feasting which lasts from the Nit de Matines (Matins Night, or Christmas Eve) until the Dia des Reis (The Kings' Day, i.e. the 6th January). By then, we felt quite at ease in any of the village bars, and even some of the older local people would sometimes let me buy them a drink, while the younger people began to take our share for granted. From this time onwards (i.e. from about ten months after our arrival on the island), we had no further worries about being accepted; and we took

part in a full round of everyday social events in the village, which included secular activities, feast-day visits, baptisms, first communions, a wedding, and so on - the only continuing difficulty was to find ways of returning the generosity of the islanders, many of whom were more affluent than we were.

(b) **Hospitality prior to tourism: old categories of outsiders**

All communities have a set of categories of "outsiders" ("forasters"): i.e., their world is divided up into in-groups and out-groups, which may have overlapping memberships (e.g. kin groups and neighbourhoods), but which are distinguished either by social boundaries (e.g. the casino and other associations on Ibiza; **golles**, or small groups of habitual companions; kin-groups; **convits**, or parties to which kin and friends are invited; and so on); or by geographical boundaries (e.g. neighbourhoods, regions, etc.); or, in most cases, by both types of boundary to some extent. Hospitality involves the extension, in a tentative fashion, of in-group interaction to a member of an out-group. In the past, as we have seen, Ibiza was effectively divided into quite small neighbourhoods (**vesindats**), so that intra-island hospitality was of some importance, but for the sake of brevity only those outsiders who are not natives of Ibiza are considered here.

The traditional functions of hospitality depend on the intentions of the outsider. If he is just a passing traveller, he may be given shelter and food and - although certain gifts may be acceptable - no immediate return may be expected, reciprocity in this case being between communities rather than between individuals. This function of hospitality is basically economic, facilitating travel in non-monetary societies in particular. If, however, the outsider has any intention of remaining in the community for a long time, then different functions of hospitality become apparent. It
now serves, for example, to create ties of obligation between the local people and the outsider; and to provide tests of the newcomer's fitness to stay in the community - these functions are basically social. Another question which is important to the community is whether the outsider's intentions are "hostile" or "friendly", "dangerous" or "harmless". ¹

With these points in mind, various categories of outsiders on Ibiza may be distinguished. The following were particularly important in the past:

(i) "Hostile" outsiders:

Pirates and other armed visitors: - A common factor in the otherwise rather different experiences of Ibizan hospitality of the Archduke and Navarro in the last century (and, to a lesser extent, in our own experience in 1970-71) was the marked initial reserve of the islanders, coupled with mistrust and even fear of the outsider and of his motives in visiting the island. This reaction is not difficult to understand, in view of the island's history. In the traditional period, apart from a few merchant vessels, any ships visiting Ibiza were likely to contain hostile pirates; preparing to sack and plunder any poorly-defended country houses, and to carry off booty, animals, and women and children for slaves. Nor had the Ibizens any cause to celebrate the presence of "less hostile" armed visitors: in 1518, for example, the island was sacked by Spanish troops mutinying over their lack of payment by their commander - the islanders were promised compensation by the King, but never received it, despite their frequent appeals. (CASTELLO GUASCH, 1967: 28-29) And, in 1628, another visiting Spanish fleet requisitioned vital supplies of wheat which were awaiting distribution in the island's port - this was both illegal and highly damaging to the islanders. (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 408-410)

¹Various points in this section compare interestingly with those made in the more general essay entitled "The Stranger, the Guest and the Hostile Host: Introduction to the Study of the Laws of Hospitality," by Pitt-Rivers (1968).
The Ibisan response to the pirates was naturally overtly hostile, with physical defence or attack as the occasion permitted (and the Ibisans protested through civil channels rather than by armed resistance in the two cases mentioned of aggression by Spanish troops).

**Visiting officials:** In the traditional period, official visitors to Ibiza were generally unwelcome both to the island's authorities and to the common people, though for rather different reasons. The former disliked such visits, firstly, because they tended to be fairly effective in their official purpose (that of checking up on local administration and its abuses); and, secondly, because some of the visitors apparently used their power to profit personally at the expense of the island's municipal funds, provoking regular protests from the islanders to the King. (See, for example, MACABXCH, 1966-67: I, 378-381.) The common people sometimes had cause to appreciate such visits (which constituted a check on local abuses by the more powerful islanders), and they even sent direct appeals to the mainland authorities on occasion; but they too had much to fear from all officials - local or otherwise - who came to extract taxes and to check up on religious observances, sexual misdemeanours and the like.

In the intermediate period, there was less reason for the islanders to fear physical violence from outsiders; even though there is a monument on the waterfront in the capital, which commemorates the capture of an English pirate vessel as late as 1806; and although some country people continued to carry guns or knives for self-defence until the 1920s, when a combination of the decreasing relevance of the habit and increasing pressure from the civil guards put an end to it. But most of the old reasons for disliking official visitors persisted despite the transition from feudalism; and there were some new reasons such as the introduction of compulsory military service ("en mili") by lottery (in the traditional period the islanders had been exempt from national military service by
formal right; although they were responsible for the defence of their island, all serviceable men being part of the island militia).

Not surprisingly, then, the Ibisan reception of visiting officials (as Navarro's account eloquently illustrates) tended to be covertly hostile - a mixture of defensive secrecy or reserve, and forced courtesy. 

(ii) "Non-hostile" outsiders:

Non-communicating foreigners: - Such were the "Jeans" and "milores" to whom Navarro alludes. They appear to have met with a generally indifferent or reserved response from the Ibisans, providing they behaved circumspectly. From Navarro's account, an underlying hostility (e.g. towards strangers who arrived in sailing craft, even after the cessation of piracy) could sometimes become quite apparent, however. And, according to several writers, the neighbouring Formenterans had a reputation (possibly unwarranted) for lighting fires to provoke ship-wrecks: there is evidence, at least, that they welcomed any free booty from the cargoes of wrecked ships. (See MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 125-127.)

Communicating outsiders: - Navarro suffered from several disadvantages in his contact with the Ibisans: firstly, he was a Valencian (although this enabled him to understand the Ibisan dialect, it was a disadvantage in that there is a long-standing ethnocentric mistrust of Valencians on the island, as is described later); secondly, he was an official; and, thirdly, from his writing he appears to have shown rather little tact towards the islanders (to whom this is a necessary and highly-developed social skill). The Archduke, on the other hand, was able to overcome the great social distance between himself and the ordinary islanders by his tact, patience, and cultural skills; even though he spent less time on the island. The other visitors' accounts cited above also tend to confirm that Navarro saw an unusually unfortunate selection of Ibisan hospitality. It is true that there was a quite general initial reserve
or even xenophobia on Ibiza. But tact and patience were rewarded by gradual acceptance, increasing interest, and very warm generosity – as the Archduke's account illustrates (and my own more recent experiences fully corroborate).

(a) **Hospitality in the touristic period: new categories of outsiders**

1) **"Semi-hostile" outsiders:**

   **Officials:** There are now many more officials on Ibiza than formerly, some of them being temporary visitors and others long-term residents. Some of the traditional reserve towards them of the common people still exists, but it is tending to diminish as the major roles of the majority of officials become less opposed to popular interests. The process has been greatly enhanced by tourism; and these points are discussed more fully in a subsequent chapter on administration and stratification.

   **Peninsular immigrants:** The economic boom produced by tourism has caused a large influx of poor migrant workers, predominantly male, and mostly from the nearest southern mainland provinces. The local stereotype (common to migrant labour elsewhere, such as the Irish in England) is that they are lazy, poor workmen, and untrustworthy. These qualities are sometimes ascribed to their being "mit moro" ("half Moorish") – which is a curious criticism in view of the Ibizens' references in other contexts to their own Moorish heritage. But, quite apart from the basic differences of language, culture and etiquette, there are certain objective grounds for the islanders' negative attitude, which include the rise in thefts on Ibiza and other incidents which reinforce the stereotype, such as

---

1The former xenophobic tendency is rather rarely acknowledged by Ibizens writing about themselves; but one does say, for example, th.t: 

"La actual fraternidad del isleño con el turista extranjero - sobre todo con la turista - no debe ocultarnos una cierta xenofobia antigua, que debió de tener desagradables manifestaciones." (Castilian, FAJARNES CARDONA, 1958: 165-166)
"moonlight flits" by temporary immigrant families.

On the whole, islanders are reluctant to employ mainlanders unless they are unable to find equivalent native workers; so that the unskilled immigrants tend to fill the least-desired jobs. This applies to a much lesser extent, however, to middle-class and professional people from the mainland: such people tend to arouse much less ethnocentric hostility by their manners and behaviour, and there is also a very severe shortage of skilled and professional personnel on the island.

There has been some intermarriage of islanders (both male and female, though rather less of the latter) with all types of outsider, but particularly with mainlanders (because of the shared nationality, and the common language of Castilian). In general, it seems that individual personal characteristics are the determining factor: a tolerant, likeable immigrant can elicit a hospitable response from the islanders; especially if he intends to settle on Ibiza with his family - but the Ibisans need time to assess him, and he starts off with a handicap if he comes from one of the southern provinces against which the islanders have an ethnocentric bias.¹

"Es hippies": Some of the first long-stay visitors to Ibiza in the present century were foreign artists who found there an ideal romantic setting for their work. Their appearance and behaviour still seem rather bizarre to many islanders; but the genuine artists are highly appreciated by the middle-class people in the town, and they are generally accepted by the other islanders. By the early 1960s, however, they were joined by a small motley colony of Western European and American "beatniks" or "drop-outs" - mainly in the older districts of the town - whose life-style was quite unacceptable to the majority of the islanders. Nevertheless,

¹Cf. the treatment of southern migrants in mainland Catalonia, which is described in detail by CANDEL (1965). It should also be noted that not all parts of mainland Spain are equivalent in Ibisan eyes: their ethnocentrism is described in more detail in the next chapter (q.v.).
they appear to have been treated with remarkable tolerance on the whole\(^1\), even though the island authorities might deport those who caused any particular annoyance or scandal.

In recent years, the earlier "drop-outs" have been succeeded by large numbers of hippies ("as hippies")\(^2\), whose reception by the islanders has been along similar lines. The ordinary islanders' reactions to them vary from scandalised disgust on the part of some of the most pious older people to a mixture of approval and disapproval on the part of some of the younger islanders, especially those of the town (who tend to approve of some of the hippy ideals; but generally disapprove of drug-taking, dirtiness and idleness). There are periodic expulsions of the hippies\(^3\) by the civil authorities, who regard them as "indeseables" ("undesirables") who may damage the island's touristic appeal as well as possibly contaminating the Ibisan youth.

Even in the semi-official island newspaper, however, the hippies are sometimes suggested to be a generally-harmless and picturesque addition to the island. And, in discussions of the hippies by ordinary islanders, there is usually someone who says something in their defence. Despite the general disapproval of them in the country, they have no difficulty in renting old farm-houses or pahisses; and I found that those living in isolated parts of the San José area were sometimes given small hospitable gifts by their country neighbours, who were also curious about the hippies' ideas although the language barrier usually prevented any profound discussion. The individual personality factor is, again, very

---

1The life-style, and the (rather limited) interaction with local people, of these fore-runners of the hippies is convincingly (though picaresquely) described in the novel "Hombres Varados", by TORRENTE MALVIDO (1963).

2For a Spanish study of the hippies on the neighbouring island of Formentera, see GIL MUÑOZ (1970).

3See, for example, VIDAL JUAN (1969: 40).
important and, as time goes by, Ibisans are making increasingly sophisticated
distinctions between sub-categories of "hippies" (e.g., between those
who take drugs and those who do not; those who are wealthy and those who
are not; those who wear bizarre clothing and those who are dirty; those
who are serious musicians or artists and those who believe in spontaneous
effortless talents . . .).

(ii) "Non-hostile" outsiders:

Foreign residents: There are now several thousand foreign residents
on Ibiza including business people, artists and celebrities; as well as
more ordinary people who include a high proportion that have chosen
Ibiza as their place of retirement. Many of the more wealthy foreign
residents have bought individually-designed new houses or have had
traditional farmsteads adapted to their requirements; often in out-of-the-way
corners of the island, well off the tourist routes.

Some of them participate in mixed semi-official social events on
Ibiza; such as art exhibitions, beauty competitions, the inauguration of
new hotels, and the like; which are also attended by middle-class islanders.
But there is a great social distance between them and the majority of
the islanders, which prevents intimate contact in most cases, even when
the language barrier is surmounted. For example, many foreign residents
have a local woman or sometimes several islanders to look after their
house—we were offered this service as soon as we moved to San José but
we declined, partly for financial reasons, but mainly because the local
contact from having an Ibizan as a servant is more than offset by the
extra social distance thus created.

Similar comments on the treatment of "hippies" by local people on Formentera
have been made by GIL MUÑOZ (1971: 97-99).

There are also signs that a more subtle attitude to the "hippies" is
developing among the Ibizan authorities: they have, for example,
enthusiastically promoted the "Moda Ad-lib" — a variegated Ibizan fashion
derived from the clothing of all of the cultural groups on the island, but
with a heavy emphasis on refined "hippy" styles.

It is also notable that beards are being adopted by some of the more
daring Ibizan males, even though many older islanders still use the highly
disparaging term "barbuts" ("bearded ones") to refer to the hippies.
The foreign residents do provide the islanders with a continuous insight into other cultures - at a less superficial level than is the case with the tourists - and they have consequently had a considerable impact on the life-styles and aspirations of the country people in particular. Because of their tendency to live away from the main tourist areas, they effectively extend the area affected by the tourist phenomenon. Since they share many of the islanders' everyday needs, they tend to patronise similar shops rather than those frequented by tourists. There is also some casual friendly contact - for example between local men and foreigners who are fond of fishing. There have even been some marriages between islanders (nearly all male) and foreigners; despite the cultural gap; or perhaps because of it - the element of exotic attraction for young people of both types has formed the theme of numerous stories and novels in Spain in recent years. But, on the whole, the social life of the foreign residents remains quite distinct from that of the native islanders. Some have a reasonable command of Spanish, and a handful have even learnt some Ibisan Catalan. But extremely few could really be said to have surmounted this double linguistic barrier, and many do not feel any need to do so. There is, after all, even an English newspaper published on the island for their benefit ("IBIZA INSIGHT") - whose perusal gives a good idea of the activities, attitudes and tastes of many of the foreign residents (though by no means of all, since they are a very heterogeneous group).

They have brought great economic benefits to many islanders; especially to the poorer country people, on whose land they have typically built their houses - which range from quite simple modern Ibisan-style houses to extremely costly neo-traditional houses which sometimes incorporate round stone defensive towers of the type found in the wealthier old

1 See, for example, Manegat (1965) or Bertrana (1967). The latter novel has also been used for a film set on Ibiza.
farmsteads. Sometimes, they buy and convert old farmsteads, often in a semi-ruinous state, no longer used by their native owners; during the period of fieldwork, the going price for such old farmhouses together with a small piece of land was between one and two million pesetas (roughly between six and twelve thousand pounds), and it was rising rapidly.

Furthermore, most of the foreign residents live on imported money; and they spend it on a greater variety of goods and services than do the tourists - and, of course, the foreign residents spend much more time on the island.

The foreign "senyors" (as they are generally referred to by the country people) are highly respected and they are courteously treated by almost all of the local people; both in recognition of the economic benefits and out of deference towards their education and wealth. Ill-feeling does sometimes arise from cultural misunderstandings or clashes of interest (see Section 7.5, above). And the country people at the time of my fieldwork did feel that some of the senyors certainly had strange habits: getting openly drunk on occasion; having a mistress living with them; allowing their daughters to behave wantonly, or even encouraging such behaviour - e.g. by giving them bedrooms with separate access. But such behaviour was generally excused on account of either their richness or their foreign-ness: of both categories of people it was said that "they have other customs" ("tenen altres costums"). And Ibians would occasionally even take the part of a foreigner against a local person: for example, a foreign senyor resident for some ten years in the San José area had quarrelled bitterly with his native neighbour, and the consensus of local opinion was that the neighbour was to blame - he was said to be "molt raro" ("very strange, or difficult").

Once again, it would seem that the personal factor is decisive in the final analysis. We ourselves belonged roughly to the category of foreign residents, and our reception has already been described. It is true
that the social and cultural distances inhibit the development of close
social contact between foreigners and islanders¹, but there is in fact
nothing to stop a foreign resident from gaining a very high degree of
local acceptance if he is prepared to master the local languages and
customs. Since this is rare in practice, however, the islanders' hospitality
towards the "ancyors" tends to be limited to gifts of fruit and the
like; together with friendly courtesies and even occasional invitations
to meals, usually on the beach rather than at home.

Tourists: It would appear that there is considerable animosity
towards tourists in some countries, particularly in those with an ex-colonial
history. Indeed, one recent commentator has suggested that the hostility
generated by tourists may be in proportion to their density. (BRYDEN,
1973: 92) Few tourist zones could have a higher density of tourism
than Ibiza - and yet the islanders' general reaction to the tourists
is notable for its lack of animosity. Various reasons appear in the
course of this thesis. Most prominent among them is the recognition
of the economic benefits brought to the islanders by tourism: again and
again, I was told that "Si no fos p'és turisme, estiries com antes -
amb assistàcia." ("If it weren't for the tourism, we would be as before
- with the misery."). Another reason is, perhaps, the resilience of the
indigenous island culture, which is capable of absorbing many innovations
without losing its distinctiveness. And, finally, although many of the
country people in particular are ashamed of their "ignorància" and feel
that the island is still "mol atrasada" ("very backward"); there is
no question of servility towards outsiders: whatever their relative
wealth and education, the islanders are very proud of their cultural
identity and heritage and they feel themselves in the last analysis to
be the equals of any, if not superior (note, for example, the comments of

¹See, for example, CLEFIE (1968).
the Archduke quoted on page 218, above).

Consequently, the general attitude towards tourists at all social levels on Ibiza is positive and welcoming. The exceptions, which are discussed below, are notably few. The favourable attitude manifests itself in the islanders' general behaviour towards the tourists (using the term here to refer only to short-stay, mainly package-tour, visitors). Moreover in the normal course of events most tourists meet only those islanders who make their living directly from tourism, so that this is another factor making for an amiably courteous reception.

Even so, the very nature of mass tourism precludes genuine hospitality. In effect, tourists attempt to "buy" hospitality, thus violating a general norm of social exchange (to attempt to pay for gifts is an insult to the giver). The resulting situation is a commercialised distortion of the traditional host-stranger or host-guest relationship - which makes for tension whenever the essentially commercial nature of the interaction is ignored. Hostelries of all kinds have formed the setting for numerous horror-stories which illustrate this point: the guests arrive at some out-of-the-way place, the landlord makes them welcome, then murders them in some gruesome fashion in order to steal their money. The real-life tourist equivalents are less horrific, but similarly motivated. On the tourists' side, there are tales of overcharging, misrepresentation in brochures, unfinished hotels and poor service - all of which do happen on Ibiza from time to time, but not to the extent implied by the stories and their press coverage. On the natives' side, there is annoyance over the inconsiderate behaviour of some tourists, although the annoyance is often concealed by professional courtesy.¹

¹For a humorous insight into the life-behind-the-scenes in a Spanish luxury hotel (whose authenticity was endorsed by the professional critic of the Spanish tourist trade magazine "EDITUR"), see the novel entitled "Torrerolinos Gran Hotel" by PALOMINO (1971).
Friction may also arise from different cultural interpretations of roles. For many of the waiters and other professional servants on Ibiza, for example, the new job represents a rise in occupational status (from labouring or "treballar terra", working the land). To them there is little or none of the English association of "servility" with such positions. Consequently there is, in some English eyes, a marked lack of deference on the part of the island waiters, who go about their job in a cheerfully casual manner, though usually quite courteously. To many of the islanders, on the other hand, the foreign tourists often seem to lack dignity even when allowance is made for their being on holiday (there is a tradition of relaxed norms, especially over drinking, during feast-days and holidays, on Ibiza as elsewhere).

This friction (any stronger term would be an exaggeration) was apparent in the occasional derogatory remarks which I overheard from both tourists and islanders who thought themselves linguistically-secluded. The islanders tended to be more cautious than the tourists in this respect; but their feelings were sometimes implicit in their behaviour, though usually not perceived by the tourists concerned. One scene, for example, which I have seen repeated in various settings and forms, involved slightly-drunk tourists at a beach-restaurant where they had stopped for lunch as part of a boat trip from San Antonio. The owner-waiter was laughingly encouraging

---

1 The islanders' caution sometimes stems from professional courtesy or from their greater awareness of the possibility of being understood by the wrong person - and I was told numerous jokes on this theme. But there is also a traditional caution over public criticism of others, which is embodied in the proverb: "En bon parlar es queda amb so qu'el fa". Literally "Good speaking stays with the speaker", this implies that if you speak well of others even though they cannot hear or may not understand you, then others will tend to attribute the same good qualities to you yourself.

2 In interactional games the islanders almost always have the advantage of the tourist, because they are on their own ground and have seven or more months in the year in which to practice, as compared with the tourist's few weeks. This is the major theme, as the title indicates, of a novel about the Costa Brava - "Spanish Show" - in which the "Spain" of the tourists is viewed as a Goffmanesque "performance" - "1La españolada total!" (MANEGAT, 1965; especially pp. 309-315).
the middle-aged sunburnt tourists to drink from a goatskin flask - "helping" them to half-swallow and half-spill the wine. The tourists were taking this as "a good joke", though some less enthusiastically than others. But the reaction of some local people with whom we were dining was one of semi-amused embarrassment; apparently compounded of shame that a fellow-islander should be conniving in the undignified behaviour of the tourists, of sympathy for us as compatriots of the tourists, and of genuine amusement over the farcical scene.

The personal response to tourists also depends largely on the context. To retain a tolerable modicum of privacy in everyday life, the packaging or "insulation" of the mass tourists is essential to the islanders. Thus, as long as the tourists keep to the "tour", all is well and they meet with courtesy and professional bonhomie from the local people. The beach-restaurant of the above example is (significantly) a marginal case, as it is also frequented by many local people. When tourists stray well outside their usual zones, they tend to meet greater reserve. For example, as my wife and I approached a small village bar well off the tourist routes one day, I overheard the following comment uttered in a derogatory tone: "Què volen aquí aquesta gent?" ("What do these people want here?") - but, on the other hand, it was striking that when our dialectal fluency was discovered we immediately became the centre of friendly attention and curiosity, we were promptly bought drinks, and the general interest in us was markedly greater than that in more frequented parts of the island.

(d) The effects of tourism on Ibisan hospitality

The tourist's-eye-view presented at the beginning of this chapter, of "spoiled" natives in whom commercial greed has replaced traditional hospitality, may now be seen to be a limited stereotype of the effects of tourism. It is true, of course, in that the response of the indigenes
to the mass tourists themselves almost inevitably involves some adaptation of traditional forms of hospitality: which in the case of Ibiza includes the development of "commercial hospitality"; the formalisation of interaction; and the "insulation" of tourism from everyday island life.

But the mass tourists are a new phenomenon to which the traditional norms are simply not applicable. And they are not the only visitors to the island, by any means. So the question remains, to what extent and in what ways has tourism affected Ibisan hospitality in general? And, in particular, what may be concluded about the notable initial reserve I found on Ibiza (even in contexts which were unaffected by my role of participant observer)?

Does this derive from the troubled history of the Western Mediterranean and from the character of the islanders? Or has the commercial response to tourists affected local hospitality towards all strangers?

The hostile nature of many visitors to the island in the past almost certainly has some bearing on this question. The quotations from Navarro and the Archduke at least show that the reserve is not entirely a new phenomenon. Much of it may, in fact, be attributed to a long-established Ibisan response to a universal problem of hospitality. All strangers represent at least a cultural threat to a community, especially when they intend to stay for some time. To achieve acceptance, therefore, they must go through an initial period of resocialisation and probation in which local people are given an opportunity to assess whether or not

---

1 In terms of the concepts discussed earlier in this chapter; as far as the tourists themselves are concerned, the traditional host-visitor relationship (one of "social exchange", though with partly-economic functions) has been replaced by the native-tourist relationship (one of "economic exchange", though retaining a social element).

2 Note also that the past hostility between Ibisans and non-Ibicans does not conform to the common image of "traditional hospitality" which is contained in the "spoiled natives" stereotype of the effects of tourism.

3 Many strangers, of course, do not seek anything more than a very superficial form of "acceptance", based on tolerance rather than participation. This is the option chosen by the majority of the strangers at present resident on the island - leading to the creation of a plural society there.
they are "bona gent" ("good people"). In the past, courage was a vital element in the acceptance or rejection of strangers on Ibiza, as the following quotation illustrates:

"Si algú capita forastero visible es convidado a la fiesta, el mayor obsequio que le hacen es cargarle un trabuco hasta la boca, y dárselo para que lo dispare: si admite la oferta y dispara, lo tienen por un gran hombre, y le llenan de vidas y agasajos; si se escusa, es un desprecio y le miran como a cobarde."

(Alcalde. ARANAZ Y BARRERA, 1859: 9-10)

Today, the tests are less arduous, but no less important:

"Sap parlar eivissenc millor que naütres, I l'escriu!"

"Li agrada anar a pescaur."

"Ella és molt curiosa. Es molt faenera."

"Són molt matangers. Els haurem de convidar l'any que ve."

"Són bona gent."

"Són com naütres - van a Missa."

"Ja els hem fet dels nostros!"

Such comments as these were sometimes made in our presence and at other times overheard or reported to us. They give a good idea of the factors..."
making for the acceptance or rejection of strangers by Ibisans. The islanders characteristically wait and watch, extending only a few friendly feelers to newcomers, before finally committing themselves to profound warm acceptance: this, in fact, is how they themselves explained their behaviour to me, when I discussed hospitality with them. (A different response to the cultural threat posed by the outsider may be found elsewhere: in Greece and Morocco, for example, I have found much greater superficial friendliness at the outset - although the indigenes remain equally uncommitted underneath.)

The most basic change because of tourism, then, has been the creation of new categories of outsider, for whom new hospitable (or commercial) responses are appropriate. In the past, the crucial question about any stranger arriving on Ibiza was whether he was hostile or friendly, dangerous or harmless. Today, a more important question is how long the stranger intends to stay on the island. Since there are so many temporary visitors it is simply impossible to extend unpaid favours to all of them: the traditional forms of hospitality (or hostility) are therefore reserved for those strangers who either intend to settle permanently on the island or else have learnt one or both of the local languages to a passable degree of fluency. For the rest, the islanders

1 The stranger does not need to be a paragon of virtue, of course. Some degree of acceptance in San José was achieved even by an extraverted English negro, whose behaviour flouted almost all of the local conventions. The more pious local women were scandalised - fearing that he might corrupt some of the young local people - and even protested to the local civil authorities. He was nevertheless tolerated by the authorities, and was given a work permit during the period of fieldwork. In his favour were the facts that he loved the island and made an effort to learn the local dialect. And he was treated in quite a friendly fashion by the local men, who were both puzzled and diverted by his strange behaviour and outgoing humour (I was myself probably "massa sèrò" - too serious - at times, for Ibisian tastes); and who were impressed by his success with (non-Ibisan) girls. The acceptance in this case, however, was accompanied by a rather low status (that of a licensed jester) - the two dimensions being only loosely related, as has been emphasised by BLAU: "Field studies tend to contrast isolates and leaders in work groups, ignoring that these concepts refer to social position along two different dimensions." (BLAU, 1959-60: 157)
necessarily confine themselves (with few exceptions) to either rather formal behaviour analogous to that found in large cities or else the use of commercial courtesies and bonhomie - according to the context.\footnote{Money is not of course the only possible incentive for "instant friendship" - as is indicated in the finely-cynical phrase of PAJARNES GARDONA: "La actual fraternidad del isleño con el turista extranjero - sobre todo con la turista ... " (see page 227, footnote 1, above).}

They do attempt to distinguish various important categories of strangers, behaving rather differently to each category as we have seen. Moreover, their distinctions are becoming more subtle with time. But it is difficult to classify strangers correctly in every case. Hence, the commercial touristic response of superficial friendliness tends to predominate rather indiscriminately in the largely touristic zones (as is witnessed, for example, by the complaints of local people that they are sometimes addressed in English in bars or restaurants); whereas, in other places, the traditional reserve is definitely accentuated, at least on first acquaintance. There appear to be three major reasons for this increased reserve in non-tourist zones of the island: firstly, there is no longer so much curiosity and interest in exotic visitors, since they are so common; secondly, there is the need for insulation, described above; and, thirdly, the established existence of a plural society on the island tends to further-inhibit hospitality across the socio-cultural boundaries. In view of all this, it is surprising only that such generous hospitality is still forthcoming for strangers who take a friendly interest in the island and its inhabitants.

\footnote{There is still much curiosity on Ibiza over the ideas and mores of foreigners, but these can be usefully discussed only with a foreigner who is both fluent in the local languages and also on fairly intimate terms with the local people - the Ibizens' curiosity over foreign clothes and pocket-matches (as described by the Archduke - see page 219, above) has long since been satisfied.}
CHAPTER 8

THE STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION

8.1 THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD: THE FEUDAL RELATIONSHIPS

After several adjustments of seigniory following the reconquest of 1235, one half of Ibiza belonged to the domain of the Mitre of Tarragona, one quarter belonged to the Tarragonese Archdeaconry of San Fructuoso, and the remaining quarter belonged to the King of Aragón. In medieval documents the Tarragonese seigneurs were often mentioned together as the "conseñores eclesiásticos" ("ecclesiastical consigneurs"). Thus, the feudal dominion over Ibiza was effectively divided between the Archbishops of Tarragona and the King.

This made neither for administrative convenience nor for tranquil island politics - and there were many factional disputes in subsequent centuries between the agents of the Archbishops and those of the King.¹ On the other hand, it did serve to check the development of despotism (which the island's limited communications with the exterior might otherwise have facilitated), because the jealous care of their respective rights prevented either set of representatives from building up an undisputed predominance over island affairs.

Two of the most notable features of medieval administration on Ibiza, in fact, were the liberal constitution (by contemporary standards) and the high degree of island autonomy (in comparison with the position today).

These features derived from the designs of the Catalan conquerors. Although they saw it partly as a religious crusade, the reconquest had the practical economic aim of making the western Mediterranean safe for Catalan shipping. For some time, the Balearics had served as a base for hostile pirates, so that:

"el año 1226, Jaume I pasa seis meses en Barcelona, y al año siguiente se decide la ruptura con los musulmanes mallorquines, a causa de que los còrsaires isleños interceptaban el tráfico entre Cataluna y Ceuta."

"in the year 1226, James I spends six months in Barcelona, and the following year it is decided to break with the Mallorcan Muslims, because the island corsairs were intercepting the traffic between Catalonia and Ceuta."

(Castilian. VILAR, 1968: 50)

The reconquest of Mallorca accordingly took place in 1229; followed by that of Ibiza (by different seigneurs and troops) in 1235. The conquerors thus had relatively little interest (initially, at least) in the direct economic exploitation of the island itself. The price (not a small one) to be paid by Ibiza for having a privileged place in the feudal system was that of becoming a front-line bastion of Spanish Christendom for centuries to come. The reward was a liberal constitution and a valuable set of *franquesses* (fueros, privileges) similar to those granted to other frontier provinces: and the privileges were "valuable" both in political and economic terms.¹

The franquesses of Ibiza were recorded (together with slight modifications introduced after 1235) in an extant document of the year 1300, which is usually referred to as the "Carta de Franquicias" ("Charter of Franchises").²

This was, henceforth, the basis of Ibizan law - with recourse if necessary

¹"Important as was the consciousness of self-government, the fueros would not have been defended with such obstinacy had they not conferred substantial economic advantages, designed originally to favour poor frontier provinces. The foral provinces were exempt from Spanish conscription, taxation, and customs duties: thus the national customs frontier ran along the Ebro."

(CARR, 1966: 63)

to the Usatges de Barcelona (of the year 1060), and thence to Roman law.

Without distinction of quality or estate, the islanders were granted the freehold possession or use of buildings, land and sea:

"donam atorgam e loham a vos amats e feels nres, tots e sengles pobladors e habitadors del castell e de les illes de Eivissa e de Formentera presents e adevendir que allí habitants e poblets, e donam a vos cases e casals e ortals e us de prats e de pastures, e que puscats passar franquement en la mar."

"we give deliver and let to you by us loved and faithful all and every one people and inhabitants of the castle and of the islands of Ibiza and of Formentera present and future that you there dwell and populate, and we give to you houses and farmhouses and orchards and use of fields and of pastures, and that you may fish freely in the sea."

In the numerous other provisions, the Ibizans were declared free of taxes and customs duties. They were exempted from all military service other than in defence of the island. Trials must be public, with the intervention of counsels; and trials by ordeals (which had not yet been abolished elsewhere) were prohibited, as was the use of torture to obtain evidence. The personal possessions of convicted persons could not be distrained except for the crimes of heresy and treason; nor could any judicial agent enter a private dwelling unless accompanied by between two and four neighbours of the owner. Judicial services were to be unpaid, except for expenses incurred in journeys to the more distant country areas.

These provisions seem designed to prevent both the concentration and the abuse of power or wealth on Ibiza, which might have diminished its defensive strength. The same aim was clear in an order from the Infant James, son of the Conquistador, and Guillermo de Montgrif, in 1268, which prohibited the giving of land for rental ("propiedades a censo") to nobles, clerics and religious places ("cavallers e clergues e lochs religiosos"). (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 184n.)

The general administration of Ibiza was entrusted to an elective body of paid officials known as the Universitat; which was responsible, in

---

cooperation with the agents of the seigneurs, for almost all of the island's internal affairs; including the operation and division of the harvest of the salt lagoons, whose valuable usufruct had been granted to the commonalty of islanders by the conquerors. The activities of the Universitat, which administered the whole island as a single entity, were carefully circumscribed by complex rules of electoral and executive procedure; as were also those of the seigneurs' representatives. The constitution provided for the effective participation of jurats (or Jurados; elected representatives) from each of the three major social estates on the island, which were as follows:

The highest estate, the "majors", consisted of the inhabitants of the castle and other notable or wealthy people, since the island lacked a nobility - in the words of a contemporary document, this estate included those people "who are of the best and richest of all the island". ¹

The middle estate, the "mitjana", was composed of the other townspeople such as the merchants, sailors and artesans.

And the third estate, the "de fora" (literally the "outside hand"), was composed of all those people living outside the town.

These early events and arrangements were of cardinal importance for the development of Ibizan society and organization. A similar constitution failed to prevent the development of a landed nobility and latifundia on Mallorca. (See BISSON, 1969) But, on Ibiza (which was smaller, more generally mountainous, of divided dominion, and more vulnerable to marauders), the long-term effects of the provisions of the conquerors are apparent even today. In particular, the unusually-even land division and the lack of large estates worked by wage labourers have resulted in an unusually equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism (which is the

¹"qui son dels millors e pus riches de tota la ylla": cited by MACABICH (1966-67: I, 186).
subject of a later chapter). The provisions also laid the basis for the relatively harmonious class relationships on Ibiza, as compared with Mallorca or the mainland of Spain; and of the lack of servility on the part of poorer Ibisans which has prompted comments by various authors.¹

In the traditional period, then, Ibisans enjoyed a remarkably independent and liberally-constituted form of feudalism, at least in theory. The constitution attempted to prevent the abuse of power or wealth, and to ensure the effective participation in administration of each of the major social groups who might be expected to have divergent interests. The reality, as might be expected, often fell short of these ideals. During the centuries after the reconquest, there were innumerable complaints by one group against another. Perhaps the commonest were those of the ecclesiastical conseigneurs and their representatives, concerning repeated violations of their authority and privileges by the agents of the King², who appear to have continually attempted to increase their authority (attempts which were later to succeed on a national scale). In turn, the elected members of the Universitat often complained of undue interference in their affairs; again most frequently by the King's agents (see, e.g., MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 407-410); although they also complained about ecclesiastical visitors on occasion - not least when their own abuses were being uncovered too efficiently (see, e.g., MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 288-293). And, finally, the country people of the "al de fora", who included the majority of the islanders, often complained of being inadequately represented in the Universitat; on one occasion, they even sent a long list of alleged abuses to the King, requesting his intervention on the island (SONER, 1690).

¹One author in particular develops a contrast with class interaction on Mallorca in this respect: FAJARRES CARDONA (1958: 153-155).

²See, for example, the "Capítulo de agravios presentado por los Consenores eclesiásticos respecto de la jurisdicción real. Del Archivo del Obispado de Ibiza" (1982): the Latin and Catalan text is published in MACABICH (1966-67: I, 251-255).
In other words, the island's administration and politics in the traditional period were of some complexity (especially when the actuation of other associations such as the craftsmen's guilds is taken into account) but, on the whole, the keynotes were a high degree of autonomy and a constitution which attempted to be scrupulously fair. Although some abuses remained unchecked for long periods, because of the practical difficulties involved in their correction, both the King and the ecclesiastical seigneurs took steps to make redress on numerous occasions, in deference to the foral rights of the islanders.

8.2 THE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD: INTEGRATION INTO THE STATE OF SPAIN

The perennial clashes of jurisdiction on Ibiza in the traditional period had been microcosmic reflections of national struggles, in which a discontinuous but progressive concentration of power into the hands of secular central authorities took place. MACABICH refers to a settlement between the Pope and King Phillip IV in 1624 as marking the end of the feudal period on Ibiza, with the unification of jurisdictions under the

---

1 The practice of appealing to the highest authorities to guarantee the islanders' customary rights persists even today, in the very different political order of modern Spain. During my fieldwork, the mayor of Ibiza-town and other dignitaries obtained a personal audience with General Franco in order to present their case for the restoration to the island commonalty of the land of the Puig d'es Soto, an attractive rocky hill outside the old walled town. For defensive reasons this land had never been allowed to develop into part of the town; and it had been used (like the castle) for many years by the armed forces; who now wanted to sell it by auction to private buyers and developers. The island authorities claimed that the land was common, and that it had never become the legal possession of the armed forces. They were given a sympathetic audience by General Franco; and the sale was at least delayed, although the issue has not yet been finally settled as far as I am aware. The interest of this event lies in the implied continuity of administrative traditions on Ibiza despite the great social changes since the reconquest. (Such traditionalism is also an important component of the amalgam of ideas in "El Movimiento", at least in theory.)

For the background to this incident, see MACABICH (1966-67: II, 224-226). The recent events are reported in the island newspaper, DIARIO DE IBIZA; see especially the issues of 22 March 1970 (p.5); 21 June 1970 (p.7); 18 July 1970 (p.6 and p.8); 20 October 1970 (p.7); 25 October 1970 (p.5); 23 October 1970 (pp. 6-8).
King, although other feudal arrangements continued much as before. (MACABICH, 1966-67: 1,232) In 1782, the rents and territorial rights of the ecclesiastical conseigneurs were used to endow the short-lived Mitre and Cathedral of Ibiza; but these rights passed to the state upon the disentailment of religious property after 1835. However, the most crucial event for Ibiza (as for mainland Catalonia) was the international War of Spanish Succession, from 1701 to 1714. The "Decreto de Nueva Planta", which followed the victory of Phillip V, was soon extended to the Balearic Islands. The Catalan provinces lost most of their traditional rights; the largely-autonomous provincial and island administrative assemblies were replaced by bodies directly dependent on Castile; and the use of Catalan was forbidden in all administrative spheres.

Thus it was that Ibiza lost its Universitat and its franquesses. Moreover, Phillip V also took the opportunity to expropriate the vital salt lagoons; which had shielded Ibiza from economic disasters in the past, during periods of intense piracy, poor harvests and epidemics; and which had provided the island with a steady source of income at all times. The economic implications of these events have already been discussed. Their administrative significance lies in the integration of Ibiza into the Castile-dominated Spanish state.

Much of the subsequent history of the Catalan provinces revolves around their resentment and their unavailing attempts to break away from

---

1 The disentailment was opposed by the island's priests, and the diocese did not finally lapse until the death of the last bishop in 1852 (MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 73-4).

2 "per derecho de conquista", or "by right of conquest": cited in MACABICH (1945: 251).

3 Opinion differs among historians as to the general economic effects. For example, VICKS I VIVES (1962: 50) and VILAR (1968: 52-6) have argued that internal Catalan weaknesses were more important than Castilian manipulation (e.g. the monopoly of American trade); whereas MELIA (1967: 68-71) gives a typical island viewpoint, blaming Castilian centralism. But there is little doubt that Ibiza suffered a severe economic blow from the loss of the salt lagoons at least.
Castilian domination, the last notable occasion being the 1936-1939 Spanish Civil War. Separatist tendencies have existed on Ibiza, too, although with rather less vehemence than in mainland Catalonia. The islanders' resentment over the expropriation of the salt-works was considerable, although it has by now almost vanished. But the flourishing of ship-building and trade, which accompanied the expansion of communications in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, must have gone far towards alleviating the grievances of the commercial classes (who adapted quite quickly to the new order); while the continuing relatively-even division of land helped to attenuate the various grievances of the peasants. There were also a number of relaxations of the strict centralisation: a temporary concession of an annuity for the salt (which was, however, deemed to be merely a charitable gesture); the continued use of "prohombres" ("counsels"); and the recognition of certain foral laws relating to marriage, inheritance and the like. Even so, there were various armed peasant or popular revolts over increased taxes and other matters, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. And, as is described below, the contemporary development of tourism on Ibiza has revived long-standing ambitions for greater island autonomy - though not for a renewal of the power of the church.

8.3 THE MODERN FORMAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The present administrative structure is the product of the long historical process of centralisation, described above. Since the civil war, there has been little change in this respect; apart from minor concessions to regional traditions, as in the foral law appendices to the Civil Code.

Spain is divided into fifty provinces; of which "Baleares" is one, comprising all of the islands in the Balearic archipelago. All of the
provincial bodies are located in the provincial capital of Palma de Mallorca. Ibiza is thus doubly subordinate: firstly, to the larger island of Mallorca; and, secondly, to the central government in Madrid.

The provincial structure is similar to that of the mainland provinces, and it almost entirely ignores the peculiar needs of a group of heterogeneous and widely-separated islands.

There is little recognition of Ibiza as an administrative entity. The exceptions are as follows. Ibiza and Formentera form a single "partido judicial" or sub-division of the judicial territory of Baleares. The island is also a military unit under a military governor, who is responsible to the captain-general of the province. For religious purposes, the island is once again a diocese (the smallest in Spain) which is, like those of Mallorca and Menorca, part of the archdiocese of Valencia. Finally, for political matters, Ibiza has a "Delegado del Gobierno" ("Government Delegate") who is responsible to the "Gobernador Civil" ("Civil Governor") in Palma. By force of circumstance, there are similar delegates for other functions such as police, customs and tourism. But these delegates have little or no autonomy, serving mainly to pass down instructions from Mallorca or Madrid.

For all other purposes, Ibiza is divided up into five totally independent municipalities (municipios or municipios): Ibiza, San Antonio Abad, San José, San Juan Bautista, and Santa Úrsula del Río. (See Figure Two on page 19, above.) The municipalities date from the nineteenth century, but they are derived from much older administrative divisions. After the Decreto de Nueva Planta of 1716, the Universitat had been replaced by a single "Ayuntamiento"; so that the whole island was initially a single municipality governed on the same basis as those in the rest of Spain. But this new system gave the country people no effective participation in island affairs. Consequently, in 1789, each of the villages was given an "Ayuntamiento pedáneo" ("Petty corporation"), dependent on that of the capital town. Only one country
Tillage (San Juan Bautista) had the requisite minimum of a thousand inhabitants to be made a full municipality. So, in 1822, the "Diputación Provincial" (the civil governor's advisory body) decided upon the present division into municipalities based roughly on the old "quartons" of the conquerors, which were large enough to be given full Ayuntamientos.

The five municipalities are theoretically of equal status. Each has its own "Alcalde" (mayor), who is appointed by the civil governor of the province in Palma, and who is subsequently responsible to him alone. Each mayor has an "Ayuntamiento" (municipal hall), with a small full-time staff. Of these, the most important is the "Secretario" ("Secretario"; Secretary), who has qualified through competitive national examinations ("oposiciones") and who holds his post permanently (like the schoolmaster and postman). Then there are several clerks (escribientes or escrivints). There is also an elected group of councillors, but they act in a purely advisory capacity. All other local official bodies depend in one way or another on the Ayuntamiento, so that the municipalities are by far the most important administrative units below the level of the province; and the mayor thus is a person of considerable local authority and influence, sometimes being referred to as "the boss of the village" ("l'amo d'es poble").

In other words, Ibiza is not just subordinate to Mallorca in almost...
all administrative matters: the smaller island scarcely exists as an administrative entity, being split into five independent parts, each separately dependent on Palma de Mallorca - a very different state of affairs from the unity and autonomy of Ibisan administration in the traditional period. There are many curious consequences. For example, it is often much easier (although this is now changing, for reasons given below) to find statistics for individual municipalities than for the island as a whole - alternatively, they may be prepared for the province, in which case they are almost useless for Ibiza, since the magnitude of the provincial figures is determined almost entirely by the much larger island of Mallorca. This is a minor instance of various systematic problems of administration which derive from the present formal structure of administration in the province. These problems, and the pressures for change created or magnified by mass tourism, form the theme of the sections which follow.

8.4 SYSTEMATIC ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

Almost every day during my fieldwork, the DIARIO DE IBIZA voiced local complaints about administrative problems, both minor and major; reflecting the concerns of businessmen and officials in the main; but also including issues which - as will be seen - could arouse popular feelings almost to the point of rebellion. Most of the problems arise from the following systematic sources or, in the case of those problems shared with other parts of Spain, tend to be magnified through them;

The term "problems" is used in this section in preference to an apparently less value-laden word such as "difficulties", or a more technical one such as "dysfunctions", because it seems more appropriate. All of the systematic "problems" described here are recognised as "problemas" by the Spanish island and provincial officials - and proposals for changes are a common talking-point, especially since the expansion of tourism has intensified the problems, as is described below. No evaluation of the present Spanish political system is intended here or elsewhere in the thesis.
(a) **Inter-island rivalries**

The first systematic source of problems is that the island's dependence on Mallorca is strongly disliked by the Ibisans - including those in administrative posts, who are generally loyal to the present political order (this is, after all, a factor in their selection). The dislike springs from a mixture of objective grounds and subjective grounds which are based on long-standing ethnocentric rivalries.¹

Ibisans are now largely reconciled to being a part of the state of Spain, but they still find their cultural subordination unpalatable. In particular, the fact that most important officials are outsiders still rankles; as does the compulsory use of Castilian for administration and education.²

Occasional ethnocentric comments are made (usually by townspeople) about "madrilenos" (Madrid people): most often, it is said that "Los madrilenos son muy chulos." (Difficult to translate, this says that the citizens of Madrid are very "flashy" or "flamboyant"; but the connotation may vary from spivvery and trickery to cleverness and the humorous use of language.) But, in general, Madrid is too remote from Ibiza to feature in popular sayings (refrains); and Castilians are sometimes preferred to people from nearer regions of Spain.

¹Such rivalries, and their expression in ethnocentric refrains, are quite general in Spain: see, for example, "El sociocentrismo de los pueblos españoles," in CARO BAROJA (1957). Their interest here is that the current use of refrains on Ibiza is clearly related to objective features of inter-island relationships (and of interaction with non-islanders in the case of those refrains alluding to mainland areas).

²There is still a widespread view among right-wing Spaniards (which is perhaps partly correct) that the advocacy of Catalan is inevitably related to regional separatism ("separatismo"). This view has been shared by some of the middle-class Ibisans: for example, a young professional man in Ibiza-town told me that his parents took care to avoid teaching him Iban Catalan - although he started speaking it after attending university in the more Catalan-conscious city of Barcelona!
It is far commoner, in fact, to hear refrains about the nearer mainland provinces:

"De Valencia ni el arros" "From Valencia not even the rice"

"Valencian i home de bé no pot ser" "A Valencian, and a good man, is impossible"

"Mate al Rey y vete a Murcia" "Kill the King and go to Murcia".

Such sayings reflect a traditional Ibizan attitude that people from anywhere on the nearby mainland, and especially those from the west of Valencia, are inherently untrustworthy. Although many Ibisans are quite discriminating about whom they criticise, such sentiments have recently been reinforced by the presence of immigrant labour. The majority of immigrants are poor people looking for work; but they are accompanied by a marginal element who give the rest a bad name as well: Ibiza, like other tourist-sites, is a prime target for peripatetic thieves, for example.

And some of the young migrant males have a tendency to get drunk, to make sometimes-unwanted overtures to local females, or to become involved in arguments and fights. The Ibisans, consequently, tend to use the labels "peninsulares" (mainlanders), "valencians" (Valencians) and "murcians" (Murcians) almost as though they are synonymous with "pijos" (slang for "troublemakers"), "borratxos" (drunkards), "gitanos" (gypsies), "gentusas" ("riff-raff") and "lladrons" (thieves).

There are relatively few immigrants from the prosperous eastern provinces of Catalonia, and those who do go to Ibiza tend to be skilled or professional people. I heard correspondingly little ethnocentric criticism of "ca catalans" ("the Catalans" - i.e. those from the eastern mainland).

And the general attitude seems to be that they are likeable but very

---

1This is a very long-standing attitude, as is the preference for Castilians. Note, for example, the plea for six hundred soldiers to reinforce Ibiza against the Turks in the year 1552, which expressly stipulated that: "la qual gent se fassa en Castella, perque serd gent de manera, y no en Valencia ni en Alagant."

(Catalan. Cited in MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 374)
"smart" ("vius"), as the only common refrain about them indicates:

"Es català que no te l’ha fet, te la farà!"

"The Catalan who has not yet tricked you, will do so!"

Much the strongest proverbial abuse is reserved for the neighbouring island of Mallorca:

"Mallorca terra porca, Ibiza covered with pigs.
En farà una tornada We will make a roast out of
de vintioincmil mallorquins. twenty-five thousand Mallorcan.
"

"Mallorquí, porc gorrí!
"Mallorcan, a pig twice over!"

"Mallorquina puta fina"
"A Mallorcan woman is a fine whore"

Such refrains are generally treated as "jokes" by Ibisans. I was almost invariably told not to take them seriously; not least when some underlying seriousness was apparent, as when I was being told of the loose behaviour of a Mallorcan woman. In the past, it is said, there was genuine animosity towards Mallorcan and others; but in those days "we were savages" ("ére salvatges"). Younger people sometimes say that their parents do take such things a little seriously but that they themselves - because of their new opportunities of meeting so many outsiders in person - do not. Professional people in the town, and administrative officials, consider such ethnocentrism to be a regrettable product of lower-class ignorance.

1 This refrain contains an untranslatable pun between "te la" and "tela".

It might be expected that in view of their common cultural origins and language Ibisans would have some fellow-feeling with Catalans in general; and this is occasionally mentioned as a reason for liking people from eastern Catalonia. But most Ibisans do not think of themselves as being Catalan, let alone "catalanistes" (Catalan patriots); they are, rather, "eivissencs" (Ibíos, Ibisans) and "eivissenquistes" (Ibisan patriots).

2 Cf. the following images attributed to Ibisans at the beginning of this century:

"La isla de Mallorca, vecina y enemiga ... "
"the island of Mallorca, neighbour and enemy . . . "

"Era un forastero. Además, era un mallorquí."
"He was an outsider. Besides which, he was a Mallorcan."

(Castilian. BLÀSCO IBÀÑEZ, 1948: 144 and 180)
And there is much truth in these statements. Nevertheless, there remains an evident residue of ethnocentric hostility even in some middle and upper class Ibisanat, which is not dispelled by the frequent public disclaimers of prominent people.

In the case of Mallorca, there is no doubt that the administrative relationship is the major factor keeping alive the Ibanian animosity.

Note, for example, the following curious statements by the late island priest, archivist, poet, historian and island-patriot, D. Isidoro Macabieh; published in his weekly column in the DIARIO DE IBIZA (22 February 1970):

"Aquí mismo, con lamentable frecuencia gentes llegadas aquí (españoles) con necesidad de trabajo pero con mayor carencia moral y religiosa; ésta última hasta el punto de no saber ni el Padrenuestro. El diario 'Pueblo' señaló, según me dijeron, con el epígrafe 'Racismo en Casa', estas líneas de 'Los encuentros de Baltasar Forcel' escrito, en 'Destino' en agosto de 1969: '... y no me suscita una gracia excesiva esta mezcolanza de razas que se está produciendo entre nosotros, los ibicencos', con referencia a 'una fuerte inmigración del sur peninsular'.... Si dije 'razas' quisiera significar 'gentes' y no solo del sur de la península. aquí se recibió siempre bien a los forasteros; pero sin deseos de una invasión incontrolada."

Note that the resentment expressed here is directed at peninsular immigrants, rather than at tourists or foreign residents. Sr. Macabieh expressed similar sentiments to me personally on two occasions. While disliking some of the consequences of tourism, he like other islanders thought that the economic benefits outweighed any possible disadvantages; although he strongly disapproved of the 'hippies', who might be among those referred to in the last two sentences quoted.

"Mallorca disdains, if not despises, Ibiza, as a rebellious and proud inferior; while Ibiza, in turn, regards Mallorca with the rancour of one dispossessed, with the hostility of one who sees herself united and subordinated against her will to a rival."

(Castilian. NAVARRO, 1901: 9)
I have heard no similar hostile refrains, for example, about Formentera or Menorca. On the contrary, on the comparatively rare occasions when Menorca is mentioned by Ibisans, it is usually to illustrate that both islands are "in the same boat". And it seems that the people of Menorca also say "Mallorca terra porca". (MELIA, 1967: 131) Because the spirit of the present Spanish constitution is one of national unity above all else, this dissension between the different parts of a province is seen as a serious matter, even when no physical violence is involved. Provincial unity is therefore a recurrent theme of public ceremonies on Ibiza; and in 1970 a new provincial festival was created especially to promote unity. In the semi-official words of the island newspaper:

"Balears celebrarán en este mismo de "Balesares will celebrate, in this month abril y en nuestra isla, el 'Día de May... and on our island, the 'Day de la Provincia", jornada instituida de the Province", an occasion instituted para que todos los hombres de in order that all the men of nuestra Provincia nos conozcanos our Province may get to know ourselves mejor y conozcan sus tierras, better and get to know its lands, todas sus tierras, y sus all of its lands, and their respectivas cargas de esperanza." respective burdens of hope."

The choice of Ibiza (rather than Mallorca) as the venue for the first "Day of the Province" was singularly tactful - although it may have piqued the Menorcan (not to mention the rarely-mentioned Formenterans). The events in fact lasted over three days. They began with a folkloric dancing contest on April 18th; continued with a variety of public acts, official visits, inaugurations of public works, and a Mass; and wound up with visits to various new hotels and a "Vino de Honor" ("Ceremonial Wine"), given by the "Fomento del Turismo" - a sign of the times - on April 20th. These events, which were extensively reported in the local press, undoubtedly

1 See, for example, the DIARIO DE IBIZA: 9 January 1971, p.7; 10 March 1971, p.2; 23 March 1971, p.2; 2 May 1971, p.7; etc.


promoted contact between island officials; but they aroused little general public interest, and they are described here mainly for their symbolic significance.

If anything, in fact, the "Day of the Province" seemed to have the reverse of its intended effect - serving to stimulate Ibizan and Menorcan demands for greater autonomy. This ironic note was apparent in a learned discourse at a ceremony which was intended to be a highlight of the festival, involving numerous awards to prominent people for meritorious public service (prizes and medals are a notable feature of Spanish public life and are treated very solemnly). The discourse contained a lengthy plea for decentralisation, summarised a few days later in a letter to the editor of the island newspaper, as follows:

"De dicha conferencia ... destacaré únicamente las que el Sr. Soró hizo, o sea: la necesidad insular de tener más representación en la Diputación y en las Cortes - que en la actualidad no tenemos ninguna directa - e incluso que todos los Servicios Provinciales de la Administración estén acomodados en ésta con sus Delegaciones Insulares, a fin de evitar trámites muchas veces engorrosos y perjudiciales para nuestra economía."

(Castilian. DIARIO DE IBIZA, 22 April 1970, p.6)

These topics were amplified in following editions of the island newspaper.

The next year, the "Day of the Province" was held in Menorca - and it had a similar sequel there.¹

The inter-island rivalry is quite a serious problem for the administrators of the province, even when the political aspects are ignored; since all

¹Various disgruntled articles from a Menorcan newspaper were reproduced in the DIAIRO DE IBIZA: see, for example, the issues of 2 May 1971 (p.7) and 21 May 1971 (p.5); which contained the following expressive headlines:
"Mallorca: La Hermana Dominante" "Mallorca: The Dominant Sister",
"Éxito A Nivel De Autoridades" "A Success at the Authorities' Level",
"Falta de Ambiente Popular" "Lack of Popular Atmosphere".
decisions taken by the provincial authorities must be supremely tactful to avoid lengthy arguments over their fairness to the smaller islands - as in any unhappy partnership, there is constant suspicious watchfulness and a disposition to haggle disproportionately over trivial points, sometimes at the expense of action. The civil governor has an advisory council called the "Diputación Provincial" which deals with many matters of importance, in particular all large-scale public works. Each island has a number of delegates who attend the meetings in Palma, but those from Mallorca always constitute an overwhelming majority. The Diputación is responsible, for example, for major road-works. At the time of my fieldwork most of the roads on Ibiza - both in town and country - were narrow, poorly maintained in many places, and not infrequently unsurfaced: there were continual complaints over them in the island newspaper. In and around Palma de Mallorca, by way of contrast, there were wide, well-surfaced roads - and even dual carriageways. Now, whatever the relative sizes of the islands and of their populations,¹ it is hardly surprising that most Ibians suspect the Mallorcan of reserving the lion's share of any money which is available for roads (and hospitals and any other public works).

In popular parlance, "es normal" ("it is normal, i.e. to be expected") that Mallorcan should take care of their own interests, just as it is equally to be expected that "es eivissence sempre miren pes eivissence" ("the Ibians always look after the Ibians"). Or, in more official language (from Menorca):

"Si en los tiempos de 'lo rei en Jaume' se supo respetar la autonomía de Menorca, actualmente "While in the times of 'King James',² the autonomy of Menorca was duly respected, nowadays

¹There are some figures on the state of the island roads in LLÀUGAR LLULL (1969). In terms of lengths of surfaced road per head of population, Ibiza appears to do about as well as Mallorca: but this ignores width and condition, so that the figures rather support the Ibizan suspicions.

²I.e. in the times of James the Conqueror: note the casual reference to the thirteenth century, and the use of the old Catalan form of the King's name - the events described earlier in this chapter are thus part of a very live island heritage.
Mallorca no ha sabido comprender la realidad deficitaria de las Islas hermanas.
No intento culpar al pueblo ...
La Administración es algo ordenado con precisión desde las alturas.
El centralismo no ha sido provocado por los mallorquines, sino por el propio sistema, si bien el pueblo de Mallorca - entendiendo pueblo en su sentido peyorativo, es decir, grupos de intereses, clases dominantes, poderes económicos y caciquillos locales o venidos de fuera - han sabido aprovecharse de la realidad coyuntural que el sistema les ofrece.
En definitiva, Mallorca ha sabido absorber todos los resortes de las Islas y, colocándolos en su seno, ha conseguido manipular a su antojo el desenvolvimiento de sus islas hermanas.
Por desgracia, eso comienza ya a ser abusivo y continuado."

Mallorca has not been able to comprehend the deficient reality of the sister Islands.
I do not try to blame the people ... The Administration is something ordered with precision from the heights. The centralism has not been provoked by the Mallorcan, but by the system itself, even though the people of Mallorca - understanding 'pueblo' in its pejorative sense, that is to say, interest groups, dominant classes, economic powers and political bosses whether local or from outside - have been able to profit from the corporative reality which the system offered them.
In definitive terms, Mallorca has been able to absorb all of the resources of the Islands and, collecting them to her bosom, has succeeded in manoeuvring according to her whims the development of her sister islands. Unfortunately, this has begun to be abusive and continual.

Such commentaries, as is pointed out in the same edition of the DIARIO DE IBIZA, are usually dismissed as "politiquillas de campanario" ("bell-tower politicking") by the provincial and national authorities.
Nevertheless, the complaints are continual; and whatever the attempted fairness of the provincial bodies they cannot avoid giving rise to such suspicions under the present administrative structure.

1This commentary, by Josep M. Quintana, from the newspaper "Menorca", was reprinted in DIARIO DE IBIZA (2 May 1971, p.7); and was given full editorial support in the latter.

2It is, indeed, true that the most trivial incidents assume symbolic importance in such situations of endemic rivalry. Note, for example, the irritated commentaries over the continual selection of Mallorcan girls to represent the province in the "Miss España" competitions: see DIARIO DE IBIZA, 19 May 1970 (p.5) and 2 September 1970 (p.7).
In 1970, for the first time, a Menorcan girl was elected "Miss Baleares"; and, as a Mallorcan newspaper acidly remarked: "La elección fue acertada ... al menos acertadamente política." ("The choice was correct . . . at least correct politics.") - DIARIO DE MALLORCA, cited in DIARIO DE IBIZA, 4 September 1970, p.12.
(b) Lack of effective representation

The second systematic source of problems has already been illustrated: not only does the administrative dependence on Mallorca stimulate ethnocentric rivalry; it also makes the effective representation of Ibiza in provincial (and hence also in national) bodies very difficult, because of the very different sizes of the islands, their wide separation and their frequently different immediate needs.¹

(e) The communications lag

The third systematic source of problems is the lag in communications, which causes the administrative delays referred to by Sr. Sorés.² While delays are common elsewhere, there can be few places in western Europe where they reach such Kafkaesque proportions. They are not occasional or unpredictable, but rather are common to all bureaucratic transactions, however minor. The main reason is the lack of autonomous executive bodies on Ibiza, which results in the overloading of central bodies and the multiplication of documents. The following personal example is fairly typical. Foreigners are normally allowed to keep an imported car in Spain for only six months before either re-exporting it (or placing it in bond) or paying very high import duties.³ There are, however, certain exceptions.

¹The artificial nature of the province is clearly apparent, for example, in the lack of trade between the islands. Although some 30 per cent (1961) of deliveries of goods to the port of Ibiza come from Palma, this mainly reflects the fact that vessels delivering goods to Ibiza often call at Palma on the way. The great majority of island trade is carried on between each island and the mainland or elsewhere; see COSTA PORTO (1969: 62-4).

²See p. 257, above.

³In the interests of attracting more long-stay foreign tourists, some relaxation of this restriction has been recommended, although it has apparently not yet been implemented. (COMISARIA DEL PLAN DE DESARROLLO ..., 1967: 81).
Therefore, when I wanted permission to keep my car after the initial six months, I approached the head of customs on Ibiza. He told me that he had no power to make such authorizations - I would have to apply to Palma de Mallorca. There I was told that, yes, they could issue such extensions (to foreigners importing more than 300,000 pesetas), but my particular case would have to go to Madrid. At this stage, I gave up handling the case myself and instead placed it in the hands of a "gestorfa", a commercial agency with specially qualified staff who deal with all manner of routine bureaucratic transactions such as driving licence or passport applications, acting as intermediaries between the variably-literate islanders (or bewildered foreign residents) and the complex bureaucracy. After a rather complicated exchange of letters, documents and certificates; I was granted an extension of three months (I had asked for six; i.e. until the proposed termination of my fieldwork). It was now two months since my first application. When the allotted period expired, the car was placed in bond; and I then bought a second-hand scooter. The next step was to go, with the previous owner, to a gestorfa for the "traspaso" (the transfer of registration). We were given fifteen forms to sign, after which they were filled in by the clerk. After a visit to our respective banks to obtain certificates authenticating our signatures, the clerk asked me for one thousand pesetas (offering no explanation), and he then suggested that I might return in about two months' time to see if the papers had arrived back. He and the former owner were much amused by my apparent surprise and he added that it might well take longer as all the papers had to go to Palma - this, apparently, completely accounted for the delay.

(d) Lack of coordination

The fourth systematic source of administrative problems is the lack
of coordination between the five separate municipalities on Ibiza. There are various public services, for example, whose supply and distribution do not fit conveniently into the old quartons. In 1970, the late British Vice-Consul on Ibiza told me that he had been trying for three years to have a telephone installed at his home, so that he would be more readily available. He lived just outside the capital town, to whose network he could easily - in technical terms - be connected; but the municipality of Ibiza-town is rather small, so that his house fell just inside that of Santa Eulalia, a large and mainly-rural municipality, to whose more rudimentary telephone network he could only be connected at prohibitive cost and with an indefinite wait. Similar considerations apply to development planning and administration, local roads, water supplies, the collection of rubbish, and so on.

8.5 THE IMPACT OF TOURISM

The systematic administrative problems have deep historical roots, as we have seen. They have, until now, frustrated any attempts at reforms consistent both with the political-constitutional aims of national Spanish governments and with the peculiar requirements of a province of islands on the margins of Spain.

Mass tourism has had a double impact on this situation. On the one hand, it has greatly magnified the day-to-day difficulties. But on the other hand, it has helped to create a new socio-economic climate in the province, in which substantial reforms are possible - and, indeed, appear

\[^{1}\text{A similar climate existed in Spain as a whole during the late 1960s, due at least in part to the impact of tourism; but intractable clashes between the central authorities and such groups as the students, the workers' commissions and the Basque nationalists; as well as the uncertainty over the consequences of Franco's succession; have tended to reverse the trend in the past few years, leading to the (perhaps temporary) shelving of such proposed reforms as the election of mayors and the law to allow political parties ("asociaciones políticas").}\]
to be taking place, though not without difficulty.

The magnification of day-to-day problems is due to the vast increase in the volume and complexity of administrative transactions: this has overwhelmed the formal structure - whose functioning was previously reliant on the existence of an informal structure (which is described later). There were informal ways around many of the everyday problems in the past; but tourism has rendered them less effective for various reasons, especially because many transactions now involve outsiders who are either ignorant of, or else are unwilling to conform to, the essentially esoteric informal norms.

The reforming climate involves several factors. Firstly, the increased volume and complexity themselves create strong pressures for administrative reforms. Secondly, the economy of the island now depends largely on tourism, so that administrative problems are increasingly seen in terms of possible economic damage. Prior to tourism, the island's mainstay was agriculture, in whose administration the delays and other difficulties were less dramatically important. There is no doubt that administrative difficulties have, in fact, affected the development of tourism on Ibiza in various ways. Thirdly, a number of factors - which include greater prosperity, state education, and more personal contact with non-islanders - have reduced the importance of ethnocentric attitudes per se (i.e. where...

---

1 See, for example, the report of Sr. Jordi's speech on page 257, above.

2 For example, there have been various scares in foreign newspapers over alleged health hazards to tourists on Ibiza because of the rudimentary disposal of sewage (which is consequently being improved) under the present municipal system.

An informed person in the Fontin holiday organization told me that, prior to my fieldwork, they had attempted to open a hotel on Ibiza, but had dropped the project (to their later chagrin, apparently) - "because of too much red tape".

During the period of fieldwork a new multi-storey hotel was demolished by ministerial order, although planning permission had been granted, because of the danger to aircraft landing at the island's airport. (This incident is described more fully later.)

A converse example, at the national level, is provided by the various fiscal reforms of 1959, which set the scene for the enormous growth of tourism in Spain during the 1960s.
they are not kept alive by special circumstances such as those described above). And sufficient time has elapsed since the civil war for official fears of separatism and regional anarchy to be partly allayed - at least in the relatively moderate political atmosphere of Ibiza, where the armed struggles of the Basque nationalists and the militancy of the mainland workers are not comprehended by most of the newly-affluent Ibizans.¹

8.6 CURRENT CHANGES IN FORMAL ADMINISTRATION

(a) Increased activity

Both through increasing the demands on public services and by producing the money required to effect alterations, tourism has given rise to a considerable increase in the practical activities of the municipal and provincial authorities on Ibiza.

The amount of money (from municipal taxes on hotels, land, houses, vehicles, etc.) which flows into municipal funds, for example, has closely followed the growth of tourism: Figure Fourteen shows this relationship for the municipality of San José. I heard frequent criticisms of the ajuntament in San José for having large funds and (allegedly) not spending them. However, there has been a large increase in reality in both municipal and provincial spending in recent years - as may be seen from a scrutiny of the reports in the DIALIO DE IBLA (in which local authority meetings are described in detail).

During my fieldwork, for example, roads were being constructed, surfaced and widened at a very fast rate (though never fast enough to obviate popular criticism); the island's first traffic lights appeared; a new sewage plant was opened in San Antonio, and grants were approved for others

¹In so far as Ibiza forms part of the Spanish state, however, the origins of the present régime in the civil war, and the difficulties over local government reforms created by regional political tensions in other parts of Spain, have continuing indirect relevance, at least, to the Ibanan case. See Appendix Right, below. Cf. also MEDHURST (1973).
FIGURE 14. MUNICIPAL BUDGETS AND TOURISM

- Municipal budget of San José (pesetas)
- Volume of tourism (overnight stays on Ibiza)

(Based on the figures in Appendix Four and Appendix Six)
elsewhere; a new state clinic was opened in the capital town; a hydrological study of the island was carried out, to enable water supplies to be used more systematically; and a rubbish-collection service was started (previously, some people in San José burned their rubbish or buried it, while others, less scrupulous, would dump it anywhere convenient).

The increase in municipal activities is also reflected by the shortening periods of office of the mayors, especially in Ibiza-town and San Antonio where the new pressures are greatest; and by the changed occupations of recently-appointed mayors — in the past they tended to be wealthy land-owners or teachers, whereas they now tend to be hotel-owning businessmen, or at least have some association with tourism.

(b) Legislation

At the national level, tourism has prompted a rapidly-growing body of legislation over development and commerce; including detailed regulations for buildings, amenities, hygiene, working conditions, quality and prices (these last are particularly elaborate for hotels and restaurants).

(c) Planning

At the provincial and island levels, tourism has stimulated a marked increase in development planning. Until recently, the most notable result of local planning was that all new buildings on Ibiza had to be whitewashed, in keeping with the tradition of "la isla blanca". But

---

1973 postscript: — A piped water-supply for San José is now partly-constructed; announcements that such a scheme would be developed were greeted with much scepticism by local people in 1971.

2 "the white isle". One of various names given to Ibiza by visiting authors, this one was coined by Santiago Rusinol: see RUSINOL (1957).
a detailed general development plan for the island now exists and seems likely to be implemented.

(d) **Structural changes**

There have also been various proposals for structural administrative changes, some of which are being put into effect, while others have met with practical difficulties. In one way or another, all of them attempt to resolve the systematic problems described above.

(i) **Cabildos:**

The most radical proposal is for the creation of island "cabildos". This is not a new idea: the Canary Islands, which have similar administrative features to those of the Balearics, have such a system already, based on a law of 1912.\(^1\) The following extract from Article 10 of the Constitution of 9th December, 1931, indicates the basic features of the cabildo system; and it also refers to its possible extension to the Balearic Islands - which has long been approved in principle by the Spanish Cortes:

"En las Islas Canarias, además, cada isla formará una categoría orgánica, provista de un Cabildo Insular, como cuerpo gestor de sus intereses propios, con funciones y facultades administrativas iguales a las que la Ley asigne al de las Provincias . . .

Las Islas Baleares podrán optar por un régimen idéntico."

(Castilian. Cited in **DIARIO DE IBIZA**, 24 February 1971, p.2)

The system would thus give Ibiza, Mallorca and Menorca the effective status of separate provinces; each with its own island council (cabildo), dependent only on the central authority in Madrid, and having wide discretionary powers. The present municipalities would continue, each being represented

\(^1\) As long ago as 1845, a substantial measure of devolution of administration to Ibiza was urgently advocated by the civil governor ("Jefe político") of Baleares, to remedy the familiar systematic problems. (**GIBNAT**, 1845: 270)
in the cabildo, and each being subordinate to it in the same way that they are at present subordinate to the provincial authorities in Palma.

This proposal would appear to resolve the major systematic problems described above. Moreover, the central government's approval of such a system for the Balearics has been reiterated in various later official decrees; as in 1950, 1952 and 1955. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 24 February 1971, p.2)

And the idea receives constant support in the semi-official local press.

Why, then, has the cabildo system not yet been put into operation in the Balearics? Various reasons were suggested to me by Ibizans. It is possible, for example, that the enthusiasm of the central national and provincial authorities is less manifest in practice than it is in principle. On the other hand, it seems likely that a united effort by the local authorities would have produced some practical results by now, in view of the official acquiescence of the central bodies.

The answer therefore appears to lie, at least in part, in the local rivalries on the islands themselves. The following comments on the province-municipality structure in Andalusia are interesting in this respect:

"Nor would it be practical for them to operate in any other way, given the geographical and ideological formation of the pueblo."

(PITRIVERS, 1961: 15)

On Ibiza, the scattered villages are very different from the nucleated ones described by Pitt-Rivers; but they share with them a strong sense of the solidarity of the "poble" (pueblo); which is usually conceived in terms of parish boundaries on Ibiza, in the absence of obvious physical village limits.¹

¹Derogatory parish (or neighbourhood) nicknames may be found on Ibiza, similar to those described by Pitt-Rivers. In the past, people from San José, for example, were sometimes called "empunxa sarris" ("basket-punchers") - an allusion to the location of the municipal hall (guards used to be employed to prevent peasants from taking goods to the town without paying taxes, and they used sticks to poke into saddle-baskets to check if they contained food). In return, the people of San José alluded to those of the neighbouring parish of San Agustín as "puas de guorrotes" ("carob tree grubs"). At the present time, San Antonio is sometimes called "es poble de es peseta" (sic), or "the town of the peseta": this is a double allusion to their manner of pronouncing the Ibizan "e", and to their alleged preoccupation with money.
When the present municipal divisions were instituted by the provincial authorities in 1822, there was serious conflict among the various parishes over which should be dignified with the new Ayuntamientos. The unsuccessful parishes refused to conform to the new structure at first, and attempts to impose it provoked an armed popular revolt which lasted for several days before it was quelled by troops. Feelings were strongest in the new municipalities of San Antonio and San José, from which a number of people were imprisoned for two months before being released on oath.¹

The use of arms on Ibiza is now more restricted. But deep feelings still exist over popular participation in local government, despite the common apparent indifference over elections. People in San José, for example, frequently grumbled that the present mayor would do little for the parish; as he was a native of the neighbouring parish of San Jorge, and a teacher in San Agustín; thus having (by implication only) no "intereś" in San José.² It was also alleged that municipal elections were "rigged" in favour of candidates from San Jorge,³ and this was given to me as a reason for not bothering to vote in such elections.⁴

¹Of those imprisoned, fourteen were from San Antonio; there were two from Santa Inés, one from San Mateo and six from San Agustín. (MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 52)

²Note the dual meaning of "intereś", here: since the mayor has no personal involvement ("intereś") in the parish, he is thought unlikely to have any genuine interest ("intereś") in its well-being. While it was true that the mayor's living outside the parish did mean that he was less often present in the village, I know of no other evidence to support this allegation - it is mentioned here, as are the subsequent details, only to illustrate popular feelings and parish political rivalries; which are deprecated and are rarely described in written sources; and which tend to be initially glossed over for outside observers by the village people, being of a contentious nature.

³The alleged techniques included multiple voting, and I was told that on one occasion the votes cast in one area exceeded the number of voters on the register. I had no means of checking such stories, however.

⁴Heads of households ("cabezas de familia") may vote in the elections of municipal councillors, as well as supplying some of the candidates. But effective power is in the hands of the mayor alone, who is appointed by the provincial governor. The poll in municipal elections held during my fieldwork was of the order of thirty per cent (which is fairly typical), despite much advance publicity and official exhortations. The lack of any effective public electoral power (here as elsewhere in Spain) is almost certainly the real reason for the apparent lack of interest; and there have been frequent suggestions (so far without result) that the mayors should be made elective.
Popular pressure, then, is consistently in favour of decentralization of authority, right down to the local level of the poble. There is, accordingly, opposition to any plan which seems to promote centralization at any level. Now, while the cabildo plan is one of decentralization of provincial authority; it is also one of centralization of authority on each island, since each municipality would become subordinate to a new island body. Although each would be represented in it, the rural municipalities might become rather less important; both because the new island body might operate more effectively than the present provincial authorities, and because it might tend to be dominated by the capital town of Ibiza in practice - in any event, it seems probable that the cabildo would meet in the capital town.

The local rivalries are not merely symbolic, moreover. There are real differences of interest between the municipalities from time to time. Some ten years ago, for example, the capital town wanted to expand its municipal boundaries to increase the land available for the rapidly-developing suburb of Santa Creu. For this, some land would have to be taken from San José, which strongly opposed the scheme, taking it through the courts. In the end, it appears that the town municipality was expanded, though by less than had been desired. When I was discussing local government with people in San José, they sometimes brought this incident up spontaneously (this is how it came to my notice) in order to illustrate the general proverbial principle that "Es peix gros sempre menja es petit" ("The big fish always eats the small one"). There was evidently some slight residual ill-feeling over the affair, although some people thought that San José had

---

1 The expansion of the town's boundaries was, in fact, a political issue of some importance on Ibiza as long ago as 1887: see MICALI, 1966-67: II, 132-135.

2 This account is based on oral evidence from local people and officials in both the town and San José.
gained a victory by getting the area reduced. People in the town, on the other hand, dismissed the incident as being of little consequence - merely a matter of rationalising the town's boundaries. Although the old ethnocentric basis of such rivalries seems to be diminishing in importance as the islanders' mental horizons expand, such quarrels are still possible in the touristic period. San José, for example, is a large rural municipality, much of which is relatively undeveloped in touristic terms; but it takes in a considerable slice of coastal hotel development adjacent to both Ibiza-town and San Antonio. While this benefits San José by bringing it increased revenues and giving it the status of a touristic zone, it is irksome for San Antonio in particular since an important part of San Antonio bay falls outside the municipality.

The failure to implement the cabildo plan is now easily understood, quite apart from any diffidence on the part of the central authorities. A prominent public figure in Ibiza-town told me (not attributably, since the subject is rather delicate) that the project had last been seriously considered in 1956 or thereabouts, after formal requests to the Ministro de Gobernación; but that it had been shelved after the preliminary enquiries because of opposition from the rural mayors on both Ibiza and Menorca, although the Mallorcan authorities had agreed to abstain from voting - "Eran muy galantes los mallorquines" ("The Mallorcans were very gallant").

These contrasting reactions seem to be very general in such rivalries. In the case of inter-island relationships, for example, the typical Mallorcan attitude is one of some sympathy for the difficulties of the smaller islands - coupled with a degree of condescension. In other words, the members of the larger (or more powerful) unit do not feel so strongly as do those of the smaller unit about such matters; although this ceases to be the case when the real interests of the larger unit are significantly affected (e.g. the boundary dispute was apparently quite important at the time to at least the official townspeople - I was told, for example, that one of them gave an "arrossada" to celebrate a favourable court decision).

"Important", because it happens to include most of the low-lying land suitable for hotel development near San Antonio. Much of this land in fact belongs to people in the parish of San Agustín, who have thus become quite wealthy through tourism; although the village itself is situated in the inland hills, and shows almost no signs of tourist development.
The rural municipalities, he said, "temen perder su independencia" ("are afraid of losing their independence"). Even so, the idea has not been abandoned by the "fuercas vivas" ("the live forces") on Ibiza; and the island newspaper "procura despertar una consciencia para intentarlo otra vez" ("is trying to awaken the right spirit to try it once again").

The tortuous history of the cabildo plan thus shows the complexity of interests involved in local government on Ibiza. As far as tourism is concerned, the interesting thing is that it has (through the intensification of administrative problems and the broadening of islanders' mental horizons - the above counter-examples notwithstanding) both stimulated a revival of the cabildo plans and created a socio-economic climate in which they seem more likely to be eventually implemented, despite some continuing sources of opposition.

(ii) *Mancomunidad*:

Another reform similarly-prompted by tourism is the institution of "mancomunidad", a form of cooperation for certain purposes among the five Ibanian municipalities. During 1970, the various municipalities gradually voted in favour of the scheme.¹ A special committee of representatives was formed, with its functions defined as follows: firstly, to represent the island in matters of its competence; secondly, to organise the collection and treatment of rubbish on an island basis, and to likewise arrange the cleansing of streets, beaches and other places of touristic interest; thirdly, to promote tourism and to protect the island's scenic merits; fourthly, to safeguard public hygiene in general, and to promote the development of drinking-water resources on an all-island basis; fifthly, to open up public ways of touristic or island interest; sixthly, to create and maintain an island fire service; and seventhly, to create and maintain a central island

¹See DIARIO DE IBIZA, 7 February 1970 (p.6); 17 February 1970 (p.5); 13 March 1970 (p.7).
market and slaughterhouse. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 13 October 1970, p.7)

The significance of these proposals may be appreciated in the light of the local rivalries described above. The rubbish collection service was partially put into operation before the end of my fieldwork. Some of the other proposals met with delays¹, but it seems probable that they will gradually be implemented.

(iii) The "pequeño cabildo":

Under the new pressures from tourism, an increasing number of delegations of provincial bodies have been set up on Ibiza in recent years. Most important of these (at least for the points under consideration here) is the new "Comisión Especial de la Diputación Provincial de Baleares para las Islas de Ibiza y Formentera", created in 1971. This imposingly-named body is to be composed of the representatives of Ibiza and Formentera in the Diputación Provincial; but it is to meet and act on Ibiza, and has the following official functions:

"la programación y la planificación de la actuación de la Diputación en las islas de Ibiza y Formentera, como también la emisión de los correspondientes informes sobre todas las peticiones que se hagan en la Diputación respecto a nuestras islas y, en todo caso, la supervisión de todas las obras que la Diputación realice en las islas de Ibiza y Formentera y la coordinación con otros organismos para evitar duplicidades de servicios y suplir deficiencias."

"the programming and planning of the actuation of the Diputación on the islands of Ibiza and Formentera, as also the emission of the appropriate reports on all of the applications which may be made in the Diputación respecting our islands and, in any case, the supervision of all the works which the Diputación may carry out on the islands of Ibiza and Formentera and the coordination with other bodies in order to avoid the duplication of services and to remedy deficiencies."

(Castilian. DIARIO DE IBIZA, 20 May 1971, p.2)

The label of "pequeño cabildo" (little cabildo) has been applied to this new body by an Ibisan town councillor.² And, although it is in reality

¹There was a plaintive query over the progress of these proposals in the DIARIO DE IBIZA, 31 January 1971, p.3.

²In a letter from Antonio C. Tur to the editor of DIARIO DE IBIZA, 11 February, 1970, p.7.
quite distinct from the cabildo in that it remains subordinate to the provincial authority (rather than replacing it), the new body does similarly represent an attempt to reconcile the new administrative demands with the conflicting pressures from political issues and local rivalries.

(e) An historical cycle

A curious parallel with the middle ages may be noted in the effects of modern mass tourism on Ibanan administration. There is always a geographical pressure for island autonomy. Historically, this pressure has been countered by the centralizing tendencies of governments. But Ibiza retained a high degree of autonomy in the middle ages through being a frontier province. In the intermediate period, this ceased to be the case; and the island (like other formerly-embattled frontier provinces) underwent progressive integration into the national administrative structure, losing most of its privileged autonomy. In recent years, however, the island has become an important tourist zone. As such, it is now on the economic frontiers of Spain: hence the renewed pressure for greater autonomy; and hence also the greater willingness of the central authorities to accede to it, or even to encourage it (within limits).

Thus, whatever the ultimate shape of local administration on Ibiza in the next few years, there is no doubt that tourism will have played a fundamental part in stimulating reforms.

8.7 THE INFORMAL STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION

The reality of administration on Ibiza, at least since the reconquest, has never corresponded very exactly with the formal structure.

1Cf. for example Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands.
In the traditional period, as we have seen, there were continual clashes of jurisdiction; and the frequent documented complaints about "abuses" ("abusos") of all kinds indicate the regular existence of informal procedures at variance with the formal, official "blueprint" of administration.

In the intermediate period, there was again no shortage of such factional rivalries - although they now took on the superficial form of party politics. It appears, from all accounts, that personal leadership and patronage remained more important than political principles:

"Principios políticos no se profesan, pues aunque algunos individuos hay que se llaman republicanos, otros carlistas, unos cuantos conservadores, y el resto fusionistas, en realidad sólo hay dos partidos contrarios, que se distinguen exclusivamente por los nombres de los respectivos jefes. La única mira de los secuaces de uno y otro, es obtener destinos en la administración, ó cargos concejiles, ó lograr la impunidad para los abusos, tal vez para los delitos, en caso de residencia ó proceso. Así los descontentos de un bando se pasan sin dificultad al opuesto, y son acogidos sin necesidad de que hagan profesión de fé."

"Political principles are not professed, since although there are some individuals who call themselves republicans, others Carlists, a few conservatives, and the rest fusionists, in reality there are only two contrary parties, which are distinct only in the names of their respective chiefs. The only aim of the adherents of both is to obtain places in the administration, or to become councillors, or to achieve impunity for abuses, or even for crimes, in cases of domicile or prosecution. Thus the discontented of one group pass without difficulty to the opposite, and they are accepted without needing to make any profession of faith."

(Castilian, NAVARRO, 1901: 111-112)

This account of politics on Ibiza at the turn of the century (which also applies to the immediately prior and subsequent periods, although there were variations in the party labels) is supported by both other written evidence and the oral recollections of elderly Ibisanos.

However, it would be misleading to over-emphasise these points. The flexibility of political allegiances may itself be attributed in part to

---

¹Navarro's writings show him to have had liberal, or left-wing, tendencies - for example, he wrote emotively of the exploitation of poor women by the stocking manufacturers mentioned in an earlier chapter here. Macabich, on the other hand, was a staunch traditionalist supporter of Franco's "Movimiento"; and yet the (sparse) details which he gives do substantiate Navarro's statements. On the ephemeral nature of the "etiqueta política" ("political label") and the patronage basis of island politics in 1896, for example, see MACABICH (1966-67: II, 161).
the very moderate "political principles" of the great majority of the islanders, and to the remoteness of many national political issues; rather than simply to the cynical pursuit of self-interest implied by Navarro.

There were, moreover, consistent patterns of political behaviour on the island. Throughout most of the intermediate period, there were only two major opposed factions on Ibiza. Although their labels varied from time to time, their basic qualities are well described by the terms which were usually used by oral informants with whom I discussed pre-war island politics; namely, "es liberals" ("the liberals") and "es conservadors" ("the conservatives"). The former were of moderate "progressive" ("progresistas") tendencies, while the latter supported "traditionalist" ("tradicionalistas") policies. Only a very small minority of Iblsans were actively involved on either side, however; and the rest were of fairly indeterminate allegiance, except when personal interests or specific issues were concerned.

There was a definite social class basis for the allegiances of the politically-active minority, as well as, to some extent, among their passive followers. The people of the old walled town (inhabited by the island gentry and wealthy business and professional families) were nearly all "moderados o conservadores" ("moderates or conservatives"); whereas those of the Marina were "progresistas de un matiz más o menos templado" ("progressives of a more or less moderate shade"). (SALVATOR, 1886-90: II, 119) In the country districts, the priests and the wealthier land-owners were mostly conservative; while poorer people tended to have liberal sympathies - especially non-land-owners such as fishermen and independent

1 Most islanders, in keeping with the island's isolation and its relatively equitable distribution of land and wealth, appear to have had traditionalist (and therefore generally conservative) leanings; but their views fell somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum, whatever the contemporary national divisions. In an election of deputies to the Cortes in 1874, for example, 5,439 of the 23,492 islanders had a vote; and 3,452 votes were actually cast, as follows: Liberal monarchists 2,552; Carlists 684; Republicans 183; Others 33. (MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 98)
Nevertheless, the practical operation of the political system on Ibiza was along the following lines, whatever the current formal structure happened to be. A very few people, from the land-owning gentry of the walled town, contended for the honour of being the island's political

The vast majority of the islanders played no active part in the brief, but bloody, episodes of the 1936–39 civil war on Ibiza. But the active minority split along these class lines. To the right-wing land-owners, businessmen, and priests were added some of the professional people like doctors and retired army officers (who disliked the reforms of the second republic which had made them redundant); as well as the civil guards and the small island garrison under Commander Mestres, who (after some deliberation, according to an informed oral account) declared in favour of the rebellion at the start of the war. The active republicans included some of the poorer people and non-land-owners mentioned above, and a few people with liberal sympathies from other occupations, including teachers and intellectuals, as well as craftsmen and other people from relatively "independent" occupations.

The majority of farmers and small land-owners favoured neither side very much, in line with their traditionally hostile disposition towards all "governants" ("governing people"). On the one hand, for example, they disliked the "vales" (tokens, used instead of money, and redeemable at some indefinite date) of the republican forces; while, on the other hand, they found equally objectionable the tendency of the nationalist forces to "requisition" ("requisar"—a new word in the local vocabulary) their possessions: they therefore tended to hide them in an impartial fashion, whenever possible.

The island women were almost all much more conservative than their male counterparts, and they were alarmed for example by the church-burning and sacrilege of the republicans; but they played an entirely passive role, it appears, and they were exempted from the executions and other penalties meted out to defeated active opponents by both sides.

In general, there was a marked personal (Gemeinschaft) flavour in local involvement. Oral informants relate stories (with names and circumstantial details) of denunciations, killings and executions motivated by personal grudges or ambitions. But, conversely, some people were spared because of the intervention of witnesses to their disinterested behaviour prior to or during the war. And some of the islanders involved in man-hunts were apparently not very zealous in their efforts.

I know of no full and accurate account of these events. There is, however, a sensitive and detailed (though overtly Republican) first-hand description of life in Santa Eulalia during the Second Republic and the early part of the war by an American author (PAUL: 1937). The Nationalist accounts of the later part of the war tend, unfortunately, to be less useful because of their omissions, inaccuracies and propaganda content (see, e.g., GAY De MONTELLA, 1940: 106–111). See also Appendix Eight, below.

Despite the venal motives which are invariably attributed to their retinues, these island representatives are said (in both oral and written accounts) to have been motivated largely by considerations of prestige. For example:

"ninguno de ellos saca de la politica ni aspira a otro provecho que la satisfaccion moral de servir a sus amigos; y que conservan su prestigio, á costa de sus propios intereses."  
(Castilian. N. VARRO, 1901: 113)
representatives. They needed to be wealthy, since vote-gathering was an expensive affair which involved the maintenance of a retinue of party organisers who were motivated largely by personal gain, and there were also such incidental expenses as "arra Rossades" ("rice-feasts") at political rallies, and "punyolades" ("doughnut-feasts") for voters at election-time, and even the straightforward purchase of votes.

The results of elections, and the success of local policies, also depended greatly on the support or opposition of certain powerful interest groups. In the traditional period the island clergy had also been seigneurs, and they continued to play an active role in local politics throughout the intermediate period. In view of the liberal disentailments of church property, it is not surprising that the great majority of priests were traditionalists, or conservatives.

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards, however, the clerical dominance was challenged by business interests; and in particular by the "Salinera", the private salt company, which was the island's only large employer of labour.

---

1 These practices, and others, are mentioned by NAVARRO (1901: 111-113) and other writers. They also provided material for various popular songs and stories. One which is still remembered in San José tells how a well-known local priest substituted punyols containing a powerful laxative for those of the opposition party, and then profited from the enforced absence of their tellers by emptying their votes into his party's urn. (This priest, whose name may be seen in the parish records towards the end of the nineteenth century, is the central figure in a number of similar tales of a good-naturedly humorous type. See, for example: "Es flons de mossènyer Eullare" which has been published in CASTELLÓ GUASCH, 1953: 26-29.)

2 The country people can still relate stories about the era, long ago, "Quan manaven es capellans a Eivissa ..." ("when the priests ruled on Ibiza ...").

3 For their role in the nineteenth century, see: SALVADOR (1886-90: II, 119); MACABICH (1966-67: II, 152-3); and NAVARRO (1901: 112). PAUL (1937) speaks of the political tone of sermons in the years leading up to the civil war, and also describes how the priest of Santa Eulalia (where Paul was living) collaborated with the anti-republican insurgents who used a tunnel underneath his house for storing illicit weapons.


The "Salinera" has also been labelled "el gran cacique" ("the great political boss"); see FAJARRES CARDONA (1958: 150; and 1961: 22-3).
preceding the civil war, the island bankers and financiers, the Matutes family, emerged as a powerful force in all administrative matters.¹

The patron-client basis of the informal political structure was perhaps clearest in the country. Each district had rival "capes de partit" ("party heads"); and in return for their influence with the political leaders in the town, the local party heads were responsible for gathering votes in their area. This they achieved largely through becoming the commercial and judicial agents of the voters: if someone was caught smuggling or dynamite-fishing, for example, he would look to his "cap de partit" rather than to a lawyer for assistance.²

This is, necessarily, only a crude outline of the island's informal political-administrative structure before the civil war. In particular, it tends to gloss over the changes under different constitutions; as, for example, during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), or during the Second Republic (1931-1936). However, it serves to indicate certain elements of continuity: in short, although the formal structure had the trappings of party politics, the practical operation of politics and administration on Ibiza involved a more or less institutionalised system of

¹"Don Abel Matutes made all the money because he controlled all the means of transportation, gave out the licences, filled or emptied cash-boxes, mended or neglected roads..." (PAUL, 1937: 37).

²Later in his book, PAUL describes how local republicans obtained safe passes for certain of the more popular wealthy islanders from Captain Bayo, the leader of the Republican Expeditionary Force which held Ibiza during the summer of 1936. But Don Abel Matutes was killed before the republican forces left the island. His sons survived, however, and they rapidly regained a prominent position under the nationalist régime. At the time of my fieldwork, in 1970-71, the Matutes family were alleged to own about one-tenth of all of the wealth on the island; and they had major holdings in land, ships and hotels, in addition to their local banks. A young member of the family, Don Abel Matutes Juan, was the mayor of Ibiza-town; and he became the central figure in the local administrative scandal which is described later in this chapter.

²Hence the common habit of using the name of the leader rather than a political label: e.g., "Jo som d'es partit d'Em Blau" ("I am of the party of Mr. Blue"), says a character in a folk ballad still recalled in San José. The practice does not imply an absence of political principles so much as the greater practical significance of the personal patron-client bond.
patronage, which was interwoven with interest groups and the island's social class structure.¹

The civil war modified this situation, even though one immediate effect of the nationalist takeover was the restoration of surviving island notables to enhanced positions of wealth and importance. On Ibiza, at least, the formally one-party system of government² brought a clearer and more continuous formal structure of administration, within which there were more restricted opportunities for the expression of rival interests or for the operation of rival party patronage of the type found prior to the 1920s. Conversely, the informal structure on the island is now less clearly defined. Instead of readily-identified rival-party patrons and clients vying for political dominance and its rewards, there are now only people with more or less formal authority — or with more or less influence.³ Instead of describing the present informal structure on Ibiza in terms of largely dichotomous political personal relationships, it is thus easier to illustrate it in terms of a set of informal practices. (Cf. WOLF, 1968: 18.) The following

¹This system was by no means peculiar to Ibiza, of course. However, "caciquismo" (the system of political bosses) varied considerably from one part of Spain to another. The Ibizan system (with occasional exceptions) was a relatively mild, though well-developed, form of "caciquismo". In keeping with the local land distribution and tenure, it involved the wooing of voters with food, bribes and favours rather than their intimidation by bullies with cudgels. (Cf. BRENAN, 1960: 5-9)

²It should be noted that the limited role of the "National Movement", the permutations within it since the civil war, the lack of any well-defined party ideology following the early transformation of the Falange, the habit of rule by decree, and the existence of various different right-wing — and even of "semi-opposition" — groupings within or without the "Movement", have led some writers on Spain as a whole to prefer to describe the present Spanish system as a "no-party system". It does not seem appropriate in this thesis to enter into the complexities of the various non-local channels of influence, patronage and hierarchical mobility in Spain, but the reader may turn, for example, to LINZ (1964: 311 et seq.), LINZ (1970: passim), or for a rather different interpretation to SEVILLA-GUZMAN & GINÉ (1975).

³These comments are based on observations on Ibiza, and are limited to points which affect the discussion in the rest of this chapter. They do not imply that patronage has been less important in post-civil-war Spain, although the forms of patronage have altered. Nor do these comments on Ibiza extrapolate in any simple fashion to Spain as a whole: see, for example, the comments on contemporary channels of patronage in GINÉ (1972: esp. 64-65) and the concept of "service classes" in SEVILLA-GUZMAN & GINÉ (1975: esp. 90-93).
practices are most notable:

(i) The use of influence: This has already been outlined. Essentially, when anyone on Ibiza wants to get something done fairly quickly or without difficulties, he thinks in terms of which "amico" to approach. The greater the range and diversity of his "amices", the more his "influenza", and hence the more easily he can get things done. Although this no doubt applies everywhere in some measure, the notable feature (especially among older people) on Ibiza is that influence is a first resort rather than a last one. In a system in which an application for a vehicle-registration transfer involves a multiplicity of forms and a routine delay of two months or more, the importance of influence is paramount. It also operates at all levels of the administration. In the case of my application for a permit to keep my car on Ibiza for more than six months (see pp. 260-1, above) I was finally informed that I was not technically eligible for such a permit. However, I had fortunately enclosed a copy of a letter endorsing my study from a professor of sociology in Madrid, whose "patronage" was used as grounds for granting me an exceptional permit:

"... en atencion a los estudios de doctorado que realiza bajo el patrocinio de la Facultad de Ciencias Politicas, Economicas y Comerciales de Madrid." 2

(ii) "Propina": Influence operates largely through the exchange of favours. But the ability to perform favours is assymmetric. In the intermediate period, under an elective multi-party system, even the humblest islander might return the favours of the richer and more powerful by voting for them. Under the one-party system this is no longer possible. How, then, may people with relatively little influence

1 Cf., for example, the use of "enchufe" (literally "plug"; figuratively "influence") elsewhere in Spain.

2 Castilian. Letter to me from the Director General de Aduanas, Ministerio de Hacienda, Madrid, dated 28 July, 1970.
get anything done? The answer seems to be that they must either take
a chance with the formal system or else offer the relevant person a
"propina" (literally, a "tip").

The extent of this practice is, not surprisingly, rather difficult
to determine. There is no doubt some popular exaggeration by the ordinary
islanders, who are generally mistrustful of all officials and professional
people. But, even so, I was given numerous first-hand accounts with
circumstantial details of the operation of "propines" and similar practices
on Ibiza, both at the present time and in the recent past. Of people
in certain key administrative posts it would be said that "Aquest a'be
format!" ("That chap has lined his pockets!"); and detailed stories would
sometimes follow, either first-hand or hearsay. Professional people were
also frequently mentioned as functioning much better when they had been
tipped. In fact, the only important exception was the civil guards, who
appear to have a general reputation for incorruptibility.

I have not included concrete examples of any great import here, for
several reasons: firstly, I myself never gave propines (except to waiters),
so that I must rely solely on reported evidence; secondly, these are delicate
matters on Ibiza, as elsewhere; and, thirdly, it would be an easy matter
for anyone on Ibiza to identify any individual referred to. (For similar

---

1 In some cases, other quid-pro-quo arrangements may be possible: i.e. no
exchange of money may be required. The consideration of other such practices
is omitted for the sake of brevity, however.

2 It is not intended to imply, of course, that "propines" are a new thing
on Ibiza (although it may well be that the post-war political structure
has been relatively propitious for them): there are recorded instances of
bribery (and of the operation of influence and the other practices mentioned
here) which date back almost to the reconquest. See, for example, MACABICH

3 This is probably due at least in part to the general rule that civil guards
should not serve in their home towns.

Even so, I was told by an ex-civil guard that, when he was stationed in
a country district of the island in the 1950s, he was frequently offered
gifts by local people; which, he said, he invariably refused in accordance
with the strict civil guard regulations.
reasons; here and elsewhere; I have used relatively minor incidents, often involving myself, to illustrate points which Ibians would normally reserve for private discussion or to which they would make only oblique and partial reference in print.) However, the following incident may indicate the extent to which such "tips" appear to be taken for granted on Ibiza, as well as illustrating why the term is not translated here as "bribe". Recently, an Ibisan friend visited England and, being slightly deaf and unable to obtain a suitable hearing-aid on Ibiza, he wanted to buy one here - so I acted as interpreter. At one stage it seemed that he might leave without purchasing an aid, and he had great difficulty in comprehending that the salesman-fitter did not expect any money for the tests which he had carried out. When he was finally convinced, however, he opined that the specialist was "molt bon home" ("a very good man") and an "home de confiance" ("a trustworthy man"). This was quite a major factor in his decision to purchase an aid from him. Even so, he was not happy about having done nothing (apart from paying the sizeable bill) to return the "favour" of the fitting to the specialist in person; so I spent about half-an-hour interpreting suggestions as to how the Ibisan might be able (through medical friends) to obtain a point of sale on Ibiza for the hearing-aid company, for which the specialist would receive the credit (he was, in fact, quite interested in the idea).¹

¹This incident also illustrates some further features of "propines". Firstly, they may vary in type from spontaneous gifts of gratitude to obvious bribes. Secondly, the practice may arise in at least two different ways. On the one hand, any formal system which gives certain key individuals a wide area of discretion (combined with opportunities for concealment) over matters of importance to individual citizens is likely to provide temptations for the key officials. But, on the other hand, the bribes may arise out of spontaneous gifts - especially when the citizens belong to communities with a view of social and economic exchange like that referred to above as "the traditional Ibisan theory of exchange". Moreover, the civil guard (see p.282, fn.3) was able to refuse gifts - which could after all be simply an expression of hospitality - only by reference to an effective set of regulations. Similar gifts are offered to teachers and doctors, who find it more difficult to refuse them graciously, even if they so wish. Thus an expectation of "propines" may derive either from the formal system or from popular attitudes to exchanges; the practice is therefore likely to be completely absent only in an organisation (like the civil guards, perhaps) where there are strict rules against both "gifts" and "bribes" - which are known to be backed by effective sanctions.
(iii) "La vista gorda": - Prior to tourism, it sometimes did not matter much if people had to wait for months over minor administrative transactions. Apart from the more leisurely general pace of life on the island (which is a frequent topic for comment when the effects of tourism are discussed by Ibizans), people could often pursue their activities before a necessary permit arrived. In many cases, indeed, they might not trouble to apply for one, regarding such regulations as unnecessary and tiresome (empipo). The authorities, and notably the civil guards, would tend to turn "a blind eye" ("la vista gorda") to such technical offences, whenever possible.

In 1966-67, for example, I lived for nearly a year in a town on the mainland of Spain, without realizing the need for various permits. My presence was well-known to the authorities there, but no suggestion was made that I should put my papers in order. On Ibiza, I was anxious to be strictly correct, however, to avoid any possible difficulties in my fieldwork. Being inadvertently late, even so, in applying for residence permits, I was promptly and laconically fined two thousand pesetas. Likewise, in the case of the car permit, no official action was likely until I made an application; but then, since the matter had formally been brought to official

There seem to be several reasons. One may be inertia. Another is a recognition of the point made under (iv), below. A third is a feeling that such minor matters are beneath the dignity of civil guards. And, finally, there is the fact, as one San José man put it, that the civil guards in general "no volen anar en quantra es poble" ("do not wish to go against the people"), unless they are obliged to.

Ignorance of the regulations is another element in the informal structure described here. Thus, one law-abiding peasant in San José described how he had attended a large traditional "cencerrada" (cencerrada; charivari); which was interrupted by the guards, who confiscated the traditional instruments and warned the participants not to repeat the incident. He commented that he would not have taken part had he known "que fos una cosa mal feta" ("that it might be an ill-done thing"). On the other hand, a definite spice is added to such popular activities as gambling and dynamite fishing by the common awareness that they are "privat" ("prohibited"). And, in general, most islanders are aware (or, if not, are soon made aware by friends) of the law in so far as it concerns their personally: and relevant information in the local press is disseminated quite rapidly by word of mouth from literate persons.
notice, it had to go right up through the bureaucratic structure to the
head offices in Madrid.

In other words, as long as people are generally of "buena conducta"
("good conduct"), the Spanish authorities - unlike their more rule-conscious
English or French counterparts - are inclined to overlook technical
offences, unless they are formally brought to their notice. Such technical
offences do sometimes serve as an excuse for expelling "indeseables"
("undesirables", especially hippies); but, even in these cases, the
authorities appear to be slow to take action unless they are prompted into
it by formal complaints ("denuncias").

(iv) "Feta sa llei, feta sa trampa": - "The loop-hole is made with
the law", says an Ibisan proverb.

Since legislation takes place at the national level, it tends to ignore
regional differences, and it is often designed to cope with life in large
cities like Madrid or Barcelona. Consequently, many of the detailed
provisions of national laws are of limited relevance to Ibiza (and this
was especially so prior to tourism).

Even when the regulations are of some relevance, there is still a
tendency to look for loop-holes. For example, various permits are required
in order to build a new house. In the case of a foreign purchaser, the
permits take much longer to arrive, since they depend on his character
record (i.e. whether he has political or criminal records in Madrid), as
well as on the design and location of the house. This may considerably
delay the legal transfer of the land and the start of the building. But
there is a convenient loop-hole. The native owner of the land can apply
for permission to have the house built for himself, so that building can
commence almost immediately. The foreigner then applies for permission
to buy the land together with a house under construction; the delay is
now unimportant - always assuming that the permit is not refused, and that
the deal goes through as planned.
The practices described in the preceding section (points i-iv) make up a loose informal structure whose main functions (apart from personal gain) are to speed up or bypass the cumbersome formal processes, or to adapt national regulations and procedures to the local way of life. But tourism has brought considerable changes to the informal structure as well as to the formal structure; and its impact may be seen very clearly in the following case history, which also illustrates points made elsewhere in this chapter. The account is based partly on the confused, but very detailed, newspaper coverage; and partly on conversations with islanders, some of whom were involved in the events described.

On the 3rd of July, 1970, a "Comet" aircraft on a flight from Manchester to Barcelona crashed in Spain, killing all of the 112 persons aboard. Soon afterwards, the British Airlines Pilots' Association ("BALPA") blacklisted a number of airports - including that of Ibiza, which was alleged to lack safety equipment of an adequate modern standard.

In August, the allegation was officially denied by the Spanish Air Minister. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 28 August 1970, p.9) At about the same time, however, the "Boletín Oficial del Estado" (the Official State Bulletin) requested tenders for a contract for new navigation aids at various airports which included that of Ibiza - and the work was to be completed within six months. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 30 August 1970, p.9) Tenders for further improvements were requested shortly afterwards. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 21 October 1970, p.8; and 29 October 1970, p.2)

In October, it was reported that the airport was being boycotted by British and other pilots because a hotel - already ten storeys high - was being built directly in the flight path, and less than two thousand metres from the runway. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, or "D.I.", 20 Oct. 70, p.7)

On the 9th October 1970, the Spanish Subsecretary of Civil Aviation
sent a letter (published in D.I., 21 Oct. 70, p.5) to the president of the "Centro de Iniciativas y Turismo" on Ibiza, which contained a categorical denial of the British pilots' allegations. It accused BALPA of acting with great irresponsibility ("con gran ligereza"), and it reaffirmed that the hotels concerned did not exceed the requirements laid down for Ibiza Airport ("no sobrepasan las Servidumbres establecidas para el Aeropuerto de Ibiza").

Nevertheless, on the 20th November, the Spanish Air Minister paid his first official visit to Ibiza - to inspect the airport and to discuss the situation with island officials. After mooting the demolition of the upper storeys of one or more hotels they agreed, as an emergency measure, to close the airport during the hours of darkness, as from the 24th November.

This news caused consternation in official circles on Ibiza, because of the direct threat to the island's economy: many charter flights arrive at night, there were numerous emergency meetings and a flurry of telegrams to Madrid.

Meanwhile, it transpired that the main hotel involved was the "Insula Augusta", which belonged to a local company called "Hoteles Ibicencos, S.A." ("HOTISA"). The then mayor of Ibiza-town, Don Abel Matutes Juan, was a major share-holder in the company; and he acted as its representative, thus becoming the central figure in the subsequent drama. Rightly fearing a conflict of roles, he offered his resignation as mayor to the civil governor of the province, who refused to accept it. His resignation from the vice-presidency of the "Fomento del Turismo" on the grounds of the incompatibility of this role and that of mayor was, however, accepted.

---

1 The "Centre of Initiatives and Tourism". This body, which is an association of local businessmen involved with tourism, is commonly known by its former official title of "El Fomento del Turismo".

2 See page 279, footnote 1, above.
by the committee on 28th November.

The company HOTISA expressed its favourable disposition ("favorable disposición") towards a speedy solution,¹ and there were a number of official votes of confidence. A suggestion by the company (which offered to contribute thirty million pesetas towards the cost) that the runway might be re-aligned brought indignant protests from owners of land near the airport, who feared compulsory purchase: their comments included the first published allegations of the operation of influence to protect personal interests. (D.I., 26 Nov. 70, p.6) The suggestion was not taken up, however.

The night-time closure of Ibiza Airport was front-page news in the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Express on 28th November 1970; and the story subsequently received coverage in all of the major British newspapers.

The tone of the commentaries in the DIARIO D.I. IBIZA was becoming increasingly sarcastic, e.g. "Ciertos pilotos no tenfan la razón, pero la tienen toda." ("Certain pilots were wrong, but they are entirely right." - D.I., 29 Nov. 70, p.6) The same column referred to the fact that, under these emergency conditions, the provincial capital was being completely by-passed; and that almost all of the administrative meetings were between officials from Ibiza and Madrid:

"El problema del Aeropuerto de Ibiza no es un problema provincial. Solamente es un problema nacional y un problema insular." "The problem of Ibiza Airport is not a provincial problem. It is only a national problem and an island problem."²

¹D.I., 28 Nov. 70, p.5. These sentiments were thereafter frequently reiterated, until their credibility had entirely vanished.

²In January 1971, the civil governor of the province visited Madrid to discuss, among other things, the cabildo project. In a report of his visit, the hotel affair was cited as evidence that:

"Las islas menores precisan angustiosamente un organismo representativo colegiado ... " "The lesser islands most urgently need a collegiate representative body ... "

(Castilian. D.I., 28 Jan. 71, pp. 5-6)
By December, 1970, technical investigations had shown that there was a definite hazard involved in instrumental landings at the airport. The Air Ministry appointed a special judge to enquire into possible culpabilities in "el caso del Aeropuerto de Ibiza" ("the Ibiza Airport case").

During the month of December, the local public debate became increasingly acrimonious as it became clearer that the decision to demolish the hotel "Insula Augusta" was only being delayed by the legal question of responsibility. A series of detailed articles and public statements in the DIARIO DE IBIZA, from the 20th of December onwards, also revealed a split between factions of the "fueros vivas" ("the live forces") on the island, over the correct solution. From the very confused information which was made public, the following points gradually emerged:

(i) The hotels, despite their location on Playa d'en Bossa (a beach next to the capital town), fell within the municipal area of San José. There, the corporation was alleged to have issued the requisite municipal licence for the buildings without complying fully with the complex procedures stipulated by law. Thus some blame might attach to the municipal authority (which would not, however, have sufficient funds to meet an indemnity).

Against this, it was argued that it was widely believed that:

---

1. D.I., 3 Dec. 70, p.5. But - under pressure from Don Abel Matutes Juan - the newspaper stated on 6 Dec. 70 (p.5) that this information had been incorrect. The existence of the special judge was finally confirmed, however, when he arrived in person to inspect the municipal records in San José on the 4th of February, 1971.

2. For some time it was thought that three hotels (in all of which Abel Matutes was a co-owner) might be involved, but only one was finally demolished.

3. A new report that a special judge had in fact been appointed was prefaced by the eloquent qualification that:

"Dentro de las limitaciones y de las "Within the limitations and the informational reservations in which we movemos, parece ... "

(Castilian, D.I., 8 Jan. 71, p.6)
"todos los hoteles de la provincia se han construido sin atender en zona rústica al procedimiento concreto de los artículos 69 y 46 de la Ley del Suelo."

"all of the hotels in the province have been constructed without paying attention in rustic zones to the concrete procedure of the articles 69 and 46 of the Land Law."

(Castilian. D.I., 22 Dec. 70, p.8)

(ii) The hotel "Insula Augusta" was being built on the land of one co-owner, the company "Promociones Ibicencas, S.A." ("PROMISA"). PROMISA was also continuing to develop land around the hotel for villas. But, in 1968, the company had been expressly forbidden to build on the land; and legal action - for contravening existing planning regulations - had been begun against PROMISA by the provincial authorities, before the hotel had even been started. (D.I., 20 Dec. 70, p.8; and 23 Dec. 70, p.5)

(iii) Despite the Air Ministry's former public denial, the hotels concerned did contravene the latest Air Ministry regulations over buildings near airports.

(iv) No-one was willing to accept any responsibility for what had happened.

A long sequence of non-events now took place. First, on 30th December, 1970, the civil governor of the province made public an order of the Air Ministry that the hotel "Insula Augusta" should be demolished. Second, on 16th January, 1971, the island newspaper (D.I., p.7) reported that the delay in carrying out the demolition order was due to legal actions taken by the company HOTISA; whereupon the "Fomento del Turismo" passed a vote of no-confidence in the company's "favourable disposition". Third, on 19th January, a new demolition order was made public by the provincial governor (D.I., 19 Jan. 71, p.4), fixing the 28th and the 31st of January as limiting dates for the commencement and completion of the demolition. But fourth, after a series of confused announcements, a further delay due to the legal opposition by HOTISA was announced on January 29th (D.I., p.5), despite the civil governor's orders. The non-event of the previous day had been covered by a large number of Spanish and foreign press and television reporters; and a few unwary editors even ran the story that the hotel had
been demolished as planned. (reported in D.I., 5 Feb. 71, p.5)

Meanwhile, the hotel affair had become a major topic of Ibisan conversation by about the second half of November, 1970. Both in town and country, the popular interest and indignation (over the prospect of a severe curtailment of tourism) grew rapidly during December. There were many unpublished rumours, some of which seemed quite wild while others were plausible - and in several cases received subsequent confirmation in the local press. Various prominent local people were implicated by rumour in the affair; but "n'Abel" (the popular name for Don Abel Matutes Juan) took most of the blame for what one man labelled the "merienda negra". People in San José were inclined to preface any criticisms of "n'Abel" by references to the charitable actions of the Matutes family during the bitter post-war years. And some pointed out (correctly) that the names of the other major share-holders in HOTISA were carefully being kept secret, so that "n'Abel" was being set up as a public scapegoat. But feelings gradually hardened, producing such comments as:

"Also hi bureau ..." "There must be something in it ..."

"I aquest n'Abel vol pretendre que és ibisencista!" "And yet this Abel chap tries to pretend that he is an Ibisan patriot!"

"Però un alcaldes per fer una cosa s Fitzgerald es gu et un canalla, no és ver?" "But for a mayor to do a thing like that he must be a swine, mustn't he?"

And the popular resentment turned into violence when the demolition was further delayed on the 29th of January. A group threw stones at the mayor's car; and painted slogans appeared on some walls in the town, saying:

"N'Abel no!" "Abel no!"

"S'Alcalde foral!" "The Mayor out!"

These were promptly cleaned off by the authorities.

1 Literally the "black picnic". This expression was used on other occasions to describe the local system of administration in general, implying all kinds of abuses in favour of personal interests.
A public telegram from the "Fomento del Turismo" to the Subsecretary of Aviation (text in D.I., 30 Jan. 71, p.4) alluded obliquely to these incidents, and to the probability that worse might follow; saying that the continued delay in the demolition "could give rise to grave incidents on the island" ("podría dar paso a graves incidentes en la isla"). That such fears were not unfounded was shown by the unwonted discussion, among sober San José villagers, of the possibility of a "motín" ("revolt" or "mass protest") in which the islanders would blow the hotel up themselves.¹

On the 2nd of February, 1971, the company's legal objections (aimed at avoiding any admittance of liability, and consequent loss of compensation) were finally over-ruled by the Air Ministry. And, on the 8th of February, the hotel "Insula Augusta" disappeared in a cloud of dust, watched internationally on television (including in Britain). The airport was thus re-opened to night traffic:

"noticia que hoy llenará de júbilo a todos los ibicenos . . . "

"news which today will fill all of the Ibisans with joy . . . "

(Castilian. D.I., 9 Feb. 71, p.2)

There were various sequels to this event:

(i) In the following weeks, numerous articles in the local and national

¹This threat of direct action to demolish the hotel was reported in an article in the Sunday Times (BROWN, 1971). It was not as far-fetched as it may sound. There is a long tradition of such popular protest and direct action on Ibiza, as elsewhere in Spain, on occasions when the appointed authorities have been felt to be unduly oppressive or negligent. Though no doubt dangerous, the project was feasible in practical terms; since many islanders have access to explosives, which are used extensively in excavations for buildings and wells for example. A group of highly-respectable and generally moderate villagers, discussing the idea in San José on the 30th January, unanimously agreed that, while they could not themselves help in the demolition, they would go along "per fer més" ("to add to the crowd"); they also reflected that such participation should not be too dangerous, since the civil guards could not arrest the whole island.

This popular reaction is interesting both for the light it casts upon the relationship between the Ibisans and the administration in Spain (showing, for example, that the local government always depends on some measure of public acceptance); and for its demonstration of the strong feelings aroused by a threat to the mass tourism to which the islanders attribute their present prosperity.
press discussed who was to blame for the affair ("¿quién tiene la culpa?").

The Air Ministry issued a statement that the building had contravened

Air Ministry regulations, despite the issue of municipal permits and

the earlier denials by the Subsecretary of Aviation. (D.I., 11 Feb. 71, p.10)

The company HOTISA published a counter-statement which claimed that the
demolition meant a loss of over one hundred million pesetas, and that

existing regulations had not in fact been contravened either by them or

by the municipality of San José, as the Ministry had itself previously

acknowledged: from other reports, it appeared that the danger arose not

from the height of the buildings as such, but rather from electrical

interference with the aircrafts' automatic landing systems. (D.I., 25 Feb. 71,
p.7) Thereupon the matter was left to the courts.

(ii) On 11th February, 1971, Don Abel Matutes Juan presented his irrevocable

resignation ("dimisión irrevocable") from the post of mayor of Ibiza-town,
saying tersely:

"me marcho, porque no quiero colaborar con ciertas personas ni favorecer ciertos intereses. Ante esta alternativa, lo único que me queda es marcharme."

"I am going, because I do not wish to collaborate with certain persons nor to favour certain interests. With these alternatives, all that remains for me is to get out."

(Castilian. D.I., 21 Feb. 71, p.5)

It is extremely rare for Spanish mayors to resign (in theory they cannot resign),

but in this case the resignation was now accepted, although there were formal

expressions of regret that Don Abel Matutes would thus be unable to complete

the large programme of public works which he had initiated.

(iii) Various commentators pointed out that - whatever the legal position -
it was difficult to understand why, firstly, such prominent and well-informed

people had been responsible for siting a holiday hotel in the noisy

flight-path of a busy airport; and why, secondly, it had been so long

before any official counter-action had taken place, despite the earlier

official prohibition on building on the site.
8.9 CURRENT CHANGES IN INFORMAL ADMINISTRATION

(a) **Increased complexity**

From the municipal to the ministerial level, the confused and sometimes contradictory public statements showed the perplexity of officials and businessmen involved in the airport case. They were apparently unaware of either the limits of their respective authorities or what action might be appropriate. The normal channels of communication (through the provincial authorities) gave way to a succession of emergency meetings, visits and telegrams. The officials could rely neither on precedent nor on informal procedures and secrecy.

There are also many less dramatic instances of the increased administrative complexity on Ibiza today. It was stated above that national laws were often of limited relevance to pre-touristic Ibiza: this is no longer so usual. For example, little attention used to be paid to traffic regulations, driving licences and vehicle-safety standards on the island. But, in the past few years with the increased volume of traffic brought about by tourism, there has been a steep increase in the number of accidents on the narrow, winding roads. This, in turn, has prompted much stricter enforcement of road traffic rules by the civil guards, and even the deployment of "motoristas" (special civil guards on motor-cycles, used for road patrols).

The new complexity thus affects the ordinary islander as well as the official. As one San José man commented with reference to fishing licences and permits for boat-huts:

"*Arx hem de tenir permissos per tot!"* "Nowadays we have to have permits for everything!"

Or, as another man forecast:

"*Prompte haurem de pagar per entrar en el Celi!"* "Soon we shall have to pay to enter Heaven!"
(b) **Increased interdependence**

The airport case involved (for Ibiza at least) an unprecedented interdependence of decision-making at local, national, and international levels. The issuers of municipal building permits in San José, it seems, must now not only pay more heed to national laws, but also to the possible consequences of their decisions to British holiday-makers. And, to protect the tourist trade, the island's airport must now conform to the safety standards of the British pilots' association.

(c) **Increased "transparency"**

The airport case received international press and television coverage. Far from being one of the "forgotten isles" (see page 12, footnote 2, above), Ibiza now often provides copy for films, newspapers and magazines. Apart from standard travel columns, there are "human interest" stories both about the islanders themselves and about their visitors - notably the resident "hippies". There are also many stories - like that of the airport case - which focus on the activities (or lack of them) of the island's administrators: the expulsion of "hippies"; unfinished hotels and empty swimming pools; sewage problems; health hazards; and the like. Such stories are naturally disliked by the Ibizans, and especially by the local businessmen and officials who refer to them as "mala propaganda" ("bad publicity"): as well as taking more energetic actions to remove any genuine grounds for complaints, the local authorities continually seek to outweigh the "mala propaganda" by their own more favourable international publicity campaigns.

Thus tourism has very strong tendencies to generate publicity. And it gives the activities of local businessmen and administrators a very high degree of "transparency": it is now much more difficult for the
administrative process to go on entirely behind closed doors, with only terse and carefully-prepared public statements in a government-censored local and national press.¹

(d) The letter of the law

Points a-c indicate the existence of strong new pressures on officials to abide by the letter of the law instead of following the old informal norms of adapting or ignoring legal requirements to suit local circumstances or personal interests. The officials can no longer rely on the discretion of all those involved, nor on the limited local nature of any unforeseen consequences.

This point was recognised by various commentators on the airport case in the national press:

"... que después de Ibiza sea imposible en España entera levantar un solo ladrillo si no es con todas las garantías públicas y privadas." (Castilian. Commentary from "EL NOTICIERO UNIVERSAL", Barcelona, reprinted in D.I., 18 Feb. 71, p.6)

¹The Ibiza airport incident provides a striking contrast with the earlier Spanish "MATESA" case, which was still reaching its slow conclusion during the early stages of my fieldwork. The MATESA affair involved a prolonged fraud operation based around the illegal exportation of currency, in which very high-ranking civil servants (and possibly government ministers) were directly implicated. Despite frequent editorial protests, the whole affair (including the criminal trial and the debate in the Cortes) was shrouded from beginning to end in official secrecy.

The massive scale of the fraud may be deduced from the fine of 1,658,397,852 pesetas (about ten million pounds) which was imposed on the most important person convicted, Juan Vila Reyes, who also received a three-year prison sentence. Forty-six other people were also heavily fined (and some also received short prison sentences). (D.I., 20 May 70, p.4)

It was not possible to conceal the affair entirely, and it led to much anti-government sentiment in Spain as a whole: this was summed up by one politically-moderate Ibisan in an observation that while he thought that the régime had done much for Spain, "en Franco ha deixat robar massa..." ("Franco has allowed too much robbery..."). There is a fairly lengthy account of the affair in RUIDO IBERICO (1972: III, 41-109). But the MATESA case generated very little publicity by comparison with other scandals elsewhere - notably the American "Watergate" affair.

The same official tendency to cover up was apparent in the Ibiza airport case, even though this was a less sensitive affair. These attempts broke down because of the involvement of foreigners, and because of the insistence of the British pilots in the face of formal Spanish denials - which later had to be retracted.
"This event will contribute to an increasing public sensibility over the social phenomenon of urbanization and the correct applications of positive law; in short, towards a better formation of juridical awareness that as in all contests of this type it will be the Courts who will determine who had the rights and who complied with their obligations."

(Castilian. CESAR MOLINKRO, article in "LA VANGUARDIA", reprinted in D.I. 17 Feb. 71, p.6)

These comments were certainly true for the municipality of San José, at least for the time being. For example, I overheard an official explaining patiently to a puzzled foreigner that he was sorry, but the building plans would have to go back for Air Ministry approval...yes, he knew that this had not been the case before, but after the airport affair... Such effects appear to be quite general on Ibiza. Thus the people of San José would grumble, resignedly, that:

"Antes hi havia més llibertat, però ara miren més en aquestes cases."

Such comments were made about activities ranging from dynamite fishing to carrying a driving licence. People asked me if "these things were watched" in England as well. And they often summed up the changes with the comment:

"Ara tot va més recte!"

i.e. rules now have to be followed, rather than bent or ignored, whether by officials or by ordinary citizens.

1. There are some apparent exceptions, however. For example, I was sometimes told that the practice of giving "propines" has increased in recent years. This was occasionally - and rather implausibly - ascribed to the tipping (of officials, etc.) by foreign residents. It seems more probable that (if a genuine increase in the practice has occurred) it is due rather to the increase in suitable transactions and the greater haste in such dealings. It may also be noted that, in the airport case, the emergency situation forced officials to bypass the formal provincial structure. In other words, the short-term effects of the touristic pressure on administration may not always coincide with the longer-term ones which form the theme of this chapter.
(e) Planning

The airport case also illustrates the new pressures for more stringent development planning. It is becoming generally recognised in Spain that aesthetic and other considerations, besides any legal requirements, need to be taken into account to a much greater extent:

"Tendía licencias administrativas pero le faltaba la 'luz verde' de un semáforo que por ahora se usa poco: el indicador de las buenas localizaciones hoteleras."  

"It 'i.e. the hotel' had administrative licences, but it lacked the 'green light' of a traffic signal which at the present is little used: the indicator of good hotel locations."

(Castilian. "El terreno manda." EDITUR, 19 February 1971, p.135)

(f) Bureaucratization

Points a-e may be summarised as a set of pressures for the bureaucratization of administration on Ibiza. Although the existence of some informal norms seems to be characteristic of all formal organisations, the process of bureaucratization involves the progressive introduction of more complex formal procedures to replace traditional, implicit, or personal ad hoc methods. The established informal structure of administration on Ibiza is being undermined by the effects of mass tourism, as the airport case clearly illustrates. This therefore creates a strong indirect pressure for compensatory changes in the formal structure as well, which reinforces the direct pressures on the formal structure which are described in previous sections. The magnitude of these pressures may be gauged from the fact that they caused the resignation, after a very short term in office, of the scion of the wealthiest and most powerful family on the island, even though there was no definite evidence of actual administrative impropriety on his part.
CHAPTER 9

THE AUTHORITIES AND THE PEOPLE

Chapter Eight considers the structure of administration on Ibiza largely without reference to the degree of involvement of the native islanders, or to the relationship between the authorities and the common people on the island itself, although some relevant material was included incidentally. This chapter therefore explores those latter two themes: they are important to an understanding of the island's social organisation, since the native-outsider boundary cross-cuts those between the island's social strata to a variable extent - i.e. the relationship between natives and outsiders (especially in administration) is not uniform for all social levels. Nor has it been constant over time; and tourism has strongly influenced recent developments in this respect.

9.1 THE BACKGROUND

In the traditional period, seigniory rested firmly in the hands of mainland (i.e. outsider) representatives of the ecclesiastical consigneurs and the king (who, in fact, had ultimate sovereignty over the whole island even though he was the direct seigneur of only one quarté). One native Ibisan did become a consigneur of Ibiza in the seventeenth century - the "ElSe, Senyor lo Dor, Francesch Orvay de Blanes". But he achieved this through a career in the Church (a traditional avenue of single-generation social mobility), becoming Archdeacon of San Fructuoso in Tarragona. Thus he became consigneur of Ibiza in
an outsider role, not as an Ibiyan; and (because of celibacy) his seigniory died with him. (MACABICH, 1944)

The islanders did, nevertheless, play an important part in their own administration during the traditional period, through their representatives in the autonomous Universitat. But the existence of this body also served to maintain a clear division between native and outsider roles in island affairs, which was later to disappear— with important consequences.

The Castilian conquest of Catalonia brought, as we have seen, a greater domination of Ibiyan administration by outsiders. But it did not entail the disappearance of native officials, who continued to play an important (though changed) part in everyday administration. The highest posts on the island—those of the military and civil heads of local government (both delegates of provincial authorities in Palma)—are still, today, normally filled by outsiders. Other permanent official positions which are filled on a national basis include those of municipal secretaries, schoolmasters, and postmasters. For convenience, however, the postmasters are now usually local men. Until recently, the school-teachers on Ibiya included a high proportion of Mallorcans and others; but this was partly due to the lack of suitably-qualified Ibicans, and local-born school-teachers are now increasingly common. The mayors, councillors, deputies to the Diputacion Provincial, and Justices of the Peace ("Juezes de la Paz") are—again, for convenience—usually native islanders. Most of the rural priests have also been natives—although the highest clerical positions (e.g. that of Bishop) have more often been filled by outsiders. Finally, some of the poorer islanders have joined the civil guards, and they are occasionally stationed on Ibiya (though not in their home villages); they would, however, be transferred and disciplined were any untoward influence by native loyalties suspected.

Despite the decline in island autonomy, then, the "Nueva Planta" (New Order) was still based on a mixture of direct and indirect rule. But,
whereas outside personnel had formerly participated in Ibisan affairs only at the highest level, they were now involved at all levels down to those of the municipality and village. In other words, there was no longer any clear separation of outside and native authorities: all local officials, regardless of birth, now formed part of a national structure whose centralised Castilian nature was symbolised in the mandatory use of Castilian in all official business.

Since all of the key officials were now appointed from outside, instead of being elected by the islanders, they became the local-born (or outside-born) representatives of the central government rather than of the local people. This situation produces some curious phenomena of symbolic interaction. Islanders addressing native officials or semi-officials tend to use Castilian, even outside any official context. For example, the village schoolmaster in San José - although a native of Ibiza-town and an enthusiastic advocate of both the local dialect and local folk-lore - was commonly addressed in Castilian by the older country people, even though they sometimes had difficulty in speaking it. Moreover, he told me, they often continued talking in Castilian without apparently noticing that he was replying to them consistently in the dialect.¹ Again, although he

¹This was corroborated by my own experience. On some occasions I kept up surprisingly long conversations in this assymetric bilingual fashion: while I spoke in the dialect, the other person spoke Castilian, showing no signs of realising that I was not also speaking the outsiders' tongue. After a minute or two (but sometimes almost immediately and sometimes much later), a look of astonishment would indicate sudden awareness; after which a fairly standard discussion of the rarity of an outsider speaking the dialect would ensue; which was often accompanied by a more or less abrupt change from formal courtesy to delighted warmth - one man promptly congratulated me, pumping my hand in the prolonged Ibisan handshake, while another offered me a drink, and so on. So strong is this association between the outsider and the use of Castilian, in fact, that sometimes - even when I was introduced by one islander to another - his invariable emphatic announcement that I could speak "como naltros" or "miller que naltros" ("like us" or "better than us") would be greeted by a polite pretense of belief; after which the new acquaintance - to the patent embarrassment of the introducer - would immediately address me in Castilian, until he eventually realised that this really was not necessary.
might be referred to as "es mestre" (the dialectal form of schoolmaster), he was addressed by the Castilian form of his name: thus a neighbouring village woman took some time to realise whom I meant when I referred on one occasion to "en Pere, es mestre" ("Pere, the schoolmaster"), and then she exclaimed "Ah sí! Vols dir en Pedro, no és ver? Jo li dig sempre 'Pedro'." ("Ah yes! You mean Pedro, don't you? I always call him 'Pedro'.").

9.2 THE ISLANDERS DIVIDED: AUTHORITIES VERSUS FOLK

There has long been some recruitment by the authorities of islanders from all social levels. Thus, some poorer people found an alternative to emigration in becoming merchant or naval seamen. Others (fewer) joined the civil guards. And a few (generally, though not invariably, from the better-off peasant families) became priests. But, by and large, the people most closely associated with administration (in both official and lay contexts) have consistently been the upper social strata in each municipality, town and village. This is clearly because the interests and attitudes of these people have been closer to those of outside administrators than have those of the poorer islanders. Thus the upper native strata tend to form an intermediate group between the outside world and the local people, belonging fully to neither. This appears, in fact, to be a fairly general feature of region/nation-state relationships. Pitt-Rivers has appropriately labelled the mixture of outsiders and wealthy locals in official or semi-official positions in an Andalusian town "the ruling group":

1 The use of the honorific title "Don" also relates the status of officials and other public figures (whether local-born or not) with that of outsiders. Its use on Ibiza is very similar to that described for Andalusia by Pitt-Rivers (1961: 72-74).
"Who exactly, comprises what I have called the ruling group, and in what ways are they differentiated from the rest of the community? Other than landowners and the professional people, there are the owners of the larger business enterprises and also the occupiers of municipal offices, legal offices or those who have influence in syndical or Church affairs - the people in whose hands effective power resides."

(PITT-RIVERS, 1961: 67)

Such "ruling groups" in the country municipalities of Ibiza are of comparatively recent origin, deriving from the administrative changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But oligarchic tendencies had long been apparent among the upper strata of the old walled town and, in the eighteenth century, the wealthier townspeople soon came to terms with the new system of administration under Castile - and they very rapidly adopted Castilian speech and dress, as the following extract from a description of Ibiza in 1746 makes clear:

"La Villa se compone de unas doscientas casas, la mayor parte antiguísimas y distinguidas, y de nueve ciento personas de todas edades que visten a la Española, cuyo idioma hablan perfectamente, El Arraval está al pie de la Villa y a la lengua del mar; pero es mucho mayor que la Villa, pues se compone de quatrocientas y veinte casas y de mil setecientas personas, que hablan a la mallorquina."

The Town is composed of about two hundred houses, the greater part very ancient and distinguished, and of nine hundred persons of all ages, who dress in the Spanish style, speaking Spanish perfectly. The Suburb is at the foot of the Town and lapped by the sea; but it is much larger than the Town, since it comprises four hundred and twenty houses and one thousand seven hundred persons, who speak in the Mallorcan fashion i.e. in the Ibizan dialect of Catalan.

Thus it was that the native Ibisans became divided into two distinct social groups - the "señores" (or "señoras": gentlemen) and the "poble" (or "pueblo": the people) - whose interests were quite often opposed. Such a division had long been very significant on the larger island of

1 Extract from a pamphlet published by the "Ayuntamiento" of the whole island in 1746; published more recently in MACABICH (1966-67: I, 462-63).

2 Although separate ruling groups tended to develop in the various country municipalities during the nineteenth century, their members were, until recently, either linked through common interests or else very subordinate to those of the oligarchy in the town, because of the concentration of commerce and administration in the town. Hence (although the situation has been recently modified by tourism) it is usually valid to talk in terms of a single ruling group on the island.
Mallorca. But, in contrast, the nobles and viceroy fleeing from the popular revolution of the Mallorcan "Germania" in the sixteenth century had found a safe refuge on the more socially-stable island of Ibiza, whose inhabitants in fact fought off an attack by the Mallorcan rebels in 1522, earning a letter of thanks from the Emperor Charles V. It is true that there were sporadic protests by the poorer Ibizens about the activities of the wealthier islanders during the traditional period; but such protests became really frequent and forceful only in the intermediate period; especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, by which time the division between the ruling group of senyors and the common people had become more significant (on occasion, at least) than their shared Ibisan birth.

One human geographer has represented the popular revolts on Ibiza in terms of a division of interests between town and country:

"el levantamiento del campo constituye una manifestación de revuelta contra la ciudad y el patriciado urbano que la dominaba, oligarquía que casi siempre no obrara más que en su propio y único interés."

"the country uprising constitutes a manifestation of revolt against the city and the urban patrician group which dominated it, an oligarchy which almost always would act only in its own unique interest."

(Castilian, VILA VALENTI, 1963: 95)

This statement is partly correct, but it should be noted that the peasants sometimes acted jointly with the poorer townsmen. In other words, the most crucial division was that between the "oligarchy" of the old walled town and the rest of the islanders (both those in the extramural town and those in the country).

On the night of the 25th-26th of March, 1806, "a considerable number


\[2\] A few Ibinian craftsmen were implicated in the rebellion, but they failed to obtain any significant following on Ibiza. See, for example, FAJARNES TUR (1957); and MACABICH (1966-67: I, 369-72).
of armed people gathered together"¹, from the quartons of Santa Málala
and Balansat, and marched towards the town square to protest against the
latest taxes. The protest was rapidly quashed, and the island authorities
received a letter of thanks from the king (those mentioned included the
secular authorities, the civil and military governors, and the bishop: i.e.
the whole "ruling group"). One of the protest leaders was sentenced to
ten years imprisonment in the Philippines and four years of exile, and he
was given a patronising warning that "without his rusticity and ignorance
serving as an excuse"² he would surely be hanged if he tried to escape
or ever repeated the offence. Others received similar or lesser penalties.
But, despite this exemplary treatment, a further uprising in 1810 apparently
required the intervention of ships armed with cannons for its suppression.
(MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 12) In 1821, the armed peasants were joined
by some of the townspeople for a protest which actually achieved the
temporary removal of an unpopular judge and town clerk. Among other
requests on this occasion, the people also argued that "all of the inhabitants
of the island should have two fanegas of salt each year, as they used to
have from time immemorial."³ Reference has already been made to another
revolt in 1822, which was mainly against the new municipal divisions and
electoral procedures, but was also in protest over a tax levied to support
the Court of First Instance: this resulted in the imprisonment of twenty-
three peasants for about two months. (MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 32) These
were years of great poverty for many of the country people, who were

¹"juntáronse un número considerable de gentes armadas". Cited in MACABICH

²"sin que le sirva de disculpa su rusticidad e ignorancia". Cited in

³"que tengan todos los habitantes de la isla dos fanegas anuales de sal
cada año, como las tenían desde tiempo inmemorial". Cited in MACABICH
reduced to eating carebas and even fig leaves on occasion. Repeated petitions were made to the king for relief from the payment of tax arrears - and these were sometimes backed by the island authorities - but without success. In 1824, the tax collectors were accompanied by troops, who put down another rising; and, in 1829, two of the leaders of the rebels in 1824 were still at large in the hills, being sentenced in absentia to ten years in African prisons. Thus the continual repression of popular protests led to the creation of outlaw bands in the remoter country areas, which further exacerbated relations between the authorities and the common people. A more serious revolt, in 1835, involved people from all over the island, both town and country; three of the leaders were executed, while others were imprisoned or exiled.¹ Later, during the 1860s, various protests and revolts on Ibiza reflected the contemporary national events; and they were mainly instigated by the townspeople of the Marina, who were occasionally joined by peasants. But the 1870s, and particularly the years of the first republic (1873-75), saw the end of such serious popular unrest on Ibiza, as a policy of meeting some of the popular demands replaced the former crude repression. In fact, the division between the "ruling group" and the people does not appear to have resulted again in serious overt violence until the civil war of the 1930s (although anti-authoritarian and anti-clerical feelings did continue to be expressed on occasion, especially during the celebrations of "Carnestoltes", or "Carnaval").

It may well be wondered how this long sequence of popular revolts on Ibiza in the nineteenth century can be reconciled with the frequent assertions elsewhere in this thesis of the general political moderation of the Ibisans. But it seems that in general the popular revolts on Ibiza

¹Macabich (1966-67: II, 53) gives details of over forty people who were involved, and they included a few political exiles from the mainland. These political exiles on Ibiza seem to have been quite important in focusing the popular grievances during this period, especially in the town.
had fairly specific and limited objectives, rather than broad political or revolutionary ones: they did not, for example, seek a new order of stratification or a new kind of land tenure. Some of the major grievances of the peasants were summarized in ballads, as in the following extract from a ballad about events in the 1860s:

"Tots es dies mos creixien en sa contribució, no podem fer tabac per fumar un fumador, ni podem tenir armes per guardar-mos d'un traider, que ya estavem més subjectes que es que estan a sa presó."

"Every day they were increasing our taxes, we were not allowed to make tobacco so that a smoker might smoke, nor could we keep arms to defend ourselves from a traitor, in fact we were now more subject than those who are in prison."

(Nivissano. Published in MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 94)

The revolts in which townspeople participated did tend to have a more general political tone; perhaps because of the greater exposure of the townspeople to outside ideas, especially to those of the political prisoners from the mainland who were exiled on Ibiza during this period, some of whom definitely played an active part in popular risings. Nevertheless, when the authorities showed a willingness to pay some attention to popular demands, the Ibanian people resumed their customary pacific state, as all of the descriptions of the island from the latter part of the nineteenth century onwards testify. And, as is described above, even the issues of the civil war failed to polarize the vast majority of the islanders.

Despite the specific nature of the popular grievances, however, there were two clear underlying themes. Firstly, there was resentment of measures designed to increase the power of appointed authorities and to diminish popular participation (e.g. the suppression of fire-arms). Secondly, some of the actions of the authorities, which seem arbitrary at first sight, can be explained only in terms of a deep-rooted hostility towards the island's folk culture, going beyond purely monetary considerations such as the collection of taxes.

During the medieval period, it had generally been the Church which
concerned itself with the suppression both of political-economic misconduct and of all forms of religious heterodoxy and immorality; culminating in the activities of the Inquisition. The earlier reports of the ecclesiastical visitors to Ibiza usually included favourable comments on the general piety of the islanders together with criticisms of a small minority for heterodox behaviour. But the following extract from a report of a consellormeurial visit by the Archbishop of Tarragona, in 1726, is interesting in that it reveals attempts to suppress certain elements of the peasant culture; including both the traditional style of courtship in the girl's house and also those elements of the external religious cult of the islanders which combined religious devotions and secular recreation:

"Comenzó su visita, según costumbre, por la iglesia mayor, siguiendo las demás de la Villa y pasando luego a los Quartones. Corrigió censurables corruptelas de la Residencia o Comunidad de Santa María, y dio para toda la isla cuidadosas normas de mejoramiento religioso y moral. Prohibió en particular, con pena de excomunión, diferentes tratos usurarios, y entre los mandatos referentes a la campiña, ... la comunicación entre los encartados, mandado [sin] a los Rectores que, constándoles que el Promesa entrase en la casa de la Promesa, no se llevase adelante el casamiento sin haber dado cuenta al Vícario General. Como asimismo, con otras prácticas supersticiosas, la de 'rodar la terra', en la siguiente forma:

'Esto es el visitar las iglesias de la Villa y Quartones consecutivamente en virtud de promesa, para cuyo efecto se juntan muchos hombres y mujeres, y lo que es devoción y piedad se convierte en profanidad, bailes, canciones y en quedarse repetidas veces en la campaña bajo los árboles los hombres y mujeres, de que han resultado grandes daños ...""
From the latter part of the eighteenth century onwards, these functions were increasingly assumed by the secular state authorities, who had rather different primary concerns (although they often acted together with the church in attempts to suppress folk practices which were at variance with the interests or philosophies of state and church alike): the general concern of the state authorities was apparently to assimilate the islanders into the national secular culture as well as into the national administrative structure, with less emphasis on the moral-religious aspects.

The islanders most affected were consequently the country people, since they had retained a distinctive native culture; whereas the townspeople (including those in the extramural town) had proved more amenable to Castilian influences. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, therefore, there were frequent efforts to get the country people to abandon their scattered settlement pattern, which was seen as the basic obstacle to their "civilisation".¹

There were also continual attempts by the "ruling group" to eliminate a variety of folk customs, e.g.:

"El miércoles último tuvo lugar una reunión de personas influyentes en la isla, en la que se trató de buscar los medios más oportunos para lograr que desaparezcan ciertas costumbres que tienen nuestros campesinos y que son causa y origen de frecuentes desgracias."²

"Last Wednesday there took place a meeting of persons of influence on the island, in which an attempt was made to seek the most convenient means of achieving the disappearance of certain customs which our country people have and which are the cause and origin of frequent unfortunate events."

¹See also section 2.5, above. It may be noted that the association of city culture with civilisation was common to both those authorities of despotic enlightenment principles and those of liberal persuasions, as is clear from the periodic official reports on the state of Ibiza - various of these are published in MACABICH (1966-67) and elsewhere. Cf. also the essay, "La civilización es civismo," in UNAMUNO (1964: 68-74).

²Castilian. A press report of the year 1664, quoted in HAGGIS (1966-67: II, 125)
The "most convenient means" included sermons, municipal decrees, and the use of force: the civil guards had been established in 1844, primarily to put down banditry and smuggling; but they soon became a powerful means for suppressing certain types of disliked customs on Ibiza. Indirect methods, through the island's political patron-client structure, were also employed on occasion.  

The practice which most offended the secular authorities was that of carrying firearms or the traditional Ibanan combat-knives, which derived from the earlier period when all male islanders had been members of the island militia. From the viewpoint of the authorities, it had the obvious disadvantage that it gave the common people some real power to resist unpopular measures such as the imposition of fresh taxes, the prevention of smuggling, or the enforcement of the tobacco monopoly.

The most disliked folkways were those associated with courtship: in the scattered country houses, the nubile girls would receive a number of suitors in turn on agreed evenings and on feast-days. Apart from

As an important local priest, the historian Macabich himself played a part in the suppression of various customs. He describes, for example, how he enlisted the support of various political heads (caps de partit) in the country districts with whom he was friendly, for the first successful attempts at suppressing the "enterro del gato" ("burial of the cat") - an anti-authoritarian burlesque (with a strongly anti-clerical flavour) which used to finalise the events of Carnestoltes, or Carnaval, on Ibiza in the nineteenth century. (MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 154. See also PAJARÍN S. CARDONA, 1958: 165.) The carnival was itself suppressed by the present régime after the 1936-39 civil war; although there were unsuccessful attempts (not welcomed by the authorities) at a revival on Ibiza in the 1950s, and a few youths and children still wander about in traditional disguises and fancy dress on the appropriate day, under the gaze of patrolling civil guards and military police.

As late as 1873, two months after a municipal edict against the use of firearms in the town, the island authorities found it necessary to resort once more to civilian vigilante patrols, in the face of a possible visit from the cantonalist insurgents of Cartagena. (MACABICH, 1966-67: 108-109)

The Ibans have long grown and prepared their own pungent tobacco ("tabaco de pata"), which is still smoked by a few old men: i.e. the attempts at suppression were never very successful in this case, and the authorities finally agreed to its cultivation, providing it were only used for home consumption.
offending the monogamous morality of the Church, this system gave rise
to occasionally-fatal duels between rival suitors; and the conviction of
any survivors was made difficult by the total lack of cooperation of
the country people with the judicial authorities. (See, for example, NAVARRO,
1901: 10-13.) The various official means of suppression had little initial
success in this case. Until the civil war, small bands ("golles") of
youths would roam around the Ibiian countryside in the evenings, especially
on feast-days, meeting their friends to play cards, have a drink, or take
part in courtship - either seriously or else simply as a diversion. They
would sometimes call to one another across the valleys, using a special
hollow-sounding traditional cry, known as an "ug". ¹ This could be simply
an expression of exuberance, but it was also used to barrack rivals. Some
young men would use a kind of "head-voice"² to avoid recognition at night:
it is still unusual for country people to exchange greetings after dark,
unless they meet in an illuminated place.³ Blunderbusses also played a
more harmless part in courtship (i.e. apart from their use, like pistols,
as weapons): they might be suddenly discharged by the feet of an admired
girl (who was expected to show neither surprise nor fear), or upon leaving
her house at night (according to strict rules of etiquette, again). All such
practices were eventually forbidden; and the older men in San José still

¹"Ug" were still common in the 1930s, according to the first-hand contemporary
account of PAUL (1937). A demonstration for me by an elderly man in 1970
sounded roughly like: "a-u-u-u-i-a-a-a-a.
²This practice was also mentioned to me by elderly men in San José. The term
"head-voice" is that of VUILLIER (1897: 132), who describes how it was
used by some youths passing him one evening, as he strolled with a local
schoolmaster.
³The scattered dwelling pattern still gives country people reasons for being
wary at night. For example, in 1970-71, they would take care to ascertain
the identity and purpose of a caller before coming to the door at night:
and a query in Castilian as to whether there was anyone at home would
sometimes evoke no response at all.
recollect how, prior to the civil war, the civil guards would take any youths caught defying the prohibitions down to their quarters in San Antonio (this was prior to the establishment of a civil guard post in San José itself); and how they would clip the youths' hair or knock them about ("His hi donaven molta de llenya.") apart from confiscating any weapons.

Among other proscribed customs was that of gambling. There is an extant document detailing an order for the closure of gaming-houses on Ibiza in the year 1346. (Text published in MACARICH, 1966-67: I, 303-4) Similar official actions were still common in the nineteenth century (see, e.g. MACARICH, 1966-67: II, 83, 104, and 111): i.e. they had had little effect in the past. In fact, gambling is popular on Ibiza today: games in cafes are usually limited to small stakes which meet with general official tolerance; but private sessions - at which the game "el monte" may be played - sometimes involve much higher stakes, apparently. Compulsive gambling, or gambling beyond one's means, evoke popular (as well as official) disapproval or pity. But, from oral accounts, the occasional raids by civil guards have added a spice of danger rather than deterring the practice: those caught only receive a fine, since the offence is not regarded in practice as being very serious, and gambling has also been popular at all social levels, it seems.

The practice of fishing with dynamite is considered a more serious offence; since it involves economic considerations, the use of explosives, and the risk of physical injury (from premature explosions), instead of the moral considerations which apply to gambling. Those caught may receive prison sentences; and attempts at suppressing the practice date back to the last century (MACARICH, 1966-67: II, 149); but it appears to have become particularly widespread on the island during the latter half of the last century and the poorer years of the present century, when it provided an important means of supplementing the diet of some of the poorer
country people. Although it is no longer of any economic importance, dynamite fishing is still carried on (though less often than formerly) by both old and young men. And its proscription appears to add to its enjoyment. One man in the San José area was arrested for dynamite fishing in 1971, but such arrests are relatively rare since the men go out overnight or at first light, and sometimes to offshore islets, always keeping a watch for patrol-boats or similar hazards — and, in any case, the civil guards and other authorities now generally have too much other work to bother with dynamite fishers.

The official antagonism towards the peasants' customs was based, as has been shown, on a variety of political, economic and moral grounds. And other concerns were apparent in some other prohibitions: for example, a well-founded concern over hygiene prompted periodic edicts in the town of Ibiza against the common practice of keeping free-ranging pigs. (See, e.g., MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 129-30.) But the official disapproval of some aspects of peasant culture is less easily explained on such specific grounds: in the 1930s, for example, it seems that there was even disapproval of the traditional peasant musical instruments and songs. (PAUL, 1937) In the case of the civil guards, this might perhaps be explained by their inability to comprehend the ironic-sounding dialectal verses. But it does seem that the authorities were sometimes motivated by a rather general antagonism towards all aspects of the folk culture, viewing them as an obstacle to the establishment of a homogeneous national state culture. The attempted suppression of regional languages and dialects is, therefore, only the symbolic apex of secular attempts to eradicate the various folk cultures of Spain.

He was apparently caught entirely by chance: a fisheries official, on holiday on Ibiza, happened to see him fishing very early one morning off a remote stretch of coast, and arrested him (to his considerable surprise) when he came ashore.
The attempts were rarely entirely successful, as has been seen. But the cumulative weight of official actions over long periods should not be underestimated, and they undoubtedly played an important part in the considerable changes which took place in island life during the intermediate period. And various other factors served to reinforce the effects of the official campaigns:

(i) Technical innovations gradually changed the material culture of the islanders. For example, their distinctive home-spun island costumes gave way to dresses and suits made of imported cloths, which were at first made up in semi-traditional styles, but which later increasingly conformed to (urban) Spanish fashions.

(ii) Returned emigrants and sailors, and young men working in the town of Ibiza (whose numbers had been officially limited up to the nineteenth century, note), began to bring new ways to the country people; influencing the dress, the language, ideas, and folkways (especially those of courtship). Such young men seemed very sophisticated ("espavilates") to their friends and relatives in the country, and these increased contacts with urban and outside cultures reinforced the negative view of the folk culture which had long been impressed on the country people by the authorities.

(iii) The spread of state schooling on the island has partially assimilated all of the younger islanders into the national Castilian culture. For example, although they still speak the island dialect as their first language, there are notable differences of vocabulary and phraseology between them and the older people, with a considerable admixture of Castilian words. They can usually read and write only in Castilian: in fact, it is quite commonly believed among the country people that it is simply not possible to write in Iblsan - which is a striking illustration of the effectiveness of the official policies in this respect at least.

The progressive changes which resulted from these various factors may be traced through the successive accounts of island life to be found in the
descriptions by foreign visitors during the past hundred years, as well as in the written works and oral recollections of the islanders themselves. Comparatively little change was apparent among the country people at the turn of the century. But, by the beginning of the 1930s, the use of firearms (other than for game) and combat-knives was much rarer; and the old style of courtship "amb molta" ("with many") was gradually giving way to courtship in chaperoned pairs. The civil war brought a suspension of many customary activities; and some of them (e.g. the custom of gathering for dances on summer feast-days at the village springs and wells) never really revived again: tourism, with its further pressures for cultural change, began to build up in the 1950s, before the island's society and culture had had time to recover from the disintegrative impact of the war.

9.3 THE EFFECTS OF TOURISM

The effects of tourism on the divisions and trends described in this chapter have been rather mixed. On the one hand, various effects have tended to diminish the significance of both the division between Spanish outsiders and native islanders and that between authorities and folk; but, on the other hand, certain other effects have tended to enhance the divisions. The two opposed groups of effects¹ will therefore be described separately.

(a) Integrative effects

(i) The rise in the economic importance of Ibiza vis-a-vis the rest of Spain

¹The opposition between the "integrative" and the "divisive" effects is not always clear-cut, however, since integration at one level may be related to division at another.
has led to increased pressures for island autonomy, as is described in Chapter Eight. Alternatively, however, there has also been a long history of requests that more official and semi-official posts be filled by native islanders (without necessarily changing the structure). Now, for the first time (apart from during the republican periods), there appears to be a trend in this direction, which has been aided by the increase in the number of native Ibisans who have sufficient formal educational qualifications.

(ii) Tourism has brought a rapidly-rising standard of living to the poorer islanders. It has given the country people work (in hotels, etc.) of a type similar to that of the townspeople. It has enabled them to buy magazines, radios and television sets; which bring the national culture into their homes. And it has created new reference-groups, both Spanish and foreign. In short, it has combined with other factors (such as technical innovations, state education, etc.) to assimilate the rural folkways to the urban ones on the island. Thus the distinctive aspects of the rural culture, which offended the authorities in the past, have now largely disappeared, or else have become quaint relics. And, although the country settlement pattern is still predominantly dispersed, it is of much less social significance than formerly, because of the rapid intra-island communications (which have been provided largely either for tourism or with the aid of touristic wealth).

The visible gap between the senyors and the poble has also diminished, at least at first sight. In recent years, while the (ex-) peasants have taken to European fashions like those of the senyors, the latter have tended to drop their own distinctive apparel, such as the "mantilla" (which was still being worn in the 1950s). In the past, only the senyors could afford to ride to church in horse-drawn sprung carriages ("carros amb molls") or, later, in cars. The ordinary people either walked or travelled in rough farm-carts. Now, although visible differences may still be detected, they
are more subtle and are a less sure guide to social status (as distinct
from mere wealth).

In these respects at least, then, the gentlemen/people dichotomy on
Ibiza has been blurred by tourism.

(iii) Similar considerations apply to the division between the authorities
and the people. In particular, the presence of large numbers of foreigners
on the island tends to reinforce any feelings of Spanish national identity.
It is true that, at another level, this national identity is undermined
by the in some ways unwelcome presence of peninsular immigrants: in this
case it is the Ibisan identity which is reinforced. But, both of these
outsider-insider boundaries cross-out the division between the authorities
(see autoritate) and the people (es poble).

The importance of this cross-cutting effect is particularly clear,
for example, in the case of the civil guards on Ibiza. Instead of being
involved in the suppression of popular activities ranging from smuggling
to recreation (e.g. gambling) and traditional courtship practices, the
civil guards now spend much of their time on robberies (which often involve
peninsulars or other outsiders); the traffic in drugs (usually involving
foreigners); offences against public morality (usually by "hippies"); road
traffic offences (often involving local people, but generally also deprecated
by them); and accidents (which involve the guards in a public service role
as well as in a law enforcement one). Thus, in the absence of the old sources

\[1\] An interesting illustration of the way in which the effects of tourism depend
very greatly on the pre-existing social structure is provided by the
contrasting case of a Mexican week-end tourist village; where the police were
apparently stimulated into a new campaign to suppress the use of arms (which
sounds rather similar to that on Ibiza at the beginning of this century) and
various other local features such as the men's typical home-spun "pants" (on
the grounds that they might be indecent in the eyes of the city tourists); in
order to make the village more "suitable" for the city weekenders - thus
creating considerable local ill-feeling.

In other words, because of the different pre-conditions, the impact of
tourism there in this respect appears to have been the exact reverse of that
on Ibiza - where the authorities now encourage any surviving "typical" folk
features, regarding them (correctly) as being attractive to the tourists.
(See NUNEZ, 1963; 350)
of friction, it is not surprising that there are signs of a new détente between the civil guards and the country people on Ibiza.

Even before the civil war, it seems that the guards already enjoyed a rather more relaxed relationship with the local people on Ibiza than was the case elsewhere in Spain; at least according to PAUL (1937: Ch. XII, "The Guardia Civil," 175-86, especially p. 179). But, elsewhere, the same author gives indications of serious tensions of a type which no longer exist on Ibiza (although they still exist, of course, in some parts of Spain). For example, he writes of a left-wing fisherman in Santa Kulalia in the 1930s that:

"When he saw a Guardia Civil he looked at him frankly, knowing that the officer would like to shoot him but aware that no pretext was likely to arise. . . ."

(PAUL, 1937: 32)

I have also been given a fairly detailed oral account by a retired civil guard of his relationship with the local people of San José, when he was stationed there in the 1950s. His descriptions coincide quite closely with those of PAUL, though from a different viewpoint. During the 1950s, the tensions of the civil war were still comparatively fresh in people's minds; and the civil guard duties in the San José area still included anti-smuggling patrols and the suppression of other institutionalized, though illegal, local practices. In general, his life in the village was quite relaxed: he played cards and chatted with local men in the village bars, and he was invited on occasion to pig-kilings. However, the regulations against undue fraternisation obliged him to refuse invitations and gifts; and an underlying (usually implicit) tension ran through his account. For example, he would often describe how the people in the scattered dwellings would hide or pretend not to see him until they were forced to acknowledge his presence. He explained this reaction in terms of a timidity (espach) arising out of living in isolation; and this appears to be partly correct (judging by the occasionally similar reactions to passing
foreigners even today); but there is no doubt that some aversion to the uniform was also involved. The ambivalence of his relationship with the local people came through clearly in joking comments (repeated on a number of occasions), such as:

"¡Eramos el terror de los contrabandistas de por San José!"  "We were the terror of the smugglers of the San José area!";

at which his wife (knowing his lack of enthusiasm for catching smugglers) would retort:

"¡Ca! ¡El terror de las chavas!"  "Nonsense! The terror of the young wenches, you mean!"

Even in the more relaxed atmosphere of San José in 1970-71, the local people typically viewed the civil guards with some mistrust. One villager summed this up by saying that the life of a civil guard is bound to be "a false life" ("una vida falsa"): although individual guards might be likeable ("simpáticas"), one could never talk really freely in their presence, even when they were off-duty. And the influence of their training, and the necessity of following national civil guard regulations, limit the degree of friendship attainable under any circumstances, however relaxed. But, despite these qualifications, the present relationship between the civil guards and the people of San José is not so very different from that between, say, the English police and local people; in undoubted contrast to both the situation of the para-military guards among the hostile Ibisan peasants in the last century, and their situation in other more-troubled areas of Spain today. Even the rule against fraternization is interpreted in a less strict fashion, for example. During my fieldwork, one guard begancourting a San José girl, with the consent of her family. Another guard spent most of his off-duty hours chatting in a neighbouring house, where the father was an invalid. And the civil guard corporal was among the official guests at the wedding-feast of a farmer's daughter to the draughtsman from the municipal hall (who was also from a local farming family).
(b) **Divisive effects**

(i) More young people than ever before on Ibiza are employees. The tourist boom has firmly imprinted a new dichotomy on island society: employers versus employees. Much of the political trouble elsewhere in Spain has stemmed from industrial unrest in the large cities, and from bad employer-employee relationships in general. Now, for the present, the boom puts the employees on Ibiza in a very strong wage-bargaining position: there is considerable competition for skilled local labour among employers, including hotels, although some do follow a policy of recruiting (cheaper) labour from the mainland. But, a slump or even a plateau in tourism will give the employers back their former position of strength (because the present Spanish syndical structure is weighted very heavily in their favour); and Ibiza may then be expected to experience, for the first time, industrial unrest of the type which is already familiar in mainland Catalonia and in other parts of Spain.

(ii) The castillianisation which followed the eighteenth-century War of Spanish Succession affected literary work as well as official documents. On the mainland of Catalonia, however, a Catalan "renaixenca" (renaissance) was well under way by the middle of the nineteenth century; and it spread fairly quickly to Mallorca. On Ibiza, in common with most other historical

---

1 The island's only large employer of labour in the past - the salt-company - provides an appropriate exception: for example, there was a strike by the salt-workers in 1897, in protest over a wage-reduction. (MAGABICH, 1966-67: II, 169)

2 A qualification is necessary here. Various factors (e.g.s, the hierarchical structure of employment in hotels, and the seasonal nature of much touristic employment) - which are more fully discussed in a later chapter - do distinguish the new class structure on Ibiza to some extent from that of industrial Catalonia. In general, the employer-employee relationship is less of a simple dichotomy on Ibiza; and there is also less incentive and opportunity for workers on the island to form associations, legal or otherwise. But, even so, some polarisation of employers and employees is undoubtedly occurring.
changes, the literary revival of Catalan took much longer. In the 1920s, MACABICH began writing Ibisan dialectal poems. (MACABICH, 1970) And in the 1930s, VILLANGOMEZ started writing about varied themes in literary Catalan.1

Tourism has powerfully stimulated this incipient revival of interest and pride in the distinctive features of the Ibisan language and culture. The changes taking place in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as the presence of the tourists themselves, prompted the literary-minded among the islanders to take a fresh look at their island culture (which they had long been accustomed to neglect or disdain) because it was, firstly, in danger of vanishing and, secondly, obviously attractive to the growing contingents of Spanish and foreign tourists. These motivations for writing about the island were already clear in such works of the 1950s as those of FAJARNES CARDONA2 and VILLANGOMEZ.3 Since then, even the poets and writers from the most elevated families of Dalt Vila have increasingly taken to writing in Catalan (both literary and dialectal), and on Ibisan themes; as well as following MACABICH's lead in collecting peasant verses, ballads and stories.4 A cultural society, "Sbusus", was publishing a magazine which specialised in Ibisan topics - called simply "Ibisa" - by the 1940s; but the articles were almost entirely in Castilian. This defunct magazine was revived in 1971-72 by a new "Institut d'Estudis Eivissencs" (Institute of Ibisan Studies); but now it had the dialectal title, "Eivissa", and included a high proportion of articles in impeccable

1There is a useful outline of the Catalan renaissance, and its spread to the various islands, in FAJARNES CARDONA (1958: 180-81). It is also discussed in MELIA (1967: especially pp. 90-96).

2FAJARNES CARDONA (1958). The author gives the changes as his main reason for writing this work (on page 13).

3VILLANGOMEZ I LLOBET (1956).

4See MACABICH (1966-67: volume IV). Note also CASTILLO GUASCH (1953); (1955); and (1961 a).
Catalan. Free extra-curricular classes in written and spoken Ibisan are now being given in the secondary school ("l'Institut") in the town. These new interests of middle-class literary Ibians thus provide a striking contrast with the attitudes of previous generations, who thought of the island tongue as being fitting only for peasants (understood pejoratively), as "es parlar pagès".

There has been a similar revival of interest in other aspects of Ibisan culture. Whereas the folk music and dances were formerly frowned upon by the authorities, they are now encouraged, with official prizes being given to competing folkloric groups. Tourism, with its interest in "quaintness" and "local flavour", provides a conclusive stimulus for such folkloric revivals: officials and businessmen alike (i.e. the "ruling group") now look sadly upon the rapid disappearance of the typical peasant costumes and other visible features of the folk culture, and they use any remnants of it extensively in their publicity campaigns and other promotions.

At present, this Ibisan renaissance appears rather ironical, since the townspeople and other literate islanders are re-discovering their island's cultural heritage only now - when the common people are showing strong signs of Castilianisation, owing to their greater recent exposure to state education and the national media (as well as to tourists). So far, in fact, it has been middle or upper-class townspeople and professional people in the country who have led the renaissance; so that the new island "folklore" (like much folklore elsewhere, of course) might better be termed "lore", without the "folk". In San José, for example, ordinary villagers do

---

1 The "Instituto de Estudios Ibicencos" was founded in 1949, and it published six more numbers of the magazine "Ibiza" between 1953 and 1960, when it lapsed once more. But it is only since 1971 that the society has been largely Catalanised.

2 Perhaps the most striking illustration during my fieldwork was the wedding, in 1970, in a country church on Ibiza, of the Princess Immaculada de Borbón, which was attended by an extraordinary mixture of national eminentes, island notables, and (invited) foreign residents - and "hippies". The royal bride wore a set of Ibisan peasant gold jewellery over her bridal dress. The event was watched (with a mixture of respect and mirth) by a large number of islanders; and it was extensively reported in fashionable magazines: see e.g. "SEMANA" (1970).
participate in the folkloric dancing displays, and there is some genuine local pride in them. But the same few songs and dances are repeated each week for a different audience of tourists, since it is easier to do this than to rehearse new programmes each time. Whereas the songs and dances formerly formed an important part of recreation and courtship for the young country people, they are now performed primarily for economic motives. They are jointly organised by the town-born schoolmaster and a member of a local entrepreneurial family. And it may also be noted that of the people in San José who have maintained a correspondence with us since our fieldwork ended, only two write to us in Ibizan Catalan: the schoolmaster and the village priest.

Nevertheless, this does not diminish the importance of the revival for the self-image of the islanders in general. Many of the country people are already aware of the curious reversal in the status of "es parler pagès" ("the peasant mode of speech"). And it is precisely the professional people who are likely to influence the most other islanders through their new enthusiasm for the island's traditions. The village schoolmaster, for example, encouraged the children to make a collection of "endevinetes" ("riddles"): this won a prize in a new annual competition, and was later published. (INSTITUT D'ESTUDIS RIVISSÈNGS, 1972) The following year, the San José children produced another prize-winning collection, this time of "remes pagesos" (peasant remedies). (INSTITUT D'ESTUDIS RIVISSÈNGS, 1974) And this revaluation of the indigenous culture is likely to spread downwards to the islanders in general; but very much more rapidly than did the contrary Castilian influences previously, since the new trend will not meet with similar local opposition.

Certain countering forces (such as the more universal usefulness of Castilian in dealings with outsiders) may tend to limit the development of Catalan literacy; but there is no doubt that the overall trend is towards greater island and regional patriotism. Now, although this trend is integrative
at the regional level, it is definitely divisive at the national level because of the secular Castilian opposition to regional values or autonomy; the national official equation of regional cultures with separatism in fact has the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

(iii) Spanish community studies frequently refer to the political caution and apparent apathy of most ordinary Spaniards since the civil war. Bitterly recollecting the war (although they are not eager to discuss it, particularly with outsiders), the older Ibizens likewise tend to dismiss the possibility of popular participation in politics, using sweeping verbal gestures such as:

"A qué li hem de fer, maltros?" "What can we do about it?"

"Maltros no pintem res en en so political" "We have no part in politics!"

And the middle generations have been more concerned with economic reconstruction or simply earning a living than with political issues like social justice.¹

But, for some years now, the islanders have had both direct and indirect contacts with foreign viewpoints of their way of life. In the political sphere, the foreign viewpoint has been overwhelmingly negative towards the present régime. Although it is true that few of the foreign visitors are sufficiently fluent in the local languages, or sufficiently versed in Spanish politics, to maintain a serious dialogue (even were most local people willing); there is no doubt that the Ibizens, like other Spanish people, are becoming progressively more aware of the foreign views and their underlying arguments. And other things, such as the fact that the foreign visitors seem to be generally better-off and more sophisticated than the islanders, reinforce local susceptibilities to such political influences.

¹It should be noted, however, that these attitudes are probably due only in part to the post-war uncertainty and reaction against violence. They also owe much to long-standing popular political fatalism - which is shown by, e.g., the historical outcome of peasant revolts on Ibiza, to have been a very realistic (as opposed to non-rational) viewpoint.
State education in Spain has also had a rather ironic effect in this respect. The increased state schooling since the civil war has had the manifest function of enhancing national unity by assimilating young people all over Spain into a single Castilian-literate culture. But a common latent function of such schooling is to release potential political feelings and to increase their practical forcefulness. And mass tourism in Spain has accentuated the importance of this latent function both through the culture-contact effects just described and also through increasing the number of people able to afford more prolonged education and media-contact. Thus, university students are among the most politically-conscious people in Spain, and those on Ibiza are no exception: they attend the very troubled University of Barcelona. Though still rather few in number, there are more of them each year, and they now include a few sons of the wealthier or entrepreneurial rural families as well as students of both sexes from Ibiza-town. Moreover, their political interests are spreading to other young people. Whereas in 1966-67, living away from the coast on the Spanish mainland, I received occasional requests for sexy foreign magazines; the only such requests on Ibiza, in 1970-71, were for foreign books on the civil war and the present political system: two young country people, for example, specifically asked for the Paris (Spanish) edition of Hugh Thomas's history of the civil war.

In the country, this process of politicisation of younger Ibisans was still inchoate in 1971, but it was already sufficiently marked to prompt an emphatic statement from an elderly farmer that:

"Sa gent jovent és molt més política que abans de sa guerra!" "Young people now are much more politically-minded than before the civil war!"

And in the town, the children of school age displayed quite striking political awareness sometimes. On the 23rd June, the Eve of St. John's Day, "fies" (a term used to refer both to fires and to the effigies which are burnt on them) are still constructed in the town of Ibiza, along similar lines
to the "fallas" which are burnt earlier in the year in Valencia. The
effigies represent current events of interest, with satirical verses and
captions ("escrits"). The construction of the effigies is very time-consuming,
and the adult "foos" have been few in recent years. But the prospects of
midnight bonfires and possible municipal prizes were sufficient incentives for
children (up to about the age of fourteen) to build numerous foos in June,
1971. They included effigies of "hippies", road accidents, power-cuts,
football, space travel, and television programmes. But they also included
a variety of political comments (none of which related to the taboo subject
of the present Spanish constitution), which indicated an awareness both
of local and of wider issues. The following examples were all the unaided
work of schoolchildren (all under fourteen) - some of whom were notably
dubious about my verbatim note-taking:

One effigy took the form of a large waste-paper basket, with escrits
satirising private property, official pomposity and of course the local
lack of public rubbish-disposal facilities. The basket was labelled:
"Papelera privada - alquilada" ("Private waste-paper basket - on hire").

Underneath was the comment:

"Esta papelera ha sido declarada monumento artístico social y público debido a que es la única en importancia
... "

(Castilian)

A second effigy took the form of a television set with four faces. One
of these announced a power-cut, a second satirised a police-call programme,
and a third face mocked the local football team. But the fourth side contained
a number of escrits on issues of more general concern. Two of them satirised
popular political apathy in Spain:

"¿Usted que piensa del Vietnam?
Pues yo, el vietnam, pues
... no no se ...
El Vietnam
¿Donde esta? ¿Que esa cerca?"

"You, what do you think about Vietnam?
Well, I, Vietnam, well
... no, I don't know ...
Vietnam
Where is it? Somewhere near here?"
"Remember a man without opinions is a sucker without opinions and without Information."

(Castilian)

Another - beneath a drawing of a tramp carrying the globe as a bundle on a stick - brought up the theme of world peace:

"Hasta donde debe ir llegar el Mundo para entrar en los caminos de la Paz."

(Castilian)

Finally, a third "foco" combined issues of local interest with a topical disillusionment with progress and the technological age. It was constructed by a group of children (of between ten and thirteen years of age) in a street in the new mixed concrete-block-flats area of Santa Cruz, where a group of six boys had formed a "society" with a president, treasurer and secretary, which had succeeded in winning the municipal prize for the best juvenile "foco" for the second year running. They had spent about one thousand pesetas on their effigy, which was about ten feet high. It consisted of a huge clock (to show the shortness of life, as one explained), with a death-figure standing on top holding a string of damaged motor-vehicles. In front stood an unpleasantly realistic patched-up accident victim; and there was also an outside packet of cheap "Celta" cigarettes. The group had wanted to write their verses in Ibisan, but had decided that - as they wanted them to be correctly spelt - they would have to be in Castilian, as follows:

"En estos tiempos que corren Tan pesados de llevar, Hay quien tiene prisa Que acaba por no llegar."

"In these times which rush by So hard to bear, There are those who are in a hurry And end up not arriving."

1 Cf. the emphasis in LERNER's study of modernisation in the Middle East, on the importance of "opinions" in the development of a "participant society". (LERNER, 1958: 51)
Sin saber de donde vino
A nuestro tiempo llegó
Algo fantasmal y feo
Que progreso se llamó.

Como locos unos en coche
O en otra locomoción
Van dejándose sus piezas
En uno o en otro rinconcín.

No satisfechos con esto
Otros buscan solución
En las drogas o tabacos
Capaces de una explosión.

La Comisión.*
(Castilian)

(s) Conclusions

The effects of tourism are rarely straightforward: very often there is a combination of different effects— which are not infrequently contradictory. Thus, in the preceding chapter, it was seen that tourism provides powerful new pressures for greater island autonomy; and yet that it simultaneously undermines the efforts to establish a new all-island administrative body (the "cabildo"), by increasing the wealth and importance of the rural municipalities which are jealous of their independence from that of the main town. In this chapter, it may be seen that the revival of interest and pride in the island's native culture is likely to be integrative at the island level (providing the immigrants are not counted as islanders) but divisive at the national level; as also that some of the effects of tourism may be integrative while others are divisive at any one level.

In other words, any broad conclusions must be conditional. Whether or not Ibicenoses become increasingly assimilated into a national Spanish culture depends on a number of factors which include the continuing prosperity or its cessation; the new emerging structure of wealth of the islanders (which is the theme of the next chapter); employer-employee relationships; the
growth or failure of the movement towards Ibizan-Catalan literacy; and political events elsewhere in Spain. There is no doubt that tourism is contributing to growing pressures on Ibiza, as elsewhere, for greater popular participation in both administration and politics; but this may be either within a national structure or in a separatist context. Because of the islanders' lack of identification with either mainland Castile or mainland Catalonia, however, their primary separatist impulses tend to be confined to Ibiza itself; and they are therefore restrained by an awareness of the island's rather limited autonomous viability (even with tourism). On balance, the present trends seem to be towards some further (partial) Castilianisation of the island's folkways and language; but with a further development of Catalan literacy among at least some of the islanders; and with general support for increased popular participation of any type. The only really sure conclusion is that the island society is changing rapidly in this last respect: the politically-passive, non-participating majority of Ibizens are becoming more literate, more articulate, and more politically informed. A new, more literate, generation of "men of ideas" appears to be emerging in Spain as a whole; and Ibiza (because of tourism) is now less isolated from such political processes - even though it must be noted that the islanders' political consciousness is at present muted by the new local prosperity, and is always affected by the island's particular characteristics.
CHAPTER 10

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOMES

Who benefits financially from tourism on Ibiza? Who suffers? Where does all the money spent by tourists go? Are the rich getting richer and the poor poorer as a result of the tourist boom? Or is a levelling-out of wealth occurring? Do foreign investors and speculators, especially large tour operators, have an economic stranglehold on the island? Are wages keeping up with the cost of living? Does the inflation of property values squeeze out young island couples looking for a home? Questions like these have been among those most frequently put to me by British sociologists and anthropologists since my return from fieldwork.¹

All of these are essentially concerned with the same theme - the effects of tourism on the distribution of wealth and incomes.

10.1 THE BACKGROUND

Prior to tourism, as we have seen, there was little industrial development on Ibiza. With the important exception of the few entrepreneurial families who had become wealthy through transport and commerce, therefore, the major factor determining the distribution of wealth and incomes on the island was that of land-ownership.

One author has commented that:

"Everywhere in Spain, except in one or two favoured districts, the land

¹Cf. the recent British general survey of tourism by YOUNG (1973).
belongs either to large landowners or to small poor peasants: the yeoman farmer is the exception."

(BRENNAN, 1960: 117a.)

Now, the land on Ibiza has long been among the most evenly-divided in Spain; and Ibiza might thus be considered one of the "favoured districts"; although the loss of the common ownership of the island's salt, and the subdivision of farms through the demographic pressures of the past few centuries, have pushed the island towards Breman's second category - that of "small, poor peasants".

There is an almost total lack of the latifundia which characterise much of Southern Spain - whence come most of the poorer migrants seeking work on Ibiza. For survey purposes, latifundia have been defined as estates of over 250 hectares, or 625 acres. (BRENNAN, 1960: 116a.) In the 1960s, there was only one farm of more than 250 hectares on Ibiza; together with two of between 100 and 150 hectares; and forty of between 50 and 100 hectares. (See Table Six, page 115, above.) These larger farms were mainly dry, non-irrigated land; and - at 1965 values - the average annual yield of such dry land was about £20 per hectare. In other words, there was one farm on Ibiza in the 1960s with a maximum annual yield of £10,000-£20,000 (the true yield was almost certainly lower, however, since much of the land in this case would be scrub or forest); there were two farms yielding perhaps £2,000-£3,000 per annum; and there were forty farms yielding up to £1,000-£2,000 per annum. The true concentration of wealth would be greater than these figures indicate, because some islanders owned more than one farm.

But the yield figures would tend to be over-estimates, since the size of farms on the Balearics is generally inversely related to the quality of most of the soil. Moreover, the net incomes from land-ownership would normally be much less than the figures indicate for each farm; because almost all of the larger farms were worked "a mitges" ("by halves") - i.e., half of the yield would go to the tenant farmer (or "majoral"), his family and labourers, if any. It is at least clear, then, that there were no extremely
rich land-owners on Ibiza in the 1960s.

At the other end of the scale, the lot of the poorest Ibisans was usually frugal rather than desperate prior to tourism, although there were cases of very severe hardship in bad years ("anyas dolents"). There are few mentions of starvation in the island's records; although charitable help to "pobres vergomsantes" ("shaming poor") was referred to as early as the fifteenth century. (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 332) In general terms, poverty on Ibiza implied having to serve others (or - in later years - to emigrate) rather than to be able to work for oneself. Or it meant being unable to provide, for example, a dowry of four hundred pesetas in the 1950s, so that a daughter might be decently married without shaming her parents. In exceptionally bad times, poverty prevented some of the peasants from dressing in conformity with local standards of decency. At all times, being poor meant eating meat rarely, apart from during the winter pig-killings; and even an omelette seemed a luxury. The period of the most recent "misery" ("sa misèria") after the civil war was epitomised in bread made not from wheat-flour, but instead from barley-flour or (worse) ground figs or carobs - to eat carobs ("mendar garroves"), the food of animals, was indeed a sign of misfortune.

1See SHOR (1957: 660). Note also that special charitable funds existed "para dotar doncellas pobres" ("to provide dowries for poor maidens") at least from the fifteenth century onwards. (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 332)

2"Nudity" ("desnudes"), on account of the high cost of clothing, was one of the grounds for complaints to the king by the Ibisan peasants at the end of the seventeenth century. (SURER, 1690: 425 and 430)

3When the effects of tourism were under discussion, older Ibisans would often stress the new ability to eat meat in everyday dishes. And eggs were also mentioned by some as being special name-day treats.
10.2 THE WEALTH CREATED BY TOURISM

Various attempts have been made to quantify the wealth brought to the Balearic Islands by tourism. Two studies in 1964 yielded estimates of 600 and 800 pesetas respectively, for the average daily expenditure of tourists on Mallorca, in round figures. On Ibiza, in 1965, there were 1,215,120 recorded overnight stays (estancias), so that (assuming some rough similarity with Mallorca in this respect) the total annual expenditure of tourists on the island at that time was of the order of 730-980 million pesetas (approximately 4-6 million pounds).

The number of tourist-nights has grown extremely rapidly over the past few years, reaching 6,127,990 in 1972. At 1964 values, then, the expenditure of tourists on Ibiza in 1972 would have been in the region of 3,700-5,000 million pesetas (from 20-30 million pounds). This total represents a revenue of £350-£650 for every man, woman and child living on the island; including foreign residents, officials and peninsular immigrants (although those people resident only during the summer months would be excluded from the 1971 census data, since it was collected during the winter). The total is almost certainly an underestimate, moreover, since it does not take into account the money spent on the island by the tourists (and foreign residents with outside incomes) who stay in apartments, chalets, or privately-rented houses; nor the expenditure of cruiser-passengers and other transitory visitors who do not feature in the official statistics. One author has estimated that these additional sources might raise the calculated totals by as much as fifty per cent: though fewer in numbers, many of the "tourists" excluded from the calculations are comparatively wealthy and they are on the island for longer periods than other visitors, even for most of the year in some cases. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 242)

---

The actual volume of money flowing into Ibiza at the present time is very much greater than these figures indicate, of course, since they ignore the outside investments in hotels and other projects, which also contribute to the boom by providing both capital and increased employment opportunities. In the longer term, however, this investment capital (and interest on it) will have to be debited against the islanders' income from tourism.

Some account must also be taken of the changing visible trade balance on Ibiza. Imports to the island from all other places, including other parts of Spain, rose from 11,344 metric tons in 1950 to 114,238 metric tons in 1965, converting a former visible trade surplus into a growing deficit. (BARCELÓ PONS, 1970: 165) Nevertheless, the cost of these increased imports was small by comparison with tourist expenditures; the total cost of imports to Ibiza in 1965, for example, was just under 44 million pesetas. (COSTA PORTO, 1969: 69. See also RAMON FAJARDO, 1962.) In other words, the invisible earnings from tourism overwhelmingly outweigh the increased visible costs to the islanders.

Table Fourteen shows the broad effects of the tourist boom on various socio-economic indicators between 1955 and 1966. In most cases, figures for the province of Baleares are used because of the lack of similar figures for Ibiza alone. This means that the apparent changes are less dramatic than has really been the case (since Ibiza was much less industrialized than Mallorca prior to tourism, and generally less wealthy). Moreover, the figures have been outdated by the massive increase in tourism since 1966, and this must be kept in mind in interpreting the table. Nevertheless, it does serve to illustrate the early stages of the process by which tourism has transformed the province (and especially the relatively poor island of Ibiza) into one of the wealthiest areas of Spain.
### Table 14

**The Tourist Boom: Some Socio-Economic Indicators**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of tourists</td>
<td>% of total production accounted for by the hotel industry</td>
<td>Output of electrical energy: Kilowatt-Hours</td>
<td>Total no. Visible vehicles balance: reg. in Millions of motor trade province of ptas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>118,704</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>310,702</td>
<td>30,119</td>
<td>8.29</td>
<td>2,197,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>516,713</td>
<td>41,253</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>40,462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>54,2114</td>
<td>44,413</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>84,705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>677,203</td>
<td>55,984</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>87,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>846,705</td>
<td>84,678</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>102,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,080,826</td>
<td>102,538</td>
<td>21.01</td>
<td>55,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,237,967</td>
<td>113,415</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>102,538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cost of living index (January)</td>
<td>Annual per capita income in Baleares province</td>
<td>Bank order of the per capita income in terms of total income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12,199</td>
<td>17,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>19,276</td>
<td>18,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>23,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>23,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>23,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>23,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>23,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>23,411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The trade balance figures fluctuate widely because of the variable amounts of agricultural produce exported annually: the volume of imports in fact increased each year during this period.

For Spain as a whole, the cost of living index (base 1958 = 100) had reached 148.3 by December, 1964. I.e., according to the official figures, the national rate of inflation was roughly comparable with that in the province of Baleares. (*TÚNION DE LARA, 1965: 104*)

Sources: BARCELO PONS (1970: 164-165); CAMARA OFICIAL ... (1970); CAMBRÉ MARÍN (1972); COSTA PORTO (1969: 70); MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION ... (1973); ZONDOZ BÁRNABE (1964).
10.3 MODES OF ACCESS TO THE NEW WEALTH

In terms of real income, the short answer to the question "Who benefits from tourism on Ibiza?" is almost everyone. There is no doubt that the real income of the islanders in town and country alike has risen dramatically because of tourism: in eighteen months on Ibiza I met no-one there who would disagree with this statement, even among those islanders who personally disliked some aspects of tourism. The question must therefore be rephrased: "In what ways do different categories of islanders (and outsiders) have access to the new wealth?", and "Which islanders (and outsiders), if any, are benefitting most or least?".

In an earlier chapter it is argued that the comparative lack of success of entrepreneurial activities on Ibiza in the past was primarily due to the island's restrictive geographical and economical circumstances rather than to the commonly-alleged indolence and fatalism of the Ibizens (although non-economic factors such as the traditional attitudes towards exchange may well have played a secondary part in inhibiting the development of entrepreneurial activities). This argument receives very strong support from the wide range of entrepreneurial activities undertaken by islanders of literally all social categories (though of some more than of others), when provided by tourism with suitable opportunities in recent years.

The provision of such opportunities appears, in fact, to be an important - and in some ways peculiar - feature of tourism. Whereas a take-off in the secondary sector, in manufacturing industry, failed to materialise on Ibiza (in contrast with other parts of Catalonia, including Mallorca) because of its smallness, the lack of concentrated local wealth, the poor port facilities, and other factors; such pre-conditions are relatively unimportant to the tourist industry - which tends to grow willy-nilly, with or without local entrepreneurial promotion (although this may of course have some influence). There is no need for such large concentrations of employees as those in
industrial factories (the largest hotels have a small staff compared with most factories). There are no problems over delivering the "product" to the consumer: the tourists necessarily collect it in person. Tourists (from industrial countries at least) also tend to favour areas unsuited to the development of manufacturing industry. And, although tourism can be organised in a capital-intensive fashion by tour operators and large hotel owners, this is not a necessary feature of touristic development (although it may, arguably, be a necessary feature of "mass tourism"). In fact, the tourist boom on Ibiza bears comparison with a gold-rush: there has been a sudden emergence of a new source of wealth on the island, which may be "mined" by any "prospector".

Pursuing this analogy a little further¹, the distribution of gains from tourism depends on the size and quality of "claims"; i.e., on the prior (and acquired) ownership structure on Ibiza. It also depends on the entrepreneurial drive and abilities of different categories of "prospectors". And there are numerous opportunities for tapping some of the new wealth even for non-owners of land, through various kinds of low-capital business enterprise. For clarity of analysis, the different modes of access to the new wealth will be classified here under three main heads:

(a) Continuous gains from tourism: business activities;
(b) "Windfall" gains from tourism: land and house sales;
(c) Continuous gains from tourism: employment.

---

¹While useful here, the analogy has some obvious flaws: for example, there is no necessary end to tourism in any given place, whereas the life of a mining area depends on the extent of workable reserves.
purposes with the island's "Cámara de Comercio" (Chamber of Commerce). ¹

(i) **The distribution of businesses among natives and outsiders:**

There is periodic concern among Spanish businessmen and officials over the activities of foreign-owned companies, especially "tour-operators" (the English term is generally used). They are sometimes alleged to use their influence over the supply of tourists in order to capture the lion's share of touristic revenues, at the expense of local businessmen and other islanders. In the case of Ibiza, at least, this seems to be largely a myth at present, as will become clear. It is true that tour operators (and other foreign companies) have invested quite large sums of money in hotels and other developments on Ibiza, as elsewhere in Spain, and that they naturally try to obtain the most favourable possible terms: one practice which has come in for particular criticism is that of supplying funds for the construction of a hotel in return for guaranteed bookings for a fixed period after the hotel opens, which may expose the hotelier to financial difficulties in the event of rapid cost-inflation during this period. But, although fairly complex issues are involved, any such disadvantages must be balanced against the strong probability that the (local) hotelier would otherwise have been unable to build a large hotel; and also against the consideration that, if he can survive the initial repayment period (and few hoteliers in the Balearics show signs of serious financial difficulties), he will eventually be able to negotiate more favourable terms. As for the allegations of tour operators abusing their control over the supply of tourists, it appears (on the contrary) that they generally operate on a very tight budget and low profit margins,² owing to the strong competition among the major companies: those companies (e.g.

---

¹Unless otherwise stated, the figures in this section are from the records of the Cáma do de Comercio, in Ibiza-town, to whose staff my thanks are due for their friendly assistance.

²See, for example, YOUNG (1973: Ch.V, "The Structure of the Tourist Industry," esp. pp. 72-80); and DAVIS (1972).
Clarksons, Horizon, and Skytours) which do Ibizan holidays are no exception.¹

Another practice of tour operators which provokes Spanish criticisms is that of issuing "vouchers" for various services and purchases during the holiday. Together with such other practices as payment for the holiday in the country of origin, this tends to reduce the amount of foreign currency which enters Spain, and also to reduce financial benefits to local people. A very few Ibizan hotels are actually owned by tour operators: thus, in an extreme hypothetical case, tourists might pay for their holiday in (say) England, to an English company; stay in that company's hotel on Ibiza, using vouchers for all purchases; and then return to England without any of their money going (directly, at least) to Spanish people. This line of reasoning underlies the "neo-colonial" image of tourism, which is sometimes invoked by Spanish writers.²

On Ibiza itself, there are occasional attacks in the local newspaper on such suspect practices as land-purchases by foreigners and the employment of non-Spanish-speaking staff in a few foreign-owned bars and nightclubs.

However, swift counter-arguments by other Ibizans usually follow, to the effect that the benefits from foreign investments and participation in the island's economy far outweigh any disadvantages. My own fieldwork impressions (in agreement with the majority opinion of the Ibizans) largely supported the view that the neo-colonial argument does not fit the facts there, at least for the present. It was true that the tour operators had a strong bargaining position over prices vis-a-vis the local businessmen, but no one company was in a monopsony position, because of the international competition between tour companies; nor was there any apparent shortage of loan-capital on Ibiza; nor any minimum profitable size for hotel and other

¹1974 postscript: Clarksons and Horizon are in severe financial difficulties, mainly because of the intense price-competition. See, e.g., ROBERTSON (1974).

²For a study of tourism in Spain which stresses "neo-colonial" features, and whose emphases differ from those of this thesis, see the book "España 'a go-go'" by Mario Gaviria and others, of which there is a short resumen in GAVIRIA ET AL. (1974).
touristic developments of a kind which might force local businessmen to over-commit themselves (although this does not, of course, guarantee that none will do so). It must be recognised that the "vertical integration" of tour operations (and foreign ownership in general) does tend to reduce - though not entirely eliminate - the eventual local economic gains. But the point here is that the process - so far at least - appears to be limited on Ibiza; and that it is subject in the final analysis to the control of the Spanish authorities, who are well aware of the possible problems and have already created fairly complex regulations in this area as a result.

These arguments and counter-arguments are difficult to check quantitatively. Nevertheless, there are some figures available which may serve to test the fieldwork impressions to some extent - although they should not be regarded as anything more than very crude indicators.

On the arguments over where the money spent by tourists actually goes, it may be generally observed (as do most Ibisans) that the patent overall increase in local wealth and incomes is clear enough evidence that a substantial portion, at least, finds its way into local hands. And, according to a survey in 1964 of the money spent by tourists on the Balearic Islands (excluding the capital city of Palma), 18.7 per cent went on lodging; 26.4 per cent was spent on food; 7.5 per cent on transport; 15.8 per cent on general amusements; and 31.6 per cent on the purchase of goods other than food. Roughly similar figures have been reported for other parts of Spain and elsewhere. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 242. FERNANDEZ FUSTER, 1967: 115, 121.) In other words, a high proportion of the money is spent on purchases, general amusements and transport (on or between the islands); so that much of it goes to small businesses which are not directly associated with the large hotels or tour operators.

Some Spanish commentators have strongly attacked an alleged reliance of tourist development on non-local and foreign capital. A Mallorcan author writing about Ibiza has, for example, asserted that:
"la necessitat d'inversions s'ageganta tant que la necessitat de capital exterior és total. Vénen doblers de Madrid, d'Amsterdam, d'Hamburg, de Brussel·les, de Londres..., cap en se'n tornen a anar els guanys. Els civissencs - o els mallorquins, o els geronaits - reben el sou per haver oficiat de minyons, de criada. I res més."

"the necessity of investments is becoming so gigantic that the necessity of outside capital is total. Money comes from Madrid, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Brussels, and London..., to where the profits later return. The Ibizens - or the Mallorquins, or the Geronaits - receive money for having acted as minions, as servants. And nothing more."

(Catalan. PORCEL, 1968: 41)

I do not know of any relevant figures distinguishing local and non-local (Spanish) investment capital on Ibiza - although the data included later on the distribution of local and non-local business ownership on the island would at least suggest that PORCEL has exaggerated the present proportionate importance of non-local Spanish investment (even though it is probably increasing, as he says). In the case of foreign investments, there is little doubt that they play a more minor role in Spanish tourist developments than he suggests. The following table shows official estimates of foreign investments in various types of touristic business for Spain as a whole, for the four-year period 1968-71, which were based on projections from official data for the immediately preceding period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESTIMATED FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENTS IN THE SPANISH TOURIST INDUSTRY (1968-71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign investments in millions of pesetas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hotel lodgings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-hotel lodgings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Complementary touristic industries</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourist &quot;urbanizaciones&quot;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourist-sports installations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mountain winter-sports stations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: COMISARIA DEL PLAN DE DESARROLLO ... (1967: 89)
The estimated percentage of foreign investment in all types of touristic development in Spain as a whole for the period 1968-71 was, then, 11.3 per cent. The other major sources of investment capital for this period were estimated as follows: public investments, 3.7 per cent; official credit schemes, 18.6 per cent; and investment by the Spanish private sector, the remaining 66.4 per cent. (COMISARIA DEL PLAN DE DESARROLLO ..., 1967: 88-9)

On these figures, it would appear that the proportion of foreign investment was still relatively small, though appreciable, up to the time of my fieldwork at least; and that the major part of investment capital was being drawn from private Spanish investors. The table certainly does not support any suggestion of extensive "vertical integration" of hotels (for which there appears to be a smaller proportion of foreign investment than for other types of tourist development in Spain).¹

Perhaps the most crucial question of this type is that of the distribution of business ownership. It is notoriously difficult to obtain accurate details of business ownership in Spain; but the records of the Ibisan Chamber of Commerce did contain some data which may be used for a crude assessment of the distribution of business ownership on Ibiza among native Ibisans, other Spanish people, and foreigners. In particular, there was a list of all business entities on the island registered for tax purposes in 1969; which also gave the full names of all of the business tax contributors associated with these entities. From my fieldwork, I knew the identity of the owners of numerous businesses (especially in the San José area), and the names of the true owners were those entered in the Chamber of Commerce records in all those cases which I could thus check on. Although the places of birth and residence were not specified, it was fairly easy to distinguish in general between Ibisan and non-Ibisan names; since there are only ninety-seven different patronymics shared amongst all of the native islanders, excluding the children of very recent migrants. There are even fewer Christian names -

¹However, the Spanish tourist-trade magazine, Editur, reports that the actual state contribution to hotel credits between 1964 and 1970 was less than half of that promised. It also suggests that foreign travel agents could have (an absolute maximum) investment of 25 per cent of the total value of hotels in Spain (in 1970). (EDITUR, 5 June 70, 424; and 3 July 70, 535)
only a dozen or so for either sex. While it is true that some people from elsewhere in Catalonia might have an "Ibisan" patronymic, the probability of all three names (Christian, patronymic and matronymic) being "Ibisan" is slight: moreover, there are relatively few Catalan immigrants on Ibiza, because there is no shortage of work and business opportunities in other parts of Catalonia. In any cases of doubt, I placed the names under the non-Ibisan category: i.e., if there is any bias in the analysis, it is towards non-Ibisan ownership. There was no difficulty at all in distinguishing the (Catalan) Ibisan names from (Castilian or other non-Catalan) Spanish names in general. The foreign names were also, of course, quite distinctive; and - since numerous businesses were listed under the names of foreign owners - there was no good reason to suppose that the true ownership was being concealed in other cases. Some business entities, however, were registered under a company name ("Sociedad Anónima"), which gave no reliable guide to the identity of the owners, so that I treated them as a separate category. On this basis, then, Table Sixteen was compiled, showing the approximate state of ownership of all registered businesses on Ibiza in 1969, under various broad headings.

1 Full details of native Ibisan names, together with their distribution on the island, are given in COSTA RAMON (1964). Unfortunately, I did not have this article at hand when compiling the data for this section: it would undoubtedly have increased the accuracy of classification.

2 In many cases a "business entity" is an entire business. In some cases, however, several parts of the same business may be recorded separately for tax purposes: e.g., watches are classified separately from jewellery, even though they are normally sold on the same premises. This does not affect the argument in the text, but it does mean that the figures in Table Sixteen (and those which follow) should not be interpreted as indicating the number of businesses of different types. The most extreme case is that of "TRANSPORT", where the figures are grossly inflated by the fact that each vehicle for hire is registered separately in the records.

The classification used in Table Sixteen was necessarily rather crude. In a few cases, for example, the registers lumped together some business entities which I have classified separately: but the only case of substantial overlap was between the categories "CONSTRUCTION" and "SHOPS" (some shops selling building materials were included under "SHOPS", while others were classified under "CONSTRUCTION"). This would not affect the main arguments, however. There were some other possible sources of error (see above), but in general my methods would tend to underestimate the Ibisan share of ownership, if anything - although the figures are approximately of the order which I would expect from fieldwork impressions.
### TABLE 16

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS OWNERSHIP ON IBIZA IN 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF BUSINESS</th>
<th>BUSINESS ENTITIES REGISTERED IN THE IBIZAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN 1969</th>
<th>Under Ibanian names</th>
<th>Under other Spanish names</th>
<th>Under foreign names</th>
<th>Under &quot;Sociedad Andina&quot;</th>
<th>Totals for each category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LODGINGS (hotels, etc.)</td>
<td>92 (64)</td>
<td>17 (12)</td>
<td>15 (10)</td>
<td>20 (14)</td>
<td>144 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOD</td>
<td>282 (83)</td>
<td>41 (12)</td>
<td>6 (2)</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>339 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSPORT (vehicle hire, ferries, etc.)</td>
<td>296 (66)</td>
<td>92 (20)</td>
<td>60 (13)</td>
<td>5 (1)</td>
<td>453 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENTERTAINMENT (and miscellaneous services)</td>
<td>38 (50)</td>
<td>19 (25)</td>
<td>11 (14)</td>
<td>8 (11)</td>
<td>76 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOPS (other than food shops)</td>
<td>446 (64)</td>
<td>149 (22)</td>
<td>54 (8)</td>
<td>44 (6)</td>
<td>693 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSTRUCTION (and ancillary businesses, materials and furnishings)</td>
<td>236 (70)</td>
<td>65 (19)</td>
<td>12 (4)</td>
<td>25 (7)</td>
<td>338 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS FOR EACH TYPE OF OWNERSHIP</td>
<td>1733 (68)</td>
<td>535 (21)</td>
<td>166 (7)</td>
<td>117 (4)</td>
<td>2551 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What may tentatively be deduced from the table?

**Firstly**, looking at the overall totals, it seems that just over two-thirds (68 per cent) of all business entities on Ibiza in 1969 belonged to native islanders; about one-fifth (21 per cent) belonged to other Spanish people; a fourteenth (7 per cent) to foreigners; and a twenty-fifth (4 per cent) to companies. Leaving aside for a moment the question of size, this indicates that the majority of businesses on the island remained in the hands of native Ibizans. But it also shows a substantial proportion of non-Ibisan Spanish or foreign ownership, which may be put into perspective by looking at the
proportions of different types of permanent residents on Ibiza. In 1965, of all permanent residents, 84.8 per cent were Ibisan natives; 13.6 per cent were born elsewhere in Spain; and only 1.6 per cent were foreign. (BARCHLO, 1970: 149 and 311) Even bearing in mind the increase in the proportions of non-Ibisan residents which would have occurred by 1969, and the possible under-estimation in Table Sixteen of Ibisan ownership, these figures do suggest that non-Ibisans play an important part in the island's business activities relative to their numbers as permanent residents. Nevertheless, on any interpretation, they remain very far from supporting extreme views of non-Ibisan domination of the island's economy like those expressed by FORCEL, above.

Secondly, it may be noted that there is a considerable variation in the distribution of ownership among the different categories: the overall pattern coincides in this respect with my fieldwork observations, and the following points are most notable:

— The highest proportion of Ibisan ownership is to be found in "traditional" businesses which cater primarily to permanent island residents, especially food shops (83 per cent). Even so, Ibisan owners also form an absolute majority in all other categories.

— Conversely, the highest proportion of foreign ownership is in those types of business most closely linked to tourism, especially lodgings (14 per cent); restaurants and bars (13 per cent); and entertainments (11 per cent). There are also a number of foreign-owned shops (8 per cent): some of these are immediately apparent even to casual observers; especially the boutiques in Ibiza-town (catering both for foreigners and for local people) which offer a striking collection of clothes and bric-a-brac for sale, including both

1 Of these Spanish "outsiders", 11.8 per cent were from the mainland, and 1.8 per cent were from other islands among the Balearics.

2 These boutiques are the mainstay of the new cosmopolitan Ibisan fashion, the "Moda Ad-lib", which has recently been promoted with some success by the island's businessmen and officials, with a view to attracting fashion-conscious (and hence, presumably, well-off) tourists. (See page 230, fn.1, above.)
manufactured garments and others which are hand-made by island residents of all types (including "hippies"). Nevertheless the foreign owners, visually striking though their contribution is, still form the smallest minority in every category of business.

Non-Ibisan Spanish owners are a substantial minority in all of the broad business categories, although some specialisation is also apparent.

Thirdly, what may be said about the "Sociedades Anónimas"?

Naturally, it is not possible to conclude anything definite about their ownership from their names alone. Some names, however, do suggest the origin of the principal owners or shareholders of certain companies: e.g., "Abel Matutes Torres, S.A." and "Verbotea, S.A." Other oral and published information confirms that there are a mixture of companies operating on Ibiza, including some which are locally-owned and others predominantly owned by other Spanish people or foreigners; although no exact figures are available.

Table Sixteen indicates that ownership by companies is commonest in the case of businesses directly associated with tourism, such as lodgings (14 per cent) and entertainment (11 per cent). But it is not very widespread for any category in the table. Rather than supporting views of Ibiza being dominated by "big business" interests from other parts of Spain or elsewhere, these figures appear to confirm the fieldwork impression that the development of touristic businesses on Ibiza has been based largely on classical family capitalism, although with some outside encroachments. (See Chapter Six, above.)

Fourthly, there is the question of size. This was ignored in Table Sixteen, which treated business entities of all sizes as being equivalent. It might plausibly be argued that, although companies and non-Ibisan owners are in a minority, they may own most of the largest and most lucrative

---

1The islanders are generally interested in the ownership of companies operating in their area (as, indeed, in other forms of ownership, e.g. that of land), and they could often give me fairly accurate details. From time to time, some details are also published (as in the case of the companies involved in the airport/hotel affair described above, even though some secrecy was preserved).
This hypothesis may be tested by taking a breakdown of hotel ownership; since the larger hotels are among the most expensive developments on the island, and there are also many smaller hotels, pensions, and lodging of other kinds. Fortunately, the Chamber of Commerce registers distinguished between different categories of hotels and other lodgings. And, in this case, each "business entity" corresponded to one hotel or lodging-house. The following Table Seventeen therefore shows the resulting distribution of ownership for, firstly, first and second class hotels only; and, secondly, third class hotels, pensions, and all other types of lodgings.

### Table 17

**The Distribution of Hotel Ownership on Ibiza in 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Hotel</th>
<th>Business Entities Registered in the Ibiza Chamber of Commerce in 1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under Ibiza names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First and Second Class Hotels</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Class Hotels, and All Other Types of Lodgings</strong></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals for All Types</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table Seventeen, it is clear that there was indeed, in 1969, a concentration of company ownership among the more expensive hotels (31 per cent, as compared with only 4 per cent for all other lodgings). To a lesser extent, this was also true for individually-named foreign owners (13 per cent, as compared with 9 per cent). But there were less individually-named Spanish
(non-Ibisan) owners among the first and second-class hotels (6 per cent, as compared with 15 per cent for all other lodgings). And the native Ibisan proportion (apart from any shares in companies) was still 50 per cent even for the more expensive hotels.

Fifthly, a more accurate appraisal of the significance of the distribution of ownership between natives and outsiders may be gleaned from figures for the different municipalities, in which (as is described in earlier chapters) touristic development has taken place unevenly. The following table accordingly shows the ownership-distribution of lodgings by municipalities (again based on the Chamber of Commerce data for 1969).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPALITY</th>
<th>HOTELS OR LODGINGS REGISTERED IN THE IBIZAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN 1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under Ibisan names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibiza-town</td>
<td>31 (62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>39 (76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Eulalia</td>
<td>16 (57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San José</td>
<td>3 (27.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Juan</td>
<td>3 (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island totals</td>
<td>92 (64)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The earliest major touristic development occurred in San Antonio. In Ibiza-town, there is a mixture of "old-established" hostelries (mostly relatively small), while on the coastal outskirts of the town (within the same municipality) there are some large, very recent hotels. In Santa Eulalia,

1 This is not really surprising, since the non-Ibisan entrepreneur (without the backing of a company, or other special advantages) is likely to be at a competitive disadvantage relative to native entrepreneurs.
although there were a few early developments, most of the hotels are even more recent, and more were under construction in 1970-71. In San José, the hotels listed were large new ones on the outskirts of San Antonio and Ibiza-town, which fell just within the San José boundaries.

With these points in mind, a pattern emerges from Table Eighteen. The highest proportions of native ownership were in the older-established hotel zones, particularly San Antonio (76 per cent). The mixed Ibiza-town zone is an intermediate case (62 per cent). Santa Eulalia (57 per cent) and especially San José (27.3 per cent), where there is a higher concentration of more recent development, show a correspondingly lower proportion of native ownership.

Some of the totals in Table Eighteen are, of course, too small for much significance to be attached to the percentages in isolation. This is obviously the case for San Juan, with only four lodgings registered in 1969. Of these four, in fact, there was one third-class hotel - opened in 1966 - which was owned by a company ("Soma, S.A."); and the other three were older boarding-houses (listed under "Pensión-Fonda"), which were all owned by local native islanders. In other words, the San Juan figures also fit the general pattern on closer scrutiny.  

(ii) Some conclusions on the native-outsider distribution of businesses: -

The overall picture which emerges from the analysis so far supports the factual views of neither the polemical opponents of mass tourism nor its partisan advocates, although both might find in it some material for their respective debating-points.

In general, it seems that in 1969 there was a more-than-proportionate
participation in Ibanian business activities by outsiders (relative to the numbers permanently resident on the island). There was a particularly substantial proportion of outsider ownership in those activities most closely associated with tourism. And there was a higher concentration of company-ownership and individual foreign ownership in the more expensive hotels.

On the other hand, for no category did the proportion of outsider owners reach half of the total number of business entities; and it was generally considerably less. In other words, the available figures support the fieldwork impression that, despite the substantial participation by outsiders, it was the native Ibanians who were deriving the greatest economic benefits from continuous business activities.

The following generalisations would also appear to be consistent with the above data. Three broad stages of tourist development on Iban may be analytically distinguished:

— In the first stage, prior to about 1965, tourism on the island grew steadily; but it remained at a level with which the native businessmen and entrepreneurs could cope, using mainly local capital (together with some new capital from sporadic land-sales to outsiders). The participation of outsiders in Ibanian businesses was then slight.

— In the second stage, especially during the second half of the 1960s, tourism grew ever more rapidly. To meet the rising demand, the island businessmen turned increasingly to outside capital or the formation of partnerships and companies.

— In the third stage, with the enormous increases due to charter-flights and package-holidays since about 1968, the volume of tourism began to outstrip local business resources — thus providing increasing scope for outsider investments and ownership. This process reached a peak in the period

1This analysis has largely ignored outside investments which are divorced from ownership, because of the lack of figures distinguishing them from local investments; although they are undoubtedly of some importance, it seems unlikely that they greatly affect the arguments put forward here.
immediately prior to, and during, my fieldwork, when a very large number of new hotels were being opened; many of which belonged to companies with non-Ibisan shareholders. Thus, during the first half of 1970, the number of hotels in operation on Ibiza rose from 264 (in January) to 296 (by July 20th). Most of the new hotels were large ones, providing almost a fifty per cent increase in the number of hotel beds available (the total rose by about 10,000 to reach 31,633 in July, 1970). A few more hotels were due to open later in the year (including one five-star hotel at San Miguel - the first on Ibiza); but there were less under construction for the following year, 1971, when only about 3,000 new beds were expected:

"lo cual significará, ciertamente, "which will signify, certainly, a un relative 'frenado' a la relative braking on the present tendencia expansionista actual." expansionist tendency."

(Castilian. EDITUR, 31 July 1970, p.1)

There were some signs, then, that the third stage might be coming to an end in 1971, when fears were being expressed that perhaps too many hotels had been built for the likely future touristic demand; but this was by no means certain, as the numbers of tourists were still rising quite dramatically.

What this analysis suggests, then, is that outside business interests - far from dominating touristic developments on Ibiza since their inception - in fact played a completely secondary role, at least up to about 1969: they were, it seems, not taking the "cream" so much as the "surplus milk" from Ibisan tourist revenues.

Nevertheless, it also suggests that, if the boom continues at anything like the present pace, the outside interests may eventually dominate the island's tourist industry - since any new developments are likely to depend on an increasing proportion of non-Ibisan capital and ownership. Even in the event of a touristic "ceiling" being reached in the next few years, some of the locally-owned businesses might find it difficult to compete with the large new ones. And, in this respect, it is significant that public concern over "neo-colonial" tendencies was being expressed with increasing frequency

YOUNG has suggested that, in general:

"there is a saturation level for tourism in a given locality or region and if that level is exceeded, the costs of tourism begin to outweigh the benefits. These saturation levels may be dictated by the availability of labour, the amount of land suitable for hotel development, the capacity of the roads, or of the principal tourist attractions in the area."

(YOUNG, 1973: 111-12)

At the time of my fieldwork, Ibiza could not really be said to have reached a "saturation level" in any of these respects. Although there was a labour shortage, it was being filled by Spanish migrants. Much suitable land for hotel development remained. The roads, though dangerous, were still relatively uncongested by Western European standards, and they were gradually being widened. Some beaches were crowded, but others were still quite deserted; and some of the more beautiful areas of the island were still isolated from the main currents of tourists. Nevertheless, it does seem that a "saturation level" had either been reached or was rapidly being approached in terms of native capital resources and business personnel. There is no inevitability about future developments on the island, and the local businessmen and authorities are aware of these issues. But it does seem probable that, if tourism continues to expand so rapidly, the proportion of business and the resultant financial benefits accruing to native Ibizens will tend to decrease relative to those received by outsiders; while the environmental costs to the islanders (e.g., the water shortage, sewage problems, road congestion, noise, etc.) could steadily increase. This scenario suggests that an analysis of the type given here, but based on figures for some years hence, might

---

1. Ibiza, being an island, escapes the kind of road congestion (caused by both passing and visiting traffic) which has grown up on the Costa Brava.

2. Any such relative decrease, of course, may quite well be accompanied by an absolute increase. It may also be observed that the majority of Ibizens are not employers but employees, who stand to gain from a further increase in the volume of tourism whoever the new business-owners may be.
produce a rather different picture of the distribution of business ownership and of the degree of native participation in the tourist boom; but this, of course, remains to be seen; and there are other possible scenarios - such as a more gradual further development in which native Ibisans (and established non-native residents) would play a fuller part, perhaps also keeping environmental problems firmly under control.¹

(iii) The distribution of business activities over the island:

In 1969, according to the Chamber of Commerce records, there were 2,551 business entities on Ibiza. Of these, there were 1,408 in the municipality of Ibiza-town; 563 in San Antonio; 363 in Santa Eulalia; 120 in San José; and 97 in San Juan Bautista. These figures reflect both the traditional concentration of business activities in the main town of Ibiza and the degree of touristic development of each municipality (cf. Table Eighteen, page 348, above).

One point of interest is that there were more business entities in San José than in San Juan. This corroborates the evidence of the demographic data in earlier chapters that tourism has reversed the relative fortunes of the municipalities of San José and San Juan: the latter was formerly better-off because of the greater depth and fertility of its soil. Similarly, San Antonio has overtaken in wealth the very fertile area of Santa Eulalia; although both have in fact experienced considerable touristic development, and both are now becoming commercial centres of sufficient importance to challenge the hegemony of Ibiza-town.

¹There are obvious value problems involved in the concept of "saturation levels": for example, the "saturation level for labour" could be defined either for native Ibisan labour or for Spanish labour. In general, the "national interest" may differ from the "Ibisan interest": for example, further development might conceivably be favoured by Spanish administrators and businessmen even if it turned Ibiza (and other tourist zones) into the Spanish touristic equivalent of the "dark satanic mills" areas of the English industrial revolution. (There is, however, no possible comparison as yet between Ibiza and such English industrial areas in environmental terms. Despite the problems mentioned, touristic pollution is generally easier to control, and certainly less toxic, than that from industrial effluents. Moreover, the nature of tourism restricts its potential for environmental damage: tourists will not continue to visit areas which are made unpleasant.)
Thus tourism has definitely altered the relative wealth of different parts of the island, with important implications for its social organisation. In particular, the extension of business activities to the former country municipalities has greatly diminished the socio-economic distance between town and country. There are now opportunities for former peasants to become as wealthy as, or even wealthier than, many townspeople (since the latter often have no coastal land to sell or develop, and they mostly depend on wages or salaries whose growth is less rapid than that of business or speculative gains).

This change in town-country relationships has implications for the island's economic organisation in general, not just in the touristic sector. For example, the only market for agricultural produce was for centuries located in the capital town: peasants had to pay taxes on their produce and sell it through stall-holding intermediaries. (See p. 114 and pp. 166-67, above.) In the past few years, however, direct-sale "peasant markets" ("mercats pagessos") have been established in Ibiza, San Antonio and Santa Eulalia. Their existence was made possible only by the new economic situation created by tourism in which, firstly, agricultural produce is neither the only nor even the major source of income (so that the control over its sale is less vital to the island's non-peasants); and in which, secondly, tourism has increased the relative wealth (and hence the bargaining power) of the country people vis-à-vis the small businessmen and stall-holders in the town. ¹

(iv) The rise of a business class on Ibiza:

In the traditional period, as we have seen, there were restricted business opportunities on Ibiza: apart from the activities of a few corsairs,

¹The country people now see the sale of surplus produce as only one of many ways of raising cash. Thus they can withhold their produce (or not produce it) without severe personal losses. Moreover, the authorities are anxious to retain some balance between tourism and agriculture, to avoid a "monocultivo de turismo" ("touristic monoculture"); and they are thus sympathetic to ideas for helping farmers: the "peasant markets" have undoubtedly encouraged some people to stay in farming. (See, e.g., CALVERA, 1972.)
merchants and money-lenders, business was limited to the exchange of rural produce and salt for other goods. In the intermediate period, the growth in external trade and the increased cultivation of cash crops such as almonds contributed to the emergence, even prior to the civil war, of several prosperous business families (most notably the Matutes family). But it has only been during the past two decades of tourism that a fully-fledged "business class" could be said to have emerged on Ibiza. Land-ownership is now only one form of wealth among others, and there are now many business families whose capital assets rival those of any land-owner. These families form a new class, from which the "fuerosas vivas" ("live forces") of the island are increasingly being drawn, both in general public life on the island and in local administration.

Who are the members of this new business class, and from which former social strata are they derived? The short answer is that they are of rather varied origin, but this is not very helpful. Moreover, certain regularities may be found on closer inspection. An essentially similar process seems to have taken place in the capital town of Ibiza and in the various country towns and villages: as it is much simpler to analyse in the latter cases, a country area - that of San José - will serve as an example.

The origins and development of the "village" of San José are described above (see Section 2.4, especially pp. 39-42). Until quite recently, the local population remained almost entirely scattered throughout the mountainous parish. Even prior to tourism, however, there was a tendency for families which made a living from craftsmanship, trading or other entrepreneurial activities to choose to live close to the church; which has long been the focal point of the parish, and which now also lies on a major road which is used for tourist excursions.

The families of the village nucleus ("sa gent de s'arravall") appear to have always had a markedly entrepreneurial character compared with the land-tied "peasants" ("passecs") living in the more isolated scattered
farmsteads, despite their common ancestry and their continuing bonds of kinship. Of "Family A", for example, it has long been said that "they could live on a rock" ("viurIan damunt una pedra"). Prior to the civil war, they were one of a number of local families who milled grain for other local people for payment in kind. Most of the larger farms had grain mills or olive presses which added to their incomes in this way, but few families specialised like Family A. Thus one member of the family returned from military service on the mainland with the notion of importing a steam-driven mill - which he did, earning himself the lasting nickname of "En X de sa màquina" ("X of the machine"). Later, the family introduced the village’s first electric generator. In 1971, apart from the mill, the family had a carpentry workshop, a taxi (the only one in the village), a small new souvenir-shop, and a fairly large new bar on the outskirts of San Antonio. "Family B" still operate a massive traditional wooden olive press for payment in kind. But their income from farming or farm-linked activities has long been less important than that from other activities. They began with a bar, which is still one of the three main village bars. Then, some twelve years ago, they built themselves a village cinema; this was successful until the past few years, when a variety of circumstances produced by tourism (the greater sophistication of the villagers, their new motor-vehicles, and the new large modern cinemas in Ibiza-town) made it uneconomic. Nothing daunted, the family now have a successful beach-bar on one of the most popular beaches in the parish.

Similar histories, with variations of detail, might be given for various other local families. Their ideas sometimes show considerable entrepreneurial flair. For example, two brothers (who started with the advantage of having inherited some valuable land while they were still fairly young) now own the largest village bar; but - not satisfied with this alone - they have also developed several other businesses. The most original is attached to a cave on the Ibiza-San José road: this has been rented by them and developed into a small but attractive show-cave, which is included in the organised tourist
excursions which pass that way. Seeing the existence of a captive clientele, the brothers have gradually built up a large barbecue-restaurant and open-air theatre (featuring Iban folkloric dances or flamenco) by the cave-entrance, which are very popular features of the excursions. Numerous other local businesses have grown up in a similar ad hoc entrepreneurial fashion, following the growth of tourism.

The families described so far all started with some inherited capital, to which they added entrepreneurial abilities. But another family, "Family C", apparently rose from a rather poor farm background. In fact, the father emigrated to America, but later returned and built up some capital through skilful land speculation in the early stages of the tourist boom. Beginning with a small bar in the 1950s (which no longer exists), the family by 1971 had two very successful souvenir shops in the village; an open-air bar for tourists; a small open-air theatre (used mainly for regular performances of traditional dances by the village folkloric group for visiting coach-loads of tourists); a newly-opened village branch of a Balearic bank; various pieces of land and property; a large souvenir and beach-goods shop in San Antonio; and a restored "typical" farmhouse-cum-folk-museum.

Even outside the village nucleus, it has been the nucleated villagers who have taken the most entrepreneurial advantage of the tourist boom. This is perhaps not surprising, in that they were the only significant group of people with commercial skills at the outset. But it is striking that a lot of the beach-bars and restaurants in the bays adjoining the parish (which almost all belong to people from the parish) belong not to the families living nearest the beach, but to ones living in or near the village nucleus, some distance inland.

In other words, prior to tourism there was only an incipient business class in San José, composed of various families who had made a transition from farming to specialising in business - either through a craft skill or through an individual member with unusual entrepreneurial talents. This formed the
basis of the new business class which has developed in response to the opportunities provided by tourism, and whose rise is embodied in the very rapid growth of the village "nucleus" (or, more accurately, the "cluster" of dwellings near the church) in recent years. By and large, the members of moderately wealthy farming families have found it easier to transfer to business activities than have less wealthy country people, so that there are important links between the developing business class and the old wealthier farm families. But by no means all of the wealthier families have taken advantage of the touristic opportunities; and the reluctance of some "señores" ("gentlemen", defined in terms of doing preferably no work at all, and certainly no manual work) to take up commercial activities clearly weighs against their advantages in terms of literacy and initial capital.

And, conversely, the new business class includes a substantial number of upwardly-mobile individuals who appear to fit into no very clear category. Thus, there are numerous self-employed builders (some of whom come from formerly relatively poor families) who have gradually adapted the traditional "do-it-yourself" Iban building techniques to incorporate more modern methods and materials. And there are many other individuals who have been given a start in business with the "windfall gains" described below, or with capital from diverse activities (which have included smuggling, speculation and even gambling, according to local people).

This is really all that may be concluded about the composition of the new business class in San José, in the absence of a detailed quantitative survey. A rather similar process appears to have occurred on the island as a whole (although entrepreneurial activities have been firmly established in the capital town for much longer than elsewhere on the island). In general, the business class is still in a relatively fluid state at present; but it is rapidly taking shape and it may be expected to provide most of the employers, managers and native authorities of the future, when the economic "free-for-all" has settled into more regular patterns. In the absence of a tourist slump or
radical political changes, the new business class is also the (minority) group of Ibians who stand to gain the greatest long-term financial benefits from tourism.

(b) "Windfall" gains from tourism

Two American journalists visiting Ibiza in the 1950s have described how they made an unexpected present of four hundred pesetas to a poor peasant, who had shown them spontaneous hospitality, for the dowry whose absence was delaying his daughter's wedding. (SHOR, 1957: 660) During my fieldwork, a young foreign resident in the San José area asked two local women if they would whitewash his house in the traditional manner. They agreed, quoting the standard price for the task, but were amazed (and delighted, though protesting) to receive twice that amount, because the foreigner thought it too little. These are two minor examples of the common "windfall gains" - once for all financial benefits from tourism - which arrive unpredictably and may affect any islanders. The two most important sources of windfall gains, however - land sales and house sales to outsiders - have gradually tended to assume more regular features, even though they do retain some element of unpredictability.

(i) Land sales:

In the preceding section, it is seen that the greater part of the local financial gains from business activities associated with tourism goes to the people of the towns and nuclear villages. In contrast, the new wealth from land sales has - so far at least - strikingly benefitted the country people, including many poorer peasants with coastal land. This fact, together with the element of unpredictability, makes the land sales an important factor in the current social changes on the island.

Soon after my arrival on Ibiza, a salt-worker told me that his wages had kept up with the cost of living, but were small by comparison with wages
in tourist jobs. However, he continued, he could not complain since he himself had a new house, built from the proceeds of a land-sale. Previously life had been miserable but now, he said:

"Todos los de la isla tenemos terrenos, así que todos estamos bien ahora ... "

(Castilian)

This argument was repeated to me many times subsequently. In an unrelated conversation several months later, for example, another man (a member of one of the new entrepreneurial nuclear village families in San José; an ex-naval engineer, and now the owner of a large new beach-restaurant on an inherited piece of land) spontaneously advanced the following carefully-thought-out argument, complete with figures.¹ There were, he said, about 40,000 island natives "empadronados" (in the municipal census records) at that time (i.e. in 1970). Since there were about five people in each family,² there were thus some 8,000 families who owned all of the land on the island. Dividing some 500 square kilometres amongst them, this would give the average family over 60,000 square metres of land. Assuming an average price of 20 pesetas per square metre, the average island family therefore possessed land worth over a million pesetas (about £6,000), with its value rising constantly. He rounded off the argument by saying that it was not surprising that people in other parts of Spain called Ibiza "la isla de los millenarios" ("the island of the [peseta] millionaires"); and that it was in fact "la isla

¹Though crude, these figures agree quite well with those cited elsewhere in this thesis, and they probably give a reasonably correct overall impression.

²In the records of past centuries, the ratio of total population to the number of "hogares" ("homes" or "hearths") was consistently 4.5:1 or 5:1. But in 1965 there were apparently 40,084 persons on Ibiza and Formentera, divided among 12,869 "hogares", giving an average ratio of 3.1:1. This lower ratio may partly be explained by the trends towards lower natality and towards neo-locality on the part of young couples whose work no longer ties them to a parental home. However, it may also be affected by the modern census method in Spain, where each nuclear family is usually counted as a separate household, even in the case of joint or extended households. (The figures here are from BARCELO POMS, 1970: 153.)
Some figures are available for land-prices on Ibiza in the nineteenth century, during the period 1867-1886. The price then depended almost entirely on the land's farming quality. Dry farm land of average quality containing some established fruit trees cost about one fifth of a peseta per square metre, while irrigated land was worth about one third of a peseta per square metre.\(^1\) Eighty years later, in the late 1950s, comparable land was worth four pesetas and eight pesetas per square metre, respectively.\(^2\) Twelve years later again, in 1970-71, such land could fetch anything from fifty to five thousand pesetas per square metre, although it would not usually be purchased with farming in mind.

All of these prices are given here in pesetas per square metre, for ease of comparison. But the basic criteria and ways of measuring land values on Ibiza have been completely transformed by tourism. Thus, in the nineteenth century, the Archduke Salvator distinguished three grades of dry farmland without trees, three with trees, and three with irrigation. And similar criteria were still being applied in the 1950s. But, at present, the major part of the value of land is determined by its potential for development, so that scrubland is often more valuable than good farmland. Again, the traditional measure — still in use among the older country people — was the "tornall.\(^3\) But few people could say with any accuracy what their farmland measured: when asked, they would say for example "una cent tornalls — meitat sembrats i meitat bossa" ("about a hundred tornalls\(^4\) — half cultivated

---

\(^1\)SALVATOR (1886-90: 1, 342) The prices are converted from those given for "tornalls."

\(^2\)DICIONARIO GEOGRAFICO ... (1959: XV, 193)

\(^3\) A tornall is approximately equal to 6 ares, or 6/100 hectares, or 600 square metres. I.e., it is about the size of a small building plot.

\(^4\) 100 tornalls are roughly 6 hectares, i.e. the size of an average piece of farmland on Ibiza.
and half woodland"). If a small piece of land were sold, it might be valued by the tornall; but farms were generally sold at a multiple of their known annual yield instead of by their extent. At present, in contrast, land on Ibiza is sold by international metric units: hectares and square metres. The precise extent of a very large area of land may still not be critical; but for building plots - sold by the square metre - the land is meticulously measured, with due allowance for the angle of slope (the land is sold by the extent of its horizontal projection, not its surface area).

Despite this greater care in measurement, the value of land is much more fluid than formerly. But, in general, it is determined by the following factors, in order of declining importance:

-- Location. The most valuable land is that required for hotels or blocks of flats in the capital town and San Antonio. The current (1970-71)\(^1\) price is between 4,000 and 5,000 pesetas per square metre (p.p.s.m.); although in some cases no money actually changes hands - instead, part of the building may be bartered for the site. Some of this land was formerly of very little value, although the suburb of Santa Creu in Ibiza-town has been built on the very good soil of "ses feixes". The rather barren coastal land near the main tourist centres is now also very valuable, fetching prices of 1,000 p.p.s.m. or more. The only other land of comparable value, however, is that in good commercial sites - such as that by the sides of the main road through San José - where the current price is about 600 p.p.s.m. The value of land thus systematically declines as it becomes more distant from the main touristic and commercial centres (including the village nuclei and a few inland urbanisations), or from the sea.

-- Size. The price of similar pieces of land varies greatly according to the area purchased. Land that could cost between one and two hundred p.p.s.m.

\(^1\)All of the land prices in this section, unless otherwise stated, are for 1970-71 - when they were still rising very rapidly.
for a plot smaller than 1,000 square metres might fetch as little as twenty p.p.s.m. if some 10,000 square metres or more were purchased. In other words, the same amount may be paid for a small plot as for a large area. Although this may sound like an economic paradox, it is in fact merely a reflection of the diversity of the pressures on land values on Ibiza at the present time. The seller always stands to gain more by selling his land in small plots; but this entails foresight, patience or entrepreneurial skill in obtaining a number of individual plot-buyers, and the financial ability to wait. These circumstances are thus ideal for land speculators of all types.

— The purchaser. During the past fifteen years or so, quite large areas of land along the coast have been bought for speculation or development. Prime development land adjoining good beaches is now difficult to obtain; in fact, the speculators have extended their activities to parts of the coast with access to the sea only from rocks, as at Punta de Sa Galera near San Antonio; to cliff-bound areas near beaches; and even to picturesque inland locations. The developers include local people, other Spanish companies, and foreign ones. There are no accurate figures available, but I would estimate that the proportion of non-Ibisan investment in coastal "urbanizaciones" could well be higher than that for business activities in general (and this impression is borne out for Spain as a whole by Table Fifteen on page 341, above). Nevertheless, the total length of coastline under outside ownership at present is much less than that remaining in Ibisan hands.1 Moreover, an increasing minority of Ibians have had the foresight to sell their land in small plots to

1Some of the latter is rather less suitable for touristic development, but it appears that no land on the island is completely unsuitable (at least, so long as the lack of planning restrictions continues). Thus there are several inland developments which have been successful. And an urbanisation which includes the only "five-star" hotel on Ibiza has just (in 1971) been developed on the crest of some of the highest cliffs on the island, at Na Xamena, near San Miguel. There are no true beaches in the vicinity, but a precipitous track has been constructed for access to the smooth rocks and sea at the base of the cliffs - and the site is certainly spectacular and tranquil.

There has also been a tendency for foreign residents to choose inland sites for their houses in recent years; partly to escape from "tourists", and partly because there are disadvantages in coastal living - e.g. storms and gales.
private individuals, using the capital generated in this way to develop the site themselves rather than sell it to an outside company. Other local people have made money from commissions on land sales, acting as unofficial estate agents for local land-owners. And yet others have gone in for classical speculation: putting small deposits on land at the beginning of the boom, selling it later at much higher prices, then repaying the original owner at the first price.

The prices paid by companies have usually been less than 20 p.p.s.m., sometimes considerably less in the past. However, they generally buy large pieces of land; and the Ibizan seller is thus guaranteed an immediate and massive (to him, at least) sum of money, which he may reinvest or spend as he chooses. The land generally includes poor pine forest and scrub: such land was formerly of little or no value to the seller, and he would usually lack the resources needed to develop it himself; so that the relatively low unit price (viewed with hindsight) generally seems quite fair to him - in fact, San José people who had sold land some years earlier did not show resentment over its later resale at higher prices even when I asked them leading questions. There is some resentment of local speculators, because of the implied exploitation of one's fellows; but the companies usually escape such criticism, since their motives are clear at the outset. The development company normally divides the land into plots of between 500 and 1500 square metres. It builds access roads, sinks wells for water, provides electrical power, and may also do some landscaping or provide further amenities. The land-plots can then be sold for 300-600 p.p.s.m. or more; although there are numerous variations and it is becoming common for companies to have a set of villas built for sale with the sites, instead of selling land-plots in a piece-meal

1 In an earlier chapter, reference is made to possible clashes between development companies and local people over access to some parts of the coast, but little resentment had been generated by this issue up to 1971 - in contrast, apparently, with the situation in some other tourist zones. (See, e.g., WIGG, 1974)
Many of the outsiders resident on Ibiza have bought a plot of land and had a house built on it. Initially, these people tended to be fairly wealthy; and they had houses built on their own designs by a local builder, often on a carefully-chosen site purchased directly from a farmer. Now, however, the majority of outsiders buy both a land-plot and a "villa" from a development company or estate agency. They naturally pay a much higher unit price than do the direct purchasers. But, in all circumstances, the outsider (and especially the foreigner)\(^1\) is normally expected to pay a higher price than would an Ibisan; the difference depending largely on the respective astuteness of the buyer and seller, and on the buyer's command of Spanish.

A large amount of land is also currently changing hands among native Ibisans - because many young people are no longer interested in farming; people of all ages are moving from one place to another with much greater frequency; and they have more money to spend. In such sales (or barter) among Ibisans, the Gemeinschaft characteristics of exchange described in Chapter Seven are still important. Thus the price depends on the relationship between the buyer and seller, and on other factors such as the purpose of the purchase: it is usually lowest for land which is to be used for farming, and highest for land purchased for business reasons ("per fer negoci").

--- The seller. When I was enquiring about land prices around San José, one man offered to sell me a large plot of dry farmland for "un mig millió" (half a million pesetas, or about £3,000). This represented a unit price of about seven or eight pesetas per square metre: other local people thought that it was ridiculously cheap, and they commented that the man was "molí bambo" ("very daft"). His own reasoning - which he had explained to me at the time of the offer - was that a "pagés" (i.e. a local farmer) would only

---

\(^1\)This appears to be due not so much to ethnocentric preference as to a (generally well-founded) belief that the outsiders have more money to spare.
expect to pay his 15-20,000 pesetas for the land, which was rather rough although it contained a number of carob trees. Thus, by selling it to a foreigner at the higher price, he thought that he would be doing very well. In the end, however, his wife and friends persuaded him to keep the land for the time being, perhaps selling it for more later. I was told that he wanted to sell the land in the first place because he was "un poco jugador" ("fond of gambling") and had accumulated various debts ("deutes"). He himself said that he needed the money for his children's education. But, either way, it was his personal circumstances rather than the properties of the land itself which determined his low asking price.

Another personal reason which was advanced for low prices was a lack of children: I would be told (and generally later find it correct) that so-and-so "vendría muy barato, creo, porque no tiene hijos y su terreno no le sirve para nada" ("would sell very cheaply, I think, because he has no sons and his land is no use to him"). Conversely, one man - who had sold a number of individual coastal plots - told me that he had thus made sufficient money to provide a guaranteed livelihood for each of his children, so that his attitude now was: "No es igual si lo vende o si se queda - ya tengo prou de sous." ("It is all the same to me whether I sell it or keep it - I already have sufficient money.") He therefore demanded progressively higher prices from subsequent would-be purchasers.

Of other people, again, I would be told: "Tiene terrenos por a vender, pero siempre cobra muy caro, porque fa negocis." ("He has plots for sale, but he always charges a lot, because he is a businessman.")

Planning. The various factors already discussed have led to wide and often anomalous variations in land-prices on Ibiza. This appears to be especially characteristic of the present boom period: the old criteria for evaluating land have largely disappeared, and the new ones have not yet become fully clear to the people involved. It seems probable that prices will eventually become more uniform, related almost entirely to location and size. But the
present uncertainty is clearly very favourable to shrewd individuals, agents, and land speculators of all kinds.

The new planning regulations which were put forward for public consultation in 1971 would considerably alter the situation. Under the plans, the whole island would be divided into zones, with specific limitations on the use of land in each zone. As the plans stood in 1971, they would lead to a rapid rise in the value of the land in the zones scheduled for building and tourist development; and an artificial check (perhaps even a decline) in the monetary value of the land in the areas designated as scenic, forest, or agricultural zones.

These changes would have important repercussions on the distribution of wealth and on social mobility on the island: in general, they would consistently favour the larger and richer development companies, which have secured land in various areas scheduled for further development. Country people, however, would find it much more difficult to sell small plots of land on an individual basis, since quite large minimum limits were envisaged for land-plots surrounding new houses in the agricultural zones.¹

(ii) House sales:

The sale of traditional farm houses, or "fincas,"² has also been a very important source of "windfall" gains to country families. In 1970-71, such houses - even those in a poor or ruinous condition - were fetching 1,500,000 pesetas or more (i.e. upwards of £9,000). They were disliked by many modern native islanders, who associated them with the "primitive" life of the past, and with discomfort - especially during the winter months. There were many

¹There was some controversy over this in 1971, and it seemed possible that some amendments might be made to accommodate the traditional pattern of scattered development in agricultural areas. (See, e.g., IBIZA INSIGHT, no.92, week ending 6 May 1971, p.2) It may also be noted that the planning restrictions would benefit country people wishing to buy land for agricultural use.

²The term "finca" means "farm" or "farmstead", but the foreign residents and estate agents on Ibiza use it indiscriminately to refer to any country house in the traditional style, and this usage has achieved quite general acceptance.
traditional houses in the countryside around San José which were abandoned or in ruins: in some cases the owners had emigrated prior to the tourist boom, but in other cases they had fairly recently chosen to use their new wealth to build themselves a modern house in or near the village nucleus - or, at least, near roads, electricity and other amenities. (See Figure Eight on page 54, above.) But, to many outsiders - especially to foreigners seeking seclusion from industrialisation - the picturesque "fincas" appear to have an almost irresistible charm. They also have certain practical advantages for foreign buyers: even if an old house is virtually a ruin, it may be little more expensive to modify or rebuild it than to buy a site and have a new house built, and it may well be less expensive than buying anything comparable through an agent. Moreover, there are less difficulties over obtaining planning permission to modify an existing building than to construct a new one. The price of "fincas" is therefore rising rapidly; and many islanders are tending to hold back, rather than sell to the first bidder as they sometimes did in the past. A typical comment by a San José man was:

"La vendré quan vengan prou sous, pero no la vendré barata - es veu que cada any pujen es preus!" ("I will sell it when enough money comes along, but I won't sell it cheap - it can be seen that prices are rising each year!").

The sale of houses in touristic areas of the British Isles for use as second homes by people living in industrial areas has caused much hostile comment, e.g.:

"There is anger in places like Appledore where picturesque cottages are purchased by 'foreigners' from London as second homes at prices local people cannot match."

(HUCKEBY, 1974)¹

It might be expected that there would be even more resentment on Ibiza - where the outsiders very often are really foreigners, and where the contrast in wealth between many of the visitors and the islanders (especially in the

¹For comments on "the cottage rush" in Wales, see FISHLOCK (1972). And for similar comments on second homes on Jersey, see O'NE (1974).
recent past) has been greater. But, at the time of our fieldwork, there was little sign of concern over this issue among the native islanders: on the contrary, they regarded house-sales as a very welcome source of wealth.

There are the following reasons for this state of affairs, which illustrates once again how much the effects of tourism depend on the local culture and social structure:

-- There is a strong tradition of "do-it-yourself" house-building on Ibiza, particularly in the country areas. This tradition - which derives from the former subsistence economy - has so far survived the transition to new occupations and the introduction of new materials and techniques. There are few country people - even including those in new occupations - who do not either have basic building skills themselves or else have a friend or relative whose advice and assistance may be sought if necessary. The young couples setting up a home in fact have a number of options, but whichever they choose the young islanders can obtain a new house at a much lower price than that usually paid by an outsider.

-- Most foreigners building homes on Ibiza employ a local builder. They thus provide a great deal of lucrative work for those country people who

---

Firstly, the man (whose role includes the provision of a house) may build the house himself, purchasing the materials and hiring any necessary equipment. This is the cheapest method and it is surprising common: even the modern techniques are relatively simple, and the construction is usually an unhurried affair lasting several years if necessary (because of the seasonality of tourism, many young men have a number of free months each winter, for building or other activities). Friends and relatives often lend a hand, and the women finish the job off by whitewashing the walls and cleaning the house for occupation.

Secondly, the man may design the house and organise the buying of materials, but hire day-wage labourers ("jornaleros") to carry out the bulk of the work, although he usually supervises and does some of the work himself as well.

Thirdly, he may entrust the whole task to a "mestre d'obres" ("master of works"), who is nearly always a local man and not infrequently a relative. The "mestres" vary greatly in their experience and prices: they have often begun as "mescapieras" (builder's labourers, lit. "stone-hammerers"), then have taken jobs on the side, finally gaining enough experience to work "per sa propia cuenta" ("on their own behalf"). Some mestres are willing to undertake work "a jornales" (by the day - or often nowadays, by the hour), but they are usually engaged to build a house "escarada" (for a fixed sum, agreed in advance). This is the costliest of the three methods, but it is still much cheaper than buying a house through an agency or developer as do most outsiders.
have taken up the occupations of "piscapédrer" or "mestre d'obres" (see footnote 1, page 369).

---

Even under the new planning regulations, it should still be possible for native islanders to build themselves a house almost anywhere they choose, in conformity with the traditional scattered settlement pattern. Moreover, the young country people generally have a suitable piece of land to build on from an inheritance — if not, they may usually purchase it easily and fairly cheaply, since the extreme inflation of land-prices is limited to quite small prime development areas.

---

And, finally, "second homes" are a long-established tradition on Ibiza. The wealthier townspeople usually had somewhere to stay on their majoral-run farms, and they now often have a second home on their favourite piece of coast — thus contributing to the sale of small plots by country people. Similarly, country people whose land was split into two widely-separated plots would usually have a rudimentary second home, or "pahissa", on the plot furthest away from the parish church. Many pahisses have now been let to poorer long-term foreign visitors, especially "hippies", who have thus provided many country people with a useful additional source of income — an argument which is sometimes used in defence of the "hippies". Some pahisses have been sold for 300,000 pesetas or more (about £1,800), thus providing another source of windfall gains. Furthermore, numerous country people (such as the nuclear village families in San José) have bought or inherited land in their favourite local bay, and have built second homes like those of the townspeople. Some of them let the coastal homes at high rents during the tourist season (when they themselves may be busy working, anyway) and use them for recreation during the rest of the year. Even the poorer people have

---

1 This point is important since it indicates a high degree of flexibility on Ibiza, which has so far obviated the local housing shortages which may arise — as in parts of Britain — from the combination of planning restrictions and the bidding-up of prices by outsiders.
long had small cubical boat-houses on the nearby coast, in which they keep "llauts" (small traditional fishing-boats) or other small boats for recreational fishing. Many of these huts - which are built on the "no-man's-land" at the foot of the cliffs - have recently been ingeniously (and technically illegally) expanded into small secondary dwellings, where both sexes (formerly only men) stay for weekends or holidays.

(iii) Windfall gains and social mobility: -

The windfall gains described in this section have a social significance which goes far beyond their monetary value, even though this can be quite considerable in view of the very low former value of most of the properties involved. The main reasons are as follows:

-- Unpredictability. Although there are certain regularities in the pattern of windfall gains - which "smart" ("llest") local people have sometimes exploited - there remains a general element of unpredictability. For example, a wealthy foreign visitor may decide he likes the view from a certain spot and promptly purchase a small piece of land or an old house, if the owner is willing. The owner may be poor or rich, but suddenly finds himself the possessor of totally unexpected capital - he may even have joined the ranks of the peseta-millionaires. What he does with his new wealth depends almost entirely on his personality (and on that of his wife, if he has one). Some Ibisans in this position have spent the money on consumer goods: usually new houses, modern furnishings, or motor vehicles. Others promptly invest it in concrete: in one notable instance, a San José man has invested all the money he can afford in the skeleton of two stories of a new block on the outskirts of San Antonio. Rather than complete a smaller building, he is waiting until he has some more money (he also owns a business) to go on building the block in the future - a classic example of deferred gratification and cumulative capitalism. Yet others lose their new wealth, I was told, by unwise loans and investments or even by gambling. But the average case seems to combine various courses. During our fieldwork, for example, some
foreigners unexpectedly bought a plot of land from a country man living
some way from the nucleus of San José; who was then making a living as a
picapedrero, which was supplemented by the produce from his smallholding and
occasional work in hotels by his wife. With some of the new money he bought
a "Seat 600" car, but he invested the rest in hiring a bulldozer to out an
access road up the length of his land - with a view to selling more plots
(and at a higher price next time). His attitudes and ambitions changed
quite remarkably during the course of the sale, from which he emerged as a
budding entrepreneur actively seeking further buyers.

Traditional ownership patterns. In latifundist areas with a large rural
proletariat, like Andalusia, it might be expected that most of the financial
benefits from tourism - including windfall gains - would go to the large
land-owners. In areas where many people lived in rented dwellings, the
principal beneficiaries would again be the landlords. (Such factors may
partly account for the continuing stream of migrants to Ibiza, as also to
Catalonia in general, from the southern mainland.) On Ibiza, too, there are
various factors which operate in favour of the already-wealthy: their
enhanced bargaining power, the ability to pay cash, the ability to wait or
speculate, literacy, and contacts in the local administration. It is also
ture that the people who were wealthier before tourism were more likely than
others to have pabisses and other traditional dwellings to sell, as well as
larger pieces of land. But, in general, the relatively even division of land,
and the traditional lack of rented accommodation (with the exception of the
houses of majorales), have meant a relatively even distribution of windfall
gains from land- and house-sales on Ibiza. Since the sums involved are very
large by comparison with pre-touristic wealth, such windfall gains have
therefore produced much social mobility, along this dimension of inequality
at least.

Inversions of wealth. Moreover, tourism has had a typically curious effect
on land values. In some parts of Spain (e.g. around Valencia) the coastal
land is more fertile than the more mountainous and arid land further away from the sea. In other parts, however, there is a fringe of land bordering the sea which is rather barren, being exposed to high winds and destructive salt spray: such is the case on Ibiza, where the low value of the coastal land was further reduced in the past by the danger of attacks by pirates. Consequently, the owners of coastal land on Ibiza (with the exception of that immediately adjacent to the capital town) have commonly been the poorest country people.

The Ibisan system of inheritance has also affected this situation. The traditional system is a variant on the pattern found in other parts of Catalonia. Roughly speaking, about half of the parents' land is given to one of their children, "a'hereu" ("the heir"), who is usually (though not necessarily) the eldest male child. If the eldest male child is an invalid or an alcoholic, or gravely displeases his parents in some way, then the major portion might go to another child - the "més ben vist" ("the best regarded"). In return for the major portion, the hereu is expected to look after his parents until their death - caring for them and paying any medical expenses - whereas the other children are absolved of these duties. The remainder of the land (or its equivalent) is divided equally among all of the children (including the hereu) in birthright portions, or "legítimes". There are numerous possible variations to allow for different family traditions and circumstances, but they do not affect the argument here. The main point is that country people have been anxious to preserve as much good land as possible for the heir: thus, the land given to the heir in the past would normally include the best farming-land - which was usually inland - while the

1 For a more exact account of the Ibisan system, see COSTA RAMON (1966-67a) and CODIGO CIVIL ... (1966).

2 Thus, although the hereu was normally better-off than the other children in the past - when land was the only major form of wealth on Ibiza - this did depend on the size of the farm and other factors.
less fertile coastal land more often went to the less-favoured "legitimaries" (birthright-holders).

In other words, the system of inheritance reinforced the tendency for coastal land to be owned by the poorer country people. Now, it is precisely this land which has been affected by tourism to the greatest extent. So there has been a curious inversion of wealth among the members of some country families. The smaller area of coastal land inherited by the legitimaries has suddenly acquired a much greater value than the farmland belonging to the heir. Moreover, the birthright-holders are free to keep or to sell the land, and to take up any occupation of their choice; whereas, the main heir must look after his parents, and he tends to be restricted to the low-status work of the farm since he is unlikely to find a majoral (assuming that he can afford one) and even wage-labourers are very scarce.

Although this inversion phenomenon is only temporary - since people are increasingly taking the new factors into account when dividing up their property - it has meant an important disruption both of the traditional inheritance patterns and of the established order of social inequality. In the words of a Mallorcan lawyer - referring to similar cases on Mallorca - it is often "las ovejas negras" ("the black sheep") of the family who have benefitted most from the impact of tourism on land-values.¹ In response to these problems, there has been a general tendency on Ibiza in recent years to abandon the traditional system of inheritance in favour of an even division of the parental property among all the children; although there is still much uncertainty over this, and it was a common theme of debate among older men.

¹It appears that broadly similar effects have also occurred elsewhere in Catalonia. Thus the novel "Spanish Show" includes a discussion of such inversions on the Costa Brava (MANEGAT, 1965: 299-308). And, in general, some may be expected almost anywhere where coastal tourism develops, although the effect on the local distribution of wealth will depend on the structures of land-ownership and inheritance in the place concerned.
trying to settle their affairs in 1970-71.¹

(c) Continuous gains from tourism: employment

Prior to tourism, there were fewer jobs than people seeking them on Ibiza, as the extensive emigration testified. Rates of pay (in cash or kind) tended to be standardised, changing only slowly. Most work (except for that of majors) was of a casual nature; especially in the country, where a wage-labourer would take part in a variety of activities during the year (ploughing, sowing, cutting wood, making charcoal, building, reaping, harvesting the salt, etc.) - filling in the gaps with work on a smallholding, fishing, trapping game, and other activities. Women could also contribute to the family income with home handicrafts such as embroidery, often organised on a putting-out basis by traders in the town. Unmarried girls from very poor families could also support themselves by living-in as domestic servants to wealthier families, although this form of employment was generally disliked. At all times in recent centuries, the island's employers had an overwhelmingly strong bargaining position because of the large labour surplus; and wage-workers had difficulty in making an adequate living, as ironic traditional verses (estribots) about the wealthier families around San José illustrate, e.g.:

"Gracias en es de Ca's Costes que mos han dat d'aliment.
Mos han dat gaspatxos d'ordi frits amb aigu d'es torrent!"

"Thanks to those of Ca's Costes who have given us food.
They have given us sops of barley cooked in water from the stream!"

(Giurisseu)

Tourism has completely reversed this situation. In 1970-71, there was a severe shortage of all types of employee on Ibiza, despite the large number of immigrants. There was still some work of a casual nature, especially in building and agriculture, but most was either seasonal or permanent (the tourist

¹Inheritance has always been a potential source of tension on Ibiza, as in other farming areas. The value inversions and consequent changes have caused numerous quarrels between siblings, although some families have resolved these difficulties quite amicably.
season lasted about seven months, and only skeleton-staffs were retained by many hotels during the winter months - often at lower rates of pay - but there was a growing tendency to re-employ the same staff each year or even to pay a retaining wage during the winter. There was no difficulty for any able-bodied person in making a living, and wage-earners - especially native Ibisans - were now in a strong bargaining position vis-a-vis their employers. Tourism had also provided many job-opportunities for women (as chambermaids, laundresses, receptionists, guides, shop-assistants, typists, etc.): both married and unmarried women were taking up the new opportunities, although there was also a tendency for some country wives to stay and look after the house and smallholding while their husbands and elder children went out to work.

Although there were comparatively large numbers of small business-people and self-employed craftsmen on Ibiza in 1970-71, apart from those people still working the land full- or part-time, the people whose main continuous income came from wage-employment now almost certainly included the majority of active islanders. An assessment of their position is, therefore, very important to an understanding of the distribution of financial benefits from tourism.

(i) Natives and outsiders in employment: -

Ever since the thirteenth century, and especially since the centralisation of the eighteenth century, the highest administrative posts on Ibiza have been filled by outsiders. But almost all other jobs on the island were filled by native Ibisans until the very recent influx of migrant workers from other parts of Spain, especially from the south-western mainland.

The common stereotype of the migrant workers in the eyes of the Ibisans is that of very poor and uneducated people; lacking in trustworthiness, in skills, and in the willingness to work hard. I was frequently told by Ibisans that they would only employ outsiders when no native workers were available, and there were occasionally advertisements in the local newspaper
offering employment with the rider "Ibicencos preferidos" ("Ibisans preferred").

Nevertheless, a few polemicists have suggested that the growing numbers of migrant workers constitute a drain on the financial benefits accruing to the native islanders. For example, PORCEL has claimed that — since many migrants are men without their families — they tend to send money back to their towns of origin, as a result of which "els eivissenos a penes s'enriqueixen" ("the Ibisans become hardly any richer"). (PORCEL, 1968: 33)

All the evidence, however, suggests that PORCEL's view is entirely incorrect. My own fieldwork impression was that the vast majority of migrant workers were occupying the harder and lower-paid jobs on the island, even though there appeared to be a small minority of skilled migrants filling posts at all levels of the occupational structure. There are no relevant quantitative data available for Ibiza itself, but the first results of a careful survey of native and non-native employment in Barcelona have recently appeared. The survey was carried out in 1970-71, and the results corroborate my concurrent fieldwork impressions on Ibiza; although certain differences between the two foci of migration must be borne in mind, including the longer-established and more massive proportions of the migrant population in Barcelona, and the greater importance there of manufacturing industry.

The study distinguishes between two sectors of employment: the manufacturing sector and the non-manufacturing sector (excluding public administration, which is artificially dominated by non-Catalans). For each sector, the main occupational categories are defined as follows: A denotes the higher managerial and technical positions (directors, executive managers and technical personnel holding university degrees); B denotes the administrative supervisors, middle managers and technicians with a secondary education; C denotes the white-collar workers without administrative or technical

1 Cf. sections 7.7 (a) and 8.4 (a), above. Similar attitudes and stereotypes also exist in mainland Catalonia: see, e.g.s. CANDEL (1965) and PINILLA DE LAS HERRAS (1973: 130).
authority; D denotes the skilled workers; and E denotes the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The most relevant findings are shown in Table Nineteen.

### TABLE 19

**NATIVE AND MIGRANT EMPLOYEES IN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN BARCELONA (1970-71): A CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Occupational categories</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A+B</th>
<th>A+B+C</th>
<th>A+B+C+D</th>
<th>A+B+C+D+E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing Sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>41.00</td>
<td>72.68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>12.82</td>
<td>36.65</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-manufacturing Sector</td>
<td>17.04</td>
<td>35.17</td>
<td>85.01</td>
<td>97.63</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>60.17</td>
<td>78.79</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures are expressed as percentages.


The author of the first survey-report also includes an English summary, from which the following extracts are taken:

**In the manufacturing sector:** - "As can be seen, the bulk of the migrants are found in the categories D, of skilled workers, and E, of semi- and unskilled workers. The jobs which require high authority or qualifications are overwhelmingly held by Catalans. There are certain differences within the branches which should be noted. For example, the traditional industries and particularly their small firms seem prone to employ more Catalans, especially in the higher categories; while on the other hand the modern industries and the larger firms of the manufacturing sector offer a certain differential accessibility for the migrants.

It could be suggested that some branches prefer to appeal to the native labour force, a repository of the old Catalan tradition of industrialism, while other branches (or the more modern firms of the former) are compelled to appeal to anybody (i.e. to unskilled migrants). Thus, the more modern the firm, or the greater in relative size its employment in category E, the stronger the presence of migrants."

**In the non-manufacturing sector:** - "These results show the existence of another migration which is making its way mainly toward the technical and managerial jobs of the non-manufacturing sector. The incumbents of these positions have probably received a traditional education in the non-industrialised areas of Spain. They can be considered quantitatively unrepresentative for the whole of the migratory process but their careers are of a very different kind and should not be confused with those of the manual non-skilled workers." (PINILLA DE LAS HERAS, 1973: 106 and 107)
The results require little further comment. I would expect the results of such a survey on Ibiza to be broadly comparable. It may also be noted that there appear to be some parallels between the native/non-native distribution of employment and that of business-ownership (of the data in section 10.3(a), above).

Thus - as in all other spheres except public administration - it appears that native Ibians are in a very favourable position vis-a-vis outsiders in the occupational structure on the island. And the truly privileged general position of I比san (and other Balearic) workers in Spain today is also illustrated by the data in Table Twenty, which gives official figures for the per capita incomes of the six highest and the six lowest Spanish provinces in 1967 (the former - except for Madrid - all being eastern and the latter western provinces).

**TABLE 20**

THE PER CAPITA INCOME (PESETAS) OF THE SIX HIGHEST AND THE SIX LOWEST PROVINCES IN SPAIN IN 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Highest Provinces</th>
<th>The Lowest Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Vizcaya 68,069</td>
<td>45) Orense 27,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Madrid 67,927</td>
<td>46) Granada 26,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Guipúzcoa 66,520</td>
<td>47) Cáceres 25,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Barcelona 65,261</td>
<td>48) Badajoz 25,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Gerona 59,938</td>
<td>49) Jaén 24,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Baleares 58,663</td>
<td>50) Almería 23,074</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Banco de Bilbao, "La renta nacional de España y su distribución provincial," cited in CAMBRE MARINO (1972).

(iii) Wage Variation:

According to official figures, the average annual rate of inflation on the Balearic Islands since the 1950s has been of the order of ten per cent. There is nevertheless no doubt that the average real income of the islanders has increased faster than the cost of living. This is shown both by the statistics in Table Fourteen (on page 335, above) and by the graphic
oral accounts by Ibisans of the difficulty of earning a living by wage-labour in the past, as contrasted with the present case.¹

In analytical terms, it would be very surprising were this not so. The general level of prices on Ibiza (i.e. that of consumer goods, as opposed to real estate) — though subject to some degree of local inflation because of tourism — is largely dependent on prices elsewhere in Spain (whence come most of the island's supplies of materials and manufactures). But, in contrast, the new demand for labour and income from tourism depend largely on factors which are external to the national economy, and they have grown at a more rapid pace on Ibiza (and in similar tourist zones) than in Spain as a whole. And this divergence between the factors determining most prices and those determining most wages has given rise to a spiral increase in the latter which is not matched in the former.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the rates of pay for different types of work vary very widely on Ibiza. Some of the variations are unsystematic: in many cases, as a result of one employer bidding against another for scarce workers, the rate for the same job varies from one employer to the next (thus creating a steady pressure for further wage increases). Other variations are more systematic — reflecting differences in the relative affluence of agricultural, commercial and touristic employers.

Thus the average per capita income in the primary sector (farming and fishing) was in 1964 only about two-fifths of that in the tertiary sector (tourism and other service occupations), and in 1970-71 the position was much the same. An unskilled labourer might expect to earn a jornal (day-wage) of perhaps 100 pesetas in farm labour, whereas he could earn anything from 200-500 pesetas in other types of work. Because of this difference there was

¹This is also a major theme of the numerous first-person life-histories recorded by FRASER among the villagers of "Tajos", near Málaga. As one of them put it: "Costa del Sol they call this now: the hunger coast is what it used to be." (Cited in FRASER, 1973: page unnumbered)
a continual shortage of farm-workers, which was tending to force the agricultural wages up to non-viable levels. For example, one farmer had to pay 40 pesetas per hour to get labourers to build a retaining wall on his farm near Santa Eulalia: he found this so alarming that he went to help with the work himself. There was also a shortage of people willing to become *mijorals* on the traditional half-shares basis: the owners were having to make increasing concessions over the minor expenses which the *mijorals* had formerly been expected to meet themselves. One San José owner was thoroughly dissatisfied with his *mijoral*, who had taken on another full-time job leaving most of the farm-work to his wife and elderly parents; but the owner was afraid to complain lest the *mijoral* should leave. Another owner, in this case of a fertile, irrigated farm near Santa Eulalia, was employing a farm manager at a fixed salary of 250 pesetas per day (plus free accommodation and some of the produce), which provided security and a total income comparing favourably with those from other occupations: but this owner was said to be making no profit for himself on this basis - he was merely trying to keep his land under cultivation, in contrast with some other owners who have allowed their land to go to waste when faced with the same problem. In other words, although agricultural wages were being forced up, they could not keep pace with other wages if farming were to remain viable on any but the best farms.¹

In other labouring jobs, the old concept of the *jornal* has in most cases given way to hourly rates, with higher rates for overtime ("horas extras") - which is very common. The degree of urgency of the work also affects the rates: in 1970-71, builders' labourers in the San José area were generally being paid 35-40 pesetas per hour, but some men were temporarily attracted

¹The prices fetched by farm produce are linked to local touristic factors only in a few cases (vegetables, fruit and fish are sometimes bought by local hoteliers and restaurateurs, for example). In general, they depend on the national and international market-prices for almonds, carobs, apricots, barley, etc.
to some half-finished hotels at the other end of the island (San Miguel) where the owners were offering 60 pesetas per hour in an attempt to meet their "deadline" ("fecha tope").

In jobs of a longer-term nature, the pay is often quoted by the month or even by the year. Foreigners employing cleaning-women in the San José area in 1970-71 were paying rates ranging from 25-50 pesetas per hour. Hotels, however, were offering 5,000 pesetas per month (about 165 pesetas per day) in the season, and 2,500-3,000 pesetas per month (about 80-100 pesetas per day) during the winter. There is a tendency for hotels and other touristic employers to attempt to retain staff from one year to the next, so that such split rates are becoming common. For example an advertisement for a cook in 1970 offered 18,000 pesetas per month for six summer months, and 12,000 per month for the rest of the year. (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 23 Aug. 70)

There are shortages of all types of labour, but they are most acute for skilled and white-collar workers. In a typical conversation, I overheard a man in the capital town complaining that he could not find a girl who could type whatever he offered to pay. But the most sought-after employees - as the frequent advertisements in the island newspaper testify - are speakers of one or more foreign languages. Such skills naturally command higher rates of pay: thus the official journal for tourist guides - as from 1st November, 1971 - ranges from 700 to 1,470 pesetas, according to the number of languages and the times worked (day or night, weekdays or fiestas). (EDITUR, 14 May 71)

The wide variations and the different methods of payment make it difficult to compare rates accurately. Some of the apparently worst-paid occupations - especially those in the primary sector - offer hidden benefits such as security and a high degree of self-sufficiency. And some of the better-paid occupations - especially those in tourism - have such disadvantages as seasonality and the long hours during the summer months. In fact, one

---

1 Although it is considered a disadvantage by most hotel-owners, the seasonality is not invariably disliked by the employees - for some of whom it provides a welcome break.
young man who had spent a season as a waiter told me that it was really "la faena más mal pagada a vivisa" ("the worst paid work on Ibiza"), because it meant spending the best months of the year working almost all day (not literally all day - the work was split into three sections, before and after each meal - but the periods of leisure were too short to do much else in) and every day. As a result, he said, he was going back to being a "picapedrer" (building labourer) - but now he would be working in partnership with another man on a self-employed basis, which he thought would be much more enjoyable though less secure. At that time, however, this young man was rather untypical: the commonest question in San José about any new job was the rate of pay, and this was the major consideration for most young people, although prestige was also important.

The examples given here are mostly of lower-paid occupations. Despite the variations in rates, they do confirm that very few - if any - employees on Ibiza can be worse off (because of inflation) since mass tourism has developed; and that, on the contrary, the majority are considerably better-off at least financially. It may be noted that the incomes obtainable from most kinds of employment are rather small by comparison with the large sums of money involved in windfall gains and entrepreneurial activities - this is undoubtedly an important stimulus to the island entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, some kinds of employment offer greater security, which is important to some islanders, especially to those who are married or elderly. And employment will clearly be the most important long-term source of financial gains from tourism for a high proportion of Ibisans.

---

1 Even in the case of the lower-paid casual occupations, such as cleaning or building, the increase in annual incomes is undoubtedly greater than the increase in hourly or daily rates indicates - since, despite its seasonality, tourism has provided an unprecedented continuity of demand for casual labour of all kinds (even though the labourer may move from one employer to another).
In any situation of rapid inflation people on fixed incomes - especially elderly pensioners and invalids - tend to suffer because of their poor bargaining power. In general, however, such effects on Ibiza have been mitigated by various factors. Firstly, tourism has contributed most to local inflation in the case of real estate, and this type of inflation has benefitted more local people (including pensioners, who are rarely in need of buying land or houses) than it has damaged. Secondly, there is a low reliance on pensions and state benefits in general - partly because they are very small, but also because of the traditional values and arrangements in which the relations between parents and children are viewed in a reciprocal fashion (the children have a clearly-recognised duty to look after their parents in return for their upbringing and inheritance). Thirdly, the old people may still be very helpful - especially in the country - in looking after children and in performing various tasks around the house or smallholding.

For these reasons alone - apart from any affective considerations - rather few older Ibisa have been adversely financially affected by tourism. The exceptions are mainly those retired people who have no children or other close relatives to care for them, including a few emigrants who have

1The inflation of consumer-goods prices on Ibiza is not usually attributable to the island's tourism alone, if at all (see Table Fourteen, p.335, fn.2). In fact, it is striking that there was a much more rapid rise in the local cost-of-living indices - without any commensurate increase in wages - in the years of "the misery" prior to tourism. Thus, the (July) cost-of-living index for Palma de Mallorca rose as follows between 1936 and 1948: 1936=100; 1945=294.4; 1946=386.7; 1947=429.6; 1948=472.6. (I.N.E., 1951)

2This situation may tend to change as young people increasingly adapt to a new way of life as employees away from the land - with more neo-locality on marriage - but such trends are limited at present both by the persistence of Gemeinschaft features and by the seasonality of tourism, which means that many young people spend at least part of the year with their parents even though they may live elsewhere (e.g. in hotels where they are employed or nearby) during the summer months.
returned to the island for their retirement with annuities or fixed pensions.¹

There is a miscellany of other people who might be said to have lost financially because of tourism. There are some land-owners who are unable to find majorals. There may also be some majorals who have lost their livelihood when their amo (owner, boss) has sold land to developers.² I was told of several cases in the San José area, in which people had sold land and had then made unsound investments or had dissipated the money through extravagance or gambling. And, some of the lower-paid workers - especially those living in the capital town - may find the benefits of higher wages greatly diminished by rising rents and other costs.

Whatever their social position and personal outlook, however, Ibisans in 1970-71 almost invariably responded to questions about possible financial losers from tourism with round denials that anyone was worse off, with the possible exception of the few socially-isolated pensioners already mentioned. They argued that the land-owners who could not find majorals could let their land to other farmers if they so wished, or could turn it to profit in other ways (e.g.s. land sales, the development of tourist attractions, sand or rock quarrying). As for the majorals, most of them were leaving farming of their own accord, attracted by the higher wages and status in other occupations. There was little sympathy for people who had lost money through recklessness or lack of foresight. As for the lower-paid workers, we have already seen that they are generally better-off; and - in response

²I do not know of concrete examples on Ibiza. But Miriam Gibson, who started a study on Formentera in the summer of 1970, has told me of such cases there.
to my queries - Ibisans pointed out that rents on the island were not
usually increased except for new tenancies, so that few native islanders
were proportionately affected by the average rise in rents. Their conclusive
argument in all cases, however, was that any able-bodied person of either
sex could now find work (and at a higher wage than formerly) if they so
wished.

10.5 THE NEW STRUCTURE OF WEALTH AND INCOMES

The relatively-even distribution of wealth on Ibiza prior to tourism
has undoubtedly been a vital factor in the distribution of the new wealth
created by tourism. Even so, it seems likely that the absolute magnitude
of the gap between the wealthiest and the poorest people on the island has
widened greatly because of the accumulation of large new fortunes in the
hands of comparatively few islanders. In this sense, at least, it would
appear that inequalities of wealth have considerably increased because of
tourism.¹

At the same time, the poorest islanders - like the rest - are mostly
much more affluent than before, so that there is little or no resentment
among native islanders at present over any increased inequality. In fact,
when I asked people in San José whether they thought that there was more or
less "equality" on Ibiza as a result of tourism, they found it difficult to
make up their minds and sometimes gave contradictory replies.²

In the "bonanza" situation created by tourism, the individual factor
of personality has been particularly important. Some land-owners have made
little effort to adjust to the new situation, whereas others have. Some

¹This thesis attempts to give a balanced view of the changes taking place on
Ibiza (from the standpoint of an outside observer and of native Ibisans).
For a (journalistic) study of the changes on the larger island of Mallorca -
which deliberately stresses the negative aspects and inequalities - see
SERRA (1971).

²The contradiction was sometimes only apparent - referring to different
dimensions of inequality.
professional people continue much as before, while others have turned to more lucrative employment\(^1\) or to entrepreneurial activities.\(^2\) Some poorer people have become quite wealthy through fortune or foresight, while others have increased their consumption without greatly increasing their wealth — or even at the expense of it.

\(^1\)For example, ex-trainee teachers or priests (there were only a couple of trainee priests left in the seminary on Ibiza in 1971) find easy promotion in hotel administration.

\(^2\)The village schoolmaster in San José, for example, had a lucrative sideline in organizing folkloric dances in partnership with a village entrepreneur.
of long-term security, even though one man was said to be drilling an
dreadful well "perçu li diverteix" ("because it amuses him"). These
cases contrast quite strikingly with others (no less typical) like that
of the man mentioned above who built two storeys of an apartment block
using all of his available capital - in the expectation of being able to
complete it later.

The blacksmith gave a significant reason for his limited ambitions:
he argued that to become rich would be no use to him if it meant never
having any spare time, adding that the only thing he could do with more
money was "fer ma's capritxo" ("indulge more whims"). Similar attitudes
were common among Ibisans - especially in the country - and they tended to
ascribe them to the mild climate of the island. They have been mentioned
by numerous visitors in the past, and foreign residents on Ibiza today often
specifically refer to the islanders' characteristic patience, tolerance and
general cheerfulness as a reason for deciding to settle there. Another
possibly related - non-economic factor influencing Iban ambitions is
that it is relatively difficult to translate increased wealth into higher
status on a small island like Ibiza: although there are in fact not a few
would-be "social climbers", their scope is thus limited.

These remarks should not, however, be taken to imply a complete lack
of ambition on the part of most Ibisans. On the contrary, traditional values
provide very important stimuli as well as limits. A very common concern
among people in San José, for example, was to provide if possible a secure
livelihood for each of their children. In the past, this was only an ideal

1 Any symptoms of haste or worry in San José soon prompt the single-word
advice: "Paciencí!" ("Patience!"). A traditional acceptance of the implications
of mortality was also expressed in the common proverb: "D'aquí en cent ans
tots serem calvos!" ("In a hundred years time we shall all be bald!").
2 But note also the "blurring" of the social strata, discussed in Chapter Eleven.
3 This is the other side of the coin of the cases mentioned above of people
who are unconcerned over making money because they are childless.
for most families, but it is now attainable for an increasing number. It was the reason why one San José man bought two inland farms near Santa Bualia and installed irrigation and electricity on them: one of his sons has a shop in a good position; two others are to inherit the farms (although, ironically, both at present prefer other occupations); and his two daughters have opted for cash in lieu of land. The ambitions of the blacksmith mentioned above were not so limited as to prevent him building a flat over his house in his spare time, with the idea of letting it for the time being and later giving it to one of his two children; nor from buying a piece of land at Cala Vedella for two holiday chalets (one for each child, again); apart from which he already owned a dry farm near Santa Bualia, worked by a majoral (the farm had been bought for him by his parents out of the proceeds from some land-sales) - so he was also making careful provisions for his children, even though he was only in his late 30s.

In other ways, too, the Ibisans have adapted easily to the entrepreneurial challenges of tourism. They take pride in being adaptable ("moldeables") and in being able to "make-do" ("apanyar-se") under any circumstances. Their techniques of do-it-yourself boat-making and house-building have already been mentioned, and they have shown great skill in adapting to new techniques in these and other fields (despite some resistance to innovations on the part of elderly farmers). Their habits of bargaining and their familial shrewdness often stand them in good stead in business activities. And their general dislike of any kind of flamboyance or excess provides a good personality basis for cumulative capitalist activities.¹

¹While aware of the dangers of using global types, I was frequently put in mind of BENEDICT'S "Apollonian type" when watching traditional Ibsan dances or attending feasts and other leisure gatherings: "The Apollonian ... keeps the middle of the road, stays within the known map, does not meddle with disruptive psychological states. In Nietzsche's fine phrase, even in the exaltation of the dance he 'remains what he is, and retains his civic name'." (BENEDICT, 1935: 56-57) In the economic sphere, most Ibisans strongly depurate extravangence, or what they call "tirar sous" ("throwing away money"). In fact, their traditional qualities almost constitute a secular form of "Protestant Ethic": i.e. accumulating for one's children rather than to convince oneself of salvation.
There are some important differences between the generations in these respects. Asked to describe the typical occupations of members of the different generations in San José, people replied with little hesitation that the old people were mostly farmers still; the middle-aged were often builders, traders or small businessmen; and the younger people were mostly "empleats" ("employees") in touristic occupations. (This portrait fits in with my fieldwork impressions and with the age-structures of the different economic sectors described in an earlier chapter.) The generational differences thus reflect the opportunities provided at different stages in the growth of tourism. The younger adults (who now form the middle generation) initially found many new entrepreneurial openings, whereas their parents (now the grandparental generation) often preferred to stay in farming. But the new younger generations are faced with an established tourist industry on the island, with less openings for small-scale entrepreneurs: they have also received a longer schooling than the older generations, and they therefore look to employment (with or without specialist training) as the main opportunity offered them by tourism.

In conclusion, there have been numerous cases of mobility in terms of wealth and incomes on Ibiza, including some curious inversions of fortune. But the people who were wealthier before tourism were ceteris paribus better-placed than others to profit from tourism. The old-wealthy and commercial islanders (mainly townspeople and nuclear villagers) thus form the basis of the new rich touristic business-class, together with a number of upwardly-mobile entrepreneurial natives and outsiders! the poorer people are supplying the bulk of the new employees; and migrant workers meet the surplus demand, especially in more menial work. The major changes produced by tourism have thus been to raise the level of attainable wealth on the island and to increase vertical mobility. At the moment this includes both long- and short-range mobility. But - if and when the boom settles down - the situation on Ibiza may soon resemble that common to most Western industrial countries: much short-range mobility and less long-range (at least within one generation).
CHAPTER 11

SOCIAL STRATA

11.1 THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD: SOCIAL ESTATES AND SLAVERY

Ever since the reconquest (until recently, at least) the various major social strata on Ibiza have tended to live in distinct neighbourhoods, so that the island's social stratification has been embodied in the topography of town and country settlements. (See Chapter Two, above.) A particularly striking feature was the social dichotomy between the tightly-packed walled town and the scattered country dwellings, most notably during the traditional period. (Cf. CARO BAROJA, 1963: 34) The town and country are accordingly treated separately here, even though they have always been in some ways interdependent.

(a) La Vila (The Town)

During the earlier part of the traditional period, at least, the town was almost entirely confined to the old walled city. Its extramural expansion was strictly controlled for defensive reasons. (See page 34, above.) It was a "typical" medieval city, built on a strategic hill, with the social strata arranged in the following hierarchical order down its slopes:

(i) The representatives of outside authority:

At the summit was the castle (es castell), the abode of the governador (the governor, i.e. the king's representative). Just below was the church of Santa María and the residences of the batllers (the bailiffs, i.e. the
representatives of the ecclesiastical conseigneurs).

These were ultimately the most powerful people on the island under the feudal system, even though their power was always tempered by the existence of the Universitat and the islanders' franqueses. The seigneurs whom they represented were ultimately responsible for civil and criminal jurisdiction, though with the prescribed intervention of independent native counsels (prohomens). The islanders of their respective quartons were their vassals and as such were liable to pay tithes and other dues, despite the important exemptions in the "Carta de Franquicias". In return, the seigneurs were required to maintain a small standing garrison of cavalry to help defend the island.¹

Together with their retinues and any other agents of the seigneurs or of the church, the governador and batles thus formed in effect a separate "estate": that of the mainland interests on Ibiza. It is therefore not surprising that their relations with the Universitat, the jurats and the prohomens were frequently bitter. The island governors, in particular, continually attempted to increase their power at the expense of both the ecclesiastical representatives and the native islanders; and they were resisted through excommunications, appeals to the king, and occasional direct action.²

¹MACABICH (1966-67: I, 230-31) There were occasional complaints that the garrison was not in fact always maintained.

²The kings were not always very concerned over abuses, it seems, but they did send quite frequent orders to their lieutenants to respect the local rights. Thus in 1345 King Pedro IV of Aragón ordered that trials without the due intervention of native counsels should cease (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 302-303). But the order had to be repeated in 1390 by King Juan I of Aragón (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 306-307). Some governors were apparently quite well-liked by the Ibiscans (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 407 and 463 et seq.), but others took advantage of the island's isolation to ignore both the complaints and the king's orders concerning them. For example, a seventeenth-century governor, D. Leandro Loris, created an illegal personal bodyguard and made a practice of opening letters from the king to the jurats. As to their complaints, he commented contemptuously: "Vuesas mercedes no son más que unos saga calsas. Escrífámelo a Su Magestad" ("Your honours are no more than a bunch of shit-pants. Write that to His Majesty"). Nevertheless, the king did eventually remove him from the island. (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 407)
(ii) The "mà major": -

On the same level as the church, and then slightly lower down the hill, came the houses of the native notables, mainly the wealthiest land-owning families who had large farms (cultivated by majors and slaves) on the fertile, low-lying reaches of land between the walled town and Santa Kulalia. These were the members of the highest native estate: the "mà major". (See page 244, above.)

Though yielding in sovereignty, these land-owning families were in one sense more powerful than the governors and bailiffs: they were the highest estate of permanent islanders. While not noble, they had aristocratic pretensions and manners, and they tended to marry either among themselves or with distinguished outsiders. They had slaves and other personal servants and labourers. And they could generally rely on their wealth or influence to get away with anything - even murder, it seems.†

(iii) The "mà mitjana": -

Lower down the hill, sloping gently at first, then precipitously giving way to progressively humbler dwellings built one on top of another, came the houses of the clerics, the officials and the merchants. The wealthier of these were almost as powerful as the members of the mà major, though of lower status.‡ Towards the base of the hill lived the artesans, each major occupation

---

† For example, Juan de la Mata, the official visitor for the archbishop of Tarragona, investigating a recent murder, reported in 1392 that the law on the island was ineffective because: "tot hom escape ab diners, e diem sof relesament; màtas metat hom, que ja sabe que si ha el parar; go es, darem diners o fugirem o absentarnos-em de la illa" ("everyone gets off with money, and they say here bluntly: let's kill so and so, since we know things may be arranged; that is, we will give some money or we will flee and stay away from the island for a time"). (Document cited in MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 291)

‡ The hierarchical status of each stratum (and of its internal divisions) was carefully symbolised in the order of civic and religious processions. The governor, who led the processions, was followed by the chief elected native representative (el Jurat en cap) and a succession of other officials arranged by the three mans. The rear of the party was brought up by the rural representatives (who sometimes complained about being last) - also in prescribed order, with those of Santa Eulalia (the king's quartd) leading them. (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 191n.)
having its own guild; among those mentioned in medieval documents were tailors, spinners and weavers of wool, dyers, builders, carpenters, soap-makers, sandal-makers, and the like. Near the bottom was the fish and vegetable market; and finally, nearest the sea, came the houses of the fishermen and sailors.

These people, collectively the second estate of islanders - the "mañitians" - ranged from the wealthy and influential to the most humble town-dwellers. All of them, however, were members of a privileged minority of Ibisans: the people of the vila (town), later to be dignified - despite its smallness - with the title of "ciutat" ("city"). Apart from those townspeople who owned feixes (irrigated plots near the town), they all also had non-rural occupations.

(iv) Slaves (esclavos) or captives (catius): -

There were slaves (mostly North African prisoners or their descendants) on Ibiza until the nineteenth century. While it is true that they were never very numerous, their presence on the island until comparatively recent times emphasises the slowness of changes in the local stratificational order prior to tourism. The existence of slavery also increased the social distance between non-manual and manual occupations (and personal service) on Ibiza.

The use of slaves (see pp. 56-58, above) was usually restricted to the rather few wealthy citizens who could afford to purchase and keep them. Acting as these people's agents, the slaves could sometimes be quite powerful by proxy:

"los Esclavos Moros de dentro la Villa son muchos, y efectuando no pocas libertades y muchas insolencias de día y de noche por la campaña, en daño y peligro de aquellos pobres moradores."  

"the Moorish Slaves from within the Town are many, and are practising not a few liberties and many insolences by day and by night in the countryside, to the harm and danger of those poor country-dwellers."

(Castillan. SÜNER, 1690: 433)

1The last recorded instance of slavery on Ibiza (and in Spain) was in the 1820s. The slave, a Spanish woman, had been bought (together with her parents) from the Moors by an Ibisian, who for some time resisted even the attempts of the Spanish "Cortes" to have the woman and her daughter freed. (MACABICH, 1966-67: II, 214 et seq.)
(b) _Es camp (the country): the "là de fora."

The country people belonged to the third and lowest estate, the "là de fora". They were referred to either as "pasesos" ("peasants") or "forans" ("outsiders"): they were literally "beyond the pale", living outside the city walls in farmsteads dispersed over the whole island. Even within the last one hundred years, the town fishermen (the lowest respectable stratum of townspeople) have looked upon the peasants as being "worse than the Moors". ¹

They were, it is true, represented in the Universitat; but their practical participation in local government was severely limited, as was shown by their periodic complaints: although the representatives of the country people technically held a country residence, they in fact often lived more or less permanently in the town. And the town-country dichotomy was further reinforced by the lack of resident priests in the country parishes during most of the traditional period (because of the fear of piracy and, perhaps, the priests’ preference for living in the town anyway).

The equation by the townspeople of farm labour and personal service with slavery no doubt also contributed to the very low status of the country people. It is wrong to suggest, as has one author (see pp. 56-58 above), that the peasants as a whole were an unfree class for much of the traditional period. But their complaints to the king in the seventeenth century (which are at least in part corroborated by other contemporary documents) reveal that, in practice, their freedom was sometimes compromised by the exercise of arbitrary power by the wealthier islanders. For example, the native officials did everything they could to prevent the list of complaints leaving the island, including intimidating boat-owners. It was only through the intervention of the governor (whose interests might be favoured by such complaints against native authorities) that the petition ever reached the

¹"peores que los moros" (SALVATOR, 1886-90: I, 404)
It was apparently difficult for the country people even to find a public notary willing to draft the document in the face of possible reprisals. The complaints themselves concerned — apart from general maladministration — the regular abuse of poorer islanders: for example, it was their duty to supply the king's soldiers with wood and water (an arduous task, in view of the steepness of the town hill) and they had apparently been coerced into supplying the richer townspeople as well. (Sunyer, 1690. See also the quotation on page 394, above.)

Oral legends hint at other forms of subservience:

"Diu que ... això vol dir que no és segur ... només és un cuento ... que quan manaven es capellans a Rívissena antigament ... fa molt de temps ... molt antes des temps des seus germans ... hi havia un costum que deien 'sa primera nit': això vol dir que es capellà - no sé si era el mossènyer del poble o no - tenia el dret de jeure amb una dona sa primera nit ... anter des seu home ... deien que 'l'havien de destapar'. I és per mor d'això que s'herau es diu de broma 'es fill des capellà' ... diu que això es considerava una honor: sa gent devia ser molt bamba llavor. Pareix mentida! Com ho diuen, devia haver-hi algo, però pot ser cuento també - a què li pareix?"

"It is said that ... this means that it is not certain ... it is just a story ... that when the priests ruled on Ibiza in ancient times ... a very long time ago ... long before the time of my grandfathers ... there was a custom which they called 'the first night': which means that the priest - I don't know if it was the village priest or not - had the right to lie with a woman the first night ... before her husband ... they said that 'they had to unplug her'. And it is because of that, that the hereu is jokingly called 'the son of the priest' ... it is said that it was considered an honour: the people must have been very silly then. It seems incredible! As they say it, there must be something in it, but it might be just a story — what do you think?"

(Sunyer)\(^1\)

I know of no documentary evidence of such a practice on Ibiza.\(^2\) It is

\(^1\)This legend - like those about the times of the Inquisition ("es temps de l'Inquisid") — was told with a slightly embarrassed air, as the careful hedging indicates: not because of prudery, but largely because the San José people were worried that they might be thought stupid for giving any credence to such stories — several expressed scornful scepticism in this case.

\(^2\)In particular, some reference might be expected in the extensive sources published or cited in Macabich (1966-67). Although — as a priest himself — he might have been tempted to gloss such items, he did not do so in other cases, e.g. concubinage. At times — judging from the reports of official visits — priests on the island quite commonly kept young female servants or slaves as concubines. (Macabich, 1966-67: I, 290, 334)
possible that—despite the curious circumstantial details—the legend may
be an Ibizan variant of imported tales of the practice elsewhere in Spain
(known there as "el derecho de pernada"). Nevertheless, it does provide
a graphic suggestion of the personal powers and the great social distances
which appear to have existed on the isolated island in the feudal period.

The law on Ibiza—as elsewhere—was very severe by present-day standards.
For sexual offenses such as concubinage or adultery a man might be sentenced
to run the gauntlet,\(^1\) though not usually for a first offense. For other
offenses, the common people might be sentenced to the galleys, as well as to
prison. Ringleaders in peasant revolts were hung, drawn and quartered—or
worse. Such harsh penalties usually applied only to the common people, however;
the wealthier townspeople could generally get off with a fine. In fact, the
different punishments for people from the lower estates were sometimes
codified, as in the following illuminating extract from a decree against
blasphemy in the fifteenth century:

"Item estatuim e manam que si
alguna persona, per sugestió del
Enemieh de humana natura, lo
espirit diabolich, renegaré,
blasfemaré, e mal dira a Deu, o a
la sagrada Vergé Maria, o altres
sants de paradís, aquell aytal
maldriror, blasfemador o renegador
dessus dit, lo qual per son
abominable pecat sia estat fet
servent et subjegat al dimoni o als
seus àngels deputats, si hom de
honor e de estat es, hage de pagar
XXX lliures. E si seré persona de
simple estat o condició, III meses
hage estar e fer penitencia en lo
cárcer, a pa e aygua continuament
déjant. E casco diumenge e
festa colent dins los tres meses
dessus dits, haga estar en la
escola a la porta de la Esglesia
del dit Castell públicament, tant
com duraré lo offici de missa
major, ab peus descalços e

\(^1\)"sortir la vila ab assots" (MACABICH, 1966-67: I, 335)
The lot of the country people during the traditional period was thus both hard and humble. To the risk of bad harvests was added the manipulation of the salt and other produce by the townspeople for their benefit alone. The peasants were expected to defend themselves (and thus, indirectly, the townspeople) against casual Moorish attacks, but they saw their compensatory privileges ignored or abused.²

11.2 THE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD: STATUS GROUPS

(a) The transition from feudalism

The island's stratification in the traditional period is outlined in the preceding section in a largely static fashion, for the sake of clarity. But this does not imply any lack of significant social changes during that period. In particular:

---

¹Catalan. From a decree against blasphemy of 1410, on the occasion of the ecclesiastical visit of Juan de Siete Castillos, whose text is published in MACABICH (1966-67: I, 338-40). Cf. the following estribot, recited in San José in 1971:

"En aquesta illa d'Eivissa no guanya es que té raó; que guanya es que té pesetes i sa justícia a favor."  

²There were some brighter features of their condition: the account in this section is designed to bring out as clearly as possible the contrasts between stratification in the traditional period and that in later periods. Thus, by contemporary standards elsewhere, the Ibisan peasants probably enjoyed comparative freedom and wealth. The pattern of owner-farming, the dispersed settlement and the weapons which they carried to defend both themselves and the island undoubtedly gave them some power to resist unduly oppressive or abusive measures: for example, they did manage to send their complaints of 1690 to the king in the end, despite the townspeople's opposition. And it was generally healthier to live in the country at that time: the crowded town populace suffered much higher mortality rates in epidemics in particular.
(i) At the beginning of the period after the reconquest, Ibiza was a frontier island with settlers of varied backgrounds, though mainly Catalan. (See section 3.1) But, by the end of the period, the island's social structure and culture had crystallised into well-defined patterns sanctioned by centuries-old local traditions.

(ii) The sparse population after the reconquest gradually grew through natural increase - despite epidemics, endemic illnesses and periodic poor harvests - so that a small amount of emigration was taking place by the end of the seventeenth century.¹

Nevertheless, the feudal order had provided an important element of continuity, which was now removed by the national constitutional reforms and the integration of Ibiza into the centrally-governed Castilian state. And it was during the intermediate period that the demographic pressures on the island's resources reached its peak, with large-scale emigration of surplus labour (in contrast with the more usual scarcity of wage-labour in the traditional period).

The resulting situation is eloquently revealed in the following classification of the island's inhabitants in 1860:

--- There were 23,492 inhabitants: 11,056 males and 12,323 females of Spanish nationality; 90 male and 9 female Spanish transients; 6 male and 6 female foreign residents; and 1 male and 1 female foreign transients.

--- Of these 1,310 could write; 209 could read; and 21,973 could neither write nor read.

--- There were 53 priests; 14 nuns; 104 official employees ("active" and "passive"); 120 soldiers and 424 naval seamen; 2,435 "propietarios" (landowners); 1,778 "arrendatarios" (lit. "renters", but mostly in fact share-farmers); 12 businessmen; 37 captains of boats; 419 seamen; 3 secondary teachers; 1 private

¹See Chapters Three and Four. Other factors - such as the general expansion of communications and the discovery of the Americas - were also important in stimulating emigration, of course.
teacher; 12 lawyers; 9 doctors and surgeons; 5 pharmacists; 2 agricultural specialists; 3 architects and master-builders; 11 manufacturers; 177 small businessmen; 6 primary school teachers; 157 schoolchildren; 131 secondary students; 379 artisans; 26 wage-labourers in factories; 2,986 wage-labourers in the country; 739 servants; 193 paupers ("pobres de solemnidad"); 7 deaf-mutes; 42 invalid blind people; and 101 of other occupations.

As yet, then, schools had made very little impact on the overwhelming non-literate majority of Ibisanos. There were very few avenues for social mobility of any kind, in fact, despite the removal of the legalised estate divisions of the feudal period. The possibilities for cultivating new land were limited to rocky hills: desperate attempts at cultivating even the poorest land were made during this period, as abandoned terraces on hill-tops and cliffs still bear witness - all the land on the island had, of course, long since been appropriated. For the growing number of people without either land or non-agricultural skills, there were thus few choices. A handful of gifted youths could become priests. Nearly three thousand men scraped a living from wage-labour, often combined with a smallholding. Over seven hundred people - male and female - were servants: the wealthier islanders, and even the better-off peasant families, no longer had any difficulty in finding servants, who would live in and work for their keep, despite the traditional dislike of this type of work. Other poor islanders

1 These figures (i.e. those for each occupational category) sum to 10,386. They are based on the national Spanish census of 1860, although the source used here is in fact "CLASIFICACION ... " (1862).

2 See, e.g., page 57, above. The dislike of domestic service for fellow islanders is also mentioned in the description of Santa Sulalia in the 1930s by PAUL (1937).

It may be observed that the present situation is rather different. In 1970-71, many country-women were happy to take up domestic service for foreign residents, and I found that they were sometimes proud of the luxurious houses of which they were the locum tenens during the frequent absences of the foreign owners. There appear to be several reasons: firstly, the position of servant to an outsider is only a "partial status" (i.e. the servant relationship overlaps very little with social relationships with fellow islanders); secondly, there are readily-available alternative occupations, so that there is now less opportunity for abuse of servants; and, thirdly, domestic service is now often carried out on an hourly basis by servants who live in their own homes.
became seamen, spending long periods away from the island. This was only one step short of emigration - which attracted increasing numbers of Ibizens during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, over two per cent of the "active" population in 1860 were paupers, invalids or beggars.

The other figures given above fit the general economic patterns described in Chapters Five and Six. Owner-farmers and share-farmers were still the largest group of islanders, outnumbering the wage-labourers. Fishing, artesany and small businesses were also of some importance. There were a few larger businesses, a handful of professional people (including a notable proportion of priests, but rather few teachers), a small group of administrators, and a small garrison of soldiers; but the very limited development of industry is underlined by the figure of 26 wage-labourers in factories (contrasting with 2,986 in the country). A broadly-similar occupational pattern (with variations in population, education and prosperity) persisted up to the 1950s; with a continuing tendency for people to drift from the land, firstly to look for work in the town and secondly - failing this - to emigrate. The various rather unsuccessful attempts of Ibisan entrepreneurs to harness the surplus labour for capitalist ventures prior to tourism are described above, in Chapter Six.

The impact of the ending of feudalism on the structure of social inequality on Ibiza was therefore diminished by the increasing scarcity of the island's resources relative to its population. In contrast with other parts of Catalonia (including the larger island of Mallorca), there was no outlet on Ibiza for the surplus labour in industrialisation. Hence the old feudal estates on Ibiza were replaced not by an open class structure, but rather by a set of closed "status groups": i.e., social groups of unequal social status differentiated by a number of criteria including wealth, authority, neighbourhood, lineage, occupation, education, culture
and association - with very little social mobility from one group to another.¹

The Ibisan status groups of the intermediate period were roughly similar in membership and location to the former feudal estates. There were, however, various changes in these respects (as well as the relational change from feudalism to constitutional rule), which are outlined in the following sections (b) and (c).

(b) The growth of the extramural town: "mesons" and "banyaculs"

In the latter part of the traditional period, there had been a constant pressure for extramural expansion. And by the middle of the intermediate period the extramural town had become much larger than the old walled city. Not surprisingly, the people who remained in the walled city, Dalt Vila, tended to be the aristocratic land-owners (or, more accurately, the landed gentry), the administrators and the priests, to whom the prestige attached to their residence more than made up for any marginal inconveniences. The extramural town, Sa Marina, was first the home of fishermen and seamen, who were later joined by small businessmen and artesans, especially after the establishment of an extramural market-place. The old city walls thus gradually became a new physical boundary between two status groups which roughly corresponded with the medieval bà major and bà mitjana.

The walled city was now the home of the "senyors", who were also known by the popular nickname of "es mesons" (a corruption by the people of Sa Marina of the title "mossèn", formerly used for all notable persons). This group of islanders, largely reconciled to Castilian rule - and, indeed,

¹There are some interesting parallels between these observations on Ibiza and those on the social stratification of Spain as a whole by Giner, who has labelled the national post-feudal structure in the nineteenth century "a defective class society" (Giner, 1968: 5).
participating in it - constituted an élite "leisure class",¹ of which NAVARRO uncharitably said at the turn of the century:

"En Ibiza más que en otra parte alguna, proporcionalmente, existe una masa neutra que no hace nada, que no se dedica a nada, y que por más que sea pobre, lleva la vida que en los grandes centros de población hacen los jóvenes ricos y salaveras ..."²

"In Ibiza more than in any other part whatever, proportionately, there exists a neutral mass which does nothing, which dedicates itself to nothing, and which despite being poor leads a life like that of the young rich and frivolous people of the large centres of population . . ."

The extramural town - whose inhabitants were vulgarly nicknamed "banyacula" ("arse-bathers")³ - gradually developed into the commercial centre of the island during the intermediate period, and its importance steadily increased throughout the present century (although it is only very recently that administrative buildings have grown up there, replacing those of Dalt Vila, because of the increased administrative demands created by tourism).

(c) The development of rural status groups

The centralisation of government under Castilian rule in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was accompanied - as described above in Chapter Eight - by some decentralisation of administration on the island itself: new municipalities were formed, and priests, officials and other professional people became established in the rural villages, instead of remaining almost entirely restricted to the capital town. The stratification in each of the

¹The native "élite" is described as a "leisure class" (after VELENE, 1925) because it lacked certain other common attributes of an élite: in particular, it was not a "power élite" (MILLS, 1956) except in so far as its members were associated with, or could influence, the "outsiders" who had ultimate authority on the island.

²Castillan. (NAVARRO, 1901: 116) His account of the life of the people of Dalt Vila in the intermediate period is confirmed by numerous others: see, for example, the more charitable "inside view" of FIJARES CARDONA (1958: 152-53, and passim).

³These nicknames are discussed in MAGABICH (1966-67: IV, 416-17).
country areas was roughly parallel - and related - to that of the town, though with a broader base and smaller apex. Apart from the "outsiders" (officials and professional people), there were the following significant rural status groups: (i) es senyors, i.e. those rural proprietors (propietaris) who had enough land to lead a life of leisure, leaving the work to majorals; (ii) es ansos, i.e. anyone who owned a farm, whether he worked it himself and was therefore a "peasant" (paisos) or left it to a majoral in which case (assuming he did no regular manual work) he might be a senyor; (iii) es majorals, i.e. share-farmers; (iv) es jornaleros, i.e. day-labourers, including anyone who had insufficient land to support himself and his family without working for others; and (v) es pobres, i.e. the "poor", who included beggars and other landless people or smallholders who could not find enough work.

11.3 THE TOURISTIC PERIOD: CLASSES AND PLURALISM

(a) The blurring of traditional status boundaries

Even in 1970-71, the traditional status groups were still of considerable significance in social interaction on Ibiza. Despite a strong traditional dislike of pretensions (presumir, voler figurar) and the new avenues for social mobility, great social distances were still apparent, particularly among the older islanders.

The general norm was that social distance should be acknowledged by the social inferior rather than be prompted by the social superior.¹ There was popular appreciation of anyone of relatively high status who mixed freely and without discernible condescension among people of lower status (though

¹In this context it may be noted that high-status Ibizens often assert that Ibizen society has long been distinguished by its lack of social distances. (See, e.g., PAJARNES CARDONA, 1958.) Low-status Ibizens also tend to make such assertions (presumably because of communal loyalty) to outsiders, at least on first acquaintance; but they are otherwise rarely in doubt over the significance of such social distances in social interaction on the island.
normally only in certain public contexts). But a member of the land-owning
gentry of Dalt Vila - who only deigned to see me because of a suitable
personal introduction - could still talk of the three Ibisian feudal estates
as though they had never ceased to exist. And strong embarrassment resulted
from meetings "out of context" by Ibisans of differing social status.¹ For
example, I was acquainted with people of widely-differing status in San José,
and on several occasions an elderly farming friend called to see us (at
first always bringing a basket of fruit or other produce, partly from
spontaneous good-will and partly as an excuse for the visit) when the village
schoolmaster happened to be there. The schoolmaster would greet him amiably
by his house-name, and would add - because of the farmer's patent embarrassment -
that he intended to leave shortly. But the farmer would assure him that he
could not stop, as he was in a hurry - he had just called to give us some
fruit. Then, when I accompanied him out, he would quietly tell me that he
would call back later for a chat. Again, there is a mixture of people from
differing backgrounds in the new district of Santa Creu in the capital town.

¹Frequent reference is made in this thesis to objective circumstances which
make for greater social equality on Ibiza than in some other parts of Spain:
in particular the systems of inheritance, land-distribution and tenure; the
absolutely- (though not relatively-) narrow range of wealth and incomes; and
the island's smallness and restricted scope for the differentiation of
life-styles. Yet, even so, the island's society prior to tourism was
characterised by closed status groups, separated by wide social distances.
This was the major theme of a novel set mainly on Ibiza at the beginning of
this century (BLASCO IBÁÑEZ, 1948). It tells how a Mallorcan nobleman of
reduced means took refuge from his financial problems on a farm in an isolated
coastal area of San José, and then fell in love with the farmer's beautiful
daughter. The latter half of the novel explores the social problems -
eventually to be resolved only by a fatal duel - caused by the association of
two persons of such different status. The farmer, while feeling honoured,
at first opposed the match as being unthinkable; in the end, reconciled to
it by the Mallorcan's courage in the duel, he agreed to the marriage - on
condition that the couple should go away to Mallorca afterwards, in order to
avoid continual embarrassments. The title of the novel - "The Dead Command" -
alludes to the rigid traditional social order: the two lovers are seen as
held apart by the commands of dead generations. And it gives an insight into
why Ibisian society remained so relatively unequal despite the contrary absolute
circumstances mentioned above: the limited degree of urbanisation and
industrialisation provided only a very gradual emergence from the closed
traditional order into which Ibisian society had crystallised in the centuries
of social isolation after the reconquest of 1235.
One working-class family - who lived in a modern flat next to one occupied by some people from the poor fishing-quarter, Sa Penya - told me several times that they were perfectly happy to become friendly with the "penyars", but said that it was difficult to associate with them freely because they (i.e. the penyars) believe themselves inferior ("Ellos se creen inferiores.").

Nevertheless, a number of factors have greatly eroded the social distances between members of the traditional status groups on Ibiza in recent years:

(i) The most fundamental factor has been the economic upheaval due to tourism. Chapter Ten, above, describes how the new structure of wealth and incomes corresponds only rather roughly with the traditional order of status groups. The wealthiest people on the island at present may well derive in many cases from families which were wealthy prior to tourism, but their wealth is now founded on business activities rather than on gentlemanly land-ownership.

The old definition of a senyor is therefore no longer adequate, since it rested on a presumption of wealth without effort: those who have made little effort to profit from tourism are, on the whole, no longer relatively wealthy.

The declining status of the old land-owning group is perhaps most strikingly apparent in the physical transformation of Dalt Vila - where art-studios, bars, restaurants, and cheap pensions frequented by hippies, mingle with the ancient dwellings of the gentry. Most of the businessmen and administrators - and some of the gentry - have moved out into the more spacious new town. And the steep, narrow, medieval streets of Dalt Vila are naturally a prime attraction for tourists. All this detracts greatly from the prestige of residing there.

(ii) The new rich on Ibiza include numerous families of relatively-humble

---

1 In the novel referred to above (page 405n.) love finally triumphed (conditionally, at least) over the order of the dead. The author clearly thought that this outcome would have been implausible a few decades earlier, however: i.e., the novel reflects social changes along the lines discussed here which were - more gradually - taking place even prior to tourism.
origins. It is difficult for them to translate their new wealth very rapidly into higher status because of the island's small size and face-to-face character. But they can match the former senyors in terms of material display, thus removing an important set of status signs. In the past such distinctions were slight by comparison with those in some other places, but they were of equal significance: the senyor could be distinguished anywhere by his clothing and bearing alone, or even simply by his "white" hands.

Today, such distinctions still exist in modified forms, but they are much less obvious and are a less sure guide to status. In the words of a new rhyme from San José:

"D'anciàns ses dones es lleven sa ooua  
i es capellans sa gonella;  
fa una calor que sofoga  
i tot deu van a Cala Vedella."

(Piavissens) 2

(iii) The dramatic occupational changes produced by tourism are another important factor in the blurring of the old status boundaries. In the past it was easy to place any islander at a glance as either a townsman or a country dweller, after which his exact social position could rapidly be fixed according to whether he was a man of leisure, a professional man ("un que té una carrera"), a non-manual worker, a manual worker, and so on. But now there is no clear-cut distinction between town and country occupations, since many country people work in tourism or in allied businesses. And there are many new occupations which are typical only of tourist areas - such as guides,

1The "tail" is the long pig-tail traditionally worn by peasant women of all ages on Ibiza.

2The symbolic importance of changes in dress is fully appreciated by the islanders. Thus two young countrywomen (who participated - in the traditional peasant costume - in the local folkloric displays) showed an unusual degree of impatience when I asked them about the significance of the differently-coloured hair ribbons: "Haltros mai mos hem vestit de pagesa" ("We have never dressed in the peasant fashion"), they insisted. Conversely, an old countrywoman - still dressed traditionally - commented rather sardonically: "Ara qualsevol es vestitx de senyora!" ("Nowadays, anybody may dress herself as a lady!"). Similar observations have also been made elsewhere in Spain: see, e.g., MARTINEZ-ALIER (1971: 208-10).
receptionists, waiters, agents, salespeople, and many other service occupations — which do not fit very well into any of the old categories of rural Ibis, nor even into categories borrowed from (manufacturing) industrial areas — such as factory hand, foreman, etc. The touristic occupations in fact often combine the features of more than one of the old categories. For example, the job of a waiter does not require literacy and it is largely manual — and yet it is not dirty (i.e. the waiter may preserve "manos blancos", or "white hands") and it involves some use of social skills. And the many new clerical jobs are even more difficult for Ibisans to evaluate: the commonest term used for people in clerical occupations is "empleats" (literally "employees"), a term which formerly (and still to some extent) connoted a relatively high status because of its associations with literacy, security, and relatively high annual earnings. The resulting situation may be regarded either as one of upward group mobility or as one of declining occupational status (at least in the case of clerical occupations). But, either way, it is clear that the new occupational structure involves greater complexity of classification, and — consequently — a less straightforward breakdown into occupational status groups.

(iv) Both state education and tourism have contributed towards more universalistic values on Ibis, especially among young people. There is consequently less readiness to follow the old norm of displaying unprompted deference to social "superiors" (whether by virtue of wealth, education, age or sex). This is apparent in many ways, but especially in forms of address.

For example, no less than three singular forms of "you" still survive in the everyday use of the island's dialect of Catalan. The first form, "Vostè", is the Catalan equivalent of "Usted" (a contraction of "Vuestra Merced", meaning "Your Grace"). It is used almost invariably among strangers and when addressing foreigners. It is also used by country people addressing townspeople or any official or professional person in the village — though not necessarily to a local land-owner in leisure contexts such as the village
bar or fishing. The second form, "vós", is an archaic form which employs plural verbs and singular predicates, e.g.: "Vós sou cosaf germà d'en Jaume de can Botja de davall sa serra, veritat?" ("You are (plural: a first cousin of James from the Botja house beneath the sierra, aren't you?"). It is now used only by country people, and less in the village nuclei than in outlying areas. Such people use it in the family and among well-known social peers, with a sense of familiarity coming somewhere between "Vostè" and "tu", which seems unduly informal to them: it is in fact a survival from an era of much greater "formalitat" ("formality"). The third form, "tu", is generally used only in the family or with close acquaintances of similar status.

Great care over such modes of address is taken by the older Ibisans.¹ This serves to re-affirm status differences in a continuous fashion during all meetings - however brief. For example, when one peasant greets another, he says "Bon dia!" ("Good day!"). But if he meets a non-peasant he usually tasks on a verb in the third person singular - i.e. in the "Vostè" form - saying: "Bon dia tenguí!" ("May you have a good day!"). Among younger Ibisans, however, the use of "Vostè" is becoming progressively less honorific and increasingly restricted to the expression of non-acquaintance: even in the latter case, "Vostè" now tends to be dropped more rapidly on further acquaintance, even with foreigners. The use of "vós" is also declining rapidly, and seems likely to disappear (since it lacks the dual functions of "Vostè"). Similar considerations apply to other symbolic expressions of formality and awareness of social status (for example in the style of letters or of public speeches).

(v) The expansion of literacy on Ibiza has also been an important factor in reducing status differences. Formerly only the priests, schoolmasters and

¹The symbolic importance of the different modes of address is illustrated by the attempts of anarchists to abolish them during the civil war. (See, e.g., WOODCOCK, 1965: 366.) There is also a discussion of the evolution and significance of "t" and "v" forms in general in BROaN (1967: Ch.II, 51-100).
some of a few wealthy islanders could read or write, so that the Ibisans inhabited two almost separate worlds: those of the literate and non-literate. The present situation is that there is a complete spectrum of literacy and numeracy on the island, ranging from the grandparental generation (who are still largely non-literate, especially in the country) to the generation of school-children (who are almost all literate and - to some degree, at least - numerate). But "to know letter" ("sabre lletra") no longer divides the élite from the common run of islanders: the former communicational dichotomy is being replaced by a continuum of literate and numerate attainment.¹

The rural priests provide perhaps the best illustration of the effects on status. Formerly, they were usually the only widely-read person in the area, fulfilling the function of local teacher (both of religious and secular knowledge) as well as that of priest; and they also gave out any outside news which they thought of interest to their parishioners, during the course of the mass. When they described the horrors of "l'Infern" ("Hell") from "sa trona" ("the throne", i.e. the raised pulpit), most of the non-literate peasants apparently listened with belief or even awe. But the number of sceptics ("incréduls") has undoubtedly increased in recent years, although very few Ibisans would risk dying without the last rites; and rather few even among the devout now profess to believe in hell, although the pleasanter concept of "el Cel" ("Heaven") is proving rather more durable among Ibisans as among Catholics elsewhere. The spread of literacy and the concomitant secularisation are thus rapidly completing the decline in status of the Ibanian priests which

¹It is almost certainly not a coincidence that the gentry of Dalt Vila have increasingly devoted themselves to more advanced forms of literacy in the present century. Until fairly recently, the senyors appear to have been content to lead a rather plain life of leisure, taking part in activities common to other islanders; but - with the rise of the commercial rich - their status became less unquestionable, and by the 1950s a greater emphasis on "afinamiento intelectual" ("intellectual refinement") was noted by P.JHANES CARDONA (1958: 152-53). Among such islanders there is now a remarkable development of intellectual activities of all kinds; including visual arts, music, local history, and - notably - a new interest in learning to write Ibisan Catalan poetry and prose (a form of literacy not yet generally attained on Ibiza).
began with their loss of secular power in previous centuries, and which is symbolised by the abandonment of the distinctive Catholic clerical dress (in accordance with trends elsewhere) by all except the oldest priests on the island.

(vi) Finally, the Ibisans' increased social interaction with outsiders tends to blur traditional status boundaries, since the outsiders are generally unaware (or uncaring) about their subtleties. For example, I once heard a foreign adult gravely addressing a small child in the formal third-person manner - the child was rather alarmed, and looked about him to see whom this strange person might thus be addressing. On another occasion, I heard a long-standing foreign resident using the title "Don" to a person from whom this honour was withheld by local islanders. And, on various occasions, a curious mixture of islanders was invited to social occasions held by foreign residents (e.g. celebrations over the completion of a house). 1

Now although possible embarrassments or confusions may be avoided by some islanders through mixing as little as possible with outsiders, other islanders appear to enjoy associating with them 2 precisely because they can thus escape at least partially from traditional conventions or their local ascribed status: this applies both to some of the more marginal islanders and to many ordinary young men (especially ex-peasants working in hotels).

(b) The formation of an open class society

The old status boundaries on Ibiza have thus become blurred, even though they retain some significance. There has been a great deal of economic mobility - and not a little social mobility - in recent years, which may be

---

1 The meeting of the farmer and the teacher at my house was another case in point: the farmer fairly soon became less reticent to stay and join the conversation after several such encounters.

2 . . . or even marrying them . . .
expected to continue - though probably in a less haphazard manner (with more emphasis, for example, on mobility through achievement - especially through educational achievement - and less on dramatic entrepreneurial successes and "windfall gains"). And the various former dichotomies on Ibiza which have been discussed in the thesis - particularly those of outsiders/natives, town/country, and élite/people - have been fundamentally altered by tourism, becoming more complex and less clear-cut. At the same time, however, the "Marxian" dichotomies of owners/non-owners and employers/employees (or "bourgeoisie"/"proletariat") are assuming greater clarity and importance as employment becomes the regular means of sustenance for most Ibisans, instead of being regarded as supplementary. Tourism is thus playing a crucial facilitating role in the emergence of an open class society on the island.

The new class society on Ibiza naturally shares the broad features of class societies elsewhere. But "class society" is a blanket term which permits of much variation, and the following particular features of the Ibisan case should also be noted:

(1) Ibiza shares certain distinctive stratificational features with the rest of Spain. In particular, the victory of the upper classes in the civil war slowed down and generally modified the existing trend towards the formation of a more egalitarian society; and various effects are still apparent, which have been summarized by one author as follows:

"One of our conclusions must be that in Spain there are basically two class systems: a modernised one, and another which is very much estate-like. This, though, cannot be reduced to the usual dichotomy rural society--urban society. For autocratic national élites, backed by a prejudiced and backward-looking clergy, as well as by an old fashioned body of civil servants and a semi-fascist trade union structure have also been part of this picture until now. These élites have sometimes taken

---

1 See page 320, above.

2 Cf., in particular, the class society which developed much earlier in mainland Catalonia, as described for example by JUTOLAR (1967).
steps in the direction of modernisation - launching an industrialisation programme or boosting education - mainly because the structural demands of the whole society, as well as international pressures have forced this upon them. But so far the result has been their constant readaptation to the new situations thus created."

(GINER, 1968: 30)

Until very recently, Ibiza was one of the areas with a "very much estate-like" class system, which has by no means entirely disappeared. However the changes created or facilitated by tourism have overlaid - and are gradually replacing - this system by a more open class system, as we have seen; so that Ibiza now has stratificational features more comparable with the "modernised" areas of Spain referred to by GINER (despite the island's lack of manufacturing industry, and despite the continuing existence of the political features mentioned in the quotation).

(ii) There are also local features affecting the class structure on the island. In particular, the island's small size - and that of its indigenous population - ensure the continuance of some Gemeinschaft features and the sense of being a "patria rica" ("little country"). Hence also the durability - despite the dramatic changes in recent years - of quasi-feudal aspects of social interaction on the island (e.g. the estate-like division into "peasants" and "non-peasants"): it remains to be seen how long these can continue in the face of the pressures from tourism (assuming that these also continue).

(iii) Last, but definitely not least, there are various special features of the present Ibisan stratification which derive from the tourist boom itself:

Firstly, there are a number of factors which tend to fragment the new "Ibisan proletariat". The average size of the work-force in touristic businesses is much smaller than that in manufacturing industry: even the largest hotels have employees numbered in dozens rather than in hundreds. The structure of employment in hotels is also different from that typical to manufacturing industry: the staff in Ibisan hotels (as in those elsewhere)
are arranged in a loose\(^1\) hierarchy from the "director* (manager) at the top to the "botones" (buttons) at the bottom - so that employees are more likely to work off their grievances on their immediate subordinates than by attempts at solidary action of workers versus management.\(^2\) And there are other fragmenting factors such as the seasonality of tourism and the fairly high incidences of both self-employment and "plurisempleo" (having more than one regular occupation).

Secondly, there are certain temporary features of the present boom situation on the island, which influence class relations. In the case of the employees, they enjoy an unprecedentedly-strong bargaining position at present (despite the presence of migrant workers, who have sometimes been used elsewhere to break strikes), and able young islanders find very rapid promotion opportunities in hotels and other touristic businesses, to which they have adapted more easily than have many older people. As for the employers - and island businessmen in general - the shortage of labour is more than compensated for by the surplus demand which has created the present bonanza situation, giving rise to what is labelled in an earlier chapter "the peace in the boom". These features will, of course, continue only as long as the boom lasts; and the high level of expectations thus created may well eventually be converted into discontent and grievances, although this remains to be seen.

Thirdly, tourism is producing a plural society on Ibiza, as is outlined

---

\(^1\) "loose", because many hotel occupations - including lower-ranking ones - require special skills (there are now "Schools of Tourism" in touristic zones, including Ibiza), and because the staff are also divided horizontally into various branches of service personnel, caterers, technicians and executives. For a technical account of the employment structure in a Spanish hotel, see VIDAL ROTGER (1963: 229-34). And for the insights of a humorous novelist, see PALOMINO (1971).

\(^2\) It should be noted, of course, that hotel employment forms only part of the new employment structure on Ibiza. There are also small factories and other businesses (e.g. building firms) which have a more "industrial" structure, and their importance may increase as more capital becomes available for "derived growth" (see pp. 149-50, above). But a simple dichotomous division of labour between owners (or managers) and labour is not characteristic of the service industries which at present dominate the island's economy.
in the section which follows.

(c) Social pluralism

In the past, the overwhelming majority of Ibisan residents were natives of the island. Now, however, there are growing proportions of outsiders of various kinds, staying on the island or living there on a permanent basis. While there is inevitably quite a lot of social contact across the various group boundaries, it is very limited by comparison with intra-group contact. Most of the contact across the boundaries takes place in the contexts of work and formal occasions, with much less informal or familiar contact: in other words, Ibisa is now a plural society comprising various different ethnic groups. This has important implications for the current processes of social change on the island, and the following are especially notable:

(i) Cultural relativism: I was frequently struck by the flexible attitudes and general tolerance shown by the Ibisans, including many of the older islanders. When asked about it, they tend to say that this is not entirely a new trait; and visitors to the island in the past have also noted it; but the present level of cultural relativism certainly owes much to the new existence of comparative reference groups of divergent exotic types.

To the extent that the groups are mutually insulated and retain their separate identities, the consequent effects tend to be limited. But it is only a short step from cultural relativism to cultural change, especially for young people. Thus only a few years ago the Ibisans were scandalised by foreign girls who exposed their bodies in shorts or bikinis, whereas now the local girls also wear them (although they do restrict them more carefully

---

1These are described in Sections 7.7 (c) and 8.4 (a), above. Some figures on the proportions of the groups are also given on page 345.

2The social pluralism is particularly striking in view of the island's relative lack of urbanisation or (manufacturing) industrialisation.
to approved local leisure contexts, and they tend to choose more modest styles). Moreover, the effects extend into less tangible but perhaps more important areas: thus the cultural relativism promotes the questioning of all forms of traditional authority, and the consequent development of secular rational-legal authority (see WEBER, 1964) - both in the administrative contexts discussed in Chapter Eight, above, and in non-administrative contexts (e.g. property is increasingly seen less in terms of a birth-right and more in terms of mere legal titles).

(ii) Group status: - In so far as each group keeps to itself and has its own institutions (e.g. English newspapers and schools on Ibiza) it is difficult to compare their relative statuses, but some crude generalizations may be made as follows:

Firstly, the only Spanish outsiders on Ibiza in the past were usually officials and administrators, who initially formed a separate upper stratum and later tended to mix largely with the island élite. In recent years they have been joined by a number of "spiralists" in other occupations, mostly associated with tourism. But the bulk of Spanish outsiders on the island are now unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Thus the native Ibisians are now sandwiched between a minority of high status Spanish outsiders and a

---

1 In fact, the new fashions (and ideas) adopted by the Ibisans generally resemble those of the mainland (which are transmitted by television, radio and magazines, as well as through personal interaction) more closely than those of their foreign visitors: i.e., the undoubted impact of the contact with foreign patterns tends to be transmuted into the acceptance of national Spanish ones (both because of their readier availability and because they tend to be of an intermediate type).

2 I am not thinking just of "legítimos" (birth-right portions), here: the whole ethos of "property" among the older Ibisan peasants - though not among the young ones - is pervaded with a sense of traditional moral rights. For example, I was told various circumstantial stories about dead local people of the San José area in which divine (or at least mysterious) retribution - in forms such as drowning or painful illness - had overtaken the possessors of "bienes de mal just" ("goods unjustly held"), i.e. people who had somehow acquired a legal title to property to which they had no traditional moral claim. (A familiar English example would be a young nurse, or belated second wife, who inherited all the wealth of a dying man at the expense of his own children.)
majority of low status ones. These changes may be diagrammatically represented as follows:

**TRADITIONAL PERIOD**  |  **INTERMEDIATE PERIOD**  |  **TOURISTIC PERIOD**
---|---|---
Outsider administrators  |  Outsider officials  |  Outsider officials and spiritualists
Native Ibisans  |  Native Ibisans  |  Native Ibisans

-- Secondly, the foreign residents on Ibiza may be divided, by and large, into two groups in terms of status: on the one hand, there are the relatively wealthy foreign residents either retired on the island or using it for relaxation and seclusion; and, on the other hand, there are the "hippies", who have a very low status in the eyes of most islanders. Prior to tourism, there was an insignificant number of foreigners on the island, so that this stratification change may be represented as follows:

**TRADITIONAL AND INTERMEDIATE PERIODS**  |  **TOURISTIC PERIOD**
---|---
Very few foreigners  |  Wealthy foreign "senyora"
Short-stay tourists (complete outsiders)  |  Native Ibisans

(iii) **Inter- and intra-group tensions:**

-- Firstly, the existence of such heterogeneous groups has brought to Ibiza the problems experienced by larger-scale plural societies elsewhere. Various
sources of inter-group tensions are mentioned elsewhere in the thesis. The relationships between the native Ibisans and both foreign "turisticos" (tourists) and foreign "senyores" are generally quite friendly; but this is less true of their relationships with either the migrant mainlanders or the "hippies".

(No further discussion of the relationship between the islanders and non-native officials seems necessary here, in view of its systematic treatment in earlier chapters.) The tensions over the "hippies" are, in the final analysis, of rather minor importance - since the "hippies" are aliens and may be deported (either from the island, or from Spain) if the local authorities so desire, with little likelihood of official protests from their country of origin (since the hippies are rarely appreciated by officials anywhere). But the tension between the islanders and the immigrant mainlanders may be a fairly long-term problem, for several reasons: (i) they form a substantial and growing minority group; (ii) many of them are undoubtedly discontented over the discrimination against them (for example, despite the massive number of new dwellings on the island, it is very difficult for immigrant workers to find a home at a price they can afford - thus the small three-room flat which we occupied in San José was afterwards shared by two peninsular families with children); (iii) in the event of even a mild recession - or in the case of any labour dispute - the islanders may (rightly or wrongly) view the migrant workers as "black-legs".

Secondly, nevertheless, it may be noted that the divisions between the groups under discussion cross-cut the class divisions on the island, thus perhaps contributing to vertical solidarity within the majority group of native Ibisans.

Thirdly, and lastly, the relationship between the Ibisans and the tourists is discussed above, especially in Section 7.7. Several reasons are given there (pp. 233-34) for the relatively harmonious relationship which at present

1... except, of course, to the hippies themselves...
exists on the island; but one further possible reason may be noted here, which arises from the preceding points. In his survey of tourism on a group of Caribbean islands, Bryden suggests that the affluent tourists (and ex-patriate employees in the tourist industry) may be a positive comparative reference group (Runciman, 1972: esp. Ch. 2, 10-41) for the indigenes, thus giving rise to relative deprivation among them and possibly contributing towards their animosity towards the tourists. (Bryden, 1973: 93) The Ibizan case provides an interesting contrast. It is true that the more affluent of the tourists (and particularly the wealthy foreign residents) on Ibiza have provided a positive reference group for many Ibizans; but - unlike the Caribbean indigenes, apparently - the Ibizans do not generally regard the foreign standards of affluence as unattainable; and any such "relative deprivation" is to some extent countered by the Ibizans' "relative affluence" as compared with the negative reference groups provided by the migrant Spanish labourers and by the "hippies". Again, the Caribbean islanders' relative deprivation is apparently compounded by various factors which do not apply to the Ibizans (including an ex-colonial background which involved the tourists' countries of origin, racial discrimination, a highly-skewed distribution of wealth, and very little native ownership and participation in the exploitation of tourism); whereas the Ibizans' "relative affluence" is compounded both by the existence of negative reference groups and by the memories of the state of "misery" which preceded the tourist boom.

1 . . . but not for all Ibizans, by any means: the native elite certainly consider themselves generally superior to the tourists (and to many of the foreign residents). Moreover, as I finish typing this final draft, the plight of the many "Court Line" clients on the Balearic Islands (as well as the continuing increases in the sterling exchange rate of the peseta) makes the British tourists, at least, look dubiously well-off by comparison with the increasingly-affluent Ibizans. (See, e.g., Jones et al., 1974.)

There are, of course, other possible sources of relative deprivation among Ibizans: one (which is alluded to in other parts of the thesis) is that the increase in social mobility on the island may give rise to intra-group relative deprivation of the type analysed in Stouffer's "The American Soldier" (see Runciman, 1972: 20-25).
## Summary and Conclusions

### Chapter 12

### Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Traditional Period (13th century to latter part of 18th century)</th>
<th>Intermediate Period (Latter part of 18th century to the 1950s)</th>
<th>Tourist Period (1950s to the present)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IBIZA-TOWN</strong></td>
<td>Totally nucleated, a medieval fortress, monopolising all urban functions on Ibiza.</td>
<td>Highly nucleated, with some controlled extramural growth.</td>
<td>A nucleus with quarters, suburbs, and a rural-urban fringe. New types of dwellings. Some urban functions shared with other towns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COUNTRY</strong></td>
<td>Totally dispersed pattern (based on an agricultural economy).</td>
<td>Mostly dispersed, with a few small nuclei around the churches (based on an agricultural economy).</td>
<td>Several growing nucleated towns and villages. A variety of new types of settlement (e.g., villas, &quot;urbanizaciones&quot; and holiday resorts). A continuing high level of dispersion, accompanied by a tendency for settlements to nucleate or &quot;cluster&quot;. New types of dwellings. (New pattern based on a tourist economy, superimposed on former pattern.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mortality</th>
<th>Traditional Period (13th century to latter part of 18th century)</th>
<th>Intermediate Period (Latter part of 18th century to the 1950s)</th>
<th>Tourist Period (1950s to the present)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High infant and general mortality, especially at times of poor harvests or epidemics. Endemic fevers.</strong></td>
<td>Similar at first, but with progressive decline in both from latter half of 19th century (except during 1918 influenza epidemic and 1936-39 war).</td>
<td>Stable low level of infant and general mortality.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATALITY</td>
<td>High.</td>
<td>High at first, but later declined (because of emigration by young men, the late average age at marriage, and the increasing use of contraception). Lowest point reached after civil war.</td>
<td>General increase in natality (because of rising prosperity and consequent earlier marriages, and because of the immigration of fertile peninsular families).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATURAL INCREASE</td>
<td>Intermittent (Determined by mortality).</td>
<td>Became higher in latter half of 19th cent., then declined (because of emigration, etc.)</td>
<td>A post-war recovery of natural increase was greatly augmented by the tourist boom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTERNAL MIGRATIONS</td>
<td>Immigration of settlers after reconquest, esp. from the eastern mainland. This trend had reversed by the end of the 17th century, however.</td>
<td>Many Ibisans became seamen or emigrated as the surplus population grew, and as communications (esp. with the Americas) improved.</td>
<td>Large-scale immigration (especially from the south-western mainland). Some Iban emigrants have also returned to the island. I.e. tourism has completely reversed the secular trend of Iban external migrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERNAL MIGRATIONS</td>
<td>Very restricted. Poor intra-island communications and preferred parish endogamy. Popn. of town strictly controlled by authorities.</td>
<td>Progressive rural-urban drift (interrupted by the civil war). Gradual creation of small nuclear settlements in country areas.</td>
<td>Rapid migration from the inland or cliff-bounded areas to coastal tourist zones (especially to San Antonio, Ivis-town and Santa Juliana). General rapid drift from land: Ivis-town in particular attracts native migrants because of service industries, light industries, commerce and administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FARMING AND FISHING</strong></td>
<td><strong>LAND UNDER CULTIVATION</strong></td>
<td><strong>MAJOR CROPS</strong></td>
<td><strong>USE OF GARRIGUE AND FOREST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inland and hill farming. Coastal land open to pirate raids, hence little used. Formentera uninhabited.</td>
<td>Basis of cereals; with olives, figs, vines, and a wide variety of other crops for home consumption. Livestock complementary.</td>
<td>Important complement to cultivated land. Vital source of fuel, building materials, game, etc. Export of wood and charcoal important to island economy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increase in area under cultivation, including land by sea. Less use of poor hill land.</td>
<td>Disappearance of some subsistence crops, e.g. flax and cotton for clothing. Gradual partial replacement of cereals by cash crops, esp. almonds and carobs.</td>
<td>As earlier; but with some decline in the export value of forest products in later years because of innovations elsewhere in fuel and packaging materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decrease in area under cultivation. More hill land and poor marginal land abandoned, together with some lower, fertile land. Much coastal land sold for tourist devt.</td>
<td>Some new cash crops, e.g. early potatoes for export. Neglect and partial abandonment of traditional cereal and tree crops.</td>
<td>The affluence generated by tourism has completely removed the incentive to exploit the forest and garrigue for subsistence. Consequent change of major functions from economic to recreational and scenic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWNERSHIP AND LABOUR</td>
<td>Predominant Type of Production</td>
<td>Economic Viability</td>
<td>Trade, Industry and Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land held in feud by conquerors and settlers. Share croppers, labourers and slaves. Shortage of labour in early period.</td>
<td>Subsistence polyculture.</td>
<td>Usually sufficient to provide a frugal existence. But occasional famines. Need for imported grains, esp. wheat (i.e. reliance on salt exports).</td>
<td>Salt production very important. Small craft industries: clothes, tools, etc. for home consumption. Some export of processed products of primary sector: charcoal, resin etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most land in medium-sized holdings, worked by owner-farmers and share-farmers, with some labourers paid in kind. Surplus of labour.</td>
<td>Partial transition to cash crops.</td>
<td>Similar to previous period. Increase in cash yield and popn. supported, but precarious balance (and consequent emigration).</td>
<td>Salt production declined in local importance, because of state takeover. Naval construction important up to mid-19th cent. Various attempts at large-scale manufacture (and lead-mining) failed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly owner-farmers. Number of share-farmers declining rapidly. Land and labour increasingly paid in cash. Extreme shortage of labour in farming and fishing - despite high level of immigration - because of the reluctance of Ibisan farmers to employ migrants and because of preferred alternative jobs in the touristic sector. Rapidly-ageing population in the primary sector.</td>
<td>Rapid change to market farming of cash crops, both for export and to meet increased local demand.</td>
<td>&quot;Supplementary&quot; growth of construction and food manufacture, to meet new demands of tourism. Rather little &quot;derived&quot; growth as yet. (Much of the new demand is met by increased imports of goods and materials from mainland Spain.)</td>
<td>Dominated by tourism. Rapid consequent growth of other service industries, of all types and on all scales. Gradual growth of admin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trade, Industry and Tourism**

- Major Products of Local Industry
  - Salt production very important. Small craft industries: clothes, tools, etc. for home consumption. Some export of processed products of primary sector: charcoal, resin etc.

- Supplementary growth of construction and food manufacture, to meet new demands of tourism. Rather little "derived" growth as yet. (Much of the new demand is met by increased imports of goods and materials from mainland Spain.)

- The Dept. of the Tertiary Sector
  - Very limited commerce. Few public utilities. Administration relatively simple.

- Dominated by tourism. Rapid consequent growth of other service industries, of all types and on all scales. Gradual growth of admin.
TH3 DEVT.
0? TOURISM

Ibisa effect­
ively isolated
by piracy and
poor communic­
ations in the
western Medit­
erranean* Few
visits to the
island, even
by officials*

Improving comm­
unications*
regular mailboats from 1830
onwards. But
very few visit­
ors in 19th
century, apart
from officials
and sailors:
Ibiaa used as
place of exile.

MOST IMPORTANT 3CCNOMC

Land.

Land.

Tourism - on a small scale had begun in the 1930s,
but had been set back by
the two wars. Air transport
(esp. charter flights)
produced mass tourism on
Ibiaa in the 1960s. Many
immigrants from mainland
Spain seeking work. J.lso
numerous foreign residents
working or - more often retired on Ibisa.
Tourism.

Primary
Secondary

Primary
.Secondary
Tertiary

Tertiary
Secondary
irimary

RELATIONS OF
PRODUCTION

Feudal/
Traditional*

H',T3 OF

Slow.

Capitalist.
Traditional.
Some family
capitalism.
Extremely rapid.
Variable, but
generally rat­
her faster
than formerly.

MAJOR
OF E

"Social'1 : i.e.
almost all ex­
changes signi­
ficantly aff­
ected by social
relationships.
^ 9 Barter.
2. Salt (used
as currency,
asp. in extern­
al trade).
3. Gash (very
limited).

Predominantly
"social", but
"economic"
type increas­
ing.

All land priv­
ately owned
(under feudal
system), but
with open
access and
traditional
neighbourly
rights.

Land owned by
private free­
hold. Contin­
uance of open
access. But
traditional
ethos eroded
by the civil
war and the
national civil
code.

IMPORTANCE
OF PRODUCTIVE
SalCTORS

ECONOMIC
<JRO :TH

MAIN FORMS
OF L£ GNOMIC

AND PRIVACY

.1.

1. Cash (use
increasing,
esp. in town)4
2. Barter
(still common
in country).

A duality; those exchanges
involving only natives
retain partly "social"
character, while those
involving outsiders are
almost entirely "economic".
1. Gash (in both town and
country).
2. Other modern forms of
currency, credit notes,
H.P,, shares, etc.
3. Barter (general use now
very limited, but quite
common in exchanges of land).
Various new pressures for
the enclosure of land, or
for other ways of increasing
privacy: e.gs. the foreigners'
desire for seclusion; the new
diversity of occupations,
tastes and interests of Ibizans;
the shortage of labour to watch
animals on unenclosed land.
As yet, the tradition of open
access has proved resilient,
but property is increasingly
acquiring a rational-legal
ethos.


FUNCTIONS OF NEIGHBOURING RELATIONS

1. Defensive (very important - esp. in country - because of scattered settlement and piracy).
2. Economic. (E.g. joint work by neighbours, which was either reciprocated or paid in meals, kind or cash. Poverty also made sharing and lending common, though not liked.)
3. Social.

ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNAL TASKS

Communal cooperation for all types of public works - e.g. the island militia, salt harvests, roads, church-building - sometimes voluntary and sometimes instigated by authorities.

MAIN SOURCES OF FRICTION BETWEEN NEIGHBOURS

Poverty.
The Civil War.

HOSPITALITY AND INTERACTION WITH OUTSIDERS

Visiting strangers mainly "hostile", hence hostile or reserved reception.

Continued neighbourhod cooperation over road-work and emergencies; but increasing debt of bureaucratic public admin.

Continued initial reserve; but generous reception of friendly, culturally-skilled visitors: gifts, invitations, etc.

1. Economic. (Defensive function no longer important.)
2. Social. i.e., neighbouring functions are now largely limited to leisure activities and celebrations. Even in these respects, motor transport, telephones, etc., have reduced dependence on immediate neighbours. The economic functions have spontaneously declined (because of the traditional dislike of economic dependence on neighbours, the increase in affluence, less labour-intensive methods, and occupational changes), although there is still a certain amount of casual lending, sharing and joint work.

Public administration rapidly increasing in complexity and scope of activities. Spontaneous decline of traditional communal cooperation, except in unusual emergencies.

Different occupations, interests, and ideas; social pluralism. But note the (temporary?) phenomenon of "the peace in the boom".

Tourism prompting creation of new categories of outsiders, with different responses to each. Three main types of response (with some initial reserve in each case):
1. Traditional hospitality: for those long-staying newcomers who learn local languages and customs.
2. Reserve or social pluralism: for immigrants, and foreigners who do not speak Spanish.
3. Commercial "hospitality" for tourists.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISLAND–STATE RELATIONSHIP</th>
<th>ADMINISTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feudal domain, divided between Tarragonese clergy and king of Aragón.</td>
<td>Mounting pressures - because of administrative strains created by tourism - for more island autonomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five independent municipalities subordinate to the provincial authorities in Palma, and in turn subordinate to those in Madrid.</td>
<td>As earlier; but see below.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTONOMOUS FEATURES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elective native &quot;Universitat&quot;, or island executive. Local charter of rights, or &quot;franquicias&quot;.</td>
<td>No truly autonomous local bodies. Island now an integral part of state of Spain, dominated by Castile. Loss of local control of - and revenues from - the key island industry (salt).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mounting pressures - because of administrative strains created by tourism - for more island autonomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various formal changes either mooted or being put into effect: the latter include in particular the increasing delegation of provincial powers to resident Iboissan authorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Changing from traditional/military to rational-legal/military.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional/feudal.</td>
<td>Traditional/constitutional. Later (after civil war): Traditional/military.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inter-island rivalries and other endemic administrative problems - intensified by the new administrative demands of tourism - produce strong pressures for the creation of an autonomous all-island authority (or &quot;cabildo&quot;); but there is counter-pressure from rural municipalities which are jealous of their independence. Strong pressures at all levels for increased bureaucratic activity and greater efficiency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism has undermined the customary informal practices in various ways: in particular by increasing the complexity, interdependence and &quot;transparency&quot; of Iboissan administration. Hence indirect pressures for increased formal administrative efficiency and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRA-ISLAND FORMAL STRUCTURE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single island province and parish (later diocese). All civil and religious administration centred in the capital town.</td>
<td>Ibiza split into various municipalities and parishes. I.e., the external centralisation was accompanied by internal decentralisation (conforming to the principle &quot;divide and rule&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inter-island rivalries and other endemic administrative problems - intensified by the new administrative demands of tourism - produce strong pressures for the creation of an autonomous all-island authority (or &quot;cabildo&quot;); but there is counter-pressure from rural municipalities which are jealous of their independence. Strong pressures at all levels for increased bureaucratic activity and greater efficiency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism has undermined the customary informal practices in various ways: in particular by increasing the complexity, interdependence and &quot;transparency&quot; of Iboissan administration. Hence indirect pressures for increased formal administrative efficiency and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRA-ISLAND INFORMAL STRUCTURE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factional struggles for supremacy between royal, ecclesiastical and native representatives. Practices often at variance</td>
<td>Royal (later state-) supremacy firmly established, at expense of ecclesiastical and local authorities. Well-defined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inter-island rivalries and other endemic administrative problems - intensified by the new administrative demands of tourism - produce strong pressures for the creation of an autonomous all-island authority (or &quot;cabildo&quot;); but there is counter-pressure from rural municipalities which are jealous of their independence. Strong pressures at all levels for increased bureaucratic activity and greater efficiency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism has undermined the customary informal practices in various ways: in particular by increasing the complexity, interdependence and &quot;transparency&quot; of Iboissan administration. Hence indirect pressures for increased formal administrative efficiency and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with Ibiza’s feudal constitution, provoking varied protests and occasional remedies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RULING GROUPS</th>
<th>AUTHORITY-PEOPLE RELATIONSHIP</th>
<th>POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outsider and native ruling groups shared power, though retaining separate identities.</td>
<td>Castilianization of native elite, which shared power only by becoming partially integrated with outsiders.</td>
<td>Local business elite increasingly replacing landed gentry in local government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierarchical. (Social estates and occupational guilds.)</td>
<td>Essentially dichotomous. (&quot;es governants&quot;/&quot;es poblí&quot;, or &quot;es senyors&quot;/&quot;es poble&quot;).</td>
<td>Renaissance of Ibizan-Catalan culture among native élites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each estate represented (though not always effectively) in the island’s executive. Common people almost entirely non-literate.</td>
<td>Marginal amount of influence through votes. Largely non-literate population, esp. in country.</td>
<td>Very little direct participation in one-party system, based on rule from above at all levels. But growing popular capacity (and demands) for more effective participation (election of mayors, political associations, free press, etc.), because of increasing literacy, access to media, personal contact with outsiders, and rising expectations. (At the same time, note the partial Castilianization of even the country people, and the general acceptance of a Spanish identity, without the loss of an Ibizan one.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### AIMS OF POPULAR PROTESTS OR DIRECT ACTION

Popular protests largely aimed at restoring respect for traditional privileges, in cases of abuse.

Popular protests (and armed revolts) aimed at the removal of heavy taxes, the cessation of suppressive measures, and the restoration of traditional popular privileges.

Popular protests (e.g., over the hotel "Insula Augusta") aimed at the maintenance of the new economic affluence created by tourism; and at less self-interest and more bureaucratic propriety in local government.

### HEALTH AND INCOMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Agriculture.</td>
<td>2. Agriculture.</td>
<td>2. Construction, commerce</td>
<td>2. Enterprise (many opportunities: this is now more important than inheritance in some cases).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Commerce (growing in importance, but limited by island's circumstances.)</td>
<td>3. &quot;Windfall gains&quot; and speculation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Land-ownership and agriculture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODES OF ACCESS TO NEW WEALTH</th>
<th>1. Inheritance.</th>
<th>1. Inheritance.</th>
<th>1. Inheritance.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Enterprise (but opportunities limited).</td>
<td>2. Enterprise</td>
<td>2. Enterprise (many opportunities: this is now more important than inheritance in some cases).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(many opportuni-</td>
<td>3. Chance (e.g., &quot;windfall gains&quot;).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ties limited).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIVE/NON-NATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOMES</th>
<th>Feudal tributes to outside seigneurs.</th>
<th>Heavy state and provincial taxes. Vital island salt-works seized by state, and later sold to a private corporation. Little other direct participation by outsiders in local economy.</th>
<th>State taxes and others as previously. Salt-works now of less relative importance to Ibizans. Substantial direct and indirect participation by outsiders in exploitation of Ibizan touristic wealth; but a major share accrues to native Ibizans.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fairly even distribution of land-wealth a few &quot;rich&quot; land-owners, but general absence of latifundia.</td>
<td>An élité of land-owning &quot;señores&quot; (i.e. gentlemen of leisure, though not rich by contemporary Spanish standards). A few wealthy commercial families. Many subsistence farmers. Some people destitute.</td>
<td>The relatively-even division of land among Ibizans has led to a relatively-even distribution of the new wealth; but the range of absolute wealth on the island has widened. There has been much mobility, because of enterprise (or its lack) and &quot;windfall gains&quot;. There are no destitute islanders; and wage-labourers now receive higher incomes, both in absolute and in relative terms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRIBUTION AMONG NATIVE IBIZANS</th>
<th>Feudal tributes to outside seigneurs.</th>
<th>Heavy state and provincial taxes. Vital island salt-works seized by state, and later sold to a private corporation. Little other direct participation by outsiders in local economy.</th>
<th>State taxes and others as previously. Salt-works now of less relative importance to Ibizans. Substantial direct and indirect participation by outsiders in exploitation of Ibizan touristic wealth; but a major share accrues to native Ibizans.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fairly even distribution of land-wealth a few &quot;rich&quot; land-owners, but general absence of latifundia.</td>
<td>An élité of land-owning &quot;señores&quot; (i.e. gentlemen of leisure, though not rich by contemporary Spanish standards). A few wealthy commercial families. Many subsistence farmers. Some people destitute.</td>
<td>The relatively-even division of land among Ibizans has led to a relatively-even distribution of the new wealth; but the range of absolute wealth on the island has widened. There has been much mobility, because of enterprise (or its lack) and &quot;windfall gains&quot;. There are no destitute islanders; and wage-labourers now receive higher incomes, both in absolute and in relative terms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL STRATA</td>
<td>DOMINANT TYPE OF STRATA</td>
<td>SOCIAL DISTANCES</td>
<td>MAJOR STRATA IN CAPITAL TOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>groups.</td>
<td>1. Owners or employers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERTICAL</td>
<td>Very wide.</td>
<td>Considerable</td>
<td>1. Owners or employers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td>Very great &quot;formality&quot;.</td>
<td>&quot;formality&quot;.</td>
<td>2. Employees (sub-divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTANCES</td>
<td>Ascribed status.</td>
<td>Mainly ascribed</td>
<td>into broad occupational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very clear status</td>
<td>status.</td>
<td>categories; e.g. managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boundaries.</td>
<td>Clear status</td>
<td>and professionals, technical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>boundaries.</td>
<td>and clerical staff, skilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>manual workers, unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>manual workers).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clerical agents.</td>
<td>old walled town</td>
<td>country people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Hà major&quot;.</td>
<td>2. Those of the</td>
<td>still regarded as inferior (or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;hàmitjane&quot; (See p.244.)</td>
<td>new extramural</td>
<td>(or sub-&quot;farmers&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Slaves.</td>
<td>town (&quot;esoble&quot;</td>
<td>even as constituting a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or &quot;banyacula&quot;)</td>
<td>separate aristocracy or &quot;race&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by townspeople,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>but no longer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>differentiated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from them in law or political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>representation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Significant rural strata (or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(or sub-strata): rentiers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owner-farmers, share-croppers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wage-labourers, and &quot;the poor&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STABILITY AND CONFLICT</td>
<td>Fairly stable.</td>
<td>Unstable.</td>
<td>Moderately stable; despite the semi-military rule and the manifestations of instability in other parts of Spain. (Because of the absolute and relative local affluence at present; and also because of the blurred and cross-cutting local social boundaries.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Because of the relatively-even land division; the elaborate hierarchical organisation of labour; the representative executive system; and the constant threat of piracy or invasion.)</td>
<td>(Because of the existence of great poverty; and the dominance of aligned dichotomous divisions.)</td>
<td>Frequent reliance on military force to suppress armed popular rebellions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY</th>
<th>Very limited.</th>
<th>Gradual growth of rural-urban drift and emigration.</th>
<th>Substantial internal migrations and immigration.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL MOBILITY</th>
<th>Very limited.</th>
<th>Limited.</th>
<th>Quite common.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Some upward mobility for individuals via, e.g.s, priesthood, armed services, adoption, or hypergamy.)</td>
<td>(Some new opportunities for individual mobility provided by migration or business enterprise. Also upward group mobility of businessmen relative to landed gentry.)</td>
<td>(The main channels for upward individual mobility include internal migration, occupational advancement, business enterprise and/or &quot;windfall gains&quot;, and education or the acquisition of specialist skills. Note also the changes in status and in bargaining position of various social and occupational groups; both upwards - e.g.s. country people, wage-workers, entrepreneurs - and downwards - e.g.s. rentiers, priests, officials, clerks.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL PLURALISM</th>
<th>Not significant. Not significant.</th>
<th>Quite common.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important feature of present Ibizan society. (The consequences include in particular the generation of a high level of cultural relativism - or even xenophillia in some cases - especially among the younger Ibisans, and - notably - in town and country alike.) The major groups include native Ibisans; Spanish outsiders; foreign residents; &quot;hippies&quot;; and tourists.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12.2 TOURISM AND OTHER FACTORS OF CHANGE

The diverse, but interwoven set of changes which have been described in the body of this thesis and summarized in Section 12.1 might all be subsumed under the flexible title of "modernization". The empirical question posed on page 1, above, has already been answered - within the stated limitations, at least - so that the remainder of this chapter merely attempts to draw out some of the general features of relevance to the study of modernization, with special reference to the part played by tourism.

With hindsight, it may be seen that Ibiza prior to tourism was not really a "traditional society" despite its frequent depiction as such. The term "traditional" does seem justifiable for the period prior to the late eighteenth century... or thereabouts... but the town in particular was always at least in limited contact with the exterior, and therefore susceptible to external influences. By the end of the eighteenth century, if not before, even the scattered country-dwellers were in direct, though discontinuous, contact with outsiders. For example, a first-hand account of the recently-created parish of San José - first published in 1798 - describes how fairly large boats quite often called into the nearby bay of San Antonio to shelter from storms or to collect carobs; and it also mentions that many of ("gran parte de") the peasant-farmers of San José were then registered in the royal navy, and that they were thus quite frequently called away from the island on active service. (Callar Y Descallar, 1798: 41-3)

This example also illustrates the involvement of Ibizens in external events: their insularity and their strategic position have always meant involvement in outside affairs as well as periodic effective isolation; and their local history and social development have always responded - albeit usually with some time-lag - to the wider events and processes. Moreover, there have long been important endogenous sources of social change on the island (which have often been parallel with those elsewhere), notably the natural increase
in population and the consequent migrations. Thus social change on Ibiza has been continual (though not continuous); and the fairly-common, unqualified stereotype of a static, traditional society being suddenly transformed into a dynamic, modern one is therefore erroneous (cf. the comments on page 14).

Tourism, in fact, is only the most recent of a variety of factors causing or influencing social change on Ibiza, which have in turn been affected by the island's ecology and other special characteristics. The interplay of some of the external factors with local circumstances is analysed in Section 5.8, above; and the influence of other factors (both exogenous and endogenous ones) is amply illustrated elsewhere in the thesis.

Nevertheless, the transition from the "intermediate period" to the "touristic period" unquestionably represents the most abrupt discontinuity in the process of social change on Ibiza since the Catalan reconquest in the thirteenth century. This proposition is difficult to prove succinctly for qualitative changes (although ample proof is contained in the sources cited); but it is clearly illustrated in the tables and graphs included in the earlier chapters (especially in those relating to population movements). There are, in fact, two important elements of truth in the common assertion by older Ibiza that they have sees "two worlds" (see page 14, above): firstly, the recent changes have been unprecedentedly rapid; and, secondly, they have been extremely comprehensive.

1This applies equally to those aspects of Ibiza society which I have not been able to describe in detail here. To give just one striking illustration, old people recollect that it used to be quite common to undertake religious penances on recovery from illness or other misfortunes. For example, people from all parts of the island would make pilgrimages to the hill-top shrine of "Sa Creu d'en Ribas" near Santa Eulalia: they would sometimes climb the steep, rough track in bare feet, on their knees, or carrying large stones - "with the object of making the ascent more painful and therefore more meritorious" ("con el fin de hacer más penosa y por lo tanto más meritoria la ascensión"; Castilian; SALVADOR, 1886-90, II, 322). The radical difference in the present Ibiza religious attitudes was apparent in the astonished air of people reminiscing. It was also evident in the prevalent new habit in San José of attending mass on Saturday evening to have the whole of Sunday free for fishing or for other leisure pursuits. And how better could the local process of secularisation be expressed than in the following reflective words of an elderly San José man: "Llalvó, éres religiosos quo ho sentiem de dina." ("Then, we used to be religious so that we felt it inside us.").
12.3 TOURISM AS A "FACILITATING FACTOR" IN SOCIAL CHANGE ON IBIZA

In some respects, tourism has been a "facilitating factor" in social change on Ibiza: i.e. it has facilitated the realization of various latent or incipient trends, which were formerly inhibited by other factors (often by local static factors). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, there were clear pressures for the development of large-scale manufacturing industry on a capitalist basis on the island (because of dynamic factors such as the expansion of external trade and of communications with more industrialized areas of Spain and western Europe: see Chapter Six); but the efforts of local entrepreneurs were largely frustrated by the static factors of Ibiza's size, location, and other characteristics. These same static factors were favourable — given the development of cheap air-travel — for the development of large-scale tourism, thus providing the local entrepreneurs (as also non-local ones) with more propitious opportunities. In other words, mass tourism has not created a capitalistic society on Ibiza: it has, rather, facilitated its development from (in some cases pre-existent) local and non-local ingredients.

Again, Section 7.6 (b), above, describes how the Ibizan peasants were formerly forced by poverty to compromise between their desire for individual (or, at least, familial) economic independence and the practical advantages of sharing, borrowing and cooperation; and also how many such practices have spontaneously given way to greater individual or familial independence, and to increased formal bureaucratic management of communal tasks, now that

---

1 See also Appendix Ten, below.

2 In any situation of social change, there may be distinguished "dynamic" and "static" factors, although the distinction is not always entirely unambiguous (see, for example, the discussion of the significance of the island's climate on pages 111-12, above). Briefly, the "dynamic factors" are the agents which create pressures for certain changes or trends, while the "static factors" are the conditioning circumstances which determine to what extent, and in what form, those changes or trends are realized, if at all.
these trends have been facilitated by the new touristic affluence.¹

12.4 MODERNITY ON IBIZA: CONVERGENCE OR SYNTHESIS?

The preceding sections emphasise both the long-standing nature of social change on Ibiza and its derivation from the continual interplay of endogenous and exogenous factors. These points may be further clarified by the proposition that the "modern" (or, at least, "semi-modern") society on Ibiza constitutes a unique "synthesis" of the old and the new, and of the local and the exotic.

This suggestion runs directly counter to a common stereotype of modernisation; namely the view that modernisation entails the "convergence" of formerly-distinct societies and cultures into conformity with a single type of "modern society" (which is usually identified with Western European or American industrial societies - as is implied in the common term "westernisation").

Convergence models have been used for some time in accounts of social change on Ibiza. Thus, over seventy years ago - long before tourism became a significant factor - Navarro was saying that Ibiza would soon be characterized by "the most prosaic cosmopolitanism, . . . the most monotonous uniformity" (see page 29, above, for a fuller quotation and reference). But convergence models appear to be applied with particular frequency to the effects of tourism. For example, a human geographer made the following comment on the Balearic Islands in 1967:

¹Examples may still be found of borrowing, cooperation and even sharing among Ibisan country people from choice rather than simply from necessity; and this is often so elsewhere, of course. But this does not contradict the point made above. Such practices are a useful form of "social exchange" between friends or neighbours - as long as they are mutually recognized as expressive tokens, which may readily be reciprocated by either party, rather than as products of sheer necessity. However, the problematic nature of this distinction in practice is shown by the current decline in such customs on Ibiza - as in other newly-affluent societies or social groups.
It is worth emphasizing that, thanks to these convergent evolutions, in the future the islands are going to resemble one another more and more, losing their individuality."

(Castilian. MAYER, 1967: 203)

Similar - though more sweeping - implications are apparent in the comments on the Costa del Sol by CARR (see page 4, above), who suggests that tourism is turning it into "a sort of depoliticised Clacton." (CARR, 1973) And these examples could readily be multiplied, both for Spain and elsewhere.

The unqualified convergence models do not stand up to a close examination, at least as far as Ibiza is concerned. It is true that the expansion (or even "explosion") of communications which accompanies the development of mass tourism leads to much more rapid socio-cultural exchange in touristic areas. And that Ibiza, which was formerly "on the margins" of Spanish and Western European society, has therefore in effect been moved closer to "the centre". And, further, that there has clearly been some convergence on the island itself (e.g. the blurring of the town-country dichotomy). But the degree of convergence is always limited or countered by local factors - in particular the local ecology, social history and culture - which continue to impart some uniqueness to each area.

Thus, the existence of "fish and chips on the Costa Brava" does not mean (as it so often is taken to mean) that the Costa Brava - or Ibiza - is now virtually identical with, say, the south-eastern coast of England around Brighton; no more than the existence of "flamenco" shows in an

---

1Note, for example, that in 1947 the only means of access to Ibiza was by a lengthy sea-journey from Barcelona or Valencia; and that the hardy tourists who thus reached the island received the following recommendation from a local tourist guide-book:

"Debido a las muy deficientes comunicaciones interiores de la isla, la única manera de visitarla satisfactoriamente es utilizando la bicicleta."

(Castilian. VALLES, 1947: 115-17)
English city might convert it into "a sort of depoliticised Granada." Again, the use of concrete-block building techniques in Spanish resorts is often cited as an example of ("destructive") convergence. But, in fact, a notable feature of recent developments on the island is the fertile blending of new construction techniques and materials with traditional local architectural characteristics. The results, whatever their aesthetic merits may be, are surely as unique as were the traditional farm-steads, or "finoas", so prised by the new foreign residents.

Conversely, many of the traditional features of Ibisan life which are now disappearing - often to the dismay of the tourists who are contributing to their disappearance - were once widespread over Western Europe; and they were thus not formerly considered to be quaint, idiosyncratic local features. For example, a visit to a folk museum almost anywhere in Europe will reveal the former existence of peasant costumes which were in many respects similar to (though not identical to) those still worn by a diminishing number of

1 The commonness of the argument that tourism spreads cosmopolitan uniformity wherever it develops may at least in part be due to the "insulation" of the local people from casual visitors to touristic areas (see Chapter Seven, above). To take a typical detail, the country-people on Ibiza still make their own distinctive wine from unphylloxerated vines. Although it varies in quality, the local people - who reserve it almost entirely for home consumption, and sometimes for special occasions - take pride in their wine-making skill, and the richer (old-rich) families sometimes keep their best wine to mature. In the tourists' hotels and restaurants, however, the wine is of the type of mass-produced Spanish wine which may be purchased in English supermarkets. This is only one of the many (often not superficially-visible) details which differentiate the Ibiza seen by the tourists and that of the native islanders. Hence, perhaps, the common tendency of casual visitors to exaggerate the homogenizing effects of mass tourism?

2 It should be noted that the Spanish people are not infrequently proud of the large hotel-blocks which may seem ugly to foreign visitors from urban-industrial environments. The local regard for the aesthetic qualities of hotels is often demonstrated - as is the case on Ibiza - by their use on postcards. And I was once taken by some rural Ibians to see "es lloc més polis de l'illa" ("the nicest spot on the island"): this, to my surprise, turned out to be a large new country-club not far from San Antonio. (Such attitudes are already regarded as "unsophisticated" by middle-class Ibians, however.) It would therefore appear that "pecuniary canons of taste" (Viblin, 1925: Chapter VI) play some part in the (usually) middle- or upper-class distaste for large hotels in general: i.e. the associations with "cheapness" and "functionality" contribute to the alleged "ugliness".
elderly Ibizan country-women today. And a perusal of social histories or accounts of past customs and folklore elsewhere yields similar results.

Moreover, various factors—such as the seasonality of tourism, the small size of Ibiza, its identity-protecting sea boundary, and its distinctive language—contribute to the persistence of a high degree of local uniqueness (though not of an unchanging or unblended nature). The section on "property and privacy" (Section 7.5, above), among others, exemplifies the resilience of many aspects of Ibizan society and culture. And by no means all of the adaptation is by the Ibizans: foreign residents (and even tourists) have to conform in many ways to the local way of life; rapidly becoming more tolerant of leisurely business practices, for example, and usually making some effort to master at least Castilian Spanish.

12.5 MODERNITY ON IBIZA: ACCULTURATION OR ADAPTATION?

The convergence models of the effects of tourism are quite often developed into "acculturation" models.¹ For example, one author refers to the "rape" of Andalusia (C.RP, 1973); another speaks of tourism as "an invasion" (Pajarros Carabona, 1958: 115); and yet another refers to it as a process of "colonization" (Johns, 1973). The following quotation from an Ibizan author gives a fair idea of the tenor of these commentaries:

"Estos tiempos son para algunos ibicencos de malestar, de preocupación. Se suceden novedades y mutaciones económicas, administrativas, sociales, costumbriistas, morales. Casi todas nos disgustan, porque son en dano de viejos valores, que gozó la isla a manos llenas... Nuestro disgusto tiene fundamento: la isla invadida y...

"For some Ibizans these are times of ill-being and of preoccupation. There is a succession of novelties and mutations: economic, administrative, social, in customs and in morals. Almost all of them displease us, because they are to the detriment of old values, which the island formerly enjoyed in plenty... Our dislike is well-founded: the island invaded and

¹"Acculturation" has been succinctly defined as follows: "The process whereby an individual or a group acquires the cultural characteristics of another through direct contact and interaction..." (Richmond, 1970).
Mass tourism does indeed have certain features in common with invasions
and colonizations: in particular, there is a massive influx of total
outsiders to the tourist zone, who are bound to affect the local society
and culture. Thus, despite the communications with the exterior and the
influence of returned seamen or emigrants, the impact of external factors
on Ibiza was always limited in the past by the homogeneity (with respect to
their place of birth) of the island's inhabitants; whereas, the recent mass
tourism has produced a heterogeneity of population on the island itself,
for the first time since the Catalan conquest - hence the more penetrating
nature of recent changes on the island.

But the analogies are severely limited. In particular, the tourists
- unlike conquering invaders or colonists - have no military backing, nor
even any rights other than those granted them either by the local native
people or by the national authorities. They are visitors or guests - in
most cases of short duration. Thus their impact on the local society and
culture cannot be correctly described in terms of any generalized dominance
or superordination.*

The argument so far may be summarized as follows. The current changes
on Ibiza are compounded of both immanent and contact changes. Both were

*Against this, it may be argued that the tourists (or their resident compatriots)
sometimes have effective dominance either by virtue of their greater individual
or national wealth, or by virtue of their "superior" level of cultural
development. There may be an element of truth in such arguments for some
touristic zones (e.g. the Caribbean islands studied by Friderici, 1975). But
the dominant part played by native Ibizens - at least in the economic sphere -
is demonstrated in Chapter Ten, above (although the proviso is made there
that the situation could be altered to some extent if a continuance of the
very rapid growth of tourism were to outstrip completely the local resources
of labour, skill, and capital).
of some importance before the advent of mass tourism, but it has greatly increased the rapidity and comprehensiveness of contact change in particular. And the changes produced by tourism - at least in the Ibizan case - are very largely those of "selective contact", as opposed to "directed contact". Or, putting this another way, the current process of change on Ibiza is largely one of "adaptation" rather than one of "acculturation".

This is not, of course, to deny the existence of "directed contact change" on Ibiza - far from it: the activities of the authorities in suppressing regional differences and local folk cultures (described in Chapter Nine, above), whose influence is still apparent, are a classic example of directed contact change. But this is not true of tourism: in this case any acculturation is of a voluntary nature; i.e. the native Ibizans select certain exotic features for incorporation (often in a modified form - see, for example, footnote 1 on page 416, above) into their local way of life, while they reject others. Moreover, the increased local

1 "Selective contact change results when members of a social system are exposed to external influences and adopt or reject a new idea from that source on the base of their needs."
"Directed contact change, or planned change, is caused by outsiders who, on their own or as representatives of change agencies, seek to introduce new ideas in order to achieve goals they have defined. The innovation, as well as the recognition of the need for the change, originates outside the social system." (ROGERS & BURGES, 1972: 11-12)

2 . . . "acculturation" here being understood to have its common, implied connotation of "assimilation", about which the following comment may be noted: "Acculturation has frequently been measured in terms of movement toward assimilation, and insufficient attention has been paid to syncretic and adaptive processes." (BALS & HOLWER, 1966: 736) Perhaps this thesis may make a contribution towards redressing the balance.

3 The activities of official agricultural advisers on Ibiza provide another example, although their roles are now - in conformity with current trends in applied anthropology - viewed more as "consultative" and less as "directive".

4 The process of change is neither entirely voluntary nor even completely conscious, of course. Thus the initial acceptance of tourism has led to many unforeseen social and cultural changes. But, by and large, they are accepted - or at least tolerated - by the majority of the Ibizans as necessary concomitants of modernization (which is generally regarded as desirable).
affluence and the political sophistication derived from the increased external contact seem likely to increase the capacity of the islanders as a whole to participate more effectively in their own government in the future. ¹ And, although the presence of tourists in practice tends to induce or accelerate the abandonment of some distinctive local features, this type of change is not planned nor intended by the tourists: on the contrary, to many tourists, such changes are a sign that the area is becoming "spoilt"; and we have seen (in Chapter Nine) how tourism is contributing towards a revaluation of the local indigenous culture on Ibiza.

12.6 SPECIAL FEATURES OF TOURISM AS AN AGENT OF MODERNIZATION

Much of this thesis has been concerned with showing how the changes attributed to tourism fit into preceding trends towards modernisation on Ibiza. Nevertheless, the Ibisan case also illustrates the following distinctive features of tourism as an agent of modernisation:

(a) **Direct personal cross-cultural contact**

Tourism - unlike manufacturing industry - primarily involves the transportation of **persons** rather than **goods**. The direct personal intervention of outsiders in processes of modernization in non-touristic contexts is generally limited to the presence of a small minority of technical and professional advisers or consultants. Such large-scale migrations as may well occur are - in a sense - incidental. The exact opposite is necessarily

¹ It may be noted that the Ibisan arguments in favour of greater local autonomy are often backed up by references to the island's increased economic importance, as well as to its increased administrative difficulties. Cf. the demands for autonomy from France on touristic Corsica (WIGG, 1974), or the increased importance of Scottish nationalism since the discovery of North Sea oil.
true of touristic areas, where the massive presence of a miscellany of outsiders is of the essence of most modern tourist developments.

Several important consequences are apparent in the Ibizan case:

(i) The additional element of direct personal contact has made the impact of tourism particularly rapid and comprehensive. (It also leads to the - exaggerated - analogies with invasions or colonisations, which are discussed above.)

(ii) The presence of so many people, in transit or pursuing leisure activities on the island, has created unusual demands on the local administration. With its other corollaries of international involvement and very fast communications, mass tourism has therefore had a particularly dramatic effect on the administrative structure of the host region.

(iii) In this context, there may also be noted the creation of a plural society; the growth of cultural relativism; and the distinctive effects of both tourists and resident outsiders on local patterns of exchange, interaction and hospitality.

(b) The economic dominance of the tertiary sector

Mass tourism has characteristically developed in largely non-industrial areas - like Ibiza. There is a consequent tendency for the tertiary sector to dominate the local economy, thus replacing the secondary sector as the "leading sector" in economic development (see Chapter Six, above). The result is an unusual\(^1\) form of economic organisation, in which the following features may be noted: the loosely-hierarchical structure of employment in hotels; the seasonality of employment; the emphasis on leisure and

\(^1\) . . . "unusual", because the development of the tertiary sector is regarded in most models of development as being "posterior" to that of the secondary sector; in fact, a high level of development of the tertiary sector is generally regarded as characteristic of a "post-industrial society".
entertainment; the absence of large, homogeneous labour-forces; the "windfall gains" and wealth inversions; and the wide range of opportunities for self-employment or small-scale (as well as large-scale) entrepreneurial activities.

When these features are considered in conjunction with the geographical distribution of tourism and the effects on settlement patterns, which are described below, it would appear that this type of economic organization tends to produce a relatively wide distribution of revenues (although the evenness of their distribution depends also on factors such as the prior economic structure and the degree of outside intervention in the local economy and in the organization of tourism). It could also be speculated that any discontents among workers may be less likely to give rise to organised, dichotomous conflict than in areas dominated by manufacturing industry.

(e) The self-limiting effects of tourism on settlements and on the environment

In the absence of an unusual level of administrative planning and intervention, manufacturing industry typically leads to large concentrations of labour and of capital: this is true both at the level of the individual factory and at that of the local community. The industrialized town tends to become a city; and the industrial city tends to become a "conurbation", or even a "megalopolis". (See, for example: SUTCLIFFE, 1966, Chapter Two, "The Origin and Bases of Towns, II: Modern Towns," and GOTTMANN, 1961.)

Modern tourism and its allied service industries also stimulate some concentration. But the typical labour-forces remain very small and occupationally-specialised by comparison with those in factories. And the impact on settlement patterns is also quite different from that of manufacturing industry: tourism tends to encourage the development of a series of relatively-small, nucleated or "clustered" settlements, or
"resorts". (See Chapter Two, above; and Swails, 1966, 30-31.)

Manufacturing industry typically tends to be located in river valleys or by large estuaries or sea-ports; whereas tourist resorts typically develop near the source of rivers (e.g.s. spas and mountain resorts), or in picturesque coastal areas away from the muddy waters of estuaries. When tourism is nevertheless located in existing large cities (e.g.s. London, Paris, New York); the major attractions include historical associations, pageantry, and outstanding architecture; rather than the typical modern urban features. It is true that for some tourists (especially for those from rural areas or small towns) the modern urban features - such as the large buildings, the crowded streets, the underground railways, and the department stores - are attractions in themselves (and this point is taken up again below). But, firstly, few tourists spend their holidays visiting modern industrial estates or sprawling suburbs; secondly, few tourists are attracted to industrial cities which are neither national capitals nor places of historic or other special interest; and, thirdly, the great majority of current tourists, at least, are urban-industrial dwellers seeking a temporary change from their normal working environment.

In fact, the effects of tourism on the environment are generally "self-limiting" in a way which is not true of those of manufacturing industry. If an industrial firm pollutes a river or the surrounding air, any responses are incidental to the manufacturing process. But any suggestion of pollution (e.g. by sewage), or even of "environmental damage" (e.g. by concentrations of large hotels), in touristic areas has direct relevance to the touristic future of the area, thus provoking two typical self-limiting

---

1 In some areas, tourist developments may lead to derived industrial growth, with consequent intensive urbanization in suitable places. This has not yet happened to a very significant extent on Ibiza - although there has been a marked growth in recent years in industrial cities such as Madrid and Barcelona, elsewhere in Spain, to which the extra demand for manufactures created by tourism has no doubt contributed. But, in any event, the "self-limiting" factors discussed in this section must continue to apply to the touristic zones themselves, even if not to their "hinterland".
responses: firstly, the local growth of tourism may level out or be reversed, thus limiting any further pollution or "environmental damage"; and, secondly, the local authorities may be stimulated to introduce or to enforce more carefully development planning and environmental protection (as has already occurred both on Ibiza and in Spain as a whole - see Chapter Eight, above).

(d) Tourism and rural-urban differences

At many points in this thesis it has been difficult to make general statements because of an embarrassing wealth of apparent exceptions or counter-examples. Thus, in Chapter Seven, above, it is suggested that there has been a long-term transition (accelerated by tourism) from "more social" to "more economic" forms of exchange on Ibiza; but, at the same time, the example of the sale of a second-hand scooter (see pp.170-74, above) shows the continued existence of many traditional features of exchange - which (in view of the continued "face-to-face" features of native Ibizan society) cannot be regarded as mere "survivals" or "relics" destined to rapid extinction. And similar riders are added to many of the general statements in other chapters. These antinomies reflect the distinctive impact of tourism on rural-urban differences which may be conveniently analysed in terms of the Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft dichotomy.¹

¹First formulated in 1877 (see TÖNNIES, 1955), these concepts are now used in a fairly standard way by sociologists, usually divorced - as here - from TÖNNIES particular judgement of historical processes. They are used in two ways. Firstly, they may refer to types of social relationship: thus, Gemeinschaft refers to "social relationships which entail close personal ties, many broad goals, and wide ranging commitments"; while Gesellschaft refers to "social relationships which are specific, impersonal and instrumental". Secondly, they may denote contrasting types of society: thus, "A Gemeinschaft is a communal society in which people feel they belong together because they are of the same kind; ties of kinship are permanent"; while, "A Gesellschaft, by contrast, is an associational society in which the major social bonds are voluntary, based on the rational pursuit of self-interest and defined by contract." (Cited by MEIKS, 1972: 19. For a concise discussion of the concepts as used here, see also PARSONS, 1968: II, 686-94.)
The Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft typology was developed in response to a major concern of nineteenth-century sociologists: the social changes accompanying industrialisation and urbanisation. And they are still usually associated with these phenomena: thus the most frequently-cited examples are, on the one hand, a small, homogeneous, pre-industrial village (Gemeinschaft); and, on the other hand, a large, heterogeneous, industrial city (Gesellschaft). But they may also be applied - with some modifications - to the social changes produced by tourism.

Ibisan society prior to tourism came quite close to the ideal type of Gemeinschaft. There was a small, rural island with a highly-inbred population of less than 40,000 people living in close-knit communities, which together formed a true "patria xta", or a small country in its own right, with a distinctive island culture. The social relationships among the native islanders were typically "diffuse", and most exchanges were "social" in type. It is true that there had long been important trends away from this ideal type: the proportion of the island's population living in the capital town was growing; the cash nexus was becoming increasingly dominant; subsistence-farming was giving way to market-farming; national civil regulations and local bureaucratic administration were progressively taking over from communal self-management and customary practices; and the island was gradually becoming more closely integrated into the nation-state of Spain. Nevertheless, by comparison with other areas, the Ibisan society of the intermediate period would still have been labelled a "Gemeinschaft" with little hesitation by most sociologists.

The development of Gesellschaft features in Spain prior to tourism was generally associated with the growth of large towns. If manufacturing industry had been able to develop on Ibiza, it would almost certainly have led to a much greater urban concentration of the population - as happened on the larger island of Mallorca. In fact, the limited size of Ibiza-town was formerly an index of the limited shift towards Gesellschaft on the
island: by emigrating, the surplus Iblisan rural population took the major pressure for changes in this respect away from the island. But tourism has now altered this situation in a very distinctive fashion. There has, it is true, been some consequent growth of the capital-town; but it remains small by standards elsewhere; and the new settlement-pattern produced by tourism is neither typically "urban" nor typically "rural" - it comprises small settlements in a rural setting but with a plural, highly geographically-mobile population.

For the purposes of this section, the plurality of groups on Iblisa may be reduced to a duality: on the one hand, there is the society of the native Iblisans - which continues to manifest many Gemeinschaft features; and, on the other hand, there is the "society" of the outsiders. Each year, an enormous number (over half of a million in 1972) of strangers stay for an average of between ten and eleven days on the island; and to these must be added the unassimilated migrant workers and foreigners who are resident for longer periods. Even if this total population of outsiders is divided out over the whole year, the average number of transient and permanent outsiders on Iblisa is now over one-third of the size of the native population. The outsiders are typically completely unrelated (apart from the specific common factor of tourism) either to one another or to the native islanders, and exchanges involving them are typically "economic": in other words, there is at all times - though more so in summer than in winter - a Gesellschaft "society" on Iblisa.

The personnel of the "two societies" are distinct, but members of both may be found in town and country alike: in other words, the "two societies" transcend the rural-urban boundary; instead of conforming roughly with it, as in most Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft analyses. Other commonly-cited exceptions - such as "urban villages" (GANS, 1962) and the converse "urbs in rure" (FAHL, 1965) - are not really comparable with the Iblisan case, which does not involve pockets of "the country in the town" or of "the town
in the country", but rather two societies whose definitions do not depend on the rural-urban distinction - hence the use of "transcend". In as far as the two societies are "insulated" (see, e.g., pp. 178-79, above), the native society is not (directly) affected; but, to the extent that they "overlap", the Gesellschaft features of the "society of outsiders" tend to penetrate the local society.

In other words, whereas manufacturing industry typically affects rural areas in an indirect fashion (by stimulating the growth of towns; by consequently attracting labour away from farming; and by producing farm-machinery and other technical innovations), tourism affects them directly. And, whereas the initial impact, at least, of manufacturing industry is more notable in the towns, that of tourism is more marked in rural areas.¹ Tourism thus brings a form of modernization directly to many areas - like Ibiza - which have been relatively-little affected by prior urban-industrial development. Moreover, it does not necessarily produce a marked increase in urbanization in these areas: in fact, as we have seen, it tends to enhance the economic importance of the rural areas vis-a-vis more urban ones (e.g., that of the country municipalities vis-a-vis that of the capital town on Ibiza; that of the predominantly-rural island of Ibiza vis-a-vis the urban-industrial centres of Spain); thus increasing their capacity for autonomous development, and reversing former trends of rural decline and assimilation into metropolitan areas.

Tourism might therefore be said to promote "urbanity" without "urbanization". And this explains the apparently-contradictory features of modern Ibisan society. Firstly, there is the duality between the Gemeinschaft

¹In the city, tourists represent just another component of the already-heterogeneous population; so that their social impact is relatively slight, even though they may create additional administrative and other pressures if their numbers are sufficiently large - as appears to be the case in London, for example (YOUNG, 1973: Chapter VI). But in the country, the presence of mass tourism introduces an entirely new element into the local way of life.
of the natives and the Gesellschaft of the visitors. Secondly, there is the consequent evolution of a native society which retains many of the features which formerly made it an archetypal "Gemeinschaft"; but which also incorporates many of the attributes of the world-view, the modes of exchange and interaction, and the rational-legal administration of the "Gesellschaft".

(e) The national level: a distinctive form of modernisation?

In Spain there are great regional variations: in ethnic and cultural development; in forms of agricultural exploitation; in urban-industrial development; and in the distribution of tourism. And Ibiza is only a tiny area of Spain, so that any extrapolation of the findings of this thesis to Spain as a whole must be very cautious. In particular, there are parts of Spain which have much higher levels of urban-industrial development than that on Ibiza; and this development has been encouraged by the state government, partly to counter any tendency towards total economic dependence on tourism ("el monocultivo del turismo"). To some extent, then, at the national level Spain has more in common with urban-industrial nations than has the island of Ibiza. But there is definitely an international "division of labour" with regard to tourism, as is the case for other economic phenomena; and Spain has undoubtedly "specialised" in tourism in recent decades.¹ And, to the extent that this is so, the modernisation of Spain at the national level may be expected to show the distinctive features discussed in sections (a) - (d), above.

¹On the dominant role played by tourism in the economic development of Spain as a whole, see for example NAYLON (1967). It may also be noted that in 1967 the per capita density of tourism (i.e., the number of visiting tourists per native inhabitant per year) had reached 0.56 in Spain; which compares with 0.05 in the U.S.A., 0.08 in Britain, and 0.11 in West Germany. Only five countries had a higher density than Spain in 1967: Ireland (0.61), Canada (0.78), Austria (0.93), Switzerland (0.99), and Bermuda (4.74). (MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO ... , 1970: 53)
12.7 DIVERGENT VIEWPOINTS

It is frequently stated in this thesis that the majority of Ibizans are favourably disposed towards tourism and towards its general effects on the island's society. And yet an Ibizan is quoted above (on pages 437-38) as saying that "for some Ibizans" these are times of "ill-being" and of "preoccupation"; and that such Ibizans dislike almost all of the current changes. What, then, are the reasons for these divergent viewpoints, and how representative are they respectively?

It is possible to find people holding either viewpoint at any level of Ibizan society; but in general terms the backward-looking, negative viewpoint is confined to those members of the former urban and rural élites who have neither fully adapted to tourism nor profited from it - notably some of the landed gentry and (often related) professional people (including the older generations of priests and teachers). The status and the relative wealth of such people have declined as those of the business classes and of the working-people in general have risen. The author cited above (FAJARNESS CARDONA, 1958) is a case in point: he belongs to the élite group of authors and other professional people who have emerged from the landed gentry of Ibiza. His book completely glosses over the great social distances which existed on pre-touristic Ibiza: indeed, he blandly denies that there were any social distances, saying - while carefully dissociating himself from the phrase's revolutionary usage - that the island was formerly characterized by "liberty, equality and fraternity".¹ In his eyes, Ibiza was formerly an idyll of tranquillity and well-being; whereas the touristic period is

¹"libertad, igualdad y fraternidad" (FAJARNES CARDONA, 1958: 115). Earlier chapters here have shown the fundamentally ideological character of this "ethos of equality" on Ibiza, however, the relatively-narrow range of former wealth notwithstanding. Any apparent "equality" in fact rested on the clear recognition of their "place" by social inferiors: cf. the comments on the apparently "closer" relationship between whites and negroes in the South of America - where slavery still existed - than in the North in 1830, by TOCQUEVILLE (1963: 191).
viewed as one of chaotic change, the disruption of the social and moral order, and the rise of "vulgarity". The "vulgar" Ibizans, on the other hand, associate the past with misery and backwardness; and they have a positive, forward-looking viewpoint on the current changes. They are, of course, the great majority of the islanders.

However, social class differences are not the only factor influencing the divergent viewpoints. Thus, the viewpoint of Fajarnés Cardona is remarkably similar - even in its details - to that of certain non-local commentators on tourism (e.g. Carr, 1973; Johns, 1973); and it is shared by many of the foreign residents and "hippies" on Ibiza - and even by some of the tourists themselves. Furthermore, it is very reminiscent of the nostalgic attitude of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sociologists towards the general European transition from semi-traditional, largely-rural societies to modern, urban-industrial ones. The main feature which all of these categories of people have in common is that they are (mostly middle- or upper-class) members of Gesellschaft societies or social groups: for them, Gemeinschaft societies have a romantic charm which they try to capture by occasional visits (e.g. the tourists), through "second homes" in the country (e.g. the wealthier townsmen and nuclear villagers on Ibiza), or through retirement or semi-retirement in their favourite rural area (e.g. the foreign residents and "hippies"). As they are subject neither to the social constraints nor to the poverty which also often characterised such areas prior to tourism, it is not surprising that such people tend to view with disfavour the process of modernisation (which involves some shift towards a Gesellschaft) in these areas, which is - ironically - brought about very largely by the movement (towards a temporary or permanent escape

1 The existence of a similar, general "esprit moderniste" in 1964 on the neighbouring island of Formentera was noted by Robertson (1964: 7).
from "modernity" and from Gesellschaft environments) of which such people are a part. 1

And, finally, just as the attitudes of the old Iban elites are shared by the members of privileged nations and social strata elsewhere, so the contrasting viewpoint of the majority of Ibanians may be found among newly-mobile individuals in societies undergoing modernization from causes other than tourism:

"Whatever merit the conventional dichotomy of urban industrial versus rural stability may have possessed once upon a time somewhere, in the Middle East today people talk as if they never heard such nonsense .... Traditional society is passing from the Middle East chiefly because relatively few Middle Easterners still want to live by its rules."


1Not all tourists from urban-industrial societies are attempting to "escape from modernity", of course: for most of the tourists on Ibiza modern conveniences in hotels are an essential part of their holiday; and their choice of Ibiza - rather than, say, Blackpool - is dictated more by considerations such as the sun, the warm sea, and the cheap wine, than by the desire for a change of social environment (their demand for English-style food and entertainment emphasises this). Nevertheless, relatively few English tourists spend much of their time visiting cities at home or abroad; whereas, in contrast, many of the Ibicans who can now afford to visit England choose to spend most of their holiday in London, finding a journey on the underground far more alluring - for a while, at least - than a trip along the coast in a glass-bottomed boat or the sight of the sun setting across the sea. In this respect, it is interesting to note that some 90 per cent of all overseas visitors to the United Kingdom apparently spend some time in London, and that some three-quarters of these do not go outside the capital during their visit (YOUNG, 1973: 111) - a pattern which contrasts very strikingly with that of foreign tourism in Spain.
## APPENDIX I

### TABLE 21

**POPULATION (1392-1970)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Islands of Ibiza and Formentera</th>
<th>Island of Ibiza</th>
<th>Town of Ibiza</th>
<th>Country of Ibiza</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1392</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1,614</td>
<td>7,982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1652</td>
<td>10,250</td>
<td>10,250</td>
<td>7,982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>13,707</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>8,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>15,290</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>8,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>18,542</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>8,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>20,599</td>
<td>19,075</td>
<td>12,563</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>23,791</td>
<td>19,075</td>
<td>12,563</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>23,492</td>
<td>21,808</td>
<td>14,602</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>24,466</td>
<td>22,620</td>
<td>15,227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>24,554</td>
<td>22,620</td>
<td>15,227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>24,273</td>
<td>22,620</td>
<td>15,227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>25,814</td>
<td>23,556</td>
<td>17,229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>26,926</td>
<td>24,628</td>
<td>18,403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>26,984</td>
<td>24,476</td>
<td>18,308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>31,575</td>
<td>28,646</td>
<td>21,030</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>37,353</td>
<td>33,961</td>
<td>24,317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>38,139</td>
<td>35,482</td>
<td>23,199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>37,173</td>
<td>34,502</td>
<td>23,243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>40,698</td>
<td>37,811</td>
<td>24,366</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>48,040</td>
<td>45,075</td>
<td>28,132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* In 1392, there were approximately 500 households on Ibiza. During the traditional period, there was a fairly constant ratio of 4 to 5 persons per household, which would give a total population in 1392 of some 2,000 to 2,500 persons, if the estimate of 500 households is correct.

*b* Formentera was uninhabited for much of the traditional period.

*c* These figures were based on the estimates of the priests in each quarté, and not on a census.

### Sources:

BARCELLO PONS (1970: 50, 64-5, 258),
CASTELLO GUASCH (1967: 32),
I.N.E. (1973a),
TABLE 22
TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ibiza</th>
<th>San Antonio</th>
<th>San José</th>
<th>San Juan</th>
<th>Santa Eulalia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>6,512</td>
<td>3,411</td>
<td>2,916</td>
<td>3,551</td>
<td>4,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>7,206</td>
<td>4,031</td>
<td>3,653</td>
<td>3,964</td>
<td>4,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>7,393</td>
<td>3,864</td>
<td>3,730</td>
<td>4,238</td>
<td>5,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>6,327</td>
<td>4,263</td>
<td>3,989</td>
<td>4,229</td>
<td>4,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>6,225</td>
<td>4,550</td>
<td>4,004</td>
<td>4,808</td>
<td>5,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>6,168</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>4,696</td>
<td>4,134</td>
<td>4,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>7,616</td>
<td>5,014</td>
<td>5,099</td>
<td>4,612</td>
<td>6,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>9,644</td>
<td>5,377</td>
<td>5,985</td>
<td>5,391</td>
<td>7,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>12,283</td>
<td>5,597</td>
<td>5,180</td>
<td>5,037</td>
<td>7,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>11,259</td>
<td>5,635</td>
<td>5,076</td>
<td>5,137</td>
<td>7,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>13,445</td>
<td>6,609</td>
<td>5,403</td>
<td>4,909</td>
<td>7,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>16,943</td>
<td>9,537</td>
<td>5,884</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>9,299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: As for Table 21.

TABLE 23
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ibiza</th>
<th>San Antonio</th>
<th>San José</th>
<th>San Juan</th>
<th>Santa Eulalia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: All horizontal columns sum to 100.0 per cent, with the exception of that for 1930, which sums to 99.2, owing to an error in the source.

Sources:
BACELLO PONS (1970: 265),
APPENDIX II

The categories "primary sector", "secondary sector" and "tertiary sector" are useful for the analysis of economic changes on Ibiza, but certain practical difficulties arise in the interpretation of official statistics on the secondary and tertiary sectors and also in the categorization of certain activities (particularly those which combine manufacturing and distribution, and small craft industries such as carpentry, baking or dressmaking). Such problems are of less importance, however, in the case of the primary sector, which has been defined as follows:

"Our subject-matter is defined as the supply of farm and fishing products, the word 'farm' including grazing activities of all kinds, even those of desert and nomadic herdsmen. Fishing is included, not only because it produces a food which can be used in direct replacement of meat, but also because, in many countries, there are a number of peasant fishermen who divide their time between the two occupations, and it would be highly artificial to try to analyse this division. . . . Forestry . . . . Hunting and trapping . . . ."

(CLARK, 1957: 253)

The "secondary sector" typically refers to manufacturing industry, for which the following criteria have been suggested:

"Manufacture can be precisely defined as the continuous transformation, on a large scale, of raw materials, into transportable products. The operative word continuous excludes such processes as hand tailoring, shoe repairing and the like; similarly the word transportable excludes all processes of building, construction and installation, which are more conveniently classified with the service industries. It is indeed the continuousness of the process and the transportability of the product which give manufacture its essential nature, of concentrating at one point the production of goods which will eventually be consumed over a considerable area, and thereby of subdividing and rendering more economic the process of production."

(CLARK, 1957: 326)

But this definition makes it very difficult to use official statistics, as Clark admits:
"The numbers shown by the Census of Population as engaged in manufacture cannot be used. Even in the most economically advanced countries these latter figures always include a substantial number of those who would be regarded, for statistical purposes, as handcraftsmen and not engaged in manufacture (dressmakers, shoe repairers, upholsterers and the like)."

(CLARK, 1957: 338)

Moreover, in the case of Ibiza, there is almost no industry which conforms to all of Clark's criteria. There are, however, a considerable number of businesses involved in small-scale manufacture (often combined with repair work and distribution, which are clearly "services"). It is useful to distinguish both these and the important construction industry on Ibiza from the service industries directly associated with tourism. And, in the Spanish statistical sources which I have used, the secondary sector includes construction as well as manufacture, on a large or small scale, and artisanry. I have followed this inclusive definition of the "secondary sector" in the thesis, and this should be taken into account in interpreting the statistical information in particular.

The tertiary sector typically comprises "services" of all kinds, which do not per se involve the production of anything more tangible than the satisfaction of the customer. It includes, for example, commerce and the distribution of goods; banks, savings and insurance; personal and professional services; public administration; hotels and leisure facilities; and rented accommodation. It is also used as a residual category to include any form of productive economic activity not included in the first two sectors: construction and small handicrafts are thus sometimes included in the tertiary sector (e.g. CLARK, 1957: 375) - although here they are considered secondary.

On Ibiza, nearly all of the other service industries are directly dependent on tourism, which is the only one discussed in detail here. (There is a table showing the distribution of the tertiary sector in BARCELO PONS, 1970: 241.)

---

1. The most important of these is BARCELO PONS (1970), which refers to Clark's sectors, but in fact adopts a more inclusive definition of the secondary sector, like that used here.

2. I have also included mining and salt production (though both might be treated as "extractive" components of the primary sector) in the section on the development of capitalism, with trade and industry, because of their organisation and heavy capital requirements.
The estimates of the length of the drought (See page 111, above) by the islanders varied from two to about twelve years, although most referred vaguely to "a number of years" ("fa uns quants anys"). It was difficult to obtain any more precise answer, which struck me as curious in view of the apparent recency and alleged importance of the drought. However, there is a published reference to it as early as 1964. Referring to the problems of Ibisan agriculture in the early 1960s, a prominent member of the local Chamber of Commerce stated that:

"La situación es crítica. La continuada sequía, causante del agotamiento de los posos del caudal mediano, y de la reducción del área de regadíos, por una parte, y la aparición de nuevos puestos de trabajo, en otros sectores – especialmente hostelería y construcción – bien remunerados, por otra parte, han provocado la emigración de la juventud campesina ..."

"The situation is critical. The continuing drought, which has caused the exhaustion of the wells with a middling flow, and the reduction of the area under irrigation, on the one hand; and the appearance of new positions of employment, in other sectors – especially the hotel trade and construction – which are well paid, on the other hand; have provoked the emigration of the young country people ..."

(Castilian. RAMON PAJARNES, 1964: 158)

It may be noted that the drought is given first place in this explanation, which (although it is expressed in more technical language) is typical of the statements made to me by the country people of San José in 1970-71. Another statement of this type, published in 1969, refers to the Balearic Islands as a whole:

"La acusada disminución del ganado ovino cabe atribuirse a las sequías de los últimos años."

"The marked fall in numbers of the sheep and goats may be attributed to the droughts of the last few years."

(Castilian. ANGUERA SANSO, 1969: 38)

There is no doubt that the Ibisan climate's general lack of reliability
has been an important element in the transfer of labour from farming to
tourism. But the surprising emphasis which some Ibizans (especially
older country people) placed upon the "drought" as a factor in the
decline of farming made me wonder whether an element of rationalization
might be involved. As RAMON FAJARDES (1964: 158) commented: "About
the drought nothing can be done." ("Respecto a la sequía nada puede
hacerse.") The drought (or "fate") might thus be used to account for
young people leaving farming; playing down motives such as higher incomes,
cleaner work, the desire for a higher occupational status, or the wish to
be free of parental authority. As a crude test of this hypothesis, I
obtained monthly and annual rainfall figures from the observatory at
the island's airport, where records have been kept since 1952. The annual
totals are shown in the following table and graph. There has, in fact,
been no notable change in the annual pattern of rainfall on Ibiza during
recent years. (There have, it is true, been very wide monthly and annual
variations, with several very dry years such as 1961 and 1966 - but there
is no new factor involved to suggest any overall climatic change.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rainfall (mm.)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rainfall (mm.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>352.5</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>401.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>155.4</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>440.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>452.6</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>367.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>233.8</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>203.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>489.4</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>359.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>539.3</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>396.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>378.2</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>328.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>511.4</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>533.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>193.5</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>448.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Observatorio de Ibiza (unpublished data)

Clearly other factors may be involved - e.g., there may be some confusion of
the "drought" with the effects of increased demands on ground-water (see
pp. 104-5, above); and the lasting psychological impact of each "bad year" may
be important. It may also be noted that a change in the climate was used by
the Ibizans to account for the decline in cotton cultivation - in the
first half of the last century (GIBERT, 1845: 269).
FIGURE 15. ANNUAL RAINFALL (1953-1970)

(Based on figures in Table 24)
APPENDIX IV

TABLE 25
TOURISM ON IBIZA (1954-1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of &quot;Travellers&quot; (&quot;Viajeros&quot;)</th>
<th>Number of Overnight Stays (&quot;Estancias&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>10,572</td>
<td>156,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>18,663</td>
<td>190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>30,119</td>
<td>269,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>41,253</td>
<td>408,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>44,413</td>
<td>479,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>55,984</td>
<td>709,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>84,787</td>
<td>1,004,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>102,238</td>
<td>1,215,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>113,415</td>
<td>1,256,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>135,810</td>
<td>1,597,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>161,675</td>
<td>1,830,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>263,604</td>
<td>3,144,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>350,906</td>
<td>4,296,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>493,859</td>
<td>5,850,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>515,052</td>
<td>6,127,990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The figures for 1954 and 1957 include Formentera. For the same years only, the number of "estancias" is an approximation based on an average stay of ten days per "viajero".

Sources:
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO ... (1973),
ZORNOZA BERNABEU (1964: 170).
Although of great antiquity in popular thought and ethical writings, conceptions of "social exchange" are in vogue among sociologists and anthropologists. Their current interests stem in particular from the empirical work of MALINOWSKI (1922) and the theoretical insights of MAUSS (1923-1924); whose ideas have been revived and developed by more recent writers such as HOMANS (1958), GOULDNER (1960) and others. There is a detailed development of the resulting "exchange theory" in BLAU (1964), whose work is referred to in Chapter Seven, above. The concepts of exchange theory seemed clearly relevant to the changes on Ibiza which are discussed in that chapter - and yet BLAU's formulation was in some ways inappropriate to the Iban context, so that I have adopted a different (though related) definition of "social exchange" and "economic exchange". 

HOMANS (1958: 606, my italics) has viewed exchange theory as a distinctive sociological perspective, in which essentially economic notions of rational behaviour, exchange, bargaining and competition are applied to all forms of social behaviour:

"Of all our many 'approaches' to social behaviour, the one that sees it as an economy is the most neglected, and yet it is the one we use every moment of our lives - except when we write sociology."

BLAU also uses exchange theory as a sociological perspective, but he is careful to state its limitations, saying for example: "Not all human behaviour is guided by considerations of exchange, though much of it is, more than we usually think." (BLAU, 1964: 5) BLAU also differs from HOMANS in that he often treats "social exchange" as something to be observed empirically in social behaviour, rather than using the concept simply as part of an interpretative perspective. Instead of viewing social
behaviour "as an economy", he carefully contrasts "social exchange" and "economic exchange": in fact, he uses the various differences to build up a gradual definition of the two concepts.

BLAU makes two rather different types of distinction in the course of his analysis:

Firstly, he sometimes refers to differences in the quality of the relationship between the parties to an exchange, employing the extrinsic-intrinsic (or instrumental-expressive) dimension:

"Social exchange always entails elements of intrinsic significance for the participants, which distinguishes it from strictly economic transactions, although its focus is on benefits of some extrinsic value and on, at least, implicit bargaining for advantage, which distinguishes it from the mutual attraction and support in profound love. The taboo on explicit bargaining in the exchange of gifts is designed to protect their significance as tokens of friendship, that is, as signs of intrinsic attraction, from being obliterated by the inherent value of the objects themselves. Social exchange, then, is an intermediate case between pure calculation of advantage and pure expression of love." (BLAU, 1964: 112)

Secondly, however, he refers elsewhere to features of the exchange itself, gradually developing quite a narrow definition of "social exchange":

(i) Unspecified obligations: - "Social exchange differs in important ways from strictly economic exchange. The basic and most crucial distinction is that social exchange entails unspecified obligations. The prototype of an economic transaction rests on a formal contract that stipulates the exact quantities to be exchanged. ... Social exchange, in contrast, involves the principle that one person does another a favor, and while there is a general expectation of some future return, its exact nature is definitely not stipulated in advance." (BLAU, 1964: 93)

(ii) No bargaining: - "... the nature of the return cannot be bargained about but must be left to the discretion of the one who makes it." (BLAU, 1964: 93)

(iii) Trust: - "Since there is no way to assure an appropriate return for a favor, social exchange requires trusting others to discharge their obligations." (BLAU, 1964: 94)

(iv) Emotional involvement: - "Only social exchange tends to engender feelings of personal obligations, gratitude and trust; purely economic exchange as such does not." (BLAU, 1964: 94)

(v) No exact monetary prices: - "In contrast to economic commodities, the benefits involved in social exchange do not have an exact price in terms of a single quantitative medium of exchange, which is another reason why social obligations are unspecified. It is essential to realize that this is a substantial fact, not simply a methodological problem. It is not just the social scientist who cannot measure exactly how much approval a given helpful action is worth; the actors themselves cannot precisely specify the worth of approval or of help in the absence of a money price." (BLAU, 1964: 94-5)
Deferred reciprocity: — "Generally, post-haste reciprocation of favors, which implies a refusal to stay indebted for a while and hence an insistence on a more business-like relationship, is condemned as improper." (BLAU, 1964: 99)

These quotations give a good idea of BLAU’s interpretation of the concept of social exchange. Similar notions are being applied extensively in European and Mediterranean sociology, as the title of a recent collection of rural community research papers — "Gifts and Poison: The Politics of Reputation" (BAILEY, 1971) — indicates. Exchange theory has proved particularly fruitful for the analysis of social inequality in rural Mediterranean communities — with a strong emphasis on patron-client relationships, as for example in FITT-RIVERS (1961: Ch. X, "Friendship and Authority"); KENNY (1960); CAMPBELL (1964); BOISSEVAIN (1969c: Ch. VIII, "The Village and the Outside World"); and PESTISTIANY (1968: Section III, "Patron-Client Relations — Marketing"). Indeed, some of the concepts of exchange theory seem indispensable for the analysis of social behaviour in Mediterranean peasant villages, where they are often explicitly recognised in local terminology — as is the case on Ibiza — and where concepts of economic relationships and stratification derived from the study of urban-industrial societies sometimes have limited relevance. Nevertheless, there are two important qualifications over the application of BLAU’s ideas to the context of social change on Ibiza.

The first qualification relates to the essential differences in exchange conditions between large-scale, industrial American society and small-scale, non-industrial Ibisan society. BLAU himself acknowledges that his work applies especially to American society, and that it may consequently contain culture-bound elements, even though he does draw on some material from other cultures. (BLAU, 1964: 6-7) Now, while there may be some universal features of exchange, it is dangerous to assume them in advance of fieldwork. Consequently, an inductive method was adopted in preparing Chapter Seven (as for the rest of the thesis) — in spite of the order of presentation: i.e., the use of BLAU’s ideas was determined
by the fieldwork experience rather than vice-versa. A major problem in applying BLAU's ideas to Ibiza, especially prior to tourism, is that it is difficult in practice to differentiate social exchange from economic exchange in a society where multiplex social ties predominate and the use of money has been (until recently) quite limited. In fact, all exchanges on rural Ibiza in the past tended to share features both of "social exchange" and of "economic exchange", in BLAU's usage. As in other peasant communities, both in Spain and elsewhere (see, e.g., Foster, 1962: 157-158), affective relationships on Ibiza tended to be less casual and more explicitly based on reciprocity than are those in modern America or the United Kingdom. Conversely, trade relationships - which BLAU considers to be essentially "economic exchange" - tended to involve "elements of intrinsic significance for the participants"; or, at least, they affected and were affected by the personal relationships between the participants. These points are considered more fully in Chapter Seven.

The second qualification over the application of BLAU's ideas is that this is a study of social change. BLAU's analysis is both general and static. Where he uses illustrations from other cultures - e.g. the Kula ring (BLAU, 1964: Ch.IV, passim) - it is to draw comparisons rather than contrasts. And (apart from an aside in the introduction), there is no consideration of the possibility that the quality of exchange procedures and relationships may change over time, as well as differing from one place to another. In contrast, such changes are the central theme of Chapter Seven.

For these reasons, a broader and more flexible definition of "social exchange" than that of BLAU is used here, although the two definitions are clearly closely related (see pp. 154-155, above).

---

1 The same may be said of most, if not all, of the Mediterranean studies which have used exchange theory ideas. This has, of course, been one of the main criticisms levelled at the functionalist perspective, from which exchange theory has emerged.
### TABLE 26

**MUNICIPAL BUDGETS (SAN JOSÉ)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Budget (pesetas)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Budget (pesetas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>65,796</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>388,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>88,354</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>464,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>93,270</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>501,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>93,180</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>616,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>152,717</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>616,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>150,716</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>623,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>180,716</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>926,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>236,200</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,228,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>225,470</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,551,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>234,480</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,622,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>216,440</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2,285,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>215,080</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2,735,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>250,551</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>4,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>342,712</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>307,439</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Unpublished municipal records (San José)
The process of "desamortización", or disentailment, is given only passing mention in this thesis. This is mainly due to the lack of published information on disentailment on Ibiza - which could only be remedied by specialized archival research - so that the following details are included with reservations.

Under the ancien régime, Spanish society was divided into Nobility, Clergy and Third Estate. Certain properties were entailed - and could therefore not be sold subsequently - to each noble family or ecclesiastical institution, thus ensuring some continuity in their wealth and prominence at the expense of liquidity. Liberal reforms in the first half of the nineteenth century aimed at producing a freer market in land and promoting increased agricultural efficiency, while at the same time freeing cash for the more impoverished lower strata of nobles. (See, e.g., CANO, 1966: 39, and passim.)

In practice, the consequences of the disentailing measures were relatively limited. The details have provided material for both political and academic controversy, but the following quotation provides a succinct summary of the major effects which will suffice here:

"1. A newly strengthened bourgeoisie appeared in the centre (Madrid). It was composed of the 'new rich' who had bought latifundia from the nobles and the Church. . . .
2. The wealthiest nobility remained mainly untouched by desamortización. Later on they joined the upper bourgeoisie, but kept their vast estates intact throughout the nineteenth century and down to the present day.
3. Poor peasants were settled in municipal properties which had undergone desamortización, and which were not suitable for individualistic, non-commercial cultivation. Many rural municipalities which were in this way cut off from their main source of income were severely weakened."

(CANO, 1968: 8-9)

These general consequences have of course affected Spain as a whole, but
it should be noted that there were great variations in the immediate impact of disentailment in different regions, because of the uneven distribution of commons and of other entailed land. Such differences even existed between the major islands of the Balearic archipelago (BISSON, 1969: 174-76, for example, mentions differences between disentailment on Mallorca and Menorca).

There was no common land of any significance on Ibiza (see p. 180, above). Nor was there any Ibizan nobility. Ecclesiastical disentailment was therefore the only significant form on the island, and even this is rarely mentioned in local published sources. The amount of land in the direct possession of the clergy on the island seems to have been relatively small, although its sale probably benefitted the wealthier laymen in or near the capital town, thus contributing in some measure to the changes towards capitalism described in Chapter Six, above. However, the suppression (in 1837) of the tithes and other feudal dues - which the Church received by virtue of its lay conseigniority of the island with the King dating back to the thirteenth century - was perhaps more important. The changes brought an end to the historical association of clerical and lay authority on Ibiza, diminished the power and income of the Church, and thus both directly and indirectly enhanced the importance of the incipient lay bourgeoisie. The effect of disentailment on the poorer Ibizans is a matter for conjecture in the absence of suitable information, but in view of the lack of common lands and the predominance of small- to medium-sized farms worked by owners or share-croppers it is doubtful whether disentailment had much immediate effect either way on most people on Ibiza.

1 In fact, commons were not generally of much importance in the rest of Catalonia, in marked contrast to some parts of Spain (Cara, 1966: 273n.).

2 There are occasional mentions in MACABICH (1966-67) - see, for example, the appendix "Sobre desamortización" in Vol. II, pp. 234-37 - but I know of no systematic or quantitative account published to date.
APPENDIX VIII

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and its aftermath are mentioned quite frequently in the thesis, but a detailed treatment in the body of the text seemed inappropriate both because of the primary focus on the effects of tourism and because of the depth of historical perspective employed in the thesis. The historical approach was adopted to avoid the common error of over-emphasizing recent events and consequently missing long-standing historical continuities both in social organisation and in processes of social change. However, it may be the case — as the critical comments of a reader imply — that this approach may have (unintentionally) led to an under-emphasis of the continuing influence of the civil war and its aftermath on current events and socio-economic organisation in Spain. The fact that the thesis is a case-study of Ibiza — where, for various reasons, the tensions and not infrequent violence of other parts of Spain are less significant — no doubt contributes to any such under-emphasis.

The method adopted of progressive inductive generalisation from participant observation based in a rural municipality (though extensively supplemented by other material, of course) may also be a factor — both because of the lack of effective political involvement at the popular level and because of the common tendency at all levels to play down any politically-significant cleavages (both of these characteristics are of course partly consequences of the civil war). These points should be kept in mind when the thesis is read, and the following account should provide at least some idea of the direct and indirect impacts of the civil war even on the generally tranquil island of Ibiza.

There were no dramatic battles on Ibiza, and the island receives no more
than passing references in historical accounts of the civil war, but the strategic position of the Balearic Islands relative to the eastern coast of Spain and for the control of the western Mediterranean soon brought Ibiza into the war as an attractive base for either side - a situation with historical precedents going back to the Punic and Roman eras.

On the 19th July, 1936 - two days after the military revolt in Morocco - Mestres, the commander of the small standing garrison on Ibiza, declared in favour of the rebellion. He proclaimed martial law and took over the powers of the civil authorities. Workmen were forbidden to strike, to hold meetings, or to refrain from their usual work, on pain of imprisonment or death. The radio and postal services were censored and, of course, the normal passenger boats from the mainland failed to appear. As for local trade:

"The stores did some desultory business, but the farmers from the hills already had begun to cling to their supply of pesetas. For some reason, the peasants got nervous about paper money immediately and tried to change it for metal coins, some of which were buried."

(Paul, 1937: 217)

Apart from the proclamation of martial law, and the recruitment and drilling of right-wing volunteers, there was rather little activity during the next week or so. The predominant responses on the island were confusion, apprehension, a disposition on the part of the de facto authorities and the ordinary people alike to wait and see what happened elsewhere, and a frequently-expressed hope that nothing serious could happen on Ibiza:

"The slightest rumour took wings and was strengthened by a long series of imaginings. But out of it all, an opinion began to crystallize and was heard up and down the street and in the houses, namely, that the people of Ibiza must be patient and would be forced to be guided by whatever decisions were reached on the peninsula. 'Here, we shall not begin killing one another,' I heard men and women say, again and again."

(Paul, 1937: 217)

1... and only after a period of indecision and lengthy deliberations among the military and civil guard officers, according to an informed oral account.
In San José, the people joked uneasily:

"Si venen aquí no faré falta d'ametralladores - amb una escorretions dominarien sa gent d'aquí!" "If they come here, there will be no need for machine-guns - a few mule-goads are all that is necessary to dominate the people here!"

At the end of the first week of martial law, a curfew at 10.30 p.m. was announced, but the following incident illustrates the reluctance of the local authorities to take drastic actions of any kind at this stage:

PAUL (1937: 219-220) describes how a local Republican wandered drunkenly up and down the main street of Santa Úlalia after the curfew-hour, yelling defiantly: "I want to be locked up. Come and get me, damned duros Sevillanos [sic]. I want to be locked up." Paul noticed two civil guards quietly disappear down a side-street to avoid being forced to take notice: he himself helped to calm the drunken man and later saw him home.

By the end of the second week, however, a number of politically-active Republicans were arrested - with or without formal charges - and imprisoned in the fortress in Ibiza-town. Other people with known left-wing activities went into hiding. The growing tension on the island was increased by the arrival of leaflets from Republican aircraft, demanding that Mestres should surrender his command and warning people to evacuate the capital town if he failed to do so. In response, Mestres organised search-parties and sent them out to look for those Republicans hiding in the woods: Paul (1937: 255) mentions the villages of Santa Úlalia and San Carlos in particular as being places where Mestres' authority was still in question. The searches were largely fruitless: this was probably partly because of the unfenced rough wooded terrain and the predominant lack of popular support for any form of man-hunt; but - though a committed Republican supporter - Paul suggests

---

1 "Duros sevillanos" ("Sevillan five-peseta coins") was a pejorative nickname for the civil guards, comparing them with counterfeit money.

2 It may be noted that there were a number of very large farms - by Ibizan standards, at least - in the Santa Úlalia area, and also that within living memory lead-mining had been a fairly important occupation in the area between Santa Úlalia and San Carlos.
firstly that the local Republicans in the Santa Catalalia and San Carlos area went into hiding at just the right moment in response to a tip-off from a local civil guard and, secondly, that the civil guard officer leading the search-parties took care to avoid finding the men in hiding. Two more sets of leaflets were dropped from the air. The first again asked Mestres and his supporters to surrender, urging the people to treat them humanely, and saying that they would be judged by the proper authorities in due course according to their degree of complicity and guilt. But the final leaflets asked the regular soldiers on Ibiza to rise and kill their rebel officers with the authority of the government: this did not happen, however.

The leaflets were from a joint Catalan and Valencian expeditionary force under the command of Captain Bayo, comprising four transport ships escorted by a battleship, two destroyers, a submarine and six aeroplanes. The small neighbouring island of Formentera was taken without resistance on 7th August. A local priest and two other people were killed (Macabich, 1945: 260-61), but the lieutenant in charge of the tiny garrison was not harmed, apparently (Paul, 1937). On the same day, the warships fired on the Castle and Cathedral in the old town of Ibiza (without causing injury or very much damage), in an effort to convince Mestres of the futility of resistance. Many of the townspeople fled to the country. Then, on 8th August, some four thousand militiamen (Paul, 1937. Another source, Macabich, 1945: 261, says five thousand,) disembarked in the Santa Catalalia-San Carlos area, after a brief exchange of shots with a small group of Nationalist volunteers (there is no record of any casualties in these skirmishes). The militiamen set fire to the parish church in San Carlos, where the priest and his father were killed. It is not clear how or by whom they were killed - I have come across several incompatible versions - but their deaths symbolized the end of the hopes of avoiding serious bloodshed on Ibiza: the appalled reaction to this news in neighbouring Santa Catalalia was that "Now it will never end!" (Paul, 1937). The Republican militia went on to Santa Catalalia,
setting fire to the parish church there, and killing three people for complicity in the rebellion.

On the following day, 9th August, the militia arrived in the capital of Ibiza, where - to their surprise - they found an empty castle flying the white flag; it had been abandoned by the garrison (which, including volunteers, numbered less than one hundred men, according to MACABICH, 1945: 261), despite the earlier defiance of the leaflet warnings. The militia celebrated their easy victory by ransacking and burning churches and the deserted houses of richer islanders and officials: in a few cases the wrong houses were apparently destroyed when locked doors and the absence of owners were taken as sufficient evidence that the house belonged to anti-republicans. There was apparently little looting, however, since it was punishable by death, and the Republican officers were concerned to avoid antagonising the local people. The island was declared part of the Catalan Free State, and local committees were organised to replace the former local authorities.

The local Republicans who had been imprisoned by Mestres were released unharmed (PAUL, 1937). They had been threatened with execution, but it had not been carried out. It is noteworthy that there is no mention in PAUL's detailed first-hand account of any violent deaths in the weeks prior to the arrival of Bayo's force. It is possible that some may have occurred without his knowledge, but this is unlikely since news of any dramatic incidents travelled very quickly across the island. On the other hand, PAUL does describe an incident in Santa Ulalia in which a fascist volunteer shot at a local Republican who had refused to obey him, but missed: the interest of this incident lies in the local popular disgust over it, and in the fact that the furious Republican was dissuaded by his friends from attempting to kill the fascist youth in retaliation. In general, there seem to have been three major factors inhibiting overt violence on Ibiza in these early weeks: firstly, the people in charge were either local-born (Mestres, for example,
came from a wealthy Ibizan family) or else had become involved with local people through residence on the island; secondly, the vast majority of Ibizens identified themselves with neither side in the war, and there was strong popular pressure against violence for political reasons; thirdly, officials and people alike accepted that the issues of the war could not be settled on the small island of Ibiza, and were therefore waiting for cues from events elsewhere.

The situation was changed radically by the arrival of Bayo's force, comprised of outsiders who had in some cases already experienced bloody scenes on the mainland. In the first day or two after the landing, numerous people were summarily shot - with or without a brief trial - including (according to PAUL, 1937; corroborated by oral accounts) Mestres and all of the other commissioned officers (except for the Formenteran lieutenant), right-wing mayors and other officials, armed right-wing recruits, priests, and a number of wealthy businessmen and land-owners. The criterion of guilt was active participation in, or significant identification with, the military rebellion, regarded as treason against the legally constituted government. The criterion was rather loosely applied in the initial period after the landing, but many right-wing people escaped death either by hiding or through the intervention on their behalf of local people, including local Republicans, who were able to make more careful distinctions between wealth or status on the one hand and the abuse of power on the other, and to whom popular esteem and a likeable personality usually seemed more important than social position or political allegiance. (Various examples are given in PAUL, 1937, and oral accounts in San José often brought out the same point.)

With the constitution of local committees and the recruitment of local militiamen the situation calmed down. There is an interesting account in PAUL (1937: passim) of the self-retribution among the members of the local committee in Santa Eulalia over the death of a simple-minded youth. The son of a local carpenter, he had become a Falangist recruit because
of the offer of a gun (a status symbol for Ibisaa youths) and a uniform.

When Bayo's militiamen arrived in Santa Kulalia, they came across the young man and asked him if he was a fascist, with which he innocently agreed, and was summarily killed. The subsequent profound dismay of the local Republicans that they had not been present to intervene - on the grounds that the youth was too good-natured and simple-minded to be regarded as politically-involved - apparently prompted a decision among the local committees to defer any further trials until some more competent (and, presumably, outside) legal authority might be convened on the island. The remaining right-wing prisoners were therefore sent for detention in the fortress in the capital.

PAUL (1937) mentions at one stage a total of 239 such prisoners.

The new Republican period on Ibisa was too short-lived for extensive systematic changes to be implemented. According to oral informants in San José, some grain and other foodstuffs taken from the wealthier homes were distributed among poorer people at the town hall, and some attempt was made to socialise the distribution of goods by means of "vales" (redeemable tokens) in place of money. Mijorala (share-farmers) were told that their farms now belonged to them, the workers of the land, and that they need no longer give half of the produce to the amo (owner, boss). The right-wing island newspaper was temporarily transformed into a Republican news-sheet. And, according to an oral informant in Ibisa-town who had no cause to side with them (since his father, a civil guard, was taken prisoner by them and later wounded in the mass shooting in the castle described below), the militiamen "were good lads - they even made a few little fountains." ("eran buenos chavales - hasta hicieron unas fuentesititas.") - a curious footnote to a war more noted for its massacres.

However, the bulk of Bayo's forces left the island for an assault on Kallooroa less than a week after their arrival on Ibisa. The expedition met with some initial success, but was eventually routed with many deaths (during the first week in September, 1936) by a Nationalist counter-offensive which
utilised local regular forces, a unit of the Foreign Legion from North Africa and an Italian fighter air squadron. (See THOKAS, 1968: 326-27, and BERNABÉU, 1938: 111-12.)

The withdrawal of the Bayo expedition from Mallorca left Ibiza once more vulnerable to the Nationalists. But meanwhile, on 9th September, a new kind of Republican force had arrived on the island. The crucial events of the next few days there are described as follows by PAUL:

"Then two large passenger ships came steaming into Ibiza with four hundred volunteers of the F.A.I. (FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBIZICA). This organisation was one which had decided to do without commissioned officers and which at that time had not submitted to common leadership and effort with the other large unions and federations. The F.A.I., with only the slightest deference to the Local Committee in Ibiza, took command of the town. The anarchists were orderly, comradely in fact, but the whole population of the island was uneasy because of the lack of responsible leaders and the obvious lack of connection between the boatloads of armed civilians and the government of Spain. Considering the fact that each man among the anarchists had equal authority to buy what he wanted and pay for it with a simple scrawled and signed receipt, there was not much abuse of the privilege, but the storekeepers and farmers began hiding everything they had, and the inhabitants who had friends or relatives in the country began to evacuate the port town.

Miguel Tur, Carlos and other members of the Local Committee of Santa Juliana regretted deeply that they had sent their prisoners to Ibiza. They were as anxious, now, to regain control of their fate as they had been reluctant to judge them previously, for it was evident that the F.A.I. intended to set up a court and pass judgement. The Barcelona men knew that most of the prisoners had borne arms against the government and that many fascist leaders were among them, and they considered the Ibiza committee had been lax in dealing with them. Within a few days, nothing remained of the confidence in people's government and the good will that had marked the Local Committee's administration.

At noon on Sunday, September 13, four planes appeared suddenly over Ibiza and dropped bombs on the crowd of women and children who were promenading on the water-front and the paseo. There was no warning, no attempt to destroy anything of military importance. A small tobacco shop was wrecked, a petrol pump near the shore, several fishing vessels moored to the wharf, a clubhouse. Of the fifty-five Ibicencos who were killed, forty-two were women or children under ten years old. In the evening, just as the work of caring for the wounded and sorting out the dead was at its height, one of the younger fascist prisoners in the fortress remarked to the anarchist guards:

'Our turn is coming now.'

Horrified by the outrage to the women and children and inflamed by the fascist's insolence, the guards seized a submachine-gun and shot down the speaker and the men around him. The alarm was given and more anarchists rushed in from the barracks. They quickly decided to execute all the prisoners that night, in groups of five. When the prisoners refused to come out into the yard, machine-guns were turned on them in
the building, and those who were not killed by bullets were dispatched with bayonets. The anarchists then marched to the hospital, pulled Abel Natutes whimpering from his bed, and shot him. The bodies of some of the prisoners were loaded on a lorry and buried in a common trench, others were left in the fortress. The anarchists then made ready for departure the two large passenger boats and ordered the members of the Ibiza militia to embark with them. The militiamen in the outlying towns heard of what was happening and hurried to Ibiza, insisting that they should not be left behind to be butchered. They were taken aboard."

(Paul, 1937: 385-88)

Almost every version - oral or written - of the events of 13th September on Ibiza contains some variation in details. Paul's account is based on what he saw in the capital the following morning and on oral accounts from a survivor from the castle and other witnesses, and has the advantage of immediacy. However, it is important to note that - whatever actually happened - there is usually no mention in present oral accounts (or in other written accounts) of the deaths of women and children in the Nationalist bombing raid, whereas the massacre of the right-wing prisoners in the castle is one of the first things mentioned in any oral account of the war today, and it definitely provided an important source of "legitimation" for the Draconian measures subsequently taken by the Nationalists.

Many of the more important Ibisan Republicans escaped from the island, taking their families, on 13th September or during the next few days. A week later, on 20th September, 1936, a large mixed force of Falangists and Italians (described, e.g., in Gay de Montalla, 1940: 10) landed in Ibiza-town. From all accounts, they found the town deserted by its bewildered and terrified inhabitants, but later organised an open-air mass on the waterfront, which attracted a number of people and which symbolised the installation of a new version of the old order. There was no attempt at resistance, and Ibiza remained in Nationalist hands throughout the rest

\footnote{Macabich (1945: 261), for example, says that the planes bombed anti-aircraft installations. The same source also mentions a reconnaissance flight over the capital by Nationalist planes on the previous day (the 12th) which had apparently already greatly alarmed the Republican forces, who had also been told about the defeat on Mallorca by returning Ibisan survivors. (Cf. Paul, 1937: 387.)}
of the war.

There is unfortunately no written record of subsequent events to be compared with PAUL's account of the early part of the war on Ibiza. For the larger island of Mallorca, of course, there is the testimony of BERNANOS (1938), but even this much-quoted source contains rather few facts among its many pages of passionate rhetoric. The central topic of BERNANOS' work was the campaign of terror on Mallorca under Nationalist rule (with especial emphasis on the role of the priests, which outraged Bernanos' sense of Catholic integrity). It is not clear from the book when the killings of left-wingers and sympathisers began, but the implication throughout is that they were part of an organised campaign of terror which was entirely unprovoked since Mallorca had been in Nationalist hands from the beginning of the war. Another commentator, Mr. Lawrence sundas, suggests however that the real terror on Mallorca did not begin until after the Republican attack on the island. ("Behind the Spanish mask," 1943, cited in THOMAS, 1968: 219n.) This is a very clouded and controversial issue, but it is fairly clear that on Ibiza, at least, the Nationalist killings began only after the reoccupation of the island on the 20th September, 1936: it remains a moot point what might have happened there had Bayo's expedition gone straight to Mallorca without calling at Ibiza.

BERNANOS (1938: 126 et sqq.) distinguished several phases in the development of the Mallorcan executions. First, he says, there was a preliminary phase of summary killings on the spot, often with implications of personal grudges or vengeance. But the killings presently took on a more systematic quality following the replacement of the old leaders of the Falange on Mallorca by the flamboyant Italian extreme fascist, the self-styled "Count Rossi". Initially, small armed groups arrested wanted men at night in their homes, drove them away supposedly to prison, and then shot them at or near the entrance to a cemetery. This lasted for some four months on Mallorca, until December, 1936. Then came the turn of those held in
prisons and concentration camps, against whom there were often insufficient grounds for trial under martial law. Prisoners were "released" in batches according to their places of origin, and shot on the way to their destinations. In a final phase, the authorities - becoming concerned about unrest over the killings among both the public and the Falange - used less overt tactics, putting prisoners through all the formal motions of release, after which they would be picked up outside the prison and taken to be shot in the same way.

From oral accounts, it is apparent that something along broadly similar lines took place on Ibiza during the autumn and winter of 1936. It is almost impossible to pick out a chronological order of the type described by BERNANOS from oral accounts in 1970-71, more than thirty years after events which mostly took place in the space of a few months. But the stories fall clearly into two types: firstly, there are accounts of personal grudges or other scores being settled on the spot and, secondly, there are stories of people being "denounced" (often anonymously) and being taken away to be shot "en es portal d'es cementeri" ("at the entrance of the cemetery"), a detail which crops up in numerous accounts, but only in connection with executions by the Nationalists. The term "netetjar" ("to clean up") often used in connection with Nationalist executions also indicates the fairly systematic nature of many of the killings on Ibiza, as on Mallorca.

The question of the numbers killed on both sides is very difficult to answer on Ibiza, as in many other parts of Spain, in view of the frequent falsification of records (e.g. the common practice of entering violent deaths under other causes) and the lack of published information in Spain - especially with regard to Nationalist executions - because of official censorship. Oral accounts are not very helpful in this respect: estimates of the number killed, for example, in the castle massacre varied from less than one hundred to more than thirteen hundred. Nor are the existing written accounts much better, because of the incomplete and often
impressionistic nature of the information in eye-witness accounts and because of the tendency to exaggerate one-sidedly for partisan reasons. As far as I can gather, however, those killed on Ibiza by the Republicans prior to the 13th September, 1936, probably numbered less than one hundred, although this is by no means certain, and how much less is a matter for conjecture. The lowest — and probably the most accurate — estimate of those killed in the castle on the 13th is, curiously enough, that of the right-wing priest MACABICH (1945: 261), who states that 93 prisoners died, including 18 priests. (The total would have been higher, but at least 50 prisoners managed to escape by forcing a window and jumping down from the high walls on to mounds of rubbish or earth which helped to break the fall, although some suffered broken limbs or other injuries even so.) It is even harder to estimate the number of islanders killed by the Nationalists. BERNOS suggests that about three thousand such deaths occurred on Mallorca in the period up to March, 1937, an average of about fifteen executions every day for some seven months. An oral informant on Ibiza (a cousin of one of the Nationalist executioners) told me that three or four people had been killed each day at the cemetery, but it is not clear how long this went on. In a postscript to his book, PAUL (1937: 397-8) cites an Associated Press report that four hundred Republicans were rounded up and killed by machine-guns on Ibiza soon after the Nationalist troops had landed there, but this information seems rather implausible in the absence of corroboratory evidence in other written accounts and oral recollections. In oral accounts in San José, the same names came up repeatedly in different accounts, suggesting that the number killed there, at least, was not very great in absolute terms. Some of those arrested were later released: an ex-militiaman told me, for example, how he had been arrested on the strength of an anonymous note and had stayed in prison for a year and a half before being released. At the time of his denunciation he was serving as a Nationalist conscript, which helped his case. He was also able to produce witnesses that he had saved
the lives of two right-wing men hiding in the woods by sending them a warning before the Republican search party of which he was a member arrived at the hiding-place. In general, the evidence from oral accounts on Ibiza suggests that the Nationalist executions were largely confined to the minority of left-wing islanders who were actively involved in politics, and who had collaborated with the visiting Republican forces. This would suggest that the total number who died during the Nationalist killings would probably not have been more than a few hundred, a figure perhaps roughly comparable with that of the earlier right-wing deaths. But these are simply informed guesses, with a wide margin of error in view of the lack of reliable evidence. Whatever the true numbers, there is certainly no doubt as to the impact of these violent deaths on the outlook and subsequent political behaviour of the islanders. As time went by, some Republican sympathisers gradually emerged from hiding, and many escaped arrest and execution in this way, but these "pálidos" ("pale ones", because of their lack of exposure to the sun) would find it difficult to walk around freely without fear for some time to come. As late as 1939, the following announcement in bold type in the island newspaper served as an ominous reminder:

"El que con palabras o con actos, por leves que parezcan, dificulte o mine la unión de todos los españoles, está vendido al enemigo y merece la pena infamante reservada al espía y al traidor."

"He who with words or with deeds, trivial though they may seem, impedes or undermines the union of all the Spanish people, is sold to the enemy and deserves the infamous penalty reserved for the spy and for the traitor."

(Castilian. DIARIO DE IBIZA: 27 ene., 1939, p. 3.)

And even in 1970-71, the ex-militiaman referred to above was still known locally as one of the "fitxats" ("filed people", i.e. people with left-wing political records).

The events of the rest of the war on Ibiza pall into insignificance by comparison with those of the autumn and winter of 1936. Like Mallorca, Ibiza served as a convenient military base for the Nationalists, and both
Spanish and Moroccan troops were stationed there. Planes from the islands were used to harass the Republican fleet in the Western Mediterranean (Gay de Montella, 1940: 111-12). Iban men were conscripted into the Nationalist forces: some must presumably have died in the fighting elsewhere, but it is interesting to note that none of my oral informants mentioned such deaths, and I have no information to hand on this. There were also a number of Republican air-raids, mainly aimed at the capital town. In one such attack, on the 19th May, 1937, the German cruiser Deutschland was bombed at anchor in the port, causing 24 deaths, while bombs dropped on the town killed nine people there (McBirch, 1945: 261). There are a few details of the popular panic caused by the first bombing raids in Fajaran Caudona (1958: 167-9), but again these events have left little impression on popular recollections of the war by comparison with the political executions by both sides.

The effects of the civil war on Ibiza, as in the rest of Spain, cannot be appreciated without at least a brief reference to the social and political background to the war. In broad terms, the war was a class conflict which resulted from the reaction of an initially-uneasy amalgam of right-wing forces against the innovations rapidly introduced by left-wing governments during the Second Republic in the first part of the 1930s. On one side were the large landowners, the church, the army officers and the majority of the middle classes. On the other side were peasant labourers and factory workers, supported by intellectuals, craftsmen and some small businessmen. The situation was complicated, however, by German-Italian and Russian intervention, which respectively stimulated the growth (and the eventual transformation) of the Falangist and Communist parties. In Catalonia, the situation was further complicated by the issue of autonomy: the granting of a measure of autonomy by the Republican government secured a loyalty to it in Catalonia which cross-cut other loyalties, especially the strong Catholicism in some parts. (See, e.g., Bla:ith, 1960.)
It should be noted that the war took a different course on each of the major islands in the Balearic archipelago. On Menorca, an attempted rising at the start of the war by the military commander, General Bosch, had been rapidly overwhelmed by the combined forces of the Popular Front and of non-commissioned officers and other ranks in his own garrison; the general and eleven other officers were later shot without trial (THOMAS, 1968: 205, 215). Menorca remained in Republican hands until the capitulation of Catalonia towards the end of the war. On the larger island of Mallorca, however, the troops followed General Goded's lead, and the island was secured without resistance for the Nationalists, and remained Nationalist for the rest of the war, with the exception of the small area around Porto Cristo which was briefly occupied by the Republican expeditionary force in 1936 (see THOMAS, 1968: 326). On Ibiza, as we have seen, the initial success of the rebellion was reversed without difficulty by the Republican expeditionary force, but the island was retaken by the Nationalists without resistance when the external Republican forces had been withdrawn.

From all accounts, it is apparent that the small active minority of Ibizens divided mainly along fairly predictable class lines. The local supporters of the Nationalists included land-owners, businessmen, priests, retired army officers (made redundant in Republican reforms), and officers of the civil guards and the small military garrison. The active Republicans included some of the poorer people and craftsmen, together with some teachers and other intellectuals. But it cannot be over-emphasized that the vast majority of the islanders played no active part in the events of the war on the island. Oral accounts from other parts of the island strongly corroborate the following summary of political attitudes in Santa Eulalia:

"Half-dozen communists, half-dozen fascists, three thousand men and women of Santa Eulalia who wanted the extremists and traitors to let be."

(PAUL, 1937: 200)

The peasant farmers and small land-owners who constituted the bulk of
the island's population retained a long-standing mistrust of all "governants" ("governing people") and politicians, and they were accordingly unenthusiastic about either side, especially when political activities interrupted the normal round of farming tasks. ¹ Some majorals (share-croppers) found attractive the Republican suggestion that the land they worked was now their own, but others apparently found it difficult to accept this breach of traditional property values in spite of its appeal to their self-interest. The Republican "vales" (tokens used in place of money) were strongly disliked, and the country people found equally objectionable the tendency of the Nationalist forces to "requisition" ("requisar", a new word in the local vocabulary) their possessions, such as food and jewellery, for the war effort: they therefore tended to hide them in an impartial fashion, whenever possible.

The island women were almost all much more conservative than their male counterparts, and they were very disturbed by the church-burnings and the sacrilege of the Republicans; but they played an almost entirely passive role, it appears, and they were exempted from the executions and other penalties meted out by both sides. ²

The dominant feature of the war on Ibiza, then, was the largely passive role of the islanders, caught up in a chain of events which would not have

¹Cf. the following comment on political attitudes on Mallorca at the time of the civil war:
"The population of Majorca has always been noted for its absolute indifference to politics. In the days of the Carlistes and the Cristinos, Georges Sand tells us how they welcomed with equal unconcern the refugees of either side. The rising of Catalonia in 1934, near though it was, raised no echo. According to the head of the Phalange, you could not have found a hundred communists in the whole island. Where could the Party have got them from? It is a country of small market-gardening, of olives, oranges and almonds, without industry, without factories."
(BERNANOS, 1938a: 86)

²BERNANOS (1938) does mention the execution of some women on Mallorca by the Nationalists: I do not know of anything similar happening on Ibiza, however.
originated on the island without the intervention of forces and influences from other parts of Spain where land was less evenly divided, where landless farm-workers and industrial labourers were more numerous, and where issues such as Catalan autonomy had greater popular significance. There were no popular uprisings on Ibiza in support of either side. This passivity extended to the non-commissioned officers and lower ranks of soldiers stationed on Ibiza, who failed to respond to Republican appeals to them to overpower their officers, but who later were mostly willing to accompany the Bayo expedition to Mallorca (Paul, 1937).

Nevertheless, the bloody events of 1936 made a lasting mark on the islanders, creating inter-familial hostilities of quite new proportions: towards the end of his account of the Republican episode, for example, Paul (1937) notes that he suddenly became aware of feuds between families which had formerly co-existed with politics being "of sixth- or seventh-rate importance." Even in 1970-71, more than thirty years later, the memories of denunciations and killings lingered: on despite the common consensus that it was high time that the civil war was forgotten. For example, there was a quarrel between two men in a bar one day during my fieldwork. The two men were business associates and an argument arose over the business. In his annoyance, the younger man suddenly brought up a grudge from the civil war: he said that the other man had taunted him one day about his Republican father, asking if he had not been shot yet. The older man, a prominent Falangist, denied any recollection of the incident, but a fist-fight broke out (although the two men were separated by bystanders before any injury could be caused).

1 It should perhaps be noted that in his well-known work on the Spanish Civil War, Thomas (1968: 326) says in a passing reference to the Republican landing on Ibiza: "The workers rose against the fifty men of the garrison and the island returned to Republican control." From the details included in this appendix it should be clear that this statement is incorrect and very misleading.
Moreover, the island has of course shared with the rest of Spain the general political consequences of the war. The victory of the uneasy alliance of right-wing forces has produced a régime of distinctive characteristics which has been variously described as "organically democratic", "right-wing pluralist", "authoritarian", "fascist", "a dictatorship", and so on. A discussion of these and other attempts at defining the essential sociological character of the present Spanish régime may be found in Sevilla-Guzman & Ginér (1975), who themselves opt for the label "despotic absolutism and class domination."1 Without going into the ramifications of this discussion here, it may be noted that the lengthy survival of the present régime2 has depended not only on a combination of the repression of effective opposition and the opportunistic manipulation of right-wing groups by General Franco and his chosen associates, but also on the interdependence of the core political élite and the other Spanish élites - military, commercial, landed, bureaucratic, and religious. Policies and legislation have consequently had to take the interests of the upper classes and ruling élites primarily into account, whatever the ostensible objectives.

A corollary has been the accentuated concentration of both power and wealth in the hands of a very small percentage of the Spanish population (cf. Ginér, 1971: 150). These include upper-class families from before

1Further references to recent contributions to the analysis of the Franco régime - whose detailed discussion lies outside the terms of reference of this thesis - may be found in footnotes to this article. Other writings by the co-author, Ginér, are also pertinent, especially Ginér (1968) and later articles which have modified and amplified this essay, such as Ginér (1971), Ginér (1972) and Ginér (1972a).

21976 postscript. The recent death of General Franco has made the continued survival of the régime highly problematic, especially given the revolutionary example of neighbouring Portugal. Since his death, there has been a growing wave of strikes and political demonstrations by a variety of dissident groups and organizations in Spain, who had long awaited this symbolic moment. These have prompted right-wing counter-demonstrations and the intensification of familiar repressive tactics such as military mobilizations of strikers and a wave of political arrests. Franco's chosen successor, King Juan Carlos, has the extremely difficult job of trying to reconcile promises of wide-ranging democratic reforms to palliate the dissident groups with the requirements of the ruling élites, while lacking the victorious "peace-bringing" charisma skilfully manipulated by General Franco.
the civil war, together with a proportion of new arrivals, especially from the military and from right-wing organizations such as the Falange. The structure of the upper classes has undergone periodic changes since the civil war, often in connection with necessary reorientations of policy and factional struggles, which have meant the partial eclipse of some organizations - e.g. the Falange - and the acquisition of new significance by others - e.g. Opus Dei. Other upper-class groups have also increased in size and influence, for example the "technocrats" or "desarrollistas" in the bureaucratic structure, and the leading elements of the entrepreneurial classes, the "empresariado". However, despite the importance of upward and downward mobility in the contemporary Spanish upper classes and the shifts in the balance of power and influence among different factions and interest groups, the policy changes have been strategic rather than fundamental, and they have not affected the general dominance of the upper classes nor the very high degree of concentration of ultimate political power. These essential characteristics of the régime are also reflected in features of the economic structure of modern Spain which run counter to trends in other Western European countries, for example the lack of nationalization and the enhanced position since the civil war of the already very powerful private mixed banks.

Converse corollaries are the effective political vacuum and lack of economic bargaining power at the popular level. To start with there was the flight into exile at the end of the war by many left-wing people at all levels, including a notable proportion of Spanish intellectuals. For those people who remained in Spain there was no alternative to overt conformism and the careful avoidance of any public appearance of dissidence, in view of the sustained campaign of terror. Popular fatalism and apparent

---

1. . . including, of course, General Franco himself: see, e.g., MARCOS SANTIBANES (1966). On the concentration of wealth and control of capital, see also LAUI:O DE JOVINES ECONOMISTAS (1966).

2. See, e.g., TAMANAS (1971: 663 et sqq.).
political apathy deriving from a lack of opportunity for genuine political participation are of course by no means new features. But the result of the civil war brought an abrupt reversal of trends towards greater popular participation under the Second Republic. The elaboration of the single-party system based on the "National Movement" helped to prevent the re-emergence of any genuine political pluralism (leaving aside clandestine organizations) except amongst right-wing factions within or "adhering to" the Movement.

In the economic sphere, the régime instituted vertical syndicates: just as the National Movement has sometimes been labelled "an anti-party party", so the syndical structure might loosely be termed "an anti-union union", reinforced by making strikes illegal and by the use of such techniques as the military mobilization of strikers (thus bringing them under martial law). The persistent existence of illegal workers' commissions and the not infrequent strikes of an organised nature show the ultimate failure of these measures, but they have nevertheless greatly reduced the bargaining powers of Spanish workers since the civil war.

Strikers' or students' demonstrations, charges by armed riot police, and terrorist bombings or shootings are not to be found on Ibiza, and the repressive aspects of the present régime are correspondingly less apparent there than in many other parts of Spain. Nevertheless, the distinctive implications of the post-civil-war régime are readily detectable. Loyalty to the régime, at least in public, is a sine qua non of participation in official life, and - because of the intimate links of patronage - this is true to some extent of success in commercial life also. Numerous key figures in the island élite were killed in 1936, but the right-wing survivors and

---

4For various reasons (see page 280, above) some commentators on contemporary Spanish politics prefer to avoid the use of the term "party" altogether in this connection. Cf. the following comment by LINZ (1970: 131): "... Spain can - depending on the standards used to define one-party system - be described as either a non-party or a one-party system." For an interesting analysis of the development of the Spanish party system, especially for the period up to the civil war, see also LINZ (1967).
the relatives of those killed found themselves in a position of enhanced economic power and privilege after the war, in common with their counterparts in other parts of Spain. Freedom of speech vanished with the war and has never fully reappeared, as the presentation of the right-wing island newspaper (the only local newspaper) daily demonstrates. Even attendance at mass has a residual political dimension: persistent absence is still "jokingly" associated with being "red" or "communist", at least by older people. Criticism is sometimes permissible, but only of technical details rather than fundamental constitutional issues.

This, then, is in broad terms the contemporary political background to the touristic period on Ibiza. The civil war and the resulting political régime have affected in various ways both the development and the effects of tourism on the island. The civil war itself (followed by the second world war) abruptly interrupted the prior commencement of tourism on the Balearic Islands, especially on Mallorca, which did not recover until the 1950s. The economic policies of the régime (since the abandonment of the early post-war attempts at autarky) have, however, helped to stimulate the growth of tourism during the past two decades, with favourable exchange rates, a mobile, cheap labour-force, and controlled prices. The modifying or limiting influence of the post-war political structure on the effects of tourism may also be seen in this thesis, perhaps most clearly in the sections dealing with administration and stratification where it is apparent that the touristic pressures for change - e.g. in the island-province structure - have only taken partial effect or have had modified consequences.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the civil war - in common with all wars, perhaps - has also constituted an important stimulus for social change, by virtue of the concomitant violent interruption of everyday life and traditional attitudes, despite the backward-looking viewpoint of the victors. For example, the war enabled the authorities to take a firmer stand than hitherto in suppressing disliked folk traditions such as
Carnaval. Traditional forms of cooperation were also affected by the disintegrative impact at the local community level. Even the traditional style of dress was affected: the countrywomen could no longer wear their traditional jewellery to church on feast-days, since they were supposed to give it to the authorities to help the Nationalist war-effort. The régime's emphasis on unity and nation-building have also undoubtedly contributed to important changes on Ibiza, where Catalan separatism has only a limited appeal because of the over-riding factor of insularity. Taking into account the direct impact of the post-war economic "misery" as well, the civil war and its aftermath might therefore be said to have both devalued and weakened or "loosened" the traditional social order on the island, thus making the islanders more receptive to the modernizing influence of tourism which is the subject of this thesis. Finally, it should be noted that the present régime has made frequent attempts since the early 1960s in particular to come to terms with pressures for modernization in Spain as a whole (to which tourism has undoubtedly contributed), as the economic policies of "desarrollismo" and the tentative measures of liberalization in religion, press and even politics bear witness. However, any such "modernization from above" has always been compromised by the régime's interdependence with the traditional upper classes and its commitment to maintain as far as possible the neo-traditional relationships of class, status, power and privileges which were the outcome of the civil war.
A reader has made the following critical comment on Chapter VI, above:

"Who accumulates capital? Is it the mainland people, foreigners or banks? This could be made clearer."

It is not surprising that the answers to these questions are not particularly clear from Chapter Six, since the purposes of that chapter are of a more general nature. The main theme is the broad transformation of the Ibizan economy from one dominated by subsistence agriculture to one in which international tourism is the major source of the island's income. The growth of tourism is examined in the context of the prior development of trade and industry on the island. It is seen that formerly the growth of trade and industry were restricted by various circumstances, among them those very circumstances - insularity, position in the Western Mediterranean, ecology, etc. - which have stimulated the growth of mass tourism on the island in recent years. At the same time, it is apparent that the tourism has facilitated the fuller realisation of former incipient trends towards the emergence of capitalism on Ibiza. Even now, however, the figures given in Chapter Six on the number and size of firms in the secondary sector, and those on business ownership in both the secondary and tertiary sectors in Chapter Ten, indicate the continuing predominance of a form of "classical capitalism" (see definition on pp. 146-47, above), with a relatively large number of small firms, each with a small number of employees (often members or relatives of the family owning the business). Moreover, although the development of international tourism has - particularly since the commencement of charter flights - seen the creation of very large travel organisations, these have primarily been involved in the organisation and transportation of
the tourists from and to their place of origin: in host regions like Ibiza the presence of tourism has provided opportunities for exploitation by both large and small firms. Several stages of the development of tourism on Ibiza are distinguished in Chapter Ten, above, where it is concluded that the initial exploitation of tourism was mostly by local individuals and firms, although in the late 1960s and early 1970s the role of outside and foreign firms was becoming more important as the volume of tourism began to outstrip local entrepreneurial resources and sources of capital. The first point to be made about the cited questions, then, is that they contain a strange ellipsis: there is no mention of the native islanders, who have undoubtedly been the central participants in the development of capitalism on Ibiza and who have similarly shared in the accumulation of capital in the touristic period.

However, perhaps the questions should be interpreted in a slightly different fashion, namely in terms of the concentration - or differential accumulation - of capital. In the traditional period, as we have seen, opportunities for individuals or particular families to accumulate capital were limited by factors such as the dependence on land-ownership and the general lack of latifundist development on Ibiza, as well as by the common participation in the only major island industry - the production of salt. The seizure of the salt industry by the state, and its sale in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to a private Mallorca-based company, constituted the first major direct intrusion of outside capitalist interests on Ibiza. Most other attempts at large-scale organization of production in the intermediate period met with rather small success. Among those mentioned in Chapter Six, above, it may be noted that the development of stocking manufacture on Ibiza in the nineteenth century was initiated (according to N.VARB0, 1901: 86-88) by an enterprising outsider - resident on the island - who started with little capital but who rose to become "one of the principal capitalists on Ibiza." But local businessmen were apparently quick to imitate
his example. The other major large-scale enterprise on nineteenth-century Ibiza - the lead-mining boom - also involved an outsider, J. Federico Lavilla, who was however associated with two native businessmen, J. Juan Calbet and J. Bartolomé V. Ramón. Both Ibisan and Mallorcan businessmen took part in further mining enterprises on Ibiza, until persistent flooding and declining lead prices brought the boom to an end. (See C.-STELLUJ GÜNSCH, 1962: 36-37, and NAVARRO, 1901: 88-89.)

In view of the small-scale nature of other productive activities on Ibiza in the past, there were few other opportunities for the concentration of capital in the form of means of production. The wealth of the incipient commercial class therefore stemmed largely from their role as middlemen in the export of (mainly agricultural) island produce and the import of other goods. A number of business families participated in this trade directly or indirectly, but several authors from NAVARRO onwards mention the particular importance of the local private mixed banks in this connection (see, e.g., the quotation on p. 128, above). Until fairly recently, there were only three banking concerns operating on Ibiza: one belonging to the Ibisan Matutes family; another a branch of the Mallorcan Banca March; and a third, Crédito Balaear, about which I have little information to hand. The dominant role of the first two of these banks, at least, prior to the civil war, was stressed (and probably exaggerated to some extent) by PAUL (1937: 192-93) as the "most pressing" target for local Republicans, who in his words wanted "to free the commerce of Ibiza from its two liege lords, Matutes and the notorious Juan March." The civil war severely interrupted Ibisan commerce and the island's economy did not recover until the 1950s. The head of the Matutes family was killed in the war, but his sons continued the family business tradition, and the support of both the Ibisan and the

---

1 The structure and role of banks in Spain are rather different from those of modern banks in most other western European countries. There are also regional differences within Spain, particularly in the case of Catalonia: on these points see, for example, TAMAMES (1971: 663 et seq.).
Mallorcan bankers for the Nationalist cause undoubtedly stood them in good stead after the war. In the past few years a few other banks have opened branches in Ibiza-town, but the established local banks have played a more important part in the local tourist developments to date, and it would be interesting (though not easy) to investigate the concentration of capital on Ibiza in the possession or control of the Matutes family, the March family, and perhaps a number of other prominent local families. The March family was in fact included in a 1966 survey of one hundred of the richest families in Spain (see JOULOPO DE JOVHNES ECONOMISTAS, 1966), which indicated that the three active male members of the March family occupied fifteen posts on the boards ("consejos de administración") of a total of ten different companies ("sociedades anónimas") engaged in a variety of business activities. The Matutes family also have a wide variety of holdings, apart from their banks, including major shares in development companies, land, hotels, entertainment, and both passenger ferries and commercial shipping: at the time of my fieldwork, in 1970-71, they were popularly attributed the ownership of about one-tenth of all of the wealth on the island, although of course not much reliance can be placed upon such figures. The economic importance of the Matutes family and other wealthy families is further enhanced by their participation in local government: at the time of my fieldwork, for example, a young member of the Matutes family, D. .bel Matutes Juan, was the mayor of Ibiza-town.

Apart from the presence of Mallorcan business interests, there has of course been significant investment in the Ibisan tourist boom by mainlanders and foreigners. Although it is difficult to estimate the relative magnitudes with any degree of accuracy, there is some relevant data in Chapter Ten, above, using material from the Ibisan Chamber of Commerce records of 1969 (see, in particular, pp. 337-53, above). The conclusion there, in crude terms, is that the proportion of outside investment was tending to increase as the extremely rapid boom outstripped
local business resources, but that - up to 1969 at least - the local Ibizan businessmen still owned the largest proportion (half or more of the total number of business entities in all cases, including for example the larger hotels).¹

In analyses of this type it is all too easy to give an exaggerated impression of the importance or power of a few rich families and bankers. The Chamber of Commerce records (and also my fieldwork experience) show the existence of a large number of businesses of many types and sizes on Ibiza, with a corresponding variety of owners. The power of the Matutes family, for example, significantly does not extend to the local press: the single island newspaper - Diario de Ibiza - belongs to and is directed by another influential Ibizan family, the Verdera family. There is, not surprisingly, some inter-relationship among the island's leading families, but divergences of interests or opinions are not uncommon: for example, the normally friendly relationship between the Matutes and Verdera families was ruffled - temporarily at least - by the newspaper's coverage of the hotel/airport affair (see Chapter Eight, above) in which D. Abel Matutes Juan was a central figure.

The relatively-even distribution of land-ownership on Ibiza, past and present, has also constituted an important limitation on the differential concentration of wealth there even in the touristic period. In this respect, it should be noted that touristic development has usually occurred on coastal land which - having little value formerly - often belonged to less wealthy islanders, commonly peasants. (See Chapter Ten, above.) And, in general, tourism has provided opportunities for business enterprise at all levels, and for the emergence of new local and non-local entrepreneurs. The sheer magnitude of the boom has also tended to limit the effective dominance of

¹Conversely, it would be interesting to investigate the amount of investment by Ibizans outside the island, which would probably have increased in recent years, although I have no material to hand on this point, unfortunately.
key élite families, despite their very substantial participation in it. The presence of various alternative sources of capital for investment may also be noted: capital has been provided not only by banks, but also by local and outside speculators, "windfall gains" (see Chapter Ten, above), tour operators, and credit from suppliers of all types. (Although it has been fashionable among some Spanish journalists to attack the alleged over-dependence of hoteliers, for example, on foreign capital, the other side of this coin is a reduced dependence on traditional sources of finance such as the banks - whose power has also often been an object of attack, especially by "left-wing" or "progressive" commentators.) On the general effects of the tourist boom on the distribution of wealth on the island, the evidence in Chapter Ten and elsewhere suggests that there has on the one hand been an increase in the absolute magnitude of the difference in wealth between the richest and poorest islanders, but on the other hand the concentration of consequent arbitrary power and influence in a few hands has tended to diminish.¹ To give just one significant everyday example, familiar to middle-class people in other European countries, the employment of domestic servants was taken for granted by families of comparatively modest wealth in both town and country on Ibiza prior to tourism, but domestic servants are now hard to come by, are relatively much more expensive than before, and expect much better terms and treatment.

A more systematic study of the topics discussed in this appendix would be very interesting, though difficult both by virtue of the secrecy which is a feature of private businesses in general and because of the contemporary political situation in Spain. In the absence of such a specialized study, the answers to the questions at the beginning of the appendix must remain largely qualitative and rather impressionistic. However,

¹The post-civil-war situation described in Appendix Eight, above, has been a limiting factor in these changes, however.
it should be apparent that mainlanders, foreigners and banks have all had a part in the accumulation of capital concomitant upon the development of tourism on Ibiza, but also that the part played by local businessmen has been of particular importance both before and since the development of mass tourism.
The concept of "facilitating factor" which is used from time to time in the thesis perhaps requires some further explanation. I have found the concept useful to distinguish between different mechanisms of change associated with tourism, even though the main concern throughout the thesis is with the changes themselves which may - in whatever fashion - be attributed to tourism, rather than with such mechanisms. The philosophical ramifications of "causation" are very complicated (particularly in the social sciences, with the added complications of questions about volition, rationality, understanding, etc.). Without wanting to explore such philosophical issues in a primarily empirical work of this type, it may be noted that a fairly consistent strategy has been adopted in the thesis with regard to the part played by tourism in social and cultural changes on Ibiza.

The fieldwork observations and documentary sources have been used to provide evidence of certain changes concomitant with the presence of tourism on the island. But concomitance alone is not sufficient evidence of causal connection, and this point has been kept fully in mind, with consequent attempts to find some reason for any concomitant variations and to identify a causal mechanism if one appears to exist. In some cases this is not too difficult: for example, the massive reversal from emigration to immigration is clearly an effect of the increased demand for labour produced by tourism (in the absence, it must be added, of any other possibly significant source of increased demand for labour).

More commonly, however, the problem of multiple causes arises. In the case of immigration, for example, the situation is more complicated on
the mainland of Catalonia around Barcelona, where there was a strong immigratory trend prior to the large-scale development of tourism. Careful statistical analysis would therefore be necessary to clarify the part played by tourism in immigration to the area in recent years. A similar difficulty is encountered in analysing the internal migrations on Ibiza, since - for example - a rural-urban drift was apparent there prior to large-scale tourism. For this reason I have preferred to use the term "factor" instead of "cause" in general, to keep clear the partial nature of the contributions of tourism to most of the current changes on Ibiza, their importance notwithstanding. By reference to both qualitative and quantitative material, various attempts are made throughout the thesis to determine as carefully as possible the relative importance of tourism to other factors (including both historical and contemporary factors), even though the main focus is of course on tourism.

Then again, there is the question of the directness or indirectness of the influence of tourism in any particular change. The building of hotels and villas is a fairly direct consequence of the tourist boom. The effects on land prices are logically further removed. And then there are the general repercussions on traditional economic values, bargaining procedures, and so on. To take an example from a non-economic sphere, consider what has happened when an Ibisan peasant imitates or otherwise reacts to something he has seen on television. In most cases, tourism will have played a vital part in providing the income needed to acquire the television set, so that any effect the television may have (e.g. in promoting a sense of Spanish national identity) may indirectly be attributed to tourism, even though there may be no apparent connection at first sight. The existence of such indirect mechanisms goes a long way towards justifying the common habit among Ibizens of attributing all of the current changes on the island to tourism.

Even so, not only an awareness of the limitations of the part played by tourism but also a sense of the relationship of that part to the parts
played by other factors are important to the sociological understanding of the current changes. The notion of "facilitating factor" is introduced to clarify one such relationship which crops up frequently when considering the impact of tourism on pre-existing incipient or latent processes of change, especially in the economic sphere.

To begin with a simple analogy, consider the case of a small boy who has a strong desire for some candy-floss, but no money. Then he happens to be given a small amount of money by Mr. Smith for running an errand, and presently goes back to buy some candy-floss. In this case, it would appear misleading to say simply that Mr. Smith's donation caused the boy to buy the candy-floss: a more appropriate description would be that it made possible or "facilitated" the purchase, whose form was determined by the (pre-existent) desire for candy-floss. There is an obvious general parallel in the case of the sudden increase in local incomes on Ibiza derived from the tourist boom. The islanders are now able to purchase many goods which were formerly beyond their means. In some cases - e.g. sunglasses and beachwear - tourism has also provided them with stimuli to purchase certain goods rather than others, but in general the choice of particular goods - such as cars or consumer durables - is not determined by the presence of tourism. In all such cases, however, tourism has been a "facilitating factor" in the transformation of life-styles which accompanies the purchase of private cars, televisions, washing-machines, etc.

The concept is not limited to the purchase of goods, although few other situations admit of such simple analysis. In earlier chapters of the thesis, for example, it was seen that there has been a tendency for centuries for some peasants to migrate from the land in search of employment. Prior to the nineteenth century, this drift from the land was limited both by the hazards of travel and by laws restricting the movement of peasants. Even in the twentieth century, the extent of the drift from the land was limited because of the relative lack of employment possibilities in the small capital.
town and because of the drastic break with the island community involved in emigration. The tourist boom has made it easy for peasants to find alternative employment on the island, and the drift from the land has therefore greatly accelerated. To some extent, therefore, tourism has merely "facilitated" the latent drift from the land (although a rider must be added in this case that the positive attractions of touristic employment to young peasants have "pulled" more young men away from farming than might have been required by the economic state of farming on Ibiza - see the conclusions to Chapter Five, above).

Turning to a broader issue, the development of characteristic features of a capitalist society on Ibiza is analysed in Chapter Six, above, where it is seen that various local factors formerly limited the possibilities for capitalist development on the island, but that there were nevertheless important pressures for such development prior to tourism. In recent years, mass tourism has provided an outlet for these pressures. Thus, while it might be justifiable to say that tourism has "caused" the recent growth in the importance of capitalist characteristics on Ibiza, it would seem more precise to say that tourism has "facilitated" the development of capitalism on Ibiza from (in some cases pre-existent) local and non-local ingredients.

Again, in Section 7.6 (b), above, it is seen that individualism and familism are long-standing features of Iblsan life, but that formerly Iblsan peasants were prompted by poverty to compromise between their desire for individual (or, at least, familial) economic independence and the practical advantages of sharing, borrowing and cooperation. Many such practices have now given way to greater individual or familial independence, and also to increased formal bureaucratic management of communal tasks. It would seem misleading to say simply that these changes have been "caused" by tourism, but more accurate to say that they have been "facilitated" by the increased affluence stemming from tourism.

Other examples could be adduced, but the general significance of
describing tourism as a "facilitating factor" in many types of change on Ibiza should now be clear. In some ways tourism has brought special or idiosyncratic features into Ibizan society (see, for example, the concluding sections of the thesis). But many of the important changes in recent years have much deeper roots. The examples in this appendix illustrate the part played by tourism in the development on Ibiza of types of "consumerism", "urbanization", capitalism, and Gesellschaft-like arrangements. But it is correct to only a rather limited extent to imply (as do commentators on tourism who employ crude "acculturation" or "assimilation" models to the effects of tourism) that tourism has determined the final form of the changed society. Putting this in even broader terms, tourism has been a vital "facilitating factor" in the recent "modernization" of Ibizan society, and it has also contributed some distinctive features, but Ibizan society was by no means a tabula rasa at the inception of large-scale tourism, and the concept of "facilitating factor" helps to clarify one mechanism at least by which the influence of tourism interacts with those of other local and non-local factors, pre-existent and contemporary, but with especial reference to prior tendencies in social change on the island.
A reader has suggested that "hippies . . . are an important feature of Ibiza and perhaps deserve a slightly more extended treatment."

It is certainly true to say that the "hippies" on Ibiza - or, more usually, those on the neighbouring island of Formentera - have probably attracted more publicity in Spain and internationally than any other of the various types of newcomers to Ibiza (see Section 7.7 (c), above). They might also be considered of especial interest in that they constituted a largely negative reference group for most of the native islanders (see, e.g., pp. 418-19, above).

However, their exaggerated publicity has given a false impression of their sociological importance on Ibiza at least (where their presence has been much less significant than on the smaller island of Formentera). Although the "hippies" on Formentera in 1970-71 had to travel via Ibiza, there were far fewer "hippies" per head of population on the larger island. The only point of concentration of "hippies" on Ibiza was in the low-status area adjacent to the docks, and very few of these stayed very long. The longer-staying "hippies" on Ibiza tended to live in rented "pabisses" (rudimentary secondary farm dwellings) in the country areas: although they interacted to some extent with native Ibizan neighbours, any such interaction was commonly limited by the isolation of the dwellings, by language problems, and - not least - by the cultural gap produced by both foreignness and heterodoxy. In these last respects, the situation of the "hippies" on Ibiza might be compared with that of "gypsies" past and present: in fact, this comparison was very frequently made by the native Ibizans.

The "hippies" (by renting dwellings usually thought unsuitable for
long-term residence) have provided a secondary income for some native country people, and they have directly contributed in some relatively small measure to the island's increased prosperity, but in general their importance in regard to the aspects of economic and social change discussed in this thesis has been less than that of other types of visitors to Ibiza. Even in the case of Formentera, it is significant that the author of one of the most detailed studies of the "hippies" at that time published in Spain (GIL MUÑOZ, 1970) scarcely found them worthy of mention in his analysis of social change on Formentera, published in the following year (GIL MUÑOZ, 1971).

It should also be borne in mind that the term "hippy" was used for almost any stranger on Ibiza wearing long hair and unconventional clothing, and anyone attempting more than a very superficial analysis of the "hippies" either has to distinguish a wide variety of types or - because of the difficulty in establishing a satisfactory unitary definition - has to resort to inverted commas, as I have here. (Cf. GIL MUÑOZ, 1970, and TORBADO, 1969)

Although the "hippies" on Ibiza are mentioned in several parts of this thesis, their most significant contributions to social change on the island have perhaps been in the spheres of attitudes, mentality and ideas - which are not discussed in detail in the thesis for reasons of time and length. The "drug-culture" associated with the "hippies" had had very little extension to the native islanders in 1970-71 and experimentation with drugs by young Ibizans was rare though not entirely unknown. On the other hand, their presence has certainly helped to stimulate the younger Ibizans in particular to rethink traditional viewpoints on patriotism, warfare, social equality, individual liberty, the conventional work ethic, and of course sexual roles, values and behaviour.

In assessing even these important influences, however, the negative associations of poverty, drugs, and dirt with "hippies", as well as the
other factors making for their socio-cultural isolation from the native islanders, must be remembered. It is also very important to note that to the native islanders the attitudes, mentality, behaviour - and even the dress - of many of the foreign residents and tourists in general were not a great deal less strange on first acquaintance than those of the "hippies", as the Ibisans' difficulty in distinguishing between "hippies" and long-haired foreign students on holiday illustrated. The "hippies" were to them merely a rather extreme fringe element among a vast influx of exotic strangers, and their contributions to changes in attitudes, ideas, etc. - though noteworthy - were only a small part of the whole wave of innovations brought to the island both through direct personal contact and through less direct channels such as the cinema and television.

In the thesis as it stands, relatively little space is devoted to describing the various categories of visitors mentioned in section 7.7, above. There is certainly room for studies either of such groups themselves or of group interaction both among the various categories of visitors and with the native islanders. This holds equally for the peninsular immigrants, foreign residents and tourists, as well as for the "hippies". But the deliberate focus throughout the thesis is on the society of the native Ibisans, with much less emphasis on the visitors themselves (or even on interactional details) than on the consequent pressures for change in the native society and culture. Several references are, however, given to writings on the "hippies", and the interested reader may turn in particular to the book "Juventud marginada: estudio sobre los hippies a su paso por Formentera," by GIL MUÑOZ (1970), which surveys the "hippies" in much more detail than is appropriate here, even though the author's approach is that of a serious journalist rather than that of an academic sociologist.
LIST OF REFERENCES

ABAD Y LA SIERA, Manuel. 1907. "Breve Noticia del Estado Natural, Civil, Militar y Político que hoy tienen las Islas de Ibiza y Formentera con sus Adjacentes en 1786." Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, no. 51, cuaderno 6 (diciembre, 1907), 417-46.


1See also the addenda to the list of references, which follow it.


---1969. "Origen y decadencia de la gran propiedad en Mallorca."


BROWN, Timothy. 1971. "The rise and explosive fall of the Hotel Augusta."


CALLAR Y DESCALLAR, Próspero de Martín de. 1798. Memorias Históricas y Geográficas de Ibiza y Formentera, Llamadas Antiguamente Las Islas Pitiusas. Ferrara: 1798. (Reproduced on Ibiza by the Imprenta de Mariano Tur, 1915.)


CAMBRE MARINO, Jesús. 1972. "Necesidad de la regionalización en


CHAMBERLIN, Frederick. 1927. The Balearics and their peoples. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd.


"CLASIFICACIÓN ..." 1862. "Clasificación de los habitantes de Ibiza y


(27 May, 1972), 14.


DIARIO DE IBIZA. 1970-72.


FISHLOCK, Trevor. 1972. "Tourism: caravan in a field is worth a cow or two." The Times (2 March, 1972), 11.

FOSTER, George M. 1952. "Las 'feixes' de Ibiza." Estudios Geográficos, no. 48 (August, 1952), 559-68.


I.N.E.: see under INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA.


MACABICH, Isidoro. 1944. "Un Ibicenco, Consenor de Ibiza, en el Siglo XVII." Ibiza, no. 8 (noviembre, 1944), 120-21.


MOLL, Francesc de B. 1968. Gramática Catalana: Referida especialmente a
los Illes Balears. Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll.
---1969. La Lengua de las Balears: Enseñada a las Personas de Habla
Castellana. Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll.


NAVARRO, Victor. 1901. Costumbres en las Pithiusas: Memoria que obtuvo
el quinto premio en el primer concurso especial sobre derecho
consuetudinario y economía popular, abierto por la Real Academia de
Ciencias Morales y Políticas, para el año de 1897. Madrid: Imprenta
del Asilo de Huérfanos del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús.

NAYLON, J. 1967. "Tourism - Spain's Most Important Industry." Geography,

NUNEZ, JR., Theron A. 1963. "Tourism, Tradition, and Acculturation:
Weekendismo in a Mexican Village." Ethnology, vol. II, no. 3 (July,
1963), 347-52.

(13 April, 1974), 17.

London School of Economics and Political Science: Geographical Papers
no. 2. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Alfaguara.

PARSONS, Talcott. 1968. The Structure of Social Action. Volume II.

PAUL, Elliot. 1937. The Life and Death of a Spanish Town. London:
Peter Davies.

PERICOT GARCIA, L. 1972. The Balearic Islands. Translated by Margaret Brown. Thames and Hudson Ltd.


PINILLA DE LAS HERAS, K. 1973. Immigració i Mobilitat Social a Catalunya: (Fascicle No. 1). Barcelona: Institut Catòlic d'Estudis Socials de Barcelona.


La Boda de La Princesa Inmaculada de Borbón en Ibiza, con don Miguel García de Sáez, tuvo algo de fiesta "hippy" y de tablado flamenco." Cover story in Semana, no. 1,586 (11 July, 1970).


ADDENDA TO THE LIST OF REFERENCES

A number of revisions have been made to the thesis, mainly in response to critical comments. The following references are to additional sources cited in the revised sections:


The following sources, which have come to my attention too late for consideration in the thesis, may also be mentioned here:
FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Fernando. 1976. "Ibiza - 70: Una comunidad en rápida transformación social." RS: Cuadernos de Realidades Sociales, no. 9 (January, 1976), 151-196. (This article is a précis of a doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, entitled "Estudio Socioreligioso y Pastoral de Ibiza - 70," whose main focus is on the impact of tourism on intergenerational differences and tensions in the municipality of Ibiza-town.)


