AN ANALYSIS 0>' SOMJi ASPECTS OF SOCIAL
TD TOUHI3V ON

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS Jf SQMK ASPECTS
AND ADAPTION TO TOUPJSM ON

1. HiSiiARCH AIMS

The thesis attempts to answer within certain stated Units
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. RATION LU

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 organization 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 Xbiza 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 ohange), and its recent and massive international touristic development*

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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 fome contribution to the field of "Mediterranean sociology11 1 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Ibiza in 1970 and 1971, an extensive use of local Castilian and Catalan published sources* and some use also of local unpublished data.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 "communitystudy method", but, since
the thesis is specifically a oase-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 diaohronic portraits of Ibizan 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 funotionalism"*
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 oonoeptual overlap*
*'or reasons of time and space alone, some aspects of Ibisan society
(e*gs*, family and kinship; socialisation and education; religion and world-view; leisure patterns) are given only incidental coverages 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 sociographio 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."
(Stein, Maurice H* The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies* Prinoeton: i rinceton Univ. Press, 1960, p. 8.) 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 Ibisa during the "intermediate period": a growing rural labour- surplus; an expansion of external trade and of communications in general; a spread of

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the cash nexus and of Market-farming; and aspirations towards the capitalistic exploitation of the surplus labour in manufacturing by looal entrepreneurs, under the influence of developments elsewhere* mt 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
Ibiaan 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 modernisation 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*gs* t 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 nave enabled many of the islanders to realise 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* *'or example, the distribution
of the new wealth and incomes among native Ibisans, other Spanish people

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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 effeots of tourism are critically examined in the light of the Ibisan case, including those which postulate "acculturation" or societal "convergence". It is found that there are certain elements or 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 effeots of tourism, at least on Ibiza, are those of "selective contact change" ratner than those of "directed contact change"; and that any convergence is modified by the continuing importance of the island's particular circumstances and sooio-oultural background* In short, it is suggested that - far from being the product of the "invasion", "colonization", or "rape" of the traditional looal society (in the words of various commentators on the effeots of tourism in Spain) - the new Ibisan society
is a selective "synthesis'* of traditional and of modern, of looal and of exotio, 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 looal administration, which - combined with the other corollaries of international involvement and fast

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communications - produces very strong pressures for administrative changes in places like Ibisa; 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 Ibiaa, where mass tourism has typically developed* In such oases, 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 loaselor-hierarchioal 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

Oesellsohuft features into rural life; while, on the other hand, many of
the tourists positively evaluate the Gemeinsohai't 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 "urbanization11) 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 arc 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 Ibiaans (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.

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CHAPTER

INTRODUCTION

The broad question considered in this thesis is as follows:
"Within the contest of Ibisa's historical development since the thirteenth century* how has tourisn affected the social structure and organisation
of the island?* This chapter will explain the sociological rationale behind the question and the aethods adopted, concluding with some background information on Ibisa*

1.1 RESEARCH AIMS

( ) Towards a "sociology of tourism*

The social phenomenon of tourism has been rather neglected by scholars until Tory recently* The tendency for serious works on tourisa 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 196? in the developed countries of Western Europe and North America: "expenditure on tourism is between 4 to 7 per cent of priTate consumption expenditure* 1* Total world expenditure on tourism in the same year was soae £26*000 million, of which nearly one-quarter, £6,000 million, was spent on international tourism* The rate of growth of tourism was no rly twice that of world national iaoomes (PBTiffiS, 1969) 27). And, as a proportion of the total value of world exports, international tourist receipts rose from 3*4 per oent in 1930 to 6.3 per cent in 1965-1966, so that! "International tourism

haa beooae the largest aingle itea in foreign trade." (PSTfiHS. 1969t 21*22) Aa Peters cautions, theae figures oan be regarded only aa rough estimates, but they certainly demonstrate that touriaa is of international importance, for eoonoaiats at least.
Za this thesis Z hope to show that touriaa also aerits acre attention
froa sociologists* there is no aention of it in aoat standard readers on social ohange, nor in those specifically oonfined to aooial derelopaent or modernisation. More surprisingly, there has been little interest shown in touriaa ty Mediterranean sociologists and anthropologists - aa aay be ascertained from anthologies such as PITT-RIVERS (1963)] PHKISTIANY (19$5) and pmsmtnr (1968).
One major reason aay be that aass touriaa ia a recent phenomenon in
terms of aoadeaio times 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 foei of interest* Sociologists, for exaaple, hare tended to concentrate on "classical" determinants of aooial ohange, such aa technological innovations and the development of manufacturing industry| population pressures and urbanisation} bureauoratisation and the growth of nation-states. Anthropologists hare long been interested in contact ohange processes, but hare tended to focus on acculturation rather than on the type of aooial changes which are analysed here. European anthropologists (including Mediterranean studenta), exploring the application of fieldwork techniques to their own or neighbouring societies, have emphasised the "folk* aspects of European society * in whose study touriaa (ainoe it changes them) appeara more aa a "destructive" force than aa an interesting object of study.

Prior to the fieldwork, I discussed ay research plans with the Spanish ethnologist, D. Julio Caro Baroja. While showing a courteous interest,
hia ooameata on the effeota of touriam on Spain were aainly antagoniatie, apparently for the reason given here* Cf. also the ooamenta by Carr, quoted below*

However, there are now some signs of a growing interest among aooiologiata and other aoeial aoiontista. A ^erman sociological study of the development and structure of tourism appeared in 1960 (reviewed by MAYSR, 1961). More relevant to my own work, there la a reoent oaae atudy * Mainly economic, but with pointa of interest to a sociologist - of the affects of tourism in
the Caribbean (BRYDKN, 1973): there are some illuminating contrasts with
the effects on Iblsa, because of the very different historical backgrounds and social structures* Reference will be made later to several studies

completed or atill in progress on Ibiaa and neighbouring islands. And the effects of tourism are at least given mention in the reaearoh papers on European communities in BAILEY (1971) and BAILS? (1973)* Further references may be found in the studies cited in the bibliography and, no doubt, there may be some relevant studios with which I am not acquainted*
2 Moat of the more serious studies to date have concentrated on the development, structure and organisation of tourism, or else on ita macro-economic effects. This thesis, in contrast, focuses on the sociological impact of tourism (including "mass tourism", "foreign residents" and "hippies") on the boat region* Aa explained below, it is a oaae atudy of the social

There is no shortage of publications on tourism by tourist boards and
other interested bodieat the British Tourist Authority, for example, publishes a quarterly reaearoh newsletter (BRITISH TOURIST AUTHORITY, 1971-). Most studiea and publications by auoh bodiea have profesaional rather than academic aims, but their statistical information and inaights can be of value to the sociologist. There is much useful information, for example,
in the massive work by FEBNAHDEZ FUBTBR (196?), which is uaed as a standard reference text in Spaniah "Schools of Tourism" ("Eaouelas de Turiamo"), and it alao contains an international bibliography on various aspects of tourism. Finally, an interesting brief general survey of tourism haa been publiahed by Penguin Books (TOURS, 1973)*
2Bxoeptiona include ROBERT SON (1961*) and BRYDHH (1973)» as well aa the current studies on Ibiaa mentioned below* There are alao two current studies outlined in the Development Studiea Researoh Register OK (INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AT THK ONIVKRSITY OF SUSSiSX, 1971 and 1972). One, by W.iU Williams, apparently oonaidera the social implications of tourist developmemt in Oominiea, Weat Indiea* The other (completion date 1974) ia to be a theaia on "Tourism and development in the Seychelles", by P.O. I&oyd.

changes oaused or otherwise Influenced by tourisa - within a limited area, but with the depth that this Bakes possible.
There is a definite need for ease studies of this type, there are
frequent generalisations on the ef foots of tourisa by Journalists. And, in discussing ay own work, I hare found that moat people have quite definite but soaetines divergent * views. Hot long ago, a B.B.C. report on Nepal i contained a reference to "the inevitable ef foots of tourisa", Nowt any suggestion of "inevitability11 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 suamary 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 ooamon negative conception of tourism. He refers* for example, to "Modernisation via foreign investment," and later quotes a suggestion that the local people Bay shortly be "entirely at the service
of the foreigner." Tourisa is labelled an "assault" and is said to be "hitting, and hitting hard, the most static and self-enclosed of Spanish societies t the ^ndfllusian pueblo. . . ." Finally: "Mass tourism destroys the charms of the society that attracts it} it is self-defeating." (CAKR, 1973) The general popular view of tourisa held t*y native Ibisans in 1970*1971
was almost an exaot contrast. With the partial exception of the professional and landed elite, the islanders had a strongly negative view of their

Gross generalisations of this type are clearly untenable* The effects of, say, half-a-million tourists per year (the number visiting Ibisa in 1972) on
London or Oxford would scarcely be comparable with those of the same number
on St. Ives * or on Ibisa. This thesis also argues that more subtle distinctions of context than community sice and rural-urban differences
aust be taken into account, such as variations in looal history and socio-economic structure.

traditional way of lire. Past poverty and periods of economic "misery" (miaeria) go a long way towards explaining this negative view of the past* There was a new saying in San Jose's
"Si deixen de venir es turistea (eiyissenc); "If the tourists stop
a Kivissa, no hi ha prou pins a ooaing tolbisa. there are not enough
Sa Talaia per sa gent penjar-sej" pines on 3a Talaia for the people to
hang themselves*"1 1
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 oar. and popular discussions of direct action to demolish the hotel whioh was the cause of the closure.
But the negative view of the past also eontained non-economic elements, and it was complemented by a generally positive outlook on the new way of life* Bvea the oldest country people would often say that the Ibisans were formerly "atrasaats" (baekward) or <> salvatges*(savages) * whereas they were Bov ***» oivilitsats'' (more civilised). Such comment a 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 whioh the sociologist can usefully examine* Case studies may contribute to a many-sided and gore 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

is the islanders* name for the local dialect of Catalan*
tfatohtower) is the island v s highest mountain, and it overlooks
the village of San Jose*. Hanging was the commonest traditional suicide technique on Ibisa*

for the sociological study of tourism* I refer occasionally to contrasting effect* (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 organization of tourism are also ignored, except when they directly concern the impact on the Ibisans* The possible peculiarities of the Ibisan oase are mentioned (and. conversely, I have indicated some possible generalisations), but oase studies or surveys of other areas are
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needed for a more oonplete picture* Finally, as explained below, Z have had to osdt some aspects of the social changes on Ibixa, in order to consider the others in reasonable depth*
Despite these necessary qualifications, I hope that the thesis stakes acne contribution towards a "sociology of tcuria*". -

(b) the sociology of social development and modernisation

Detailed attention is given to the evolution on Ibisa 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 ef tourism on Ibisa has been similar to that of the "classical1* determinants of social development mentioned above (p. 2).

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 modernization studies' are omitted here,

It may also be noted that the genesis and organisation of mass tourism are themselves attributable to processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and bureauoratisation in the "developed11 countries*

2 gs* the sectoral order of economic development, rural-urban relationships,
the occupational structure, social interaction and hospitality*
gs* 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 tomans, the Saracens, and the Byzantines." There are therefore
many resemblances t2 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*

RO & 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 Ibisan 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 Tbiza and the mainland of Catalonia, despite the historical links. Indeed, such differences even exist between Ibisa and the other Balearic Islands, and are important to an understanding of the relationships between them, as is made clear later.

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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
f

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-RIVMS, 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 eparatism 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 "Ibizan" 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 Ub 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 & MIGUKL, 1966.)

1.2 FBKSFSCTIVjs; AND METHODS

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 "patria xJoa" (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.

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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 ROBBBTSQN (1964), PORC4L (1968), B^RCBLO PONS (1970), &IL 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 BARCiiLO 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 afiected 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 tot11)* 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

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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'1. 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 £ SIMMQNS (19&9), 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",
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as well as more common ones such as "administrator" or "spy"*
For these reasons, as well as to communicate with the older country people,

Another less serious (but sometimes embarrassing) fieIdwork 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 oar, 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*

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I found it essential to learn the Ibisan dialect of Catalan as well as Castilian Spanish. This was sufficient to distinguish ne from almost
all other "outsiders", including foreigners* migrant Spanish workers
(mostly Castilian-speakLng) and officials (also typically Castilian-speaMng). And I extended the fieldwork from the planned twelve months to some eighteen nonths (February, 1970 to august, 1971)» excluding a month's break early
in 1971* I hare returned to Ibisa only once (for several weeks in 1972) since the end of the fieldwork, but I have kept in touoh 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 Ibisa). This wedding and the visit to England - on a Spanish-operated package-tour illustrate an important difference between modem Ibisa and the isolated
rjral areas often studied by social anthropologists: it is now Just the

2 opposite of a "forgotten isle » And, even though the majority of islanders were non-literate until quite recently*, there has been a literate minority

Further details of the gradual development of rapport with the islanders
will be used as illustrative material in the section on hospitality*
2Coined for the Balearics by VUILLIKR (1897), the label was popularised

in subsequent travelogues, especially by BOYD (1911) who reserved it for Ibisa, Mallorca having become better-known. CHAMB JiLIK (192?), 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.
^Official statistics on literacy in Spain are of little value. The situation on Ibisa 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 oould 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 Castll^ fonw when 8peaking 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 Ibisa.

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f administrators, priests and other people for centuries. NO s tudy of the social changes there could afford to ignore the wealth of historical data (nuoh of whioh has been published, even though the editions are usually limited and difficult to obtain elsewhere), nor the numerous contemporary accounts of Ibise, both tgr native islanders and outsiders* 1
There are also official statistics on many aspeots of life on Zbisat especially on its demography and economy* and I have made frequent use of then. Nevertheless, their use often presents difficulties, in view of the important differences between Ibisa and the much larger island of tfalloroa, whose characteristics determine the magnitude of any figure relating to the

2 Balearic province as a whole* Moreover, many of the available statistics are not recent enough to reflect the changes produced by tourism accurately* Accordingly, I have made a practice of not relying exclusively on the statistics at any point I instead, I have used them where possible (both during and since the fieldwork) to test observations, and to cheek the (sometimes contradictory) oral and written accounts of islanders and others* The social history of Ibisa is described in more depth than is usual
in anthropological reports or community studies* More than most, therefore, this study conforms to STEIN's comment that community studies "actually fall

Frequent reference is node to such accounts* But two points must be kept in mind for their correct interpretation* The outsiders* account a 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*
There are various bibliographies of writings on the Balearios, of which
I have made most use of those by SOLBKRG- (1928); LLABR 3 (1953) I *nd
COSTA RAMON (1970)*
2At the time of writing, only the first volume (published 1973) of eaoh series of the 1970 Spanish census is available, and the more interesting data will be contained in the subsequent volumes*
surface area of Ibisa is 54-1 square kilometres, whereas that of Uallorea
is 3tife0 square kilometres* Their respective populations "de de**oho* (by right), according to the 1970 census, were 42,456* and 438,6*56*
A comparable exception is the study by LISQN-TOLQSANA (1966) of an Aragonese community which I found helpful in orienting my ideas prior to fieldwork*

into a Hrt of limbo between sociology and history." (STSIN, 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-affcer11 perspective* By this I mean & 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 "modem" and dynamic. The changes due to tourism were, in fact, frequently alluded to in this way by the Ibisans themselves* older people, for example, would tell me *He vist dos moW" ("I have seen two worlds**)* But, when qu stioneA 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 Ibisa. Important - though generally more gradual - changes were taking place long before tourism became a significant factor*
iSven when the simple "before*and~afterM e ror is avoided, it is still
easy to foreshorten the past, by giving brief background outlines and then describing current events in great details this approach tends to give the partly-false impression of a progressively faster rate of change as the present is approached* 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 diaehronio 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
Ibisa'a history* For example, there was the period just after the Catalan reooaqmest 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*

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of different * but related - aspects of Ibigan sooiety. The impact of tourism oan thus be seen in the context of pre-existing processes of change, and also in that of any historioal or cultural Ibisan peculiarities * which sdght otherwise render any generalisations of little value for comparisons with other areas* Perhaps "historical functionalist" would be an appropriate label for this approaoh*
Proa another angle, the material in the thesis may be regarded as a tourism-based set of "dramatic incidents within their historioal and geographieal setting, 1* whose study has been suggested as "the way forward for British community studies" (FHANKEHBT&1&, 1966: 293). This approaoh has been deliberately adopted in the ease of a orisis over the closure of Ibisa*s airport during ay fleldwork - used here to illustrate changes in adsdnistratire norm*
Turning to a rather different question, it is important to note that
the ohanges 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 Xbisans, migrant workers, foreign residents, "hippies", and tourists* £aoh has its own typical view of the tourist phenomenon* For instance, the foreign residents and "hippies* - and even those temporary visitors who
see themselves aa "travellers" rather than as "tourists" - are generally disparaging about "tourists", and some of the foreign residents prefer to lire inland or in isolated coastal areas, well away from the main tourist fooi« Nevertheless, I usually treat all groups of "outsiders1* 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:

"ffunetionalism" 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 Ibisans - 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 administraters
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 AD, 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 Jose1 (described in Chapter Two)* At first sight, the choice of a

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Tillage with an inland nucleus nay seem strange, but there were the following reasonsi
(i) The Tillage 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 Tillage nucleus was inland, the parish boundaries enclosed

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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 Jose1 was intermediate between the crowded resorts of San Antonio or Santa Eulalia and the isolated cliff-bound Tillages like San Mateo, in the north of the island, which had lost population as a result of tourism in other parts of Ibisa.
(iv) The capital town was in a unique .position relative to the other communities on Ibisa, 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 Jose" 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 Tillage 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 Jose* where appropriate. Nevertheless, I have tended to write at

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greater length on the country, since in some ways the iapaot of tourism has

been more dramatic there than in the capital* Unless otherwise specified,

any general references arc to the country and, more precisely, to San Jose*.

In view of the differences between villages, this is an important point to *

remember: a study based in, say, San Matvo 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 TIE ISLAND

(a) Geographical outline

2 Ibisa is an island of the Balearic archipelago in the western

Mediterranean* There are only four major islands in the group: Mallorca,

lienoroa, Ibisa and tforoentera, in the order of decreasing size. Apart from

their geographical links, the islands are jointly administered as a single

There are minor variations in the island dialect from one p&rt to another* Quotations and sayings are given verbatim. Elsewhere, the forms used are either those of San Jose* or else more general forms, depending on the contextt e*38* faaili or faaflia; aigo/aigu or aigua; mijoral or maJoral* Castilian intrusions may also be noted in places: e.g. cuento instead of oonte*
2
"Ibisa" is the Castilian form of the island's name* The Catalan name

is "Kivissa", 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 C&atilian 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 "fiivissenc".

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FIGURE 1. LOCATION

PI&URE 2. MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

10 km.

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provinoe from the provincial capital of Palma de Malloroa, but it is important to be olear at the outset that their historical, economic and socio-oultural characteristics are quite different in many respects* 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°50* and 5°20 f east of Madrid, and latitude 38°50 f and 39°7* north* This is 52 miles east of the Spanish coast near Denia, 45 miles south west of Malloroa, 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 Menoroa) constitute a prolongation of the mountains in the mainland provinoe of Alicante which jut out into the

2 Mediterranean at Cape Nao near Denia, Almost the whole of Ibiza is covered with small mountains, largely of calcareous rooks, 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 , and smaller
but fertile zones around Santa Eulalia and San Antonio* (See Figures
Two and Three) The highest mountain is Sa Talaia (1559ft.) in the parish

1 Seef for example, RATER (196?) or CARO BAROJA (1946: 426) for a discussion of the major differences and resemblances*
2See, for example, HOUSTON (1964: 192 and 634-5).
capital town and the island as a whole share the same Castilian name, Ibiza. rthcre this may oause confusion, I distinguish them as Ibiza and Ibiza-town.

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of San Jose". The Mountains appear to be soattered 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 Bulalia*

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 aooessible beaches and low coastline are in
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 ooves 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: Ibisa, San Antonio and Santa Bulalia.
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, aprioots and others* in decreasing numerical order) and cereals (wheat and barley) with some legumes as well*

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Ibisa has a typical Mediterranean climate with mild winters and
want susners* The winter teaperature 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 faming perennially unreliable, which has strongly influenced the islanders' response to tourist developments in recent years* The total annual rainfall tends to fluctuate between about 430 and TOO 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*

(b) Historical outline

Historians are undecided about the existence of an indigenous population
on Ibica prior to its occupation %gr the Carthaginians (or Phoenicians).
The most thorough local historian to date, IfACABICH, is convinced that
it was already inhabited* because of various archeological finds and a reference in the Ora Maritiaa of Avenius* However, there is no trace on

2 Ibisa of megalithic remains like those of Malloroa and Menoroa*
The capital town of Ibisa was founded by the Carthaginians about
630 B.C. The following description of the island in the pre-Christian
era is that of Diodorus of Sicily, who used Timeus (3UQ-250 B.C.) as
his source:
"Despots de la isla mencionada "After the island mentioned is that
esta* la llamada Pitiusa, que called Pithyuse, which bears this
lleva esta denosdnaoio'n a causa name because of the many pines which

1 Sources for the material in this section: SERR& UBACH (1961), DICCIONARIO GEOGRAPICO 3B BSPANA (1959), and BARCELO PONS (1969).
2 The early history is described in MACABICH (1966-196?: vol. I),and
in English in PlttlCOT &ABCIA (1972), Ch. IV, "The Punic Islands: Ibiza
and Formentera," pp. 114-125.

de la multitud de pinos que en ella crecen. Esta* en medio del mar y dista de las columnas de HeVcules tres dlas y otras tantas noches de navegaoio*n; un dfa y una noche bast an para Uegar a Libia y so*lo un dfa de viaje la separa de Iberia* En extension es igual a Corfil y es de mediana fertilidad; tiene poca tierra de vinedos y olivos ingertados en los acebuohes* T las lanas que en ella se producen son reputadas bellfsimas por su suavidad. La entrecortan campos risuenos y colinas y tiene una ciudad que se llama Ebusos y es colonia de los cartagineses. Tiene tambifo puertos dignos de menoi(5n y grand es murallas y un mlmero considerable de casas admirablemente construidas. La habitan baVbaros de todas clases, prineipalmente fenicios. La colonizacidn de esta isla tuvo lugar de spue's de ciento sesenta anos de la fundacio*n de Cartago."

grow on it. It is in the middle of the sea and is three days and three nights' voyage away from the Pillars of Hercules; one day and one night are sufficient to reach Libya and only a day's voyage separates it from Iberia* In area it is equal to Corfu
and it is of medium fertility; it has little land with vines and olives grafted on to wild ones.
And the wools which are produced there are reputed very beautiful for their smoothness* Sailing fields and hills divide it up and it has a city which is called Ebusos and is a colony of the Carthaginians* It also has ports worthy of mention and great walls and a considerable number of admirably constructed houses. It is inhabited by
barbarians of all kinds, principally
Phoenicians. The colonization
of this island took place one
hundred and sixty years after the
foundation of Carthage* H

(Castilian version cited in MACABICH, 1966-1967: vol. I, 11)

From such descriptions, as well as from the abundant archeologioal

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 333 A.D., it became part of Byzantine

Spain* The following centuries brought numerous raids from Africa, and the

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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
t

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 letia y sal. La is la es Africa with wood and salt. The
muy poblada e Industrie) sos sus, island is densely populated and its
habitantes; produce toda suerte de inhabitants are industrious; it
granos y frutos, pero el ganado produces all kinds of grains and
lanar no se multiplica; tienen fruits, but wool-bearing animals do
cabras y se alimentan de su came. not multiply; they have goats and eat Uvas, almendras, higos, son de los their meat. Grapes, almonds and figs
artfculos que los naturales are some of the articles which the
cultivan y ezportan a la oercana natives cultivate and export to the
isla de Hallorca. No crecen en la nearby island of Mallorca. Olive trees is la los olivos, no son conocidos do not grow on the island, they are not
en ella, y reoiben de Andalucfa known on it, and olive oil is received
el aceite. Como en Ibiza hay from Andalusia. As there is much
mucho bosque, la principal woodland on Ibiza, the principal
industria de sus veoinos consiste industry of its inhabitants consists
en haoer carbo*n que embaroan para in making charcoal which they embark for
Barcelona y otros puntos del Barcelona and other points in the
Mediterr&ieo." Mediterranean."

(Castilian version cited in MACABICH, 1966-196?: vol. I, 38n.)

In the thirteenth century, James I of Aragtfn undertook the reconquest

of Mallorca, but left that of Ibiza and Formentera to the Archbishop-elect

of Tarragona, G-uillem de Montgri, 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* Montgrf was accompanied by the Infante de Portugal,

D. Podro, and the Comte de Rossello* , D* Nuno Sans, who eadh received a

portion of the island as feudatories of Montgrf* 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 Fructuds.
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* Prom 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 18499 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. Watohtowers 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 Ibiians also took to piracy themselves, bringing back booty and slaves from the Barbary coast. The Ibisan corsairs reached the height of their

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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. %ry 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,

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contributing greatly to subsequent apparent political indifference.
The Civil l^ar was followed "by intense hardship on Ibiza (as elsewhere),
and the next few years are usually called simply *Sa MisSria" ("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 sar 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 regime 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 Ibisa 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.)

(o) Historical periods

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

This 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 V/iLiiNTI (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

2 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 borr£ndose alii, como en " . . . there, as in all parts, the
todas partes, los relieves distinctive features of each village
distintivos de cada pueblo 6 or district, province or kingdom,
comarca, provincia 6 reyno. La are being rubbed out. The ease and
facilidad y rapides de las rapidity of communications, the
comunioaciones, el constante constant movement of persons and
transiego de personas y mercaderias, merchandise, the multiplicity and
la multiplieidad y fuerza expansiva expansive force of the great
de las grandes industrias, nos va industries, are taking us towards
llevando al oosmopolitismo ma's the most prosaic cosmopolitanism,
prosaico, i la ma's mondtona towards the most monotonous
uniformidad; y es de creer que la uniformity; and it is to be believed descripcion de costumbres actuales that the description of present customs

It should be noted that the kingdom of * rag<5n, 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-AO, and passim. Cf. also the observations of G-B^R, 1971: 132, and fii.19, P»157«)

See, for example, the early chapters in PARK (1966).

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resulte dentro de cinouenta aflos "will become within fifty years
tan historica como la de los as historioal as those of the
germanes 6 de los Deltas," Germans or of the Celts."
(Castilian. MAVARRO, 1901: 8-9)
(iii) The "touristic11 periodi - from the 1950s to the indent.
Leaving aside their evaluation of the changes, NAV.KRO's words
were prophetic to a nuch 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 l*AV,iBBO's "ease and rapidity of communications'1 and "constant movement of persons ," Has* tourism commenced on Ibiza in the 1950s, intensified in the 1960s, and has assumed astonishing proportions in the early I97)s, 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*

"In 1923. on my return visit to the islands. I found that the introduotion of electric lights and automobiles had resulted in great changes* *
(SOLB.RG, 1928; 94)*

C H A P T £ R

THE SETTLEMENT PATTKRN

2.1 THS TYPICAL IMA&E OP THE SPANISH "PUEBLO"

The best-known studies of Spanish communities to date have all
been of nucleated settlements, whioh 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*" (PITT-RIVSBS, 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 . " (KEKNY, 1966: 9-10)
"The small town lines the road and forms an almost perfect rectangle* It is a '(rassendorf* or a 'Strassendorf* Hie 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 sise distinguishes Valdemora in some ways, neither its territorial boundaries nor the number of its inhabitants serves to limit the Valdemoran'a universe . . Valdemorans are almost oity
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 eaoh of the rural Tillages and towns
in its own way imitates the crowded urban settlement pattern* The ideal

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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 BALS/iKIC ISLANDS

Table One shows that the settlement pattern on the Pithyuse Islands, Ibisa and Formentera, is quite different both from that of the communities described above and from that of the Balearic Islands proper , Uallorca

and Kenoroa.

TABLE 1

DBEBBK OF CONCENTRATION AND DISPEasION OF POPULATION IN 1960

ISLAND POHf. IN NUCLEATED POFW. IN DISPENSED
SJOTLKIflaiTS SETTLEMENTS

(Per Cent) (Per Cent)

Uallorca
ttenoroa
Ibisa
Formentera

89.0
84.9
37*9
12.9

11.0
15.1
62.1
87.1

Source: BARCELO PONS (197P: 74).

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 nuoleated towns of some sise on Malloroa* apart from smaller nuoleated settlements. The great majority of Kallorcfcaa thus live in nuoleated settlements, conforming to the

The Balearic label was not extended to the Pithyuse Islands until the late Roman period.

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general pattern described in the preceding section.
The sane is true of Ifenorca, although on this island the major urban functions are shared between the two large towns of Ciudadela and Mah<Sn. 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, Ibisa, ever since the reoonquest. It was repopulated by Ibisana 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 Xbisan 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 Ibisa was
quite simple. There was a single nucleated town, containing between a quarter and a half of the total island population, which monopolized all
of the urban functions on the island. 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

2 PITT-RIVSRS in Andalusia, there was a complete dichotomy between town
and country on Ibisa.
xhe 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

The 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 - "Eiviasa* (the island) and **3a 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. 1* (PICT-RIVKRS, 1961: 49)

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capital town, which illustrates the relatively small growth of nuclear

settlements elsewhere*

The town-country differences are still reflected in life-styles and attitudes* Bather than everyone toeing "conceptually at any rate .
a town-dweller", about a third of the Ibizana are "gent de vila" (people of the town), while the rest are "pageBOS" (peasants)* The former live *a Vila" (in the town), and the latter "en es camp" (in the country). This distinction is of vital importance for the sociological analysis of Ibisa, 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 Ibisa, although tourist developments have caused an important convergence of the two cultures on the island in recent years*

2.3 THS TOttH

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 walla, 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

Some of the younger country people, who have never worked the land, and the busineaspeople and employees in the village nuclei (especially in
San Antonio and Santa Sulalia) 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 oainly seamen, fishermen and their families. The respective statuses of the two parts of the town were indioated in their names, palt Vila (High Town) and $a Marina (The Marine '"Townl), which are still in use*
The major functions of the town during the traditional period were administrative and military* Its growth and topography wore strictly controlled to these ends tyr 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* la 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* 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 66 were returned to their native country parishes while the rest were allowed
to remain in the town, (UACABICH, 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. (FAJAHJES CnRDONA, 1938: 167-169) The invention of modem guns, aircraft and bombs has reversed the relative security of town and country on Ibis*, as elsewhere, thus depriving the

1 See "Sobre topografla urbana," in MACABICH (1966-1967* vol. I, 494-505)

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town of its former defensive function*
The "high" town, Dalt Vila* has progressively declined in importance
and prestige during the present century, and moat notably during the touristic period* Apart froa 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'Ajuntaaent). But, mingling with
the other houses are new art-studios* bars, restaurants, and a number of cheap pensions frequented by young tourists and "nipples'** 3ome 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 Bey. 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*

FIGURE 4* TOftf DISTRICTS

To fea«

Adapted from BARCSLO PQNS (19648 226)

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Outside the city walls , the old district of Sa Penya contains a
large number of small densely packed houses in streets as narrow and
steep as those of Palt 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 Tariety 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 l&rge, 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

2 "feixes". 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 ?ive.
The transitions from the traditional to the intermediate period, and
from the intermediate to the touristic period, are thus reflected in the

The island capital is usually called the "Town11 (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. (CASTST-LQ GttASCH, 196?: 33)
"** ***!***" ftre fertile plots of land, irrigated by a speoial capillary action, in a marshy sone reclaimed for farming in this way by the Arabs. Details are given in F08TKR (1952).

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development of the town: the former in the growth of the commercial and administrative district around Vara de Key; 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 brassieres stroll past, «tngijng with townspeople in suits or the latest Spanish fashion* (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 Ibisan rhyme seems to have come unexpectedly true:
"Carnestcites dotse voltes "Carnaval twelve times
i Nadal de mes en mes. and Christmas every month,
oada dia fos diumeage would that each day were Sunday
i sa Corema mai Tongue***1 " and Lent should never come*"1
(Sivisseno)

2*4 THE VILLAGE OF SAN JOSE

The village nucleus of Saa Jose1 (Sant Josep) is about fourteen kilometres away from the capital, in the south-west of Ibisa* There is a main road, surfaced a decade ago, which connects it to both the capital and to Saa Antonio. Leaving the capital, the road goes straight out through the rapidly-growing new suburb of Santa Cru», composed of tall whitewashed blocks of flats flanking a hill by the sea, known as Puig d'ea Moling
(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

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a museum displaying aroheologioal 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 pariah 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 Cave1*), 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 Jose" (which commences near the fork),

*

and is exploited by San Jose" 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 Jo a 4 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 Jose" 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 Jose" was built under the

2 directions of an architect by reminyoles of local country people. The work

1 0ne rural church was initially built for each of the four rural "quartans". (VILLAN&OMEZ LLOBET, 1956: 3o)
2Co-operative working parties. In the words of the first parish records, the church was built by "axl homens com dones. veils y jovens, mestres y peons, grans y petite" ("both men and women, old and young, masters and peons, adults and children"). (MACABICH, 1966-196?: vol. Ill, 352)

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was interrupted several times, but was finally completed in 1732. A

o 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

t

a primary sohoolnaster 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

* 4 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 narked differences between Boat of the people of the
village nucleus ("se gent de s'arrav&ll") and the peasants (paffesos* i.e. those who both live in the country and work the land), even though they are mostly Josepins (natives of Sant Joasp) 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 FAJABNi«S CABDONA (1958s 85)
2SALVATOa (1886-1890: vol. II, 200-201)
1216 in 1971, according to the municipal census figures
4206 in 1965. according t* the municipal Padrdn.

FIGURE 6. THE NUCLEUS OF SAN JOSE

B Bar

Ba Bakery
Bk Bank
Bu Butchery
C Carpentry
Ci Cinena
D Bus Depot
f Forge
G General Store
H Haberdashery

M Municipal Hall
ft ClTil Guard Post
NS "The Nun's School"
P Post Office
R Restaurant

S Souvenir Shop
SS State School
Su Doctor's Surgery
T Taxi
t Church

KE-Y

MeUUed
road

l«0 HI.

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 Ibizans to adopt new ways from the mainland, so the nuclear villagers of San Josl were the first to leave aside the traditional peasant costume
and to adopt new fashions and ideas fro* the town (and - to a lesser extent - from foreign residents and tourists)* In general* the people of the nucleus
- and even BO re so those of San Antonio and Ibisa*town * are said to be
" ore with it" ("mis espavilats").
The name "San Jose"" (or "Sant Josep") is used for three entities:
the village (es poble or el pueblo); the parish (sa parrdquia or la parroquia); and the municipality (es munioipi or el munioipio)* For most purposes
the boundaries and memb rship of the village and the parish may be considered the same , 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 sise* 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 sones for everyday purposes* The municipality of San Jose* includes the whole of the island lying west of a line from Sa PlatJa 4* 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

1 In most parts of Ibisa the boundaries of the parish (the church community) and the poble (the popular ooamuaity) coincide closely, since the parish churches have formed effective social hubs for the scattered farmhouses. The situation of San Jose1, however, was complicated earlier in this century ty the creation of a new pariah, that of Nuestra Senora del Carmen, which is still popularly known by it a secular name of JSs Cubells* Some people who are technically in the parish of Bs Cubells attend the ohurch of San Jose* and think of themselves as Josepins* But this qualification may be disregarded for most purposes*

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7. SAN JOSE! PARISH AND MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

follows the natural boundary of a tangled group of mountains which separates the two roads leading from Ibisa to San Antonio. The mountain* 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 Jos£ to leave their municipality are through the towns of Ibisa and San Antonio. Until the recent introduction of metalled roads and motor vehicles, even a Journey to Ibisa 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 3an Jose* still refer vaguely to the area north-east of the municipal boundary as "over yonder1* ("per aquestos amunts"). and have a stook of stories which illustrate the allegedly uncivilised

and hostile oharaoter 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 Jose* to acquire one or nore motor vehicles, thus opening up the rest of the island to then* Ahereas the old people recollect that a Journey H fora oortd** ("outside the quarto*") 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 oountries (often at the end of the tourist season), although the latter still seems an adventure to most of them,

2.5 THE DI2VELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY SETTLEMENT PATTEHN

The origins of the totally»dmspersed pattern of the traditional
period are not entirely clear. One geographer has dismissed the question
by referring to the island's saallness (MAYER, 196?: 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 liallorca, on the mainland, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. PITT*KIY£HS 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."
(PTPT-RIVKRS, 1961, 6n.)
Now, from the point of view of rainfall, Ibisa is the driest of the Balearic Islands, aal it must therefore be included in 'dry' Spain, thus constituting an apparent exception to this rule. However, DEFjQNTAlHSS & DUELIAT
(1957: 177-178) have pointed out that the accidented relief of Ibisa
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 Idenoroa (despite its higher average rainfall)* This circumstance has perhaps prompted the form of land-use found on Ibixa, which involves small parcels of land farmed with a subsistence polyoulture* mountainous areas of Malloroa, which resemble Ibisa 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 Ibisa is fairly well documented* The town was founded as a coastal fortress by the Carthaginians, and there is no mention of any other population nuoleus on the island in classical times* The Christian conquerors of the thirteenth century /.D. took over the pattern of scattered farms from the Arabs. Subsequently, according to HOUSTON (l9&ti 639)* dispersion and nucleation on the Balearic Islands have alternated with the times of peace and insecurity respectively, but in the case of Ibisa 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 Ibisa in recent centuries may be
linked to the system of land tenure* On Malloroa and Menorca the townspeople managed to accumulate large land-holdings which were farmed by share-farmer*, but on Ibisa 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 reoonquest* (HAY'R, 196?: 203)
During the intermediate period, there was a small amount of nuole&tion
in some country areas on Ibisa* This was largely duo to the efforts of
the island's authorities who. under the influence of the national "despotic

Details, including the latinised Arab names of the farms* are given in
a document in the Cathedral Archives of Ibisa which relates the division of the island among the Christian conquerors* The Latin text is published in MACAB1GH (1966-19679 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!
H las islas de Ibisa y Formentera se "the islands of Ibisa and Formentera hallan en el dla on el mismo atraso are today in the sumo state of
y quills mayor que euando fUeron backwardness, and perhaps more so, than
eonquistadas por las annas de AragtSn when they were conquered from the
a los Sarraocnoa, e imposible ea ... Saraoens by the arms of Arag6*n9 and it
quo se puedan haoer grandes is impossible . . for great advances
adelantos en un pals bastante to be made in a fairly extensive area,
extenso, ope no cuenta con ma's whioh has no nucleated settlement other
poblaoi<5n reunida que.la de la than that of the capital . . . How
capital ** ;,C6mo es posible que may enlightenment spread among
ounda la ilustraoi<5n entre ge&tea people who only come together on
que so*lo se reunen los dfas festivos festive days when it is time to
al tiempo de oir misa?" hear mass?"

«

(Castilian. GIBEKT, 1845: 264)
The building of a number of oountry ohurohes in the eighteenth century was mentioned above* Other taoties for educating the oountry 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 oountry 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 eentury later
a report on Ibisa by the "Jefe Politico de la Provincia" ("Political Chief
of the Province") complained that there were only about fifty houses in
the nucleus of Santa Kulalia and just over twenty in the port of San
Antonio (frlBiSBT, 1845: 250). The process of nucleation had gone further
by 1930, by when there were some TOO people in the nuolear village of San Antonio, about 330 in that of Santa Eulalia, and about 100 in that of San Juan* (VILA VALEWTI, 1963: 100)

The reform* 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 Bulalia 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 Gala Llonga and £s Conar (near Santa Eulalia) or Gala Vedella (near San Jose"), where sisable holiday resorts are growing up*
(iii) "Urbanisaoiones", 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 Kafael* They consist of a large piece of rough land, usually of no use for farming, which is developed in parcels of from 6*00 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 urbanisaeiones 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 Ibisa, San Antonio, and Santa Eulalia, have had varied effects on the settlement

patterns elsewhere on the island*
In parts of Ibisa which few tourists have visited a a yet, such as
the municipality of San Juan and portions of the other municipalities
which are isolated from the Bain tourist foci, the old pattern of dispersed farmsteads has persisted, although there are also a few hotels, urbanisaoiones, or isolated villas in most places*
All over the island, however, there has been a transfer from farming
to othor oooupations 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 isolatad 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 322
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 Yalls* 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 Vails* whence they would return only occasionally to visit their relatives*
Other villages, such as San Jose*, come somewhere in between the
extremes of San Antonio and San Mateo* The nucleus of San Jose* not only has some tourist trade of its own, but also is conveniently situated between Ibisa and San Antonio* Many of the younger villagers have jobs in hotels.

restaurants, or other businesses, mostly in or near Ibisa 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 eaoh year, so that during the autumn and winter months the young people usually return to their parents' homes in San Jo§6, helping them out with farming and household tasks in return for their keep* liven during the summer season it is not difficult for the members of a San Jose1 family to keep in touoh, and some people oommute to work from the village* The e is thus not the saae incentive
as in San Matex> for young people and whole families to move permanently
to the towns or coastal resorts, although this has occurred in a few oases* There are several factors contributing to the prosperity of aan Jose*
by comparison with San ilateo* Some have already been mentioned* In addition, the village of San Jose" is the municipal capital of a large portion of
the island, and the horisons 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 Jose* which contrasts strikingly with that of isolation and abandonment in San Mateo. The schools of San Jose* 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 Jose"
is growing rapidly in sise and importance, whereas th&t of San Meteo 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 unsurfaoed and mostly unusable by cars, there are now tarmac roads radiating out from Ibisa-town to each of the country municipal capitals, and a few minor roads are also being surfaced. Another major influence

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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 farf on the prosperity produced by tourism* This is clearly shown by the location of new facilities, which have been largely limitad 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 acre cheaply than could dispersed
I

dwellings*
The Island's increasing wealth may gradually diminish this effect*
and at present a network of minor roads and electricity lines is progressively linttng-up many formerly isolated areas, mainly on the coast but also in some places inland* In San Jos£ many people are now building new homes slightly away from the main roads and from the village centre, in contrast with the t rend 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 COBS is that of administrative development planning. Until now. the development

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 difficulty9 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-touristio 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. ana 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.

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of now buildings has been almont entirely according to the whims of private enterprise. But fears of "the destruction of the landscape"
("la destruooidn del p&isaje") have prompted the preparation of detailed planning regulations, Uniting each different form of development to areas thought appropriate by the planners* 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 ffemily 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 i1"Mng the island to the exterior* The new settlement patterns
are built over the old, and they therefore retain some of the older

1 There is a diagram of the new planning zones in IBI&X 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 Ibisan 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 "uaa oasa 4s per sempre* ("a house is for always"), and who may recall when a great landslip occurred near the place involved* And coastal urbaniaaoiones 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* la fact* BAKCKLO POMS (1970: 74) gives figures which show
an apparent increase in the dispersion of settlement on Ibisa between
1930 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 urbanize* and semi-urbanised areas near the capital and elsewhere were included as disseminated settlements, as BaBCBLO himself points out. The urbanisaoiones 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 Jose* have built themselves secondary homes
in their favourite bays to use for weekends or for renting to tourists

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during the summer months.
With the various exceptions mentioned, the overall most notable trend appears to be towards more nucleated settlements. The gro th of the nuclei of San Antonio and Ibisa are the clearest examples. But, to include the other oases, a more appropriate term for the new predominant forms of settlements might be "clustered settlements" rather than "nucleated settlement*", Even the town of Santa Kulalla 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 urbanixaoiones 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 Jose* is clearly demonstrated in Figure Eight*

According to the 1970 Census of Dwellings (I.N.S., 1973)» there were
2691 family dwellings in the municipality of San Jose** Of these, only 1304 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 "paMsses1**

FIGURE 8. THE "CLUSTERING" OF SETTLEMENT IN SAN JOSE

Note* No houses other than those
specified in the key are included,

I Km.

key

Ruined or
desert-eel
koutes.

Houses

1450.

I170-7I.

Lawd over

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CHAPTER

POPULATION

5.1 THE AFTBHttATH OF THIS

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 froB these earlier eras Bay still be detected on the island. However,
the present Ibiian 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), although most of them can now also speak the official state language, Castilian, with variations in fluency among the country people.

2 The Catalans were themselves apparently of mixed origins. And there

seea to have been considerable cultural variations among those settling on Ibiza, prompting a ruling in 1264 by Guillem de Montgrl, 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

There was no text on the dialect at the time of ay 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 VTLLAN&OMEZ LLOBhT (1972).

2See VIC4NS I VTVKS (1962: 22-25).

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"inhabitants of diverse places or kingdoms [who have] cone to those lands,"

and says that the regulation was needed to stop frequent disputes over

2 land, which arose fro* "the diversity of the customs" of the settlers*

The moit reliable evidence suggests that nost of the Arab inhabitants

left Ibisa after the reconquest, but some of then seen to have remained (as

was also the ca;e oa Malloroa), continuing to farm their land. They

were supplemented from time to time with other Arabs captured by Ibisan

oorsairs, 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 Kalloroa

4 to Ramon Muntaner, his Ibisan lieutenant, in 1335 :

"Per los feels nostres los Jurats "On behalf of the loyal Jurats and
e prohomens de Evi9a missatgers prohomens of Ibiza . messengers
... proposaren que totes les obres propounded that all the rustic works rusticals ques fan en la dita ilia which are done on the said island are
Be fan per mans de oatius com done by the hands of captives as other
altras personas franchas no si free persons were not to be found for them,
tropian, e que es fins asci usitat and that up to now it has been usual for que alguns oorsaris anaven an terra some corsairs to go to the land of Moors de moros que no no eran de pau a not at peace in order to capture and cativar e de afo fonch aquella ilia thus was that island increased in
en eonreus e pagesia augmentada." cultivations and peasantry.'1

G-reat care is needed in interpreting such statements* One author

has taken part of this quotation out of context to mean that the Ibisan
5
peasants were all slaves during the early period after the reconquest.

4

"habitants de diverso3 lochs o regnes venguts en aquelles".

2"la diveraitat de les costums". Prom an extract from the "Idbro de la Cadena" in the Historical Archives of Ibiza, published in MACABICH (1966-1967* *ol« *» 278)

8ee »Lo indlgena y lo Catalan, 1 in MACABICH (1966-196?: vol. I, 108-114).

^Catalan document in the Historical Archives, published in ibid*. 297-298.
c

^"Durante un largo periodo, los "During a long period, the country
oampesinos oonstituyen incluso una people even constitute a class
olase oarente de oiertas lacking certain libertiesJ a part
libertades; una parte de esta olase of this class is made up of
esta! oonstitufda por musulmanes Mussulmans made subject through
sometidos tr&s la Ileoonquista, que the Reoonquest. who later ffill posteriormente serin reeaplazados be replaced by captives."
por oautivos." (Castilian. VILA VAL2NTI, 1963, 98)

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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 "oatius* (captives) and "esolaus* (slaves) appears to have been very small compared with the total country population* In 1654, for example, there were 130 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 nay 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 purohase slaves, although some did let out farms to share-croppers. All that the letter from the king to Muntoner 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.

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

"son neoesarios para todo, por falta quo hay en esta I a la de servioio,
pues no se hallan de ningutm man era persona e que a sueldo quieran servir ..." (Document cited in MACABXGH, 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 moat of the traditional period*

2Some details of the status and treatment of slaves are given in MAC vBICH (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, specially in the country districts* The distinctive country culture
oa Ibisa thus has overwhelmingly Catalan origins, but incorporates other elements as well.
Sometines the piracy in the Mediterranean diminished the Ibisan
population rather than adding to it* For example: "The 31st of August of 1335 was a day of mourning in Port many t.now San Antonio. , with nineteen

2 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 reoonquest, which rendered the neighbouring island of Formentera and unprotected parts of the coast of Ibisa too dangerous for permanent habitation, with a consequent reduction in the effective amount of land available for cultivation*

3.2 THB TRADITIONAL P RIOD

The dominant demographic features of the first centuries after the reoonquest, 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 Ibisa, cone ant rating heavily on cereal crops for home consumption* The

The last recorded instance of slavery on Ibisa (also the last in Spain)
was as recent as the 1820s - see MACAL1CH (1966-196?: vol. II, 214 et seq*)*
2
D£a de luto fue en Fort many el 31 de Agosto de 1383» que costo dies
y nueve oautivos y la queraa de varias oasas, segtln ... n (Quadrado, Is las Baleares, 1327-28, quoted in ?<AC;,jBJCH, vol. I, 288).

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cereals (specially wheat) were not well suited to the island's soil and climate, and poor harvests were quite common. When the crops failed,
the Ibiians 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).
Spidesdo illnesses were also important until about the middle of
the seventeenth century* A document of 1534 uses "the time of the great mortality*9 1 as a point of reference; another in 13S1 talks of "diverse

2 mortalities and famines that have been herd* ; while in U02 there was an outbreak of plague of which it was claimed that "if the epidemic had lasted another south, the island would have remained deserted". 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. (According to the census of 1934, when i the island's population was many times larger, the total number of first surnames on the island was 97, of which % were found exclusively in the

\5 town, so that there were only 41 different first surnames in the country,)'
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 300 families on the island, divided roughly equally between the

1 H del temps de la gran mortalitat enoi" (Cited in MACABICH, l966-7t vol. I, 113) "diverses mortalitats e fans, oue aqujt son estades" (Cited . ibid.)
"se il progredire del morbo fosse durato un altro mese, 1'Xsola sareble
rimasta deserta" (Cited ibid.).
Nicknames are in general use on Ibisa because of the shortage of other names, even being included in postal addresses. For an account which lists some
300 nicknames,see CA5TKLLO GUASCH (1963).
COSTA IUUON (1964).

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town and the country (MACABICH, 1966*7: I§ 291n*)* Nevertheless, the island* s population grew intermittently during the following period,
reaching 10,250 in the year 1652* In the saoe year, there was a plague epidemic which killed 711 Ibiaans, Of these, 523 were from the leas than 1,000 inhabitants of the walled town, 70 were from the extramural town,
and 118 were froa the country districts-. This was the last major outbreak

o of plague on the Balearic Islands* In 1669, there were still only
9,596 Ibisans, but from then on the island*s population grew nore continuously, although slowly at first*
$y 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 Ibiaa, indigenous islanders began to emigrate. A set of complaints about the island*s oligarchic rulers, sent \y the peasants to the king in 1690 , stated that:
*Ks notorio, sefior, quo son ya ma's "It is notorious, seigneur, that already
de oiento y einquenta Personas, que more than one hundred and fifty Persons,
desertando sus haciendas, y deserting their farms and abandoning
abandonando Farientes, nan salido Relatives, have fled from the Island,
huyendo de la Isla, y se han pasado and have gone to Spain and
a fispana y & otras partes por evitar to other places in order to avoid
las repetidas pl&gas que en la Isla the repeated plagues which they lamented
gentian, queriendo ma's mantener su on the Island, preferring to maintain
miserable vida con el afan de su their miserable life with the seal of
trabajo en agenas Pro vino ias, que their work in strange Provinces, than
morir desesperados en su propia to die without hope in their own
Patria, al intolerable ouohillo del Homeland, from the intolerable knife hambre, y al sordo dolor del desabrigo of hunger, and in the dull suffering of
y desnudea." lack of shelter and nakedness*"
(Castilian. SUHER, 1690: 450)
This was only the beginning of a process of emigration from Ibiaa which was to reaoh very large proportions in the nineteenth century* Emigration

1 MACABICH (1966-7. If 412-413) and MAG^BICH (1945: 257).
niallorca was even more severely affected than Ibisa, having 22,241 dead from & population of about 100,000. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 49)

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thus gradually replaced epidemics and famines as the principal factor limiting the island's population.
Various large-scale events also affected Ibiza, in common with the other Balearic Islands. The union of Castile and ^ragdn, 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 ft'ar 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 "IlustracioV1 ("Enlightenment 11) reached the Balearics towards the end of the eighteenth century. A "Sociedad de Amigos del Pals" ("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:

4

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 Jose* is that of a returned transatlantic emigrant. (Cf. &INEH, 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 laok of detailed information on them.

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"Tanto Mallorca oomo Iblza deben al "Both Mallorca and Ibiza owe to the almendro sobre todo la elevaoidn del almond above all the elevation of the
nivel de vida de sus poblaoiones standard of living or their rural
rurales . .. y la apertura de meroad- populations . . and the opening-up of
os exteriores - lo que Mono re a exterior markets - which Uenoroa had
habfa oonoeido un siglo antes grao- known a century earlier thanks to
ias al estfiaulo de la preaencia the stimulus of the ingliah presence. "
inglesa." (Castilian. BIS30H. 1964: 65)

In 1?34» the first bishop of the new island diocese of Ibiza compiled

a report on the state of the island (ABAD Y LA SlJfiitRA. published 190?).

following year, a Junta was appointed to carry out an extensive series of

reforms. These met with opposition from some Ibizans (FiJAKN&i CARBON A,

1961: 21), and a report to the government in 1845 spoke of a general lack

of improvement and continued poverty (&IEKKT, 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 1737, and this relatively rapid growth continued until about

i860 (See Figure Nine). Apart from the reforms, there were the improved

trading position and the safer and more regular sea communications of the

2 nineteenth century* There was also the previously-mentioned disentailnent

Many such comments on Ibiza and Fermentera *s apparent changelessnesa have
been made* iSven in 1964, in a study of social change on torment era, 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 millenium ago."
(RQBKBTSQN, 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 Pith/use Islands between i860 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 P&lma in 1801* rrom 1830 onwards, there was a monthly service between Ibiza and ^licante, and communications have improved fairly steadily ever since. See rOU MIMANSH (1964).

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FIGURE 9. POPULATION ON IBIZA AND FORMENTERA (1650-1970)

70 <tO IT 10 30 ?0 10 to 18 <o 3O YEARS

fo 10 <»o 1^10 30 so ~\o

(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 oentury, 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 13f 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 i860, the population on Ibiaa first returned to a slower rate of growth and then actually declined as emigration assumed large proportions. There were various disease outbreaks during the oentury but their effect on the population was
saall 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, (Sea Figure Ten)
The population of Ibiza as a whole has grown unevenly during the
present oentury. (See Figure Ten) From 1900 to 1920, the total increase was only 3*9 per cent, beoause of emigration and an influen2 a epidemic
of 1918 which severely affected all of the Balearic Islands. The population

FIGURE 10. BREAKDOWN 0? POPULATION ON IBIZA (1840-1970)

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YEARS

10 J».0 ?0 40 1O

(Basod on figures la Appendix One)

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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 9! 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
deoadev with a rise of 18 per cent from 1930 to 19AO. But this figure obscures the notable demographic effeots of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939* On Ibisa* as elsewhere in the Balearios, 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 Ibisa's external trade to a more-or-leas complete standstill, creating a severe economic crisis which lasted from 1936 to about 1947* the period of
2
n Sa MJseriaH » 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 Ibisan emigrants* The population underwent

Among the temporary immigrants were Nationalist soldiers, including both Spanish and moroooan troops, who were stationed on Ibisa (there was a barrack in the San Jose" area).

2For a careful statistical analysis of Ibisa*s external trade, especially
during the present century, see MOLL MAJKUh'S (1961). This author summarises the recent evolution of the island's economy as follows:
".., de 1922 a 1930 hay una fase ". , . from 1922 to 1930 there is a
de inestabilidad; de 1931 a 193$ phase of instability) from 1931 to 1935
una oonaoliiaoidn de la eoonomfa; a consolidation of the economy} from
de 1936 a 1947 una epooa de 1936 to 1947 an epoch of profound
profunda crisis, y de 1943 hasta crisis, and from 1948 until the present
la aotualidad una prosperidad time a growing prosperity, which from
oreoiente, que a partir de 1956 1956 onwards takes on * truly
toma oar&'oter de verdadera fiebre. feverish character* fhioh raises the
que haoe temer que no so trunque fear of a too abrupt termination
demmsiado brusoamente." of the boon."
(Castilian. UOLL MARQUES, 1961: 76)

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an absolute deoline in the deoade from 1950 to 1960. However, the economic

improvement froa about 1948 onwards, and the growing tourist boos in the

second half of the 1950s eventually Bade theaselves felt, produoing the

draoatio reversals in deBOgraphie trends which are described below*

3.4 THE TOURISTIC PERIOD1

(*)

The number of live births on Ibisa 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 1953-60) to 17*08 per

thousand (in the quinquennium 1 960*63) • Even so, Ibiza still had the

2 lowest birth-rate of any of the Balearic Islands - except for the anomalous
island of Foraentera - 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 1963, the fertility of Ibisa and Fomentera was 68*3 per thousand, that

of Ualloroa was 71 • 3 per thousand, and that of Uenoroa was 87*2 per thousand*

Most of the figures in this section are taken from (or in some oases are calculated from) the statistics collated in LAHCI&0 PONS (1970). Those
for the period since 1963 are from the 1970 national census of population (I*N*S., 1973a).

The number of live births on Fomentera fell from 37 in the year 1936 to
24 in the year 1963* This does not necessarily indicate any demographic decline there, however* .Vomen from Formentera, and from the country districts on Ibi&a, have started having their children in clinics in Ibiaa-town, rather than continuing to have them at home with the help
of the traditional "llevanera" (amateur country midwife). These children are misleadingly registered as born within the town municipality.
For this reason, the registered birth-rate on Fomentera and in country districts of Ibijsa has tended to drop in recent ye«.rs, but the true picture seems to be one of increasing birth-rates in both town and country districts (with a few exceptions).

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Birth-rates in the Balearics aa 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 or the civil war and the following decade, with a minimum of 13*43 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 Ibifa and the other islands
since about 1930 reflects both the increased prosperity from tourism
and the relatively high fertility of the women who have immigrated to Ibisa froa 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 1930). Since 1930 it has remained
fairly stable at about 10 per thousand. Mortality in opain as a whole
was considerably higher than in the Balearios in 1900 (28*8 per thousand); and it remained higher until about 1930; but it has since been lower - in
1965» for example* the national mortality was 8*4 per thousand while that
of Baleares was 10*&2 per thousand*

The major factor in the decline of general mortality on the Balearic
Islands, aa elsewhere, has been the parallel deoline 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),

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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 oent
in Spain as a whole, and 9*1 per oent in Paloa de Malloroa (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 192$; and the respective figures had fallen to 2.89 per cent and 2*16 per oent in 1965*
There were two important exceptional fluctuations in death-rate a
in the present century* The first was associated with the influensa epidemic of 1918, whan the death-rate teaporarily doubled on the Balearios* 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* Bven 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 tiae, being put down as due to other causes, or else entered gradually
in the years following the war. (BARCELO PONS, 1970s 88) Both during the influensa 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 birthrates* Mortality on Ibisa 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

The figures in this paragraph are from I«N.£. (1951).

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on Ibisa in recent years* The Immigrant a 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*

(o) Total population

The changing balance of births and deaths described above was the
major factor influencing population change on Ibiza over the pafit 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 mqlniflnfl part of Catalonia*
There was an abrupt reversal of this trend after about 1960* Between 1960 and 1965» the Ibisan population increased by 9*6 per cent; that of

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Baleares increased by 10*6 per oentf and that of Spain by onljr 4.3 per eentf while that of the Catalan region swelled by 13.0 per cent* Between 1965 and 1970* the population on Ibi&a grew by an extraordinary 19*2
per oent9 while that of the province as a whole grew by 13.5 per cent. Thus the population on Ibisa 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. Ibisa *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 Ibisa*
While there have been changes in the rate of natural increase in
recent years on Ibisa. 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 (ineluding Ualloroa) at least sinoe 1920, at first beoause of the industrialisation of the region, and later beoause of the concentration of tourism there* Ibisa and Menorca failed to attract immigrants prior to 1960 beoause of their lack of industrialisation* but since then the massive influx of tourism has made Ibisa in particular an iamigratory focus on a par with the most prosperous mainland provinces of Catalonia, as becomes clear below*

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CHAPTER 4

MIGRATIONS

EXTERNAL MIGRATIONS1

Prior to about 1920, a broadly similar pattern of emigration appears
to hare taken place from all of the islands* While there had been some emigration from Ibixa in times of hardship during previous centuries* it assumed large proportions only in the second half of the nineteenth century* After visits to Ibi*a in 186? and 18?5» a careful investigator reported that very few vessels called there, with correspondingly few visitors, and that (even then) immigration and emigration were both

2 of "little importance1* on Ibiaa and Pormentera. The same author gives

statistics which show that between the quinquennium 1865*6? &nd the quinquennium 1878-82 the average age at death Increased on Ibixa 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 (BARCSLO PONS, 1979: 113)* The resulting increase
in the rate of growth of their population was not matched by a corresponding increase i& employment possibilities, even on llalloroa (where some

The 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 dereoho" (by right) and "de heoho" (in fact) population statistics*
. p.167.

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industrialization waa beginning)• There was some compensatory progressive

decline in birth-rates, probably due to a combination of the low marriage

rate er high age at marriage associated with rural poverty and a gradual

increase in the use of contraception' , as well aa the leas of young men

either temporarily (aa seamen) or permanently (as emigrants). But it waa

not sufficient to prevent the formation of a surplus of population whenever

there waa an economic orials of any kind.

In 1881, the "Heal Sociedad de Amigos del Pals de Maileroa" ("Royal

Society of Friends of the Locality of Malloroa") informed the government

that emigration from the islands waa not systematic, but took place in

years of scarcity, usually after droughts; and that it mostly consisted

of males, bound for Algeria* (cited in BAJtCSLO PON5, 1970s 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 lay

From oral accounts (both in the town and country), it seems that there was some knowledge of contraceptive methods ("fer merits per no tenir infants1*) on Ibisa 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 " ("iaies cue donaven oonseis i medicines")
both on "how to be together without having children" ("•star Junts senae tenir infants") and on abortions ("abortos")* But both practices were
sins (peoata). 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" ("per^uflioay-se") * Informants mentioned various methods including coitus interruptus (NaguantarseH), condoms ("oondons"), vinegar douches (dutxes). and the rhythm method
("•star Junta certs dies noaeV)* They made references to periods (H ses regies") as a means of knowing when pregnancy has occurred* They also
said that contraceptive pills ("pastilles") were increasingly e&fti&g into
use (usually by doctors 9 prescription), and they added that contraception was no longer considered to be so much of a sin as having more children than oould be adequately fed, clothed and educated* They were agreed, however,
that formerly at least there were many people who did not know about contraception, or were inhibited by moral scruples or fears (conversely, and ironically, the olerioal 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 Jose* 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 te 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.

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a combination of overpopulation and new taxes* but the persuasiveness
of labour-contractors from the South American republios 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 Malloroa. 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 Balearic* for Algeria, 458 for the South American republios,
and 2,204 for the overseas colonies, while many others crossed to the mainland of Spain*
One author has calculated that, between 1837 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 PQNS, 1970: 114)* Emigration continued into the present century, but it diminished for the Balearios as a whole towards 1925, because of the reversal of the migratory trend from about 1920 onwards in the case of the largest island, Malloroa, 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 Jose* still have relatives in

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Palma as a result* And one Ibisan living there has estimated that there were from 3»000 to 5,000 Ibisans living on Kallorca in 1961* (CASTSLLO OTASCH, 19611 30)
Since about 1920, then, the situation on Ibisa has been quite different from that on the larger island* Whereas the intense eodgration had lasted for less than half a century on Malloroa* it continued for such longer
on Ibisa* As a result t a kind of "tradition of emigration" became established* Ac far as most of the older people on Ibisa 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 jovens") used to emigrate* indicating that emigration was no longer considered an exceptional, periodic event* even though the rate fluctuated from time to time*
One Xbisan has observed (in the 1950s) that:
La eidgraoio'n ibicenca tiene dos "Ibisan emigration has two fascinating nonbres aluclnadores: la Habana y names: Havana and Algiers Batches of Argel* Golpes de iaaginativos de people imagining they may become rich la riquesa parten haoia las dos leave towards the two
oiudades." cities."
(Castilian* FAJAHN8S C RDONA, 1958: 289)
Formerly the destinations of Ibisan emigrants had been similar to those described above for the Balearies as a whole* Then, until the civil war
in 195^-39, North America became an important focus of attraction, as well as Malloroa* 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,
Ibisans 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
speil of economic scarcity or "bad years" (*anvs dolento") in agriculture* However* there is no doubt that (apart from any personal or other motives)

some of the Migrant* were adventurous or ambitious youths and families* who left Ibisa with the illusion of one day returning with their pockets full of gold pieces* Some young man left fiancees on Ibisa to try their fortunes overseas, and one such nan has told me that, in the 1920s, "everyone was talking about going to Cuba1* ("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 tine to tine* The young men "de fora* ("from out aide" * i.e. returned emigrants) were easily recognisable by their "Jags" (tailored Jackets), which contrasted with the "oaaisolea" (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 Ibisa, and in some cases there was a complete loss of contact after a while. Gradually, however, communities of ex-patriate Ibisana 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 Ibis*} and it was no longer the desperate measure or great adventure of former decades*

The flow of information back to Ibisa was also undoubtedly an important factor in widening the horisuns 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*

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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 deoade later* Then, however, the growth of tourisa led to
an abrupt reversal of the direction of migration* Whereas a net balance
of 883 people emigrated froa Ibisa during the quinquennium 1955-60,
a balance of 1*845 iasdgrated during the following five-year period*
In other words* while there was an annual average loss through migration
of 5*13 P*r thousand population froa 1955 to 1960* there was an annual average gain froa migration of 10*19 per thousand population from 1960 to 1965* (BARCELO POTS, 1970s 118)» From the rise in Ibisa's population between 1965 and 1970 - 19*2 per cent (see p*71* above) - it is quite clear that the ianigratory ourrent further increased during that period* Since 1960, then* many people have gone to lbi*a in search of work*
They are mostly from the southern mainland of Spain, speaking a different first language from that of the Ibisana, 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, beoause of the very rapid rate of growth of tourism* But they tend to be collectively disliked by the Ibigans for
a number of reasons, but basically beoause they are "foresters" ("outsiders"), and beoause their norms for faee*to~faoe interaction are not the came
as those of the islanders * which gives rise to irritations and misunderstandings* (The relationships between Ibisans and the several categories of immigrants are discussed in more detail in a later chapter*) Relatively ft* of the Ibisans 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 Ibizans (by birth and descent) living in Argentina, for example, with a closely-knit community of about 1,000 in the Santa ?e area alone* On the outskirts of Janto Tom4, a smaller olty near Santa Fe, there is a kind of Balearic oasis inhabited

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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 Higuel or neighbouring parishes on Ibiza, which illustrates the importance of the links with the home Tillage in stimulating further emigration once the pioneers were established*
The Santa Fe Ibizans 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

2 of the ethnic group. 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,
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, din 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,

1 See "Ibioencos en Argentina," in DIAKEO DE IBIZA (30 October, 1970: 6-7)»

2 "Casas de Ibiza" also exist in Palma de Malloroa, Barcelona, and other
places* There are regular reports of the activities of the groups in Mallorca and Santa Fe in the DIARIO DE IBIZA.
additional factor likely to inhibit the return of emigrants in North America is the language difference - the children of some emigrants from San Jose* in North America apparently have little knowledge of the island, or of its languages*

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affluent and cosmopolitan Ibiia in plaoe of the quiet, frugal and insular society they remember leaving* One San Jose* emigrant recently sent
his North-American-bom daughter for a holiday in the village, giving
her a transistor radio to take with her so t hat she oould show the people of San Jose1 the wonders of modern technology - which created much amusement when she arrived there*
In conclusion, it is olear that there is a delicate balance of
population and economic resources on Ibisa* A setback in the tourist
boom would rapidly oreate 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 Ibiaans are fully aware of this, which accounts for the extreme sensitivity of the
island newspaper towards any unfavourable Spanish or foreign reports on
Ibisa, 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

2 to Ibiia to seek "pieces of gold11, and tourism has thus totally reversed

the secular trend of the island's external migrations, at least for the
time being*

As far as I know, there is no especial label on Ibisa for returned emigrants like the Spanish term "indlano"* They do sometimes have individual ex-emigrant nicknames* however - e*gs* "en Fidel Castro" (for one from Cuba) and
en Pu.jol more11 ("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 Ibisans 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
Ibisa they can expect rapid promotion in hotel-work or other touristic jobs*
Two San Jose* men (in their twenties) have become "maitres d* hot el" (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 tfaglish and other foreign residents on Ibiza, and it is becoming quite easy to learn foreign languages without leaving the island*

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4.2 INTEBHAL MIGRATIONS

Baoausa tha overall material gains ara so obvious, it is aasy to
overlook tha contrasting ways in whioh tourisn has affected different
parts of Spain* Sinoa tha vast majority of tourists head for tha beaches and ooastal resorts, there has been an intensification of tha former
drift froa tha land, with tha creation of "ghost Tillages" in some places, Tha Spanish governnent has found in tourisa an idaal solution to its
balance of payment a difficulties and general econoado problems* Consequently, its economic policies and legislation have been directed towards the promotion of tourisa* 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 recant years; a general policy of laissei-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 Ibiia, 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 tha island's natural features have played a fundamental part in the location of tourisa (see the geographical outline in Chapter One), but their effects have been strongly reinforced by laisses-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 tha island whioh have attracted a large number of tourists - this has greatly increased the attractiveness of these
tones relative to the neglected areas, both for native islanders and for the vast majority of tourists.

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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 Ibi$a» The development spread to Santa iSulalia during the 1960s*
And there was some development within the municipal boundaries of San
Jose*, especially on the coastal borders of the municipality neur the capital and in the bay of San Antonio* Thus the only municipality which has so far not been developed touristioally 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 olifis have limited it to a few rather small coves (Portinatx*
Sa Gala de ^ant Vioent, and Bs Port de Sant Kiouel) - with the striking exoeption of an ambitious luxury hotel perched on a cliff-top at Ra Xaaena. near San Miguel*
At the beginning of the present century, just over a quarter of
the island's population lived in the capital town* This proportion remained fairly steady until about 1930* after whioh it increased for about twenty years* because of a drift from the land in the country municipalities* (See Figure Eleven) During the 1930s, 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 inoreased 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

For the proportions living in town and country in earlier centuries, see Appendix One*

FIGURE 11. THE PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

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b — b SAN™ EUUAUA

—— d TUAN

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YB.ARS

(Based on figures in Appendix One)

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industries* commerce and administrative employment (all largely concentrated in or near the capital) as well as b/ hotel work (which the capital shares •ore equally with sereral 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 sones* 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 Sa Canar. In contrast, the proportions in the municipalities of San Jose* 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 Jose* declined, the actual number of people living there increased throughout the decade 1960*1970s i.e. the "decline" was only relative to the more rapid expansion of San Antonio and Ibiza (and later Santa Bulalia). 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 p< riods 1955-60 and 1960-65, the migratory balance for

The "migratory balance" « the change in total population minus the "natural increase11. (The "natural increase" a births minus deaths)

FIGURE 12. THE TOTAL POPOLATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

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——— 4 IB 12. A

—-b SANTA EULALIA
-- c SAN TUAN
• — •4 SAN ANTONIO
• • • e SAN lose.

c -^-^

$-0 to 70 to zo

YEARS

60 TO

(Based on figures in Appendix One)

85

each municipality and for the island as a whole.

TABLE 2

iq&RATORY BAL&KCBS
Area 1955-60 1960-65

Ibisa - 386 * 1,151
San Antonio +145 + 744
San Jose* - 166 + 218
San Juan - 176 - 227
Santa Sulalia _ -300 - 43
Island Total - 883 + 1.843

Sources BABC3LO POMS (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 Bay be noted that Santa Sulalia did not receive a positive

migratory balance for the period 1960-65 whereas San Jose* 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 Ibisa 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 Matec is
undergoing extremely rapid depopulation (see pp. 48-50, above).

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occurring for Spain as a whole* There has been an extraordinary economic and demographic boom in the touristic sones and a complementary decline
in inland or other rural areas unsuited to intensive tourist development.
It is also true, however, that tourist developaent haa gradually spread fro* one part of Ibiia to the next, so that the position of the less developed sones nay 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 o«tt&t«r the present internal migrations to some extent at least*

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CHAPTER $

AND FTSHTNC

OgmSRAL ECONOMIC OUTLINE

Ibisa f 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*
Ibisa 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 seeas to have been prosperous during the Arabic period, which saw the introduction of important innovations in agriculture such as new techniques of irrigation* After the thirteenth century Catalan reeonquest, Ibisa 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 Ibisans 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 Ibisan salt* But any development of trade or industry beyond the essential minimum was inhibited ty the effective isolation, which led to the consolidation of a traditional socio-economic

'See POSTER (1,52) and SCHI4LKR (1964).

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order* By the end of the eighteenth century, Ibisa 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
Ibica were engaged in industrial manufacture, said that all of the manufactured goods ("efeotoa manufaoturados") were consumed either on
Ibisa or on neighbouring Formentera (BABGELOf 1964i 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 bad formerly been a limited amount of shipbuilding (of wooden vessels of various types) on Ibisa (both for
piracy and trade), and this beoame a flourishing industry between about
1770 and 1850§ after which it gradually declined. There were a number of attempts at establishing quite large-scale manufacturing industries on the island during the nineteenth century, but these eventually oame to nothing - for reasons which are discussed later* ^here were also notable changes in agriculture. The traditional subsistence polyoulture 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 oarobs* This process was encouraged by Ibisan administrators from the end of the eighteenth century onwards* They tended to be dismayed \y the lack of immedlately»obvious results, as well as by the unsurprising resistance of the peasant farmers to sweeping innovations from above, so that they seem to hav» generally underestimated the real changes in their periodic reports on the state of the island* Official statistics themselves show

An almost complete list of vessels built on Ibisa, together with other details, is given in COSTA RAMON (1944).

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that important long-term changes took place between i860 and 1960 at least.

And a peruaal of descriptions of agriculture on Ibisa, 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 Ibisan countryside, particularly

after the civil war (whioh gave young Ibisan eonsoripts an opportunity

to compare local techniques with those used elsewhere, as well as creating an unstable socio-economic situation which plaeed a premium on ingenuity

and adaptability). The inpaot 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)

lay a combination of increasing industrialisation and less labour-intensive farming methods, but greatly intensified \y mass tourism in recent years.

TABLE 3

TRENDS IN ACTIVE POPULATION AND SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION
(PROVING! OF BALEARSS)

Tear Primary Secondary Tertiary Proportion Sector Sector Sector of Total
Population
Active

1920
1930
1940
1950
1965

55.7
39.7
52*4
40.1
27.4

26*2
36.8
23.4
33.3
34.1

18.1
23.5
24*2
26*6
38.5

34.5
40.8
49.4
41.5
42.26

Sourcet BABC3LO PQNS (1970s 163)
All figures are in

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A notable feature of the history of the Balearic Islands is the
tine-lag between the introduction of innorations in the mainland, then Malloroa, then Ibiia, and finally Fornentera. Industry and tourism on Ibiia are no exceptions to the rule* As desoribed above, there was Tory little industry on the island prior to tourism, apart from that of snail 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 Ibixa and Fornentera (45*6 per cent) was almost double that on Halloroa (26*2 per cent) and Henorca (22*7 per cent). The following table on the sectoral distribution of employment on Ibisa and Pormentera
in 1965 does ahow, however, the emergence of substantial secondary and tertiary sectors. This was due almost entirely to tourism, which has promoted the development of oonstruotion and other ancillary industries
on Ibisa, apart from having a direct effect on the tertiary sector*

TABUS 4
THB SBCTOfiAL DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE POPULATION IBIZA AND FOHMSNTERA (1965) Active Percentage
Population in Each
Sector

Primary Sector 7,468 45*39
Secondary Sector 4,217 25*74
Tertiary Sector 4*697 28*67

Sources BARCSLO PONS (1970s 178)

BAHCELO PONS (1970s 174 and 178) has suggested that the persistence
(in 1965) of a high proportion of islanders engaged in agriculture on Ibisa

The denotations of the terms "primary sector", "secondary sector11 and "tertiary sector" (as used here) are explained in Appendix Two*

and Formentera is related to the high degree of dispersal of the oountry 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 PQNS, 1970s 174) However, this is certainly not true of Ibisa 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, Baroelo'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* (E\BCELO POMS, 1970s 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 Ibisa in 1971 could doubt that this process has intensified over the past few years* While the dispersal of the oountry 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 Ibisa are attributable to the time-lag in the development of mass tourism and industry on Ibisa*
Leaving aside questions about statistics, there can be no doubt
that mass tourism on Ibisa 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 Ibisa is commonly said to have a "monooultivo del turismo1* (an economy
based on a single•torop", i«e* tourism)* While this is still an exaggeration, tourism has certainly replaced farming as the island 9 s basio economic activity, and all others are now of secondary or ancillary importance, at least for
the present*

5.2 THE PATTiHf OF UND USB

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TABLE 5

UND USE ON XBI&A IN i860 AND 1960

Crop Area in
Hectares

1660

% of Total
Area

Area in
Hectarea

1960

< of Total
Area

Cultivated Land

Dry _ aroiinj^t

Cereala/LeguBea
Alaonds
Caroba
Figa
Olives
Vines
Other Fruit

Total (dry)

Wet Fandngs
Cereala
Fruit

Total (vet)

Total (cult.)

16,526
521
1,729
1,181
871
45

20,874

441
15

456

21,331

77.5
2.4
8.1
5.5
4.1
0.2

97.8

2.1
0.1

2.2

100.0

9,375
5,584
7,989
2,201
1,317
17
39

26,522

1,314
113

1,427

27,949

33.5
20.0
26.6
7.9
4.6
0.1
0.2

94.9

4.6
0.5

5.1

100.0

Uncultivated Land

Fine Forest
SriaT .
Konte bajo°
Salt Lagoona
Barren

Total (unoult.)
Total Areas
Surveyed

1,717
15,323
11,676
526
3,998

33,240

5.2
46.1
35.1
1.6
12.0

100.0

54,571

14,791
4,006
7,213

1J693

27,704

53.4
14.5
26.0

6.1

100.0

55,653

aUnoultivated land, rough graaing or waste.

Sorub or aatorral.

Soureeat

Ureoh Cifre, Caaiadro: 2atudioa aobre la riquesa territorial de laa ialaa Balearea dedioadoa a laa Cortes eonatituyentea (Palma, F. Gu&ap, 1869); and Cataatro de Bioueaa Bdatioa (Miniaterio de Kaoienda) - ertraota published in KSTADISTICA (1963).

Table Five shows the pattern of land use on Ibiaa in the yeara 186*0

and 1960, for which detailed data are available. There are some differences

between the classifications uaed in the two sources, ao that cautious

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interpretation is required* But the table does show some notable changes over the hundred year period between the surreys * and these are elaborated in the following sections as a useful basis fbr understanding the impact
of tourism on previous trends in faming on Ibisa*

5,3 THE USB OF UNCUIflrVATED LAND

half of Ibisa is uncultivated land, roughly equally divided
between pine forest and garrigue* In soae parts of Spain, the forest
land foras part of a ooaoon patrimony as in the Sorian village of *RaaosierraM described by KJSNNY (1966)* But the thirteenth oentury division of Ibisa 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 terraeed fields* garrigue

and forest*

In the past» the uncultivated land was a major economic resource* An eleventh-century Arab writer, Al-M&kkari, reported that Ibisa "provides
moat 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 Mediterranean11 (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 teles (strips of pine-wood used as torches)* In the early 1960s, some 3*000 metric tone of raw pine-wood were still being produced annually* of which about one- third was converted into fruit-crates, most of the wood
and orates being exported to the citrus-fruit area of GandJta on the mainland* The aavina (Juniperus Phoenicia) was also exploited (some 20*000 of its straight saplings being sent each year to malloroa* in addition to those used

on Ibisa), the main use being as stakes for young fruit trees* The forest ard garrigue were also exploited in nunerous other ways* Line was •ade in kilns* Bees were kept in stone hives among the pines* Babbits
and birds (trapped and shot) provided the luxury of a meal with neat*
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 fbr their houses, furniture,

2 boats, fuel, medicines, clothing, tools and machines j 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 i860 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 reoent period is apparent from the oral accounts and my own observations in the San Jose* 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 Jose* area are short and slender - this is partly due to the thinness
of soil there, but also testifies to their recent growth in most eases*
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 Ibiian herbal liqueurs (egs. "frifcola" and "hierbas ibioenoas"), both for local consumption and for export*
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 tcnir mis de dos ", » . and it oust be more than two
pains al oap Be*s prim* Els pagesos palms wide at the thinnest end. The
... Parlaven de la futura victim* peasants . . . Spoke of the future
amb indiferencia. Sabion que victim with indifference* They knew
s'aoabavea els grans pins, que that the great pine trees were coming to
oadasoun neoessitava nolt de temps an end, that each one took a long time
per a fer~se, perd no veien sino* to grow, but they had eyes only for the
els diners que en donarien*" money which they would be given for it."
(Catalan. VILLANGOME2 LLOBST, 19561 72)
At the time this was written, however, the trend in the exploitation
of the pine forest had already reversed. The market tor soft wood of
the quality produced from the Ibisan pines (Finus halepensis) was declining, as cardboard and plastic replaced it for orates and similar purposes* Pressure lamps (quinoue'a) and, later, electricity (still generally referred to simply as «sa llum* * "the light") replaced t&es and other traditional forms of lighting. In recent years, butane gas has been replacing wood and charcoal for heating and cooking* Some tff 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 Tbisa* 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 satlne^ 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-prised pabrassos (Lactarius

A measure still in common use in the country, the palm (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 Ibi«a).

sanguifluus), and other plants and herbs still give the islanders 9 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 - fro* eoonosdo 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

2 fro« the affluence and new attitudes introduced by tourism*

DRY FARMING

Dry (seoa) farming is the predominant fora on Ibi«a, as on the other

Balearic Islands, and it involves s»re than nine-tenths of the total area

under cultivation* The following paragraphs contain brief descriptions of

There was a large forest-fire in the San Jose* area during the period of fleldwork* 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 house* were threatened
the blase), and a special aeroplane was brought over to the island to help
the troops fighting the fire. The mayor of San Jose* officially requested
local men to assist* Technically, they were legally obliged to ooaply 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 Waft 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 busineaaes, from whioh they could not take tine 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 blase, the men were grumbling that not even the owner of the trees being saved had bothered to oome to helpj They added that, anyway, the trees were no longer worth anything by comparison with the earnings fron tourism* It was now too mueh trouble to sell wood* They had to send for the "delesat d*es boso* (forestry official) to decide whioh trees might be gold - and even then a tax had to be paid for eaoh tree felled - besides which, they said, it was very hard work*

2Mast tourism is often criticised (mainly by urban people),both in England and
in Spain, for "destroying11 the countryside. But there is no doubt that it
is in fact contributing to the restoration of Ibisa's forest land in several ways t firstly, by removing the eoonosdo 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 eoonosdo reasons*

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the »ajor dry faro crops, clarifying the data in Table Five, above. Similar sections on irrigated faming, livestock faming 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 whoa the island's countryside presents seemingly changeless features: terraced fields, unpruned trees and old peasant women with straw hats, pigtails and traditional dresses*
(l) Ground crops; - The proportion of cultivated land used for cereals and legumes (the moat 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 Ibiaa. 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 Iblsan 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
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that produced by the commercial bakeries which now exist* Barley
is better suited to the island's climate, since it ripens earlier in the year* Ibiia 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

Statistics of Ibisan wheat yields (low) and national comparisons are
given in BABCELO POKS (1970: 193)*
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 orop to alternate with the traditional cereals, sinoe they improve the soil, adding humus and nitrogen* There are a variety of other

2 ground crops on Ibisa§ but they are of less importance*

Cereals and legumes are grown on Ibi&a mainly on terraces dotted
at fairly regular intervals with almond, oarob and fig trees* VhUe 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 attempting to discourage the production of wheat, in general, and are promoting the alternation of barley and llgumes where the land is suitable* Some of the farmers ia the San Jose" area have adopted this system, although very few oan offer clear reasons for it* Other farmers, however, appear to have abandoned the traditional systems of rotation-5 without adopting
a new one, sometimes sowing the same orop for several years running*
There is also a tendency to abandon ground crops altogether, sinoe
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 Jose* area do help their parents on the farms ia winter and during the harvest in summer (if they oan 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 oase at present*
Za short, the farming of cereals and legumes on Ibisa is at present

However, the beans suffer from the devastating' attack of a parasitic plant (sa magraaatf) ia many parts of Ibisa* The only known cure is rather complex, and the traditional weed-killing methods of ploughing, harrowing and leaving the land fallow do not kin the parasite* (SERiihiS UMCH, 1962: 9-11) a table showing the relative importance of the various ground
crops on Ibisa in BARCKLO POHS (19701 193) •
commonest traditional system was a three* (or sometimes four-) field pattern (Ha teroos* - "by thirds"), rotating mainly wheat, barley and fallow*

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beset with problems, steaming partly from the difficulties in changing from subsistence to specialised narket 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*
(^-) Tree crops: - Almond trees (es met Hers) at present cover about one-fifth of the total cultivated land on Ibisa. 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 i "Antes d*es turiame. sea motllea aempra eren sa riouesa d'BJvisaa." ("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 Sooiedad de Aaigos
del Pals 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 Ibisa (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 (SSRKES UB/CH, 1961: 146). However, the tree requires careful and regular attention if it is to survive, and both the present "Agente de Sxtensio'n Agraria" (Official agricultural adviser) and agriculturalists from the "Promoci6*n Profesional Obrera" (an organisation on a national scale, which gives peripatetic courses on a
Tariety of topios for adults) - who were giving courses on the oare of tree-crops in eaoh Tillage on Ibisa in turn during the period of fleldwork - 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 Jose".) There are two

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main reasons* Firstly, competition in the world market keeps prices too low for Ibisan farmers, beeause of the relatively low yields obtainable their traditional methods* And secondly (again), the shortage of labour due to tourism is a oruoial difficulty, especially for elderly farmers* Unlike the almond, the oarob (as narrower) is a robust tree which
gives regularly good yields without requiring muoh attention* (Self-seeded oarobs may be seen in the fringes of the woods around San Jose".) Most of the island 9 s production is processed and exported (principally to England)*
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The rest is used mainly as a local (equine) animal food* There was an enormous increase in the proportion of land used for oarobs on Ibisa between 1860 and 19*0 (See Table Five). The impact of tourism is likely to be less marked than in the case of the almond, since the oarob will survive even if completely neglected* Market factors are therefore more crucial, and they have so fbr been quite favourable to oarob production on Ibisa.
The fig trees (ses figueres) on' Ibisa 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 (05 talons) are inserted* The tree therefore spreads out horizontally, often getting very large, with dosens (and occasionally even a hundred or more) of the wooden props* Agriculturalists condemn the practice for wasting space and for

One sen/or (gentleman, i*e» one who does not need to work with his hands)
in SaaJose had lost his miJoral (share-farmer), and had been unable to find a replacement* In the summer of 1969, therefore, he offered half of the
tree orop (a mit/tes. by halvesi the traditional payment for merely collecting a tree orop was una part da omtre. one part in four) to anyone who would harvest it on his 80-heotare farm* But the orop 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* TThe oarob is less appreciated than the almond on Ibisa* Its fruit look like long black broad beans when ripe, and they have & curious sweet flavour.
Many Ibisans had, unwillingly, to eat them or use them for flour after the civil war, so that "menjar garroves* (eating oarobs) symbolises "misery1*
to them*

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preserving poor wood (SKRRBS UBACH, 1961: 147)* But the green umbrellas of the fig-trees are attractire and photogenic for tourists, and they provide shade in the summer. In any event, figs have been largely replaoed by other, preferred, pig foods in recent years, and there has been a consequent decline in their aarket 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 tourisa has reversed the former trend towards the expansion of fig growing on Ibisa (Table five shows that the area occupied by figs had almost
doubled between i860 and 1960),
Two other traditional orops are now of nuoh less importance. The
olive (s'olivera) grows naturally on Ibisa, but the fruit is badly affected by grubs* The trees, once established, are given alsoat 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), ^mmwmMMMMimae- m whose use is still rewarded in kind
(at least in San Jose*)* The olive, of considerable use to subsistence farmers, now has very little economic significance, and most of the olive oil used on Ibisa is imported. On Ibisa, 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 saall 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*

Dried figs have been exported from Ibisa for human consumption sinoe 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.

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5*5 IRRIGATION

Water is a treasured commodity on Ibisa* Its use in fanning can
transform the yearly net oash yield of a piece of land from 3f 200 to
•ore than 50,000 pesetas per hectare - a sizteenfold increase (BARCELO FOBS, 1970; 205-4). The feixea 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 nade wherever water can be fbund* Less than one-tenth of the total cultivated area on Ibiia is irrigated at presentt but the proportion is rising steadily* This statistic nay
tend to under-represent the importance of irrigation on Ibisat if the
such 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 farm* on the island at that time, no less than 2,12$ (43 p« cent) were irrigated* (BABCELO PONS, 1970: 192)
Most irrigated land on Ibisa 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, cauliflowers, aubergines, radishes and peanuts* Fruit trees (especially apricots and citrus fruits) are also of importance, and are favourably suited to the island's conditions*
his 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 ori de ooeur:

The area under irrigation in the Balearic a as a whole rose from 15*8 thousand hectares in 1960 (BARCELO POMS, 196>s 25) to 16.7 thousand hectares in 1970 (MINISTSRIO DK AGBICULTUHA, 1973)*

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"La Mayor difloultad estriba, a "The major difficulty lies, in our
nuestro juioio, en el elemento opinion, in the human element* A
humano* Un agrioultor aoostumbrado farmer accustomed to the
al eultivo rudimentario del rudimentary cultivation of the
garrofero, almendro e higuera, no oareb, almond and fig trees, oannot puede oonrertirse en frutioultor become a fruit grower
de la noohe a la mafiana; y para overnight} and if the result is
realisar plantaoiones mal to be badly planned orchards of
proyectadas, de aVboles hambrientos hungry and thirsty tress,
y sedientes, eon ramas grotescas y with grotesque branches and
oopas enmarafladas, coleoci<Sn entangled orowns, a lamentable
lamentable de insootos, hongos y collection of insects, fungi and
baoterias, de esoas* produooio'n y bacteria, of soant production and
paupsrrima oalidad, tal ve* sea the worst quality, perhaps it may be
preferible que aigamoe ooniendo preferable for us to continue eating
fruta de otras regiones, aun a fruit from other regions, even at
oosta del no despreeiable gravamen the not inconsiderable cost of
de Ice transportes, embalajes, transport, packaging, damage
nennas y eomisiones*" and commissions**

(Castilian* SEBHBS UBACH, 1962s 28) 1

The human element may well be the most important factor influencing

irrigation farming on Ibisa 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 Ibisa - as in 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 slniea (mule-driven wooden pumps) elsewhere -

were used throughout the traditional period* Since the aid-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 moter-driven pumps, of whioh 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*

The vision contained in the quotation is of a new set of fruit trees cultivated along traditional lines (i.e. unpruned, and using eetalons), whioh this author systematically criticises elsewhere*

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Tourism has affooted the situation in several ways* Firstly, it
has greatly increased local demand for vegetables and fruit, and it has provided many Bore farmers with the necessary capital (e.gs. from land sales or seasonal employment) to invest in electricity, wells and new irrigation ays teas. 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 requirement a of package-tour hotels and other commercial enterprises* In fact, Ibiea is consequently facing its first ecological crisis*

By 1970-71, housewives in the capital town oould 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 Ibisa - i*e* in those areas with the most intensive irrigation farming* Meanwhile, around the village of San Jos&, high above sea-level, the ancient wells and springs had progressively dried up, and new wells were having to be sunk deeper eaoh year* The village people usually blamed "the drought" ("sa sequJa") 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 Jose" 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 "Servieio Hidrol6*gico de la Delegaoidn Provincial del Uinisterio de Obras Pdblieas" came to the conclusion that the massive

1 "Hydro logical Service of the Provincial Delegation of the Ministry of Public Works". See DIARIO DK IBI&A (4 Feb. 1971s 8).

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amount of water now being pumped to the surface is depleting the island's fresh water reserves faster than they oan be replenished by rainfall*
The signifioanoe of this finding was summarised as follows, by the island's newspaper!
"Al pareoer* segiln las previsiones "Apparently, according to the forecasts
del Plan Provincial de Ordenacion of the Provincial Plan for the
de Baleares, la isla de Ibisa Balearic s t the island of Ibisa oan
puede seguir oreoiendo al ritmo continue to grow at the present
actual solamente hasta el ado rate only until the year 1975
1975 ••• Pooo ereoioiento le queda* . • . Little room for growth is left pues9 a nuestra isla. ^Rasdn del for our island, then* Why is time
pla«o tan corto? Segdn los so short? According to the technical
teonioos redaotores del Plan, los editors of the Plan, the reserves
reoursos de agua sera*n of water will be insufficient
insufloientes pasado 1975* £1 after 1975* Water may be the
agua puede suponer, pue», un cause, then, of a total
oolapso total en el crecimiento collapse in the expansion of
de nuestra isla." our island."
(Castilian* "Bl Agua, Froblena,* DIARIO D£ IBI2A, 12 March 1971: 2) Similar problems of salination of wells are being encountered on
the larger island of Malloroa, it seems (BAHCKLO POMS, 1970: 191)• *hus. with an irony which is familiar elsewhere, the technical innovations - which have oade 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 Ibisa is still likely to increase rapidly in the near future* perhaps limiting the development of irrigation farming, and reduoing 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 Ibisat e.gs. the diffusion of technical innovations, the increased involvement in a market economy, the growth of tourism* changes

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in local demand and investment, the introduction of new forms of administration and planning restriotions, 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 Ibisa 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

2 hens, rabbits and pigeons, among other things*

The number of draught animals on Ibisa has been declining over the
past half-century in accordance with the trend elsewhere, because of the gradual mechanisation 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

There were the following animals on farms on Ibisa in 1955* 313 cattle, 15,563 sheep, 8,571 goats, 5,984 pigs, 1,659 mules, 223 donkeys, and
2,195 horses, according to BARCELO POMS (1970: 301)•
Some families in San Jose* also keep pheasants, of curious origin* A few years ago, a foreign resident bought some pheasants and employed a local nan to
rear them, after which they were released into the woods to provide fame.
The local men apparently made short work of them* But the nan 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.

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which it had in subsistence farming, when the matanoeo (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 looal and world demand for their meat has risen in recent years, so that the number of pigs and cattle
on Ibisa is tending to increase*
In general, the market situation is therefore favourable for livestock farming on Ibisa 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 ANGUSKA SAHSO (1969: 47-8) • And, third, the small-scale, essentially complementary nature of livestock
farming on Ibisa, based on traditional subsiatenoe patterns, makes competition in the national market difficult. There has been little restructuring
so for, 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 whioh they have little interest (except for its cash value)*

3*7 FISHING

Fishing might be expected to be of prime importance to an isolated island like Ibisa. But, at least since the thirteenth century, it has been only a complementary occupation* The main reason in the past was

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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 flshenaen on Ibisa, using about 120 fishing vessels (NAVAHRO, 1901: 89). Most of theo lived in the district of 3s Penya in the capital town. By 1950, their number had once more dwindled to 358 (MAS8UTI, 1961: 57)*
Although there were few full-time fishermen, however, almost all of
the country people (in the San Jos6 area at least) were part-time fisheraen, often asking their own boats* Some of the country people had
a saall house in one of the pales (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 cane the season for fishing for squid (oalaaars). 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 matanoes*
During the present century, artificial fibres and motors have largely replaced the natural fibres, sails and oars; but the fishing techniques
on Ibisa are otherwise much the same as in previous centuries. This is scarcely surprising, in view of the ageing population of fisheraen on the Balearios in generals in 1936, only 18 per cent of the fishermen in the province were under 30 years of age; 48 per oent were between 30 and 30) and 32 per oent were over 50 years old (MASSOTI, 1969: 31)• Very few young people are following in their fathers' footsteps on Ibisa, and many older men have recently abandoned fishing for hotel work, or to take tourists out for boat excursions*
A shortage of fiU& has also developed in recent years* The Balearic waters have been over-fished for some time, despite the traditional looal techniques and the dwindling popularity of full-time fishing among the

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islanders* The principal reason seems to be the large catches of trawlers, especially those from the mainland. This, at least, is the argument of •oat local people. The officials, while partly in agreement, also put sou* blase on a number of techniques employed mainly by part-time country fishermen J in particular the use of nets in shallow water; fishing with dynamite j and aqua-lung fishing (introduoed by foreign risitors, but now
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also practised by some local youths, with great success).
Most of the men in San Jose* (of all ages) still go out fishing, with
their traditional Uauts (small fishing Teasels) and xalanes (rowing boats), or in newer craft of commercial make* The number of sueh boats is increasing rapidly, aM there is a shortage of suitable spaces for the traditional cubical boat-houses on the coast around San Jose". But they now go fishing almost entirely for pleasure, and not for the former economic reasons.
Even though the price of fish in the Balearic a is higher than in any
other Spanish province (MA3SUTI, 1969$ 58), tourism has thus altered
the primary function of fishing (like that of the forest) on Ibisa from the provision of feed or income to recreation* It may also be noted that in the ease of fishing, as in the use of fresh water, modern techniques are threatening natural resources ~ although this problem is not so particular to Ibisa, nor so directly related to tourism, as is the water shortage*

1 This has long been a popular technique* See e.g. BENAViass (1932)*

2All 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.
*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 pabraasos (edible fungi), a large haul prompts the comment that "We have had lots of fun*"1 ("Hem fet aolta 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*

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5,8 CONDITIONING FACTORS

Various factors influencing the changes on Ibica hare 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 iaportant causes of the changes discussed in this chapter Bay be summarised under three heads:
(i) the expansion of communications,
(il) technical innovations, and
(ill) mass tourism.
During the traditional period on Ibisa* 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 iaportant, followed by the diffusion of technical innovations in the town and country on Ibisa, with these innovations becoaing very iaportant 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 Ibisa and the impact on them of the three causal factors* This section describes the major circumstances on Ibisa which have conditioned the changes brought about ty 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 ehanges and to detendne their magnitude (e*gs* where tourism has developed on the island, and the magnitude of
the transfer of young people fro* farming to other occupations - which could, for example, be alternatively filled by immigrants).

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(a) Eoolojdcal factors

(i) Climate* - An alleged change in the island's climate was one of
the commonest reasons mentioned to me on Ibisa (especially ty country people) for the decline in agricultural production in recent years. particularly in the case of traditional dry farming crops such as cereals, figs* Tines 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-mad* wine* People in San Jose* 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 dunolng at these commune! water sources (the dances took place on certain feaat*days in the summer) to the drought* In other words, the islanders were attributing a causal significance to the olimate (or rather the alleged change in the olimate) 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 orops irregular and uncertain* moreover, the Ibisans* belief that the olimate has changed

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•ay 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 Ibisa* A detailed analysis is given in SERRKS 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 fanners 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-clad hills, 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.

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(ill) 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 tine-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 alloted 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.

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(b) Social factors

(i) The settlement pattern! - Sa vila (the town) has been (and, for
•any 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 intermediaria (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 Ibisa 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 reads and electricity, which are gradually Hnking-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* Thu«, the settlement pattern was an important circumstance limiting

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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 Ibiaa, in 1963, together with the contrasting

distributions on the other major islands.

TABLE 6

FABM SIZES

Sise of Farms
(Hectares)

0 to 0*9
1 to 4*9
5 to 9.9
10 to 19*9
20 to 29.9
30 to 49.9
30 to 69.9
70 to 99*9
100 to 199.9
200 or over

Total*

Sources "EXPIiOTACICNES AGRARIAS ... * (1963)

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On Kalloroa and Ifenorea, the land is unequally divided - there are

large numbers of minifundia (very small farms); substantial numbers of

la*** OY very large farms (latifundia); and relatively few farms of medium

siso. In contrast* the land on Ibi*a is fairly evenly divided1, with

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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

Number of Farms

Ibiza

398
1,389
1,126
866
276
133
26
14
2
1

4,231

Formentera

115
309
117
92
30
22
6
3
4
2

TOO

Mallorea

9,925
13,301
4,993
2,396
626
459
167
194
245
227

32,533

ons

Menorca

1,758
453
216
237
156
139
109
127
142
38

3,375

All Islands

12,196
15,452
6,452
3,591
1,088
753
308
338
393
268

40,839

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 FAJAHNiSS CARDGKA (19611 23).

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on Ibisa* taking up 8? per oent of the island's surface area. Only 0.5 par oent of farms are larger than 100 hectares, covering only 5*1
per oent of the surfaoe area* The division of land on Ibi*af then, is very equitable by comparison with the other Balearic Islandst and with
the rest of Spain*
In some parts of Spain* the farsis have been split up (through the processes of inheritance and exchange) into numerous, often separated, small plots* which makes cultivation more time-oonsuming and also impedes mechanisation* According to the agricultural census of 1962, the average sise of the plots on Ibisa and Formentera was 6 hectares* and the average number of plots per farm was 1.9* Some 52 per oent of the farms on Ibisa were made up of a single piece of land* In other words* the problem of fragmentation was of little importance*
Nevertheless* the average sise of the farms on Ibisa* 11*5 hectares*
is quite small* And 41*7 per cent of the farms (covering only 7*9 per
oent of the total area) are of less than 5 hectares* The farm-sises also include both cultivated (irrigated and dry) and uncultivated landt in
all* about half (30*2 per oent) of the land surfaoe on Ibisa 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 Balearios as a whole* In 1962* the average net income per hectare
of dry land was 5*234*7 pesetas (about £19*37); while that for irrigated
land was 31*370 pesetas (£307*6)* The yield of an average-sised Ibisan dry farm (11.3 hectares) was thus about £220 per annum; while 3 hectares of

The figures in the text are derived from the I Conso Agrario de Espana (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 sise 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 BARC3LO FOBS (1969: 21).

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irrigated land would yield about £920 per annum. In interpreting these estimates* it must be borne in mind that they refer to 1962, and also that the oost of living for an Ibizan peasant farmer is much lower than that for people in other occupations. Even so, they indicate that the net inoos* of »ost of the farms on Ibisa at present is rather snail, giving only * poor living to a limited number of islanders*
For farming to compete successfully with tourism-baaed occupations considerable amalgamation of the existing farms would be necessary* Some amalgamation does take place through tales 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* •ore rapid amalgamation through sales might be expected to occur* (in the past, there was intense competition among young people wishing to become miJorals* or share-croppers, whereas the owners of all but the best farms now find it difficult to obtain miJorals 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

2 farming units, is now too expensive tor this purpose*

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

The English equivalents are calculated on an exchange rate of
16? pesetas a £1.
The yields given here agree quite well with statements of farm
incomes in the San Jose* area at the time of my fieldwork*
The 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.

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Ibisans in general prefer non-far* 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 aooept "peninsulars1* ("peninsular people", i.e. those from the mainland of Spain) either as tenant farmers or as mijorals. sinoe 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 reluot&nt
to sell good farmland. They are quite willing (for the right price) to
••^1 es marge (rough land bordering farmland)» *ses rogues vora la mar"
(•the rooks by the sea11), or terrenes dins es boso (land plots in the woods)* But they still recall vividly es anya de sa aiaeria, 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 wus not for sale)* They also remember the times when "tots es Jovens anaven
a Cuba* ("all the young men were going to Cuba"). And they wonder what will happen if there is a recession ill 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 (sinoe 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 si*e* But, for the present, there are rather few signs of a restructuring of farm boundaries, and the small sise of present holdings is an important factor contributing to the decline in farming*

(iii) Techniques,; - In general* the teohniques used by Ibiaan farmers have been slow to ohanget by comparison with fanners on the mainland of Spain or with those in other European countries* Nevertheless, important gradual technical changes hare been introduced over the past hundred years, although the innovations have been most narked during the past two decades. Although its outward appearance and family basis have not changed much, Ibisan faradng 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 Ibisa to the "resistance to change1* which is commonly said to characterise peasant farmers* It would be more accurate to explain tb«* (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 Ibisan farming - but time is at present lacking*
This ia not to deny some importance to "resistance to change" (providing

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the oonoept is carefully analysed)* It Bay be either non-rational (as
in the eyes of Bost officials) or rational (as in the eyes of the
farmera theBselves). A possible example of the former is the mistruat
of advice froa "foraatera*, which liaits the influence of agricultural advisers (even this mistrust has a rational basis: apart froa the fallibility of such advisers, there is the legacy of long-standing conflicts of interest between peasants and non-peasants on Ibisa). But Boat of the resistance
has soBe rational explanation* For example, during ay fieldwork, a team
of advisers - from the "P.P.O." (Promooi6*n Profesional Obrera) * were
trying to introduce new methods of pruning trees, especially for alaonds*
A few of the wealthier farmer* allowed the experimental pruning of some
ef their trees* But a oomrcon response among the smaller farmera was that
it seemed to be ridiculous to out off fruit-bearing branches. They thought that some of the Boat drastically-pruned trees Bight die* In any ease* 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 farners 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 Bust all be tested in the
context of personal and local experience), and partly on economic grounds
(the poorer farmera 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 oropa are involved* Jfcr example, a permanent local agricultural adviser said that moat of the people who oame to him spontaneously for advice were hortolana. (farmera of irrigated land)* He encountered very little interest in his advice on the oare of traditional dry fandng oropa -

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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* Onoe again, these reactions were rational, if cautious. The methods used in the cultivation of almonds, figs and cereals hare been practised - more or less successfully - for hundreds of years, and any innovation thus needs a Tory convincing demonstration of its value. In general, there is muoh less resistance to innovations whose value is
more immediately apparent, such as agrioultural implements and aaohines - the difficulty in this oase 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 tesehing (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 "forastera" (outsiders)* The age-structure of fanners 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 1?65» and the transfer of labour (especially that of young people) has now gone muoh 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,

Bven 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 mille are used, however, because of their labour-saving Qualities*

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Table Seven does indicate the increasing preponderance of older people

in farming (and fishing) on Ibiia - with the correspondingly greater

resistance to innovations that this implies.

TABLE 7

THE AGE-STRUCTURE OP THK PRIMARY SECTOR (196*5)

Age
Groups

10 - 19
20 - 19
30-39
40-49
50-64

64* _
Totals

i

i
!
I

j

Percentage of Active , Percent, of Active Persons in the Primary
Seotor (Out of the
Total in Each
Age Group)

! Ibica MallorcA 1 - -
I Males
i •
! 41.91
! 30.66
! 42.75
50.61
60.28
77.76

47.63

Females

18.75
16.61
17.31
10.00
39.29
29.41

22.97

llales Females

17*94 14.46
14.51 14.55
22. 32 27.47
25.67 31.76
32.87 38.68
51.67 55.13

25.25 29.37

Persons in fiaoh Age
Group (Out of the
Total in the
Primary Sector)

Ibiza i Malloroa

Both V Both
Sexes i Sexes
[
j

9.4 , 6.3
14.5 ! 11.7
18.8 j 17.1
17.9 19.0
27.0 ; 31.4
12.4 j 14.5
100.0 ' 100.0

Source; BARCISLO 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.

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(iv) Social statuai * 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" ("paaes")« however modern his techniques: for example, those farmers who use plastic covers to produce early crops
have been nick-named "plastic peasants'* ("parses de pla'atio")* Conversely, the "gentleman" ("fleayor*) is by definition the exact opposite of a
farmer: he does not soil his hands* Thus, ty 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 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,
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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 CALVER& (1972a 34).

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Country spinsters (fadrines) are still generally referred to as "girls" ("al*lotes"). rather than as "dones" ("women" or "wives") * whatever their age* The country bachelors (fadrins) have had more freedom, after puberty, and •boys" 4*ife3£!i") thus feeoaae "youths" ("Jgvens.") in their teens and twenties, before becoming "men" ("hdmeas") on marriage - but the dependence on the
land is even more critical in their case; since attractive girls might marry upwards*

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5.9 CONCLUSIONS

In the woods around 3an Jose1 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 landf later abandoned* But, between i860 and 1960, the general trend was one of increasing cultivation of the land on Ibisa: the cultivated proportion rose from 39 per cent in i860 to 50 per cent in 1960. As recently as fifteen to twenty years ago, new farmland was still being Bade in some plueea, by felling the trees and burning the scrub. The touristic period has seen a complete reversal of this trend* Around
San Josl* aa 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 Balearios as a whole, the proportion of land under cultivation
fell from % per cent in 1962 (BAKCELO PQNS, 1969s 24) to 53 per cent
in 1970-71 (MINIST2RIO DE A&BICULTURA. 1973)*
Professional people writing about the present state of farming (and
fishing) on Ibiaa 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 Jose* 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*

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restructuring along less labour-intensive lines* Or, that land, whioh is being abandoned for agriculture, may be profitably employed for grazing sheep or cattle* Or, that some teohnioal innovations are being gradually accepted, especially in the cultivation of hortaliaaes (vegetables, grown on irrigated land), whioh is very important, since the produce of irrigated land accounts for about three quarters of the total net cash yield of farming in the Balearios (BARC ;LO PQN3, 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*
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 Ibiaa - perhaps involving a more capital-intensive cultivation of a smaller area of land, by a minority of islanders* But farming on Ibiaa is, for the moment, in a state of "crisis" - a word which enters into most descriptions of Ibisan farming since the early 1960s. J3y about then, the real total net income in the primary sector of the Balearios as a whole had actually begun to decrease (BARCSLO 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 fbet, the position of farming in general on Ibisa has definitely worsened in the past few years, even though some observers still find room for optimism * e.g. CALVBHA (1972). This chapter has amply illustrated the complex state of disorganisation in whioh Xbican. farmers at present find themselves * a state whioh they themselves tend to express in hyperbolic comments, of which the following are typical:

Comments like these are made, fbr example, in the various sources cited in this chapter*

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nTots es joVens se'n van en es "All the young men are leaving for
hotels* No n'hi queda oap quo the hotels* There isn't one left
vulgni treballar sa terra!" who wants to work the land*"1
"Ara no es treballa sa terra* The land is not worked any nore.
Tot se deixa perdrel" Everything is left to go to waste!*
"Cue li he* de fer? En Xioo "What can we do about it? En Xioo
guanya BO'S tot sol en set meaos (Francis) earns BO re on his own in seven
que naltros guanyam en tot s'anyl" months than we earn in the whole year! 11
"I amb menos faana*1 " "And with less work!"
(KiTissenc)
In the light of the analysis in the preceding section* it would be sinplistio to conclude that mass tourism alone has been responsible for
the disorganisation and (at least temporary) decline of farming on Ibisa
in recent years* The effects of tourisa on farming are in no sense inevitables they depend on the state of farming and, in particular* on its profitability and attractiveness relative to touristic employment.
Prior to tourism* farming on Ibisa was a barely viable pursuit* It bad
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 Ibira:
(i) A "push". Since farming seems an undesirable occupation to many Ibisans, and has been unable to provide for the growing population* there is a strong pressure for then to seek other occupations* In the past this often meant emigrating* but there are now alternative jobs on the island*
(ii) A "pu3&". Tourism is providing very attractive alternatives to farming*
It is difficult to ft sees a the relative importances of the "push* and the "pull", but they are undoubtedly both contributing to the situation described in this chapter.

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. These last two comments were jjade by farmers in San Jose* who had relatives in hotel work - and the statements were true even for quite largo farms*

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CHAPTER

TRADE. INDUSTRY AND TOURISM

6.1 CAPITALISM ON IBI£A1

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, 1966-6?: vol.1, 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.

See also Appendix IX, below.

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In the intermediate period, the increase in external trade and the
use of money on Ibisa Bade oapital accumulation aoro feasible* Froa the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a boon in ship-building - Ibisa 's first major industry other than those of the classical era and the manufacture of salt* Between 1765 and i860* over 400 vessels were built, with a total tonnage of more than 22,000 tons (COST;, RAMQN, 1961: 42)* By the end of the nineteenth century, a email 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:
"SI comercio en Ivisa no se hace en "Commerce on Ibisa is not done on a grande eseala, pero es asombroao el large scale, but it is astonishing the ndaero de tiendeoitas que ae ven, number of little shops which nay be seen,
prinoipalmente en la Marina* principally in the aarina* There are no
Banqueros no hay ad's que doslf more than two bankers, a division of a
division de una sola casa y fasdlia* single household and family. These, and
fistos mismoe y otros pooos ma's, a few others, conduct the trade of the
haoen el negooio de los frutos del local country produce: almonds, carobs, pals | almendrag, algarrobas, frutas, fruit, pine bark ancl wood: and
eortesa y madera de pinot y reoiben they import goods sueh as flour, g&teros de iaportaoio*n como harina, rice, oil and a few other's*
arros, petrcleo y algiln otro* There is little exportation
Pesoado se exporte poco, pues nan of fish, because all of the attempts
fraoasado hasta ahora ouantas so far Bade to establish this
tentativas se nan heoho para montar business on a large soale have
en grande ese negocio, bien failed, whether using steam-ships
utilizando vapores dedleados i 41 exclusively for this purpose, exolusivamente, bien por medio de or by means of
la oongelaoiln* " freezing."
(Castili&n* NAVAJ&RO* 1901:
The reference to attempts to develop fish-expo^ ta on a large soale
is interesting in that it suggests the existence of & spirit of capitalist enterprise in the town of Ibisa 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 oases through public issues of shares* In 1879, nine lead mines were in operation,

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while ten others were being explored, employing in all some 200 men*
"Exist!*, COBO es natural, gran "There existed, as is natural, great
expeotaoifo pdblioa, predoainando public expectation, with soeptieisa
el esoeptioisao y el recelo; que and Mistrust predominating; which
vinieron a eonvertirse luogo en una presently gave way to a
ooleotiva fiebre ainera que llegd* a collective aining ferer which eventually eontagiarse a oasi todas las oapas infected alaost aU the social
sooiales islenas." levels on the island."
(Castilian, CASTKLLO (HJASCH, 1962) 36)
At one stage saaples of cinnabar (red aercurio chloride) were discovered, providing fresh hopes of riches to the island*s speculators, whose enthusiasm was satirised in the following rhyme, among others s
•Cinabrio per s'Argentera, "Cinnabar in the Argentera,
einabrio p'es Figueral, cinnabar in the Figueral,
oinabrio per s'Alaaeda cinnabar along the Avenue ,
i oinabrio p'es acreat." and cinnabar in the market-place."
(sjvissenoj
Various lead aines 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 Billion 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 Andnima Minas de Ibisa.
Despite the limited scope, fierce competition and sweated labour apparently characterised businesses on Iblsa during the intermediate period - as is illustrated in a graphic contemporary account of the development of stocking manufacture at frhe end of the nineteenth century (NAVARRQ, 1901: 86-88). The industry was originated by an outsider who

The "Argentera" and the "Pigueral" were two important mines. The other lines refer to popular meeting-places in the town.

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•aw a source of oheap labour in the island women. After a few years,
this nan Managed to become "uno de los prinoipales oapitalistaa de Iviia" ("one of the principal capitalists on Ibisa": NAVARHO, 1901s 86). Looal businessmen were quiok to copy the idea, They imported stocking machines from the mainland and showed "muehaohas neoasitadas" ("needy young women") how to use them, supplying the necessary materials and paying 30 centimes per dosen pairs of finished stockings. The stocking makers (ses oaloeteres) oould produoe up to three dosen pairs a day if they worked hard, and the six reals which they oould thus earn seemed excellent to them9 even though the stockings would be resold at twice
the price on the mat aland. The oatoh was that they were not paid in oash9 but in goods from the businessman1 * shop* He ohose 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 "Caloeteria Kispa*nica S.A," established a factory which employed several hundred female workers and attracted "muohas families" ("many families" - FAJARNES CARDQNA, 1938) 149) from the country to the town. (Looal people have told me that it closed down again fairly soon beoauae the island women did not like working under factory conditions.)
The moat important company operating on Ibisa until recently was
olearly the Malloroa-baseA "SaUnas de Ivisa" (NAVA&RO, 1901$ 68), to
which the state had sold the salt-lagoons in 18?1« This company later bought the salt works on Formentera as well* becoming in 1898 the
"Salinera £spanola, S.A.", under which name it still operates, (VILA VALSNTI, I933s 383). The story of salt production on Ibisa comprises

Old men in San Jose1 can still recall working "de sol a sol" (from sunrise to •unset) for a jornaj. (day-wage) of sis roals (six £*&&» a total equivalent to one and a hair pesetas).

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an important part of the transformation of the i aland 'a 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 aalt waa the oomnon property of the islanders* And it a collection daring the hottest summer months (neatly fitting in between agricultural harvesta) waa a corporate effort in which "all the natives
of both islands* providing they are fit1* took part. The rather complex administration of the aalt works was in the oharge of the Ifaiversitat ("University1* - an elected island government, with representatives of each social estate)* But, in 1715, Phillip V expropriated the salinaa "by right of conquest" ("por dereoho de oomquista*), following the War of Succession. The control - and most of the economic revenues - of the economic corner-atone of Ibisa thus passed into the hands of the
state, and this was a crucial atep in the assimilation of the island into the national economy of Spain* The islanders' interest in aalt production naturally waned «• despite its continuing importance as a source of work * and production declined (VILA VALHNTI, 1953: 390). Finally, in 18?1,
the state sold the salinas of Ibisa to private enterprise for the sum
of 1,162,020 pesetas (SALVATOR. 1886- 90 t vol.11, 173). 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 VALBWTI, 1933: 392)
• with the exception of the civil war period, when production temporarily ceased. Bat the salt lagoons completely lost their historical eorporate 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" (Hsa reoollidV). (VILA VALEHTI, 19&: 40) But
the Jobs were exhausting and unpleasant and, aa tourism has provided

"todos los naturalea de una y otra isla, oon tal de quo aea gente robuata" (Martin de Callar, 17969 cited in VILA VALENTI, 19611 J»0-41).

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alternative employment, the number of men willing to work in the salinas has progressively deolined. The eonpany has responded by increasing its use of machinery, especially during the 1950s, so that it now only employs about eighty-fire Ben, and it no longer requires a large casual labour
foroe 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 Ibisans, especially wage-labourers. They also demonstrate the impact of capitalist developments elsewhere on
the island during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - notwithstanding

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its predictable lateness and limited eoope. But perhaps the most notable
A

feature of suoh enterprises is that they all eventually flailed. (There

were various types of enterprise other than those mentioned here: for t 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 Ibisa 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:
1&3 "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." (DAMKTO T MOT, 1?l6t

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 mosquitos today, and the disease existed on Ibis* until the 1940s, though now eliminated. (ROIC BINIMELIS,
roe 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 refer ing to it simply as "••ftmpresa" ("the Company1*) - and the stocking factory was similarly called Just "sa Fabrica" ("the Factory").

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1787 " [Ibisa 1 yaoe ahora entregada n [Ibisa j now lies abandoned to
aunos brasos sin rigor, disadnuida arms without vigour, diminished in
de gentfo, falta de agriculture, sin population, lacking in agriculture, oonooer la induatria, sin practioar without knowledge of industry, without
el comercio, y en todo pobre." practising commerce, and. in every way poor.'
"Con tan rloas produooiones y oon "With suoh rich products and with suoh proporciones tan ventajoaas, adnira advantageous proportions, it is astonishing ver la pobresa de la isla, naoida de to see the poverty of the island, born out la inouria de sus habitantes, y de of the negligence of its inhabitants, and
su despego de la agrioultura, of their disinterest in agriculture,
induatria y oomeroio*" industry and commerce."

(Castilian. VAB&AS Y PONGS, 173?: 13 and 9-10)

l8fi "£n terminos ea feras la "The island is fertile to suoh
isla, que nos atrevemos & deoir a degree that we may presume to say
quo su feraoidad la perjudica, that its fertility is prejudicial
porque asegurado el sustento de to it, because, being assured of
sus noradores viven desouidados y sustenance, its inhabitants live carelessly
no aguzan el ingenio, oomo lo and they do not use their ingenuity as
harfan, si el terreno fuera £rido they would, if the land were arid and
y les obligase & trabajar para obliged then to work in order to
vivir. Efeoto de su feraoidad es live* The lack of manufacturers,
la falta de induatriales, de artists, businessmen, and other classes
artistas, de comerciantes, y deaas which abound in all (other) parts, is an c la se s quo abundan en todas partes*" effect of its fertility* M

(Caatilian* AHANAZ Y BAHEKBA, 1859* 11)

1|fj97 nEn general, todo a los M In general, all the natives of
naturales do I visa son indolentes, Ibisa are indolent, Moderate, and
sdbrios y faltos de ambicion; lacking in ambition; it could be said
podria deoirse que tienen el that their spirits are as limited
esplritu tan estreoho coao la tierra as the land which they live in,
en que habitan, y que es, para la which is, for the immense
inmenaa mayorfa de ellos, todo el Majority of then, the entire
•undo oonooido*" known world."

(Castilian, HAVAHRO, 1901: 111)

A common feature of all these descriptions is the notion that Ibisans

2
are lasy, frugal, ignorant and unambitious. The islanders* alleged

indolence was thus used to account for the island f s chronic economic

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 Valeneian living on the island, for working too hard and trying to introduce new methods.

Siailar allegations have been made against many poor peasant regions* It
is interesting to compare these comments on Ibisa with others, for example, about Ireland - whose economic conditions and politioal relationship with Britain bear some resemblances to the situation of Ibisa and its relationship with ••Mit'Und Spain* See HUTCHHfSON (1970: 510).

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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 seeas more accurate
to attribute the former restricted development of capitalism on Ibisa
to other factors, mainly geographical or political1 (which are also sometimes given mention by the authors cited above)*

6*2 THE DSVKLOPMSNT AMD CHARACTERISTICS OF TOURISM ON IBIZA

Because of Ibisa'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)*

2 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 Ibisa 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'**

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 i>isa 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 faetories 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, brodats. made both fbr export and fbr sale to tourists*) Finally, the local market for manufactured goods has been limited by the island's small sise, scattered population, even land division and subsistence farming tradition*

2 See above, p*62, fn*2*

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after the o^anon French name* But, for a long time, there were relatively few voluntary visitors to Ibisa whioh (like Mallorca) was used during the nineteenth oentury as a place of exile for political prisoners - Ibiza
in particular had a reputation for backwardness and barbarity, whioh has taken many years to diminish. Nevertheless, there were occasional visits particularly adventurous travellers, who sometimes arrived in private yachts, and were mainly wealthy foreigners - known as * idlers" by the islanders (KAVARRO, 1901: 18-19). And the year 1909 even saw the publication of the first tourist guide to Ibisa - a scholarly work by comparison with modern guides, since it was written for a small, select readership (PEHB2-CABREHQ, 1909). By the 1930s, there wcro sufficient visitors for the first hotels to be built: the "Gran Hotel", "Hotel Isla Blanoa", and "Hotel Espana" in Ibisa-town; the "Portmany" in San Antonio;
and the "Buenavista" in Santa Eulalia* 2
This modest prelude to mass tourism was interrupted, first by the
Spanish Civil War and then by tforld «Var Two* By 1947, there were still
only 23 hotels and boarding-houses on Ibisa and Formentera combined, most
of them being small boarding-houses ("Casas de Hueapedes")* (ZOHNQZA BSENABBtf, 1964: 1?0) By 1964, however, there were 150 hotels, whioh included

For example, the following second-hand appraisal of Ibisa was contained
in a traveller's guide published in 1910:
"Ibiea * . . 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 concludesi "Altogether it must be as difficult to make yourself happy at Ibica as
at any spot on or off the planet."
(CALVOT, 19101 10V-106)
^Tourism (like most other things) developed rather earlier on the larger island of Malloroa, 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 Ibisa), the Malloroan Chamber of Commerce already were referring to it as "la industria quiaa" mas pro" apera y de mayor rendlmionto* ("the industry which is perhaps the most prosperous and giving the greatest yield" - cited in BARCKLO PONS, 1970: 226).

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9 hotels "de primer* olase" ("first class'1)* 14 "de segunda categorfa" ("second class"), 5 "de teroera" ("third class"); 5 "Pensiones de Lujo" ("luxury boarding-houses1*) t and 15 "Pensiones de Primera Cl&se" ("first olass boarding-houses")* Buring the following six years, the number of hotels and similar establishments almost doubled - to a total of 295 ia 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 Ibisa alone, in the 281 hotels there in 1972, was 35*026. (IHNISTKRIO
DE INFOHMACIOK T TUSISMO ..., 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 Ibisa is more clearly shown in
Figure Thirteen* The rate of increase was particularly dramatic after 1967, when the annual number of visitors and th&t of overnight stays both more than doubled in just two years. The importance of Ifciza as a tourist »on* has also increased relative to Ualloroa and the other Balearic Islands in recent years. Thus, in 1960, only 7*5 p«r cent of the total number of tourists visiting the province of Baleares were staying on Ibisa} by 1965, the proportion had risen to 9»4 per cent; and by 1970, it had reached 15*4 per cent.

The 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 tinder-represent the impact of tourism on Ibisa at present* This does not mean that they are not useful, but it should be kept in Bind for their correct interpretation*
Moreover, it should be noted that all of the statistics relating to
tourism on Ibisa 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 camp-sites, 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.

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The post-war development of tourism on Ibisa has depended both on
local factors and on a number of national or international events and processes* (BABCKLO PONS, 1969*) Up to about 1950, many of the visitors to the Balearios wore 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 Ibisa 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 Ibisa during the 1960s. And the organisation of charter flights and package-holidays largely accounts for

2 the enormous increase over the past few years* (Publicity, both by local

and national professional organisations, has also probably played some
part • how much is difficult to assess*)
The following tables, Table Kight and Table Nine, show the evolution of
the composition of tourism by nationalities on Ibisa and *ormentera from 1954 to 1972, and the detailed composition on Ibisa in 1972.

Ibisa airport was opened for national civil traffic in 1958 exclusively
for the companies "Iberia" and "Aviaoo*. 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 - including the Spanish charter companies "Spantax" and "Tassa", and several foreign companies* But each fbreign 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 Ibisa 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 D2 IBI2A, 22 Dec., 1971t unnumbered) The changes in the organisation and composition of tourism since the war
are also reflected in an increase in the average length of stay on Ibisa: from 8*9 days in 1960 to 11.9 days in 1965 - the longest average in Spain (BABCKLO POMS, 19701 234)*
There has also been a progressive widening of the class spectrum of
visitors to Ibisa t 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 reoent years.

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TABLE 8

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

Nationality
(in 1972
Rank Order)

British*
Geroan

Spanish
Danish
French
Dutoh
Swedish
Belgian
Swiss
U.S.A.
Others

Totals

1960

Rank No.

2,029
630
1,482
, .

2,647
• .

277
155
280
270
362

8,132

25.0
7.8
18.2

,

*

32.5
• •

3.4
1.9
3.4
3-3
4.5

100.0

2 7.092
4 3.175
3 5,878
148
1 4,918
637
5
8
5
7

492
371
559
445
687

. . 24,402

29.1
13.0
24.1
0.6
20.2
2.6
2.0
1.5
2.3
1.8
2.8

100.0

1972

Hank No.

1
4
2
10
3
5
7
9
6
8

. .

245.736 46.0
142.214
55.048
17.130
15.521
10.954
10.917
10,395
8.800
4.093
15,950

26.
10.
3*
2.
2.
2.
1.
1.
0.
2.

6
3
2
9
0
0
9
7
8
6

. . 534.758 100.0

Hank

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

AIn the sources, the tern "Ingleses" ("English") is used to inelude all people fro* the British Isles, other than those with Irish passports*

Sources! JOTAZOR (1961: 48-9) and MINISTSRIO DK BCFORMACION i TURISMO ... (1973)

TABLE 9

THE COMPOSITION OF TOURISM ON IBIZA IN 1972

Nationality

British
German

Spanish
Danish
French
Swedish
Dutoh

Belgian
Swiss
U.S.A.
Irish
Italian

Norwegian
Canadian
Austrian
Spaniah-Aaerioan
Portuguese
Other Europeans
Finnish
Luxembourg
Africans
Asiatics
Creeks
Oceania
Stateless/Unknown

Totals

Number of Visitors Percentage of Total

245,113
127,708
52,976
17,115
14,678
10,882
10,379
10,358
8,607
3.877
2.772
2.609
1,947
1,545
896
754
686
639
519
332
290
126
119
111
14

515,052

47.6
24*8
10.3
3.3
2.9
2.1
2.0
2.0
1.6
0.8
0.5
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.2
0.1
0.1
0.1

100.0

Sources MINISTSRIO DE INFOKMACION Y TURISKO (1973)

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Table Bight shows that the number of tourists visiting Ibisa 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 38*5 P«r oent *» 1954 to only 2.9 per cent in 1972. And,
i , •
second, the proportion of British tourists grew from 25 per cent in 1954 to 46 per oent 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 oar from France of mainland Spain and other European countries - there is consequently little incentive to fly to Ibiaa 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 Xbisa* 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 Klght and Table Nine* Table Nine also shows the very wide range of nationalities of the
tourists visiting Ibisa* They come from literally all over the world* Nevertheless, the British at present have an undisputed pre-eminence
In Ibiean tourism (although it may be noted that the proportion of Germans Increased from 15*2 per oent to 26.6 per oent of the total for Ibisa and Formentera between 1970 and 1972). This halt had important cultural consequences for Ibisa, and English is by far the commonest foreign language spoken by the islanders, (in the main holiday resorts, the waitera quite often address any foreigner in Snglish as a matter of course - and there have even been complaints by islanders In the local newspaper that this has

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happened to the* by mistake*)
At an economic level* the predominance of British tourisa has been
a souroe of anxiety to Ibisan businessmen. Tourism is often regarded as a fickle phenomenon (although this may, in fact, be no truer of tourisa 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 Ibisa in the British press and aagasinesg sometimes for objective reasons (e.g.a 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 acnes ("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 vi»-a-vis the Ibisan hotel-owners. Such considerations have prompted a campaign to diversify the origins of tourists on Ibisa 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 looal "Voaento del Turisao* (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 tourisa of the business people on Ibisa (as also elsewhere in Spain).
Table Ten shows the age structure of people employed in the tertiary seotor (See Appendix Two) on Ibisa in 1965, with that on Malloroa 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 acre youthful structure of the tertiary sec tort 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 seotor is broadly similar to that of the secondary seotor, which

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i« described later. There is a strong contrast, however, in the figures

for female employment between the tertiary seotor and both of the other sectors: a large percentage of the active females in eaoh age group, especially the younger ones, are employed in t he t ertiary seotor. Xhis is

because the service Industrie* 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, unorystallised field of employment. 1
i *
i

TABLE 10
, , ,

THJ5 A&JS-ST«JCTURS OF THE TBHTIAHY SKCTOR (1965)

Age
Groups

Percentage of Active
Persons in the Tertiary Sector (Out of the
Total in Each
Age Group)

Ibisa Malloroa

Hales Females Males

10 - 19
20 - 29
30-39

50-64

%t
Totals

25,19
37,80
24.84
24.89
19,70
16.01

44*12 38,37
70.70 4$. 28
69,70 38.93
80.00 39.28
50.00
41,18

32.29
28,28

53,86
50.66
45,77
41.58
41.26
32.70

26.03 57,75 36,98

'emalea

53,86
50.66
45,77
41.58
41.26
32.70

44.77

Both
Sexes

10.9
31.6
20.3
15,6
16.3
5.3

100.0

Percent, of Active
Persons in Bach Age
Group (Out of the
Total in the

Tertiary Seotor)

Ibisa Mallorca

Both
Sexes

10.7
25.9
19,2
18.3
20.6

5,3
100.0

Sources BABCELO PONS (l970r 245-246)

However, the increasing employment of women (in combination with other factors) has had important effects on the relationship between the sexes on Ibisa. 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 Batches between teams of girls and young women* these have caused some ribald comments, but no public opposition. During the period of fleldwork, it was possible to watoh individual women (of all ages) undergo quite dramatic changes of personality: in a typical ease, 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 "pagesa" (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.

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6.3 THE PRBSBKT STATE OF INDUSTRY

The degree of industrialisation of the province of Baleares is still below the average for Spanish provinces (BAHC&LO PONS, 1970: 207), because

of the various factors deaoribed above* And Ibisa is the least

industrialised of the three largest islands, with only about one quarter

(in 19^3) 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 Ibisa and Formentera in 1965

is shown in Table Eleven*

TABLE 11

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY ON EBI2A AND FOHKENTERA IN 1965

Branch Number of Percentage Average Number {Establishments Of Total Of Persons
' Number £mployed
Per Firm

Food 77
Textiles 1
Wood, Paper, Graphic Arts
Leather, Shoe*, Rubber

44
1
Chemical* 3
Construction Glass, Ceramics 22
Metal 34
Water, Gts, Electricity 9
Various 1

Totals | 192

40.1
0.5
22*9
0.5 .
1.6
11.5
17.7
4.7
0.5

100.0

2.28
3*41
4*54
• *

• •

9.00
3.93
« »

5.00

6.55

Sources BARCELO PONS (1970! 208-209)

• >
i

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 orafta). Although the figures

are for 1965§ they give a good idea of the present state of industry on Ibisa* There has been a predictable increase in both the number of firms and output over the past few years, with the food and construction

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industries Maintaining their importance and accounting for much of the

sore recent growth as well*

The sis* of Bost firms is small, with an average of 6*55 employee*

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, than, employ under five people* and few employ more than twenty*

Table Twelve shows the age struoture in the secondary sector (See

Appendix Two) on Ibisa in 1965» with Mallorca included for comparison.

TABLE 12

THE AGS-3TEOCTORS OF THE SECONDARY SECTOR I

Age
Groups

Percentage of Active
Persons in the Secondary
Sector (Out of the
Total in Each
Age Group)

Ibisa

I Kales

10 - 19
20-29
30-39
40-49
50-64
64+

32.90
31.54
32.41
24*50
20.02
,6.23

Totals 26*52

Females

37.13
13*29
12.99
10.00
10.71
29*41

19.28

Mallorca •

Hales

43.19
36.21
38.75
35.05
34.84
20.05

35.77

Females

31.68
34.79
26.76
26.66
20.06
12.17

25*86

Percent, of Active
Persons in Each Age
Group (Out of the
Total in the
Secondary Sector)

Ibisa Mallorca

Both
Sexes

14.9
26.2
25.3
15.5
15.7
2.$

100.0

Both
Sexes

11*6
22.7
21.1
18.6
22.3
3.7

100*0

Sources BASGEIiO PONS (1970: 221-222)

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

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 aabiguous, and my interpretation of them Bight differ from that of Bar-odd, whose figures are used in this section.

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affeot it, although the proportion of fenale employees ia rather lower*
In the short term, tourism haa thua been reaponaible for an important ancillary boo* in the secondary sector, mostly concentrated in or near
the capital town of Ibiaa. 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 aeoondary sector* ?he construction industry would be particularly adversely affected, aa it ia 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 Ibiaa fbr food and building materials, which ia at present met by importation)* So far, the volume of tourism has increased each year, with the result that the capital generated by it haa 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 forma of investment, possibly leading to some growth of the manufacture of goods not related to tourism * but this haa happened only to a very small
extent aa yet*

6*4 THS RELATIVE IMPORTANCES OF THS THESE 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 anadido neto*) in the province. This compared with about one quarter from the aeoondary 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 touristB visiting the province quadrupled between 1964 (848,705) and 1972 (3,418,647). (HOTSTISBIO DS IN?ORMACiaN Y TURISMO ... t 1973) In other words, the tertiary sector now completely dosdnates the economic life of the Balearic Islands, The secondary sector has also expanded 14 response to the inert**** 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 Malloroa, 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
» i

on Ibisa as well*)

TABLE 13
THS NET VALUE OF PRODUCTION (BY SECTQBS) IK BALEABSS

Year ; Sector.One Sector Two Sector Three Totals
Value* £ Value % j Value % ' Value %
1962 2,571 21*5 3,070*5 25.6 6,347.5 52.9 ' 11,989 100.0 1964 2,/»64.5 15.3 4,106*5 25*5 i 9,553 59.2 | 16,124 100.0

&The values are all expressed in millions of pesetas (adjusted for 1962). The percentages differ from those in the source, which are incorrect* Sources BARCELO PQtfS (1970: 202, 217, and 240-1),

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 maximisation of profit is the goal and stimulus of economic activity,
In what might be termed classical capitalism the economic functions

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of society are sorted 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."
(HUGHSS, 1970t 23)
In the light of this definition, the material of preceding sections
reveals the existence of a long cumulative process of change on Ibisa,
in which the characteristics of an economy determined by subsistence requirements and regulated ty traditional norms have been gradually
replaced lay 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 com on 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 o^ 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

Ibiian economy is now characterised by private enterprise capitalism*

6*6 TOURISM AMD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The econosdo transformation of Ibisa may have important implications
tf

for other rural "traditional" t or semi-traditional, areas visited by tourism (or with touristic potential)* The point is that tourism seems particularly apt for the capitalist development of auoh areasf which have formerly tended to remain on the fringe of major economic development elsewhere* There are two main reasons for the special aptness of tourismt (i) Tourists from the affluent industrial nations tend to be attracted
by areas whioh are. by virtue of their geography* both soenio 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 muoh less capital equipment than is required for manufacture or agriculture . * •*
(CLABK, 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 bean possible even for people with very little oapital* The starting capital may be as low as the 10,000 to 20.000 pesetas (£$0-120) needed in 1970*1971 to set up a small beaoh "kiosko"* During the period of fieldwork* many small ventures of this type were started (although few required quite so little capital), *nd there were plenty of further opportunities * although signs of saturation of space or resources were appearing in some places.

At the same time, tourism on Iblza 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.

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The following question arises fro* this analysis t oan 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 oapitalist development. For example:

"The takeoff is defined as an industrial revolution, tied directly to radioal osmngos 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*"

(ROSTOV/, 1964$ 289)

It has sometimes been suggested that agriculture might form the "leading

sector" (ROSTCW* 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*

Mow, 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
i

in which the order of the sectors of growth is reversed* Hostow 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 & high growth rate and set in motion expansionary fbroes elsewhere in the economy}
(b) Supplementary growth sectors* where rapid advance occurs in direct response to - or as a requirement of - advance in the primary growth
sectors, e«g* f coal* iron and engineering in relation to railroads* . • •
(o) Derived growth sectors* where advance occurs in some fairly steady relation to the growth of total real income* population* industrial

There are several possible lines of criticism of models of the Bostowian
type* For the limited purposes of this section* however, the Marxist criticisms in terms of the importance of international or national inequalities and neo-oolonialisB (e«g* PRAKK, 1970: 39-47) may be disregarded, since the fact of economic growth on Ibisa is undeniable - and the question of distribution is discussed later* Nor do tho arguments which stress the different conditions of underdeveloped countries from those of industrial countries at the times of their past "takeoff" (e,«*-''IHfi&ALg 1971: Ch.2, "Difference* in Conditions") affect the major point under consideration here
- the emphasis on manufacturing industry (which is shared by some of Rostow's critics).

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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*"
(ROSTOV, 1964i 288)
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* llore 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 beooning an activity of eoual 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*"
(NAYLQN, 19671 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 Ibisa, where there has beea a particularly high eonoentration of tourism*
On Ibiaa, 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 Ibiaa - 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*

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)

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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 growth1* 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 soale than would now be the case, during the civil war and seoond world war)* Any major erisis 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

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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 celling 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, oausing a contraction in the island's economy* But it may well stabilise at a certain level, if the main faotors stimulating ^biian 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*

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Under any circumstances, derived investment on Ibisa itself may
tend to be limited by the faotors 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 fbr industrial development: about half of recent imports were raw materials and capital goods to
meet the requirements of the government's development plan* (NAYLON, 196?: 33-3k) 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 agrioulture 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*

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C H A P T & H

EXCHAN&B

The first tourists in a peasant region encounter the hospitality traditionally aooorded 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 Banner which combines elements of relationships as diverse as those of host-gueat, 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 "mon^y-grabbers" or "cheats" with double standards* And the first-coaers often become disdainful, saying that the area has been "spoilt1* by all the "package tourists1*, whereupon they start looking for fresh places where the process may be repeated; These particular ohanges are peculiar to tourism, and one purpose of this chapter is to examine ohanges of this type. It also attempts, however,
to set the* into the context of broader ohanges in exchange values, norms and practices on Ibisa, 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 ohanges on Ibiza
and the ohanges attributed to urbanization and industrialisation by nineteenth oentury sociologists* An interesting aspect of tourism, however,

1 See, for example, JOHNS (1973).

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is that it typically extends sueh changes to rural areas - both through oulture oontaot with the predominantly urban tourists and through the fundamental changes in communications and the looal 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 Ibica to modern urban ones* It is notable that any urban-industrial development on Ibis* (apart from the construction of a number ?f 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 Ibica, although many points apply in some measure to the capital town as well*

7.1 "SOCIAL BXCHAN&E" ,\HD "^GNOMIC

"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 exchange1* refer* to any exchange of goods, services, and/or sooio-psyohologieal 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 'a usage, which are listed in Appendix Five, are not taken for granted here, as they require empirical verification. The

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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, cr price, with no further social significance for the participants*
Reference is made in Appendix *ive to the difficulty of categorizing
some types of exchange on Ibisa, 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 :

(POKS) "love1* "disinterested "interested" barter cash cash (PORE) SOCIAL • friendship" friendship sales sales ECONOMIC

EXCHANGE , , , on in EXCHANGE I ! f

Ibisa U.K.

(The things (The things
exchanged are e&onanged are
purely expressive, the sole or mere tokens * concern of the
"It's the thought participants)
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 nan on Ibisa may differ sharply frjn buying it from an older one, for example.

7.2 THE TRADITIONAL IBIMN "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.

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ineouality) which are in vogue among sociologists would be readily intelligible to Ibisan peasants. They would, moreover, seen More familiar to the Ibisans than to their English or American counterparta. Probably the aoat fundamental reason for this difference is that only very recently
• with the growth of tourism - has the oash nexus become predominant on Ibisa. Even now, many exchanges retain a "morn 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 Ibis** which is quite explicitly applied to everyday social interaction by the local people, especially by those living in the country*
tihile on the one hand many n economicH 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 "agio" ("friend1*) in common uset 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 - "Is molt amio meu" (he is very much my friend) or "aom molt bons amiOB" (we are very good friends)* But - in case the meaning is still ambiguous * some other comment may be added such as "<» molt simp&tio" (he is very likeable) or "li eatjm molt" (I like/love him). 2

1 The tourism itself is another factor making for explicit norms oi exchange on Ibisa at present, because traditional values and norms are frequently being questioned - i.e. made conscious or explicit*
The 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 wjrd lor love - "amar" - but this is rarely used exoept as a noun - "l^amor". "Kstimar* may also mean to esteem, estimate or evaluate, which underlines the close *><»*• between affection and exchange in Ibiaan eyes*

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Though interpreted less casually, the concept of friendship is much
wider than in England, embracing "acquaintances" as well (this does not that such distinctions cannot be made in Ibixan Catalan, of course)* But to say that two people "no a<5n arnica" ("are not friends") doea 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 tract en" (They do not treat with one another) is a significant way of expressing this* It implies that people who are not aaioa 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, '^heir 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 confjanca (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. Vy italics. See also Appendix live.)
Confianoa is a prime consideration in all dealings among older people on Ibisa. 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:

>

"Sm pareix que en X e*s un home "It seems to me that Mr. X is a man of
de confianoa ... perd mai conv£ trustworthiness ... but it is never
fiar-se maaaaJ" appropriate to be too trustingj"
"No Is de flar, aquest*" "This man is not to be trusted."
(Kivisaenp)

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Since no-one wants to deal with an untrustworthy nan, confianca
is also a Tital component of personal reputations on Ibi^a, 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 confjanga. which may be used to assess persons about whom some information is known, but who are not olose acquaintances. Any evidence of unreliability of whatever kind naturally diminishes oonfianoa. But the most frequent reason given for regarding someone as untrustworthy was they had quarrelled with someone else -
"••tan abarrallata" ("they are in a state of having quarrelled"). Quarrelling (excluding minor arguments or rows) is generally seen as "una oosa de gent quo no t< rao1 " (a thing involving people who lack reasonableness). To quarrel occasionally may have little effect on a reputation, especially if
sa culm (the blame) can clearly be laid at the other*a door. But of anyone who ouarrels with any frequency, or without clear cause, it is soon said:
"No e*s molt de ra<5. aquest." ("He's not veiy reasonable, this one."); or,
i'

more strongly, "Aqueat £s un home rare/molt raro/molt especialj * (" 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): *S<$n gernana perd no s6*n amios. ^atd molt Hois, aix&j" ("They are brothers but they are not friends. That is very 'ugly'J"). 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 Ibiaa with a degree of precision and concern which can appear exaggerated to an English person (there are certain exceptions - e,gs. relationships with sick people and not-infrequent oases 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 wtiom we were friendly,

fbr 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: H 3empre anam de gorres. naltros*" ("*e always go around with our

caps.1 " - i.e. begging), .anyone who fails to reciprocate soon acquires a

reputation for being crio/oricany ("stingy" or "mean") - or, more commonly,

. "cagat" (literally "shitty", figuratively "mean"). More serious failings

worsen the reputation: the person becomes a "oaradura" ("hard face") or

"desoarat" ("one who has lost face"), finally, it may be decided that

"no tl mica de vergonya*'" ("he has no shame at all."1) or "Is 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 6s de fiar" (is not to be trusted).

"Honour" and "shame" and related concepts have figured very prominently (and, indeed, have perhaps been over-emphasized) in Mediterranean studies* (See, e.g.. PKIilSTI^NY, 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 m&y be an appropriate point at which to mention that traditional courtship patterns and sexual values on Ibica 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 Jos£, 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 mmet 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 i-ERISTlANY (196*5)» even though it appears to have been modified to some extent over the centuries by the teachings of
the Roman Catholic ^hurch, 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 "privtte" counterparts". Thinly-disguised sexual innuendo and bawdy rhymes are an important aspect of

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Not only is the need for reciprocity more careiXilly 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 (oangons de porfedi) 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 finest res) 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 seeded assured, some girls would "lie" (Jeure) with their betrothed (promes). without waiting for the church's authority* Such customs and values are more reminiscent of those described for rural Yi'ales (RSiwS, 1951: 82-90) - again in an area of scattered dwellings - or those of rural Scandinavia (e.g. TOMA33GN, 1970s 176-78), although it should be noted that LISON TOLO&JJA (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 bowdlerized descriptions, and useful but incomplete information may be found, e.g., in MA&JUJH (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 field.vork 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 stratifioational themes) would not be appropriate.

The island*s special inheritance arrangements are incorporated in the regional appendices to the national civil code: see GOOi&O CIVIL ...
(1966:

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during his lifetime)* Kaoh child on Ibiza has a birthright (le^ftiaa),
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 oaring 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 aooount attentions paid to
the dying person, there is no definite rule about such posthumous expressions of gratitude comparable with the Ibiaan 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 boti^fla (a typical all-purpose country store-oum-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 oa*n Tal. abusen moltI* ("At so-and-so's store* they 'abuse* a loti* - 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

Cf, 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."

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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 intermediari (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 intermediaris. Even now a Joking warning may be given to a country person heading towards the town: "No vaiguis a vila ~ es de Vila s<5n molt viua/putes.tH ("Don't go to town. The townspeople are very
* alive'/'whores'.'*1 i.e. they will 'fleece 1 you). Several families in
San Jose*, 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 astute11) 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
"it's oontat" (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 pieoe 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.

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The strength of feeling aroused by «uch activities may be gauged
froB the fallowing situation. One day I had been offered a pieoe of land for sale and was standing talking to the owner and a olose Ibisan acquaintance of Bine, when *en I* (a successful go-between) came by. As soon as the latter was out of tar-shot, the owner started telling me how en X had offered to
buy the same pieoe of land for the asking price - but the owner had refused because he believed that en X only wanted the land "per fer ne&ooi"
("to do business*, i.e. to resell the land together with an adjoining
pieoe which he already owned, at a profit), tfy friend confirmed the story, and the two Ben spent some tine going into details of en X/s career, in order to explain the owner'a attitude. This incident was remarkable in two respeotsi firstly in that the owner was apparently prepared to suffer financially, and - at least * preferred to sell to a foreigner than to
en Xt and secondly because ay friend (who mentioned the relationship
in an apologetic fashion) was a first cousin of en X (first cousins or "oosins fleraans*. literally "brother cousins", are seen as olose kin on Ibisa) - and yet neither he nor the owner hesitated in criticising en X

to ne.

There are now many people on Ibisa engaged in business or in Baking commissions ("fer ooaiasio'*) - commissions, especially in land-sales, are
a long-standing practice on the island. Providing such people are scrupulous, they Bay not be criticized. Nevertheless, their actives are always suspect and they are in danger of being called "intereasat" (literally "interested": a highly derogatory label which implies that the person concerned only
does favours when he stands to benefit himself). More explicitly, it Bay
be alleged that: "Nome's aira en es sous, aquestl* ("This one only looks
at the BoneyJ"), or *Seapre vol oobrari" ("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

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goods* When someone performs the service of a go-between in a sale, for txampla, the seller ia usually expected to offer a commission which is often aoaaptad * but it may also be refused, in whioh case the service becomes
a favour (*un favor*)* This ia frequently Bade explicit by the person refusing the reward, who says: "Ho, grades. No l*he fet per guatiyar/per iaterea* L*he fet per fer un favor, noae> a,« M - sometimes adding, "Fergus aoa aaioa** ("Ho, thank you* I have not done it for gain* I have done it Just to do a flavour • because we are friends."). The recipient of the favour will normally press the other to aooept some form of reward, ainoe it is felt improper to aooept any favour too readily and the hesitation serves to acknowledge the importance of the favour* The same applies to the aooeptanoe of a reward, which may be aooepted after some demurring - ia whioh ease any obligation is discharged* If no reward ia accepted, then an acknowledged debt of gratitude remains, and the friendly relationship ia thereby enhanced providing that a return for the favour ia forthcoming at some later date* A token return may be made immediately in the form of *una oopa* (a goblet, usually of brandy, which ia both cheap and quickly drunk), but this serves to smooth over the aooeptanoe 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 ia, eaoh favour tends to
be more valuable than the one whioh it reciprocates, so that the friendship relationship becomes progressively stronger until it balances out at aome level acceptable to both parties.
This, of course, ia "social exchange" in the narrow sense uaed by
BLAU and others* The general features of this type of social exchange
on Ibiaa are clearly aiadlar to those deaeribed by BLAU (aee Appendix Five)| although it is important to realise that they, again, are more carefully observed and applied by Ibizana than by most Kngliah or Aaerioan people* One point made by BLAU needs some qualification, however: the norm of deferred reoiprooity in aooial exchange ia frequently broken

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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 rewarded favours* A pattern soon emerged, howevert 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 Bay 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 Ibisa, 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*
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 Zbisa - especially the male head of t househdld - is seen as having a certain amount of "jnfluftnoia" (literally "influence", but the Ibisan 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

Dr* 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*138).

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of all kinds, including e.g. that derived from wealth or occupation, in terns of personal relationships) on the extent and strength of his personal network of aaios (acquaintances) and* in turn, on their influenoia. In fact the terns "influence" and "friends'* are so mat laws used interchangeably, as ini "Aouest te* molta d t influ&ncla."/t> Aqueflt t< molts d'arnica* ("This one has »uch influence* "/"He has many friends."). Such personal networks
•ay include persons of quite different social standing and. where this is
the case* any affective link is usually subordinate to the calculation
of Butual advantage* It would be easy to draw parallels between the operation of influence in England and that on Ibisa, 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 Ibisa 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 Ibisa* 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 eannot be applied to many exchanges which involve immigrants, foreigners and tourists*

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 Parsonian terms, the more particularistic a society is, the more important and pervasive the operation of influence*

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7.3 CURRHfCY DEVELOPMENT AND THB CASH

A progressive increase in the use of money and the spread of the
oath nexus to almost all types of exchange have been fundamental sources of change in the characteristics of exchange on Ibisa, 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 nay 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 reoonquest* This looal 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 * &ao» (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
* **** Plaea" ("the square") - on the whole island* The goods were sold
to the publie through stall-holders, and there were no weekly direct-sale markets of the type found on Nallorea* This economic arrangement was refleoted in the spoke- like layout of the main roads on Ibisa, 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 tae same time, before plodding homewards. But the unfavourable bargain likely to be obtained from the stall-holders was an inducement to barter

There are descriptions of the early Ibisan ooins in RACABICH (1966-6?: I, 68) and in MINISTERIO DE EDUCACIu, . . . (1969: 68 et seq.).

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goods privately whenever possible*
Sxternal trade was limited to the periodio purohase of grain (especially wheat) and a few other goods* Beoause of the chronic shortage of money on the island, the usual currency for this trade was Ibisaa salt (its usufruct still being oommon to all Ibisans by a concession of the seigneurs in 1267): "Se compra todo con sal . . ." ("firerything is bought with salt . . *") say the accountB of the Jurados (the elected island administrators) in 1603*
for example* (Cited in MACABICH, 1966-6?: 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 Ibis*, and there was a corresponding decrease in the importance of barters
"Bata faoilidad de oomeroio, que "This facility of commerce, which
en otro siglo no aria, ha trafdo formerly did not exist* has brought
abundanoia de moneda, la que apenas an abundance of coinage, which was
Be coneofa en los siglos paaados almost unknown on the Island in past
en la Isla, en los ouales no se centuries, in which goods were not
vendian los g&ieros por dinero sold for constant money, but rather
constants, sino que se permutavan were some goods exchanged for others*
unoe g£neros por otros* De aqui Hence came the popular expression,
venia la frase vulgar, quo usavan which they used in their Contracts:
en sus Gontratos: *fem quelcom', *fea quelcom*. an expression peculiar
expreaidn propia de esta pals, to this place, which means to barter
que signifioa baratar una oosa por one thing for another, such as almonds
ctra, oomo almeadras por trigo, for wheat, figs for oil and other
higos por aoeite y otras oosas similar things***
semejantes*"
(Castilian* Prdspero Martin Beseallar, 1798. Cited in FAJABHES CAHDQNA, 1958s 143).
Even so, the changes of the intermediate period were rezy 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 Jose* was: "Ara es J6veng nomes gasten* perd antes es sous so guardaven per que n*ni havia POOS*** ("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 "Fa uns vint o treinta any a." ("About twauty or thirty years ago*") - or, more explicitly, "Antes de venir es turisme"

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("Before tourism cane"). Some country families still hare "unoes d'or* (literally "ounces of gold") * old gold coins handed down through several generations* Bven the poorer families would have a little golden jewellery in traditional island styles (similar patterns nay be seen among Punio relics) , to be worn proudly on feast days* These would be parted with
only in oases 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: *Que heu ad res oat es sous?**
("Have you put away the money?). The more sophisticated country people
("es me*s eapavilata") 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 iaterffi*atrtte 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 Jose* area, I was told that, at one of the richest houses, the family (twenty or thirty years ago) *guissi» tenien mil pessetes o una oosa aixl - perd una casa anon tenien oine centers da era prou ricai" ("might have had a thousand pesetas or something like that - but a house where they had five hundred was still quite rich.1 ").
The dramatic changes in this respect during the touristic period
may be appreciated from current changes in terminology* The terms *rjU)a*/"molt riea* ("richV^ery 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 "millonariV*multimillonari*
re" * 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"

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rather than "rios1** Alternatively, it may be said that "aouest te* aolts fe bitllets" ("this one has many [bank]-notes'1), and the phrase is often accompanied by a gesture aiming a bank clerk counting money. The changes in terminology thus epitomise the transfer from land to capital as the basis of wealth on Ibisa9 and the conclusive adoption of monetary exchange • which has resulted from the vast expansion in the local supply of money produced by tourism*

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7.4 THfi EXCHANGE OF GOODS IK DTPfiBNAL 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 Ibisa
* 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 fora of internal trade on Ibisa
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 assyaetric 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 aany "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*

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But, in praotioet barter on Ibisa has typically involved a process of bargaining (reaateig or resatetjar)* The exchange values are initially unspecified (of. BLAU's oriteria of social exchange, cited in Appendix Five), even though the participants may have a good idea of the eventual outcome* Depending on the importance cf the transaction and the personalities of
the participants, the bargaining process Bay be Bore 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
oriteria used above to define "social exchange" - even though the principal aia of barter is eoononic*
Most exchanges among Ibisans (even in the country) now involve money
rather than barter, but some of the traditional "social" features persist* After 1 had been on Ibisa for nearly a year (by which time I was reasonably fluent in the dialeot 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)*

BUTIN& A SECONDHAND SCOOTER OK IBI2A (December* 1970)
EVENTS

. 1 I mentioned casually to a few
friends and close neighbours that
I was thinking of buying a cheap
(bara^) second-hand scooter,
because my ear had been bonded* Did they know of any?
After several unfruitful leads, an X put^e on to a suitable scooter. En T» "who works with en Z on the lorries'*, apparently had a scooter in good condition

COMMENTS

"casually", because the degree of urgency of buyer and seller affects the bargaining*
ZThis happened about ten days after
we had made the first enquiries, which had provided some idea of the current values*
JSn X, an unmarried man of about thirty, was quite well-known to us, and we were on friendly terms, though not close* We

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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 ouch* 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 ouch
- would en Y aooept 6.000 ptas.
in cash (*a*» oontat*)?
— "I no T& &ir Pi cue
no, "
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 aooept as little as 5,000 pesetas by haggling: "Aqui tenim es oostum de reoatetjar rsiol • "**•
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 t£ interes en sa vespa."? He
also explained that we had gone to en Y's house rather than to oa*n Bernat, because I was not sure that I should recognize hinu° 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. f 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.

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

"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.

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

In 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*

'At 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 &emeinschaft equivalent of the G-esellschaft technique known as "the soft sell".

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Eventually, I aakedi "I com e*s i?" ("And what sort of price

per voste ... jo la
ir aet mil pessetes."
ror you . . . I would sell
it for seven thouaand pesetas."^ I "oonaidered" this, before

"Per naltroa Is uaa mica oara

per oino mil $al que la ooapraria
... i al oontat. perd set mJlTT." — "Per oino mil no la puc vendre ... frueno. pot penaar-s'ho si vol ... a que li pareiz ai rebel* cine oentea * aia mil oino oentea?"
X still looked dubious, until
en X interposed * what about 6,000? I repeated this to en Y. who countered:
"No a4 ... bueno. perd per vost^ no ve de cino oentes peaaetes. ea vert Ho li iaportaria oino oentes, mis o menoa?"
— "Also ax gue no e*a certj SOB eatudiant 1 per Jo val eada peaaeta." C^That la definitely not aoj I am a student and for me each peaeta count a. H - 1 laughed*)
— (laughing too, less formal) "Perd no t< famili ni fills per ouidar

_____ que tenc una dona,
i no BOB aobra res."
— "I ella no treballa?**
— "Si que treballa dins aa eaaa. pero BO iva res. Ido. quedam ^h ^rff . A sis mil?'

the "for you . . .% which iapliea
some special personal concession.

"?or ue that ia a little dear » • • for five thousand, yea, I would buy it ... and with cash, but seven thousand . • •" — "For five thousand I cannot sell it
. . . well, you can think about it if you
like ... how does it seem to you if I drop five hundred - 6t 500?"

"I don't know . • . well, but for you
it doesn't come to five hundred pesetas, true? Five hundred more or leaa wouldn't matter to you?"
I.e. all respectable foreign residents are gQPyoyg* or gentlemen* And aenyora are expected to pay more. The dialogue which followed served to remove the implied status gap, and hence to reduce the price*

— "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?"
— "Yea she worka in the house, but she
doea not earn anything. So, shall we leave
it at that? * At aix thousand?"
— "All right, then."

The exchange finally agreed, we went on talking for some time, and then

arranged to meet in the large bar, oa'n Bernat. where we oould arrange

*ea papers" (the documents) and oould also find the looal spare-time insurance

agent. On the way back to the village, en X asked me If I waa 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 "Interfts* In the transaction* there were some people who

would act aa "fetermedferis" only to make a thousand pesetas in commission

(per fer mil peasetea). but he had done it Juat to do a favour (per fer un

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favor, Home's)* Although he did not mention them, it was olear that this farour was at least partly in return for the English classes, and this ancillary sooial exchange served to strengthen our relationship*
A few days later, I stopped on the scooter at en 2*s house, when en Y happened to be there, helping repair a lorry* I was asked how the scooter was going - and en 2 and his wife teased en Y about the deal, saying jokingly to ae that no doubt he would hare charged me a lot for it* I
said no, I was quite happy with the price - and en Y commented, reddening slightly: "En Son sap be* quo li he cobrat igual com si battue's naagut aqufJ Ho Is ver? H ("£n Bonfire* myself 3 well knows that I have charged him the same as if he had been born here,' LLooking to me for confirmation] Isn't that so?11). I agreed* The others commented that, anyway, I was "already an Ibisan* ("un eiviaaeno, ja"), and the conversation passed on to something else* Despite the joking tone, it was olear that 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 seorecy surrounds exchanges on Ibisa* It may be noted that neither en Y nor I mentioned the price paid - even though it was satisfactory to us both - in the rather
publio situation juat described* It was quite possible that en 2 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 seorecy 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! Vo 11 esperare* aouj* per si vol parlar d*un secret*• ("I will
wait for you her«, 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

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was low; probably because it is considered more damaging to be seen as
*bambo" ("soft11 or "silly") than as "viu" ("sharp" or "smart"). Discretion
in public is, in general, an important component of "confianoa" (trustworthiness) on Ibisas those lacking such discretion are said to "tenir molt de ouento" ("tore a lot to tell") and are not to be trusted with confidential matters
of any kind*
The scooter sale thus inrolved 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* jSn 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 prioe (perhaps trying to beat it down, but in an impersonal fashion), concludes the deal, and thereafter does not see the seller again* On Ibisa, 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 iaportanee of retail shops on Ibisa, which began in the intermediate period and has accelerated in the tourlstio 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

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exchange, giving rise to tensions whioh aay proapt criticisms of retailers of the kind described above (p. 16*0). Significantly, there are a number of common practices whioh serve to reduce the hostility between seller
and buyer t
(i) Small services, whioh involve the use of tine rather than expensive •aterials f 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 parson doing it. This serves to emphasise the seller's general personal lack of "interes** 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 (oompres d'ocasio*)! 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 rebaiga - and the owner of a bookshop felt it necessary to apologise 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, elosely related* There are now several supermarkets on Ibiza

Such practices are, of course, not peculiar to Ibisa. Nevertheless, they are strikingly common there*

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where it is obviously difficult for the assistants to make spontaneous personal concessions. And there are many other shops whioh are intermediate in siie 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 "desouento** (Official Spanish! "discount") is tending to replace the "rebaixa* (Local Catalan! "lowering1*). In other words, speoial offers and disoounts (whioh are applied indiscriminately to all customers and are fixed in advanoe) are tending to replace reductions based on diffuse personal relationships. The main functions of the "deseuento" (whioh are only secondary functions of the "rebaixa 1*) 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 clears a long-term transition from "more social" to "less social*1 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 partioularistio 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 soope for influence is being reduced by such changes as the increasing bureaucratization 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 ti**t the notion of trust is often irrelevant* Moreover, since there are no social ties with strangers, the islanders 9 notions of fair dealing are attenuated and they sometimes (though by no means always) make the most of the strangers'

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ignorance (the reverse also occurs, e.g. in land sales). Trade for profit, and monetary gains in general, are taken more for granted* 1
Roughly speaking, the attitudes of the younger people on Ibica to trade
and exchange in general fall somewhere in between those of the older inlanders and those of (say) the majority of English people*
But tourism has not simply accelerated a pre-existing process of
ehange* Above, both the slower development of monetary exchange and
the existence of Multiplex sooial ties were oited as reasons for difficulties in applying BLAU's ideas to Ibisa* 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 whioh seem cheap or at least acceptable to the tourists* Moreover, the whole ethos of exchange is different in the two oases* 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 oases* The islander would probably ask his top price as usual - and be

A curious point in this respect (whioh is oonsidered 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-to«ristic) commercial activities*

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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 •rents soon gets taken for granted* It has had autonatioally inflationary results in areas which are not covered by the government's price controls, sucn as land and house sales* During the fieldwork period, one San Jose* •an raised his asking price for some land plots from 100 ptas* per sq.m. to 150 ptas*, and finally 130 ptas* Bach 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 Jose* 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* /gain, 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

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possible for islanders to have Tory little contact with outsiders if they so wish - a point which is clearly not appreciated by those people who
think of the Costa Brava, Ibiaa, and other mass tourist resorts as being completely overwhelmed and "spoilt 11 by package tourism. Indeed, the "tiaokaging" 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 PftOPSRTY 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 Ibiaa 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 aiseria (misery) and the mistrust and hostility which arose out of betrayals and reprisals among rivals in the same community.
(ill) Tourism* In particular, the phenomenon of foreign residents and land*ownersf 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

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Roman lav (as in the rest of Spain); but the popular interpretation of
it depended on island traditions, acoepted in the courts as a valid fora of common law loosely referred to as *4ret foral* or "dereoho 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 oompletety divided up Ibisa 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 Ibis*, in contrast with some other parts of Spain*
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) whioh does not contravene the few legal restrictions which are contained in the Civil Code (CODIGO CIVIL ... , 1966: articles 346 et sea,.). But, in practice, there are numerous customary limitations and mutual privileges accorded to neighbours some of whioh 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

The only important exceptions are the foreshore and the beds of the larger streams, whioh are publio property administered by the State (CODIGO CIVIL, 1966: artiole ¥>7), whioh issues permits for their use and taxes individuals making any special use of them* The only other exception is a rooky hill outside the old walled oity, es Puift d*es Soto, on whioh settlement was prohibited for reasons of military security*

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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 eaoh 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 "casinos de ir
a Misa1* or *oamins d'anar a Vdsaa* ("paths for going to Mass") in local public documents. (SAEZ MARTINET, 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 rlghts-of-way whioh the land-owner nay not obstruct.
Rights-of-way produce much heated argument in England, because most
land is enclosed by hedges, walla* ditches and barbed-wire fences - with consequent problems in maintaining access rights* On Ibisa, on the contrary, there has been very little enclosure* There are occasional walls up the
side of hills, whioh 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 ("fltes")* 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 partio*") 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 nal 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

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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, pabrassos (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 Jose"
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 atados1* ("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

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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* r&ther 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 -ig^, Clifford Irving, and others - often desire exotic seclusion* Thus, in an interview about her Ibizan home, Diana Bigg typically stressed its out-of-the-way position and referred to her "private" beach (T.V. TI1WS* 1969-70). And, although all of the foreshore is legally

2 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 out off access to bays and ooastland* making them effectively private*
. »here 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 rooky 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 Jose* to grill fresh fish (Horrar gerrets* - a traditional excuse* like the English picnic, for an open-air excursion) over an open fire on the ideal flat sandstone slabs at Sa G-alera, 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 "urbanizacio'n11 (villa development area)* Their instructions were to keep out all cars other than

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 v v —"• ^ * w «*T w *W and ^•••%*» inheritance ^mo~++ •*+ *. «k w «»*>«v* W only* W *m*m*W •)

2 See p.180, fti.1, above. N.B. also p*7, fn.2* above*

those of the villa-owners, thus denying anyone else road aooess to the to*?8 of ^a ^^ra* Irritated local people had approached the civil
guards in San Antonio (who have removed "PriTate1* notioes from beaches on occasion), but they apparently could do little about it* 1 It oust be emphasized, however, that only relatively small, unfrequented parts of
the island's coastline have so far been affected by this foreign fora
of "privatisation"* Local concern is therefore not very great at present * if significant areas are made "private" the Ibisan reaction win undoubtedly become stronger, and the actions of local authorities are likely to become 2
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 nay 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 union 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: "Paoienciaj* ("Patience**") is a common Ibisan response to grumblers of any kind* This
is especially true of house-building - after all "Una oasa 6s per sempre"
("A house is for ever"), and Ibiaans often spend several years having their own houses built on a carefully*selected site*

This particular urbanisation has made a special feature of its privacy and •xolusiveness in attracting clients. See MAHON (1972)*

2 1975 postscript: - It appears that the municipal corporation of San Jose* has
taken successful legal action to prevent the similar privatisation of a bay in that area*
For a first-hand account of the problems (and compensations) for foreigners settling on Ibisa, see CLSI^ (1968)*

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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 "hippies1* 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 oar, 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" ("tendria masaa eapatx") 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 robberiesf but the presence of so many transient people
makes petty thefts very hard to prevent* The thieves in many oases are outsiders! Ibisans 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 unoooupied villas or the theft of scooters
and motor-bikes), and older Ibisans acknowledge this by commenting that
"Ks JoVena d*ara son me*s 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 look 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 Ibisa
provide a stimulus for fence-building* One man in San Jose* 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.

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Barbed wire has Bade only a limited appearance on Ibisa as yet, but its use >ay well spread* I came across various instances of native Ibisans
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 "torts" (vegetable plota) - the idea being to sell the water in lorry loads* The owners of the horts were alarmed that this Bight affect their water supply, and they took various steps to prevent the sinking of the well, which included a chain across the only traok giving access to the gully - with a notice saying "CAMINO PRIW.DO" (PRIVATE ROAD)* In another place, a nan objected to his neighbours driving their
oar along a cart-track over his land - so he put a barbed-wire fence around the land, forcing thea to use a less convenient route up a steep slope*
There are also occasional signs that imported attitudes which clash with traditional views Bay lead to some redefinition of privacy* One afternoon, for example, two looal Ben appeared on the beach at Gala 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 ooBBenting: "Pobres tords*"
("Poor thrushesJ") * which provoked the unusual and significant retort:
"No era damunt lo seul" ("It was not on your land*"*).
There are, then, numerous pressures for various kinds of "privacy"
to become more important on Ibisa* Aad 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 Ibixans have traditionally achieved privacy by building their homes some way apart*
Many foreign-owned homes follow this pattern, and (at resent, 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" fora of property on
Ibisa has so far proved very resilient, despite the pressures for change*

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7.6 NEIGHBOURS

Within the memory of the grandparental generation Ibi*a was segmented into a number of small oommunities - 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 •en 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 tine, 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 oase 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 Ibisa plaoe 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 boon"

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 leas-involved relationships in towns* This chapter has already emphasised the explicit, scrupulous nature of exchange norms on Ibisa, which seems fairly characteristic of peasant oommunities in general* However, there is a danger in studies

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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) nay be neglected or inoorreotly dismissed, because of the tautologioal tendenoies of exchange theory, especially when the concept of "reciprocity1* is used uncritically* tfor instance, observations of altroisB 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, deference or subservience are invoked to compensate for an observed imbalance •|fl £ relationship*
In ttost Mediterranean studies, there is a striking laok 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 (BAILBT, 1971).
tfhy 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 studys
•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."
(LISQN-TOLOSANA, 1966: vii)
Another explanation oou&d be that the observations - though selective - are accurate, and that the communities concerned are indeed characterized a lack of affective relationships among any but the closest of kin, and egoistic or familistio relationships among neighbours* The following quotation is particularly interesting in that it is (a translation of) a comment Made tyr a Spanish l^yrenean villager about his own local
community t

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"The people (veoinos) 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, 19711 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 aide-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, I97>t
For the Mediterranean, however, these descriptions of egoism, familism and mistrust have been succinctly summarized in the concept of "amoral familism"; seen ty BANFX3LD as typifying the ethos of the Italian village of "Hontegrano"; the defining principle being:
"Maximise the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family:
assume that all others will do likewise*"
(BANFIELD, 1938: 85)
Returning to Ibisa, 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 Jose* and that of Montegrano
(at least as described by BANFIELD). Ibisans (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

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those formed by chance acquaintance). While it is trivially true that
the participant! must derive (or have derived, or expect to derive) some satisfaction from any relationship if it is to be maintained; to ignore
the affeotive component would seriously stultify neighbouring relationships on Ibisa - as would any attempt to reduce them to a model like that of BAHFIELD. And the affeotive component requires lore than a passing reference: there is much variation among different families and neighbourhoods, but
the Importance of affection is often clear* It frequently aota as an independent variable, deciding for exaaple whether or not a difference
of interests is resolved aJdeably - or becomes the basis of a long*standing emulative hostility* Again, while the principle of reoiprooity 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. aal 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 foast days or family events, there is a large amount of casual visiting. Men often (though by no Beans 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. fc> wife was soon drawn into this pattern
of visiting in San Jose* 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" fer»li oompanyia*)•

An instructive contrast is provided by the account of neighbouring relations in "Auguste", a French tyrenean village, by BLAXTKR (1971).

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Nevertheless, I have given ample evidence elsewhere that most of the

typical features of amoral f ami11em do exist on Ibiza* There ia no shortage

of envy (enveja); mistrust (receloa/mala fe); individualism (ser

individualistes)» laok of ability to cooperate (no sebre anar junta);

self-interest (inter&s/mirar per ell); venality (mirar en ea sous/sempre voler

oobrar); bribery (donar propinea); bad gossip (muraular); deceit (engany);

mutual avoidance (no traotar-se); quarrels (baralles); rancour (rancor); and

so on, la fact, I oan see parallels on Ibisa with almost all of the

negative points made about peasant communities by other authors, .and yet,

the overall impression is quite different, *hy?

BANFIi&D (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 socialisation* In

The topics under discussion in this section are difficult to present satisfactorily because of the necessary reliance on fieldwork "impressions'1. 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)* 1'he easiest way of illustrating the
"peace in the boom" is by way of a contrast* for this contrast, the past state of Ibisa itself may be used, but for the consideration of cultural
as well as economic variables the study by BANPIi£LD seems to provide a particularly appropriate foil*
However, this use of B/J4FXJ&J)'* 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. a Second, BKliFI&LD's fieldwork is possibly not very reliable* His knowledge of Italian was in his own words "non-existent
to start with and rudimentary later" (BANFIiiLD, 1938: 10), and the period of fieldwork was only nine months (in 1934-55)* &ioh 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 fioldvrork observations towards tentative generalisations, BANFl^LD presents apparently clear-cut hypotheses and then uses selective data to illustrate them -
"dinoe 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." (R/^NFI^uD,
1953: 11) In general, the material in BAMHj<LD 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

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Montegrano there was "aisiria" at the time BANFI .LD was writing. There was

a relatively high death rate among the peasants. The individual's affective

support, at least according to B*N*'Ii,LD, 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 JSuropeans, 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

found in fleldwork. This problem of empirical complexity is rarely made explicit in BAfttflgLD's book, although the following quotation is interesting in that it contains some sweeping generalizations followed by a less typical qualification which not only appears to contradict the earlier generalizations but also hints at the existence - at least among the "mountaineers" - of traditional sooio-cultural features which do not fit in with the stark
nuclear "amoral familism" model: "3ome remote settlements in the mountains above Montegrano are virtually cut off from the larger society. Teachers, doctors, and priests never penetrate to them. The carabinieri visit them only when murders are reported. Among these mountaineers social life apparently comes very close to being a war of all against all. . . . But even among the mountaineers* there are some restraints on agression: magic still has a powerful hold on them (and so the physically strong must fear the weak), and kinship obligations seem to be stronger and more far-reaching than in Montegrano." (BANFIBLD, 1958: 145n.) Third, it is clear that "amoral familism" is in fact a composite "ideal type", related in a complex contextual fashion
to both economic and socio-cultural variables, and it is difficult to see
how BMFIELD's "theory" could be "rigorously tested by any who care to do so," although some qualities reminiscent of "amoral familism" are likely to be
found in almost any peasant community, particularly in poor areas.
Nevertheless, the frequency of citation of the concept of "amoral
familism" in recent studies of peasant communities in the Mediterranean area confirms at least the heuristic value of B UFIELD's work in prompting the theoretical analysis of "negative" aspects of kinship and neighbouring relations in peasant communities in relation to other sociological variables.

B/-Nmi,D (1958: 6>67). Note that the s&me word "miseria" is used on
Ibisa to refer to past poverty.

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by a predominance of owner-farming, oomblned with share-farming (now giving way to renting in some oases)* The kind of serrility of peasants towards land-owners and the tax-collector which is described by BANFIELD (I958t
Ch* XV, "Class Relations, M 69-82) would have been unthinkable on Ibisa
in the past, mob lass today. As for the family on Ibisa, it is usually vertically extended through three generations; and it nay also be extended horisontallj to include unmarried "al.lotei" ("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 Ibisa - although there are variations on this simple pattern, depending on individual family traditions, the sise 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 heira 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 Ibisan customs. Kaoh person has a godfather (padrf) and a godmother (padrina) who normally enjoy a close relationship with their godchild (fillol or fillola), 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 ty a reasonably wealthy childless oouple or by a maiden aunt: in return for "collecting11 ("reeollir" or "endur*) the child and enjoying its company and care in
old age, the adopters make it their heir, so that the child*a natural parents are thus relieved of a financial burden while remaining in close contaot with the child. Such arrangements are quite common on Ibisa} 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

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important than it is now.
There are, than, clear differences both in economic and in cultural
terms between Montegrano and Ibisa - past or present. But the contrast
is not entirely clear-out. There have been periods of miseria on Ibisa *">! and Iflgitimaris («ere 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 tines of poverty* Old people
in San Jose* frequently told me that "back in past years" (anys enrera) the Ibisans ("naltyos"; i.e. "we") were "savages" ("salvatses") or
very backward (moltatraseats) or ignorant (i/gno rants). 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 pobrea). There was usually a standard caution that "Sempre n*hi havia de bons i de do lent s. i sempre n*hi haura1 " ("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 "mis eric qu'ara" ("meaner than now") - this comment was usually followed by stories of hoards of gold coins found in the
walls of auoh-and-euch 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 tyr 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 Ibisan ballads* These often revolve around the opposition of the parents to a poor matohf but there are also indications of a generally more economic conception of marriage in the past - and the following t,ft?te4l extract from *n Ibiaan song shows why this was so, in the words of a young man to a girl

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whoa he admires but does not want to Barry:
"Jo SOB un pobre pages "I am & poor peasant
qu'he do treballar per viure, who has to work for a living,
i eneara que em faoiu riure and though you may Bake oe laugh
aixiaateix no ea dareu res." all the same you will give me nothing*"
(Siviasenc)
Finally, I was told that there were foraerly "me** baralles per aor A+interessos* ("more quarrels beoause of divergent interests"). All of these negative comments about the past on Ibisa are especially interesting in view of
the general tendency of old people elsewhere (shared by rather few Ibisans, usually those froa families whioh were quite well-endowed even prior to tourism) to view the past with nostalgia*
In moat eoaaunity studies, the negative real or practical norms are
found to be accompanied ty 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 Ibisa, 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 emphasiftei 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 socialisation from that described *y BANFIBLD.

AN IBIZAN PARABLE.! "THE BASEST fflTH NO LID"2

It had been a terrible year, whioh is still remembered as "The Bad Year1* ("S'Aiar Dolent"). There was much miseria in the neighbourhood. One oold winter's night, an old woman, sa Jaia Taronges. sought shelter from the

Cf» the remarks about behaviour in the post-war miseria. on page 182 above. version is a short English paraphrase of **Sa barseta sense tapadora".
which is one of a collection of Ibisan folk stories published by CASTELLO &U/3CH (1935: 9-20). The paraphrase does not attempt to capture the typical polished grace of the fUU original folk tale.

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storm* At one house after another the occupants feigned deafness (li fan es scrd). until finally she tapped at the door of a poor invalid widow and her eight-year-old son, jl' Apaatinet, 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 wells don't worry, the old woman (*sa Jaia*i old woman, or witrh) told him, beoauae 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 oome true while he slept. The young boy and his mother naturally dreamt of eating, and eaoh time awoke well fed. After a while, their good nature overcame their cautious initial resolution that "Ara. no ho tenim de dip a ninadl" ("How, we mustn't tell anyone about this; 11;. They allowed first their neighbours 9 children and then an adult man to try it. This man promptly went along to see sa Jaia Tarcngess 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 nis 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 sa Jaia Taronges, begging her pardon. Times improved, and N'Agustinet also returned his basket, with thanks. And from then on
(*I de llavcnses end"), all poor people have found the doors of the neighbourhood open to them,

How, then, should the evidence be interpreted? It seems that cultural

differences may play some part in the contrast between Montegrano and

Ibisai and that the egoistic and familistic behaviour on Ibisa may have

been attenuated to some extent by its culture and social structure, even

in times of aiaeria. But the material state of the people does appear

to be one crucial variable. In other words, I would hypothesise that

eaoh 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 Ibisa 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) whioh may

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give rise to feelinga of relative deprivation among some people, however prosperous they are - and there is little difficulty in finding examples of relative deprivation on present-day Ibisa. And there are some new sources of friotion due to tourism. But, the over-riding impression is one of a sense of shared well-being, whioh inhibits jealousy in economic •atters t for example, I was surprised by the usually easy-going attitude towards "competing" businesses on the part of many Ibisan 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 Jay their former poverty, especially in view of the
period of miaeria whioh immediately preceded the tourist boom. The resulting economic ethos on Ibisa at present is what I have referred to
as "the peaee 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 Ibisa 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, Ibisans can become rich without exploiting other Xbisane (or emigrating). The common resentment of those who profit at the expense of their fellows has already been described. However, if anyone becomes a "multimillonari" by selling some
of his own (inherited) land to foreigners, or through a business patronised almost exclusively by tourists; why should he be criticized? In other words, the "peaoe in the (tourist) boom* involves more than mere prosperity! there has been a change in the basic economic "game" on Ibisa * from a "sere*sum game" to a common bonaria or "lucky dip". While the greater "luck" (or astuteness) of some may still be envied by others less fortunate, it is less easy to conaider it harmful or unjust to fallow Ibisana. (It •ay be noted that these considerations go a long way towards accounting for

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the general ready acceptance of tourism by the vast majority of Ibisans
• which I found surprising at tines, in view of some of the apparent disadvantages*)
Finally, whatever the reason for the importance of affective links
on Xbisa, it should be borne in Bind when interpreting the instrumental behaviour described in the following sections and elsewhere in the thesis*

(b) Instrumental neighbouring relationst 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*
sayings "Aoul so* individualist eg* ("Here, we are individualist s"). And
they frequently used one of the numerous proverbs which express individualistic attitudes:
Cada un viu aa aeua vida Everyone lives his own life
Cada un a ca seua ouina i pasta Each person in his own home oooka and
airf con vol" makes the dough to his own liking
Yal mis anar tot sol que mal It's better to go alone than badly
aooapanyat aooompanied
Cada un preaa per la aeua anima Bveryone prays for his own soul
Cada un per ell i Deu 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.

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The new houses are set, each on its own plot, in the most distant positions from one another*

• a j I at "La oasa nadre" (the parental
i house), now occupied by the
heir (sVhereu).
b and ci The houses of es
1 '• (sons or daughters inheriting
» e. 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 Ibisa); this explanation does serve to illustrate the fundamentally individualistic (or fasdlistio) basis of Ibixen culture;
eaeh nuclear family (or extended family in the case of a'hereu) preferring to keep its distance, with eaeh 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 "Ks la oostumbre de aqufs "It is the custom here.")
There are two rather different aspects of individualism. On the one
hand, the tern refers to "self-centred feeling or conduct, egoism" (CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY). Thio is the sense discussed in the previous section:
as we have seen, the economic ethos on Ibisa is one of individualism
(in this sense) tempered by various cultural factors and now also by prosperity. In praotioe, people are expected to be helpful to others
as long as they do not significantly ftamage their own interests thereby.
On the other hand, "individualism" also refers to a "social theory flavouring free action of individuals11 (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 politioal organisation).

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The traditional individualism (in the second sense) on Ibisa was clearly reflected in the islanders 9 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 ty the civil guards and a rather email 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 Palt Vila, and some were executed by the republicans before they left the island* And some of the aajorals 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 "goo" (owner or boss) - later suffering for their credulity* But other ma^orals continued to give the traditional share to the "ago", even in some oases 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 unenthusiastio 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 whioh have emerged from the tourist boom, illustrated here in terms of the neighbouring relationships of sharing and cooperation*
(tenir a mitres I partirt oompartir) acts as a substitute for
exchanger 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 Ibizana it is not surprising that they tend to lack with disfavour upon all forms of sharing! for them. sharing is at best a measure of necessity* Their reasons usually relate to

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the potential for oonfliot vhich is inherent in any agreement over sharing: there may be different interpretations of the agreement, different habits of use and oare of goods, quarrels over the oause of any damage and its repair, and difficulties over continued sharing when the participants have quarrelled for some unconnected reason. Suoh arguments against sharing
may be summed up in the common proverb: "Cada un vol es oorter de sa ooua" ("Everyone wants the tail-outn - i.e. everyone wants the best portion). Despite this attitude, Ibiaans were forced by poverty in the past to
adopt various forms of sharing - which did in fact often provoke quarrels* To avoid auoh 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 aeord de paraulah but now, with increased literacy and diminished informal social control ("Sa gent d'ara no so*n tant de paraula"/"People nowadays are not so much men of their word", say the older peoplej and of course the trustworthiness of strangers is an unknown quantity), there is an increasing preference for written agreements * in the words of a proverbs "On hi ha papers, no pent en barbea" ("Wh«re there are papers, beards [i.e. men] do not lie").
Tourism has had two main effects on sharing arrangements on Xbiza* 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* Suoh 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 oontractual arrangements and in promoting more separate

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private ownership. These points are amplified in the following accounts of common forms of sharing on Ibixa, and their recent modifications,
(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

2 (whioh became embodied in standard verbal agreements) was quite complex.

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. £ven where majorals continue, the old arrangements are being considerably modified in order to accommodate the better bargaining position of today's ma Jorals, whose sudden scarcity makes them valuable*
The hunting, stubble-grasing, etc., described in section 7*3 above,
are also forms of communal sharing of land resources, whioh still persist, but which are under the influence or various pressures towards stricter interpretations of land boundaries and privacy.
Other types of land-sharing arose through inheritance. *'or example,
one elderly man in San Jose" told me of an old custom called "delme i promella*. 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 out 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

The concept of "facilitating factor" is also discussed in Appendix Ten, below. The standard majoral arrangements are described in CJ3TA iV MOW (1966-67).
The term "delrne" usually means "tithe". I was unable to discover the meaning "romella* (which might alternatively be spelt "prome'ia'. "prume'ia".
, 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 suca customary arrangements have died out unnoticed, even in quite recent years: see COSTA RAM^i (1946: 325).

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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 Bade the significant comment that it would be "molt empipo" ("very irritating") for both parties,
(ii) The sharing of buildingst * Some of the oldest existing country houses on Ibisa are divided into two dwellings, joined bacfc-to-baok* They Bay now
<i

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 nave
a tower in the middle, as an inner refuge and vantage point* Such an arrangement would now be very unuaual*
Unmarried women and invalid males on Ibisa 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 estatae" (See SAEZ MARTINES, 1922a). The intention is to alleviate the lot of unmarried women and invalids* who Bight otherwise be turned out of the parental home by
an unfeeling hereu* The custom still exists, but it is clearly becoming

* less relevant to an increasingly affluent Ibisa*

There are aome new forms of "house-sharing" f 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 fbr 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 fbr his land* Such

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arrangements are Bade both for some of the large apartment-blocks built in the capital town and for smaller buildings such as the four-storey blook of flats where we lived during the fieldwork in San Jose*. In this new type of sharing arrangement it is a building rather than a dwelling whioh 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 partnersi for example, the enterprising schoolmaster in San Jose* shared a new blook of flats in the town with his brother and two other partners* This is an example of the capital-sharing mentioned above, whioh 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 produots of necessity (in this case large capital requirements, beyond the means of individuals)! i*e«, as the scale of business ventures on Ibisa 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 waters * 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 torts (or plots de canal * in smaller gullies on private land)* The water is carefully channelled and distributed by agreement, eaoh man being able to draw water only at stipulated times* However, there is no equivalent of the Valenoian water courts} and disputes like that described by PITT-RIVBRS (1961: 141*154) in Andaluofa seem to have been relatively rare on Ibisa * probably because of the relative simplicity of distribution and the lesser importance of the irrigated plots on Ibisa, The general

One suoh dispute, involving a clash between traditional and newer forms of water-use, has been described above (page 186), however*

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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 Jose* depended on the public wells
and springs for their domestic w*tor-supplyj 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 (poua) or underground tanks (oisternea); during the period of fieldwork, the peaceful silence of San Jose* 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;
o

but tourism (or the associated affluence) is again a facilitating factor.
The present water-supply system on Ibisa 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

There are two types of storage tank: oiaternes, filled by rainwater from
the roof of a house; and alJubs (note the Arabic etymology), filled by rainwater from an era (threshing circle) or other exposed area of rook* nevertheless, in a case in San Jose* 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*

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la usually consulted)* Perhaps partly as a result of this, there is
a serious water*shortage on the island, as described above* In San Jose*, nearly all of the traditional public wells are dry, and oany private veils 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 randoa 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 Bay be noted that,although this is a familiar sequence of events elsewhere, these particular changes on Iblsa 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 aitges (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 aost 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 poet script: * A long pipeline is being laid from a new water-source discovered by hydro logical engineers, to provide a continuous supply for
hotels and houses in the San Jose* area, although I do not know any exact details*

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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 sise 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 "Haltros es pagesos no sabem anar Junta" ("We peasants do not know how to cooperate")* But other Ibisans dissent from this self-assessment, arguing instead that:
"Homos ofdo decir a voces que el "fte have sometimes heard it said that
paye's ibieenoo era pooo sociable* the Ibizan peasant is rather unsociable*
De quo no hay tal cosa prulbanlo Th&t this is not the case is proved by
varias oostumbres que aifn se various customs which are still
observan* M observed*"
(Castilian, CASTiiLLO GUA3CH, 196?: 106-10?)
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 or 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 favors (favours) and mutual services among

This was said to me; and a similar statement is quoted by CALVKKA(1972).

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neighbours. Ibisa is no exception* Most commonly borrowed are those relatively expensive things which are not needed continuously; such as ••all 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:
3i has d'emprar alguna oosa empra-la a tu mateixaj" ("If you have to borrow (or lend) anything, borrow it from (or lend it to) yourself.1 ").
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* pero1 es trulls i es moling 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 Ibisa; 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 exohange are tending to

1 Cf., for example, WILLIAMS (1956: Ch. VII, "Neighbours", 140-154).

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give way spontaneously to economic exchange.
(ii) Working parties (sea reminyoles),: - Two main types of working
party were common on Ibisa 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 Jose* area seems to
have been the building of a long and precipitous road which contours the mountains between San Jose* and Gala d'Horts where a large area of coastal farmland was formerly inaccessible to carts, being farmed largely from "pahisses" (rudimentary secondary farmhouses, inhabited only ocoasionally 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

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party coming from a wide area of the parish, and they were regaled by the voBen of the neighbourhood with the traditional "bunvolada" (doughnut feast)
• doughnuts, a«lons and home-made wine.
At present, many of the smaller tracks are atill maintained by looal
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 effeot. 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 soope and responsibilities of the looal authorities*
Secondly, an indirect effect* For various reason*, 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* tfith 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 Jose*, who was prior to the present one, instituted
a compromise between voluntary and municipal aotion by organising 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 organise the building of major modern roads with the large road-machinea and bulldozers which may be seen operating in many places on the island* Consequently, the reminvoles 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 tureaueraoy*

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With few exceptions , the sane nay 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 desoribed in a previous chapter (Chapter 5, page 96t 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.
Tn* reninyoles 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 ten "reminyola" is some time a extended to then, 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 then to pass the word around inviting people to come and help the* on a certain day* In such oases, some fora 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

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 Jose*,
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 seoond, less draJM^0* reainyola was for urgent alterations to the village state primary school, followingthe closure of the local "nuns' school"• The schoolmaster informs ne that the work was oarried 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 desoribed here.

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fora of a large traditional meal (una dinada) which would follow a atandard menu, its length and nature depending upon the amount of work and the time of year* It ia important to realise (ma waa eaphaaiaed to me by various islanders) that the food waa the primary inducement for many poorer people in the past; and it waa definitely seen as payment rather than simply as incidental refreshment * as ia illustrated in the proverb:
"Lo quo no ea paga amb diners
es paga anb dinadea"
(Siviaaenc)

"What ia not paid for with money ia
paid for with feasts".

The ooBBoneat gatherings of this type were as follows:
Sa duitfti - The invited neighbours nade varioua journeys with their carts to collect the stones for a new building, afterwards being given
a large meal based on una arroasada (a rice dish which is atandard on feast-dayBf but which waa 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 aa segada; - These were gatherings of neighbours for ploughing and reaping, rewarded by a meal, paynent in kind, or reciprocity. Sea matanoes: - Each household killed one or more pigs each year in
the late autumn to provide aalted meat and aauaagea throughout the winter months. Quite a large gathering would take place (with aa many as a hundred or more people attending in some cases): those invited included kin (normally up to and including "fills de cosins", 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-entendre* between the men and women during the ahared task of sausage-making in the afternoon) | and it culminated in a massive feast in the evening, which uaed to be enhanced by the visit of deafreaaata (disguised local youths - often the suitors of the host 9 a daughters - who would enact a

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Rabelaisian farce for the company9 before removing their maska and baring some food in the kitchen).
Ses filades (yam-spinnings), sa desfeta de sa daosa (the stripping of the corn cobs), sa masaada de pinyons (the extraction of the edible nuts from roasted pine oones) t were all oooasions which called for further reunions of neighbours at one house after another; to oarry 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 oases, 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 tourismt especially important were the growth of monetary trading
(e*gs. the substitution of butcher-retailers for matanga-oyolest 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 matanoa in 1970, at which more than fifty people attended the dinada: the day1* events and atmosphere were very much
in the traditional mould, except that there was no deafressada (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 maal in

1 Typioal scenes would be the "extraction" of a tooth with monstrous implements

by a man clowning the role of * 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*

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the evening; but few people are invited, often just sufficient members

of the immediate family to nanage 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 gr£ee to these custom} 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 nay be performed by machines and

wage-labour). Patting 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 Ibisa.

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,

The 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 aatanoes. in particular, were high-lights
of the year) and all such household reunions also had the important social funotion 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 eaoh 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 sise 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 (rioe^meal or "paella") in the host's boat-house-eum-beaoh-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 Ibisa 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 ("for vega*). especially in the case of group work. Young Ibisans (and most older ones) have little or no doubt that their working lot has improved] but when the old customs of resdnyoles* matanoes and xaootea (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 *Aqp ^n^r^ «B pareix cue feiea aea veftf" ("Back in years past, it aeems to me that we had more fun";.

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the principle* 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 remjnyolea 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* Henoef perhaps, the common confusion over the question*

7.7 HOSPITALITI

(a) The background: first-hand accounts of Ibisan 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 duos 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 Ibisa, however9 such accounts are quite relevant since,
as one official visitor pointed out in 1897, "Per no negarlo en redondo, dire* que son poquislmos los forasteros que, a* no ser con cara*oter ofioial, abordan i Ivisa ... " ("There are extremely few if any outsiders who visit Ibisa, except on official business * * • ")• This statement was made by

KAVARRO (1901: 17). This statement is corroborated by the description of all foreigners resident on Ibisa in 1858, which is given in MCABICH 1, 63).

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D. Victor Havarro, a native of Valencia, who spent some time on Ibisa in

his official capacity as property registrar. While there, he wrote

a lengthy recount of the local way of life in a style which is suffioiently

systematic and analytie 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 criticism* by

Ibisan commentators such as MACABICH (1966-6*7), who takes particular

exception to Navarre's long and unflattering account of the islanders'

hospitality * Maoabioh attributes its negative quality to the provincial

jealousy of a Valenoian who did not know how to make himself agreeable

to the Xbisana* The following summary and quotations give some indication

of Navarro'a 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 Ibisan character, such as their honesty and amiability

in general*)

"Ahora, y en acatamiento i la mas "Now, and in adherence to the strictest severa imparoialidad, he de disipar impartiality, I must dissipate the
la falsa y vanidosa aureola de false and vain aura of hospitality hospitalidad con que grattfitamente with which the natives gratuitously
BO adornan los naturalos ..." adorn themselves • * • *

"Porastero serrf 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.)

N ••• tal ves llegueis a franquear
con alguno £ quien veais
diariamente en el oaalno, en su
tienda, 6* en la plasa, pero no
espereis que su efusion peso de las palabras, ni llegue a* la oordialidad. <LVisitas? Las de oumplido. clnvitaciones? Nlnguna. ^Obsequies? De ninguna olase ... Nadie os abrira* la intisddad 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 proscribed ty etiquette alone* Invitations? Nona* Grifts? Of no type at all. ... No-one will open up the intimacy of their home to you, 1*

1
HAVAKRO (1901s 1V-18).

As for the country people • • •

"Los payoses todoo son muy atentos "The peasants are all very courteous si os cncuentran en el oaaino: No
dejaran de saludaros, si es de dla:
no os echarttn de su oasa si entrais
en ella: pero £ invitaros? No*
iOfreeeros algua obsequio? Taapooo*
Se desata la teapestad, pasais por la puerta de la oasa, toda la

if you aeet thea in the roadway: They will not fail to greet you, providing it
is daytime: they will not eject you from
their house if you enter it: but invite
you? No* Offer you any token? No, again*
The storm breaks, you are passing by the
door of the house, all the family
faailia os ve desde el porohe donde see you from the front room where they
se halla reunida al abrigo de la are gathered to shelter from the vain:
lluviar si quereis guareoeros, if you wish to shelter yourself, enter
entrad sin esperar a* que os inviten, without waiting for them to invite you,
porque esperarilis en vano* since you would wait in vain* Do you
^Pasais de largo? Ni una vos, ni pas* at a distance? Neither a shout,
un ademan se alsarin para deteneros* nor a wave will be aroused to detain you* Os oiraritn pasar sin la*atiaa, sin They will wateh you pass without pity, interes, hasta sin curio sidad: con without interest, even without curiosity: la aisaa indiferenoia que Ten caer with the same indifference with which
el hilo de agua ••• Y si esto ocurre they look at the falling thread of water en tiempo aalo, oaloulad lo que sera" * • • And if this happens in bad weather,
en el bueno. La autoridad als Imagine what it will be like in the good*
respetablo, y ma's respetada, es para The most respectable and respected
el payis el Jues del partido: pues authority, for the peasant, is the district
aim habilndose dado i oonooer, Judge: well, even having made himself
respondiendo i preguntas de un known, in response to the questions of
aolinero, i la puerta de un molino, a miller, at the door of a mill, we did no aereoiaos la honra de que se nos not merit the honour of being offered brindara una silla para descansar a chair to relax in after a long
despues de un largo paseo, ni se walk, nor to be invited into the
nos inritase A entrar en el buiMing."
edificio* n

Navarre also describes the reception of the occasional fbreign visitors

to the island* He mentions tho 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 aotejan con el noabre francos
** J ****** los sahieren, se mo fan
de ellos, las turbas de chiquillos
IOB siguen cuando deseabaroan,
oausandoles ail aolestias, y hasta
se organisan batidas para ptrseguirlos cooo si ftiesen bestias daninas, cuando al influjo del vinillo de Bspafia pierden la serenidad y el aploao y, Faustos de aueva especie, se empeSan en enoontrar Hargaritas por las estreohas oallejas de la Marina*"

"They label thea with the French nickname 'Jeans*, they sarcastically oritieise them and aake fun of them. Hordes of small children follow them when they disembark, causing thea many annoyances, and posses are even organized to chase thea 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. 1*

1KAVARRO (1901: 18-19)«

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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:
" •«• distiaguidos viageros que con ". . . distinguished voyagers who with sus votes (que los ivioenoos llaman their yachts (whom the Ibisans call
sdlores) nan reoalado en la isla nilores. or "milords") have moored by
,«* nan tenido que tomar los botes the island ... have had to take to
a toda prisa, poroue los silbidos, their boats at all speed, because the las risotadas insolentes, las pullas whistles, insolent peals of laughter, de mal gusto, y otras manifestao* vulgar taunts, and other no more seemly iones no ma's oultas de la turba de manifestations of the mob of children, ohiquillos, mugeres, y aun hombres, women, and even men, who surround them que les rodea y persigue desde que and follow them from the moment that
ponen pie en tierra, lea haoe they set foot on the land, make them
desistir de todo proyeoto de desist from any plan of exploring
oonooer y visitar la poblacion y and visiting the town and
la eajqdIa* N 1 countryside."
impression is that Navarro*s account, with its eirettmstantial
details, is honest, though undoubtedly subjeotivelyeoloured* 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 Xbisa* This was the Archduke Ludwig Salvator,
who case 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

2 "well received and given generous hospitality" mt any time of day* The

Archduke, unlike Navarro, was received into their houses and given food by

NAVARRO (1901: 19)* All of the passages from Navarro are in Castilian. 2"Biea reoibido y agasajado"* SA1VATOR (1866*90: vol. I, 202).

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the peasants* At the same time, however, he was very struck by their

self-esteea and ty their relative lack of deference towards him (a stranger

of obvioualy high social status):

"La estiaaoion de sf aisaoa, 6
aejor dioho, el sentimiento de su
dignidad personal que tan Intima
eomaxidit tieae oon el orgullo, se
hall*, entre loe ibioencos.

"Their self-esteem, or rather, their feeling of personal dignity which is so closely
related to pride, is, among
the Xbisans, extraordinarily
extraordinariaaente desarrollado. M developed."

(Castilian* SALVATQR, 1886-901 I, 204)

The Arohduke appears to hare half-liked this Ibisan pride, while being

rather taken aback by it; as on one occasion when he was given better

food than was his Ibisan guide, who was frankly annoyed:

"No ha de extranar que este
enojado, pues aunque pobre, foe
tengo por tanto oooo V«"

"You should not be surprised that I
an annoyed, since although poor, I
regard myself as being as worthy as you."

(Castilian. SALVATOR, 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 \y 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)

aaaseaent and curiosity over their exotio visitor} and finally their

spontaneous generosity and hospitality "when one has managed to gain

their trust":

"In ay relations with the farming people
. I had repeated occasion to

sd trato ooa los labradores ...
tuve repetidas ooaaiones para
observar lo muy superstioiosos que son y la faeilidad oon que se dejan imbuir por las preooupaolones ad's absurdas* No pooas veoes ae vl, durante mis exouralones, en la neoesidad de tranojudlisarlos, por
el temor que manifestaban de que eon sis dibujos y apuntes

• .

observe how very superstitious they are and the ease with which they allow themselves to be imbued by the most
absurd preoccupations. Not a few times,
during my exoursions, I found myself
obliged to tranquilise them, for the
fear they showed that with ay
drawings and notes I might

Por non-literate people on Ibi«a - as elsewhere - there was (and still is aaong some older people) a strong association between "bad books'* ("llibrots") and witohoraft. —————

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preaeditase no B& que maldades y brujerias contra elloa y su pals. Con frecuenci*. solfan deoirae* 'Soaos y* tan desgraoiados y tan pobres; haee doa anas que nuestros olivares no nos han dado una gota siquiera de aoeitet nemos de pagar las oontribuciones9 y ahora nos cae enoiaa esta nueva calamidad. ;Qui£n &abe quo le resultars! a! nuestra iala de estas puntaoidns? Ta se ve9 soaos Buy fflalos y Dios nos oastiga por nuestros peoados. * Pero9
pooo i pooo, les fodt inapirando aa*s oonfiansa, merced & las reflexiones que les haoia otro labrador do&ioiliado desde haoe algiln tie&po en la capital, que me aooapa&aba en estas exoursiones y eataba ya ourado de toda preooupaci6"n* Luego, no se oansaban de exaadnar oada una

de las preudas de mi vestido* ni de eonteaplar oon oierto aire de adadraoid'n el meoaniamo de ai reloj de bolsillo9 aeosrfndOBe inoesante-aente oon toda elase de preguntas, y deaostrlndose auy ooaplaoidos ouando lograban ver satiafeoha su ouriosidad* Lo que a£s les preooupabat era saber el preoio de oada objeto* Muohos ae preguntaban que me habia oostado el abrigo iaperaeable que llevaba, aostrando la mayor extranesa al oontestarles que no lo sabfa ya a punto fljoi pero su asoabro subia de punto, ouando les hablaba de la extension de algunas oiudades de ai pais y de la Tasta oapaoidad de sua edifioios pdblioo* y palaoios* Habiendo naoido en Ibisa y
pasado all£ la mayor parte de ellos toda su Tida9 querfan jusgar de los dona's paises por su hermosa tierra, insttfndoae sieapre para que coBparaae las oo&as de que les hablaba oon las que ellos conoclan y les eran tats fejiiliares. Cuando ha llegado uno £
oaptarse su confiania, no tarda en oonooer que esos oampesinos son en el fondo la mayor gente del
en su ignoranoia aisaa
oierto atractivo, y hast a puede deoirse, algo que se aseaeja iC oandor infant il. Nunoa me separe1 de ellos sin que qpedlseaos buenos aaigo89 y aa*s de una vez yinieron algunos i la oiudad, desde lot

premeditate I don't know what evils and witchery against then and their country* Frequently they would tell me:
•We are already so unfortunate and so poor; it is two years since our
oliTes have given us even a drop
of oil: we have to pay the tales,
and now this new calamity is
falling upon us* Who knows what will happen to our island because of these notations? It is clear that we are very bad and God is punishing us for our sins* 9 But, little
by little, I began inspiring more confidence in thea, thanks to the reflections made thea ty another fareing-aan domiciled for some time past in the capital, who accompanied ae
on these excursions and was already cured of all worry* Presently^
they would not tire of examining each one of ay pieces of clothing, nor of contemplating with a certain air of admiration the mechanism of ay pocket watch, beseiging 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 sise
of some cities in ay own country and of the vastness of the public buildings and palaces*
Having been born on Ibisa 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 acre familiar to thea. 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 candour of children. I never left thea without remaining good friends, and more than once some of them oaae

to the city, from the most distant

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oaseries 6 parroquias ma's groups of houses or parishes, with distantes, oon el doble objeto de the double object of greeting me •aludarme y de oonvidarme I pasar and of inviting me to spend a
un dia en su oasa, d ofreoerme un day in their house, or to offer me oanastillo de la major fruta de su a basket of the best fruit from haoienda*" their farm. 1*
(Castilian. SALVATOR, 1886*90: I, 272-274)
Numerous other visitors to Ibisa hare 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 therefbre follow of the experience of Ibisan hospitality of my wife and myself in 1970-1971* in the presence
of mass tourism*

After our arrival on Ibisa we stayed for aome 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 out 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, cafe*8
and similar places were generally courteous and sometimes helpful, although
at times they showed impatience or irritation over our laok of local knowledge. Presently, we moved to San Jose1, 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 coat. The preparation

1 Seo, for example, VUILLI3R (l897)i D»BSTK (1907); BOYD (1911);
CHAMBSRUN (1927)| PAUL (1937); SHOR (1957).

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of the flat itself took far longer than we were initially told* This,
we found later, was typical of most business dealings on Xbisa - as were also our initial (foreigners 9) 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 tine, 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 belongs 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 neighbour lines s or friendship* It was not until about a year later (when I had almost forgotten these initial difficulties) that a close Ibisan friend remarked

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that he remembered the first time that we had entered the village bars
he and his friends had speculated about our activities in San Jose* because one of the more important Tillage people had started a rumour
that we were "spies" * despite my various precautions against the arousal of suoh suspicions*
But gradually the looal reserve gave way to waraer relationships with
a widening oirole of neighbours, acquaintance* and friends* From the time of our arrival in the village, we received frequent small gifts of vegetables* fruit, home-baked broad* sausages, and a variety of looal specialities to try (suoh as "orelletes"* or aniseed-flavoured pancakes* "flaons** or mint eheeseoakef "aaoarrons de Sant Joan", or a pasta dish flavoured with cinnamon and lemon whioh 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 matanoa (pig-killing), and we took part in both the work and the feasting* whioh 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 Ibisa and - having by then a fairly wide range of acquaintance* • were swept up in the gargantuan round of looal visiting* drinking and feasting whioh lasts froa the Hit de Matinee (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 looal 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. froa about ten months after our arrival ca the island)* we had no further worries about being accepted! and we took

1 Cf. PITT-RIVESS (196H xiii).

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part in a full round of everyday social events in the Tillage, which included stoular 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 who* were more affluent than we wore*

(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.gs* the casino and other associations on Xbisa; oolles. or small groups of habitual companions; kin-groups; convita. or parties to which kin and friends are invited; and so on); or by geographical boundaries (e.gs. 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, Ibisa 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 Ibisa 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

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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".
With these points in mind, various categories of outsiders on Ibica 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 Ibiaan 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 Ibisa 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 Ibiaans 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 bar their commander - the islanders were promised compensation by the King, but never received it, despite their frequent appeals* (CASTSLLO GOASCH, 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, 1966-6?: I, 408-410)

Various points in this section compare interestingly with those made in
the more general essay entitled "The Stranger, tlae Guest and the Hostile Host: Introduction to the Study of the Laws of Hospitality," by PITT-RIYSRS (1968).

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The Ibisan response to the pirates was naturally overtly hostile,
with physical defence or attack as the occasion permitted (and the Ibisana protested through oivil channels rather than by armed, resistance in the two oases mentioned of aggression tgr Spanish troops).
Visiting officials; - In the traditional period, official visitors
to Ibisa were generally unwelcome both to the island's authorities and
to the ooBBon people* though for rather different reasons* The former disliked suoh 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 Bunioipal funds* provoking regular protests from the islanders to the
King. (See* for example* MACABXCH* 1966-6?: I* 37&-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 tor 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 suoh as the introduction of compulsory military service ("sa mili*) by lottery (in the traditional period the islanders had been exempt from national military service by

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foral 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-eomaunioating 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) oould 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, 1966-6?t I, 125*127*)
Communicating outsiders: * Navarro suffered from several disadvantages
in his contact with the Ibisans: firstly, he was a Yalenoian (although
this enabled him to understand the Ibisan dialect, it was a disadvantage in that there is a long-standing ethnocentric mistrust of Valenclana on the island, as is described later); secondly, he was an official; and, thirdly, from his writing he appears to have shown rather little taot 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
toy his taot, 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

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or even xenophobia on Ibis*. 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 corroborate).

(•) Hospitality in the touristic period; new categories of outsiders

(i) M Seml~hostil«» outsiders » -
Officials t - There are now many more officials on Ibisa than formerly, soae of the* 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 t * 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 lasy, poor workmen, and untrustworthy* These qualities are sometimes ascribed to their being "mi* more" ("half moorish11) - which is
a curious criticism in view of the Ibisans ' 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 9 negative attitude, which include the rise in thefts
on Ibisa and other incidents which reinforce the stereotype, such as

1 The former xenophobic tendency is rather rarely acknowledged by Ibisans writing about themselves* but one does say, for example, th.ti
"la actual fratemidad del isleno "The present fraternity of the Islander
con el turista extranjero - sobre with the foreign tourist - above all with
todo con la turista - no debe the female tourist - must not hide
ocultarnos una oierta xenofobia from us a certain ancient xenophobia
antigua, que debio* de tener des- which must have had disagreeable
agradables manif estaoiones." manifestations, H
(Caatilian. FAJABNES CAKDONA, 1958s 165-166)

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"•oonlight flits" by temporary Immigrant families*
On the whole, islanders are reluctant to employ aainlanders 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: suoh 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 soma 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 Castiliaa)* 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 Ibisa 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*
Ea hippies'! - Some of the first long-stay visitors to Ibisa in the present century were foreign artists who found there an ideal romantic setting for their work* Their appearance and behaviour still seem rather bisarre to many islanders; but the genuine artists are highly appreciated by the middle-class people in the town* and they are generally aooepted by the other islanders* Ey 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*

Cf. the treatment of southern migrants in mainland Catalonia* which is described in detail by CAND& (1965). It should also be noted that not
all parts of mainland Spain are equivalent in Ibizan eyes: their ethnocentrism is described in more detail in the next chapter (q.v.).

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they appear to have been treated with remarkable tolerance on the whole , 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

2 largo numbers of hippies ("eaJiiSEifis") » 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 idealsJ but generally disapprove of drug-taking, dirtiness and idleness)* There are periodic expulsions of the hippies
by the civil authorities, who regard then as "indeseables" ("undesirables") who nay 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 pahissea; and I found that those living in Isolated parts of the San Jose* 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 discus a ion. The individual personality factor is, again, very

The life-style,and the (rather limited) interaction with local people, of these fore-runners of the hippies is convincingly (though pioaresquely) described in the novel "Honfcres Varados", by TOBHKNTB MALVUX) (19*3).
2
for a Spanish study of the hippies on the neighbouring island of Fomentera, see GIL MtifrOZ (1970).
5See, for example, VIDAL JUAN (l969i 40).

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important end, as tine goes by, Ibisans are Baking increasingly sophisticated distinctions between sub-categories of "hippies" (e.gs. between those
who take drugs and those who do not; those who are wealthy and those who
are not; those who wear bitarre clothing and those who are dirty; those
who are serious musicians or artists and those who believe in spontaneous effortless talents • • •).
(ii) "Moo-hostile" outsiders} -
Foreign residents: - There are now several thousand foreign residents
on Ibisa including business people, artists and celebrities; as well as
more ordinary people who include a high proportion that have chosen
Ibisa aa 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
Ibisa; 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 Jose but
we declined, partly for financial reasons, but mainly because the local contact from having an Xbisan 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 Foment era have been made by GIL KO&OZ (1971* 97-99).
There are also signs that a more subtle attitude to the "hippies" is developing among the Xbisan authorities: they have, for example, enthusiastically promoted the "Moda Ad-lib" - a variegated Ibisan fashion derived from the olothing 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 Ibisan Bales, even though many older islanders still use the highly disparaging term "barbuts* ("bearded ones") to refer to the hippies.

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The foreign residents do provide the islanders with a continuous
insight into other cultures - at a less superficial level than is the ease with the tourists - and they hare consequently had a considerable impact on the life-styles and aspirations of the country people in particular. Beoause 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 lay tourists* There is also seme 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 say 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 Ibiian-style houses
to extremely costly neo-traditional houses which sometimes incorporate round stone defensive towers of the type found in the wealthier old

1 See9 for example. MANKGAT (1965) or BERTRANA (196?). The latter novel has also been used for a film set on Ibisa.

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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 snail pied* of land was between one and two Billion pesetas (roughly between six and twelve thousand pounds),and it was rising rapidly* furthermore, Boat 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 muoh more time
on the island*
The foreign "senyors* (as they are generally referred to by the country people) are highly respeoted 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 openlydrunk on occasion; having a mistress jiving with theai allowing
their daughters to behave wantonly, or even encouraging such behaviour - e.g. %y giving then bedrooms with separate access* But such behaviour
was generally excused on account of either their richness or their foreign-ness t of both categories of people it was said that "they have other customs" ("tenen alt res cos turns*). And Ibisans would occasionally even take the part of a foreigner against a local persons for example,
a foreign senyor resident for some ten years in the San Jose" 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 "Bolt rare* (•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

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that the social and cultural distances inhibit the development of close social contact between foreigners and islanders , but there is in fact nothing to atop a foreign resident from gaining a very high degree of
local acceptance if he ia prepared to master the local languages and
customs. Since this ia rare in practice, however, the islanders' hospitality towards the "sonyors" 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 ia considerable animosity
towards tourists in some countries, particularly in those with an ex-colonial history. Indeed, one recent commentator has suggested that the hostility engendered by tourists may be in proportion to their density* (BRYDEW, 1973J 92) Few tourist zones could have a higher density of tourism
than Ibica - and yet the islanders' general reaction to the tourists
ia notable for ita lack of animosity. Various reasons appear in the
course of this thesis* Moat 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*es turisme. estiriem com antes -
amb sa mJaeria** ("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 ita diatinetiveneas* And, finally, although many of the country people in particular are ashamed of their "ijqaorancia" and feel that the island is still "molt atrassada* ("very backward"); there ia
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 analyaia to be the equals of any, if not superior (note, for example* the comments of

1 See, for example. CLEX?£ (1968).

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the Arohduke quoted on page 218, above)*
Consequently, the general attitude towards tourists at all social
levels on Ibisa 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 ten here to refer only to short-stay, mainly package-tour, visitors)* Moreover in the normal course of events most tourists Beet only those islanders who stake their living directly from tourism, so that this is another factor Baking for an amiably courteous reception*
Bven so, the very nature of mass tourism precludes genuine hospitality*
In effect, tourists attempt to "buy" hospitality, thus violating a general nora of social exchange (to attempt to pay for gifts is an izisult 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-lire tourist equivalents are less horrific, but similarly motiTated* On the tourists 9 side, there are tales of overcharging, misrepresentation in brochures, unfinished hotels and poor service - all of which do happen on Ibisa 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*

for a humorous insight into the life-behind-the-scenes in a Spanish luxury hotel (whose authenticity was endorsed by the professional oritio of the Spanish tourist trade magasine "EDITOR"), see the novel entitled 'Tommoliaos &ran Hotel" by PALOMINO (1971).

Friction aay also arise from different cultural interpretations
of roles. For many of the waiters and other professional servants on Ibiia, for example, the new job represents a rise in occupational status (froa 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 narked lack of deference on the part of the island waiters, who go about their job
in a cheerfully oasual manner, though usually quite courteously* To many of the islanders, on the other hand, the foreign tourists often seea to laok dignity even when allowance is aade for their being on holiday
(there is a tradition of relaxed nones* especially over drinking, during feast-days and holidays, on Ibiaa as elsewhere)*
This friction (any stronger term would be an exaggeration) was apparent
in the occasional derogatory remarks which I overheard froa 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

2 perceived ty the tourists concerned* One scene, for example, whioh 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

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, whioh is embodied
in the proverbs H£a bon parlar es oueda amb so ou'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 •onths in the year in whioh to practice, as compared with the tourist *s few weeks. This is the major theme, as the title indicates, of a novel about the Gotta Brava - "Spanish Show" - in whioh the "Spain" of the tourists is viewed as a Goffmaneaque "performance" - "ILa espa&olada total,1 " (MAlfEGAT, especially pp. 309-315).

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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 whoa 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 touristsf 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
f

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 tonej "Que volen aqul aouesta gent?" ("ffhat 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

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to the aass tourist8 themselves almost inevitably involves some adaptation of traditional foma of hospitality: which in the oaae of Ibisa includes the development of "commercial hospitality" ; the forealization of interaction} and the "insulation" of tourism from everyday island life.
But the maaa 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 Ibica (even in oontexta 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

2 certainly has some bearing on this question* The Quotations from Navarre

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 rt 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

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 exchange11, though retaining a social element)*
Tfote also that the past hostility between Ibisans and non-Ibisana does not conform to the oomnon image of "traditional hoipitality" which is contained in the "spoiled natives'* stereotype of the effects of tourism*
Tlany 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.

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they are "bona gent*1 ("good people1*)• In the past, courage was a vital

element in the acceptance or rejection of strangers on Ibi«a, as the

following quotation illustrates:

"Si algifa forastero visible es
convidado a* la fiesta, el mayor
obsequio que le haoen es oargarle
un trabuoo hasta la booa, y daVselo
para que lo diapare: si admite la oferta y dispara, lo tienen por un gran hoabre, y lo llenan de vivas y agasajos: si se esouaa, es un desprecio y lo miran oomo i oobarde."

"If some notable outsider is invited to the fiesta, the greatest compliment they oake him is to charge a blunderbuss to the mouth, and give it to hi* to fire: if he accepts the offer and fires, they take him to be
a grand fellow, and they load him with cheers and gifts! if he excuses himself, it is an insult and they regard his
as a coward."

(Caltilian. AHANA2 T BABRERA, 1859: 9-10)

Today, the tests are less arduous, but no less important:

"Sap parlar eiviaaeno minor que
n&ltros. I I'esoriul*

"Li agrada anar a pesoar.**

•Ella <s molt quriosa. Bs molt
faenera. *

"Son molt matanoers. Ela haurem de eonvidar l*any cue vel"

"He can speak Ibisan better (sic) than
we do* And writes

bona gent."

H3dn com naltros - van a Missa.*

hem fet dels nostrosJ*1

"lie likes going fishing." (My first efforts must have provoked some local mirth, though not in my presence.)

"She is very tidy [literally "care-full"} . She is very hardworking.** (referring to the fact that my wife did her own housework, and was rarely idle)

"They are very good 'killers 1. We will have to invite them next year,*" (This alluded to the faot that we helped in the work at the pig-killing, although the killing itself was done by an experienced local man. This event seemed to bring a break-through in our relationship with the country people, who made a point of encouraging our subsequent participation on a much more informal basis than before
- the reverse would have been true had we behaved squeamishly or standof fishly.)

"They are good people.** (No doubt some uncomplimentary things were also said about us but, by the time we left,
sufficient local people thought we were
'bona gent* to make parting from them
genuinely sad.)

"They are like us - they go to Mass."

"We have already made them of our kind.*"

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

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making for the aooeptanoe 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
warn acceptanoet this, in fact, is how they theoselves 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, 1 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 Ibisa 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 flavours to
all of themt 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

The stranger does not need to be a paragon of virtue, of course* Some degree of aooeptanoe in San Jose* was achieved even by an extra verted English negro, whose behaviour flouted almost all of the local conventions* The nore 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 pus sled and diverted by his strange behaviour and outgoing humour (I was myself probably "massa seriu" - too serious - at times, for Ibiaan tastes); and who were impresaed by his success with (non-Ibiaan) girls. The aooeptanoe 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)

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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* They do attempt to distinguish yarious important categories of strangers, behaving rather differently to each category as we have seen* liforeover, their distinctions are becoming more subtle with time* But it is difficult to classier 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 cones of the island t firstly, there is no longer so ouch curiosity and interest in exotic visitors, since they are so

2 common f secondly, there is the need for insulation, described above} and,

thirdly, the established existence of a plural society on the island tends to ftirther-inhibit hospitality across the sooio-oultural 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*

Money is not of course the only possible incentive for "instant friendship*
- as is indicated in the finely-cynical phrase of FAJA3KES CAKDONA:
"La actual fraternidad del islefio con el turista egtranjero - sobre todo con la turista ... " (see page 227, footnote 1, above)*
There is still much curiosity on Ibiaa over the ideas and mores of foreigners, but these oan be usefully discussed only with a foreigner
who is both fluent in the looal languages and also on fairly intimate terms with the looal people - the Iblsans 9 curiosity over foreign clothes and pooket-wsjtohoa (as described by the Archduke - see page 219, above) hat long since been satisfied*

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CHAPTER 8

THE STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION

8.1 THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD: THE FEUDAL RELATIONSHIPS

After several adjustments of seigniory following the reoonquest of
1235* one half of Ibisa belonged to the domain of the Mitre of Harragona, one quarter belonged to the Tarragoneae Archdeaconry of San Fruotuoso, and the remaining quarter belonged to the King of Aragtfn* In medieval documents the Tarragoneae seigneurs were often mentioned together as the "oonsenores eolesilatioos" ("ecclesiastical conseigneurs"). Thus, the feudal dominion over Ibisa 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
4

centuries between the agents of the Archbishops and those of the King*
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 Ibisa,
in faetf were the liberal constitution (by contemporary standards) and
the high degree of island autonomy (in comparison with the position today)*

1 See MACABICH (1966-6*7* TO!* I, passim - and especially pp. 171-260).

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These features derived fron the designs of the Catalan conquerors* Although they aaw it partly as a religious crusade, the reconquest had the practical economic ain of making the western Mediterranean safe for Catalan shipping* For some tine, the Balearics had served as a base for hostile pirates,
so thatt

"el ano 1226, Jauae I pasa seis aeses "in the year 1226, Janes I spends six en Barcelona, y al ano siguiente se nontha in Barcelona, and the following decide la ruptura con los nusulnanes year it is decided to break with the
mallorquine*, a causa de cue los Malloroan Mussulmans, because the
edrsarios islenoa interoeptabaa el island corsairs were intercepting the
trafioo entre Cataluna y Ceuta*" traffic between Catalonia and Ceuta*"
(Castilian. VILAR, 1968: 50)
The reoonquest of Mallorca accordingly took place in 1229| followed by
that of Ibisa (by different seigneurs and troops) in 1235* The conquerors thus had relatively little interest (initially, at least) in the direct eoonosdo exploitation of the island itself* The prise (not a snail one)
to be paid by Ibisa 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 franqueses (fueros, privileges) similar to those granted to other frontier provinces: and the privileges were "valuable" both in political
and eoonosdo terns*

The franoueses of Ibisa were recorded (together with slight modifications introduced after 1235) in an extant document of the year 1300, which is
n

usually referred to as the "Carta de Franquioias" ("Charter of Franchises")• This w»s, henceforth, the basis of Ibisan law - with recourse if necessary

"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 feral provinces were exempt fron Spanish conscription, taxation, and customs duties: thus the national customs frontier ran along the £bro*" (CAHR, 1966s 63)
2The Catalan text of this document is published in MACABICH (1966-6?: I, 243-250).

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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 YOS amats
e feels nres. tots e sengles
pobladors e habitadors del oastell
e de les illes de Eripa e de
Formentera presents e sdevenidors
quo allf habitets e poblets, e donarn a voa oases e oasals e ortals e us de prats e de pastures, e que pusoats pesoar franquement en la mar."1

"we give deliver and let to you by us loved and faithful all and every
one people and inhabitants of the
oastle 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 Ibixa, 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 Montgrf, in 1268, which prohibited the giving of land for rental ("propiedades a censo") to
nobles, clerics and religious places ("cavaliers e olergues e lochs
reUgiosos'1). (MACABICH, 1966-6?: I, l84n.)
The general administration of Ibiza was entrusted to an elective
body of paid officials known as the Universitat; which was responsible, in

Catalan. M Carta de Franquioias", 1300; published in MACABICH (1966-6?: I, 245).

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cooperation with the agents of the seigneurs, for almost all of the island's internal affairsj including the operation and division of the harvest of the salt lagoons, whose valuable usufruct had been gftanted to the commonalty of islanders by the conquerors* The activities of the Univeraitat* which adsdnistered the whole island as a single entity, were carefully circumscribed by ooaplex rules of electoral and executive procedure; as
were also those of the seigneurs 1 representatives. The constitution provided for the effective participation of Jurats (or Jurados; elected representatives) froa each of the three major social estates on the island, which were as follows)
The highest estate, the "ml major", 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"*
The middle estate, the HsA aitJana". was composed of the other townspeople such as the merchants, sailors and artesans*
And the third estate, the "ad de fora* (literally the "outside hand1*), 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 organisation. A similar constitution failed to prevent the development of a landed nobility and latifundia
on Mallorca. (See BISSQN, 1969) But, on Ibisa (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

oui son dels aillors e pus richa de tota la ylla": cited by MACABICH
I. 186).

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subject of a later chapter). The prorLsions also laid the basis for the relatively harmonious class relationships on Ibiaa, as compared with Malloroa or the mainland of Spaini and of the lack of servility on the
part of poorer Ibisans which has prompted contents by various authors*
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 partioipation 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 reoonquest, there were innumerable complaints by one group
against another* Perhaps the commonest were those of the ecclesiastical oonseigneurs and their representatives, concerning repeated violations

2 of their authority and privileges by the agents of the King , who appear

to have continually attempted to inorease their authority (attempts which were later to succeed on a national scale)., In turn, the elected members of the UniTersitat often complained of undue interference in their affairs; again most frequently by the King's agents (see, e.g«, HACABICH, 1966-6?: 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 *B| de fora*, who included the majority of the islanders, often complained of being inadequately represented in the Dniversitat; on one occasion, they even sent a long list of alleged
abuses to the King, requesting his intervention on the island (SONSR, 1690)*

One author in particular develops a contrast with class interaction on Malloroa in this respectt *AJABHBS CARDQNA (1938: 153-155)*

2See, for example, the "Capftulo de agravios presentado por los Consenores
eclesia*stioos respecto de la jurisdiooio'n real* Del Archive del Obispado de Ibisa" (I582)i the Latin and Catalan text is published in MACABICH (1966-671 I, 251-255).

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In other words, the island's administration and politics in the traditional

period wore 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 ftir. 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 sake redress on numerous occasions, in deference to the foral

rights of the islanders*

a.2 THE BfTKRMKDIATS PERIOD: INTEGRATION INTO THE! STAT! OF SPAIN

The perennial clashes of jurisdiction on Ibisa in the traditional

period had been ndorocosmic 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 Tbisa, with the unification of jurisdictions under the

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 Ibisa-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 rooky 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 $$£mon, and that it had never become the legal possession of the armed forces* They were given a sympathetic audience tQT 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 Ibisa despite the great social changes since the reoonquest* (Such traditionalism is also an important component of the amalgam of ideas in
"81 MoTimiento", at least in theory.)
For the background to this incident, see UACABICH (1966-67* II, 22V-226) The recent events are reported in the island newspaper, DIARIO DK IBIZAs
see especially the issues of 22 March 1970 (p.5); 21 June 1970 (p.7);
18 July 1970 (p.6 and p.8)j 20 October 1970 (p»7); 25 October 1970 (p*5);
23 October 1970 (pp« 6-8)*

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King, although other feudal arrangements continued much as before* (MACABICH, 1966-6?: 1,232) In 1782, the rents and territorial rights of the ecclesiastical oonseigneurs were used to endow the short-lived Mitre
and Cathedral of Ibisa; but these rights passed to the state upon the disentailment ef religious property after 1835. However, the most
crucial event for Ibisa (as for mainland Catalonia) was the internationsl
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 Ibisa lost its Universitat and its franoueses* Moreover,

2 Phillip V also took the opportunity to expropriate the vital salt lagoons ;

which had shielded Ibisa 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 event shave already been discussed.-5 Their administrative significance lies in the integration of Ibita 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

The disentailment was opposed by the island's priests, and the diooese
did not finally lapse until the death of the last bishop in 1852 (MACABICH, II, 73-4).

2. "per derecho de oonquista" or "by right of conquest" t cited in MACAEICH
(19451 251)*
Opinion differs among historians as to the general economic effects, for example. VICENS I VIVK3 (1962s 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 MSLIA (1967: 68-71) gives a typical island viewpoint, blaming Castilian centralism* But there is little doubt that Ibisa suffered a severe economic blow from the loss of the salt lagoons at least*

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Castilian domination, the last notable occasion being the 1936*1959
Spanish Civil War. Separatist tendencies have existed on Ibisa, too,
although with rather less vehemenoe than in mainland Catalonia* The
islanders* resentment over the expropriation of the salt-works was considerable, although it has ty now almost vanished. But the flourishing of ship-building and trade, whioh 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 centralization: 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 Ibisa has revived long-standing ambitions for greater island autonomy - though not for a renewal of the power of the church,

8«3 THE MODERN FOHMAL 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 whioh "Baleares" is one, comprising all of the islands in the Baleario archipelago. All of the

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provincial bodies are located in the provincial capital of Palaa de Malloroa. Ibisa is thus doubly subordinate: firstly, to the larger island of Malloroa; and, secondly, to the central government in Madrid.
The provincial structure is similar to that of the nwiplaM provinces,
and it almost entirely ignores the peculiar needs of a group of heterogeneous and widely»»eparated islands*
There is little recognition of Ibisa as .an administrative entity*
The exceptions are as follows* Ibisa and ^ormentera form a single "partido judicial1* 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 Mallorea and Menoroa, part of the archdiocese of Valencia. Finally, for political matters* Ibisa 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 Mallorea or
Madrid*
For all other purposes* Ibisa is divided up into five totally independent municipalities (munioipia or munioipios); Ibisa* San Antonio Abad, San Jose** San Juan Bautista, and Santa £ulalia del Rio. (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 ftueva Planta
of 1716, the Univeraitat had been replaced by a single "Ayuntaaiento"; 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 pedaneo" ("Petty corporation"), dependent on that of the capital town* Only one country

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Tillage (San Juan Bautista) had the requisite minimum of a thousand inhabitants to be made a full municipality. So, in 1822, the "Diputaoiln Provincial" (the civil governor's advisory body) decided upon the present division into Municipalities based roughly on the old *quart onq" of the conquerors, which were large enough to be given full Ayuntamientos.
The five municipalities are theoretically of equal status, iiaoh 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 snail full-time staff. Of theae, the sx>st inportant is the "Seoretario" (H Secretari*; Secretary), who has qualified through competitive national examinations ("oposioiones") and who holds his post permanently (like the schoolmaster and postman). Then there are several clerks (esoribientes 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 on 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* ("I'amo d*es poble*).
In other words, Ibiza is not J&i subordinate to Mallorca in almost

Under the Arabic domination prior to 1235, the island outside the walled city was divided into five parts: Alhauech, larch, Benisamid, Portumany and Algarb. These were renamed by the Christians as, respectively: Llano de la Villa (the plain of the town), Santa Eulalia, Balansat, Portmany and Las Salinas. The primitive divisions roughly followed the boundaries of geographical features on the island. The three conquerors altered them to make FOUR equal parts, known accordingly as "ouartons* (quarter parts), to facilitate the sharing-out of the island (two parts being due to one of the conquerors] and one part to each of the others). But this new division was effective only for purposes of seigniory, and the islanders corrupted the
term * quarto1 * lay using it to refer to the FIV8 former geographically-based divisions. Hence the island presently came to be regarded as composed of
five quartons. which corresponded more or less to the primitive divisions.
Of the present municipalities, Ibisa includes part of the old Llano de la Villa; Santa Eulalia is the same; San Juan Bautista was formerly Balansat; San Antonio Abad was Portmanyj and San Jose* was Las Salinas - although the boundaries are not exactly the sane. The new municipalities took their names from the parishes chosen for the sites of the new municipal halls.

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all adadnistratire matters: the smaller island soaroely exists as an administrative entity, being split into fire independent parts, eaoh separately dependent on Palma da Malloroa - a very different atate of affaira from the unity and autonomy of Ibisan administration in the traditional period* There are many curious consequences* For example,
it is often much eaeier (although this is now changing, for reasons siren below) to find statistics for individual municipalities than for the island as a whole * alternatively, they may be prepared for the province* in which ease they are almost useless for Ibisa, 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. l*hese problems* and the pressures for change created or magnified by mass tourism* form the theme of the sections which follow*

8*4 SYSTEMATIC ADMDTISTMTIVS PHOBLKMS1

Almost every day during my fieldwork, the DIARIO DK IBI2A 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
fdth other parts of Spain* tend to be magnified through them;

The term "problems" is used in this section in preference to an apparently lass value-laden word such as "difficulties", or a more technical one suoh as "dysfunctions", because it seams 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 hare or elsewhere in the thesis*

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(a) |nter-island rivalries

The first systematic source of problems is that the island's dependence
on Malloroa it strongly disliked by the Ibisana - including those in administrative posts, who are generally loyal to the present politioal order (this la, afteir 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*
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 2
education*

Occasional ethnocentric comments are made (usually by townspeople)
about "madrilenos8 (Madrid people)] most often, it is said that "Los madrilenos son muy ohulos*" (Difficult to translate, this says that the eitisens of Madrid are very H flashy" or "flamboyant"; but the connotation may Tory from spivvery and trickery to olevcmeas and the numerous ese of language*) But, in general* Madrid is too remote from Ibisa to feature in popular sayings (refrans): and Castilians are sometimes preferred to people from nearer regions of Spain*

1 Such rivalries, and their expression in ethnocentric refrains, are quite general in Spain: see, for example, M£l sooiocentrismo de los pueblos espafioles," in CARD BAHOJA (1957)- Their interest here is that the
current uae of refrains on Ibisa is clearly related to objective features
of inter-island relationships (and of interaotion with non-islanders in
the ease 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 Ibisa-town told me that his Barents took care to avoid teaching him Ibisan Catalan - although he started speaking it after attending university in
the more Catalan-oonsoious city of Barcelona,1

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It is far commoner* in fact, to hear refrains about the nearer provinces:
"De Valencia ni el arros" "From Valencia not even the rice"
nValenoiA 1 home de be* no pot ser" "A Valenoian* and a good man, is
"Mata al Hey y vete a Murcian "Kill the King and go to ihircia".
Suoh sayings reflect a traditional Ibisan attitude that people fro* anywhere on the nearby ••inland, and especially those from the weat of Valencia, are inherently untrustworthy* Although many Ibisans are quite discriminating about whoa they criticise* such sentiment s hare recently been reinforced tjy 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 t Ibisa* like other tourist-sonea* 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 Ibia&na, consequently, tend to use the labels "peninsulars" (mainlandera), "valencians" (Valenoians) and "auroians" (Muroiana) almost as though they are synonymous with "jgyos" (slang for "troublemakers"), "borratxoa" (drunkards)* "i$.tano»" (gypsies), "gentussa* ("riffraff") and "lladrons* (thieves)*
There are relatively few immigrants from the prosperous eastern
provinces of Catalonia, and those who do go to Ibisa tend to be skilled or professional people* I heard correspondingly little ethnocentric critioism of *** Catalans" ("the Catalans'* - i«e* those from the eastern mainland)*
And the general attitude seems to be that they are likeable but very

This is a very long-standing attitude* as is the preference for Castiliana* Note* for example* the plea for six hundred soldiers to reinforce Ibisa against the Turks in the year 1552* which expressly stipulated that:
"la oual gent se fassa en Castella. "the which people should be recruited in peroue sera* gent de man era* y no in Castile* so that it will be mannerly, and
Valencia ni en Alaeant" not in Valencia nor in Alicante".
(Catalan. Cited in MACABICH, 1966-6?: I, 374)

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"smart" ("Tius"), as the only common refrain about thesi indicates s
"Ks eatali gue no te I'ha fet« "The Catalan who has not yet tricked you.
te la fartU^ will do aoJ"1
Much the strongest proverbial abuse is reserved for the neighbouring
island of Malloroaj 2
"Malloroa terra poroa. •Malloroa land of pigs,
Elvisaa plegat de pins. Ibisa covered with pines*
Bn farea una torrada f e will make a roast out of
da vintioincmil sailorquina •" twenty-five thousand Malloroans* *
•Mallorotti* pore gorri.*" "Mallorean, a pig twioe overi*
"Mallorouina puta fina" "A Malloroan woman (is ai fine whore*
Suoh refrans 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 Malloroan woman. In the past, it is said, there was genuine animosity towards Malloroans and others; but in those days "we were savages" ("eVea salvatnes"). Younger people sooetioes say that their parents do take suoh things a little seriously but that they theaselves * because of their new opportunities of Beet ing so oany outsiders in person * do not* Professional people in the town, and administrative officials, consider suoh ethnooentrlss) to be a regrettable product of lower-class ignorance*

This refrain contains an untranslatable pun between "te la" and "tela"*
It might be expeeted 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 "oatalanistes" (Catalan patriots)! they are, rather, "elvissenos" (ibioenoos, Ibisans) and "eivissenquistes" (Ibisan patriots)*

2Cf. the fbllowing Images attributed to Ibisans at the beginning of this
century!
"la isla de Malloroa, veoina y "the island of Malloroa, neighbour and
enemiga ... " enemy * . . "
"Era un forastero* Adema*s9 era "He was an outsider* Besides which, he
un mallorquln*" was a Malloroan,"
(Castllian* BLASCO IBANEZ, 1948: 144 and 180)

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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 oaae of Mallorca, there is no doubt that the administrative

2 relationship is the major factor keeping alive the Ibisan animosity.

Note* for example, the following curious statements by the late island priest, archivist, poet, historian and island-patriot, D. Isidore Maeabieh; published in his weekly column in the DIABIO D£ IBI2A (22 February 1970):

"Aqui miano, con lamentable "Right here, with lamentable frequency
freeuenoia gentes llegadas aqul there are people arriving here
(eepanolea) con neoeaidad de trabajo (Spaniards) with a need for work
pero con mayor earenoia moral y but with a greater moral and religious
religioaa; Ista lUtima hasta el lack} this last to the point of
panto de no saber ni elfmdreeuestro* not knowing even the Lord's Prayer* SI diarlo 'Pueblo' senalo** aegtfn me The daily paper 'Pueblo 9, I have been dijeron, con el eplgrafe 'Raoismo told, used the title 'Racism at
en Casa'i estas Ifneaa de 'Los Home' for these lines of mine from
enouentros de Baltasar Poroel 1 'The Encounters of Baltasar Poreel*
eonsdgo, en 'Deatino* en agoato de in 'Destino' in August, 1969:
1969J '... y no me ausoita una ' * . * and this mess of races
graoia exoesiva eata masoolansa de which ia being produced among us,
rasas que se esta* produoiendo entre the Iblsana, does not please me
nosotroa, los ibicenoos'* con excessively' r which I saidj with
referenda a *una fUerteinmigracid'n reference to 'a large immigration
del sur peninsular'* •*• Si dije from the south of the peniDsula'* . . *
'rasas' quise significar *gentea' y If I said 'races' I meant 'peoples' and
no solo del sur de la peninsula* not only from the south of the peninsula*
• •• aojui se reoibi<5 sieopre bien a • • • here, outsiders were always well los foraateroaj pero sin deseos de received; but without desires of
una invasion inoontrolada." an uncontrolled invasion**

Note that the resentment expressed here is directed at peninsular immigrants, rather than at tourists or foreign residents* Sr« Maoabioh expressed similar sentiments to me personally on two occasions* fthile 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't who might be among those referred to in the last two sentences quoted*

2"la" and was? Note the following similar comments made at the end of the
nineteenth century:

"Ualloroa deadena, si no es que "Malloroa disdains, if not despises,
deaprecia, a* Ivisa, oomo una Ibiia, as a rebellious
inferior rebelde y orgulloaa; and proud inferior; while
Ivisa, I su vei, mira a* Ualloroa con Ibisa, in turn* regards Hallorca with el renoor de una deaheredada, eon la the rancour of one disinherited, with
hostilidad de quien contra su the hostility of one who sees
voluntad se ve unida y supeditada herself united and subordinated against
I una rival*" her will to a rival."

(Castilian. NAVARRO, 1901s 9)

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I have heard no similar hostile refrains, for example, about Formentera or Menorca. On the contrary, on the comparatively rare occasions when Menoroa 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*. (MHLIA, 1967i 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 t herefore a recurrent theme of public ceremonies on Ibisa; and in 1970 a new provincial festival was created especially to promote unity* In the semi-official words of the island newspaperi
"Baleares eelebrari* en este mismo de "Baleares will celebrate, in this month abril ... y en nuestra isla, el *D£a of May ... and on our island, the 'Day de la Provinoia', Joraada institaida of the Province 9, an occasion instituted
para que todos los hombres de in order that all the men of
nuestra Provincia nos eonosoamos our Province may get to know ourselves
mejor y conoscamos sus tierras, better and get to know its lands,
todas sus tierras, y sus 2 all of its lands, and their
respeotivas oargas de esperania*" respective burdens of hope."
The choice of Ibisa (rather than Mallorca) as the venue for the first
"Day of the Province* was singularly tactful - although it may have piqued the Menoreans (not to mention the rarely-mentioned Fomenterans). 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 Turlsmo" - a sign of the times - on April 20th* These events, which were extensively reported in the looal press , undoubtedly

1 See, for example, the PlARIO DE IBIZAj 9 January 1971» P»7; 10 March 1971, p.2| 23 march 1971, p«2f 2 May 1971, p.7j etc.
2CastilisJU DIARIO DE IBIZA: 2 April 1970, p.5.
DB IBI2A! 16 April 1970, p.5; 19 April 1970, pp. 6-7.

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promoted contact between island officials; but they aroused little general

pablio interest f 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 Ibisan and Menoroan

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 (prises 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 t

"Be dicha oonfereneia • •• destaoare* "Of the said discourse . . . I will unioameate las oerteras petioiones pick out only the well-founded
finales que el Sr» Sore" hiso, o sea final pleas which 3r. Sora* made,
la neoesidad insular de tener ma's that is the island's necessity for
representation en la Diputaeion y more representation in the Diputaci<Jn
en las Cortes * que en la and in the Cortes - (in) which at
aotualidad no tenemos ninguna present we have none directly * and even
directa - e incluso que todoa los that all of the provincial
Servioios Provinoiales de la services of the administration
Adodnistraeio'n estln afinoados should be located in this (island)
en e*sta con sus Delegaoiones with their insular delegations,
Insulares, a fin de evitar tramites in order to avoid transactions which
muohas veoes engorrosos y are very often vexatious and
perjudioiales para nuestra prejudicial to our
eoonomia* M economy* "

(Castilian* DIAJRIO m IBIilA, 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 ttenorea - and it had

a similar sequel there*

The inter-island rivalry is quite a serious problem for the administrators

of the province, even when the political aspects are ignored; since all

Various disgruntled articles from a tfenorcan newspaper were reproduced
in the DIAP.TO D£ IBIZA: see. for example, the issues of 2 May 1971 (p. 7)
and 21 May 1971 (p«5); which contained the following expressive headlines!
"Malloroas La tiermana Dominante" "Uallorca: The Dominant Sister",
"Bxito A Nivel De Autorldades" "A Success at the Authorities* Level",
"ialta de Ambiente Popular" "Lack of Popular Atmosphere".

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decisions taken by the provincial authorities must be supremely tact Ail
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 "Diputaoio'n Provincial" which deals with many mattexsof Importance, in particular all large-scale public works. Kaoh island has a number of delegates who attend the meetings in Palma, but those from Mallorca always constitute an overwhelming majority* The Diputaoi6*n is responsible,
for example, for major road-works* At the time of my fieldwork most of
the roads on Ibisa - both in town and country - were narrow, poorly maintained in many places, and not infrequently unsurfaoed: there were continual complaints over them in the island newspaper* In and around Palma de Mallorca, by way of oontrast, there were wide, well-surfaced roads
* and even dual carriageways* Now, whatever the relative sizes of the islands and of their populations, it is hardly surprising that most Ibisans suspect the Malloroans of reserving the lion's share of any money which is available for roads (and hospitals and any other public works)* In popular parlance, "Is normal1* ("it is normal, i*e* to be expected") that Mallorcan* should take care of their own interests, Just as it is equally to be expeoted that "es eiviasencs secure miren pes eivissenot" ("the Ibisans always look after the Ibisans"). Or, in more official language (from Menorea):
"Si en los tiempos de *lo rei en "While in the times of 'King James*2 Jaume' se supo respetar la the autonomy of Xenoroa was
autonomfa de Menoroa, aetualmente duly respected, nowadays

^ere are some figures on the state of the island roads in LLAU&SR
U«OLL (1969)* In terms of lengths of surfaced road per head of population, Ibisa appears to do about as well as Malloroa: but this Ignores width and condition, so that the figures rather support the Ibizan suspicions.
I.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*

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Malloraa no ha sabido ooaprender la realidad defioitaria de lag I alas hermanas*

Mo intento oulpar al pueblo ***
La Adjministraeidn es algo ordenado con preoiaidn desde las alturas* Si oentralismo no ha iido prorooado por lot mallorquinea, sino por el proplo sistema, si bien el pueblo de Malloroa - entendiendo pueblo en •u sentido peyoratlv«» es dooir, grupos de intereses, olases dominantes, poderes eoonovLoos y oaciquillos locales o venidos de fuera - han sabido aproveoharse de la realidad ooyuntural qua el sistema lea ofreola*
Bn deflnltiv^ Malloroa ha
sabido absorber todos los resortes de las Islas y» oolooandolos en su seno, ha eonseguido manlobrar a su antojo el desenvolvimiento de BUS islas hermanas.
lor desgraoia, eso oosdenza ye & ser abusiro y oontinuado,"1

Malloroa has not been able to oouprehend the deficient reality
of the sister Islands*
X do not try to blaata the peopla . * < The Administration is something ordered with precision froa the heights* Th9 oentralisn has not been proroked by
the Malloroans, bat by the
system itselft evon though the people of Malloroa - understanding 'pueblo 1 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 froa
the corporative reality which the system offered them*
In definitive terms, Malloroa 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

DIABIO DE IBI2A. are usually dismissed as "politiquillas de oaapanario*
A

("bell-tower politicking") t 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.

This commentary, by Josep M« Quint ana, from the newspaper "Menorca", was reprinted in DIARIO DE IBI2A (2 May 1971, ?.7); and was given full editorial support in the latter*

It 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 fispafta" competitions:
see DIARIO DB IBIZA, 19 M«y 1970 (p*5) and 2 September 1970 (p*7)»
In 1970, for the first time, a Henorcan girl was elected "Miss Baleares"; and, as a Mallorcan newspaper acidly remarkedt "La eleooio*n fue aoertada •«• al menos aoertadamente polltica." ("The choice was eorreot * . * at least correct polities*") - DIARIO D2 KALLOHCA. cited in DI^RIO m IBI^X,
4 September 1970, p.12.

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(b) Lack of effective representation

The stoond systenatio souroe of problems has already been illustrated:
not oaly does the administrative dependence on Malloroa stimulate ethnocentric rivalry} it also Bakes the offeotiYe representation of Ibisa in provincial (and hence also in national) bodies very difficult, because of the very different sises of the islands, their wide separation and their frequently different immediate needs*

(e) The communications

The third systematic souroe of problems is the lag in communications,

2 which causes the administrative delays referred to by Sr* 3or£* 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 oosnon to all bureaucratic transactions, however minor* The main reason is the lack of autonomous executive
bodies on Ibisa, 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 oar in Spain for only six months before either re-exporting it (or placing it in bond) or paying very high import duties* There are, however, certain exceptions.

The artifioial nature of the province is clearly apparent, for example,
in the lack of trade between the islands* Although some 56 per cent (1961) of deliveries of goods to the port of Ibisa come from Palna, this mainly reflects the faot that vessels delivering goods to Ibisa 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*
In 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 DBL PLAN DS DESAHROLLO ..., 1967i 81).

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Therefore, when I wanted permission to keep my oar after the initial six •oftths, I approached the Head of customs on Xbisa. He told me that he
had no power to aake such authorisations * I would have to apply to Palaa de Malloroa* There I was told that* yes, they could issue such extensions (to foreigners importing acre than 300,000 pesetas), but ay partioular
ease would hare to go to Madrid* At this stage, I gave up handling the ease Myself and instead platted it in the hands of a "gestorfa", a ooaaeroial agency with specially qualified staff who deal with all manner of routine bureaucratic transactions euoh as driving lioenoe 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 sixi i.e. until the proposed termination of my fieldwork). It was now two months since ay first application* ihen the alloted period expired, the oar was placed in bond| and I then bought a second-hand scooter. The next step was to go, gith the previous owner, to a gestorfa for the "trasp&a* (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
fbr 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 muoh amused by my apparent surprise and he added that it might well take longer as all the papers had to go to Pals* - this, apparently, completely accounted for the delay*

lack of coordination

The fourth systematic source of administrative problems is the lack

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of coordination between the five separate municipalities on Ibisa* There are rarious public services, for example, whose supply and distribution do not fit conveniently into the old quartons. In 1970, the late British Vice-Consul on Ibisa told me that he had been trying for three years
to have a telephone installed at his hone, so that he would be more readily available* He lived Just outside the capital town, to whose
network he could easily - in technical tents - be connected: but the Bonioipality of Iblaa-town is rather small, so that his house fell just inside that of Santa JSulalia, 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*

6*5 THE IMPACT 0? 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 &fed 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

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 eleotion of mayors and the law to allow political parties ("asooiaoionea polities,*").

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to *• 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 atruoturo - 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 p&st; but tourism has rendered then less effective for various reasons, especially because Bony transactions now Involve outsiders
who are either ignorant of, or else are unwilling to conform to, the essentially esoteric informal norms*
The refolding climate involves several factors* firstly, the increased volume and complexity themselves ore te strong pressures for administrative reforms* Secondly, the economy of the island now depends largely on
so that administrative problems are increasingly seen in t erms
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* ^here is no doubt that administrative difficulties have* in ffeot, affected the development of tourism on Ibisa

2 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

See, fbr exaaple* the report of Sr* 5ors**s speech on page 257* above*

2
for example, there have been various scares in foreign newspapers over alleged health hazards to tourists on Ibisa 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 Ibisa, but had dropped the project (to their l&ter chagrin, apparently) - "because of too much red During the period of fieldwork a new multi-storey hotel was demolished
by ministerial order, although planning ponds sion had b<sen 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 v arlous fiscal reforms of 1959* which t&et the scene for vhe enormous growth of tourism In Spain during the 1960s*

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they are not kept alive by special ciroumstances 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.

8.6 CURRENT CHANGE 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 °an Jose*. 1 heard frequent criticisms of the aJuntament in San Jose1 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 DI/LkJO DIS IBLuA (in which local authority meetings are described in detail).
Daring my fioldwork, 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

In so far as Ibiza forms part of the Spanish state, however, the origins of the present regime in the civil war, and the difficulties over local government reforms created by regional political tensions in other parts of 3pain, have continuing indirect relevance, at least, to the Ibiaan case* See Appendix Bight, below. Cf. also MEDHUJtfT (1973).

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FI&URE MUNICIPAL BUDGETS AND TOURISM

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Municipal budget of San Jose* (pesetas)

Voluae of tourism (oTernight stays on Ibiza)

1150 (170 7Z

YEAH.S

(Based on the figures in Appendix Four and Appendix Six)

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elsewhere} » B*V state olinlo was opened in the capital town} a hydrologioal •tody of the island was carried out, to enable water supplies to be used
•ore systematicallyj and a rubbish-collection service was started (previously, some people in San Jose* 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 Ibiia-town and San Antonio where the new pressures are greatest} and by the changed occupations of reoeattjr-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 comaercej including detailed regulations for buildings* amenities* hygiene* working conditions* quality and prices (these last are particularly elaborate for hotels and restaurants)*

(o) 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 Ibisa had to be whitewashed* in keeping with the tradition of "la isla blanoa". But

1973 postscripts - A piped water-supply for San Jose1 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 Ibisa by visiting authors*
this one was coined by Santiago Kusinol: seo RUSlSOL (1957)*

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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 "oabildos".
This is not a new idea* the Canary Islands, which have similar administrative features to those of the Balearic*, have such a system already, based on
a law of 1912* 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 i
"Sn las Islas Canarias, adema*s, cada "In the Canary Islands, moreover, each isla formara* una categorfa orgtfnica, island shall form an organic category, provisto de un Cabildo Insular, oomo provided with an Island Cabildo, as the
Cuerpo gestor de sus intereses Body managing its peculiar interests,
peouliaree, con funoiones y with administrative functions and
faoultades administrates iguales faculties equal to those which
a las que la Ley asigne al de las the Law may assign to that of the
Provinoias ,,, Provinces • • ,
Las Islas Balaares podrfo optar The Balearic Islands will be able to
por un regimen identioo," opt for an identical system,"
(Castilian, Cited in DIABIO D3 IBI2A, 24 February 1971, p.2)
The system would thus give Ibisa, 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

As long ago as 1845, a substantial measure of devolution of administration
to Ibisa was urgently advocated by the civil governor ("Jefe politico") of Baleares, to remedy the familiar systematic problems, (&IB&4T, 184$I 270)

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in the eabildo, and each being subordinate to it in the aane way that
they are at present subordinate to the provincial authorities in Palma, This proposal would appear to resolve the major systeoatlo problems described above, moreover, the oentral government's approval of suoh
a system for the Balearic* has been reiterated in various later official decrees; as in 1950. 1952 and 1955. (DIARIO DK IBI£A, 2k February 1971, P-2) And the idea receives constant support in the Bend-official local press* Why, then, has the oabildo system not yet been put into operation
in the Balearics? Various reasons were suggested to me by Ibixans* It is possible, for example, that the enthusiasm of the oentral national and provincial authorities is less manifest in practice than it is in principle* On the other handy 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 oentral 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 respects

"Nor would it be practical for the» to operate in any other way, given
the geographical and ideological formation of the pueblo,"
(PITIVHIVS8S, 1961: 15)
On IWLse, the scattered villages are very different from the nucleated ones described by Pitt*Kivers| but they share with the» a strong sense of the solidarity of the *poble* (pueblo)s which is usually conceived in terms of parish boundaries on Xbisa, in the absence of obvious physical village limits*

1 Derogatory pariah (or neighbourhood) nicknames »ay be ftwnd on Ibiae, sisllar to those described by Pitt-Mvers. In the past, people fro* San Jose1, for example, were sometimes oalled "earountxa sarrim" ("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-tbaskets to oheok if they contained food).

In return, the people of San Jose* alluded to those of the neighbouring parish of San Aguatln as "ouos de gyrrover'* ("oarob tree grubs"). At the present time, San Antonio is sometimes called ^ea poble de sa pesseits/ (sic), or "the town of the peseta"! this is a double allusion to their manner of pronouncing the Ibisan "e", and to their alleged preoccupation with money.

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.then the present municipal divisions were instituted by the provincial

authorities in 18229 there was serious conflict among the various parishes

over which should toe dignified with the new Ayuntamientos. The unsuccessful

parishes refused to conform to the new structure at first, and attempts

to impose it provoked an amed popular revolt which lasted for several

days before it was quelled by troops. Feelings were strongest in the

new ounioipalities of San Antonio and San Jose*, from which a number of

people were imprisoned for two months before being released on oath*

The use of arms on Ibiia is now more restricted* But deep feelings

still exist over popular participation in looal government, despite the

common apparent indifference over elections* People in San Jose*, 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 teaoher in San Agust£n; thus having (by implication only) no "interea"

2 in San Jose*. It was also alleged that municipal elections were "rigged"

in favour of candidates from San Jorge* and this was given to me as a

4 reason for not bothering to vote in suoh elections*

Of those imprisoned, fourteen were from San Antonio; there were two from Santa In***, one from San Mateo and six from San Aguatfn. (MACABICH. 1966-67: II, 52)

note the dual meaning of "interea". here: since the mayor has no personal involvement ("j^nteres") in the parish, he is thought unlikely to have any genuine interest ("interea") in its well-being* vhile 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 i and which tend to be initially glossed over for outside observers by the village people, being of a contentious nature*

alleged techniques included multiple voting, and I was told that on one
occasion the votes oast in one area exceeded the number of voters on the register* I had no means of checking suoh stories, however*

Pleads of households ("cabeaas 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 laek of interest; and there have been frequent suggestions (so far without result) that the mayors should be made elective.

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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 centralisation at any level* Now, while the oabildo plan is one of decent raliaation
of provincial authority; it is also one of centralisation of authority
on eaoh island, since eaoh municipality would become subordinate to a
ne* island body* Although eaoh would be represented in it, the rural Municipalities might beooae rather less important; both because the new island body might operate BO re effectively than the present provincial authorities, and because it might tend to be dominated by the capital town of Ibisa in practice - in any event, it seems probable that the oabildo
would meet in the capital town*
;1

he 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 emmimmMMimmmtimMHMHm Santa Creu* 1 For this, e* some land would have t to be taken from
San Jose*; which strongly opposed the scheme, taking it through the courts*
In the end, it appears that the town municipality was expanded, though \sy

2 less than had been desired* tfhen I was discussing local government with

people in San Jose*, they sometimes brought this incident up spontaneously (this is how it came to my notice) in order to illustrate the general proverbial principle that "Is peix Jtros aempre 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 Jos<5 had

The expansion of the town's boundaries was, in fact, a political issue
of some importance on Ibisa as long ago as 1887: see HACABICH, 1966-67: H, 132*135.
*his account is based on oral evidence from local people and officials
in both the to** and San Jose1,

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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 ethnooentrio basis of suoh rivalries seems to be diminishing in importance
as the islanders 9 mental horizons expand, suoh quarrels are still possible
in the touristic period* San Jose*, 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 Ibiia-town and San Antonio* While this benefits San Jose" by bringing it increased revenues and giving it the status of a touristic zone, it is irksome for &an Antonio in particular since an important part of San Antonio

2 bay falls outside the municipality.
The failure to implement the cabildo plan is now easily understood,
ouite apart from any diffidence on the part of the central authorities.
A prominent public figure in Ibisa~town told me (not attributably, since the subject is rather delicate) that the project had last been seriously considered in 1936 or thereabouts, after formal requests to the Ministro
de Goberaaoid'n j but that it had been shelved after the preliminary enquiries because of opposition from the rural mayors on both Ibiaa and Henorca, although the malloroan authorities had agreed to abstain from voting *
"Bran muy galantes los mallorquines" ("The Mallorcana 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 Malloroan 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 affeoted (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)*

2 "Important H, 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 Agustln, 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*

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The rural Bunieipalitiea9 he said* "temen parder su independenoia" ("are afraid of loaing their independence"). Even BO, the idea haa not been abandoned by the "fueraaa vivas* ("the live forties") on Ibisa; and the ialand newspaper "prooura despertar una oonoienoia para intentarlo otra Tea1* ("is trying to awaken the right spirit to try it once again").
The tortuous history of the oabildo plan thus shows the complexity
of interests involved in local government on Ibiaa. As far aa tourism ia concerned* the interesting thing ia that it haa (through the intenaifloation of adminietrative problems and the broadening of islanders' mental horiaona
* the above counter-examples notwithstanding) both stimulated a revival
of the oabildo plans and ereated a socio-economic climate in which they seem more likely to be eventually implemented, despite some continuing sources of oppoeition.
(ii) Manoomunidad; -
Another reform similarly-prompted by tourism ia the institution of "panoomunidad1** a form of cooperation for certain purposes among the five Ibiaan municipalities* During 197% the rarious municipalities gradually
4

voted in favour of the scheme* A special committee of representatives was formed, with ita function* defined aa follows: firstly* to represent the ialand in amttera of Ita competences secondly, to organise the oolleotion and treatment of rubbish on an ialand baaia, and to likewise arrange the cleansing of streets* beaohea and other places of touristic interest; thirdly* to promote tourism and to protect the island*a scenic meritsj 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 ialand fire aenrioe; and seventhly, to create and maintain a central island

1 3ee DIABIO DS IBIZA, 7 ^obruary 1970 (p.6)j 17 February 1970 (p.5); 13 Haroh 1970 (p.?).

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market and slaughterhouse. (DIAKIO DE IBI&A, 13 October 1970, p.?)
The significance of these proposals Bay be appreciated in the light of
the looal rivalries described above* The rubbish collection service was partially put into operation before the end of ay fieldwork. Some of the other proposals met with delays1, but it seens probable that they will gradually be implemented*
(iii) The *peoueno cabildo*! -
Under the new pressures from tourism, an increasing number of delegations
of provincial bodies have been set up on Ibisa in recent years* Host important of these (at least for the points under consideration here) is
the new "Coaisitfn Especial de la DiputaoitSn Provincial de Baleares para
las Islft* de Ibisa y Foraentera", created in 1971* This imposiagty-named body Is to be composed of the representatives of Ibisa and Fornentera in
the Diputaei6*n Provincial; but it is to Beet and act on Ibisa, and has the following official functions!
"la prograaaoirfa y la plaaifioaoio'n "the programming and planning of the de la aotutoidn de la Diputacid*n en actuation of the Diputaoidn on the
las islas de Ibisa y Foraentera, islands of Ibisa and Forae&teraf as
coao taabien la osdsidn de los also the eaission of the
correspondieates infbraes sobre appropriate reports on all
todas las petieiones oue se hagaa of the applications which may be made
en la Diputacio*n respecto a in the Diputaoidn respecting our
nuestras islas y, en todo case, la islands and, in any case, the supervision de todas las obras que supervision of all the works which
la Diputaeiln realiee en las islas the Diputacio*n may carry cut on the
de Ibisa y Foraentera y la islands of Ibisa and Formentera and the
ooordinaoi6*n con otros organisaos coordination with other bodies in
para evitar duplioidades de order to avoid the duplication of
servioios y suplir deficiencies,* services and to remedy deficiencies." (Castiliam DIABIO DE IBIZA, 20 May 1971, p. 2)
The label of "pequeno oabildo" (little oabildo) has been applied to

2 this new body by an Ibisaa town councillor. And, although it is in reality

There was a plaintive query over the progress of these proposals in the DIABIO DE IBIZA, 31 January 1971, p*3*
a letter from Antonio C« Tur to the editor of DL RIO D£ IBIZA, 11 February, 1970, p. 7.

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quite distinot from the oabildo 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) ^n historical cycle

A curious parallel with the middle ages may be noted in the effects
of modem mass tourism on Ibisan adainist ration* There is always a geographical pressure for island autonomy* Historically, this pressure has been countered by the centralising tendencies of governments* But Ibisa retained a high degree of autonomy in the middle ages through being
a frontier province* In the intermediate period, this oeased to be the ease; and the island (like other fbrmerlor^embattled frontier provinces) underwent progressive integration into the national administrative structure, losing most of its privileged autonoay* In recent years* however, the island has become an important tourist stone* 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 aooede to it, or even to encourage it (within limits) .
Thus, whatever the ultimate shape of local administration on Ibisa
in the next few years, there is no doubt that tourism will have played
a fundamental part in stimulating reforms.

THE DiPOHIIAL STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION

The reality of administration on Ibisat at least since the reconquest, has never corresponded very exactly with the formal structure.

Cf. for example Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands.

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In the traditional period, at we have *e*n, there were continual

clashes of Jurisdictions and the frequent documented complaints about

"abuses'* ("abuses") of all kinds indicate the regular existenee of informal

prooedurea at Tarianoe with the formal, official "blueprint" of administration.

In the intermediate period, there was again no shortage of sueh

faotional rivalries * although they now took on the superficial for* of

party polities* It appears, from all accounts, that personal leadership

and patronage remained more important than political principles i

"Principles politico* no se "Political principles are not
profeaan, pues aunque algunos professed, since although there are
individuos hay que se llaman some individuals who call themselves
republicanos, otros oarlistas, unos republicans, others Carlists, a ouantos oonserradores, y el resto few conservatives, and the rest fusionistas, en realidad s<5lo hay fusionists, in reality there are only
dos partidos contraries, que se two contrary parties, which are
distinguen exolusivamente por los distinct only in the names of
nombres de los respootivos Jefes* their respeetive chiefs. The
La dnioa mira de los seouaoes de uno only aim of the adherents of
y otro, es obtener destinos en la both is to obtain places in the administracio'n, 6 oargos concejiles, administration, or to beoome councillors,
6 lograr la impunidad para los or to achieve impunity for
abuses, tal ves para los delitos, #a abuses, or even for crises, in
oaso de residenoia 6 prooeso* Asf oases of domicile or prosecution. Thus
los desoontentos de un bando se the discontented of one group pass
pasan sin difioultad al opuosto, y without difficulty to the opposite, and son aoogidos sin neoesidad de que they are accepted without needing to
hagan profesidn de fe**" make any profession of faith."

(Castilian, NAVABHO, 19011 111-112)

This account of polities on Ibisa 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 Ibisans*

However, it would be misleading to over-emphasise these points* The

flexibility of political allegiances may itself be attributed in part to

Navarro'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 stroking manufacturers mentioned in an earlier oh&pter here. Maoabioh, on the other hand, was a staunch traditionalist supporter of Franco's "Uovisdento*! and yet the (sparse) details which he gives do substantiate Navarro's statements* On the ephemeral nature of the "etiqueta polltioa" ("political label") and the patronage basis of island polities in 1896, for example, see MACABICH (1966-671 II, 161).

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the very moderate "political principles" of the great majority of the islanders 9 and to the remoteness of many national politioal issues; rather than simply to the oynioal pursuit of self-interest laplied by Havarro*

There wore, moreover, consistent patterns of politioal behaviour
on the island* Throughout most of the intermediate period, there were
only two major opposed factions on Ibisa* Although their labels varied
from time to time, their basio qualities arc well described by the terms which were usually used ty oral informants with whom I discussed pre-war island polities; namely, "es lllberala" ("the liberals w) and "es oonservadors* ("the conservatives'*)• The former were of moderate "progressive" ("progresistaa") tendencies, while the latter supported "traditionalist" ("tradloionalistas") 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 or the old walled town (inhabited by the island gentry and wealthy business and professional families) were nearly all "moderados 6* conservadores" ("moderates or conservatives"); whereas those of the Marina were "progresistas de un matiz ma's 6 menos templado* ("progressives of a more or less moderate shade"). (SA&7ATOR, 1886-90:
II, 119) la the country districts, the priests and the wealthier land-owners were mostly conservative; while poorer people tended to have liberal sympathies - espetlally noa-land-owners suoh as fishermen and independent

Most islanders, in keeping with the island's isolation and its relatively •editable 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 politioal spectrum, whatever the contemporary national divisions. In an election of deputies to the Cortes in 1871, for example, 5f V39 of the 23,492 Islanders had a vote; and 3.452 votes were actually oast, as follows I Literal monarchists 2,552; Carllsts 684; Republicans 183; Others 33. (HACABICH, 1966-67i II, 98)

craftsmen*

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

2 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, ^o 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 repfUblic which had made them redundant); as well as the civil guards and thj 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 (fremeinschaft) 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 ^anta 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 oids a ions, inaccuracies and propaganda content (see, e.g., GAY D,, MONTELLA, 1940: 106-111). See also Appendix Eight, below.
2
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. *'or example:
"ninguno de ellos saca de la "none of them takes from
politioa ni aspira a* otro provecho politics nor aspires to any gain
que la satisfaction moral de servir other than the moral satisfaction of
i BUS amigos; y que conservan su serving their friends[N.B.l ; and of
prestigio, i costa de sus propios conserving their prestige, at the cost
intereses." of their own interests."
(Castilian. N^VARRO, 1901: 113)

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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

suoh incidental expenses as "arrossades" ("rice-feasts") at political

rallies, and "bunvolades" ("doughnut-feasts") for voters at election-time*

and even the straightforward purchase of votes.

The results of elections, and the success of looal policies, also

depended greatly on the support or opposition of certain powerful interest

2 groups* In the traditional period the island clergy had also been seigneurs.

and they continued to play an active role in looal politics throughout

the intermediate period* In view of the liberal di sent ailment 3 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,

JL which was the island's only large employer of labour* Later* in the years

These practices, and others, are mentioned by HAVARRO (1901: 111*113) and other writers* *hey also provided Material for various popular songs and stories* One which is still remembered in San Jose* tells how a well-known looal priest substituted bunyols containing a powerful laxative for those
of the opposition party* and then profited fro* the enforced absence of their tellers by eaptying their votes into his party's urn* (This priest, whose name Bay 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: *£s flaons de mossenyer EullareV which has been published in CASTKLLO GUASCH. 1953* 26-29*)

The country people con still relate stories about the era, long ago. "Quan •anaven es oapellans a i&vissa ..*" ("When the priests ruled on Ibisa . , ,").

their role in the nineteenth century, see: SALI&TOB (1886-90: II, 119); MACABICH (1966-6*71 II. 152-3); and NAVARHO (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*
L

"Las eleooiones de Ibisa. al deoir "The elections on Ibisa, according to
de los poHtioos, dependen de lo the political people, depend on the
oue quieran los salineros*" wishes of the salt Ben,"
(Castilian. "Ueraldo de Baleares". 1896, cited in KACABICH. 1966-67: II, 163-4*) The "Stvlinera" has also been labelled "el gran caoique" ("the great
political boss"): see FAJARNi-^ CARDONA (1958: 150; and 1961: 22-3).

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preceding the civil war, the island bankers and financiers, the Matutes

family, emerged as a powerful foroe in all administrative matters.

The patron-client basis of the informal political structure was

perhaps clearest in the country, £aoh district had rival "caps de pert it"

("party heads1*)I 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 2
part it" rather than to a lawyer for assistance.

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 constitutional as, for

example, during the dictatorship of Primo de Birera (192>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 Xbisa involved a more or less institutionalised system of

"Don Abel Hatutes 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)*
Later 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 Foroe which held IMsa during the summer of 1936* But Don Abel Matutea was killed before the republican forces left the Island* His sons survived, however, and they rapidly regained a prominent position under the nationalist regime* At the time of my fleldwork, 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 Ibisa-townf and he became the central figure In the local administrative scandal which Is described later In this chapter*

Hence the common habit of using the name of the leader rather than a political label: e.g., "Jo som d*es partit d*Sn Bl&u" ("I am of the party of Mr* Blue"), says a character In a folk ballad still recalled In San Jose** The practice does not Imply an absence of political principles so much as the greater practical significance of the personal patron-client bond*

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patronage, which was interwoven with interest groups and the island's

social class structure.

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

2 formally one-party system of government "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. 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

This 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 "caoiquiamo". 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)

2 It 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 & GW2B. (1975).

These 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 GIN^fi (1972: esp. 64-65) and the concept of "service classes" in SjOTLLA-GrUZkAN A &IWi,R (1975: esp. 90-93).

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practices are most notable:
(i) The use of influence i - This has already been outlined. Essentially, when anyone on Ibisa wants to get something done fairly quickly or without difficulties, he thinks in tons of which "ajmio" to approach. The greater the ztt&ge and diversity of his "aides'1, the more his "influenoift". and hence the more easily he oan get things done* Although this no doubt applies everywhere in some measure* the notable feature (especially among older people) on Ibisa 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 oase of my application for a permit to keep my oar on Ibisa for no re 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 atenoio*n a los estudios de " . . . taking into account the doctoral
dootorado que realisa bajc el studies which you are undertaking under
patrooinio de la Faoultad de the patronage of the Faculty of
Cienoias PoHtioas, Boono'mioas y Political, Economic and Commercial
Comeroiales de Madrid, "2 Sciences of Madrid."
t - Influence operates largely through the exchange
of favours* But the ability to perform favours is assyoetric. 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

Cf., for example, the use of "enohufe" (literally "plug"; figuratively "influence") elsewhere in Spain,

2Castilian* Letter to me from the Director General de Aduanas, Itinisterio
de Hacienda, Madrid, dated 28 July, 1970*

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get anything done? The answer seems to be that they oust either take
a ohanoe with the formal system or else offer the relevant person a (literally, a "tip"). 1
The extent of this praotioe is, not surprisingly, rather difficult
to determine* There is no doubt some popular exaggeration by the ordinary islanders, who are generally Mistrustful of all offioials and professional people* But* even so* I was given nuaerous first-hand aooounts with circumstantial details of the operation of "propines* and sisdlar praotioes

2 on Ibisa, both at the present time and in the recent past* Of people in certain key administrative posts it would be said that "A quest s'ha forratl* ("That ohap has lined his pockets.'")j and detailed stories would sometimes follow, either first-hand or hearsay* Professional people were also frequently mentioned as functioning ouoh 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 ret sons i firstly, I myself never gave propines (except to waiters), so that I must rely solely on reported evidence; secondly, these are delicate matters on Ibisa, as elsewhere} and, thirdly, it would be an easy matter for anyone on Ibisa to identify any individual referred to* (For similar

In some eases* other quid-pro-quo arrangements may be possibles i.e. no exchange of money may be required* The consideration of other such practices is omitted for the sake of brevity, however.
It is not intended to imply, of course, that "propines* are a new thing
on Ibisa (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 praotioes mentioned here) which date baok almost to the reconquest. See, for example, MACAB1CH (1966-671 I) 291, 306-7, and passim),
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 eu-civil guard that, when he was stationed in
a country district of the island in the 1930s, he was frequently offered elrts by local people; which, he said, he invariably refused in accordance with the strict civil guard regulations*

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reasons; here and elaewherej I have used relatively minor incidents, often involving myself, to illustrate points which Xbisana would normally reserve fbr 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 Ibisa, ae
well as illustrating why the tern is not translated here as "bribe"* •heoently, an Ibisan friend visited Utagland and, being slightly deaf and unable to obtain a suitable hearing-aid on Ibisa, 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. ^hen he was finally convinced, however, he opined that the specialist was "molt bon home" ("a very good man1*) and an *nome de oonfJaBca" ("a trustworthy nan"). 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 slseable 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 Ibisa for the hearing-aid company, for which the specialist would receive the credit (he was, in fact, quite interested in the idea)*

This 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 oitisens belong to communities with a view of social and economic exchange like that referred to above as "the traditional Ibisan theory of exchange11 * Moreover, the civil guard (see p.282, fa. 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 exohangei
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*

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(ill) "La vista gorda": - Prior to tourism, it sometimes did not natter •tioh if people had to wait for months over minor administrative transactions* Apart fro* the sore leisurely general pace of life on the island (which is a frequent topic for comment when the effects of tourism are discussed by Ibi*ans)» people could often pursue their activities before a necessary permit arrived. In many cases, indeed, they night not trouble to apply
for one, regarding such regulations as unnecessary and tiresome (empjpo)* The authorities, and notably the civil guards, would tend to turn "s
blind eye* ("la viata goroV) to such technical offences, whenever possible* In 196*6*67t ^or example, I lived for nearly a year in a town on the

2 mainland of Spain, without realising the need for various permits*

presence was well-known to the authorities there, but no suggestion was
made that I should put my papers in order* On Ibisa, I was anxious to be strictly correct, however, to avoid any possible difficulties in my fleldwork. Being inadvertently late, even BO, 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 ffcot, as one San Jose* man put it, that the civil guards in
general *no volen anar en ouantre es poble* ("do not wish to go against
the people"), unless they are obliged to.

2 Ignorance of the regulations is another element in the informal structure
described here* Thus, one law-abiding peasant in San Josl described how
he had attended a large traditional "enoerrada* (cenoerradaj 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 oosa 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 them personally: and relevant information in the local press is disseminated quite rapidly by word of mouth from literate persons*

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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 oonduota"
("good conduct*), the Spanish authorities - unlike their nore rule-conscious ISnglish 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 fornal complaints ("denuncias").
(iv) "?eta sa Uel. feta «a trauma": - "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 Halted relevance to Ibisa (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*

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8.8 THE AIRPORT AMD THE HOTJSLj A CA S HISTORY

The practices described in the preceding section (points i-iv)
oake up a loose informal structure whose main functions (apart from personal gain) are to speed up or bypass the ouabersooe formal processes* or to adapt national regulations and procedures to the local way of life* But tourism has brought considerable changes to the infernal structure
as well as to the formal structure; and its impact nay be seen Tory
clearly in the following case history, which also illustrates points
made elsewhere in this chapter* The account is based partly on the
confused, but Tory detailed, newspaper coverage; and partly on conversations with islanders* some of whoa 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 Ibisa, which was alleged to lack safety equipaent of an adequate modern standard*
In August, the allegation was officially denied by the Spanish
Air Minister* (DIARIO DE IBI2A, 28 August 1970, p.9) At about the same time, however, the 'Boletin Ofioial del Estado" (the Official State Bulletin) requested tenders for a contract for new navigation aids at various airports which included that of Ibisa - and the work was to be completed within six months. (DIARIO DE IBI2A, 30 August 1970, p.9) Tenders for further iaproveaents were requested shortly afterwards* (DIARIO DE IBIZA, 21 October 1970, p.8j and 29 October 1970, p.2)
la 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 actres froa the runway. (DIABIO DK IBI2A, or *D*X»", 20 Oct. 70, p*7) On the 9th October 1970, the Spanish Subseoretary of Civil Aviation

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sent a letter (published in D,I. f 21 Oct. 70, p,5) to the president of
the "Centro de Iniaiativas y TurismoH on Ibiza, which contained a oategorieal denial of the British pilots' allegations* It accused BALPA
of acting with great irresponsibility ("con gran ligeresa"), and it reaffirmed that the hotels concerned did not exceed the requirements laid down for
Ibisa Airport ("no sobrepasan las ^enridunbres estableoidas para el Aeropuerto de Ibisa").
Nevertheless, on the 20th November, the Spanish Air Minister paid
his first official visit to Ibisa - to inspect the airport and to discuss
the situation with island officials* After Booting 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 Ibiaa, 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*
Heanwhile, it transpired that the main hotel involved was the "Insula Augusta", which belonged to a local company called "Hoteles Ibioenoos, S*A* N ("HOTISA"). The then mayor of Ibiaa-town, Don Abel Matutes Juan.2 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 M Fomento del TurismoM on the grounds of
the incompatibility of this role and that of mayor was, however, aooepted

The "Centre of Initiatives and Tourism"* This body, which is an association of local businessmen Involved with tourism* is oommonly known by its former official title of "21 Fomento del Turismo"*
ee page 279, footnote 1, above*

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by the committee on 28th November.
The company HOTISA expressed its favourable disposition ("favorable disposioio'n") towards a speedy solution, 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 night be re-aligned brought indignant protests from owners of land near the airportf who feared compulsory purchaset 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 Ibiaa Airport was front-page news in the
Daily Telegraph and the Daily Kxpresa on 28th November 1970* and the
story subsequently received coverage in all of the major British newspapers* The tone of the commentaries in the DJURIO D', IBI2A was becoming increasingly sarcastic, e.g.: "Ciertos pilotos no tenfan la raadn, 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 faet that, under these emergency conditions, the provincial oapital was being completely by-paaoedj and that almost all of the administrative meetings were between officials from Ibls& and Madrid*
"El problem* del Aeropuerto de "The problem of Ibiza Airport
Ibisa no es un problema provincial* is not a provincial problem*
Solamente es un problema naoional It is only a national problem
y un problema insular. 1* and an island problem. "2

D.I,, 28 Nov. 70, p.5* These sentiments were thereafter fremientljr reiterated, until their credibility had entirely vanished.
In January 1971, the civil governor of the province visited Madrid to discuss, among other things, the eabildo project. In a report of his visit, the hotel affair was cited as evidence that:
"Las islas menores preoisan "The lesser islands aost urgently
angustioaamente un organismo need a collegiate representative
representative oolegiado ..« " body ...
(Castllian* D.I., 28 Jan* 71, pp.

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By December, 197®, 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 oaso del Aeropuerto de Ibisa" ("the Ibisa Airport
ease")*
During the month of December, the local public debate became increasingly acrimonious as it became clearer that the decision to demolish the hotel
2
"Insula Augusta11 was only being delayed by the legal question of responsibility* A series of detailed articles and public statement a in the DIABIO Dii IBISA*
from the 20th of December onwards* also revealed a split between factions
of the "fuersas 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 beaoh next to the capital town)* fell within the municipal area of San Jo si* 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* ?hus some blame might attach to the municipal authority (which would not, however* have sufficient funds to meet an indemnity)*
(D*I,, 20 Dee* 70, p*9) Against this* it was argued that it was widely believed thatt

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 Jose*
on the 4th of February, 1971*
2
For some tiae it was thought that three hotels (in all of which Abel Hatutea was a co-owner) might be involved* but only one was finally demolished*
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 reserves informativas en las que informational reservations in which we movemos. pareoe ••• " move, it seens . • . M
(Castilian, D.I,, 8 Jan, 71, p*6)

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"todos los hoteles de la provinoia "all of the hotels in the provinoe
se nan eonstrufdo sin atender en hare been oonstruoted without paying
sona rdstiea al prooedisdento attention in rustic zones to the concrete
ooncreto de los artlouloa 69 y 46 procedure of the articles 69 and 46
de la Ley del Suelo." of the Land Law."
(Castilian, D*I. t 22 Dec. 70, p.8)
(ii) The hotel "Xnsula Augusta" was being built on the land of one co-owner, the company "Promooiones Ibioencas, 3.A." ("PROMI3A")* PROMISA was also continuing to develop land around the hotel for villas* But, in 196S9 the ooapany 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* (&•!•, 20 Deo. 70, p.8| and 23 Dec, 70, p. 5)
(ill) Despite the Air Ministryv s former publio 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 provinoe made public an order of the Air Ministry that the hotel "Insula Augusta*1 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 HOTISAt whereupon the "Pomento del Turismo" passed a vote of no-confidence in the company's "favourable disposition"• Third, on
19th January, a new demolition order was made publio lay the provincial governor (P»I«, 19 Jan, 71, p*4), filing the 28th and the 31 «t of January
as limiting dates for the commencement and completion of the demolition*
But fburth, 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

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bemn demolished aa planned, (reported in D.I,, 5 Feb. 71* p*5)
Meanwhile, the hotel affair had become a major topic of Ibisan conversation ty about the second half of November, 1970. Both in town and country, the popular interest and indignation (orer 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 oases received subsequent confirmation
in the local press* Various prominent local people were implicated by rumour in the affair) out "nVAbeJl" (the popular name for Don Abel llatutes Juan) took most of the blame for what one man labelled the "merienda negra".1 People in San Jose* were inclined to preface any criticisms
of "n'Abel" by reference* 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 eomments as:
"Also hi haura ••• * "There must be something in it . * • "
"I aouest n'Abel vol pretendre "And yet this Abel chap tries to pretend
- lB ^ ibi«an patriot!"
"Perd un alcalde per fer una oosa "But for a mayor to do a thing like that asr un oanalla* no e*s ver?" 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:
•H'Abel noi" "Abel no*"
"^'Alcalde fbral* "The Mayor outi"
These were promptly cleaned off by the authorities*

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*

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A public telegram from the "fomento del Turisao* to the Subseoretary

of Aviation (text in D*I,* 50 Jan. 71* p.4) alluded obliquely to these

incidents, and to the probability that worse aight follow; saying that

the oontinued delay in the demolition "oould give rise to grave incidents

on the island* ("podria dar paao a graves incidentes en la isla"). That

such fears were not unfounded was shown by the unwonted discussion, among

sober San Joel villagers, of the possibility of a "notln" ("revolt" or

"•ass protest11) in which the islanders would blow the hotel up themselves*

On the 2nd of February, 1971» the company's legal objections (aimed

at avoiding any admittance of liability, and oonsequent loss of compensation)

were finally over-ruled by the Air Ministry* And, on the 8th of February*

the hotel "Insula Augusta*1 disappeared in a cloud of dust, watched

internationally on television (including in Britain)* The airport was

thus re-opened to night traffic:

"notioia que hoy Uenara* de jrlbilo "news which today will fill all of
a todos los ibicenoos *»« " the Ibisans with joy . . . "

(Castilian. D.I., 9 Feb* 71, p*2)

There were various sequels to this events

(1) In the following weeks, numerous articles in the local and national

This 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 Ibisa, 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 highlyrespeetable and generally moderate villagers* discussing the
idea in San Jose* on the 50th January, unanimously agreed that, while they could not themselves help in the demolition* they would go along "per fer •6V ("to add to the crowd")} they also reflected that such participation should not be too dangerous* since the civil guards oould not arrest the whole island*
This popular reaction is interesting both for the light it oasts 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*

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press discussed who was to blame for the affair (" quiln tiene la culpa? N). 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 Subseeretary of Aviation, (D,I., 11 Feb. 71, p. 10) The ooapany 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 Jose1, as the Ministry had itself previously acknowledged: from other reports, it appeared that the danger arose not
from the height of the buildings as suoh, but rather from electrical interference with the aircraft»' automatic landing systems* (D.I,, 25 Fob, 71» p*7) Thereupon the matter was left to the courts*
(ii) On 11th February, 1971, Don Abel Matutes Juan presented his irrevocable resignation ("dimisidn irrevocable") from the post of mayor of Ibi*a-town, saying tersely:
"me maroho, porque no quiero "I am going, because I do not wish to
oolaborar eon oiertas persona* collaborate with certain persons nor
ni favoreoer oiertos intereses* to favour certain interests* With
Ante esta alternative, lo tfnioo these alternatives, all that remains
ope me ejtieda es mareharme," 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 oannot resign), but in this ease the resignation was now accepted, although there were formal
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expressions of regret that Don Abel Matutes would thus be unable to complete the large programme of public works which he had initiated*
(ill) 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-aotion had taken place, despite the earlier official prohibition on building on the site.

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8.9 CURRENT CHAN&SS IN INFORMAL ADMINISTRATION

(a) Inoreased complexity

Froa the aunioipal to the ministerial level, the confused and sometimes oontradiotory public stateaents showed the perplexity of officials and businessaen 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 oa Ibisa today* It was stated above that national laws were
often of limited relevance to pre-touristic Ibisa: 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 auoh stricter enforcement of
road traffic rules ty 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 Jose* aan commented with reference to fishing licences and permits for boat-huts:
"Aru hem de tenir permisaos per •Nowadays we have to have permits for
$53?everything.1 «
Or* as another aan forecast:
* Prompt e haurem de paaar per "Soon we shall have to pay to
entrar en el Cell" enter HeavanJ"

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(b) Increased interdependence

The airport case Involved (for Ibisa at least) an unprecedented interdependence of decision-making at local, national, and international levels* 'The issuers of Municipal building permits in San Jose*, it seees* 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 oust now conform to the safety standards of the British pilots' association*

(0) Increased "tranamrenqy*

The airport case received international press and television coverage,
far from being one of the "forgotten isles" (see page 12f footnote 2t above), Ibiza now often provides copy for filas, newspapers and aagasines* Apart from standard travel columns, there are "human interest*1 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 fbous 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 hasarda; and the like. Such stories are naturally disliked by the Ibizans, and especially by the looal businessmen and officials who refer to them as "nala propaganda" ("bad publicity"): as well as taking more energetic actions to remove any genuine grounds for complaints, the loeal 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 migh degree of "transparency": it is now much more difficult for the

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administrative process to go on entirely behind closed doors, with only

terse and carefullyprepared public statements in a government-censored

local and national press.

(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 presss

* ... quo despue*s de Ibisa sea "» * . after Ibisa let it be impossible iaposible en Kspafla entera levantar in the whole of Spain to raise a single un solo ladrillo si no es con todas brick unless it is with all the
las garantCas ptfblioas y privadas** public and private guarantees*"

(Castilian* Commentary from "EL NOTICIKRO UNIVERSAL", Barcelona, reprinted in D.I., 18 Feb. 71, p.6)

The Ibisa airport inoident provides a striking contrast with the earlier Spanish "MPBSA" case, which was still reaching its slow conclusion during the early stages of my fieldwork* The MATiiSA affair involved a prolonged fraud operation based around the illegal exportation of currency, in which very high-ranking civil servants (and possibly government ministers) wore directly implicated* Bespit® 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 rtfgime 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 HUEDO 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 sajne official tendency to cover up was apparent in the Ibisa airport oase, even though this was a leas sensitive affair* These attempts broke down because of the involvement of foreigners, and because of the insistence of the British pilots in the faoe of formal Spanish denials - whioh later had
to be retracted*

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"Sate heoho oontribuira* a "This event will contribute to an
sensibillsar a la opiaidn pdblioa inoreaaing public sensibility over the
sobre el fenoaano social del social phenomenon of urbanization
urbaniano y laa aplloaeionea and the correct applications of
oorrectas del dereoho poaitivoi positive law} in short; towards
en suaa: a una aejor formaoion a better formation of the
de la conoienoia jurldioa quo juridical awareness that as in all
ooao en toda oontienda de esta oontests of this type it will
olase serin los Tribunales quienea be the Courts who will diotaainara*n de opienes fueron los determine who had the
doreohos 7 quienes oumplieron con rights and who oonplied with
las obligaoiones." their obligations."

(Caatiliaa* CESAB MOLINKKO. article in "LA YAKOUARDIA", reprinted in
D,I*9 17 Feb. 71, P.6)

These consents were certainty true for the municipality of San Jose*,

at least for the time being; for example, 1 overheard an official explaining

patiently to a pussled foreigner that he was sorry, but the building plans

would have to go back for Air Ministry approval » . . yes9 he knew that

this had not been the case before* but after the airport affair • • .*

Such effects appear to be quite general on Ibisa* Thus the people

of San Jose* would grumble, resignedly, that:

"Antes hi havia aes llibertat. perd "There used to be more freedoa, but
are airen als en aouestes coses." now they watch these things more."

Such comments were Bade about activities ranging froa dynamite fishing

to carrying a driving licence* People asked oe if "these things were

watched" in Kagland as well* And they often summed up the changes with

the consent*

"Ara tot va mis rectej" "Kowadays everything is much straighter.1 ";

i.e. rules now have to be followed, rather than bent or ignored, whether by

officials or by ordinary oitisens*

There are soae 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, eto«) by foreign residents* It seeas more probable that (if a genuine increase in the praotioe has ooourred) it is due rather to the increase in suitable transactions and the greater haste in such dealings* It Bay 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*

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(e) Planning

The airport oase also illustrates the new pressures for more stringent development planning* It is becoming generally recognised in Spain that aesthetio and other considerations, besides any legal requirements, need
to be taken into account to a such greater extent:
"Tenia lioenoiaa administrativas "It ri««» the hotel' had administrative

pero le faltaba la 'lua verde* do licences* but it lacked the f green light'
un semXforo cue por ahora se usa of a traffic signal which at the present
poeot el indioador de las buenas is little used: the indicator of good
looalisaoiones hotelera**" hotel locations. 1'

(Castilian* "El terreno manda*" 3DITUK, 19 February 1971» p. 135)

(f) Bureauoratisation

Points a*e may be summarised as a set of pressures for the
bttreauoratisation of administration on Ibisa* Although the existence
of some informal norms seems to be characteristic of all formal organisations, the process of bureauoratisation involves the progressive introduotion
of more complex formal procedures to replaee traditional, implicit, or personal ad hoc methods* The established informal structure of administration

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on Ibiia is being undermined by the effects of mass tourism, as the airport oase 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* Ime magnitude of these pressures may be gauged
from the fact that they caused the resignation, after a very short term
in office, of the soion of the wealthiest and most powerful family on
the island* even though there was no definite evidence of actual administrative impropriety on his part*

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CHAPTJSR 9

33US AUTHORITIES AMD TH£ FKQPIafi

Chapter &Lght considers the structure of administration on Ibisa
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 aaterial was included incidentally* This chapter therefore explores those latter
two themest they are important to an understanding of the Island 9 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 tiaei 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 eoolesiastlcal oonseigncura and the king (who, in fact, had ultimate sovereignty over
the whole Island even though he was the direct seigneur of only one
quart^). One native Ibisan did become a oonseigneur of Ibisa in the seventeenth century - the *Hle» Senyor lo Dor* Franoesch Orvay de
BIsnes*. But he achieved this through a career in the Church (a traditional avenue of single-generation social mobility), becoming Archdeacon of
San Pruotuoso in Tarragona. Thus he became oonseigneur of Ibisa in

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an outsider role, not as an Ibiianj and (because of celibacy) his seigniory died with hi*. (MACABICH, 19V*-)
The islanders did, nevertheless, play an important part in their
own administration during the traditional period, through their representatives in the autonomous Univerait&t* 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 Ibisan 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
looal government (both delegates of provincial authorities in Falma) *
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 looal men* Until recently, the school-teachers on Ibisa included a high proportion of Malloroans and others! but this
was partly due to the lack of suit ably-qualified Ibicans, and local-born school-teachers are now increasingly coaroon. The mayors, councillors, deputies to the Diputaoio*n Provineialt and Justices of the Peace ("Jueaes
de la Pas0) are - again, for convenience - usually native islanders* Most
of the rural priests have also been natives - although the highest elerioal 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 Ibisa (though not in their home villages): they irould, 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,

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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 aunioipality and village* In other words, there was no longer any clear separation of outside and native authorities s all looal officials* regardless of birth, now foraed 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-bora
(or outside-born) representatives of the central government rather than
of the looal people* This situation produces soae 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 Jose1 - although a native of Ibisa-town and an enthusiastic advocate of both the looal dialeot 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 ae, they often continued talking in Caatilian without apparently notieing that he was replying to them consistently in the dialeot*1 Again, although he

This was corroborated by ay own experience. On soae occasions I kept up surprisingly long conversations in this assyaetrio bilingual fashion: while I spoke in the dialeot, the other person spoke Castilian, showing
no signs of realising that I was not also speaking the outsiders 9 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
dialeot would ensue; which was often accompanied by a more or less abrupt change from formal courtesy to delighted warmth - one aan promptly congratulated ae, pumping my hand in the prolonged Ibisan handshake, while another offered ae a drink, and so on. So strong is this association between the outsider
and the uae of Castilian, in faot, that sometimes - even when I was introduced by one islander to another * his invariable emphatic announcement that I
oould speak "COB naltros* or "aillor que naltros* ("like us" or "better than us") would be greeted"!? a polite pretence 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*

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•ight be referred to as *ea aestre" (the dialectal fora of t school- master), he was addressed by the Castilian fora of his name: thus a neighbouring village woman took some time to realise whoa I meant when I referred on
one occasion to "en Fere* es aeatre* ("Pere, the schoolmaster"), and then she exclaimed "Ah M Vols dir en Pedro* no e*s ver? Jo 11 die seapre •Pedyo**" ("Ah yesi You mean Pedro* don't you? I always oall hia •Pedro 1 *")*

9*2 THE ISLANDERS DIVIDED: AOTHORITIES VSBSUS POLK

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 oivil 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 Andulusian town "the nil Ing group"t

The use of the honorific title "Boa11 also relates the status of officials and other jntblie figures (whether local-born or not) with that of outsiders* Its use on Ibisa is very similar to that described for Andalusia by PITT-HIVBRS (19611 72*74).

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"Who* exactly, comprises what I have oalled the ruling groupt and in what ways are they differentiated from the rest of the community? Other than landowners and the professional people, there are tho owners of the larger business enterprises and also the occupiers of municipal office* legal offioe or those who have influence in syndieal or Church affairs - the people in whose hands effective power resides* 11

(mr-Rivm, 19611 6?)

Such "ruling groups'* in the country municipalities of Ibisa 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 cane to terns 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 Ibisa in 1746 makes cleart

•La Villa so oompone de unas
doscientaa oaaas, la mayor parte
antiojofsimas y distinguidas, y de
nueve cientas personas de todas
edades, que visten a la Sspanola,
ouyo idiom* hablan perfect amenta. 21 Art-aval esta* al pie de la Villa y a la lengua del mar; pero es mucho mayor que la Villa, pues se eompoae de quatrocientas y veinte oasas y de mil seteoientas personas, que hablan a la mallor$iina**1

"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 Halloroan
fashion ri.e* in the Xbisan dialect
of Catalan* * "

2
Thus it was that the native Ibiaana became divided into two distinct

social groups - the "aenyora" (or "senores"! gentlemen) and the "poble"

(or npueblo"s the people) * whose interests were quite often opposed* Such

a division had long been very significant on the larger island of

Extract from a pamphlet published by the "Ayuntafldento" of the whole island in 1746| published more recently in MACABICH (1966-6?$ 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 oligarehy in the town* because of the oonoentration 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*

Malloroa* But, in contract, the noble a and vioe-roy fleeing from the popular revolution of the lialloroaa "qermania* in the sixteenth century had found a aafe refuge on the BO re socially*-stable island of Ibisa, whose inhabitanta in fact fought off an attack by the Malloroan rebels in

2 15220 earning a letter of thanks from the ftsperor Charles V« It is true that there were sporadic protests by the poorer Ibisans 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 sore significant (on occasion, at least) than their shared Ibisan birth*
One huaan geographer has represented the popular revolts on Ibis*
in terns of a division of interests between town and country:
"el levantamiento del oanpo "the country uprising constitutes a
constituye una nanifestacidn de manifestation of r volt against
revuelt* contra la ciudad y el the city and the urban patrician
patriciado urbane que la doninaba, group which dominated it, an
oligarqp£a que oasi aiempre no oligarchy which almost always
obrara ma's que en su propio y would act only in its own
dnico interls*" unique interest* 11
(Castilian, VILA VALSNTI, 1963: 95)
This statement is partly correct, but it should be noted that the peasant a sometimes aoted jointly with the poorer townspeople: in other words, the •oat 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

1 See MfiLIA (1967), especially Ch* II, "Ciutat i part foranfe»* pp,

2 A few Ibisan craft saen were implicated in the rebellion, but they failed
to obtain any significant following on Ibisa* See, for example, ?AJARN£S TUR (1957)I snd IUCABICH (1966-67* I, 369-72).

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of Aimed people gathered together" , from the quart ona of Santa
and Balansat, and narohed 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 aeoular authorities, the civil and Military governors, and the bishops i.e. the whole "ruling group")* One of the protest leaders was sentenced to
ten years imprisonment in the Phillipines and four years of exile, and he was given a patronising warning that "without his rusticity and ignorance

2 serving as an excuse" 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 amed peasants were joined
Tigr 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 *aU of the inhabitants /
of the island should have two fanegas of salt each year, as they used to have from time immemorial. 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 $•*£%*» three peasants for about two months* (MACABICH, 1966*6?: H§ 32) These were years of great poverty for many of the country people, who were

"Juntlronse un ndmero considerable de gentes armadas"* Cited in MACABICH (1966-671 II, 10)*

2 "sin que le sirva de disculpa su rustioidad e ignoranoia"* Cited in
MACABICH (1966-67* IIt 10).
"que tengan todos los habitantes de la isla dos fanegas anuales de sal oada aim, oomo las tenfan desde tiempo immemorial". Cited in MACABICH (1966-671 H, 28)*

reduced to eating oarobs and even fig leaves on occasion. Repeated petitions were »ade to the king for relief from the payment of tax arrears
• and these were sometimes backed Jay 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 exaoerbated relations between the authorities and the common people* A sera 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* Later* during the 1860s, various protests and revolts on Ibisa reflected the contemporary national eventa) 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 (1&7>»75)» &aw the end of such serious popular unrest on Ibisa* as a polioy of meeting some of the popular demands
replaced the former crude repression* In faet* the division between the "ruling group1* 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 oooasion* especially during the celebrations of "Carnestoltes"* or "Carnaval"). It may well be wondered how this long sequence of popular revolts
on Ibisa 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 Ibisa

(1966-67J 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 Ibisa seen to have been quite important in focusaing the popular grievances during this period* especially in the town*

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had fairly speeifte and limited objectives, rather than broad politioal
or revolutionary onoai 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 wore summarized in ballads, as in the following extract from a ballad about events in the l860ss
"Tots es dies mos ereixien "3very day they were increasing
en sa oontribueio*, our taxes,
no podfem fer tabao we were not allowed to make tobacco
per fuaar un fumador, so that a smoker might smoke,
ni podiem tenir araes nor could we keep anas
per guardar-moa d'un traidor, to defend ourselves from a traitor,
quo ya estavem mis subjeotes in fact we were now more subject
que es oue eatan a sa preso*** than those who are in prison* 1*
(iSivisseno* Published in MCnBICH, 1966-6?: II, 94)
The revolts in which townspeople participated did tend to have a more general politioal 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 Ibisa 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 Ibisan 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 polarise 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

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oonoerned itaelf with the auppreaaion both of political-economic Biaoonduot

and of all forms of religious heterodoxy and immorality) culminating in

the activities of the Inquisition, The earlier reports of the ecclesiastical

Tiaitora to Ibisa usually included favourable comments on the general

piety of the islanders together with criticisms of a aaall minority for

heterodox behaviour* But the following eztraot from a report of a

oonaeigneurial visit by the Archbishop of Tarragona, in 1726t ia interesting

in that it reveals attempts to suppress certain elements of the peasant

cultural including both the traditional atyle of courtship in the girl'a

house and also those elements of the external religious cult of the islanders

which combined religious devotions and secular recreation:

"Comeaso* au visita, segiln "He began his visit, according to
oostumbre, per la igleaia mayor, the custom, at the principal church,
aigniendo las dema*s de la Villa y then at the others of the Town, later
paaando luego a loa Guartones* passing to the country districts.
Corrigid oenaurablea oorruptelas He corrected censurable corrupt practices
de la Heaidenoia o Comunidad de of the Residence or Community of
Santa Marfa, y die para toda la Santa Maria, and gave for all the
iala cuidadosas normas de island careful norms of
mejoramiento religioso y moral* religious and moral betterment*
Prohibit en particular, con pena de He particularly prohibited, under pain
exeomunidn, diferentea tratos of exoommunion, various uauroua
uaurarios, y entre loa mandatoa arrangements, and among the orders
referentes a la oampifra, »*. la referring to the countryside, . • • the
oamunioaoi<5n entre loa enoartados, communication between the vassala, mandado £aicj a loa Reotorea que, ordering the Reototm that, if it came to oonatandoles que el Prose's entraae their notice that the betrothed man had
en la oaaa de la Promesa* no ae entered the house of the betrothed girl,
llevase adelante el oaaaadeato sin the wedding should not proceed without
haber dado ouenta al Vicario information being given to the Vicar-
General* Como aaimismo, con otras General* Aa also, together with other
phtotioaa soperstioiosaa, la da superstitious practices, that of
•rodar la terra9, en la siguieate 'circling the land 1, which waa as
forma: followst
•Kato es el viaitar las igleaiaa f?his is the practice of visiting the
de la Villa y Quartonea , churches of the Town and country districts
oonaeoutivamente en virtud de consecutively by virtue of a
promeaa, para ouyo efeoto ae Juntan promise, for which purpose many men muchos hombres y mujeres, y lo que and women congregate, and that which ia ea devooidn y piedad se eonvierte devotion and piety beeomea converted
aft profanldad, bailes, oanoionea y into profanity, dances, songs and ia
on quedarae repetidae veoes en la men and women staying repeatedly eampana debajo de loa aVboles loa under the trees in the country,
hombres y mujerea, de que nan from which has resulted great
resultados grandea darios ,** 9 " harm . . .'"

(Caatilian* A report on the official visit by the Archbishop of Tarragona

in 1726, in MACABICH, 1966-67t I9 470-71.)

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From the latter part of the eighteenth century onwardsf these functions

were increasingly assumed by the seoular state authorities, who had rather

different primary concerns (although they often acted together with the

ohuroh in attempts to suppress folk practices whioh were at variance with

the interests or philosophies of state and ohuroh alike): the general

concern of the state authorities was apparently to assimilate the islanders

into the national seoular 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, whioh was seen as the basic obstacle

to their "civilisation*. 1

There were also continual attempts by the "ruling group11 to eliminate

a variety of folk customs* e.g.:

oie'rooles itltino tuvo lugar una
reunion de personas influyentes en
la iala. en la que se trato* de
buscar los medios ma's oportunos
para lograr que desaparesoan olertas eostumbres que tienen auestros oampesinos y que son causa y origen de freouentes

•Last Wednesday there took place a meeting of persons of influence on
the island, in whioh an attempt was made to seek the most convenient means
of achieving the disappearance of
certain customs whioh our country
people have and whioh are the
cause and origin of frequent unfortunate
events*"

See also section 2**>. above* It may be noted that the association of
eitgr culture with civilisation was common to both those authorities of despotio enlightenment prineiples and those of liberal persuasions, as
is clear from the periodic official reports on the state of Ibisa -
various of these are published in MACABICH (1966-6?) and elsewhere.
Cf. also the essay. "La olvilisaei4n es eivismo,* in UNAMUNO (I964t 68-74).

Castilian. A press report of the year 1664, quoted in HAGGISH (1966-6?: 123)

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The "most convenient Beans'* included sermons, municipal decrees, and the

use of force: the civil guards had been established in 1&»4, primarily

to put down banditry and smuggling! but they soon became a powerful means

for suppressing oertain types of disliked custom* on Ibisa. Indirect

methods* through the island's political patron-client structure* were also

employed on occasion,

The practice whioh most offended the secular authorities was that

of carrying firearms or the traditional Xblsan combat-knives, whioh derived

from the earlier period when all male islanders had been members of the

2 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 tobaooo monopoly,

The most disliked folkways were those associated with courtships

la 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, lie describes, for example* how he enlisted the support of various political heads (caps de part it) In the country districts with whom he was friendly* for the first success Ail attempts at suppressing the "entierro del gato" (•burial of the cat*) -
an anti-authoritarian burlesque (with a strongly anti-clerical flavour)
whioh used to finalise the events cf Carnestoltes, or Camaval, on Ibisa
in the nineteenth century. (MAC/iBICH, 1966-67: II* 134* See also
FAJAHNiiS CABDQHA, 1958: 165.) The carnival was itself suppressed by the present regime after the 1936*39 civil war| although there were unsuccessful attempts (mot welcomed by the authorities) at a revival on Ibisa in the 1930s* and a few youths and children still wander about in traditional disguises and fancy dress on the appropriate day* under the gase of patrolling civil guards and military police*

2As late as 1873* two months after a municipal edict against the use of
firearms la 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 eantonalist Insurgents of Cartagena. (MAC*£IGR* 1966*67: 108*109)

Iblsans have long grown and prepared their own pungent tobaooo ("taba
de pota/0- 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 hone consumption.

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offending the monogamous morality of the Church, this system gave rise
to oooasionally-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, HAVAHRO, 1901: 10-13.) The various official Beans of suppression had little initial suoooss in this case* Until the civil war, snail bands ("polles") of
youths would roas) 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 "$£** This could be simply an expression of exuberance, but it was also used to barrack rivals* Some 2
young Ben would use a kind of "head-voice" to avoid recognition at night i it is still unusual for country people to exchange greetings after dark, unless they Beet in an illuminated place. Blunderbusses also played a
•ore harmless part in courtship (i*e. apart from their use, like pistols,
as weapons)! they Bight 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 wtre eventually forbidden} and the older men in San Jose* still

"S&i," *9r* still common in the 1930s, according to the first-hand contemporary account of PAUL (1937)* A demonstration for me by an elderly "»n in 1970 sounded roughly like: "a-u-u-u-i-a-a-a-ai.1 "
practice was also mentioned to me by elderly men in San Jose*. 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.

The scattered dwelling pattern still gives country people reasons for being wary at night* Tor example, in 1970-71, they would take eare to ascertain the identity and purpose of a caller before coming to the door at night t and a query in Castilian as to whether there was anyone at home would sometimes evoke no response at all.

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reoolleet how, prior to the civil war, the oiTil guards would take any youths oaught defying the prohibitions down to their quarters in San Antonio (this was prior to the establishment of a oivil guard post in
San Jose* itself); and how they would olip the youths* hair or knock the* about ("Bis hi donaven molta de Ueaya*")* 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 gaodng-houaas on Ibisa in the year 1346. (Text published in KACABICH, 1966-6?! V 30>4) Similar official actions were still common in the nineteenth oentury
(see, e*g». MACABICH, 1966-67J II, 83, 104, and 11l)s i.e. they had had little effeot in the past* In fact, gambling is popular on Ibisa today: gaaes in cafe* are usually limited to small stakes whioh meet with general official tolerance; but private sessions - at whioh the game "el Bonte"
nay 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, fro* oral aocounta, the occasional raids by
civil guards have added a spice of danger rather than deterring the practice: those oaught only receive a fine, since the offence is not regarded in practice as being very serious, and gambling has also been popular at all sooial levels, it seems*
The practice of fishing with dynasdte is considered a more serious
offenoef since it involves economic oonsiderations, the use of explosives,
and the risk of physical injury (from premature explosions), instead of the •oral oonsiderations whioh apply to gambling* Those oaught may receive prison sentences! and attempts at suppressing the practice date back to
the last oentury (MACABICH, 1966-6?: II9 149); but it appears to have become particularly widespread on the island during the latter half of
the last eentury and the poorer years of the present oentury, when it provided an important moans of supplementing the diet of some of the poorer

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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 enjoyaent* One man in the San Jose* area waa arrested for dynamite fishing in 1971$ tat such arrests are relatively rare ainoe the men go out overnight or at first light, and sometimes to offshore islets, always keeping a watoh for patrol-boats or similar hasards - and, in any oase, the civil guards and other authorities now generally have too nuoh other work to bother with dynamite fishers*
The official antagonism towards the peasants 9 customs was based, as
has been shown, on a variety of political, economic and moral grounds*
And other eonoerns were apparent in some other prohibitions: for example,
a well-founded concern over hygiene prompted periodic edicts in the town
of Ibisa against the common practice of keeping free-ranging pigs*
(See, e*g», MACABICH, 1966-6?: II, 129*30*) But the official disapproval of some aspeota of peasant culture is less easily explained on such specific grounds s in the 1950s, for example, it seems that there was even disapproval of the traditional peasant musical instruments and songs* (PAUL, 193?)
In the oase 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 Ibis*, happened to see him fishing very early one morning off a remote stretch of coast, and arrested him (to his considerable surprise) when he oame ashore*

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The atteapta were rarely entirely successful, as has been seen. But
the ouBulatiYe weight of official actions over long periods should not
be underestimated, and they undoubtedly played an important part in the oonaiderable changes whioh took place in island life during the t***V»edlate period* And various other factors serred 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*
(11) Returned emigrants and sailors, and young men working In the town
of Ibisa («hose 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 ("espavllati*) 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 whioh
had long been impressed on the country people by the authorities*
(ill) The spread of state schooling on the island has partially assimilated all of the younger islanders inte the national Castilian culture* For example, although they still apeak 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 Castiliaa 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 tc write in Iblsan - whioh is a striking illustration of the effectiveness ef the official policies in this respect at least*
The progressive changes whioh resulted from these various factors may
be traced through the successive accounts of island life to be found in the

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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, Butf by the "beginning of the 1930s, the use of firearm (other than tor game) and combat-knives waa ouch rarer; and the

c • old style of courtship *aab molts* ("with many") »&» gradually giving
way to courtship in chaperoned pairs* The civil war brought a suspension of nany 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 disintegrate impact of the

war*

9,3 THE OTKCTS OF TOURISM

The effects of tourisB on the divisions and trends described in this chapter have been rather nixed. 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 win therefore be described separately,

(*) Xntegratlve effects

(i) The rise in the economic importance of Ibiaa vis-a-vis the rest of Spaia

1 The opposition between the "integrative" and the "divisive1* effects is not always clear-out, however, since integration at one level may be related to
division at another.

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has led to increased pressures for island autonomy, as is described in Chapter Bight* 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 magasines9 radios and television setsi 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 relies* 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 luropean fashions like those of the senyors. the latter have
tended to drop their own distinctive apparel, such as the "mantilla1* (which was still being worn in the 1950s)* IB the past, only the senyors could afford to ride to church in horse-drawn sprung carriages ("oarros amb molls'*) or, later, in oars* The ordinary people either walked or travelled in rough farm-carts. Now, although visible differences may still be detected, they

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are Bore subtle and are a less sure guide to social status (as distinct fro* mere wealth)*
In these respects at least, thent the gentlemen/people dichotomy on
Ibisa has been blurred by tourism*
(ill) Similar considerations apply to the diTision 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 sone ways unwelcome presence of peninsular immigrants: in this ease it is the Xbisaa identity whioh is reinforced. But, both of these outsider-insider boundaries oroas-out the division between the authorities (ses, autoritats) and the people (es poble)*
^he importance of this cross-cutting effect is particularly clear,
for example, in the case of the oivil guards on Ibisa* 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 looal people* but generally also deprecated by them) i and accidents (whioh involve the guards in a public service role
as well as in a law enforcement one)* Thus, in the absence of the old sources

An interesting illustration of the way in whioh 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; whore the police were apparently stimulated into a new campaign to suppress the use of arms (whioh sounds rather similar to that on Ibisa 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 looal ill-feeling.
In other words, because of the different pre-conditions, the impact of tourism there in this respect appears to h&ve been the exact reverse of that •ft Ibisa - where the authorities now encourage any surviving "typical" folk features* regarding them (correctly) as being attractive to the tourists* (See HUN32, 1965* 350)

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of friction, it is not surprising that there are signs of a new detente between the civil guards and the country people on Ibisa,
Bven before the oivil war, it seems that the guards already enjoyed
a rather sore relaxed relationship with the local people on Ibisa than
was the o&se elsewhere in Spain* at least aooording to PAUL (19371 Ch, IIIf •The Guardia Civil," 175-86, especially p. 179). But, elsewhere, the sane author gives indications of serious tensions of a type which no longer exist on Ibisa (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 hist frankly, knowing that
the officer would like to shoot hie but aware that no pretext was
likely to arise, • * ,"
(PAUL, 1937s 32)
I have also been given a fairly detailed oral account by a retired oivil guard of his relationship with the local people of San Jose", when he was stationed there in the 1950s* His descriptions coincide quite closely with those of PAUL, though from a different viewpoint, during tha 1950s, the tensions of the oivil war were still comparatively fresh in people's •inds f and the eivil guard duties in the San Jose1 area still included aati-sMMggllng patrols and the suppression of other institutionalised,
though illegal, local practices. In general, his life in the village
was quite relaxed! he played cards and ohatted with local men in the
village bars, and he was invited on occasion to pig-killings. 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 (esmatx) arising out of living in isolation; and this appears to be partly oorreot (judging by the occasionally similar reactions to passing

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foreigners even today) J but there ia no doubt that some aversion to the uniform was also involved* The ambivalence of hia relationship with the local people oame through clearly in joking comment a (repeated on a number of occasions), suoh aat
"iSramos el terror de los "fte were the terror of the smugglers
contrabandists de por San Jose**"* of the San Jose* area*"*;
at whioh hia wife (knowing hia laok of enthusiasm for oatohing anugglers) would retort t

" jCaJ iBl terror de las H Nonsense*1 The terror of the
ohavalaaj" young wenches, you meanj"
Even in the more relaxed atmosphere of San Joae* in 1970-71, the
local people typically viewed the oivil guards with some mistrust* One villager summed this up by saying that the life of a oivil guard ia
bound to be "a false life" ("una vida falsa"): although individual guards might be likeable ("simpaVbios"). one could never talk really freely in their presence, even when they wore off-duty. And the influence of their training, and the necessity of following national oivil guard regulations, limit the degree of friendship attainable under any circumstances, however relaxed* But, despite these Qualifications, the present relationship between the oivil guards and the people of San Jose* is not so very different from that between, say, the Sngliah police and local people} in undoubted contrast to both the situation of the para-military guards among the hostile Ibiian peasants in the last century, and their situation in other more-troubled areas of Spain today* Even the rule against fraternization ia interpreted in a less strict fashion, for example* During my fieldwork, one guard began courting a San Jose* girl, with the consent of her family* Another guard spent most of hia off-duty hours chatting in a neighbouring house, where the father was an invalid* And the oivil 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)*

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0>) Piviflive effects

(i) More young people than ever before on Ibisa are employees* The tourist boots has fimly imprinted a new dichotomy on island sooietyt employers versus employees* Much of the political trouble elsewhere
in Spain has stewed from industrial unrest in the large cities, and from bad employer-employee relationships in general. Now, for the present, the boon puts the employees on Ibisa 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 syndioal struoture is weighted very heavily in their favour); and Ibisa may then bo expected to experience, for the first time, industrial unrest of the type which is already

2 familiar in mainland Catalonia and in other parts of Spain*

(ii) The eastilianisation which followed the eighteenth-century War of Spanish Succession affected literary work as well as offioial 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 Hallorca* On Ibisa, in common with most other historical

The island's only large employer of labour in the past - the salt-ooapany - provides an appropriate exception: for example, there was a strike by
the salt*workers in 1897, in protest over a wage- reduction. (MACABICH,
t 169)

2A qualification is necessary here* Various factors (e*gs* 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 struoture on Ibisa to some extent from that
of industrial Catalonia* In general, the employer-employee relationship
is less of a simple dichotomy on Ibisa; 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*

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changes* the literary revival of Catalan took much longer* In the 1920s, MACABICH Vegan wilting Ibisan dialectal poems. (lACABICH, 1970) And in the 1930s, VZLLANGOMK2 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 plaoe in the 1930s and 1960s, as well as the presence of the tourists themselves, prompted the literary-minded among the islanders t? 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 1930s
as those of FAJAJWBS CARDONA2 and VILUKGOME2. 5 Since then, even the poets and writers from the most elevated families of Palt 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**1" A cultural society, "Sbusus", was publishing
a magasine which specialised in Ibisan topics - called simply "Ibisa" - by the 19¥>8| but the articles were almost entirely in Castilian* This defunct magasine was revived in 1971*72 by a new "Institut d'Bstudis ajvissencs* (Institute of Ibisan Studies)) but now it had the dialectal title, "JSivissa** and included a high proportion of articles in impeccable

There is a useful outline of the Catalan renaissance, and its spread to
the various islands, in FAJABHB3 CASDONA (1958: 180-81). It is also discussed in USLIA (196*71 especially pp. 90-96)»
FAJAHNKS CARDONA (1936) The author gives the changes as his main reason for writing this work (on page 13)*
^VILLAMGOMBZ I LLOB3T (1936)*
See MACABICH (1966-6*7* volume IV)* Note also CA3TSLLO GUASCH (1933); 0955); snd (1961 a).

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Catalan* Free extra-eurrioular classes In written and spoken Ibisan
are now belag given In the secondary school ("a'lnstitut") In the town* These new Interests of middle-Glass literary Iblsans 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 pagea*.
There has been a similar revival of Interest In other aspects of
Ibisan culture. Whereas the folk music and dances wore formerly frowned upon by the authorities, they are now encouraged, with official prises being given to competing folklorio groups* Tourism* with its interest
In *quaintness" and "local flavour*, provides a conclusive stimulus for such folklorio 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 preeent, 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 oommon people are showing strong signs of Castilianiaation, owing to their greater reoent 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 fblklore elsewhere, of oourse) might better be termed

2 "lore", without the "folk"* In San Jose*, for example, ordinary villagers do

The "Institute de ^studios Ibioenoos" was founded in 1949, and it published six more numbers of the magasine "Ibisa" between 1953 and 1960, when it lapsed once more* But it is only since 1971 that the society has been largely Catalanised*
o

Perhaps the most striking illustration during my fleldwork was the wedding, In 1970, in a country church on Iblsa, of the Prlnoess Inmaoulada de BorboVii which was attended by an extraordinary mixture of national eminences, 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. "SBMAHA" (1970).

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partioipate in the folklorio dancing displays, and there is some genuine looal pride in them* But the same few songs and danoes are repeated eaoh week for a different audience of tourist a, since it is easier to do this than to rehearse new programmes eaoh tine* Whereas the songs and danoes formerly fonaed 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 Jose* who have maintained a correspondence with us since our fieldwork ended, only two write to us in Ibisan 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 P&rlar oa/gfo* ("the peasant mode of speech"), And it is precisely the professional people who are likely to influence the moat other islanders through their new enthusiasm' for the island's traditions* The village schoolmaster, for example, encouraged the children to make a collection of "endevinetes1* ("riddles")i this won a prise in a new annual competition, and was later published* (IN3TITUT D'fiGTUDIS SXVISS&iCS, 1972) The following year,
the Saa Jose* children produced another prise-winning collection, this time of "resell pagesos* (peasant remedies)* (INSTITUT D'EGTUDIS EIYISSS.'CS, 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 influenees 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

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at the regional level, it is definitely divisive at the national level feeoause of the secular Castilian opposition to regional values or autonomy* the national official equation of regional cultures with separatism in faot has the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy.
(iii) Spanish community studies frequently refer to the political caution and apparent apathy of «oat ordinary Spaniards since the civil war* Bitterly recollecting the war (although they are not eager to discuss it, particularly with outsiders), the elder Ibisans likewise tend to disnisa the possibility
of popular participation in politics, using sweeping verbal gestures
such asi
"A cue li hem de fer. naltroa?* "What can we do about it?";
"Maltros no pintam res en "We h^ve no part in polities I*
en sa po &H51 *
And the Middle generations have been aore concerned with economic reconstruction or simply earning a living than with political issues like social justice*
Butt 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 regime. 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 Ibisans, 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*

1 It 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 Ibiia, to have been • very realistic (as opposed to non-rational) viewpoint*

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State education in Spain has also had a rather ironio effect in this respect* The increased state schooling sinoe the civil war has had the manifest function of enhancing national unity by assinilating young people all over Spain into a single Castilian-literate culture* But a common
latent function of such schooling is to release potential politioal
feelings and to increase their practical foroefulness* And maas 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 politioalljr»oonsolous people
in Spain* and those on Ibisa are no exception: they attend the very
troubled University of Barcelona* Though still rather few in number, there are more of them eaoh year, and they now include a few sona of the wealthier or entrepreneurial rural families as well as students of both sexes from Ibiia-tovn* *oreover* their politioal 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 magaslnesf the only such requests on Ibima, in 1970-71, were for foreign books on the civil war and the present politioal 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 oountry, this process of politioisation of younger Ibisans was
still inchoate in 1971, but it was already sufficiently marked to prompt
an emphatic statement from an elderly farmer that)
*8a gent Jove Is molt mes polftioa "Young people now are much more politically ara cue abans do sa guerra]*minded than before the civil warj"
And in the town, the children of school age displayed quite striking
politioal awareness sometimes* On the 23rd June, the Eve of St. John's Day* "fees* (a term used to refer both to fires and to the effigies which are burnt on them) are still constructed in the town of Ibisa* along similar lines

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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 "ftocs* have been few in recent years* But the prospects of midnight bonfires and possible municipal prises were sufficient incentives for children (up to about the age of fourteen) to build numerous foos in June* 1971« *ncy included effigies of "hippies1** 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 aubjeot 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 sohoolchildren (all under fourteen) - some of whoa were notably dubious about my verbatim note-taking*
One effigy took the form of a large waste-paper basket, with esorits satirising private property, official pomposity and of course the local laok of public rubbish-disposal facilities. The basket was labelled* •Fapelera privada ~ alquilada" ("Private waste-paper basket - on hire")* Underneath was the comment*
"Esta papelera ha "This waste-paper basket has
side deolarada been declared
aanumento artistico an artistic, social
social y publioo and public monument
debido a que ea la because it is the
unica en importanoia only one of any importance
• * .
(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 esorita on issues of more general concern. Two of them satirised popular political apathy in Spain*
"lusted que piensa del Vietnam? "You, what do you think about Vietnam?
Pttsa yof el Vietnam* pues Well, I, Vietnam, well
• •• no no se ••• . . * no, I don't know . . *
SI Vietnam Vietnam
cDonde esta*? £0ua oae oeroa?" Where is it? 3omewhere near here?"

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•Reouerde un hoabre sin "Remember a man without opinions
opinion es un tio is a suoker
sin opinion y sin without opinions and without
Infbraaoifo. * 1 Information. "

(Castilian)

Another - beneath a drawing of a timap carrying the globe as a bundle on

a stick * Vrought up the theae of world peaoe:
"Hasta donde detera*
Uegar el
Hondo para entrar
en los oaainos de
la Pas*"

"How far oast the
World go to
in order to enter
into the ways of
Peace."

(Castilian)

Finally, a third M foo" eoabined issues of local interest with a

topical disillusionment with progress and the technological age* It was

constructed bgr a group of children (of between ten and thirteen years of

age) in a street in the new aized concrete-block-flat a area of Santa Crus;

where a group of six boys had formed a "society" with a president, treasurer

and secretary, which had succeeded in winning the municipal prise for

the best juvenile "foq" 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 vietimj and

there was also an outsise packet of cheap "Celta" cigarettes. The group

had wanted to write their Torses in Ibisan, but had decided that - as they

wanted them to be eorreotly spelt * they would have to be in Castilian*
as followsi

"Sn estos tieapos quo oorren
Tan pesados de llevar,
Hay ouien tiene prisa
Quo aoaba per no llegaiv

"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 LSRNBR's study of modernisation in the Middle East. on the importance of "opinions" in the development of a "participant society". (LKfiNKR, 1958s 51)

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Sin saber de donde vino A nueatro tiempo llegtf
/ago fantasmal y feo
Que progreso so Hamo**
Como looos unos en ooohe 0 en otra Iooo*oei6*n
Van dejandose sus piesas Sn uno o en otro rlnod*n» No satisfeoaos oon 4sto Otros buscan soluoion
Bn las drogas o tabaeoa
Capaoes de una explosion* La Coelsio'n*"
(Castiliaa)

Without knowing from whence it came To our time there arrived Something ghostly and ugly
Which was called progress*
Like madmen some in oars
Or in other locomotion
Go leaving their pieces In one spot or another*
Not satisfied with this Others look for an answer
In drugs or tobaooos
Capable of an explosion*
The Committee*"

(*) 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 underlines the efforts to establish a new all-island administrative body (the "oabildo")* 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 Ibisans 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 the&e of the next chapter); employer-employee relationships} the

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growth or failure of the movement towards Ibisan-Catalan literacy; and politioal event* elsewhere in Spain* There is no doubt that tourism is contributing to growing pressures on Ibiia, as elsewhere, for greater popular participation in both administration and politics; but this nay be either within a national structure or in a separatist context* Because of the ialanders 1 lack of identifloation with either mainland Castile
or ffttl«V«* Catalonia, however, their primary separatist impulses tend to
be confined to Ibisa itself} and they are therefore restrained Isgr an awareness of the island's rather liidted autonomous viability (even with tourism)* On balance, the present trends seen to be towards some further (partial) Castilianieation 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 t the politically-passive* non-participating Majority
of Ibisans are becoming more literate, store articulate, and more politically informed* A new, more literate, generation of "men of ideas" appears to
be emerging in Spain a« a whole; and Ibisa (because of tourism) is now less isolated from such political processes - even though it must be noted that the islanders 1 politioal eonsoiousness is at present muted by the new
local prosperity, and is always affected by the island*s particular characteristic*.

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CHAPTER 10

DI3TRIB3TIOK 0? WEALTH AHD INCOMBS

Who benefits financially froa tourism on Ibisa? Who suffers?
Where does all the aoney spent by tourists go? Are the rich getting rioher and the poor poorer as a result of the tourist boom? Or is a levelling*out of wealth ooourring? 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 squeese out young island couples looking for a hoae? Questions like these have been among those most frequently put to me by British sociologists and anthropologists sinoe ny return from f&eldwork*
All of the* are essentially concerned with the saae theae - the effects
of tourisa on the distribution of wealth and incomes.

10.1 THE BACKGROUND

Prior to tourism, as we have seen, there was little industrial
development on Tbisa. 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 thats

"Everywhere in Spain, except in one or two favoured districts, the land

Cf. the recent British general survey of tourism by YOUNO (1973)*

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belongs either to large landowners or to snail poor peasants: the
yeoman farmer is the exception**
(BHfllAK, 1960:
Now, the land on Ibisa has long been among the moat evenly-divided in Spain; and Ibiea sight thus be considered one of the "favoured districts*; although the loss of the common ownership of the island's salt, and the subdivision of fans through the demographic pressures of the past few oonturies,have pushed the island towards Brenan*s second category * that of "small, poor peasants**
There is an almost total laok of the latifundia which characterise
muoh of Southern Spain - whence come most of the poorer migrants seeking work on Ibisa* for survey purposes* latifundia have been defined as estates of over 230 hectares, or 625 acres* (BHSNAN, i960: 116m) In the 1960s, there was only one farm of more than 250 hectares on Ibisaf together with two of between 100 and 150 hectares} and forty of between 50 and 100 hectares* (See Table Six, page 11 5» 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 Ibisa 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 ease would be scrub or forest); there were two farms yielding perhaps £2,000^3,000 per annumf and there were forty farms yielding up to £1,OOO-£2tOOO 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 slse of farms on the Balearic » 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 farmj 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

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rioh land-owners on Ibisa in the
At the other end of the sonic, the lot of the poorest Ibisons was
usually frugal rather than desperate prior to tourism, although there were oases of very severe hardship in bad years (*anya dolents*)* There are few mentions of starvation in the island's records! although charitable help to "pobres vergonsantes" ("shaming poor*) was referred to as early as the fifteenth century. (UACABICH, 1966*67* I» 332) In general terns, poverty on Ibisa 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

2 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'1 (*sa mis&ria") after the civil war was epitomised in bread made not from wheat-flour, but instead from barley-flour or (worse) ground figs or oarobs - to eat oarobs ("menJar garroves"). the food of animals, was indeed a sign of misfortune*

1 See SHOR (1957» 660). Note also that special charitable funds existed •para dotar doneellas pobres" ("to provide dowries for poor maidens*) at least from the fifteenth century onwards* (MACABICH, 1966-6?: 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 sjad 430)
the effects of tourism were under discussion, older Ibisans would
often streps the new ability to eat meat in everyday dishes* And eggs were also mentioned by some as being special name-day treats*

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10.2 THK WXALTH CRKATKD 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 000 pesetas respectively, for the average daily expenditure of tourists on Valloroa, in round figures. On Ibisa, in 1965* there were 1,215*120 recorded overnight stays (estanoias), so that (assuming some
rough similarity with Ifalloroa in this respeot) the total annual expenditure of tourists on the island at that time was of the order of 730*960 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* (MINISTSRIO DS JNPOHMACIOK ... . 1973) At 1964 values, then, the expenditure of tourists on Ibisa in 1972 would have been in the region of 3»70O-5»000 million pesetas (from 20*30 million pounds). Vhis total represents a revenue of £450»£650 for every man* woman and ohild 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 oensus 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 oases. (BARCELO PONS, 1970: 242)

1 X*H.S« (1965)| B.C.O.C.I.H.P.M. (19641 92); BARCtfLO POMS (1970: 241-42).

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The actual volume of money flowing into Ibiza at the present tine
is very web greater than these figures indicate, of course, sinoe they ignore the outside investments in hotels and other projects, which also contribute to the boom by proTiding both oapital and increased employment opportunities* In the longer term, however, this investment oapital
(and interest on it) will have to be debited against the islanders 9 income from tourie».
Some aeoount must also be taken of the changing visible trade balance
on Xbisa* Imports to the island from all other places, including other parts of Spain, rose from 11*544 metric tons in 1930 to 114,238 metric
tons in 1965» converting a former visible trade surplus into a growing deficit. (BABCELO POMS, 1970) 1*5) nevertheless, the cost of these increased imports was small by comparison with tourist expenditure!
the total cost of imports to Ibisa in 196*5, for example, was just under
44 million pesetas* (COSTA POflTO, 1969: 69. See also HAMQN PAJ/JN35S, 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 Ibisa alone* This means that the apparent changes are less dramatic than has really been the case (since Ibisa waa much less industrialised than Mallorea 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 Ibisa) into one of the wealthiest areas of Spain*

TABLS 14

THS TOmOST BOOH! SOMS SOCIO-ECQWOKIC INDICATORS

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IKAR

1955
i960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966

BALSABBS IBIZA

Ho. of Ho. of
tourists tourists

188,704 10,572*
400,029 30,119
516,713 41,253
542,114 44,413
677,203 55,984
846,705 84,678
1,080,826 102,538
1,237,967 113,415

BALfiABBS

accounted

for by the
hotel ind*

6.50
8.29

IBI2A

Output of
electrical
energy:
Kilowatt-
Hours

2,197t970

* •

* •

* .

21.01 10,474,910

BALSARSS BAU4ABS3

Total no. Visible
of motor trade
vehicles balance:
reg. in Millions
province of ptas. 1

12,772 . .
40,462

87,327
100,000

+192
4288
- 136
- 189
-379
- 195

TSAB

1955
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966

BALRARKS

Cost of
living
index
(January)
1958 «
100.2

. .

* .

129*4
137.8
144.8
164.9
183.3

BALEAESS

per

capita
income
in
pesetas

12,159
19,276

26^305

40)130
. .
. .

BAL2A&SS

Heal ann.
per oap.
income in
pesetas
at 1958
prices

17,023
18,505

23^411

29^206

. .
. .

Annual
income'of
Baleares
as % of
Spanish
total

C59
1.56

• .

1.69

. .

• .

1.94

BALEAHSS

Bank order
of the
province
in terms of
per capita
income

14
13
10*

8

^Figure for 1954

figure for 1967

The trade balance figures fluctuate widely because of the variable amounts of agrioultural produce exported annuallys the volume of imports in faot increased each year during this period.

2 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 ooaparable with that in the province of Baleares. (TIMOR DS LARA, 1965: 104)

SourcesI BARCELO POMS (l970t 164-165)$ CAMARA OFICIAL ... (1970);
CAMBRiS UARlito (1972)$ COSTA POfiTO (19691 70); RINISTSRIO DK INFORMACION ..,

(1973)| zoafoa* B^HNABsa (19^4).

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10,3 MODES OF ACCKSS TO TH" NM WKAWH

IB. teraa of real income, the short answer to the question "Who benefits
froa tourism on Ibis*?* is almost everyone* There is no doubt that the
real income of the islanders in town and oountry alike has risen dramatically beoause of tourism: in eighteen months on Ibisa I met no-one there who would disagree with this statement, even among those islanders who personalty dislike! some aspeota of tourism* The question must therefore be rephrased: "In what ways do different eategories of islanders (and outsiders) have access to the new wealth?", and "Which islanders (and outsiders), if any, are benefitting most or least?*1 *
In an earlier chapter it is argued that the comparative lack of success
of entrepreneurial activities on Ibisa in the past was primarily due to
the island's restrictive gaographie&l and economical circumstances rather than to the eoamonJyalleged indolence and fatalism of the Ibisans (although non-economic factors such as the traditional attitudes towards exchange
nay 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 foot, to be an important
* and in some ways peculiar - feature of tourism* Whereas a take-off in the secondary seotor, in manufacturing industry* failed to materialise on Ibisa (in contrast with other parts of Catalonia, including ifallorea) taxnmise of
its smallnesSf the laok 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

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industrial factories (the largest hotels have a small staff compared with •oat factories)* There are no problems over delivering the "product" to the consumer: the tourists necessarily oollect it in person* Tourists (from industrial countries at least) also tend to favour areas unsttited to the development of manufacturing industry* And, although tourism oan be organised in a capital-intensive fashion by tour operators and large hotel owners, this is not a neoessary feature of touristic development (although it may* arguably, be a necessary feature of "mass tourism"). In fact, the tourist boos on Ibisa bears comparison with a gold-rush: there has been
a sudden emergence of a new source of wealth on the island, which nay be "mined" by any "prospector",
Pursuing this analogy a little further , the distribution of gains from tourism defends on the sise and quality of "claims"; i*e« on the prior (and aoouired) ownership structure on Ibisa* 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 tourismt business activities!
(b) "Windfall* gains from tourism: land and house sale*!
(o) Continuous gains from tourism: employment,

(*) Continuous gains from tourismt business activities

The entrepreneurial activities to be discussed here include only these more-or-lesB-oontlnuous business activities which are registered for tax

While useful here, the analogy has some obvious flaws i for example, there is no necessary end to tourism in any given plaee, whereas the life of a mining area depends on the extent of workable reserves*

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purposes with the island's "CAaara de Comercio" (Chamber of Commerce),
(i) The distribution of businesses among natives and outsiders: -
There is periodic oonoem astong Spanish businessaen and officials orer
the activities of foreign-owned companies, especially "tour-operators11 (the English ten is generally used)* They Are soaetlaes 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 businessaen and other islanders* In the case of Ibi*at at least* this seeas to be largely a ayth at present, as will beooae olear* It is true that tour operators (and other foreign ooapanies) have invested quite large SUBS of money in hotels and
other developments on Ibisa, as elsewhere in Spain* and that they naturally try to obtain the aost favourable possible terns: one practice which has cose 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 Bay expose the hotelier to financial difficulties in the event of rapid cost-inflation during this period* But, although fairly complex issues are involved, any suoh disadvantages aust 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 Balearios show signs of serious financial difficulties)* he will eventually be able to negotiate aore favourable terms* A* for the allegations of tour operators abusing
their control over the supply of tourists, it appears (on the contrary) that

2 they generally operate on a very tight budget and low profit aargins, owing

to the strong competition aaong the major companiest those ooapanies (e*gs»

Unless otherwise stated, the figures in this section are from the records
of the CaWra de Comeroio, in Ibisa-town, to whose staff my thanks are due for their friendly assistance*
2
See* for example, TOOHG- (1973* Ch*V, "The Structure of the Tourist Industry,' ••P* PP. 72-80)> and DAVIS3 (1972).

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Clarksons, Horizon, and Skytours) which do Ibizan holidays are no exception. 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-
2
colonial" image of tourism, which is sometimes invoked by Spanish writers.
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

1974 postscript: Clarksons and Horizon are in severe financial difficulties, mainly because of the intense price-competition. See, e.g., ROBilKTSON (1974). For a study of tourism in Spain which stresses "neo-colonial" features, and whose emphases differ from those of this thesis, see the book "Espafla
'a go-go 1 " by Mario G-aviria and others, of which there is a short resumen in GAVIRIA £S AL. (1974).

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tooristio developments of a kind whloh might force looal businessmen to OTor ooBBilt themselves (although this does not, of course, guarantee that •one 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 looal economic gains* But the point here is that the process - so far at least - appears to be Halted on Ibisaf and that it is subject in the final analysis to the control of the Spanish authorities, who are well aware of the possible problem and have already created fairly complex regulations in this area as a result*
These arguaents and counter-arguments are difficult to check
quantitatively* Nevertheless, there are soce figures available whloh nay serve to test the fleldwork 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 nay be generally observed (as do most Ibisans) that the patent overall increase in looal wealth and incomes is olear enough evidence that a substantial portion, at least, finds its way into looal 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 oent went on lodging; 26*4 per cent was spent on food; 7*5 per oent on transport; 15*8 per oent 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. (B JlCEIiO POHSf 1970i 242. rsmOOOSZ FUSTKH* 1967* 115t 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 Ibisa has, for example, asserted that!

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"la aeeeaaitat d 1 inversions a'ageganta tant quo la
aeoeaaitat do oapital exterior ea total* Vteen doblers do Madrid, d'Aaaterdaa* d'naaburg, de Bruaaol*lea, de Loadrea..*, cap on ae'n toraen a anar ela guanya.

"the necessity of investments ia beooadng ao gigantic that the
necessity of outaide oapital ia
total* Money cones froa Madrid,
Amsterdam, Hamburg, Brussels,
and London • . ., to where the
profits later return. The
Ela eivissencs * o els mallorquine, Ibiaana - or the Malloroana,
o ela gironina - reben el sou per or the Geronana - reeeive aoney for haver ofloiat de minyona, de
oriada. I res ae*a«*

having aeted aa minions, aa
aervanta. And nothing more."

(Catalan* PORCBL, 19681 41)

X do not know of any relevant figures distinguishing looal and non-local

(Spaniah) iaveataent oapital on Ibiaa - although the data inoluded later

on the distribution of looal and non-local business ownership on the ialand

would at least suggest that PORCEL ha a exaggerated the present proportionate

iaportanoe of non-looal Spaniah investment (even though it ia probably

increasing* aa he saya). In the oase of foreign inveatnent9y there ia

little doubt that they play a aore ainor role in Spaniah tourist developments

than he auggeata* Hie following table shows official estiaates of foreign

investaenta in various types of touristic business for Spain aa a whole*

for the fowfyear period 1968-71 * which were baaed on projections fron official

data for the immediately preceding period*

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ESTIMATED FOREIGH CAPIfAL INVESTMENTS IB THS SPAHISH TOUHIST INDUSTRY (1968-Tl)

Hotel lodgings
Non-hotel lodginga
Coapleaentary touristic industries Touristic "urbanisaciones" Touriat»sporta inatallationa

Totala

Foreign
inveataenta
ia millions
of pesetas

13,060

Foreign
inveataenta
aa peroent*
of total

4,200
5t600
uatriea 600
2,500
a 60
ions 100

7.4
18.7
9.2
16.1
10,9
11.1

11.3

Souroet COMISAHIA DEL PLAN D£ ... (196?S 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 P«r sent* The other major sources of investment capital for this period were estimated as follows: public investments, 3,7 per oentj official credit Mhemes, 10*6 per cent} and investment by the Spanish private sector, the remaining 66.4 per cent, (COMISARIA D3L PUN DE DESARROLIiO ,*., 196?: 88-9) On these figures, it would appear that the proportion of foreign ijwrestment was still relatively snail, though appreciable, up to the time of my fieldwork at leasti and that the major part of investment oapit&l was being drawn from private Spanish investors. The table oertaialy 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 Ibtsan Chamber of Commerce did contain some data which may be used for a crude assessment of
the distribution of business ownership on Xbifa among native Ibis&ns, 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 fleldwork, I knew the identity of the owners of numerous businesses (especially in the San Jose* area), and the names of the true owners were those entered in the Chamber of Commerce records in all those eases 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*»Xbisan 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 -

However, 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)

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only a dosen or so for either sex. 1 While it is true that some people froa

elsewhere in Catalonia might have an *Ibisan* patronymic, the probability

of all three names (Christian, patronymic and matrinymio) being "Ibisaa1* is

•light: moreover, there are relatively few Catalan immigrants on Ibisa,

because there is no shortage of work and business opportunities in other

parts of Catalonia. In any oases of doubt, I placed the names under the

non-Ibisaa category s i.e., if there is any bias in the analysis, it is

towards noa-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 wa,s no good reason to suppose that the true ownership was

being concealed in other oases. Some business entities,2 however, were

registered under a company name ("Sooiedad An6*aiaa"), 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 Ibisa in

, under various broad headings.

1 Full details ef native Ibisaa names, together with their distribution on the island, are given in COSTA BAMOH (196%.). 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*

2In many oases a "business entity1* is an entire business. In some oases,
however, several parts of the same business may be recorded separately for
tax purposess e.g., watches are classified separately from jewellery, even though they are normally sold on the same premisses. 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 oase 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,
la a few eases, for example, the registers lumped together some business entities which I have classified separately: but the only oaae of substantial overlap was between the categories "COHSTHUCTION" and "SHOPS1* (some shops selling building materials were included under "SHOPS", while others were classified under "CON STRUCT I OK"). This would not affect the main arguments, however. There were some other possible sources of error (see above), but
in general ay 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.

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TABLE 16

THB DISTRIBUTIQM OF BUSINESS OflHSBSHIP ON IBI£A IN 1969

CATBGOBT BUSINESS JSSTITIBS RE&ISTERED IN THS
'0? , COMMXBCK HI 1969
BUSBIBSS . ^^
' Ibisan
i najses

Ho. .%

Under I Under I
other ' foreign
Spanish | naaes |
muses I •' '

Ho. % | Ho. £~~T
- — T — - \ —— . - I

IBI&A9 CHAMBER 0?

Under Totals
"Sooiedad for eaoh
An6*niaaM j category

No. % ' [, No. %
LODGINGS
(hotels, eto.)
FOOD

(a) Shops,eto.
(b)Bestaarants
eafes, eto.
TBAHSPORT
(Vehiele hire,
eto.)

(sad also*
serviees)

SHOPS

(other than
food shops)
CCNSTBUCTIQK
(and ancillary
businesses,
materials and
furnishings)

TOTALS FOR
SACH TtPK
ObMKHSHIP

92 (64) t? (12) ' 15 (10) 20 (14) ! 144 (100)

282 (83) 41 (12)

296 (66) 92 (20) 60 (13) ' 5 d) 453 (100)

(2) i 10 (3) 339 (100)

343 (67) 152 (p) 8 (2) ! 5 (1)

38 (50)

508 (100)

19 (25) 11 (14) 8 (11) i 76 (100)

446 (64) ' 149 (22) i 54 (8) I 44 (6) 693 (100)

236 (70) 65 (19) 12 (4)
t

- 1

1733 (68) 535 (21) 166 (7)

25 (7) ' 338 (100)

117 (4) 2551 (100)

What nay tentatively be deduced fro* the table?

Firstly* looking at the overall totals, it seems that just over two-thirds (68 per oent) of all business entities on Ibisa in 1969 belonged to native

islanders} about one-fifth (21 per oent) belonged to other Spanish people)

a fourteenth (7 per oent) to foreigners; and a twenty-fifth (4 uer oent) to

eonpaaies. Leaving aside for a aoaent the question of size, this indioates that the majority of businesses on the island remained in the hands of native

Ibisans. But it also shows a substantial proportion of non-Ibisan Spanish

or foreign ownership, which say be put into perspective by looking at the

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proportions of different types of permanent residents on Ibisa* In 1965*
of all permanent residents9 84*6 por cent were Ibisan natives; 13*6 per
wore born elsewhere in Spain j and only 1*6 por oent were foreign* (BAHCHLO PCHS, 1970s 149 and 311) .«i.ven bearing in mind the increase in the proportions of non-Ibiian residents whioh would hare occurred by 1969, and the possible under-estimation in Table Sixteen of Ibisan ownership, these figures do suggest that non-Ibi*ans play an important part in the island's business activities relative to their numbers as permanent residents* Nevertheless,
on any interpretation, they remain vary far from supporting extreme views
of non-rbiian domination of the island economy like those expressed by PORCSL, above*
Secondly, it may be noted that there is a considerable variation in the distribution of ownership among the different categories: the overall pattern ooinoides in this respect with my fleldwork observations, and the following points are most notable:
— The highest proportion of Ibisan ownership is to be found in "traditional11 businesses whioh cater primarily to permanent island residents, especially food shops (83 per cent)* aven so, Ibisan owners also form an absolute majority in all other categories*
— Conversely, the highest proportion of foreign ownership is in those typos of business most closely linked to tourism* especially lodgings (14 per oent); restaurants and bars (13 per eent)} and entertainments (11 per cent)* There are also a number of foreign-owned shops (8 per oent): some of these are immediately apparent even to oasual observer*! espooially the boutiques in Ibisa-town (catering both for foreigners and for local people) whioh offer

2 a striking collection of clothes and brio-e-brao for sale, including both

Of these Spanish "outsiders", 11*8 per oent were from the mainland, and 1*8 per oent were from other islands among the Balearics*
These boutiques are the mainstay of the new cosmopolitan Ibisan fashion,
the "Mods Ad-lib% whioh has recently been promoted with aoma 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*)

aanufaetured garaeats aad others whioh are hand-Bade by island residents of all types (including "hippies'*)* Nevertheless the foreign owners, visually striking though their contribution is, still fora the smallest minority in every category of business*
~* HoD»Ibisan Spanish owners are a substantial ainority in all of the broad business categories, although soae specialisation is also apparent* Thirdly* what aay be said about the "Soeiedades AjaSnimas"?
— Naturally, it is not possible to conclude anything definite about their ownership from their muses alone* Soae names, however, do suggest the
origin of the principal owners or shareholders of certain companies: e*gs* "Abel Matutes Torres, 3*A** and "Verbotea, 8*A* H * Other oral and published information confirms that there are a mixture of companies operating on Ibisa, including some whioh are locally-owned and others predominantly owned by other Spanish people or foreigners! although no exaot 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 oeat) and entertainment (11 per eent)« But it is not very widespread for
aay category in the table* Rather than supporting views of Ibisa being dominated by "big business" interests from other parts of Spain or elsewhere, these figures appear to oonflra the fieldwork impression that the development of touristio businesses on Ibisa has been based largely on olassioal family capitalism, although with soae outside encroachments* (See Chapter Six, above*) Fourthly* there is the question of sise* This was ignored in Table
Sixteen, whioh treated business entitle* of all slses as being equivalent.
It aight plausibly be argued that, although companies and non-Ibisan owners are in a ainority, they may own most of the largest and most lucrative

The 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 tiae, soae 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)*

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businesses on the island* thoa taking the "oreaa* off the tourietio revenues.

Thia hypothesis nay he teated by taking a breakdown of hotel ownership!

ainoe the larger hotela are aaong the noat expensive developments on the

island* and there are also many analler hotels, pensions, and lodgings of

other kinds. Fortunately, the Chamber of Coaoteroe registers distinguished

between different eategories of hotela and other lodgings. And, in thia

ease, eaoh "business entity11 oorresponded to one hotel or lodgings-house.

The following Table Seventeen therefore shows the resulting distribution

of ownership for, firstly* first and second class hotels only} and, secondly, third elaaa hotels, pensions* and all other types of lodgings*

TABLS 17

THE DISTRIBUTION Of HOTEL OWNERSHIP OH IBI2A IN

TTPE OF
HOTKL

FIRST AND
SECOND CLASS
HOTELS

THIRD CLASS
HOTELS, A]ID
ALL OTHKH
TYPKS OF
LODGINGS

TOTALS FOR
ALL TYPES

BUSINESS HNTITIjSS XEGISTJSHBD Hf THIS IBIZAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE III 1969
Under
Ibiaan

i

i

Under
other

Spanish

Under Under Totals
foreign t **Sooiedad I for eaoh

Mo, % No. % Mo. •o. % No.

26 (50) 3 (6) 7 (13) 16 (31) 52 (100)

66 (72) 14 (15) 8 (9) 4 (4) 92 (100)

92 (64) 17 (12) 15 (10)1 20 (14) 144 (100)

Fron Table Seventeen, it la clear that there was indeed, in 1969, a

concentration of company ownership anong the BO re expensive hotela (31 per

oent, aa oonpared with only 4 per oent for all other lodgings)* To a leaser

extent, thia waa alao true for individuallynaaed foreign ownera (13 per oent,

aa oospared with 9 per oent). But there were leas individually-named Spanish

(non-Ibisan) owners aaoag the first and seoonoVolass hotels (6 per cent, as

eonpared with 15 p«r oent for all other lodgings)* 1 And the native Ibisan

proportion (apart fro» any shares in oottpanies) was still 50 per oent even

for the nore expensive hotels.

Fifthly, a nore accurate appraisal of the significance of the distribution

of ownership between natives and outsiders stay be gleaned fro* figures for

the different nunieipalities* in which (as io described in earlier chapters)

touristic developsMint has taken plaoe unevenly. The following tablo

aoeordingly shows the ownership-distribution of lodgings by municipalities (again based on the Chamber of Cosneroe data for 1969).

TABLE 18

THE DISTRIBUTION OP HOTKW^NXHSHIP BT MUHIGIFAL1TI2S HI 1969

UUNICZFALXTT ' HOTELS OR LODGINGS RS&IST3SKD IN TE5 IBI^lf CHAMBER
_^ _ OIMJOMMBRCS JK 1969
Under Under Under Under Totals
Xbisan other foreign "Sooiedad for eaeh
nasas Spanish naaes AnAaina" suoioipio

Hol__ JL M-°* - N°* * N°V

_.

Ibisa*town 31 (62) 6 (16) 5 (10) 6 (12) 30
San Antonio , 39 176) 4 (8) 4 (8) 4 (8) 31
Santa Sulalia 16 (57) 3 (11) 3 (11> < 6 (21) 28
SanJos4 » 3 (27*3), 2 (18.1) 3 (27*3) 3 (27.3), 11
San Juan ' 3 (73) - - - - 1 (25) 4

100(
100
100,
Island totals 92 (64) 17 (12) I 15 (10) 20 (14) 1*4 (100)

The earliest major touristic development occurred in San Antonio. In

Ibisa-town, there is a sdxture of "old-established" hostelries (neatly

relatively snail) t while on the ooastal outskirts of the town (within the

sane sunieipality) there are some large, very recent hotels. In Santa Kulalia9

This is not really surprising^ since the non-Ibisan entrepreneur (without
the baoking of a ooapany9 or ether speoial advantages) is likely to be at
a ooepetitive disadvantage relative to native entrepreneurs.

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although there were a few early developments, most of the hotels are even •ore recent, and more were under construction in 1970*71* la San Jose*, the hotels listed were large new ones on the outskirts of San Antonio and Ibica-town, whioh fell Just within the San Jose* boundaries.
fith these points in mind, a pattern emerges frosi Table Eighteen* The highest proportions of native ownership were in the older-established hotel cones* particularly San Antonio (76 per cent). The nixed Ibisa-town sone is an intermediate oase (62 per oent). Santa ttulalia (57 p*r cent) and especially San Jose*,(27*3 per cent), where there is a higher concentration of sore recent development, show a correspondingly lower proportion of native ownership*
Some of the totals in Table Eighteen are, of oourse, too small for much significance to be attached to the percentages in isolation* This is obviously the oase 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.")j and the other three were older boarding-houses (listed under "Pensi6n»Fonda*)» whioh 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 businessess - The overall picture whioh 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

San Juan was the last municipality to experience extensive hotel development, because of its largely cliff-bound coastline and its remoteness from the
main sea-port and airport* But, since 1969* there have been a number of large hotels built in the area, notably in the bays of Portinat* and g& Gala de 3ant Vioent. Most of these new hotels are apparently owned ty companies - and in one case by a foreign tour company* (According to the Spanish tourist trade magazine, Editur - 30 April, 1971, p.343 - only two hotels on Ibiza
- both still under construction - were then directly owned by foreign tour operators, which were apparently "Clarksons" and "Blue Sky11.)

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partioipation in Ibiaan buainesa aotivitiea by outsiders (relative to the numbers permanently resident on the island). There was a particularly substantial proportion of outaider ownerahip in thoae activities nost oloaely associated with tourian* And there waa a higher concentration of company* ownerahip and individual fbreign ownerahip in the sore expensive hotels.
On the other hand, for no category did the proportion of outaider owners reach half of the total number of buainesa entities; and it was generally considerably leas* In other words* the available figures support the fieldwork impression that, despite the substantial partioipation by outsiders, it was the native Ibiaana who were deriving the greatest economic benefits
from continuous buainesa aotivitiea*

The following generalisations would also appear to be consistent with
the above data* Three broad stages of tourist development on Ibisa may be analytically distinguished:
— In the first atage, prior to about 1965* tourism on the island grew ateadilyf but it reunified at a level with which the native businessmen and entrepreneurs could oope, uaing mainly local capital (together with some new oapital from sporadic land-sales to outsiders). The partioipation of outsiders in Ibiaan businesses waa then alight*
— In the aeoond 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 oompaniea*
— In the third stage, with the enormous increases due to charter-flights
and package-holidays ainoe about I968t the volume of tourism began to out atrip local business resources * thus providing increasing scope for outsider investments and ownerahip* This process reached a peak in the period

This analysis haa 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*

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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 Ibisa rose from 264 (in January) to 296 (by
July 20th)* Most of the new hotels were large ones, providing almost a fifty per eent increase in the number of hotel beds available (the total rose by about 10,000 to reach 51*633 in July, 1970)* A few more hotels were due to opea later in the year (including one five-star hotel at San Miguel * the first on Ibisa) | but there were less under construction for the following year, 1971, when only about 3,000 new beds were expected: "lo eual signifioara% ciertamente, "which will signify, certainly, a
un relative (frenado f a la relative braking on the present tendeneia expansionists actual*" expansionist tendency* 1*
(Castiliaa. KDITUH, 31 July 1970, p.1)
There were some signs, then, that the third stage might be coming to an end in 19711 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 ~ tar from dominating touristic developments on Ibisa since their inception - in faot played a completely secondary role, at least up to about 1969 1 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 aay eventually dominate the island's tourist industry * since any new developments are likely to depend on aa 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 IceaUy-owned businesses might find it difficult to compete with the large new ones. And, in this respect, it is significant that public concern over "meo-colonial" tendencies was being expressed with increasing frequency

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in 1970-71*
YOOWG- has suggested that, in general!
"there is a saturation level fbr tourism in a given locality or region
and if that level is exceeded, the oosts of tourism begin to outweigh tha benefits* These saturation levels »ay be diotatad by tha availability of labour, the amount of land suitable for hotel development, the capacity of tha roads, or of the prinoipal tourist attraotions in the area.*
(TOOKG, 19731 111-12)
At the time of my fieldwork, Ibisa oould not really be said to have reached
a "saturation level" in t&y of these respaots* Although there was a labour shortage, it was being filled by Spanish migrants, Huoh suitable land for hotel development remained* The roads, though dangerous, were still relatively unoongested by if astern European standards; and they were gradually being widened* Some beaches ware orowded, but others were still quite deserted!
and some of the more beautiful areas of the island ware still isolated from the main ourrents of tourists* Nevertheless, it does seen that a "saturation level* had either bean 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 businessman and authorities are aware of these issues. But it does seen probable that, if tourism continues to expand so rapidly, tha proportion of business and the resultant financial benefits accruing to native Ibisans will tend to decrease

2 relative to those received by outsiders! while the environmental costs to the islanders (e*gs* the water shortage, sewage problems, road congestion, noise, etc*) could steadily increase* This scenario suggests that an analysis of the typf given here, but based on figures for tome years hence, might

Ibisa, 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 Amy such relative decrease, of course, may quite well be accompanied by an
absolute increase. It may also be observed that the majority of Ibisans
are not employers but employees, who stand to gain from a further increase in tha volume of tourism whoever the new business-owners may be*

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produce * rather different picture of the distribution of business ownership and of the degree of native partioipation in the tourist boon; but this, of course, remains to be seenf and there are other possible scenarios - such as a sore 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*
(iil) The distribution of business activities over the island! -
In 1969, according to the Chamber of Commerce records, there were
2§ 551 business entities on Ibisa* Of these, there were 1,408 in the municipality of Ibisa-towa* 56*3 in San Antonio I 565 in Santa Sulalia; 120 in San Jose's and 97 in San Juan Bautista. These figures reflect both the traditional concentration of business activities in the main town of Ibisa
and the degree of touristic development of each municipality (of* Table Eighteen, page 548, above).
One point of interest is that there were more business entities in San
Jose* 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 Jose" and San Juant the latter was formerly better-off because of the greater depth and fertility of its soil* Similarly, Saa
Antonio has overtaken in wealth the very fertile area of Santa Sulaliaj although both have in fact experienced considerable touristic development, and both
are now becoming commercial centres of sufficient importance to challenge
the hegemony of Ibisa-tovn*

There are obvious value problems involved in the concept of "saturation levels"s 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" s for example, further development might conceivably be favoured by Spanish administrators and businessmen even if it turned Ibisa (and other tourist zones) into the Spanish touristic equivalent of the "dark satanio mills" areas of the English industrial revolution. (There is, however, no possible comparison as yet between Ibisa 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 pertioul&r* 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 ooastal 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 townt 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" ("meroats pagesos") have been established in Ibisa* 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-a-vis the small businessmen and stall-holders in the town*
(iv) The rise of a business class on Ibisa> -
In the traditional period* as we have seen, there were restricted
business opportunities on Ibisat apart from the activities of a few corsairs,

The country people now see the sale of surplus produce as only one of many ways of raising oash* 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 "monooultivo do 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., CALVKRA, 1972.)

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aeronauts and moneylenders, 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 Katutes 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 Ibisa. Land-ownership is now only
one fora of wealth among others, and there are now many business families whose oapital assets rival those of any land-owner* These families form
a new class, from which the "fuersas 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 plaoe in the oapital town of Ibisa and in the various country towns and villagest as it is much simpler to analyse in the latter cases,
a country area - that of San Jose* - will serve as an example*
The origins and development of the "village" of San Jose* are described
above (see Section 2»4> especially pp. 59-42). Until quite recently* the local population remained almost entirely soattered 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 olose to the church; which has long been the focal point of the pariah, 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'arravaUI.") appear
to have always had a markedly entrepreneurial character compared with the land-tied "peasants" ("paaesos") living in the more isolated soattered

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farmsteads* despite their oomaon aneestry and their continuing bonds of kinship* Of "Family A"* for example, it haa long been said that "they could live on a rock" ("viurien damunt una pedra")* Prior to the civil war, they
were one of a number of looal 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 Bfli"!**^ with the notion of importing a steam-driven mill - which he did, earning himself the lasting niokname of "in X de aa mftquina* ("X of the machine")* Later* the family introduced the village's first electric generator* IB 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 motors-vehicles* and the new large modem cinemas in Ibisa-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 barf but * not satisfied with this alone - they have also developed several other businesses. The most original is attached to a cave on the Ibisa-San Joae* roadt thia has been rented by them and developed into ft small but attractive show-cave* which is included in the organised tourist

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excursions which past that way* Seeing the existence of a oaptire clientele, the brothers have gradually built up a large barbecue-restaurant and open-air theatre (featuring Ibiaan folklorio 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 hoe 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 fro* a rather poor far* 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 boon* Beginning with a snail bar in the 1930s (which no longer exists), the faaily lay 1971 had two very successful .souvenir shops in the village} an open-air bar for tourists; a snail open-air theatre (used mainly for regular performances of traditional dances by the village folklorio 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-oum-folk-muaeua.
Even outside the village nucleus, it has been the nucleated villagers
who have taken the most entrepreneurial advantage of the tourist boos* 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 beaoh-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 Jose", composed of various families who had aade a transition from farming to specialising in business - either through a craft skill or through sa individual member with unusual entrepreneurial talents. This formed the

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basis of the new business olass 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, oore accurately, the "cluster" of dwellings near the ehuroh) 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 olass and the old wealthier faro families. But by no aeans all of the wealthier families
have taken advantage of the touristic opportunities; and the reluctance
of some "senvori* ("gentlemen", defined in terns of doing preferably no work at all, and certainly no manual work) to take up commercial activities clearly weighs against their advantages in terns of literacy and initial capital* Andy conversely, the new business class includes a substantial number of upwardly»mobile individuals who appear to Hi 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* Ibiaan 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 gains1* 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 olass in San Jose*, 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 olass 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

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radioal political change*, the new business class it alto the (minority) group of Ibiiant who stand to gain the greatest long-term financial benefits from tourism.

(») "WindfoU* aaiaa from tourisa

Two American journalist a visiting Ibisa in the 1930s have described
how they Bade an unexpected present of four hundred pesetas to a poor peasant, who had shown the* spontaneous hospitality, for the dowry whose absence was delaying hit daughter's wedding* (3HOR, 1957s 660) During ay fieldwork, a young foreign resident in the San Jose* area aaked two looal women if they would whitewash hit house in the traditional manner. They agreed, quoting
the standard price for the task, but were am&aed (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 URprediotably
and Bay affect any islanders. Toe two moat important sources of windfall gains, however - land tales and house tales to outsiders * have gradually tended to assume Bore regular features, even though they do retain some element of unpredictability.
(i) Land sales i -
IB the preceding section, it is seen that the greater part of the looal financial gains fro» business activities associated with tourism goes to the people of the towns and nuclear village*. In contrast, the new wealth from land sales hat * so far at least * strikingly benefitted the country people, including tmny poorer peasants with ooastal land. This fact, together with the element of unpredictability, Bakes the land sales an important factor in
i

the current social changes on the island*
Soon after ay arrival on Ibiia, a salt-worker told me that his wages
had kept up with the cost of living, but were small by ooapariton with wages

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in tourist jobs* However, ha continued, ha oould not complain since he himself had a new house, built from the proceeds of a land-sale. Previously life had bean miserable but now, ha said:
•Todos lot da la isla tanemos "All of the islanders have plots of
terrenos, asi qua todos estamos land, so that we are all well-off
bien ahora ... H now • « ."
(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 auolaar village families in San Jose's 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* There were, ha said, about 40,000 island natives "empadronados" (in the municipal census records) at that time (i.e* in 1970). Since there ware about five people in each family, there ware thus some 8,000 families who owned all of the land on the island* Dividing some 500 square kHoaetres amongst them, this would give tha average family over 60,000 square metres of land* Assuming an average price of
20 pesetas par square metre, the average island family therefore possessed land worth over a million pesetas (about £6,000), with its value rising constantly* Ha rounded off tha argument by saying that it was not surprising that people in other parts of Spain called Ibisa "la isla da los millenaries" ("the island of the Lpeeetal millionaires"); and that it was in faot "la isla

Though orude, thasa figures agree quite wall with those cited elsewhere in this thesis, and they probably give a reasonably correct overall impression* 2
la the records of past centuries, tha ratio of total population to tha number of "hogares" ("homes" or "hearths") was consistently 4*5:1 or 5:1. But in 1965 there were apparently 40,084 parsons on Ibisa and Ferment era, divided among 12,869 "hogares", giving an average ratio of 3*11*1* This lower ratio may partly be explained "by the trends towards lower natality and towards nao-looality on tha part of young couples whose work no longer ties them to a parental home. However, it may also be affected by tha modern census method in Spain, where each auolaar family is usually counted as a separata household, even in tha oase of joint or extended households*
(Tha figures hare are from BABCBLO POMS, 1970: 153.)

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•Is rloa del mundo" ("the richest Island In the world"):
Some figures are available for land-prices on Ibisa In the nineteenth oentury, during the period 1867-1886. The price then depended alaost entirely on the land's farming quality* Dry fam land of average quality containing some established fruit trees oost about one fifth of a peseta per square metre, while Irrigated land was worth about one third of a peseta per square metre* Eighty years later, la the late 1950s, comparable land was worth

2 four pesetas and eight pesetas per square metre, respectively* Twelve

years later again, In 1970-71, such land oould fetoh anything from fifty
to five thousand pesetas per square metre, although It would not usually be purchased with farming la mind.
All of these prices are given here la pesetas per square metre, for ease
of comparison* But the basic criteria and ways of measuring land values on Iblsa have been completely transformed by tourism* Thus, la 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 1930s* 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
**** "tornall** But few people oould say with any accuracy what their farmland measured i when asked, they would say for example "una pent tornalla * meitat senbrats 1 meitat boso" ("about a hundred tornalls - half cultivated

1 SALVATOR (1886-90: X, W) The prices are converted from those given for "tcmalls*.
2DICCIONABIO &BO&RAFICO ..* (1959: XT, 193)
A tornall is approximately equal to 6 ares, or 6/100 hectares, or 600 square metres. I.e., it is about the sise of a small building plot*
L

100 tornalls, are roughly 6 hectares, i.e* the sise of an average pleoe of farmland on Ibisa.

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and half woodland"). If a small piece of land were sold, it Bight be valued by the torn≪ but farms were generally sold at a multiple of their known annual yield instead of by their extent* At present, in contrast, land on Ibisa 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:
The most valuable land is that required for hotels or blocks
of flats in the capital town and San Antonio* The current (1970-71) price
is between 4»000 and 5,000 pesetas per square metre (p«p*s*m*)| although in
some oases 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 Ibisa«town has been built on the very good soil of *ses feixea"* 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
Jose* - 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*
— 8ise* The price of similar pieces of land varies greatly aooording to the area purchased* Land that could cost between one and two hundred p*p.s.m*

All of the land prices in this section* unless otherwise stated, are for 1970-71 - when they were still rising very rapidly*

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for a plot smaller than 1 tOOO square metres eight fetoh as little as twenty p*p*s»m* if some 10tOOO square metres or more were purchased* In other words, the sane 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 Ibisa 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 flnanoial ability to wait* These oiroumstanoes 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 rooks, as at Punta de 3a 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 noa-Ibisan investment in coastal "urbanigaciones" could well be higher
than that for business activities in general (and this impression is borne
out for Spain as a whole lay Table Fifteen on page 341, above)* Nevertheless, the total length of coastline under outside ownership at present is much
last than that remaining in Ibisan hands* Moreover, an increasing minority
of Ibisans have had the foresight to sell their land in small plots to

1 Some 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 laok of planning restrictions continues). Thus there are several inland developments which have been successful* And an urbanisation which included the only "five-star" hotel on Ibisa has Just (in 1971) been developed on the crest of some of the highest cliffs on the island, at
Ka Xamema* near San Miguel* There are no true beaches in the vicinity, but
a precipitous track has been constructed for access to the smooth rooks 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'1, and partly because there are disadvantages in coastal living - e.g. storms and gales*

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private Individuals, using the capital generated in this wajr to develop the site themselves rather than sell it to an out aide 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 saall deposits on land at the beginning of the boom, selling it later at such 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.cu, sometimes considerably less in the past* However, they generally buy large pieces of land; and the Ibiaan 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 scrubs 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 Jose* 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,
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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 ft set of villas built for sale with the sites, instead of selling land-plots in a piece-meal

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 sones* (See, e.g., WIGG, 1974)

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fashion as formerly.
Many of the outsiders resident on Ibiza hare bought a plot of land and
had a house built on it* Initially, these people tended to be fkirly wealthy; and they had houses built on their own designs by a looal 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 "villa1* from a development oompany or estate agency* They naturally pay a muoh higher unit prioe than do the direct purchasers. But, in all circumstances, the outsider (and especially the foreigner) is normally expected to pay a higher price than would an Ibisa&| 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 barters) among Ibisans* the Gemeinsohaffc characteristics of exchange described in Chapter Seven are still important* Thus the prioe 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 ffrr negooi*)*
~ the seller When I was enquiring about land prices around San Jose1, one man offered to sell me a large plot of dry farmland for nun mig millo*"
(half a million pesetas, or about £3,000)* This represented a unit price of about seven or eight pesetas per square metres other local people thought that it was ridiculously cheap, and they commented that the man was "molt bambo* ("very daft11). His own reasoning - which he had explained to me at the time of the offer * was that a "pages" (i.e. a local farmer) would only

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*

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expeot to pay hi* 15-20,000 pesetas fbr the land, which was rather rough although it contained a number of oarob trees* Thus, by selling it to a foreigner at the higher price, he thought that he would be doing very well* IB the end, however, his wife and friends persuaded hia to keep the land
for the time being, perhaps selling it fbr more later* I was told that he wanted to sell the land in the first place because he was "un poe Jugador" ("fond of gambling") and had aoouBulated various debts ("deutefl"). He himself said that he needed the money for his children's education. &ut, either way. it was his personal oiroumstanoes 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 "vendria aolt barat* orec. perque no t£ fills i sa seua terra no 11 serveix per res'* ("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 eaoh of his children, 30 that his attitude now wasi "me 4s igual si el venc o si a* el gued - Ja tenc 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) *&L1 t$ terrenoa per a vendre*
perd aeapre cobra molt ear, perque f& negocia." ("He has plots for sale, but he always charges a lot, because he la a businessman.")
g* The various factors already discussed have led to wide and often anomalous variations in land-prices on Ibisa* This appears to be especially characteristic of the present boom period: the old oriteria for evaluating land have largely disappeared, and the new ones have not yet baoome 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

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present uncertainty is clearly very favourable to shrewd individuals, agents, and land speculators of all kinds.
The new planning regulations which were put forward fbr 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 tone. 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 muoh more difficult to sell small plots of land on an individual basis, since quite large minimum limits were envisaged fbr land-plots surrounding new houses in the agricultural zones*
(ii) House sales; -

2 The sale of traditional farm houses, or "flnoas", has also been a very

important source of "windfall11 gains to country fasdlies. In 1970-71, such nouses - 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 thea with the "primitive" life of the past,
and with diseomfbrt - especially during the winter months* There were many

There was some controversy over this in 1971, and it seemed possible that
some amendments might be made to aooomodate the traditional pattern of scattered development in agricultural areas* (See, e.g., IBISA INSIGHT, no.92, week ending 6 Hay 1971, p*2) It may also be noted that the planning restrictions would benefit country people wishing to buy land for agricultural use*
The terfc "finca" means "farm11 or "farmstead1*, but the foreign residents and estate agents on Ibisa use it indiscriminately to refer to any country house
in the traditional style, and this usage has achieved quite general acceptance.

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traditional houses in the countryside around San JOB6 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 roadst electricity and other amenities. (See figure Eight on page 54» above.) But, to many outsiders - especially to foreigners seeking seclusion from industrialisation - the picturesque "fincaa" appear to have
an almost irresistible charau 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 "finoas* is therefore rising rapidly j 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 Jose* man was:
"La vendre1 cman vemcuen prou sous* oerd no la vendre* barata - es veu QUO oada any pqJen 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 hoaes by people living in industrial areas has caused ouch 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."
(HDCKKKBT, 197**) 1
It might be expected, that there would be even more resentment on Ibisa • where the outsiders very often are really foreigners, and where the contrast in wealth between many of the visitors and the islanders (espeoially in the

For comments on "the cottage rush" in Wales, see FISHLOCK (1972). /aid for •*Mlftr comments on second homes on Jersey, see (MEN (1974)*

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recent past) has been greater* But, at the tine 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" houae*building on Ibisa,

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 faot 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 Xbisa 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 bouse 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 ("Jomalers") 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 "meatre d'obres" ("master of works*), who is nearly always a local man and not infrequently a relative. The "•estres* vary greatly in their experience and prices t they have often begun
as "pioapedrera* (builder's labourers, lit. "stone-hammerers"), then have
taken jobs on the side, finally gaining enough experience to work "per sa
seua oonta" ("on their own behalf"). Some mestres are willing to undertake work "a lornali" (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 •Hying a house through an agency or developer as do most outsiders*

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have taken up the occupations of "pioapedrer* or "mostre d'obres" (see footnote 1. page 36*9)*
— 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 pieoe of land to build on from an inheritance - if notf they **y 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 Ibisa* The wealthier townspeople usually had somewhere to stay on their maJoral-run farms, and they now often have a second home on their favourite pieoe 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 pahisaes 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 Jose") 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

This point is important since it indicates a high degree of flexibility on Ibisa. 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*

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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 exploited1 - 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 Jose* 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* Bather 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

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foreigners unexpectedly bought a plot of land fron a country nan living some way from the nucleus of San Jose*; who was then making a living as a picapedrer* 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* la 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 Ibisa, aa also to Catalonia in general, from the southern mainland.) On Ibisa, too, there are various factors which operate in favour of the alread>»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 true that the people who were wealthier before tourism were more likely than others to have pahisses 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 acoomodation (with the exception of the houses of maJorals), have meant a relatively even distribution of windfall gains from land- and house-sales on Ibisa* Since the sums involved are very large by comparison with pre~touristic wealth, such windfall gains have therefore produced much sooial 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

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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 sprays such is the case on Ibisa, where the low value of the coastal land was further reduced in the past by the danger of attaoks by pirates* Consequently, the owners of coastal land on Ibisa (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 heir1*), 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 "mes ben vist" ("the best regarded")• In return for the major portion, the hereu is expected to look after his parents until their death - oaring for them and paying any medical 2
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 *legftimes** There are numerous possible variations to aUow for different family traditions and circumstances, but they do not affeot the argument here* The main point is that country people have been anxious to preserve as such 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?or a more exact account of the Ibisan system, see COSTA RAMON (l966-6?a) and CODIGO CIVIL ... (1966)*
Thus, although the hereu was normally better-off than the other ohildren in the past - when land was the only major form of wealth on Ibiza - this did depend on the sise of the farm and other factors*

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less fertile ooastal land aore often went to the less-favoured *legitiaarig" (birthright-holders)*
la other words, the tystea of inheritanoe reinforced the tendency for ooastal 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 aeabers of some country families* The saaller area of ooastal land inherited by the lagitimaris
has suddenly ao quired a auoh greater value than the flirfflland belonging to the hereu* 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 oust
look after his parents, and he tends to be restricted to the low-status work of the fara since he is unlikely to find a aajoral (asauaing that he can afford one) and even wage-labourers are very scarce*
t

Although this inversion phenoaenon is only temporary - since people are increasingly taking the new factors into account when dividing up their property it has aeant an iaportant disruption both of the traditional inheritance patterns and of the established order of social inequality. In the words
of a Malloroan lawyer - referring to siailar cases on Malloroa - it is often "las ovejas aegras" ("the black sheep1*) of the faaily who have benefit ted
aost froa the iapaet of touriaa on land-values. In response to these probleas, there has been a general tendency on Ibixa in recent years to abandon the traditional system of inheritanoe in favour of an even division of the parental property aaong all the children; although there is still much uncertainty over this, and it was a common these of debate among older aen

It appear* that broadly siailar 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*508). 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 inheritanoe in the place concerned*

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trying to settle their affairs in 1970-71.

(o) Continuous gains from tourism employment

Prior to tourism, there were fewer jobs than people seeking them on
Ibisa, 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 m^iQrtJji) **• 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, outting wood, Baking charcoal, building, reaping, harvesting the salt, etc.) - filling in the gaps with work on a smallholding, fishing, trapping game, and other activities. Women oould also contribute
to the family income with hose handicrafts suoh as embroidery, often organised on a putting-cut basis by traders in the town. Unmarried girls from very
poor families oould also support themselves by living-in as domestic servants to wealthier families, although this form of employment was generally disliked* At all times in recently 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 Jose* illustrate, e*g*s
"Graois en es de Ca's Costes "Thanks to those of Ca's Costes
ojtte mos ban dat d'aHameat* who have given us food*
MCI nan dat gaspatzos d'ordi They have given us sops of barley
frits amb aigu d'es torrentJ* cooked in water from the streamJ"
(gjvisseno)
Tourism has completely reversed this situation* In 1970*71, there was
a severe shortage of all types of employee on Ibisa, 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

Inheritance has always been a potential source of t ension on Ibisa, 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.

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season lasted about seven months, and only skeleton-staffs were retained •any hotels during the winter months - often at lower rates of pay - but there was a growing tendency to re-employ the same staff eaoh 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 a»all business-people and self-employed craftsmen on Ibisa in 1970-71, apart from those people still working the land full* or part-timej 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 centralization
of the eighteenth century, the highest administrative posts on Ibisa 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 Ibisaas that they would only employ outsiders when no native workers were available, and there were occasionally advertisements in the local newspaper

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employment with the rider ''Ibioenoos 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'enricueixen* ("the Ibisans become hardly any richer"). (PORCSL, 1968: 33) An the evidence, however, suggests that PORCKL'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 Ibisa 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 Ibisa; 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;
£ denotes the white-collar workers without administrative or technical

1 Cf. sections 7.7 (o) and 8.4 (a), above. Similar attitudes and stereotypes also exist in mainland Catalonia: see, e.gs. CAWD3L (1965) and PINILLA DB
LAS HKRAS (1973: 130).

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authority; £ denotes the skilled workers; and J8 denotes the semi-skilled

and unskilled workers* The BO at relevant findings are shown in Table

Nineteen*

TABLE 19

NATIVE AND MIGRANT BMPLOY&BS IN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN BARCELONA (1970-71): A CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION

Employee*

Occupational categories
A-»B

i

Natives
Migrants

_ - r-. Manufacturing S«
5.59] 13.50 1
0.62 | 2.24]

41.00 j 72.68 ! 100

Non-manufkoturing Sector

Native* ! 17.04 35.17 85.01 97*63 100
Migrants , »91 * 00

All figures are expressed as percentages*

Source: PINILLA DE LAS HKBAS (1973).

The author of the first surrey-report also includes an English summary, from

whioh 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 B, 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 modem 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. 1*

In the non-manufacturing sec tort - "These results show the existence of another migration whioh 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 oareers are of a very different kind and should not be confused with those of the manual non-skilled workers," (PINILLA D£ LAS HERAS, 1973: 13* and 107)

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The results require little farther comment. I would expect the results of such a survey on Ibisa to be broadly comparable. It may also be noted that there appear to be sooe parallels between the native/non-native distribution of employment and that of business-ownership (of* the data in section

10.3 (*)» *>oTe).

Thus - as in all other spheres except public administration - it appears that natire Ibisans are in a Tery favourable position vis-a-vis outsiders

in the occupational structure on the island. And the truly privileged general position of Ibisan (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 - exeept for Madrid - all being eastern and

the latter western provinces)*

TABLE 20

THK PER CAPITA INCOME (PSSSTA8) OF THE SIX HIGHEST AND
THE SIX LOWEST PROVINCES IN SPAIN IN 1967

27,263
26,833
25*460
25,441
24,385

The Highest
1) Viioaya
2) Madrid
3) Guiptfsooa
4^ Barcelona
5(Gerona
6 Baleares

Provinces

68,069
67,927
66,520
63,261
59,938
58,663

The Lowei i . ...-.
45 Orense
- 46 Granada
i 47 Gleeres
| 48 Bad&jos
: 49 Jaen
! 50 Alaerfa

Source: Banco de Bilbao, MLa rexga naoional de Bspana y su distribuoidn provincial, 1* cited in CAMBRE MARINO (1972).

(ii) Wage Variationst -

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 taster than the cost of living. This is shown both by the statistics in Table Fourteen (on page 335, above) and by the graphio

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oral aooounts by Ibisans of the difficulty of earning a living by wage-labour
4

in the past, as contrasted with the present ease*
In analytical terms, it would be Tery surprising were this not so.
The general level of prioes on Ibisa (i.e. that of consumer goods, as opposed to real estate) - though subject to some degree of local inflation because
of tourisa - is largely dependent on prioes elsewhere in Spain (whence come nest 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 Ibisa (and in similar tourist zones) than in Spain as a whole. And this divergence between, the factors determining most prioes 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 Ibisa* Some of the variations are unsystematiet 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 .lornal (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

This is also a major theme of the numerous first-person life-histories recorded by FBASKR among the villagers of "Tajos", near Malaga, As one of them put iti "Costa del Sol they call this now: the hunger coast is what it used to be** (Cited in FRAS&R, 1973: page unnumbered)

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a continual shortage of faro-workers, which was tending to force the agricultural wages up to non-viable levels. For example, one farmer had to pay ¥> pesetas per hour to get labourers to build a retaining wall on
his far* 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 baring to make increasing concessions over the minor expenses which the •ijorals had formerly been expected to meet themselves* One San Jos£ 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 Bulalia, 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
4

best farms*

In other labouring jobs, the old concept of the Jornal has in most oases given way to hourly rates, with higher rates for overtime ("boras extras") - which is very common. The degree of urgency of the work also affects the ratess in 1970-71, builders' labourers in the San Jose* area were generally being paid 55-40 pesetas per hour, but some men were temporarily attracted

The prices fetched by farm produce are linked to local touristic factors only in a few oases (vegetables, fruit and fish are sometimes bought by local hoteliers and restaurantours, for example)* In general, they depend on the national and international market-prices for almonds, carobs, apricots, barley, etc.

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to some half-finished hotels at the other end of the island (San liiguel) where the owners were offering 60 pesetas per hour in an atteapt to meet their "deadline" ("feoha top*").
In Jobs of a longer-torn nature, the pay is often quoted by the month
or even by the year. Foreigners employing cleaning-women in the San Jose*
area in 1970-71 were paying rates ranging from 23-50 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 tKit 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 ffi IBIZA, 23 Aug. 70) There are shortages of all types of labour, but they are most aoute
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 mare foreign languages. Such skills naturally command higher rates of pay: thus the official Jornal for tourist guides - as from 1st November, 1971 * ranges from TOO to 1,470 pesetas, according to the number of languages and the times worked (day or night, weekdays or fiestas). (BDITUR, 14 May 71) The wide variations and the different methods of payment make it
diffioult 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

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*

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young Ban who had spent a season as a waiter told me that it was really
•aa faena seVmal paaada a rivissa" ("the worst paid work on Ibisa"), because it meant spending the best aonths of the year working almost all day (not literally all day - the work was split into three section*, 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 baok 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 Jose* 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 Ibisa 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*

Kven 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 aoasonality, 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)*

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10.4 FINANCIAL LOSSES?

In any situation of rapid inflation people on fixed incomes - especially elderly pensioners and inralids - tend to suffer because of their poor bargaining -sower* In general, however* such effects on Ibisa have been mitigated ty various factors* Firstly, tourism has contributed moet to
-i

local inflation in the o&se 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 froa any affective considerations - rather

2 few older Ibisans 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

The inflation of consumer-goods prices on Ibisa 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 oost-of-living indices - without any commensurate increase in wages - in
the years of "the misery*1, prior to tourism. Thus, the (July) eost-o*-living index for Palma de Halloroa rose as follows between 1936 and 1948:
1936«100f 1945*294.4* 1946-386.7J 1947«429.6j 1948.472.6. (I.N.B., 1951) This 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 suoh trends are limited at present both by the persistenee of Cemeinsohaft features and by the seasonality of tourism, which means that •any 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 neartgr) during the summer months.

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returned to the island for their retirement with annuities or fixed pensions* 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
A

livelihood when their amo (owner, boss) has sold land to developers* I
was told of several oases in the San Joa4 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.gs* 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

One man returned to San Jose" some fifteen years ago "with a lorry-load of suitcases" and bought frequent rounds in the village bars, but he is now almost too poor to afford a drink for himself, it seems* Another man - who receives a fixed retirement pension from North America - refused to have electricity in his house when it became available. He says that he does not want it, but the neighbours say that he is too poor.
Such cases are relatively uncommon, however, since there are few real
social isolates on Ibis*, even in the case of childless elderly people - for whom there is often the traditional resort of informal adoption: "An es que no t< fills, el dimcni li d<5na nebots.*" ("To those without sons the devil gives nephews*" - Ibisan proverb)*
2
I do not know of concrete examples on Ibisa* But Miriam Cribson, who started
* study on Formentera in the summer of 1970, has told me of such oases there*

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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 THS NEtf STRUCTURE OP WEALTH AND INCOMES

The relatively-even distribution of wealth on Ibisa prior to tourism
has undoubtedly been a vital factor in the distribution of the new wealth created by tourism. Bven 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*
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 Jose" whether they thought that there was more or less "equality" on Ibisa as a result of tourism, they found it difficult to

2 make up their minds and sometimes gave contradictory replies*

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

This thesis attempts to give a balanced view of the changes taking place on Ibisa (from the standpoints 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 3KRRA (1971).
The contradiction was sometimes only apparent - referring to different dimensions of inequality.

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professional people continue such as before, while others have turned to

1 2 •ore lucrative employment or to entrepreneurial activities* 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*
Gemeinsohaft influences have also been important in some oases* Thus
some of the old-wealthy and professional people have definitely been inhibited in profiting from tourism because of the restricted values and range of activities thought appropriate for a senyor* And even some of the successful entrepreneurs have limited ambitions t for example, one self-employed builder (me*tre d'obres) had an immaculate modern home in
San Antonio and by 1971 - being content with his continuing income from
the occasional supervision of a small group of regular employees - he devoted much of his time to fishing, hunting and similar traditional leisure pursuits, generally living *sa vlda d*un senvor* ("the life of a gentleman") rather
than continuing in an anoaio pursuit of further wealth for its own sake*
Again, a blacksmith neighbour In San Jose* told me that he had enough work coming In for him to employ several apprentices, but he added that he was content with his life as it was and he did not want the "mal de cap* ("headache") of extra paperwork, insurance and so on* He preferred to take on only such work as he could carry out himself, making due allowance for fiestas and
odd days off for fishing* It was also noteworthy that several entrepreneurs
in San Jose* - including some of the most successful - had inland farms
(either inherited or bought) on which they had introduced electricity, irrigation and modern techniques (although the farms were worked by majorals): their major reasons included considerations of traditional status and also

For example, ex-trainee teachers or priests (there wero only a couple of trainee priests left IB the seminary on Ibisa in 1971) find easy promotion in hotel administration*
The village schoolmaster in San Jose1, for example, had a lucrative sideline la organising folklorio dances in partnership with a village entrepreneur.

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of long-term security9 even though one nan was said to be drilling an expensive well * per cue 11 divertoix*1 ("because it amuses him"). These oases contrast quite strikingly with others (no less typical) like that
of the >an 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 me'e oapritxos" ("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 Ibiaa today often specifically refer to the islanders 9 characteristic patience, tolerance and general cheerfulness as a reason for deciding to settle there* Another - possibly related - non-economic factor influencing Ibisan ambitions is
that it is relatively difficult to translate increased wealth into higher status on a small island like Ibisat although there are in fact not a few

2 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 Jose", for example, was to provide if possible a secure livelihood for each of their children* 5 In the past, this was only an ideal

Any symptoms of haste or worry in San Jose* soon prompt the single-word
aevioe: "PaoienoiJ H ("Patience."1). A traditional acceptance of the implications of mortality was also expressed in the common proverb: "P+aoui en cent anys tots serom calves!* ("In a hundred years time we shall all be bald*")*
Tut mote also the "blurring" of the social strata, discussed in Chapter Eleven* *hia is the other side of the coin of the oases mentioned above of people
who are unconcerned over making money because they are childless.

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for aoat frnilies, but it ia now attainable for an increasing number. It was the reason why one San Joae* man bought two inland farms near Santa Bulalia and installed irrigation and electricity on them: one of his sons has a shop in a good position; two others are to inherit the faros (although, ironically, both at present prefer other occupations); and his two daughters hare opted for cash in lieu of land* The ambitions of the blacksmith •entioned 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 *t Gala Vedella for two holiday ohalets (one for each child, again)| apart from which he already owned a dry farm near Santa hiulalia, worked
by a mayoral (the farm had been bought for him by his parents out of the proceeds from acme land-sales) * ao he was also making careful provisions
for his children, even though he was only in his late 30s.
In other ways, too, the Ibiaana have adapted easily to the entrepreneurial challenges of tourism* They take pride in being adaptable ("moldeables")
and in being able to "make-do" ("apanyar-ae") under any circumstances. Their techniques of do-it-yourself boat-making and house-building have already
been mentioned, and they have shown great skill ia 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 familistio shrewdness often stand them ia 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*

While aware of the dangers of using global types, I was frequently put in mind of BENEDICT'S "Apollonian type** when watching traditional Ibixan 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 Nietsohe's fine phrase, even in the exaltation of the dance he * remains what he is, and retains his civic name'*" (BENEDICT, 1935: 56*57) Ia the economic sphere, most Ibisana strongly deprecate extravagance, or what they call "tirar sous" ("throwing away money")* la 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*

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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 Jose1, people replied with little hesitation that the old people were mostly faraers still; the middle-aged were often builders* traders or small businessman; and the younger people were mostly "empleats* ("employees") in touristio 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 oases 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 oeteris 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 upwardty-mobile entrepreneurial natives and outsiders! the poorer people are supplying the
bulk of the new employees; and BdLgrant workers meet the surplus demand, •specially la 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 Iblsa may soon resemble that common to most '.Veatern industrial countries: much short-range mobility and less long-range (at least within one generation)*

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CHAPTER 11

SOCIAL STRATA

11.1 THE TRADITIONAL PSRIODt SOCIAL ESTATES AND SLAVERY

Ever since the reeonquest (until recently, at least) the various
major social strata on Ibisa have tended to lire 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.) & 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 extranural 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 authorityt -
At the summit was the castle (eg oust ell), the abode of the governador
(the governor, i.e. the king's representative). Just below was the church of Santa Maria and the residences of the batlles (the bailiffs, i.e. the

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representatiTes of the ecclesiastical oonseigneurs).
These were ultimately the most powerful people on the island under
the feudal system, even though their power was always teapered by the existence of the Universitat and the islanders' franqueses* The seigneurs whoa 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 Franquloias". 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 govemador and batlles thus formed in effect a separate "estate* t that of the mainland interests on Tbiaa. 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*

1 MACABICH (1966-6?: I, 230*31) There were occasional complaints that the garrison was not in fact always maintained.
The 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 Aragdn ordered that trials without the due intervention of native counsels should cease (MACABICH, 1966-6?: I, 302*303)* But the order had to be repeated in 1390 by King Juan I of Aragdn (MACABICH,

1966*6?) I, 306-307)* Some governors were apparently quite well-liked by the Ibisans (MACABICH, 1966*67$ I, 407 and 463 et aeq.) § but others took advantage

of the island'* isolation to ignore both the complaints and the king's orders concerning thea* 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 meroedes no son ma's que twos oaga oalsas. Esorfbaalo a Su Uagestad" ("Tour 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*671 I9 407)

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(ii) The *•& major": -
On the same level as the church, and then slightly lover down the hill, came the houses of the native notables, mainly the wealthiest land-owning families who had large farms (cultivated by maJorals 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 *B& major"* (See page 2J»4, above.)
Though yielding in sovereignty, these land-owning families were in
one sense rore 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 oould generally rely on their wealth or influence to get away with anything - even murder, it seems*
(***) The "ma ait.lana": -
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 powerftd as the members of the ma major, though of lower
2 status* Towards the base of the hill lived the artesans, each major occupation

For example, Juan de la ttata, the official visitor for the archbishop of Tarragona, investigating * recent murder, reported in 1392 that the law on
the island was ineffective beoause: "tot horn escapa ab diners* e dien ad palesamentt matam aytal horn, cue Ja sabem que si ha a parar; 90 e». darem diners q> fugireai e absentarnos-ea de Xa ilia* ("everyone gets of f with money, and they say here bluntly: lot*s kill so-and-so, since we know things «sy be arranged; that is, we will give some money or we will flee and stay away from the island for a time*1). (Document cited in KACABICH, 1966-6?: I, 291)
itoe 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 quart<5) leading them*
(MACABICH, 1966-67: i, I9in*)

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having its own guildI 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 markets and finally, nearest the aea, oame the houses of the fisher&en and sailors*
These people, collectively the second estate of islanders - the "ma mitJana* - ranged from the wealthy and influential to the most humble town-dwellers. All of them, however, were members of a privileged minority of Ibisansj the people of the vila (town), later to be dignified - despite its smallness * with the title of "oiutat" ("city"). Apart from those townspeople who owned feixea (irrigated plots near the town), they all also had non-rural occupations,
(iv) Slaves (esolaus) or captives (oatJus); -
There were slaves (mostly North Afrioan prisoners or their deaoendants)
on Ibisa 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 stratlfloational order prior to tourism* The existence of slavery also increased the social distance between non-manual and manual occupations (and personal service) on Ibisa*
The use of slaves (see pp.56-58, above) was usually restricted to the
rather few wealthy oitlsens who could afford to purchase and keep them* Acting as these people's agents, the slaves could sometimes be quite powerful by proxys
"los Esolavos Moros de dentro la "the Moorish Slaves from within the
Villa son muohos. y efeetuando no Town are many, and are practising not a
poeas libertades y muehas few liberties and many insolences
insolenclas de dla y de noche por by day and by night in the countryside,
la oampana, en da&o y pellgro de to the fearm and danger of those poor
aquellos pobres moredores." country-dwellers."
(Castillan* SUNER, 16*90* 433)

The last recorded instance of slavery on Ibisa (and in Spain) was In the 1620s* The slave, a Spanish woman, had been bought (together with her parents) from the Moors by an Ibisan, who for some time resisted even the attempts of the Spanish "Cortes'* to have the woman and her daughter freed* (UACABICH, 1966-6?: II, 214 et seq.)

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(•) £• O*»P (the country) i the *mi de fora"

The country people belonged to the third and lowest estate, the *ml de fora" They were referred to either aa "pageaos" ("peasants'*) or "forans" ("outsiders")* they were literally "beyond the pale", living outside the oity valla in farmsteads dispersed over the whole island. Even within the last one hundred years, the town fishermen (the lowest respectable stratum of townspeople) hare looked upon the peasants as being "worse than the Moors".
They were, it ia true, represented in the Universitat s but their practical participation in local government was severely limited, as waa shown by their periodic complaintsi although the representatives of the country people technically held a country residence, they in faot often lived more or less permanently in the town* And the town-country dichotomy waa 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*56~58t 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 auoh complaints against native authorities) that the petition ever reached the

1 "peores que los moros" (SALVATOR, 1866-90: I,

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kinf* It waa 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 theaselyea 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 ooeroed into

supplying the rioher townspeople as well* (SUfrJSR, 1690, See also the

Quotation on page 394, above*)

Oral legends hint at other foras of subservience:
• it

"Diu que ... aizd vol dir que no 4s "It is said that . . . this means that
segur .*. name's 4s un ouento ... it is not certain * * . it is just a
que quan manaven es eapellaas a story • * * that when the priests ruled
Sivissa aatigament *,* fa molt de on Ibisa in ancient times ... a very temps «•• molt antes des temps des long tine ago . • • long before the time •eus dtlelos «•• hi havia un eostum of my grandfathers » • . there was a
que deien *sa primera nit': aixd custom which they called 'the first night't vol dir que es oapella - no s4 si which means that the priest - I don't know era es mossenyer des poble o no - if it was the village priest or not - tenia es dret de jeure amb una dona had the right to lie with a woman the
sa primera nit ••• antes des seu first night • . . before her husband . . .
home **« deien que '1'havien de they said that 'they had to unplug
destapar'* I 4s per mor d'aixd her'* And it is because of that* that
que s'hereu es diu de broma 'es the hereu is Jokingly called 'the
fill des eapella1 ' ... diu que aixo son of the priest* * . * it is said that es considerava una honra: sa gent it was considered an honour: the people
devia ser molt bamba llavor. oust have been very silly then* It
Pareix mentidai Com ho diuen, seems incredible** As they say it* there
devia haver-hi algof perd pot ser must be something in it, but it might be
ouento tambe* - a que li pareix?" just a story - what do you think?"

(jSivissene) 1

2 I know of no documentary evidence of such a practice on Ibisa, It is

This legend - like those about the times of the Inquisition ("es temps de s'lnouiaioid") - was told with a slightly embarrassed air, as the careful hedging indicates: not because of prudery* but largely because the San Jose* people were worried that they might be thought stupiA for giving any oredenoe to such stories - several expressed scornful scepticism in this case*

In particular, some reference might be expected in the extensive sources published or oited in MACABICH (1966-6?). Although - as a priest himself - he might have been tempted to gloss such items, he did not do so in other oases* 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, 1966-6?: I, 290, 334)

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possible that - despite the ourious circumstantial details - the legend may

be an Ibisan rariant of imported tales of the practice elsewhere in Spain

(known there as "el dereoho de peraada"). 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 Ibisa - as elsewhere - was very severe by present-day standards.

For sexual offences suoh as concubinage or adultery a man sight be sentenced

to run the gauntlet, though not usually for a first offence* For other

offences, 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* Sueh 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 la the fifteenth century*.

"Item estatuim e manam que si
algona persona, per sugestid del
Snemieh de humana nature, lo
•spirit diabdlioh, renegars**
blasfemara", e mal dira* a Deu, o a la sagrada Verge Maria, o altres aunts de paradls, aquell aytal maldridor, blasfemador o renegador dessu** ditt lo qual per son abominable peeat sia estat fet serrent et subjugat al dimoni o als seus angels deputats, si horn de honor e de estat es, hage de pagar XXX llinres* £ si sera! persona de simple estat o eondicid, HI meses b»ge estar e fer penitenoia en lo career, a pa e aygua oontinuament dejunant* £ oasodn diumenge e festa eolent dins los tres meses dossils dits, haga estar en la esoala a la porta de la Bsglesia del dit Castell pdblicament, tant com durars* lo offici de missa major, ab peus desoalpos e

"Item we decree and command that if
any person, prompted by the
Enemy of human nature, the
diabolical spirit, reneguos,
blasphemes, and evil speaks to God, or to the saored Virgin Mary, or other
saints of paradise, that same evil-speaker, blasphemer or renegade aforesaid, who for his
abominable sin may have become
servant and subjugated to the devil or to his appointed angels, if he is a
man of honour and estate* he must pay thirty pounds* And if he is a person of simple estate or condition* he must spend three months and do penance in prison, continually fasting on bread and water* And on each Sunday and feast-day falling within the aforesaid three months, he must stay on the steps at the door of the Church of the said Castle in public, as long as shall last the office of the principal mass, with bare feet and stripped

1 *oorrer la vila ab assets'* (MACABICH. 1966-6?: I, 335)

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despullat en easdsa9 ab grossa to his shirt, with a large chain
eadena al coll, tenint un brando* around his neck, holding a burning
oresmnt en la ma, talment que el wax taper in his hand, so that his
seu peoat tan abominable sia a tots so abominable sin may be manifest
manifest ... *1 to all * . . H

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

2 privileges ignored or abused.

11.2 THE IHTEKMEDIATE PSEIODJ 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;

Catalan. Prom a decree against blasphemy of 1410, on the occasion of the ecclesiastical visit of Juan de Siete Castillos, whose text is published in MACABICH (1966-6?! I, 338-40). Cf* the following estribot. recited in San Jose* in 1971:

"SB aquesta ilia d'Eivissa "On this island of Ibiaa
no guanya es que to* ra<5; he who is right does not win;
que guanya es que te* pessetes he wins who has pesetas
i sa Justlcia a favor." and with the judicature in his favour."
(Kivisseno)

rhere 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, ty 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.

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(i) At the beginning of the period after the reoonquest. Ibiza was a frontier island with settlers of varied backgrounds, though mainly Catalan* (See seetioa 3*1) But, by the end of the period, the island's sooial structure and culture had crystallised into well-defined patterns sanctioned by centuries-old local traditions*
(ii) The sparse population after the reoonquest 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.
Nevertheless, the feudal order had provided an important element of continuity, which was now removed by the national constitutional reforms and the integration of Ibisa into the centrally-governed Castilian state* And it was during the intermediate period that the demographic pressures
on the island's resources reaohed its peak, with large-scale emigration of surplus labour (in eontrast 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 i860:
— 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 oould neither
write nor read*

— There were 53 priests; 14 nuns; 104 official employees ("active" and "passive"]|
120 soldiers and 424 naval seamen; 2,435 "propietarioe" (landowners); 1.778 "arrendatarios* (lit* "renters", but mostly in faot share-faraers); 12 businessmen; 37 captains of boats; 419 seamen; 3 secondary teachers; 1 private

See Chapters Three and Four* Other factors - such as the general expansion
of oommunioations and the discovery of the Amerioas - were also important
in stimulating emigration, of course*

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teacher; 12 lawyers; 9 doctors and surgeons; 5 pharmacists; 2 agricultural specialists; 3 arohiteots and master-builders; 11 manufacturers; 177 small businessmen; 6 primary school teachers; 157 sohoolchildren; 131 secondary students; 379 artesans; 26 wage-labourers in faotories; 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, th*nf schools had made very little impact on the overwhelming non-literate majority of Ibisans* There were very few avenues for social mobility of any kind, in fkot, despite the removal of the legalised estate divisions of the feudal period* The possibilities for cultivating new land were limited to rooky hills9 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 ef 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,

2 despite the traditional dislike of this type of work* Other poor islanders

1 These figures (i.e. those for eaoh occupational category) sum to
They are based on the national Spanish census of i860, although the source used here is in fact "CLASIflCACIQN ... " (1862)*
Cf. the national figures given in &INER (1968: 6)*

2See, 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 *3T PAUL (1937).
It may be observed that the present situation is rather different. In
1970-71, many countrywomen 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 tonens 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 Ibisans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, over two per cent of the "active" population in i860 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* artesanry 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 1930s; with a continuing tendency for people to drift from the land, firstly to look for work in the town and secondly * falling 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 Ibiia 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 Malloroa). there was no outlet on Ibiaa for the surplus labour in industrialisation* Hence the old feudal estates on Ibisa 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, oulture

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and association - with Tory little social mobility from one group to another*

The Ibisan status groups of the intermediate period were roughly
similar in membership and looation to the former feudal estates. There were, however, Tarious changes in these respeots (as well as the relational ohange from feudalism to constitutional rule), whioh are outlined in the following sections (b) and (o)»

(b) The growth of the extramural towni "mttmsons" and "banyaculs"

In the latter part of the traditional period, there had been a constant pressure for extramural expansion* And by the Kiddie of the intermediate period the extnusural town had become much larger than the old walled city. Not surprisingly, the people who regained in the walled city, Dalt Vila. tended to be the aristocratic land-owners (or, sore 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 whioh roughly corresponded with the medieval m& aafor and m& mitlana*
The walled city was now the home of the *genyorsn, who were also
known by the popular nickname of "es mussons* (a corruption by the people of Sa Marina of the title "Mossen". formerly used for all notable persons). This group of islanders, largely reconciled to Castilian rule - and, indeed,

There are some interesting parallels between these observations on Ibisa and those on the social stratification of Spain as a whole by &INER, who has labelled the national post-feudal structure in the nineteenth century •a defective class society" (MNKR, 1968: 5).

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participating in it - constituted an elite "leisure class", of which HAVAHBQ uncharitably said at the turn of the century:
"En Ivisa mas que en otra parte "In Ibisa more than in any other part
alguna, proporoionalmente, existe whatever, proportionately, there exists
una masa neutra que no haoe nada, a neutral mass which does nothing,
que no se dedioa a nada, y que por which dedicates itself to nothing, and
mas que sea pcbre, lleva la vida which despite being poor leads a life
que en los grandes centres de like that of the young rich and
poblaoion haoen los joVenes rioos frivolous people of the large centres
y calaveras ... "2 of population ..."
The extramural town - whose Inhabitants were vulgarly nicknamed "banvaouli* ("arse-bathers") - 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

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

1 The native "elite" is described as a "leisure class" (after VEBLBN, 1925) because it lacked certain other common attributes of an elites In particular, it was not a "p*w*r elite" (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. (NAVARHO, 1901: 11 6) 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 F/JAHKES CARDQNA (1958| 152-53, and passim).
*These nicknames are discussed in MACABICH (1966-6?i IV, 416-17).

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country areas was roughly parallel - and related - to that of the town,
though with a broader base and smaller apex* Apart froa 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 ma Jorals; (*•*•) •• Egos* *»••• anyone who owned a fans, whether he worked it himself and was therefore a "peasant** (pages) or left it to a majoral in which case (assusdng he did no regular manual work) he might be a senyori (iii) es aaJorals, i.e. share-farmers; (iv) es Jornalers* 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 PifiaODl CLASSES AND PLURALISM

(*) ?hB blurring of traditional status boundaries,

Even in 1970-71, the traditional status groups were still of considerable significance in social interaction on Ibisa* Despite a strong traditional dislike of pretensions (preaumlr* voler flgurar) 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* There was popular appreciation of anyone of relatively high status who mixed freely and without discernible condescension among people of lower status (though

1 In this context it may be noted that high-status Ibisans often assert that Iblsan society has long been distinguished by its lack of social distances* (See, e.g., PAJAHNBS CAHDONA, 1938.) Low-status Ibisans 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*

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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 Ibixan feudal estates

as though they had never eeased to exist* And strong embarrassment resulted

fron Meetings "out of context" by Ibisans of differing social status* 1 For

example, I was acquainted with people of widely-differing status in San Josi,

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 Tillage

schoolmaster happened to be there. The schoolmaster would greet him aaiably

by his house-name, and would add - because of the fa riser's patent embarrassment

that he intended to leave shortly. But the ftinner would assure him that he

oould 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 oall 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*

Frequent reference is made in this thesis to objective circumstances whioh make for greater social equality on Xblsa 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 1 s smallneas and restricted scope for the differentiation of life-styles. Yat, 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 Ibisa at the beginning of this century (BUSGO IBA»JS£f 1948)* It tells how a Malloroan nobleman of reduced means took refuge frost his financial problems on a farm in an isolated coastal area of San Jos2. and then fell in love with the fanaer'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 and* reconciled to
it by the Kalloroan's courage in the duel, he agreed to the marriage - on condition that the couple should go away to Malloroa afterwards, in order to avoid continual embarrassments* The title of the novel - "The Dead Command1* - 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 Ibisan 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 whioh Ibisan society had crystallised in the centuries of sooial isolation after the reconouest of 1235*

1*06

One working-class family * who lived in a modern flat next to one oeoupied by sos* people from the poor fishing-quarter, Sa Penya - told me several times that they were perfectly happy to become friendly with the "penyers". but
said that it was difficult to associate with them freely because they (i.e. believe themselves inferior ("Ellos se oreen inferiores.").
Nevertheless* a number of factors have greatly eroded the social
distances between members of the traditional status groups on Ibica 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 oases from families which were wealthy prior to tourism, but their wealth is now founded o& business activities rather than on gentlemanly land- ownership.
The old definition of a senypr 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 Ibisa include numerous families of relatively-humble

In the novel referred to above (page ¥>5n.) 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.

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origins* It is difficult for them to translate their new wealth very rapidly into higher status because of the island's snail sise and face-to-face character. But they can natch the former aenyora 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 sore other places, but they were of equal significance: the aenyor oould be distinguished anywhere by his clothing and bearing alone, or even simply by his "white1* hands* Today, such distinctions still exist in modified forma, but they are much less obvious and are a less sure guide to status* In the words of a new rhyme from San Jose":

N D'anoiana ses dones es lleven sa ooua "The aged women leave off their tail
i es oapellans sa gonella; and the priests their cassocks;
fa una oalor que sofoga it is stiflingly hot
i tot deu van a Gala Vedella** and everyone's off to Gala VedeHa*"
(gjvisseno)
(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 kight as either a townsman or a country dweller, after which his exaet social position oould rapidly be fixed according to whether he was a man of leisure, a professional man ("un que tl una oarrera"). a non-manual worker, a manual worker, and so on* But now there is no clear-out distinction between town and country occupations, since •any 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,

The "tail" is the long pig-tail traditionally worn by peasant women of all ages on Ibisa*
he 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 looal folklorio displays) showed an unusual degree of impatience when I asked them about the significance of the differently-coloured hair ribbons» •Kaltros ami mos hem vestit de pagesa*1 * ("We have never dressed in the peasant fashion*1 "), they insisted* Conversely, an old countrywoman - still dressed traditionally - commented rather sardonically: "Ara qualaeyol ec vesteix de senyora*1 * ("Bowadays, anybody may dreoa herself as a lady,1 "). Similar observations have also been made elsewhere in Spain: see, e.g., *ARTIWK2-ALIi£R (19711 208-10).

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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 eren 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* Jfar 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 blanoos", or "white hands") and it involves some use of social skills. Ant the many new clerical jobs are even more difficult for Ibisana 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 &s 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 universalistio values on Ibisa, 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* ?or example, no less than three singular forms of "you" still survive
in the everyday use of the island*s dialect of Catalan. The first fora, "Vojti", is the Catalan equivalent of "Usted" (a contraction of "Vueatra Merced", meaning "Tour Grraoe")* 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

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bar or fishing* The second form, "v6V. is an archaic fox* whioh employs plural verbs and singular predicates, e.g.: "V<5s sou oosi &era£ d*en Jaume de can Botja de davall sa serra» veritat?" ("You are Cplural;- 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 "Voste" 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*
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 dial** ("Good day*"*)* But if he meets a non-peasant he usually tacks on a verb in the third person singular -i.e. in the "Voste" form • saying: "Boa dia tenieui*"1 ("May you have a good day*"*)* Among younger Ibisans* however* the use of "Vcste" is becoming progressively less honorific and increasingly restricted to the expression of non-acquaintance: even in the latter case* * Vests'* now tends to be dropped more rapidly on further acquaintance, even with foreigners* The use of "yds* is also declining rapidly, and seems likely to disappear (since it laoks the dual functions
of "Voqte"). 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 Ibisa has also been an important factor in reducing status differences* Formerly only the priests, schoolmasters and

The 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 aigaifioanoe of "T" and "V forms in general in BROAN (1967s Ch*II, 51-100).

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sons of a few wealthy islanders oould 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 nttneraoy 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 alnost all literate and * to some degree, at least • numerate). But "to know letter11 ("sebre lletra*) no longer divides the
elite froa the common run of islanders i the former oommunioational dichotomy is being replaced by a continuum of literate and numerate attainment.1 ,. .
The rural priests provide perhaps the best illustration of the effeots
on status* Formerly, they were usually the only widely-read person in the area, fulfilling the function of local teacher (bete 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 "I'lnfern* ("Hell") fro* *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 soepties ("inoreduls") 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 pleaaanter oonoept
°* "fJLSfiL* ("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 Ibisan priests which

It is almost certainly not a coincidence that the gentry of Palt Vila have increasingly devoted themselves to more advanced forms of literacy in the present century. Dntil fairly recently, the senyors appear to have been content to lead a rather plain life of leisure, taking part in activities eommon to other islanders! but * with the rise of the commercial rich - their status became less unquestionable, and by the 1930s a greater emphasis on "afinamlent* inteleotual" ("intellectual refinement11) was noted by JMJAW1E3 CABDOMA (1958: 152-53). Among such Islanders there is now a remarkable development of intellectual activities of all kinds! including visual arts, •usio, local history, and - notably - a new interest in learning to write Ibisaa Catalan poetry and prose (a form of literacy not yet generally attained on Ibiia).

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began with their lota of secular power in previous centuries, and which ia symbolised by the abandonment of the distinctive Catholic olerioal dresa (la accordance with trends elsewhere) by all except the oldest priests on the island.
(vi) Finally, the Ibisana 1 increased social interaction with outsiders tends to blur traditional status boundaries, since the outsiders are generally unaware (or wearing) about their subtleties* ?or example, I once heard a foreign adult gravely addressing a small child in the formal third-person Banner * the child was rather alarmed, and looked about him to see who* this strange person sight thus be addressing* On another occasion, I heard a long-standing foreign resident using the title "Don" to a person from who* this honour was withheld by local islanders* And, on various oooasions, a curious Mixture of islanders was invited to social occasions held by foreign residents (e.g. celebrations over the completion of a house)* How although possible embarrassments or confusions nay be avoided by some islanders through mixing as little as possible with outsiders, other islanders appear to enjoy associating with them2 precisely because they can thus escape at least partially from traditional conventions or their local ascribed status i 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 Ibisa 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 i the farmer fairly soon became less reticent to stay and join the conversation after several such encounters*
2
• . * or even marrying them * . *

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expected to continue - though probably in a lest haphazard manner (with •ore emphasis, for example, on mobility through achievement - especially through educational achievement - and less on dramatic entrepreneurial suooesaes and "windfall gains")• And the various former dichotomies on Ibisa which have been discussed in the thesis - particularly those of outsiders/natives, town/country, and elite/people - have been fundamentally altered by tourism, becoming more complex and less clear-cut. At the same time, however, the "Marxian11 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 aost Ibisaas, 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 OB Ibisa naturally shares the broad features
o

cf class societies elsewhere* But "class society" is a blanket term which permits of much variation, and the following particular features of the Ibisan ease should also be noted:

(i) Ibisa shares certain distinctive stratifications! features with the
rest cf Spain* In particular, the victory of the upper classes in the civil war slewed down and generally modified the existing trend towards the formation cf 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 elites, 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 elites have sometimes taken

See page 320, above*

2 Cf., in particular, the class society which developed much earlier in mainland Catalonia, as described for example by JUT&LAR (196?).

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steps in the direction of modernization - launching an industrialization programme or boosting education - mainly because the structural deaands
of the whole society, as well as international pressures have forced this upon thea* But so far the result has been their constant readaptation to the new situations thus created*"
(GBWR, 1968: 50)
Until very recently, Ibisa 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 systea by a BO re open class system, as we have seen; so that Ibisa now has stratifioational features more comparable with the "modernized" areas of Spain referred to by BINgH (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 sise * and that of its indigenous population - ensure the continuance of some Geaeinschaft features and the sense of being a "p&tria xioa* ("little country"). Hence also the durability
• despite the draaatic changes in recent years - of quasi-feudal aspects
of social interaction on the island (e.g. the estate-like division into "peasants11 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)*
(ill) Last, but definitely not least, there are various special features of the present Ibisan stratification which derive from the tourist boom itselfs
Firstly, there are a number of factors which tend to fragment the
new "Ibisan proletariat"* The average sise of the work*-force in touristic businesses is much smaller than that in manufacturing industry! even the largest hotels have employees numbered in dosens rather than in hundreds*
The structure of employment in hotels is also different from that typical
to aanufaoturing industry! the staff in Ibisan hotels (as in those elsewhere)

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are arranged in a loose hierarchy from the "director1* (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

2 at solidary action of workers versus management. And there are other

fragmenting factors such as the seasonality of tourisB and tfca fairly high incidences of both self-employment and "pluriempleo" (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 unpreoedentedly 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 bonansa situation, giving rise to what is labelled in an earlier chapter •the peaoe 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 Ibisa, as is outlined

"loose", because many hotel occupations * including lower-ranking ones - require special skills (there are now "Schools of Tourism" in touristic sones, including Ibisa), 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, sea VIDAL ROTGEE (l96*3t 229*54)* 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 Ibisa* There are also small factories and other businesses (e*g. building firms) which have a more "industrial" structure, *md their importance may increase as more capital becomes available for "derived growth1* (see pp. 149-50, above). But a simple diohotomous division of labour between owners (or managers) and labour is not characteristic of the service industries which at present dominate the island's economy.

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in the section which follows,

(o) 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 thure on a permanent basis* While there it inevitably quite a lot of social oontaot across the various group boundaries, it is very lisdted by comparison with intra-group oontaot* Most of the oontaot across the boundaries takes place in the contexts of work and formal occasions, with ouch less informal or familiar oontaot: in other words, Ibis* is now a plural society comprising various different ethnic groups* This has Important implications for the current processes

2 of social change on the island, and the following are especially notables

(i) Cultural relativism; * I was frequently struck by the flexible attitudes and general tolerance shown by the Ibisana, including many of the older islanders* "hen 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 ouoh to the new existence of comparative reference groups of divergent exotic types*
To the extant that the groups are mutually insulated and retain their separate identities* the consequent effects tend to be lisdted* But it is only a short step from cultural relativism to cultural change, especially for young people* Thus only & few years ago the Ibisans were scandalised
by foreign girls who exposed their bodies in shorts or bikinis, whereas now the looal girls also wear then (although they do restrict them more carefully

These are described in Sections 7*7 (o) and 8*4 (a), above. Some figures on the proportions of the groups are also given on page 345*
The social pluralism is particularly striking in view of the island's relative lack of urbanisation or (manufacturing) industrialisation*

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to approved looal leisure contexts, and they tend to choose more modest

styles)* Moreover, the effects extend into lesa tangible but perhaps more

important areasi thus the cultural relativism promotes the questioning of

all forms of traditional authority, and the consequent development of secular

rational-legal authority (see WSBER, 1964) - both in the administrative

contexts discussed in Chapter Sight, above, and in non-administrative
2

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*gs* j£nglish newspapers and schools on Ibisa) it is

difficult to compare their relative statuses, but some crude generalizations
»

may be made as followss

— 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 e*lite* In recent years

they have been joined by a number of "apiralists" 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 Ibisans are

now sandwiched between a minority of high status Spanish outsiders and a

In fact, the new fashions (and ideas) adopted by the Ibisans generally resemble those of the mainland (which are transmitted by television, radio and magasines, 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 "legJtimes" (birth-right portions), here: the
whole ethop of "property" among the older Ibistan 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 looal people
of the San Jose1 area in which divine (or at least mysterious) retribution - in forms such as drowning or painful illness - had overtaken the possessors of *bens de mal Just*1 ("goods unjustly held"), i.e. people who had somehow acquired a legal title to property to which thqy 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.)

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oajorlty of low status ones* These changes nay be diagranmatically

represented as follows:

THADITIOIIAL PERIOD INTKUMBDIATK PERIOD TOURISTIC PERIOD

Outsider Outsider / Outsider x
adadnistrators officials /' officials /
- - - - - - - - - - /' and/

'«• ^-*_ • t* . / / NatiT,
Ibisaa* /
/ / Ibisans'

/Outsider
/ migrant
workers

— Secondly, the foreign residents on Ibiaa nay be divided, by and large,

into two groups in terms or 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 tourisBp there was an insignificant number of foreigners on the island*

so that this stratifioational change may be represented as follows:

TRADITIONAL MD TOURISTIC BWKRHEDIATE PERIOD
PERIODS

Very few I Wealthy / /
foreigners | foreign x /
,"senyora"/ /
Short-stay | / Native /
tourists | / Ibisans/
(complete , / /
outsiders) ' / /
I / /

(iii) Inter- and intra-group tensions; -

— firstly, the existence of such heterogeneous groups has brought to Ibisa

the probleas experienced by larger-soale plural societies elsewhere* Various

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sources of inter-group tensions are mentioned elsewhere in the thesis* The relationships between the native Ibisans and both foreign "turiates* (tourists) and foreign "senvors* are generally quite friendly; but this is less true
of their relationships with either the migrant aainlanders 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 offioial 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 lonfe-tenn 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 Jose* 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 crosa-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 dibjussod above, especially in Section 7.7. Several reasons are given there (pp*23>34) for the relatively harmonious relationship which at present

• • • except, of course, to the hippies themselves . . .

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exists on the island; but one further possible reason may be noted here, which arises from the preceding points* In his surrey 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. (BRYDJiN, 1973: 93) The Ibisan 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 JTbizans 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 involfed 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 1 "relative affluence" is compounded both by the existence of negative reference groups and by the memories of the state of "misery11 which preceded the tourist boom*

. . . but not for all Ibisans, by any means: the native £lite 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 Ibisans. (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 RDNCIMAN, 1972: 20-25).

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CHAPTER 12

SI3MMAHT AND CONCLUSIONS

12*1 SUMMAKY TABLS

FSATURE
PERIOD

(13th century
to latter part 18th century to Of 18th oent.)

PERIOD

(Latter part of

tho 1950.)

TOURISTIC
PERIOD

(1930s to the
present)

SKTTLEK8WT PATTEHHS

IBIZA-TOSM

COONTRY

MORTALITY

Totally nuclea-
ted i a mediev-
al fortress,
monopolising
all urban func-
tion* on Xbisa*

Totally disp-
ersod pattern
(based on an
agricultural
economy)*

Highly nucleat-
ed, with some
oontrolled
extramural
growth*

Mostty disp-
eraed9 with a
few small nuc-
lei around the
ehurohes (bat-
ed on an agri-
cultural econ-

POP0LATIQ8

High infant
and general
Mortality,
especially
at tines of
poor harvests
or epidemics.
Endemic
fevers.

Similar at
first, but
with progress-
ive decline in
both from lat-
ter half of
19th century
(except during
1918 influenza
epidemic and
1956-39 war).

A nucleus with quarters, suburbs, and a rural-
urban fringe* Hew types of dwellings* Some
urban functions shared
with other towns.

I Several growing nucleated |towns and villages* A
| variety of new types of settlement (e.g». villas, "urbanisaoioaes" and
holiday resorts)* A
continuing high level of dispersion, accompanied by a tendency for settlements to nucleate or "cluster". Row typos of dwellings* (How pattem based on a
tourist economy, super* imposed on former pattern*)

Stable low level of

infant and general
mortality*

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HATALITY

KATURAL
INCREASE

High*

Intermittent.
(Determined
Toy Mortality),

High at first,
but later decl-
ined (because
of emigration
by young Men*
the late aver-
age age at mar-
riage, and the
increasing use
of contracept-
ion). Lowest
point reached
after civil
war*

Became higher
in latter half
of 19th cent.,
then declined
(because of
emigration,
etc.)

General increase in
natality (because of
rising prosperity and
consequent earlier mar-riages* and because of
the immigration of fort* ile peninsular families)*

A post-war recovery of
natural increase was
greatly augmented toy the tourist boom*

EXTKH8AL
MIGBATIQNS

INTERiAL
MIGRATIONS

TTPICAL
FEATURES

Immigration of
settlers after
reeonquest,
esp. from the
eastern main-
land. This
trend had re-
versed by the
end of the
17th century,
however.

Very restrict-
ed* Poor
int re-island
communications
and preferred
parish endog-
amy* Popfl* Of
town striotly
controlled by
authorities*

Many Ibisans
became seamen

or emigrated
as the surplus
population
grew, and as
communications
(esp* with the
Amerioas)
improved.

Progressive
rural-urban
drift (inter-
rupted by the
civil war)*
Gradual creat-
ion of small
|nuclear sett-
lements in
country areas*

Large-scale immigration (especially from the
I south-western mainland). Some Ibisan emigrants
have also returned to
the island* I.e. tourism has completely reversed the secular trend of
Ibisan external sdgrat-
i ions*

j_____„.._.___..,..__.____ Rapid Migration from the inland or cliff-bounded areas to coastal tourist tones (especially to San |Antonio* Ibisa-town and Santa JSulalia). General rapid drift from land:
jlbifta-town in partioular |attracts native migrants
I because of service indust-ries, light industries,
commerce and administration*

Intermittent
growth (dom-
inant factor!
Mortality),
tiven geog.
distribution
over island
(except for
the concent-
ration in the
capital town)*

Intermittent
growth (dom-
inant factor:
•Migration)*
Fairly even
geog* dist*
Average age
of population
increasing*

Very rapid sustained
growth (dominant factors immigration).
I Very uneven geographical ;distribution*
jAverage age of population I decreasing (except in
|isolated rural areas)*

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FARMING AND FISHING

LAND UNDER
CULTIVATION

Inland and
hill farming.
Coastal land
open to pirate
raids, hence
little used*
Foment era
uninhabit ed*

Increase in
area under cul-
tivation, incl-
uding land by
sea* Less use

of poor hill
land.

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*

MAJOR CROPS Basis of cer-
eals; with ol-
ives, figs,
vines, and a
wide variety of
other crops for
home consumpt-
ion* Livestock
complementary*

Disappearance
of some sub-
sistence crops,
e.g. flax and
cotton for cl-
othing. Grad-
ual partial
replacement of
cereals by
cash crops,
esp. almonds
and carobs.

Some new cash crops, e.g. early potatoes for export. Neglect and partial
abandonment of traditional cereal and tree crops*

USE 0?
GAHRIGUE
AND FOREST

Important comp-
lement to cult-
ivated land*
Vital source of
fuel, building
materials,
game, etc. fix-
port of wood
and charcoal
important to
island economy.

As earlier;
but with some
decline in
the export
value of for-
est products
in later years
because of in-
novations els-
ewhere in fuel
and packaging
materials.

The affluence generated 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.

FISHING Restricted by
piracy. But
an important
supplement to
local diet*

Some increase
in full-time
fishing, but
it remained a
supplementary
occupation*

Rapid decline in the
number of full-time
fishermen. Increase in spare-time fishing.
Change of major function from economic to recreational.

TECHNIQUES Traditional.
Rotation of
oereals* El-
ementary hus-
bandry* Imp-
lements and
machines made
locally from
wood and stone
- very little
use of metal
(e.g. Arab-
designed all-
wood water
pumps, or
sfnies)* Irr-
igation limit-
ed by technioje*

Mainly trad-
itional. Cer-
eals and tree

crops in asso-
ciation. Some
use of metal
and imported
machinery (e.g.
windmills and
motor pumps).
Gradual inc-
rease of area

under irrig-
ation, with
new methods.

A confusion of tradition and modernity. Some alternation of barley and legumes. New crops and methods being adopted ! extensively by irrigation farmers. Slower response to innovations in methods for traditional crops (esp*
!pruning)* Rapid increase in use of imported tools and machines (e.g. rotary electric pumps). Rapid increase of area under irrigation (and concomitant severe water ,shortage).

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OWNERSHIP
AND LABOUR

PRiiDQMINANT
TIPS 0#
PRODUCTION

iSCOWOMIC
VIABILITY

Land held in
feud by conqu-
erors and sett-
lors* Share
croppers, law*
ourera and sl-
aves* Shortage
of labour in
early period*

Subsistence
poly culture.

Host land in
medium-sized
holdings, work-
ed by owner*
farmers and
share-farmers,
vita some lab-
ourers paid in
kind* Surplus
of labour*

Partial trans-
ition to cash
erops*

Mostly owner-farmer3.
Number of share-farmers declining rapidly* Land and labour increasingly paid in cash, fixtreme
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.__

Rapid change to market
farming of cash crops,
both for export and to
meet increased local
demand.

Usually suff-
icient to pro-
vide a frugal
existence.
But occasional
famines. Need
for imported
grains, esp*
wheat (i*e*
reliance on
salt exports)*

Similar to
previous per-
iod* Increase
in cash yield
and popn. sup-
ported^ but
precarious
balance (and
consequent
emigration).

Absolute decline in total production in primary
sector, despite increases in efficiency and in local demand. Push-pull effect: the limited viability of Ibisan farming combines
with the attraction of
labour and capital to the touristic sector* Some parts of primary sector are technically viable*
but others are not* Current state of disorganisation*

TRADE, INDUSTRY AND TOURISM

MAJOR
PRODUCTS
0? LOCAL
INDUSTRY

THisI D«VT,
Of THE
TSBTIARY
SECTOR

Salt product-
ion very imp-
ortant* Small
craft industr-
ies s clothes,
tools, etc. for
home consumpt-
ion. Some exp-
ort of process-
ed products of
primary sector:
eharooal, resin
etc*

Very limited
oommeroe* Few

public utilit-
ies* Adminis-
tration relat-
ively simple*

Salt product-
ion declined
in local imp-
ortance* bec-
ause of state
takeover* Nav-
al construction
important up to
add-19th cent.
Various attemp-
ts at large-
scale manufact-
ure; (and lead-
mining) failed.

"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
Spain*)

More (small-
scale) oommer-
oe* Public
water supply in
town* and elect-
ricity later*
Gradual growth
of admin*

Dominated by tourism*
Rapid consequent growth
of other service industries, of all types and on all scales.

TH3 DEVT.
0? TOURISM

MOST IMPORT-
ANT 3CCNOMC

IMPORTANCE
OF PRODUCTIVE
SalCTORS

RELATIONS OF
PRODUCTION

H',T3 OF
ECONOMIC
<JRO :TH

MAJOR
OF E

MAIN FORMS
OF L£ GNOMIC

Ibisa effect-
ively isolated
by piracy and
poor communic-
ations in the
western Medit-
erranean* Few
visits to the
island, even
by officials*

Land.

Primary
Secondary

Feudal/
Traditional*

Slow.

"Social'1: i.e.
almost all ex-
changes signi-
ficantly aff-
ected by social
relationships.

AND PRIVACY

^ 9 Barter.
2. Salt (used
as currency,

asp. in extern-
al trade).
3. Gash (very
limited).

All land priv-
ately owned
(under feudal
system), but
with open
access and
traditional
neighbourly
rights.

Improving comm-
unications*
regular mail-
boats from 1830
onwards. But

very few visit-
ors in 19th
century, apart
from officials
and sailors:
Ibiaa used as
place of exile.

Land.

Primary
. Secondary
Tertiary

Traditional.
Some family
capitalism.

Variable, but
generally rat-
her faster
than formerly.

Predominantly

"social", but "economic"
type increas-
ing.

1. Cash (use
increasing,
esp. in town)4
2. Barter
(still common
in country).

Land owned by
private free-
hold. Contin-
uance of open
access. But
traditional
ethos eroded
by the civil
war and the
national civil
code.

.1.

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.

Tertiary
Secondary
irimary

Capitalist.

Extremely rapid.

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.

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FUNCTIONS 01?
NKIOHBOURIN&
RELATIONS

OF COMMUNAL
TASK3

MAIN £iOUNCES
Q¥ FRICTION
BETn hi£?

HOSPITALITY
Alt'D INTr.lt-
ACTION WITH
OUTSIDERS

1. Defensive
(very important
- esp. in coun-
try - beoau.e
of scattered
settlement and
piracy)•
2. Economic*
(£. g. Joint
work by neigh-
bours, which
was either rec-
iprocated or
paid in meals,
kind or cash*
Poverty also
made sharing
and lending
common, though
not liked.)
3. oocial.

Communal co-
operation for
all types of
public works
- e.gs. the
island milit-
ia, salt harv-
ests, roads,
church-build-
ing - sometiia-
es voluntary
and sometimes
instigated by
authorities*

Poverty*

Visiting
strangers
mainly "host-
ile", hence
hostile or
reserved rece-
ption*

1* Kconomic.
2. Social.
(Defensive
function no
longer import-
ant.)

1* -!-«e., neigh-

Continued
neighbourhood
;cooperation
\ over road-work
and emergenc-
ies; but incr-
easing devt*
of bureaucratic
public admin*

bouring functions are now largely limited to leisure activities and celebrations. <wen in these respects,
motor transport, telephones, etc., have reduced depend-ence on immediate neighbours. The economic functions have spontaneously declined
(because of the traditional dislike of economic depend-ence 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,
Iexcept in unusual
!emergencies.

Poverty.
The Civil War.

Continued
Initial reser-
ve; but gener-
ous reception
of friendly,
culturally-
skilled visit-
ors t gifts,
invitations,
etc.

Different occupations,
interests, and ide&si
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 eaoh. Three main types of response
;(with some initial reserve i ia eaoh 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 apeak Spanish.
3. Commercial "hospitality"! for tourists.

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ISLAND-3?\TE
RKL/.TIOWSHIP

AUTONOMOUS
FEATOR33

BASIS 0? ADM-
INISTRATIVE
AUTHORITY

INTHA-I3LAND
FORMAL
STRUCTURE

ItfPOHMAL

Feudal domain,
divided betw-
een Tarragoneae
clergy and king
of Aragdn*

Independ-
ent Municipal-
ities subordin-
ate to the pro*
vincial author-
ities in Palaa,
and in turn
subordinate to
those in Madr-
id.

As earlier; but see below.

&eotive native No truly aut-"tJniversitat rt * onomous looal or island exec- bodies*
utive. Looal
oharter of
rights, or
"franqueaes11.

Mounting pressures - because of administrative strains created by tourism - for
more island autonomy.
Various formal changes either aooted or being put into effeot: the latter include in particular the increasing delegation of provincial
powers to resident Ibisan authorities*

Traditional/
feudal*

Isl-
and now an
integral part
of state of
Spain, dominat-
ed by Castile*
Loss of looal
control of -
and revenues
from - the key
I island indust-
ry (salt).

TraditionaV Changing from traditional/ constitutional, military to rational-legal/ Later (after military.
1 civil war):
Traditional/
military*

Single island
province and
parish (l&ter
diocese)* All
civil and rel-
igious admin*
centred in the
capital town*

Factional
struggles for
supremacy be-
tween royal,
ecclesiastical
and native rep-
resentatives*
Practices oft-
en at variance

Ibisa split
into various
municipalities
and parishes*
I.e., the ext-
ernal central-
isation was
accompanied by
internal de-
centralisation
(conforming to
the principle
"divide and
rule").

Hoyal (later
state-) supr-
emacy firmly
established,
at expense of
eoolesiast ioal
and looal au-
thorities.
•Yell-defined

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 "oabildo"); but there Is counter-pressure
from rural municipalities which are jealous of their indep-endence* Strong pressures at all levels for increased bureaucratic activity and greater efficiency.

Tourism has undermined the customary informal practices in various ways: in particular by increasing the complexity, interdependence and "trans-parency" of Iblxan administ-ration* Hence indirect
pressures for increased formal administrative efficiency and

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RULING &RODPS

AUTHOBITY-

RELATIONSHIP

POPULAR
PARTICIPATION
IN LOCAL
GQVKHHMENT

with Ibisa's
feudal constit-
ution, provok-
ing varied pro*
test* and occa-
sional remed-
ies*

informal str-
ucture, based
on political
patron-olient
relationships
and interest
groups*
The civil war
later modif-
ied this str-
ucture 8 it
was replaced
by a less well-
defined network
of influence
and a set of
looser-related
informal pract-
ices*

AND PEOPLE

Outsider and
native ruling
groups shared
power, though
retaining sep-
arate identit-
ies*

Hierarchical*
(Social estates
and occupation- ___
al guilds*) I ants

Castilianizat-
ion of native
&LUe, which
shared power
only by becom-
ing partially
integrated
with outsiders*

Essentially
diohotomous.
("Bs govern-
ob-

Kaoh estate
represented
(though not
always effect-
ively) in the
island's exec-
utive.
Common people
^almost entirely
non-literate.

ipoble".)
| Continual
! attempt s to
suppress local
folk culture*

| Marginal amount
of influence
through votes.
| Largely non-
i literate pop-
ulation, esp.
in country.

further bureauoratis&tion of local government*

Local business e*lite
increasingly replacing
landed gentry in local
government.
Renaissance of Ibisan-
Catalan culture among
native Elites*

One-party bureaucracy:
complex relationship
with people in an
increasingly literate
class society* Ibizan
folk culture no longer
seen by authorities as
an obstacle to unity or "progress"! its remnants are, rather, valued as
tourist attractions*

Very little direct part-icipation in one-party
system, based on rule
from above at all levels* But growing popular cap-acity (and demands) for more effective particip-ation (election of mayors, political associations,
free press, etc.), because of increasing literacy,
access to media, personal contact with outsiders,
and rising expectations*
(\t the anme 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.)

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AIKS OF POPUL-
AR PROTESTS OR
DIRSCT ACTION

Popular prot-
ests largely
aimed at rest*
oring respect
for traditional
privileges, in
oases of abuse*

Popular prot- I
eats (and armed
revolts) aimed
at the removal
of heavy taxes*
the cessation
of suppressive
measures, and
the restoration
of traditional
popular privil-
eges*

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*

*>'£ALTH AND INCOMES

BASIS OP

MOD^S OF
ACCESS TO
NB.V AKALTH

NATIVE DISTR-
IBUTION OF
WEALTH AND
INCOMES

DISTRIBUTION
AlflOMG H/.TIV1,
IBI2ANS

1* Land-owner- 1, Land-owner-ship. Iship*
2* Agriculture* j 2* Agriculture. 3* Commerce
(growing in
importance, but
limited by isl-
and's circumst-
ances*)

1. Inheritance* 1. Inheritance* 2* Enterprise
(but opportun-
ities limited).

1* Exploitation of tourism* 2* Construction, commerce and manufacture*
3* *t&aifall gains'1 and speculation*
4* Land-ownership and
agriculture.

1. Inheritance*
2* Enterprise (many opp-ortunities: this is now more important than inh-eritance in some oases)*
3. Chance (e.g. "windfall

Feudal tributes
to outside
seigneurs*
Little or no
direct partic-
ipation by out-
siders in local
economy.

Fairly even
distribution
of land-wealtht
a few "rich"
land-owners,
but general
absence of
latiflindia.

Heavy state
and provincial
taxes* Vital
island salt-
works seised
by state, and
later sold to
a private cor-
poration*
Little other
direct part-
icipation in
local econ*
by outsiders*

An elite of
land-owning
"senvors" (i.e.!
gentlemen of j
leisure, though!
not rioh by
contemporary !
Spanish stand- i
ards). A few
wealthy oomm-
eroial famil-
ies* Many sub-
sistence farm-

ers* Some peo-
ple destitute*

State taxes and others
as previously. Salt-
works now of less relat-ive importance to Ibizans* Substantial direct and
indirect participation by outsiders in exploitation of Ibizan touristic wealth; but a major share accrues to native Ibisans*

The relatively-even division of land among Ibisans has
led to a relatively-even distribution of the new
wealth; but the ran^e of absolute wealth on the
island has widened* There
has been much mobilityy because of enterprise (or its lack) and "windfall gains'*. There are no destitute islanders; and wage-labourera now receive higher incomes, both in absolute and in relative terms*

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SOCIAL STK/iTA

DOMINANT TTPE
OF STRATA

VERTICAL
SOCIAL
DISTANCES

MAJOR STRATA
IK CAPITAL
TON

MAJOR RURAL
STRATA

IMPORTANT
DICHOTOMIES

Feudal
estates*

Very wide*
Very great
"formality".
Ascribed
status*

Veiy clear
status bound-
aries*

Closed status

groups* _
.tide*
Considerable

"formality"*

Open (or semi-open)
social classes.

Rapidly narrowing*
Less
"formality".
Mainly ascribed Increasing achievement of
status* status.
Clear status "Blurred" status
boundaries* boundaries*

1. Outside
sovereign and
olerioal
agents*
2. "Ma major".
3.

1, Those of the 1. Owners or employers. old walled town 2. Employees (sub-divided into broad occupational
categories; e.gs. managers

("senyors" or
"mussons").

(See p.244.)
4. Slaves.

2. Those of the and professionals, technical new extramural and clerical staff, skilled town ("eapoble* manual workers, unskilled or "banyaouls")*jmanual workers)* -I—- —
Country people Tourism has greatly reduced still regarded both the occupational and
as inferior (or the cultural differences

ituting a sep* the capital town and rural

1* The free
country people
were all "for*

ans" (outsiders) even as const- between the inhabitants of or "pagesos"
(peasants): a
separate estate or "race") by jmixture of farmers ("pagesos") of Ibisans*
2* Slaves*

a rate "raaa", Ibisanst there is now a

townspeople,
but no longer
differentiated
from them in

and non- farmers (both
employers and employees)
in most rural areas of the
island* I.e., the country
law or politic* people are being assimilated al representat-j into a generalized Ibican
ion. Signiflo* class structure (although the ant rural stra-j influence of the older status
ta (or sub* | groups and cultural differences
strata): rent-!is still very apparent, notably iers, owner* jamong the older islanders)* farmers, share*
joroppers, wage-j
|labourers, and I
|"the poor"* j

1. Town olig-
archy/other
islanders*
(But note the
internal divi-
sions in the
"oligarchy".)
2* Town/count*

3* free men/
slaves*
(But note that
slaves were
not Ibisans*)
4* Literate/
non*literate*

1. Authorities/
people*
2. Rentiers/
workers, or
gentlemen/
people*
3. Town/count-
ry.
4* Literate/
non-literate*
(Note the gen*
eral alignment
of (1), (2), A
(4); and - to
some extent -
of (3).)

1* Authorities/people*
(But note the "detente"
described on pp*317-l9«> 2* Employers/employees*
(But note the special
features described on
p.320 and pp.412-15*)

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AND
CONFLICT

MOBILITY

SOCIAL
MOBILITY

SOCIAL
PLUBALISM

Fairly stable,
(because of the
relatively-even
land division;
the elaborate
hierarchical
organisation
of labour; the
representative
executive syst-
ea; and the
constant threat
of piracy or
invasion.)

Very limited.

Unstable.
(Because of the
existence of
great poverty;
and the domin-
ance of aligned
dichotomous
divisions.)
Frequent rel-
iance on mili-
tary force to
suppress armed
popular rebell-
ions.

Gradual growth
of rural-urban
drift and
emigration.

Moderately stable; despite the semi-military rule and the manifestations of instab-ility 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.)

Substantial internal
^migrations and immigration.

Very limited.
(Some upward
mobility for
individuals
via, e.gs«,
priesthood,
armed services,
adoption, or
hypergamy.)

Limited.
(Some new
opportunities
for individual
mobility prov-
ided by migra-
tion or busin-
ess enterprise.
Also upward
group mobility
of businessmen
relative to
landed gentry.)

Quite common.
(The main channels for
upward individual mobility include internal migration, occupational advancement, business enterprise and/or "windfall gains", and
education or the acquis-ition of specialist skills. Note also the changes in status and in bargaining position of various social and occupational groups;
both upwards - e.gs.
country people, wage-workers, entrepreneurs - and
downwards - e.gs. rentiers,
priests, officials, clerks.)

Not significant. Hot significant. Important feature of present Tbizan society.
(The consequences include
in particular the generation of a high level of cultural
relativism - or even
xenophilia in some oases - especially among the younger Ibisans, and - notably -
in town and country alike.) The major groups include native Ibizans; Spanish outsiders; foreign residents| "hippies*1; and tourists.

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12.2 TOURISM AND OTHKR FACTORS OF CHAN&K

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 modernisation, with special reference to the part played by tourism* With hindsight, it may be seen that Ibisa prior to tourism was not
really a "traditional society11, 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 Jose" - 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 do1*) the peasant-farmers of San Jose1 were then registered in the royal navy, and that they were thus quite frequently called away from the island on active service. (CALLAR Y D^C.'iLUR, 1798: 41-3) This example also illustrates the involvement of Ibizans 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 sooial change on the island (which have often been parallel with those elsewhere), notably the natural increase

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in population and the consequent oigrations. 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, aodera 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 Ibixa, which have in turn been affected by the island's ecology and other speoial 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 tad endogenous ones) is amply illustrated elsewhere in the thesis* Nevertheless, the transition from the "intermediate period" to the "touristic period1* unquestionably represents the aost abrupt discontinuity in the process of social change on Ibisa 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 eaapters (especially in those relating to population movements)* There are, in fact, two important elements of truth in the common assertion by older Ibizans that they have seen Htwo worlds" (see page 14, above): firstly, the recent changes have been unpreoedentedly rapid; and, secondly, they have been extremely comprehensive.

This applies equally to those aspects of Ibizan 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. i?or example, people from all parts of the island would make pilgrimages to the hill-top shrine of *3a Creu d*en Idbas" near Santa Culalia: 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 haoer ma's penosa y por lo tan to ma's meritoria la ascension"i Castilianj SALVATOR, 1886-90, II, 322). The radical difference in the present Tbiian religious attitudes was apparent in the astonished air of people reminiscing. It was also evident in the prevalent new habit in San Jose" 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 tian Jose* man: "Llavd. e*rem religiosos quo ho sent Jem de dins." ("Then, we used to be religious so That we fell it inside "

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12.3 TOURISM AS A "FACILITATING- FACTOR" IN SOCLvL 'Jk.I^ ON IBL1A1

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 elear 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 ^urope: see Chapter Six); but the efforts of local entrepreneurs were largely frustrated by the static factors or Ibiza f 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 t ourism 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 J.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

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.

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these trends have been facilitated by the new touristic affluence*

12.4 MODL'BWITY ON IBIZAj CONVi2E&s<2*CS OK SYJJTIitiSIS?

The preceding sections emphasise both the long-standing nature of
social change on Ibisa 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, "aemi-oodern") society on Ibisa constitutes a unique "synthesis 11 of the old and the new. and of the local and the exotic.
'^his 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 uropean 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 Ibisa. Thus, over seventy years ago - long before tourism became a significant factor - fttVARRO was saying that Ibisa would soon be characterized by "the most prosaic cosmopolitanism, ... the most monotonous uniformity'1 (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, tfor example, a human geographer made the following comment on the Balearic Islands in

£xamples may still be found of borrowing, cooperation and even sharing among Ibisan country people from ohoioe 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 recognised 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 Tbisa - as in other newly-affluent societies or social groups.

4.55

"Kereoe destaoar que, graoias a "It is worth emphasizing that, thanks
estas evoluciones oonvergentes, en to the^e convergent evolutions, in
el futuro las islas van a parecerse the future the islands are going to
ma's y ma's, perdiendo su resemble one another more and more.
individualidad." losing their individuality."
(Castilian. MAKA.. 1967: 203)
Similar - though more sweeping - implications are apparent in the comments
on the Costa del Sol by CAKit (see page 4, above), who suggests that tourism is turning it into ** sort of depoliticised Claoton." (C R: , 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 Ibisa 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 Ibisa, 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 "flamenco1* shows in an

Note, for example, that in 1947 the only means of access to Ibisa was by
a lengthy sea-Journey from Barcelona or xlicante; 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 "Owing to the very deficient
ooBunioaoiones interiores de la interior communications on the
isla, la dniea manera de visit aria island, the only satisfactory
satisfaotoriamente es utilizando manner for exploring it is by using
la bioioleta." a bicycle."
(Castilian. VALLfiS, 1947* 113-17)

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English city might convert it into "a sort of depoliticised Granada." 1

Again, the use of concrete-block building techniques in Spanish resorts

is often cited as an example of (!l 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

2
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 Ibixan life which are

now disappearing - often to the dismay of the tourists who are contributing

to their disappearance - were once widespread over Western i&rope; and they

were thus not formerly considered to be quaint, idiosyncratic local features.

For example, a visit to a folk museum almost anywhere in ^urope 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

The oommonness 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 oasual visitors to touristic areas (see Chapter Seven, above). To take a typical detail, the country-people on Ibica 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 Ibisa seen by the tourists and that
of the native islanders. Hence, perhaps, the common tendency of oasual 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 Ibisa - by their use on postcards.
And I was once taken by some rural Ibizans to see "as lloo mis polit de
i'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 Ibisans, however.) It would therefore appear that "pecuniary canons of taste" (VhbLjiN, 1925s 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".

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elderly Ibiian countrywomen today* And a perusal of social histories

or aooounts of past customs and folklore elsewhere yields similar results*

Moreover, various factors - such as the seasonality of tourism, the

Mall size of Ibiaa, its identity-protecting sea boundary, and its distinctive

language - contribute to the persistence of a high degree of looal

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 Ibiaan society and culture* /Jid by no

means all of the adaptation is by the Ibizana: foreign residents (and even

tourists) have to conform in many ways to the local way of life; rapidly

becoaing more tolerant of leisurely business practices, for example, and

usually making some effort to master at least Castilian Spanish*

12.5 MODKlffllTY ON IBI21A: ACCULTURATION OR ADAPTATION?

The convergence models of the effects of tourism are quite often

developed into "acculturation" models* For example, one author refers

to the "rape" of Andalusia (C. HH, 1973); another speaks of tourism as

"an invasion" (FAJAHNK8 C^HOONA, 1958: 115); and yet another refers to it

as a process of "colonization11 (JOM^3, 1973)« The following quotation from

an Ibisan author gives a fair idea of the tenor of these commentaries:

"Kstos tiempos son para algunos
ibioenoos de malestar, de
preooupaciln* 3e suceden noved&des
y mutaoiones eoon&KLoas, administr-
ativas, aociales, oostumbristas,
morales* Casi todas nos disgustan, porque son en dano de vie jo s valorea, que gose* la isla a manos lianas* ... Nuestro disgusto tiene fundamentoi la isla invadida y

"For some Ibisana 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

"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).

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oonprada por el extr&njero; la bought by the foreigner; the
tr&dici6*n, oortada; multiplicadas tradition, out; the submissions
las sumisiones; quebrantada la moral multiplied; the sexual morality sexual; dilatudas la chabaoanerla broken; the vulgarity and the
y la petulante ignoranoia do petulant ignorance of our
nuestro tiempo*" tines spread*"
(lYJABNiSS CABDQNA, 1958: 114-15)
Vass 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 looal society and culture* Thus, despite the communications with the exterior and the influence of returned seamen or emigrants, the impact of external factors on Ibisa 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 oases of short duration* Thus their impact on the local society and culture cannot be correctly described in terms of any generalised 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 "superior1* 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 r-RTDl^, 1973). But
the dominant part played by native Ibisans * 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 looal resources of labour, skill, and capital)*

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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 11, as opposed to "directed contact"*

Or, putting this another way, the current process of change on Ibiaa is
o

largely one of "adaptation" rather than one of "acculturation".

This is not. of course* to deny the existence of "directed contact

change" on Ibisa - far from it: the activities of the authorities in

suppressing regional differences and looal 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 looal

way of life, while they reject others* Moreover, the increased looal

"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." (RO&iRS & BUBD&jl. 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," (BoSALS & HOIJSR, 1966: 736) Perhaps this thesis may make a contribution towards redressing the balance*

*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".

process of change is neither entirely voluntary nor even completely conscious, of course* Thus the initial acceptance of tourism has led to
•any unforeseen social and cultural changes. But, by and large, they are accepted - or at least tolerated - by the majority of the Ibizans as neoessary concomitants of modernisation (whioh is generally regarded as desirable)*

affluence and the political sophistication derived from the increased external contact seen likely to increase the capacity of the islanders as a whole to participate more effectively in their own government in the future* 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 touriaa is contributing towards a revaluation of the local indigenous culture on Ibiza.

12.6 3P:CLiL Fo,ATURuS OJf TOURISM .AS ^ AfraMT OF

Much of this thesis has been concerned with showing how the changes attributed to tourism fit into preceding trends towards modernisation on Ibisa. 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

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 («!(&, 1974), or the increased importance of Scottish nationalism since the discovery
of North Sea oil*

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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 Iblzan case:
(i) The additional element of direct personal oontaot 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) ^he presence of so many people, in transit or pursuing leisure
activities on the island, has created unusual demands on the local administration, vith 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*
(Hi) In this context, there may also be noted the creation of a p3»ral
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 form of economic organization, 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

. . * "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"*

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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 loot-1 economy and in the organisation 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 "megalopolis1*. (3ee, for example: S^-IL°, 1966, Chapter Two, "The Origin and Bases of Towns, II: Modern Towns," and t&TTMANii, 1961.) Modern tourism and its allied service industries also stimulate sons concentration* Bat the typical labour-forces remain very small and oooupationally-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

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"resorts". (See Chapter Two, above; and SV.AIL5S, 1966, 50-31.) 1 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.gs. spas and nountain resorts), or
in picturesque coastal areas away from the middy waters of estuaries*
tfhen tourism is nevertheless located in existing large cities (e.gs. 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 fliture of the area, thus provoking two typical self-limiting

In some areas, tourist developments may lead to derived industrial growth, with consequent intensive urbanisation in suitable places. This has not yet happened to a very significant extent on Ibisa - although there has been
a marked growth in recent years in industrial cities such as kadrid 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 Halting any further pollution or "environmental damage"; and, secondly, the looal authorities nay be stimulated to introduce or to enforce more carefully development planning and environmental protection (as has already occurred both on Tblza and in Spain as a whole - see Chapter Sight, 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 feeen a long-term transition (accelerated by tourism) from "more social" to "more economic1* 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 Iblean 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 difference^ which may be conveniently analysed in terms of the Gemeinaohaft/Gesellschaft dichotomy*'

1 First formulated in 1877 (see TtJNNIiSS, 1955)» these concepts are now used in a fairly standard way by sociologists, usually divorced - as here - from T8NKIKS particular judgement of historical processes. They are used in two ways, firstly, they may refer to types of social relationship: thus. Qemeinaohaft 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 Gemeinsohaft 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 Uesellsohaft. by contrast, is an assooiational society in which the major social bonds are voluntary, based on the rational pursuit of self-interest and defined by contract." (Cited by A'i^Ki>, I972i 19. For a concise discussion of the concepts as used here, see also PAK30NS, 1966: 11, 686-94.)

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The Geaeinsohaft/Gesellsohaft typology was developed in response to
a Major concern of nineteenth-century sociologists: the social changes accompanying industrialization and urbanization* 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 (Gemeinsohaft); and, on the other hand, a large, heterogeneous, industrial oity ((Jesellsohaft), But they may also be applied - with some modifications - to the social
changes produced by tourism.
Xbizan society prior to tourism came quite close to the ideal type of Gemeinsohaft* 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 xJoa". 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 Ibizan society of the intermediate period would still have been labelled a "Oemeinschaff with little hesitation by most sociologists*
The development of Gesellsohaft features in Spain prior to tourism
was generally associated with the growth of large towns* if manufacturing industry had been able to develop on Ibisa, it would almost certainly have led to a much greater urban oonoentration of the population - as happened on the larger island of Mallorca* In faot, the limited size of Ibisa-town was formerly an index of the limited shift towards Gresellschaft on the

island: by emigrating, the surplus Ibisan 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.
tor the purposes of this section, the plurality of groups on Ibisa
may be reduced to a duality: on the one hand, there is the society of
the native Iblzans - which continues to manifest many Geaeinschaft 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 Iblza is now over one-third of the sise 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 Gesellsehaft "society" on Ibisa.
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 Geaeinsohaft/Gtsellsohaft analyses. Other commonly-cited exceptions • such as "urban villages" (&>li3, 1962) and the converse "urbs in rure" (PAHL, 1965) - are not really comparable with the Ibizan 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 N 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 Gesellachaft 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 furm- •aohinery 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* Tourism thus brings a form of modernisation directly to many areas - like Ibisa - 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 («*gs* that of the country municipalities vis-a-vis that of the capital town on Ibisa; that of the predominantly-rural island of Ibisa vis-a-vis the urban-industrial centres of 3pain); 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
"urbanisation"* And this explains the apparently-contradictory features
of modern Ibisan society. Firstly, there is the duality between the Gemeinsohaf t

In 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 (YOUN&, 1973: Chapter VI). But in the country, the presence of mass tourism introduces an entirely new element into the local way of life*

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of the natives and the Gtesellseh&ft of the visitors. Secondly, there is the consequent evolution of a native society which retains many of the features whioh formerly made it an archetypal "G-emeinsohaft"; but which also incorporates many of the attributes of the worid-view, the nodes of exchange and interaction, and the rational-legal administration of the "Gtesellschaft".

(•) The national level; a distinctive fora of modernization?

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 Ibisa; 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 Ibisa* 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* ^Jid, 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*

1 0n 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 196? 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 «eat Germany. Only five countries had a higher density than Spain in 196?: Ireland (0.61), Canada (0.78), Austria (0.93). Switserland (0.99), and Bermuda (4.74).
D£ INi'ORlLtCION T TUKISMO ... , 1970: 53)

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12.7 DIVsrttlENT 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 tines of "ill-being" and of "preoccupation"; and that such Ibisans 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 Ilites 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 (FAJABN3S CARDOMA, 1938) is a case in point: he belongs to the elite group of authors and other professional people who have emerged from the landed gentry of
Halt Vila* His book completely glosses over the great social distances
which existed on pre-touristic Ifciza: 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". In his eyes, Ibiza was formerly
an idyll of tranquillity and well-being; whereas the touristic period is

1|l libertad, igualdad y fraternidad" (i'y.J^HNSS CAHDQNA, 1938: 115). Earlier chapters here have shown the fundamentally ideological character of this "ethos of equality" on Ibisa, 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 TOCQUiiVILLB (19*3: 191).

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Tiewed as one of ohaotio 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 ^ajarne's Cardona is remarkably similar * even in its details - to that of certain non-local coaiaentators on tourism (e.gs. C/.HK. 1973} JOHNS, 1973); and it is shared
by many of the foreign residents and "hippies" on Ibisa - 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 Gesellsohaft societies or social groups: for them, (remeinsohaft societies have a romantic charm which they try to capture by occasional visits (e.g. the tourists), through "second homes" in the
country (e*gs* the wealthier townspeople and nuclear villagers on Ibiza),
or through retirement or semi-retirement in their favourite rural area
(e.gs. 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 Gesellsohaft) in these areas, which is - ironically - brought about very largely by the movement (towards a temporary or permanent escape

The existence of a similar, general "esprit moderniste" in 1964 on the neighbouring island of Formentera was noted by ROIKBTSON (1964: 7)*

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from "modernity" and from Gesellschaft environments) of which such people

are a part.

/jJd, finally, just as the attitudes of the old Ibisan elites are

shared by the members of privileged nations and social strata elsewhere,

so the contrasting viewpoint of the majority of Ibiaans may be found among

newly-mobile individuals in societies undergoing modernization from causes

other than tourism:

"Whatever merit the conventional dichotomy of urban ^..^ie versus rural stability may have possessed once upon a time somewhere, in the Middle East todiy 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."

(LEHNSR, 1958: 398-99).

Not 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 ohoioe 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 ti&glish-style food and entertainment emphasises this). Nevertheless, relatively few English tourists spend much of their time visiting cities at homo or abroad; whereas, in contrast, many of the Ibizans who oan 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 ooast 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 (3TOUN&, 1973? m) - * pattern which contrasts very strikingly with that of foreign tourism in 8 pain.

APPENDIX

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Tear

TABLE 21

POPULATION (1392-1970)

Islands of
Ibisa and
Foroentera

Island
of
Ibisa

Town
of
Ibisa

Country
of
Ibisa

1^7*V

1652
1669,
1746
1787
1797
1834
1842
1857
1860
1877
1887
1897
1900
1910
1920
1930
1940
1950
1960
1965
1970

10.2301*

9,596
11,900
13,707
15,290
18.421
20.599
23.791

23,492
24,466
24,554
24,273
25,814
26.926
26.984
31,575
37.353
38.139
37.173
40.698
48.040

10.250
9,596
11,500
. .
. .

. ,

19,075
. .

21,808
22,620
. .

• ,

23,556
24,628
24,476
28,646
33,961
35,482
34,502
37,811
45,075

* *

1,614
2.600

. ,

• «

, .

6,512
. .

7,206
7.393
• *

. *
6.327
6.225
6.168
7,616
9,644
12,283
11,259
13.445
16.943

" *

7.982
8,900
» ,
« «
* *

12,563
. .

14,602
15.227
• •

. .

17,229
18,403
18,308
21,030
24,317
23,199
23,243
24,366
28,132

In 1392, there were approximately 500 households on Ibisa* 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.

«mentera was uninhabited for ouch of the traditional period*

°These figures were based on the estimates of the priests in eaoh quarto*. and not on a census*

Sources:

BAfiCSLO POKS (1970J 50. 64^5, 258),
CASTELLO &UASCH (196?» 32),
I.N.B. (1973»).
MACABICH (1966-67: vol*I, 291n., 416, 462-3), SAL7ATOH (1886-90: rol*I, 182).

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TABLE 22

TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

Tear

1842
i860
1877
1900
1910
1920
1930
19AO
1950
1960
1965
1970

Ibiza

6,512
7,206
7,393
6,327
6,225
6,168
7,616
9,644
12,283
11,259
13,445
16,943

San
Antonio

3,411
4,031
3,864
4,263
4,550
4,701
5,014
5,377
5,597
5,635
6,609
9,537

San
Jose1

2,916
3,653
3,730
3,989
4,004
4,696
5,099
5,985
5,180
5.076
5.403
5,884

San
Juan

3.551
3,964
4,238
4,229
4,808
4,134
4,612
5,391
5,037
5,137
4,909
3,412

Santa
Eulalia

4,209
4,638
5,241
4,748
5,041
4,777
6,305
7,564
7,385
7,395
7,445
9,299

Sources: As for Table 21*

TA3LB 23

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN EACH MUNICIPALITY

Year

1900
1910
1920^
1930a
1940
1950
1960
19*5
1970

Ibisa

26.9
25.3
25.2
26.6
28.4
34.6
32.7
35.5
37.6

San
Antonio

18.1
18.4
19.2
17.5
15.8
15.8
16.3
17.5
21.1

San
Jose*

16.9
16.3
19.2
17.0
17.6
14.6
14.7
14.3
13.1

San
Juan

17.9
19.5
16.9
16.1
15.9
14.2
14.9
13.0
7.6

Santa
Eulalia

20.2
20.5
19.5
22.0
22.3
20.8
21.4
19.7
20.6

aAll 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:

BARCELO PONS (1970:
I.N.E. (I973a).

265),

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APPEHDIX 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

categorisation 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 'farm9 inoltkUng grasing 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 • . • "

(CUKK, 1957: 253)

The "secondary sector1* 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 suoh 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 tnc oontinuousnesa 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*"

(CLAHK, 1957: 526)

But this definition makes it very difficult to use official statistics,

as Clark admitss

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"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 thos« who would be regarded, for statistical purposes, as handicraftsmen and not engaged in manufacture (dressmakers, shoe repairers, upholsterers and
the like)."
(CLARK, 1957: 338)
Moreover, in the case of Ibisa, there is almost no industry which conforms to aU of Clark1 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 "services1*). 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
4

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

2 statistical information in particular.
The tdrtiary 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. CLABK, 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 dark's sectors, but in fact adopts a more inclusive definition of the secondary sector, like that used here.

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.

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APPEHDIX III

The estimates of the length of the drought (See page 111, above) by
the islanders varied from two to about twelTe years, although most referred vaguely to "a number of year*" ("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 19&W Referring to the problems of Ibisan agriculture in the early 1960s* a prominent member of the
local Chamber of Commerce stated that!
"La situacidn es orftioa. La "The situation is critical. The
oontinuada sequfa, oausante del continuing drought, which has caused
agotasdento de los posoa del caudal the exhaustion of the wells with a mediano, y de la roduocio*n del area middling flow, and the reduction sic de regadfos, per ana parte. Y la of the area under irrigation, on the one
aparioidn de nuevos puestos de hand; and the appearance of new position*
trabajo, en otros seotores - of employment, in other sectors -
espeoialisente hoateleria y especially the hotel trade and
oonstruooion - bien remunerados, construction - which are well paid, on
per otra parte, nan provocado la the other hand; have provoked the
emigraoidn de la Juventud emigration of the young country
oampesina ..." people . . ."
(Castilian* RAMON FAJAJRNT3S, 19641 138)
It may be noted that the drought is given first place in this explanation, which (although it is expressed in more technical language) ia typical
of the statements made to mo by the country people of San Jos6 in 1970*71* Aaothsr statement of this type, published in 1969, refers to the Balearic Islands as a whole:

"La aeuaado disminuoiAo del ganado "The marked fall in numbers of the sheep ovino oabe atribuirse a las sequfas and goats may be attributed to the
de los ultimo* anos«" droughts of the last few years."
(Castilian. ANGUERA S.'JfSO, 1969* 38)
There is no doubt that the Ibisan climate's general lack of reliability

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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) plaoed upon the "drought" as a factor in the

decline of farming made me wonder whether an element of rationalization

might be involved. As RAMON PAJABNES (1964: 158) commented: "About

the drought nothing oan be done." ("Respeoto a la sequ£a 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 24

ANNUAL RAINFALL (195>1970)

Tear

1953
1954
1955
19&
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961

Rainfall
(mm.)

352.5
155.4
452.6
233.8
489.4
539.3
378.2
511.4
193.5

Tear Rainfall

(mm.)

1962 401.1
1963 W>.6
1964 367.7
1965 203.8
1966 359.8
1967 396.2
1968 328.8
1969 533.5
1970 448.8

Source: Observatorio de Ibiza (unpublished data)

Clearly other factors may be involved * e.g.s there may be some confusion of the "drought" with the effects of increased demands on ground-water (see pp. 10V5, above); and the lasting psychological impact of eaoh "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 (&IBEHT, 1845: 269).

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FI&URE 15. ANNUAL RAINFALL (1953-1970)

500

400

J 300
J

0.
z

3
Z
£

200

100

55- $-6 58 6 1

YEARS

feb 67 I17O

(Based on figures in Table 24)

APPENDIX IV

TABLE 25

TOUEISM ON IBIM (1954-1972)

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Tear Number of "Travellers"
("Viajeros")

Number of
Overnight Stays
("E&tanoias*)

1954
1957*
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972

10,572
18,663
30,119
41,253
44,413
55,984
84,678
102,538
113,415
135,810
161,675
263,604
350,806
493,859
515,053

106,000
190,000
269,178
408,615
479,644
709,620
1,004,684
1,215,120
1,256,281
1,597,069
1,830,623
3,144,677
4,296,619
5,850,425
6,127,990

The figures for 1954 and 1957 include Formentera. For the same years only, the number of "eatanoias" IB an approximation baaed on an average stay of ten days per "viajero"

Sources:
HNISTEBIO DE INFORMACIQN Y TUSIOMO
ZOHNOZA B&WABKU (1964: 1?0).

. (1973).

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APPENDIX V

Although of great antiquity in popular thought and ethical writings, conceptions of "social exchange" are in rogue among sociologista and anthropologists* Their current interests ste* in particular from the capirieal work of MALINCWSKI (1922) and the theoretical insight* of
MAUSS (1923-1924)| whose ideas have been revived and developed by sore recent writers such as HOMANS (1956), &OULDN.SR (i960) 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 ole&rly relevant to the changes on Ibisa which
are discussed in that chapter - and yet BLAU's formulation was in some ways inappropriate to the Ibisam context, so that I have adopted a different (though related) definition of "social exchange" and "economic exchange"* ROMANS (1956s 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 forma of social behaviour:
"Of all our many 'approaches' to social behaviour, the one that sees
l,t 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 examples "Not all human behaviour is guided toy considerations of exchange, though much of it is, more than we usually think*" (BLAU, 1964: 3) BLAU also differs from HOHANS 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

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behaviour **• an eeonomy", 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 sometiaes 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 toy 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

(i) Unspecified obligations i - "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 exaot 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 exaot nature is definitely not stipulated in advance. 11 (BLAU, 1964: 93)

(ii) Ho bargaining: - w. • . 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)

Trust: * "Since there is no way to assure an appropriate return
for a favor, social exchange requires trusting others to discharge their obligations. 11 (BLAU, 1964: 94)

(iv) Emotional involvement; * "Only social exchange tends to engender feftliag* of personal obligations, gratitude and trust; purely economic exchange as such does not*" (BLAU, 1964: 94)

(v) No exaot monetary prices: - "In contrast to economic commodities, the benefits involved in social exchange do not have an exaot price in terms of a single quantitative medium of exchange, which is another reason why social obligations are unspeeifio. It is essential to realise 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: 9V-5)

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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 businesslike relationship, is condemned as improper," (BLAU. 1964: 99) r
These quotations give a good idea of BLAU'3 interpretation of the
oonoept of soeial exchange. Similar notions are being applied extensively in European and Mediterranean sociology, as the title of a recent collection of rural community research papers * "G-ifte and Poison: The Politics of Reputation" (BAIL5Y, 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 PITT-RIVSHS (1961: Ch.X, "Friendship
and Authority"); KSHNT (i960); CAMPBKLL (1964); BOISSBVAIN (1969*: Ch.VHI§ "The Village and the Outside World**); and PKKISTIANY (1968: Section III, "Patron-Client Relations - Market ing")« 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 Ibisa - 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 Ibisa*
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 himaelf acknowledges that his work applies especially to American society* and that it may consequently contain culture-bounded 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

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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 exchange11 - 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 nay 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).

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.

APPENDIX VI

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TABLE 26

MUNICIPAL BUDGETS (SAN JOSiS)

Tear

1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956

Budget
(pesetas)

65,796
88,354
93*270
93,180
152,717
150,716
180,716
236,200
225,470
234,480
216,440
215,080
250,551
342,712
307,439

Tear

1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971

Budget
(pesetas)

388,774
464,360
501,177
616,707
616,453
623,699
926,438
1,228,550
1,551,000
1,622,000
2,285,150
2,736,210
4,600,000
6,000,000
7,000,000

Source: Unpublished Municipal records (San Jose*)

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APPENDIX VII

The process of "deaamortisacioV', or di sent ailment, is given only
passing mention in this thesis* This is mainly due to the lack of published information on dis en t ailment on Ibiza - which could only be remedied by specialized archival research - so that the following details are included with reservations*
Under the anoien regime, Spanish society was divided into Nobility,
Clergy and rhird ^state* Certain properties were entailed - and could therefore not be sold subsequently - to eaoh 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., G> v.;-:, 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 desamortigacio'n, 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 desamortiaaoidn, and which were not suitable for individualistic, non-oom&.inal cultivation* Many rural municipalities which were: in this way cut off from their main source of income were severely weakened."
, 1968: 8-9)
These general consequences have of course affected Spain as a whole, but

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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

2 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*

In fact, commons were not generally of much importance in the rest of Catalonia, in marked contrast to some parts of Spain (CAPwrl, 1966: 273n.)*
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There are occasional mentions in MACABICH (1966-67) - see, for example, the appendix "Sobre desamortizaci<5n" in Vol. II, pp. 234-37 - but I know of no systematic or quantitative account published to date.

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APPENDIX VIII

The Spanish Civil :<ar (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 organization in Spain* The fact that the thesis is a case-stuiy of Ibisa - where, for various reasons* the tensions and not infrequent violence of other parts of ^pain 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 ani 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 mini 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 Ibisa.
There were no dramatic battles on Ibiia, and the island receives no more

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than passing references in historical a c counts 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 Ibiaa into the war as an attractive base for either side - a situation
with historical precedents going back to the Punic and woman 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 oivil authorities. .Vorkmen 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, #or some reason,
the peasants got nervous about fi&ptr money immediately and tried to
change it for metal coins, some of which were buried. . H
(1-AUL, 1937: 21?)
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 Ibiaa:
"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)

. . . and only after a period of indecision and lengthy deliberations among the military and oivil guard officers, according to an informed
oral account.

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In San Jose*, the people joked uneasily:
"Si Tenen actti no far& falta "If they come here, there will be no
d'ametralladores - aab uns need for machine-guns - a few
esoorretjons dominarien sa gent mule-goads are all that is necessary
d'aquli* to dominate the people here.1 "
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 t&ke 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 iailalia after the curfew-hour, yelling defiantly: "I want to be locked up* ^ome and ^et me, damned duros Sevillanos fsic3« 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 nelped 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 Kestres 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: F^UL (1937: 255) mentions the villages of ->anta Milalia and -ian Jarlos in particular as

2 being places where Mestres 1 authority was still in question. The searches

were largely fruitless: this was probably partly because of the unfenoed rough wooded terrain and the predominant lack of popular support for any
form of man-hunt; but - though a committed Hepublican supporter - PAUL suggests

"Duros sevillanos" ("^evillan 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 Ibis an
standards, at least - in the ~>anta iiulalia area, and also that within living memory lead-mining had been a fairly important occupation in the area between Santa ^lalia tJid 3an vj arlos.

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firstly that the local Republicans in the Santa uulalia and ^an 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. £wo 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 Valenoian 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, 1943: 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, MACAEICH, 1945: 261, says five thousand*) disembarked in the Santa &ilalia-3an 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 Garlos, 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 Ibisa: the appalled reaction
to this news in neighbouring ^anta -ulalia was that "Now it will never end."1 (PAUL, 1937). The Republican militia went on to Santa

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letting fire to the parish church there, and killing three people for complicity in the rebellion.
On the following day, 9th ,uigust. the militia arrived in the capital
of rbiaa, where - to their surprise - they found an empty castle flying the white flag: it had b en abandoned by the garrison (which, including volunteers, numbered less than one hundred men, according to MACABICii,
1945: 261), despite the earlier defiance of the leaflet warnings. The militia celebrated their easy victory by ransacking and burning churches and the departed houses of richer islanders and officials: in a few oases 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, 'fhere was apparently little looting, however, since it was punishable by death, and the ^epublioan 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 Uulalia 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,

oame from a wealthy Ibizan family) or else had become involved with local people through residence on the island; secondly, the vast majority of H>isans 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 Ibisa, and were therefore waiting for cues from events elaewhere,
?he 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 wei-e 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 tormenteran 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 iiepublicans, 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, 19|7, and oral accounts in San Jose" often brought out the s me point.) •Vith the constitution of local committees and the recruitment of local militiamen the situation calmed down. There is an interesting account in MJL (1937: passim) of the self-recrimination among the members of the local committee in Santa i&lalia over the death of a simple-minded youth. The son of a loo&l carpenter, he had become a Falangist recruit because

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of the offer of a gun (a status symbol for Ibisaa youth a) and a uniform*
»hon Bayo's militiamen arrived in Santa Kulalia, they cane aorois the young man and asked his if he was * fascist, with which he innocently agreed, and was aunmarily killed* The subsequent profound dismay of the local Republicans that they bad not been present to intervene * on the grounds that the youth was too good-natured and simple-winded to be regarded as politioally^involved - apparently prompted a decision among the local committees to defer *qy further trials until some more competent (and, presumably, outside) legal authority might be convened on the island. The remaining right-wing prisoners were therefare sent for detention in the fortress in the capital: k-AUL (1937) mentions at one stage a total of 239 such prisoners*
The new Republican period on Ibis a was too short-lived for extensive systematic changes to be implemented* According to oral informants in 5an Jose", some grain and other foodstuffs taken from the wealthier homes *«* diatributed among poorer people at the town hall, and some attempt was made to socialise the distribution of goods by aeons of "vales" (redeemable tokens) in place of money* KiJoralg (there-farmers) were told that their forms 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, w&s taken prisoner by them and later wounded in the mass shooting in the castle described below), the militiamen "were good lads - they even m&de a few little fountains. H ("ereix buenoa ohavales - hasta hioieron una» fbenteoitas.") - a curious footnote to a war more noted for its massacres*
However, the bulk of Bayo's forces left the island fbr an assault on Kalloroa less than a week after their arrival on Ibisa* The expedition met with some initial success, but *as eventually routed with many deaths (during the first week in September, 1936) by a Nationalist counter-offensive which

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utilised looal regular forces, a unit of the Foreign Legion from North Africa

and an Italian fighter air squadron* (See THOKAS, 1968: 326-27t and

BfcHNAMOo, 1938: 111-12.)

The withdrawal of the Bayo expedition from fcallorca left Ibis* 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 Ibisa with four
hundred volunteers of the ir'.A.I. (Fi.DEItACION ANAiifUISTA & VklCA).
This organization 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./.I*, with only the slightest deference to the Local Committee in Ibisa, 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 Kulalia regretted deeply that they had sent their prisoners
to Ibisa* 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 lbi*a 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 Looal 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 whtrf, 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 oaring 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 reAised to come out into the yard, machine-guns were turned on them in

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the building, and those who were not killed by bullets were dispatched with bayonets* The anarchists then marched to the hospital, pulled Abel Hatutes 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 Ibiaa militia to embark with them. The militiamen in the outlying
towns heard of what was happening and hurried to Ifciza, insisting that
they should not be left behind to be butchered, -fhey were taken aboard.
, 1937: 385-88)
Almost every version - oral or written - of the events of 13th oeptember
on Ibisa contains some variation in details. *AUL*a 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

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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. > in GAT D,: MQNT4LLA, 1940: 10) landed in Ibisa-town. From all accounts, they found the town deserted by its bewildered and terrified inhabitants, but later organised an open-air mass
on the water-front, which attracted a number of people and wMch symbolised the installation of a new version of the old order. There was no attempt
at resistance, and Ibisa remained in Nationalist hands throughout the rest

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 Malloroa \yy returning Ibizan survivors. (Cf,
PAUL, 1937: 387.)

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of the war*

There it unfortunately no written record of subsequent events to be oompared with PAUL's account of the early part of the war on Ibiza. For the larger island of Malloroa, of course, there id the testimony of BiiJSNANOS (1936)9 but even this much-quoted source contains rather few facts aaong its mamy pages of passionate rhetoric* The central topic of K& work was the campaign of terror on Malloroa under Nationalist rule (with especial emphasis on the role of the priests, which outraged Beroanos 1
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 ^undas, 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 THOMA3, 1968: 219&*) This is a very clouded and controversial issue, but it is fairly clear that on Ibisa, at least, the Nationalist killings began only after the reoooupation of the island on the 20th w-eptember, 1936: it remains
a moot point what might have happened there had Bayo's expedition gone straight to Mallorca without calling at loiza.
B&RNANOS (1938: 126 et sqq.) distinguished several phases in the
development of the Malloroan 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 Malloroa 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 Malloroa. until ^eoember. 1936* Then came the turn of those held in

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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 taotios, 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 plaoe on Ibiaa during the autumn and winter of 1956. It is almost impossible to pick out a chronological order of the type described by B2HRANOS from oral accounts in 1970-71* more than thirty years after events which mostly took plaoe in the space of a few months, ^t the stories fall clearly into two typesi 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 cemetery1*), 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 Malloroa.
The question of the numbers killed on both sides is very difficult
to answer on ITbisa, as in many other parts of bpain, 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 helpf\il 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

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impressionistic nature of the information in eye-witness accounts and because of the tendency to exaggerate one-sidedly for partisan reasons* ---s far as
I can gather, however, those killed on Iliza 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 MACAB1CH (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* BI^Jv.KOS 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 Ibisa (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, i^.UL (1937* 397-6) cites an Associated iress
report that four hundred Republicans were rounded up and killed by machine-guns on rblca 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 ^an Jose*, the same names came up repeatedly in different accounts, suggesting
that the number killed there, at luast, 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, tie was also able to produce witnesses that he had saved

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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, ^ut these
are simply informed guesses, with a wide margin of error in view of the
lack of reliable evidence, viihatever 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 "pa'lidos" ("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:
que con palabras o con actos, 9He who with words or with deeds,
por leves que pareacan, dificulte trivial though they may seem, impedes
o mine la union de todos los or undermines the union of all the
espaftoles, esta* vendido al enemigo Spanish people, is sold to the enemy
y merece la pena infamante and deserves the infamous penalty
reservada al espfa y al traidor. M reserved for the spy and for the traitor."
(Castilian. DIARIO DE IBIZA: 2? 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

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Spanish and Moroccan troops were stationed there. Planes from the islands were used to harass the Republican fleet in the »estern Mediterranean
(GAY D3 MONTELLA, 19¥>« 111-12). Ibiaan 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
ona 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 (M C, B1CH, 1945: ^61). There are a few d&lftila of the popular panic caused by the first bombing raids in ?AJABH£S CAHDONA (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 ^pain,
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 ^epublic in the first pcirt of the 1930s. On one side were the large landowners, the whuroh, the army officers and the majority of the middle cl&sses. 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 °atalonia which cross-cut other loyalties, especially the strong Catholicism in some parts. (See, e.g., Blvll.ui, 1960.)

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It should be noted that the arar took a different course on each of
the major Islands in the Balearic archipelago. On feenoroa, 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 "ront and of non-oommisaioned officers and other ranks in his own garrison;
the general and eleven other officers were later shot without trial
(THOK.3, 1968: 205, 215)* ttenorca 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 toded'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, 19681 326). On Ibisa, 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
Ibizans divided mainly along fairly predictable class lines, i'he local supporters of the Nationalists included land-owners, businessmen, priests, retired army officers (made redundant in Hepublic&n 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 b e over-emphasised 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-dosen communists, half-dozen fascists, three thousand men and
women of Santa Sulalia who wanted the extremists and traitors to
let be.*1
(PAUL, 1937: 200)
The peasant farmers and small land-owners who constituted the bulk of

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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
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normal round of farming tasks* Some majorals (share-croppers) found attractive the Republican suggestion that the $*nd 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

2 penalties meted out by both sides.

The dominant feature of the war on Ibisa, then, was the largely passive role of the islanders, caught up in a chain of events which would not have

Cf. 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 Gristinos, G-eorgea Sand tells us how they welcomed with equal unconcern the refugees of either side. The rising of ^atalonia in 1954, 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, v/here 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, I938a: 86)

B&RNANOS (1938) does mention the execution of some women on lallorca by
by the Nationalists: I do not know of anything similar happening on
Ibiza, however.

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originated on the island without the intervention of forces and influences froa other parts of Spain where land was less evenly divided, where landless farmworkers and industrial labourers were more numerous* and where issues such as Catalan autonomy had greater popular significance. Th©re were no
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popular uprisings on Ibisa 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 polities being "of sixth- or seventh-rate importance." Even in 1970-71, more than thirty years later, the memories of denunciations and killings lingered on despitu the common consensus that it was high time that the civil war was forgotten* i'or 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)*

It should perhaps be noted that in his well-known work on the Spanish
Civil tfar, THOMA3 (1968: 326) says in a passing reference to the Republican Un41 n|[on Ibisa: "The workers rose against the fifty raen of the garrison and the island returned to Republican control*" tfrom the details included in this appendix it should be clear that this statement is incorrect and very misleading*

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Moreover, the island has of course she red 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 regime 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 regime may be found in 3KVILLA-GUZM&* A GBIKR (1975), who themselves opt for the label "despotic absolutism and class domination." Without going into the ramifications
of this discussion here, it may be noted that the lengthy survival of the

2 present regime 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 £lite and the other Spanish Elites - military, commercial, landed, bureaucratic, and religious. Policies and legislation have consequently had to take the interests of the upper classes and ruling Elites 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 bpanish population (of. OBiKIi, 1971: 150). These include upper-class families from before

Further references to recent contributions to the analysis of the Franco regime - whose detailed discussion lies outside the terms of reference of this thesis - may be found in footnotes to this article. Other writings by the oo-author, G-iner, are also pertinent, especially &IN 3R (1968) and liter articles which have modified and amplified this essay, such as &r ,R (1971)» GIN4R (1972) and «N«R (l972a).

2 1976 postscript. The recent death of General franco has made the continued
survival of the regime 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 or 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. France's chosen successor, King Juan ^arlos,
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 Elites, while lacking the victorious "peace-bringing" charisma skilftilly manipulated by u-eneral franco.

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the civil war, together with a proportion of new arrivals, especially from the military and from right-,*ing organizations such as the ialange. 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'1 or "desarrollistas"
in the bureaucratic structure, and the leading elements of the entrepreneurial classes, the "empreaariado". 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 regime are also reflected in feature? of the economic structure of modern opain which run counter to trends in other Western European countries, for example the laok of nationalization and the enhanced position since the civil war of the

2 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 £pain there was no alternative to overt conformists and the careful avoidance of any public appearance of dissidenoe, in view of the sustained campaign of terror. Popular fatalism and apparent

. . . including, of course, General Franco himself: see, e. g. ,teAHCOS SANTIBANS4 (1966). On the concentration of wealth and control of capital, see also KUItO DL JOVKNK3 JCONOMI3TAS (1966).
See, e.g., TAMAK:C;> (1971 : 663 et sqq.).

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politioal 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 H helped to prevent the re-emergence of any genuine politioal pluralism (leaving aside clandestine organizations) except amongst right-wing factions within or "adhering to" the Movement*
In the economic sphere, the rlgime 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 Pbiza, and the repressive aspects of the present regime are correspondingly less apparent there than in many other parts of Spain* Nevertheless, the distinctive implications of the post-civil-war rlgime are readily detectable* Loyalty to the regime, 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 elite were killed in 1936, but the right-wing survivors and

For 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. Of. the following comment by LBi£ (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." r'or an interesting analysis of the development of the Spanish party system, especially for the period up to the civil war, see also LIN2 (196?;.

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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, --Jven attendance
at mass has a residual political dimension: persistent absence is still associated with being "red" or H 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 Ibisa. The civil war and the resulting political regime have affeoted 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 revise (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 oivil 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

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Camaval* Traditional forms of cooperation were also affected by the disintegrative impact at the local community level, liven 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 regime's emphasis on unity and nation-building have also undoubtedly contributed
to important changes on Ibisa, where Catalan separatism has only a limited appeal because oi tho over-riding factor of insularity. Taking into account the direot 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 regime has made frequent attempts since the early 1960s in particular to
come to terms *ith pressures for modernisation in Spain as a whole (to which tourism has undoubtedly contributed), as the economic policies of "desarrollismo1 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 regime'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*

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IX

A reader has made the following critical comment on Chapter
above:
11 A ho accumulates capital? Is it the mainland people, foreigners or
banks? This could be aade clearer."
It is not surprising that the answers to these questions are not particularly olear from Chapter i»ix, since the purposes of that chapter
i
are of a sore general nature* The main theme is the broad transformation of the ibizan eoonomy 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. *t 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. j-ven now, however, the figures given in Chapter oix 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 organizations, these have primarily been involved in the organisation and transportation of

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the tourists from and to their place of origin: in boat regions like
Xbisa the presence of tourism haa provided opportunities for exploitation by both large and snail firms* Several stages of the development of tourism on Ibisa are distinguished in Chapter Ton, 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 Ibis* 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 t erms 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 Ibisa. as well as by the common participation in the only major island industry - the production of salt. The seisure of the salt industry by the state, and its sale in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to a private Kallorca-based company, constituted the first major direct intrusion of outside capitalist interests on Ibisa, Most other attempts at large*scale organisation 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 Ibisa in the nineteenth century was initiated (according to N^VARiiO, 1901 j 86-88) by an enterprising outsider - recent on th« island - who started with little capital but who rose to become "one of the principal capitalists on Ibisa." But local businessmen were apparently quick to imitate

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his example. The other major large-scale enterprise on nineteenth-century Ibisa - the lead-mining boon - also involved an outsider, j. /ederico Lavilla, who was however associated with two native businessmen, D. Juan Calbet and *>• Bartolone* V* Haa<5n. Both Ibizan and Malloroan businessmen took part in further aining enterprises on Ibiza, until persistent flooding and declining lead prices brought the boom to an end. (See C UTELLQ &JASCH, vjtei 36-37t and NAVAjtkO, 1901: 88-89.)
In view of the small-scale nature of other productive activities on
Ibiza in the paat, 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 HAVABRO 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 Miaa: one belonging to the Phiz an Matutes family; another a branch of the bailorcan Eanca March; and a third, Cre"dito Balear, about which 1 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 (1937s 192-93) as the "most pressing11 target for local Republicans, who in his words wanted "to free the commerce of Tbiaa 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

The structure and role of banks in ^pain are rather different from those of modern banks in most other western European countries. 'i?here are also regional differences within Spain, particularly in the caje of Catalonia: on these points see, for example, TAlftAM}i5 (1971: 663 et acc>).

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Malloroan bankers for the Nationalist cause undoubtedly stood then 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 Bore important part in the local tourist developments to date, and it would be interesting (though not easy) to investigate the concentration
of capital on Ibisa 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 jY,UIPO DB JOVHNSS 8CONOMISTAS, 1966), which indicated that the three active male members of the March family occupied fifteen posts on the boards ("oonsejos de administraoioV') of
a total of ten different companies ("sociedades antfnimas") 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 shippings 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 suoh figures* The economic importance of the Matutes family and other wealthy families is further enhanced by their participation din local governments at the time of my fieldwork, for example, a young member of the Matutes family, D. .bel Matutes Juan, was the mayor of Xbisa-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. ;>37-53, above). The conclusion there, in crude terms* is that the proportion of outside investment was tending to increase as the extremely rapid boom outstripped

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looal business resources, but that - up to 1969 at least - the local Ibis an 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)*
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 sixes on Ibiaa, with a oorresponding variety of owners* r^he power of the *atutes family, for example, significantly does not extend to the looal press:
the single island newspaper - Diario de Ibixa - belongs to and is directed by another influential Ibizan family, the v erdera 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 Watutea and Verdera families was ruffled - temporarily at least - by the newspaper** coverage of the hotel/airport affair (see Chapter &ight, above) in whioh 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

Conversely, it would be interesting to investigate the amount of investment by Ibizans outside the island, whioh would probably have increased in recent years, although I have no material to hand on this poitit, unfortunately.

key Illte families, despite their very substantial participation in it* The presence of various alternative sources of capital for investment Bay also be noted: oapital has been provided not only by banks, but also by local and outside speculators, "windfall gains'1 (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 hotollers, 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 effoots 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* 'ro give Juat 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 expeot 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 aecreoy 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 or the appendix must remain largely qualitative and rather impressionistic* However,

1 The post-oivil-wur situation described in Appendix Kight, above, has
been a limiting factor in these changes, however*

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it should be apparent that nainlanders, foreigners and banks have all
had a part in the aocuasul&tion of oapital concomitant upon the development of tourisa on Ibis*, but also that the part played by looal businessmen has been of particular importance both before and since the development

of mass tourisa*

APPKNDIX

The concept of n facilitating factor" which is used from time tj 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 Falsifications of "causation" are very complicated (particularly in the social sciences, with the added complications of questions about volition, rationality, understanding, etc.). -.'ithout wanting to explore such philosophical issues in a primarily empirical work of this type, it may
be noted thut a fairly consistent strategy has been adopted in the thesis with regard to the part played by tourism in social and cultural changes
on Ibisa.
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 efiect 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
oar>e of immigration, for example, the situation is more complicated on

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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
or 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 farther 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 oases, 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 Ibizans of attributing all of the current changes on the island to tourism*
Kven 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

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played by other factors are important to the sociological understanding
•f the ourrent changes* The notion of "facilitating factor" is introduced to clarify erne such relationship which crops up frequently when considering the impact of tourism on pre-existing inoipient 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 email amount of money by Mr* Smith for running an errand* and presently goes back to buy sorae candy-floss. In this case, it would appear misleading to say simply that Mr. Smith's donation caused
the boy to buy the candyfloss: a more appropriate description would be
that it made possible or **facilitated' the purchase* whose form was determined by the (pre-exiatent) desire for candy-floas. There ii> an obvious general parallel in the case of the sudden increase in local incomes on Xbiza derived from the tourist boom* The islanders are now able to purchase many goods which were formerly beyond their means* In some cases - *»£* sunglasses
and beaohwear * tourism has also provided them with stimuli to purchase certain goods rather than others* but in general the choiee 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-stylea 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 seme 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* &ven 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

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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 Ibiaa - see the conclusions to Chapter ?ive» above)*
Turning to a broader issue* the development of characteristic features
of a capitalist society on Ibisa 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 "caused1* the recent growth in the importance of capitalist characteristics on Ibisa, 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 Ibiaan peasants were prompted by poverty to compromise between theic
desire for individual (or, at least, familial) economic independence and
the praotioal 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 steaming from tourism*
Other examples could be adducod, but the general significance of

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describing tourlsn as a "facilitating factor" in nany types of change on Ibica should no* be clear* In some ways tourlsn has brought special or idiosyncratic features into Ibisan society (ace, fbr example, the concluding sections of the thesis)* But many of the important changes in recent years have fBuch deeper roots* £he examples in this appendix illustrate the part played by tourism in the development on Ibisa of types of "consumer!smN 9 "urbanization", capitalism* and Resellsohaft-like arrangements» But it Is eorreot 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 Itizan 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, pro-existent and contemporary, but with especial reference to prior tendencies in social change on the island*

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APPENDIX XI

A reader has suggested that "hippies . . • are an important feature
of Ibiza and perhaps deserve a slightly more extended treatment* M
It is certainly true to say that the "hippies" on Ibisa - or, more usually, those on the neighbouring island of Foment era - 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 Ibisa at least (where their presence has been ouch less significant than on the smaller island of Formentera)* Although the "hippies" on Formentera in 1970-71 had to travel via Ibica, there were far fewer Hippies" ;»er head of population on the larger island. The only point of concentration of "hippies" on Ibisa was in the low-status area adjacent to the docks, and very few of these stayed very long* The longer-staying "hippies'* on Ibisa tended to live in rented "pahisses" (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 "hippies11 on
Ibisa Might be compared with that of "gypsies" past and present: in fact, this comparison was very frequently made by the native Ibizans.
i'he "hippies" (by renting dwellings usually thought unsuitable for

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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 tformentera, it is significant that the author of one of the most detailed studies of the "hippies11 at that time published in Spain
(GrIL MUNOZ, 1970) scarcely found them worthy of mention in his analysis
of social change on Fornentera, published in the following year (GIL
MUNOZ, 1971).
It should also be borne in mind that the term "fcippy" 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 MUNOZ, 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 ertension 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

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other factors making for their socio-cultural isolation from the native islanders, must be remembered* It ie 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 Ibiaans' 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 sach 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 & su paso por Formentera." by &IL MUNOZ (1970), whioh 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*

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1 See also the addenda to the list of references, which follow it.

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