Introduction

This book is about the village of Deià on the island of Mallorca where the indigenous population has lived side by side with increasing numbers of resident and visiting foreigners over the past 150 years. It is about coexistence and the process of forming personal, social, regional, and national identities in a period of accelerated social and economic change. The changing concepts of insiders and outsiders in this small village, and the conflicts and resulting compromises that have occurred, have provided a sense of history that allowed various groups to define, develop, adapt, and sustain their own sense of belonging to a community where different cultures, values, and aspirations have been a constant threat to any shared concept of local life. As the inside and outside influences mixed, merged, split, or confronted one another, lives, values, and experiences were affected. Opposition has provided a purpose to those who have formed the village over time, aiding them in constituting relationships and formulating a sense of identity and in preserving and maintaining some semblance of solidarity despite the changes they have undergone.

Social and political life in Deià today is based on the adaptation of old models to fit new conditions and modern aspirations. The local population has found that it can balance a sense of tradition with modernity by maintaining the image of paradise that has attracted so many outsiders. Drawing on traditional aspects of their past, insiders have found ways to combat the disruptions caused by outsiders; their sense of place and a consciousness of local distinctiveness are products of their relations with the outside world rather than the result of isolation. What has

occurred in Deià over this period illustrates how this particular community learned to gain full advantage from the economic opportunities opened up by foreigners without losing the fabric of social relations, the meanings and values of their culture.

What initially occurred in Deià is being repeated in one form or another in many parts of the world today. People perceived as outsiders, seeking rural beauty, tranquillity, and a return to nature, have moved into villages, converting old houses into facsimiles of what they once were (with a few added modern conveniences), or highly altering and modernising interiors, while maintaining the external continuity of the traditional (local) architecture. In some areas the occupants commute to a nearby town or city to work during the week, revel in their new-found joys of nature on the weekends, and soon act as though they know more than the locals about what is best for the place (e.g., Elmdon, Wales, Isle of Man, Inner and Outer Hebrides, Brittany, Provence, Costa del Sol).

In some places, foreigners developed local properties and attracted more outsiders to purchase them. Absentee owners lived and worked in other countries and escaped to their island retreats for their holidays, which could range from two weeks to three or four months each year. Often dependent on local people to look after their properties, symbiotic relationships developed between locals and some outsiders.

In Deià, like Tangiers, Saint Tropez, Arles, Martha's Vineyard, Tahiti, or Goa, a few foreigners who felt they had discovered what they perceived as 'paradise' settled in to pursue the arts: painting, writing, composing or performing music, observing and appreciating the wonders of nature and creativity. Paradise meant different things to each person but common themes seemed to include a place that combined nature's bounty, earthly pleasure, social harmony, free will and expression (e.g., Rousseau, Milton, Gauguin). When we speak of paradise we are considering questions of philosophy, creation, nature, or identity perhaps in contrast to technology, progress, or science. The search for meaning in earthly existence led some to seek answers in distant places. They learned local languages and customs, established residence, and pursued their idea of idyllic existence in paradise.

Travellers in large numbers are now called tourists, and accommodations have been expanded in all of these areas. Thirteen million tourists visited Mallorca in 1995. Local people in each area are differently affected by the changes that have occurred. When development has been financed by outside firms and created for the needs of foreigners, many locals are displaced. Some have benefited, at least materially, from the

influx, but many believe that the process of restructuring their lifestyles and values to cater to outsiders and their own increased desire for material goods has caused them to lose much of their quality of life. Men and women have emigrated to towns, cities, or resort areas to take up a variety of jobs that require them to learn different languages, concepts of time, gender, and culture. In some areas, the fabric of social life has become almost threadbare except on annual village festival days when local sons and daughters try to return from near and far.

As global communications bring the most remote[1] areas closer and closer together, local identities seem to be more tenuous. The idea of a European Community is seen by the people of some countries as a threat to local and national identities. Community studies, ethnic, regional, and national identities have been the focus of anthropological research in many parts of the world; in Spain, where this study took place, we can draw from a vast amount of research, especially since the death of Franco, the establishment of social democracy, and the division of Spain into seventeen autonomous regions.[2] Most of these studies are concerned with understanding local continuity, while outsiders are often ignored or seen as intrusive and modernisation is blamed for the disappearance of local culture.

This study of Deià offers a long-term perspective on the process of identity recreation at various periods. The people of Deià have been able to enjoy the advantages of modernisation and in the process have revived a respect for traditional values and customs by restructuring concepts of insiders and outsiders in terms of changing circumstances. The manner in which this village has adapted to the influx of foreign residents without losing its sense of identity offers an example that could be useful to other areas that are or will be experiencing similar changes.

Deià is a relatively small village for Mallorca. It is the fifth smallest of the fifty-two villages on the island. If one looks at the population statistics for 1900 (900) and those of 1993 (562), one would assume that like other rural villages on Mallorca and throughout Western Europe, Deià was a dying village. Actually, Deià's population has been increasing steadily since its low ebb of 450 in 1960. In the chapters that follow, it will become evident that the village has been able to continue as a community with its own symbolic boundaries and identity not despite but because of the presence of outsiders. This was not the case in other areas of the island.

Over the past twenty-five years an entire service sector has been created to deal with the massive influx of seasonal visitors to Mallorca.

Prior to this time, there had been a large peasant sector and a small but powerful group of large landowners and religious authorities who exercised social control. Migration from the rural areas to the city or newly developed coastal resorts has brought about a decline in agricultural activities, turned small villages into dormitory towns, and led to an enormous increase in those employed in the service sectors.

In most areas, development was initiated and financed by foreign companies to meet the necessities of foreign-organised tourism. Seafront properties were purchased and developed along most of the southern and eastern coasts of the island.[3] Hotels, bars, restaurants, cafés, and souvenir shops replaced the tiny kiosks that once supplied tepid drinks to local Sunday picnickers. Other areas of the island developed aspects of folklore, geology, or history to attract tourists for a few hours each day, while an increasing number of complementary services – cafés, restaurants, banks, and souvenir shops – were added for the tourists' convenience. Deià's closest neighbour, Valldemossa, has capitalised on the three-month visit of George Sand and Frédéric Chopin in 1838. Sand's critical descriptions of the people have immortalised her extremely frustrating experience and turned the rooms she and Chopin are said to have stayed in into one of the island's major tourist attractions. Other towns have introduced excursions to natural caves, which have been decorated with coloured lights and classical music to accompany the guided tours.

Unlike these other parts of the island that have been completely transformed by tourism, Deià appears to have remained an 'idyllic' mountain village untouched by the ravages of time. The manner in which this village has dealt with change over the past century reveals a subtle, creative, manipulative reordering of old and new conditions while maintaining the image of a 'traditional' village. The village projects an ethos of related people, houses, and families, of shared space and familiar activities carried on within an ancient landscape. Within this 'image of paradise', the realities of everyday life, work, sustenance, pain and pleasure, cooperation, disagreements, gossip, and competition are combined with generations of shared experiences of new and different relationships.

Foreigners in search of unspoiled beauty and tranquillity discovered Deià during the last century. The arrival of a small number of strangers into their village added to the interests of local life. Some local men gained power and prestige through their dealings with these foreigners. Foreigners could purchase land only in the name of a local person and relationships of mutual interest and respect developed. When only a few

foreigners lived in Deià, they were reliant on the local people for access to most goods and services, and relationships of interdependence developed. Foreigners were seen as gentlemen: hosted on a visit, accepted over time as *senyors,* and easily drawn into the existing social hierarchy based on land ownership. Some of the local peasant population, once dependent on the fluctuations of the agricultural seasons, began to supplement their incomes by providing services for these foreigners. But it would take almost a century before most of the local people would derive some personal benefit from the increased demands for their products and services.

As increasing numbers of foreigners arrived in Deià, they began to turn to other foreigners for advice instead of relying on the local people. The symbiotic relationship of locals and foreigners that had been beneficial to both groups was no longer possible. Five or ten foreign eccentrics added entertainment and distraction but two hundred foreigners was another experience altogether. More foreign visitors and residents meant more local people could experience prosperity, but it also meant an alteration in the social relations between the two groups. Foreigners no longer represented the wonders of an outside world once thought unattainable by a local person. On the contrary, they now posed a threat to the local 'inside world'. The presence of another group that could threaten their very existence strengthened cohesiveness and drew – and continues to draw – locals together despite individual differences.[4]

In the local terminology, people are categorised as *Deianencs*, *Forasters*, and *Estrangers*. In the strictest sense, Deianencs are those born in the village of Deià, the natives or insiders. Forasters are Spaniards from other villages or mainland Spain. An estranger is a stranger; estrangers are strangers, foreigners, outsiders, persons from other countries. In this study of Deià, I will endeavour to describe the way in which these terms are used, how people label and group one another, and how they determine these labels. I will develop the argument that these terms are basically circumstantial. People categorise one another according to the situation and the desired results. Categories are important but they do not interfere with ongoing social relations. These terms are only headings under which people are described, and they are contracted, expanded, and reinterpreted to fit the constantly changing 'reality' of the society. Boundaries and definitions are shifted to meet the needs of the moment.

The category Deianenc includes the generations of men and women born in Deià and wed to others from Deià, affines from other Mallorquin villages or from mainland Spain, Spaniards who reside and vote

in Deià, and may be extended to include children born to foreign parents in Deià and foreign-born residents who act in the interests of the village. Locals feel both respect and resentment for those who cross social boundaries. The ideal of being the same is very difficult to maintain. The definition of a Deianenc is directly tied to the conception of the village as shared space, time, related people, activities, and behaviour. Deianencs are defined by the space and are at the same time the defining consciousnesses of the space (S. Ardener 1965). The fluidity of this category is essential to the continuation of the space known as the village.

The significance of being a Deianenc, an insider, once meant that one had a birthright, a family, a home, which gave one a sense of belonging more than others who moved into the village from outside. But today, with half the houses in the village owned by foreigners, some of whom have resided there for over forty years and whose children have been born and brought up in the village, they too can claim to be Deianencs. Foreigners and locals share many aspects of village life and are competitors for the same resources. Competition for land, houses, consumer goods, jobs and services has replaced the interdependence of the earlier years.

During the past decade, the increasing number of foreign-owned properties, the impact of local council decisions on areas of foreign interests, and the inflated prices of Deià houses beyond the means of young, local buyers are some of the reasons that may have caused Deianencs and foreigners to reinterpret their relationships with one another and the village they share. The meaning and use of the term Deianenc and estranger have developed to their fullest and most manifest forms during the past ten years' coexistence with increasing numbers of foreigners. The terms are being elicited to articulate symbolic boundaries between those who form the village and make decisions about its future development, and those who merely live there.

This book has developed from the perspectives of local informants and is intended to shed some light on the 'world of experience' that allows Deianencs to differentiate themselves from others. I hope to reveal a multiauthored dialogue between locals and foreigners, old and young, which reflects the fluidity and complexities involved in concepts of insiders and outsiders.

The first chapter will present the realities of paradise: the place, the people and their history. The island of Mallorca has been a trade centre and stopping place throughout the centuries. A sense of local identity has developed over time in contrast to the many outsiders with whom locals have shared their village.The necessity to identify themselves as

separate from others within the same setting has always been prevalent. Accounts of the Moorish occupations, the conquest of the Moors in 1229, and events throughout the next seven centuries all record confrontations between insiders and outsiders. The local Deianenc population is contrasted to the Moorish occupants of the ninth through thirteenth centuries, then to the Aragonese and Catalan conquerors who were represented by Cistercian monks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to the Church and the Valldemossins in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, and to large landowners, workers from the mainland, Spanish officials, and foreigners during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The various oppositions among the separate Balearic Islands, Catalonia, and mainland Spain also reveal diverse levels of antagonism or cooperation at different periods. The political turmoil of the first half of the twentieth century emphasised being Spanish, rather than Mallorquin, and forced regional and local identities to go underground. The continued surveillance of local communities by members of the Falange during the Franco regime and the suppression of regional identities during this period may have subdued the assertion of local identities, but they were subtly expressed at every opportunity through rituals, modes of address, clothing, gesture, food consumption, etc. By the time democracy was introduced, the formerly well-kept and productive land, forests, olive trees, stone terraces, and citrus trees (once the source of local pride and identity) were in various stages of neglect. People were too busy (or too old), agriculture had become unprofitable, while tourism in all its forms (accommodations, services, food, transport, fuel, etc.) offered the kinds of security that most people wanted. Pride and identity had to be derived from other aspects of life.

The second chapter, 'Conceptions of Space', describes the village through the various perceptions of the people that live in it. To a Deianenc the village is not just a place; it is generations of kin, recognised members of local households, and the reality of everyday existence in familiar surroundings with others who share one's activities, beliefs, rituals, and values. It is the vantage point from which an insider forms his or her view of the world.

The foreigner describes the village from a distance: an outsider's view of beauty and tranquillity; an idealised setting that satisfies personal needs and provides an economically viable alternative lifestyle or an investment; a paradise where dreams and reality blend together and

where many like-minded persons live with whom to share these expatriate experiences.

Chapter 3 presents the social structures and values around which life develops. Separate households are grouped together under the name of 'one House', which not only indicates shared property and the problems that it engenders but becomes a metaphor for social relations past and present. This part records the struggle for coherence in a changing world through the social evolution of the household, the family, and the value system. Increased incomes and interaction with foreigners have allowed individuals and groups to develop new avenues and relationships that reduce internal pressures and divert social conflicts. Unlike many studies of villages that relegate the study of the present to the last chapter and endeavour to present the past as though it were more exotic,[5] purer and wiser, or richer in ceremony, rituals, and symbols than the societies of today, this chapter deals with the process of change that is now part of the present. Change has been occurring throughout the period discussed in this volume. In Deià, the desire for modernity, increased demand for material goods, more free time, easy access to distant places, and global communications offered advantages that, when combined, made local social life more varied and simultaneously stimulated a revival of interest in traditional culture.

In Chapter 4, we will see how people have learned to incorporate change by selectively maintaining those traditions that can be adapted to the new requirements. Tradition is not inherited; it is a name given to something constantly being made. The Deianencs have been able to adapt, absorb, develop, or reinterpret change in local terms. The struggle for coherence in a changing world involves faith, reflection, and reevaluation of personal and social identity. By the continued use of old and the invention of new nicknames, House names, and various forms of address, the insiders have continued to define the place, status, and relationships of one another and each outsider in their society.[6] Deianencs have developed a creative means of coping with differences and the pressures of change. Those who most object to change are the foreigners who are actually responsible for bringing the changes.

Chapter 5 adds some perspective to the terms 'insiders' and 'outsiders' and endeavours to show the changing attitudes that affect the use of these terms in different situations. Outsiders-Insiders do not just define one another. As Strathern wrote for Elmdon, 'some people belong to the village in a way others do not. Outsiders who assume the village is a unity see residence as community but locally perceived social boundaries

delineate separate functioning entities within the larger society' (1981:94). After more than a hundred years of coexistence between Deianencs and foreigners of all sorts, it is more a question of degrees of insideness and outsideness. The regular use of the terms Deianenc and estranger to distinguish insiders from outsiders is a local manifestation of the general pattern provoked by the national constitution of 1981, which divided the country into seventeen autonomous regions and forced areas to turn inward to rediscover local and regional identities in contrast to the rather contrived 'unity of Spain' so long espoused by the Franco government. Outsiders-Foreigners offered a contrast against which the insiders could articulate a local identity. Lacking legitimate citizen roles within the village, foreigners could be grouped together as 'outsiders'.

In Chapter 6, we will see how the village has been 'paving the way to the future' since the last century. Expansion of any sort, either housing development or the opening of new roads or improvement of old ones, has been a major source of disagreement between various individuals and groups throughout the history of Deià. It was only with the new democracy that various public political confrontations were made possible, and these were often between foreign residents and local voters concerning the future developments of roads and housing in the municipality. From the foreign resident's point of view, a new road or an improved old one devastated the landscape and opened the village to too many people, but from the local point of view, roads provided easier access to and from the village and many advantages for Deianencs and their families. It became evident that each group had quite different concepts of what 'the village' was and how it should evolve in the future.

In 1982, to counterbalance the intrusion of outsiders in village affairs and to try to stay the acquisition of more village lands and houses by foreigners, the categorisation of people as Deianencs and estrangers, as synonyms for insiders and outsiders, became widespread. It gave the locals a way of saying that heritage, birth, and kinship symbolised the relationship between themselves and their village and that only Deianencs held the power and authority for making decisions about that village. Deianencs became the term that expressed the solidarity and self-governing potential of the new democracy.

For centuries, Deianencs had served and supplied the product Deià as identified and desired by outsiders. The outsiders resident in the village wanted Deià to remain unchanged so that they could continue to live their ideal lives in paradise. What they did not consider was that their residence had begun to make a marked economic and social impact on

the local economy. No longer just peasants but acquisitive individuals and families, the Deianencs were in a position to reidentify the product Deià in their own terms. It was time that their needs and those of their children were foremost. They were concerned with improvements that would provide employment and housing in Deià for Deianencs. The outsiders' criticism created antagonism and resentment where symbiosis once existed.

While so many areas of Mallorca have been altered beyond recognition by outsiders and tourism, Deià has been able to maintain village continuity visually, culturally, and socially by adapting and reinterpreting traditional activities, attitudes, and values to meet the demands and aspirations of modern life. The selective use of traditional relations and symbols has marked the community's response to changing political and economic conditions and opportunities. Reliance on tradition reveals history as a legitimator of action and expresses and symbolises the social cohesion of the village as an enduring combination of land, kin, Houses, occupations, and shared experience, in contrast to the outsiders who in ever increasing numbers have settled in Deià.

Outsiders maintained the material symbols of the past while the locals were struggling to find work and have enough to eat. While Deianencs were putting work, time, and energy into improving and modernising their lives and homes, foreigners were buying up the past as enthusiastically as the Deianencs were putting it aside. By the time there was work for all and rewards were many, Deianencs were ready to reinterpret their own past. They were able to capitalise on the qualities that had attracted outsiders to their village. Deianencs selected those that fit their present needs and would allow them to accommodate change. The very symbols of the material past – wooden-beamed stone buildings, tiled floors, olive-wood furniture, agricultural implements, clay pots, fireplaces, and wood-burning stoves, once devalued by their parents but purchased and restored by foreigners – were adopted by young Deianencs to express their collective identity. The home became a key symbol of renewed local identity, drawing both from the past and the present, the outside and the inside, for ideas and artefacts. On the inside of local houses were found the recontextualisation of their worlds and values.

This selective tradition is a form of cultural self-identification that serves as a base for collective identity: an assertion of a sense of solidarity through the symbols of everyday life. It is not just a reaction to social change but an element in determining social action. Family, neighbour, and religion are very different institutions from what they were in the

past. Yet they form the basis for most social associations. Nuclear and extended families have become more important while neighbour relations have altered considerably. People are identified by House names which reflect the activities, occupations, and lineage of generations of occupants. The names of streets and different areas of the village refer to historic events and personalities that are part of Deià's past. These familial and community linkages have been gradually rearranged to promote current aspirations while maintaining the idea of life as the interaction of the generations.[7]

Vatican II and post-Franco democracy have greatly altered the religious rituals associated with ceremonial occasions but the celebrations continue to reaffirm familial and community ties. In Deià today, both religious and calendrical rituals mark locality and other aspects of community identity. The structured forty-hour work week has made every weekend a celebration instead of the periodicity associated with church festivals. Religious services have become celebrations of the community. Heightened social life once associated with the sacred has become more secular and matter of fact. The sacred has become popularised and membership in the religious community is another expression of identity.

By using the categories of Deianenc-Estranger, the local population is expressing symbolic boundaries. Insiders are those who understand the meanings behind the symbols. The concepts of insiders and outsiders are based on a perceived social distance between those who understand one another through a common language, traditional associations, shared knowledge, and experience, and those who lack these qualities. The insiders maintain an image of a traditional people in a traditional setting and an ethos of continuity and timelessness. This image is an effective device behind which changing attitudes and material acquisitions can be assimilated. Insiders have drawn ideas and practices from the outside for many years. By marking at least some parts of their social life as unchanging and invariant, they have been able to respond to innovation and change by bringing the changes inside their homes and families without disrupting the appearance of the social order.[8]

Rather than collapsing under pressure or giving up their culture and community to outsiders, Deianencs have found ways to resist total change by revitalising their own cultural heritage within the changed conditions brought on by the continuous presence of outsiders. By maintaining a semblance of traditional life they retain a sense of continuity, a personal and social security based on previous generations' experiences.[9] Changes in ideas, values, attitudes, and behaviour can be

understood in terms of generations, as Lison (1983) has so well documented for Galicia, but I believe that what we find in Deià is not clear differences from one generation to another but rather a sharing, a borrowing between generations, a reinterpretation in new terms of their combined history. The current generation could not be as independent as they have become without the infrastructure provided by their parents and the state. Young people are not turning away from the previous generation; they are drawing on the emotional support of parents and grandparents and invigorating the present with their renewed appreciation of the past. A life cycle marks not just individual growth but stages in the process of socialisation. In Deià we find the generations crossing, separating, informing, reintegrating over time.

The village has prospered and been able to evolve new attitudes and aspirations within the time-honoured institutions of marriage, home, and family. Women and men pursue careers, education and recreation are given high priorities. Deianencs have developed a secure framework on which to base their future and have learned to appreciate the past as the source and legitimation of their community. They want to reclaim the material symbols of that past before they are completely lost. Landownership, once the basis for social status, the source of life and individual identity, has become a commodity sold to the highest bidder. Deianencs identify those who belong and remind everyone else that belonging cannot be purchased; that no matter how much foreign wealth one invests in Deià, no one can buy the birthright that only Deianencs share with all the generations before them.

This assertion of solidarity may be short-lived. At the current rate of inflated property values, locals cannot afford to buy houses in their own village, and heirs to a Deià property will not be able to afford to keep the house in the family as they once did. The shares will be too high for any one sibling to buy out the others. Many of the oldest Deianencs are widows or widowers who have no children. Their heirs are their godchildren or other relations who often live outside the village, and it is likely that these heirs will prefer to sell the houses they inherit to the highest bidder, who may well be a foreigner. To try to balance this, the village has begun a project to build sixteen subsidised flats which can be purchased by Deianenc first-time buyers. There are already far too many names on the waiting list and the manner of selection has not been decided. However, it seems clear that the largest houses in the village are or will be owned by foreigners.

Deià has become one of the most popular and at the same time expensive resorts on the island of Mallorca. This may be the result of the symbiosis of insiders and outsiders who over the last century learned to complement the separate interests of each and gain the full advantage of their respective goals. It is also due to outside developers and local officials working together to exploit the very qualities people associate with Deià and to sell them to the highest bidders. Insiders are those who want to maintain the 'ethos of a traditional village' while opening the way for more investment that will produce jobs, housing, and livelihoods for their children and grandchildren. Some outsiders want to maintain their existence in paradise by halting change while others have begun to participate in the changes. Is there a means to encompass the realities of progress with the ideals of paradise?

Notes

1. Edwin Ardener has written a great deal about remote areas. I refer here to his suggestions that 'the age of discovery showed us that the remote was actually compounded of imaginary as well as real places, yet they were all of equal conceptual reality or unreality before the differences were revealed. A place is remote to those who have not been there, but to those within it is just another place' (in Chapman [ed.] 1989).
2. Valuable anthropological research on Spain has been done by British, American, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Portuguese, and researchers of many other nationalities. I have cited only the works most relevant to the issues under discussion.
3. Until the 1950s, large landowners divided their various properties among their children. The males were always bequeathed the agricultural and productive lands while the girls were often given large sea-front properties. These areas were not particularly valuable and were seen to provide a backup for the women who often married the sons of other landowners. In the late 1950s, large foreign companies offered vast sums for these coastal properties and many Mallorquin women held large amounts of capital which allowed them to assume important economic power in the early years of tourism.
4. Pitt-Rivers noted that 'Tensions of the internal structure are projected outside the group where they serve as an exterior threat, to strengthen the group's solidarity' (1954:29).
5. Maurice Bloch's interview in *Anthropology Today* (vol. 4, no. 1, February 1988) suggests that the 'exotic' only exists in remote areas of the world. I believe that this study of Deià as well as many of the articles in the *Journal of Social Anthropology of Oxford,* Michaelmas 1988; R.T. Antoun 1968, Bestard 1986, and many other European ethnographies, show that even the most complex and

cosmopolitan societies have developed 'exotic' forms of communication which warrant specialised anthropological studies.

6. Anthony Cohen recognised a similar phenomenon in his work on Whalsay, a fishing village in Britain. He writes that 'the changed nature of things is masked by the retention of the symbolic expressions in idioms derived from their historical character' (1982:35).
7. This has been expressed over and over again in the literature on Spain: i.e., Ortega y Gasset, Brenan, Paul, Atholl, Thomas, Lison Tolosana, Pitt-Rivers, Kenny, Brandes, et. al.
8. This phenomenon is not new. Hugh Thomas described Spain in his classic study of the Civil War as follows: 'Isolated by good fortune and by geography from the so-called "world's game" of European and great power rivalry since 1818, it has more lessons to offer other people than it has to learn: above all it has grasped more successfully than other nations the art of combining progress with the persistence of tradition' (1961:x).
9. Abner Cohen's discussion of what I have called selective tradition is useful here: 'Some patterns of symbolic action can be survivals from the past and others called traditions are of recent origin and others are being continuously created for new or old purposes' (1974:36).