

[書評]

Review of *Insiders and Outsiders:
Paradise and Reality in Mallorca* by Jacqueline Waldren

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In *Insiders and Outsiders* Waldren describes the cultural contact between natives and a community of foreign residents in a small Mallorcan village in Spain. The work is a longitudinal case study based on nearly four decades of participant observation which centers on the era from the early 1960s to the mid 1990s; the study is framed by a historical background of the area, the formation of the village, an account of developments over the centuries and contact with foreign visitors who came to the village in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The author provides a detailed physical description of the village, the kinship and social relationship networks of the native villagers, the structure of the overall village and its daily operational existence, adaptations to socioeconomic changes and ways in which new people were incorporated into the village. Such adaptations involved both maintenance and flexibility in concepts of identity and relationships. The dynamics in the relationship between locals and resident foreigners over the decades are described and analyzed within the framework of ongoing socioeconomic developments, particularly the tourism industry. As the full title suggests, a central subject of mutual interest, but often from different viewpoints, was the local identity and local natural assets of an unspoiled rural paradise being confronted with socioeconomic progress and opportunities that required physical and social adaptations.

Chapter Summaries

The book is organized into an introduction, six chapters and a brief conclusion. In the introduction, Waldren provides the setting, summarizes the important sociopolitical changes in Spain which impacted the situation of the village of Deià, and outlines the presentation of the work. The case of Deià is not per se representative of the development of the tourism in Spain or even in Mallorca, although it has been affected by and is part of this widespread process. The author ends the introduction with the central question: “Is there a means to encompass the realities of progress with the ideals of paradise?”

Chapter one gives the cultural foundation of the village with a brief outline of the pre-roman, Roman, Vandal and Muslim eras of the island. Techniques in agriculture, evidence of the coexistence of religions and culture, folk music, lexical items and many place names constitute still visible influences of the centuries of rule by Muslims whom the Catalans then conquered in the early 13th century. The island was repopulated by Catalans. The Cistercian monks established their presence, controlled a great deal of land and

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were a dominant influence on life in the village. Waldren summarizes land ownership, water rights and also inheritance customs. Agricultural development continued; later numerous people emigrated to the Spanish colonies for work and often reinvested their money at home in Mallorca. Contact with notable foreigners occurred in the 1800s, including Archduke Ludwig Salvator of Austria, Chopin, George Sand and then in 1929 Robert Graves; these were people with financial resources and reputations who arrived with non-commercial interests seeking idyllic refuge.

The second chapter explains that while the physical place of the village can be precisely described, the perception of “the village” was likely to vary, often in relation to a person’s age, gender, nationality and personal interests, even though the village was also a shared social reality. An individual’s views of neighborhoods, friends and daily activities structured a person’s perceptions of boundaries, which were often easily crossed, within the village while the annual seasonal phases of agricultural life and the yearly series of religious events and processions which followed routes throughout the town contributed to the shared definition of the place.

Chapter three outlines the various ways that individuals belonged to, or became incorporated into, the village through their attachments and associations, and also describes adaptations and changes in belonging. The extended family was the basic unit which was symbolized by the physical house of the family patriarchs along with other physical houses that came into existence as the number of households of the family increased over generations. Marriages modified the family and house(s). The author explains that even though formally arranged marriages were not the norm in the mid 1900s, there were still traditions and influences regarding social standing, appropriate marriage partners, socioeconomic interests and the influence of parents; furthermore, marriage within the village and/or through village connections was often preferred. With modernization and new socioeconomic standards, marriage aspirations also changed. House structures were often remodeled to create separate spaces for newly weds or new houses might be built, but the extended family of the “House” all shared in responsibilities and benefits of the family properties and wealth. Deaths as well as marriages modified the houses and properties. The author classifies households within a “House” into four types; interdependent, dependent, semi-dependent and independent; the description of the dynamics for each type of household gives insight into the concept of family, kinship and socioeconomic mechanisms in the village. Affiliation with a House allowed a citizen access to political participation and legal rights in the village, but also held symbolic capital. Connection with a House was intertwined with how a person was known and referred to in the village; the author includes a discussion of the system of names, nicknames and address forms in the village. Foreigners and other outsiders were often given “fictive” kinship with the House to which the property they occupied belonged.

The fourth chapter sets the premise that people choose to maintain traditions on a selective basis according to the circumstances which affect them and that tradition is not simply inherited but is continuously being created. The chapter outlines, and illustrates with examples, traditions of information exchange, public and private actions, social values of morality and views on religion. The traditions of social class structure, land ownership, wealth and options for social mobility intertwined with social relations. The purpose and enjoyment of life found in doing things for and with family, friends and community were seen in many activities such as olive cultivation and harvest, building and home repairs, festivals and activities of agricultural life. High values were given to family enterprise and exchange networks for socioeconomic relations. Traditional roles among family members and the role and meaning of religion in the village are discussed. The chapter also indicates that while much of the traditional social structure was maintained, adaptations occurred and, with large scale socioeconomic advancements and modernization, some values

also began to change and in turn changed relationships.

Chapter five is the central chapter of the work but could not be fully appreciated without the descriptions and analyses put forth in the earlier chapters. Here the author brings together the social situation, experience and perspectives of the foreign community with those of the villagers. Their coexistence and interrelationships are described within a historical framework from the mid 19th century to the late 20th century. Both communities simultaneously experienced the socioeconomic changes of modernization, socioeconomic improvements, sociopolitical changes from dictatorship to democracy, advances in local tourism and changes in social values.

As described in the introduction, from 1867 to 1940, the foreign residents in Deià were mainly writers and artists who were attracted to the rustic setting. These people were dependent on the villagers for information and access to participation as residents in the village but also had financial resources and/or influence and contributed to the village in various ways. They seemed to be generally welcomed and incorporated into the village through the relationships they made. They attracted a few others to visit and/or reside in their small intellectual community.

The period from 1940 through 1975 coincided with the Franco era beginning after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939, during which period foreign residents were, for the most part, absent) and ended with Franco's death and transition to democracy. During this period, the foreign community gradually added members: intellectuals, artists, bohemian lifestyle advocates, academics and rustic nature lovers. While the community of foreigners had a rather self-contained social life among its members, there were also possibilities to join in village activities based on traditional genders roles for women and men as well as festivals, public events and agricultural activities which involved everyone. Furthermore, as foreign members of the community had children, those children integrated themselves and, by association, their parents, further into local society. In this period before 1975, the relationships between the foreign and local residents were based on reciprocity and social exchange which created cooperation, positive interdependencies and mutual benefit through person to person relationships; according to Waldren's descriptions throughout the book, these person to person reciprocal exchange relationships with foreigners in this period seemed to intertwine with the relationships that locals had long maintained with each other, and thus was an inclusion of foreigners in the village system of social rights and obligations which also implied mutual trust.

Many of those foreigner residents made efforts to protect the traditional and natural character of the village and in this way contributed to maintenance and appreciation of old houses, items and structures which represented the deep identity and character of the place. This group constituted the foundation and sociocultural core of the foreign community as it changed. They were involved in the creation of an art gallery, small archaeological museum and library which contributed to the village's history and tourism resources as well as to the reinforcement of the foreign community's own identity and sense of belonging.

With continued expansion in tourism after 1975 and under new democratic political conditions, the number of foreigners further increased; however, many of these new foreigners were short term tourists or people who had vacation homes in the village. Businessmen, investors and vacation homeowners from outside continued to buy property in the village. The new economic environment eroded the traditional relationships of social exchange and reciprocity by prioritizing personal interest and profit. An increase in the number of foreigners and more social separation of locals and foreigners created various categories of foreigners—perhaps especially from the point of view of the long term foreign community who could see their social identity shifting in the minds of locals. Long term residents often felt that they identified themselves more with the locals than with tourists and transient visitors; however, with heightened

consciousness about their collective Deianenc identity, it was often convenient for locals to categorize all foreigners as a single group. The reciprocal social exchange relationships of the past were more difficult to maintain. At the same time, the foreign community could not demand that the village remain unchanged in order to maintain an idyllic setting for their purposes; Deianencs needed to control their own future and, with the social and economic changes that had occurred over the decades which included their experience with foreigners, they were capably doing so.

Chapter six characterizes the new sociocultural and socioeconomic reality of the village at the time shortly before publication of the book and considers the future of the village. Progress and modernization have always involved roads in both the physical and metaphorical senses. New roads changed the landscape and made new spaces in the village, and thus were often a point of disagreement; nonetheless, they were needed by everyone. The road situation illustrates and serves as a metaphor for the central question of the work in that they were necessary to gain the benefits of new economic opportunities, but they often conflicted with the need to protect nature and the traditional structure of the village. Waldren relates an interesting example of the manipulation of the relationship between locals and foreigners by leaders in local politics who appealed to the value of the collective Deianenc identity in opposition to the voice of foreign residents. In the situation described, this highlighted the distinction between local and foreign residents and devalued the voice and concerns of the latter group regarding construction in the village. This was one example of debate regarding economic expansion versus protection of the local environment which intertwined with other agendas to facilitate political and personal gain for some of those involved. Identity categories could be applied flexibly to include or exclude people as convenient for the situation. New social dynamics affected awareness of and crossing of boundaries, consciousness about social identity and the relationships between groups and individuals. The chapter is reflective and indicates increased social strain and difficulties, but is not pessimistic.

The brief conclusion asserts that foreigners were a positive influence and that locals took full advantage of the opportunities which accompanied contact with outsiders. Concurrently, resident foreigners had the benefit of living in an idyllic situation without having to integrate totally into local village life. For decades the mutual advantages of their coexistence allowed both communities to flourish and contribute to successful modernization and development of the town by also maintaining natural and historical resources. Cultural contact had always caused some disruptions, but the village progressed, at least until then, in a slow and also seemingly sustainable way. Although changes in social values from exchange to profit notably strained the synergistic relationships that had previously been the norm and it was clear that the village faced new and ongoing challenges, the author seems to see the situation of Deià as a success.

The work consists of 250 pages of text plus the introduction. References are cited throughout the text. Detailed notes are included at the end of each chapter. There are a few pages of photos and an index.

Commentary

The author dedicates a chapter to each of the key factors needed to understand the core identity of the village: the historical cultural background, divisions and control of land, the structure of village relationships and traditional values and behaviors; these layers of analysis interconnect together in chapter five where the dynamics between the local and foreign communities are chronicled. The reader is able to grasp the dynamics of cultural contact easily and deeply thanks to this approach. Each of the first four chapters is a worthwhile read in itself for the cultural information it contains.

Though not a focus point of the work, Waldren explains that a third group, Spanish citizens from other parts of Spain, also exists in the village. They are not considered foreigners by locals but are considered outsiders. This group often interacted with the foreign community. It was not within the scope of this book to elaborate the situation of this group; however, it is important to keep their presence in mind as they were part of the dynamics.

Considering the successful coexistence of the local and foreign communities, the opposing factors of interaction and separation were both needed for each group to maintain and reinforce its identity. Nonetheless, there were many spheres of village society where members of both groups interacted; thus, individuals could build personal social networks with members of both communities. In this sense, many individuals had multiple identities through their social networks and the activity groups to which they belonged.

Paralleling the dual factors of separation and interaction between people were the factors of accessibility and inaccessibility to the village. Inaccessibility into the village protected traditional life, but also forced some village locals to go out of the village for work, even overseas to the colonies in earlier times and more recently for jobs in tourism and other industries in other parts of Mallorca and Spain. Not just any tourist or foreign visitor would have arrived in a place with limited access; yet the access that existed attracted the Archduke, Robert Graves and then others who carried out intellectual and artistic activities and built the gallery, museum and library. The inaccessible aspects of the place delayed the tourism boom in the village and other types of progress to a certain extent; yet, this may have fostered better decisions regarding changes for expansion of tourism in the village. There is also irony in that the very isolation and rustic lifestyle which attracted the foreign community also caused the village to modernize: underdevelopment attracted development.

The long period of coexistence with these rather special foreign residents from the mid 1800s through 1975, when it was still a paradise and relationships were based on reciprocity and social exchange, must have profoundly influenced the village, giving it multicultural and international character and skill. This long period of coexistence in mutual respect also allowed the foreign community to develop their own roots and their own sense of belonging there. Now their children and grandchildren are natives by birth in the village, so both coexistence and the generational process of immigrants further integrate the two communities.

The book's question of finding a means to encompass paradise with progress remains unanswered; the meaning of both paradise and progress are constantly being redefined through adaptation and development on micro and macro social scales.

As for the present case of this village, it is not possible to fill in almost two decades of history in this review. Ongoing development of the tourism industry has likely presented further economic opportunity in many villages whose local economies have become dependent on tourism. This has been complicated by increased immigration into Spain from other European Community countries, former Spanish colonies as well as Africa and Asia, so community resources have experienced strain along with diverse cultural contact and consequent internationalization. Real estate speculation priced many locals out of the market for property ownership, and contributed to the present economic crises in Europe. Tourism may be keeping some areas financially afloat, but not without challenges.

Socioeconomic changes do not occur everywhere in a uniform manner all at once. Today, there are rural areas in many places which have remained relatively self-contained with little intercultural influence and have adapted slowly and comfortably to progress until recently but are now experiencing stress from the

global financial crisis. Rustic life, traditional products, local history and rural landscapes are often resources that can attract visitors and customers to local businesses. Customers may come from other cultures, and new constructions and social adaptations maybe needed. In some cases, there may already be foreigners who have established a presence and influence the image and socioeconomics of the area, as happened Deià. This case, may offer insight for creating mutually beneficial cooperation through social exchange and reciprocity among groups within the area and suggest possible strategies for recognizing local resources and planning sustainable local development.

Waldren, Jacqueline. *Insiders and Outsiders: Paradise and Reality in Mallorca*. New York: Berghahn Books. 1996 (reprinted 2006).