



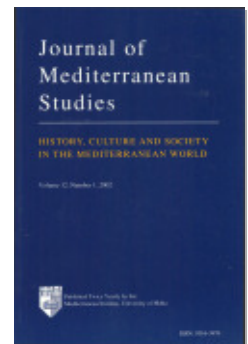
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Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Volume 12, Number 1, 2002, pp. 169-189
(Article)

Published by Mediterranean Institute, University of Malta



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KILLING THE GOLDEN GOOSE? DEBATES ABOUT TRADITION IN AN ANDALUCÍAN VILLAGE

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This article looks at the intrinsic link of modernity and tradition in the Mediterranean. It focuses on an ongoing debate between locals and incoming leisure migrants in a village in Andalucía about the nature of 'progress' in the area. Central to these discussions is the topic of 'tradition', manifested in the village in three ways. First, there is a projected notion of tradition espoused by foreign migrants and tourists. Following this, there is a production of tradition by locals to meet those needs. Third, tradition is revealed as the continuation of 'ways of life,' adopted as complementary to modern living. All three forms are fundamentally related to the Northern-European modernity as inspired by the Enlightenment. The article concludes with a call to recognise the potential of exploiting the semantic fluidity of the concepts and language of modernity and tradition. As active agents, local people participate in these discourses, but also use to their advantage this ambiguous position they hold in being part-but-not-quite-part of modernity.

Introduction

Is the Mediterranean demonstrating a variant of modernity, or has it a particular version in its own right? This article looks at a tourism-dependent village in Andalucía to consider the nature of modernity. In particular it looks at the lived experience of both residential migrants and local Spanish people. Crucial to both locals and incomers is a negotiation with the idea of 'tradition', in three forms, as projected, produced and continuing. This multivocal 'tradition', I will argue, is paradoxically an intrinsic part of modernity.

The first consideration of tradition is personified in the stance of the residential migrants of the village. The migrants have moved out of Northern Europe to a 'traditional' village as a reaction to the negative aspects of modern life. This demonstrates how modernity not only transforms tradition but creates a need for its existence. The second form, the production of

tradition, arises out of a modern, economic and rational response to the incomers by local Spanish, producing traditions in a 'sales argument' to continue to draw outsiders to the area. The adoption of a post-industrial consumerist stance of local Spanish does not, however, signify the capitulation of local culture in the face of homogenizing forces. Instead, the third form of tradition reveals how certain traditions are reformulated within (and as central to) modernity in their own right, and are not necessarily manifestations driven simply by a desire for profit. Local identity is fostered strongly in the face of homogenisation, for as Sahlins states,

'... people are not usually resisting the technologies and conveniences of modernization, nor are they particularly shy of the capitalist relations needed to acquire them. Rather what they are after is the *indigenisation of modernity*, their own cultural space in the global scheme of things' (1999: 410) (my italics).

This does not mean to say this is a 'different' modernity. The interlinked nature of the production of tradition both as a reaction against, and as a facilitator of modernity, means it is difficult indeed to separate this Andalusian modernity from 'the original', as based on the Northern European ideology of the enlightenment. The problem is confused because when one talks of modernity, it is usually in relation to the blanket term, 'the West'. However, 'the West' is not in any way an undifferentiated and homogenous group, and is characterized by internal dialogue, particularly that between the 'modern North' and the 'traditional Mediterranean.' 'Internal others' (epitomes of 'tradition') were defined in opposition to modern Northern Europe. As Collier states, Spanish or Andalusian tradition has always been every bit as modern as the modernity seen in the West, arising out of the 'aftermath' of the Enlightenment (1997: 11).

The heritage lives on, because the negotiations fundamental to Mediterranean development rest on using this discourse of tradition and modernity, itself a production and (as Argyrou points out in this volume) a confirmation of Western modernity as the unique mode of being. To seek to find multiple modernities is a futile task. Following Van de Veer (1998), we should rather appreciate the multiplicities of histories in which this 'grand' economic and political project has been negotiated, and its more local manifestations of the singular process.

Unfortunately, this could lead us to sigh at what is essentially the hegemony of mainstream Europe over those on the fringes. This ethnography hopes to show however the dual positions and multiple understandings of the apparently 'same' (European invented) concepts by both locals (read:

'Mediterranean') and incomers (read: 'North-West European'). By doing so one arrives at a realization that although all relate to a singular modernity, the understandings are very much used in relation to the self-interests of different agents. So, whilst we may be constrained to speak in the same language, we can certainly say a variety of different things with it.

Setting the Scene

Freila¹ *pueblo*, a short 6 km inland from Tocina, in the Axarquía, is a typical example of the 'traditional/modern' *pueblo blanco*. With around 2,150 inhabitants², it is a relatively large and, in comparison to other areas, fairly affluent pueblo. Part of a previously underdeveloped region, the pueblo has been incorporated into a drive by the regional government to spread the benefits of expanding coastal tourism (a valuable contributor to Spain's GDP) to inland sites. Recent projects have been undertaken to 'prettify' the town, with projects financed partly by the *Junta de Andalucía* (the Andalusian council) and partly by EU regional aid. Projects have included the repaving of areas of the old town, replacing underground pipes for drainage and water supply, illuminating part of the old village and establishing the village as part of the inland tourist route (*ruta del vino/wine route*). The drive of different (local to supranational) government bodies to modernise the pueblo have materialized in the construction of a public swimming pool, an international language school, an outdoor sports stadium and one covered stadium. These provide venues for visiting 'big-name' rock bands for the summer season and *feria* (fair). By all accounts, the village is a modern and cosmopolitan place, particularly given the presence of a number of Northern European migrants, attracted over the last 35 years by the beauty, culture and climatic benefits.

Development has recently caused a number of tensions in the village. House prices in the region have escalated, and wages for work have risen sharply. Recent controversy has come about because of plans for further developments to enlarge the village. Many of the criticisms facing the governments rest on the fact that developments are not in the style originally planned, more often hotels and apartment duplexes rather than individual, 'traditional' village houses. The protest is most strongly expressed by the growing number of (mainly) Northern European migrants who have chosen the village as a site of retirement or as a haven from the stresses and strains of modern life. Though difficult to frame as a homogeneous group, the migrants on the whole in the village demonstrate anti-modern, anti-nationalistic and anti-consumerist sentiments.³ I, myself, being a British

young woman, fitted in with these migrants at the same time as living with a young Spanish family in the village. Some migrants arrived as long ago as the early 1960s, when (against their intentions) they certainly did not represent to villagers the anti-modern ethos they adhered to, but rather became an object of fascination and perhaps emulation.

Most migrants however, came in the 1980s and after. The relatively deserted and peaceful paradise that many of them had moved to has recently been turned into a construction site. Its pavements are now ripped open in the height of the tourist season, with literally hundreds of tourists everyday filing past their houses on wooden planks over the setting concrete of the new 'prettified' paving. Streets that were once trodden by mules are now full of teenagers on *motos*, with silencers removed, using the circular route paved around the village for tourists as a racing circuit. Some migrants suggest that in this way the Costa is 'killing the golden goose' of its success (Graham 1999).

On the whole, the disturbances are less negatively (and certainly more ambiguously) viewed by local Spaniards, who see the process as yet another temporary stage in a wider series of changes towards development. Partly, ever more development represents new sources of income—many of the villagers work in the burgeoning construction industry, or in tourist-services.⁴ Still, many families maintain family-managed agriculture,⁵ complementing their other jobs in a flexible approach to work typical of the area (King, Lazaridis and Tsardanidis 2000: 10). Before democracy and mass tourism, life in the villages was characterized by hard agricultural labour, outward migration and for most, poverty. The economic and political changes of the last 20–30 years have drastically altered the outlook and occupations of the people. The past is viewed less in terms of nostalgia, and more in terms of the hardships involved. Many people have enthusiastically adopted a 'modern' perspective, in which rather than actions being prescribed by the community, villagers 'think for themselves' as masters of their own destinies (as described by Collier 1997: 6). Central to the process of modern development is a welcoming acceptance of the foreign migrants as well as the day-tourists, visiting from the nearby Costa for their insight into 'traditional' village life.

Tradition in All its Guises:

The Intrinsic Link of Tradition and Modernity

But what does tradition mean? And, if it is a product of modernity, then is it to be rejected as the binary, backward opposite or to be regarded as an essential or worthwhile component? In academic talk, the 'traditional'

is primarily 'modernity's devalued opposite' (Collier 1997: 10). The two aspects are joined in a symbiotic relationship, one defining the other. The understanding is confused by the multiple ways in which the terms are conceived, as discussed by Collier (1997: 11). She points out how tradition in general is understood in three ways. First, the word 'tradition' refers to broad historical traditions. Second, tradition was constructed by the Enlightenment, and becomes a term given to those not governed by rationalism. Finally, the third version refers to the cultural elements handed down from the past (for instance, folklore and customs). These multiple understandings are even more complex in the lay-world, with a huge variety of what can be considered tradition. As I reveal throughout this article, the perspective of actors in Freila reveals fundamental and at times enormous differences in the ways in which tradition is thought of.

In what follows I look at three ways (relating to Collier's second and third understandings) in which tradition is articulated in the village by different actors. I look at both locals and foreign migrants; all people who would normally be defined as 'Western'. However, despite the variance in what it means and for whom, in all examples, I reveal how within the Mediterranean tourist context, tradition becomes manifested within, entangled with, or even produced by modernity itself. The fact that tradition is an integral part within processes of modernisation (and not necessarily indicative of some obscure 'backwardness') is far from new (See discussion in Van de Veer 1998: 292). However, often this tradition is constructed as a reaction, a rebellious means of fighting the hegemony of modernity, which is ultimately doomed to failure (see Argyrou, this volume). Ironically, in this context, that assertion is produced more by the incomers, the very emblems of modernity, than by locals and is only one of the ways in which tradition is understood. Other different understandings, which also do not discard tradition, do not have to be quite so pessimistic. In this light, people view tradition as produced by (or surviving) the progress that others would claim destroys it.

Producing Tradition I: Seeking a Safe Haven from Modernity

I greet passers by with a hearty Spanish '*hola!*' They reply with a 'hello' or 'hi'.
(McClarence 1998)

So described a disappointed journalist recounting his tales of a walking trip around the 'forever England' corner of South-West Spain. The author, having spent most of his article painting a lyrical, romantic picture of

Andalucía and its people had to admit that 'traditional' Andalucía had moved with the times. The report is indicative of the problems Andalucía is facing in managing modernity, in that much of its appeal lies in its image of traditionality. In Freila, foreign migrants were often retreating from lives disrupted by the negative aspects of modernity, moving to the village because of the 'simplicity' of the agricultural way of life that was there. One such migrant, Ed, a successful artist, moved to the village because of his own disillusionment at the changes prompted by the Thatcher years in the UK. This reduced his rural idyll, a village in Essex, to a commuting village, as he described, 'full of 200–300 estate agents.' In Freila, Ed's relations to locals were different, based upon respect for and interest in a different way of life. He nostalgically talked about the village, explaining, 'the local people live a much more simple life, they have lived in the same place for 70 years and the contentment they derive from that is obvious. When our own time is valuable, to be in this timeless place is sheer contentment.' As anthropologists have been accused of doing (see Fabian's *Time and the Other* (1983)) migrants project a temporal traditionality upon people that perhaps results from their Northern European desires (See discussions by Llobera 1986: 25–33, and Pina-Cabral 1989: 399–406).

The strong engagement that foreigners have in protecting the original character of the village reflects their particular view of tradition as Western aestheticism. In discussions about 'progress' in general and the development of the village in particular, they seek noise abatement and environmental protection. In retraditionalising the village, they promote an anti-modernist idea of tradition as conservation, tolerance and respect for privacy and peace. This vision was satisfied when they first came, although recent tensions have arisen following modernization. For example, in Freila, distress was caused for some when the aerobics class attended by the Spanish women in the village was held outside, with music blaring out in the schoolyard at the bottom of the village. After complaints, the village was 'made quaint' again by moving the group inside.

For foreign migrants, there is a danger that the village will be swallowed up and obliterated by the forces of capitalism and the negative aspects of modernity.⁶ Ed, for example, admits the changes and developments in the village are 'devastating', although he sighs 'unfortunately we were the start and part of it.' Like another informant, Judy, one of the earliest residents in the village, who came when it was completely 'underdeveloped', he likened the process to colonialism of the traditional by the West. The village, they assumed, was 'being invaded' by outsiders exploiting the relatively new desires of the people. As such, a steady flow of migrants

has responded by leaving the sullied village in search of other, (inland) less developed sites.

In response to the development process in Freila, Ed and others started a neighbourhood association, known as the *Vecinos de Freila* (based upon an old idea from the Franco years when neighbours grouped together as a body of *vecinos*) (Waldren 1996: 94). The composition of members is a mixture of foreign residents and locals, but originally it was the foreigners who were more committed. With the best of intentions it was intended as a forum for everyone to air their opinions rather than a group of foreigners dictating for the betterment of the village. The group organised the production of a magazine 'based on the idea of a parish magazine'. Its objective was to look at 'the traditional values of the community, the customs, the tradition, the style, the architecture and the underlying conflict with the need for change.' Magazines were filled with articles detailing things that were destroying the village, for instance, the noise of the motorbikes, and the disposal of rubbish in the gorge at the back of the village. The group has since been involved with a display of old photographs of the village. One American tracked down the names of people in those pictures to create a genealogy of the village, preserving and maintaining the heritage of Freila.

However, the group got off to a rocky start, even from its very conception, mainly as a result of the clashing ideas of tradition, which initially created an unintentional 'us-them' divide. The group started when some people were walking up to the plaza, a beautiful old square with the church of San Antonio at its head. This square, decorated with pebbles marking the signs of the zodiac and orange trees around the sides was, and continues to be the main hub of public life in the village. The foreigners were shocked to discover that the earth was being pulled up for a renovation, without anyone knowing why, although Ed did admit, 'The locals weren't as upset as much as we were.' In response, Ed admits, 'we acted in a very English way.' They rallied around and held a demonstration in the plaza, tying placards to the church railings and lighting candles, using a notion of beauty highlighting the destruction of the traditional (in this sense an aesthetic notion of tradition).

At the time, Spaniards became interested in what was going on, congregating to look at the foreigners who were lighting candles. However, the *extranjeros* (foreigners') attempt to make a statement about the destructive effects of progress was based upon a fundamental clash of understandings of tradition. For the foreigners, Northern-European aestheticism was met with bafflement. The symbolic effect planned was not achieved; in Spain

candles are mainly used for funerals, and locals tended to laugh. One woman explained, 'People didn't know what they were doing, it was very strange.' The use of a particular Western aesthetic tradition did not translate here. The lack of interest in 'tradition' by locals in this sense reveals fundamental differences in what is actually seen as 'traditional.' For the foreign residents it is an anti-modern neo-Romantic environmental perspective, which sees the traditional as 'pristine' and preservable.

It could be argued however, that this aestheticised version of the traditional is actually a product of modernity and capitalism. Indeed, the evident 'expressivism' displayed has, in the words of Joel Kahn, 'been a more or less constant presence in the history of modern culture, never resolved, taking different forms and being articulated by radically different political forces, but always an undercurrent that resonates particularly in times of perceived crises of modernity' (Kahn 1995: 32). Whilst Argyrou finds in Cyprus that this is a reactive critique from within, in these *pueblos blancos*, it is thus far developed from without, from the outsiders.⁷ The *vecinos* echo this Romantic critique of the Enlightenment which expressed a sense of despair at the instrumentalist rationality and commodification developed in modernity (*ibid.* 32). Yet, as Kahn shows, this critique is nothing if not modern, appearing first in the period of the modernist sensibility (*ibid.* 24). It could be said that these 'moderns' from this position consume the 'tradition' of the village, wanting it kept as it was, and use modern Western aestheticism to do so.

By no means do the foreign migrants truly desire tradition (as a return to a pre-modern age). In fact, it is from an advanced position of modernity that they promote their traditionalist views. As a cosmopolitan blend of migrants of different nationalities, they are the very emblem of modernity (Urry 1995: 141). As such, it is only a selective idea of tradition that they seek to enforce, rather than a wholesale rejection of all the propositions of modernity. In political discussions for example, it is rather the very modern emancipatory and liberal ideologies of democracy that are valued, viewing tradition, in this understanding as a kind of shackle to be released from. On one hand, they challenge the material repercussions of the onslaught of modernity, at the same time, they actively engage with the ideological ambitions arising from Enlightenment thought.

It is an ongoing struggle to see how far the *Vecinos de Freila*, as a 'democratic forum' translates its more Northern-European conception of democracy in the face of reluctance. One insightful foreigner explained, 'It's supposed to be a forum to air opinions. But it doesn't work like that with Spanish people. They don't write things down in magazines, and

since when has 'airing your opinions' ever been a problem for the Spanish? They talk about these things all day long.' The *vecinos* arranged a serious protest meeting, objecting to a further construction that had exceeded the restricted level of storeys. This was held at the *ayuntamiento* and was attended in equal numbers by *extranjeros* and locals (about 40 people in all). Of all the local people there, it was mainly opinionated women, with the men at the back of the meeting smoking, adding little and not exactly feeling comfortable with this externally-organised imposition of democracy. At the meeting, one Spanish girl Cati commented to me on how many foreigners there were. 'As usual', my English companion commented, 'why don't the people around here care? They talk about it on the street, but they never come to the meetings.' Cati shrugged and responded harshly, 'well then, Freila gets what it deserves then. They care about the town growing, but well if it gets too bad, they have to blame themselves.'

It was felt by the organizers (mainly foreign migrants) that they themselves had to motivate and push local people to exercise their democratic rights. The chairman of the meeting, Salvador, a Columbian, reminded people at the meeting about how they should 'leave the past behind', and should consult with lawyers to take up their own grievances. In response, a confused local woman asked, 'Why must we go and see a lawyer when there is a law saying they can't do these things?' The understanding of a modern system is being negotiated uneasily, and foreigners themselves are not immune from the machinations of local politics, often kept at a distance as 'outsiders' from political involvement (see for example Waldren 1996: 236). In Freila, whilst petitions from the *vecinos* are received agreeably by the *ayuntamiento*, whether anything is done is another thing. For instance, a complaint about illegal car-parking was monitored at first, but then, as Ed explained, 'It's not kept up, and we don't know whether it's because there is no formal mechanism to enforce this, or whether it's other reasons, like the policeman knows the people involved. On the surface, it seems that we are dealing with people who look the same. But, on fundamental issues, we differ.' In this sense, tradition (as based on patronage and networks) is viewed as negative from their modernist stance.

Producing Tradition II: The Provision of Tradition to Sustain Local Modernity

Collier points out that despite their portrayal as 'traditional', Andalusian villages were hardly ever isolated from wider regional and political market involvements, and were certainly not the pristine sights they were perceived

to be (1997: 46). As Ennew (1980) explores in the Western Isles of Scotland, some 'remote' areas have been wrongly defined as non-capitalist/traditional, despite being locked into capitalism. Whilst some of this is undoubtedly a production of Western projections, as a negative and positive pole for comparison, this is also paradoxically confirmed by locals' actions. For, though in the village, 'tradition' is understood in fundamentally different ways by both locals and migrants, insiders accept the general understanding that to achieve modernity, they must embrace and play a role in appearing traditional. It pervades as an image (deriving from the tendency of Northern European modernity to romanticize tradition (Tomlinson 1991: 144)) to be negotiated for the sake of locals' livelihood. In this sense, tradition is embraced in the sphere of production, where it is utilized for income generation. By so doing, it works for the most modern reason of all, as a 'sales argument' in the tourist industry to draw people to the village and maintain locals' high standard of living.

Tradition is constructed as an image synonymous with the region by tourism propaganda. In the light of widespread development, this would seem incongruous, but the image still somehow pervaded, with a reframing which claimed that progress did not erase tradition, but complemented it. Andalucía was assumed to be somewhere special, where tradition and progress could live 'side by side'. The synergy of both modernity and tradition has been managed as a lure to the area for commercial purposes. Speaking at the World Travel market in 1999 José Núñez Castain, the delegate for Tourism and Sport in the *Junta de Andalucía* (the regional government), weaved an image of harmony, stating: 'The Andalusians wisely know how to combine the memory of a past full of tradition with the modern ways of a hospitable land that believes in progress.' (*Sur* in English, November 15th–18th 1999). One of the central features of recent campaigns is the desire to distance oneself from the urban sprawl and ugly modernity exemplified in the nearby Costa del Sol, and engage in 'the traditional'. A crucial role in the perpetuation of these images is played by *pueblos blancos*, such as Freila, dotted around the hills behind the coastline and portrayed as last bastions of purity (Nogués Pedregal, 1996: 58).

The external construction is confirmed by locals who benefit from the tourist trade. They are complicit in internalizing and even promoting images of tradition. As MacDonald suggests in her discussion of participants in the tourist industry in the Isle of Skye, 'we should not underrate people's ability to play along with constructed images of themselves' (1997: 155). The same holds true in Freila. For instance, although several

car break-ins occurred in the village whilst I was there, the local language institute offered free insurance, because, apparently, 'Nobody locks their door, unlike in most Spanish cities. Petty crime is unheard of and life is a lot more peaceful than in the major cities.' (Academia Internacional Freila 1998: 3). The shops sell locally made products, not disclosing that it is only very recently that people have learnt the 'traditional' techniques of doing so. The women, for instance, are encouraged to attend traditional mat making classes in the *ayuntamiento*, as well as embroidery classes, ironically using the sellable constructed 'tradition' as a means of emancipating them from the real 'traditional' constraints of being dependent on the male breadwinner. It is through the meeting of demands of a foreign understanding of tradition that conditions of modernity are achieved.

The ongoing development creates a dilemma, as local people know their success and progress depend on the preservation of the beauty and image of tradition of the area, (noted also in Mallorca by Waldren 1996: Introduction). The understandable desire to wipe out some 'elements of the traditional', (such as a shabby *burro* shack and the aforementioned replacement of the old village square) removes the very things that attract tourists in the first place. Bruner describes a similar case of tourist development in Bali, 'the predicament is that the more modern the locals, the less interesting they are to occidental tourists, and the less their income is derived from tourism' (Bruner 1996: 159).

Yet, this production of tradition for modern purposes does not appeal merely to tourists, but is also enjoyed in its own right. The official Freila website claims (as do many others in the area) that the village is, '*el pueblo más famoso de todo la Axarquía*', (the most famous in the entire Axarquia region) (<http://www.Andalucía.org>⁸). Such a pronouncement is not necessarily deemed an exaggeration for simple commercial exploitation, but appeals to a sense of pride that locals feel in the village anyway. To suggest that this is simply a commodification of heritage is to paint too simple a picture. In the village, tourism serves to strengthen local and regional identity, preserving the village's own unique place, carving out its distinctiveness in the globe. Retraditionalisation, whilst economically productive, also offers an opportunity to develop in a way that also appeals to local identity formation. In fact, the apparently prescribed position of tradition identified up until now is not at odds with the modern reality of life.

Much of the lure of the village depends on tourists attending the many parades and displays of the year, from the processions of the village patrons, *San Antonio* and *San Sebastián* to the flower displays in *el día*

de la cruz (the day of the cross) in May. Now due to the presence of tourists, fulfilling their folklorist desires (Boissevain 1992: 7) these have become performative occasions, and so are much more elaborate and enjoyable than before. For instance in the *romeria* (pilgrimage) of San Antonio in Freila, a growing number of people wish to participate, young and old, with men parading on horses and girls in flamenco dresses (which was more rare in the past (see Collier 1997: 199). Last year's *San Isidro* celebration in Tocina was reported as the biggest ever. At the same time as tradition is revalorized, these very processes are what sustains the village economically and brings about modernity. But, as Boissevain points out, and as Dubisch also noted in Greece (1995: 182), this revitalization of tradition cannot be seen as anything if not wholly connected to modernity (1992:1). Spaniards complicit in Western 'anti-modern' tendencies buy into the tradition/modernity dichotomy, but at the same time paradoxically use these same anti-modern tendencies to fulfil their own ideas of modernity.

Continuing Traditions

Rather than suggesting that tradition is only invented, the third understanding of tradition in the village reveals rather what Sahlins calls the 'inventiveness of tradition' (Sahlins 1999: 408). Whilst the third understanding of tradition is also, in a definitory sense a production of modernity (insofar as the traditions are *labeled* as 'traditions') it refers more to the continuation of existing 'ways of life'⁹ that are being reformulated in lived modernity. Some scholars have presented this in essentialising ways (for instance Gilmore's analysis of the use of 'machismo' and verbal aggressions/gossip to rebalance gender relations following modernization). Others, for example, Bestard Camps and Contreras Hernández (1997: 61–76) stress the flexibility of continuing ways of life. They point out how, in contemporary Barcelona existing social categories (in this case kinship and family values) are factors of identity that recreate themselves in modern living. They are not the static entities located by social scientists as belonging to the past. How much more so is this true in a less urban setting? This section will explore how modernity merely involves a reshifting, not an obliteration of 'traditional' systems in the everyday lives of local Spaniards in Freila. At the same time, perhaps it confirms that these systems were, and always have been 'rational' (Collier 1997: 16).

Collier explores in great detail the enormous parallel adjustments in outlook accompanying the social, economic and political changes in village

life in Andalucía. In this short article it would be impossible to explore all the changes in family, generational and gender relations, as well as changes in public ritual and beliefs. As such, I will only touch briefly on modern living in terms of consumption and political life, and how they at times bear out existing ways of life.

According to Rostow's model (1960), the villages have skipped many stages of modernization and rapidly entered into an 'era of mass consumption'. In the last decades, the people in the village, rather than inheriting property and wealth became, as Collier has suggested 'earners rather than owners' (1997: 51). As well as earning, the locals have benefited economically from the commodification of land and property, particularly from selling houses in the older 'traditional' part of town and buying modern apartments (what Barrett calls 'imitation apartments of towns' (1974: 101), complete with marble floors and polished furniture in the new part of town. In Freila, there is a fostering of a strong entrepreneurial spirit, directed towards the goal of personal and family improvement. Mass consumption, a practice almost emblematic of modernity itself, has been readily embraced in the village.

In consumption studies, growing attention is being paid to the ways in which consumption is situated (Mort 2000: 10), looking at consumption in terms of life strategies, and how it constitutes meaningful existences (Friedman 1994: 1). Consumption is a means of bearing out one's social identity and cultural stance. In the region I suggest that consumption facilitates the expression of certain values, which would be described by some social scientists as belonging to the 'traditional' realm. In looking more closely at what is consumed and how, the significance and meaning of consumption can be identified. In the village, through modern forms (the consuming), traditional contents are expressed.

At all levels of the social hierarchy, newly available luxury consumer goods are purchased. Investment in the family and the house is particularly important with spending on luxury goods for the house (sophisticated electrical goods, furnishings), as well as status symbols (particularly new cars). Children in particular become the recipients of vast amounts of spending. The nature of the family has changed, with families smaller than previously, and as discovered also by Collier, the children have become the symbol of the family's modern achievements. Extraordinary amounts are spent on ritual occasions of the family's life, particularly baptisms, first communions, weddings and houses for newly-weds. Reflecting Argyrou's findings (1996), the nature of these rituals has changed; for example in the village in the 1960s, weddings used to be held hurriedly

at sunrise, a sharp contrast to the lavish displays held now. At a recent first communion of fifteen children I attended, considerable sums were spent on suits for all the family and professional photographs were taken, in echoes of the wedding ceremony. These were distributed to people all around the village and the visiting families from Barcelona, Madrid, Tarragona and other locales. Afterwards, the fifteen children were each treated to a celebration dinner at different local restaurants and hotels, with at least one hundred guests at each one. Thousands of pesetas and gifts were given in a mad flurry to each child, demonstrating how what was once a small occasion, marked nevertheless by a modest communion ceremony, has now been turned into an enormous affair.

Reflecting the assertions by some social scientists (as discussed in Miller 1995: 11) many migrants suggest that the embracement of consumption is a degeneration from an earlier, somehow more pure state. In the village, however, it seems that these aspects of modernity confirm or maintain elements of what would be classified as traditional. For whilst the display of wealth could be presumed to be about individualism, for example, it seems that in the village it is always managed with an eye to the collective. Consumption is for social distinction, but this does not necessarily belong exclusively to the realm of the modern. As elaborated by almost all Spanish ethnography, much behaviour is dependent on 'keeping up appearances' in a public performance to the pueblo (cf. Gilmore, 1987: 3). Those that do not conform run the risk of social aggression (Brandes 1980: 9). Whilst less explicit today, the grand displays are carried out because, in some sense, the village expects them to. When at the recent first communion, I asked the father of one of the boys why he played along with the demands to go to confession when he was clearly reluctant to, he responded in a phrase I've heard many times, '*es costumbre*'. (it's the custom). According to my informants in the village, nobody in the village had ever refused to participate. Despite the emphasis on 'family production' and achievement detailed also by Collier (1997: 51), these very concerns echo those found in times of 'tradition': status, pride and respect are paramount. Even if one does not have the money, a certain 'face' must be kept. This is reflected in the commonly used phrase, '*rico en la calle, pobre en la casa*', ('rich in the street, poor in the house').

If modern consumption is for the presentation of the self (Friedman 1998: 10) (or in this case, the family) it fits into existing social forms very nicely. It is not consumption *per se* (a modern form) that is the primary concern, but rather the way in which it is employed to express

values (perhaps wrongly) described as traditional in content. This can be seen by the fact that whilst consumption has been used as a means of expressing competition and one-upmanship (Waldren 1996: 106), equally in the village I saw that if people were *too* extravagant in their consumption, social censure was directed against them instead.

What has been conceptualized by outsiders (social scientists included) as 'tradition' and 'modernity' reveal themselves in this context as more blurred and less oppositional concepts. Selective elements of tradition are not encapsulated in the past. The values that can be complementary to modern forms of living are reappropriated and materialized. Even in the political sphere, as Sapelli suggests, in Southern Europe, 'modernisation has preserved and given life to traditional structures' (Sapelli 1995: 14). An example of this is the continuation of non-democratic clientelism (Dunphy 2000: 183), to which I will now briefly turn.

Although the ideal of democracy is cherished, people in the village are still very much scared of 'speaking up' because of a history of clientelism¹⁰ (as noted before). Indeed, unlike the foreigners, they are still dependent on the local goodwill of the *ayuntamiento*, a highly personalized and local bureaucratic structure. One of the few people who signed the *vecinos* petition against the plaza has never been taken on by the *ayuntamiento* to do work since, and blames this on his involvement. One migrant explained, 'People won't get involved because they lose work or don't get their plans passed. It doesn't matter for us, as we don't need to make a living here or have children to look after. It's just a hang-on from Franco's time, they still live in a medieval system, afraid to speak up.' One local woman, Maria, however informed people at the aforementioned meeting that when she had indeed ventured to complain to the *ayuntamiento*, she was treated like a nobody, in her words, like a child.

Political behaviour in modern living reveals very similar values to those materialized in consumption practices. Prior to the *vecinos* meeting, discussions of the nature of the development took place on a website mistakenly believed to be that of the *ayuntamiento*, that in fact was established by a foreign migrant using the village's name. For the Spaniards writing to the website, the messages were strong accusations of corruption by those in power. In all cases, the messages were anonymous and untraceable. However, for those to whom the comments were addressed, it seemed what they said was less significant than the fact that they were anonymous. In response, the complainants were invited by those defending the practices to denounce, in person, those accused of fraud. One person was taunted to become 'the saviour of the pueblo', but because he/she did not 'show

their face', they were taunted as *un cobarde* (coward) and ridiculed as having more 'bark than bite'. Throughout the constant website activity, although the ideal of democracy and freedom of speech was much cherished on both accusers' and defenders' sides, more traditional values such as pride in personal and family images and denial of cowardice were actually uppermost in the discussions. In modern forms, both in consumption and 'democracy', status and common opinion in the eyes of the collectivity (regarded before as 'traditional features') are borne out. Thus, the categorization of modernity as a particular social-historical category associated with certain features is inappropriate in this case, for the categories of modernity and tradition are somewhat more blurred than other experiences in Northern Europe. For villagers, the 'modernity' of today materializes the same concerns that 'tradition' used to address.

The reason for the blend of modernity and tradition is not as a result of some 'intrinsic' traditionality of the Spaniards (as could be read by some stances of foreign migrants) but a logical (modern?) response to historical conditions. Actions of the locals (for example the reticence of overt protests, petitioning etc.) is viewed as 'traditional' but in fact could actually be described as a rational response to the people's historical reality of fascism under Franco and the understandable caution which resulted. Much of the reluctance to engage in politics could be put down to the relatively new sense of political freedom, as it was only as recent as 1976 that saw the legalisation of political parties. Moreover, fascism, in itself is a modern project, a fact often overlooked by the migrants seeking 'tradition'. For locals, democracy is seen as a welcome and necessary element of Andalusian development, particularly given Spain's establishment as part of the Western European democratic tradition of 'Europe'. Yet the uneasy negotiation of the process is not because the Andalus are 'traditional' but because of Andalucía's (remembered) history.

Conclusions: Tradition as Part of One Modernity

As the debate rages as to whether there is one modernity or several (Van de Veer 1993: 286), it is undoubtedly clear that Andalucía's experience of modernity has always been discursively and practically related to its European precedent. It is evident throughout the article that all three local understandings of tradition are to some degree related to (or even created by) the original European project of modernity. In this concluding discussion I will explore further the nature of the socio-economic development within Andalucía, the specificities of the entrenchment of a singular 'European'

modernity, and use the insights of the article to explore the implications of this.

Faubion argues, 'Modernity is not one, but many things.' (Faubion 1993: Prologue). Van de Veer on the other hand, whilst not disputing the variety of forms nevertheless suggests the roots of all modernity lie in the Western project. He points out that one should pay attention to historical processes, in particular the development of nation-states and their spread through colonial intervention (1998: 288, 291).¹¹ Although Spain was a marginal state in Europe, it was never colonized. It did however have a strong centralized nation-state under Franco¹², be it one that was globally isolated. As a consequence of the repressions of the Franco years, the following path to democracy and pursuit of modernization was seized upon enthusiastically. This did not, however go completely smoothly, and Spain continued to remain relatively technologically backward. More specifically, the now autonomous region of Andalucía had the highest levels of unemployment within the EC between 1988–1990 (Therborn 1995: 200). It was only by entering into the Common Market that Spain became a recipient of aid that redressed regional inequalities (Dunphy 2000: 183). Simultaneously however it was forced into a new market orientation, an internationalised economy, and experienced a flood of consumer-goods imports. As such, even today, the future fate of Andalucía is inextricably tied to the EU and decisions from the core (Dunphy 2000: 184).

The more recent impact of 'Europe' on Andalucían development could lead us to speculate on Andalucían modernity therefore as a kind of 'internal' colonialism, with the infringement of an idea of 'the West'/Northern Europe upon this region. For example, the adoption of lifestyles of high consumption is often read as emulation, a yielding to a globalised commercial system and international culture, or a symbolic domination of periphery by core (cf. Arrones 1989).¹³

In the light of this, tradition would become something that is either forgotten or mobilized to react against modernity. Unfortunately, even as Argyrou points out (this volume), in utilizing tradition one must and cannot fail to act inside the parameters and language set by the one European modernity. In this article, I have indeed reflected how *anyone* (equally local *or* 'Northern European') using the discourses of modernity/tradition is able to escape its version of the world. The examinations of tradition in this article confirm that there is this undoubted discursive pervasion of Western modernity.

However, there is a danger that the acknowledgement of the origin of modernity spills over into a dichotomic moral categorization of those of

'the West' as imposers of modernity, and those of the East (or Mediterranean) as imposed upon. What I would hope to suggest is that modernity is more complex and flexible than is often pessimistically presented. What I have shown is that those embracing Northern-European modernity do not necessarily have to be constrained by a homogenizing process, but utilize it as they see fit. As I have pointed out, previous ways of living are not necessarily something to be destroyed, banished and rendered figments of the past but may complement and be expressed within modern forms. Perhaps Andalucía's distinctive take on modernity is a result of the fact that it is not a mere replication of Northern European path to modernity (Therborn 1995: 5, King *et al.* 2000: 10). For one, it was defined by a 'jump' from agrarian to service society (Therborn 1995: 173); in effect an industrial phase was never materialized (Salmon 1991: 23). Second, all this has occurred, not over a number of centuries as in Northern Europe, but over a number of generations. Older generations have vivid memories of the previous isolation and conservatism under Franco. Notwithstanding this, differences in the timing of the entrenchment of a modern perspective merely show a variation in the establishment of the same phenomenon; the rationale of modernity remains the same.

The flexibility of modernity in late capitalism does, however, allow people to reject certain elements of previous lifestyles, re-use others, and perhaps most importantly engage with these issues themselves. However constraining this discourse of modernity *could* be, locals here seem to use to their own advantage the ambiguity of their position as part-but-not-quite-part of modernity. On one hand, they are within the geographical marker of 'the West' but also deemed as outside another, 'Northern Europe' and part of 'the Mediterranean', with all its mythologies attached. Rather than locating this region in a polar opposite of negative inferiority, they can use the definition of tradition, albeit arising from European modernity, in their own specific way. The perspective of locals sees them less as pawns, and more as active, rational engagers in the whole negotiations of tradition and modernity.

Interestingly enough, in Freila, it is on the whole foreign migrants who see locals as 'passive victims' and wish to put a halt to further 'exploitation'. Yet it is these very migrants, who, as carriers of modernity wishing to step outside of it, are caught in an unresolvable self-contradiction. Simply by being in the villages they find themselves representatives and introducers of systems that they have no desire to represent, and even may wish to escape from. As such, locals and migrants, Mediterranean and Northern-European, in conditions of late capitalism, shift beyond the original and

constraining scripts prescribed and assigned to them in linear theories of modernity.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Andy Dawson, Judith Okely, Marc Verlot, and Julia Holdsworth for their comments on this article. Further thanks are also due to the editor, Jon Mitchell for his helpful suggestions.

Notes

1. Names of places and peoples are pseudonyms.
2. From the 1998 census (Source [www. Andalucía.org/](http://www.Andalucía.org/)).
3. A criticism of essentialism could be addressed at the picture I have portrayed, although I suggest that in this case, a division of us/them with different beliefs, in most cases is justified. See also Nogués Pedregal (1996: 59) and Waldren (1996: chapter 5) for further discussions.
4. Commonplace parental aspirations are for children to have future occupations outside the hard labour of farming (as noted too by Collier 1997: 164).
5. Family-owned plots of land are still cultivated, producing olives, semi-tropical fruits and cereals.
6. They often use discourse reminiscent of dependency theory to explain the process unfolding in the village.
7. There is an environmentalist presence in Andalucía, and a growing one within the Axarquía, but to date it is relatively small.
8. I have not given the link to preserve anonymity.
9. 'Ways of life' that were found prior to the economic development of the area. In this sense, I fall into the same semantic traps of language definition and inability to think outside of modernity, as detailed by Collier (1997: 10) and discussed by Argyrou in this volume.
10. As Waldren asserts for majorquinians, 'The less involved they are in legal and political matters, the safer they feel.' (1996: 95).
11. Van de Veer stresses the importance of colonial expansion as an instrument of modernity (1992: 287). Contrary to other European nations, colonial expansionism in Spain to the Americas was debatably not a part of the modern project, as its peak came before the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.
12. Under Franco (1936–1976) the centralizing nation-state became an important vehicle geared at the construction of an autarchic society. The government-led and interventionist economic policies were not anti-modern as such (consider the initial economic miracle of the late 1950s under Franco), but served to isolate Spain from global affairs. Giddens states, 'In the wake of the rise of fascism, the Holocaust, Stalinism, and other episodes of twentieth-century history,

we can see that totalitarian possibilities are contained within the institutional parameters of modernity rather than being foreclosed by them.' (Giddens, 1990: 8).

13. Indeed, Arrones' consideration of the phenomenon of Northern European urbanizations in Mijas (a village which is held up fearfully as a model of the potential fate of Freila), reveals the story of *campesinos* (peasant farmers) preyed upon in vulnerable times, subject to the exploitation of the foreign builders.

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