Spanish Values Amidst Industrial Tourism

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From the perspective of the island of Mallorca, a discussion of changing values in modernizing Spain begins with an appraisal of the principal causal agent of change in that area -- tourism. The fieldwork carried out there had at its inception nothing to do with tourism, but was instead concerned with theoretical issues of urban ethnicity and persistence, as they pertained to an extraordinary Jewish community of long residence on the island. However, it was not too long before one came upon the realization that no cultural study in contemporary Mallorca, not even a primarily ethno-historical study of urban categories in a non-tourist area, could successfully ignore the overwhelming effects of tourism. Upon pursuing the matter seriously, it became evident that one was dealing with what turned out to be two distinct types of tourism: industrial and entrepreneurial. Both types have had a marked effect on Mallorcan values and have been contributory to the modernization of the island and its capital city, Palma. We will look at both, but place emphasis on industrial tourism, the predominant form in the present.

Prior to examining those features peculiar to industrial tourism, it is worth reminding ourselves of the capacity for change inherent in industrialization as a process. Since the eighteenth century the process of becoming modern has, in the most powerful nations, inevitably involved some degree and kind of industrialization. When this occurred the scope and rate of change in these nations augmented to staggering proportions. For those students of culture who view change over centuries and millenia, such as the evolutionists, it is generally agreed that the dimensions of change brought on by industrialization can only be compared to the total reorganization of human society that took place in the shift from food gathering to food production ten thousand years ago. Most of Europe experienced this transformation in the nineteenth century, but in Spain, even by the mid twentieth, industrialization had taken hold only in select urban centers, and had only minor effect on the interior, or on adjacent islands such as Mallorca.

INDUSTRIAL TOURISM

The stage that we call industrial tourism did not develop fully in Mallorca until the decade of the nineteen fifties. It was not perceived as industrialization by the residents, but as a boom phase of a traditional business. However, it was more than a mere boom, for the industrializing process in Mallorca resulted in a whole new way of doing business, an entirely new technology, and an enormous concentration of technicians, managers and workers, resulting in a rapid population increase, especially in urban areas.

In industrial tourism the capital goods exist as mile after mile of resort facilities, of fleets of jet planes, ships, buses, cars, of dispersed booking offices and transportation centers. The managers and specialists needed to run this were recruited from every country in Europe. The great corporate enterprises that operate this system are organized to move hundreds of thousands of travellers at any one time, the timing being so critical that hotel facilities are frequently unused for little more than an hour as one group moves in to replace a departing group of equal size. In the industrial phase, the scope and volume of tourism is far beyond what anyone in the past could have foreseen. Although Mallorca is an island only 35 miles wide and 75 miles long, in the months of heaviest tourism, the airport which serves it is the fourth busiest in Europe.

The industrializing process in Mallorca manifests features of industrialization witnessed in other parts of the world, such as those apparent in the manufacture of goods or the extraction of resources. What is observed is a reorganization of economic life based on standardization, specialization, and an advanced technology dependent on energy from fossil fuels. In industrial tourism, hotel rooms, meals, bus and plane seats, and indeed, the travellers themselves become interchangeable units in patterns of carefully timed movement. Specialists function at key points to maintain an ongoing system, which above all else is dependent on the technology of air travel, and more specifically on the jet engine, an absolutely essential input for the development of industrial tourism in Mallorca.

The development of industrial tourism can be measured by various criteria. The number of annual visitors as one measure (see Figure 1) shows an increase in the industrial phase that dwarfs all that precedes it. However, equally important is the quality of the visitor's experience or the interaction between traveller and residents during the holiday period. As we shall see, the essence of *entrepeneurial* tourism was a series of person to person contacts for the contractual arrangements of the visit. In contrast, in the industrial age something as seemingly simple as an outdoor barbecue in the Mallorcan countryside may be arranged and booked in Frankfurt, and involve company representatives in two countries arranging purchasing, transportation, food preparation and entertainment for five hundred guests per seating. In Industrial tourism there is only illusion of personalism and informality, and this is created by managers operating on assembly-line time schedules.

Figure 1

Tourism and Population

	Number of Tourists		Population of Palma de Mallorca	
1900				
1918	10-12,000		63,000	
1936	40,000[1]		94,000	Entrepreneurial
1939	Civil War		114,000	Tourism
1945[2]	55,000	WW II	126,000	
1952	98,000		136,000	
1955	188,000		(New Resorts Open)[3]	
1960	400,000		-	
1965	1.000,000		-	Industrial
1968	1.400,000		-	Tourism
1970	2.000,000			
1972	2.900,000			

ENTREPRENEURIAL TOURISM

Tourism as a serious business enterprise had its beginning in Mallorca during the first decade of the twentieth century. By 1905 there were two hotels that were sufficiently large, comfortable and prestigious to attract visitors from the limited foreign travel market of northern Europe. This, the entrepreneurial stage of touristic development, lasted from the turn of the century until the fifties, growing continually throughout that period and eventually becoming the backbone of the island economy. In this stage hotels, pensions, restaurants and transportation facilities were run by individuals and families. The employees of service facilities were in many if not most cases members of the owner's family, personal friends or neighbors, or at the very least Mallorcans of long residence. Those who travelled to Mallorca, came as individual purchasers in a service market. Typically, their trip commenced with the purchase of a train ticket from their home to Barcelona, and not until arriving in Barcelona did the traveller book ship passage to Mallorca, as it was next to

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[1] Plus an additional 50,000 Cruise Ship passengers.

[2] Note that the time increments are not equivalent, but rather are reflective of periods of varying length between events which have affected touristic growth.

[3] Tourism developed primarily around Palma up until the fifties, and until that time there was a direct relation between touristic volume and urban growth. After the fifties, a considerable portion of the tourist traffic went to new resorts in various parts of the island.

impossible to arrange passenger space outside the country. Once on the island, the traveller selected a hotel or dealt face-to-face with a hotel owner he had corresponded with in reserving the accomodations. For his day-to-day needs of food, trasportation, recreation and accessories, the traveller dealt entirely in a market of small entrepreneurs whose individual decisions as to the marketability of their goods was often based on little more than the experience of the year before.

The rate of growth, slow but continuous, was directly limited by the capacity of available shipping between Barcelona and the island. Passenger travel was primarily seasonal and supplemental to the normal shipping operation: thus the frequency of trips increased only with the demand for passenger service. The effect on the growth of the urban economy, and of shipping, was not so much keyed to the demand for space provided for the traveller himself, but rather the demand for year around shipping space for the variety of goods needed from the outside by a growing island service economy.

Entrepreneurial operators in the tourist industry have never totally disappeared, but in the late fifties and early sixties they began to be overwhelmed by the size, power, and adaptability of industrial management in tourism. As corporate enterprises moved into a dominant position in the market they tended to buy up or otherwise control the service entrepreneurs. For example, many of the small hotels and restaurants continued to survive only through contractual arrangements made with larger operations in which they guaranteed the availability of their rooms or seating capacity at a price half to two-thirds of their regular rates. It was not unusual for an independent traveller returning to a hotel he had gone to for years to be told that the hotel was entirely booked even though it was obviously empty of guests. This occurred when many small hotels were booked at a low per-unit rate for the entire season, and were filled by tour operators only at peak periods, or were otherwise kept as a reserve for yearly growth while larger hotels were under construction. Although these procedures made sense in corporate economics, it did little for entrepreneurial growth. It soon became apparent to visitors that it was notably less expensive to visit the island on a package tour than as an independent traveller.

Individuals and families in Mallorca continue to invest in and operate service enterprises in the tourist market. Howewer, in the seventies, entrepreneurs represent only a small percentage of the total investment in the service industries, often operating in conjunction with industrial enterprise, or in areas that are not profitable for corporate level investment.

BEFORE TOURISM

Entrepreneurial and industrial tourism can be viewed as stages in an overall process of development and change in Mallorca. Each of these stages is relatively recent and develops in relation to traditional, peasant-culture base, many centuries

old and still imbued with elements of the medieval. In examining change in Mallorca over a long period of time it is best to view it against a backdrop of comparable processes of change in the Spanish nation, and Europe as a whole. When compared to the rest of Europe it is notable that Mallorca reached its zenith much earlier -- in the late middle ages, but that from that point on its history until only recently has been characterized by stagnation and decline. While the rest of Europe progressed slowly over centuries, Mallorca became less a center of trade, and more a remote island outpost. Due to its location 100 miles off the Spanish mainland, it has been treated much like a colony, and has partaken only peripherally in periods of national economic advance, while being all but forgotten in periods of contraction and decline..

Mallorca first entered the cultural domain of European Christendom in the thirteenth century following centuries of Saracen domination. Once conquered by the Aragonese monarch, James I, en 1229, it entered a period of growth based on its participation in sea trade in the western Mediterranean. At its peak, Mallorca was a Mediterraneen port in competition with Barcelona, Genoa and Pisa. However, by the fifteenth century the island had lost its trading contacts, and from that point on the island economy rested solely on the output of local peasant agriculture. While industrializing processes transformed the rest of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mallorca remained isolated and unchanging. Around 1900 it finally began to emerge from a pattern that had changed little in four centuries. It is indicative that Mallorca entered this century with its capital city encased in walls dating from the middle ages, and with fewer residents and dwellings in the twentieth century than in the fourteenth.

The initial steps towards breaking the mold of uneconomic peasant agricultural practices which insured conditions of poverty were taken in the late nineteenth century. This laid the groundwork for the development of entrepreneurial tourism. In the eighteen eighties in accordance with a program stimulated by a select group of intellectual and political leaders organized in a group called "Sociedad de amigos del Pais, de Mallorca" stopped growing their own wheat for bread, and instead grew almonds, grapes, olives, and oranges which they traded for flour (Barcelo Pons 1964). These fundamental and elementary decisions on the optimum use of available land freed the island from poverty and made possible the introduction of the modern era. Where nineteenth century visitors such as George Sand (1855) and Grasset de Saint Sauveur (1808) were apalled at the primitiveness, ignorance, and poverty they found in Mallorca, twentieth century visitors could, as a result of agricultural revitalization, extol the simple virtues of a prosperous country life, as well as the climate of the island. Thus the beginning of modernization in Mallorca occurred in the agricultural sphere, and the progress in this area provided the basis for the development of tourism.

As we have seen, the period of entrepreneurial tourism extended from the beginning to the middle of the century. An important mid-century date in the movement towards industrial developemnt was 1952, the year that Spain, a

non-combatant but ideological enemy of the victors of the Second World War returned to the community of nations through the lifting of the U.N. embargo and the formation of a military aliance with the USA. This was also a period in which a reasonably large number of post-war Europeans were financially able to think about and carry out pleasure tours to the Mediterranean. Italy and France lead the way in post-war tourism, while in the carly fifties Spain was only infrequently on the itinerary of European travellers. By the sixties, however, Spain was competing with the leaders, and by the end of the decade was the first of all the nations of Europe in total annual volume of tourists.

The change from entrepreneurial to industrial tourism that occurred in this period brought about a total re-ordering of lives of those living on the island. A Mallorcan born in the forties or before has lived in two worlds. Residents of the capital lived their formative years in a cautious, slowly-changing port town where income from the trading of agricultural products far outweighed that brought in by the visitors of suburban resort hotels. Even the Civil War of the thirties had little effect on the island. Italian soldiers occupied the resort hotels, and given that they built a night club which in the seventies is still the island's largest, one doesn't get a picture of a society much affected by a war that ravaged the mainland. In the fifties and sixties, however, Mallorca felt the impact of industrialization as the nations in northern Europe had more than a century before.

As we have noted, the Mallorcan economy of recent decades, reveals many of the characteristies of industrializing processes as they have occurred in other parts of the world. We have also pointed out that it was distinctive, for example, with respect to the nature of the capital goods, technology and movement. It was different from north European industrialization, howewer, in yet another even more important sense, and that is that it was a secondary rather than a primary process. Although it is apparent that north European industrial centers became dependent on exchanges of the world market, the transformation was, nevertheless, an indigenously stimulated and supported process. In tourism however, there is no escaping dependence, and industrial tourism is clearly an offshoot of and dependent on other industrial centers. It depends on them for outside capital, management and ultimately for clientele. To those with the perspective of classical social theory, it may seem thet the very existence of tourist centers such as Mallorca is in the larger sense based on its functioning as a means of minimizing the problems of boredom and normlessness that have been the special negative features of industrial society. For others, tourism is viewed as a variant form of colonialism. Whatever onc's view, Mallorca is through industrial tourism now closely tied to the world centers of industrial power, and will share in the consequences of that association, to either their advantage or detriment. (Schneider, Schneider and Hansen, 1972.)

SOCIAL CHANGE AND VALUES

The operation of a new industrial system that had displaced a pre-industrial, peasant urban economy called for new ways of relating between new categories of island residents. The expanded population included migrants, seasonal residents and tourists as well as rural and urban Mallorcans. There developed spatial and hierarchical distinctions that had not existed before, as well as new emphasis on generational differences. The spatial distinctions in the city were three -- the tourist sector, the old city, and the built up region of the new bourgeoisie.

The tourist sector has been perceived by many Mallorcans as "not of us." It is a region whose residents are made up primarily of migrants from the Spanish mainland and contractual personnel from the continent. They live and work together by a syncretic and pragmatic set of values that contrast noticeably with the virtues of Spanish family life. The values of this sector constitute a compromise that allows diverse peoples to live together. It is a system in which hardly anyone feels at peace or in harmony with his social enviroment, for all are adjusting to the peculiatities of cultural strangers. Most who participate in it feel their involvement is temporary, a stage in their life. The service employee who migrated from the south of Spain is saving for a house, or a marriage upon returning to his pueblo, the German or Swede is getting managerial experience or seeing the world, and the Mallorcan executive enters this sector during his working hours and returns to his family in another milieu when free. There are some who are permanent, or who have been in it long enough to be considered so. They are people from almost anywhere who have built up profitable businesses, severed contacts with their past, and live all their lives, all day and all year, in the tourist sector. The amalgamation of diverse peoples into one new order is best symbolized by the church which attends to the needs of the entire community. It is an English-Episcopal Church rather than Roman Catholic, and in times of crisis serves the needs of non-Spanish Catholics, Protestants and Jews as well as those Spaniards more intimately involved in the life of this sector than of their pueblo. The tourist sector also has a legal identity in the enforcement of laws. Publication of ordinances of public decency always distinguish between this region and the other regions of the city and island.

The tourist community has developed along the shores of the Bay of Palma, and on a city map is clearly distinguishable from the two other territorially-defined sectors -- the old city, and the sector of the new bourgeoisie. In the *old city* one still sees much of Palma as it was in the nineteenth century and before, a city little changed over the centuries. It is the region of monuments and churches, narrow winding streets, and living quarters built in the style of traditional Spain. The old and the traditional predominate, but are being slowly displaced by commerce. It is the one sector of the city that is losing population, as banks, stores, and restaurants replace multiple residences built in other centuries. It is an area clearly

demarcated on the city map not only by the winding pattern of its narrow streets, but by a surrounding, wide, semi-circular boulevard built where the walls once stood. Beyond this perimeter the streets form a grid pattern, and are lined with apartments from two to fourteen stories high, built during the last two decades. Here live the new bourgeoisie.

The *sector of the new bourgeoisie* is also a center of recently acquired values that are also products of accomodation, but here the participants are different from those in the tourist sector. They are primarily of three origins: urban Mallorcans from the center city, Mallorcan peasants from the island interior, and migrants from the Spanish mainland who have permanently settled in Mallorca. There are almost no Europeans here. The permanence of the residents is emphasized by their dwellings, which though usually apartments are almost always the property of the occupants. This is a center ot family life where notions of, and attachments to neighborhood are developing rapidly. One finds neighborhood intimacy in the streets, shops, bars, and restaurants, that almost approach the center city notion of barrio, where strong barrio identity is the product of years of ancestral residence, annual festivals and devotion to a patron saint.

Those who moved from the central city to the new apartments have left behind them old distinctions between class and category that were the very substance of city life. Residents of the old city dwelt upon every minute distinction, to the degree that people from different neighborhoods were said to have markedly different characteristics. The "Catalineres" from Santa Catalina were said to be boisterous, open, and ready for argument, the "Xuetas" of the Street of the Silver Shops were allegedly acquisitive, over-ambitious and secretive in line with their Jewish heritage of centuries past. The differences of people from different classes were seen as innate, and class boundaries were emphasized by rules of dress, of access to facilities and especially of marriage. In the neighborhood of the new bourgeoisie, people whose parents were separated by custom in the old city now intermingle and intermarry with each other and with those from the rural areas of the island and the mainland. The latter two, rural Mallorcans and peninsulares, contrast with each other, in that Mallorcan country people are known for their possessiveness and thrift while those from the south of Spain are noted for living for the day and enjoying the freedom of propertylessness. What all share together in their new roles as apartment dwellers and employees of urban commercial enterprises in a set of national-level middle-class values, which include a reverence for a family life, comfort, finding the good life and improving one's security.

So far we have discussed only the capital city and the three sectors that have developed in it as a result of industrial tourism. There is a fourth sector of course -- the countryside. I spent time in the town of Sa Pobla for the express purpose of learning of the effects of tourism in an area where tourists rarely travel. Sa Pobla is in the heart of a truck farm region that with irrigation now produces three crops a year. Like other agricultural towns, it was pressured into the rapid mechanization of agriculture by the out-migration of its youth to the city, and the

increased demand for agricultural products by the tourist industry. Rural life has not changed radically apart from the condition of general prosperity —something Sa Poblans are not accustomed to. Those local people who became rich from the sale of seaside land have left, and those who stayed work as hard as ever in the fields, the only change being that they now make a cash profit from their labor which permits them to partake in the rewards of middle-class life.

Sa Pobla's linkage with tourism, apart from the sale of its crops, is with seaside resorts just 15-20 kilometers away. The town supplies products and business enterprises, and labor and management personnel for the tourist complexes, yet it seems minimally affected by the nearby presence of hundreds of thousands of north Europeans six months out of the year. The relationship fits a pattern repeated throughout the island where coastal resort facilities seem to be tied to a particular parent town located island. When the season ends, all life retreats to the parent town.

The farmers of Sa Pobla trust the productivity of their land and their agricultural expertise more than the opportunities for riches in the tourist industry. In the past, interior land was always more productive, better watered and safer than coastal land, and that is where Sa Poblans invest their future. Seeing the empty hotels, and the wind-swept lonely streets of the tourist complexes in the off-season is an anual reminder of how ephemeral tourist profits are. In the winter, the pace of life picks up in Sa Pobla and similar towns, and its rhythm does not vary much from the years prior to tourism.

Finally, a discussion of social change and values must include those hierarchical arrangements on an island-wide bases which have been re-formed in the industrialization process. As in other regions of industrial change we see the formation of new classes linked to the needs of the industrial system. Where property was once the basis of wealth, in tourism only some property become valuable, and this extremely so. Those who owned the dry, rocky coastal land profited greatly with the coming of tourism, and those with agriculturally rich interior land benefitted from a more modest increment. The new basis of wealth is, of course, the tourist industry and those who own large shares of it constitute the new upper strata along with the wealthy and well-connected from the mainland, and the highest of church officials. The middle class as already shown, has expanded enormously, this probably being one of the most significant changes in the whole process. As for the poor, most Mallorcans would claim the Mallorcan class of poor is very small, and only those migrant laborers from the mainland who seek temporary work constitute a lower class. In the case of all three strata we see values appropriate to a comparable stratum on the mainland, demonstrating that one of the principle effects on industrial tourism and concomitant mass communication has been a modification of local or provincial values to similar values perceived in national terms.

SUMMARY

Much has happened in Mallorca. There has been a rapid reorganization of the social and economic order but one cannot avoid the impression that with all this change, there is no change at all. One arrives at the conelusion that the changes one witnesses are supported by a system of dubious permanence. The social scientist living on the island finds himself sharing the pessimism of the cab driver who says, "When the tourists stop coming there will be only one good business in Mallorca and that's the rope business, because we'll all need rope to hang ourselves."

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, agricultural reform and entrepreneurial tourism brought the isolated island of Mallorca out of the Middle Ages and into the modern world. The changes were beneficial to all and became well integrated into local culture. Industrial tourism, however, has brought radical and rapid change that seems less than real to many. With basic changes in the urban structure both hierarchically and spatially, it appears that much of what has changed is irrevocable. Nevertheless, to many who have lived through this change, there seems to be an ephemeral quality to it all. The present system is not trusted, and for good reason, and this in part explains the Mallorcan's reluctance to give up his old values.

Spaniards in every region have in this century seen rapid shifts in the fortunes of the country -- from normalcy, to war, to isolation and poverty, and then to prosperity, all in the life times of many adults. In industrial tourism one sees an ever-increasing rate of change that no one reasonably assumes can be maintained. Mallorcans, like everyone else, read of the dire warnings of pollution conferences on the Mediterranean, and receive a more personal warning from the oil stains on the shore and the stench of sewage as they ride past the sea on the *autopista* connecting the town with the beaches and the airport. They know that this continued fouling of the sea which no one is doing anything about could one day mean the end of tourism. They also recognize the dependence of their industry on the continued prosperity of northern Europe, and they ask themselves what good all those hotels will be in a European recession, and how will Mallorcan farmers feed all the new residents on the island.

We see in Mallorca shifts in values developed from accommodations within sector and class that are based on a system that no one trusts. Although Mallorcans have accommodated to the new system, the underlying principles of Mallorcan life have not been lost, nor has the world wiew been radically altered. Contemporary social commentators (e.g., Melia, 1967), advise Mallorcans to look to their rural roots for values and meaning in the present uncertain prosperity, and the advice is well taken. Mallorcans look around and see that much has changed in the way they talk and act, and question what it really means. People comment that men now wear vivid colors, where before this was considered shameful. But

does this really mean very much? Women walk about freely now and take new kinds of jobs (travel agent, waitress, bank clerk) that were deemed inappropiate for women in the past. But the fact that, for example women can now be waitresses is due more to the cheapness of their labor and their willingness to do supplementary kitchen work that men won't do, than it is due to any fundamental shift in male and female roles.

They see in the tourist district activities and life styles that radically contrast with traditional Mallorcan values, but yet no one thinks of this district as really Mallorcan. It is, as I said, "not of us". Young men from the center city go to the tourist sector to encounter mini-skirted *suecas* for the same reason their fathers went to the *Barrio Chino* before mass tourism. There are some marriages between Mallorcan men and north European girls, but the few there are seem inevitably to involve some irresistible financial advantage to the Spaniard. At the same time relatively few Mallorcan women meet, or marry, European men.

As in all industrial countries women here are eager to emancipate themselves, but becoming modern has its risks. A Mallorcan student at the University of Barcelona told me that he likes modern women, and that at college there is the same informality between the sexes that there is in America. He also revealed, upon further questioning, that he would not marry one of those educated girls, preferring, as did other students, to marry a girl from his home town. It is interesting to note that he thought of himself as quite modern, and fancied himself a communist.

As we look at *fundamental* values in Mallorca, we see they have changed little. The family is still strong and shows no signs of weakening as it has in America. Membership in the Catholic church is down, but not seriously. It is said that everyone in Spain follows the church, some with a cross and some with a stick. If there has been any significant change in religious attitudes it is the size of a new group that is neither for the church nor against it, but indifferent. But even this group is committed to the church as a semi-public institution.

There is a great deal of discussion in Spain about changing sexual mores, but again the changes discussed are more superficial than fundamental. Basic attitudes towards sex have changed hardly at all, and those societal changes that have taken place have been in the area of exterior regulations rather than in personal values. The Spaniard's special conception of sex is best understood as a product of 700 years of Christian puritanism coping with 500 years of Saracen sensualism. This has not been changed by industrial tourism.

The same can be said about those values and attitudes that have to do with individual rights and personal freedom. Spaniards, especially those in remote regions such as Mallorca, have long-standing traditions in support of the rights of individuals. Spain had the first parliament in Europe, and, in spite of periods of autocracy, the values that led to the creation of that parliament are still strong in Spanish culture. Spaniards have been little influenced by north European political values as they are expounded by 30 milion annual tourists. The assumption is that what works for Germans or Scandinavians will be of no use to them.

The conclusion of this analysis is that industial tourism in Mallorca and similar regions of Spain has been a major agent of change. The changes brought about are primarily structural, but due to the precariousness of the industrial system, the structure is viewed as weak, and probably temporary. Those who have accommodated to this structure reflect outward changes in attitudes, but they have experienced only minor changes in fundamental and basic values. Industrialization will have to continue successfully for many more decades before there is a fundamental change in the Mallorcan and Spanish world view. For even after more than two decades of living in progress-oriented industrial society, Spaniards continue to find more meaning in ideology derived from tradition than they do from futuristic goals. In spite of the vast improvement in communications and of the millions of foreigners living in their midst, Spain will surely continue to remain marginal to both Europe and Africa, and commit its trust first to what it deems as essentially Spanish out of its own past.

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