

Spanish Women in Business

The Case of Cambrils

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the rise of mass tourism in a Catalan village and its effect on local women's traditionally powerful position vis-à-vis their husbands.

Orthodox theory holds that modernisation¹ brings an increase in sexual equality: legal freedoms – the right to vote, run for office, and own property – are seen as evidence of women's increasing equality in the Western world. Their growing participation in the wage-labour force is taken to imply increasing equality as well (Goode 1971: 21-39, Shorter 1976), and it is supposed that the position of women in less developed countries will improve with modernization (Patai 1967: 17, Formica de Careaga 1967: 191). The weakness of this theory, made clear by Bossen (1975) and many others, need not be discussed here.

Anthropologists who study Mediterranean societies generally report the opposite claim, namely, that modernization reduces the power and status of women. They argue that with economic change power inequalities between man and wife become more pronounced. The economic role of women within the family is said to decline as the men become wage-earners and wives can no longer substitute for them in making a living. Women's tasks centre increasingly around the household, reducing their power vis-à-vis their husbands. Women's chances of employment are generally more limited than men's, whereas family prestige requires that the wife work at home. Women owning property (land, houses) seem better off than women who have only labour and household skills. Propertied women's say in the household economy tends to be considerable in comparison to poor women's (Silverman 1967, Friedl 1967). Even in societies where their traditional economic role was once considerable, where they were innovative and enterprising, women seem to disappear into the background and their relatively strong position vis-à-vis their husbands appears to deteriorate as soon as the first motor-bikes or tractors come to the village – as happened in San João (Riegelhaupt 1967) and in Belmonte (Lison-Tolosana 1966). There is some evidence of women taking up opportunities as wage-earners (Boissevain 1966: 12, Lambiri 1963), but these are mostly girls who work for money to supplement their father's meagre income or to save toward a dowry, and who usually stop working after marriage. In these cases the work and money serve to meet traditional aspirations, and as such seem to change existing power relations very little. In poorer areas of the Mediterranean, the involvement of women in modernization merely means more work and more responsibility without a concomitant increase in their participation in decision-making. While the man works as a wage-earner (in most cases irregularly), the wife substitutes for him in his agricultural tasks. As Kate Young notes: "The problem seems to be that men are unemployed and women overworked" (1978:93).

¹ 'Modernization', as used in this paper, means nothing more than integration in the world market economy.

Even so, these anthropologists generally recognize women as actors and manipulators in their environment. They argue that women work in specific ways to achieve desired ends and that even in situations of overt sex role asymmetry women have a good deal more power than conventional theorists have assumed (see e.g. Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974: 9, 21; Friedl 1967; Riegelhaupt 1967; Lison-Tolosana 1966: 145). They point to historical, social and economic factors that influence women's power (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Bossen 1975) and to variables that effect functions of women, like the degree of influence of national systems (education, law) on the local community; monogamy as opposed to polygamy; prohibition of divorce as against ease of divorce; unilineal rules of descent and inheritance as opposed to bilateral rules (Sweet 1967). The apparent contradiction between the evidence showing that women appear not to have the power to maintain their position, and the presupposition that women are actors and manipulators is "solved" by pointing to the male-dominated formal institutions that provide the boundaries within which women's informal influence must operate, women's scope for power thus being more limited than men's, especially in complex societies.

The case of Cambrilense women who are almost all involved in money-making shows that there is no modification of traditional sex roles and status corresponding to the huge increase in wealth that is owed largely to tourism. This point is controversial and requires explanation. Is it possible that the traditional sexual division of labour, interests, education, balance of mutual help etc. have given local men and women in Cambrils the opportunity to maximise potential wealth arising from tourism? Has tourism created a new field that is equally divided among men and women, where the extra money earned is not appropriated by male heads of households, and the existing ideology regarding the division of labour among men and women remains unaffected? If so, why is it so? What conditions have enabled these women to maintain their power and position within the family?

I will try to answer these questions by analysing the traditional division of labour and work ethic in Cambrils. This analysis is followed by a short account of economic development during the last twenty years, and of women's role and involvement in it. The last part is devoted to analysing the division of labour and work ethic today. Before proceeding, however, it seems useful to provide some basic data on Cambrils.

It is a village situated on the Costa Dorada, some thirty kilometres south of Tarragona. It consists of two parts: Cambrils Pueblo – one mile inland – where all agriculturists and their families live, and Cambrils Playa – on the coast – where all fisherman live and where almost all tourist facilities are. In 1960 Cambrils had 4.500 inhabitants, and in 1978 there were 10.000, only a minority of these local natives. Cambrils has some eight kilometres of beaches, and during the

last twenty years seaside resorts (*urbanizaciones*) have been built, which together can house 100.000 tourists. And in July and August they do in fact house this number of visitors. The native population – traditionally largely engaged in agriculture and fishery – has taken full advantage of tourism, owning 45 percent of all 1300 enterprises in 1978 (while forming only 37 percent of the total population), yet at the same time maintaining a flourishing and profitable fishery and agricultural sector. Cambrils has experienced a natural (not imposed) and slow (not rapid or transient) growth of tourism, the most important features of which are individual developments, local ownership, expanding local commerce and local finance (Cf. Peck and Shear Lepie 1977: 171). Many native families combine their original occupations with tourism, which can only be done with maximal effort and involvement of both man and wife. Doing two jobs at the same time (*pluremplea*) has made native families prosperous, and was possible because of the extremely seasonal character of mass tourism in Cambrils – the season lasts only two or three months.

This paper deals only with the local Cambrils population – that is people born or living there since before 1960. If there is a slight female bias, it comes because I talked more often with wives than with their husbands, though this is counterbalanced by information told me by young male informants about their parents.

TRADITIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND WORK ETHIC²

Under Spanish Civil Law (as codified under Franco), a husband possesses authority over his wife and children. As “head of the family” he is its legal representative and only through him does the family participate in community life. This legal superiority of the husband and subordination of the wife are not reinforced in as many ways in Catalonia as in other parts of Spain (Lison-Tolosana 1966: 144; Tax-Freeman 1970: 159). Under Catalan law married women can sell and buy property on their own account, without permission from their husbands, though municipality officials register a wife’s land in her husband’s name and deal with him about any matter that might arise. (The same is reported to happen in Belmonte: Lison Tolosana 1966: 144).

Cambrils is – like the rest of Spain – largely Roman Catholic. The dominance of the church in all spheres of social life in Spain gives it enormous power. Marriage and family are seen as primary institutions. The task of women in marriage – a holy contract – is to bear children and raise them in the spirit of God. Consequently a woman can secure her own salvation by fulfilling her duties as wife and mother as the church defined them (cf. Boissevain 1973: 126).

² ‘Traditional’ refers to the period prior to the advent of tourism – that is, to the 1940s and 1950s.

Laws and religion compel wife and children to obey husband and father. This ideology is unquestioned, and maintained vigorously vis-à-vis the outside world. The ideal division of labour by sex that goes with this ideology gives men responsibility for earning the money to support the family – working the fields or fishing at sea – whereas women are responsible for the household and the general well-being of family-members.

The reality, however, does not accord well with this ideal picture. Economic well-being requires that household members work together as a unit. In the precarious local economy work is an essential condition of life, a necessity for subsistence. According to the prevailing work ethic one must be a hard worker (*trabajador*). This was also a requirement for social acceptance, as a man who does not work hard cannot support his family. Women, too, must be hard-working since they organize the household. The success or failure of a household depends as much on the wife's work as on the husband's because their work is complementary. There are, especially among fishermen's families, many examples of households that owe their continuity primarily to the wife's industriousness. That the husband is frequently absent at sea means the wife must be able to manage the household economy – and that a failure on her part threatens the family's welfare even more than failure on the part of her husband.

It appears from my survey³ that most Pueblo women had worked on the land all their lives – with their husband or with their father – except for the period in which they had very small children. However, they had always worked for the family and never earned a money income. Of all Playa women in the survey some 80 percent had (or still) worked at some point in their lives outside the family and earned a money income.⁴ Nevertheless, these extra-familial activities were looked down upon because they did not accord with the image of the ideal wife. There was, however, more social tolerance and freedom for fishermen's than for agriculturists' wives in this respect among people in the Playa community. It was generally accepted there that women have to work for money in order to hold the family together – in contrast to agriculturists' wives, who are generally better off economically. In prestige, generally, fishermen's families tend to rank lower than agriculturists' families.

Related to the idealization of work is the virtue of suffering. Easy work cannot possibly be good work. In order to overcome poverty one must be hard-working and suffer, never taking time to rest. Every progress involves an effort greater than one can normally make. Leisure was not positively valued at all. Doing nothing is equivalent to rejecting an opportunity (see Esteva Fabregat 1976).

³ The survey includes some 1200 native *Cambrienses* of all ages, most of them once or still engaged in agriculture or fishery.

⁴ Playa women's experience with the outside world seems an important factor in their business success.

In these circumstances it is no surprise that women hold considerable authority within the family, an authority that often outweighs the husband's. The Cambri-lense wife is not only an economic contributor to, but also the financial manager of the household, and she has a veto on all economic decisions regarding her husband's work. That is, the man's ability to judge expenses required for his work is not in doubt, but the wife decides whether the money can be spent at all. Men have nothing at all to do with domestic finances and spending, however. Sons' and daughters' earnings – if they work as wage-earners – go straight into their mother's pocket. She provides, in turn, for all their needs, and saves for their future. The husbands observe the ideal division of labour, seldom entering the wife's domain. The wife dominates the household economy by virtue of her contribution to it, which for her husband is essential to preserving the impression that he provides for his family.

A family in Cambrils is judged on being *buena* (good) or not. This has economic as well as moral connotations. It implies that the family must own property (land, houses, boats) and have a good name, which depends (among other things) on its members' reputation for being hard workers and women's work within the house. Female work is "work-for-love-of-the-family", while male work can be defined as "work-for-money-of-the-family". Clearly this means that male prestige is threatened by a wife's working for money, whereas female prestige is threatened if her husband does the housework.

The complementarity of their work bring man and wife together in a way that does not seem to imply unequal power relations between them. Male dominance would seem to be a mutual myth upheld by the church and the law and by women themselves for their own social prestige no less than for their husbands'. Traditional ideas regarding work correspond to an economic and social system in which the members of each family constitute an indispensable labour force. For both man and wife, the main goal in life is to nurture children and provide them with the means to make a living of their own. Property belongs to the family and (hopefully increased) is handed over to the children. Money was spent on investment in agriculture or fishery and on setting the children up in marriage.

The educational level of Cambrilenses is low, and differences between men and women quite limited. Cambrils has only one primary school and most families cannot afford to send their children to school for more than a few years. The number of Cambrilenses continuing after primary school is very small. Contrary to religious norms, Cambrils families since at least the beginning of this century have hardly ever had more than two to four children each. Migration is therefore infrequent, which may account for the low educational level: education as a means of mobility is not obvious.

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE LOCAL ECONOMY

Space limitations preclude a full account of agriculture, fishery, and tourism. However, in order to convey the prosperity of native Cambrilense families, which owes mainly to tourism (even for families not directly engaged in tourism), the following remarks may suffice.

Fishermen have always been poorer than agriculturists. But at the end of the 1950s, when tourism was not yet a main source of employment and income, fishery became more profitable. Radar, nylon nets, and more powerful motors became available, and better transport made markets more accessible. When the first tourists arrived, fishermen's wives let rooms in their houses and supplied food and services. Since none then considered tourism as likely to persist, the money women earned in tourism was invested mainly in fishery. Because fishermen's houses were never sold, they remained ideally situated near the coast and became bars, restaurants, shops as soon as people felt confident in the future of tourism. Fishermen observe partible inheritance rules whereby sons inherit boats and daughters houses. Hence women had decisive influence on decision-making about how the house would be used when tourism arrived as a prime source of income. Houses on the main street of Cambrils Playa in 1978 were worth between 15 and 45 million pesetas (about £ 73,529 and £ 220,588) a piece. Eighty percent of these houses are owned by fishermen's families who mostly run tourist establishments in them. Once tourism became established, investment in it increased considerably. Few fishermen gave up fishing, however. Some sold their boats, invested in tourist business and worked as wage-earners on the large boats that some of their colleagues had bought. The latter did not want to take up tourism and concentrated on fishery. From the survey, it appears that 31 percent of all fishermen between 30 and 50 are somehow engaged in tourism as well (not including those who "help" their wives in business now and then). The average wealth and income of families that combine fishery and tourism is considerable:

Pepe, a middle-aged fisherman, lives with his wife, two sons, and daughter in a house on the Paseo Miramar, Cambrils Playa's main street. The house (his wife's property) is now worth 30 million pesetas (£ 147,058). The family runs a bar with which they earned 8 million pesetas (£ 39,215). Pepe also works as sardine fisherman (fishing at night, to combine fishery with work in the bar, even in the tourist season), whereby he earns 450,000 pesetas (£ 2205) a year. Because of this job the whole family receives social security and Pepe is entitled to a pension of 20,000 pesetas (£ 98) a month from the age of 60 on. The bar is registered in Pepe's name.

Though the income from fishery is not bad by Spanish standards (the pound equivalents are a bit misleading because of revaluation over the last two years), it is small compared with what the family earns from the bars. In addition to this earned income, the value of the house increases steadily on its own.

Farmers have almost all benefitted from profitable land sales near the sea. Again the women were lucky: the land near the sea, less valuable for agriculture, was often inherited by them. Here, too, women held sway in decision-making about investments and land use. The money they got for this land was reinvested mainly in agriculture instead of tourism. Farmers bought new land in the interior and made it more productive by sinking irrigation wells, and they began large-scale fruit and vegetable cultivation. Forty percent of the farmers in the survey combine agriculture with some business (mostly done by their wives in fact), or with work in building or transport. Farmers and their wives do not own many bars or restaurants, though women do own and operate camping pounds, supermarkets, boarding houses. But most of them run businesses that serve local people rather than the tourists. These are less profitable than fisherman's bars and restaurants on the coast, but the income they yield is steadier and more evenly spread over the year. Cambrils' agricultural cooperative is the richest in Tarragona, and there is no doubt that agriculture in Cambrils is profitable. Moreover, the value of the farmers' land and houses increases continually.

What is women's involvement in all this? The official Cambrilense census of 1960 shows that 3,6 percent of the working population was native Cambrilense women. In 1976 this percentage had increased to 14,1, most women working in commerce.

The survey indicates that adult women are much more active than the official statistics lead us to believe: only 25 percent did housework exclusively (this figure includes women working the land or mending nets for their husbands or father), while 75 percent worked outside the household and earned an income (including women doing seasonal work).

The data I gathered on enterprise ownership in Cambrils betrays a high degree of women's involvement in commerce as well. Native Cambrilense women own 11 percent of all enterprises in Cambrils (*e* 1300) established since 1960; Cambrilense men own 34 percent. Women own 10 percent of all hotels, boarding houses, camping sites, etc.; 7 percent of all bars and restaurants; 8 percent of all tourist shops; 17 percent of all shops that serve mainly locals, and 13 percent of all businesses that have a more or less local character (neighbourhood shops, domestic electrics stores).

Women as independent entrepreneurs tend to establish boarding houses, ceramic art shops, confectionery stores, groceries, hair-dressers, and the like. Most of these "female" enterprises are open all year, with fixed hours – from 9.00 to 13.30 and from 15.30 to 20.00 (on Sundays they are closed) – whereas bars, restaurants, and hotels (where women's involvement is limited) are open only part of the year, but then almost all night and day. Women, it appears, establish enterprises that can be combined with running a family.

The figures are impressive enough. But interviews with farmers' and fishermen's families reveal that in almost all cases the man officially owns the business whereas the wife had started it and does most of the work. This suggests that women have been most active in taking up opportunities offered by the rise of tourism.

Some native married women work in tourism and related sectors as employees who are not registered at the Municipality. From my survey it appears that these women often work temporarily in enterprises owned by relatives. They do this, they say, as much to help relatives as to earn money.

Cambrilense native girls work more and more outside the family, though about 25 percent still work at home (in winter some 50 percent). Those who work in the tourist sector (and there are few other possibilities) work long hours and are poorly paid. Their low income is not a problem for the parents, who are usually wealthy enough to get along without their children's income. Sons of Cambrilense fishermen and farmers do not work in tourism as employees (except in construction): they work in their parents' business which they are to inherit. It is considered bad for a son's future to work as an employee in tourism. For girls this does not matter because being an employee is thought to be a temporary thing: at marriage they stop working for wages and become housewives or work in their husband's – or their own – business.

THE ACTUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND WORK ETHIC

Evidence of the high degree of native women's economic involvement leads to an important observation: Cambrilense women contribute economically to the process of modernization. This is quite extraordinary since modernization in the Mediterranean is often said to lead to a reduction of women's labour-force participation. If the general trend of Mediterranean development is to limit women's scope for economic involvement and power, why have many Cambrils women been able to establish enterprises instead of only doing their "female" duties of housekeeping and childcare?

The practice of partible inheritance and the legal right of women to sell and buy inherited property puts native women on an equal footing with their husband straight away. That in both Playa and Pueblo women have been the main beneficiaries of the tourist boom, which caused an enormous rise in the value of their land and houses near sea, is extremely important here. They have the power to decide the use to which their property was to be put in the Catalan system.

The natural, somewhat slow growth of tourism in Cambrils worked in their favour, too: they could start on a very small scale, their husbands doing the "real" work in fishery and agriculture. A tradition of independent money-earning makes Playa women especially able to take up opportunities in tourism.

Establishing one's own enterprise is, for married women, preferable to wage-labour – socially and economically, as well as practically. Since both Playa and Pueblo women are the main inheritors of houses and live in them, they can establish a business on the ground floor and live upstairs. This means they do not need to go elsewhere to work. They can stay at home and take care of the children and earn more money than they could as wage-earners, and indeed, women have chosen to establish business that allow them to cook for the family and be home with husband and children on Sundays.

Women, even though they are important money-makers, still operate largely within the family framework. Once the profitability of their activities became clear and the labour increased, men started to share in their wives' work, just as man and wife had shared work in agriculture and fishery whenever necessary. There is no possibility of pushing their women out since the latter own or have money invested in the business and possess the managerial and financial skills to run it. *Women's control of the business has grown naturally from their traditional control of the household.* The enterprise is viewed as an extension of the household, since running it in most cases means staying at home – the traditional domain of the wife.

Other factors have facilitated women's involvement in economic affairs: national policy during the 1960s and 1970s put as few obstacles in the way tourism as possible. Consequently, formal requirements for establishing businesses are practically nil. Moreover, it is easy to employ cheap labour since there is no regulation of wage rates, social security, etc. A woman can own and run a business, employ people, and still be officially registered as a housewife. Her activities and income are largely unnoticed and untaxed.

Women maintain control over economic resources and over the family because tourism has increased the value of their houses and land, because it has grown slowly over the years, and because it offers women the chance to be self-employed. They can work at home and thus not contravene the rules of proper behaviour. But what has happened to the sexual division of labour *within* the family? How has the new money influenced their life-style and attitude toward work?

During the last twenty years native Cambrilense families have taken every opportunity to work and earn money. Women have done the housework and run an enterprise of their own or with their husband. They have worked on the land or

mended nets. Men have done their work in agriculture or in fishery and have run their enterprises. Their children have assisted them from an early age and, although most of them prefer to give up agriculture or fishery, still work within the family, taking over or assisting in the business – which they will inherit and which is very profitable. In summer, especially, when they combine agriculture, fishery, or housework with tourism, Cambrilense families are overloaded with work. Men generally have a “normal” working life during the rest of the year, whereas women must often bear the burden of two “jobs” (housework and mending nets) throughout the year. Both men and women in Cambrils agree that women work harder than men and that women work more, whereas men work *less* and have an easier life, than they did twenty years ago. Though the problem is not exactly that men are underemployed and women overworked, in fact women *are* overworked and most men not. Women lead a more isolated social life than they used to. All cases show a decline in relations with friends and neighbours (to zero almost), while relations with relatives are much more limited than before. To a certain extent this is also true for men, though they have their formal contacts with the cooperative or are members of the Municipal Council, and still have (especially the fishermen) their contacts with colleagues after work. Women have much less free time, and their participation in the activities of formal and informal organizations is almost non-existent. The negative side of their important economic role, then, is increasing social isolation – though the relation is not necessarily direct, since women’s increasing social isolation is also reported in cases where women do have free time. One might imagine that part of these families’ earnings would be spent on a housekeeper to free the wife of some work. But this runs against the family work ethos. That contemporary peasants and fishermen and their wives have grown up in a society where working holds great moral prestige, makes them reluctant to give up any task. They feel proud of the work they do and greatly value their independence. This is also why so few men abandon their traditional occupation.

As far as the internal organization of the household is concerned, husbands seldom enter the non-economic domain of their wives. Almost all women find it necessary to explain that their husband is not, like so many others, a *typico macho español*. This reflects the influence of societal developments (new constitution, education, communication) that stress equality of men and women. Reality is otherwise, however.

Childcare is still almost entirely women’s business: pushing the children, going to parents’ evenings at the children’s school, giving pocket-money – very few fathers ever do these things. Family financial management is still largely women’s responsibility. Most couples have a joint bank-account, but women check money out of the bank and pay the bills.

Women still spend most of the money, deciding on their own to meet household expenses for the children or presents for relatives on certain occasions. In some cases the husband is asked or informed about how much will be spent on what. But, as one woman explains, "I only ask because it's not nice not to, but he would never refuse. He knows I don't spend it idly." Decisions on investment in agriculture, fishery, or tourism are ideally taken by the man, who is expected to consult his wife. In reality, quite often, it seems the other way around.⁶

Spending patterns of native families remain much the same. Money when needed for investment, is spent on the house itself, on equipping it well and improving it. Most houses have modern comforts and equipment, a modern kitchen, bathroom, and washing machine. On the other hand, they still use the towels and sheets they obtained at marriage, as well as the same furniture. They have television sets and spend more money than formerly on food. But most families do not own a car. Fishermen say they get seasick in a car, and farmers say they do not need one because they never go anywhere. Some fishermen's wives express the wish to own a car, but obviously consider driving to be a man's business – and their men cannot because they get seasick. Most families have never gone on holiday. They say they did not have the money for it formerly and now have too much work and, anyway, why go on holiday when you live in a beautiful seaside resort?

It is the children on whom most money is spent. The children do go on holiday (it gives prestige to a family), get all the clothing they need and everything else they might want. In general they do not get money. Their mothers save for their marriage from the time the children reach the age of 14 or 15. Parents are expected to supply half of whatever a future couple needs. At marriage most native Cambrilense couples get a flat which, at 1978 prices, is very expensive: between 2 and 4 million pesetas (£10 000 to £20 000). They get all the equipment and furniture they can possibly think of and, above all, enormous trousseaus, which are considered especially important and great fun. For many years the main form of recreation for women is to go to the Barcelona or Tarragona with their daughter or future daughter-in-law to buy, buy, buy. Young couples end up consequently with innumerable sheets, towels, handkerchiefs, etc. Wedding parties are enormous too: at least 200 guests (it being an important opportunity to see relatives one otherwise seldom sees nowadays, as everyone is so busy with work) all attend dinner, mostly served in a restaurant. The wedding is considered successful only if glasses are still filled with champagne after all guests have left.

⁶ This is extremely difficult to prove. Observation of decision-making between man and wife is almost impossible. In some cases women would tell me they "guide" their men, but most told me the norm. However, in the course of the four or five interviews I had with each woman, something would happen or be said to give me a better impression of reality. Josefa Castells – while mending nets with her mother (who lived with her) – told me her husband was the "Lord of the house". My suspicion that this is not entirely true gained ground when the mother started giggling. Josefa looked up from her work at me searchingly and then smiled. So did I and went on with other questions, the matter being clear.

Thus money is spent in a fairly traditional way: on the house, work, and children – but in much larger quantities than before. It is not spent on holidays, expensive hobbies, or other leisure activities.⁷ Native families' desire for wealth does not keep them from pursuing traditional goals. Life still centres around home and family. A modern standard of living and a certain comfort are thought very important, but work itself, independence, and the continuity of the family remain the central values. Even though the prestige a family attains now depends more on money⁸, the effort expended is still of crucial importance, and for good, practical reasons: the extreme seasonality of tourism in Cambrils means that apart from intelligence and innovative capacity, hard work is essential to success.

The reports from the Mediterranean – as mentioned in the introduction – are uniform in their judgement that modernization favors men. In a way this is true for Cambrils. Women work harder than men, their ability to run a business and provide considerable income does not free them from housekeeping and child-caring chores, and (although both man and wife work so hard that they have no time for hobbies or holidays) it is the woman who suffers most from social isolation. On the other hand, the native men have not appropriated the money – as seems often to happen; nor has women's power within the family been curbed.

An outstanding fact about Cambrils is the maintenance of the family ideology – working for as well as with the family. This, too, contrasts with the general picture of what modernization in the Mediterranean has brought about: a decline in esteem for hard work and growing individualism. There may well be a connection between women's power within the family and the maintenance of family ideology. It is just *because* women dominate that they have been able to repel attacks on the family ideology.

CONCLUSION

In Cambrils modernization has not increased differences in wealth between man and wife. The opportunities of tourism have been seized by men and women alike. Tourist enterprises and commercial farming and fishery seem to be extensions of the traditional family subsistence economy. Men understand women's contribution to the family-economy; the ideology of male dominance in traditional and religious arrangements has not, therefore, gained a material basis.

7 An exception are fishermen (who now do tourism exclusively or only fish as wage-earners) and sons of fishermen who never fish professionally. Most of them own a yacht, but hardly ever use it for lack of time. Yet they want these boats because they like being able to go out to sea. They still see the sea as their domain and want to be able to sail.

8 It is interesting to note that language use reflects this changed situation: families with most economic power are now called "*primeras*" (first) instead of "*buenas*" (good).

The nature of tourism and the employment it generates, inheritance practices, and a habit of being active and independent of husbands are the most important determinants of women's success in maintaining their strong position within the family. They set the boundaries of women's economic involvement and power. But the ideas, values, and beliefs that underlie women's actions and condition their behaviour must be examined as well. Though women have been active and manipulate their environment in their own interest very skilfully, they operate almost entirely within the "traditional" world of ideas, without breaking the rules of proper female behaviour codified by church and government. Women do not enter men's public domain, but use their new wealth to increase the family's well-being. Boats, tractors, houses – all provide ways of getting maximum profits from the land, sea, and tourism for the family's comfort. The wedding parties (women's potlach?) are but one example of how female household values direct new riches to the family.

By concluding that modernization in Cambrils has not made women inferior or less powerful, I do not imply that modernization always promotes female equality and autonomy. Equality of man and wife within the family need not correspond to equality of man and wife in political, economic or military decision-making. Tourism and the possibilities it offers for self-employment have enabled women to maintain their position and economic power within the family, but have not changed their position and prestige as "females".

The case of Cambrils illustrates clearly that improved material conditions do not automatically emancipate women, but it also illustrates that modernization does not automatically reduce women's power and status.

Within the last three years Spanish women have acquired the right to vote and to obtain legal divorce. Abortion and free use of contraceptives are (though hedged with immense difficulties) underway. How this combination of economic independence and legal rights affects Cambrilense women's status and position as "females" should be an especially interesting object of study in a few years' time.

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