



UNIVERSITAT DE  
BARCELONA

## La Flor y Muerte de un Barrio

### An Ethnography on Comprehensive Gentrification and Class Struggle in Urban Majorca

Marc Morell

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## 2 – FIVE PUBLICATIONS: FROM HERITAGE DEVIATIONS TO THE URBAN LABOUR HYPOTHESIS

The most important theoretical task anthropology has nowadays ... is that of critically recovering its social and professional praxis. I am not making a play on words, but again highlighting the fact that in order to test and review theories, to formulate other ones and renew the theoretical body, anthropology needs, above all, to restore its eminent traditional vocation for fieldwork and empirical research (Palerm 1980: 29).

D[aughter]: But I don't understand. You say it is important to be clear about things. And you get angry about people who blur the outlines. And yet we think it's better to be unpredictable and not to be like a machine. And you say that we cannot see the outlines of our conversation till it's over. Then it doesn't matter whether we're clear or not. Because we cannot *do* anything about it then.

F[ather]: Yes, I know — and I don't understand it myself.... But anyway, who wants to *do* anything about it? (Bateson 1987[1972]: 42).

Wayfarer, there is no way, you make the way as you go (Machado 1982[1912]: 143).

### 2.1. Why five publications and other introductory matters

The five publications that make this second part of the thesis have been published in the last 10 years. They are all concerned with gentrification regardless of whether they deal with it directly or as a situational context in which to work out other important dimensions for a deep understanding of its reception by the host population, be them old timers, be them newcomers. Whereas two of them were written with Jaume Franquesa, the other three I wrote on my own.<sup>234</sup> The first two, dating back respectively to 2005 and 2009, appeared in well-known journals. The last three (two from 2011 and one from 2015) are chapters in edited volumes at well-known publishers.

Not only do these five publications summarise my work in the last decade, they actually illustrate the path the research took as it advanced and show both the evolution of the field I have tread for so many years and how I developed my theoretical understanding of it. In a way, they come to express in different terms what

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<sup>234</sup> This is perhaps the best place to acknowledge once more my gratitude to Jaume Franquesa for sharing the field with me between 2003 and 2005. The publications written together, those present here but also Franquesa and Morell (2007), show how we came to academically grow together in this common field of ours that Ciutat, and especially its Eastern margins, became. Furthermore, I also acknowledge the influence his work on Ciutat has had on my latter developments, of which I highlight Franquesa (2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, and 2013).

we have seen in the first part. However, they differ from this first part in many ways. Most importantly, unlike the segmented sections we have so far seen, these publications share the aim of bringing together historical accounts, ethnographic descriptions and theoretical analysis. Another aspect to consider here is that unlike part 1 (written between 2011 and 2015, but most of it in between 2012 and 2013), these texts were all worked on between 2003 and 2013.

Differences are not only related to my theoretical interests but they are also noticeable in the way I approach the field and relate it to theory. Although the publication dates vary, the texts written with Jaume Franquesa came first. As we all know it can take time for our writings to reach the reader, and editing processes depend on various factors that are usually out of our control. Publication 1 and Publication 4 share the fact that theory above all informs the field. Both texts present solid theoretical frameworks that are later situated in the field.<sup>235</sup> The latter three publications (in writing dates, not in publication dates) represent the opposite. Publications 2, 3, and 5 not only share the fact that theory is embedded in the way the field is presented in them, but actually prove that the field may well inform theory and actually shape it.

In this sense, Publication 5 represents the culmination of this exercise, that of making theory happen rather than just applying it to the vivid descriptions ethnography allows us. If we were to classify the five publications by topic we would find ourselves with an introductory Publication 1 that emphasises the overall role renewal plays in contemporary global cities (at least prior to the 2007 credit crunch). This publication also tackles the ways in which the city is worked out amidst a context of oppositional urban movements, tourism as a Maussian total fact in the current Balearic society, and the market-labelling that heritage entails within such a constrained landscape. This is a publication that opens the way for the other four and for the overall thesis, since it involves a bit of each of the main topics found in the gentrification process I have encountered in Es Barri: preservation, scale and class.

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<sup>235</sup> Since these five publications make the core of the thesis, I have chosen not to include them in the reference list. The titles appear in the heading for each of the sections where they are to be found and in the Contents list.

From this point of view, the four later writings are far more specific and go into the practical details of the topics they look at, namely heritage (also dealt with in Publication 1, Franquesa and Morell 2005) , neighbourhood and the working class. The topic divide among the five publications is not clearcut. Topics overlap. Likewise, Publications 1, 2, and 4 deal with heritage; Publications 2 and 4 have to do with the concept of «the neighbourhood»; and Publications 3 and 5 are more concerned with the working class. So, to summarise, preservation, scale and class are the three topics developed in my work.

As for preservation, here presented as heritage, it is interesting to notice how Publication 1 departs from a particular understanding of what heritage meant in the context of the urban renewal that took place in Ciutat, and particularly in Es Barri, in the 1990s and the early noughties (2000s). Here, heritage is presented as something different from the portrayed institutional and third-sector message that became so pervasive and that we have had the chance to look at in Section 1.1. We called this alternative view on heritage «deviations» and we did so with the clear intention of claiming a heritage that is often neglected and that has to do with its most popular understanding. This understanding aims at making the everyday a place from which to build our lives without the bureaucratic oppressions and constraints of the dictatorship of the State, the market and the very so-called civil society organisations. Life is impossible to bottle in any of these although the State, the market, and civil society intervene on a constant basis in the shaping of what is, as seen in Section 1.3.1., inapprehensible.

Publication 2 takes this last view of heritage a step further. It argues that the bottom-top approach to heritage is actually constrained by major governmental policies that shape culture and its paraphernalia into heritageable items that are then used in the tourism industry. Items that, as the publication stresses, cater not only to tourists but most of all, to the local population. The cases of the social preservation (Brown-Saracino 2009) of the commercial remnants of Es Barri in the form of Mari at Ca na Mari (there called «Pepa», also see Section 1.2.3.2. here in this thesis) offers a view that escapes the hegemonic dealings academy has towards preservation in general and heritage in particular. The same applies to the commoditisation of the *festes*

(developed here in Section 1.2.2.1.) As Sections 2.2. and 2.3. try to portray, heritage, no matter how top-down it is, is something that may well be appropriated by the bottom. Top-down dealings shape bottom-up ones by running the risk of being subverted by these for their own purposes.

The relation of the heritage conundrum with gentrification in its strictest sense is best exemplified in Publication 3. Here I show how heritage is not only a capitalist vehicle for the primitive accumulation that feeds on the rent dispossession and eviction of «marginal» and working-class tenants into the real-estate market, but it also powerfully generates representations that work against what they represent. I reveal how the different tools used by the State and the market, with the aid of the so-called civil-society organisations, attempt to reify a fake working-class heritage into mainstream urban policies in order to tame and smooth what they assume is left of the working class in the form of pseudo-industrial heritage.

However, this pseudo-industrial heritage is more of a heritage of the bourgeoisie that employed workers for their businesses, property, and profit. A real working-class heritage is not made of the bricks paid for by the capitalists, but is mainly founded upon the traditions and the legacies of labour that generation after generation (despite the existing class mobility) struggle to emancipate the working class from its strive, no matter how unsuccessful this struggle may be. The use of a fake «cultural heritage» to camouflage the true legacy of the working class is a step further in the gentrification of not only the urban but also academia (Slater 2006) that can help to overcome control, oppression and exploitation.

The following topic is that of «the neighbourhood». Publications 2 and 4 tease out how the production of scale, the neighbourhood scale, works for Es Barri. Whereas Publication 2 emphasises the neighbourhood scale from a bottom-up approach in which residents engage in building networks within a heritage tourism context, Publication 4 is more concerned with the interscalar production of the neighbourhood. And it does so by bringing together local, regional, national and EU policies in the making of a revamped comprehensive neighbourhood unit prone to renewal and to the state-led gentrification it entails. Thus, the neighbourhood is an arena where micro- and macro-processes meet, and where the claims of different institutions, and most

importantly local groups, help to shape the outcome the ethnographer finds in the field.

As I mention on several occasions, the neighbourhood Es Barri, has as many borders and contents as social groups that comprise it. In a way, this process is analogous to that of the city; one that despite its unchallenged borders, has different names depending on the political agenda of those who name it. Names, at the end of the day, represent projects and the neighbourhood, as Franquesa (2010a) said so well, is no more than a contended project. However, such a view could be deemed relativistic. A unique logic precipitates the neighbourhood as a unit against the neighbourhood as people. The abstract space of the neighbourhood is a project that responds to the reproduction of labour, one that is necessary for the neighbourhood unit to happen, and hence state-led gentrification, including displacement. However, this argument is not very clear in these two publications (Sections 2.3. and 2.5.).

The last main topic this set of publications –as well as the thesis at large- deals with, is that of class. I have made this concept central to the thesis since, as I will argue in the concluding Section 3.2., both preservation and scale are concepts put at the service of class struggle. Whether this struggle works in favour of the working-class or not is something that is beyond this thesis. Sections 2.4. and 2.6. deal most directly with class. I have already argued that Section 2.4. is about getting right what a working-class heritage is not, and what it really is. In a way, this view of the working class links with the work of those who have argued for the experience of the working class as a crucial factor to bear in mind (e.g. Thompson 1965; but also Fantasia 1988, for a later (although not recent) development which does not really coincide with the former).

In the end, struggle is what makes the working class a class. But this subjective approach has a very specific, objective setting and the rent gap withheld by the gentrification process provides the reproduction of urban space with a particular labour that has been mostly overlooked in the different approaches that attempt to explain, if not only account for, gentrification. Publication 5 actually looks into this objective approach and situates the labour that accompanies the phases of disinvestment and reinvestment that feeds the rent gap hypothesis. With their use values, the so-called underclass and the remnants of a pulverised working class (both

belonging to what we could call an urban proletariat) are responsible for offering an image of stigma. This image is developed by the authorities, including the so-called middle classes, and that helps to bring down the price of the square metre in the disinvestment phase of the rent gap.

After the collective action of the state in leading redevelopment and creating trust in the area, the so-called middle classes grant positive use values. The difference between these and those of the so-called underclass is later recouped in terms of exchange value by those who further promote the area for even wealthier newcomers. The local state becomes crucial in the process. It is in charge of drawing attention to the neglect in the area (which has, in fact, been encouraged by the local state); it attracts funding for the renewal of the area by promoting the scale of the neighbourhood unit at different levels; and finally, it negotiates the evictions that take place after the disinvestment phase. In the meantime or soon after, newcomers labour the neighbourhood by promoting both its scale as a means of political organisation and its preservation for the sake of later transforming such hoarding dynamics into a circulation that sooner or later is recouped by others (also see Franquesa 2013).

Through the evolution of this set of publications we see how ideas mature, and how the more in-depth the research is, the more we get to the presumably hidden logics of the makings of the neighbourhood and of heritage, which is none other than the making of class. Blurry as it may seem to Bateson's daughter (Bateson 1987[1972]: 42), the project of anthropology is that which Palerm called for, one based on a theory informed by the field (1980:29). Alternatively, as the poet said, you make the way as you go (Machado 1982[1912]: 143).

**2.2. Publication 1 – FRANQUESA J and M MORELL 2005 «Heritage deviations in relation to town planning in Ciutat de Mallorca», *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 15.2, 427-62**



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## HERITAGE DEVIATIONS IN RELATION TO TOWN PLANNING IN CIUTAT DE MALLORCA

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This chapter describes a case of urban reform in an area of the Historic Centre of Ciutat de Mallorca / Palma (Spain). The case study is framed within a global movement for re-centralizing, embellishing, commodifying and calming the historic centres of many cities, in a process of re-direction of flows that can be observed both at metropolitan and global levels (competition between cities). This case is composed of three reform planning schemes (Sa Calatrava, Sa Gerreria and El Temple) legally independent but that are parts or phases of a single large-scale execution unit with shared aims (fundamentally the creation of added value) and which becomes obvious in its promotion as a single heritage tourism product. Nevertheless, the different planning schemes seem to coincide with a specific functional specialization of two differentiated sectors: Sa Calatrava becomes a luxurious and calmed residential area without neighbourhood or outdoor life; Sa Gerreria is to be upgraded both as a central and a corridor area.

The chapter shows an interest in the way in which the actors re-signify and appropriate this reforming action, re-creating from this ideas and social relations. Within this axiomatic approach, we have focused on two ethnographic examples that show a parallel logic of appropriation of discourse and action of reform, a logic that reads its arguments in a zealous manner and therefore uncovers resources, which we call deviations.

### Introduction

In recent years, the historic centre of Ciutat de Mallorca has been subject to an intensive and extensive reform process led by the public administration. As a consequence of this, there has been a re-mapping of the territory and of the social and economic relations that define it. This process, of a town-planning kind, is accompanied by the desire to promote the area as a tourist product and concedes a strategic importance to the valuing of what has been called historic or cultural heritage, basically understood as architectural heritage.

This chapter departs from a qualitative research<sup>1</sup> project and shows the guidelines of this reform (the main actions that identify it, the aims that motivate it, the discourse that legitimates it) and some of the responses of the resident population it encounters. On the one hand, the analysis will

focus on the politics of place that establishes the reform and the changing notions of memory and heritage it uses, and on the other it will present two empirical examples of how residents use the arguments (or in any case the way they try to use these arguments) of the reforming action to their own advantage in a kind of deviation from the aims of the administration, by experiencing and re-signifying to their own advantage the reform planning schemes and their discourse.



*Ca na Mari is one of the few grocer's left in Sa Gerreria. It also works as an informal meeting place (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

We understand that these actions the actors carry out are tactical since, as it will be seen, they use the spatial strategy imposed on them, a strategy driven by a policy of place, of image and of memory. Having said this we feel in the need to clarify our methodological starting points, those that have conditioned our research and contact with the field, and which can be synthesised into three positions:

- (a) Rebuttal of the point of view that tries to separate the intangible, ideological or discursive from the more tangible or structural actions.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime, this rejection entails a constructivist and processualist approach, where reality cannot be taken as something given or imminent but has to be understood in its diachrony (as a specific historic reality) in order to avoid falling into reifications. We are facing processes

where, as we have already seen in the previous point, it is practically impossible to dissociate the symbolic and the economic, and where the discourse and meanings that are applied to material reality are not distinguishable from it. The notion of heritage illustrates this idea especially well because heritage is not merely something bequeathed by history, but something built into a process that has political implications; and the heritage object subsumes many meanings, many social relations and many conflicts. The rejection of the ideal/material dichotomy does not only apply to the reforming action and its discourse (and the complex inter-weaving of more or less voluntary agents involved in its execution) but also to those actors that 'receive' the reforming action. We will explain this last issue in the following point.

(b) The research aims to carry out its study from below (especially among the resident population and the grass roots associations of the place). However, we intend to distance ourselves from those analyses that approach the issue in terms of 'repercussions' on the population, since we believe that they tend to deal with population as a passive body, as a mere receptor. So the administration (often in coalition with market forces) does generate, as we have already stated, a policy of places, of image and of memory that attempts to achieve totally programmed and controlled spaces.<sup>3</sup> In reality, however, we see centres where a wide set of re-negotiations converge, without forgetting that reality is much



No hay lágrimas [No tears] under '240 new homes' in intervention 2B in Sa Gerreria (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).

too complex to be produced from abstract schemes, as Scott reminds us: 'Strong neighbourhoods, like strong cities, are the product of complex processes that cannot be replicated from above' (1998: 144).

Thus, this approach from below cannot understand the resident or the everyday user population of the area as a passive receptor of reform processes since, as we have already stated, there is a whole wide range of re-negotiations (we will show some cases in this chapter). Moreover, and as a consequence of this approach from below, we attempt to contest the view that considers the reform processes as monolithic and univocal blocs (as would stem from an analysis that only attends to the reform planning schemes, its execution from positions of power and its discourse), since, in fact, the everyday practice of the actors is active and creative<sup>4</sup> and modifies the structure it develops (Certeau 2000 [1980]). In keeping with what we have seen in the previous section, this practice should also be understood as individual and collective and as a complex knot between the material and the ideal.

We understand that phenomena often described as material (impacts on housing or business structure, ways of covering space, organisation of the neighbours' network etc.) are inseparable from the way meanings and values vary, and these are not pre-existent ideal notions but a result of a complex interrelation between material processes and convictions of an ideological kind. In fact, the experience or the production of practice (and we include here, for instance, values that are not taught but experienced, and consciousness, material expression of experience while giving sense to the social relations) is the result of pressures and limitations both of the structures (in this case the reform process) and the structures previous to experience. It is to this experience of reform, and fundamentally to the use residents and everyday users make of heritage, that we dedicate this research. The real experience of the actors does not match the type of experience or consciousness projected by officialdom.<sup>5</sup>

- (c) As follows from what has been said, the object of the research has obvious political connotations (we have already repeated that reform implies a policy of place, of memory and image). In consequence, the research attempts to be aware of the inherently political and conflictual dimension of its position in order to correct the bias. Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight one point: the reforming action attempts to show a space free from conflict, economic processes which are the product of the natural evolution of the market and a given heritage, made object.

That is to say, this political component is often hidden and, in fact, the possibility of hiding the dynamics of power is only possible from a position of power that naturalises the state of things so that it hides its construction in order to deny conflict and illegitimate critical views; or in Wolf's words: 'Power is implicated in meaning through its role in upholding one version of significance as true, fruitful, or beautiful, against other possibilities that may threaten truth, fruitfulness, or beauty' (1990: 593). Thus, the fact that this research becomes aware of the political connotations and makes from it a critical analysis (and especially makes a critical analysis of those discourses that intend to deny the polemical and built nature of the observed processes), is in itself a political position we assume.

#### **The Centralization of Historic Centres**

Many cities have recently made an effort to reform their historic centres in order to adapt them to the 'new economy', characterised by the 'space of flows' (Castells 2001a), and to convert them into poles of a re-found centrality, in a movement that causes authors such as Smith (2002) to speak of a 'new urbanism'.



*A street map with the bus routes surrounding and entering the historic centre of Ciutat de Mallorca (Ajuntament de Palma).*

Likewise, an attempt at re-mapping takes place, with a re-centralization of historic centres. We can identify some of the generic interrelated features of this process:

- In a new version of the urban fallacy (Castells 1979), by which socio-economic problems of a structural kind come to be understood under the idea of urban crisis, the historic centres are conceived as containers of social evils (Martínez i Rigol 2002) and their very physical (and social) structure is understood as one of the factors responsible for this feature. This is one of the arguments that legitimise the reform actions that take place and, above all, those that free up land (e.g. sponging actions). The classic hygienist metaphors for legitimising these interventions have been enriched with others of a military nature such as re-conquest (Rutheiser 2002) or have been filtered through supposedly aseptic and neutral notions such as that of obsolescence (Weber 2002).
- Culture, and more specifically heritage, serves to 'put in order' a space which is perceived as in crisis and to create a new discourse about this space. Heritage is a social construction that implies determined historic selection and meanings, and therefore this action of heritage valuing implies a certain 'policy of place' and 'policy of memory' (Delgado Ruiz 1998). This is intensified even more by the fact that heritage is less and less understood in its classical sense as something to be preserved; what is important is the existence of a possible condition of the past, linked to values that may be overcharged with significance (Laclau 1996).
- Thus, the symbolic valuing we have just mentioned is inseparable from an economic valuing, where the historic centres have been turned into poles of attraction for capital and visitors. The construction of a unique image (policy of image, economy of image) for these places generates mechanisms of cultural appropriation strongly induced by the market, which maps centrality, and results in processes of gentrification (e.g. Zukin 1995, Butler and Robson 2001, Hackworth and Smith 2001), the establishment of companies and the rise of the real estate value. The historic centre, and the whole of the city, is re-thought from a policy and an economy of image<sup>6</sup> that allows it to be sold, as a result of the entrepreneurial turn (Harvey 1989) that the economy of cities experiences, increasingly based on flexible accumulation (Martínez Veiga 1991).
- This way of understanding the city can be seen as a way of creating what Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) calls abstract space, that is to say, a space defined by its exchange value and which subordinates the qualities of inhabiting to the creation of surplus value.<sup>7</sup> This kind of space requires a specific

type of user: one who is really able to appreciate the value of this space. We understand that in the kind of spaces that are becoming the re-centralised historic city centres the most appropriate subject is the visitor, the tourist. Likewise, cities come to be regulated as a function of their visitors in the arena of international competition between cities (Hoffman, Fainstein and Law 2003). In fact, the construction of image that we have mentioned is key to acquiring these visitors, and the management of cities is more and more a question of tourism management,<sup>8</sup> and the tourist use of the city tends to convert its epidermis into a differentiated and singular spectacle (López Palomeque 2002).

That is to say, we find ourselves with the will to create an embellished space and, with the absence of conflict, this may generate an increase in property value, attract capital and visitors and be commercialised through a



*A building site in Sa Calatrava. Graffiti contesting the promotion of new housing (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

Or, we might say, a strategy leading to the re-centralization of the historic centre (which often favours gentrification processes) that uses historic heritage as a key element in achieving this aim.

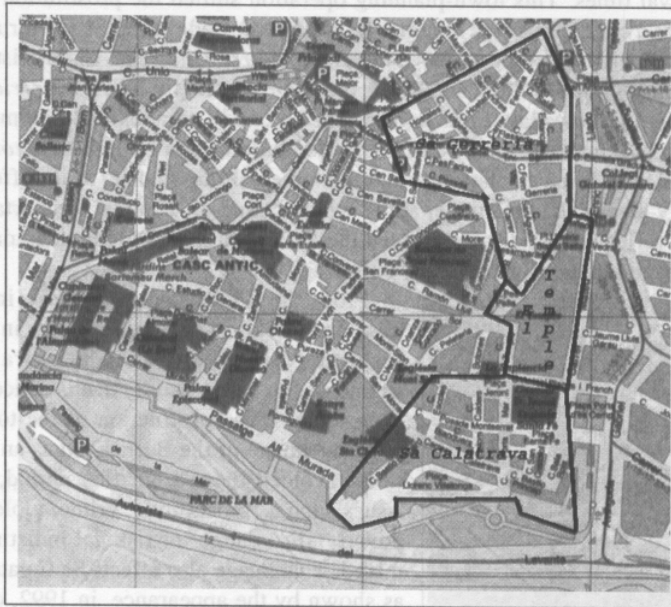
This would be the general frame that illustrates the processes of reform that the historic centres are experiencing. Although the case of Ciutat de Mallorca presents its own peculiarities,<sup>9</sup> it falls into this scheme since we find there many of the reviewed traits: a facelift of the city, a valuing of certain heritage elements (supported on a specific policy of memory), an incipient social gentrification, a promotion of tourism stemming from a single image, an 'urban crisis' that legitimates the urban reform, an explicit will to re-centralise, an exorbitant rise in the price of land etc. We will go through the specificities we have alluded to, but first we will present the space under study through its historic contextualisation.

#### **Presentation of the space and historic contextualisation**

The area where the research takes place embraces around sixty blocks of houses in the South East of the strict historic centre of Ciutat de Mallorca,<sup>10</sup> equivalent to one quarter of its area with one of its sides being part of the maritime façade of the city. This area is, nowadays, subdivided into two sectors or neighbourhoods, which also correspond to reform-planning schemes, called Sa Calatrava and Sa Gerreria. They present differentiated features in spite of which it is possible to trace many points in common in their evolution and historical functionality, and it is appropriate to outline them.

With regard to differences, the most important can be explained by name. For a long time Sa Calatrava has been considered a unity under this very same name and its residents have felt identified with it. The buildings found there are generally older than those of Sa Gerreria and, in fact, there is a Roman burial archaeological site, many Muslim architectural remains, a significant number of churches and other Gothic and Baroque Christian buildings, as well as the old Jewish quarter (the synagogue was turned into a church). With regard to Sa Gerreria [The Pottery], the name for the whole neighbourhood is about ten years old (it was, and still is, the name of one of its streets) and it has been created by different entities as a dignifying response to the reform-planning scheme promoted by the town hall. Likewise, Sa Gerreria does not have a united identity for the whole of the area, at least not historically. A considerable part of it was an irrigated area used for cultivation until the 18th and 19th centuries, although it was within the renaissance ramparts. Therefore, the buildings in this part are newer than those in Sa Calatrava, although the layout of the streets does correspond to the paths and roads of Islamic origin, which preceded the urbanisation of the area. We also find many buildings of a popular Gothic style unique to Ciutat (Lucena *et al.* 1996, Gené 2002).

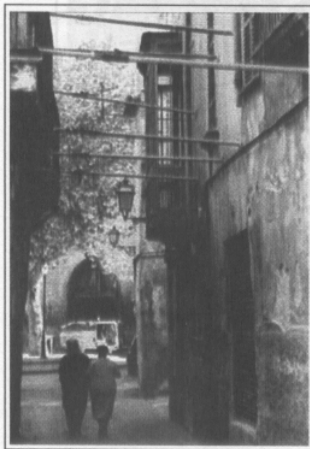
The similarities can be summarised in the following way: the working class has occupied the whole area. In fact, this is the area of Ciutat within the walls that led to the Centre, the East and the South of the island (Ciutat has a radial structure marked by roads that lead to the different parts of the island). Likewise, this was the arrival area in Ciutat for masses of farmers and peasants. The names of many streets tell us about the existence of guesthouses and inns to host the newcomers: Posada de Montserrat [Montserrat Inn], Hostal de Santanyí [Santanyí Guest House] etc. They came from the countryside to sell the fruits of their labour, and therefore the area (especially Sa Gerreria) was an exchange and market zone, as the names of the squares and streets show: Pes de sa Palla [Hay Scales], Pes de sa Farina [Flour Scales], Pes del Formatge [Cheese Scales] etc. The area was also home to many guilds and their workshops, as the following names also illustrate: Bosseria [Bag makers], Corderia [Chandlers], Ferreria [Blacksmiths] etc.



*The Eastern margins of the historic centre of Ciutat de Mallorca. El Temple is a single block of houses uniting the neighbourhoods of Sa Calatrava and Sa Gerreria (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

It was, therefore, an area of encounter between those from the countryside and from the city. The area was also the scene of the industrialization of Ciutat de Mallorca (Escartín 2001), evidence of which remains, for example, in the old factories or the water system of the tanneries of Sa Calatrava. Thus, the first proletarianisation in Mallorca, or at least in its capital city, is in this area, as the hygienist Ferrà Perelló (1918) indicates in his portrait of the distribution of the poor.<sup>11</sup> While the 20th Century advanced and the city grew, the factories moved towards the outskirts, in a process which continues today. Parallel to this, the 20th Century witnessed a progressive urban degradation in the whole of this area aided and abetted by absolute slovenliness on the part of the public powers.

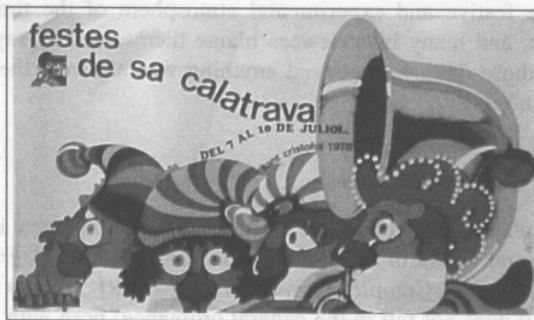
It is convenient to point out two events that, read within a historical perspective, prepared the ground for the reform planning schemes. The first is the urban reform and 'cleaning up' of what is nowadays Carrer Velázquez (Ruiz Viñals, 2000) aimed at eliminating what had been the brothel area since medieval times. This town-planning operation shifted the prostitution area towards a contiguous area included in what we nowadays call Sa Gerreria. As a consequence of what we have noted, the *Barri Xino* [Red Light District] developed in Sa Gerreria, and that is the name (or simply *Barri* or *Barrio*) by which is still nowadays often known. The second is, paradoxically (or maybe not), the declaration, in 1964, of Ciutat de Mallorca as a *Conjunto Histórico-Monumental* [area of historical and monumental importance] with different priority areas. The area under study was declared of secondary importance, which reflected and also reinforced the architectural and urban degradation and abandonment it was already suffering.<sup>12</sup>



From the 1970s, and especially in the 80s, drug dealing was established in this area and this generated a spiral of stigmatisation and insecurity that is noticeable even today. The construction of the totally negative image of the *Barri Xino* as an area to be avoided dates from this period, and issues such as prostitution, crime, violence, poverty, dirt, danger or risk get indistinctly mixed. This image also affects Sa Calatrava, as shown by the appearance, in 1992, of its

*The ageing population was not exclusive to Sa Calatrava. A couple in Sa Gerreria (Cèlia Ríos).*

neighbours' association in a local newspaper under the headline 'We are not criminals'.<sup>13</sup> This stigmatising image is generically applied, although the census data for the neighbourhood shows that while the neighbourhood was used for the dealing in and consumption of drugs and for other illicit activities, its ageing resident population was mostly unconnected to it (the ageing population factor is common to the whole of the area under analysis). Parallel to these processes there was also the degradation of living conditions and the lack of public facilities. The uneasiness that invaded the area is very evident in the residents ('it was the only part of Ciutat where police walked around with guns'), while they also insist that the authorities did nothing about the situation.



A poster announcing the summer festes in Sa Calatrava (Antoni Rotger).

It is interesting to point out that some of the (former-) residents we have interviewed emphasize the fact that drugs, viewed as the great evil that triggered it all off, started in Sa Calatrava. We do not have data to corroborate or deny this extreme, but it seems very clear that this idea, be it consistent with the facts or be it mere prejudice, has to do with what was going on in Sa Calatrava in those days. Since the death of the dictator, Sa Calatrava has undergone a cultural effervescence and a festive resurgence, led by a group of characters, many of who were and still are residents of the neighbourhood, with political and cultural interests. This festive movement must be included in what came to be known as *Moviment Ciutadà* [Citizens' Movement] (Castells 1987 [1973], 2001b) and which happened to be one of the core agents that made it possible for Spain to move from a dictatorship

to a democracy and *état de droit*; all in all combining an amalgam of groups and entities entwining political, urban and cultural-festive vindications, all of which vindications are understood under the common idea of living outdoors, of seizing the street.

Thus, it was in Sa Calatrava that festivities such as Carnival were recovered, where spaces for the neighbourhood, for artistic experimentation—wilfully spontaneous—and for outdoor living were gained. It was during the time of this movement that l'*Associació de Veïnats del Barri* [Association of the Neighbours of the Quarter], one of the first of Ciutat de Mallorca,<sup>14</sup> appeared. Sa Calatrava became a meeting point for young people and artists who opened their studios and workshops there, generating a cultural movement very well connected with avant-garde cultural movements of their time in Madrid and Barcelona. So, when it is said that drugs were introduced to Sa Calatrava the festive and experimental atmosphere of the time is being blamed for it, and many interviewees blame themselves by saying things such as: 'in those days we believed anything was allowed, there was too much freedom'.

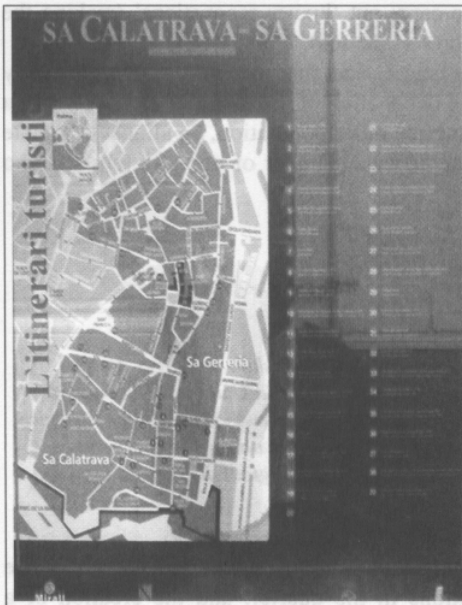
#### **The Reform Planning Schemes**

The reform planning schemes are implemented in the area in question through the legal figure of the *Pla Especial de Reforma Integral* [Special Planning Scheme for Comprehensive Reform] -PERI. This is a versatile legal figure (it does not fall in the general ordinance) born with democracy imitating the French and Italian figures. Its aim was to recover areas subjected to strong processes of urban and functional degradation, and it was conceived for implementation in historic centres. Its basic objective is to safeguard, rehabilitate and give value to architectural heritage, and to respect the social fabric; all in all modernizing the infrastructure and creating amenities that favour the well being of the neighbourhood.

It is interesting that the first PERI conceived in Spain was that of the neighbourhood of Puig de Sant Pere in Ciutat de Mallorca. Critics of subsequent PERIs carried out in Ciutat refer to this one which they take as a model. In fact, these critics believe that each new PERI carried out in the Historic Centre of Ciutat has been more removed from this model starting point, since each new PERI has been more aggressive towards the architectural heritage and the social structure, with less consultation of the network of associations. We can say that an instrument designed to solve matters of collective consumption (deficiencies in the state-owned supply networks, a shortage of amenities such as green areas, the deterioration of buildings,

unhealthiness of housing) has become an instrument that, without neglecting these points, has as a fundamental objective to put the areas back into the real estate market (Fortuny 1993).

This transformation can be observed in the two following PERIs, those of Sa Calatrava and of Sa Gerreria.<sup>15</sup> That of Sa Gerreria is still in progress, while



that of Sa Calatrava is almost complete, although the neighbourhood remains affected by the project of a third planning scheme, the PERI of El Temple (not yet approved). This new PERI brings together the two previous planning schemes and jointly compares the area reformed through a PERI to the area promoted as a tourist product. Indeed, the whole area is being promoted as a product called 'Itinerari

*A tourist route connects Sa Gerreria and Sa Calatrava (Ajuntament de Palma).*

turistic [Tourist Route] Sa Calatrava-Sa Gerreria', consisting of thirty-nine landmarks of historical and heritage interest.

In the action of both planning schemes (Sa Calatrava and Sa Gerreria) there seems to be three clear aims: a) To increase the value of land and favour private investment; b) the re-direction of the flow of visitors (understanding this category in its widest sense); c) the variation of the social composition of their residents. However, the means to achieving these aims and the way they have been interpreted is very different in both sectors; let us see them:

In Sa Calatrava the action basically consisted of an architectural rehabilitation following very precise regulations aimed at achieving an embellished quarter with a picturesque atmosphere. Thus, Sa Calatrava became a gorgeous set full of heritage landmarks that stand out, although the emphasis does not fall so

much on these specific heritage attractions as on the aesthetification of the setting the streets create. The heritage landmarks we are dealing with are very varied (from a monumentalist point of view): Islamic walls, palaces of the local nobility, old tanneries, ecclesiastical heritage, houses of distinguished people etc.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, there is also new building work, almost all of it assigned to the building of high specification housing, which concede to an enormous real estate pressure to carry out 'luxury renovations' (making the most of Sa Calatrava with its views of the sea).

This set of actions and measures, and the speculative dynamic they unleash, have results such as the occupation of the quarter by people with a high purchasing power displacing the older population, an almost complete business desertification and a significant number of one-day tourists who



*A Roman skull at Carrer d'en Berard—Sa Calatrava. Companies building new housing in the historic centre are obliged to carry out archaeological digs (Pepa Llausàs).*

follow the heritage walk. In fact, there is a deactivation of the social life and of the network of associations in the quarter, and the creation of a dormitory neighbourhood, a dynamic supported by the process of assigning heritage value and of the creation of an image for the promotion of tourism and real estate. The town council and certain sectors of neighbours (not necessarily the newcomers) have prevented the installation of leisure and catering businesses, and as from seven or eight o'clock in the evening there is not a soul to be seen in the streets.

The process of business desertification has been brutal and if at the end of the 1960s the neighbourhood had 55 retail businesses nowadays there are only two left, to which we should add two bars and one restaurant. It ought to be said that this process was not triggered by the PERI, but it has been aggravated by it, by contributing to the elimination of the spaces where the neighbours' life and neighbourhood socialising traditionally took place. Sa Calatrava suffered, as previously mentioned, a process of architectural degradation as well as in housing conditions in the 1960s, 70s and 80s,



*Es Baratillo.*  
The second-hand market that takes place in the Eastern margins of the historic centre of Ciutat each Saturday morning (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).

which accompanied an increase in crime (not so acute as in Sa Gerreria) that negatively affected the perception the citizens had of the neighbourhood—all key dynamics promoting a crisis among the business establishments. The PERI has reversed, and in what a way, the degradation of property and also this negative image, but on the other hand it has accentuated the business desertification; according to an interviewed salesman this desertification is a result of the degradation of social life in the neighbourhood, 'before because of drugs, now because we do not know each other'.

In fact, the elimination of these spaces in which neighbours socialised and the arrival of many new residents have contributed to the cooling of what used to be (and has not wholly stopped being) an intense neighbourhood associative life;<sup>17</sup> however, many neighbours consider that this cooling of neighbourhood life (what they usually call 'a dead neighbourhood') has not been an indirect consequence of other measures but an aim pursued deliberately by the administration and the real estate agencies.<sup>18</sup> Many events would confirm this deliberate intention to achieve a neighbourhood in which collective life and outdoor experience are reduced to the minimum, to obtain a completely calm neighbourhood, absent of conflict since nothing happens there.

Let us review a couple of these perhaps anecdotal events: a) the installation of waste containers with pneumatic collection that hinder the possibility of re-using anything since the waste objects are sucked away underground; like this there are no poverty-stricken people (or whoever) rummaging there, something to think twice about given that near to Sa Calatrava (and to Sa Gerreria too) exists the busy and well-known Baratillo [second-hand market], full of re-used objects; b) the building of a new square, the result

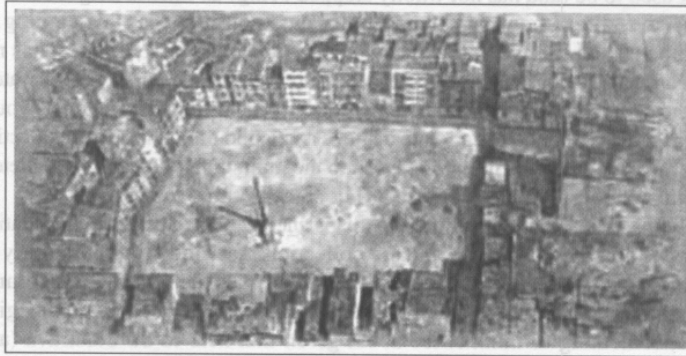
of urban sponging, where not only are no bars or outdoor cafes of any kind tolerated, but also where there are no benches on which to sit.

Thus, the sense the three reviewed aims take in Sa Calatrava looks clear: a) Increase of the price of land and private investment in luxury housing; b) redirection of the visitor flows, achieving a new flow of day tourists and eliminating the circulation at night or on Sundays, while attenuating the neighbourhood life and especially their street manifestations; the disappearance of businesses and leisure activities also moves away the circulation of visitors of the same city, although it is a very central space next to the Cathedral and the square where the town hall is; c) the social composition of the neighbourhood varies in a clear process of social



*Before intervention 2B in Sa Gerreria (Xisco Bonnín).*

gentrification and in a change in the way of inhabiting the neighbourhood as already explained. This process is supported to a good degree by the strengthening of the heritage side of the neighbourhood. In Sa Gerreria the key points adopt other nuances.



*The area where the Court has been built used to have factories as the lonely chimney proves (Xisco Fuentes).*

The reform of Sa Gerreria is, for a series of reasons, a lot more complex than that of Sa Calatrava. First, because it is still in progress and it is not clear what direction certain measures will take. Secondly, because the area is big and diverse, and the way it has been treated is very different. Thirdly because the Urban Plan (a European initiative led by the social services of the town council) has to be added to what is to be the strict PERI, and this introduces modifications. However, in this complex situation, there are two factors that illustrate the nature of the reform.

Firstly the massive pulling down of buildings, which reaches its climax in the intervention called 2B that spells the end for four blocks of houses and eliminates two streets from the map. This devastating action entails a process of expropriations and an adjusting of prices that expels a great quantity of population from the area, with the inexplicit, but not hidden, legitimisation that the people living there are undesirable such as drug dealers, prostitutes and gypsies. This expulsion is concentrated in that part of the neighbourhood that was in a more advanced state of decline and where the population had fewer resources, an area that almost coincides with the limits of what used to be known as the *Barri Xino*. Intervention 2B proposes the *ex novo* construction of a new neighbourhood, for people with a higher income than the previous inhabitants, with a car park beneath it (1,100 parking spaces) and with some new public spaces within it.

The other detectable line is the building of amenities considered more for the city than for the neighbourhood; we will point out two of them. The Court was the first project that ripped open the neighbourhood. In fact it preceded the PERI, and it meant the construction of a huge building surrounded by CCTV cameras, completely out of character in the heart of the *Barri Xino*. The second is the *Passeig de l'Artesania* [Walk through Arts and Crafts or Walk for Arts and Crafts]. This was the redevelopment of a street to house around 20 businesses dedicated to selling 'traditional' and 'craft' products and aims to attract flows of tourists. Although we have spoken of reform, this one has been so intense that it is almost the building of a completely new piece of city. The architecture of this piece of city aims to reproduce the architectural elements found in Ciutat



*Intervention 2B in Sa Gerreria (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

in a standardised and codified manner, creating a serialised architectural production that reminds one of the constructional diversity of the historic centre of Ciutat de Mallorca.<sup>19</sup> It is important to highlight that this Passeig (the name already suggests things) wants to evoke an idealised past, a traditional and craft heritage of the city and the island, although it is an emblematic element of a process that has expelled population and pulled down a great number of buildings.<sup>20</sup>

So this is how Sa Gerreria stands: at its centre we find intervention 2B, which has carpet bulldozed the previous buildings and which aims to build a new neighbourhood for new people and a car park for local visitors that come to the centre of Ciutat. Around it, there are several blocks of virtually abandoned houses from which most of the inhabitants have been evicted. In this very same perimeter there are a series of amenities that aim to attract population from outside the neighbourhood and that also play with a certain idealised memory of the artisan past of the neighbourhood (all in all forgetting its present, at least its present at the start of the PERI). In the more peripheral areas of the PERI and nearer to the commercial centre of Ciutat there is the beginning of a process of rise in the cost of land and luxury refurbishments similar to those described in Sa Calatrava. They synthesise the process that we talked about in the three aims outlined above:

(a) The increase in the value of land is not yet evident, although owners of small businesses are convinced that at some time this will happen in a categorical way. It is true to say that this process has already begun in some areas where the façade and embellishing rehabilitations have started. In fact, the PERI has promoted private investment by the big building companies and obviously they expect to recover their multimillion Euro investments such as that of 2B; on the other hand, it is expected that the amenities will act as leverage to private investment.

(b) The variation of flows of visitors is perhaps the key strategic aim.<sup>21</sup>

We ought to take into account that this area has been considered dangerous for most inhabitants of the city; an image that stigmatised its population and that made it an area to be avoided. The carpet bulldozing of the most stigmatised area and the building of amenities for the whole of the citizenry attempt to transform this area into an extension of the commercial area between the *Avingudes* (where some famous department stores are to be found) and the central commercial streets of *Sindicat* and *Sant Miquel*. In this sense the car park to be built under intervention 2B becomes even more

important. Nevertheless, we ought to outline the failure of the *Passeig per l'Artesania* until now, since it does not manage to attract enough visitors. This failure is one of the motives for a third PERI, that of El Temple, which aims to open up a new pedestrian route from the *Avingudes* to the neighbourhood, and to beautify it so that tourists are invited to cross an area still in architectural decline.

(c) The variation of the composition of residents is an aim openly stated by the public powers. In fact, the social services of the town council work with the theory that the area cannot recover its social well being if part of the population is not changed. In fact, these professionals decidedly believe in the possibility of re-generating the neighbourhood by mixing the new and old populations, and rely on the new public spaces to establish a point of encounter and dialogue that lays down the basis of a new neighbourhood life. It is foreseen that the new population will become established in the new neighbourhood of 2B. Finally, we must state that this work is taking longer than expected. Some of the interviewees are of the opinion that the aim of this delay is to de-mobilise the voices that oppose it—such as the *Associació de Veïnats de Canamunt* [the neighbours' association in the area]—and to make those residents that lose patience and faith in the renovation and re-centralization (normalization) move away from the neighbourhood.

Before going on to the next section it is appropriate to stress the conceptual logics behind this PERI: to put an end to the memory of the *Xino* and its negative image by putting a physical end to it. This generates a semantic emptiness that seeks to be refilled, in a slightly shy way, by an appeal to the artisan image. In fact, if we focus on the tourist route we have presented, we find an interesting fact. In the peripheral areas of the PERI (which are very central in terms of the city as a whole) there is a process of embellishment similar to that in Sa Calatrava—and the heritage landmarks marked on the route follow a pattern similar to the one we have explained, but in the central part the demolition has been of such a magnitude that there are practically no elements of heritage left. The solution has been to mark on the route the built facilities (Social Centre, *Passeig per l'Artesania*, Centre for Craft Work, Residential Centre for the Elderly). In this way it is possible to promote both public works and the image they want to use to hide the *Xino*, that of an artisan quarter.

### Tactics

We have previously said that the policy of place that the urban reforms are supposed to implant does not achieve totally programmed spaces but centres of convergence, full of re-negotiations. Without entering into evaluations of a generalist and abstract kind, we intend to show in this last section a specific form of what we would call re-negotiation. They are two ethnographic examples that, although presented in a reductionist fashion, have an important explicative force for a specific logic of response. Both examples show how residents of these neighbourhoods maintain a critical position towards the reform-planning schemes and the dynamics they engender, and how they use the logic of these reforms to defend themselves against this very same logic, in order to resist it. We understand that these two examples match with Certeau's notion of tactic:

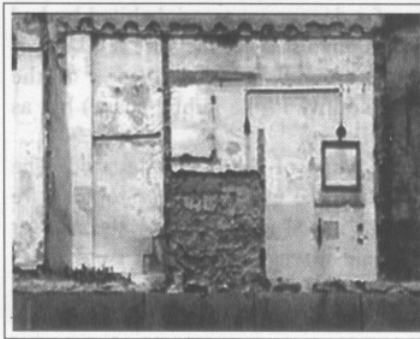
"I call tactic a calculation that cannot count with a place of its own (. . .) The tactic has no other space than that of the other (. . .) It does not dispose of a base where it can capitalise its advantages, prepare its expansions and assure an independence with circumstances. The *own* is a victory of place over time. On the contrary, because of its non-place, the tactic depends on time, it tries to 'quickly understand' the possibilities of profit. (. . .) Incessantly, the weak has to benefit from forces that are strange to it. It does so in the right moments by combining heterogeneous and mobile elements" (Certeau 2000 [1980]: L).

Thus, we will see how those residents more thoroughly affected by the urban reforms try to *deviate* and use in their own favour the very same reforms that condemn them. Facing the production of a space that undermines their position and silences their voice, they try to find a new position from which to articulate their voice and interests in the terms of the reform action. Our examples show two contrasting ways to erase certain residents' experiences and memories: in Sa Gerreria by creating a gap, a *tabula rasa*; in Sa Calatrava by inventing a new history that covers/conceals everyday life and recent past. Accordingly, the tactic we will see in Sa Gerreria will try to make use of this absence, whereas in Sa Calatrava it will try to engage with the historic discourse aimed at the creation of a more valuable setting for tourism.

Since the reforming actions and their underlying discourse vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, these responses adopt different but homologous resources. Both cases do not directly address the aims of the planning schemes but those actions that have allowed them to happen. The

first of these ethnographic examples is found in Sa Gerreria and refers to the limits of the *Barri Xino*, an exciting case of symbolic border-building on which the research focuses. Generally, when we ask the interviewees where the *Barri Xino* is, or where it was, they answer two streets ahead; when you go two streets higher they tell us it is two streets to the right, and when you get there they say it is two streets lower. The *Barri Xino* slips through our fingers: it is a phantom.

We ought to take into account two circumstances to better contextualise this permanent denial. Firstly, there is a more or less reduced area of public space where the street prostitution typical of the *Xino* still exists; however, this space is not labelled the *Xino*, which shows that the interviewees understand the *Xino* as a stigmatised area in which prostitution is only one element (in fact, the most pleasant one). Secondly: there are many residents in favour of the town-planning intervention—more in favour of carrying it out ('something had to be done about it') than of the methods that have



*The insides of a building of intervention 2B (Pepa Llausàs).*

been adopted. And the more or less favourable attitude corresponds precisely with the future expectations they have for when 'the *barri* (neighbourhood or *Barri Xino*?) is tidied up'.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, both those most and least in favour of the changes have words of eulogy for the *Xino* they remember—not the one of the most recent years (usually they talk about the *Barri* before drugs) but the one that they paint as a model for living together, a mixture of peoples and a certain detachment, a poor but happy life.

One thing has been repeated in two interviews with gypsies who lived very near to 2B. It ought to be said that 2B is a devastating and illustrative intervention that supports the argument (not explicitly declared) for carpet bulldozing a focus of immorality, marginality and crime (the *Xino*) which



*Children playing outdoors near to intervention 2B (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

was in the heart of Ciutat de Mallorca. As we have already explained, the qualitative 'Xino' refers first to prostitution, to the stigmatising image associated with the name and, in the area, it presents a much wider accumulation of meaning in its sense of a dangerous area inhabited by bad people. Gypsies are the paradigm of these bad people: they are not seen as poor people living in very bad and cramped conditions (one of the circumstances that contribute to their visibility in the public space) but as incarnations and agents of this negative image.

These two interviews deal with the limits of the neighbourhood. The interviewees' accounts agree perfectly with the evasion structure we have shown. However, when the question was asked more directly the answer adopted a forceful conclusion: having said it was not here but two streets away, they conclude with a demolishing argument which goes more or less like this: 'it was precisely in all that area that has been demolished [2B]. That's why they demolished it, isn't it?' It is obvious that they had also tried to expel those who told us this and they knew it,<sup>23</sup> because the image of danger that intervention 2B attempted to eradicate—through carpet bulldozing, as a demonstrative or exemplifying action and as a focus for change to be extended in its immediate perimeter (where the interviews took place)—was applied to them. However, the reply that we are considering dismantles to a great extent the logic of the reforming action by interpreting it literally. The response says: they pulled it down, and they did so not (only) because it was in a bad condition, but because it was the *Xino*, and this gives weight to their argument. So it is proven that everything that has not been pulled down—that is to say, where we are now—is not, and never has been, the *Xino* since it has not been demolished. Thus, the stigmatising image they apply to us remains de-legitimised by this very reform scheme action.

So, in Sa Gerreria the stigma applied to a good deal of the inhabitants has made tolerable such drastic action as the expulsion of population and



*The Towers of El Temple (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

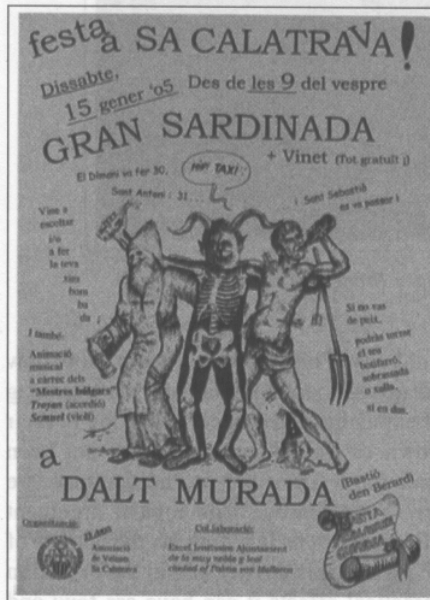
the destruction of a portion of the old city. This example tries to show how some of these stigmatised inhabitants (gypsies) interpret literally the reasoning behind the town-planning action of expulsion and carpet bulldozing in their own favour: if they have not thrown us out, if our house has not been demolished it is because we are not *Barri Xino*, but on the contrary, we have suffered by having the *Barri Xino* nearby. This logical argument redeems them: anyone applying this stigma to us is wrong, as the actions of the administration show. Despite the wit in this answer and in the deviation logic it uses, we believe that the practical effects it can have are few; and not only are there no indications for the articulation of a collective movement, but it appears that the *Associació de Veïnats de Canamunt*, based in the area since the beginning of the reform, is coming to an end.

The following case treats the area covered by the last PERI to be announced within the walls of Ciutat: the PERI of El Temple. The area of this PERI (still to be approved) is a huge block of houses where a true kaleidoscope of buildings is to be found (churches, orphanage, irrigated areas used for cultivation, workshops, an old military barracks etc.). One part of this block of buildings borders Sa Gerreria, and the other Sa Calatrava. We will

focus on the latter part, where El Temple strictly speaking (the fortress of El Temple) is found: the defence towers of a Muslim (and Christian since the Catalan-Aragonese conquest) fortress that form the entrance gate to the precinct.

The urban intervention the town council began in Sa Calatrava at the end of the 1980s is finished, and now all the measures are schemes or rehabilitations led by private initiatives. Moreover, the reform activity has overflowed the strict limits of Sa Calatrava into Sa Gerreria first and into El Temple later and following this, the neighbours' movement has also crossed the borders. While the *Associació de Veïnats de Canamunt* is dying out, its neighbouring *Associació de Veïnats de Sa Calatrava* has been completely regenerated.

In December 2004 there was a renewal in the directive board of the *Associació de Veïnats de Sa Calatrava*. The new board has an coherent vision of what has happened in the neighbourhood in recent years:

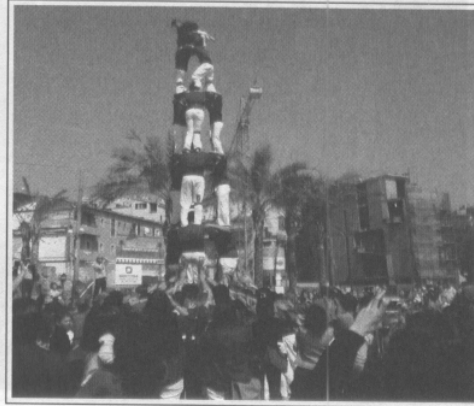


Poster inviting people to a Sardinada [eating sardines] on the ramparts (Associació de Veïnats de Sa Calatrava).

pressure from the real-estate agencies, with the acceptance and the support of the administration, to build a luxury neighbourhood without life in its streets, without social bonds between the neighbours, eliminating what we would call the identity of the neighbourhood. The historic condition of the streets and buildings, accentuated by the costly rehabilitations of the real-estate agencies, is one of the key points that have supported this process.

The new board takes in a diffuse way the old associationism and the

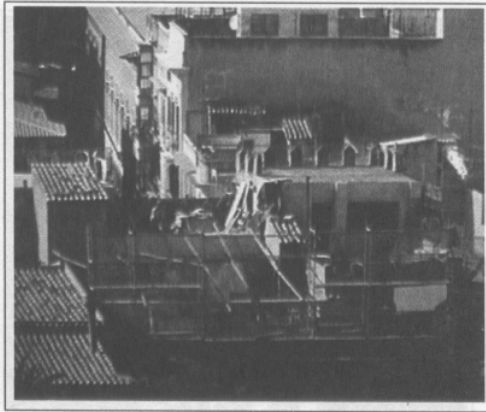
A Castell [human castle]  
in front of the building  
site at Carrer d'en  
Berard -Sa Calatrava  
(Jaume Franquesa and  
Marc Morell).



cultural effervescence of the beginning of democracy as a reference model and, in fact, some of its members are protagonists of that boom. Its fundamental aim is to recover memory. The sectors of residents who criticise this new board (basically those who supported the previous board) accuse it of wanting to make the neighbourhood into an area of bars and noise. This accusation, which is more imprecise than false, lays bare one obvious point of difference: the use of public space and festive activities.

In all of this, what is most relevant to our argument is that this new board is using demand for heritage as a mobilising and responsive element in the life of the neighbourhood. This is curious because it is the argument for the recovery of heritage (of an almost moral order) that has legitimised the speculative dynamic, the creation of a picturesque image and the demobilisation of neighbours that we have described. This debate about the value of heritage is happening with reference to other buildings, but where it is most evident is in the towers of El Temple, where the legal battle unleashed as a result of the struggle for its heritage quality is fundamentally (so some of its protagonists say) a resource, a weapon against real-estate agencies.<sup>24</sup> What the neighbours are really defending are the people that live there (the owners of a small kiosk on the ground floor and an American cellist), by denouncing a history of abuses of ownership which hide behind this artistic rehabilitation and which have been hushed up in the neighbourhood and that threaten to evict the tenants. But this heritage battle is not only a mere denunciation or a mere resource for defence.

A large sector of neighbours, led by the new board of the *Associació de*



*Illegal building work on  
the Towers of El Temple  
(Toñy).*

*Veïnats*, wants to revitalise the neighbourhood, and this fight far from being just a defence against an intervention they consider injurious is serving to mobilise the action and to create new acquaintances. Thus, this struggle not only invalidates but also becomes suggestive in its development, showing the way for the neighbourhood they seek, and has propitiated the encounter between social sectors (locals and residents, rich and squatters etc.) that would normally tend to ignore each other. Moreover: the building in question is that most powerfully able to bring together not only the two different neighbourhoods of Sa Calatrava and Sa Gerreria but also the different historic vicissitudes that have shaped the whole of the Eastern margin of Ciutat within the walls. The struggle over this building makes the neighbours want to find out the history of the place,<sup>25</sup> which without a doubt is a valuing of the historic heritage of the neighbourhood. Moreover, it ought to be outlined that some of the neighbours that live there and who are most active in the fight are the owners of the kiosk. The fight for this building is understood as a defence of small business and of the space for relation and creation of social ties it provides.

The case of the Towers of El Temple treats the use of heritage and the idea of conservation and assigning value, indisputable arguments—considered positive *per se*—that have legitimised the public urban reform; arguments that also serve the private initiative, the result of public intervention, to generate added value and sell taste and distinction to its clients. Instead of challenging this scheme, the neighbours complaining about the public and private investment (or at least about some of its consequences) are diverting (*deviating*) the meanings given by the other agents to: a) legitimise their

point of view and b) articulate themselves, transforming both ideas into a heritage to be defended.

The legitimisation of their own point of view (the fact of living there, of being there, of being rooted there as if that were a right superior to those of art or money) is made clear in a letter written by Miriam, the American cellist and only tenant, addressed to the press and to her fellow residents of the area. The letter starts by explaining her personal circumstances (retired, widowed, the rent she pays, the pension she receives), how she came to Majorca 25 years ago and what she has been doing here, and continues by explaining her experience as an inhabitant of the Towers of El Temple for 20 years<sup>26</sup> ('I am asking them to let me stay in my home', 'After 20 years in the Towers of El Temple, a building I love and that I have tried to save'). Miriam tries to show, within the frame of a campaign to save a heritage asset, her rights as a resident of the place, when the events that have happened, in an embellishment strategy for the neighbourhood, have scorned her: 'this explanation of my professional career is because what has happened with my home and with this threat has made me feel undervalued as a person'. Thus, Miriam, with the support of other residents claims that, as a resident, her point of view about heritage should be taken into account and, in a final instance, claims that those residents who have put down roots in it and that love it are the greatest heritage of the neighbourhood.

The neighbours however, are not only taking advantage of this campaign to voice their opinion as a group with rights, but in doing so are creating the neighbourhood they seek and which would oppose the idea of a 'luxury dormitory neighbourhood': in defending another kind of neighbourhood they produce it, they produce what the group considers to be the true heritage to be safeguarded in the neighbourhood; that is to say, its associative life, the density of its social relations and its creative and festive potential. However, this heritage differs from one that defends the tourist promotion, since it cannot be tied, decorated, submitted to processes that create a speculative and frozen economic value, but that requires movement and life, because this is what it is made of.

### **Conclusion**

As we have seen, our analysis has considered four main questions when dealing with the data collected on the field: (1) A theoretical framing that has taken our object of study (heritage) into the realm of the political economy of place and the policies of memory it triggers; (2) A geographical

and historical contextualisation of the specific urban area we have chosen, all in all emphasising its unity through the commonalities of its parts as well as the internal differences we have encountered; (3) The analysis of the main town-planning schemes and other reform implementations that have modelled the neighbourhoods of this area; and lastly (4) the description of two differentiated tactics towards the town-planning schemes, an opposition these deviations and appropriations have in common.

Having seen the facts we have uncovered through our analysis, we are able to argue that the making of heritage, its production and the actions it triggers are not dissociable from what is perceived as heritage *per se*. That is to say, the divide between tangible and intangible heritage is erroneous as it isolates the object from its context, stripping it from any kind of social ties. Thus, this naked heritage can only be understood in market terms, which explains the implementation of reform town-planning schemes that pave the way for the expansion of the heritage object in different but unified directions within the economy of place: from specific monuments to whole neighbourhoods, from that religious and military to the arts and crafts, from prestigious lives to the accounts of the everyday life of average citizens. . . .

This market reasoning is very well synthesised in the development and implementation of the PERIs and the heritage action they stimulate: as already argued, they precede the speculation and selling of land and memory. However, other ways of doing this can also be seen as part of the heritage action. These other ways embrace subaltern attitudes and practices (that in dialectic terms are opposed to or on the margins of) which together with the normative heritage from the dominant structures make heritage.

#### **Post-script**

This chapter was written at the beginning of 2005 while the research was still in progress. Since then, a series of things have happened with regard to Intervention 2B and the Towers of El Temple, a series of events that should be mentioned.

Regarding Intervention 2B, the car park is almost finished and they are now building the houses that will go on top of it. One of the most important issues here is who the new residents will be. It is unlikely to be the gypsy family we spoken to as they have already left. Moreover, another important, and related, question concerns the final destination of those who were evicted under Intervention 2B. The newspaper headlines have already announced that a group of these evicted citizens are taking the Town Council



*Miriam listening to a fiddler at an event organised by the Associació de Veïnats de Sa Calatrava (Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell).*

to Court (interestingly the new Court in the neighbourhood!) for having not completed the payments associated with their eviction. And it ought to be said that the payment they are receiving is significantly lower than the actual value of the land.

Regarding the second case, that of the Towers of El Temple: The pressure of the neighbourhood and of other entities of a conservationist kind succeeded in wresting from the administration the commitment to buy the Towers of El Temple. This news was received as a victory, but its consequences have left a very bitter taste.

The town council has obliged the owner to sell the building, and ordered him to empty the building of tenants before proceeding with the transaction. But it seems that he has not been patient in negotiating with the owners of the kiosk nor with Miriam, the cello player and he has definitively not been able to wait for their departure. Both the owners of the kiosk and Miriam have taken the owner to court accusing him of mistreatment and threatening behaviour (what has recently become to be known in Spain as 'real estate mobbing').

What is clear, knowing the plans of the new owner and of the town

council, is that the neighbourhood will lose one of the few businesses that kept the streets alive. Miriam's case is sadder. She went away for a month to the United States so that she could take care of her mother, who is nearly 100 and ill. She paid her monthly rent when she came back from her trip, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of the month, and the owner took her to Court for failing to pay: the Court ruled in favour of the owner and Miriam has been evicted. It is interesting to note that although she has been evicted, she has carried on with the Court trial.

Paradoxically, the deal between the owner and the town council is already sealed, the towers in exchange for prime land to be developed in a growing suburban area of Ciutat. The town council has not decided yet what use the Towers of El Temple will have, although according to news appearing in the local press,<sup>27</sup> it will house the offices of a recently created post: the local ombudsman (!).

#### Notes

1. Our fieldwork has followed a classical model in social anthropology, conceding great importance to the participant observation of the everyday existence of the area under observation. Besides systematically taking pictures and digital video recordings and collaborating with local associations, we have carried out interviews with a wide range of actors involved in the field (technicians of the administration, shopkeepers and workers in other businesses in the area, members of local associations and resident population). On the other hand, this fieldwork task is completed with the critical analysis of documents: urban and legal regulations related to the reform process, tourist information related to the research area, press and local publications, etc.
2. Using Narotzky's terminology (1997, 158–189), we are referring to the false dichotomy 'ideal/material', a separation that is not natural but a result of a historic process that tends to make difficult a holistic comprehension and to hide the (re)-production of social relations that any process entails and that is part of the matter of life.
3. It is here necessary to delimit the question in order to avoid entering into a quite sterile polemic. This planning we refer to does not necessarily have to come from a tyrannical desire for power. What happens is that the planning of the administrative machinery carries out closed projects with a univocal point of view (and even more for the case of the Spanish State where the architect usually leads the planning schemes) and it remains static, something that forcibly clashes with social dynamics.
4. In this point we completely agree with Certeau (2000 [1980]), who with a subtle analysis shows the 'production' exercised in any of the activities commonly

- catalogued as 'consumption'.
5. This way of understanding practice and experience is inspired in Raymond Williams and especially in his notion of practical conscience: 'Indeed, precisely because all conscience is social, its processes take place not only between, but also within, what it is to be social and what it is to be related. And this practical conscience is always something other than a manipulation of forms and fixed unities. There is a frequent tension between the admitted interpretation and the practical experience. . . . Practical conscience is almost always different from official conscience; and this is not only a question of relative freedom and control, since practical conscience is what is really being lived, not only what one thinks is being lived. However, the true alternative in regards to fixed forms produced and admitted is not silence; nor is it absence, the unconsciousness the bourgeois culture has mystified. It is a kind of feeling and thought of an indeed social and material kind, although each of them in an embryonic phase before becoming a wholly articulated and defined exchange' (Williams 1980: 152–153).
  6. This idea has been boldly suggested by Debord (1995 [1971]) in his pioneering *The Society of the Spectacle*. Thus, this is clearly noticed if we read the following two theses one after the other: 'Spectacle is capital to such a degree of accumulation that it is transformed into image' (Thesis 34) and 'Urbanism is that taking over of the natural and human environment by capitalism which, developed logically as an absolute domination, can and should now re-make the wholeness of space as *its own setting*' (Thesis 169).
  7. Lefebvre's text has become a classic of thinking about space and the city. The strength of this work lies mostly in the abstract and philosophical presentation of the matter, and it is this abstract character subjects it to multiple and opposed interpretations—see, for instance, the disparate evaluations Unwin (2000) and Elden (2001) make. Such characteristics makes us believe in the need to succinctly show what we understand to be the relation between exchange value and use value referred to in this chapter, and which is central to the work of the French philosopher. We consider it incorrect to interpret that the value of change eliminates the value of use, as this would mean the destruction of the dialectical reasoning Lefebvre uses: exchange and use value need each other, they are created in relation to each other. Thus, when Lefebvre argues the dominance the abstract space, the space of the exchange value, is exercising in an increasing manner, what he is telling us is that the use value is dominated, subordinated to this exchange value; that is to say, abstract space tends to suppress any (value of) use that does not question the exchange value and that, in the last resort, does not allow the generation of an increase in value.
  8. In fact, we would have to say that the management of the city is increasingly a promotion for attracting visitors and a management of flows of those who circulate. Therefore, it is not so much about the management of the city being tourism management but the fact that this has become the paradigm of local politics. In fact, the model of city that is being built counts on tourism as one

- of its development strategies, and for it to function in a satisfactory way urban space also ought to be the recreational scene for the residents, and not only for outsiders, such that citizens are more and more assimilated to visitors.
9. It may be that the most outstanding one is that tourism is by no means a novelty.
  10. We call the strict historic centre that part of the city contained within the old renaissance ramparts that were pulled down at the beginning of the 20th Century and that nowadays correspond to the Avingudes, a ring of roads that constitute the main thoroughfare and centre of economic activity of Ciutat.
  11. It [the poor] was formed by all the proletarian families that, because of a lack of resources, lived in poverty, including the fortunate workers, those with few skills, those that were lazy by occupation, and those who, because of illness or reversal of fortune, went down in the world and were called the unwilling penniless. They all rotted together in the more or less ruined cells, of the former convents of Sant Francesc and La Mercè, subletting them from the speculators who owned those buildings (leftovers of stores and stables), when they could not get a shelter or a hovel in Puig de Sant Pere, or the little cellars and courtyards of the streets Bobians, Ferreria, Enrramades o Es Jesuset de la Calatrava etc. . . . During the last third of the century, the young poor had already become assistants in all the industries powered by steam, and worked in all kinds of workshops they owned that invaded and transformed our city (previously calm and sleepy) into a little Babylon (Ferrà Perelló, 1996 [1918]: 123–125).
  12. With democracy the legal successor of the *Conjunto Histórico-Monumental* is the *Bé d'Interés Cultural* [Object of Cultural Interest] and this imbalance is corrected, at least on paper, with the *Ley de Patrimonio* [Law of Heritage] and the *Pla General d'Ordenació Urbana de Palma* [General Urban Planning Scheme of Palma] of 1985, the first global town-planning scheme of the city since democracy.
  13. *Última Hora*, Sunday 9th August 1992 (18).
  14. The neighbours' associations usually considered historical, are those that appeared in the 1970s and that, therefore, have the pedigree of having appeared in a context of political struggle and effervescence.
  15. In order to know better the main actions of these planning schemes we recommend: Ajuntament de Palma (1999) and González Pérez (2002).
  16. In spite of this diversity there are two remarkable absences from the mentioned tourist route. One refers to the fact that evidence of the Jewish and Xueta [derogatory name given to the descendants of converted Jews in Mallorca] past is scarce in a neighbourhood that has street names such as 'Carrer del Call' [Jewish Quarter Street] or 'Carrer de Montis-ion'. On the other hand, it does not refer to important sites for the Catalan language and literature (i.e. the printing works and home to a poet of the Escola Mallorquina [a literary movement among the Catalan speaking territories] where literary gatherings of great renown took place). In regards to the Jewish legacy, it ought to be said that it looks like the town council wants to redress this situation by becoming part of

the *Red de Juderías de España* [Network of Jewish Quarters in Spain].

17. Besides the *Associació de Veïnats* there are a group of clowns, a Majorcan bagpipe group, a leisure activity centre and some workshops where courses among other activities take place, to which we should add the pietistic congregations.
18. Be that as it may, this fact agrees with a situation observed by researchers such as Monnet (2002). This author states, from the case study of the historic centre of Barcelona, that the areas of historic centres fall under one of the following poles: it either corresponds to the old-ugly (deciduous, without heritage value, in an advanced state of decline) but with life, or falls into the category of ancient-pretty (with rehabilitated, embellished and modernised buildings, moulding a significant heritage scenery) but without life.
19. It would correspond to what Muñoz (2003) calls 'infinitely repeated discontinuities' and which he identifies as one of the main features of building the city in post-fordism.
20. There is an element of question in the evocation of this artisan past. In reality Sa Gerreria was more of an industrial area than an artisan one, although it followed the Majorcan industrialisation pattern based on small factories and workshops—rather than the classical industrialisation model of Northern Europe (which in Spain only takes place in Catalonia and the Basque Country)—and on a great mobility of workers and on moonlighting. Such a structure of the industrial sector paved the way in the 1950s and 60s, together with the arrival of mass tourism, for the camouflage of Majorcan industry as a survival of crafts and guilds. Thus, the sector was transformed into a producer of quality (pseudo-craft) goods so to satisfy the demands of tourism (see the monograph on the industrialisation in Majorca in *Estudis Baleàrics* 1992). Undoubtedly, as happened in the time of the developmental Francoism, the current appeal to what is crafted and the forgetting of the factory is driven by ideology and image for tourism; it is considered that tourists prefer the sweet and idealised image of crafts to the dirt and the mechanical rhythm associated with the factory. Moreover, tourists are on holiday, and they associate the factory with the world of work, something that may not please them. However, this hiding of the past does not pass the most innocent analysis and, thus, for instance, the *Centre Social Flassaders*, an emblem of the regeneration, is housed in an old blanket factory, as its big chimney proves.
21. The municipal town-planning office insists that the aim of the PERI is to make of this area a centre and not a 'ghetto'.
22. However, some of the old residents in favour of the reform seem to harbour fear: they will end up not being able to stand the moments in which everything is upside down and will end up leaving or having to close their businesses. Behind this fear it may seem that the following suspicion or mistrust hides: perhaps it is not for them that this reform is taking place. This has been the case of the last barber that remained in Sa Gerreria. After putting up with years of building work, dust and loss of clients and being a firm advocate of the intervention, he has finally

- transferred his business to the other side of the *Avingudes* because he could not see a time when the neighbourhood would recover 'normality'.
23. In fact, the members of a family that told us this knew they would soon be thrown out of their home, as happened. They now live nearby with some relatives.
  24. Let us explain the polemic: the towers have received successive heritage status (Bé d'Interès Cultural, BIC). Meanwhile the real-estate agency that owns the building—already known for other controversial interventions in the area (some of them even condemned in Court)—has gone its own way and, therefore, the BIC status has been used to sanction its action, which has been threatening and injurious towards the neighbours. The struggle of the neighbours and the associations for the safeguarding of heritage that support them exists because of the need to scrupulously respect the heritage status of the towers.
  25. In the electronic mail of the *Associació de Veïnats de Sa Calatrava*, the neighbours have sent links to pages that explain the history of the building and the area.
  26. In 1985, when Miriam began to live in the Towers of El Temple, Majorcans were fleeing the area, since crime was at its peak.
  27. *El Día / El Mundo de Baleares*, Thursday 19th May 2005 and Friday 20th May 2005.

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## *Fent barri*: heritage tourism policy and neighbourhood scaling in Ciutat de Mallorca<sup>1</sup>

Marc Morell

This paper explores the meanings of the local expression *fer barri* (neighbourhood making) in a gentrifying area located in the Historic Centre of Ciutat de Mallorca (Spain). After closely examining the relation of *fer barri* with tourism in Mallorca, I analyse the tensions between the urban planning schemes unleashed by the public authorities upon this heritage-loaded territory and the practices of its inhabitants. I argue that the concept of neighbourhood scaling best accounts for the social relations that this sub-urban context embodies, given the hierarchy of forces impinging on it (urban, regional, national, global). Urban policy plans and organised residents scale the neighbourhood in conflictual terms. Some follow a tourism-dependent logic and try to promote the neighbourhood along the lines of heritage, its centrality or by setting up large events. In addition to State-led policies, tourism businesses and real estate enterprises, urban movements often depicted as oppositional groups have their own understanding of *fer barri*. This is an understanding of contradictory kind since in their attempts to contest capital accumulation by placing a value on the neighbourhood, urban movements can also unintentionally pave the way for both renewal and gentrification. A thorough analysis of the local term *fer barri* therefore reveals contrasting projects of neighbourhood scaling.

KEYWORDS: gentrification, heritage tourism, neighbourhood renewal, scale and social organisation, urban movements.

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## INTRODUCTION

Between the rubble and building sites of an area subject to renewal in downtown Ciutat de Mallorca (from here on Ciutat, the capital city of the Balearic Islands, Spain),<sup>2</sup> just on the corner of one of the shadowy half-inhabited squares where a group of youngsters illicitly sell drugs, stands *Ca na Pepa* (Pepa's place), one of the few groceries left in the Historic Centre. Inside, a gloomy atmosphere shrouds the parsimonious activity of Pepa, the 63-year-old grocer, who is preparing a ham sandwich. Opposite the counter – lavishly stacked with all kinds of drinks and food supplies – and against a patinated wall, sit three women, the youngest of whom has just turned 70. The four of them engage in what seems to be a competition as to who has most illnesses and who has visited the doctor within the last fortnight. While I linger, I entertain the idea that it is not only the ancient walls and street layout that confer a sense of vanishing history to the Historic Centre of Ciutat but, more importantly, the ageing population that dwells here.

In August 2008, Pepa reached a deal with one of the many developers active in the area. He had already bought up the entire building flat by flat from people who had moved out of Es Barri<sup>3</sup> in the past three decades. Pepa is the last to leave but plans to retire at 65 and is therefore determined to run her business for two more years from premises in the basement opposite her old shop. It will not be easy for her to leave for good when the time comes as all she knows in life, she proudly states, is to *fer barri* (make neighbourhood). The three women sitting there agree. Their main entertainment, they unanimously state, is indeed to visit Pepa and *fer barri*. To them, this means gossiping, establishing mutual relations of advice, support and aid (e.g. from giving credit to reading letters to the illiterate).

From an analytical perspective, their version is about fostering neighbourly relations on a daily basis. Moreover, in Catalan (one of the languages spoken in Mallorca), *fer barri* is a powerful idiom and as we will see it is also highly flexible. There are variants such as *fer ciutat* (city making) or *fer país* (country making) and the concept has often been used by authorities to rule people by engaging them morally under one collective will. Because of its multi-purpose

2 Ciutat is also known as Palma. Both terms are correct. I choose Ciutat due to its political implications: as a space for public debate, civil rights claims and citizen action.

3 Literally "The Neighbourhood", as people at *Ca na Pepa* refer to their neighbourhood. In this paper, I use the expression Es Barri to delineate a "lived territory" that is contained within a multiplicity of borders set up by changing urban policies, historical developments and oppositional organisations. Many of these have introduced a new name for the neighbourhood often indicating their understanding with political connotations. In fact, this plurality of names and borders is a reflection of the numerous contests over the territory I am dealing with. Es Barri, and this is of interest to social anthropology, is not a precise geographic delimitation but rather refers to the spatialisation of social relations that is best accounted for with the multiplicity of borders and names the area receives.

quality, the expression *fer barri* is used by different groups present in the neighbourhood. Differently from the idea held by those who assemble in *Ca na Pepa*, federations of small and medium businesses also gather around the *fer barri* issue and promote it as an activity primarily based on shopping in the commercial thoroughfares that border the neighbourhood. In their notion, buyers do not necessarily need to be neighbours “to make neighbourhood”. To complicate the situation further, an urban renewal scheme that has been in place for the last 20 years also draws on the power of *fer barri*. In this case, it is about positively explaining the improvements that have taken place. Finally, *fer barri* has always been a strategy of the so-called social movements opposing governmental policies and also, since its inception, the urban renewal schemes. The “associations of neighbours” active in Ciutat draw on this ideal when they organise their *festes* (celebrations). Even the *moviment okupa* (squatter movement) of Ciutat has its own idea of *fer barri*.

Thus, Pepa and her clients are not alone in the making of the neighbourhood. Rather, there is a puzzling set of ideas and claims over economic and political realities that are built around the notion of *fer barri*. This paper takes on both the plurality of engagements towards the making of the neighbourhood and the particular geographical and social scale that is at stake. Since the neighbourhood scale, and the relations that constitute it, serve as the point of reference for all groups of actors – despite their significantly diverse interests – it is important to stress the power dimension inherent in these contestations. As I will argue, the positions the different actors hold are strongly shaped by their relations to and notions of the scaling process they consider best for their group.

Unlike earlier approaches in social anthropology that defined scale according to the “size dichotomy” of small-scale societies as opposed to large-scale ones, I argue that the interesting issue is the scaling process in itself. As I will show, the old women in *Ca na Pepa* and the developers active in Es Barri conflict over the very same idea, the illusion of social proximity. Thus, following Hannerz, I look at the mutual imaginations people hold of others who are positioned in what they perceive as either large-scale or small-scale social systems according to the idea that “the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence” (Hannerz in Berreman *et al.* 1978: 239). Hannerz himself extends this observation by questioning the existence of smallness and demands a thorough study of its construction in the following quote: “If under certain circumstances there is a strain toward intimacy in larger-scale social structures, what means may people use to create an illusion of smallness?” (Hannerz in Berreman *et al.* 1978: 239). My enquiry tackles the illusion of smallness and its manifold material manifestations by evaluating the different dimensions of *fer barri*.

Since notions of actors about Es Barri are at the same time grounded in different practices of neighbourhood-making and in its scaling projects, these “need to be analysed as based on decision-making processes [...] made within

groups, institutions, industries and other forms of social organisation” (Neveling and Wergin 2009, this volume). The following ethnographic account analyses the competing practices that socially organise Es Barri’s future in light of the strong tourism and land planning policies at work in Ciutat’s Historic Centre (from here on Centre). However, before contextualising the position of Es Barri within the scalar structure of regional tourism, I will briefly outline my approach to scale in this paper.

Scale is a central issue in the field of social anthropology and at the very epistemological core of the discipline.<sup>4</sup> Barth (1978) researched scale at the systemic level meaning that social organisation is a result of dependency relations of different scales and that the aggregation of these relations both reflects on and generates culture. Thus, the task of social anthropology is to write ethnographies that show how real people organise their lives along different scales of complexity and how they relate to the complex, large-scale structures of contemporary societies (Barth 1978: 258). This understanding applies perfectly well to the variegated applications of *fer barri* outlined above. The task of ethnography in such a contested field of claims on *fer barri* is to achieve the right balance between agency and structure, as the inquiry into the concept unveils both the ways of actively making the neighbourhood and the historical understandings of how the neighbourhood ought to be made.

Both anthropology and geography recognise the embeddedness of the political, the economic, the social and the cultural. My brief analysis of *fer barri* in Ciutat indicates that scale is a central analytical tool to deal with this embeddedness. As Rankin (2003) argues, one of the central concerns of anthropology is the relation of the local to the global, whereas geography assumes the task of researching on the political economies of place and scale. But recent debates in geography indicate that the scale question seems to methodologically come apart. In these debates, scale appears in many, not necessarily complementary, ways: (1) As a social construction, generated by productive, reproductive and consumption processes (Marston 2000); (2) as something made real by way of interpreting dynamic and complex relations in a determined context (Howitt 2000); (3) as the result of the dynamics within the scalar hierarchy (Brenner 2001); (4) and as determining its own social content (Manson 2008).<sup>5</sup>

4 The capacity to systemically explain the complexity of social reality from the observation and the analysis of concrete cases has been a major concern in social anthropology. This problematic holds a preferential place in anthropological writing, particularly with regards to the fix and flow of capital, to the grounding of research and to the modernisation dilemmas, as well as to the relation between the local and the global (for variations of approaches to the subject see Wolf 1982; Hannerz 2003; Tsing 2000; Herzfeld 2001; Comaroff and Comaroff 2003; and Knauft 2006).

5 As a result of ardent discussions (e.g. Marston 2000; Brenner 2001; and Marston and Smith 2001) there are authors who advocate a flat ontology based on the social network theory (Marston *et al.* 2005).

The projects that organise around *fer barri* serve to make us think about these methodological definitions of scale. Although the different concepts of *fer barri* range from comprehensive urban renewal and gentrification to issues of re-establishing local empowerment (cf. Whitehead 2003), they must be regarded as threading into each other because they generate a common, contentious field of reaping and profiteering, celebration and resistance, organisation and survival. As I will show in the following analysis of the regional political economy of tourism in the Historic Centre and its impact on urban planning schemes and neighbourhood initiatives, these projects of *fer barri* are practices that reflect and generate the neighbourhood scale in multifarious ways: as a site of social reproduction and social consumption (Castells 1991 [1972]), as the urban outcome of scale-fragmentation (Uitermark 2002) and as a site of the uneven development of capital (Smith 1984).

So far, I have outlined the existence of several projects that make of the neighbourhood a controversial scale in the making, that is, I do not simply take this scale as a given. In addition to the agencies encountered throughout my field research there are other forces that shape, and to a certain extent limit, the practices of the different groups of actors that scale the neighbourhood. The following section deals precisely with the regional political economy of tourism and how this industry is involved in the scaling of the neighbourhoods of the Historic Centre.

#### TOURISM AND THE HISTORIC CENTRE

Mallorca is a major tourist destination in the Mediterranean. Tourism is one of the two leading industries and actually the main foundation of the second one, construction and real estate activities, today classified as a booming independent economic sector. Despite the emerging global economic crisis, in 2008 the Balearic Islands received 10,288,958 visitors (Frontur 2008). Tourism contributed to around 80% of the GDP and directly employed about 30% of the working population. Depending on the season, the catering and hospitality sectors officially had between 43,217 and 111,882 workers (Institut d'Estratègia Turística 2008) out of a total population of 1,072,844 inhabitants (Boletín Oficial del Estado 2008).

The particularity of tourism in the Balearics is best defined by well-rooted academic expressions such as "mass tourism" and "balearisation".<sup>6</sup> The first expression refers to the high number of visitors and the industry's increasing economic importance (e.g. Shaw and Williams 2002 [1994]), but not necessarily to expenditure per tourist. The second expression instead refers to

6 As Manera and Garau-Taberner (2009) demonstrate, by the mid-1960s the region was a mass tourism pioneer.

changing patterns of land use and changes in social practices in order to meet the demands of “mass tourism” (e.g. Selwyn 2000). Local scholars from the Balearics have split these touristification processes into periods corresponding to specific “booms”.

According to Rullan Salamanca (1999), Blázquez *et al.* (2002) and Valdivielso (2005) the first boom started in the 1960s. It was a period of incipient mass tourism and urbanisation (especially of the coastline) which peaked just before the 1973 oil crisis. In 1964, during this first boom period, the core of the Centre of Ciutat was declared an “Artistic and Historic Area” and received continuous investment. But the margins of the Centre suffered severely from disinvestment and were dragged into filtering processes of decay.<sup>7</sup> The second boom occurred simultaneously with the peak of globalisation of the 1980s. The number of hotel beds rose significantly and new tourism businesses such as, for example, rental apartments, were established as state-of-the-art in the Balearics. By then, the margins of the Centre had reached what the authorities perceived as the limit of deprivation and degradation. Several planning schemes were announced in order to “save” those neighbourhoods from neglect and vice. But only some of these schemes were ever set into action.

In the third boom phase (following the global crisis of 1991), “nature” and “culture” emerged as diversified tourism products and attractions, formerly limited to sun and beach. For Mallorca, this meant the commoditisation of the island’s hinterland due to a growth in residential tourism (mostly related to the acquisition of second homes by wealthy locals and foreigners). Along with the projection of the hinterland’s coastal and rural landscapes, the rundown Centre was promoted via a programme of “heritage revitalisation” while the renewal schemes remained in operation. During this period, there was a clear increase in the value of land and property prices all over Mallorca.

These different booms give a first insight into the tourism industry’s regional development and its relation to the radical changes the different global economic crises have brought about. The analysis also reveals how the industry permeates most, if not all, economic policies of the Balearic Islands. Likewise, powerful lobbies like the hotel sector influence and design paths for urban development policy (Amer 2006). An example of how the third boom targeted “nature” and “culture” as tourism assets was the introduction of the so-called “Ecotax” in 2001 (Valdivielso 2001). This tax was charged on the accommodation rates paid by tourists and revenues had to be invested in both “green” products and culture-sensitive alternatives to the classical model of

<sup>7</sup> Filtering refers to the process by which housing stock moves from higher-income to lower-income households as it ages and deteriorates.

“beach” mass tourism.<sup>8</sup> But the hotel federation’s strong political influence aborted the experiment shortly after the tax was implemented.

Urban tourism is one of the legacies of the last boom’s efforts to create “alternatives” to beach-based tourism. To make it work in Mallorca, the officials thought they needed to turn the whole of the Centre into an attraction by expanding commerce and catering, and particularly by creating or substantially altering the cultural and social environment of the monumental core. Indeed, tourism can be seen as the very reason why the Centre is a “Historic Centre”, because its land and the activities that develop on it have been regulated around the heritage topic.<sup>9</sup> Since the late 1980s, all public and private sector renewal initiatives have sought to bring the profitable tourism business to the Centre.

“Heritage” today is all over the place. It has expanded from the monumental core to the margins and in the process incorporated the more humble past of the Centre’s craft businesses and industries and of the once striving working class they employed. As I want to show in the following section, this is only one side of the story: since the whole of the Centre has become the target of renewal and has been listed as a “must see”-attraction in all guidebooks,<sup>10</sup> processes of gentrification have taken place in the areas that were once marginal and neglected.<sup>11</sup> The promises of urban tourism serve as political arguments to renew the housing stock of the Centre by revaluing its heritageable items. Nevertheless, ever since their first implementation, these policies have been contested and appropriated by numerous groups, including the inhabitants of

8 The set strategy was not aiming at the substitution of mass tourism for a more “small-scale tourism” based on “nature” and “culture”. Instead, tourism had to expand by incorporating new brands and models into the prevailing mass tourism industry (Morell 2000): e.g. natural parks had to be promoted as tourism attractions, cycling tours in the low season were to rocket, proposals for new interpretation centres mushroomed.

9 The monumental core of the Centre is mainly made up of historic monuments built by the religious, commercial and political forces still in control of Ciutat. The main sites are the gothic cathedral and the gothic foundational medieval parish churches, the medieval palaces of Muslim and Christian rulers facing the cathedral (nowadays the king’s summer residence where official receptions are held), and the gothic building that housed the medieval merchants’ guild. Minor sites of attraction are buildings now used as town hall, parliament, government offices, the headquarters of the Island Council of Mallorca, and several small palaces built by the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Furthermore there are the remains of the medieval ramparts on the waterfront and various museums and art galleries. The main commercial thoroughfares and boulevards join all of these sites. Most of the margins of the Centre are currently integrated into this monumental-shopping circuit.

10 E.g. <<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/spain/mallorca>> (last accessed 27/05/2009).

11 By gentrification I understand the displacement of low-income and working-class occupants because of the arrival of middle-class inhabitants to a neighbourhood (Glass 1964: xviii). This process changes the social character of the neighbourhood and at its core is “the complexity of capital mobility in and out of the built environment” (Smith 1996a: 51). For a comprehensive handbook on the history, discussions and the varied outcome of research on gentrification see Lees *et al.* (2008).

the margins in what Franquesa and Morell (2005) have come to term “deviations to town-planning”.

This section has retraced the economic and discursive construction of mass tourism and its supposedly small-scale alternatives from the 1960s to the early 2000s and has particularly focused on how it has influenced the Centre. Such “quality tourism”, as opposed to mass tourism measured in “quantity”, was targeted in several government agendas (e.g. the Ecotax and its heritage tourism projects). But it needs to be pointed out that this process is far more complex than the cliché of “quality small-scale tourism” proposals often included in the urban renewal schemes of the Centre would lead us to expect. Instead, as I will show in the following sections, these proposals offer an alibi for an indiscriminate large-scale “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey 2003) via expropriations, rebuilding and real estate activities.

As the next section shows, the political and economic constraints of tourism are mediated via planning procedures that use the notion of *fer barri*. Whereas my reflections so far have been concerned with wider policies, I now turn to the different ways of *fer barri* and the power struggles at work on the neighbourhood scale. These struggles revolve around the history of the Centre’s margins as a field for disinvestment and reinvestment and are based on the positioning of the Centre within a scalar hierarchy of tourism and the building and real estate opportunities that go along with it.

#### PLANNING NEIGHBOURHOOD DISINVESTMENT AND REINVESTMENT

The municipality of Ciutat (213.56 km<sup>2</sup>) has 413,781 inhabitants, of whom 25,579 live in the Centre (1.24 km<sup>2</sup>). But the Centre is much more than a residential area. It attracts numerous visitors each day since it hosts most of the administrative and institutional headquarters as well as the main shopping thoroughfares of the city. The Centre also serves as a collective memory-“container” for the whole city because it is the main scene of public celebrations and citizen demands (often promoted as *fent Ciutat*). Furthermore, due to the added value of the heritage it contains, the Centre is exploited in terms both of the tourism industry and of related real estate activities.

Since its first amendment in 1964, the Centre’s legal status as an Artistic and Heritage Area has been upheld by measures that promote its built environment, and especially the monumental core and the seafront. But all these measures have not given the Centre a uniform ambience. Whereas its core is the priority for protection and promotion, the areas in the margins were for many years not regarded as worthy of preservation. Here the built heritage of the guilds and the working class of Ciutat was and still is present. This legacy has only recently been integrated into the tourist and commercial routes of the

Centre, but always in a partial manner and secluded in, for instance, interpretation centres.<sup>12</sup>

As early as the 1960s and 1970s the demographic features of the margins changed significantly. In earlier periods most of their inhabitants had moved en masse into the then new urban developments of Ciutat. Left behind was the elderly population living on low pensions. Due to the demographic changes and a lack of housing maintenance, land and property prices reached an all time low and those tenants who moved into the deserted flats had even fewer economic means than the working classes that had left the area. In the course of time, illicit economic and publicly censored activities (drug trade and prostitution) took root and spread. At the end of the 1970s, the authorities concluded that the margins were profoundly degraded. But instead of considering the overall changes in Ciutat and the lack of maintenance the owners professed, the authorities blamed the un-civic new inhabitants for the unhealthy housing-conditions (what the authorities viewed as unhealthy conditions) and declared this part of the Centre to be ruined. Consequently, the municipal authority's next step in urban planning policies aimed at an economic reactivation – a policy that was labelled “revitalisation via renewal”. The main reason behind this policy was that these neighbourhoods were still close to the prospering Centre and some of the buildings were seen as marketable heritage attractions. Thus, in the 1980s, a series of urban renewal schemes cascaded down to the margins, targeting one neighbourhood at a time.

The neighbourhood we are dealing with here has as many different borders as names. For statistical purposes it is called El Sindicat (3,848 inhabitants, municipal census, 1<sup>st</sup> January 2008) and for town planning purposes it is referred to as Sa Gerreria (The Pottery). As mentioned earlier, neighbours will generally refer to their neighbourhood as Es Barri, although the name of the association of neighbours is Canamunt.<sup>13</sup> To complicate things further, most of the territory of Es Barri was once known as *Barri Xino* because of the

12 Interpretation centres are a kind of visitor centre/museum where one “interprets” a specific object or matter. For the case I am talking of here these centres usually involve the “interpretation” of the past.

13 In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Ciutat, what we nowadays know as the Centre, was divided into two bandit territories, Canavall and Canamunt, respectively the lower and the upper parts of Ciutat. The area under study in this paper never had a specific name other than *Barri Xino* (red-light district) or the renewal scheme's name, Sa Gerreria. The association of neighbours established in 1991 – which I will talk about later – claimed almost half of what used to be Canamunt back in the 17<sup>th</sup> century because there were no previous existing associations of neighbours in any of the territories the new Canamunt now held. The bordering neighbourhood of Sa Calatrava and other areas belonging to historic Canamunt were not included because associations were already active there (interview with a former head of the Federation of Associations of Neighbours of Ciutat, October 2008).

illicit and/or censored activities it hosted.<sup>14</sup> The press even nicknamed the area “Palma’s Harlem” or “human dunghill” (*El Día de Baleares*, February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1985: 19-22). Furthermore, the group of streets where most of the aforementioned activities were concentrated was known as *Es Brut* (The Dirty Place). As several informants confirmed and as is well-documented in the local press, the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet of the American Navy patrolling the Mediterranean would regularly “find relief” there after months at sea. The novelist Frontera (1975) described the area in an underground tourist guide:

*Es brut*, the dirty place [...]. You will have noticed it by the smell. Old, ramshackle [*B*]arrío [*C*]hino. Incredible narrow streets, a labyrinth limited by [its] streets [...]: [...] minute, gloomy, unrepeatable [...] with their women of all ages and appearances, sitting on the second step of the entrances through which one goes up to rooms with little red lights and the Virgin of Rocío and the Virgin of Macarena. With men as shadows, who go to the forbidden but tolerated market of the illegal traffic of corporal relief; with its unmistakable scent. The bars of these streets have music and television on and there are people who go up and people who come down: Occasional visitors and other addicts. This is the little island to which one comes deliberately: not one of its streets is on the way to the office. There is the “Club Salem” [...] for dancing and admiring the art of the ballerinas and vocalists. Out of the little island, the suburbs of the [*B*]arrío [*C*]hino, suburbs of a more ventilated kind: the streets that limit it, [...] with its “Hostal de la Bolla”, the height of typicality [Frontera 1975: 77-78].<sup>15</sup>

In 1989, the wave of renewal schemes of the 1980s finally targeted Es Barri. Aims were extreme and there were plans to turn the whole neighbourhood into Ciutat’s new public administration headquarters along with newly created public spaces and a change in the rights-of-way. Even though the renewal scheme was regarded as necessary by many citizens, its extreme dimension was

14 The term actually means more than just “red-light district”. It also incorporates outlaw activities such as drug dealing. The name was probably imported from Barcelona, where there also is a Barri Xino. Popular wisdom has it that the name came from the presence of Chinese or Philippine prostitutes. This is not true. Casasús (1996: 221) explains that Paco Madrid, a journalist writing for the weekly paper *El Espectador* back in the 1920s, christened the southern tip of the 5<sup>th</sup> District of Barcelona as Barri Xino. The area already was famous for its outlaw activities. The reasons for which he named it so are not at all clear. Some say it is because Madrid found Chinese imitation jewellery businesses there, others say that he had read the travel book written by Miguel Toledano who had been in the USA and spoke of San Francisco’s China Town.

15 All quotes and interview excerpts originally in Catalan or Spanish are my own translation. Notice that I have previously used Barri Xino and that Frontera here uses Barrio Chino. Barri Xino is Catalan and Barrio Chino is Spanish. Although Frontera is well-known for his novels in Catalan he wrote this guide in Spanish.

soon opposed widely. ARCA (Association for the Revitalisation of Old Towns), founded in 1987, and the association of neighbours of Canamunt (from now on Canamunt), created in 1991 by the Federation of Associations of Neighbours in Ciutat,<sup>16</sup> took the lead in this oppositional movement – though with different aims. Canamunt insisted on the continuation of predominantly residential use and demanded that the already settled population should be given support with services for the neighbourhood and not for the whole city. ARCA maintained that buildings could not be bulldozed as the historical street alignments and the old industrial buildings formed part of the heritage of Ciutat.

The political leadership in the Town Council changed in 1991 and the implementation of the renewal scheme came to a halt. But a revision of the 1989 planning scheme was approved in 1995 when the new town-council board reached a consensus with Canamunt and ARCA. Now the aim was to recover the social fabric and the existing buildings as well as to preserve the historic urban structure. This had to include support for the present inhabitants and the implementation of development schemes for the neighbourhood. As I will show in the following section, the real aim was to revalue the neighbourhood by gentrifying it and making it amenable for tourists.

Part of this contradiction between words and facts was the transfer of these genuinely public affairs to the private sector. The management of the Sa Gerreria renewal scheme under public-private partnership broke with the model employed in all previous schemes. Private sector companies were responsible for evaluating all properties acquired by compulsory purchase. None of the residents had a say in these purchases and many buildings were pulled down as the private company promoted the construction, sale and lease of new dwellings. The public agencies followed an agenda to “improve” the image of the neighbourhood in order to achieve a favourable atmosphere for private investment.

Local and regional governments in Mallorca had received political and financial support from the Spanish State and the EU to improve and build up major urban infrastructure in the area. The State financed new courts for the whole city. With EU funding under the URBAN 1994-1999 Programme, facilities for neighbourhood use as well as aid and training schemes for the impoverished and “needy” population were provided.<sup>17</sup> These projects improved the

16 This proceeding was very unusual. Normally the associations of neighbours are created by neighbours already living in an area and then, if they wish, they become a federated association of the Federation. The case of Canamunt is different since it was the Federation that founded Canamunt.

17 The aim of the URBAN programme is to revitalise degraded urban areas. In 1997, a total sum of €15,260,000 was granted for the revitalisation of the URBAN area of Ciutat of which half came from European Regional Development Funds and European Structural Funds and half from the local and regional authorities (<[ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame2.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame2.htm)>, last accessed 11/08/2009).

environment sufficiently to sustain the expectation of future private sector investment and thus helped to reaffirm the promise that the margins of the Centre could be recovered for Ciutat, underwriting a very partial image of who held the right to the city. In this atmosphere of hope, the city authorities promoted a return of the population to the neighbourhood as if it had been an empty space up to now. Urban tourism and heritage were portrayed as the means to solve all problems. The EU URBAN programme was presented as the culmination of long-lasting efforts to “recover” the Centre (Ajuntament de Palma 1999).<sup>18</sup> The local councillor for tourism set out the aims of the project in its early days at a conference that dealt with urban renewal in the Historic Centre of Ciutat:

We have to boost this historic centre to its full capacity. We understand that it is not easy to maintain a neighbourhood, its streets, a historic centre, if we do not *bring life* into it, if we are not capable of *attracting people* – the citizens who buy houses, flats – and some kind of economic activity to it, that is, light, warmth, people: This is what can really raise a historic centre. Indeed, it has cost a lot, but I think that there is recent major real estate investment, and, unfortunately, we have to confess that most of them are *European* citizens who understand the high quality of life they have due to living so near to the sea and in such an important historic centre [Juan Bauzá in Baltasar *et al.* 1995: 94, emphasis mine].

The local councillor for tourism did not only aptly summarise the notion of an empty space created to justify the massive evictions of Es Barri’s inhabitants. He also indicated that the desired new residents were not necessarily locals but wealthy citizens of other European countries wishing to buy a second property in a built environment close to the sea and permeated with history. But to my knowledge, “Europeans” (stated above as if Mallorcans were from another continent) have never shown an interest in acquiring real state in the Centre, let alone in Es Barri. Of course, there are the odd foreign residents here and there but by no means do they represent the leading trend the local councillor for tourism desired.

From what has been said, one can argue that the scale of the neighbourhood is, in part, the product of a municipal urban policy that formally sought to balance living conditions in all neighbourhoods through the distribution of welfare and wealth based on territorial classifications (as argued by Ruiz Viñals

18 Although this does not mean that the Spanish state and the EU forced the local authorities to gentrify the neighbourhood it does signal that there was, and still is, a multi-scalar commitment for urban renewal and the gentrification that often comes along with it. For instance, it is noticeable that gentrification (e.g. how to avoid it) is almost nonexistent in the URBAN Programme documents offered on their official websites.

2000: 240) rather than social ones.<sup>19</sup> Another proof for this observation was that incentive-generating renewal schemes were implemented nowhere else but at the margins of the Centre. But not all renewal schemes followed the same logic. In the early 1980s the first renewal scheme, that of the Puig de Sant Pere, located in the southwestern corner of the Centre, included policies aiming to keep the demographic composition stable. Contrary to this first renewal experience, inhabitants of Es Barri were ousted in the late 1990s with the implementation of a clear municipal-led strategy of gentrification based on the logic of a “social mix” evident in the “Report of the General Scheme for Urban Planning (Memòria del PGOU)”:

Intervention based solely on social housing in a deteriorated medieval heritage site can be as wrong as a façade project [...]. A comprehensive regeneration and requalification of the city can only be achieved by an intervention that combines and balances both strategies. There is another important omission in the texts of the renewal schemes: that regarding the promotional measures to be taken for the installation of mid-high strata population, who together with the already housed social population, produce the mix the Historic Centre once enjoyed, one that made it socially alive. The rules the renewal schemes contained [...] did not hinder from realising [the achievement of] this population integration since, except for the aim of maintaining the rooted population in the neighbourhood, it does not exclude other kinds of population [Ajuntament de Palma 1998: 80].

Thus, the “territorial distribution” actually consisted in “mixing” wealthy local middle-class newcomers with the poorer inhabitants already established, so as to “positively stimulate” the environment, in an entrepreneurial fashion rather than a redistributive one (Franquesa 2007). Such “mixing” strategy has almost ended up with a *de facto* substitution of the poorer population.

Of the six building projects that URBAN financed in Es Barri, one was chosen to imbue the neighbourhood with a new touristy atmosphere: the Passeig per l’Artesania (Crafts’ Walk, from now on P’A). This new attraction was supposed to benefit from the history of the neighbourhood that should attract visitors and support local businesses. Furthermore, it should also convey that real estate was a secure investment. As the following story of the evolution of the P’A will show, those elements that had initially been intended to improve the neighbourhood, to *fer barri*, ended up becoming a project to *fer dutat*.

<sup>19</sup> Attracting affluent owners (be they “European” or not) was in its own right a siren song for “socially mixing” the population. Also this mix was only intended for the renewed neighbourhoods, but not for the whole of Ciutat. Thus, only certain territories were promoted for the distribution of either welfare or wealth without regard to the social and economic conditions of many other people across the city.

From the very beginning, the PA was conceived of as a space to develop local commerce. The idea was to offer premises to craftspeople through a public tendering procedure (theoretically below market price). Those with an interest had to present both a craft production and a business plan. If selected, the local craftspeople had to make an initial investment to establish the business they would run on the premises. After four years of construction works and preparations, the PA was launched in 2001. Initially 15 workshop businesses settled in, but soon the craftspeople abandoned the site because of the little business they could make. A local newspaper headlined: “One of them leaves after losing more than the €42,000 she invested – She claims that only distributors remain in the PA” (*El Mundo-El Día de Baleares*, December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2002).

According to the head of the PA development, problems occurred because the PA was an isolated space in the middle of a neighbourhood in the making. And this neighbourhood was still carrying the stigma of the old red-light district, Es Barri Xino. Moreover, it was argued that the products were not attractive enough to pull in either tourists or locals as customers and that the craftspeople were lacking a clear marketing strategy. They were accused of waiting for the clientele to turn up “naturally” or to be brought to them “artificially” by the municipal authorities. In fact some craftspeople opposed the idea of turning their work into a tourist attraction. This is illustrated by the following statement of a middle-aged book-binder running a business close to the PA (although not belonging to the PA project) who had initially supported the idea of a crafts’ cluster: “They would actually like us to be like in a cage at the zoo, with people taking pictures of us, but I’m not going to be performing the monkey role for them, you can be sure about that!” (personal interview, November 2006).

In the very same year that I collected this harsh statement the town council counter-attacked by establishing new admission conditions, by awarding new contracts and by modernising the corporate image of the PA and the new businesses. Documentation and interpretation centres were provided in the PA and a historical walk was designed, guiding tourists around the places where disappeared trades were carried out and telling the story of its past as a centre of craftsmanship. In tune with this philosophy, the PA was turned into a public venue for music performances in the summer. But all these efforts were not enough and the PA was completely empty when I visited it in the past years.

To sum up, the major role intended for the PA was to create a commercial link between tourism and the industrial past of Es Barri. Even though this role did not meet all the aims established in the urban development plan, the PGOU, and within the renewal scheme of Sa Gerreria, the PA did work as it offered a pleasant atmosphere and the promise of a revitalisation of the neighbourhood. As a publicly funded initiative, the PA in the end helped to attract people who invested in Es Barri and bought up renovated or newly built properties, set

into value by the private companies in charge of the money-generating side of the redevelopment scheme. Thus, the P'A can be seen as a "crafted illusion" of the neighbourhood's past, placing it on a map for investors but not for tourists – a map financed by the EU, the Spanish State and various regional and local governing bodies. This last summer of 2009 the P'A came to an end. The area is now aimed to host a creative cluster for "entrepreneurial businesses".

In this section, I have analysed the urban renewal scheme of Sa Gerreria. My focus was on the unequal division of power established via the revitalisation and investment schemes and on urban development policies involving administration and financial support on different scales: the municipality, the island council, the regional authorities, the Spanish State and the EU. But the scaling of the neighbourhood goes beyond the sum of urban development policies and economic constraints. A large part of it is made up of how the inhabitants perceive and organise the neighbourhood scale. The following sections show that the neighbourhood is not at all unanimous but contains diverse people from various social backgrounds. Along these social divisions or cross-cutting them, internal differences within the neighbourhood are established and lived and these need to be considered too. I will therefore compare two different ways in which the inhabitants of Es Barri engage with *fer barri*. The first is established by Canamunt and is concerned with the "centralisation" of the neighbourhood, that is, the process by which the neighbourhood has to attract visitors as the rest of the Centre does. Whereas the new leaders of Canamunt want to "centralise" Es Barri via the rescaling of its neighbourhood *festes*, the second analysis is one of a vanishing concept of *fer barri*, the weakening of neighbourly relations in *Ca na Pepa*, the local grocery described in the introduction to this paper.

#### THE ASSOCIATION AND THE *FESTES*

Canamunt had built its efforts to alter the course of urban renewal in Ciutat on gaining the support of the inhabitants most affected by gentrification. In Es Barri, Canamunt had tried to find the approval of lifelong residents, different waves of gentrifying newcomers and, to a certain extent, the ever present marginalised groups involved in drug trafficking and prostitution. Despite its efforts, its strength diminished after 1995. More generally speaking, actions had been restricted to two different periods: 1989-1997 and 2002-2004. Most efforts had been put into the reactivation of neighbourhood *festes* in order to enhance approval and support for the struggle against the municipal-led renewal schemes of Sa Gerreria and El Temple.<sup>20</sup> Oppositional

<sup>20</sup> El Temple is the largest single block of buildings in the Centre, located on the southern tip of the Canamunt territory.

strategies had included media campaigns aimed at creating awareness of the excesses of the renewal scheme by denouncing evictions, the destruction of built heritage and the abandonment of previous neighbourhood lifestyles as well as the centre-oriented urban planning of the town council. But these had been sidelined by a strategy of getting closer to the decision-making bodies in order to lighten the immediate effects of the renewal scheme on the neighbourhood. This second strategy had proven so “successful” that Canamunt activities were soon reduced to mere whistle-blowing on the public administration’s policies while actually collaborating by way of rephrasing the renewal scheme of Sa Gerreria insisting on actual implementations of the social and heritage issues.<sup>21</sup>

Instead, events followed the agenda set by the PGOU, meaning the eviction of long time inhabitants to accomplish the “necessary social mix” and the bulldozing of most lower-class housing. The actual built heritage of Es Barri gave way to “proper” facades. When the now public-private-civilian partnership reformulated the renewal scheme in 1995 and the amendments were approved by the town council, Canamunt almost disappeared.<sup>22</sup> Although activities flashed up now and again, Canamunt never managed to get a new generation of activists on board who would take over and revive the leadership. Efforts to *fer barri* the Canamunt way – meaning to establish links between the household sphere and the public sphere in the neighbourhood – also ceased.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 2007 though, hopes were high that Canamunt would come back to life again. A room in the Centre Social Flassaders, the second largest project built under the URBAN funding initiative, had been made available for a Canamunt “revitalisation” meeting.<sup>23</sup> More than fifty people had gathered to discuss problems of the neighbourhood and it very much looked as if this was the resurrection many old members of the board had hoped for.<sup>24</sup> Due to the unusually high attendance the small room was packed. Most newcomers were actually new residents: entrepreneurs of the arts,

21 This rephrasing was mainly based on the conclusions of a social and demographic survey of the neighbourhood Canamunt carried out by order of the town council (*Associació de Veïnats de Canamunt* 1993). The survey aimed to detect the social needs of the inhabitants. One conclusion was that the population should be maintained, but as has already been indicated, this actually did not happen. Canamunt’s efforts to conserve all heritage sites in Es Barri were soon limited to defending a few salient buildings. According to my observations, reasons for the opposition’s decline were that most activists got worn out and preferred to get on with their own individual life and projects.

22 In the following years, the renewal scheme was subject to consecutive amendments that bypassed the earlier rephrasing of the scheme that had emphasized the maintenance of the original population and the conservation of heritage.

23 The largest project both in size and in costs was the *Passeig per l’Artesania (PA)*, discussed earlier.

24 Most of these older members worked as civil servants or held liberal professions and moved in during the late 1980s.

businesspeople such as bar owners and people with university degrees. Most of them lived in the revamped properties of the renewal scheme. Shopkeepers who had managed to survive the time of Es Brut and its regeneration sat side by side with the owners of the mushrooming neo-bohemian shops and bars in free-and-easy aesthetic style.<sup>25</sup> The members of the Canamunt board were happy to have managed to attract such a variety of people only by word of mouth and by putting up posters. But as the meeting progressed, their greatest delight, the fact that more than half of the attendants were “new neighbours”, turned out to invite unexpected and enduring troubles.

The original agenda of the meeting had listed four topics of central concern to the old members. These were: (a) to pedestrianise certain streets; (b) to discuss the use of publicly owned properties catalogued as heritage; (c) to comment on the increasing number of late night bars; and (d) to reinstate the Canamunt *festes*.<sup>26</sup> But little was said on these matters because a good deal of those present, especially the new neighbours, moved another issue to the top of the agenda – to elect a new board. And so it happened. A couple of weeks later, a new board of three was installed and among them only the spokesman was a long-term member of Canamunt. Although this was never verbalised openly, the following events showed that the new neighbours who took over Canamunt had a very clear agenda. In a meeting held some months after the changes in board membership, the owner of a state-of-the-art restaurant demanded that one of Canamunt’s policies should be to ask the town council to bring in more tourists so that Es Barri would “truly become part of the Centre”. Thus, the now active members of Canamunt who owned bars and restaurants wanted to *fer barri* for the sake of their own businesses.

The revival of Canamunt turned into one of the major ironies of Es Barri’s recent history. To ban cars from the quarter’s streets or to discuss the uses of publicly owned heritage sites never became central issues. Neither was the increase in bars commented upon critically. Instead, Canamunt was transformed into a vessel supporting at least some of the bars in the area by involving them in the organisation of its *festes* and thus, as some old members would argue, threatening to transform the neighbourhood into a bar zone. Municipal ordinances only allow associations of neighbours to organise public celebrations in the neighbourhoods. Thus, as an association of neighbours Canamunt acquired the official sanction to hold annual *festes* in the neighbourhood and these *festes* were the one further incentive for the newcomers owning bars to

25 For a particular account on the working of neo-bohemia in Chicago’s Wicker Park neighbourhood see Lloyd (2006).

26 A fifth topic was the need to reorganise the association before more than 300 new flats, built in a kitsch “Mediterranean style” where Es Brut once stood, were sold. This was often referred to as “ground zero” because of the full demolition that took place there. However, this was not an “official bullet point” on the agenda.

take control if not of the association as a whole, then at least of the possibility to organise the *festes* under the umbrella of the association.

Since 2005, one of the most fashionable bars in the neighbourhood had organised anniversary celebrations which had been highly successful. These celebrations received public support from Canamunt in 2007 and in 2008 the association decided to turn the bar's party into the neighbourhood *festes*. This meant that the *festes* from then on were represented legally by Canamunt and that the organising committee had the right to ask local authorities for permission to hold concerts and other shows in the squares of the neighbourhood. The committee could even demand closure to traffic, something bars cannot do. Canamunt should benefit from showing its new strength to the local authorities and take control of the threat of a bar expansion or, as someone put it, of *Es Bar/ri*. By allying with the bars already established in the area, the old members of Canamunt wanted to defend the territory against the opening of further bars, thus defending the business rights of the new members in a very protectionist manner.

The first *festes* of this new alliance were held in July 2008 and lasted for several days. On the night of the main event, a queer music show, the squares of the neighbourhood were packed and it was difficult to move through the crowd of mainly young people who had come from all over the city to enjoy the show. On stage, several drag queens and transvestite artists from Madrid who had been hired by "La Terremoto", the female co-owner of the pioneering fashion bar celebrating its anniversary,<sup>27</sup> were lip-synching to songs of the 1980s, the golden age of Spanish pop referred to as *La Movida*. The event was the largest concentration of people the neighbourhood had ever seen – unmatched even in the days when the 6<sup>th</sup> fleet regularly came to visit. Queues for getting to the drink posts, where ironically old and new members of Canamunt worked side by side the whole night through, were long. In the dark back streets surrounding the square where the main event was held, people urinated and dropped huge amounts of litter. The few policemen present wore desperate looks on their faces as they felt unable to stop such a huge crowd from partying way beyond the official decibel limits.

A week later, at a meeting of Canamunt, the owners of the organising bar calculated that more than 3,000 people had attended. At first, the new board members thought the *festes* had been a massive success. But they soon realised that the event had gone beyond reasonable limits. The board decided to reflect upon this when planning future events and it seemed as if future *festes* would be downsized. Nevertheless, the *fiesta* planned for July 2009 has been of such

27 "La Terremoto" literally translates into "The Earthquake". Not only is "La Terremoto" the co-owner of the pioneering fashion bar but she is also a show-business woman well-known for her appearances on Spanish national TV reality shows.

a dimension that it has escalated beyond the neighbourhood. Canamunt went into negotiations with the association of neighbours of the neighbouring quarter Sa Calatrava. When the two associations of neighbours joined to hold a *fiesta* in the park beneath the ramparts of Sa Calatrava, they did not only aim for a show far bigger than the previous one. Their joint venture also brought the URBAN project full circle to some degree as the territories of the renewal schemes of Sa Gerreria and Sa Calatrava exactly match the boundaries of the EU funded project. The 2009 *fiesta* was again run by the owners of the pioneering bar and again coincided with the bar's opening anniversary.

Not everybody was happy with these developments. Some bar owners oppose them not so much because only one bar is organising and thus promoted via the *fiestes*, but because they no longer benefit from selling drinks and food to the crowds who now gather outside the neighbourhood boundaries. Other neighbours have argued that these are neither *fiestes* "of the neighbourhood" nor *fiestes* "for the neighbourhood". In fact, not all of the new members of Canamunt belong to the business crowd. An archaeologist renowned for his adamant defence of the whole Centre as heritage, and now the head of the Heritage Department of the Town Council, said not long after the event of 2008: "These *fiestes* have been *fiestes* for the whole of Ciutat [and not for the neighbourhood] and they have nothing to do with those of the neighbourhood which took place in the 1950s" (conversation, August 2008).

The course of events in Es Barri and the significant changes in the nature of the *fiestes* moves discussions of so-called grassroots organisations to another level. A neighbourhood *fiesta* organised by people initially committed to saving the neighbourhood from the downsides of gentrification is obviously something very different than a *fiesta* organised by a local bar celebrating its opening anniversary. The changing nature and the change in purpose of the event challenge the assumption that scales are ideal static encapsulations of social realities. The events in Es Barri show how economic and political forces condition neighbourhood relations and underline the role tourism plays in Mallorca. Furthermore, the case of the *fiestes* signals the existence of "jumping scales" (Smith 1996b) but also shows that the neighbourhood scale is not confined to relations and forces beyond its spatial limits. The scale of the neighbourhood is defined by networks based on economic and political powers in Ciutat and with nationwide reach. Changing Canamunt into an association that supports the bar owners' lobbying organisation has not only been mutually beneficial for the different parties involved but has also led to the "rescaling" (Uitermark 2002) of an event, moving from a single bar enterprise to Canamunt and then beyond the neighbourhood itself. The last step, a very vivid example of "jumping scales", resulted in the whole city paying attention to the joint team now organising the *fiestes* and thus coalescing different institutions and organisations working on the neighbourhood scale beyond the neighbourhood.

This section of the paper has been concerned with the changing uses of the neighbourhood scale on the level of a so-called grassroots organisation. Besides the issue of who has the power to organise *festes*, there is now at least one further contentious dimension of the neighbourhood scale to be explored in more detail. This question goes down to the very basic level of who has the right to live in the neighbourhood and decide on the workings of its social structures and who does not. In order to analyse this dimension, the next section is concerned with the people gathering in the grocery already introduced at the beginning of this paper, their ideas of *fer barri* and the days when Canamunt was not busy jumping scales to boost the *festes* but busy jumping scales in dealing with the rights of the inhabitants of Es Barri themselves.

#### A NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE GROCERY

The social relations that make up the neighbourhood are composed of and negotiated within a number of settings of which the association of neighbours is only one. These associations were formed to democratise public life during the twilight of Franco's dictatorship in the 1970s. Because they only serve to organise the neighbourhoods around particular issues, important relations among neighbours remain outside of their organisational frame. Whereas one could argue that the business concerns of the bars explained above should remain outside this category, the fact that the owners of the trendy bars also inhabit the area means that they have a certain entitlement to their cause. But even at the level of bars and businesses, there are other interests. Many bars in Es Barri close before the nightlife starts. These are called *bars de dia* (day bars) and they serve as meeting places for many residents, businessmen and passers-by.

Similar to the *bars de dia*, other businesses have existed long before gentrification in the quarter started and these also rely on similar neighbourhood networks. In recent years most of these businesses have closed down because of the changes coming along with the renewal and gentrification processes. Unlike the associations of neighbours, the social networks formed around these businesses have never been directly involved with the public administration. In the following section I return to *Ca na Pepa*, one of the last groceries in Es Barri, and explore how the shop's long-term clients relate to the institutional and organisational changes in the neighbourhood.

People gather in *Ca na Pepa* for two central purposes: they either follow the genuine need to buy food or they seek neighbourliness, often to combat boredom. Furthermore, most of them claim that what is left of the neighbourhood, left of *fer barri*, does only exist in this grocery or, at the most, in its immediate surroundings. The majority of customers are the elderly inhabitants of nearby buildings who pay rents that are not rated by the market but by old ownership

and tenement laws, with fixed established prices. Also, there are youths who meet in the street to while away their time or to sell drugs. Because all other businesses of the same kind as Pepa's have closed down in Es Barri, the grocery's survival deserves explanation. Unlike other old businesses in the area, *Ca na Pepa* can count on the fidelity of two groups of clients, the remaining immediate neighbours and many of those who have left deliberately or were evicted by real estate businesses but who still come back to shop and chat to their old neighbours and to Pepa.

All the people meeting in *Ca na Pepa* share an understanding of what neighbourliness and *fer barri* means. To them it is an increasingly scarce resource among the shrinking population of "old neighbours".<sup>28</sup> The dimension of the neighbourhood scale constituted by them is about trust and mutual aid – something I call neighbourliness. Gossiping, for instance, plays an important role since it is an activity that transmits ideas, glues coalitions and dissolves tensions. Gossiping also serves as a means of social control because a pool of information is created and centralised in the grocery and therefore Pepa holds a prominent role. Whereas everyone meeting in her shop has in one way or another access to this information, she knows how to exploit the pool for her own benefit. Gossip is a way to *fer barri* too because this way alliances that help to sweeten sour experiences and mellow eviction are created and forged. At the most, for those who are not familiar with the rapid changes in Es Barri's property market, gossip can be a decisive tool to get an idea of the value of housing and, as we will see, can forge alliances to reach agreements with developers and to avoid forcible evictions.<sup>29</sup>

In August 2008, while everyone was still recovering from the Canamunt *fèstes*, Pepa closed down her "official grocery".<sup>30</sup> Her main clients, who used to live in the same building, had been leaving their flats one by one. They had reached individual agreements with the new owner in order to avoid

28 On the one hand, one might argue that for the case of *Ca na Pepa*, the illusion of smallness has to do with the attachment to the place Pepa and her client-friends seem to profess. On the other, there is clearly a constraint to the kind of activities impoverished elderly people such as the women referred to in the introduction can actually afford. Rather than a case of place attachment, what we are here dealing with is people trapped in place (Franquesa 2005), irrespective of whether they celebrate their attachment or because their way to *fer barri* is all they know and all they can know.

29 Through gossiping bits of information are collected here and there. The information travels to the ones interested in knowing, be they in *Ca na Pepa* or elsewhere. Developers even send "information collectors" to places like the grocery in order to fork out this kind of information without having to make their intentions official by visiting the property registry. It is often a first step before actually going to the registry office as it helps the developers to find out who the tenants are. Developers will have to compensate tenants if a deal with the owner is reached (interview with a young "information collector", November 2006).

30 Since Pepa only held the business rights for which the contract was expiring soon and did not own the property, she could do nothing to stay longer in the premises. The most she could hope for was to get a financial compensation from the building's new owner for ceding her rights.

eviction. But behind these agreements had been Pepa who had promoted the organisation of her neighbours in a covert manner. To support their cause, she worked through the established neighbourly relations and once she had gathered enough support from the people affected, she went to see a young lawyer, whose father had owned one of the largest houses in the area but had left long before the degradation period in the late 1970s and the 1980s. The lawyer negotiated with the real estate company in the name of all neighbours affected, but did not approach the solution to their case as a collective. He and Pepa worked for the benefit of those who had written contracts and he told me that he had not charged anyone for his services because he wanted to help the *Ca na Pepa* people.<sup>31</sup> Pepa was compensated for the transfer of her business with a very generous deal. She then moved into the empty basement of her father's property opposite to her previous business in order to sell her remaining goods.

But in the course of the negotiations, the developer rejected the claims of all those residents who had only verbal contracts for their flats. When all these claims were dismissed, Pepa stood up for them and insisted that the developer had to reach an agreement. In order to make this happen she decided to take action on her own terms and apply her idea of *fer barri* beyond the neighbourhood. She flagged up the situation of her neighbours in the press using contacts she had made years ago, when journalists were writing about the changes in the area and had approached her as one of the remaining "neighbourhood businesses". When the case appeared in the press and even on local TV, the developer softened his position and reached a deal with the remaining tenants.

The fact that the developer backed down is by no means surprising. But the politics of Canamunt in relation to this dispute deserve attention. Only after the news appeared in the media did Canamunt pay any attention to the threat of eviction the *Ca na Pepa* people were facing. As I will now show, this neglect was grounded in a particular idea the present day decision-makers within Canamunt have of Pepa and her clients. This idea is the most recent development within a history of interaction between these two groups and says a lot about the historical changes in Canamunt's policy towards and understanding of *fer barri*.

The history of interaction between the "*Ca na Pepa* neighbourhood" and Canamunt dates back to the early days of resistance against urban renewal. Following instructions of the then highly centralised Federation of Associations of Neighbours in Ciutat, some of its members moved to Es Barri in the late 1980s and founded Canamunt, becoming part of a first wave of gentrifiers. Their intention was to engage in *fer barri* by forging an opposition to the renewal scheme together with long-term inhabitants like those to be found

31 Pepa later told me that the lawyer actually did get a commission for each of the successful agreements.

in *Ca na Pepa*. Among these newcomers was Isa, at the time a young activist and theatre actress who came to the neighbourhood not only because of the strategy set forward by the Federation but also because of the low rental prices, neo-bohemian atmosphere, the urban heritage and her commitment to defend the interests of the lower classes. Isa sought contacts with the “rooted” population through the people who ran those businesses that had resisted the process of degradation back in the mid-1980s before the implementation of the renewal scheme of Sa Gerreria.

The idea of the Federation was that by combining the social networks of the long-time residents and their philosophy of grassroots action, the neighbourhood would become a stronghold against the policies of the city administration. What the activists were well aware of and tried to take advantage of was that businesses such as Pepa’s were not only neighbourhood businesses but also the “businesses that made the neighbourhood” through their everyday practices. As Isa recalls:

These businesses, like that of Pepa’s, are something difficult to find elsewhere in the city, they are like humble social clubs, if you know what I mean. I feel they represent what the neighbourhood used to look like before. You know, places where you take a seat, where there’s no rush and one gets to know the ins and outs of the neighbourhood. When I arrived [in Es Barri] I used to shop there a lot just for the sake of getting to know what the concerns of these people were. To get to know them [...] and, of course, for them to get to know us [conversation, May 2008].

The Federation had a clear strategy consisting in invoking the collective memory of Es Barri: the activists addressed the shared social practices of residential communities, their place attachment and their way of *fer barri*. Groups of people like those gathering around *Ca na Pepa* were, according to the Federation strategy, the bearers of neighbourhood values. To establish relationships of mutual trust and to form alliances, Isa needed to network herself into the close-knit group of the *Ca na Pepa* people. Many of them hesitated to join a politicised movement, as the Federation back then claimed to be further to the left than the official left wing parties. Furthermore, they were not very sure of the name and the spatial extension of the neighbourhood the activists claimed when they chose to refer to the 17<sup>th</sup> century division into bandit territories of what today is the Centre. But on the other hand, the *Ca na Pepa* people preferred the action of the activist newcomers to those of the bulldozers that made room for the P.A. As they saw this area separating from what they called Es Barri and losing its neighbourliness, Canamunt became an appropriate means to either keep their right to the neighbourhood or gain compensation for eviction from their flats.

Soon after Canamunt was established in the neighbourhood in the early 1990s, people such as those of *Ca na Pepa* took over the leading role in the *festes* revival. Their involvement soon became the legitimating element for Canamunt. But with the latest changes in the Canamunt board, the association of neighbours slowly relegated the *Ca na Pepa* people to a folkloristic role to the extent that in the preparatory meetings for the Canamunt *festes* of 2008, the owner of the thriving bar, the TV star “La Terremoto”, suggested that since Pepa was a “rooted institution” of the neighbourhood, she could read the opening address to the public. It is difficult to say whether “La Terremoto” actually had the struggle of the *Ca na Pepa* people with the developer in mind and meant to support them – she never mentioned anything like that. Pepa’s presence would have given a “neighbourhood touch” to the event, but to suggest she held a key role in the *festes* was also an act of positive discrimination as it unfortunately appeared at a moment when the people of *Ca na Pepa* were becoming part of the history of Es Barri.

This is another incident where the social constructions of scale meet social practice and where scale is influenced by all factors outlined in the analytical section of my introduction. Scale is socially constructed (Marston 2000), made real within processes of power struggles (Howitt 2000), an interaction of forces active on different positions in the scalar hierarchy (Brenner 2001) but, most of all, scale determines its own social context (Manson 2008). Thus, the distinctions between these authors’ notions disintegrate and we find all of these meanings of scale in place when they are applied thoroughly to a social setting in a time of rapid change like Es Barri. For many of the newcomers, *Ca na Pepa* and the neighbours that turn this business into a social setting where the neighbourhood is made were an expression of typicality precisely because this way of *fer barri* is nearing extinction. “La Terremoto” seemed to be more interested in including Pepa in her *festes* show repertoire than to work out how to avoid her eviction. Back in the late 1980s and early 1990s the Federation instead perceived the same group as neighbours in need but also as the ideal group whose participation would have a legitimising role in the fight against the future waves of gentrification.

It seems that these two different waves of gentrifiers, the activists and the new bohemians belonging to Canamunt, in different periods of rapid social change felt the need to integrate *Ca na Pepa* into their own ideas of *fer barri*. The long-term residents gathering in *Ca na Pepa* have managed to be compensated for having to leave because the rights they held to the flats in the decaying buildings were acknowledged after all. This by no means signifies that there is no harm to them because of the renewal process. Instead, with the disappearance of the spaces that facilitated these practices and ideas of scale, a particular way of *fer barri*, the one practised at *Ca na Pepa*, is vanishing in Es Barri.

## CONCLUSION

In my introduction I referred to a remark by Ulf Hannerz on the imaginations and idealisations of smallness. The case of Es Barri has shown that the grass might actually not always be greener on the other side of the fence. This neighbourhood in the capital city of Mallorca has not only been generated by its own means but most of all by larger political and economic contexts that shape the social relations that constitute the neighbourhood from within. To follow the integrative and “jumping scales” approach chosen in this paper opens up the possibility to analyse the material manifestations emerging from the illusions triggered by imaginations of the neighbourhood scale. Along these lines, notions of the local practice of *fer barri* work as catalysts for contested projects in which power dimensions intervene and (re-)scale the neighbourhood according to economic and political purposes.

The escalation of the *festa* of Canamunt I have described is just one of the many manifestations of neighbourhood rescaling. Similar processes of “*festa* escalation” have been explored elsewhere. The prolific work of Boissevain on Maltese *festi* (e.g. 1984, 1992) shows that “*festa* escalation” is not only about merely increasing money spending and revenue but actually also involves re-establishing identity and reaching a peace of *communitas*. Something noticeable in the alliance the old members of Canamunt seek with the new ones. Nevertheless, the escalation of *festes* in Es Barri also involves a good deal of conflict and therefore serves to explore the power dimensions that make the neighbourhood. As the example of Ciutat shows, these power dimensions are not solely structural ones.

Scott has argued, that “strong neighbourhoods, like strong cities, are the product of complex processes that cannot be replicated from above” (Scott 1998: 144). While it might be true that these processes cannot be replicated from above, the power of official and private sector development agencies to confer or destroy the uniqueness of Ciutat’s neighbourhoods is present everywhere. The uniqueness of neighbourhoods emerges on lower absolute scales and can be both adaptations to renewal and initiatives to further renewal. This has been shown in the case of the *Ca na Pepa* people who try to get away with the best deal possible and in the strategic take-over of Canamunt by bar owners who seek to enhance their profits. Of further significance is the delicate relation between renewal and gentrification on the one hand and efforts to preserve the neighbourhood’s uniqueness on the other hand.<sup>32</sup>

32 From a planning point of view, uniqueness is desirable but almost unachievable. The new apartments built where Es Brut once stood were presented as a unique and differentiated product. Nevertheless, the site resembles more than anything the new “Mediterranean style” apartment common to the coasts of Southern Europe.

Tourism, real estate markets and the renewal schemes for Es Barri have led to the decline and finally to the “neo-bohemian entrepreneurialisation” of the neighbours’ movement. In the course of these changes, Canamunt’s guiding and founding principle, the “social justice” agenda, has been abandoned and the interpretation of what is heritage has changed significantly in the process of revaluing the neighbourhood. As seen above, the tourism industry has actually encountered difficulties to establish its presence in Es Barri. Unlike other parts of the Centre, Es Barri has no tourists. The most salient feature of the tourism industry in Es Barri is that it mainly existed in the hopes and plans of those authorities responsible for the PA – if not for the real money then at least for the promise held by an emerging myth of heritage tourism as a cash cow.

To some extent this idea is shared by those bar owners who try to attract customers – no matter if the customers are tourists or not. As a matter of fact, tourism is both a justifying myth and a market factor for real estate investment but definitely not an actual presence in terms of real people. This might explain why there has always been a lack of opposition to touristification in Es Barri.

Seen from another angle, the different institutions and associations that have been engaged in shaping the neighbourhood since the mid-1980s have each needed to create an image of scale, an “illusion”, either as a means of exclusion from the rest of the urban fabric (e.g. Es Brut) or as a way to promote the neighbourhood as a tourism space (e.g. Historic Centre). The economic rationale behind these scalar illusions has been synthesised in the implementation of a succession of renewal schemes. The commoditisation of the neighbourhood as a marketable social setting has been built on a sense of place attachment and neighbourliness that has actually been destroyed by the entrepreneurial turn within the association of neighbours. This turn signalled the end of a whole community of neighbours that had believed and invested into building social relations because of their attachment to “their” practices. In short, to a certain extent the *Ca na Pepa* people may have been suitable for the scale-making project to *fer barri* in the pre-gentrified neighbourhood but they are not suitable to *fer ciutat*.

This observation can be extended to challenge the claim that postmodern consumer culture bestows powers on those who are considered to be exotic (Featherstone 1992). From the perspective of those evicted from Es Barri, such claims might sound like vindications for practices that reduce them to an “other” and even further to an “aesthetic other” that is presentable on stage when the annual *festes* of the fashionable bar are held. But the events in Es Barri do not bestow power to the old residents. Instead, gentrification commoditises their lifestyles by turning them into a part of the historic heritage. At the same time, gentrification creates a marketable illusion of this evicted lifestyle available for consumption to those who can pay for it – the new residents and visitors. Those considered exotic end up being eradicated

from the very social setting created through gentrification strategies that are not at all subtle. In fact, whereas the already stated strength of complexity and uniqueness argues against replication, the reduction and consumption of the "other" works as a means for quite the opposite, that is, the commercial mass replication of clichéd differences.

The immediate implications of this commoditisation of and in the neighbourhood are reflected in the increasing urban tourism policies that use the neighbourhood scale. They take advantage of its unevenly developed matter in order to create, if not a surplus through gentrification, then at least a surplus from its promise. This necessarily means the imposition of pressure on the practices of older residents, who suffer from degradation until they either confront or take advantage of the very same urban policy. As for the new residents, they are the ones who will take up the *fer barri* baton. It remains to be seen whether the new Es Barri will be strong enough to keep the newcomers attached to the neighbourhood and it will thus be possible to avoid future decay or whether another wave of gentrification will turn today's newcomers into the historic heritage of the future.

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*Fent barri*: políticas de turismo patrimonial e configuração da escala do bairro na Cidade de Maiorca • Marc Morell • Universitat de les Illes Balears, Espanha • marc.morell@uib.cat

Este artigo explora os significados da expressão local *fer barri* (fazer o bairro) numa zona em processo de nobilitação no centro histórico da Cidade de Maiorca (Espanha). Após um exame detalhado da relação entre o *fer barri* e o turismo em Maiorca, são aqui analisadas as tensões entre os programas de planeamento urbano lançados pelas autoridades públicas sobre este território rico em património e, por outro lado, as práticas dos seus habitantes. Defendo que o conceito de "configuração da escala do bairro" é o que melhor se adequa às relações sociais a que este contexto urbano local dá forma, dada a hierarquia de forças (locais, regionais, nacionais e globais) a que está sujeito. Programas de intervenção urbana e organizações de residentes definem a escala do bairro de formas incompatíveis. Alguns seguem uma lógica dependente do turismo e procuram promover o bairro destacando o seu património ou a sua centralidade, ou ainda pela realização de grandes eventos. Paralelamente às políticas estatais, aos negócios turísticos e às empresas imobiliárias, também alguns movimentos urbanos, frequentemente retratados como grupos de oposição, mantêm noções próprias sobre o que significa *fer barri*. Esta coincidência é contraditória, uma vez que, no seu esforço de valorização do bairro como forma de contestação da acumulação de capital, estes movimentos urbanos podem involuntariamente abrir caminho à sua renovação e à sua nobilitação. Deste modo, a análise exaustiva da expressão local *fer barri* revela projectos contrastantes de configuração da escala do bairro.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** nobilitação, turismo patrimonial, renovação urbana local, escala e organização social, movimentos urbanos.

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## Chapter 18

### Working class heritage without the working class

#### An ethnography on gentrification in Ciutat (Mallorca)

Marc Morell

... in order to compensate the degradation that threatens an urban landscape, neighbourhoods are classed as safeguarded sectors. But this compensation, already partial from its very origin, can be emptied of its substance because the statutory schemes of safeguarded sectors produce a privileged space of *economic valorisation*: investors acquire the properties which are then renovated, rented or sold at prices that are, by and large, above the ones from before the classification, the operation ends in the departure of present populations and a profound breakdown of the previous life milieu. In this case, conservation is reduced to a pure façade materiality that serves as a support for, thanks to an injection of capital, new territorial hierarchies and social segregations (Guillaume 1980: 166, his emphasis).<sup>1</sup>

If you pay attention to these [street] names, all of them bearing a profound Palmesan resonance,<sup>2</sup> you will realise that these are names that remind us about the working man, that remind us of the hands of the person, a being that earns a living offering a tireless effort to the community. In this sense, all of this old Palma is a museum of itself, but watch out, this is a living museum, a museum of who once were the men that built it, lived it and laboured it slogging their guts out.

(Joan Bonet,<sup>3</sup> referring to Es Barri. Extract of the manifesto he wrote on occasion of the demonstration 'Rehabilitation is not destruction' that took place against renewal in 1991)

#### Working class as an idealised image

In July 2010, I attended a talk that took place in a newly opened bar, in a building that once housed the oldest business in Es Barri and in Ciutat: Ca la Seu.<sup>4</sup> Ca la Seu closed down two years ago, but for over almost 500 years, one could buy products made out of wicker, esparto grass and rope there. They even manufactured some of these products. Its name derives from the shop's provision of all sorts of manufactures to the Cathedral.<sup>5</sup> However, most of these artefacts are now either no longer in use, or far too expensive when locally produced. The elderly Monserrat family, which had owned Ca la Seu for most of its business life, gave up the business since there was not a new generation to take over the running of the shop.

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The new bar, one out of the 27 bars to be found in Es Barri (there are 11 more bars to open in the coming year), has maintained a great deal of the crafts character of the old business, with esparto baskets and wicker objects hanging from its walls and ceiling, which grants a certain aura of history to the bar. The talk was given by a historian, who for the last two decades has committed himself to organising guided tours around the island, including the Historic Centre of Ciutat (hereafter Centre). This historian-guide is also responsible for a good deal of the Centre's historic recovery. With an audience mostly composed of people past their 50s, citizens from across the city, captive spectators hungry for the history of the Centre and the odd resident belonging to the local neighbours' association, the historian extolled the guild past of the neighbourhood, which came to an end in the middle third of the nineteenth century. While those present consumed beers and refreshments, he named one by one the streets that still bear the name of the extinct guilds, and of the many economic activities that had taken place there. Just as an example, one of the several names Es Barri bears is that of Sa Gerreria (The Pottery). No wonder, as Bonet's quote reminds us at the beginning of this chapter, this part of the city was the one that hosted both the organised pre-industrial labour and most of the proto-industrial and trading activities.<sup>6</sup>

The historian romanticised these names, often ignoring the harsh social reality the exploitation of the working class entailed. Indeed, the ode of the historian forgot to mention the pseudo-proletarian past of the neighbourhood, a hideout for the working class movements of the island from the mid-nineteenth century until the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. He only mentioned en passant its red-light district, he never spoke of the vigorous neighbours' opposition to the implementation of the harsh regeneration schemes that took place between 1989 and 2004, and he never mentioned the exceptionally few manual workers remaining in the neighbourhood. To sum up, the purpose of the talk was to transmit a bland stereotyped image, a de-historised version of the past, that would amuse his host, the bar owner, and his audience, apparently solely interested in respectively selling drinks and gaining pleasure out of the aesthetics and history of the place; and not at all in the recent miseries that had shaped Es Barri, and certainly wished to avoid the class implications of these travails.

### On heritagisation and gentrification

No doubt, in the heavily touristified context of the Balearic Islands, the politics of heritage plays a key role in the production of places that aim to attract visitors and capital. The logic of this production, the revaluing of space, is driven by the expectation of surplus-value. It is in this context of conservation and development that the centre of the capital city of the Balearics will soon become an 'Asset of Cultural Interest', under the legal form of a Historic Site (*Diari de Balears*, 23rd June 2010), and that the *Serra*

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*de Tramuntana*, the Majorcan Northern mountain range and the biggest of the archipelago, is a candidate to become a Cultural Landscape of UNESCO's World Heritage List.

Indeed, UNESCO's World Heritage process is an example of how heritage intervention happens above the local state realms. Other examples of this supra-state intervention can also be found in the Euromed Heritage programmes financed by the European Union. In short, in its making, heritage incorporates and involves places, peoples and social practices of varied kinds, who hold a particular idea of culture, one that encapsulates the disparate paraphernalia that can become, and be used, as heritage. As we will see, these incorporations and involvements make heritage a highly ambivalent matter (Breglia 2006).

Guillaume's introductory quote, coming from an economist, is priceless, so to speak. Even though the publication date of *La politique du patrimoine*, is 1980, and despite the toing and froing that has taken place since in the relation between home ownership and class formation,<sup>7</sup> its content is still amazingly relevant, not least because of the current expansion of heritage-based initiatives related to the territorial hierarchies and social segregations he mentions.

This expansion of heritage has two facets. On the one hand, *nouveau* heritage does not any longer solely rely on the enactment of physical places and things, but now also considers intangibles (UNESCO 2003). Interestingly, as we will see, this global move towards incorporating the incorporeal, immaterial and moveable into the world of heritage is replicated on the local and regional scales either in the form of popular and traditional culture, or in embodying living memory, such as the one Bonet reminds us of in the introductory quote. In fact, memory, be it in the form of oral history or other kind of accounts, works as a means of building up a heritage which may well be representative of those who never owned the means of production, nor the sites of production, nor the produced products; and even those who never thought of themselves as being traditional nor popular. On the other hand, this expansion brings about issues of inclusiveness and control, since there is an increasing recognition of 'other' heritage discourses, subaltern to the discourses and actions that come from 'above'. Furthermore, there are also attempts to understand as heritage the uses, experiences, emotions and material representations that heritage arouses, and even the dissonance they bear and the contestation they trigger (Smith 2006).

This new focus on intangibility and inclusiveness proves the need for exploring the social environment for new resources, in order to exploit them as heritage. I refer to this process of making heritage as 'heritagisation'. It has been argued that heritagisation is a cultural practice that not only involves identifying and selecting new cultural heritage, but also legitimising this very same cultural practice (Bendix 2009). On another level of analysis, it has been qualified as the presentism of the past, in which the fleeting present soon becomes a purged past (Hartog 2003).

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Nowadays, heritagisation plunges into the quotidian lives of citizens, becoming itself quotidian, and in a way presenting itself in more or less democratised and popularised forms, thanks to the feigned inclusion of those who had been previously excluded. Hewison (1987) already referred to the politics of heritage as a place of conflict, triggered by the imposition of a nonexistent past onto the working class. Hewison's view, often tagged as rather pessimistic, was strongly critiqued by Samuel (1994), who had a more optimistic view of how the working class actually engages in making its own heritage, and rejected the fact that heritage is an instrument originating exclusively from the accommodated classes (something Hewison pointed out). Although Samuel's outlook on the possibilities of the popularisation, democratisation and empowering of heritage is definitely encouraging and inspiring, since it allows us to look towards a more research and emancipating horizon in the heritage field, and he therefore offers a guideline for superseding the current mode of production; my research has admittedly not encountered such a solid trend. While working class traditions have managed to seize their own 'heritage moments' they have, as we will see, been co-opted into statist projects or into the market whirl of real estate.

There are many examples of this, but I think the most striking one is when heritage is used as a mere cultural resource that detaches memories from their context, and perpetuates the memory of a past in a stabilised manner (Rautenberg 2003). Nevertheless, this perpetual stabilisation is not exempt from conflict, which is particularly blatant when dealing with working class history. In fact, one could argue that this conflict appears when there are attempts to impose what I have come to call 'de-memory', that is, the eviction of memory through the 'politics of and for oblivion':

[m]onumentalising policies are truly of and for a fib memory. A great makeup operation that converts memory into a parody based on replica and simulacrum, evocation of nonexistent spaces that contrast with the proliferation of de-memorised spaces, mass meaning losses in the name of a belittled and fraudulent pseudo-memory. Notwithstanding ... , those policies of memory undertaken by the authorities are usually, in true, policies of and for oblivion.

(Delgado 2007: 106).

Broadly speaking, the process described by Guillaume is known as gentrification.<sup>8</sup> In any case, a variant of it based on heritage as a spearhead of the image the city planning schemes attempt to project, while de-memorising through the 'politics of and for oblivion'. The canonical and foundational definition of gentrification comes from British urban sociology, and involves the middle class colonisation of working class neighbourhoods and the removal of a working class presence (Glass 1964). In the last four decades geography has been, by and large, the discipline that has most extensively re-worked the

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concept. This has meant a shift in how gentrification is now explained, by placing emphasis on the shaping of the urban environment via the logic of capital accumulation (Smith 1996), ultimately managed by the capitalist class, or by highlighting the importance of the arrival of higher income newcomers, bearers of critical values of cultural politics in the search of location distinction (Ley 1996).

Guillaume (1980) is not the only one that has linked gentrification and heritagisation. Many authors working with the issue of gentrification have signalled its bondage to heritage, at the least with questions related to historic preservation, social preservation and authenticity (for example, Zukin 1987, 2010; Lees *et al.* 2008; Brown-Saracino 2009),<sup>9</sup> as well as several levels of middle class consumption and taste (for example, Jager 1986; Ley 1996; Shaw 2005). The very same social anthropological literature dealing with gentrification establishes a direct connection between the heritagisation of space, and the diverse readings of the process that are to be found. In any case, it shows a major interest in the never passive role the gentrified play in the explanation of gentrification (for example, Herzfeld 2009; Morell 2009; Franquesa 2010).

This text aims to elucidate the presence of the class issue in the field of identity and in cultural policies (Smith 2000) by linking heritagisation to gentrification. Thus, in order to explain the heritagisation of the working class, I opt for investigating gentrification as a class strategy (for example, Smith and LeFaivre 1984; Dávila 2004; Ruben and Maskovsky 2008). As Lefebvre has already argued, 'the working class has been subjected to manipulations in the spatial field, since there is a politics of space that is more and more active, more and more conscious and deliberate' (1976: 152). I am therefore interested in seeing to what extent the politics of space explains the politics of heritage so to finally understand where the deep de-structuration announced by Guillaume (1980) leads us.

#### **Pau, the carpenter, and Es Barri, the neighbourhood**

What used to be the old café *Granja La Suiza* now hosts a carpenter's workshop, presumably one of the last of its kind in Es Barri, and perhaps the whole Centre of Ciutat. Outside the workshop, a sign reads: 'Working in the neighbourhood since 1940'. Inside, fine sawdust clouds the entire environment. Old pictures of the family trade, press cuttings, posters of the *Barcelona Futbol Club* and the *Atlètic de Balears* teams, and a girly calendar cling to the wall, as if trying to escape the piercing noise of the circular-saw that finds its way into every nook and cranny. Leaning on his carpenter's bench Pau actively labours, engrossed in sawing up a wooden plank. He has work for their main client, an insurance company that covers the whole island. He and his brother, both of them self-employed and in their mid-sixties, combine this work with serving customers, from across the city and beyond, that

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come either to order woodwork and the like or to have their old objects repaired.

'We have followed the tradition', says Pau. When the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) came to an end, his forefathers came to live in Es Barri and opened a carpenters' workshop specialised in repairing 'whatever got broken in the time of the war'. Pau does not need to make an effort to recall his family past. He vividly remembers the tragic circumstances that drove their family to leave their town, Sóller, in the *Serra de Tramuntana* (now candidate to become a World Heritage Site), and open the carpentry in Ciutat. As soon as the National rebellion was announced against the Republic (and Majorca fell immediately in the National territory), his grandfather, a carpenter for hire, was, ironically, imprisoned in Ca'n Mir, an old wood warehouse near the Centre of Ciutat. The reason was that until then he had been politically active, to the point of actually leading the local Socialist group of Sóller. Meanwhile, Pau's father, at the early age of seventeen, was compulsorily sent to the frontline in Burgos (in the mainland) to 'shoot against the Republicans'.

When the war came to an end father and grandfather left Sóller forever, and took their families to the capital city, where they founded the carpentry. Pau was born and grew up in the post-war period, in a silent and silenced manual workers' tradition soaked in left-wing political values,<sup>10</sup> between the workshop and the neighbourhood. When the time came, he became an apprentice in the family business. Pau eventually moved out of Es Barri, towards the nearby new developments in the mid-1960s, when he got married, his wife being from Es Barri too. However, he maintained, together with his brother, the rent subrogation of the workshop their father had left them.<sup>11</sup>

In the mid-1960s, the 'great transformation of the Balearic economy', tourism, was well on its way: 'it was no longer to be the conventional products of the countryside or the urban workshops that would favour the change; it was the *foreigner industry*' (Manera and Garau-Taberner 2009, original emphasis). Along with tourism urbanisation accelerated. A clear example of this is the city-development scheme of 1963, which allowed the exponential growth of Ciutat (Ruiz Viñals 2000: 112). In 1964 there was a kind of a reaction. The Centre became 'historic', as it was declared a 'Historic-Artistic Zone'.

This protection zone was aimed at conserving the historic charms of the built environment from any further development than that allowed by the scheme of 1963. In the words of the former head of the heritage department in the city council, now a member of the board of the Association of Neighbours of Es Barri,<sup>12</sup> such a nomination did not protect the whole of the Centre from social degradation and constructive predation.<sup>13</sup> In fact, as the municipal archaeologist put forward when referring to the particularities and commonalities of the different geographical cuttings of the Centre, at a public meeting organised by a conservation association (ARCA, of which I will soon briefly refer to) back in 2003, the problem was that:

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Of course, after the law of 1985 these divisions do not exist and the whole of it is declared 'Collection of Historic Buildings', but at first it was divided into different levels of protection. This led to, uh, some quite serious interventions taking place, while other areas were conserved, almost frozen. I mean that they continued to restore some as if they were a drawing, especially the neighbourhood of the Cathedral and all that, and on the other hand, there was very rapid degradation ... Well, not that fast, slow but very powerful in other places of the city, such as the ones that obviously are the origin of the special plans [renewal schemes]: Puig de Sant Pere, Sa Calatrava and Sa Gerreria. What happened, to my understanding, is that because of both the declaration of Collection of Historic Buildings and the General Plan of 1943, these areas remained, from a certain moment, out of planning; that is to say, building work could not take place because the provision was for the complete demolition of the area. From then on the lack of maintenance caused the degradation of the buildings, the failure to incorporate new services, and the abandonment of these buildings or their occupation by people with increasingly lesser purchasing power or by immigrant groups because the owners did not have any way of acting on the building.

Thus, the Historic-Artistic Zone (a continuation of the Collection of Historic Buildings of 1943 mentioned by the municipal archaeologist) contributed to, on the one hand, the touristification of the monumental core; and, on the other, the filtering down of its immediate margins.<sup>14</sup> The poly-functional city-development scheme that followed (Ajuntament de Palma 1973 and 1974) reaffirmed the situation. With time, the monumental core (itself a celebration of the dominant classes, not only of the past but also of the present) and its commercial boulevards became the most usable and visible space of the city. Meanwhile, Es Barri, abandoned by most of its old-time residents, who looked for housing in the new city and jobs in the tourism industry, and newly inhabited by an impoverished working class, fell into decay, together with other neighbourhoods at the margins.

Es Barri got poorer and poorer. Prostitution, already long present in the area, expanded, working conditions for the women degraded, whilst drug trafficking and the social problems linked to it became common. Es Barri fell into decay, together with other neighbourhoods at the margins of the Centre, to the extent that the press sensationalised this situation, and formed public opinion on the matter by referring to Es Barri as a 'human dunghill' and 'Palma's Harlem' (*Diari de Balears*, 5th February 1985). In 1985, six years after the establishment of the first democratic elections after the fall of the francoist regime, the City Council of Ciutat approved a new general development scheme for the city that proposed four special renewal schemes for protecting and renewing the built heritage of the margins, one

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of which fully affected Es Barri, then known under the name of Sindicat (Ajuntament de Palma 1985).

Renewal appeared inextricably linked to heritage. Thus, among the aims of these future renewal schemes, there was 'the conservation or the protection of values and relevant features that concur in the territory, such as the conservation and the valorisation of heritage' (Ajuntament de Palma 1985: 11). Interestingly, the schemes also demanded 'a complete study of the social and economic consequences of its [the renewal's] execution and the adoption of measures for guaranteeing the defence of the affected population' (Ajuntament de Palma 1985: 13). The support for such measures became the political cornerstones of two distinctive urban movements.

In 1987, a group of young intellectuals, academics and civil servants founded the Association for the Revitalisation of Old Centres (ARCA), with the clear aim of fostering those conservation and protection values included in the 1985 development scheme. In the words of ARCA's secretary, in those days the aim was to transform the concepts of 'decrepit and seedy' into 'old and recoverable', whereas now it is about making of the Centre a place inhabited with 'new life' (*Diario de Mallorca*, 28th February 2004). Thus 'revitalisation' was understood as bringing life back to the Centre by revaluing its built heritage.<sup>15</sup> The other urban movement, the Federation of Associations of Neighbours of Palma (FAVP), was a much older one, a key player in democratising society from below, at a time when the dictatorial regime of Franco, one in which political parties and trade unions not belonging to the 'National Movement' were banned, was still at work. After a time FAVP took charge of defending 'the affected population' of Es Barri, and in 1991 founded an association of neighbours for the area of Es Barri – the association was given the name of Canamunt.

In 1991,<sup>16</sup> both ARCA and FAVP-Canamunt encouraged the participation of the neighbours, either by organising the opposition to the 1989 partial renewal scheme proposal of Sindicat under the slogan 'rehabilitation is not destruction', since the partial scheme adopted an intervention incompatible with the preservationist aims of the general scheme of 1985, or by getting involved in the revision of a second proposal that appeared at the beginning of the 1990s. This later proposal, which was finally approved in 1995 under the name of Special Plan of Protection and Inner Reform of Sa Gerreria, was delayed due to political bargaining for almost six years. The aims of this last partial renewal scheme were many (Ajuntament de Palma 1995: 42) and despite the fact that ARCA's and FAVP's views and positions influenced the final text, their involvement is self-evident, it ought to be said that these entities were horrified to see what the outcome of it all was.

The first aim was that of maintaining the urban morphology and of the architectonic typologies fundamental to the neighbourhood. Although these architectonic typologies were varied in nature, ranging from the odd lordly building and small medieval arcades, to a row of popular housing built in

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the eighteenth century, what everyone had in mind were the remnants of the old potteries, and especially their chimneys, their most visible feature. The entities of the so-called civil society of Ciutat clearly aimed at making heritage of the industrial built environment the heritage of capital rather than of the working class. However, as Bonet's quote reminds us, the most precious legacy of the working class is its labour and its struggle.

The second aim was that of substituting the degraded urban fabric to generate rehabilitation and revitalisation of the neighbourhood. This particular strategy was aimed at getting rid of what a good deal of the population in Ciutat viewed as the 'underclass', made up of drug addicts, drug traffickers, sexual labourers, Spanish and Portuguese Roma communities. These people did not fit well with the recovery programme of what was thought to be the working class heritage the chimneys represented. Nevertheless, they had been the necessary link for devaluing land for the gentrification that came later.

The third aim insisted in guaranteeing the conservation and the protection of Sa Gerreria (The Pottery version of Es Barri) and the maintenance in the neighbourhood of the original population, overall preserving their rights. By 'original population', these organisations had in mind the remaining and still living old population who had worked in the workshops Es Barri once supported. This aim clearly separated out those who were seen to be of working class pedigree from the feared and heterogeneous population that had been filling in the degraded built environment.

The fourth aim was the arrangement and regulation of non-residential activities, combining them with measures leading to the erasure of the existing degradation. That is, fighting crime and drug trafficking, as well as hiding, rather than eradicating, prostitution. The final aim, and one that would prove to be incompatible with the increased protection of Es Barri, was the arrangement and the hierarchisation of the street layout.

Thus, revitalisation appeared as both conservation and erasure. Both organisations reacted very differently. Whereas ARCA celebrated the chimney revival, it objected to the street realignment that meant the demolition of many buildings just for the sake of making them match a more rigid street grid. As for the FAVP-Canamunt, they opposed this harsh division of the population into desirable and non-desirable elements, since they suspected that what lay behind this was a gentrification process based on expelling the so-called 'underclass' and awaiting the death of the elderly 'originals' (it has to be said that most of this old population was not born in Es Barri, but elsewhere in the island or even the mainland).

Pau, who had always been socially active in the neighbourhood's life, soon became a member of Canamunt. Although his main concern was that of the future of the family workshop, he did not hesitate at all in helping to recover, organise and participate in the fiestas of Canamunt, in an effort to recreate the ancient guild and parish fiestas he remembered from when he was a child. The fiestas of Canamunt were part of a wider strategy of the neighbours'

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movement, that sought to fill with pride people that sooner or later would witness renewal and their own displacement. There is no doubt whatsoever that the fiestas were central in this strategy of uniting the different groups that made up Es Barri, and it did so by both bringing people together through the experience of the fiestas and community narrative of resistance and camaraderie, regardless of whatever divisions the renewal scheme was interested in fostering. Along with this, and in consonance with the conservationist efforts of ARCA, the chimneys of the old potteries were repeatedly exploited, and soon became the logo of the association of neighbours. It was in such ways that not so much the rootedness of the population, but rather more their unity in outrage, was expressed before the advent of the partial renewal scheme.

At first, renewal appeared surrounded by an amicable atmosphere. 'Where there was a house there will be a house, where there was a business there will be a business, where there was a workshop there will be a workshop', recalls Pau. However, this rhetoric soon ended, and gentrification appeared in its true colours. Works began in 1998 only after the arrival of EU funds from the URBAN Community Initiative (from now on Urban),<sup>17</sup> and after the writing of a new general development scheme that literally encouraged gentrification in terms of social mix:

measures for encouraging the installation of mid-high population strata, which together with the already housed social population, will produce the mix the Historic Centre once enjoyed, one that made it socially alive... There is consequently the need for more dynamism and management agility, in order to lead the rehabilitation of the Historic Centre to safe harbour.

(Ajuntament de Palma 1998: 80)

Thus, 'management agility' would be measured in terms of the magnitude of the gentrification in Es Barri. Five years later a local poet, long associated with the social squatting initiatives in the neighbourhood, put it:

The roofs collapse in their houses forbidden to the indigent, abandoned doors bricked up with bricks and farce. Hungry diggers feeding on the charm of the paving while speculating scaffoldings touch up the paint of what was a rent within everybody's reasonable reach, at the end of the day, cheap, leaving the whole of our Old Centre a shitty colour. *Socorro!* The racist Court grows and expels the gipsy chord, expels the whores, imprisons the dealer, evicts the old shoemaker, the pensioner widow, myself, the neighbour and the friend, the baker, the barber, the inn-keeper, the tobacconist, the cats, the dogs, the bicycles and the tale of the dairymaid, because since yesterday, the sun in the neighbourhood, is only for those who can pay for it.

(López 2003, adaptation of own co-translation)<sup>18</sup>

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Indeed, land in the neighbourhood would be for those who could afford it. There would be new houses and businesses where old houses and businesses stood, but there would also be new inhabitants and manual workers where the old inhabitants and manual workers had been. In short, in 1999, Pau and his brother, fed up with the neighbours' organisation in its associative form, left behind their old workshop, for which they received a ridiculous compensation.

While most of the manual-work workshops such as Pau's were disappearing, the Urban Community Initiative Programme for Es Barri aimed at boosting arts and crafts by implementing a crafts and restoration training centre and a crafts' boulevard (*Passeig per l'Artesania*, from now on PA), that would link to a newly created tourist circuit. This tourist circuit was aimed at both foreigners and local citizens. Until then, the stigma of the previously mentioned illicit activities of the Barrio Xino (prostitution and drug trafficking) acted as a daring frontier. The call for the involvement of citizens in the circuit for locals addressed the breaking of this closure by revaluing its humble, yet decent, crafts' past. The PA was built from scratch on bulldozed land not far from where Pau's old workshop stood. The inhabitants were uprooted and sent to other sites of the city, not necessarily in the Centre, and new inhabitants, who had been displaced from a high-rise block of flats at the waterfront that had been demolished, moved in to the brand new apartments.

The idea was to link the present PA with the past of the humble classes – never referred to as the working class – in a very narrow vision of what artisanship was about, and increasingly focused on the tertiarisation of Es Barri. In 1996, the Office of Work Insertion for Groups with Difficulties, of the municipal social services, had established contact with people working at the Municipal Housing Office. At the time, the Municipal Housing Office was putting together a bid for the Urban Community Initiative Programme. A mixed team of social workers, architects and lawyers submitted a first draft that was rejected, but they were encouraged to improve their submission for future bids.

The proposal that finally got through in 1997 included a set of economic and social measures to tackle training and employment, as well as economic incentives. The team came up with the idea of supporting crafts, because, as they viewed it, Es Barri had been a crafts neighbourhood in the past, and crafts were now understood as the adaptation of the crafts industry to the new current situation of production, new technologies and commercialisation. Language is important. Note that this is not about 'manual workers' but 'artisans'. However, most, if not all, the workshops Es Barri bustled with in the past were manual-working ones. The process by which manual work, or a certain manual work, became artisanship is not a trivial issue, and neither is the fact that much manual work, such as that of Pau's carpentry, is not considered to be artisanship.

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From the very beginning, the PA was conceived of as a space to develop local commerce. The idea was to offer premises to craftspeople through a public tendering procedure (theoretically below market price). Those with an interest had to present both a craft production and a business plan. If selected the local craftspeople had to make an initial investment to establish the business they would run on the premises. In 2001, after four years of construction works and preparations, the PA was launched. Initially 15 workshop businesses settled in, but soon the craftspeople abandoned the site, as they could not sustain their businesses. A local newspaper headline announced that: 'One of them leaves after losing more than the €42,000 she invested – She claims that only distributors remain in the PA' (*El Mundo-El Día de Baleares*, 17th December 2002).

According to the head of the PA development, problems occurred because the PA was an isolated space in the middle of a neighbourhood in the making. This neighbourhood also carried the stigma of the illicit activities that were still taking place. Moreover, it was argued that the products were not attractive enough to pull in either tourists or locals as customers, and that the craftspeople were lacking a clear marketing strategy. They were accused of waiting for the clientele to turn up 'naturally', or be brought to them 'artificially' by the municipal authorities. Nevertheless, despite it being an empty space, the PA continued to argue that it would soon become the leading edge of a revitalisation that acknowledged a past of the neighbourhood, no matter how imagined it might be.

In 2006, the Town Hall resuscitated the PA. It counter-attacked by establishing new admission conditions, by awarding new contracts and by modernising the corporate image of the PA and the new businesses that clustered around it. Documentation and interpretation centres were provided, and a historical walk was designed, guiding tourists around the places where trades that had disappeared were carried out, and telling the story of its past as a centre of artisanship and even, as the '1st industrial neighbourhood of Ciutat'. All in all, the past of Es Barri was now to be viewed as part of what the Balearic Law understood as 'immaterial ethnologic heritage', or 'popular and traditional culture', that is:

the set of cultural manifestations, either material or immaterial, such as music and musical instruments, dances, attires, fiestas, customs, *techniques and trades*, gastronomy and games, sports, ritual or religious dances, representations, literary creations, as well as all those activities that bear a traditional character and that either are or have been popular.

(Govern de les Illes Balears 2002: 4947–48, my emphasis)

However, opportunities for searching for traditions of a popular character, subaltern to the current ones, were totally wasted. In any case, the Interpretation Centre musified and froze the humble manual-working past of Es

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Barri in the form of dioramas, and interviews with the disappeared bearers of a 'lost tradition' on state-of-the-art audiovisual equipment. The sweetened version of the past involved in these representations of techniques and trades of manual workers glossed over whatever harsh daily conditions and class-consciousness there may have been, and merely focused on the technical features of crafting, and did so with many nostalgic references. The museum project of the Interpretation Centre limited itself to outlining the specific features of 'artisanship', with nostalgic references to the disappearance of these jobs and never referred to the resilience of labour in terms such as those of Bonet.

The Interpretation Centre delved into stereotyped forms of technological knowledge, and the romanticised past of what had been left behind in the road to modernisation. Thus, nothing was said of the social reality in which the displayed artisan models lived in, and it said less about the strife many existing manual workers experienced, in terms of not only their direct working conditions and their demands for better wages, but also in their struggle to remain in place. It is important to note, as Kirk (2007) and Shackel (2009) argue in the British and American contexts respectively, data about working class lives and experiences can be retrieved from the past that offer a nuanced account of what working class culture is about.

Artisanship, let alone manual work, was to be purged and elevated to heritage without a single reference to the hardships and struggles of the working class (a concept not even mentioned). The interpretation centre shallowly dealt with the social and labour changes effecting manual work, which were inherent in the booming of tourism in the 1960s, rather than profoundly examining the causes of the disappearance of the 'old jobs'. Not one word mentioned the class substitution the neighbourhood was undergoing, although there were several references to the 'recovery' of the past that came along with the 'revitalisation' of Es Barri. Of course, whatever the recovery, it was always so sanitised that even mentioning the Francoist repression people like Pau's forefathers suffered would be considered an anathema, if not a clear threat to the immediate ancestor of the current political Spanish system, a challenge to the status quo achieved with the so-called democratic transition.

In 2002, after struggling to find a solution with the authorities and the developer who had acquired the property where the old workshop stood, Pau and his brother contacted the owner of La Granja Suiza, an old retired woman who had left the property without leasing it for several years. She knew the carpenters well, was fond of them, and thus helped them out with a low rent. Since the facilities met carpentry workshop regulations, the lease was soon approved and Pau and his brother remained in the neighbourhood, although they abhorred what had been going on with what Pau referred to as the 'elite of manual work', artisanship, of the PA, a one-minute walk from where their new workshop stands.

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In 2009, the PA definitively abandoned its artisan crusade, and went for a creative new economy based on what are still vacillating efforts for implementing cultural services, design industries and new technologies. No doubt, this transformation responds to the changes in residential makers and use of the neighbourhood, in which the working class of the potteries and other workshops have been substituted, along with the Barrio Xino, by workers specialising in leisure activities, culture and IT.

### Conclusions

The link between gentrification and heritagisation suggests that the latter may involve as much of a class relation as the former. Thus, a close examination of gentrification becomes useful in heritagisation analysis. It does so because, at first, the making of built heritage that leads to gentrification seems to be about the economic revalorisation of space. In fact, by looking at how heritage (whatever the heritage) is made and how it expands, we gain an insight on how deeply gentrification disrupts the lives of working class people.

This chapter has dealt with the working class experience in a neighbourhood, the gentrification of which has recently been imbued with an expanding heritage practice. I here use 'class experience' in clear reference to the classic, but still terribly valid, writings of Thompson, for whom class formation is 'experience of determination and the "handling" of this in conscious ways' (Thompson 1978: 106). Thompson's understanding of class consciousness is in terms of process, as a 'relationship', a 'social and cultural formation' which always involves people against other people (Thompson 1965). In short, class is understood as being peopled. By exploring the class experience gentrification entails I hope to have shed some light on the class experience of heritagisation.

Heritage is a political arena in which, under some not always precise rules and limits, constant struggles take place between development and preservation. This struggle, although it does not actually take into consideration social class as a subject for social transformation, does involve it in its everyday becoming. That is to say, heritage is no other than an ideological field in which a non-explicit class-struggle takes place, one that mostly has to do with organisations and collectives that have abandoned the question of class, and that get tangled up with the city planning and legal vocabulary that neutralises other realities such as segregation and population de-structuration, so linked to the hierarchisation of places and realms in the politics of heritage.

On the one hand, the politics of heritage appears as the crudest expression of class struggle in the working class habitat, understood as its milieu of residence and neighbourliness. To the more classical class struggle (which takes place between workers and capitalists) it is not only necessary to add the land-owner class, as one might assume from Katznelson (1992: 109), but

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also the issue of the formation of the middle classes, with regards to their relation to their gentrifying action (Butler 1997, and Butler and Robson 2003). On the other hand, and returning to the earlier quote of Guillaume, the politics of heritage assists in the production of a privileged space for economic valuation. At the end of the day, the 'injection of capital' that privileges a space for the 'economic valuing' is, above all, a political action, just as political as the establishment of 'classification' criteria, and the will to support the 'new hierarchies of the territory and social segregations'.

Thus, economic 'injection of capital' is only a partial account, since heritage 'compensation' comes to be, and thus the revalorisation and gentrification via heritage, political. On its attempts for positively discriminating for degradation the political decisively intervenes in the 'economic revalorisation'. Indeed, politics of gentrification appears most crudely in new forms of class struggle, that take shape around several topics, including heritage. Evictions take place following the rhythm of the heritage reorganisation of space.

As we have seen, pressures do not just come from capital and the state. We ought to note, and not treat with contempt, the shift towards an interest in heritage that has taken place in the very same urban social movements that, not that long ago, advocated an oppositional organisation to urban policies on the basis of the issue of social classes. The example of the neighbours' movement is a clear one in this sense, followed at a distance by the fickleness of the heritage phenomenon. While the first project (that represented by FAVP-Canamunt) has stopped advocating a profound transformation of society, the second one (represented by ARCA) never considered it.

The heritagisation of Es Barri has acquired a working class aftertaste, while at the same time contributing to its gentrification, and therefore to sanitisation, of whatever presence of the working class that is left. The working class has commonly entered the realm of heritage as a 'heritage of the working class', one displayed by the capitalist class in such a purified manner that it strips the working class of its social being and aims at its oblivion, rather than a 'heritage of the working class', one controlled by the working class. Both ways of linking the working class to heritage pose the prickly question of who is the actual working class, and what working class past should be represented.

For instance, in the Western European contemporary context of our cities, the working class is certainly many-sided with regards to origins, identities, cultural practices and so on. It is not at all clear if there is the possibility of, let alone the will for, bringing together the working class heritage of people and the working class heritage of place, since the latter is generally related via kinship to a fair deal of the current so-called 'new middle classes'. Interestingly, as Smith (2006) reveals, heritage consumption seems to be a middle class thing to do. Therefore, it is not at all crazy to think, to a certain extent, of heritage consumption by middle classes as not only consuming their own ancestry but actually producing it.

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I will leave the thorny issue of the abuse of the middle class terminology for another occasion. Here, I only want to express my concern with the fact that 'middle class' has become an all-encompassing term, that may well involve an actually existing working class that is camouflaged in the 'middle' and in the realm of 'consumption', another way of actually understanding production. Related to this issue, there is that of merely focusing on class as an outcome of unequal distribution (Strangleman 2008: 16). Clearly, class is inextricably related to production and to the ownership of its means, as I have tried to portray with a concrete case study on the production of space (Lefebvre 1991). Or to put it in other words, class is the relation between those who create surplus and those who appropriate it (Leeds 1994).

Class has not died, it is alive and kicking! Therefore, making heritage of it is something that has to be handled with extreme care. 'Heritage of the working class' offers an account of class struggle and attempts to redefine the working class by placing it in actual and metaphorical display cabinets, while subduing the spaces where it has a lively present. Such a view on who is heritagised has much in common with who is gentrified. Thus, while Pau and his brother were left to struggle in the search for a place where they could work once evicted, an avatar of their family past was being set up as heritage. As for a 'heritage of the working class', this seems to be utopian at the moment. For the one thing heritage has been for a long time is a bourgeois affair, and therefore the softened heritage versions of the working class the PA offers, and for the other, if there were to be a 'heritage of the working class', what would this look like and would it be satisfied with just the intangible memory of the hardship of labour? Would it be fair to reify as past a living practice? What faction of the working class would control this heritage? Gentrification, as a key process in the class formation within the sphere of social reproduction, would use what new means of cultural technology to fill in the emptiness left by heritage, now indeed of the working class? A 'heritage of the working class' is something pretty much impossible if not an oxymoron. *Nouveau* heritage forms, backed upon the expanding uses of authorized heritage discourses, respond to a strategy of working class memory-taming, if not erasure, and, most importantly, to the eviction of the very same presence of whatever might be left of the working class in the capitalist seizing of the historic city.

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provided insightful comments. Finally, I am grateful to Eleanor Lobb for proofreading the English of the original draft.

## Notes

- 1 All translations of transcripts and quotations are my own.
- 2 *Palmesà*, translated here as Palmesan, is the name given to the inhabitants of the city of Palma, also known as Ciutat.
- 3 Joan Bonet was a well-known local journalist, writer, painter and sculptor, born in Es Barri, and father to the most well-known Majorcan singer of the Catalan *Cançó* (a protest song movement that promoted the values of the so-called democratic transition – democracy for all, amnesty for political prisoners and devolution of statutory rights – in the vernacular language of the Catalan-speaking territories of Spain).
- 4 The official name for Ciutat is Palma, also known as Palma de Mallorca. However, I choose Ciutat (City) not only because of its everyday use, admittedly, but nevertheless far from inconsiderable, nor because of its relation to the rest of the island of Majorca, the *Part Forana*, that is, the countryside, but because of the political connotations it bears: as a space for public debate, civil rights claims and citizen action. A citizenship of which I am certainly sceptical about, see Alain (2006), given the form and content it takes; showing, whichever way you look at it, that its operational range for social transformation is fairly short in comparison to the political subjects linked to the class issue. Es Barri (The Neighbourhood) is often referred to by other names too (Sa Gerreria, Sindicat, Barri Xino, Canamunt ... ); each of which indicates different boundaries and social contents. This means that depending on which term one uses the size of the neighbourhood will vary, ranging from the 8 hectares of Sa Gerreria (The Pottery) to the 20 of Canamunt. Whatever the name and size, it is clear that Es Barri was once the industrial and working class neighbourhood par excellence of Ciutat (Escartín 2003).
- 5 'La Seu' means Cathedral, as in religious seat, and 'Ca' means house, place or landed property. Ca la Seu implies something like 'the place linked to the Cathedral'.
- 6 It ought to be noted that the industrialisation of Majorca was far from being a factory-driven one; it was mostly forged in family workshops and the guild system (Escartín 2001).
- 7 López and Rodríguez (2010, 467–76) point out that the process of deproletarianisation via home ownership of the last decades has reversed. We now find ourselves in the vast process of proletarianisation of the middle classes in which ownership is still present, but mainly in the form of debt.
- 8 For a fairly complete, although excessively geographic, handbook that deals with the history, debates and research on the issue of gentrification, see Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008).
- 9 Although I do not fully share the Brown-Saracino's sociological thesis (2009), I do celebrate the problem she presents under the term 'social preservation', that is, the desire many gentrifiers have for maintaining in their place several population groups that are under the threat of gentrification.
- 10 Without a doubt, the manual self-employed workers that inhabited, and still inhabit, Es Barri are part of the working class. Having said this, I am aware that nowadays Balearic Islands manual workers are a minority compared to those who work in tourism and building activities.
- 11 *Associacions de Veïns* literally mean Neighbours' Associations. The reader will have noticed that I sometimes use the word 'resident' and I sometimes use that of 'neighbour'. It may be argued, and with reason, that 'resident' might be a better word. However, the Catalan *veí* (neighbour) is more than the Catalan *resident* (literally resident). It not only also implicates people who work but do not reside in a given neighbourhood, but also stretches the capacity of the individual as a mere resident since it stresses a relational, social, dimension by bringing into action the presumably positive qualities of neighbourliness

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- (such as knowing each other, mutual assistance, etc.). In this sense, the term 'resident' can be misleading since it only focuses in the actual physical space of residence without considering its social dimensions.
- 12 This was such a cheap rent that it was matchless: 60€ per month in 2000. This workshop, though, was different from the current one. The nearby area where the old workshop stood no longer exists. It is now the site for a major built-from-scratch and trendy-looking apartment development.
  - 13 Something that the Asset of Cultural Interest will seem to protect, under the heritage figure of the Historic Site.
  - 14 Filtering refers to the process through which the housing stock becomes inhabited by classes with a lesser purchase power than the previous inhabitants. In the process, buildings age and deteriorate, which eventually favours the support for renewal and gentrification.
  - 15 It is not at all trivial the fact that the proposal of a partial renewal scheme for Es Barri appeared at the precise moment in which the press dealt most incisively with the issue of the Barri Xino (the red-light district), the neighbourhood of drugs and prostitution.
  - 16 As we are seeing, the contradiction stems from the fact that cultural revitalisation entails, inevitably, an economic revitalisation.
  - 17 The European funds the URBAN Community Initiative 1994–99 brought to Es Barri were €7,630,000. This represented 50 per cent of the cost of a strategy that included: infrastructural and environmental improvements, the promotion of new economic activities, the social integration of residents, and the promotion of training and education (<[http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame1.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame1.htm)>, accessed 29th October 2009).
  - 18 Co-translation of Franquesa and Morell available at: <<http://www.medvoices.org/pages/showresource.aspx?id=2646&lang=0>> (accessed 14th October 2009).

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Chapter 9

## Playing Snakes and Ladders in Ciutat de Mallorca

### *An Ethnographic Approach to the Production of the Neighbourhood Scale\**

MARC MORELL AND JAUME FRANQUESA

#### Introduction

The historic centre of Ciutat de Mallorca (from now on Ciutat)<sup>1</sup> is the object of an everlasting urban renewal process that in recent years has involved several public administrations, private companies and organizations belonging to what has come to be called 'civil society'. Although, because of its centrality, this process has become especially important for the whole of the city, its implementation has gone hand in hand with a more minute scale: one that has to do with the 'neighbourhood' question. In other words, the renewal of the whole of the historic centre has been carried out through a series of partial renewals that have taken the neighbourhood as the adequate intervention unit, the 'right' scale for the implementation of urban renewal policies. In this way, the issue of the neighbourhood scale becomes central to understanding the urban restructuring of the historic centre and the whole of Ciutat.

By 'neighbourhood scale' we refer to the encapsulation of the neighbourhood through top-down and bottom-up power processes (Tilly 1999) that parcel the neighbourhood as a coherent, 'natural' spatial unit 'ready' for intervention, thus concealing that it is this intervention that produces such a scale. 'Public powers' (together with private ones) penetrate the affairs that belong to the neighbourhood realm and re-signify its space by extracting certain features that will later contribute to encapsulating it through the downscaling of particular urban policies from the corridors of public power. We refer to these top-down processes as 'snakes'. Parallel with, and

also intrinsically linked to this downscaling process, this encapsulation can only take place if it is connected to the strategies of certain agents that use these snakes to put up their 'ladders' and scale positions in the network of public power. We will specifically focus on the part of a renewal intervention that involves the European Union (EU). Although the neighbourhood was already present before the involvement of the EU, we are here interested in focusing on the major shift the EU urban policies take, a shift that we fear is not detached from the specific neoliberal frame adopted across the EU. Therefore, the first part of this chapter will offer a theoretical sketch on what has come to be known as the 'neoliberal turn'.

Our aim is to undertake an analysis of those policies that privilege the downscaling process referred to above, and more particularly the role the EU plays. But it is clear to us that this analysis needs to be 'grounded'. We believe ethnography possesses the capacity to elaborate this 'groundedness' through two clear-cut strongholds: observation and critique (Wolf 1999). While observation, as the prop of the ethnographic method, has the capacity to apprehend the developments at a large scale from the 'flesh and bone' of the field, critique, understood as the unmasking of the naturalized state of things, helps to understand processes that escape observation. In short, this methodological combination makes feasible a social anthropology beyond the strictly local and closer than the strictly global (Hannerz 2003). Having said this, it is by no means our duty to evaluate the results of these renewal policies with regards to their achievement, nor to view how these results adjust or not to the original aims established by the renewal schemes. Such an evaluative operation would only tacitly condone the way in which these policies work out of their abstract formulation. This procedure would lead us to present policies as if external to their practice. On the contrary, the analysis of a specific case, that of the Urban-Temple Project (hereafter Urban-Temple) – an URBAN Community Initiative of the European Union in Ciutat de Mallorca (Balearic Islands, Spain) – allows us to focus on policy practices.

The second part of this essay will be aimed at showing the crux that guides the adoption of this new scale, since policies do not happen in the 'abstract' but are applied in places that have a history of their own. This long process that the places undergo becomes a necessary fact for those areas that become susceptible to renewal. As we will show, the history of the Urban-Temple area of Ciutat fits neatly within the frame of these new policies. Thus, a practical analysis of the neighbourhood's history, of how it came to be the neighbourhood it is, will not only lead us to state that the existence of this very same history is conditioned by the emergence of new political approaches and by the specificity of certain places, but, just as important, it will show the particular correlation of forces that take place and that can

shape place. This will be shown both through the particular circumstances that moved the town council of Ciutat to apply for the URBAN Community Initiative<sup>2</sup> ( hereafter URBAN) and by the fact that the neighbourhood is not always the integrated 'community' that most literature evokes. In the light of this, we will show how the adoption of the neighbourhood scale affects different groups of people in different ways, and that, parallel to the 'snaking' of policies and 'laddering' of specific agents, some people lose out while others gain.

### **The Entrepreneurial Turn in Urban Governance: Scaling the Neighbourhood**

The New Global Economy (Sassen 2000) obliges cities to compete and precipitates the urban order to adapt or accommodate the diverse urban policies to the specificities dictated by economic pressures, and to find in the perennial projection of urban development the attraction and accumulation of the capital that is necessary for competition (Swyngedouw, Moulaert and Rodriguez 2002).<sup>3</sup> A clear indicator of this accommodation we refer to is the move from local government towards local governance (that is to say, the incorporation of business agents and of the 'third sector' in public governability), signalling the neoliberalization of urban space (Geddes 2006). This implies what Harvey (1989) calls the 'entrepreneurial turn': a shift in the very same public governability that pushes the city to behave as an enterprise, the main aim of which is to promote economic success. This not only implies the maximization of the public environment by the private initiative but also the constant speculation of development and its phases of design, execution and projection. This shift, thus, involves a new emphasis on the production of place to the detriment of those policies of a redistributive kind, based on the territory. We understand that this emphasis on place is defined by the expectation for surplus value that ideally generates from the subordination of the use value to the exchange value (what Lefebvre 2000 [1974] calls 'abstract space').

The emphasis on place rather than on territory is linked to the adoption of the neighbourhood scale, and as we will see, it goes hand in hand with a new political discourse that stresses cultural questions and the idea of participation and citizen involvement. In addition to this, the emphasis on place often reshapes places into landscapes,<sup>4</sup> which – no matter what the 'scape' – are anchored in the 'raw material' (in this case, the neighbourhood) they are built upon. Nevertheless, as we will later show, this raw material that is the neighbourhood is indeed extremely prolific in so far as it is precisely able to produce, reproduce and market landscapes. It is under this

focus that we understand the insistence of the entrepreneurial turn in 'localizing' memory (Nora 1997 [1992]) and/or in theming it (Lowenthal 2002; Delgado 2006). Taking into account how this landscaping logic works within the urban system, we argue that the public environments that have been most subject to landscape modelling are the neighbourhoods, and that this is so because of the 'cosy', familiar and romanticized scale they represent.

Likewise, the neighbourhood scale is innovatively exploited at a multi-scale level by the 'entrepreneurial turn'. Indeed, it implies the governance of the urban space through the command of 'the organisation and the production of space in order to be able to exercise a major degree of control both in the friction of distance and in the way in which space is appropriated' (Harvey 1989 [1985]: 264). This frontier field of frictions between domination and appropriation that the neighbourhood scale represents, is where the organization and production of scale takes place – and where the several public powers find the urban countenance of their economic policies, since all administrative powers (not only the local and state powers but also the EU itself) seem to need to tailor a scale that is 'nearer' to the average citizen. We herein find that the neighbourhood scale, precisely because of its uneven and 'easy to find' conditions, plays an important role in the idealization of place.

Therefore, we understand that the neighbourhood scale is a threshold that comprises the territory that swings between the ideas of 'neighbourhood', understood as a space merely lived by its inhabitants, and 'neighbourhood unit', understood as a space that comes to existence as embodied in planning strategies (Keller 1975 [1968]).<sup>5</sup> In short, the neighbourhood scale possesses certain attributes that make it tempting to the eyes of the entrepreneurial turn, given its liminal condition and its potential for extracting matter from its environment and its practice in order to fuel future projects (landscapes, experiences, memories, etc). Thus, these neighbourhood attributes have to do mainly with the specific position of the neighbourhood part within the urban whole and with the values about living together that emanate from this part of the whole (Gravano 2005).

In this entrepreneurial turn that seems to legitimate the 'happy' dénouement of the crisis of the municipal power within the crisis of Fordist capitalism (in other words, of the very same 'managerial government model'), such a liminal condition of the neighbourhood opens the door to what Castells (1981) calls 'political brokers', or 'local bosses': those who know how to take advantage of novelties and of the different steps needed to advance from rung to rung on their own particular ladder. Herein lies our interest in paying thorough 'attention to how political agents – leaders and others – enter and influence these processes through their acquisition and manipulation of economic and ideological instruments of power as they pursue

political goals' (Kurtz 2001: 120). We understand URBAN and its effective production of the 'neighbourhood scale' as precisely one of these novelties the local bosses will take advantage of in their urban renewal.

### **Snaking Down the URBAN: The Case of the Urban-Temple Project**

The emphasis of the EU in the neighbourhood scale is part of a more general process in which other transnational organizations (UNESCO, Council of Europe, etc.) have also played an important role by developing certain cultural policies in urban contexts. Hereby, in 1995 Raymond Weber (former director for education, culture and sport of the Council of Europe) tells us, in the preface to the first of five volumes that explore the relation between neighbourhood and culture in Europe, about the importance the Council of Europe concedes to the work of culture within territories, and this strategic importance is further underlined in the genealogy he offers to us. In the 1980s the Council of Europe worked intensely with the public institutions of several cities and regions, since they were territories whose representative institutions were valid for the implementation of social and economic developments within Europe. Weber explains that at the beginning of the 1990s there was a major leap (one that seems to have been voluntary rather than obligatory) in dealing with the smaller pieces of the European urban puzzle: the neighbourhoods. Here, neighbourhoods are understood as territories that contain the complicated relation maintained between the minimum public space of interaction and the minimum public space of social control – in other words, the basic unit of the European cultural policy.

This very same basic cultural policy unit is often explained in terms of regeneration and takes the valuing of the city centres as a cultural regenerative model. In this sense it is interesting to outline the way in which Bianchini (1995), in the same publication, states that the role of the neighbourhoods in the urban policies has gone hand in hand with the development of local cultural policies.<sup>6</sup> Taking the ideas Weber and Bianchini develop, it seems to us that they support the general trend that posits a correspondence between the 'entrepreneurial turn' and the 'cultural turn' (Storper 2001). Although these two shifts do not necessarily need each other to take place, their relation is not a casual one either. However, rather than being the result of a conspiracy concoction, they end up gelling because of the possibilities they discover in each other for the gain of value in their projects and for granting the legitimacy of these. Admittedly, we are facing a general drift with regards to community approaches. Moreover,

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the demand for boosting the development of 'the culture of the community' will render a different yet also related topic: the participation of the very same community in its cultural and urban programming:

What is important here is that a central part of the neoliberal agenda is to gain broad-based support for and participation in urban restructuring plans through governmental 'reforms' designed to mobilize urban residents as entrepreneurs, consumers, and neighbourhood citizen-volunteers. With respect to inner city residents, it is precisely through the 'empowerment' of their 'community' that they are now encouraged to be included as active participants in urban governance (Maskovsky 2006: 77).

Bearing in mind this tendency towards a multi-scalar urban governance that champions the neighbourhood scale as the appropriate milieu for cultural development, citizen empowerment and entrepreneurial resurgence, the EU launched URBAN (1994–1999), which today, since there was a second edition, is also known as URBAN I. This initiative was (and still is) financed with structural funds from the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). URBAN was the product of a task carried out by several networks and lobbies that sought to achieve the backing of the EU for the urban context by granting it a decisive role in EU governance (Le Galès 2002: 99–108). As we have already noted, this pressure resulted from positive outcomes of recent regional developments.

The aim of URBAN<sup>7</sup> was (and still is, for the current URBAN projects) to improve the quality of life and the habitat of the 'degraded urban areas' of the EU where it operated through an integrated approach. In addition to this, and responding to operative and management needs, these degraded areas would be classified. The type of degraded area we worked in was presented as an 'inner-city' area: a poor central city neighbourhood excluded from the city's centrality and urban life. This degraded neighbourhood had to contain the cause of its degradation, which would be found in 'deprivation', following the very same terminology established by the official guidelines and other related documents of URBAN. Deprivation would be understood as an urban uneasiness characterized by the geographical concentration of social and economic problems as well as other discomforts related to the conditions of the built environment where this uneasiness was to be found. In other words, URBAN formulated a programme of actions that had to positively resolve the deprivation of places and their people. The following extract summarizes the kind of problems URBAN tackled and the type of solutions it put forward:

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Poor living conditions aggravate individual problems and distress. In turn, social malaise and the lack of economic opportunity make the individual hostile to his/her environment. This vicious circle is today the cause of growing conflicts and imbalances, particularly evident in the areas where the problems are most acute. The novelty of the approach proposed by URBAN is that it tries to break this vicious circle by revalorising the individual through his/her habitat and not in spite of it.<sup>8</sup>

The existence of 'social malaise' that aggravates and reaffirms deprivation (the 'poor living conditions') is here referred to as a kind of vicious circle caused by and cause of deprivation. Anchored in specific milieus, it has to do with the unevenness of conflicts and imbalances that are seen as problems that affect the environment – that is to say, both the individual and his/her habitat. URBAN promised to break the vicious circle of the 'social malaise', especially in those areas where the problems were most acute. In fact, it proposed to revalue the individual through revaluing his/her habitat. Social malaise fits neatly with the deprivation terminology. Whereas deprivation (a conglomerate of need and marginality) demands a more structural kind of approach often perceived as beyond any practical outcome, since deprivation affects common living conditions and economic opportunities for the whole of society, 'social malaise' can easily become a simile for 'social pathology' that affects 'individuals', no matter how social the pathology may be. Moreover, since it can be regarded as pathology it will need a 'remedy', thus paralleling nineteenth-century hygienist discourses; in this case the remedy is tailored to individuals through the revaluing of their habitat: their neighbourhood.

URBAN's habitat revaluing would consist of the rehabilitation of obsolete infrastructure and the direction of actions for revitalizing the labour market. As a substantial pivot of this combination, and accompanying its implementation, the 'revaluation' adopted measures against the social exclusion considered to be inherent to any degraded zone, improving the quality of the environment and promoting the involvement of organized grass-roots associations in the decision making process – although, as we have already stated, the 'social malaise' seems to affect population in an individual manner. On the whole, the improvement of the quality of the environment depends on breaking the isolation of the 'problematic neighbourhoods' that locally contain and also produce 'social malaise' at the neighbourhood scale.

The breaking of such a 'vicious circle' in the degraded neighbourhood seems to be achievable only by boosting its accessibility to and its communication with the whole of the city, thereby 'opening' its space in order to attract capital in the form of private investment and visitors. This can-

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not happen without improvement to the quality of the urban environment, which in turn is dependent on the emphasis placed on infrastructure, the economic tissue, the social and cultural facilities, training, etc.

In the case examined here, while the EU offered the methodological and theoretical frame of action and the local entities integrated management, it was the state that decided which operational programmes were or were not to be implemented. The specific circumstances of the time were that the municipality of Ciutat, the Autonomous Community of the Balearics and the government of Spain were governed by the same political party. At the time this correspondence was crucial for URBAN to trickle down to Ciutat, and it does show us the 'contingencies' that plague what is often conceived and analysed as a 'need' (e.g. the 'abstract policies' of supranational agents such as the EU, but also the World Bank, the IMF, etc.).

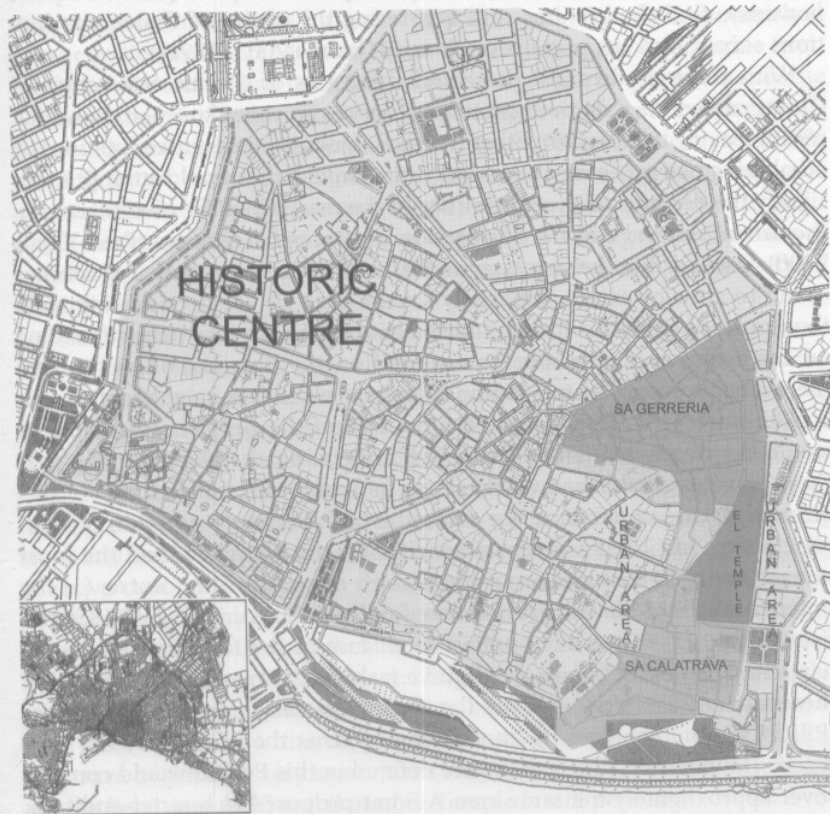
It happened that the Spanish government, through the Ministry of Economy and Treasury, approved 29 operational programmes, a considerable number since there were only 118 programmes of URBAN (1994–1999) for the whole of the EU at the time. These 118 programmes were activated in two different batches. It was not until the approval of the second batch, that of 1997, that the Ajuntament de Palma (Town Council of Palma) came into the game with its operational Urban-Temple programme, which was presented as the 'culmination of a process' (Ajuntament de Palma 1999). The culmination of the process that Urban-Temple represented has to be understood as a final thrust in a long phase of projects with regards to the eastern margins of the historic centre of Ciutat. Therefore, in order to grasp a better understanding of Urban-Temple we need to contextualize the space of Ciutat, in which URBAN landed, all in all accounting for the origins of this very same space and the several and diversified speculations to which it has been historically subjected.

### **Contextualization of the Eastern Margins of Ciutat's Historic Centre**

The boundaries of the historic centre of Ciutat are defined both by a ring of avenues (where the Renaissance ramparts once stood) that corner it against the seafront and by the complex relation that exists among its commercial activation, its tourist promotion and its heritage protection. The latter, heritage, is the element of the triad that leads enhancement and/or renewal, depending on which particular part of the centre we refer to. Following this, it is no wonder that this dense combination would be boosted by the *Pla General d'Ordenació Urbana* (PGOU, General Scheme for Town Planning) of 1985, a scheme that would make of the whole of the historic centre

an 'area' subject to a 'singular regime' and therefore supposedly receiving special treatment because of its heritage, historic and artistic features. Nevertheless, the unevenness within it, which we could also qualify as historical, explains why we speak of margins. Thus, the kernel of the centre has for a long time been the commercial, heritage and cultural tourist zone par excellence of Ciutat while the shell has remained a marginal territory, especially the eastern flank of the centre (see Figure 9.1 below). In order to understand why this particular area was the chosen for URBAN, it is convenient to briefly consider its historic construction as a 'marginal inner-area'.

Since ancient times, the area had been mostly inhabited by the humble and working classes of Ciutat. In addition, it was one of the most important areas for the trade of products and people with the Part Forana, the Ma-



**Figure 9.1.** Limits of the historic centre within the urban layout of Ciutat. East of the centre lies the Urban-Temple site, including the planning schemes of Sa Calatrava, Sa Gerreria and El Temple.

jorcan hinterland, and as such the agricultural and labour force reservoir of the capital city, Ciutat. Parallel to this, and intrinsically linked to these conditions of commercial bustle, supplies and comings and goings, these eastern margins became the scene of feverish guild activity, where manufacturing maintained a privileged position until the introduction of mercantile capital in the mid nineteenth century, when it started to take shape as an industrial activity. At the end of the nineteenth century the eastern margins were the focus of most of the industrial production of Ciutat and the sphere of reproduction of the necessary labour force (Escartin Bisbal 2001), to the extent that urban renewals were announced in response to denunciations of the dreadful social conditions prevailing in the area. These renewals took shape in territorial reconfigurations of industry, which took recourse to hygienist logic to justify pulling down the ramparts where we nowadays find the avenues, and quartering the centre of Ciutat into sections according to its population density (Estada 2003 [1892]).

With these credentials, the eastern margins of the historic centre of Ciutat passed the twentieth century subject to constant speculation, which meant leaving it 'fallow' (in other words, subject to consecutive rotation) by combining two processes, necessarily interlinked, that would attempt to resignify the de-industrialized territory of the margins of the historic centre: the urban renewal and the designation of spaces for renewal (Ruiz Viñals 2000). It seems that the successes and failures of these renewal programmes – and to a major extent, especially for the case we are here dealing with, their postponements – had an uneven bearing on the territory, depending on the areas designated for renewal and on the ordering of such places (here it is necessary to understand that these places are neighbourhoods).

Although with the passage of time, and of the projects, these places would vary in content and form as well as in name, the hierarchy of places these projects established would never be completely effaced. It is in this context that we understand the evolution of the urban renewal of the historic centre of Ciutat and, more specifically, the plans that had the most impact on the reformulation of the eastern margins of the centre: (1) the inner renewals of the General Scheme for Town Planning of 1943 (Alomar Esteve 2000 [1950]), which, precisely because of the fact that they never happened, would define in a definitive fashion the marginal condition of these eastern margins; and (2) the *Plans Especials de Reforma Interior* (PERIs, Special Schemes for Inner Renewal) that the PGOU of 1985 triggered. The different PERIs that were defined in this PGOU would come to cover approximately the same area Alomar proposed to quarter and took the neighbourhood scale as their naturalized environment. This is more significant than it may seem at first sight, since these PERIs of the eastern margins of the centre paved the way for the Urban-Temple's access to the

neighbourhood scale, the very same one that the EU's URBAN promoted. We could therefore argue that since these PERIs constructed the area on such a scale, that of the neighbourhood, it prepared the field that URBAN would encounter.

The detonator for the design of these PERIs is to be found in the precipitation of 'social malaise' the territory experienced in the mid 1970s and especially in the mid 1980s in terms of degradation and deprivation (and the insecurity and stigma that go along with them). This precipitation is explained by the inflow of drug trafficking, exploited to a large extent by the media but also certainly noticeable at street level. Even so, it would be absurd to think that this by itself motivated the need to project new renewals; here we ought to underline that degradation and deprivation, which by this point had been present for decades, had mostly to do with the aging of the population and the built environment, and with the impoverished living conditions. We repeat that these circumstances are inseparable from the fact that the land had been left fallow through the non-execution of the Alomar Scheme of 1943 and the deindustrialization of the area due to production relocating to newly urbanized areas. Furthermore, from the 1950s onwards a new, encompassing conditioning factor would predominate: the tourist industry. The PERIs would try to solve, or at the very least to palliate, the unfavourable diagnosis via measures that envisaged equal shares of social work, the arrival of public facilities and the logic of the gentrifying maximization.

The diversity one could find, and that can still be found, in the territory of these margins (the incidence of degradation and deprivation, the presence of strong neighbour networks and of neighbourhood belonging, the intangible heritage resources, etc.) led the PGOU of 1985 to define three distinct PERIs: Sa Calatrava, Sa Gerreria and El Temple. Sa Calatrava, though not exempt from conflict or population exodus, boasted a privileged position with regards to real estate, given its heritage-rich housing stock and its location on the seafront, besides housing a dense and socially cohesive community. Prior to the announcement of its PERI, Sa Gerreria was distinguished by its 'rotten' real estate stock,<sup>9</sup> the highest concentration of prostitution and drug trafficking in Ciutat and a nonexistent associated neighbour network. El Temple is the largest single block of buildings in the whole of the centre of Ciutat. It ought to be said that the different nature of each PERI would order their appearance: implementation of the PERI of Sa Calatrava began that very same year (1985), that of Sa Gerreria would not see the light until 1995 and that of El Temple is still pending.

The different PERIs were adjusted to the mentioned specificities, as was noticeable in the effort to protect and promote heritage in Sa Calatrava, which would subject the neighbourhood to a slow gentrification, whereas

in Sa Gerreria the emphasis was placed on crowding it out while 'recovering' its memory. El Temple would act as a buffer zone in between the two others and would also give a name to the whole assemblage. Thus the outcomes of these PERIs are extremely varied, and some of their processes have still not even come to an end (if there is an end in following urban land). However, what we should not dismiss as petty is that not only were the PERIs a response to the unevenness of the territory of each area and to the different historical moments in which each of these PERIs took place, but they were also a response to the demands made by citizens of the city as a whole and in some cases by the very inhabitants of the neighbourhoods in question. It is important to realize that the implementation and timing of such plans are not independent of the reaction they arouse among citizens, whether or not they are residents.

In this sense, it is important to stress the emergence of an organized movement of dissent resulting from the joint efforts of 'civil society' organizations such as ARCA and FAVP. ARCA (*Associació per la Revitalització de Centres Antics*, or Association for the Revitalization of the Old Centres) appeared in 1987 and monitors the preservation and revitalization of heritage (something that the whole of the historic centre is). The FAVP (*Federació d'Associacions de Veïns de Palma*, or Federation of Neighbours' Associations of Palma) emerged in the first half of the 1970s; as its name indicates, it federates several neighbours' associations with the aim of promoting the citizens' power from a scale that is also perceived to be closer to the citizen. In due time, these organizations became credible, reputable and legitimate agents capable of speaking of heritage salvation and neighbourhood matters in the name of the citizenry. In fact, the pressure these organizations applied on a constant and enduring basis with regards to the dominant values of the 'built environment' and 'good neighbourliness' would influence the urban policies at stake, to the extent that the latter would precisely emphasize the features of places through their heritageable items (and the degradation of the built environment) and their neighbourhood conditions (and the deprivation of the population).

These good intentions, such as we understand them to the present, were suitable for the urban renewal in the course of time, applied here and there depending on the very same unevenness of the margins. However, we may argue that 'place features' – involving, on the one hand, protective and enhancement measures in order to battle against the degradation of the built environment and, on the other, social remedies for deprivation – lengthened and complicated the revision process of the renewal scheme and its cost, impelling the town council of Ciutat to search for new intervention formulas and new financing methods.

### Urban-Temple and the Culmination of a Process

The Urban-Temple project not only officially gelled the three areas of the PERIs but also signified the opportunity for a culmination of the PERI of Sa Calatrava, transformed the chances of the PERI of Sa Gerreria, served as an initiation endorsement to the possible future PERI of El Temple and, still more importantly, helped integrate the implementation of the diverse projects and their management. Until that point, the urban infrastructure management of the historic centre fell chiefly on the Pla Mirall-Palma-Centre (known as Pla Mirall), funded by autonomous regional and municipal bodies. With the implementation of URBAN the Pla Mirall would become the Consorci Mirall-Palma-Centre (hereafter Consorci Mirall). The team in charge of the design of Urban-Temple found itself subordinated to the Consorci Mirall, which to a certain extent had inspired it. Furthermore, Urban-Temple gave way to the 'integrated management of the integrated actions' that would become the brand of the Consorci Mirall.

The Consorci Mirall was funded on a fifty-fifty basis by the Town Council of Palma and the Autonomous Community of the Balearic Islands. In Ciutat, it blended those actions the Pla Mirall carried out autonomously but localized in the municipalities, with those undertaken by the local housing authority. While the Pla Mirall was originally a regional development that streamed down to the municipalities, the housing authority was the main entity involved in improvement of the built environment of Ciutat. In addition to this, the Consorci Mirall combined its public agency partnership structure with private agents, who in turn would implement the design and execution phases of the projects by tailoring them to their own needs and profit. Thus, to a certain extent it turned the 'integrated management' into 'integrated entrepreneurship': a shadowy, if not opaque, strategy with regards to accountability to the public.

The aim of Urban-Temple was to revitalize its territory, a depressed zone with an urban problematic of social malaise (the fusion of individual deprivation and environmental degradation), which were the required conditions for accessing funding from URBAN. Nevertheless, this revitalization did not happen equitably among the different PERI zones of Urban-Temple but instead focused rather bitterly on Sa Gerreria, given the serious 'malaise' to be found there. Interestingly, Sa Gerreria was also the area most in need of funding due to the magnitude of the renewal that had been planned for it, since more than a third of the neighbourhood was to be pulled down. In 1997 a total sum of €15,260,000 was dedicated to revitalizing the area, of which €7,630,000 came from structural funds (€6,829,000 from the ERDF and €801,000 from the ESF) and €7,630,000 from the Consorci Mirall.

In 1997 the Urban-Temple area contained approximately 3,000 inhabitants (less than 1 per cent of the municipal population) living in around 900 dwellings. While almost 28 per cent of the population was older than sixty-five and 46.8 per cent had no formal education, 47.7 per cent of the property was rented and 48.6 per cent of it was in decay (Ballester and Orte 2001). Here, it is clear that revitalization of the habitat meant rejuvenating both the population and the habitat, which would presumably be achieved through the implementation of innovative actions that would take into account four different goals: the improvement of infrastructure, the reactivation of the economic tissue, attention to social integration and training, including subsequent labour insertion.<sup>10</sup> This collection of projects illustrates the ambition of the team designing Urban-Temple. As the final report on Urban-Temple project argues, it seems that the operational programme was a success. Not only does this report (which was presented as a final evaluation of Urban-Temple) avoid any kind of negative valuation, but it goes on to praise the achievement of centralizing and articulating a space that to that point had been 'undesirable'. The achievement consisted of recovering the historic centre for Ciutat, fostering the return of the population to the centre, treating its marginal pockets and strengthening the quality of tourism thanks to the economic reactivation of the centre. The 'undesirability', which took shape with 'degradation', consisted of dismantled workshops, uninhabitable housing, substandard housing, empty plots of land used as rubbish dumps, the presence of drug sales and usage, prostitution and the continuous dismissal of plans (Ballester and Orte 2001: 8).

However, far from the triumphalism these very same Urban-Temple evaluations breathe, there are other elements and value judgements. Thus, and in the same spirit as the mentioned evaluation, other works appeared (also financed by the same Consorci Mirall) that, viewing Urban-Temple with neither a critical eye nor a triumphal attitude, reminded readers that in 2000, out of the total population (3,005 inhabitants of all age groups), only 287 people (of working age) approached Urban-Temple offices for information about work or training and that of these only 117 individualized itineraries were produced for training and labour insertion (Salvà et al 2000). In other words, the project represented less than 4 per cent of the whole of the population of Urban-Temple neighbourhood unit (or set of neighbourhood units) and less than 0.04 per cent of the whole of the municipal population. All the while the whole of the enterprise of the PERIs and Urban-Temple were qualified in the national press as a

disaster of such a magnitude that it appears in the satellite images. The huge and ignored hole at the centre of Palma can be distinguished among what used to be the first roofs and the network of populous streets of the

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capital city. In silence, they have razed to the ground a thousand years of life in the old town – Sa Gerreria – to transform them into plots and business. The soul of Palma is quartered, in some stretches cobbled. What is left of the old nucleus is almost a stage, a piece of furniture, with façades, pavements and restorer carriageways, a museum of gateways and streets without open businesses and almost without clients. The rest is demolition and speculation material. (Manresa 2005, translation by authors)

In other words, Urban-Temple promoted training and jobs for the marginal population of the neighbourhood unit while its members were being expelled – a contradiction in data, to say the least. As one of the social workers at the local housing authority put it, the Consorci Mirall, together with the private developers working within it, determined different compensations for each of the numerous displaced tenants and owners (the majority of the latter lived outside of the neighbourhood unit). Most of the tenants ended up finding accommodation in areas far from the centre of Ciutat, places that in due time would also become the object of projection and planning since they were considered to be the next in the row of decay and deprivation. Other inhabitants of lesser means were shifted around within the very same borders of the Urban-Temple area. In short: eliminating degradation meant getting rid of those who were considered to be the dregs of the neighbourhood.

In general, the methods put into action were, as they usually are, a matter of opinion. Lola, for instance, the owner of a paper shop in the area for around fifteen years whom we interviewed in 2004 and who was keen to participate in the cultural and training activities developed by Urban-Temple and other entities, celebrated the changes brought in by the renewal at the neighbourhood scale, although she did acknowledge the lack of businesses and tried to understand why this was so through her reflection on gentrifying issues that could only bring business substitution:

Everything they've done is 'fab': Sa Calatrava, Flassaders, the Urban, the Court, in other words, it's all very well done. There is a lack of things: there's a lack of business. 'Cause we need it. And I am the first one to need it. I need somewhere where I can go and buy something. Moreover, houses are priced as if they were made of gold. They're building houses for rich people. ... For Germans that come here with their money to exploit it. Flats: one-hundred million pesetas, here in Sa Calatrava. The fact is that not just anyone can come and live in the old town now. And it ought to be said that the old town was the poorest and lowest to be found. That's what there was here: gypsies, humble people. ... And of course, the majority of the people owning these expensive houses are foreigners, what do they

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do? They go to more expensive places to buy stuff. Even if it costs the same in my shop they'll go to spend their money elsewhere. They don't buy in the neighbourhood. In the neighbourhoods it is us, the normal ones, who buy, in other words, the humblest. (translation by authors)

The material neighbourhood on which the scaling encapsulation took place was a neighbourhood based on its own disappearance, since the scale was used not only to attract new inhabitants but also new businesses. The problem for many, though, as in Lola's case, was that the guidelines for eviction and expulsion turned out to be different from the ones they had presumed would be applied and were, more importantly, quite arguable. Lola praised the 'cleaning' that took place against drug trafficking and the Roma in the late 1990s while she insisted on the cosiness of the neighbourhood and the positive neighbourliness of its people. Beyond this apparent contradiction comes a paradox. She, who praised the 'sweeping', as many residents put it, all of a sudden became the target of the brush:

One day a man came in and told me he was the new owner of the building, he said he had bought the whole of it and that I had to leave. I then told him that I wasn't leaving because I had 11 years of contract left. He then offered me a super-small amount and I told him no, that for that money I wouldn't leave. I was at home, I had 11 years left on my contract and we would carry on there. Since this man saw he couldn't win with me, he started threatening, spilling concrete from above on my car, buckets full of liquid concrete on my car. ... He would come around and call me names and say we were scum; I was a poor devil. ... And ... And he didn't know how to chuck me out. ... He actually sold the premises! Some people came to me asking me if I could show them the paper-shop premises since they were for sale.

Moreover, along with the 'cleaning' and the shuffling of its inhabitants, as well as the pressure exerted by businesses attempting to muscle into the neighbourhood, the whole of the neighbourhood was being promoted as a heritageable past through the image of its 'cosiness' – the very same 'cosiness' Lola seemed to long for. The 'cosy' ideal of the neighbourhood with its 'living together paraphernalia' would become the discursive alibi, and its neighbourly entourage would be localized and promoted as a crafts place while the authorities would ease the establishment of its craftspeople and create an urban tourist itinerary of its own making. A place crafted in such a manner would take advantage of the 'meanings' and the 'own values' of the preceding neighbourhoods, all in all shaping the manageability of the neighbourhood scale and of its projection as a place of memory. It is in this

light that we need to understand the use of the neighbourhood scale by the various administrative initiatives at stake. Therefore, what we are interested in is not so much what the evaluations exactly evaluated, and not even whether they are truthful or not. Our real aim is to discern what kind of strategies hide behind these evaluations and what uses the neighbourhood scale was put to in order to attract EU funding down to the very local.

### Local Bosses and Strategic Ladders

We have already mentioned how political brokers have adapted to the new entrepreneurial turn that signifies urban governance, developing methodologies and specific techniques for the execution of the command and control of urban space through the division into neighbourhoods. We can find a clear sample of this adaptation in what we call 'integral management of integrated actions'. Behind the obsession with the integrative approach lies a very particular logic that shows how certain local bosses use the neighbourhood scale and the calls for its renewal to make their own business in the neighbourhood, and how they adapt the neighbourhood projects in order to achieve the optimization of their positions in the political ladder. We understand that this example is in agreement with de Certeau's notion of strategy:

I call *strategy* the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and of power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc) can be managed. As in management, every 'strategic' rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its 'own' place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an 'environment'. (de Certeau 1997 [1980]: 35–36)

In other words, those political brokers who were most involved in the urban renewal calculated and manipulated the integration of their management (in this case that of Urban-Temple), all in all using this urban renewal to make the place from which they would administer the command and the control of the environment they unified and idealized (the whole of the eastern margins of the historic centre of Ciutat). This is the main contribution to the emergence of the neighbourhood scale, from a local elite standpoint. Meanwhile, this production of scale that they developed

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became for them a doubly gratifying resource, since they laddered positions while also centralizing them. Thus in 1996, in order to present Urban-Temple to the second round of the URBAN bid, the Consorci Mirall, which had integrated the diverse PERIs and their actions, was put under the direct guidance of the Town Planning Department of the town council of Ciutat. This entity, which was responsible for the PERIs, was also indispensable in the Consorci Mirall, which at that moment was led by the former general secretary of the party in both the local and autonomous governments, while the consortium's management fell on the political broker that had instigated its progenitor Pla Mirall. In other words, its management ended up being of an integrated kind.

The narrowness of the definition of social malaise that URBAN dealt with and the integrated palliative remedy it proposed facilitated, by and large, the strategies the local bosses had conceived in order to confront the problematic of the eastern margins. It is in this light that we have to understand the welcome these political brokers gave to what URBAN promoted and qualified as a novelty: the revalorization of the individual through the revalorization of his or her habitat, and not the other way round. We ought to clearly bear this in mind since we believe it is central to the very same logic of the urban renewal. It is not about resolving social problems, from which individuals may be a sample, so much as it is about tidying up the environment where these individuals are to be found – their habitat – in a clear sign of what Garnier (2006) qualifies as the 'ideology of spatialism'. This way of elaborating the remedy (spatialism and individualism) gives way to the detachment of the population from the territory. All in all, it does so by individualizing each case and therefore weakening the unity of the neighbours through the neighbourhood unit – and, more importantly, by leaving aside the action that is intrinsic to the habitat: inhabiting. 'Close-up land-planning', the kind of planning that uses the neighbourhood scale, does not transform the issue of detaching people from territory since, as Urban-Temple shows, it precisely spatializes and individualizes.

What has come to be named as urbanism is nothing other than a too coherent set – a system – of stipulations and limitations that maintain this essential activity at strict level of a technical minimum. This has the effect of reducing a situation and an activity, inhabiting, to a brutally material reality, to a function: the habitat. (Lefebvre 1980 [1971]: 20; translation by authors)

It is in this context of tidying up the habitat and of reducing the inhabiting that the 'culmination' of the urban renewal of the historic centre has to be understood. Within the very same logic of renewal endorsed by the

ideology of spatialism and following the logic of 'integration', there was an attempt to try to fill in the gaps left by the disappearance of the inhabiting in the habitat. The local authorities would foster the arrival of new businesses that would grant 'activity' to the area in this transitional modelling stage. These businesses would relate to crafts, and the boulevard where they would be located would be named 'Boulevard for Crafts'. It would also involve public offices of various different administrations (most of them municipal), a few 'alternative' shops, bars and restaurants that would give an untamed look and, most importantly, estate agencies selling properties in the area and beyond. Property is nowadays mainly promoted, whether for rent or for sale, by its 'heritageable' qualities, be they of a prosperous kind or even of a more humble one, as the following excerpt shows:

One bedroom rental apartment, in central Palma de Mallorca available from April of 2008. – €900 Per month Ground floor 55m<sup>2</sup> 1 bedroom apartment accessed from the private courtyard, of a reformed building in central Palma de Mallorca. This open plan 1 bedroom apartment is part of the modernization of a pottery craftwork shop at the center of the neighborhood, 'Sa Gerreria' the industrial building has been reformed into spacious modern loft style apartments retaining the industrial feel of this unique building. ... With a flat screen television, a digital multilingual television package and Wifi connection.<sup>11</sup>

What the area seems to have become is a place with different and even opposed meanings under the logic of spatialism that we have referred to previously: an area sold with an 'authentic' image but adapted to the state of the art in new information technologies, people leaving spaces that other people with other needs and lifestyles will occupy, and all of this done in the name of culture. Thus, we may well argue that 'culturalization', understood as the process by which acquired taste finds its habitat, is strongly linked to the individualization spatialism implies. It is no wonder that this educated taste the neighbourhood scale offers under the cultural turn is only for the few – and, as we have seen in Lola's case, it is a taste set upon very high standards, standards beyond the 'normal people' that invite real estate businesses, cultural services agencies and bars and restaurants to settle in the area.

That is to say, 'social malaise' in this case was not solved through provision of 'structural solutions' that ascertain the origins of exclusion, but only palliative measures that ended up dissolving the unity of the social malaise and went on to tackle space as a problem – the habitat instead of the social problem – since the social contents had come to define the location and the conception of these parts of the urban agglomeration in the neighbour-

hood scale, which URBAN calls neighbourhood. It was precisely in this gap between people and space that the local bosses saw the chances to implement the new entrepreneurial turn in order to carry out what was publicly demanded of them while finding the proper rungs for their own laddering.

The two examples given of the local political brokers that packaged URBAN thanks to their multi-scalar tandem work quite graphically express this laddering we mention, which needs to snake down funds. The first case was that of the general secretary who also became the vice-mayor of Ciutat between 1991 and 1999, and was directly in charge of the municipal land planning department. His good connections with those in control of the government of the state and his control of the local and regional structures of the party he belonged to, paved the way for including Urban-Temple in the Spanish wish list for URBAN. He was one of the main proponents of the creation of the Consorci Mirall and therefore one of the main players in the implementation of Urban-Temple. After his municipal activity he was a member of the European Parliament until 2004. There, he unsuccessfully continued to try to direct more EU structural funds to the Balearic archipelago. In 2004 he became a Spanish senator for the Balearics. Rumour has it that close family of his acquired property in the area of Urban-Temple by using privileged information before the PERI of Sa Gerreria was approved.<sup>12</sup>

The second case involves a civil engineer who was the minister for Works and Land Planning of the Balearic Autonomous Government in three different administrations between 1983 and 1993. He left his post two years before the elections in 1995, presumably due to his involvement in a corruption affair that forced the dismissal of the then regional president. He then descended to the municipal level and became the manager of the Pla Mirall and, therefore, the most visible head of the Urban-Temple project. When the Consorci Mirall ended at the beginning of the millennium (to be replaced by another consortium of similar characteristics for other PERIs elsewhere in Ciutat), he left in order to become an advisor to the municipal company in charge of water and sewage issues. Although his career seems to have taken a downward turn, he was nevertheless the necessary counter-piece for the first political broker mentioned above, since he was the one to integrate the 'tops' with the 'downs' in Urban-Temple. After Urban-Temple he tried to bring other planning EU programmes in line with the successful 'integration approach' but never succeeded again. He retired in September 2006, although over drinks he would admit to friends in a joyful manner that this only had to do with his 'official job' since he was still working on his 'other' matters. His good connections within the different local and regional institutions and his knowledge of the field (and the business of what went on under this field) made Urban-Temple possible.

Thus Urban-Temple proved a springboard for both local bosses: while the first became an elected European deputy for the Balearic Islands and therefore used his parliamentary interventions to attract more European projects towards the Balearics, the second retired after consolidating the Consorci Mirall with Urban-Temple and achieving the managerial integration of the different renewal schemes – the different neighbourhood units or ‘neighbourhoods’, as the Consorci Mirall would call them – that were subsequently announced. In short, while one of the political brokers ended up climbing up the ladder all the way to the European scale, the other one ended up descending towards the neighbourhood scale, both of them collaborating in order to maintain their position as local bosses.

What is clear, then, is that the political brokers explored and exploited not only the built environment of the urban territory but also its population. And both things were made possible by focusing on the neighbourhood scale, with all of its landscapes and with all of its problems and illnesses. In defending the neighbourhood units they proposed they did nothing more than lay ground for the enterprise that would benefit the calculation and the manipulation of the surpluses brought about by the abstract space they programmed – calculations and manipulations that at the end of the day affected neighbourhoods peopled by citizens.

### **Conclusion: On the Neighbourhood Realm and Entrepreneurial Governance**

As a starting point for this chapter, we pointed out the correspondence between the rise of the entrepreneurial character of urban governance and the reinforcement of the use of the neighbourhood scale. The entrepreneurial focus supposes the reinforcement of the commoditization of the urban space and of the social relations of all kind that take place within it, in such a manner that the adoption of the neighbourhood scale as a privileged field of action can be read as an attempt for penetrating into new regions of social reality. We thus find ourselves looking at a mechanism by which entrepreneurial governance snakes down towards what we usually understand as being proper to the neighbourhood realm: propinquity relations, use values associated to space, confidence, informal relation networks, etc. Only as a last resort is the neighbourhood realm characterized by the strong correspondence between a space and the social relations that take place within it.

In this chapter we have focused on the long road to effecting the strategy that cut out a neighbourhood unit from a particular area that was traditionally marginal within the historic centre of Ciutat. The analysis of this

case allows us to suggest some general considerations. The first block of conclusions has to do with the relevance of the political field and its specific manifestations in times that seem dominated by undisguised market forces. The building process of Urban-Temple as a neighbourhood unit was borne of a long bureaucratic process in which many administrative levels intervened, mostly in a changing ideological context. Such a circumstance shows us that far from withdrawing, the state (at its different levels of administration, including the supra-state ones) has strategic importance in the mobilization of urban space for profit. This process has shown us three relevant ideas: (1) the transnational transfer of policies is an important factor in understanding what has come to be called globalization, an aspect usually neglected by the specialized literature; (2) neighbourhood planning not only serves public and market powers snaking down their strategies, but also offers opportunities for particular local leaders to put up the ladders that allow them to consolidate their power; and (3) we err if we understand the production of space as only an immediate reflex of the exigencies of the accumulation system.

Among other reasons that make this simple reflex impossible is the relative autonomy that the 'political sphere' possesses, even in the times of entrepreneurial governance, something shown in our case by the importance of the changing political circumstances of the city and the bureaucratic complexity of the process described above. The most evident manifestation of this relative autonomy of the political sphere is the fact that the political brokers find space for their ladders in the interstices created by the very same bureaucratic apparatus and thus obtain positions of power. Moreover, these positions of power and the ladder on which they support themselves depend on political networks and reciprocities that, although they already are activities aimed at favouring the market, act repeatedly with a certain autonomy to benefit that same market.

In another order of things, we find a series of conclusions on the relation between neighbourhood and neighbourhood scale. Our case shows that the creation of the neighbourhood scale has as much to do with direct intervention as it does with non-intervention. In other words, the fact that the municipality decides not to intervene in a delimited area where it has projected a renewal (what we here have called 'fallowing') has to be understood as a form of intervention, in so far as it builds a marginal area whose exceptionality constructs the propitious conditions for establishing a programme of exceptional actions, that is to say, limited to the neighbourhood scale. In this fashion, whereas the neighbourhood can be read as a way of naming what has been left on the margin, the neighbourhood scale appears as a way of dealing with the anomic or degraded.

The reinforcement of the neighbourhood scale has to do with an attempt to achieve the aims of entrepreneurial governance: deepening the reaches

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of social control and simultaneously putting into the service of the market elements formerly ruled by logics largely alien to the very same neighbourhood. But this hardly means that the framing of the neighbourhood scale works absolutely beyond the neighbourhood as a pure top-down encapsulation process. What it actually means is that the top-down encapsulation feeds upon bottom-up synergies brought up by the entrepreneurship of those local bosses seeking to climb up the ladder.

The fallacy on which the construction of the neighbourhood scale relies – at least in the case we have analysed here – is made clear in the methodology of the proposed urban intervention. Thus, while the neighbourhood realm comes to be defined by the relations between close people, the proposed solutions are based on an individualized approach to the ‘neighbourhood problem’. Simultaneously, the rooted belief in spatialism – that is to say, in the idea that the habitat creates the inhabiting; and singularly the idea that certain spaces are ‘pathogen’ and/or ‘criminogen’ (that is, conducive to crime or encouraging criminal tendencies) – allows power to justify some interventions centred on the renewal of space, something that moves farther away from communitarian intervention and takes the emphasis on entrepreneurial governance nearer to the place (in contrast to the territory).

The idea of the neighbourhood is presented as ‘near’ to the citizen. But what it actually provokes and proffers (willingly or not) is its adoption by the neoliberal frame in order to create a good business climate, meanwhile dealing with the population and its wellbeing, and any planning in redistributive terms, as a matter of second order. In other words, while the power relations internal to the neighbourhood are hidden, the very same notion of neighbourhood, managed in the top-down production of the neighbourhood scale, tends to promote power inequalities.

This series of considerations leads us to reconsider the way in which we understand the relation between the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood scale. The main distinction between the neighbourhood as the space of the neighbourliness relations and the neighbourhood as a scale of management is becoming blurred. Moreover, the emergence of neighbourhood planning requires a neighbourhood problematic so it can legitimize itself and carry on. Thus, the important thing is to understand the position of the neighbourhood slice within the urban whole – which particulars signify one as a neighbourhood and which do not.

## NOTES

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1. The city where we have carried out our research, known both as Ciutat (de Mallorca) and Palma, is the capital city of the Balearic Islands. Although both names are correct, throughout this research we have used 'Ciutat' [city] because of its wide connotations.
2. URBAN, URBAN1 (1994-1999) and URBAN2 (2000-2006) were all Community Initiatives of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).
3. Ciutat has its own specificities in the competition among cities triggered by the new global economy, fundamentally its specialization in tourism, which is often tightly bound to the real estate business.
4. Our understanding of this term is based on Williams (2001 [1973]), who stresses that 'landscapes' imply specific vantage points, that is to say, viewpoints that ease the consumption of the place and justify its production.
5. An earlier account of ours on the URBAN (Franquesa and Morell 2005) is complementary to this one. While here the neighbourhood scale is approached through a top-down lens that focuses on the 'neighbourhood unit', the former stressed a bottom-up approach.
6. Within this relation, Bianchini (1995) establishes three stages he considers substantial when bringing together common tendencies: (1) The stage of reconstruction (the end of the 1940s to the end of the 1960s), (2) the stage of participation (the 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s), and (3) the stage of urban regeneration (the mid 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s). We are interested in focusing on this latter stage, which, following Bianchini, will emphasize the 'investment' instead of the 'subsidy' and will also show the urban centres as showcases of the local economy within the competition among cities we have previously acknowledged.
7. There is abundant official information with regards to the different URBAN programmes at [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/urban2/index\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/index_en.html).
8. See: [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame1.html](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame1.html).
9. The fact that this real estate stock was rotten does not mean that it was not heritageable; in fact it would become heritage in an odd combination of industrial heritage and craft commemoration.
10. In order to attain an optimum result when combining these goals, the operational programme of Urban-Temple presented a series of programmes of its own that, in keeping with the philosophy of URBAN, would: (1) improve the urban environment through the provision of services; (2) develop the economic tissue by incentivizing commercial and craft activity via the creation of the Passeig per l'Artesania (Boulevard for Crafts), including a tourist itinerary, and pushing for the computerization of the social and economic agents of the neighbourhood; (3) establish social facilities of all kinds in and for the neighbourhood but 'open to the rest of the city'; (4) do the same with regard to training and labour insertion facilities; (5) carry out follow-up, evaluation and dissemination of the operational programme; (6) provide social programmes for the general public but also for specific profiles (aging population, prostitutes, drug users, children etc.); and (7) carry out training and labour insertion

to achieve the aims of entrepreneurial governance...

that would refer to particular facilities, especially the School for Craft Works (Consorti Mirall-Palma-Centre 1999).

11. See <http://encasa2007.com/ezrealty/detail/one-bedroom-rental-apartment-in-central-palma-de-mallorca-available-from-april-of-2008.html>.
12. See <http://bayona.baleaerweb.net/post/19530>

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## 6 When space draws the line on class

Marc Morell

[The role of] class struggle . . . in the production of space is a cardinal one in that this production is performed solely by classes, fractions of classes and groups representative of classes . . . [C]lass struggle is inscribed in space. Indeed, it is that struggle alone which prevents abstract space from taking over the whole planet and papering over all differences. Only the class struggle has the capacity . . . to generate differences which are not intrinsic to economic growth qua strategy, "logic," or "system" – that is to say, differences which are neither induced by nor acceptable to that growth.

(Lefebvre 1991 [1974]: 55)

*De l'espai no te'n refies mai* [Never trust space]. (Montllor 1972)

### Stray cats

Most likely, López would not believe how unerring his prophetic words were when he wrote that Brechtian poem in which he enumerated the characters that were being evicted from Es Barri, a gentrifying area subject to a long renewal program in downtown Ciutat.<sup>1</sup> López's list includes a heterogeneous selection of people belonging mainly to the "class cloaca": whores, drug-dealers, pensioner widows, gypsies, the old shoemaker, the baker, the barber, the innkeeper, the tobacconist . . . (2003).<sup>2</sup> The list even includes dogs and cats. And so it was. No matter how far-fetched it seemed, the day came when the cats also had to leave. These were stray cats that had long lost the noble condition given to them by Santiago Rusiñol (1930 [1922]: 33), a Catalan artist: "But the real inhabitants of the narrow streets of Palma (their lords and masters) are the cats."

In January 2010, the Associació de Veïnats (AV; residents' association) of Es Barri found out about the municipal cat-sterilization program.<sup>3</sup> A new AV

<sup>1</sup> Es Barri (The Neighborhood), also known as Sa Gerreria (The Pottery), is the name I have chosen for this area-in-the-making since the end of the 1980s. Ciutat is the unofficial name for Palma, the capital city of Majorca and the Balearic archipelago (Spain).

<sup>2</sup> The "class cloaca" (Draper 1978: 476–78) is constituted by those who supposedly are of no use to, and therefore fall out of, the existing social order.

<sup>3</sup> *Veïnats* literally means "neighbors," but here it is probably best translated as "residents," although other neighborhood users, such as shopkeepers, can also be considered to be *veïnats*.

member, a middle-class, middle-aged female volunteer, explained the project at an AV meeting. These cats were a nuisance, especially when in heat, but most of all because they were potential carriers of HIV and many other illnesses that threatened residents and passers-by. Many AV members, who were also newcomers and considered themselves part of the all-encompassing middle class, were eager to know more about the project.

The volunteer spared no details and spelled out the strict protocol they followed to eradicate such a pest from the streets and the derelict buildings. First, they would have to contact the old pensioner widows (mostly depicted as the remnants of a pseudo-industrial working class) that fed these cats, an activity outlawed by recent municipal regulations. Then, they would license them and explain how to hide a sterilizing product in the food they would provide them with, and how to cage the odd one so that municipal vets could vaccinate it and, if necessary, “put it to sleep.” The reactions to the initiative ranged from mind-boggled puzzlement to strong support. It was only a matter of time before the latter overwhelmed the former.

Within a couple of weeks, the few pensioners who dedicated their time and resources to maintaining these cat colonies found themselves with no alternative but to join the program. Whether or not they were conscious of it, their pastime had suddenly become a kind of labor. I recall them gossiping in the basement of a building that was, until very recently, the last grocery in Es Barri.<sup>4</sup> They disliked the role they had been assigned. They accepted it, however, because it allowed them to carry on with their pastime and because they feared the alternatives that may have crossed the minds of the city-council volunteers.

The outcome of this strategy resembles a class inversion of the case Darnton (1984) describes, how the deprived printers’ apprentices in Paris in the middle of the eighteenth century captured, tried, tortured and executed cats, since these were lavishly cared for by the business owners. It appears to have been an act of vengeance that not only maintained cats as animals apt for rituals related to exorcising evils, but that also aimed at balancing, in a most peculiar fashion, the scales of social justice. In apparent contrast to Darnton’s account, the “cat massacre” I have sketched tells a very different story. Ridding Es Barri of cats is just another aspect of what has become a perennial obsession in Ciutat, which

<sup>4</sup> This establishment was more than just a grocery; it was an institution that lived off projects that I (Morell 2009) have called *fent barri*, “making neighborhood.” Such projects prescribe what neighborhood life is about in a gentrifying context that is framed by the tension between the disinvestment and investment of capital in the built environment, in the case of Majorca heavily dependent on tourism, and especially related to heritage in the case of the Center. The grocery clubbed long-term residents together, to the extent that it became a neighborhood in itself, offering company, counsel and immediate aid. It was also a means for formulating opinions, keeping resources under control and making decisions. As a matter of fact, although the grocery has now disappeared, adjacent premises still serve these purposes.

can be summed up in the closing lines of López's poem: "at the end of the day the sun in the neighborhood is only for those who can pay for it."

Es Barri has experienced many other class transformations. Newcomers have increased the number of members of the AV. Many of them belong to an organic-vegetable box scheme, while the last ordinary grocery disappears. There is conflict between many of these newcomers and the owners of the mushrooming trendy "neo-bohemian" tapas bars. However, the main questions that lay at the heart of this process of gentrification have to do with how the social formation revealed by daily social interaction articulates with the particular accumulation process that is its *raison d'être*.<sup>5</sup> Most importantly for my argument in this chapter, this accumulation process involves a particular kind of labor. Thus, my main concern is not the doings and workings of those who appropriate value from the urban, nor those who manage and govern it. Rather, it is with those who destroy it and produce it anew.

#### Urban society and social space

Henri Lefebvre problematically explained, rather than categorically designated, "urban society" as the social formation resulting from the subsumption of industrialization under the growing spread and complexity of "urbanization" (as in, e.g., the creation and realization of surplus value by construction and real-estate speculation: Lefebvre 2003 [1970]: 160).<sup>6</sup> In fact, for Lefebvre (1996 [1968]: 164), urbanization is "the meaning, the end, the goal of industrialization." He expanded this formulation to "social space" (1991 [1974]), and argued that it maintained capitalism (1976 [1973]), while becoming the cornerstone of the "static/statist mode production" (1976–78).

Social space, argues Lefebvre, is produced by classes but, most importantly, through their struggle. It is "where the reproduction of the relations of production . . . is located; at the same time, it is the occasion for and the instrument of a form of planning" (1976 [1973]: 17). Social space is not "land" or "place," but is the social relations that may produce these and that, in turn,

<sup>5</sup> While gentrification has many aspects, I take as its core the meaning Glass (1964) gave it when she first used the term: the displacing of the working-class population that inhabits a given built environment by members of the middle and upper classes.

<sup>6</sup> Delgado (2007: 11) reminds us that the Lefebvrian "urban" is not the city (a place), but the practices that criss-cross it, "everything in the city that cannot detain nor catch on" (2007: 13). Castells (1977 [1972]) and Harvey (1988) reviewed Lefebvre. Whereas the former considered Lefebvre's hypothesis to be ideological, utopian and unscientific, the latter developed Lefebvre's views (e.g. Lefebvre 2009 [1970]) on the urban as a secondary circuit of accumulation based on fixed capital and consumption funds that partially solves the problem of over-accumulation that occurs in the primary circuit, the one that is about producing commodities (Harvey 2006). See Katznelson (1992) and Neil Smith's preface to Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) for a summary of these debates.

are fashioned by them. Although explicitly seeking to distance himself from the urban-Marxian Lefebvre, Georges Condominas in fact takes a fairly similar approach. Influenced by Durkhemian and Maussian thought (Condominas 1980: 16), he understood social space as “determined by the set of systems of relations, distinctive of the group considered” (1980: 14).

Despite these minor differences, I view Lefebvre’s location (of domination and exploitation) and Condominas’s grouping (as means of organization and action) as the distinct, but nevertheless linked, dimensions of determination and agency that social class is about. David Harvey points to this conjunction of material exploitation and social groups when he says that work-based and community-based conflicts in “advanced urbanization” show that production and social reproduction seem to overlap: “If objective classes are still to be defined in terms of the production and appropriation of surplus value, then it is now production as a totality (including the production of new modes of consumption and new social wants) . . . which defines the division between producers and appropriators of surplus value” (Harvey 1985: 86–87).<sup>7</sup> That said, it is not at all clear there was ever much of a divide between production and social reproduction. As Bensaïd (2009 [1996]: 187) argues, when criticizing Gorz’s (1980) *Adieux au prolétariat*,

From [the weakening of workers’ identification with work] he draws the falsely innovative conclusion that contestation of capitalist exploitation has now been relocated outside of the enterprise, as if it had hitherto been confined there. If the relation of exploitation is rooted in production, the whole logic of [Marx’s] Capital demonstrates that it is not reducible to it. It structures the field of reproduction in its entirety. The working-class movement did not first of all constitute itself as a movement within the enterprise . . . but as a social, civic, urban, and cultural movement.

Following Harvey and Bensaïd, I argue that class does not happen only in the workplace. Certainly class is about the relations of domination and exploitation of labor: that is, the extraction of “surplus labor.” However, these relations are not confined to places such as the shop, the office and the factory. That domination and exploitation can happen outside of the established market circuits, as in the self-exploitation many see in the disparate domains of the peasantry and the household. Harris (2005), for instance, argues that peasants exploit themselves in so far as they sell their surplus products for less than they would if the labor and raw materials involved in their production were fully monetized at market prices. When they sell these products to wage workers, the peasants’ subsidy is passed on to those workers, and it is ultimately realized by employers, who can pay workers less than would be the case if peasants’ production were fully

<sup>7</sup> Harvey’s later enlargement of Marx’s “primitive accumulation” (Marx 1976 [1867]: Part VIII), “accumulation by dispossession” (see Harvey 2010 for his most recent insights), takes heed of and precisely brings to mind his “production as a totality” formulation.

commoditized and priced accordingly. Similar arguments have been made for the case of households and the self-exploitation of housewives (Mayer 2005). (I return to the appropriateness of the “self-exploitation” of the urban labor in my final section.)

Lefebvre’s urban hypothesis is especially helpful for analyzing important aspects of the consequences of the financial crisis that began in 2008 for countries such as Spain, which have economies dependent on bricks and mortar. Here a cycle of credit crunch, financial rescues, repossessions and evictions emerged and contributed to major social unrest. The expression “owner society” encapsulates the extent of the activities propelled by landed capital in the construction and real estate sectors, especially in Spain’s archipelagos and coastal areas, though it turns out that what people ended up owning was debt (López and Rodríguez 2010). The Balearics, one of the leading tourism regions in the country, have formal and informal political and economic structures that rest on the intense and recurring transformation of space demanded by tourism itself and by the real estate sector that both accompanies tourism and competes with it (Amer 2006).<sup>8</sup>

This urban dependency certainly rests on the wage labor of tourism and construction. In addition, however, it also heavily depends on an unwaged labor, which I call “urban labor.” That labor contributes on a daily basis to the various activities that constitute social reproduction, though it is not sold as a commodity in the market. This urban labor unfolds differently from commodity labor since, for the moment, it happens outside of the market. This distinctive unfolding will be apparent in this chapter, as I use the process of gentrification to identify and make sense of that labor.

#### *Gentrification and its class character*

Class has long been a major concern in anthropology. As the nature of capital has evolved, so has our approach to class.<sup>9</sup> It is with this necessary shift in mind that Narotzky and Smith (2006: 219) have said that there is a “need to reinvent the crucial usefulness of class as a category or reality that captures the pervasiveness of conflict and struggle as constitutive of social relations.” In addition to that need, most of the anthropological work on class ignores the importance of the production of social space and of the urban for our understanding of classes and their relationships. By looking at

<sup>8</sup> The area still has agrarian values and connections that draw high-spirited membership, but these have become incorporated somewhat into the “island” image of the Balearics (Miquel Novajra 2000: 25–26).

<sup>9</sup> Anthropologists are not alone in this. For a reflection on the struggles that surround class as a descriptive and analytical category in history and the social sciences more generally, see Dworkin (2007).

gentrification, this chapter is intended to help with the reinvention that Narotzky and Smith call for, by investigating the urban dimension of class and its spatial implications.

Anthropologists generally have paid little attention to gentrification. There are, of course, exceptions, two recent ones being Herzfeld (2009) and Franquesa (2010). Their works are theoretically informed ethnographies of gentrification in the face of what they respectively present as the moral management of an all-pervasive bureaucracy and the inexorable expansion of capital. In doing so, both stress the importance of the relations between newcomers and long-term residents, paying particular attention to the tactics that those long-term residents develop in the face of the social transformation of their area. However, while both relate class to gentrification, neither attends to the actual labor that gentrification entails: Herzfeld does not address it; although it is implicit in his work, Franquesa does not explicitly develop this dimension.

Gentrification has been important in other disciplines that take an interest in the urban, especially geography and sociology.<sup>10</sup> The main debates in geography have revolved around whether gentrification is economically or culturally driven, and around whether it is best seen as production led or consumption led (a comprehensive survey of gentrification in geography is Lees *et al.* 2008). I consider the “rent gap” hypothesis developed by Smith (for its developed form, see Smith 1996) to be the clearest geographical explanation of gentrification. It holds that the land-owning classes capitalize on the difference between the existing value of a site (what Smith identifies as capitalized ground rent) and its potential “highest and best use” (what Smith identifies as capitalized potential ground rent). This hypothesis has attracted criticisms, two of which are especially pertinent. One is that it ignores demand, and hence the social, political and cultural factors that shape it (Ley 1996: 42); the other is that it ignores individual agency, and so does not consider why, where and when the rent gap takes place, and how the space-consuming middle class, central to gentrification, is formed (Hamnett 2003: 169–70).

Later developments of Smith’s theory emphasize the possibility that, as a result of concrete social relations, class struggles and processes, land owners and others with an economic interest in land might aim at a “lowest and worst use,” the disinvestment of capital in particular sites, in anticipation of later gentrification and its associated capital investment and rising land values (see, e.g., Clark 1995). This development seems suited to Es Barri, at least in its basic principles. However, one of the main problems of the rent-gap hypothesis is that, even though it is sometimes invoked in tandem with a description of class

<sup>10</sup> Two recent and extensive works on gentrification show the hegemony of geography in this field (Brown-Saracino 2010; Lees *et al.* 2010). With the exception of an *en passant* reference to Herzfeld (2009), none of the titles dealt with in either of these comes from anthropology.

struggle (e.g. Smith 1996; see also Smith and LeFaivre 1984; Bridge 1995), it does not account for the labor invested in the process, or for the domination and exploitation that exist in the realization of the surplus value made possible by closing the rent gap.

Of course, much of this labor cannot be understood if we restrict ourselves to the routine focus on labor in its waged form. In what follows, I depart from that routine focus, and describe the urban labor included in the two moments that the rent-gap hypothesis envisages, that of disinvestment and degeneration and that of investment and regeneration.

### **Renewal and the urban labor of long-term residents**

In the summer of 2010 a trendy bar opened in the premises of what had been the longest functioning business in Ciutat, one that was 500 years old. At a talk given on occasion of its opening, a local historian, surrounded by a selection of the wicker and esparto-grass objects that had hitherto been made and sold there, recalled that Es Barri had been home to all kinds of activity that had given their names to its streets: flour mills, hat factories, rigging workshops, glassworks, blacksmiths, stone masonries, potteries, furriers. The concentration of these businesses, and the associated markets, groceries, taverns and hostels, plus the fact that most of the labor force resided there, has led Escartín (2001) to refer to the Ciutat of 1840–1940 as the “piled city.”

In those days, when Es Barri was the working-class neighborhood par excellence of Ciutat, cats moved freely. However, in the second half of the twentieth century things slowly started to change. In the 1950s, under the banner of sanitation, local authorities announced they would “tidy up” the built environment of the area so that landed capitalists could turn it into the touristy “historic city,” though as I explain, this tidying up would not arrive until much later (a review of the evolving renewal of Ciutat is in Ruiz Viñals 2000). Meanwhile, in the 1960s most of the workshops closed down and the new generation of the working class took jobs in the expanding tourism industry and fled Es Barri in search of a less piled environment. That expanding industry was referred to as “mass” tourism because it attracted a mass of tourists, but the term also invokes the mass of workers and the mass urbanization that this tourism required, a process I call “tourbanization.”

In the 1970s, the increasing presence of the class cloaca that López refers to in his poem – the whores, the drug-dealers, the pensioner widows, the gypsies, the old shoemaker, the baker, the barber, the innkeeper, the tobacconist – meant the continued existence of marginalized, unregulated and even unlawful activities that, despite being of a lower status than the old workshops, kept Es Barri alive. As well, the taverns that had served the local working class turned into shabby

cabarets and seedy bars, many of which served the US Navy's Sixth Fleet, with names such as Jimmy, Americano, Hollywood, Salem, Kentucky and Kansas. At one point there were fifty of them in a five hectare area. However, the Fleet stopped calling at Majorca in the 1980s, the bars began to close, and Es Barri was left to rot. In the midst of all this degradation many landlords enriched themselves by receiving a high return on their original invested capital, even though they were collecting only what is called "old rents," regulated under the 1964 Urban Leases Act.<sup>11</sup> This said, the capitalization of rents was not the final and ultimate goal in the search for profit. Ordinary landlords would soon give way to landed capitalists.

In the 1990s, the local press made more insistently an argument that began to appear in the 1980s, that Es Barri needed to be revamped. Journalists wrote about the depths that the degradation had reached: Es Barri had, for instance, the largest rat colonies in Ciutat. In their stories, the journalists blamed the inhabitants, most of them either old-rent tenants or squatters. The local press ran regular, detailed stories about the sex workers and drug dealers in the area, signs of an exotic "informal economy" and moral decay. Other features stressed statistics about Es Barri: "The functional illiteracy rate of the neighborhood residents is 40%, 41.5% have primary education, 6.7% secondary, 3.7% university studies . . . Only 24% of the population earns a living from a formal job, 21% earn a living with irregular economic activities, 30% receive some sort of pension or benefit and the rest depend on other people" (Garcés 1994). Even the cats were pressed into service: "The neighborhood hosts the fattest cats in Palma. Although children entertain themselves stoning them to death, cats never miss out on their share of rodent. The most enjoyable game needs to be revised: to hit the rats instead of their devourers" (Garcés 1991). This press attention encouraged an ever-worse image of Es Barri, and with that, ever-lower land prices.

The people I call Manolo and Manuel illustrate the process of the devaluation of Es Barri, and they represent in extreme form the eclectic class fraction, which includes the old pensioner women who now feed the stray cats, that debases the value of a site's environment while contributing to landlords' profits. Though some may question the idea that the activities of Manolo and Manuel count as urban labor, I contend that the exploitation of the destruction of value in Es Barri is a necessary step for the subsequent exploitation of its creation.

Under Spanish law, the nature and duration of Manolo's sub-tenancy of Manuel's flat meant that he had a right to remain in the building, and had to be

<sup>11</sup> Under that Act, tenants could extend their leases under the initial terms, which reduced landlords' income and was used to justify their neglect of their properties. In 1985, following general price deregulation, this right was abolished for all new leases.

persuaded to leave if the property was to be redeveloped. Accordingly, in May 2008, the speculator who had recently acquired the building offered Manolo €7,500 to leave Manuel's flat, and Manolo accepted. (Manuel ultimately moved into municipal sheltered housing.) The building was in a dangerous state of decay because its owners had not maintained it, claiming that they could not afford to do so because they received only the very low old rent. The speculator also paid the owners an amount that they considered to be reasonable, but which was significantly less than what the speculator expected to receive later, when he sold the property.

Manolo, once a bricklayer, had recently turned sixty-five and become a pensioner. He had rented a room from the formal occupant of the flat, Manuel, who was eighty-five. He also took care of Manuel, who was not on the social services' rolls. Manolo handled Manuel's paperwork and ran errands for him and, with the aid of his daughter and her partner, he provided Manuel with food and kept Manuel and the flat reasonably clean. Manolo of course deducted the value of his assistance from the rent he paid Manuel. Not much of this showed up in the press article in which Manolo appeared, under the headline "The last four residents of Posada d'en Bauló" (Prieto 2008).

Even less likely to appear was the fact that, with Manuel's consent, Manolo occasionally let his daughter and her partner, who was addicted to heroin, stay in the flat, since they had no fixed home. He also brought in hired "lady friends" he met in the remains of the nearby bars where the sex trade still survived, for Manolo was a small-scale pimp and drug dealer.<sup>12</sup> He and his daughter's partner would buy small amounts of heroin, adulterate it and sell it on. Since the early 1980s and until his official retirement, Manolo had combined these activities with his bricklaying.

Manolo's illegal activities appeared to be necessary to an ongoing projection of decay that not only helped to bring land values, and hence housing prices, down to the lowest and worst possible, but also encouraged people in Ciutat to call for the renewal of Es Barri. They were, then, part of the urban labor necessary for a future gentrification. Thanks in part to this urban labor, the worst and lowest uses of the area were achieved, the drug trafficking, the collapse of buildings, the decay, the rats and the well-fed cats. And as they were achieved, capitalist speculators and developers, together with a concerned, even outraged, public, were able to ally with the local authorities so that the first two could expropriate property and harass and evict those who, unlike Manolo, rejected an offer to leave and instead decided to stay.

At the time of writing, by the way, Manolo is squatting in another flat in Es Barri, and he expects the owner to come up with a deal to entice him to move

<sup>12</sup> To a smaller extent, prostitution and drug dealing continue in Es Barri, as do Manolo's "businesses."

once more. As I noted, Manuel moved to a municipal old people's home, thanks to the pressure the speculator exercised on the municipal social services.

### Residential unionism and the urban labor of newcomers

*“Allà on no hi ha moix, ses rates van a lloure”*: “When the cat's away, the rats will play.” The rats were soon stoned and Es Barri became a gold-rush area, but, as the well-known architect García-Delgado (1995: 71) stated, only for those who could really appreciate its qualities:

In the face of this 21st century we have to become aware that these old cities contain an enormous unexploited treasure; they are true unexploited mines. The riches to be found . . . are huge: to know how to value the positive qualities these old centers have as places of evasion, that is, for sensual and magical enjoyment. If we become aware that in these places one can live in a very different way, with a much superior quality of life than that offered by any other space, I think these cities will be able to be valued.

A local geographer, Vives Miró, supports the rent-gap hypothesis for Es Barri. Between 1993 and 2001 the population dropped from 1,912 inhabitants to 556 (Vives Miró 2011: 10), mainly because of eviction, and then began to increase slowly: in 2007 there were 791 inhabitants. In 1991 the average housing purchase price in Es Barri was below that of Ciutat; in 1995, after the approval of the municipal renewal scheme for Es Barri but before the start of the EU URBAN Programme in 1997 (Morell and Franquesa 2011), it was already above it. A decade or so later the difference was striking: in 2008 buyers paid € 4,970 per square meter in the rebuilt core of Es Barri, while for the whole of the city the average price per square meter was € 2,342 (Vives Miró 2011: 10). This period also saw important moments in neighborhood politics in Es Barri.

In Spain, AVs date back to the end of Franco's dictatorship in the 1970s, when their “residential unionism” was a vehicle for opposition politics at a local level (recounted nostalgically by Pérez Quintana and Sánchez León 2008). That politics often revolved around the improvement of what Castells (1977 [1972]) called collective consumption, that is, the spaces reserved for the social reproduction of labor, such as housing conditions, neighborhood services such as roads and sewage, health and education facilities and so on. After all, as Bensaïd (2009 [1996]: 187) argued, class struggle was never restricted only to sites of production. However, in the 1980s, under what was called the democratic transition, the residential movement weakened. At first it fed local-authority institutions with its most highly trained members (architects, social workers etc.); it then became a springboard for party politics; finally, these very same parties co-opted the AVs and set them against each other.

In spite of this weakening, the AV of Es Barri was set up in 1991 by the only federation of AVs then existing in Ciutat. The federation encouraged the

alliance of pioneering newcomers and the odd long-term resident. The AV brought together people of various conditions who were against the project to bulldoze the built environment of Es Barri and displace its population. Although members of the class cloaca remained mostly outside of the AV organization, the AV supported their stay, a policy that helped avoid contention in the area and that made the AV more legitimate. In spite of its opposition, the proposed Es Barri renewal scheme went ahead. This weakened not only the AV, but also the federation, which in 1996 collapsed in the face of a new, city-wide right-wing resident platform that aimed at crushing the power the left had gathered in the neighborhoods during the previous two decades. However, the AV re-emerged in 2007.

If López were now to write a sequel to his poem, he would describe how edgy foreigners, hipster IT designers, bohemian bar owners, philanthropic civil servants, lovers of the past, organic vegetable consumers, providers of cultural services, university scholars, chic boutique shopkeepers and the rest refill the emptied spaces. These become new AV members, joining those who founded it back in 1991. With their arrival, an organization concerned with urban justice changed into one concerned with the revaluing of the neighborhood (“the riches to be found” that the architect García-Delgado described), carried out mostly through the attraction of the media, visitors and further residents, drawn by the “discovery” of its cultural heritage and the festivities that celebrate it.

Although these newcomers tended to have similar social backgrounds, education and political orientations, and although they appeared to share a common *telos*, some came as tenants, some as owners. This made a difference. Whereas those who rent are interested in what we might call the use value of the neighborhood and its attributes, those who own tend to follow the rent-gap logic. That is, they aim at the highest and best use since, unlike those who rent, they appear to be interested in future exchange values as well. In contrast to the situation with the long-term residents, domination and exploitation of the urban labor of both types of newcomer takes place under a common theme of revaluing space.

As Manolo and Manuel represented the long-term residents, the people I call Bel and Biel represent the incomers, Bel renting and Biel buying. Bel was a self-employed cultural-services provider in her mid-thirties, living in Es Barri since 2004, and well known in the cultural scene of Ciutat. In the summer of 2007 she approached Biel, who was a teacher in adult education close to retirement, who had lived in Es Barri since the late 1980s, and who had been a member of the Communist Party since the early 1970s. Together with other recent newcomers, Bel expressed an interest in reviving the AV. Shortly after, in September 2007, Biel and other pioneers witnessed, with a mixture of astonishment and skepticism, how more than fifty people showed up at the AV general meeting, some of them, including Bel, offering to

take on the positions of responsibility that the pioneers had held for almost a decade.

Biel and Bel share their neighborhood of residence and AV membership, as well as their intention to shape their surrounding social and built environment, an intention that attracted the new AV members. Together, old and new members revisited old topics: to unify the population of Es Barri, now less heterogeneous than before, through various fiestas; to pedestrianize its streets; to reverse an increase in pub tours in the area; to preserve and give use to Es Barri's built heritage. As I said, these are old issues. For instance, since the inception of the AV Biel himself had been promoting the industrial heritage of the area, first as a way to dignify the decayed condition of the neighborhood and then, unsuccessfully, to save it from renewal. As well as revisiting old topics of concern, Bel and other new AV members have raised new ones: hiring a basement to use it as a bike park; establishing an organic food co-op; applying to the Council to ban automobile traffic from one of the squares and turn it into what they called an "agora", suited to public leisure and political discussion; organizing the supply of staple food for needy families; organizing sessions to consider what the role of the AV should be.

The urban labor of these new residents has had an effect. While the media previously had decried the decayed image of Es Barri, at the same time heightening it, since 2008 they have praised the "creativity" of newcomers and their desire to mix with the previous inhabitants: "Old and new inhabitants share the space of a changing neighbourhood" (Mateu 2008). Regardless of their different views of the transformation of the area, all the members of the AV seem to share a sense that they are accomplishing an urban labor founded upon their acquired and mastered distinctive tastes (Bourdieu 1984), an urban labor that has, perhaps unconsciously, raised the value of Es Barri's land, and hence the purchase price of each square meter.

Bel says that she has never thought of how her activities affect the revaluing of previously devalued land in Es Barri. Biel, on the other hand, seems to be well aware of what is happening and what the consequences will be. Using the alternative name for Es Barri, which is Sa Gerreria, he said "I think it is the same old story. A neighborhood needs to be degraded and pulled down so one can speculate over its ruins. And I think the case of Sa Gerreria has been paradigmatic in this sense."

#### Room for the unexpected

Consistent with the Lefebvrian difference between the urban and the city (see note 6), Corsín Jiménez (2003: 140) says that space "is what people do, not where they are." Indeed space does not appear to be something simply waiting for people to occupy it. Rather, and very much in accord with Condominas's

understanding of social space, it is something produced by people's agency. Yet in some respects, the sketches I have presented here bring in an aspect of space that relates both to what people do and to where people are. This "where," however, is not a matter of geographical location. Rather, it has to do with people's social location, particularly their position in a social order that is defined by the relations that the state and landed capital maintain toward urban labor.

Such relations bring us back to the question of self-exploitation mentioned earlier. Urban labor and those who carry it out certainly are very different from the peasants and household members who exploit themselves. That is because of the productive nature of the commodity at stake, land and the improvements on it, and also because of the logic that underlies the self-exploitation. After certain groups of long-term residents are allowed, even encouraged, to devalue the built environment through an urban labor that ranges from drug trafficking to cat feeding, wealthier newcomers improve the neighborhood, but not necessarily only for themselves.

From one perspective, those newcomers increase the use value of property for the people who live in the area. From another perspective, however, their activities may also be self-exploitation that produces surplus value that is passed on to landed capitalists, who realize it when they sell the property surrounded by environments improved by the urban labor of others. Here, the main difference between peasants and household members on the one hand, and on the other these newcomers, lies in the fact that the newcomers mediate the debasement of the neighborhood and the realization of value through the very improvements that they perform. It is not clear how much the cooperation of the two different moments, devaluation and revaluation, can be considered self-exploitation, since local authorities and landed capitalists have long orchestrated their coordination in order to appropriate the improvements; that is, to accumulate value via an exploitation that is based on dispossession itself. Thus, accumulation is based not only on the dispossession of the residential milieu of long-term residents, and potentially of the newcomer renters too, but also of their very same urban labor, the one invested in both worsening and improving the social environment and its built dimension.

To return to the urban society I have identified by way of gentrification, I must stress that I do not mean to dismiss other forms of capitalist organization for the study of class. Instead, I mean to highlight how social formations take their specific shapes because of the particular combination of different forms of capitalist operations at work in them. Depending on the concrete geographic and historic context, different combinations will emerge, and it is likely that in each such context one combination will become dominant and shape the whole formation. I write of these arrangements in abstract terms, as abstract as

a mode of production or, to bring it nearer to our terrain, as a class in itself. Yet, having said this, these abstractions have a worldly form at the level of social interaction of the sort that I have described here.

Thus, I argue, in order to understand what goes on in places such as Es Barri, it is necessary to delineate the relations among different groups and classes. There appears to be the capitalistic production of space, “the forever-ongoing unrest of space, securing its flexibility and its everlasting state of exception in order to justify exceptional actions that allow a permanent production of opportunities for the extraction of surplus value” (Franquesa 2010: 241). This forever-ongoing unrest calls for the labor that capital requires, but nevertheless also confronts, if it is to realize these opportunities for gain. This labor can be the classic labor power that is bought and sold in the market. However, in urban society that labor can also take other forms. Such is the case with gentrification, which appears to rely mainly on an unwaged dimension, visible in the process of cooperation that is based on the moment of devaluation and the moment of revaluation of both social space and urban land, all of which the state brings together.<sup>13</sup>

The transformation of Es Barri that I have described in this chapter is often celebrated. The owner of an old stationery shop that also sells party costumes and paraphernalia illustrates this celebration. At an AV meeting, she said “This neighborhood has been reborn from its ashes, just like the Phoenix. Because it now has young people, married couples, small children. They’re all coming in now.” In that celebration, however, class consciousness is muted at best. Moreover, where it exists it tends to set those whose urban labor leads to revaluation against those whose urban labor led to the necessary prerequisite, devaluation.<sup>14</sup> The failure to recognize that these two groups are part of a common process united by their exploited urban labor is illustrated in that shop owner’s words, which ignore the fact that the class cloaca also included its young people, married couples, small children. It is the recognition that those involved in the two moments of gentrification, devaluation and revaluation, are part of a single process of exploitation that is also missing from the rent-gap model. In that failure of recognition, the model also fails to discern the actual class relations that take place, which means that, no matter how determined the groups and processes might seem in that model, the people involved possess their own agency, and do not always follow the script.

<sup>13</sup> There might not be wages, but there may indeed be rewards. Many of the long-term residents have received housing elsewhere in the city so as to make room for the best and highest uses, while most of the AV activities are funded by public grants.

<sup>14</sup> In fact, these fractions are so alienated that they are not even conscious of their own respective portion of urban labor, let alone its appropriation by landed capitalists.

“The city of the cats and the city of the people lie one within the other, but they are not the same city” (Calvino 1983 [1963]: 101). The same is true of the city of long-term residents and the city of the newcomers. However, while those cities are different, they touch each other. The city of cats was cleansed by the cooperation of the old widows who fed them and the newcomers who wanted them removed.

Es Barri, then, seems to produce unexpected outcomes. The Manolos and Manuels, and the Bels and Biels, are not mere individuals, the product of an extreme empiricist segmentation that offers no suggestions on how social order and change work. Rather, with Marx (1976 [1867]), they are the bearers of particular class relations and interests. They carry out urban labor, and despite their clear differences, inner diversities and blatant oppositions, when their labor is seen in terms of the process of devaluation and revaluation, and of the landed capitalists who profit from it, they form a class in itself. Through the ways that its members are dominated and exploited in their labor, they are related to the landed capitalist class, as well as to the state. Class relations are, it seems, the underlying theme for processes on the ground, processes that are identified by the terms for those who embody them: residents, residents’ associations, developers, landowners, bureaucrats, politicians. However, it is yet to be seen if these urban-labor class fractions, which form a class in itself, will develop a common consciousness and become a class for itself.

Taking heed of Montllor’s warning, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, we should be wary of space. If we are seeking to understand it, we need to recognize that most of the literature dealing with gentrification draws on the geographical spatialization of the classes handed down from the salad days of other sorts of capitalist formation, especially industrial systems now in their decline. We need, instead, to look directly at both how classes produce their social space and, in turn, how social space refashions them. Overall, space draws the line on how class happens and on the division of labor on which that structuring of space relies. Although I have used this insight here to illuminate gentrification in Es Barri, it applies to the urban more generally, to its struggles and its conquests.

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<sup>3</sup> The edited volume in which this chapter is to be found has a joint reference list for all the publications it contains (pages 200-23 in the original) Here, this is the reference list for my chapter alone.

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